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A Call for Economic Justice for Myanmar's Laborers: A Capability Approach

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Abstract

In Myanmar, many labors face difficult challenges. They face high unemployment rates and those who are employed often suffer unfair treatment from their employers. These mistreatments have increased since the 2021 military coup, which sparked protests and workforce strikes. Many foreign-invested companies, especially those owned by Chinese companies, are often accused of violating labor rights. Labors are reluctant to report these types of violations for fear of retaliation, as there is no effective union or advocacy group to support them. Even when they go on strike, the government does

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not seem to take their concerns seriously. Minimum wages are a major issue in Myanmar, where many laborers struggle to make a living. In this research, the capabilities approach is used to analyze the unfair situation of Myanmar labor. The capabilities approach is a broad framework used to evaluate and value individual well-being and social arrangements, as well as to design policies and proposals for social change in society. When analyzing the capabilities approach, the situation is often called “starvation wages” and is considered a form of modern slavery. The government's response to these problems has been inadequate, leaving many laborers in poverty and difficult living conditions.

Key words: Economic justice, Myanmar laborers, minimum wages, inequality

IJE: D63, F66, J31

1. Introduction

Following the election in 2020, on February 1, 2021, the military seized power on the day that parliament was set to convene for the first time. This led to the detention of Pres. Win Myint, Aung San Suu Kyi, a state counsellor, and other members of the NLD party. Myint Swe, a former military officer and vice president, was appointed as the acting president, invoking

articles 417 and 418 of the constitution to declare a state of emergency for one year. The military commander in chief, Senior General Min Aung Hlaing, was handed control of the executive, legislative, and judicial branches of government. Senior General Min Aung Hlaing claimed the military takeover was necessary due to alleged electoral irregularities and the failure to postpone the opening of parliament. He promised to hold new elections after the state of emergency and transfer power to the winner. A day later, the State Administrative Council was formed with Senior General Min as chairman, and it took over government functions during the state of emergency. On August 1, the military-led caretaker government replaced the State Administrative Council with Senior General Min Aung Hlaing as the prime minister, and the state of emergency was extended until August 2023.(McKenna 2023)

1.1 Labor right violation after military coup

Myanmar is grappling with a significant unemployment problem, and many labors who have jobs are facing daily labor rights violations. These violations have been on the rise since the military coup in February 2021, which led to a large number of labor force members protesting against the military dictatorship. However, the junta arrested some labor leaders, and others fled, leaving unions unable to operate effectively.

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As a result, some employers are ignoring labor rights and engaging in abusive practices, such as withholding pay, failing to compensate labors who are dismissed, and not paying employees for overtime work. These abuses are especially common in Yangon's industrial zones, where many of the country's labors are employed.

According to survey findings of International Labor Organization (ILO), job opportunities have been disproportionately limited for labors from urban and higher income households since the military takeover, with little progress in improving the situation. Despite this, there are still migrants seeking employment, even though irregular means, despite the increased risks of detention and exploitation due to the slow recovery of employment, fragile economic outlook, and ongoing security concerns. Gender inequality has also been a factor, with women experiencing a greater loss of employment than men. In 2021, there was an overall contraction of 8.9% in employment, resulting in a loss of 1.8 million labors, while women labors saw a loss of 10.2%. Furthermore, the report estimates that in the first half of 2022, employment levels remained below those of 2020 by 5.4%, with female employment being 6.5% lower.(ILO 2022)

The garment industry is Myanmar's largest employer, having provided significant foreign currency earnings for the country. Prior to the pandemic, around 700,000 labors, mostly women, worked in this sector. However, this number has now dropped to just under 500,000 labors, and the garment industry is now the sector with the most significant labor rights violations. Employers are taking advantage of the low demand for labors to engage in abusive practices, such as paying labors below the minimum wage, failing to pay overtime, and reducing overtime payments.

Despite laws stating that people who work on public holidays must be paid double their normal wages, labors are only receiving their normal wages for such work. Moreover, many labors face other challenges, such as being forced to drink tap water due to insufficient drinking water and not being allowed to use the restroom when needed.

While some factories follow labor regulations, others, especially Chinese-owned factories and workshops, are reportedly the worst violators of labors' rights, according to labor rights activists. Labors are reluctant to speak out against such practices for fear of being dismissed or retaliated against, as there are currently no functioning unions or union leaders to advocate for their rights. Consequently, Myanmar has one of the lowest rankings in the 2021 Global Labor Rights Index compiled

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by the International Trade Union Confederation, which surveyed labors in 149 countries.

Despite the approximately 150 labor strikes that occur each year in Myanmar, the government is not taking the labor violations seriously. Before the coup, investors were attracted to Myanmar by cheap wages and favorable tax breaks, but many investors fail to follow labor regulations. While some foreign brands and factories follow local labor laws, others do not.

Myanmar's poor score on the Global Rights Index is due to labor rights not being guaranteed by law, the arrest or killing of union members, and severe restrictions on freedom of expression and gatherings. Unfortunately, Myanmar will likely remain one of the worst-scoring countries on the 2022 Global Rights Index, given the current state of labor rights in the country.(Mizzima 2022)

1.2 Oppression over Myanmar labor

Adidas has been a sponsor of the World Cup for over 50 years. For the 2022 World Cup, the company sponsored 7 out of the 32 teams that qualified. To sponsor shoes, shirts, and accessories, the company had to order from 63 existing factories in 18 countries. One of the shoe suppliers to Adidas is Myanmar

Pao Chen Co., which is owned by a Taiwanese company, where Myanmar laborers work.

More than 2000 laborers in the factory held a three-day strike, demanding a wage increase to 8000 MMK (approximately 2.50 USD) per day from 4,800 MMK (approximately 1.50 USD), as Myanmar faced money depreciation and high commodity prices after the 2021 military coup. At the end of the protest, the factory owner rejected the salary increase demand and then fired 26 laborers who organized the protest, citing their absence for three days without leave as the reason for their dismissal.

1.3 Breach of Supply Chain Code of Conduct

If the primary suppliers work directly with Adidas, they must comply with the company's supply chain code of conduct. The Workplace Standard is designed to improve working conditions, health, safety, and well-being for laborers. Through the supply chain code of conduct, Adidas assesses whether primary suppliers follow these standards or not. Specifically, Adidas mentions the need to follow the UN International Bill of Human Rights and the ILO Declaration on Fundamental Principles and Rights at Work in its supply chain code of conduct.

Under the UN International Bill of Human Rights and ILO Declaration on Fundamental Principles and Rights at Work,

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factory labors have certain rights, including the freedom from discrimination and slavery, the right to social security, the right to work, the right to strike, and the right to a fair trial.

During the protest against the factory, the factory management notified and called upon the military to disperse the protestors. However, military officials inspected the protest and determined that it was about a salary increase, not political protest, and they withdrew military force from the protest. The factory management threatened the protestors with military force and breached their right to strike and their right to a fair trial by not agreeing to a salary increase, claiming that they had offered a minimum wage to the labors.

In Myanmar, the minimum wage was set at 3,600 MMK in 2015 for the first time. In 2018, the minimum wage was last set at 4,800 MMK. According to the Myanmar Minimum Wage Law, the minimum wage is to be revised and set every two years. The next year for setting the minimum wage was 2021, but the coup d'état in the country prevented the revision of the minimum wage until the end of 2023.

In September 2022, the World Bank set the poverty line. If a person's daily wage is less than 2.15 USD, they are considered poor (Bank 2022). If the minimum wage is set at

4,800 MMK (around 1.5 USD), all labors in Myanmar would not be able to cover the cost of living and would be considered poor, even though they have a regular job and receive a salary. This type of wage is commonly referred to as a starvation wage. If a person has to work without protection from any laws and earns a starvation wage, it is considered modern slavery.

1.4 Research questions

This research composes of –

- By which value of economic justice should Myanmar government take an action over oppression on Myanmar labors?
- How does the value of economic justice by the Capability Approach reflect the violation over Myanmar labors?

1.5 Purpose of the study

In this paper, I will analyze how Myanmar labor were oppressed by international factories, by not being protected by Myanmar laws and how Myanmar labor could not find economic justice. This paper is to advocate the government that it should take an action over Myanmar labor for political and economic well-being, to educate international factories to adopt political situation and to support Myanmar labor to be able to find economic justice out of any kinds of oppression.

Moreover, I will make an argument on economic justice by the Capability Approach on the analysis of oppression on

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Myanmar labor. I will describe the economy system between multinational firms and Myanmar labors in a supply chain, how Myanmar labors were oppressed and, work without protection of law and from the government, how government fail on its responsibilities.

1.6 Advantages of the study

This research is to enhance the knowledge of economic justice in modern age against the modern slavery. This research is to explore a core value of justice among economic actors within and out of a failed state, focusing on well-being of labors, who cannot be a part of international labor mobility by the lack of education, the lack of skills, the lack of information and chance in a solitude country.

2. Theory of Justice

Rawls' seminal book, "A Theory of Justice", primarily details a normative framework for establishing a fair societal structure and its major institutions, including political, economic, legal, and social systems. These institutions play a crucial role in regulating the allocation of resources and societal burdens among individuals who are part of a given society, ultimately influencing their life opportunities. Meyer and Pranay explore the implications of Rawls' theory in contemporary philosophical discourse, including discussions on globalization and intergenerational justice. The concept of social justice

expands in scope during globalization, extending beyond a particular society to encompass the global community. Intergenerational justice, on the other hand, raises questions regarding the responsibility to consider the welfare of future generations and what present sacrifices are necessary to secure their interests.(Barry 1991)

Melvin Lerner (1956) endeavored to define the motivational factors that drive just behavior. This suggests that the desire for justice cannot be simplified to self-interest, which has been a fundamental principle in economic conduct.(Lerner 1965). Montada and Jurgen (2016) provide an important insights and ideas about self-interest, as well as the claim that justice is a major driving force of human behavior that cannot be reduced to self-interest (Montada, Maes et al. 2016).

2.1 Economic Justice on Laborers

Aristotle's notion of "the economic" contrasts with modern Economics. In his writings, he employs the term "oikonomikè", which we translate as "the economic." However, Aristotle's understanding of "the economic" differs significantly from what we now refer to as the economy. Nevertheless, we can still identify aspects of Aristotle's work that pertain to contemporary economic reality. Moreover, we should not assume that Aristotle failed to establish a link between "the economic" and the production, distribution, and consumption of material goods.(Crespo 2010)

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Despite not being an economist, Aristotle introduced fundamental concepts that form the basis of modern Economics and its intersection with Ethics and Politics. To fully appreciate Aristotle's contribution, we need to clarify the meaning of his concept of "the economic." Once we untangle this terminology, we can uncover a wealth of insights into Economics. Therefore, the significance of Aristotle's ideas lies in our attempt to reinterpret them and bring out their hidden potential (Crespo 2010). Before modern economic theory, economics was part of an administrative tradition dealing with efficient household, military, and political management. (Pack 2008)

Aristotle considered justice as the ultimate virtue. He classified justice into general and particular justice. The latter pertains to assigning portions to different individuals and can be further divided into distributive justice and retributive justice. Distributive justice deals with the fair distribution of goods, money, and honor. (Lennig 2011).

Marx proposed a scientific version of socialism that he believed to be both inevitable and unavoidable. He outlined its key characteristics as follows: the role of philosophy as a catalyst for change, the inevitability of class conflict, the reality of exploitation, the worsening poverty of the working class, the entrenched power of private property, and the necessity of

establishing a proletarian dictatorship to eradicate exploitation and inequality.(Geetha 2021)

Marx believed that justice is a type of ethical community founded on principles of equality, freedom, and beneficence, which helps to foster and enhance humanity's purpose or end. He applied his concept of justice to a wide range of concerns, including issues related to labors' creativity and control, producer associations, human rights and needs, fairness and reciprocity in trade, wealth distribution, political liberation, economic and ecological challenges, and economic democracy.(McCarthy 2017)

Marx was not just an economist but a comprehensive social scientist. His framework was centered around the concept of human production. Drawing upon classical economic theory, Marx argued that the value of labor power is determined by the average number of hours of labor required to provide a worker with the essential means of subsistence, such as food, clothing, and shelter. Put simply, the long-term wages received by labors are a function of the amount of labor required to produce a capable worker.(Prychitko 1988)

Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. argued that the American economic system had abandoned African Americans and impoverished individuals. Income inequality has worsened in the United States, particularly for these groups. In his last book, "Where Do We Go From Here: Chaos or Community?", King

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discussed how market forces contributed to unemployment and idleness. King suggested that the government should create jobs to benefit the common good for those who were unable to secure employment, which some may view as a form of welfare state. (Silver 2022)

Through a speech titled as "The Other America", King said,

" ... we must see that the struggle today is much more difficult. It's more difficult today because we are struggling now for genuine equality. And it's much easier to integrate a lunch counter than it is to guarantee a livable income and a good solid job. It's much easier to guarantee the right to vote than it is to guarantee the right to live in sanitary, decent housing conditions. It is much easier to integrate a public park than it is to make genuine, quality, integrated education a reality. And so today we are struggling for something which says we demand genuine equality". (King Jr 1968)

A significant focus of *The Wealth of Nations* is the advantages of the "system of natural liberty," which, according to Smith, promotes the growth of a nation's wealth. Consequently, some economists have argued that Smith's

primary concern was with matters of allocative efficiency. This was to be achieved by allowing the invisible hand to operate freely as individuals pursued their desired occupations. Smith found exclusive privileges for specific groups objectionable since they resulted in an inefficient distribution of resources, leading to a reduced level of overall production of goods for the public.(Noell 1995).

In addition to being inconsistent with his perception of justice, Smith was also opposed to exclusive privileges in the labor market. Furthermore, laws that banned employee or employer combinations were contradictory to liberty and justice. Such laws impeded the ability of labor market associations to negotiate, leading to harm for both parties. Smith's advocacy for the importance of freedom of association as a component of justice, along with his disapproval of exclusive privileges for labor market associations, imply that he was operating with a conception of justice comparable to the Schoolmen's notion of commutative justice. Smith's reference to justice are explicitly expressed in relation to the scholastic idea of commutative justice in his earlier writings on moral philosophy. In *The Theory of Moral Sentiments*, Smith examines various interpretations of the term justice and approaches justice through the lens of the medieval understanding of it:

*“ The first sense of the word coincides
with what Aristotle and the Schoolmen call*

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commutative justice, and with what Grotius calls the justitia expletrix, which consists in abstaining from what is another's, and in doing voluntarily whatever we can with propriety be forced to do.
” (Smith 1759)

3. Capability Approach framework on Economics Justice

The capability approach is a broad framework used for evaluating and assessing individual well-being and social arrangements, as well as for designing policies and proposals for social change in society. This approach is applied in various fields, such as development studies, welfare economics, social policy, and political philosophy. It can be utilized to evaluate several aspects of people's well-being, such as poverty, inequality, individual well-being, or average well-being within a group. Additionally, it can be used as an alternative tool for assessing social cost-benefit analysis or as a framework for designing and evaluating policies, from welfare state projects in affluent societies to development policies implemented by governmental and non-governmental organizations in developing countries. The distinctive feature of the capability approach is its emphasis on evaluating what individuals can actually achieve based on their abilities.(Robeyns 2005)

There is ongoing debate as to whether Nussbaum's list of central capabilities is open to revision or whether it is a fixed set of abilities that cannot be altered. Nussbaum (1995) has maintained that her central capability approach is firm and not subject to revision in response to debates about the list of central capabilities.. (Nussbaum and Glover 1995)

Nussbaum (2009) notes the emergence of a new theoretical paradigm in the realm of development known as the "Human Development" or "Capabilities" approach. This approach starts with the fundamental question of "What are people actually able to do and to be?" Although seemingly simple, this question is complex as it involves multiple elements that are interconnected and require further study in order to understand their relationships with each other and their impact on human life. (Nussbaum 2009). At minimum level, Nussbaum (2021) stated a threshold level of ten Central Capabilities as following-

- 1) Life - Able to live to the end of a normal length human life and not to have a life reduced to not being worth living.
- 2) Bodily Health - Able to have a good life which includes reproductive health, food and shelter.
- 3) Bodily Integrity - Able to freely change location, as well as able to have sovereignty over one's body, which

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includes being secured from assault (e.g. sexual assault, child sexual abuse, domestic violence and opportunities for sexual gratification).

- 4) Sense, Imagination and Thought - Able to use the senses to imagine, think and reason in a "truly human" way - informed by appropriate education, the ability to produce works of self-expression and engage in religious rituals without fear of political ramifications, the ability to have pleasant experiences and avoid unnecessary pain, and the ability to seek the meaning of life.
- 5) Emotions – Able to have attachments to things outside of ourselves; these include being able to love others, grieve the loss of loved ones, and being angry when justified.
- 6) Practical reason - Able to form a conception of the good and to think about it critically.
- 7) Affiliation:
 - a) Able to get along with and care about others, empathize for others, and be fair and friendly. Institutions help develop and protect forms of membership.
 - : b) Able to respect oneself and not be humiliated by others; that is to be treated with dignity and equal value. This entails a minimum protection against discrimination based on race, gender, sexuality,

religion, caste, ethnicity and national origin. At work, this means entering into relationships of mutual recognition.

- 8) Other species - Capable of caring for and coexisting with other animals, plants and the environment in general.
- 9) Play - Able to laugh, joke and enjoy recreational activities.
- 10) Control over one's environment: a) Political – Able to participate effectively in political life, which includes the right to freedom of expression and association.

b) Material – Able to own a property, not only formally, but materially (ie as a real opportunity). Also, able to seek employment on an equal basis as others and to be free from unreasonable search and seizure.(Nussbaum 2011)

In order for the capability approach to be justified, it needs to offer something that other approaches cannot. According to Pogge (2002), the capabilities approach has not yet demonstrated the ability to produce a viable standard of social justice that competes with resource-based approaches. He argues that Nussbaum exaggerates the difference between recursive approaches and the capability approach, which is essentially the question of whether natural human diversity, such as physical traits that reduce people's ability to convert resources into useful

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functions and are not caused by past or present social injustices, should be compensated for.(Pogge 2002) (Berges 2007)

Pogge (2002) contended that capability theorists commit the straw man fallacy by comparing the capabilities approach to a less plausible form of appeal. He further concluded that while the capabilities approach may be a valuable addition to recursive theories, it is not justified as a theory of social justice.(Pogge 2002) (Berges 2007).

Nussbaum (2011) asserted that her conception of social justice is founded on the idea that respect for human dignity necessitates allocating all citizens a sufficient level of capability in each of the ten Central Capabilities, where she includes every human beings in the list of citizens mentioned; not differentiating resident aliens, legal and illegal , and people living under different entitlements.(Nussbaum 2011)

In agreement with Nussbaum (2011), Sen (1993) argued that people have reasons to value freedom or liberty to produce, buy and sell in markets (Sen 1993). Despite this, the topic in question was a component of his broader work on development and differed significantly from the extensively debated matter in economics and politics regarding the merits and constraints of the market as an economic production and distribution system. Functioning and capabilities are ideas related to the attainment of well-being and the freedoms associated with it, and

determining which economic institutions are the most effective in fostering functioning is an issue that requires an analytical and political approach. The capability approach offers a (partial) solution to this question. (Robeyns and Byskov 2011)

4. Conclusion

Myanmar is struggling with a significant unemployment problem, and many laborers who have jobs are facing daily labor rights violations. These violations have been on the rise since the military coup in February 2021, which led to a large number of labor force members protesting against the military dictatorship.

According to a representative of the Industrial Laborers Federation of Myanmar (IWFEM), during times of crisis, factory management may further oppress laborers. However, under an elected government, labor union members can report any violation of labor rights by factory owners. With strong representation, factory owners are less likely to breach labor rights. However, since the military coup in Myanmar, labor unions have been disbanded, and factory owners have been able to violate labor rights with ease (The_Irrawaddy_News 2022). These violations include failure to provide overtime pay, imposing excessive working hours, and denying access to welfare facilities. In such circumstances, democracy is absent, and it is unlikely that labor rights will be respected under military rule.

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Obviously, military junta who declare itself as a caretaker government fail to take an action over violation of labor right. People should be able to create and shape the conditions that enable them to pursue their goals and aspirations. This can expand the range of options available to them and increase their capability to achieve their desired outcomes. If laborer can work under rule of law, or if they could speak out more about violating rights by factory owners, the whole mechanism of respecting one's right in the country would create a better workplace and could increase productivity. According to the contribution of Smith in a book called "The Wealth of Nations", he mentioned the advantages of the "system of natural liberty," , promotes the growth of a nation's wealth.(Noell 1995)

Sen (1993) also argued that people have reasons to value freedom or liberty to produce, buy and sell in markets (Sen 1993). Through the framework of 'Controlling One's Environment' by the Capability Approach, the collective actions of being able to work, strike, and have a fair trial can enhance individuals' well-being by enabling them to live in accordance with their values and preferences. Additionally, these actions can help achieve economic justice through an elected and fair government. It can also create trust between consumers and producers, or suppliers and manufacturers such as Myanmar Pao

Chen Co. and Adidas. Mutual trust can lead consumers' confident, which can also affect on manufacturers to expend their investment.

While some factories follow labor regulations, others, especially Chinese-owned factories and workshops, are reportedly the worst violators of laborers' rights, according to labor rights activists. Laborers are reluctant to speak out against such practices for fear of being dismissed or retaliated against, as there are currently no functioning unions or union leaders to advocate for their rights. Despite the approximately 150 labor strikes that occur each year in Myanmar, the government is not taking the labor violations seriously.

More than 2000 laborers in the factory held a three-day strike against Myanmar Pao Chen Co., which is owned by a Taiwanese company, demanding a wage increase to 8000 MMK (approximately 2.50 USD) per day from 4,800 MMK (approximately 1.50 USD), as Myanmar faced money depreciation and high commodity prices after the 2021 military coup. After negotiations, the factory management rejected the idea of allowing factory laborers to nominate a representative from their ranks to be the leader of the Workplace Coordination Committee (WCC). Laborers claim that since the military coup, the WCC has been formed based on the preferences of the business owners, and during disputes within the factory, they

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consistently side with the employer rather than the laborers. (BHRRC 2022)

The most fundamental right of laborers is the right to affiliation. The laborers of Myanmar Pao Chen Co. protested and demanded to be represented by laborers to nominate a leader of the Workplace Coordination Committee (WCC), which was formed after the coup according to the preferences of the businessmen. In the process of disputes within the factory, they have always stood on the side of the employer in every factory (Myanmar_Now 2023). However, they did not have a chance to affiliate with the Labor Union and WCC, and then they lose the fundamental right of human well-being. They do not have the capability to cooperate with others towards a shared goal (BHRRC 2022). Marx applied his concept of justice to a wide range of concerns, including issues related to laborers' creativity and control (McCarthy 2017). By appointing a minister at the Ministry of Immigration and Population, the military junta systematically decimated laborers and obviously stood on the factor owners' side, meaning it does not agree with Marx's argument to let laborers control. It denied justice to laborers, according to Smith's advocacy for the importance of freedom of association as a component of justice, which is a "system of natural liberty" (Smith 1759). Where, laborers should be able to

participate effectively in political life, which includes the right to freedom of expression and association.

In September 2022, the World Bank set the poverty line. If a person's daily wage is less than 2.15 USD, they are considered poor (Bank 2022). If the minimum wage is set at 4,800 MMK (around 1.5 USD), all laborers in Myanmar would not be able to cover the cost of living and would be considered poor, even though they have a regular job and receive a salary. This type of wage is commonly referred to as a starvation wage. If a person has to work without protection from any laws and earns a starvation wage, it is considered modern slavery. Marx argued that the value of labor power is determined by the average number of hours of labor required to provide a worker with the essential means of subsistence, such as food, clothing, and shelter (Prychitko 1988). Phyo Thida Win, a laborer of Myanmar Pao Chen Co., stated that in 2018, they were paid \$2.25 (because of inflation rate, the currency value become gradually depreciated and its value is around 1.5 USD in 2022/23) and they made about 120 shoes per day. Production increased from 120 to 140, and then to 160 day by day (RFA 2022). Therefore, we are demanding an increase in salary in accordance with the increase in production. It shows that laborers have to overwork and get paid less which is unable to provide themselves with the essential means of subsistence, such as food, clothing, and shelter. Chit Ko Ko, another laborers of

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that, mentioned that we cannot live on 4,800 MMK a day; it is not enough at all. With the rising prices of basic commodities, 4,800 MMK does not even cover our minimum expenses. If we fall ill, medication costs around 6000-7000 MMK each time. Cooking oil costs more than 7000 MMK. Hence, he stated that it is our right to demand a salary increase (RFA 2022).

Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. argued that the government should create jobs to benefit the common good for those who were unable to secure employment (Silver 2022). A laborer said that they are not enemies of the factory. Their families can only make ends meet because of these factories. That is why they wish not to engage in any further clashes with the factory. They want to peacefully return to work at the factory and negotiate our demands positively (RFA 2022). Nevertheless, 26 laborers got fired, given the reason that they were absent to attend the factory. But the military junta, in the process of disputes within the factory, is meant to stand on the side of the employer in every factory. That is a significant oppression on not only laborers of Myanmar Pao Chen Co., also every laborers across the country. Also, the military junta fail in its practice to protect every kind of employment. Every kind of labor should be secured to live to the end of a normal length human life and not to have a life

reduced to not being worth living, and should be able to have a good life which includes reproductive health, food and shelter.

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A Call for Economic Justice for Myanmar's Laborers: A Capability
Approach

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