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Exploring the Factors Influencing Resource Transfers among Mon Migrant Worker Networks in Samut Sakhon Province, Thailand

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Abstract

Resource transactions occur within Mon migrant worker networks through the sharing of different kinds of support. However, the flow of resources can be influenced by a range of factors that promote or impede the capacity of members of migrant networks to transfer resources. This paper examines the factors influencing the process of resource transfers among co-ethnic migrant worker networks in the context of Samut Sakhon Province, Thailand. This study was conducted from December 2021 to April 2022 in Amphoe Meaung (Samut Sakhon's capital district), Samut Sakhon Province. Samut Sakhon Province was selected as the study site due to an existence of supportive networks of co-ethnic migrant workers providing financial and social support to their close ties and organizational ties. A large number of Mon migrant workers (see also Baonerd, 2007a: 9; Baonerd, 2007b: 5) and many Thai- Mon people with Thai ID cards which embrace shared ethnic identity and characteristics represent the co-ethnic Mon migrant worker networks—the scope of this study. This study applies a mixed- method approach, using the quantitative research method for finding the frequency of migrant workers' characteristics and behaviours of resource transfers and the qualitative research methods with interpretative phenomenological analysis (IPA). Through the snowball technique, in- depth interviews were conducted with six Myanmar migrant workers (Mon ethnicity), and semi-structured interviews were conducted with five non-migrant community leaders or employees of Mon groups to gain insights into the factors influencing resource transfers in Samut Sakhon Province. Online surveys were also conducted randomly with a wide range of 94 respondents living in several communities in Samut Sakhon Province to enable validation of qualitative data collected for this study. Data about factors affecting the transfer of resources were collected by using the online survey method. The use of qualitative research methods led to rich data to support these points. This study's findings demonstrates that factors promoting the flow of resources included social and cultural circumstances (e.g., the COVID- 19 pandemic, collective cultural values), roles and leadership within the group, socialization, and internet and social media. Factors

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hindering the flow of resources included the COVID-19 pandemic restrictions, and regulations and controlling systems, power relations within co-ethnic migrant networks resulting from migrants' limited access to resources and opportunities. An acknowledgement about factors promoting and impeding resource transfer can prevent obstacles of the resource flows, while maintaining and increasing the flow of resources within Mon migrant worker networks in methods that fully benefit migrant workers.

Introduction

Several forms of resources (i.e., financial resources and social resources) have been transferred across country (e.g., remittance) and within migrant worker networks. Lynam (1985) points out that migrants gain support from their social networks, such as channels for exchanging knowledge (Moon et al., 2019), emotional, financial, practical support (Weber, 2014; Hamer, 2008; Ryan et al., 2008), material support (e.g., credit, accommodations) (Comola and Mendola, 2014, p.3), advice for solving complex problems (Moon et al., 2019; Hansen, 1999), and trustworthy information (Lin et al., 1981). In the context of Samut Sakhon Province ("Samut Sakhon"), Thailand, Mon migrants' livelihoods rely on their personal networks. Mon migrant workers in Samut Sakhon receive support from their close ties in the forms of information, advice, and money. They also access support from Mon ethnic community-based supporters and migrant-led self-help groups in Samut Sakhon and Mon self-help groups in other provinces. However, migration studies emphasize the process of cross-country resource transfers (remittance) and the potential of resource senders (Docquier and Rapoport, 2007, p.3) rather than resource transaction in destination country and migrant worker network's role in transferring resources. In Thailand, several sectors (i.e., NGOs and government stakeholders) provide supports in forms of facilitating information sharing, facilitating joint advocacy and the life-saving service to migrants (see also, UN Network on Migration, 2022). There has been a lack of research regarding resource transfers in forms of different types of support on behalf of migrant worker networks and the factors affecting the process of resource transfers in destination countries, particularly the resource transfers engaged by migrant workers. The aim of this study is to examine the factors that promote and hinder the transfer of financial and social resources by members of co-ethnic migrant worker networks (i.e., close ties and organizational ties) in Samut Sakhon.

Overall, the results indicated that Mon migrant workers in Samut Sakhon involved with the process of resource transfers within the co-ethnic migrant worker networks through sharing ideas, perception, knowledge and information, donation, participation in community events and joining in working with Mon self-help groups. Furthermore, social and cultural contexts (Mon cultural and Buddhist religious beliefs and practices, the COVID-19 pandemic), socialization, supportive leadership within Mon self-help groups, and internet and social media positively influenced migrant workers to donate money to community-related causes (financial resource transfers) and to share ideas, knowledge, perceptions, and social values (social resource transfers). These factors encouraged Mon migrant workers to engage in donations and sharing knowledge, ideas, information, perceptions, etc. In contrast, factors discouraging migrant workers from transferring resources included structural conditions (i.e., COVID-19 pandemic restrictions on gatherings, state-imposed regulations and controlling systems) and power relations resulting from inequality within Mon self-help groups and unequal access to resources.

Research Objectives

The purpose of this study is to identify the factors that influence the process of resource transfers (promoting and hindering of the transfer of financial and social resources) engaged by members of co-ethnic migrant worker networks (i.e., close ties and organizational ties) in Samut Sakhon.

Research questions are: (1) How the financial and social resource transfers within the co-ethnic migrant worker networks in Samut Sakhon are promoted? and (2) How the financial and social resource transfers within the co-ethnic migrant worker networks in Samut Sakhon are hindered?

Literature Reviews

Resources transfers (remittances)

Migrant workers engage in the process of resource transfers through remittances. The flow of resources can bring about development, as financial remittances result in rural development in the country of origin (see also FAO, 2020) and can reduce financial constraints and risks to local production. Faist (2010: 80) noted that knowledge transfer and social remittances are other transaction mechanisms. Social remittances, which refers to the transfer of 'ideas, behaviours, norms, cultural meanings and social practices' (Garip and Asad, 2015: 4), also occur systematically and intentionally (Levitt, 2005). Such transfers can occur between migrant countries of destination and origin (Batista et al., 2019: 329), from North to South, and from immigrants to ethnic groups (Levitt, 1998: 927). Social remittances can be viewed as development resources that bring about developed socioeconomic outcomes in both countries of origin and destination (Levitt, 2005). At an individual level, the transfer of social remittances leads to an increasing level of self-reliance, since network members are provided with opportunities to access additional training programs and education (Taylor, 2016: 357). At the community and country levels, social resource transfers by migrant networks can result in diminished criminal networks, such as networks of human trafficking and forced migration. The benefit of access to migrant networks can reduce the demand for criminal networks (Taylor, 2016: 355) and prevent migrants from being exploited in the course of their migration.

Empirical studies show the factors influencing migrants' decisions to send remittances back home. Many reasons exist that leads to migrants' decision to send financial remittances (Lucas and Stark, 1985; Cox et al., 1998; Docquier and Rapoport, 2000; Feinerman and Seiler, 2002; Foster and Rosenzweig, 2001). Regarding reasons of sending financial remittances, economic policy, financial strategies (i.e., interest rates, exchange rate, inflation, and transfer channels) influence migrants' decisions to send remittances home. (OECD, 2006, p.148). 'Altruism' (OECD, 2006, p.145) or the care for family members or relatives also encourages migrant to send money back home. Furthermore, the remittance inflows can be affected by strong ties between migrant workers and their home country (O'Neill, 2001, p.353). As compulsory reasons and individual reasons, migrants send remittance because of loans (Agarwal and Horaowitz, 2002; Poirine, 1997) or internal family

agreements (Nica, 2013; Lucas and Stark, 1985).

Migrants also transfer social remittances (i.e., knowledge, skills, etc.) to the country of origin. Levitt (2005) points out that the structure of social networks and transnational organizations affect the flow of social and cultural resources. More effective flows of social remittances can happen as a result of more tightly-woven social networks (Levitt, 1998, p.938). In contrast, loosely connected structures of relationships tend to be more vulnerable to interference by global cultural flows and easily distorted. However, the decision to accept and/ refuse social remittances is influenced by class, possessions of power and resources (Levitt, 2005) and by messenger's characteristics and recipient's characteristics (Levitt, 1998). For example, the characteristics--convincing, rich, and powerful or those with greater human capital (Levitt, 2005) influence the transaction of social remittances.

Factors influencing resource transfers

Social and cultural circumstances (such as the COVID-19 pandemic and collective values and beliefs), socialization, leadership, power relations, and internet and social media can affect the flow of resources, either as promoting or hindering factors.

Structural conditions of the context

Political and macroeconomic stability (including interest and exchange rates), non-corruption, and investment- friendly contexts in the country of origin (DFID/World Bank, 2003) positively influence the flow of resources. Furthermore, incentive-based policies such as better exchange rates for money deposited in foreign currency accounts in banks in the sending country and other incentive schemes increase remittance flows (O'Neill, 2001: 355). Ghosh (2000: 47) points out the external economic factors that Spatafora (2005) outlines as factors affecting the flow of remittances: economic activities both in the sending and receiving countries, economic policies and institutions in sending countries, political instability and investment opportunities in receiving countries, accompanied by the global financial and political environment (Ghosh, 2006: 49).

However, socio-cultural contexts also affect developmental behaviours and practices. At the national level, social policies influence the sending and receiving of remittances. Systems controlling resource flows inherently exercise power over development, both domestically and internationally. Countries can enact a distribution plan that may reduce the problem of national inequality, set up systems for sharing the

benefits of an influx of remittances and for dealing with financial flows, such as the Hawala and Hindi systems (see also Faist, 2010: 99), or establish systems designed to select and welcome beneficial or acceptable migrants who are highly skilled and have the potential for knowledge transmission and foreign investment. Resource-flow control systems are established to reduce the impacts of the surplus of money flows reaching destination countries and causing greater economic impacts in destination countries due to increasing investment (Garip and Asad, 2015: 4).

Although social remittances influence migrants' behaviours through changed attitudes, structural conditions and contexts can hinder new behaviours, such as in the case of the spread of ideas about politics contributing to India's economic policies. Levitt and Lamba-Nieves (2011, p. 5) point out that changes in political attitudes do not challenge continuing exclusion, whereas in some contexts, the transfer of social remittances positively affects the context. Legal frameworks can also influence the flow of social remittances and migrants' social cooperation directly and indirectly, while state authorities' immigration and social policies cause residential and occupational segregation (Lacroix et al., 2016: 4).

Pandemic

The FAO (2020) reports that in the context of the COVID-19 pandemic, remittances declined due to economic downturns in destination countries. Furthermore, movement restrictions and money transfer operators limited working hours or challenged cash-based money transfers reduced the flow of resources. Thus, the pandemic, accompanied by economic and social crises, may have discouraged the transfer of resources.

However, the outbreak of COVID-19 can be regarded as one catalyst stimulating the flow of resources. The COVID-19 pandemic caused a high demand for emergency food (see also FEBA, 2020), and despite food donations through individuals and food aid organizations, the need for food has continued. Oncini (2021) points out that increasing donated resources (food and money) in the UK, received from individuals, businesses (food retailers), and through government funds, contribute to reaching food demand.

Regarding social resources, in general, there is massive sharing of information about resources and practices, particularly through social media, as guides for those who contract COVID-19, including information on follow-up care, self-management, and preparing for

patients' recovery at home. However, the sharing of misinformation (or low-quality news) about COVID-19 happened enormously as a result of the use of social media (Islam et al., 2020), with negative impacts individually and socially (Shu et al., 2017).

Collective values and beliefs

Collective values and beliefs influence the process of social resource transfers. At an individual level, personal values influence an individual's choices, interests, and behaviors (see also Roccas and Sagiv, 2010; Sagiv and Roccas, 2017), and they function as guiding principles for individuals' lives (Schwartz, 1992). Social norms and cultural beliefs derived from an age system, a gender system, and an arbitrary-set system can also influence individuals' perceptions and actions. Cultural norms, cultural beliefs or 'legitimising myths' (Pratto et al., 2006: 275) in forms of values, attitudes, beliefs and cultural ideologies (i.e., beliefs about fate, karma, classism, nationalism, etc.), particularly 'hierarchy-enhancing legitimising myths' (such as human rights, religious doctrines, socialism or social democracy), shape behaviours of individuals, groups, and institutions, while maintaining dominance over subordinated groups.

Suchodoletz and Hepach (2021) state that Asian cultural backgrounds emphasize individuals' interdependence, leading to a vision of the self as significantly dependent on social context, while western cultural backgrounds focus on individuals' independence, uniqueness, and autonomy. Furthermore, the level of social connectivity within the community can influence the degree of resource sharing. Apart from the existence of collective values, culture-related activities can strengthen one's sense of belonging through feelings of connectivity with emotional attachment and the recognition of being 'part of the same community' (Colombo and Rebughini, 2012: 102, 111).

Regarding organizational structures (e.g., informal organizations, migrant associations, and co-ethnic groups), organizational characteristics (such as culture and support) also affect the process of sharing social resources (see also Han et al., 2016; Wang and Noe, 2010), as individuals share information that they know when being influenced by the expectation of reciprocal returns or feelings of altruism in an organization (Bartol and Srivastava, 2002). Moreover, social pressure (see also Fishbein and Ajzen, 1975), strong norms and values in an organization about knowledge sharing, leadership (Arieli et al., 2020), and organizational intervention influence collective beliefs/values. This leads individuals

to intend to share knowledge in an organization. Individuals in organizations may share information because of their attitudes, perceptions about benefits and costs, and their feeling of ownership in the organization. However, personal values are likely to be affected by leadership values adhering to leadership roles and positions (Arieli et al., 2020: 253).

Role, leadership, and power relations

In organizational settings, leadership shapes organizational culture and climate (Schneider et al., 1995; Schein, 2010), influencing the flow of resources in an organization. The values adhering to leadership positions and roles in an organization affect their own strategic decisions, their actions (see also Hambrick and Mason, 1984), and subordinates' decisions and actions (Arieli et al., 2020: 253). Several studies reveal the roles of transformational leadership in increasing the organizational capacity of followers (such as employees, subordinates) in organizations. Transformational leadership can increase followers' performance and feelings of motivation, organizational commitment, trust, and work engagement (Bono and Judge, 2003; Podsakoff et al., 1996). Leadership also influences the sharing of social resources. There are studies showing the positive influence of transformational leaders on knowledge sharing (Srivastava et al., 2006; Xue et al., 2011). When leaders create employees' psychological empowerment, organizational commitment, and organizational citizenship behaviour, there is an existence of knowledge sharing in the organization (Han et al., 2016).

Transformational leadership fortifies faith in organizations and compliance with their missions and values ('attachment commitment'), feelings of obligation to put in effort and spend time on the organization ('normative commitment'), and the aspiration to continue working in the organization ('continuance commitment') (Mathieu and Zajac, 1990; Mowday et al., 1979), which all contribute to knowledge sharing in organizations. Once transformational leadership encourages voluntary behaviours, organizational compliance (Kim, 2014), and organizational commitment (Avolio et al., 2004), knowledge sharing can happen due to a feeling of unity and followers' level of emotional attachment or psychological bond with the organization (Jo and Joo, 2011). Alfaiza et al. (2021) note that leadership influences the quality of knowledge shared in all engagements, including in virtual meetings and virtual community engagement.

In terms of power relations, scholars following social dominance theory point out that legitimizing myths embracing values, attitudes, beliefs, and cultural ideologies such as perspectives about 'fate,' karma, and nationalism, can increase hierarchy determining individuals' decisions and behaviours and institutional operations (Pratto et al, 2006: 275) and lead to group-based inequality, where individuals, groups, and institutional behaviours are shaped to maintain domination (Pratto et al, 2006: 276). So, power relations within groups resulting from legitimizing myths influence resource transfers, where dominants organize subordinates to collaborate with them (Pratto et al, 2006: 276) and may allow subordinates to engage in the process of resource transfers in ways that maintain dominance. Institutional and structural constraints lead migrants to less powerful positions where they are likely to have less negotiation power and become excluded. Moret (2016) argues that inequality in accessing capital, which is representative of social hierarchies (i.e., gender, class, age, and legal status), also causes power relations (within groups and within the community). This may affect the degrees of the resource transfers.

Socialization

According to Coleman's perspective of control mechanisms (1991), the process of socializing norms and values can be perceived as the process of transferring knowledge itself, and similarly as the process of social remittance transaction, as norms and values can be seen as resources transferred by members of networks. Through socialization, networks play a significant role in controlling network members, inspiring them to develop community, and maintaining social control systems (norms and values as resources) from the sending country.

Socialization also influences the process of transferring resources. When society is expected to have more cooperative actors, and cooperative actions reflect actions shaped by normative structures (norms, values, beliefs), socialization is necessarily associated with social networks. Socialization is a potential mechanism of generating cooperative actions to bring about development and reduce crime (see also Coleman, 1991: 10). Socialized migrants who transfer knowledge or values of cooperation are unlikely to cause social problems and are more likely to engage in development activities. Less socialization, particularly in urban areas, means a loss of informal and internal sanctions systems (Coleman, 1991: 10).

Internet and social media

Internet and social media influence the flow of resources. Technologies for new money transfer methods, such as mobile phone transfers, card-based transfers, and internet transfers (UNCTAD, 2013: 48), facilitate the flow of financial resource. Lui and Zainuldin (2021) show that in the setting of a developing country, young people's intention to make online donations happens as a result of engagement with internet technology platforms. The creation of knowledge and knowledge sharing is also encouraged through the use of electronic tools, such as systems of discussion boards, email, virtual meetings, and professional visual community assets (Nazim and Mukherjee, 2016). Supportive systems of electronic meetings or virtual meetings make sharing social resources online easier (see also Marwick, 2001; Wiberg, 2001). In cases of managers of virtual meetings controlling and stimulating participant meeting engagement, there are more opportunities for the expression of opinions.

Apart from electronic tools linked to the internet, social media also influences the flow of resources. Social media promotes the flow of social resources, as it functions to support collaboration where users can 'connect, create, comment, view, share, rate, discover,

profile and exchange' content (Bradley and McDonald, 2011; Rheingold, 2002), while users who employ conversational social media can share information, knowledge, and opinions collectively (Onwuchekwa, 2015: 127). Thus, social media provides channels for communication and connecting to ideas, places and cultures, to share knowledge and attitudes, and to develop a sense of belonging. Sawyer and Chen (2012: 154) state that social media makes messages be exchanged, and social life can be reflected across countries through the Facebook platform. Furthermore, people's opinions on several issues/topics and information are accessible in the form of video on YouTube and microblogging on Twitter.

However, the quality of social resources that are transferred becomes more suspicious. Yoo et al. (2011) argue that the quality and accuracy of knowledge transmitted through internet and social media channels is concerning. As the online publication of knowledge (i.e., social resources) is based on individuals' preferences (see also Smith and Fischer, 2021), there should be more consideration of the flow of massive social resources on the internet and social media.

Conceptual Framework

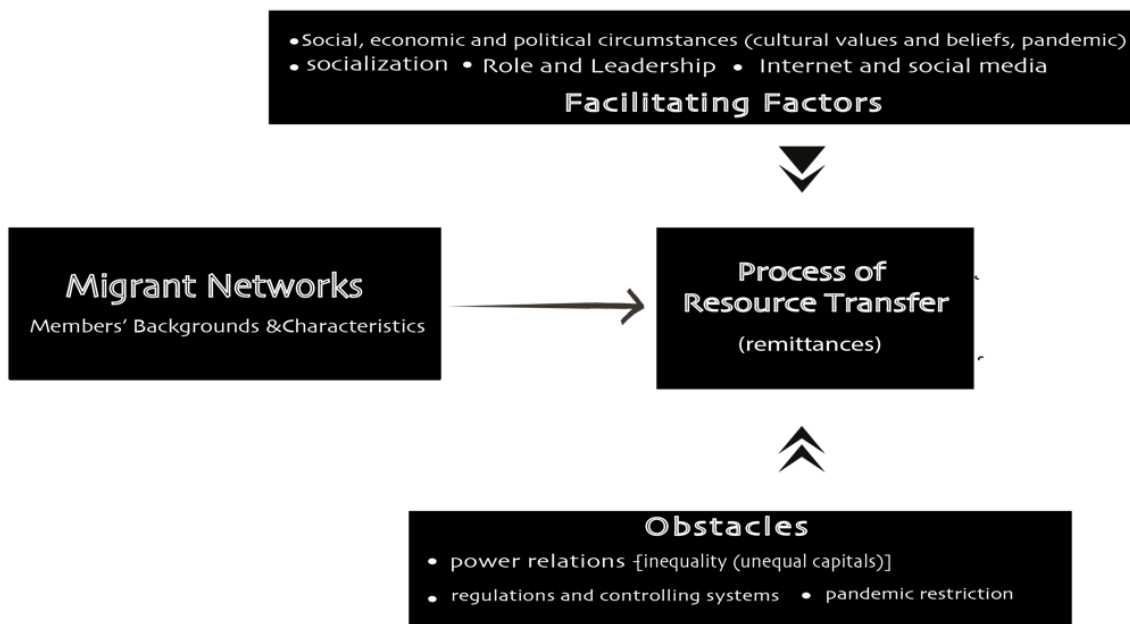


Figure 1: Conceptual Framework

Methodology

Data collection took place during the COVID-19 pandemic between December 2021 and April 2022. The selection of quantitative and qualitative data collection methods helped to minimize respondents' anxiety about exposure to the virus and caused no conflict in the relationship with the researcher. Online survey data were collected from a wide range of 94 respondents living in several communities in Samut Sakhon to enable validation of qualitative data collected for this study and to contribute to a general understanding of engagement in the process of resource transfers by migrant workers. Online survey respondents were randomly recruited from researcher's personal networks (friends, neighbours, colleagues), and from the snowball technique which facilitated the process of getting access to people who 'would be difficult to find' (Naderifar et al., 2017). Alchemer (formerly SurveyGizmo) was the platform used to administer an online survey. For the benefits of the language selection and better understanding about survey questions, three versions of online survey (in Thai, Myanmar and Mon) were created and offered in the process of collecting online survey data. Introducing the study to respondents and sending the URL of the online survey questionnaire to respondents happened when online survey participants agreed to join online survey session. In cases where there were a lack of internet-enabled devices (i.e., a smart phone or computer), reliable internet access and knowledge about using technological tools (Patil, 2020, p.82), The researcher read survey questions and input answers into the online form on the behalf of the online survey respondent. There was also a translator facilitating the online survey session. Due to the lack of rich data about Mon migrant workers' experiences and insights about their engagement in resource transfers (i.e., donation, sharing ideas, knowledge, information with others, participation in community events and joining work with Mon self-help groups) and about determinants which encourage and discourage Mon migrant workers to/from the resource transfers through using quantitative research method, in-depth interviews were used for better understanding those points.

Regarding qualitative research methods, the support from researcher's personal network in Samut Sakhon led to access of six participants and five key informants. The snowball technique was also useful for reaching interviewees, and key informants. In-depth interviews were conducted with six Mon migrant

workers to understand how migrant workers engage in the process of resource transfers, the roles of organizational ties in those transfers, and factors influencing their engagement. Those interviewees were required to complete an online survey before starting the interview session. Based on interview respondents' decision in consideration of the COVID-19 pandemic, interviews occurred online (via Facebook video calls and Zoom conferences), or in person in public places such as a temple and the learning center. Semi-structured interviews with five key informants who were not migrant workers but community leaders or individuals working for Mon groups were also conducted. Questions focused on understanding the roles of Mon migrant networks, Mon organizational ties, and family and friend ties in transferring resources, the functions of Mon groups in Samut Sakhon, and factors affecting the process of resource transfers among close ties and organizational ties. Questions were constructed based on the outputs of the survey data and discussions with members and leaders of community-based network groups and community leaders, and observation. This research was ethically approved on 23 February 2022 [COA No. 027/2564] by the Research Ethics Review Committee for Research Involving Human Subjects, Chulalongkorn University.

Sample selection and data analysis

All respondents for this co-ethnic network study were over the age of 18, lived and worked in Amphoe Meaung (capital district), Samut Sakhon Province, and were of Mon ethnicity. The online survey respondents were accessed through visiting individuals' neighborhoods known from researcher's personal network and the snowball technique. The online survey had 941 respondents, composed of 44 members and 50 non-members of migrant voluntary associations/self-help groups. The number of male and female participants who completed the survey administered in Thai, Myanmar, and the Mon language was flexible and random.

The chosen participants of the six case studies were Mon migrant workers aged 18 and over, could speak Thai and had experience transferring resources (money, social/cultural values, perspectives, ideas, knowledge, information, experiences, objects, etc.) in Samut Sakhon. The five key informants accessed through the snowballing technique included two NGO staff members from two different NGOs, two community leaders (one staff member of the learning centre and one volunteer

with several Mon self-help groups), and one Mon Buddhist monk. The chosen key informants were non-migrant workers but over the age of 18 and had experiences working and collaborating with Mon self-help groups in Samut Sakhon.

Quantitative research methods were used to supplement the qualitative data collected and a non-complex quantitative data analysis approach was used to find the frequency of migrant workers' characteristics and behaviours of resource transfers. The interpretative phenomenological analysis (IPA) for the qualitative data analysis was implemented. Themes and sub-ordinate themes were created by re-organizing data and grouping into those themes. Cross-case analysis was applied to investigate similarities and differences across cases (Bazeley, 2013: 275; Dierckx de Casterlé et al., 2012: 368; Ayres et al., 2003) before specification and developing patterns into an explanation of generalized behaviours.

Results

This section presents findings gathered from data collection. Key promoting factors of the resource transfers included structural conditions (i.e., the COVID-19 pandemic and collective cultural values), roles and leadership within groups, socialization, and the internet and social media, while key hindering factors included structural conditions (i.e., the COVID-19 pandemic restrictions, and regulations and controlling systems), and power relations within co-ethnic migrant networks.

Promoting Factors of Resource Transfers

COVID-19 pandemic

The COVID-19 pandemic influences the flow of financial and social resources. FEBA (2020) shows that during the outbreak of COVID-19 resources such as emergency food became a high demand, and the flow of donated resources (food and money), such as in the UK, increased (Oncini, 2021). Although the pandemic has had a significant impact on cross-border resource transfers, it encouraged migrant workers in Samut Sakhon to transfer resources in the forms of donating money, materials, and food to community members in need and transferring information and knowledge about COVID-19 prevention, values, news, perceptions, and ideas. This reflects that the in-country transfers of resources have not been affected significantly by the pandemic, as following Oncini (2021)'s perception. However, the pandemic might be regarded as one

catalyst stimulating the flow of resources.

In Samut Sakhon, donations happened through self-help groups or workplace coordination and local NGOs. Collaboration between Mon migrants, Mon self-help groups, and NGOs provided free services to support people affected by COVID-19 during the pandemic occurrence.

"Mostly I donated food, water, dried rice, physical objects and money to people who were afflicted by COVID-19... In cases of floodings, many more people donated things. For COVID-19, they donated food to patients, mostly, objects, food, dried fish. ... When meeting people in trouble, Mon people were likely to help them by giving objects or money. It is part of Mon culture."

(male respondent, M4, 30 years old)

"During the COVID-19 pandemic, I think people share experiences more."

(male respondent, M2, 35 years old)

Collective cultural values

Collective values, which included Mon cultural values related to Buddhist religious beliefs and practices, were a factor promoting the flow of resources. Pratto et al. (2006: 275) note that cultural beliefs or 'legitimising myths,' such as beliefs related to karma and fate, influence individual and group behaviours. As a result of religious values, donations were apparent in temples and were part of the life of Mon people in Samut Sakhon. One respondent revealed that their engagement in donation activities was encouraged by religious beliefs about achieving a better life through good merits.

"When I donate money [tumboon], I think there is a good merit and I will gain good results from doing it. I love 'tumboon.' The next life will be better than this life. I only think like this. I will get good results of merits, so I want to do tumboon."

(female respondent, F1, 36 years old)

Furthermore, collective values supporting sharing ideas and insights with other people—the values of expressing ideas or perceptions, particularly in an academic environment, accompanied by the value of devoting free time to engage in volunteer work—encouraged social resource transfers within Mon self-help groups through face-to-face and online group meetings. The existence of a collaborative atmosphere and opportunities to access education in Thailand also promoted these values and actions of social resource

transfers.

From interviews, migrant workers who accessed an education in Thailand and/or joined Mon self-help groups were likely to be stimulated to express their ideas and perceptions in the classroom and/or in groups. They were likely to have more confidence to share ideas, insights, and experiences with other people. This supports how (informal) organizations' characteristics (i.e., the culture of Mon self-help groups or atmosphere within the group) promote the sharing of social resources (see also Han et al., 2016; Wang and Noe, 2010).

"Mon people have freedom to share ideas in groups. When anyone wants to say something, he can say it... Mon people have never had experiences joining group meetings and they don't understand how people should do. People having more experiences joining group meetings will understand that they can share ideas within group."

(male respondent, M2, 35 years old)

Roles and leadership within groups

The transfers of financial and social resources can be promoted by roles and leadership in Mon self-help groups. As a promoting factor of resource transfers, this study shows that the creation of activities by leaders of Mon self-help groups encouraged migrant workers to transfer financial and social resources. Mon self-help group leaders have enabled the provision of education in Thai-Mon learning centers, which built up an academic environment in which activities and training courses and opportunities to work have contributed to increasing levels of confidence and communication skills among community members, enabling the sharing of ideas, perceptions, and knowledge. Academic activities created by Mon self-help group leaders promoted the social resource transfers.

"My teacher didn't choose specific persons who should hold the microphone. He let everyone speak up. He tried to teach students to speak up and not to be shy to give an expression "

(male respondent, M3, 30 years old)

The leaders' roles in collaborating with other Mon self-help groups to organize charity activities and stimulating group members to engage in donations or join community events or activities also promoted financial and social resource transfers within groups. This supports Kim's (2014) view about how leadership can promote voluntary behaviours; social resource sharing exists when there is a feeling of unity and

emotional attachment within the organization (Jo and Joo, 2011). There were also roles taken on by senior members or leaders of Mon self-help groups in organizing group meetings and stimulating group members to share ideas, perceptions, and experiences during face-to-face and online meetings via Zoom, which promoted social resource transfers. This supports the assertion that leaders can influence knowledge sharing (Srivastava et al., 2006; Xue et al., 2011), once psychological empowerment and organizational commitment are created by leaders (Han et al., 2016). Leadership also has a key role in moderating a virtual community to foster virtual community engagement to increase the quality of shared social resources (see also Alfaiza et al., 2021).

"I also had experiences in meetings where a group leader stimulated members to speak up or share ideas, but mostly it happened in the online meetings. The leader, but mostly, the second-ranked leader said, like, 'give me some ideas, say something,' or 'this man said like this, what did you think about this?'. you couldn't just only listen to us."

(male respondent, M4, 30 years old)

Internet and social media

Lower costs and low risk e-transfers promote money transfer flows (David et al., 2013: 280). The flow of financial resources is also facilitated by technologies for new money transfer methods such as mobile phone transfers, card-based transfers, and internet transfers (UNCTAD, 2013: 48). Due to internet platforms, young people are more inclined to make online donations, particularly in developing countries (Lui and Zainuddin, 2021). This study supports those perceptions.

This study reveals that the internet has promoted the flow of resources. Data from the online survey with 94 Mon migrant workers reveals that 72.4% of respondents were likely to use the internet to share ideas and perceptions and/or to transfer money [see Table 1]. Internet facilitated the flow of resources. Because of benefits of internet, Mon migrant workers were likely to use internet when transferring resources. It was found that 47.9% of respondents used the internet for the transfer of financial resources (i.e., online donation and transferring money to friends and family through internet banking) and social resources (i.e., sharing ideas, information, news, etc. online), 23% of respondents sometime used internet when transferring resources, and 24.5% of respondents rarely used internet when transferring resources.

Table 1 Influence of Internet on Resource Transfers

Internet Influencing social and financial transfers				
	high	moderate	low	total
frequency	45	23	26	94
percent	47.9	24.5	27.7	100
likely/unlikely (percent)	72.4	27.7	100	

The internet has facilitated the flow of financial resources, as the interviews show that Mon migrants engaged in money transactions in support of charity projects and/or their family and friends through internet banking, especially during the COVID-19 pandemic.

“Mostly I transfer money online for donation more than give money directly to people.”

(male respondent, M4, 30 years old)

“Mostly I transfer money online. They contact me through Facebook. A contact on my Facebook is people who I know.”

(male respondent, M3, 30 years old)

Interviews show the roles of the internet and social media in providing information and knowledge to migrant workers and encouraging resource transfers. This result supports Onwuchekwa's depiction of social media's function of encouraging users to share information, knowledge, and opinions collectively (2015: 127). Through the internet, migrant workers could access information, news, and contents necessary for their life and specific to Mon social and cultural values and norms and Buddhism. Sawyer and Chen (2012: 154) point out that messages are exchanged, and social life can be reflected across countries through the Facebook platform. Furthermore, individuals' opinions on several issues are accessible in the form of videos on YouTube and microblogging through Twitter.

The data from interviews also show that the internet and social media enabled migrant workers to check the reliability of Mon self-help groups. Internet and social media's role included increasing the transparency of Mon self-help groups' financial resource management and reputation, which affected the flow of resources. Informal community-based organizations' transparency was related to donation and charity activities within migrant worker networks and increased levels of trust in Mon self-help groups. As such, transferring financial resources was encouraged and happened.

“Mon people check information from Facebook. My group shows activities each day on Facebook. We

post publicly those activities everyday...And when a monk (the leader of my Mon group) is doing activities, our team members post activities that our group is doing on Facebook. If Mon groups only give an announcement of what they are going to do but don't work on it, it will be impossible that Mon people will trust their groups.”

(male community leader, MM1)

Nazim and Mukherjee (2016) suggest that electronic tools such as discussion boards, email, virtual meetings, and professional visual community assets can encourage the creation and sharing of knowledge (social resources). This is highlighted by this study's interviews showing that the internet and social media also created a comfortable and collaborative atmosphere within groups and increased social resource transfers online. Members of Mon self-help groups who joined online meetings were more likely to share ideas, perceptions, and experiences compared with face-to-face meetings.

“Some people don't have confidence to speak up but they have ideas. They may ask friends to speak about their ideas for them to the group. Mostly people have confidence to share ideas when joining online meetings, more than joining face-to-face meetings. When they meet people face-to-face at meetings, they have a quivering hand holding a microphone. They don't have confidence to speak up. In contrast, when they join online meetings, they eagerly struggle to speak up all the time, and the group's leader seems to be triggered and ask them to turn-off a microphone.”

(male respondent, M4, 30 years old)

Hindering Factors of Resource Transfers

COVID-19 pandemic restrictions

The COVID-19 pandemic hindered the flow of resources regarding some regulations and restrictions. The pandemic resulted in economic downturns, movement restrictions, political instability, and limited individual capacity to transfer financial resources, all resulting in declines in migrant remittances (FAO, 2020). This study supports this statement by showing how limited participation in community activities and events during COVID-19 decreased resource transfers.

Due to provincial pandemic restrictions to prevent a spread of COVID-19, participation in community activities and education learning centres were suspended. Furthermore, COVID-19 reduced charity donation activities and community events and limited the transfers of social resources that formally occurred through participation in collective activities and events. Since

these activities were limited, there were changes in Mon self-help groups' structure due to the loss of staff members and shifts in their roles in providing services to the community.

"During COVID-19, we less met each other, and we couldn't go outside. It was difficult to travel around. Employers also didn't allow me to join group activities or be gathered in group. We couldn't go eating together and we couldn't meet up with each other. We talked less to each other. I also had few chances to go to temple and donate money there."

(male respondent, M3, 30 years old)

Regulations and controlling systems

In Samut Sakhon, state regulations, including the regulation limiting the formation of official organizations by migrant workers (Labour Relations Act, B.E. 2518 (1975)) and the regulation limiting donation activities promoting projects unrelated to religious practices (the Fund Raising Control Act B.E. 2487 (1944)), impeded the flow of resources within migrant worker networks. This study reveals that these regulations discouraged unofficial ethnic self-help groups from organizing and creating social activities unrelated to religious matters, and from creating fundraising activities that are unrelated to religious practices in public (e.g., on roads, in markets). The views that state authorities' immigration and social policies can cause residential and occupational segregation (Lacroix et al. (2016, p.4), and legal frameworks influenced the flow of social resources and cooperation can support this data.

"It is difficult for them to be allowed to walk in public for gathering donation money. Donation activities for them are restricted in some specific places... They are restricted by several conditions... They cannot run donation activities, announce their activities loudly in public. They have still needed their own safe zone for their activities like gathering donation money."

(female NGO staff member, FF1)

However, as a result of being impeded by such regulations, Mon migrants benefited their networks in the community, reflecting Taylor's (2016: 355) view that social networks can help improve individual's safety and decrease stress levels. Mon migrant workers depended on co-ethnic people holding Thai ID cards to form and to organize official community-based groups and to create group and community activities (such as fundraising activities) and community events. There was also the use

of private settings (e.g., homes, temples, workplaces) and online platforms to host community events, organize group meetings, and gather donations enabled collaboration despite restrictive regulations.

Power relations

Resource transfers were restricted by power relations within Mon self-help groups and within the broader community. Influential actors (such as leaders) who had more capacities due to possessing higher levels and various kinds of capital—economic (money, property, land, etc.), cultural (information, skills), social (social networks), or symbolic capital (status, legitimacy) (see also Husu, 2022: 3; see also Bourdieu, 1986)—might hinder the flow of resources. Moret (2016) suggests that inequality in accessing capital represents social hierarchies (i.e., gender, class, age, and legal status). This can lead to power relations that may affect the resource transfer process. Limited access and opportunity to gain a high degree of resources and several types of resources (see also Bourdieu, 1986) can lead to inequality in access to resources. So, capacity to engage in resource transfers was affected by one's level of access to those resources in the first place.

This study found that, in Mon self-help group environments, senior members, group leaders, group administration committees, group counsellors, or those with privileged status or power within the group—achieved by

high levels of education, experiences working with Mon self-help groups, and possession of wider networks—had influence within the network. Social hierarchies (i.e., social status within group, age, seniority) can result in power relations (Moret, 2016) that may affect resource transfers. When there were group meetings, senior members of Mon self-help groups were likely to be respected and were expected to provide more social resources to the group than other group members. They influenced the decision-making processes and exerted control over resource management within groups. The flow of social resources within groups, therefore, was influenced by higher-privileged members of Mon self-help groups. This reflects the process of maintaining dominance, exercised through power relations resulting from legitimizing myths (i.e., nationalism, social seniority) and patterns of institutional operations (see also Pratto et al, 2006: 275).

"Some days I don't have confidence to speak up. In meeting atmosphere, like group meetings, people are

not likely to speak up. Senior members of Mon groups with high position in the groups mostly speak up, but other members keep quiet, just listening to others and some people fall asleep."

(male respondent, M4, 30 years old)

"Mostly, there is a few of senior members who have more experiences working here, about 3-4 people. New members of this group act freely. They allow senior members to make a decision and then tell them what to do next. It frequently happens. New members just say, yeah, that's good. It is hard to see that they propose practical ideas. I think, new members may not want to say about what they want. I have often seen that new members agreed with senior members in any kinds of decision-making for group."

(male respondent, M3, 30 years old)

The reflection of the process of maintaining dominance at the community level, exercised through power relations resulting from legitimizing myths (i.e., nationalism, social seniority) and patterns of institutional operations (see also Pratto et al, 2006: 275), can be also viewed through the one-way direction of social resource transfers (from community/group leaders to other members). This played out at community events, such as at the Mon National Day event, where leaders gave speeches and exercised their power. Sharing social resources (i.e., ideas and perceptions) was limited to those who were involved in event organizing, and to particular topics, such as maintaining a Mon ethnic sense of belonging and increasing the solidarity of Mon people.

Discussion

The financial and social resource transfers within the networks of migrant workers were influenced by several factors. This study shows structural conditions (i.e., the COVID-19 pandemic and collective cultural values), roles and leadership within groups, socialization and the internet and social media promoted the resource transfers, and the COVID-19 pandemic restrictions, and regulations and controlling systems, and power relations within co-ethnic migrant networks were hindering factors of resource transfers.

However, those factors may cause an impact on the resource transfers differently, in terms of in-country financial and social resource transfers. Regarding the social and cultural contexts, DFID/World Bank (2003) states that the flow of resource is positively influenced by political and macroeconomic stability (including

interest and exchange rates), non-corruption, and investment-friendly contexts in resource-receiving country. Furthermore, economic activities (Spatafora, 2005), the global financial and political environment (Ghosh, 2006: 49), resource-flow control systems (see also Garip and Asad, 2015: 4) influence the process of resource transfers. Social norms and cultural beliefs--'legitimising myths' (Pratto et al., 2006: 275) in forms of values, attitudes, beliefs and cultural ideologies (i.e., beliefs about fate, karma, classism, nationalism, etc.), and 'hierarchy-enhancing legitimising myths' (such as human rights, religious doctrines, socialism or social democracy) also influence behaviors of individuals, groups, and institutions. This study, focusing on the resource transfers in the destination country (Samut Sakhon Province), reveals that cultural and religious beliefs and practices (i.e., beliefs related to karma and good merits by donation) accompanied by process of socializing norms and values influenced the resource flow in the destination country, particularly in the context where the resource senders and receivers engaged in a high density of social and cultural values and practices. The financial and social resource transfers within the Mon migrant worker networks were hindered by various factors, including restrictions stemming from the COVID-19 pandemic, as well as power dynamics influenced by myths and inequality in resource access and possession. Despite these challenges, the altruistic characteristic of Mon migrant workers, as defined by the OECD (2006, p.145), played a significant role in facilitating resource transfers within the country. This study highlights how altruism contributed to the movement of resources within the Mon migrant worker community, even in the face of external obstacles such as pandemic-related restrictions and internal power relations. Altruism encouraged Mon migrant workers to donate money, materials and food and share information and knowledge about COVID-19 prevention during the COVID-19 pandemic.

Internet and social media can also be a significant factor of cross-country and in-country resource transfers, in terms of stimulating the financial and social resource transactions. According to UNCTAD (2013: 48), technologies for new money transfer methods facilitate the transfers of resources. Social media also encourages users to share information, knowledge, and opinions collectively (Onwuchekwa, 2015: 127), while electronic tools (discussion boards, email, virtual meetings, and professional visual community assets) promote the

creation and sharing of knowledge (social resources) (Nazim and Mukherjee, 2016). Internet and social media do not only influence cross- country resource transfers as such, but they also influence in-country resource transfers. Because of benefits of internet and social media, the number of Mon migrant workers who used internet for donation, transferring money to friend family, and sharing information, news, experiences, etc. was high (at 72.4%). Furthermore, in collaborative atmosphere within Mon self-help groups, electronic tools also benefited Mon migrant workers. It facilitated and stimulated sharing ideas, perceptions, and experiences online when there were group meetings.

However, the role of community leaders and self-help groups' leaders were still necessary for promoting the resource transfers, especially when there is collaboration for transferring resources in the community. Because leaders can influence knowledge sharing (Srivastava et al., 2006; Xue et al., 2011), and volunteer behaviors can also be encouraged by the role of leader (Kim, 2014), this study sees the significance of the leadership and role of group leaders in promoting resource transfers in groups and in Mon migrant worker networks.

Suggestion

This research focuses on the in-country resource transfers on behalf of migrant workers. Future research on migration studies is suggested to understand characteristics and backgrounds of resource senders and receivers and social and cultural contexts of resource senders and receivers. Reasons of the cross-country or in-country resource transfers and patterns of resource sending and receiving can change over time, so they also need to be considered. The reduction of individuals' engagement in social and cultural values and practices and altered belief systems may affect the future trend of both in-country and cross-country resource transfers. The resource transfers may decrease due to an increasing value of independence which possible influences in-country and cross-country resource transfers in different degrees.

Conclusion

Financial resources and social resources were transferred within migrant worker networks. In Samut Sakhon, migrant workers' livelihoods relied on their personal networks, and the engagement in resource transfers could be viewed as the provision of support in

the forms of information, advice, and money, donation, sharing ideas, perception, knowledge and information, participation in community events and joining in working with Mon self- help groups. The flow of resources was rather constant, but it was influenced by a range of enabling and hindering factors. The findings of this study show that in the context of Samut Sakhon, factors promoting resource transfers included structural conditions (i.e., the COVID-19 pandemic, and collective cultural values), roles and leadership within groups, socialization, and the internet and social media. In contrast, structural conditions (i.e., the COVID-19 pandemic restrictions, regulations and controlling systems) and power relations within migrant worker networks hindered the process of resource transfers. Inequality within co-ethnic migrant networks as a result of limited resources and opportunities to access resources hindered the flow of resources.

The scope of this research is limited to the co-ethnic network of migrant workers in Samut Sakhon, Thailand, where a vibrant Mon migrant community engages in resource transfers within co-ethnic self-help groups and among close ties. Future research should explore the characteristics of members of migrant worker networks, different types of networks, and different roles of networks.

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