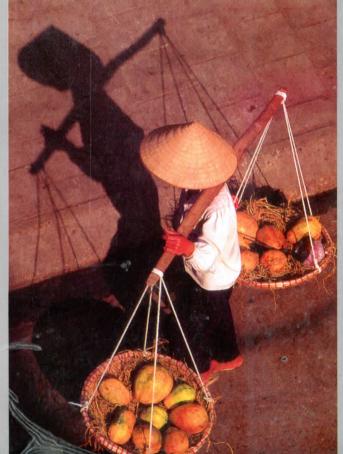
Female Labour Migration

Rural - Urban



WOMEN'S PUBLISHING HOUS

FEMALE LABOUR MIGRATION RURAL - URBAN

HA THI PHUONG TIEN, HA QUANG NGOC

Female Labour Migration RURAL - URBAN

WOMEN'S PUBLISHING HOUSE

HANOI - 2001

"Women are half of society.

If women are not liberated,
then half of society is not free".

President Ho Chi Minh

The printing of this book has been undertaken with support from the Royal Netherlands Embassy, Hanoi Vietnam.

Mā số 32V.1212.2000
98.PN.2000

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Acknowledgements

Introduction

Foreword

Chapter 1: MIGRATION IN THE CONTEXT OF DOI MOI AND THE COUNTRY'S SOCIO-ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

- I. Social background and situation of migration into large cities in recent years
- II. Reasons for female labour migration into cities

Chapter 2: EMPLOYMENT AND LIVING CONDITIONS OF FEMALE SPONTANEOUS LABOUR MIGRANTS INTO CITIES

- I. Employment and income
- II. Health status and health care
- III. Living conditions
- IV. Social relationships of the migrants and their integrate with urban life

Chapter 3: EFFECTS OF FEMALE LABOUR MIGRATION IN THE CITIES-*ARRIVAL* AND IN RURAL AREAS-*DEPARTURE*.

- I. Effects in cities-arrival
- II. Effects in the migrants' native villages departure

Chapter 4: PUBLIC OPINION OF FEMALE SPONTANEOUS LABOUR MIGRANTS

- I. Urban opinions
- II. Rural opinions from the points of departure
- III. Opinions of scientists

Chapter 5:TRENDS AND SOLUTIONS

- I. Migration trends in the coming time
- II. Legislative background and decisions on the matter
- III. Some solutions for issues of migration in general and for female spontaneous migrants into cities in particular

Appendices

References

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

We would like to extend our thanks to The Royal Netherlands Embassy in Hanoi, particularly Mrs. Els Klinkert, First Secretary, and Mrs. Nguyen Nu Hoai Van, Programme Officer, who have encouraged and assisted us financially to carry out this study.

We thank the leadership board of the Economic and Social Research Centre, Associate Prof. Dr. Le Trong and Dr. Do Duc Dinh, as well as our colleagues and friends, for their great encouragement and whole - hearted support.

We would like also express our thanks to Prof. Le Thi; Dr. Tran Thi Van Anh, senior researchers at the Centre for Family and Women Studies who have offered insightful contributions to and opinions on our study.

We are grateful for the assistance we have received from the Women's Union at all levels, and from Heads of the Department of Labour-Invalids and Social Affairs in the Hanoi, Danang, and Ho Chi Minh cities, and in Ha Nam, and Long An provinces where the study was carried out. Without the contributions of the women and men who took of their time to share their experiences and views with us in their communes and urban quarters, this book would not have been possible, and we are very grateful to them.

Finally, we would like to thank the Women's Publishing House, and especially the editorial board who have undertaken to publish this book on the 70th anniversary of the establishment of the Vietnam Women's Union.

Hanoi, Autumn, 2000

Dr. Ha Thi Phuong Tien

Dr. Ha Quang Ngoc

Introduction

Migration from one country to another, or from one region to another, has been a feature of humankind's development throughout history. Mass migrations have taken place in many countries in the process of shifting from an agricultural base to an industrial base, or in the process of expansion such as Europe's discovery of Africa and Australia, etc...

In Vietnam, migration forms an integral part of the nation's history, from the North to the South, from the mountainous areas to the plains, and on to the coastal areas. Recently, Vietnam has embarked on the renovation process (Doi moi). This has included promoting industrialisation and modernisation in accordance with encouraging a multi-sectoral, market economy and international integration. As a result, many types of activities have developed, and urban areas, towns, factory workshops and businesses have sprung up. People have new freedom to travel to set up their own businesses and jobs. This has led to a growing movement of workers from their rural homes to the cities, from less-developed economic zones to better-developed ones, without the support or organisation of State.

In many rural households, husbands have had to seek jobs far away from home, leaving their children to be looked after by their parents and wives. Or women too, move from the countryside, accompanying their husbands to seek new jobs in other places. Currently, it is common to find women themselves leaving home to seek work in urban areas and send money back to their rural families, while their husbands take over the duties of caring for children and looking after the house. It may seem an unusual phenomenon, but is currently common in Vietnam. So how do these male-headed rural household live, with absent wives and mothers? How do the female migrants get by in urban areas; what difficulties and disadvantages do they face? They are spontaneous migrants, so there is neither state agency nor mass union to tend to them when they arrive at their destination, to help with job placement, insurance, or occupational safety.

Is this migration a positive, or a negative influence on the migrants themselves, on the families they leave behind in the countryside, and the resident urban community they move in to? How does their migration affect the socio-economic development of both rural and urban areas? In this regard, assessments differ as to whether these migration flows should be accepted, encouraged, or limited.

The authors of the present study, Dr. Ha Thi Phuong Tien, (director of the research) and Dr. Ha Quang Ngoc have been made great efforts to examine the various aspects of this sensitive issue in a meticulous and scientific manner.

Through surveys in three cities and several regional locations, using statistical analysis and personal and group interviews, the authors give us a comprehensive picture of the lives of female spontaneous labour migrants to urban areas. They described the reasons for women leaving their family and children, the conditions of their employment, their income and living conditions as migrants, and the consequences of the migration to their families and themselves, as well as their integration into urban life. At the same time, the authors offer a deeper understanding of the positive and negative effects of spontaneous migration on urban socio-economic development, as well as the stability of family life and construction of a new rural model.

The findings of the study enable the authors to comment upon developing trends in rural - urban migration within the context of industrialisation and modernisation of the country. Accordingly, it calls for sound policies and laws issued by the State and social communities to control the migration into the right direction and ensure the public security of cities and the immigrants themselves. This is particularly important for women, to ensure that they do not fall into the exploitative and disadvantageous situations. With such protection, they will have better guarantees of jobs that remunerate them in accordance with the great energies they put in to their work; they will be protected and supported by better systems of health care, public education, and occupational training, etc... As a result, they

will be able to better help their families and enjoy a bright future attributing to the construction of a new society.

This is a good book that covers a new and pressing contemporary topic, and contains many useful insights. I would like to recommend it to readers.

Hanoi, 10 October 2000 Professor Le Thi

Foreword

Migration plays an important role in the process of population growth and socio-economic development. Since human beings first appeared on earth, migration has been seen in societies and associated with the foundation and the development of the races, nations and even production methods. It has not only helped people escape natural disasters such as floods, earthquake or wars, while they have no ability to control or get over the miserable life due mostly to scarce land, crowded places, over-exploited land or the shortage of natural resources in the old place, desire for a better life in new place... but it changes the population and socio-economic structure of the race, nation and age totally as well depending to its nature and level.

Naturally, migrations happened in the history with various scales, models and natures. It might be known to the mass migrations with the enormous number of people over the long-distance of tens or hundreds of years, such as the Palestinians did when they escaped from the Jewish war, migrations of Bach Viet to the South etc., sometimes it takes the forms of individual of group migrations in short time with narrower space. In fact, there might be State-organised migrations occurred

orderly or some happened spontaneously and chaotically. However, despite of the difference in the scale, nature and forms, the migration is consequence of the change in living conditions, natural features and the acting society to the human kind. For this reason, it creates the indispensability for each migration.

The migration is said to be one of the answers for question of survival and development of individual, community, nation and race, it therefore not only influences on the live of immigrants but also affects on communities at the place where they leave out and/or move to. Clearly, it has different influence on the social lives on these both places up to the developing level of immigrants and local people and the number of the immigrants and the receiving ability of the destination in the relation with immigrants, as a result there are different estimations. Correspondingly, it leads to various behaviours to immigrants; however, it is impossible to deny the fact that migration is a matter of course of population development, it is widely accepted to be one of the objectively socio-economic phenomenon in developmental history of human kind. Especially, in process of industrialisation and market-oriented economy, the migration of a large number of rural people to urban areas is inevitable. In the past, it stemmed from fifteenth century Europe and keeps occurring in anywhere else in this development process. Hence, it is not easy to restrain the migration but make advantages of its positive factors and diminish its adverse impacts.

Based upon such viewpoints associated with other approaches as demographics and economics... the comprehensive research on immigrants from the spirit of sociology is of significance. It enables us to make clearer about the targets; its advantages and disadvantages, responses to the departure and destination place and clarify solutions for immigrants and this matter appropriately.

For Vietnam, migration often happens together with process of history development of the country, it was known in historic times including common features of the whole region. In the modern time, it has witnessed with many changes mainly caused by continuos effects from wars and the decisive role of the State in its socio-economic progress.

At the time of centrally planned economy, apart from the State-planned migrations to new economic zones there were tendencies of moving out of the rural areas to urban. However, the difficulty in registering permanent residence and job placement drove the migration process into another way by enrolling in army or doing as workers. Many pupils and students did not accept to work far away from the city after their graduation, they tried their best to stay there. The very few remaining were old people, they wanted to live in the city in expectation of their children' support or in order to re-unite the family. These migrations were taken under the manner so-called formal way and principally there were few spontaneous migrations at that time.

In the following time, since 1986 to date State-planned migration had been coming to standstill owning to many reasons. Meanwhile, spontaneous migrations to urban and big cities have increasingly grown up. It has been seen obviously since the mid-90s to date and keeping at such a rapid speed in the near future when the market economy and industrialisation continue developing remarkably, whilst guaranty conditions for employment and lives of rural workers are failed to catch up with the urban counterpart's.

In the past time, it was apparently that most of migrant researches focused on the organised forms with the aim to working out solution to improve its benefit. There had been not so many researches on spontaneous migration until some foreign-funded projects embarked on since 90s to date such as VIE/89/P03 1992, VIE/88/P02 1994, VIE/93/P02 1996 on migration in Ho Chi Minh city and UNDP-funded VIE/95/004 conducted by Department of Settlement and New Economic Zones on Rural/Urban Migration in Viet Nam, it was worth noting that it seemed to have no special research on spontaneous migration of female workers. As a consequence, information on migration within Viet Nam territory is not much available; it is therefore mostly supplied by the population census.

Taking part in the migration flow, female workers make a considerable proportion. They in one hand trigger many difficulties to cities and suffer disadvantages in the other hand.

In other words, they are participating in city life and regarded as supplementary force in labour force and services in cities meeting the diversified requirements of development process there, but they are standing out of the edge of the social life. Spontaneously migrated workers now are living in unstable conditions; they have not benefited from any special social policies; no labour union, no medical insurance, no social insurance. It is clearly that they are left open in terms of policy. As such, it is pressing to protect female migrant workers or enable them to protect themselves.

This status should be considered legitimately, as spontaneously migrant female workers are on the rise increasingly in the context of market economy. Especially the matter of setting up specific methods to interfere into the vocational training, speciality, educational upgrade, knowledge for female workers in rural areas facilitating them to expand business and production at locality as well as seeking employment in city to be suitable with their heath is also in urgency. Besides, social sustainability, and guaranty on social equality for migrant workers, particular for poor rural female ones are viewed as social foundation for proposing recommendations and solutions to organise and control this labour force.

To this end, it is necessary to evaluate adequately the determinants, disadvantages and advantages of the development process of economy, society, environment, responses to

migration, statuesque of their employment and lives as well to analyse the reasons, multi-faced impacts of the spontaneous migration of female workers towards the socio-economic development of cities in general and across country in particular. Thereby to work out and propose the initially significant solutions to address appropriately the migration of female workers in particular and the migration itself by large. It shall make significant contribution to strengthen the gender equality in job, working conditions, income, enhancement for progress and get over obstacles in performing "Convention on the elimination of all forms of discrimination against women" (CEDAW - United Nations, 1979)- forwarding to the equality and development. That is the goal of study on female spontaneous migrants into 3 large cities: Hanoi, Ho Chi Minh city and Da Nang.

This study focuses on the qualitative analysis to work out what happening in the meaning and behind of female spontaneous migrants to supplement for pervious studies that were often conducted by available questionnaires rather than points out how many of them want to look for a job in cities or makes the study complex by presenting a series of statistical data, analysis from sociologic surveys. Therefore, we carried out in-depth interviews and group discussions in communities where had a large number of migrants and immigrants.

We had in-depth interviews directly with 60 women aged of 18-55, in addition to that 30 male spontaneous immigrant

workers were also interviewed (in Hanoi, Da Nang and Ho Chi Minh city - since 1990 to date) to control and compare by the following 5 types of work:

- Working as "porter" in markets (carrying, shouldering, arranging, loading goods).
- Working as housemaid or housekeeper, assistance in restaurants, bars.
- Vending, collecting and selling wasted materials, scavenging.
- Working in enterprises (textile and garment, leather shoes, plastic products...).
 - Assisting in construction industry (carrying bricks, stone).

The content of the in-depth interviews concentrated on such main issues as: basic information of the individual and his/her family related to the history of the migration, information on employment of immigrants, information on economy, living and working conditions, impact of work on health of women, social pressure, social matters emerged from spontaeous migrant labourers, aspiration and recommendations of labourers.

In the run of study, we held workshops with leaders and managers, inhabitant groups in 6 wards of 3 big cities where gathered lot of spontaneous immigrated women to learn the public opinion on immigrated labour issue.

Together with above works, it had been turned Participatory rural Appraisal (PRA) in combination with Rapid Rural Appraisal (RRA) method into advantage to survey socioeconomic life in 3 communes (Chinh Ly - Ly Nhan - Ha Nam, Hoa Chau - Hoa Vang - Da Nang, My Yen - Ben Luc - Long An) where many women migrated to 3 said cities. At the same time, 30 households had been contacted to examine changes in family when women worked far away from home, especially the increasing and/or decreasing level of women's role in family and community when they worked in cities, to grasp the tendency of the regarded issue.

Process of collecting information and accessing to social reality, study and analysis on document, observation in accordance with in-depth interviews, community group discussions were implemented flexibly enabling for the theme to evaluate precisely each locality in short time.

After each survey phase, we all re-met leaders of Department of Labour Invalid and Social Afire (DOLISA), provincial Women's Union, managers, institutions and mass organisations in localities for exchanging, sharing, supplementing and checking the reality of the information as well as resetting our estimations on social issues posed in the study on migration in each region where we had chance of study -visits.

Apart from these, we also used supplementation of expert and statistical methods and others. Based upon that, initially significant measures were sought and proposed to respond to migration issue appropriately.

The study and settlement on spontaneous migrant women in location of 3 cities are considered from the viewpoint of gender and development, the particular matters of each sex can be addressed in the common issue with the concern of the whole society, not only for female but joint co-operation of both sexes for the mutual benefits of the social advancement. The study is placed in the socio-economic context of Vietnam and in rural areas. Besides, it is essential to study experiences on migration settlement from countries over the world, especially regional countries, thereby to search for suitable solutions to specific situation of Vietnam in general and 3 cities in particular. By and large, in terms of examination, we mainly relied on systematic standpoint, concrete history and development to study the issue comprehensively and consistently. That is the idea of methodology penetrated completely our study process.

For more than a year caring the study, initial results were summed up in this book. We hope that the book will meet apart of your need in information about female migrant in particular as well as question of women, gender and development in general in Vietnam that being concerned by Vietnamese and foreigners. This book also contributed to the questions that need more discussion on a point of views and solution. Although we try to achieve above intention, the book may existed some

mistakes, we would like to take this opportunity to express our gratitude to all readers for their comments and suggestions.

All the comment please sends to the authors:

• Dr. Ha Thi Phuong Tien

Centre for Family and Women Studied

Add. No.6 Dinh Cong Trang, Hanoi

• or Dr. Ha Quang Ngoc

Institute on State Organisational Sciences - Government Committee on Organisational and Personnel

Add. 37 A Nguyen Binh Khiem, Hanoi

Thanks!

Authors

Chapter 1

MIGRATION IN THE CONTEXT OF DOI MOI AND THE COUNTRY'S SOCIO-ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

I - SOCIAL BACKGROUND AND SITUATION OF MIGRATION INTO LARGE CITIES IN RECENTLY

1. Social background

Since 1986 to date Vietnam coming to *Doi moi* period. Under the influences of Party's and Government's cocio-economic policies, the people warmly active responded to Doi moi, therefore, many changes has effected to the life of the people, especially to women and their family, among them there is a question of spontaneous migration to cities of female labours.

In economy, there is the transition of the national economy from self-supplies and subsidy-based economy shifting into multi-sector commodity production economy under the State management. This transition makes a basic watershed both in economy and social life.

First of all, the transition of management structure and development of multi-sector commodity-based economy

under State management does not only make the products of labour turn into commodities but also the labour power itself become commodity. Labour power commodity are admitted, exchanged and traded drastically in the market. The purchasing and selling power on labour power goods much depend on the quality of labour power and the demand for development, production expansion of each industry, region, part, at every period, however by and large, the tendency still more focuses on cities, industrial zones. In cities and concentrated industrial zones, the production expansion creates the high needs on the labour power both in high-skilled and casual labourers. The matter of the fact that local labourers are either insufficient in the quantity absolutely or unwilling to do certain works or unable to get work quality properly, hence it requires to be added by other place's labourers. This supplementation may be done by the formal way of employment service centres, State recruitment agencies, political and social organisations, even by free manner, directly done by employer and employee especially in casual works and services undertaken by individuals. The freedom and easiness in trading labour power urge many rural potential labourers with ability in moving to cities to flock to there to seek for a higherincome jobs and better lives of themselves and family.

26

The transition, development of multi-sector commodity economy and the economic growth break out a numerous types of activity. New ones, especially in service industry, that never

thought to appear, exist and develop or ones that used to be underestimated and undervalued, now on the contrary, they emerge, remain and perform well and moreover turn out to be attractive and valuable works in the society. Exception some works that have adverse affects on social life needed reviewing and adjusting, in overall, the appearance of new trades has generated many work positions and opportunity of getting job, income for different targets in the society, including local and rural migrated labourers. The increase of foreign investment projects plays a considerable role in creation of new jobs for labourers. With investment total of billions US\$ per year, foreign projects open ten of thousands of formal job placements in enterprises and those involving in social services outside.

In the common transition of the economy, agricultural production and rural areas where hold a huge labour forcethe basic resource of the spontaneous migration to cities, has seen some fundamental changes. Farmer households become independent economic units in rural areas. Individual farmer households are allocated and empowered to manage their land in long time, they automatically operate production, arrange works of themselves and their own family in the most effective way. Thanks to that, farmers are allowed to control, adjust the production power in family, in one hand to closely attach to farming work, keeping the "root" of the household economy, in other hand to mobilise the surplus labour power in households to shift to income-increasing activities, non-agriculture services. Beside the development of craft traditional occupations in the

locality, spontaneous migration into large cities for seeking fortune and job has been a mean, a survival and development strategy of many households in rural areas, especially for the city's neighbouring areas and big industrial zones.

The application of technical advance and technology into the agricultural production is a considerable influencing factor on the spontaneous migration of rural labourers to cities. It takes advantages of saving time, energy and increasing the yield in agricultural production. In past time, many works such as ground breaking, sowing, transplanting, cultivating and harvesting over a not so large square needed tens of working days for each step, but now it takes only few of working days. As a consequently, agricultural labourers originally having much free time during crops now get much more leisure time and become redundant. The transformation on management structure and labour placement result in the excess of labourers, moreover, it is based on the requirement of application of advanced technology, therefore, the number of surplus labourers is getting greater and greater. Thus, migration of rural labourers to cities and big industrial zones for job seeking is inevitable and in the upward trend.

Together with the economic transition and economic management structure, the expansion and democratisation society also are leverages and important conditions impacting to the spontaneous migration of labourers in general and female labours in particular. In the new social

conditions, every individual is entitled to move freely and change work easily without forbidden. In all localities throughout country, labourers just have to declare to the local government and police about their presence for administrative management, then they are totally free to reside, look for job and control their income gained by legitimate working. Under the pressure of the number of rural labourers to cities increasing day by day, in accordance with social and environmental issues unsatisfied yet by economic developments, some cities have regulations not to allow new migrants to have resident registration and learning for their children in order to limit the migration flows to cities. It is very essential to the current context, yet in overall, it can be said that since beginning of renovation up to date, social life has been expended freedom and democratisation considerably, in addition to that strict regulations on administrative management toward the movement has been omitted, thus it provides rural people with favourable and liberal conditions to seek for luck in cities.

The noticeable development of cultural and spiritual life of people in the past few years also has been a factor influencing greatly on the rural /urban movement of labourers. Achievements of general education, application of advanced technology, development and expansion of mass media, especially the evolution of television system have raised the social awareness and knowledge of rural people considerably. This increases both material and spiritual demand and personal perfection for people on its return. Cities with

suitable conditions for daily activities, education, career, income and personal development has become destination of many people, especially for youth labourers.

In addition to some positive influencing factors, there are some negative ones pushing up this rural/urban migration as follows:

- First of all, that is the pressure on labour and employment on rural areas. After a long time from 60s to 70s of XXth century, the population growth rate in Vietnam, especially in rural areas remained at high level, therefore, up to date, the number of people entering into labour force in rural areas has increased considerably. Meanwhile, the economic growth speed has not been correlative to such high population growth rate, furthermore the monetary-financial crisis in the whole region in the late of XXth century slowed down the economic growth rate, business unit has been narrowed its production and agricultural production also has been affected. Consequently, rural labourers become more and more redundant.

areas, in one hand creating more job placements and labour needs but in other hand it takes rice-field and narrows cultivation land of farming labourers. At present, the narrowing level is increasing rapidly, for instance in Ho Chi Minh city the cultivation land of the city decreases by 700-8000 hectare per annum.

- Due to many reasons, the local government has not found out employment resources to keep labourers stay in the homeland at the time being. Many types of handcraft activity are facing many difficulties in raw materials, prices and output and getting loomed. Apart from agricultural production that are being shrunk by the high birth-rate, infrastructure and residential use of land as well as the application of advanced technology, rural labourers do not know what else to do at the leisured time.

- There is a large magnitude of difference in income and material and spiritual life between rural and urban areas between mountainous and delta areas. Since 1986 to date. with the Doi moi, "Open door", International exchange relation policies that push up the country's economy development but it also occurred the simultaneously unbalance in life, income, service system and infrastructure from area to area, province to province in the country. The result from survey of Ministry of Labour Invalid and Social Affair (MOLISA) showed that the different level of income between highest household and lowest one is 7.3 times in 1996 increased to 11.2 times in 1998. The different level of living is similar situation. The total income per head of Hanoinian and city dwellers of Ho Chi Minh city often is 5-7 times as much as that of farming labourers in rural areas annually. Other differences in living conditions of city dweller such as electricity, water supply, transportation, health care services, cultures are always better than rural areas. The large city of the country like Ho Chi Minh city, Hanoi,

Hai Phong, Da Nang... - the economic centres of the country become the places of arrival for spontaneous migration streams.

Therefore, spontaneous migration of labours forms rural to urban not only caused of less develop of economy, of poverty and hunger but also caused of changes in *Doi Moi* process. The migration is product of changes on socio-economic life during last stage.

2. The situation of migration into large city

The concept of migration is moving of resident from administrative territory unit to another, normally it be for quite long time, together with finding the condition, ability to earn living, survival and development of certain individual or community.

Each moving of mankind as seen a migration needs gather of three criterions:

- It is moving out of an administrative territory unit to other, it may move from commune to commune, district to district, province to province or even form this country to other
 - The changing of resident must be in at least several months
- Together with finding the condition, ability to earn living, survival and development of movers.

All of the moving within smallest an administrative territory unit or several days, several weeks only, or moving for doing something, visiting, purchasing... are not seen as migration. Migration may occurred follow a program, plan of Government which all of content of programme or plan such as objective, object, quantity, place for arrival, times and other help mutually conditions... are carefully planed.

On process of building socio - economy, the Government has implemented moving of labour by big plan in order to shift labours from some Red river delta provinces to the Northern provinces in 60th decade of XXth century, and shift labour to Central highland or Cuu Long delta provinces since 1976 to date. In central subsidy period, the moving of resident of Government to new economic zone was seen as unique way in society.

However since we have Doi moi process, especially since beginning of 90th decade of XXth century to date, above tendency is much reduced and spontaneous migration is appeared and increased. The meaning of "spontaneous migration" here is out of government programme and planed. This migration in situation of development of democratic socialist and in condition of development is not being seen as illegal. This migration occurs by many different ways, sides, and intensities. This tendency of migration drags into many different objects, male, female, elders, younger, high education people and illiterate, high skill labours and labour without any occupation, individual migration or with his/her family,

^{3 -} FLM-RU

community. They often move the place of residence within the city, they may intend to be regular migration or to be temporary migration (seasonal migration) which sometime they can come back to village in the harvest crop season or whenever there is demand of labour in the village.

According to national census 1999, during last 5 years, there are 2 million migrants from province to others, of them the significant is the number of migrants to large cities. The number of migrants to Hanoi during last 5 years is 156,344 people, this number in Ho Chi Minh city is almost half of million, Da Nang is 44,532 people, Ba Ria - Vung Tau is 52,428 people and Can Tho is 42,937 people. The provinces where many migrants out are rural areas, they have large amount of redundancy of labour force such as Red river delta 406,098 people, Cuu Long delta make up 424,540 people, the Southeast make up 329,706 people, the North- central provinces makeup 333,477 people. Some provinces with less of population but number of migrants quite high such as Ha Nam with population of 723,334 people but number of migrants reaches to 30,932 people; Ninh Binh province with population of 812,750 people but number of migrants about 31,307 people.

In fact, the number of spontaneous migrants into cities is much higher in comparison with the result of the census.

Table 1: Migration from province to province during last 5 years before April 1999.

Cities	Population from 5 years old	Number of emigrants from provinces to cities	Number of migrants to other provinces	
Whole the				
country	69,058,547	2,001,409	2,001,409	
Hanoi	2,456,212	156,344	41,727	
Ho Chi Minh	4,654,295	488,928	78,357	
Da Nang	623,059	44,532	19,840	

Source: Data from National census, April 1999

Migration in the context of doi moi and ...

According to data from Hanoi's Police and Hanoi DOLISA, in common calculation for both sex in 1988, there are 14,076 people who KT3 category (who come to city for working by State appointing and who are spontaneous migrants with temporary residence registration) then in 1994 the number of migrants in this category increases and reaches to 29,313 people. Beside, there are 11,660 people in KT4 category (includes seasonal migrants, students come to study). Especially on 1st March 1999 the number of people in KT3 category reaches to 96,256 people and in KT4 reaches to 137,444 people. This total number is not included the number of people live in pavements of the streets and public places.

In Ho Chi Minh city, from 1976 to 1997 the numbers of migrants into city are 800,000 people among them three - fourth are long time resident. In the period of 1990-1997, the number

of spontaneous migration reach to about 50,000 - 60,000 annually. According to Le Van Thanh, since 1996 to 1999 the populations of Ho Chi Minh city increase of 1.4 million of people, half of them are spontaneous emigrants. The numbers of emigrants to city's inlaying area make up 427,418 people and 3.3 times higher than emigrants come form suburb of the city (141,493 people)(1). At present, Ho Chi Minh city has 740,689 emigrants and it is reduced of 65,000 people in comparison with 1997. This reduced number is equal to number of people who has city district population in the city during the period of 1997-1998. In addition, there are 200,000 seasonal emigrants in the city make a total number of emigrants in the city reach to almost 1 million. Among them 64.8 percent are in working ages, of them 50.68 percent with stabled employment, 17.95 percent with temporary work and the remain (31.36 percent) are not find a job out side.

Participation in migration stream, female makes up a lower rate than male, however it is not significant. According to national census 1999, among 2,001,409 migrants more than 5 years old during last 5 year, there are 1,000,171 female. However, this rate is different between cities and between stages. In Hanoi and Ho Chi Minh city the rate of female migrants is higher than male and there is change at different times at two cities. According to survey of project Number.

VIE 96/004 about situation of migration into cities, the rate of male/female migration into Hanoi and Ho Chi Minh city at different times as bellows:

Table 2: Sex structure of migrants

(unit: percent)

Year	Hanoi city		Ho Chi Minh city		
	Female	Male	Female	Male	
1990	-	-	43	-	
1995	55	45	46	-	
1996	42.5	57.5	40.4	49.6	

Source: Survey on migration into cities - Project VIE 96/004.

The Above data show that the rate of female migrants into Hanoi and Ho Chi Minh city has tendency of reducing, especially in Hanoi. The reason for reducing number of female migration into Hanoi is that the number of women emigrates together with their husbands and family is reduced. On the other hand, at the beginning of *Doi moi* process with the development of careers and services such as bar, restaurant, trading... which relevant to female labour, it is more opportunity for finding a job at that time, thus many female from rural area rush to Hanoi to find job.

After that, the development of services is stabled, the opportunity for job is less. Beside, after 1995 some works need male labours such as construction has attract male labours to city, thus the rate of male migrants is higher than its of female.

⁽¹⁾ Le Van Thanh. Emigrants and problem of development of the large city as Ho Chi Minh city. Project VIE 95/004.

In Ho Chi Minh city the services which can attract female labour has developed earlier, so there are many female come to find job, thus the rate of female migrants is higher than that of male. On stage of after 1995, the careers attract female labour are reduced but the work needs more male labours is also not increased, thus the increasing on the rate of female and male labours is not significant in unbalance.

At present there is changing in rate of sex of emigrant labour on relation with kind of migration. In Hanoi, before 1996, the rate of female 49.31 percent and male make up 50.69 percent in kind of regular migration, but in kind of temporary migration female labour make up 18 percent and male make up 82 percent (1). However, the result from some recently research showed that this rate is changing. According to Hanoi's police until 1st March 1999 the number of KT3 (regular migrants) has been increased with total number of 96,256 people, among them female make up 47,003 people (48.83 percent); the number of KT4 (temporary migrants) with total number of 137,444 people, female make up 62,555 people (45.5 percent). While result for other research at Hai Ba Trung district on May 1995 showed that the rate of female make up 23.8 percent, or result from project VIE 96/004 given some different result from above mentioned. Therefore, we can say that the number of female migrants into Hanoi has been changed between kind of

migration. Regular migrants are little change but temporary migrants are increasing very fast.

Analysing these data we can see that female migrants always make up high rate among migrants into large cities in number of common migration as well as in separated migration (temporary and regular migration). The increasing by female migrants rate while the number of female labour migrants into city is increasing, so the number of female migrants into cities is more concerned.

II - THE REASONS FOR FEMALE LABOUR MIGRATION INTO CITIES.

Female labour migration into cities makes up a high rate among migrants. With the cultural characteristics of Vietnam, women are close related with family, village and afraid of going in far distance, but what are the reasons for female labours leave their native village even leave their family, their husband and their children for going into cities. Our results from in-depth interviews as well as result from other studies which carried out at different places we may systemise reasons for the rural - urban migration of female workers at the moment.

1. Female workers migrate into cities, towns because of the fact that there is no more cultivated land or its area too small to supply enough employment.

Likely, it is one of the leading reasons for the migration into cities. In this period, farmers in general and female workers

⁽¹⁾ Nguyen Huu Dung. Report in workshop on "Job for female spontaneous - migration into city", Hanoi, 4-5/7/2000.

in particular are at the risk of losing land, or their field are being smaller with every passing day leading to no land or lack of it to produce and thus earnings from agricultural production can not satisfy the essential demand of family and producers themselves. There are about 60-70 percent of migrant female workers surveyed in the study said that shortage of land for producing was the reason encouraging and forcing them to move to cities to look for a job and income.

The reasons of no land or lack of it to produce leading to the underemployment and low income situation that make female workers migrate to such cities as Hanoi, Da Nang, Ho Chi Minh city are very diversified.

Some of them do not have rice-field due to the expansion of industrial zones and urbanisation.

This is very popular at the current time, especially in outskirts of big cities and places transporting conveniently...

For the development of country purpose, industrialisation is a indispensable requirement, but in this process, occupying land to develop and expending industrial zones, supporting policies for farmers who lose land have not been made consistently and appropriately causing difficulty for them to find employment, resources for their lives. The unplanned breakouts of many urban areas also make purely-agriculture farmers there face to the shortage of cultivatied land.

The Lao Dong newspaper No 74/1999 (8/5/1999) presented the cry for help of a farmer named Nguyen Van De living in a village of Tan Thoi Trung, Hoc Mon - Ho Chi Minh city, " factories, firms are via with each other to fill up the fields. Our land is getting smaller and smaller..." "Our ward in previous time was a famous place for cotton and ornament trees. Now people sell land to firms to construct productive units and those who are subject to ground-clearance to rebuild house or some who want to speculate land by saving, reselling to get interests or house building for rent. Households used to plant cotton trees now sell land to build spacious houses but their children lack job falling into carousal, addiction and prostitution "said Ms. Le Thi Binh, member of executive board of women's union of ward No. 12 - Go Vap. Conclusion on this problem, also in The Lao Dong No 74/1999, Mr. Vo Van Liem, a Party district committee secretary of Hoc Mon confirmed, "people in out-of-town are being driven into problems of no cultivated land and underemployment".

Due to land scarcity and crowed population

This reason is also felt common among female spontaneous migrant labourers to big cities. Ms. Do Thi Hieu, 20 years old, from Chau Giang district, Hai Hung province said that there was only 1.3 Saos (1 Sao equal to 360 Sq meters) of rice-field per person in her homeland. Ms. Nguyen Thi Loan from Cam Binh - Hai Duong province said, "On average, a person

can get 1.1 Saos of rice-field in my countryside". Ms. Nguyen Thi Na, 22 years old, from Duy Xuyen - Quang Nam province said that on average it was 200 Sq. meters/person in her homeland (i.e. 0.5 Sao of Central part's) or Ms. Vo Thi Kim Lien 's family from Phu Loc, Thua Thien Hue had 5 members but only with 5 Saos of rice-field.

Sample studies on male spontaneous migrants had the same finding. Mr. Pham Ngoc Dang from Nam Truc - Nam Dinh stated that there was 1 Sao of rice-field per head in his homeland and cultivation is the only occupation there. Mr. Nguyen Huu Hai, from Quang Xuong, Thanh Hoa said, "it is 1.4 Saos of rice-field per head in my homeland", or "2 Saos of rice-field for 5 persons", said Mr. Ly Minh Truc, from Son Tinh, Quang Ngai.

Right from this reason, it causes the shortage of land to guarantee for production and needs of family life and both male and female labourers have to gather in big cities to seek for jobs. It is worthy to mentioning here is that spontaneous migrant labourers to cities due to above reason mainly are people from Northern and Central parts, where had a high population growth in 60s-90s of XXth century.

Due to more birth giving and moving to elsewhere so that not subject to re-allocates land

Case of Mrs. Nguyen Thi Duyen, 28 years old, from Nam Truc, Nam Dinh was such, there were 6 people but 4 land-

pieces, she had 3 young children, the youngest was born in 1998, right at the time of allocating land, therefore they could no longer expect to receive more land in this account. The similar situation was happened for Mrs. Tran Thi Toan from Nam True, Nam Dinh; there were 5 people in her family, but 4 people were distributed land, the 15-month child was no land distribution.

Beside cases of giving more birth and having no production land, the movements from one place to another after time of distributing land also like that. Mrs. Nguyen Thi Binh from Dai Cuong, Quang Nam province, her five-member family went to new economic zone of Gia Lai in 1989, till 1996 because of accident they had to come back homeland, and as a consequence, they had no land more and whole family must move to Da Nang to look for a mean of earning living.

Shortage of land because of moving, especially occurs amongst female workers at the age of getting married. Young women, if getting married at other villages and communes often suffer disadvantages because they cannot bring their land share to new living place. The newly-formed family always builds up economic life on the land distribution of the husband (regarding to this issue, Dr. Ha Thi Phuong Tien had a detail report as the paper for Central Committee of Women's advance to submit to National Assembly to amend Land Law). Demand of new family often is the direct cause for the migration of youth labourers including female ones due to lack of land.

Selling land due to the emergent difficulty or inability to self-operate production

This is also a phenomenon popularly of spontaneous migrant labourers to cities. Mr. Huynh Van Tan, from Ba Tri, Ben Tre working for a factory in Ho Chi Minh city stated that in past time his family had 20 Cong of garden land (1 Cong equal to 1000 Sq.metters), everyday his family could get 50-60,000 VND. Four years ago, his mother got a very heavy sickness and had to sell furniture and 18 Cong of land to treat for her but unfortunately she was past away. As a consequence, he had to arrange housework to go to city for foster his father. Mrs. Dang Thi Chuyen also in the same situation. In 1993, she lived in Phu Ly, Dong Nai with 6 Saos of land and 3 hectares of mountain field. Till 1996, her husband got heavy sick so that she had to sell some of land to treat for him, after his recovery, she had no land more and became weaker, she could not do slash-and-burn work any more, and then she had to leave her husband to go to Ho Chi Minh city to sell vegetables in markets to earn living.

As such, agricultural workers have to work hard but receive low income. But if they enjoy such a peaceful life they will still feel safe to rely on agricultural production and rural life. However, if they face difficult situations as illness, income from agricultural production cannot manage the situation, resolve troubles or help relatives, and they have no alternatives but to sell land - their earning for living

mean. To survive, the last resort for them is to move to big cities in hope of finding jobs or restart a new life if lucky.

Apart from those who have to sell land due to unexpected difficulties, there are some, especially in the South doing that and moving to cities because they don't know how to organise production. Mrs. Nguyen Thi Binh, 25 years old, from Bac Lieu is an example. There are four people in her family: her parents, her younger sister and her, excluding her elder sister and brother who are already married. The family had 5 Congs of garden land that was, though, encroached by salt water and less fertile with earning much-depended on crops is still the main income for the family. When her parents sold land, the family felt into difficult and unstable situation and the two sisters decided to leave for Ho Chi Minh city. She works as a housemaid in a family in Tan Phong quarter, district No.7 and her sister are selling coffee at Ly Thai To street.

It can be seen that the farmer usually closed with land and field but cause by many reasons or lacking of land let their life became difficult. The farmer in general and labour in particular have to migrate into cities to get jobs and improves their living.

2. Low value and unstable of agricultural working day, hardship in rural life and permanent lack of cash.

According to calculated method at present, a rural agricultural working day is more or less 10,000 VND / day. If

only intensive farming on rice is applied with current land and productivity, farmer households are likely to earn only 15 - 20 kg of paddy/capita/month. Meanwhile, agricultural production is mainly affected by the weather. The income is normally low even it falls to zero in case of natural calamities. What is more, it takes 2-3 years to overcome consequences of such calamities and crop failure.

Mrs. Nguyen Thi Binh, 46, from Khoai Chau - Hung Yen province is an example. Her husband, Nguyen Van Hung went to Hanoi with her to work for shops in Hang Chieu street for 15 years. They have 4 children, the eldest son is 27 and married. The second son joint to the army, 2 daughters still go to school and stay at home with their grandmother. In their countryside, on average 1 Sao of land per head, but they had only more than 1 Mau (1 Mau equal to 3,600 Sq. meters). Because of the attraction of urban life, they left their children and land to find new jobs in Hanoi. Their daily work is to carry water, clean the floor of kindergartens in 74 Hang Chieu street and serve for 10 shops in this street. They said that their income monthly getting from looking after the kindergarten is 60,000 VND and 60-80,000 VND could be received from each shop. So that, their income is rather stable from 800,000-1 million VND a month. The husband told that in 1994, they bought land to build a 4-room title-roofed house for their eldest son, then held a wedding for their son. At present, they have 5-year grandchild. They are going to buy more land and build another house for their second son.

Mrs. Tran Thi Toan, age 40, from Nam Truc - Nam Dinh province is another example. She completed 7th grade's education and trained in an agricultural technological College. She went to Hanoi to sell things because of the fact that, in her homeland it was 1.5 Saos of land per head; her husband, 43, retired from the army, he even did not have any additional jobs; 3 children are still small; 2 older sisters 10 and 8 are received a part of land; her youngest son is 15 months, he was born after the time of land allocation and being the third child, he had no right to share land. The family all had 6 Saos of land, they all live by this amount of cultivated land. Every season, after other cost such as hiring and contributing to the fund of 300,000 VND, they harvest only 1.7-1.8 Ta per Sao (1 Ta equal to 100 kg). They get only 3 Ta of paddy after minus the cost of fertilizer, seed and other expenditure. While the coat of living requires more cash. Every wedding party and funeral (unavoidable) if taking part and/or having meal they have to compliment and support from 20,000-50,000 VND to the householder. Besides, they also have to pay additional fees for their children's education. Due to these difficulties and reasons, in 1996 she herself followed some other women to go to Hanoi to sell and change sandal. Mrs. Nguyen Thi Lien, 40 years old from Mi Hao district, Hung Yen province said that her family have 4 people: her parents, her younger brother who was at the army and her. They had 4 Saos of rice-field (hers of 1.5 Saos, her younger brother's of 1.5 and renting 1 more - Sao). If they had a bumper crop, they would reap about 1.5 ton of

Migration in the context of doi moi and ...

paddy. If deducting all expense for materials needed tax paying, household-fee and other contributions for the commune, their profit was left only 5 Ta of paddy (900,000 VND/year). The real income was 75,000 VND per month, equivalent to 2,500 VND a day. Therefore, if she stayed at the village and worked hard in the rice-filed, she could not shoulder on herself let alone to support for the family in case they fell into sick. So that she decided to go to city to find job and get higher income hopefully.

In fact, farmers' form Southern part also get low income. Mr. Nguyen Huu De, lives in Tan Thoi Trung, Hoc Mon said: "working at the rice-field all day as we do, can only get the highest income of 10,000 VND per day. In seasons that agricultural products are unable to be sold, we become empty-handed" (1). Thus, with the little cultivated land, the daily productivity was low in bargain, especially some areas where grow purely rice force farmers migrate into cities. These persons were mainly born in Northern or Central regions. It is easy to understand because there have little land and low rice productivity, without additional jobs the total income from production pro-cost will inconsiderable, so that to earn more money for meeting other necessities in life, the unique way for rural labourers in general and female workers in particular is to go to cities to get better job and increase income.

3. Due to agricultural production of seasonal manner with too much idle time; high demand of getting money; and low income from agricultural production forced the rural labour force to find job in cities.

As above mention, the farmer households have demand of cash, while income from agriculture is low, it pushes up the rural people go to city to find jobs.

Mr. Nguyen Van Minh, 69 years old, from Ly Nhan, Ha Nam province had a daughter who was bread seller at Giap Bat station in Hanoi. "The reason why his daughter must sell bread, beside the other seasons, is she has too much agricultural leisure", his daughter often went to Hanoi to sell bread, until harvest coming, she come back for agricultural work.

Not only the family with hardship but the better-off one migrates into cities as well. The reason is that they have too much free time saving from fieldwork, so they come to cities to earn living and add to their family income.

Mr. Le Quang Vinh's family - Ly Nhan District, Ha Nam province is an example. Mr. Vinh age 38, has 2 sons. His wife is 36 years old. They are both farmers solely without additional jobs. The eldest son is 14 at 7th grade, the later son is 10 at 4th grade. Their living standard is rather wealthy in comparison with that in other families in and out of village. Addition to the average of land that is allocated by 1.1 *Saos* of land per head like others, his family has 3.1 *Saos* of land planting fruit trees including lemon and sapodilla. These trees can harvest by every crops now. In

⁽¹⁾ The Lao Dong No. 74/1999 dated 8/5/1999.

summer 1999 alone, green sapodilla could reap 3000-4000 VND/kg and he got 1.5 millions VND. Late in 1999, his family has bought some garden land with the area of over 3 *Saos*. The main income of his family is planting and husbandry. The total income annually is more than 10 millions VND but he still let his wife go to Hanoi to sell things. Often she goes there in agricultural leisure time, whenever the crop comes she goes back and stays 5-10 days then keeps going to Hanoi. The reason why she does so was explained by Mr. Vinh that to earn more money, support for economic life, raise the development resources for husbandry and children's education...

It is added that beside of the seasonal manner, the change of management structure, piecework to household and technological advancement, the farming production has no longer been farmer's burden. Mr. An from Hoa Chau commune, Hoa Vang said, "it is not hard to do farming work now any more. In fact, we just look after, and other works such as cultivating or harvesting, my children can do gathering. The repairing work we can hire others. Mr. Roa, at the same native village with Mr. An told that all work over 3 Saos of land has been done by hiring.

4. Due to the risk of crops, weather disasters, pest, and crop failure that female workers have to leave home to earn living in cities.

At the beginning of the year 1999, Cuu Long river delta was affected by alum right in the time of crop. All farmers got stuck

and could not plant anything in their land, as a consequence, most of them were taken out of farming work. For people who have enough capacity would inattentively go to Ho chi Minh to find job. Mrs. Vo Thi Binh Loan, 21 year old, living in Hiep Hoa commune said, "we have never seen a such terrible drought before, my rice-field has to be uncultivated because of the lack in water; some have large land and money drill well for watering but no longer these wells are out of operation. In this circumstance, we would go to Ho Chi Minh city to seek job rather than stay in village passively. We can not find other way to earn living".

Mr. Hoang shared, "the land was affected by alum heavily in my area, if we wanted to go to the field at noon, we could not help breathing because of alum smell. What could we do in such land? Several day ago, we went to Ho Chi Minh city to assist and dig up roads... We did whatever we could do to get by, and wait for rainy season, we will come back" (1).

According to investigation of Hoang Vu writer and employment service centres in Ho Chi Minh city, everyday there are 200-300 labourers from Western region rushing into the city.

Being an agricultural country with heavy natural disasters over a large agricultural region, for instance South region suffers drought and alum, Central and Northern regions suffer

⁽¹⁾ Hoang Vu - Drought - Rural labourers flocking into cities - Ho Chi Minh Women No. 22, dated 27 March 1999.

storms and floods. In these years, the number of spontaneous migrants to cities increases sharply. After that, they come back to keep working in their rice-field. However, some decide not to do so but by all mean to stay in the city.

5. Due to the risk, luckless

Some female migrants have relative in illness, they need money for treatment, some women have husband or children being opium addiction, indent, others is devised, someone were slighted by their children and become homeless... all of these reasons push them out of their village to cities to earn living or hind the destiny.

Mrs. Duong Thi Thom, 51 year old and her daughter Nguyen Thi Lanh, 19 years old from Giao Thuy district, Nam Dinh worked as junk traders in Hanoi. Her daughter got married in next commune and had a 14-month son, now she had 7-month pregnancy. Before getting married, she did not understand her boyfriend completely, then after she realised that her husband was in crazy of gamble, at the moment they are in debt of 5 million VND. Having no job in the homeland, she followed her mother to earn living and pay debts for her husband. Mrs. Thom herself also in dept more than 5 million VND after the death of her father-in-law. As a result, she must collect and sell iron scrap due to the low gaining from fieldwork.

Mrs. Hoang Thi Hong, 30, from Giao Xuan commune, Giao Thuy, Nam Dinh went to Hanoi for collecting iron scrap after her daughter's death because of falling into the pond. Mrs. Tran

Thi Phuc, 44, from Vinh Phuc province had to bring her 12-year child up by herself (1995) after divorce, the child was fostered by grandparents and the father. "no property, no children- under such a miserable hurt, she decided to leave her village for Hanoi to find job to relieve her sorrow".

In the article "Rural labourers in large cities", Ms. Lan Anh, the writer, noted down various fates living and working in Hanoi with different reasons. "Mrs. HL (from Thanh Oai - Ha Tay), whose husband was died of throat cancel, she had to leave her 2-year old child with her parents to go to Hanoi for the search of living. In other case, Mrs. NM (from Y Yen -Nam Dinh), her husband is so gambling addicted that all of their money was gambled and their premise was mortgaged as a result, she has no other alternative but goes to Hanoi with two children. The elder follows street children to earn some money by polishing passers-by's shoes, and the younger with her sell com nam (cooked rice pressed into a ball) to meet ends up". The writer also told about another heartrending plight of a woman, "she was an aged woman from Ha Tay wandering to Hanoi for a job. She looks much weaker and older than those who are at the same age of 50". Telling about her life, "she told in tears that, none of her 3 mature children looked after their mother. She had recently visited her youngest daughter but she had been terribly offended by the daughter's husband. Therefore, she left her native place to Hanoi with the hope of being employed to earn living". While being asked about her family property: house and farming

land, she said that, all of them had been sold and equally distributed to her children (1).

There are many such destinies in big cities, hence it can be said that, beside the mentioned-above economic reasons, social reasons also play a rather important role in the movement of female labourers from rural areas to urban areas. The expansion of the market economy and changes in thought and lifestyle of rural people in line with negative and positive terms influencing on labourers make up decisive reasons to their movement to cities.

6. To afford their children's tuition fee or their living and studying cost

In recent situation, many promising students from rural areas have to leave school due to their parents have low income and financial difficulty. Facing the problem, many mothers and sisters are willing to devote themselves to their children/younger sibling's studying at university; they go to big cities with their children with the hope of getting a job to support them.

Mrs. Luu Thi Thuy Mai, 47 years old, from Quang Nam province is one of such women. She has been in Da Nang for 3 years since her eldest son passed the entrance examination to Da Nang university. There are 4 people in her family: her husband, 2 children and her. As mentioned above, the eldest is studying at

Da Nang university, the younger is now at the 10th grade. Being an purely-agriculture family with 3000 Sq. meters of farming land, the earning of each harvest only meets the daily requirement. Moreover, there is no extra job to cover her children's tuition fee and living cost in her homeland. Therefore, she and her elder son decided to stay with her relatives in Da Nang. Everyday, she works as a vendor to earn money for her son's tuition fee and their daily requirement. This is similar to the case of *Mrs. Bui Thi Oanh from Phu Chau commune, Ba Vi district, Ha Tay province who has sold vegetables in Hanoi for many years to support not only one but respectively four children's studying at different universities since her eldest child passed the entrance examination to university in 1991*⁽¹⁾.

Migration in the context of doi moi and ...

Besides female labourers go to big cities with the purpose of supporting their children's studying, there is a large number of poor but ambitious students, after graduating upper secondary school or failing in the entrance examination to university, managed to go to or remained in big cities to look for a job aimed at supporting their parents, affording their studying and living; they keep waiting for the next selection to university or for improving their educational knowledge with the hope of getting a good job as desired. This amount of people becomes larger and larger. By this way, many of them have succeeded in their lives with high standard of knowledge. Ms. Nguyen Thi Truc Mi, 24 years old from Dai Loc, Quang Nam,

⁽¹⁾ The Cong an Nhan Dan Newspaper No. 867/2000

⁽¹⁾ I go to Hanoi to support my children..., Special Metropolitan women No.12.

after failing in the entrance examination to university in Ho Chi Minh city, with the assistance of her relative, she was offered a job in a binding books unit with the salary of 450,000 VND a month. She has also attended an English course and just got the B level after 4-year staying in Ho Chi Minh city. She is still working there only for her informative learning then she try to get better job as her aspiration. She said, "anyway, I am still able to earn money for my study in Sai Gon, this is onthe-job training; certainly, it is very difficult for me to get a job or study something in my native place".

Ms. Tran Thi Thuy Nga, 19 years old from Song Cong town, Thai Nguyen went to Hanoi to earn money for studying to attend the entrance examination to university. She has signed a labour contract with a restaurant owner, and worked as a waitress in a restaurant in Bui Thi Xuan street with a salary of 600,000 VND a month. During the daytime, she is attending a class for the coming selection to university thanks to her daily working hours from 17:00 to 22:00, excluding Sunday. Under the permission of her parents, she spends money on books and daily cost. The studying fee alone accounts for a bigger half of the amount she earns. In spite of the fact that the work is not so hard and even she can get rather high salary, she will have worked there for several months only, she said, as for her, her main purpose is to learn and to pass the entrance exam to university.

It is necessary to say that, there are female students from many universities joining the spontaneous migrant force to large cities during summer holiday, even in Tet holidays. Dinh Dung writes down the situation in details in the report "Students without Tet holiday". Even with only several days off, these poor students' temporary works can help them cover living cost for many days. Three days for many days - as written by Dinh Dung - not only support their parents at home but meet their personal requirements as well.

7. To self-affirm and escape out of miserable life in rural areas

This is the aspiration of many young girls and so is of many parents whose children go away to earn for living.

Ms. Nguyen Thi Le, 23 years old, from Duy Xuyen, Quang Nam said, her family life in her native place is fine. However, the application of technical and scientific advances made female labourers like Ms. Le much free, so she wants to work away from home. So does her friend- a village mate, Ms. Vu Thi Hoa, 20 years old. There are 7 people in Ms. Hoa's family: her parents with 5 sisters and brothers, and her is the eldest. At home, her parents are still fine and do their fieldwork. They own large amount of farming land but Ms. Hoa does not want to stay at home to assist her parents in farming works but goes to big city for her own work. It is simple that is her hobby to avoid the miserable fieldwork.

About the feeling of cities and rural areas, Ms. Le said that, "despite of the fact that it is really hard to work in the rural areas, it is much harder than that in working in the city, but

I can get much money in urban areas." Sharing the same thought, Ms. Nguyen Thi Na, 23, living in Duy Hai, Duy Xuyen says: "Although, it is not easy to live in big city, I can put aside some money. While I have to work hard at home but earn less".

"Besides difficulties my family now face and lack of employment in rural villages, the reason why my daughter has to leave house is that she likes to work in big cities. My family all agrees on her decision" said Mrs. Pham Thi Nghien, 53, from Hoa Chau commune, Da Nang city and her daughter is a tailor's in Ho Chi Minh city

Mrs. Le Thi Mao, age 56, living the same village like Mrs. Nghien has a daughter named Doan Thi Lien, 28 who is now working as a tailor in Ho Chi Minh city. She seems less interested in her daughter's income and living standard in the city. It seems that she is concern with her daughter working and living in the city. Because she thinks that finding jobs in urban areas means to overcome difficulties in rural life.

8. Moving to cities to get married.

There are many reasons of spontaneous migration of female workers but if summed up all are of economic roots. It is, however, caused by such reasons that are thought strange by many people but it is absolutely true in fact. Moving to cities to get married is an example. As mentioned in an article "Poor rural girls marrying city's men" by Hong Lien, it is ironical

that "poor rural girls rush to big cities to get rid of the rural life" and "one sensitive reason is that they have to move to cities to get married". The author extracts a research finding: "rural girls at the age of 23 are considered to be on the shelf. In the North Delta, there are some 100-200 girls of that age in every village". Meanwhile, due to many reasons, men especially the young are increasingly moving to cities resulting in ever- increasing gender inequality. To get married, many rural girls have no choice but to either accept marriage with any men unconditionally who have houses in cities or move to cities to find jobs in hope of building a family.

"I'm from Y Yen, Nam Ha, not beautiful, 29 but not yet engaged. Th.'s uncle asked me to marry Th. Our simple marriage was organised in my village. When I have my first son, we both moved to Dong Xuan quarter to live" said Mrs. C, Th.'s wife in the article "Poor rural girls marrying city's men". It must be mentioned here that Mr. Th, 35, unemployed, living in a cramped house at Hang Gai, his mother suffers from mental disease but he still surprisingly get married⁽¹⁾.

Mrs. Nguyen Thi Lien, 40 from My Hao district, Hung Yen province leaves home for Hanoi, besides getting a good job, she hope to find a good husband.

It can be said that the reasons for female migration into cities are diverse, but mainly are economic reason. This is relevant

⁽¹⁾ Hong Lien. Metropolitan Women, dated 29/4/1998.

with remark from some studies. However, though the reason for migration into cities is different, it is result from social changes. On the other words, the mentioned reasons above are opinion from individuals but it reflects the fact of social situation. This is the rural life effected by different sides, it creates the pushed up power to labour in general and to female labour in particular into cities. The cities themselves are changed and developed, not only created the attracted power but also created the convenience condition for rural labours joint and earn living.

Therefore, all the measures to revise, limit, regulate, manage or help those people must be carefully seen in social situations and it is a common task of the authorities, mass organisations of society and the state as well.

Chapter 2

EMPLOYMENT AND LIVING CONDITION OF FEMALE SPONTANEOUS MIGRANT LABOURS INTO CITIES

I. EMPLOYMENT AND INCOME

1. Possibility of job seeking of migrant labourers

The main aspiration of female spontaneous migration going to cities regardless to their origin, occupation, educational level and age group is to find out income-generating job. The number of rural migrant labourers in general and female workers in particular is increasingly growing along with the pace of economic development and urbanisation.

At the moment, the Ho Chi Minh city has 900,000-1,000,000 emigrants from provinces, among them "64.88 percent migrants are at the working age, of which 50.68 percent has permanent work, 17.95 percent has unstable works and the left are out of work or working as a housemaid, once any job is found they will take it"(1).

⁽¹⁾ Vu Thanh - "Migrants in Ho Chi Minh city" - The Vietnamese Women newspaper No. 44 dated 20/9/1999.

In Hanoi, it is also felt the same situation of growth speed. Based upon the statistics of Hanoi police, there were about 14,000 person-times having migrated into the capital in 1988, it increased to 41,000 and jumped to 110,000 in 1994 and June 1997 respectively, increasing 7 - 8-folds of that in 1998. Among them, 70 percent were provinces' population flocking to the city for seeking job⁽¹⁾. In 1998, the seasonal migrants were 24,734 households with 233,965 mouths to feed gathering in Hanoi⁽²⁾.

Thus, it can be seen that the number of migrants are increasingly added annually with high rate of persons at working age and job seekers (64.88 percent and 70 percent in Ho Chi Minh city and Hanoi respectively) amongst the total of migrants. Entering to this labour force, women make up 49 percent or even somewhere they are overwhelming majority.

In terms of possibility of finding out job of female workers, according to many survey results of large numbers of independent projection at different times shows that majority of them migrate to cities gain it quite quickly. Based on the survey result in 1996 of Steering Sub-committee on management of migrants of Ho Chi Minh city, among 191,421 female migrants to cities, there were 107,788 having found

out job making up 26.98 percent of the total migrants (41.65 percent for male) and 56.3 percent of the total number of female migrants (107,788/191,421) (see the table 3).

Table 3: Employment status of female spontaneous migrant labourers at Ho Chi Minh city by gender.

Situation of employment	Total		Male		Female	
	Value	percent	Value	percent	Value	percent
The total divided by	399,475	100	208,054	52.08	191,421	47.92
1. Having job	274,166	68.63	166,378	41.65	107,788	26.982
+ Stable	202,448	50.67	121,454	30.40	80,994	0.27
+ Unstable	71,718	17.95	44,924	11.24	26,794	6.71
2. Under employment	20,719	5.18	12,452	3.12	8,267	2.06
3. Housework	53,706	13.44	548	0.13	53,158	13.31
4. Loss of working ability	6,878	1.72	4,760	1.19	2,118	0.53
5. Schooling	38,946	9.75	21,340	5.34	17,606	4.41
6. Others	5,060	1.26	2,576	0.64	2, 484	0.62

Source: The Board of management of emigrants, Ho Chi Minh city, 1996

According to the survey result from interviews of 528 people from Can Giuoc, Long An moving to the city of writer Vu Thi Hong, Economics Institution of Ho Chi Minh city: "There were approximately 50 percent of movers of all periods having sought job right after their arriving in the city and the rate tended to be higher and higher in coming years, especially in 1995-1999, it was up to 84 percent. She also mentioned to the fact that the rate of male and female who found out a

⁽¹⁾ Ngoc Ha- Still too many of migrants rushing into Hanoi for job - The Nhan Dan newspaper dated 9/10/1998.

⁽²⁾ Ngoc Tu - "Hanoi - what is the solution for unemployment"? - The Vietnamese Women newspaper No. 53 dated 22/11/1999.

first job was not changed in comparison with that in 1994 survey (46 percent of male and 54 percent female), however the latest survey in January 2000 revealed that the duration for getting a first job in the city was shortened. The rate of getting a first job within a week for both male and female was doubled in comparison with the survey result in 1994 (64 percent in comparison with 34 percent of male and 57 percent in comparison with 35 percent of female)".

Regarding to the situation of seeking job of female workers in Hanoi, the writer Nguyen Thi Chau Long- Head of Division of Employment Policy, Hanoi DOLISA stated that after a short time, majorities of migrants had found out paid jobs, there was only 3-5.5 percent waiting for chance of job or looking for it. When coming to Hanoi, male workers appear to get job more easily with shorter-time than female workers do, but in the contrary, less women have to wait for job in pavement and streets than male workers do⁽¹⁾.

In the process of study independently, our in-depth interview covering of 60 female workers also presented the corresponding results. 55 out of 60 respondents said that they had potential of getting a job before their leaving by many channels, of which mainly was via family and friends with different levels: moving to the city, they collected capital and

guided to each other; or the hirer had accepted to keep a position for them... only 5 people started seeking job when they come to city, and among them there were only 3 persons who had to rely on unstable jobs, they sought for job day after day and did whatever jobs or worked just for few months prior getting a stable job.

The matter of getting job quickly and finding out job right after their immigrating to the city of majority female workers has some following reasons:

First of all, that is thanks to their determination on earning money and getting income for themselves and their own family when they move out. Among 60 interviewees, 85-90 percent mentioned directly to this purpose. Only few cases moved out to get out of miseries or restrains of their family: Ms. Tran Thi Phuc, from Vinh Phuc, after the divorce she went to Hanoi because husband's family took her children away and she felt lonely. Ms. Ho Thi Hoa, from Thua Thien Hue went to Ho Chi Minh city also had the similar situation. Ms. Hoang Thi Hong, from Nam Dinh, unfortunately her daughter was drowned, and that made her shock and decide to follow her younger sister to Hanoi to get relief, both did junk trading. Ms. Nguyen Thi Do from Chau Thanh, Ben Tre was orphaned and had to live with her grandmother's, she had to run away because her prissy aunt. However, the underlying cause of this is to earn money to survive and prepare for the future life as a main motivation.

⁽¹⁾ Nguyen Thi Chau Long. Job for female migration in Hanoi: The real situation and solution - The report for workshop on Job for female labours in some large cities, Hanoi, 4-5 July, 2000.

General speaking, migrant labours also recognise and evaluate their limited capacity and ability by themselves, especially in terms of capital and skills when they find job in cities. Majority of them has low educational level, even including young people. Out of 60 cases of study, only 3 persons completed upper secondary education. In terms of specialised skills, there was only Ms. Hoa who graduated from teacher's training college; Other-Ms. Toan had finished agricultural technical secondary education, some had skills in sewing, the remaining had no skills at all.

Because of above-mentioned matters, female workers are willing to do anything provided legally, they want to earn money by all means even heavy, unwanted and dangerous works. Meanwhile, in big cities gathering a large numbers of economic establishments, crowed population, ongoing development, production expansion, reforms on infrastructure and premises...create many job openings. Furthermore, manual and hazardous occupations such as construction, tidy-up, serving... city dwellers owing to their particular conditions like: high educational level, good specialised qualification, resident registration and permanent accommodation hence they do not want to do these kinds of work even at the status of unemployment. This makes more chance to find job for migrants in general and for female migrants in particular.

Besides, with the naturally cautious characteristics, only when they get the fully information and the potential of job will do, most of rural women decide to move out to cities, therefore they do not waste time to be idle there. This can be done by different sources: parents, relatives, friends, acquaintances; employment service systems; employment introduction centres and centre for recruiting labourers... According to Nguyen Thi Chau Long, it proved that "due to the dynamics of themselves and the support of employment seeking system, over 36 percent immigrated labourers has found suitable jobs". Survey finding of Project VIE 95/004 reported that there were about 63 percent of migrants having the information on their would-be job in advance before they went to Hanoi. Meanwhile, 80.5 percent of provisionally migrated group had information from family, relatives and friends when they came to Hanoi. The writer concluded, "migrants do not face difficulties when enter into the labour market of Hanoi, about 25 percent find out job before their coming, 37 percent get job right after their coming. Noticeably, the duration for getting the first job is 2 weeks. As for seasonal migrants, it takes only 2 days on average". These comments also are similar with our independent study above.

However after a rapid development pace, the growth of big cities is proved to be slow downward with fewer newly-established production units as well as houses as that before. In addition, to build up civilised and modern cities, there is much to be re-planned and modernised; manual works is to be wiped out such as: waste materials collecting, vending... In other hand, although city dwellers do not complete with them in

works, immigrated labourers cause the competition to each other in work due to the increasing number of migrants. All these make more difficult for immigrated female workers in getting a job for the time being. Anyhow, cities are still open to spontaneous migrant labourers with low educational level and qualification to many job opportunities because their workers in cities always leave some works that in their opinion are heavy, unattractive ones, but spontaneous migrants need and enable to response.

In general, there is possibility for migrants finding jobs and they do not face difficulties and finding in short times, especially the seasonal labourers. However, this is occurred in informal sector, individual and household economic area but no in State economic field. In this area, they face difficulties in low skill and have no civil status in the cities.

2. Conditions and main types of employment of migrants

- Working as vendors: This is one of selections that immigrated female workers make at most when they move to cities, because it does not need much capital, knowledge and complicated transportation means, but it requires their industriousness and to great extents it is rather suitable to their situations, conditions and nature. Such commodities that are saleable much as fresh vegetables, scanned food, local sweets and cakes (banh my, banh khuc, banh beo...), cheap industrial items as: shoes, sandals, clothes, groceries, even ornamental

plants basin etc. When dealing with these sort of business, they only need from ten of thousands to few hundred of thousands Dong or even they can get commodities from production units before hand and then refund later on, or flexibly they themselves produce and sell it in the market; for instance if they want to trade fresh fruits and vegetables, they just need 40-50 thousands VND for a load of vegetable, few hundred of thousands for a high-level fruit shoulder as litchi, mango, Logan or if they deal with bread selling or sandal exchanging they do not need any capital at all. Ms. Nguyen Thi Duyen, from Nam Truc, Nam Dinh who were sandal exchanger in Hanoi said, "This kind of work though is hard, I do not care about the capital or loss". Mr. Pham Van Vinh, 46, from Ly Nhan, Ha Nam, whose wife was Mrs. Nguyen Thi Ty, 47, selling bread in Hanoi stated that the advantage of this work was no need of capital, everyday she had to take bread from baker's and sold it, the more she sold the more profits she could get, if not these bread could be given back to the baker's and she just had to waste energy. Ms. Mai Thi Nho and Ms. Nguyen Thi Huong sold barley sugar in Ho Chi Minh city, they both could produce by their own. Their working means are very simple, included: a gimcrack bike but firmly, a pair of shoulder poles, even a basket or an unused cardboard cask is enough.

Besides, this work can help female spontaneous migrant labours decide their own resting time, especially for those who have closely relation to homeland, they can save time to come around for fieldwork or taking care family. Ms. Tran Thi Toan,

70

from Nam Truc, Nam Dinh worked as sandal exchanger in Hanoi stated that she chose this work because on one hand she was unable to do others and in other hand it set free for her without any dependence of time and works as hired jobs for agencies or private owners, at times or in crop mature she could go back to home town for a visit or help family.

- Working as newspaper and lottery ticket sellers: this also has some requirements like vendors and that were selected by large of immigrated female workers. With a box or small bag to carry newspaper and lottery tickets, they crowded into thronged place to the gathering place such as food and beverage shops, railway stations, car park, bus stops... to advertise and sell. In fact, the daily income was not so much. Further, to get newspapers especially lottery tickets they had to have authorisers and in many cases they had to re-take from the agent and suffer the deduction by the percent of the earnings. Mrs. Pham Thi Son, age 60, from Son Tinh, Quang Ngai who was the lottery seller in Ho Chi Minh city told that it was impossible for her to go to get lottery tickets from the big agent but the small due to her age and health, sometime they gave her the out-of-date tickets, and she was often received the complaint from buyers. Her work was rather stable, but occasionally she lost tickets. In dry days, she could get big profit with amount of 15-20,000 VND, but in rainy days she could not find any buyers and as a consequence sometimes she owed the agent of 200,000 VND.

- Working as junk traders: it is also like other small-scale occupations, it needs a little bit of capital, a pair of pole shoulders or a bike. They can go everywhere in the city and buy whatever the sellers sell, from pots, out-of-used electric goods, scrap iron, old newspaper, cardboard casks, nylon bags etc. That in some cases, they unofficially lend a hand and become out of self-conscious for stealers. Their work is to buy, gather and then classify into each type right in the day or few days later and after all sell to the specialised owners. In this kind of job, everyday from the early to the late of the day they have to walk or ride bike on the street of ten of kilometres in total⁽¹⁾.

- Working as waitress and receptionist in restaurants, services places: this is rather stable job with high income if they work in big restaurants and receive the tip from the customers; however, only young, beautiful and agile worker are recruited, otherwise they have to do such hard works as washing up, clear-up...The daily working time is about 12-14 hours, from day to day so that not everybody can stand with such long working time. Among that, works that female spontaneous migrant labours do as hairdresser's, massage, tidy-up bedrooms in the hotel are very prone to the matter of sexual violation and become prostitute, unless they determine and self-control. Case of Ms. Nguyen Thi D. in Ho Chi Minh city; when

⁽¹⁾ Tran Viet, Happiness and miseries of the junk trading- The Ho Chi Minh city's women special issue No. 107; Minh Nguyet, I bring my children up by junk trading - The Ho Chi Minh city's women special issue No. 135.

she worked for refreshment shops, she had to run away because she was forced to indulge in familiarities with customers. On the contrary, if they agreed that meant they were shifted from the true labourers into illegal work ⁽¹⁾.

- Working as assistants in construction: it means doing works such as carrying brick, soil and mixing the mortar in construction projections, this is rather heavy work, totally needs health and suffers much bad influence of weather and climate on their health. However, they are expected to have long-term guaranty because the city is enlarging with crowed population, certainly, the demand for building and repairing houses of families, firms, agencies is getting more and more. They- workers, have to sustain the pressure of the employer-employee relationship and likely to lose job if they do not get on well with the contractor. Those who work freely and self-seck job have to look for job everyday.

- Working as porters: similarly with the above occupation, it totally requires health and no need in capital and means. The working places are some certain gathering points in the city like: stations, car-park and especially in markets trading with big and heavy commodities and large quantity like: Long Bien market in Hanoi, Con market in Da Nang... When dealing with this kind of work, labourers often are imposed strict terms by

gang of ruffians, and have to pay for the *standing - position fee* for them. Many hired workers also had the same attitude to female workers due to increasing participator⁽¹⁾.

- Working as scavenger: It is work in unhygienic condition and sometime it can be seen as a work at the bottom of the society. Those select this sort of job is persons who want to live by real working but out of ability to do any others. The workplace is rubbish dump of the city with means like iron stick, nylon bags and no safety equipment. Their work is dirty and trashy. They suffer the poisonous gas and the risk of antipersonnel and infection for their body. In addition, rascal groups impose their strict regulations for them and force to contribute for practising there ⁽²⁾.

- Working as house-servants: this is rather suitable job for young female workers without educational level and qualification in order to do others and for the elder women. They cook, look after children, take care ailing people and clear

⁽¹⁾ See Nguyen Lan Huong, modern "servant-girl", The Education and Era dated 6/4/1999; Tuan Hoang, Minh Phong, "Entering the city, you carry water with shoulder pole as hired worker," The Law, dated 10/1/1999.

⁽¹⁾ Hong Lien - Force of two strands and one shoulder pole, The Ho Chi Minh city's women special issue No. 36; Lam Thanh - Meeting with women as potters, The Metropolitan women special issue No. 82; Khuat Huyen - Long Bien fruit market operating 24/24 hours per day to generate for thousands of employment for female workers. The Vietnamese women,No. 55,dated 6/12/1999; Lan Huong - Female "porter", The Education and the Era,No. 81 (1681), dated 7/10/1999.

⁽²⁾ Nguyen Tien Dat, Dialogue with "fortune-hunter" in Tay Mo, Vietnam agriculture dated 15-18 Oct. 1998; Thao Suong, Tet on rubbish dump, The Ho Chi Minh Women dated 20/2/1999; Thanh Huyen, scavenging, The Ho Chi Minh city's women Special issue,No. 107; Ly Ha, earning for living by... wastes, The Vietnam Economic Times,dated 22/8/1998.

up rooms. They do not suffer much impact of climate and environments yet their work is much depend upon the attitude and behaviour from two sides; householder and housemaid. As for the housemaid, they are doing some extent must be skilful, clever, earnest and delicate in communication. Ms. Tran Thi Phuc said that since she went to Hanoi, she had worked for two families, both treated her very well and respectively, no existence of employer-employee relation as before. Ms. Ho Thanh Hoa was regarded as family's members, apart from the wage she got, every month she obtained more of 200,000 VND for education, when she was sick or her child had to see the doctor, the householder gave thoughtful care to them. Despite the gap between employer- waged workers has seen some close and friendly relation without ill-treatment like in the past, in this type of work, the worker are still be looked down and disregarded and young women can be victims of body and sexual violation. In contrary, some servants take advantage of householder's trust to steal or break up emotional life of their family- illegal relation with the lord or his children (1).

- Working as tailors or producers in small-scale industry in production establishments: These kinds of work require professional skills, even specific producing machines and equipment, belong much to expansion and development of

production of enterprises and production establishments as well as the pressure of industrial relationship: Ms. Nguyen Thi Thuya tailor; Ms. Nguyen Thi Ha packing for a plastic producing enterprise; Ms. Thai Thi Thuy - a tailor of industrially machine; Ms. Nguyen Thi Do - an assistant for a nylon producing establishment;: Ms. Phan Thi Thu Van- a cook for a company...)

Besides said- above jobs, immigrated female workers can operate some other works such as fishing in inner city's lakes and pond ⁽¹⁾, or motorbike riders; or as tailor and hairdressing learners in shops...However, such works are rare and unattractive to female workers.

In general the works female migrants do quite relevant with their bio-physiological characters and their level of education. The emigrants who come from the same village often do the same work that specific for their local, for example people come from Bac Ninh, Bac Giang usually work as masons, people come from Ha Nam, Nam Dinh work as porters, scavenger, building workers; people come from Ha Tay, Hung Yen usually become junks, street vendors. Thus people come from the same villages or the same communes ask each other do the same work and live closed together in certain place in the cities. For example 60 percent of emigrants in O Cho Dua are scavenger

⁽¹⁾ See Nguyen Lan Huong, Modern "servant-girl", The Education and Era Date 6/4/1999; Tran Khai Thanh Thuy, Story Lists of Osin, Vietnam agriculture dated 3-7 & 8-10 June 1999; To Kim Ngan, Servant a occupation of worthy concern, The Ho Chi Minh city's women special issue No. 58.

⁽¹⁾ Mi Van. Countryside girls working as a fishermen - The Hanoi Women special magazine. No. 106; Thuy Duong - A female motorbike rider, The Hanoi Women special magazine No. 106.

⁽²⁾ Le Thi - Several thoughts about female spontaneous migrant labours in Hanoi, Economics research No. 241- June/1998.

who come from Nam Dinh province; The Chuong Duong, Phuc Tan Quarters are places of street vendors who come from Hung Yen; the Giap Bat quarter is place of emigrants do free-works, who come from Thanh Hoa, Nam Dinh.

3. The relationship between employer - employee and other social pressure

The employer - employee relationship

Among types of employment that female free migrant labourers are undertaking, there are some types existing relationship of employer-employee or employer with hired workers, these are assistants in construction industry, serving in food and beverage shop, restaurants, assisting in families and employing in private production units.

Signing contract is one of the specific characteristics of the stability, the possibility of employment ensure the security for labourers as well as the legal responsibility of employers in contract duration. Our study presented that contracts for migrant women were unsustainable. Contracting duration. However, our study presented that contracts for migrant women were not common and unsustainable. In almost of types of employment with long term working, there are some restaurants, enterprises has signed contract and carried out some good treatment by law labour for women, while most other cases have no contract and no following the Stare's regulations for women. Mrs. Huynh Thi Bay, working in an

enterprise of Tan Binh - Ho Chi Minh city, she said: "It is not difficult to have job there, there is not signing contract, no registration of temporary resident". Mrs. Nguyen Thi Ha, packing the goods in the plastic enterprise (Ho Chi Minh city), she said that there is not signing contract and need not to register the city district population in the city. Mrs. Phan Thi Thu Van is a cook in weave company, Mrs. Nguyen Thi Ngoc Cam is weaver has luckily in signing contract with the company but it is short term contract, for 3-6 months only, she did not received any insurance such as health insurance and social insurance. The remaining got the agreement and verbal contracts that mainly focused on working time and wages only, not containing any other items.

During the discussion between employer and employee, employer and hired worker, excluding some occupations that had defined the common norm in the society such as: house-servant, assistant in construction industry or work for enterprises, the elder women with experiences enjoyed the higher payment for a working day meanwhile the younger ones who newly arrived in cities had to take disadvantage and impose employer's strict regulations. Having the same job as assistant in restaurant in the same quarter but some cases like Nguyen Thi Na and Vo Thi Kim Lien, due to too young and they are new comers in the city, so they received only 250,000 VND per month, it is less than the wages of Mrs. Duong Thi My Nhan and Duong Thi Hong who are older and have been working in Da Nang for 3-4 years. Beside, some too young girls were

maximum exploited by owner they have to work continuously all day and have no time to for a rest. Na and Lien said that they have to wake up at 5 am in the morning and stop working at 11 pm.

Nguyen Lan Huong - the author of the article named "the model servants" has mentioned about status of working of two girls in housemaid work: "It is cold, two girls named Thuy and Van, age 15, they are waken up at 6 o'clock by the owner. One girl cleans the house; another prepares the shop for start selling noodle soup. The big shop at three - way crossroads where very huge number of customers, there are many work to do, two girls work very hard. The assistant work seemed to be simple but they are frantically active because the owner always gives orders to them. Around more than 10 o'clock, the customers are few but two girls are continue to work. "One girl cleans the bowls and other cleans the house and through away all of little". The owner hurry to give orders when someone talking with her employees.

"Going without food for breakfast is normal". Thuy sadly said to me: "Sometime we were hungry because it was time for meals but we were not allowed to stop working". When everyone take a rest after lunch time, two girls have to kill the perching ducks for selling in the afternoon, if there is some small of time, the owner asks them to wash or to cook. The work is really finish at 11-12 pm. They have more than 10 hours working continuously. Even the food is not enough for them,

the owner always talks to them: "why you eat so much" while, when the owner went to two girl's village to take them to Hanoi, she promised many things such as to see them as the daughters, they would be satisfied in working, eating... when they work there for a month, they receive 100,000 VND per person. Holding money Thuy (comes from Viet Tri) count again because she afraid of not enough and Van Anh (comes from Ha Tay) tries to find some where to hide it. - "It is clear that it very difficult to become the owner's daughter".

Assistance in family or in the shops are some young girls age 14-18, they are strong, quick, easy to be given orders, the owner easy to control them, if these employees have some complain or argument they would lost of job. There are someone ready to replace their position"(1)

Some cases the female in training professional; normally they learn and work also. Most of these cases being in learning more time because while they learn in the owners' place, they also work for them and they receive only few of money for wage. Due to needs to work these female labourers have to accept without any comment. Some owners always adopt the employees as their relatives and they come to help the owner's family. To do so, they want to avoid the social blame and the control of authorities. The owners do not wanted their employees to contact with stranger and talk with anyone about the agreement between employer and employees. Mrs. Tran

⁽¹⁾ Education and Era newspaper No 28 6/4/1999.

Thuy L., age 20 comes from Huong Son - Ha Tinh province, while she was wandered in choosing the career to learn after she stop working and learning in hairdresser's. She was introduced to a private sewing. She has been learning for almost 3 years but when being asked about how long she will continue learning there, she said that: "Now I am learning here, I have to followed my owner and depends on her, if she let me learn here I would continue". In fact, she stayed in that shop for 3 years but the time for learning was not much, so she was in low skill and then it was difficult for her to find job as tailor. It may be lack of clear contract from beginning between the owner and Mrs. L. She was learner, not assistant. This is reality that occurred in many cases of female labourers when they find place for learning and working. The employees always think that if they were accepted they would be lucky. Therefore, Mrs. L. may need more time to become a tailor because it is very limit time for her learning, she has to spend time to do house work as a servant.

In some cases, to keep hired female workers, employers held their wage and gave them just a small part of it, only when they came back to hometown and/or the new year came was the wage paid to them totally. As the case of Mrs. H. assistant in a small restaurant at Mien Tay bus station (Ho Chi Minh city) the owner kept her wages of 100,000 VND monthly and only give her 50,000 VND for expenditure. But when being asked how she thought about that, she answered. "I don't know how people think about this, with me it is the way to save money because

I do not spend money now, if my owner gave me all of monthly wages I have to keep it". However, sometime she meets a relatives they tell her that she could not let her owner keep money for her because she would be worked there even when she doesn't like to work". The cases of Nguyen Thi Ngoc H. and Le Thi Minh Ph. in Da Nang, they assistance in selling at clothes shop. The owner served meals and housing and pay for them about 5 "chi" of gold (equal to more than 2 millions of VND), but they can receive at the end of the years only. They are required to work for that shop for at least 3-4 years and then they can find other place if they like. However, they still lucky because they have received enough money. Many employers asked hired female workers to work for them in fixed time. In case of desiring to shift or move to other employers who were more suitable, the employer would deduct partly or even wholly the wage when the agreement was reachable. The case of Miss Le Thi Ly was an example, she works as assistant for rice shop. Miss Ly has a 3 years old daughter, she is divorced, and she asks her mother to take care her daughter and come to Hanoi to find a job. Working in rice shop, she seemed have no time for rest, preparing the shop, serving customers, washing for whole of owner's family, even take care two years old girls of owner's sister daughter. She worked there for a month; she missed her daughter at home and wanted to have some free day to see her daughter. The owner did not agree and didn't pay money for her wage. She tried to work there for 3 months more, it was the end of the year, she couldn't stand with and asked

⁶ FLM-RU

the owner let she go home. The owner through for her 50,000 VND; "The remain is paid for fining because the owner have to find another person to replace..." - There is no signing contract in working, no one for protection, she came home with tears" (1).

Beside of wage, many employers made use of beauty body of female workers to increase income and met their own sexual desire. The owners of the restaurants, bar - karaoke... usually hire young girls for receptionists; they required and encouraged the girls to wear sexily to attract customers, even sometime they organise the prostitute activity. Tuan Hoang - Minh Phong has mentioned in the article named: "Come into city I sell... drinking for hire": "Beside decorating their bar very resplendent, interested music... The owners have hired some bar- sellers with beauty body and have "sexual form" to "attract" the fond of beautiful women of most customer who come there. "Come to my bar to have some coffee, please!" We have not turn of the motorbike yet, when some girls from the bar (...) waved continuously such as they are there to wait for us with the smile... Some girls from the next bar have had a signal as they want to make use for marketing to pull us for their bar. Normally, there are 5-6 young beautiful girls "work" in a bar. In order to crease attractive for customers,

most girls work there have worn the clothes "sexually..."(1). Rather a lot of cases, they did not accepted the employer's requirement and liberties of customers and opposed that. Consequently, they were dismissed. Many young and beautiful female migrant workers were courted and raped. For the sake of living and especially the dominance of employer, many of them had to contain themselves, and some cases they were caught in red hands by the employer's wife and then they were beaten, dispossessed of wage and burdened the consequence by themselves. The case of Mrs. Do Thi Tan, come from Hai Duong province, age 25, she went to Hanoi is not for trading in anything. Her husband was illness. She was not strong also, but she did all of work in the family. She went to Hanoi to work as servant for trader's family. The life is not let her to work. The owner always flirts with her. She tried to protect but one day the owner's wife found that she was pregnant by her husband. Mrs. Tan was beaten and was expelled from the owner's house⁽²⁾.

The case of Nguyen Thi T. age 19, come from Son Tay town (Ha Tay province), she followed some friends went to Hanoi to earn some money for her future life, she is young, strong girl, if she fall in love with urban' man, she would have changing life". T. and other two friends who come from some

⁽¹⁾ Thuy Duong - "People looking for lucky" - Special issue of Metropolitan Women - No 65.

⁽¹⁾ Tuan Hoang - Minh Phong - Law newspaper, dated 10/1/99.

⁽²⁾ Do Thi Thuy - "Some mention about rural women nowadays" - Vietnam Agricultural newspaper, No 65/719, dated 13-16/8/1998.

village have job as assistant in a noodle soup shop at Ngoc Khanh street - Hanoi. The owner over 40 years old always teases mischievously with the "niece". One night, the owner's wife woke up; she didn't saw her husband anywhere in the house. And then she found him sleeping together with the "niece" without any clothes in the top floor of their house. Miss T. was got a sound beating but she too afraid to inform anyone. She was expelled from the owner's house in the next morning with some small change (1).

Many labourers were not ensured materially whenever accidents occurred in working or being beaten, especially the girls with first time go to the city... due to the fact that they had not signed labour contract. Furthermore, the concern and supervision of functional authority were limited. Mrs. Phan Thi T. worked in a private plastic enterprise in Ho Chi Minh city. She was in an accident when she working in the enterprise, the "cua-roa" line of machine had thrown into her body and she lost a little toe, she had to stop working there and become a limping but the owner let her stay in his house for 18 days, when the wound has healed, she comes back her home and now she take some domestic work, her economic status was still in bad.

However it does not mean that the employer-employee and employer-hired worker relationship totally are bad. There were many moved stories on this relationship. As the case of Mrs. Ho Thi Thanh Hoa, she works as an assistant for family in Ho Chi Minh city. She was divorced for 11 years, she went to Ho Chi Minh city with her younger son, both of them stay in the owner's house, her son and she were served food, housing and she has receive 400,000 VND per month. Beside, the owner has given 200,000 VND for her son's education. She was seen as a relative of that family. She said that: "I really meet a very good persons".

The case of Miss. Nguyen Thi Do, age 18, she works for a private enterprise in Ho Chi Minh city, when talking about her owner, Do said that: "I have heard about some owners ill-treat toward the employees, sometime they pick holes in and have suspicion with employees, but I am lucky". She prayed the heaven giving the good health for her owners and they can achieve in business. Her owner's wife said to her: "Try to work had, so you would stay and work for long time for me, you would have a good husband" and she added: "You should stop working on Sunday to take a rest. You should to make use of evening time to learn more from books and newspapers".

In our group discussions, many viewed that employeremployee relation was diversified; yet "that is few cases, in general, urban dwellers behave kindly with hired employees. They do not look down on us or express any attitude, and we feel secure about work and try to do it best by our own ability". However, these relations were merely made up by the

⁽¹⁾ Thuy Duong - Special issue of Metropolitan Women, No 65.

moral, emotional and reasonable foundations but not by close legal framework

In contrary, some employees has taken advantage of the owner to encroach upon sentiment money and influence on all of labourers in the community.

The case of Mrs. Lan, she is a teacher in a school named KD who has treated very well with the housemaid, but the article mentioned that: "The owner have confidence in and have well treated with servant, beside, she gave some present when the relatives of servant sick... and all, the servant asked Mrs. Lan for help. But the servant is very lazy and all of work she did was careless. She was a bad cook and always argues with the owner and even asked her husband to owner's house to make quarrel. She argued that: "I ask you where your grandfathers and grandmothers were born. I am sure that it was a rural area as I was, why you felt contempt for us?... I cook to serve you but you told me that I cook like rural style how to eat..."

Mrs. Lan has spent for the servant 1,4 million VND during nearly 3 months. It was lucky that Mrs. Lan was not rich enough for the servant exploited more, she just take some, included some stolen money from pocket of Mrs. Lan's husband..." (1).

In general, the result of these relationships depended on personnel attitude of employers and employees themselves. Studying and formulating the bases of law for these relationship is necessary. It is not only to protect female free migrant labour in labour safety, signing labour contract, ensuring the wages, security and humanity, but also protect the right for employers. It is time to have law for these questions but not only based on sentiment to avoid some bad consequences for society - an esue nowadays. Beside, we need to make the public opinion, especially from female migrant labourers, criticised the wrong behaviour to keep and spread the good style of rural women: "laborious, simple when they working and living in the city, preserve the moral and traditional style of life of Vietnamese people.

Other social pressures

When female migrant labours in the cities without any help from network of social relationship or they can not find job for themselves through other channels, they have to depend on spontaneous "labour market" in society. Joining into these markets they must highly accepted hit-and- miss affair, they accept the fighting on market for jobs. They may have daily job if they come earlier and someone hires them, sometimes they must wait for whole day or even for several days without finding any work. They have to face with many difficulties in the streets. However, its is not at all. At present, there are some matchmakers who out of authority control, these

⁽¹⁾ Lan Anh - "Labourers from province in the cites" -Police newspapers, No 866, 867.

matchmakers gather the migrants who have demand for job and they transfer these labours to employees who need labour power. After this fast service, migrants who gets job must pay some 50,000 VND for matchmakers and the matchmakers have no any responsibility. Due to simple and convenience, many female migrants themselves can not find job; they have to follow this way. However, because of "simple" and out of authority control, there are some risks may come to labours, especially to, young, beautiful and less experience female labours. They may become the good baits of prostituted trade and become the prostitutes or become the "servant" of some old men who is eager for concupiscence but they can not escape.

Female labourers working in the market always have to pay for someone illegally, even some female labourers collect something in dumps have to pay for someone that so-called "Cai" as some article have mentioned: "It is true, there is a illegal society in the dumps, it is "a big fish swallows a small one". In order to earn in the dump, the labourers have to contribute many kind of "tax". They are "body tax" 1,5000 VND per person, "bicycle tax" - 500 VND per each. Some people living in or beside the dump have to contribute tax for "tent tax" some people selling something and serving for labourers in the dump have to pay also... All of this money is going to pocket of "Cai" of the dump. Furthermore, the discarded things that they collected have been cleaned, classified and sell for "Cai" with cheap price, it was equal

to two third of price in the agents. Though labourers knew that they were appropriated part of but no one can complains and no one take his/her discarded things to agents to sell with higher price, all for existing of life" - an old woman said (!)

Some women work as street vendors were robbed some fruit by some gays and gangsters. When the women have some reaction to them, they accuse falsely women of uncorrected weight and sell with expensive price for them, and some time there is violence⁽²⁾. However, there are some women have these mistakes when they sell in the streets and it makes others being victim of an injustice.

In order to earn, some women need some certain condition but as such they broke the forbidden points of society they are street vendors. Because they have not money to hire the kiosk in the market or inside of the streets, furthermore, the goods like fruit, vegetable need to sell as early as possible in a day, so the seller have to take along of the streets or go doors by doors to sell... However, they have broken the Direction No 36/CP of Government, sometime they are fined by police and kept all of goods and shoulders, pole... but they still work as street vendors and always worry for fined.

⁽¹⁾ Ly Ha - "Earning by collecting the waste" - Vietnam economic time,dated 22/8/1998.

⁽²⁾ Lan Anh- "Labourers from province to city" - Police newspaper, No 867.

Therefore we can see that, when go to city to work, beside the heavy of economic shoulder, the female labourers have stand some other social pressures, these pressures depend on the intending for their future, for example they stay in the city for long time or stay in the city for earning only and then come back home, they go alone or go with their family, what kind of work they do, how the place they live... Raising the blockage of pressures depends on the character of each pressure. Some pressure need the intervention of State by giving the law reform such as the relationship between employer and employee, the others need the strung of society with someone such as - "Cai, Dau gau" that take unfair advantage of female labourer. Some time we use a method of education and propaganda on mass media to labourers and people who have responsibility as a case of street vendor that we have mentioned above. To raise the blockage of the pressures would not only help for labourers to have the peace life in the city but also avoid for State and society the bigger problem.

4. Income of female migrant workers

Income of migrant female workers is still unknown and common discusses because it is difficult to know clearly what they do. The reason is they sometimes operate several jobs and keep secret their real income. Upon their ways of living, some findings suggest that total income of migrants is actually low. However, other researches show the opposite. Some works even offer them higher income than the average level earned by city dwellers.

According to the writer Nguyen Thi Chau Long, from Hanoi DOLISA, findings of a survey on 2,040 immigrated labourers conducted by Planning and Investment Department in September 1999 showed that workers could earn in average 20 thousand VND/day or 600 - 700 thousand/month (in case they still worked at weekend), equivalent to or even higher than the average income of the city workers (US\$ 50/month). To earn such amount of money, female workers had to work assistant in construction, peddlers and waitresses in markets or shops. Those who worked as house-servant and stayed in the same roof with the householder could be paid 200 thousand/month.

Results of in-depth interviews conducted by research groups are to some extents similar to the above assessments.

Ms. Hoang Thi Hong, 33, from Giao Thuy, Nam Dinh, a junk dealer said that "We - women have to make full use of the evening time to clean houses, sell grilled corns on pavements near lodging-house to earn as more as possible. On average, we earn 25-30 thousand VND/day or in other words per 14-15 working hours. If we are too tired we have to put a day off, that means we earn nothing for that day. At weekend, we cannot stop working because we earn more in such days".

"I am paid 10 thousand VND/day as an assistant worker, the main ones are paid 20 thousand/day, ordinary ones receive 14-18 thousand/day," said Ms. Do Thi Hieu, 20, from Chau Giang, Hung Yen.

Ms. Nguyen Thi Loan from Cam Binh, Hai Duong working as a porter in Long Bien market told, "We can earn 30-40 thousand VND/day in case of much goods transported, yet in colds day, less goods transported we earn only 10-15 thousand VND/day".

"The profit from 500 to several of thousand VND for each pair of shoes is up to customers and working days" said Ms. Tran Thi Toan from Nam Truc, Nam Dinh working as shoes seller in Hanoi. In some days, she sold only 7-8 pairs but sometimes she could sell 30-40 pairs. Her average income per month was 700-800 thousand VND excluding expenses of food and housing.

"Every month, my wife brings home 400-500 thousand VND. But in past time she could bring back at least 800-900 thousand VND or even nearly one million/month because of fewer peddlers in markets at that time" said Mr. Nguyen Huu Manh, 40, from Ly Nhan, Ha Nam province whose wife is a bread seller in Kim Ma bus and car station - Hanoi). He added: many other families like his did re-build houses, purchased necessary furniture thanks to incomes from selling goods in markets.

Ms. Nguyen Thi Thuy - sewing and Ms. Nguyen Thi Ngoc Cam -weaving, working for some weaving companies in Ho Chi Minh city each earned 700-800 thousand VND/month. Ms. Nguyen Thi Do (assistant for small nylon bag producing establishments and Ms. Nguyen Thi Truc Mi (book binder) earned 450-500 thousand VND/month.

Some typical cases such as Mrs. Luu Thi Mui in Hanoi, Ms. Nguyen Thi Ty in Da Nang were paid 200 thousand VND every month except expenses on foods and housing with house owner's, sometimes they were given clothes and presents when coming back to see their families. Case of Ms. Ho Thi Hoa in Ho Chi Minh city working as servant in a family, her work started from 12.30 pm to 15.00 pm and lived outside, she is paid 400.000 VND/month. It is like to say that such cases are not occurring popularly.

Other typical surveys like Ms. Nguyen Thi Na and Ms. Vo Kim Lien working as waitresses in restaurants in Da Nang city show that they were paid 250,000 VND/month and had meals with their employers. Especially, Ms. Tran Thi Thuy Nga a waitress in a restaurant in Bui Thi Xuan street in Hanoi was paid 600.000 VND/month.

Besides those who operate only one job, some migrated female workers have to save time to do extra works such as assistant in construction; junk trader or grilled corns seller in the evening like Ms. Hoang Thi Hong. Another example was Ms. Nguyen Thi Ha who was a worker in a company in daytime but in the evening she made clothes by contracts. For such cases, the income may be quite high; for example Ms. Ha 's was up to 1.4 million VND/month.

Thus, we can understand that with the income from most type of works, the female spontaneous migrants not only with their mind at peace for working in the city but also contribute the important financial for their family at the village. Comparably, the income of female workers is lower than the male's. But such cases are harder with technical skills like construction works or working far away like junk dealing. Women cannot do such jobs due to their lack of health, technical capacity, transportation means etc. Some typical studies on male workers below are extracted as examples:

Mr. Pham Ngoc Dang from Nam Dinh, a second-hand electric dealer in Hanoi, brought home some 400.000 VND/month pre-cost on foods and housing for his three children and himself. To earn such amount, he had to ride 50-60 kilometres in small and narrow streets to buy second-hand electric goods every day.

Mr. Nguyen Van Tuan from Khoai Chau, Hung Yen, a shop assistant in Hang Chieu, Hanoi, he could earn 30.000/day for 11 working hours from 7 am to 18 pm in everyday of week.

Mr. Nguyen Dac Dung from Ung Hoa, Ha Tay, a porter in Dong Xuan market, usually he earned 25.000 VND/day, or probably 50-60.000 VND/day for some days but he had to work hard in return and then found hard to get over tiredness after 1-2 days. He came back home once a month and gave his wife 400.000 VND.

Although the differences in incomes between male and female workers is not so large, man spend much more money than women do. Women spend money in a stingy way including expenses on foods and housing. Men beside that spend money on cigarettes and coffee, exclusive of that on wine, beer and

occasions of relative or friend reunification. Therefore, it is clear that for the same work men's income may be slightly higher than that of women but they set aside less than women.

Both genders have the same opinion when being asked to give assessments on such issue. "In terms of economic effectiveness, my wife can bring home more than me though she, a bread seller earns less than me as a porter and doing odd works in Hanoi. But she can save every amount of money, I myself earns more and spend more" said Mr. Do Van Toan from Ly Nhan, Ha Nam. Mrs. Dang Thi Thom whose husband also moved to Hanoi with her was of the opinion that "My husband, a pedicab rider in Hanoi for almost 10 years earns more than I do but he cannot save much" then she, in favour of him, said that he was robbed 300.000 VND and lost a pedicab equivalent to 1,5 million VND.

Based on typical researches on different works operated by immigrated female workers, it presents that for some jobs with specific requirements such as techniques (weaving and garment making) or for some youth factors like the youth, beauty (restaurant waitresses) or for some independent and automatic works such as junk dealers, running business... offer high income. But there are still some with fixed salaries of low payment and unchanged in all regions, areas and cities. As such, income of migrant female workers high or low belongs to selected works by their capacity and preferences. It is worthwhile to mention is that even though the real

income they earn is quite high, migrants have to practice with too long working hours, effect on restoration and protection of their health. Moreover, their earning amount is not small in comparison with income of city dweller but they did not come into any social welfare, all their life depend to markets, thus they need to be industrious and thrifty in daily life to save some of money for their family or for themselves when get risk or out of work. The spending way of migrants sometime to be seen as parsimony by some city dwellers who is not sympathetic.

II. HEALTH STATUS AND HEALTH CARE

1. The health status of female spontaneous migrant labours

It's studied that 60 percent of interviewed people are good for their health, not change after moving, 18 percent in which stated that their health get worse than last time and 22 percent said that their health was improved than last time. However, the studies showed that the health and disease status of female spontaneous migrants labours is existed a problem.

On physically, although majority of them is strong and gets little sickness, they are ready to cope with the city life to bring up themselves and their family at the homeland; they are not big and often slim with black skin. This fact stated for their work hard and less on health care themselves.

According to result from the first preliminary survey on health status in Ho Chi Minh city with 318 votes: approximately

70 percent of people have at least an internal symptom, more than 20 percent of victims have a disease and 7 percent have more than 2 diseases(1). In fact, this number is not too high in comparison with workers in some factories, industrial production and handicraft and harmful environment factors. However, these data on health of migrant labours make more concern.

Employment and living condition ...

It is the fact of result that female migrant labour's health status closely related to their age, educational and economic condition. Among them the most important is their working condition and living environment.

In general, for the main purpose is to earn living, the immigrated women labour force always made great effort to do the job and wait for another job, especially the porter. They often take over main tasks that related to building, loading from trucks, carrying luggage from station to the market, stores or agencies, doing housework... It is very difficult to define their capacity because sometimes they must wait for duties all time. When they assigned tasks they forced to do continually in order to take space. Moreover, they identified that the time is not long enough to solve the difficulties. They are easy to be exhausted, and hard to pursue long-term work, although most of them went to cities when they have free time, apart from women, they do the job more continuously. A few women who

⁽¹⁾ Vo Hung. Report in workshop: "Job for female spontaneous migrants into city". Hanoi, 4-5 July-2000.

^{7 -} FLM-RU

are interviewed have time to take over these duties more than 5 years in regular only more than 2-3 years.

It is clear that women who do the work as potters or loading goods often have backache, sickness. On average, the potter can carry more than a ton of luggage per day in the hard conditions such as staying up late, getting up early. Many porter got risks, their health was damaged and this could change them into the heavy shoulder for their family and society. Mrs. Tran Thi Nghia (Hai Hau- Nam Dinh) 45 years old - going to the Long Bien market to do the job as a potter, she felt into the situation of backbone hurt because of heavy shoulder. Amounts of money she earned is not enough for treatment. She came back to countryside in the state of completely poor heath⁽¹⁾.

Even a young woman, Mrs. Do Thi Hieu, 20 years old, she had to do the job as a mason and prepared meal for workers at Noi Doanh commune Dong Minh district, Chau Giang, Hung Yen. She said the mason is a hard job, being a woman who is weaker than men by nature have to do that job is really more difficult. "In the morning I have to get up at 4.30 am, prepare meal for workers, cleaning and dining at 6.30 when they finish. At that time the masons who are men could have rest for tea and then at 7, start the work as a sub-mason including mixing and carrying mortar, brick for the builders. At 10 I have to go

to market for preparing lunch. At 12.30 the workers have lunch and then at 1.30 pm I start the sub-mason in the afternoon. Until 5 o'clock I go on preparing dinner for them and completing the work at 7.30. After working very hard all day, I go to bed at 9". When having asked for entertainment she said because of hard work all day, at night she felt really tired so she had not demand for entertaining, mainly completing tasks she wanted to go to bed as soon as possible. Moreover, the living places are not good enough so her health got worse clearly, some symptoms appeared: a pain in back, a pain in neck... She said when they made foundation or ceiling, she had to carry a volume of mortar about 1 ton per day. Therefore, every 15-20 days, she came back for resting and then 2-3 days to recover the health and returned Hanoi for working. Another example, the case Nguyen Thi Kim Cuong, 21 years old, from Tra On - Vinh Long province said that her job is mixing and delivering mortar and carry bricks for builders so after finishing the tasks, she fell into backache and her hands got considerable swell because she always stood in the sunshine. She is easy to stiff, be thinner but she looked stronger.

It seems to be comfortable for many women who are selling bread at vendors in Hanoi but vice-verse. Mrs. Thao - a characteristic in article "I am applying for job" - Bach Yen writer: "She often get up at 4-5 am and carry bread to sell, at noon she came back for lunch and then doing the same work until 10-11 p.m. She revealed on average, *I sell 100 loafs of bread, get 300 Vietnamese Dong profit and total 30.000*

⁽¹⁾ Le Hanh - the Family & Society Newspaper.

Dong profit per day but I have to walk all time, very exhausted. I call up so much that I feel hoarse voiced. If taking a calculation, every day they have to walk about 10 kilometres multiply with 30 days, 12 months, do the same with 2-3 years, we can get the result of kilometres that make us unimaginable surprise

Some cases are men who did the job as porters- carrying constructional materials could not avoid getting worse for the health. Mr. Le Quang Vinh from Ly Nhan Ha Nam used to go to Hanoi together with his wife to work at Kim Lien station, and then moved to Hanoi station, after working for 2 years he got worse for his back and forced to come back for resting since 1997 meanwhile his wife had to sell bread at vendor in Hanoi.

Others such as: builders, masons who account for high rate on some diseases: fainted, dizzy.... some others felt down from scaffolding into the land... In which a few cases were starvation or hunger to save money for their family and children.

With the different jobs such as sell things at vendor, newspapers, abolished materials women always walk along many streets, they always have to suffer from dust, rain and bad weather. On average they have to walk about 30 kilometres around the radius 6-12 kilometres. For the sellers who sell fruits and cakes they had to sell over they bought in order to avoid reducing in price as well as poor quality that result in the reduction on another day. Moreover, they sometimes have to get up early to prepare for the sales- Mrs. Nguyen Thi Thuy, an

example, 36 years old living in Quang Ngai selling soy-bean.. in Ho Chi Minh city. She said "She has to get up at 2 am to prepare for the sale at 7 am and then come back until 3 pm". Although she has just had a 15 month-baby she still go out for sale around Bui Dinh Trang street, Ngo Duc Ke, Phan Van Tri... Because of her poor health, in addition to this she has just had a baby so she sometimes fells dizzy or has headache. Mrs. Nguyen Thi Binh, 43 years old from Dai Cuong, Quang Nam, sell things at vendor in Da Nang city said "My job is very hard but I have to work industriously so that I can get profit and save money for my life so I have to walk along many streets and every day I walk around the city about 20 kilometres". Another case: Mrs. Doan Thi Lun, 34 years old from Thanh Binh, Quang Nam province said "Working like this we eat, drink, sleep more regular than the time we stay at home so we are fatter but walking so long every day 10-15 kilometres. Sometimes we feel so tired as a result of the sunny weather, we only drink water without eating. Recently, I have backache, sometimes I feel so tired that I caught train to return with my children for 2-3 days".

A few women mentioned that their work is rather suitable for the women's heath, eating is better than the time we stay at home, more regular but the health is normal sometimes fatter and more wealthy. However, most of them said that the last working days too long affected on their health.

An important issue that needs to be mentioned: In the redundant employment, in order to minimise the price, we must

save expenses as much as possible (employment cost, protection) is the way employers implement completely. *Most of the migrants have to buy laboured instruments and protective equipment for themselves in the limited economic condition formerly. Therefore, in many cases, workers do not use the protective equipment.* In some normal works like cleaning drainage, toilets and collecting rubbish or making hair dressed are necessary to use masks, boots, glovers. Or in some other works in industrial sewing machine, workers are required to equip with gauze mask to avoid the dust of cotton and wool.. These had very bad effect on their health especially for female migrant workers.

In recent years, thanks to the economic development, some joint venture has been established, they attract a great deal of immigrate female workers, especially for those who have high skill. Working in the joint venture can obtain the higher income than that paid for other occupations in past time, however, their health is affected quickly. Ms. Nguyen Thi Quynh, 24, she had been staying in Da Nang for 6 years, at the first 4 years, she worked as a tailor in a export garment factory there, after knowing that a Taiwan joint venture company was recruiting employees, she applied for a job there. She said: "Working in this toys manufacturing company, she can obtain much higher income in comparison over that in previous work, yet the working intensify is rather high (10 hours/day), sometime I have to work overtime, although I am young and have not get married, I sometime get tired and backache.

The elderly in the company have to take some days off because they feel too tired. There is no medical insurance in the company, sickness can be card by the nurses on the site by normal medicine. The labour insurance is totally absent, whenever the accidents occurs, the workers have to take the whole responsibility, and if they have to take leave, they have no payment for that". Ms. Nguyen Thi Ngoc Cam, working for a Tan Binh garment company, due to high-intensify shifts, her health had been reduced much. She said: "After a working shift, I am almost exhausted, and when backing to the loadinghouse I just want to take a rest", she added, "due to the continued work without any leave during the contract, only taking 2 Sundays, probably, my working speed will be decreased in next few years, now I am young and I can bear with this, but in the future I am not sure I can do as much as now. Some older women in the company keep on complaining about their stomach-ache and backache, they are over 30 and married with children".

With free employment such as scavengers, it is clearly to see the bad influence of the work and living standard on their health. Talking with us, some said that they often got the sore throat, noise inflammation, disease on digestion, headache, vomit... Beside the people do this work often have foot or hand cut, tread on thorns or nails. An presented that: "Everybody get black like African, the only white point in their face is tooth, it is because of the ash of the tires. They fire it to get

light.."(1). In the Tay Mo rubbish dump, Tu Liem, Hanoi, there are about 200 scavengers, of which some tens of them are males, 1/3 are children of 10-16 years old, the remaining are female, they can get around 20-30,000 VND per day, their income can not paid for their pale face. Regardless it is a rainy or sunny day, the scavenger (majority of them are women and children) and have to "live with" so many disease-causing virus and poisonous smell. They do not have to pay any capital and interest to practice their work. They can get the stable income for their hard working. They collect materials for production of recycling the waste things for making products that will be useful for the society, they do not care much on their health; no protection, no insurance for those who are living by the rubbish dump(2).

We have met with many women with bare feet in the rubbish dump, although they have witnessed many accidents due to the scratch or pin. Case of Mr. K in Van Dien, he had to conduct an operation due to the scratch in his foot. .. The careless can lead to the unexpected consequence, which is not recognised by not all scavengers. The management of rubbish dump seems to have no regulation to health protection for them. Recently, a worrying from The article "risk of infecting HIV in Nam Son rubbish dump" by Hoang Thao Nien (3) showed that: "A new

day starts from 2-3 a.m., scavengers mainly are women and under 15-year children ... Ms. L.T.T. said that she had been working as a scavenger for 3 years, it seem to be that she knew all the big or small rubbish dumps in Hanoi. In past time, she cycled every where and got little money but lost much of energy, at the moment she resided here, in Nam Son rubbish dump and saved not so much money and had to suffer with the smelly odour.

A little girl called Lien, showed me her hands with several scratch due to injection needle and other sharp things caused... scavenging rubbish and getting hurt from it is found very common, Ms. D. had needle on her hands and had to stay at home for two weeks... Everyday, there are hundreds of trucks coming here. It is unclearly to have exact number of needles in it. Not only the respiratory diseases can be got from the terrible smell from the rubbish dump, but also some risk of getting infected when collecting with the sharp things, and not everybody can realise that the needles of HIV carriers can be transmitted to them by the scratches... This is a big gap to increase the spread of AIDS in the poor community.

In the Dong Thanh rubbish dump in Ho Chi Minh city, the situation is similar. This is one of the biggest rubbish dumps in the city with 400 households working and living there. At night, the large numbers of food- serving points locate right in the top of the smelly rubbish dump.

⁽¹⁾ Vietnam's Agricultural newspaper, dated 15-18 October 1998

⁽²⁾ Thanh Huyen. HCM city Women's, No. 120.

⁽³⁾ Hoang Thao Nien. "Risk of infecting HIV in Nam Son rubbish dump" The Vietnamese Women newspaper, 7/8/2000.

When studying the heath condition of labour force and social services in field of accommodation, living furniture, employment services, heath services, and family planning services... the women labour force- available feeling is they have not enough efficient accommodation to recreate their heath.

Female labour migration

They usually live in poor, narrowed and wet accommodation with high-density population. Two - third of them had to hire a narrow space and share the same roof with others paying 500-2000 VND per night on few square meters per head. Most of them have to lay on the sedge mat or cement foundation or brick arrangement, sometime they have to lay on the attic or even in the rubbish dump, markets, few people stay in the same house with the employer and restaurants with better conditions. Most of them are provisionally staying, in hot days it gets hotter terribly, in rainy days it gets flooding... the moisture in these loading-houses fails to meet the hygienic standard, the temperature is often over the regulation rate of 4-5° C and the content of CO, CO,, H,S all exceed the permitted level. The most worrying matter is that the number of mini-virus on the air is so many. The total number of aerobic virus is more 8-10 times than the hygienic level. The number of bacterium, mould virus is over tens times of the standard level, especially the density of Ecoli bacterium is too much and they are the microoganism for diarrhoea(1). It has not mentioned to the situation of the houses which are out of the safety, and lack of water and power supply and latrines that mentions above. As a consequence, they are prone to falling into such diseases as: breathy, digest and gynaecology.

Work of female serving as housemaid or servant in families in city are unlike to other jobs like seller or collecting things, they do not have to go out in the rainy or hot, but they have to stand with the pressure on the psychology, they always have to foresee and do work with caution, they are very afraid of doing work wrongly or break something and if it would be the case, they will be fined at once. This affect on their spiritual health. Mrs. Luu Thi M. state that when she was 60 and worked as a assistant for a family which selling chicken and hen in the market, on the occasion of holidays or Tet, she had to killed about 200 chickens, her hand was always dipping in the hot water and got dirty by the excrement, her hands was wounded and to be gaped, and so that she had to stop her working there. After that, she moved to another family and worked as a servant there. She cooked, looked after a child and washed clothes. This family did the job of dissecting pigs. She always afraid of being complained and scolding by them (may be she could not go downstairs in time to pick the phone and listen to the householder's partner when he was out or her hand was so weak that she could not wash cleanly their clothes...) until one day, the householder was impolite and her self-respectfulness could not allow her stay there any more.

⁽¹⁾ Vo Hung- Report in Workshop "female spontaneous migrants into city," Hanoi, 4-5/7/2000.

Nguyen Thi Lien, she worked as an assistant in a *Pho shop* (the shop sell noodle soup) in Ton Duc Thang street, Hanoi, the owner's doughter often takes the special attention to her working, sometime Ms. Lien broke things and therefore she often felt scared. Ms. Duong Thi My Nhan worked as a assistant in a rice shop in Da Nang had the same situation as Ms. Lien, they were very uncomfortable with the attention of the owner's doughter, who was assigned to look after the shop. Ms. Lien said: if it was not for the sake of making end of living, she would leave here long time ago, however she respected the owner and wanted to be here to help her.

Most of cases working in food and drink serving shops, the hired workers there had to do a high-intensify work right at the time of having meals, and they only had it after that; at that time they were so tired and did not have the foods that had been served for guests, they had just the left for their meals. Have such meals in addition with the tiredness from running up and down they could not eat much, therefore, their health got worse and worse. They were very afraid of being sick, because they were not allowed to do normal work as a waitress but had to do such hard works as washing and cleaning; Nguyen Thi Thanh Hien said, "I have to take care myself, because the owner dislike sick persons, especially who get cough, running nose since guests do not like to come, hence, whenever we have the sign of cough she often urge us to buy medicine from the chemist's and do work in the kitchen. Such works are much harder than serving customers because we have to go to bed late". She also said:

"We are afraid of getting sick. The bus station is very dirty, water stagnating and damp with a lot of mosquitoes. Our customers are all of kinds including smugglers, drug addicts". If we are ill we have to work in backward areas so we are often getting more tired, even sicker".

Some female workers working for hire as house servant face much more difficulties than ever expected. The article "Maids in modern life" written by Ms. Nguyen Lan Huong shows some cases: Ms. Thuy, 17 from Thanh Hoa to Hanoi is an example. She found a job as a house servant with meagre payment but hard working. However, she is of the thought to accept that. She is working for hire in a family and very hard working. After several months she finds it hard to stand the flirtation of the boss (whose age is somehow as much as her father). One morning, she rushed into the room of her female boss and bust to tear. The woman immediately understood and she tried to make Thuy comfort with sugary voice and gave her a sum of money to get her out of the house. Thuy had little choice but to leave quietly due to their irresponsibility.

No few girls working as house servants had to leave because they couldn't stand the humiliation, some even had to suppress their resentment and leave with a big belly of pregnancy. More unfairly, they are suspected to be not faithful. Houses' owners often carefully watch all movement and use of household goods of hired workers. They are considered to be stealers, even become betrayers if possible.

Such thoughts leave a complicated mood on them and in long-term affect their productive heath.

One thing should be mentioned is most of migrated women are tied to one kind of jobs including those of hardness and toxicity during the whole time working in the city and that makes their jobs harder and more difficult and most are manual works. Poor working conditions heavily affect their health and make it hard for them to take care of the health. It is due to many reasons. One main reason is the poor educational level and incompetence that make it impossible for them to find jobs. Furthermore, they are pressed by difficulties in life so that they have little choice but to find works in new living place without any chance to improve themselves due to high costs involved. Meanwhile, employment services and vocational centres are limited and really out of reach by those people.

It is also necessary to mention here the case of no few women, especially young girls going to big cities who are induced to get into social evils. Such makes high the increasing trend of HIV inflection in our relatives and community, affecting their health in particular and that of the community in general. Because this group does not belong to any social organisations and they get little access to education and propaganda as well as to family consideration and other ethical principles. Apart from those who work in-groups of the same villages, those who work in restaurants have their own life. The documentation "An increasing number of rural girls going

to Saigon to sell drugs" (1). The author mentioned that "They share the same way of becoming legal infringes: leaving home to Saigon to earn better life, first hiring residence to live and working as manual workers, then being induced by bad men. Such men gradually attract young girls by their modern motorbikes, mobile phones to leave works and live like couples with them. In the end they gather in key areas of social evils... It is hard to prevent the case because Women and Youth unions get little access to them. Footwear and garment enterprises where young girls get into right after leaving home are the only places that can keep them".

The article "Rural girls to cities" by Ho Quang shows "Although they earn more money, girls in my village are too young and when they come back home they look rather emaciated with poor health. Many parents are first concern about sums of money brought home by their daughters then they can't help bursting to tear due to their daughters' illness". The case of Mrs. Thai Thi M, who was born in 1979 in Nghia Dan, Nghe An working for Tung Hong restaurant in Vinh city is much tragic, M was fall in die in one'sshoes when seeking a new life⁽²⁾. Mass media and social rumours are of much concern about cases of their bringing back home illnesses or getting weak and withered.

⁽¹⁾ Dieu Thu – Phuong Hoa, The Youth newspaper No.71 – May 3/1999A.

⁽²⁾ Ho Quang, Vietnam Agricultural newspaper No. 97, December 3-6/1998.

Some cases such as mostly house servants are enjoying better health condition than when they were still at home. It is understandable because working as house servants brings them more money and better eating conditions since they live and also have meals with the family. They enjoy good sleeping places and feel free to use other household goods as television, fridge, and even air conditioner when it is hot. Therefore, on being asked such people are really truthful to answer "our health is much better as we are gaining weights and getting fair complexion". However it is very few, beside, we meet many female migrants who get risk on health that caused of bad living and working condition in the cities.

2. State management and health service for female migrants

In such status of health and diseases of female migrants, how Sate management and health service for this field.

Nearly 100 percent of spontaneous migrants together with their relatives are not subject to be taken care for the preliminary health. Most of them haven't got welfare insurance including the women who are working for stable production organisations because they only have limited contract but without resident. Few women are put on the regular staff, at least after 3-5 years. They are awared inefficiently on the law so they do not know how to require the employee user to solve the social insurance policy and health care policy. Others not pay much attention to a reality that they do not aware long-

term interest meanwhile they only feel completed when using insurance card. Moreover, they have to suffer from great pressure for their work so they are afraid of getting contacts with employee users.

For the employers, they know the way they implement is illegal on labour regulations but for the business purpose, they did not give the insurance issue in the contract, they find the way to use their employees with short time contract but high intensity, hard work, the employees find it difficult to work long in order to became official staff. In this case, the employees are considered not to meet the work requirements for the contract duration, they themselves become out of work because of their health, qualification and skills.

While the cost of health services is very high, includes State units. The income of female migrants is not low but unstable, thus they face difficulties inuring health service for them. A few people go to the health care services including heath service where is near the living places for treatment. It is clear that this help to overcome pernicious situation because of limited expense. According our preliminary study, this number is very few and very few cases have to go to hospital.

The cases of migrant labour go to health centre or hospitals of the city when they have serious diseases that they can not "treated" themselves such as serious accidence (broken arms or legs...). With the simple disease, they go to pharmacy to buy some medicine and treat themselves (75 percent). They

really unknown the fact that most pharmacies sell medicine by the way to treat the symptoms without thinking about long term effects of the medicine. Mrs Tran Thi Toan mentioned that "all the health protection and treatment are managed by myself and it is quite simple. When I am taken ill I stay at home and go to pharmacy to buy some medicine. Pharmacist just listen to my telling and then she/he selling medicine. When I fell better, I continue to go to work". This is general situation of spontaneous migrant labourers, moreover, in the fact most female migrants is in "strong ages" 16-45, little sickness. They have sense in their health protection because they afraid of being sickness when they living far from home, they often stop working and immediately treated when they fell tired.

Therefore, the using of health services and serving of these services for migrants labours is not much and having less concerned from both sides. The effect of migrant labours on State health services where they come is limited but increased at some local services where concentrated emigrants. Thus it is impossible to say that emigrants become a great obstacles for health services in the cities as well as overloaded on number of beds for patients at present. Othermore, female spontaneous migrants live in the cities without district city population, so they are out of State health service systems. Very few female migrants have jobs in enterprises but there is no contract signing, no social security, so they are not effected to State health services.

Female spontaneous migrants are out of States plan in health care in the cities and they are not included in the vocacy for family planning programme, the Strategy for unit social diseases of mass organisations where they come into the cities. Therefore, some diseases are out of controlled such as gynaecology and other diseases.

In above mentioned, emigrants in general and female spontaneous migrants in particular have unstable jobs and accommodation are not subject to the city's policy. The city's management on emigrants mainly based on civil status, the number of people who come or take away together with management related to social security. Even this management scale is unstable and insufficient, the welfare health care and family planning for migrants into cities are most difficult issues and they mostly are set loosely. It is said that, migrants became drifting victims, they are not allowed to enjoy some health services.

Being out of health cervices system, migrants in general and female spontaneous migrants in particular. It is suffer a loss not only for them but also is a risk for society, because the diseases ravage a huge number of labour force of society. Beside, due to out of health service system, some social diseases among migrants are not controlled, excavated and treated, it became the source for dangerous epidemic. Therefore, we should have hospital for poor people, reduce the fee for examination and treatment for poor people.

Organisation the volute of physicians and come to places where many spontaneous emigrants residence. To propaganda and agitate emigrants understand the importance of health protection is that not only for themselves but also for whole society. To make known a plan of unit social diseases and agitate for family planning among emigrants.

HII - THE LIVING CONDITION

Following the job and income question, the living condition of female spontaneous migrant labourers into cities is the big question of society. It effects to labourers and urban social life. The important factors that formed into living condition of female migrant labourers included city district population, food, housing, health cervices and other cultural - social actions...

1. Housing condition

Housing condition of migrant labourers depends on intending for their chosen future.

If someone migrates together with their family and wants to stay in cities for long time, they would find stable place for living. Some emigrants have amount of money from selling their house (land) at their departure or receive money from relatives, they have bought a house or land for building a house in the city. The remaining living in house for rent or living in illegal- lived area.

Result from our in-depth interview showed that there are 30 percent of cases go to Ho Chi Minh city together with

husband and children. All of them have hired separated house to live. The other case studies from Hanoi have given the same result. These people mentioned that they have to stable the place for living because their capital is limited if they have not living place after coming into city, they would quickly spend all of their money and their families become houseless.

However, they hired the simple houses, especially the houses built in illegal-lived area, most of them made of cheap material, even they did not buy it but collect from dumping area, like bamboo, nylon, oil - paper, etc. There are not fresh water supply, no toilet and bad sanitary condition; poor in electricity equipment. The area of the temporary house around 30 sq.meters for people come earlier but for people come late can have only 10 sq. meters. They live cramped in narrow room, in such temporary house normally used for 4-5 people, even for 10 people. In some areas like Phuc Xa - Hanoi where many migrants live, the temporary houses for them gathered the socalled "xom bui" or "xom lieu" (the illegal-lived area) that it has many social problem such temporary - living areas are place for social evils, such as drug, prostitute, criminals. Mrs Nguyen Thi Thuy in Ho Chi Minh city tell about her living place: "This group has many house for rent, some female migrants become prostitute to earn money to send for their family".

These are some families built their temporary houses or tents on the rubbish dump. On the paper: "Tet beside the dumping area" - Women Ho Chi Minh city newspaper, the

author Thao Suong has mentioned the life (housing and eating) of migrants at the Dong Thanh rubbish dump. "The migrants there live in temporary, narrow, dark houses. There are hundreds of such houses around this rubbish dump" (1). Ly Ha has reflected the same subject in paper named "Earning by ... waste", he mentioned that: "Around the rubbish dump of Nhue Giang, there are nearly twenty temporary tents and perhaps they eat on the waste, sleep on the waste, so they are very thin, with grey faces and unknown the diseases are watching them everyday. They come from many provinces like Ha Tay, Thai Binh, Hai Duong... and even some people come from Hanoi" (2)

Therefore, it is recognised that female migrants labour together with their family into city are quickly arranged their living place. In Ho Chi Minh city, there are 70 percent of migrants have stable place due to buy the houses or build illegal houses in the public land (3). However, only few people have strong house, most of them live in temporary houses. In Go Vap district, where many migrants, there are 61,9 percent of migrant households live in temporary, low, dark house. The migrants go alone to city (60.7 percent) have the same situation in housing, Of them, the permanent house make

up 38.1 percent but only 14.3 percent among these type of houses are own using, the remain are hired houses⁽¹⁾.

The total cost of temporary houses about some hundreds or around 1 million VND. And hiring price of simple house is about 150,000-200,000 VND/month depends on agreement, situation of the houses and level of its facilities.

However, the number of migrant go together with their family is small, but large number is people go alone.

Based on relation with their job in the city, the migrant's accommodation will be divided into 3 categories.

- The first category includes people work as servants, assistant in restaurants, shop; workers work in small enterprise (private or state), they would live in owner's house or places of production.
- The second category in case of building workers they stay in temporary house at building places.
- The third category are people work as small traders load and unload by hand, pole shoulders in the market..., they live in hiring simple houses.

Except the servants who live in owner's house with quite good condition, the other like assistant in bar, restaurant, workers work and live in production place ... they use some

⁽¹⁾ Thao Suong, "Tet beside the dumping area".

⁽²⁾ Ly Ha "Earning by... waste. Vietnam Economic News, 22/8/1998.

⁽³⁾ Vu Thanh - "Migrants in Ho Chi Minh city" - Vietnamese women newspaper No 44 - Sep. 20th, 1999.

⁽¹⁾ Nguyen Quoi - "Migrants in Ho Chi Minh city" and case study in Go Vap district.

tables or boards instead of beds, even they use the old mad to spread on the foundation of house after working day.

People live in hiring house have the same bad condition of house. Because most of migrants want to save money, they gather by group of the same work, the same native village to share in hiring house, this reduce the housing expenditure for them. They send about 30-60 thousands VND/person/per month depends on hiring price and number of sharing people. However, when many people live together, the condition of house become worse. In order to serve many people, the owner of the house must spread the boards and mad on the floor instead of using bed for sleeping. Migrants have a whole day working very hard out side, they need a lying place only, so they accept this condition. The case studies have mentioned these real situation. This question has discussed on some newspapers such as on the paper named "Meeting the women carry goods" in special issue - Metropolitan women, the author has shown a place where many women doing this work live, with the area around 200 Sq. meters but there are 50 women live. At this place, the bed-planks were set up and spread on the floor as the big bed for sleeping. On the other newspaper (Vietnamese women newspaper No 5 Dec. 6th, 1999), Khuat Huyen has described the temporary living of migrants: "A 16 Sq. meters room contained 24 persons, there is no bed, only old mad were spread on the brick floor, or the old bed-planks at wet place. Out side is the toilet made of old bamboo lattice, near by is kitchen

with 3-4 oil - cookers and some bowls and bottles that cover by brush and cobweb".

It is more addition that at present many migrants live in temporary house, lack of facility but they still lucky to have a place to live while there are many others have to wander and live in public places or pavements. They are new migrants or have not a job yet, have to lead the life of wandered, being effected from sunlight, rainy, cold wind and make a bad nature screen for cities.

Thus, housing for migrants into cities is the problem that effected to society as well as migrant labourers. If we accept the migrant labourers into cities, we should have policy to solve the question of housing for them in order to keep urban security and order, otherwise to protect the health for migrant labourers.

2. Eating situation

The main purpose of migrant labourers is earning for them and for their family in difficult conditions, most of them are thrifty in eating, especially female migrants.

Labourers work as servants or assistants in restaurant are served food, they have better in eating, some people go with their family and have stable work with stable income they also have better condition. Mrs Nguyen Thi Ha - in Ho Chi Minh city has income 1.4 million VND per month from many source of income so their life is stable, while the large number of remain spontaneous migrants are low diet. They always spend at minimum level for eating.

According to some researches, some migrant labourers can spend 14-17 thousands VND per day for food, drink and tobacco. This level of expenditure is not very high in urban area. However, this spending level is not for many migrant labourers, especially for women. Expending for food and drink of female labourers are very low and different from its of male labourers, and different from result of Nguyen Duc Chinh's research (1).

Normally, female labourers spend 2000-3000 VND for meal and it is not exceed 10,000 VND. Mrs Hong works in Hanoi has income about 25-30 thousands VND per day but she spends 7,000 VND for eating and housing; Mrs Tinh, work in Hanoi spends only 4,000-5,000 VND per day for food and drink... Mrs Bay in Ho Chi Minh city has stable income 600-700 thousand VND but she spends 7,000 VND for lunch and dinner, she never has breakfast.

In general, with the earning they have, female labourers can spend more for food and drink to have good health for them. However, with the inherent character of industriousness and they have need to help the relative in the family and want to have saving of amount, *most women are very limited in spending for their own*. This seemed to be a general trend and

cultural character of female spontaneous migrant labourers in the cities. This limitation in expenditure sometime has the negative effect for their health, especially when they are working very hard. Changing in awareness and expenditure of female migrant labourers is not easy to due to the above-decided reasons.

3. The cultural, intellectual life

In order to ensure the life for her in the city and have money for her family, female spontaneous migrant labourers must concentrate to earn. Some females work in business units; especially in private one usually have long time working day or work without thinking about time, it makes them tired after working day, thus their need it take a rest. Some labourers can manage themselves in their work like small trader, porters or carrier by pole and shoulder they try to find some more work or have long time earning on the working day. Their time-load normally around 12-14 hours per day. Because of hard working or long time working day, they do not watch TV or read any newspaper, even it is accessible. Mrs Tran Thi Tinh tell that: "After working day, I am very tired, I want to go to bed only, and do not like watching TV or reading anything". This is the situation of Mrs Na; Vo Thi Kim Lien, Nguyen Thi Le, Duong Thi My Nhan and others. Moreover, some people have job such as street vendors go along street day by day but they never pay attention where is beautiful and where is famous landscape. Some people have been in city for several years but they have

⁽¹⁾ Nguyen Duc Chinh - "Question of labour market in Hanoi" - Journal of sociology, No 2 (54), 1996, "Changing in socio-economy and emigrant labour from rural-urban in the North of Vietnam" - Journal of Sociology, 2 (58) 1997

never go for sightseeing like the case of Mrs Phuc or Nguyen Thi Thanh Hien - assistant in restaurant at Mien Tay bus station for 3 years but she never seen Tao Dan park and even the Phu Lam park - nearest park from her living place.

Lacking of cultural and intellectual life, female labourers are limited in social contract with urban people and they do not participate in social actions of urban people. They are not allowed to attend the meeting group or mass organisation of urban people. Beside relation in working, the intellectual relation ship of female labourers is exchange in small group of migrants who come from the same village, and hire the same house about the way to earn and information about their families at their native village.

Because of their situation in cultural life, they are limited in knowledge and full grasp. There are some sad stories among female spontaneous migrants such as become superstitious, have a blind belief in something. The story happened in Hanoi on watch-night of the year 1999-2000, many female spontaneous migrants from Ly Nhan - Ha Nam living in Hanoi who Catholic have belief in someone say that watch-nigh was end of the World. Therefore, they all cry because they have to die while they stay far from home and they are not baptised before they die. It is not few, especially young female labourers limited in social relation, low level of education, so they are dragged in to illegal action such as drug, prostitute...

From above mentioned, there are some issues on the living condition of female spontaneous migrant labourers into

cities. Some question belong to migrants themselves such as limited in expenditure for food, housing but some questions belong to management of State, such as city district population security service, housing and the propagandise of mass organisations, the culture... The existing of these question not only effect to migrants on their security of body, their health and happiness of their family but also to social life, screen and cultural life of the city. Therefore, solving these problems would help the migrants and development of the cities in tendency of increasing number of migrants into the cities.

IV - SOCIAL RELATIONSHIP OF THE MIGRANTS AND THEIR INTEGRATE WITH URBAN LIFE.

On migrant process, the migrants often create social relationships and effected by them. These relationships become the network that has very important influences and decides the whole migrant process.

The influences of social network of relationships on migration in many aspects: decision for migration, selection arrivals and mix with urban life of migrants, especially for female spontaneous migrants, their feedback to families, relatives. However, these influences are different between individuals, between households and between sex. With the migrants who limited on resources, the social network becomes an important strategy for development of individuals and families.

1. The relationship with relatives and friends at the arrivals.

The result from some previous studies as well as our study about emigration showed that: migrants always base on social relationships, firstly on relatives, friends to transfer and receive the information and necessary help when they decide to migrate. Among the social relationship, the relationship bases on family play an important role, and trustier than other relationship. After several years of migration, there is existed the migrant networks between areas in whole the country.

Through this relationship, the spontaneous migrants can take shape in their mind the intending of migration, time to move and other necessary conditions to adapt with new life in the city. Since migration is a process with many risks, adventures, therefore a reliable social network will diminish the risk causing by the lack of information, the social linkage in migration and immigration process between the *arrival and departure will decrease economic and psychological consequence in the process, at the same time provide more successful opportunities of migrated objects at the arrival (1).*

As Mrs Tran Thi Tinh from Giao Thuy - Nam Dinh said that her village has no any junk trader and no one go to look for job outside before until some females come from other village have married man in her village who had been gone some provinces and cities to carry this work. Mrs Tinh has been in Hanoi for 3 years, she followed her sister in law who comes from Xuan Truong commune. She went together with her sister in law for two days, she learned how to buy the discarded things and where she could sell them, and then she goes alone. Mrs Nguyen Thi Ha mentioned that: "A sister of mine has been in Hanoi for several months for trading in junk, when she came back, she asked me to come with her. Mrs Tran Thi Duyen, she go together with her husband and other 12 persons who come from her village to build the houses in the cites.

From the social relationships in migrant network, female labourers in particular and rural migrants in general has a tendency to gather with persons who have the same hometown, villages to living with each other. From the fact of site visits of our research and information sources from previous surveys manifested that the situation of flowing massively, all entire of tontine, village became popular forming population groups with the same departure settled in big cities together in the large cities. for example the group of bread seller at Kim Ma includes 7 persons who come from Chinh Ly, Ly Nhan - Ha Nam, or other group at Giap Bat who come from Chinh Nghia Commune - Ly Nhan, Ha Nam. Among them some are sisters in a family.

According to the our survey findings, majority of migrants moving to Hanoi, Ho Chi Minh city and Da Nang had relatives,

⁽¹⁾ Dang Nguyen Anh, The role of social network in migrant process, Journal of Sociology, No. 2 (62),1998.

friends or acquaintances living there. Through interviews showed that mostly immigrated labourers received the support from their relatives, siblings, acquaintances and other organisations. In which, over 65 percent received from relatives, friends, 17 percent from employers, 8 percent from local people in the location where they resided, 5 percent from neighbours and 5 percent from other sources. These supports focused on the accommodation, economic assistance, and development on production and employment, administrative procedures for resident people and the spiritual encouragement. It is likely to say that the migration network in which consisted of the concentration, gather of relative persons would shield for each other in the complicated living and working environment in cities and increase the integrally and adaptability for migrants to avoid the situation of "out of home becoming unemployment" which summed up by ancestors.

In fact, the emigrants has integrated with the current life of the urban, however, there are different in level aspect and time of expression.

Through the expansion of relative relation, migration network, and previous transmigration flows luring the next flows... persons who transmigrated later normally received much more support than those moved before. Thanks to that, migrants could find a job quickly after they moved to the city within 3-5 days or at least 2 weeks to settle life.

2. With government authorities and State agencies

It is the fact that the spontaneous migrants had received very little of support from Sate and local government. They being managed rather than concerned of city's authority.

Pursuant to the Directives 05/CT-TU dated 17 October 1996 of city committee of the Party has mentioned the influences of immigrants to development of the city: "People from provinces, cities go to Ho Chi Minh city about 1 million without registration, of them are at the working age and low education level and skill, their life are very hard; their accommodation is not met the required standard, material facilities for education and health care... Many fields are out of management of the city, district and communes". Upon that the Directive state: "This situation is required to solve in consistent manner in terms of management on migrants in cities".

It also point out 8 orientations and solutions in order to solve the population issue and migrants:

- To adjust the management of population, and registration of inhabitants, and set forth regulations on the latter and loading-house, building house for rent and decentralises the duties on allowing to reside permanently and provisionally.
- To update the population and labour change to have precise information and classify migrants and make policy for those who go to new economic zones.

^{9 -} FLM-RU

- To manage land issues, constructs, prevent, solve and clear the occupation of land to reside and build illegally.
- To manage the loading-house, regulate the standard, build up and arrange accommodation, house for rent, rule for running business..
- To strengthen the management on labour, to select those who have high-qualified level and skilful workers and types of activities that difficult to recruit worker in the city. To limit the development of activities which employ casual workers and manual means and occupying the pavement.; to regulate the standard and conditions to serve for the workers who work as receptionists.
- To move some enterprises into surrounding provinces and set up new resident areas.
- To recommend with City People's Council and Government to allow to collecting fee from agencies, enterprises which recruit workers without registration of inhabitant in the city.
- To recommend for issuing the regulation on resister and management on registration of inhabitants with the specific characteristics of the city.

People's Committee of Ho Chi Minh city also has the Directive No. 11 dated 23 April 1996 on the management migrants of the city, police of Ho Chi Minh city also has Dispatch No. 05 dated 12 June 1996 to guide for checking,

monitor and listing to manage people who are living in the city without permanent registration of inhabitant. People's committee of Ho Chi Minh city directed to build up an information system on the labourers and population and establish a sub-steering committee to direct and manage migrants on 24 September 1996.

Employment and living condition ...

In Hanoi, many "labourer markets" has been formed in different places of the city due to the specific features of migrant labour force here. Since 1994, Hanoi People's Committee had a Directive No. 49/CT-UB to rearrange the number of migrant labourers. In this Directive, 5 works should be done under State management on provincial workers by the new structure, to gradually solved the situation of disorders due to the spontaneous formation of labourer gathering points and to restrain the organic growth of population in the city with an aim to regulate the demand-supply relation on labour market in Hanoi location, At the same time, to exploit and bring into full play and utilise the labour force effectively making a contribution to developing socio-economic appearance of the city. The content of works should be done as follows:

- Surveying "labourer market", upon the number and the complexity of gathering points to set up "labour exchange and supply station" where job seekers and hirers can exchange. Gathering them into the Station and introduce the regulation of the city for them as well to limit the negative matters emerged.

- Conducting the close management on the declaration and managing the number of persons from provinces and outskirts waiting for job. Solving strictly any case of violating law and causing disorders in public and forbid the situation of "labourer market" at permitted places.
- Propagating widely for all the workers with an aim to help them master clearly the guidance and obey voluntarily regulations of the city and upgrading the responsibility on protecting the city security.
- Studying short-terms and long-term measures to gradually solve the situation of workers from provinces and outskirts coming inner city to seek for job in right order.

On 26 August 1995, Hanoi People's Committee made a Decision No. 3189/QD-UB "Temporary regulation on the rearrangement order and management workers from provinces moving to Hanoi for seeking job". In this regulation, it clarified the requirement for workers from provinces and responsibility of levels and branches involved in this issue.

For the workers from provinces, the Regulation notify:

They enter the city for seeking job necessarily having a provisional registration with the local Police, and doing other procedures to get the Card of temporarily working; handing 10,000 VND per time for fee of granting Card, including an extend after 3 months based on the regulation the People's Committee of their *destination*.

The procedures of granting card includes:

- The introduction of authority where workers reside to whom coming to Hanoi for seeking job.
 - Personal identification card or certification
- Temporary residence permit from the ward's police where workers live in the city.
 - Two photographs of 3x4 size.

The card only takes effect within 3 months, is it expires worker have to extend the validity if necessary; if any changed within 3 months, he/she has to declare with local police; those who have found out job have to register provisionally at Ward people's Committee to undertake the procedure of granting labour card, once the new card is issued they can go on working in Hanoi location; those who are looking for job have to wait at the regulated places. The regulations also point out, labour's users are allowed to use workers from provinces who are granted labour card temporally. If they employ under 10 workers, they have to contact to workers at the regulated place of for waiting-for-job workers. In case of using over 10 workers, they are required to register with employment promotion centres of the city.

It is understandable the worry and responsibility of leaders and People's committee and branches at cities where gathering a large number of migrant labourers. However, it is not legitimate if it is considered a negative phenomenon of the

city and should be prevented rather than a matter of the society that should be addressed, upon that to focus on the administrative measures with overall manner with the basically target is control and prevent spontaneously-migrant labourers from moving out, less attention is paid to matter of human and overall methods. That does not mention to the fact that many measures are not feasible on try to manage the civil status of migrants and their labour card, for example the issuance of labour card provisionally in Hanoi with many verbose procedures and 10,000 VND fee for it but it is extended the validity within 3 months. Because, it only shows the will and desire of the managers but the reality of the matter and the people themselves. Spontaneous migrant labourers after conduct simple works, wandering everywhere, moreover, the collection fee is too much for them, especially for the newcomers not finding out job yet. Because having and not having card, they have to still self-seek for job, no one can help them. And closely managed of population registry has made more difficult for migrants, especially for women go together with their family, because population status still using as basic of many social exchanges. Many migrant can not have long term - contract signing with enterprises without population registry, they can not contribute their social security, and being exploited also. Their children can not receive the social welfare such as education, health care services. Therefore, the policy that migrants are not have permit to register of population in the city is not suitable measure to limit the stream of migrants

into city. It is the time to change the thinking about this issue. It is recognised that State management on registry of population has mean on resource management, to limit social evils and keep the order of social security, thus the government need to register of their registry rather than they do, because having registry of population or not having it, migrants still living in the cities, if the responsible organisation do not control their civil status of population, a large number of migrants will out of society, othermore, government will face with other social problem caused from not controlling of migrant's registry of population.

However, there are a glad signal, after many years considering, recently Ho Chi Minh city has laid down to give permit for migrants register the population in the city. On Directive No. 27/1999/CTUB.CN of HCM CPC and conduction of Ho Chi Minh city Police No. 40/HD/CATP stated that: The spontaneous migrant into City who have legal housing, stable life and live in the city at least 5 years will be cheek to register of population. This is bright hope for migrants, however, the condition is still high, its need to be reduced, especially, it need to be considered when registry of population still seen as a basic for civilian exchange, so that migrant's life will be easier; and Vietnamese people live any where in the country can implement their full right and responsibility.

It can be said that the efficiency of the management and control that cities undertaken for past few years has not so

high, the number of migrant population are increasing. Meanwhile, the matter of health, labour and education life has not given much concern. Spontaneous workers when coming to cities, they are enjoyed fully the citizen right. They seem to be out of the social edge, exception selling their labour power and exhausted work. Many unforeseen of social evils have been appeared: epidemics, the social instability ... The answer to the immigration should be considered in both management on human and posed in the national aspect.

The number of transmigrated labourer getting a job via the recruitment of Centre for Employment Promotion, radio, newspaper, TV was very slight, especially for private centres, it can be said that main targets for employment promotion Centres were high-skilled labourers to supply for foreigninvested enterprises (Textile, garment, leather shoes...) to benefit from these signed contracts. Hence, low-skilled labourers were little attached of concern and introduction, especially for those who did not have resident registration at the immigrated place. This is considered a major constraint for rural/urban migrants with the demand for seeking job through Employment Promotion Centres, especially for female workers it seemed to be more difficult when they did not have any certifications and low skills. In fact, the usefulness of mass media on job seeking is limited because it only informed job openings for qualified persons.

Majority of women did not involve in union activities at the resident location including those who having registered for staying provisionally or in short time. Few people residing regularly or long time having stayed in the city for long time wanted activities to ensure their lives, rights and benefits in trading. Long-time migrants enjoyed more comfortable activity conditions in comparison with those of temporarily moving or by season. The latter did not belong to any organisations; they were said to be at the edge of life. When we talked with the Party committee secretary of Phuoc Ninh, Da Nang city, he said if the householder was invited to street's inhabitant meeting, he assigned the servant to take the place but we could not accept her/him because he/she could not represent for the family. In reality, it is true to some extents, but we think that it is necessary to have mass organisation in localities to attract them into activities in order to restrain any likely unfortunates and political insecurity.

3. With family and relatives of the departure

As discussed earlier, the matter of rural people, especially married women had to leave hometown, land to move to urban for seeking job is reluctant, yet is indispensable and inevitable due to demand for support for themselves and family, even though their jobs in cities were very unstable, meagre and their daily activities also was very unsettled, no house, no conveniences and no emotion of family. Usually, women leave their parents, husband and children in the hometown (few have someone else take care of their children and both husband and wife leave). The model of "who staying who leaving" is made use to limit at most dependent for the purpose of declining the cost in daily activities at the lowest level to save money for

sending back to family and children for their living and education.

Most of female migrants go alone and with the purpose of migration is improving their life so they have close relationship with the family and relative at the village. It should be added that the traditional culture of Vietnam has influence to these relations. Except some female do illegal works like working in bar "karaoke om", "Bia om" or some other ones go to city with the harder from their family such as they are divorced, or be cheated, most other female migrants have close relationship with their family and relatives on matters, money as well as sentiment.

The migrants always have responsibility with relative and their family, and find the ways to earn much money for their relatives. With the seasonal migrants, they normally come back to their home and share the difficulties, hardships with their family when necessary.

On the contrary, at the village, the relatives usually concern to their working and their life in the city, they worry and waiting for their relatives come back. They take on all of work on their family even these work used to be done by female.

However, the relationship between female workers and their family is not always in good status, some female labours living in the city have change on their mind and threw the value, dignity themselves, forget all the memories with their relatives to find the leisure life in the city, so that they fall into a tragic result, they not only achieve any thing but also get nothing. The case of N.T.H. from Lao Cai is an example, going to Hanoi, she works for a very rich family as a housemaid, she familiar with the high and rich life and forget the hard life at her village where she has a husband and two children. Even she stole a huge amount of money from house's owner and go away, when arresting she said that she afraid of hard working to earn some coins⁽¹⁾.

To avoid for women have not fall into this circumstance, most of family in rural area just let the wife or their daughters go to city when they can entrust them for their relatives who live in the city or migrants must live and work together. By this way, the fathers, the husbands not only get the information of their wives, their daughters in the city but also they can oversee their living in the city, other side, the migrants can transfer their money and information to the village.

It can be said that social network has contributed to reduce the cost of migration, job seeking as well as to promote the integration of migrants in general and female workers in particular. When the social management with cumbersome and complicated procedures has yet been reached to, the migration network has made a great contribution to the support, guaranty and control effectively and thereby women are impacted greater in migrant network than men in order to lessen risk, unexpected events in daily work as well as the abuse of their body. *The*

⁽¹⁾ Lan Anh, The labourers in the city, Police newspaper, No. 867,868/2000.

State needs to approve this network to exchange, supply information, job opportunities, social services, income, labour to bring its possessiveness into full play, thereby to strengthen the management, educate skills, diversify social relations, unions from the policy aspect to facilitate for migrated labourers including female labourers to integrate and adapt to the life in urban area and help them to stabilise social life (1).

If we have good in management of emigrant network to make closely social relationship between departure and arrive; it would give positive contribution to relevant adjustment of emigration, it reduces the overloaded in the big cities when the emigrant network developed; it would maintain itself the emigrant line from rural to urban area, under the adjusted procedure and it doesn't need the intervention from outside.

4. Differences on gender in the spontaneous migration The role in decision making of moving

It is likely to say that in the wholly process of migration, the decision on moving and selection on the destination has a very essential meaning, that was the basic foundation influencing in the whole life in the following days of the migrant. This is an important issue drawing the attention of many researchers, at the same time the matter on the decision of the woman and man in the family is very controversial. Our

study showed that most of the moving decision was determined by the mover making account of 55 percent, only 17 percent were decided by husband and relatives, family, affected wife, the remaining. Under this dimension, the decision on leaving and selection on the destination were more positive and required him/her to be more active in great extents.

The role of the wives/women very important in decision of moving, they are not passive people. As the case of Mrs Nguyen Thi Loan, she works as porter in Long Bien market, she stated that her husband was 40 years old, he was weak then all the work in her household were carried by her, in 1995, after illness of her youngest daughter, her economic status fall in to poverty. She decided to follow some friends go to Hanoi for working. Mrs Luu Thi Thuy Mai, age 47, comes from Dien Ban - Quang Nam, she sells vegetable in Da Nang, she said that she have not any off-farm activity in her village to earn money for their living and their children study... There fore, when her eldest son has passed in the selected exam to Da Nang University, she decided to go to Da Nang and trades in vegetable as street vendor, to earn for her son study in university. It is said that, they have to carry heavier than man, it is a family burden, beside the load of goods in the market.

Moreover, the decision of women for moving also caused their advantage when they work outside, many families have a strong couple but the husband ready stay home and let his wife to go to city to find the job. The reason for this division

⁽¹⁾ Dang Nguyen Anh, Journal of Sociology, No. 2 (62),1998.

mostly originated from high value of women in selection for work to do and work outside. A woman sells the vegetable in Hanoi has confirmed answer: "How he can agile as me" with the question "why don't you ask your husband help you to bring vegetables?"(1).

When being asked: "Why doesn't your husband and your children work with you? Mrs. Binh from Tay Mo, Tu Liem, Hanoi answered: "The man afraid of ragged and dirty, my children are also, working here more than a month I just familiar with this terrible smell" (2). A young girl named Huong from Tan Dan, Hung Yen, porter in Dong Xuan market has the answer for the question: "Why Huong don't stay at home and let your husband go to work?" The answer is: "I am a woman, I can drink pipe water if I am thirsty and eat rice with salt even I can stand with hungry, hardship, but man can not" (3).

It is not only women can recognised about their advantage in selection, adapt with the work they do outside but the men, the husbands also admit it.

Being asked: "Why don't you let your wife stay home and you go to work outside?" Mr. Do Van Toan, from Chinh Ly commune answered that in fact, it seems suitable but in term

of economic effectiveness his wife can bring home much money than him though the income from her selling bread is less than his income as a porter. She can save the money but he is the more earning, the more spending... Thus he excepted staying home to take care children and doing the farm work this is the case that husband and wife are strong, but in some other families the husband was weaker so the wife going to work out side is natural.

Ages and educational level

Female migrant labours in general are still young, of them, many have married. Their educational level is lower than men's, lot of them is ill-treated. According to statistic, up to July 1995, there were 265,494 migrants into Ho Chi Minh city, the rate of migrants in ill-treated level make up 4.52 percent, the rate of people can read and write only make up 38.8 percent; 34.4 percent at level of grate 6,7,8 and 9. The rate of people at grate 10-12 is 22,52 percent. Among people who are illiterate and can read, write level, female make up 62 percent. Especially, on professional, 95 percent of female migrants have not any profession skill. "They have only capital that is meagre labour power, two hands, shoulders can carry and can walk untiringly. They accept all sorts of work regardless to its hardness, pole-shouldering, carrying with both hands, and even do works beyond their capacity many a time".

Women were at predominance in the number of shortdistance displacement people and they were easier to

^{(1) &}quot;Women sell vegetables in Hanoi" - Ho Chi Minh city Women newspaper, No. 18 dated 13 March, 1999.

⁽²⁾ Thanh Huyen. "Garbage collecting career". Special issue of Metropolitan women, No 107.

⁽¹⁾ Lan Huong. "Female porters" Education and Era, No. 31 (1681), dated 7, October 1999.

migrate than men thanks to the work features of urban areas, the motivation, needs and types of services developed to be suitable to female labourers were. Female selected short distance for migration because comparing with men, women often get more information on the destination, the employment opportunities, house, living conditions that mainly obtained from migrant network, especially by family, relatives and friends. It proved that women are much concerned with the security on the employment and lives when they leave. As for men, they pay more attention to the economic possibility, training and knowledge. The information source is much greater and they trust it in comparison with information from Employment Promotion Centres or mass media (radio, newspaper, TV...) and the limitation on this information is reason for restraining them from moving longer-distance or where having no relatives with little control of family and relatives. Beside, most of female migrants go to city without bringing their children so they have heavy shoulder of family they can not far from family for long time. Therefore, mostly women go to urban areas to work with a not-so-far distance, especially those who get married and have young children, they have take more attention to the distance, because they both can work there and then come back hometown to take care their family. That matter was different to men. Going to city, female migrants not only find jobs for them but also for some ones still stay in village, when they find more job, they come back to take their relative go together.

Female migrants have high risk and more difficulties than men do. They are easier to fall dawn the illegal work. In the living, they meet more difficulties than men do; the demand for shelters of women is higher than men. Men can have bath in the public place and then go to have sleep in the pavement along streets, markets, and shops over the raincoat. As for women they are in need of a house even it is in unstable conditions. 70 percent of immigrated female labour was living in this condition. It is worthy to speaking that among the migrant labourers, women is received much more encouragement and support in terms of spirit and material from relatives and friends at the destination.

Types of works, women select the distinct works for them.

In comparison with types of woks of male migrant labourers, we can find that female make their own choice on their jobs. Those are male's selection for heavy works but short-time completion with much money, meanwhile female's selection are ones industrious and diligent. It draws a picture with particular colour on types of work of female migrant labourers in labour life of cities.

Even in spending and contributing to family, our study showed that: despite of the fact that the wage of women was often fewer than men, they sent back to family as much as men did, because they saved better and recognised their obligation and responsibility for family much more.

Women always save every amount of money because they always thing about obligation and responsibility with their family. Therefore, they usually make the most of time during a day to earn more for family. Interviewing Mrs Hoang Thi Hong, age 33 from Giao Thuy - Nam Dinh, she said: "some female labourers like us always make the most of time in the evening to have more work such as cleaning the house, selling toasted corn at pavement and earn some more... We only take a rest day when we so tired, because the day no work, the day we have no income. We can not stop working at the weekend because; we can buy more things on these days. Our main purpose is earning for our children." The case of Mrs Cai, age 26 from Cam Giang, Hai Duong. Beside the main work is carrying goods in the Dong Xuan market during a day, she has more work in the evening like tidying up some shops, cleaning the houses and washing for some households... She can save about 400-500 thousands VND per month to helps her parents and for her brother study.

Female labourers always save money for their family. As case of Mrs Nguyen Thi Huong, age 50, she is street vendor in Ho Chi Minh city: *she wants to save money so she doesn't spend for lunch*. Mrs Nguyen Thi Loan said: first, they intended to cook together to save money because it is cheaper, and then they recognised it is inconvenient because they not come back at the same time for meals. So they have food in some rice shops. They usually have vegetable, fish sauce and rarely have meat and fish because they always think that:

"if we have more meat, fish and other food for meal, we can not save money for family". Besides spending for food, they spend two thousand VND for housing. "We can save about 300 thousands VND per month for family" - A woman stays together with Mrs Loan said.

We can say that, the influence of social relationship on individuals, households as well as male and female is different. The gender disparity role of emigrant process has shown the social standard rooted in traditional values. In emigrant network, women are more governed than men in exchange of relations as well as right and duty in these relationships are.

Making an ability to connect and to make with emigrant network depends on form of emigrant and level of being in contact with others of migrants. Therefore, providing information has an important role in hold of the emigrant process, avoiding incorrect information, the wrong decision for emigrants in general and for women in particular.

In fact from passed time, the number of spontaneous emigrants into cities is increasing. The emigrant process and migrated with urban life of female labourers has different result and it is not all of emigrants has migrated with the life at the arrival due to they have differences in social relationship; ability of being contact with others; level of education, behaviours; potential of economy, and health... Beside, these are some objective factors such as living condition; chance for job,

policy and concerning of authority... effect to their integrating with the life of the cities. Analysing the advantage and disadvantage condition of emigrants in social network, and gender disparity giving the adapted ability, then we have policy, adjusted measures, to the migrant line to make sustainable development of human being in environment.

However, what measures being used, the improving life for women (whether emigrate or not emigrate) is the end purpose of emigrant policy and socio-economic development of rural area in Vietnam. In others words, emigration is motive force of economic development and be contributed to make equality in social life.

Chapter 3

EFFECTS OF FEMALE LABOUR MIGRATION IN THE CITIES - ARRIVAL AND IN RURAL AREAS - DEPARTURE

As analysed above, the rural/urban spontaneous migration process of women shows its double-face characteristics, those are positive influences of this labour force on the general development of the country, besides it also triggers some problems which need to be solved in both *departure* and *arrival*. Actually, migration is forever an "open" and "mutable" question, it is not a government's or any organisations separated question once, it involves in environment, society, employment, income, plan.... Become a problem of whole society in development process.

I-EFFECTS IN CITIES-ARRIVAL.

1. Positive influences of female spontaneous migrants on cities

In *Doi Moi* process, development of economic sectors and market economy together with freedom in trading, and working were brought in relief a character of the big cities as increasing

in private economy and household economy. Increasing number of restaurants, hotels and houses has required a large number of building workers as labourers to meet the need of carrying out all of work, most of them are hard work, even dangerous work, the work with low income that urban resident do not want to do. It is said that, emigrant labourers in general and female labours in particular play an important role and position that can not replacement.

The participation of female spontaneous migrants from rural area become a remarkable force and creates an active labour market at urban centres, large cities. They become a large labour force to supplement for service market at the cities actively. This is an element that mechanism of migration by Government's plan can not meet. Moreover, most of the migrants are in ages of 20-45, with healthy strength, some of them have high skill, high level of education. It is said that emigrants have made unemployment at the city become more serious and reduce the common income level of the cities. Result of the survey "spontaneous migration into Ho Chi Minh city, 1996" by Ho Chi Minh city's Institute of Economy showed that two-third of emigrants have found the jobs on first month of coming to city, thus very few of migrants joint to unemployment team. In relation to educational level of emigrants and ability to have job, they showed that the rate of emigrants have found the job on first month have level of education of primary, secondary and post secondary are 70 percent, 60 percent and 58 percent respectively. Furthermore,

they only participate on simple labour market, the small services of informal sector but not State's. The competition between spontaneous emigrants and city dweller is not much due to the work they chosen. Their present in the city is not reduced the level of city's income because they have found the jobs and also have income, otherwise, they are not city dweller, thus it is not true if someone say that emigrants have reduced the city's income level. We can see an example from Statistical Department of Ho Chi Minh city, unemployment rate of the city continuously reduced from 10.8 percent to 8.6 percent in 1993 and 1996 respectively, average expenditure per capita increased from 230,540 VND/month in 1993 to 415,582 VND/month in 1996. The Gross Domestic Products (GDP) picks up constantly by over 12 percent a year. As a result, number of poor households is down from 23.9 percent in 1993 to 3.9 percent in 1996.

Just imagine how the life in cities would be without social services and plentiful labour force from rural areas? Rural labourers really become a remarkable force for labour market in cities. They are willing to do all the works which the city dwellers do not want to do, even dangerous ones, from such works as: digging house-foundation, breaking concrete, transporting tiles and sand, porting... to vending, assisting, lottery selling, babysitting and caring sick persons...

However, it is not deny that though emigrants can find jobs quickly, these works are temporary, they may get more difficult when the work of emigrants will be change, it need more skill,

at that time only people with high level of education, high skill labours can get jobs. On the other words, some scientists have judged that in the next stage, the selection of migration will be increased.

It is unfair not to mention the contribution of migrants to strengthen the economic development, especially in current market mechanism. Population movement to urban areas, big cities is, in fact, a labour supply and dispatch for places in need. Generally, cities enjoy healthy and qualified labour force. *Moreover, most of moving women is very dynamic, flexible, brave and ambitious.* They do not want to stand still in difficult situations, though their leaving is adventurous and dangerous. The city dwellers do not have to spend much on training for these labourers. Integrating to urban lifestyle, they make up an appearance to urban diversified culture with a flexible, dynamic, positive lifestyle participating in city culture and general economy, creating the labour competitiveness.... That is one of the motive forces of the social development in general and the urban development in particular.

Except the negative effect, spontaneous migrants have influenced on the spirit, cultural life of the cities, especially like Hanoi and Ho Chi Minh city. It can be said that the dynamics of cities and the diversity of current urban culture are accumulated, synthesised and selected through many previous migration generations to cities to live, gather, and to exchange material spiritual culture.

Although no exact evaluation has been made, it is recognised that migrants have provided cities with an important labour force in any fields of economic, socio-culture fields.

2. Some emerging problems from spontaneous migration into city

After moving freely to cities, the rural lifestyle of labourers is followed closely with agricultural production and with nature, they can not quickly change it, especially for women at the first period. Therefore, migrants from same locality gather in-group to support one another and to establish a new relationship and style of life in order to adapt gradually to the urban life. In parallel with adjustment process, migrants also make urban lifestyle and climate changed leading to some pressing problems, especially where migrants gather.

Flocking of rural people from provinces into large cities made these cities in overloaded situation on communication, environment, housing... and some social evils especially in Hanoi and Ho Chi Minh city. It is effected to health of people, urban screen and urban security. Beside, it create the labour competition and reduce real economic value of labour power, it effect to implementation of general socio - economic objectives of the cities.

In Hanoi, due to the population density of over 18.000 people/ Sq.km, Hanoinians have to live in a very narrow area (4 Sq.meter per capita). In Ho Chi Minh city, the urban infrastructure network cannot meet the demand of too large

number of population of over 5 millions people at present, i.e. 2.5 times over the duration of infrastructure capacity. There have been so far over 800 thousands migrants since 1975 to date, among them the rate of male and female migrants is similar. Most of them (70-80 percent) are living in inner urban areas; therefore population density there is up to 24,710 people per Sq. km (in 1996), 100 times over the city's average one. Especially, the rate in some districts as the district No 3, No 4, No 5 and No 11 is over 50,000 people per Sq. km, which may be among the densest in the world. In several districts with high rate of migrants as district No 8, Tan Binh, Thu Duc, Binh Thanh, Go Vap, the density is changing and tending to increase, it makes overloaded of using infrastructure, environment become polluted.

Though temporary or long-term, migrants always have demand for living residence where they can rest after a hard working day. This demand for female labours is increasing as analyse above. However, the area of houses for urban dwellers is narrowed, so finding a place to residence is difficult. Lots of them gather in such areas, which are somehow, less, checked by authorised officials as: waste dumping areas, bridges, riversides, bus stations, and markets. They, from many areas, gather in "illegally-lived area" in inner Hanoi and Ho Chi Minh city whose houses are provisionally made by cheap materials as oil-papers, bamboo creating a state of mass without any order, it negatively affecting architectural environment and urban mater planning. Naturally, they appropriate public land to build

illegal house. Except some migrants live in the house of city dwellers who hired labours such as restaurants, bars or households, most of them hire the simple house in the city. Somewhere like Giap Bat, Chuong Duong, Ham Tu, Phuc Xa, O Cho Dua... become place where concentrated spontaneous emigrants. Most of houses there in bad condition of environment. Migrants generally live in groups of the same native village and types of work so as to take care of each other easily. They form an urban living community working and resting together in inner urban areas. In the coming years, such community tends to increase because cities are always a promising land for their jobs and incomes though they have to work hard and live in poor.

In Ho Chi Minh city, the number of migrants go to city is increasing, in order to meet the demand of housing, emigrants have built the houses any where they could do without any order and negatively affecting architectural environment and urban mater planning, which are ironically named as "hencoop city", "ghost city", "illegally-lived area", "three-no areas" (no infrastructure, no electricity and water supply and no sewerage) by the press or houses for rent, rooms for rent around 1-3 Sq.meters per person at quarter No. 12 Binh Thanh district, quarter No 17, Go Vap district... That excludes a large number of migrants having no residence becoming pavement population suffering from rain, sunlight, dew and wind by using pieces of nylon, of mat and of canvas to take rest. They can be somehow regarded as "the most close to

the nature" in urban areas due to their homeless situation"(1) but without thinking about order and screen of the city.

The situation of filling ponds, lakes and channels- where rainwater is rested causes water overflowing in cities in raining season, and ever-damaging environmental hygiene. Migrants themselves have no choice but to live in heavily polluted environment areas where waste thoughtlessly is dumped around or put in surrounding sewage. In general, living environment of the majority of migrants is badly contaminated with unpleasant odour hanging around as a result of waste disintegrated and micro-organism and disease-carrying fungus booming. All that causes adverse effect on their health in particular and on the city in general. Especially for female migrants who have to earn the living by all means, it makes their health weakening because living condition is of great significance to decide the recovery of health for coming working days.

Noticeably, it is a burning issue for plan-makers, environment researchers and health workers who are responsible for ensuring city landscapes in the situation that the infrastructure is not commensurate to present population scale in terms of water, electricity, green trees, sewage, roads and accommodation. "To overcome such situations, urban population as well as migrants have to use under hygienic water from ponds and lakes, dump waste into currents or collect and pile it up in quite street corners of which the Urban Administration Department takes no care yet, use

cheap fuel and take nose and mouth covering scarves whenever they are in the streets to get rid of pollution. All that makes the urban environment more unsightly and that of migrants' living areas really become a grey picture of living environment"(1).

In Da Nang, the situation of building temporary, illegal houses is not popular due to the number of migrants in to city is not many. Otherwise, many movers usually go into city during daily time and come back in the evening, some of them live in bar, restaurant or owner's house. Some people come to Da Nang for sometime and after that they go to Ho Chi Minh city. In Da Nang city thanks to its Resolution "5 khong" (no beggar and wanderer, no illiterate, no crime, no poverty household, and no drug addict). , almost all of such areas are cleared and controlled by authority. However, in the future, some enterprises will be founded that attract many labours, the situation will be changed because the enterprises like to hire the labour from rural area with cheaper prise in comparison with labour from city's dwellers 70-100 thousands VND/month without thinking about residence for labours.

In Ho Chi Minh city sometime the competition in finding jobs between migrants and city's dwellers makes the economic value of labour power is reduce. Because the emigrants can accept the level of salary of 400 thousands VND/month, but

⁽¹⁾ Nguyen Van Tai. Spontaneous migrant rural/urban in Ho Chi Minh city, Agricultural Publishing house, 1998.

this level of salary is not enough for the city's dwellers and their family. The different level of salary between migrants and city's dwellers become loss a huge amount for country's economy when increasing in using the migrants labour force foreign enterprises.

Beside, emigrants can easily find jobs but it is undeniable that such kinds of work are temporary and unstable. The rate of unemployment in big cities is still high (9-10 percent in Ho Chi Minh city) while the capacity of job generation only meets 1/2 the demand. What is more, there are 40-50 thousands of migrants annually rushing into cities. At present, this situation is have not much effect to management of employment of the city but in the future the enterprises apply the new technology in production the unskilful labour become redundancy, therefore, increasing number of migrants into city become a big problem for the city.

In the large cities increasing amounts of migrants have had adverse effects on socio-economic development policies. A difficult question urgently raised is the implementation of policies on society, culture, education, social security, apart from that of said policies on employment, urban environment planning and development and infrastructure. Most of migrants tend to choose freedom, diversified employment including indoor and outdoor works such as vending, lottery ticket selling and material carrying etc. In order to competition and get high income, migrants reluctantly appropriate the road, make traffic

jamb or through litter over streets, lakes and sewage to make environment polluted. On May 1995, Government has issued Direction No. 36/CP named Solution of "clear pavements, through streets" that effects to small traders, streets vendors, but it is very difficult to implement thoroughly, so there is traffic problem on rush hours.

On the other hand, the proportion of migrants to cities without any permanent residence is quite large; some 83.1 percent in Hanoi according to surveyed statistics of VIE/95/004 program carried by Centre for Population and Human Resources Studies of MOLISA. Of which 42.8 percent are newly registered the permanent residence, 26.6 percent temporary residence or not yet registered, 13.6 percent of seasonal workers. That results in increasing difficulties in multi-faced social management.

However, there are 60.2 percent of interviewees have not intending register the city district population at the city. It mentioned that the spontaneous migrants need job to earn money for their family but not for residence, because they have not capacity to stay in city. Other 40 percent remain of interviewees have intending to find a chance to stay in city. It's said that with a large number of migrants the quantity of these 40 percent is pressure with cities in population control. In general, the city district population is not a obstruction with migrants to integrate with urban community life and labour market. Therefore, in management of migrants it is not only

control the city district population but also need other measures; it is not only limited in administrative management but also changing and completing the policy for urban settlement at big city that ensure the right of free moving, residence... of people, while we need to keep order and security in urban society. Therefore, democratise all actions of the socio - economic life includes moving and migration is not prohibited by administrative measures.

Female labour migration

Beside, another question should be concerned is female migrants in general and young, single female migrants in particular when coming to city, due to difficult in finding jobs, seducement and traps of life at the city, the easy to become a victim of social evil such as prostitute that public's voice has mentioned.

Thus, migrants in general and female migrants in particular have positive contribution to city's life where they come, however, due to many effects, there are some influences, even an issue for society that we need policy, measures to solve and to bring into play their positive side.

II - EFFECTS IN THE MIGRANTS'S NATIVE VILLAGES-DEPARTURE

The process of spontaneous migration including the movement of female workers has strong effects not only on urban areas where they come to but also on their native rural areas. This can be seen more clearly through different analyses of its two-side effects.

1. Positive effects

As confirmed in early parts, rural/urban spontaneous migration is inevitably consequence of differences between two areas in terms of living standard as well as incomes, including difficulties in employment, scarcity of land... as a result, the majority of migrants moving to different cities have to lead a hard and stingy life and save every amount of their incomes to send the left back to their families, help their relatives, especially for rural women, they are amongst the most typical ones who spend stingily the incomes in order to bring up their children, support their old parents, manage the economic lives. Among them, some women have husband who works outside, some other have invalid husband, some are widows or divorces they have alone to manage their family's life.

With married women migrants, the life is harder than singles, they also take heavier shoulder than men, they always have responsibility with their family and children at home, as they said: "We must practise thrift in eating and wearing because we always thinking about the children, they need food and money for education".

Our research found that the amount of money that female migrants sent to family vary. Someone earn enough for their spending in the city, it just equals to cut down food expenditure of her family. Nguyen Thi Loan, 23 years old for example, she works in noodle soup shop in Dang Nang City, the shop served

food and housing and she received 250,000 VND/month. She sent a little money to her family, the remain she save in cash or buy gold and ask her parents keep for her. Nguyen Thi Hong and Le Thi Van work in hairdresser's receive 150,000 VND per month without food and housing served, it just enough for their life. In this case, they are learning career but they have been working and learning here for 3 years. Some other send a little to her family, the remain they keep or buy gallery for saving herself. Some other migrants send money to their family regularly. Normally, they are married migrants have their family in rural area, they have to send much and come back more regularly than others do. Talking with season-migrants we noted that they have more concern to their family, especially female have small children at home, they come back and give money to their family more regularly, even they have specific plan to earn certain amount of money for a month. Mrs Nguyen Thi Binh go together with her husband have mainly work as cleaner for a kindergarten, they have other work as carry goods and clean for 10 shops at Hang Chieu street. They have plan to save 800-1,200 thousand VND per month for their mother and 4 children, among them 2 children are in high school and it is a pride for themselves about their working. The case of Mrs Toan. She always goes to sell plastic sandal from 8 am to 7 pm to earn 700-800 thousand VND per month. Her earning has spent for clothes, tools for production, education of children and saving for children's future. Beside she has spent some to help for her relatives.

It is not rarely the case of mothers follow her children who study in college or university, to work as small trader and cleaner to earn money for their children's education and living. The children in these case usually a good student and they always think about the hard of their mother. Mrs. Luu Thi Thuy Mai, age 47, from Quang Nam, she went to Da Nang to trade on vegetable, fruit... to have money for her son studying in DaNang University for 3 years.

The amount of earned money has greatly contributed to solving difficulties in life of their relatives, as somehow a considerable part of local incomes. In term of social side, it plays a positive role in the poverty alleviation, improving the living standard of rural community. On social aspect, the amount of money contribute for hunger cradication and poverty alleviation at the locality, Such movement also helps reduce population pressure on scarcity of land that is ever increasing in agricultural production. At the groups of Chinh Ly commune, Ha Nam, most of visited households have beautiful brick house that source of financial come from earning in the city like Mr. Vinh, Mr. Toan, Mr. Quyet. Some groups of Chinh Ly commune have almost hundred percent of brick house with tile roof thank to earning of female migrants in Hanoi while production in this commune is still agriculture with land per capita of 300 Sq. meters.

On the other hand, the movement itself helps the transition of labour mechanism from genuinely agricultural to other

economic sectors (services, trades...). The reality shows that after accumulating money and experiences and skills, some come back home to establish their own business. Mrs. Toan come from Nam Dinh is an example, She said that: "I try to save some money and when coming back I would do as a trader in my commune with my husband".

164

Our research showed that most of migrants said they will come back after they have some capital or become weakness, except some young single female migrants are not decided they will come back or not, some others said they will come back when they have professional like sewing, hairdresser... they will get married at their native village and then depend on their husband's family.

Many women thought that city is not easy to residence for all because lack of initial condition such as house, education of children. Because they have not permanent registration in the city.

Of course when coming back home they prove to be dynamic, having capital, experiences to carry their business. They self-generate employment for the family's members and for others. In fact rural-urban migration is "strategy" for remaining and development of rural households. This "strategy" is continuing because the land is limited while population growth and no off-farm activities. The rural areas where little of land, the income sources only from rice cultivation is departure of migrant stream into cities.

Though working hard, they can earn money. It is a common thought of rural workers at present. Indeed, compared with incomes from working toil and moil, failed crops and cheap value of farming products, an amount of some hundreds of thousand monthly saved by rural workers is not little at all. Such money sent back to their families is often used for different intentions including taking care of relatives, supporting children's studying, building houses, investing in production and even paying debts. It must be said that though statistics on flows of money and goods transferred from urban to rural areas have yet been recorded, the migration has considerably contributed to improvement of people's income and living standards and creation of capital for the development of present rural household economy.

Besides economic benefits, rural workers backs from cities also carry new knowledge and perception attached closely with modern, civilised living pace. They are aware of becoming rich, of new value grades in ways of lifestyle that never exist before in their villages. Even perception and attitudes towards birth control and family planning is changing fast in accordance with the movement process. They also realise disadvantages of their educational level as well as that of their children in comparison with municipals in terms of earning the living. Mss Tinh come from Nam Dinh is an example, before going to Hanoi; she is fisher-woman and trading fish and other sea products. Miss. Tinh has been in Hanoi for three years; the

money she earns is almost spent for her young brother to study. Coming to the city, she recognised that children in her commune suffer a lot, they don't have good condition for studying and playing. Therefore, I try to invest for my brother in studying so that he can has a better life in the future". She has more comments: "in the village, every body are low level of education so I did not recognise the suffer of us, it is clearer when I come here, Hanoi people earn money very easily because they have knowledge and skill". These awareness have initiated for new life at the villages where many people going to city.

All that helps the formation of a new picture in living environment in villages where many have parted from their families to the cities.

2. Backsides of the movement

Analysis of statistics on migration on the basis of gender correlation shows that the rate of female transmigration is a bit lower than that of the male. According to the population census in 1999, of the number 2,001,409 persons over 5 years old migrants over the last 5 years 1,000,171 were female. The female migrant rate in Cuu Long Delta, Ho Chi Minh city, Southeast area and Da Nang city is higher than that of male (In Ho Chi Minh city over the last 5 years 260,000 out of 488,000 migrants were female, in Da Nang 23,067 out of 44,532 were female). We can see this information on the table below:

Table 4: Number of spontaneous migrants by city/provinces and sex

City/province	Total of emigrants	Number of female emigrant	
Hanoi	257,165	117,499	
Hai Phong	15,294	8,110	
Quang Ninh	21,858	10,853	
Thai Binh	14,577	4,704	
Da Nang	44,532	23,067	
Ho Chi Minh city East-Southern	488,928 921,605	260,257 484,457	
Dong Nai	129,920	73157	
Dong Thap	13,809	7,629	
An Giang	19,846	11,286	
Tay Nguyen	248,472	117,908	

Source: National Census April 1999.

According to these data, the rate of male or female migrants was different in each area and locality. Through 600 surveyed questionnaires (with the project: "Rural/urban emigration in Ho Chi Minh city") by Doctor Nguyen Van Tai, female migrants accounted for 51.5 percent. However, our findings in Chinh Ly commune- Ly Nhan-Ha Nam; Hoa Chau commune - Hoa Vang - Da Nang and My Yen commune - Ben Luc- Long An show that the women constitute over 60 percent of movers. This has caused changes in gender mechanism in such migrating localities and many accompanying complex social issues such as adultery, divorce, and early marriage...

Actually, in condition of family planning at present, migration is not effected to reproduction of the family but splitting up the couple, unbalance on sex is not only a tense psychology for couple but also for community. At some local the parents worry for their children will meet difficulties in looking for boy/girl friend so they ask their children marriage at the adolescent ages.

Although the abundance of local labour forces is a fact. their movement (most of them are among working ages from 18 - 45) results in a lack of considerable labour forces, which are strong and young labourers in localities. Irrespectively to the fact that migrants are of higher literate level than the left. They work more productively and effectively, therefore their movement seasonally or temporarily affects their native villages in considerable manner. Especially in the current situation of national industrialisation and modernisation led by the State and National Party, for the purpose of bringing Vietnam agriculture one step ahead, the question is who will be responsible for the transfer of science and technology? Even students from the countryside entering universities and professional education do not want to come back to their villages to live. Such great matter in rural areas requires supports of State policies and "talent recruitment" of localities as well to push up agricultural production and reasonable development of rural areas.

Another important issue is that family sentiments are likely to change due to the moving of the wife or husband - the breadwinner. It is hard to measure the balance of the amount of earnings brought back home over lacks of family sentiments. It is also harder to know whether or not their family is better off, happier, less absurdly quarrelling, and their children get access to better education condition. In fact, no one can compare or measure such intangible values over economic they gain. However, in terms of family emotion in particular, regardless of those who migrate to gather with the family or to escape from their family disagreements or break-ups, most of them do such due to a lack of money with a hope to earn more and partly help themselves and the family. The intention of earning more and improving living standards decides ways of living and working of migrants in cities. Of 2/3 migrants having families in villages, some go with husbands or wives, leaving the children for old parents. Even husbands and wives take turns to go. Our case studies show that children in such families suffer from many disadvantages, they lack parents' regular sentiments and considerations and the old are less taken care. Many children have to leave their mother when they 1-2 years old, Mrs Duyen, from Nam Dinh is an example: she has to leave her three children, especially two years old daughter at home. "It may be a most difficult that I has crossed at primary days in Hanoi". And Mr. Vinh at Chinh Ly commune has confirmed: "When my wife come to Hanoi, my children always miss their mother, they also do more work, less of caring in studying".

The family split cause disadvantages not only to female migrant herself but also to the husband at home. Several cases that the husbands, who are sad or having no job at home, slide into gambling and drinking wine by using money hard- earned by the wives.

Some cases the mothers must joint in to migrants into city to take care her children who come earlier... " It is afraid of our children turn bad in character, my wife have to go to Hanoi find job and take care them while I did not want her gone (a case study at Chinh Ly). Such change and disorder greatly to family's life. What is more, it is impossible not to mention accompanying social evils, diseases, and urban ways of living... leading to changes in cultural environment, ordinary and simple neighbouring relation.

Together with changes in spiritual life, there is a pressure and an economic competitiveness between households receiving money from their migrated relatives and those not. The fact shows that the former use such money for dressing, building houses and purchasing other necessities. It is fair to conclude that it is really hard for them to do those things if they rely on agricultural production only. Having enough food to eat is difficult let alone the purchasing. Even when having capital migrants tend to use it to speculate land or lend it at high interest rates leading to pressures between the rich and poor and widening the in-tra rural inequality, this is a factor driving rural people to leave their homes in order to catch up with neighbours.

When mentioning migrant flows into cities including female labourers that always occur complicatedly and drastically. We want to put an emphasis on an issue that is still argued and not yet publicly agreed. One of these opinions stresses on adverse effects of migration such as: increasing the rate of unemployment and underemployment in cities, deepening the over-loading and infrastructure and services have been burdens for long, social evils and environment destruction in migrants' living areas. With this opinion, migration is seen as an issue. It is, therefore, necessary to find out solutions or apply administrative measures to solve migration problems. Such opinions regard migration as a pressing issue needing to deal with, an inevitable consequence of the development instead of a positive factor contributing to socio-economic growth in the new process of the nation.

Effects of female labour migration in the cities - arrival ...

The said negative effects are a fact. At the same time, another ironic issue is administrative measures to prevent and prohibit seemed ineffective, even; somehow sophisticate sociopolitical-economic issues of migration formerly difficulty in solving.

We thought that besides already-mentioned negative effects, migration flows are consequences of socio-economic changes created by the national renovation. It is, therefore, necessary to take it as an inevitable result that requiring the State to have strategic policies supporting migrants so they can bring into full play of the positive effects and prevent, limit the negative effects. It is impossible to deny that migration has promoted the integrating of rural - urban, contribute for rural development, social equality in Vietnam⁽¹⁾.

Chapter 4 PUBLIC OPINION OF FEMALE SPONTANEOUS LABOUR MIGRANTS

The spontaneous migration of female labourers into cities has become a popular phenomenon in social life of Vietnam for past 10 years. However, judgement and assessment on this issue have not been incorporated among authorised agencies, scientists and the public opinion.

I - URBAN OPINIONS

Most of the city dwellers that have contacts with the migrant labourers consider them a necessary labour force for expending the production of enterprises, business and production units and also for the development of the city. They are seen as a large force with strength and cheap-paid workers, they are said to be hard working and truthfulness in communication. However, some view them as unfaithful persons and they often keen on cheating and taking advantage of employer's kindness. If they are sellers, they are to be prone to lying, as "Osin" they can steal trivial things and sometimes take advantage of employer's emotion with bad purpose ... therefore, they should

⁽¹⁾ Tuong Lai, Journal of Sociology, No. 2 (62), 1998.

be kept an eye. For these people, migrant labourers are "boorish" and inferior to them at all aspects, they are neither suitable with city's life nor people there. Noticeably, immigrated people are regarded as the important income of many inner residents who have large patch of land to build houses for rent, especially in neighbouring areas. Because they cannot earn money in other means. In addition, migrant labourers are viewed as makers in respect of traffic jams and environmental pollution but in case of cleaning, unloading, repairing or constructing, it is impossible to lack them.

Most of the leaders of locality have a good remark on emigrants, sympathise with them but also worry about social problems that occurring in their local and issue on emigrants when the flows of migrants is increasing.

When talking about the female spontaneous migrant labour, Ms. Le Thi Binh, the member of Executive Board of Women's Union, head of group No. 14, ward 12 of Go Vap district said: "The number of migrants living here is very large, most of them are female, working as tailors or workers in factories of leather shoes - as some new firms have just been in operational and attracted a lot of female workers; the remaining are free labour with unstable income; their work starts from the early morning to late in the evening. Spontaneous-migrant labourers especially female ones are very industrious and kind, they do not involve much in social evils and have little quarrels or disagreement with the local

people. Their philosophy is to have a peaceful life". Ms. Truong Thi Bich, a member of Communal People's Committee also has the same comment "they are silent and laborious, they have little quarrels with the local people", she added, "they do not suffer any kind of ill-treatment, the local authority has no guideline to them because we have no direction from the higher-ranked agencies, we also feel unsatisfactory since we have not supported and managed them much, so we can not know their mood and aspiration..."

Most of the views are paid to the hardship and industriousness of the migrant labourers and their uninsured living conditions "how much is their income? The question is still open without the exact answer, but surely, they live stingingly and dress normally and rarely wearing jewellery" (Ms. Tran Hoai Linh Lan, head of the Women's Union branch of the street, ward 14- Tan Binh).

Many view that they were inferior and did not dare to protect their own right and benefit; "Based on the State regulation, an enterprise with under 10 workers is not compulsory to sign contracts and the paid workers are looked upon as employer's relatives. As a result, no medical and social insurance are ensured. Sickness can be treated in private physicians or be described to buy medicines in the chemist's. Some occasions of working accidents, the position of senior or assistant work person will be taken into account to have compensation, treatment band arrangement by two sides, so

that no complaint is occurred", said Mr. Ly Khac Chung, deputy Chairman of culture and society Board of ward No. 14, Tan Binh district. He added, "working conditions in individual production units in general are bad with noise, heat and dust. Although the State and the locality often remind and check, the situation has not been changed impressively due to the lack of consistent policy. Clearly, it is very difficult to either remove these establishments out of the city because of the limitation of capital or close them, since that is the survival of many labourers...

Migrant labourers who involved in free employment are much more strenuous. Unlikely to outskirts and surrounding of the city areas (as Go Vap, Binh Chanh, Hoc Mon, Thu Duc, district No 7), there are not so many houses for rent in the city, therefore, they have to live under the same roof with the house-owner. An attic, a corner of the room or even a sedge mat can be a "bed" for their rest. Facilities for daily activities are common used, and sometimes several houses use the same toilets. Water is so limited that it is impossible for them to have it so often. Very few migrant labourers cook for meal, most of them take it outside. A noticeable point is that they are mainly young and strong.

Some areas in the ward fall into flood whenever it rains heavily due to no water drainage. The channel often get stuck furthermore the wastage from enterprises have smelly odour. The living there usually gets more difficulties in rainy seasons, so in that time of year they try to work overtime in production units or spend more hours in trading outside and find somewhere for rest.

So far, the locality has no special policy for spontaneously migrant labourers. There were not disputes between the local workers and newcomers, because the city dwellers do not keen on doing such hard works that done by the migrants. We have not found out any sign of drug addiction among migrants. I do not know the situation in other localities".

Mr. Hoang Dinh Tung, the justice statistical official in ward N°12 Go Vap district also confirmed, "migrants are the poor workers, they move to Ho Chi Minh city to earn for living. They are very hard working and live very shiftily. They seem to ignore the society and the locality. In comparison with the local people, they have fewer cases of alcoholism, booze or quarrels. On daytime including Sundays or holidays they are often not at home.

In fact, the local authority has no policy on them. Some migrants observe well the regulation of the locality such as: resident registration or contribution to the street's construction. They want to have smug feeling to work. Some do not register on their provisional staying, because they have acquaintance with the migrants or just come round for sounding out and looking for job. Once the job is found, do they hire house and register for staying provisionally, otherwise they will move to other places in one or two weeks. We know that, but we have ignore, because we think that is not so serious problem.

However, a problem has not become pressing but in the upward trend and if there is no measure to be taken, it will turn out to be a burden, that is environment: water for daily life, wasted water, garbage, excrement. Upon the crowding and hustling, the hygienic condition is very unsettled: stagnant wastewater and topsy-turvy rubbish. Many rubbish piles are formed spontaneously in the corner of the street and no one would like to clear them. In addition to that, the location is rather far from the centre, so the urban Management Company has not reached it. Even it is planned as an urbanised area, yet it mainly is rural area. Though, it has been installed with electronic lines, over 30 percent is without galvanometer therefore they have to using other's. There is no running water but from wells. Such situations of sanitation must affect on the quality of the underground water. I think the authority at district level should have solution to manage them more closely ".

Most of viewpoints from the leaders of the local level find the necessity of State policy for migrant labourers to make use their labour power, at the same time protect their right and interests as well to attract or educate them to get out of social evils.

Regarding to ideas from the related persons, i.e. migrant labourers themselves and female workers in particular and their family, they also said that owning to the economic situation of their family that they had to move out, their work were legitimate, their relatives often had little contrary opinion

especially in areas the leaving was found common. Basically, they were self-confident in their work and thought that the society also acknowledged their legitimate work. Ms. Nguyen Thi Loan from, Cam Binh - Hai Duong stated that, "the management board of the Long Bien fruit market made favourable conditions for her trading and kept the security well, they worked fairly and did not make any restraint for hired workers in this market...". Ms. Nguyen Thi Lien, age 40, from My Hao - Hung Yen province said, she came to Hanoi for working as house servant in some families who she more or less had the relation, therefore the neighbours often got on well with her. She was treated as member in their family. Miss. Tran Thi Thuy Nga, age 19 stated: "sometime I have flu, the house- owner is very kind, she look after and buy medicine for me". Some other also viewed that the city dwellers accepted, sympathised and treat them fairly, they got on well with one another, they did not look down on their servants and disparaged them, they just wanted to have work done well and accepted to pay

Although the society, particularly the cities where they move to recognise their presence and do not look down on them. The migrants themselves feel complex. Ms. Nguyen Thi Hoai, from Thanh Oai, Ha Tay said, "at the beginning, I am very at fault, even I feel shy when I cried "who want to sell junk goods", many days I cycle tiredly but can not get much since the fact that I have no experience at the beginning, a honest person like me, measure things fairly and let the commodities

scatter on the way back home. Sometimes, I can not classify what commodity is good what is bad, so I lose much. Occasionally, I feel very disappointed, but I think if I come back, my family will fall into difficult condition. Therefore, I try my best and keep firmly and gradually I get used to it and then becoming fond of . Now I am 32 years old, that means I have involved in this work for nearly 10 years. I can get about 15-20,000VND per day now, and more or less 300,000-500,000VND per month. Thanks to that, my fivemember family (husband and wife and three children) have a better life, whenever the summer comes, our children have holiday and I finish the harvest of 6 perches of rice land for the co-operative, we (I and my husband) come to Hanoi to be junk traders. Sometimes unfortunately, we meet some bully gangs or buy stolen goods; and then the police take them away we loss both capital and interest. It is luckily that police sympathise and release us. We know that this type of work has bad influence on our health, when we beat concrete, bend iron and collect the crushed paper and cover of bag, dust of rusty iron and cement affect on our eyes, noses and lung... Doing this work I have to keep confident; if you are truthful you will sell well, people who have scrap they will keep for you, you should not buy commodities from thieves and children, they take pot and tray from the family in occasion of their parents out of home. You can get profit but unfortunately if you are caught in red hand, the children are beat and scolded, they are hurt and we feel unhappy. At

present, there are many people involving in this kind of work. so it gets more difficult, but I have no other option. In my village, after two weeks, I can finish my fieldwork, a narrow house without pond and garden, how I can operate VAC (vegetables-aquaculture-cage). So that, we have to rush in Hanoi to seek for job reluctantly. She added: At the time being, I can do it because my children are still young and not ashamed, but when they grow up, it is probably impossible"(1). Ms. Bui Thi Oanh, from Phu Chau commune, Ba Vi district, Ha Tay province said, "I come to Hanoi to sell vegetable to earn money for my daughter's study, I know that she has complex but I still insist on doing it to support her and feel ready to shoulder the hardship", she added "my daughter has inferiority complex with her classmates, she comes back home and cries and does not allow me to sell it any more. I know that and try to convince her..." I said, "It is rarely to have such situations, that mother follows her child to support for her education. I think you should take pride in it and give your whole mind to your education." Finally, the daughter understood and tried to study well and had no imitation with her friends any more, "such farmers from rural areas like us, we are ready to take the hardship for our children's education and for the better future"(2), she concluded.

⁽¹⁾ Minh Nguyet - Special issue of Metropolitan women, No 135.

⁽²⁾ Quach Tam - Special issue of Metropolitan women, No 122.

In brief, in condition of market economy, city's dweller have familiar with presence of spontaneous emigrants, they sympathised, helped the emigrants to manage their life in the city, But the local leaders who have responsibility in their local where many spontaneous emigrants residence worry about social problem when migrant flows into the city is increasing. The female migrants, themselves they cross the difficulties and initial complex, become self - confident to work when they recognise the society has accepted them.

II - RURAL OPINIONS FROM THE POINTS OF DEPARTURE

The matter of doing legitimate works in cities has made some families hesitant and unwilling when talking with us, it deems that they feel guilty to let their relatives move out. Mr. Do Van Toan, 36 from, Ly Nhan, Ha Nam said: "We had no better alternative for their life, therefore they have to accept it", or Mr. Nguyen Van Minh, 69, from the same commune stated that, his daughter had been selling bread in Giap Bat station for 3 years, because it got the higher income in comparison with other's. The other reason for her leaving was due to the fact that agricultural production had more free time, whilst my family was facing many difficulties, the work also created more income for the family, however they always worried about her health in Hanoi, if there was a work in the village obtained the same wage as the existing income, she would not have to work outside any more. In his opinion, it was "out of home, out of

work"... The best way for the farmers is to create a sustainable employment and not have to move out.

On moving far from home of female, there is no criticised opinion of villagers in general, especially at the local with many movers, however, some cases meet difficulties like Mrs. Loan from Hai Duong, she said that: "At beginning, villager have some criticised opinions, when I come back from Hanoi, they ask me what do I do in Hanoi? Am I working in the bar?... but after that people recognised that I going to work in Hanoi is necessary for my family, I earn money for caring my children and for their studying, and take care them when being sickness. Especially when I become thinner people have more sympathiser with me". Her husband and her children feel love tenderly than before. She prides when talking about two her older children: "They are well - behaviour and studying very well, it is the best mobilising for me for my hard working every day in Hanoi"

Probably, there are different ideas and viewpoints in the society on the matter of leaving of female workers, especially in localities of Northern part of Red River delta the assessment and conception seem to be more stricter and the desire for their relative's staying in the homeland also is much more than South part's. When discussed with some leaders in localities where gathering a large number of movers, we recognised that the tendency of moving of the workers in general and the female workers in particular was indispensable, meanwhile labour

force was surplus, land for rice was limited, type of activities were not developed, if there was a output it also would get stuck, for instance in Ly Nhan district.

Ly Nhan is one of 6 districts of Ha Nam province belonged to Red River delta, about 14 km far away from Phu Ly commune in the East. It is a hollow plain, local people are mainly based on purely-agricultural activities, monoculture with the total of the natural land of 16,500 hectare throughout the district, of which 11,500 hectare is cultivated land. According to the statistical survey on 1 January 2000, it has the population of 186,808 people, of which female accounting of 52.1 percent of female workers in the age (48,707 persons). On average, the square of cultivated land per head is very small, it is only 615 m²/person, especially in some communes like Chinh Ly, Hop Ly and Cong Ly... it is 200 m²/ person, so that the time spending for agriculture production is only 40 percent time scale, the left is spare time. The craft tradition activities in some villages in the district are mainly carpenters, bricklayers, so it is not suitable for female work and health. In the pass time in many communes, there were some activities like knitting basket, doing chumming (fishing means).. yet since the commodity economy has been developed, the plastic goods are dominant on the market, consequently knitting activity is wiped out. If only relying on over one Sao of rice land per head, the income of the people can not meet the minimum expenditure of a family. Upon such difficulties, the impoverishment are burdened on the shoulder

of female, that is the reason for them to leave out for seeking job, increasing income and ensuring the essential demand for family life. As such, when the market economy is developed, it creates the strong wave of spontaneously immigrated female workers in cities to look for job. Through our survey, in Ly Nhan district, out of 23 communes, 7 ones have large number of women flocking into cities to look for job, particularly like Chinh Ly commune with 10,799 people, female workers are 2,754 persons, of which 200-250 women working far away from the homeland every year. Of which, number of women working for 4-5 months is 120-150 persons; 6-7 months about 70-80 persons and number working for 9 - 12 months are 30-50 persons. The leaving of women - a main force and the housewife in the family to guarantee their essential life and the family is a legitimate work and regards as a positive method to self-saving. What matters is the necessity in organising and assisting them. An initiative of Women's Union of Ly Nhan district, Ha Nam is to set up market branch and group of activities of the same departure to mutual helping and protecting in difficulties and misfortune... however, management and leaders in localities and even the relatives in their family often worry about would-be influences on them and difficulties of the family and locality in mobilising the labour force if necessary, for example looking after the children while spreading some social evils in localities. That is the backside of the unavoidable matter in the process of integration of the farmers in the city's life.

III - OPINION OF SCIENTISTS

The matter of female spontaneous migrant labours may earliest concerned by articles, they reflect this question at many angle and different levels.

As far as this issue is concerned, some writers just seemed to focus on its negative side and make recommendations and measures on how to limit number of this force. It can be proved by the article "still too many people rushing into Hanoi for seeking job" by Ngoc Ha⁽¹⁾, "The immigration in Hanoi" by Ngo Thanh Ha⁽²⁾. In these articles, after showing statistics on immigrants in the city, authors pictured the real situation of their life and some adverse influences from their immigrating on multifaced life of the city: the increase in population, the violation on public security, the encroachment of road-bed and pavement to obstructs the traffic, grouping into wandering population – "illegal groups" where social evils including thefts, prostitutes, drug addiction, as a result they gave the suggestion: "in the danger of population bombing. It is required to have bold and consistent measures in Hanoi to manage closely immigration from outside to the city, thereby it can be hopeful to reduce the population growth rate to be adaptable with the economic development of the city" (Nguyen Thanh Nhan, the newspaper

quoted above". With some recommendations and solutions, the writer Ngoc Ha in article quoted above came to similar conclusion "how to decrease in the number of immigrants to the city with the aim of seeking job".

Many other writers mainly reflect the real situation, working, income, jobs, eating and housing and other aspect of migrants. In on side, that sympathises, support the migrant, on the other sides, they warning for society about problem occurring from migration but they rarely find out the reasons and solutions.

Some writers and articles did not only reflect their statusquo but also the argument on the solutions, they also contributed their direct comments on the suitable and comprehensive answer to the issue, for example, article "the migrants in Ho Chi Minh city" of Vu Thanh⁽¹⁾. However, such articles are not so common.

At the beginning, scientists have some voices participating in the solutions for this issue from the general duty. The approach and solution on the problem has more comprehensive and radical meaning.

Concerning to this, many scientists viewed it as "an ongoing phenomenon in many countries over the world and as a usual event of the human kind over centuries. Especially, it is like a logical issue in all countries in the progress of industrialisation and building factories and industrial zones

⁽¹⁾ Ngoc Ha, "still too many people rushing into Hanoi for seeking job", The Nhan Dan,dated 9 October 1998".

⁽²⁾ Ngo Thanh Ha "The immigration in Hanoi", The Vietnamese Women, No. 1 dated 1 January 1999.

⁽¹⁾ Vu Thanh, The Vietnamese Women, No. 44 (20/9/1999).

in accordance with urbanisation and development of shops, accommodations, roads and transpositions, clearly that local people can not satisfy such huge labour force"(1).

Moreover, people are very sensitive with the new things and lifestyle that is why they often move to places where employment is paid with higher income and better life is enjoyed. This matter is the common rule for the series of spontaneous immigration of the human being from past to now⁽³⁾.

In Vietnam, according to Prof. Le Thi: "The main reason of the immigration is the consequence of the rapid rate of population, meanwhile the land for rice is not expanded, people in the North, Centre region are empowered the use's right over a certain square of land, it is not from the reason of disposing of the land of rice to leave homeland, but the average the Rice-land per head is getting smaller and smaller (it is 400m²/head on average in the North), it is not enough for bringing up a family. The survival way of the whole family urges them to move out to earn for living in other places, though difficulties are expected. Two rice crops, a farm production and extra husbandry activity a year only take place in 5-6 months, how they can survive if they stay

at home and furthermore non-agriculture activities in rural areas are not seen much. So that, is it dispensable to migrate to other cities and places to seek for job to remain family life and themselves at considerable level, at the time being when the State and community have not supported them".

In other study, upon the sample approach on the situation of hired workers conducted by F. Anghen, the writer Nguyen Van Chinh tried to analyse the phenomenon of rural/urban movement of workers from the general views of the sociohistoric process, taking into consideration the structural factors of the socio-economic system and focusing on the analysis of macroeconomic conditions and political-socio force that influence on this circle in Vietnam.

Based on that, he concluded: "socio-economic system plays the very decisive role for rural/urban flow. I do not repeat the difference of the living standard between rural and urban areas that absorbs the people to flock into cities, but I have to remark to the shifting from collective economy system (cooperatives) into household economy in line with the reallocation on land for households and its scarcity for cultivating rice - a main life source for farmers. The unemployment in rural area and the demand for cash in daily life are the fundamental factors to increase the rural/urban flow."(1)

⁽¹⁾ Le Thi, Report in Workshop "Job for female migrants into cities", Hanoi, 4-5/7/2000.

⁽²⁾ Le Trong, Report of workshop "Job for Female Spontaneous Migrant in Cities" - Hanoi,4-5/7/2000.

⁽¹⁾ Nguyen Van Chinh - the Matter of "labourer's market" in Hanoi - The Sociology, No. 2 dated 5 April 1996.

With the same approach, Dang Nguyen Anh came to a estimation upon the analyses on many aspects of society that affected to the rural labour force: "Immigration has become a mean and survival strategy and development of households in rural areas" (1).

From such analysis, majority of scientist reach to a judgement that *doi moi* policies promote directly or indirectly on immigration process, therefore, methods that purely targeted to control and limit immigration is very difficult to achieve.

Many studies of scientists not only concentrate on identifying the rule of the rural/urban movement but also the contribution of migrants toward the development of the city, the rural areas and the country as a whole.

Majorities of migrant labourers are healthy, with knowledge and sensitiveness; hard working and brave. They come from different places to cities and add more to labour resource for the construction of cities and respond to the multi-faced needs there in the development process, they attribute to reducing the service fee for the urban areas and increasing the profit for enterprises gained from the cheap price of labour power and facilitating to the expansion of the production. Spontaneously migrant labourers also make a contribution to handling many

works that city dweller disdain to do. An other important point is that the city does not pay much cost for training.

One of the characteristics of migrant labourers in cities in Vietnam is "labour movement rather than family movement" (Le Thi). They still have close relation and linkage with the hometown in terms of economic, cultural and emotional angles. That is why they have significant contribution to the social life in rural areas. The income got from works in cities can help them to develop household economy, increase the living standard and create the capital for household economy as well as the hunger alleviation in the locality. With their experience and accumulated money, they attribute to shift the labour-production structure in rural areas and it changes the way of thinking and doing and cultural-spiritual life there. Migrant labourers bring about these contributions, besides they also have other backsides influencing on rural areas.

From the base of such judgement and assessment, scientist searched more clearly in multi-faced circumstances of migrant labourers. It is necessary to look at the specific reasons urging them to move out, the work, the employment, their income and living conditions where they live in cities to sort out solutions and recommendations not only for withholding the rural/urban flow but also supporting and protecting them as well. When dealing with this issue, Prof. Le Thi wrote "it is necessary to have the conception to

⁽¹⁾ Dang Nguyen Anh, "Immigration and development under the context of socio-economic renovation of the country"- Journal of sociology₂No. 1 (61) 1998.

consider the matter more comprehensively, it should not regard illegally-immigrate workers as troublemakers... but should evaluate both its two-prolonged aspects: the demand factor for the various manpower and cheap-paid workers in urban areas is met by the supply factor of labour resource and unemployment in rural areas". It should notify the positive aspect of needs on having labour resource supplemented from rural areas to cities as a indispensable rule of the urbanisation and modernisation process. Besides, it requires paying attention to the organisation, arrangement and utilisation on the labour resource to be appropriate and protective manner for rural worker's right- at the time being at inferior position- and ensure the safety for the hirers and public security.

From overall views, scientists including short-term, long-term solutions and recommendations on awareness, organisation and methods at leader and managerial level present many specific measures. Specifically, it consists of the correct awareness the logical rule on the rural/urban movement to seek for job and reside with an aim to make sound policies and measures. To limit it, it requires having policies on rural development, policies on controlling population and family planning, urbanisation under well-designed planning, improvement and enlargement on land, expansion on type of activities so as the workers want to live and work in the homeland. For workers, it should make policies on training, build provisionally residing areas, and make provisional

registration and study on issuing card or labour note for migrants. In short, these solutions are rather comprehensive, specific and feasible, they respond to the needs of workers and managers especially in cities where migrants live.

Chapter 5 TRENDS AND SOLUTIONS

I-MIGRATION TREND IN THE COMING TIME

In the article "the estimate on the population and rural workers"(1) drew up an impressive picture on population and rural workers from now on by 2010. According to the statistics in April 1999 Vietnam had a population of 76.3 million people, of which 58.5 million living in rural areas making an account of 76.5 percent of the total population. The amount of workingage people in rural areas was 33.89 million making up 58 percent the total of people there. By the year 2000, Vietnam is expected to have population of 77.0 million, of which number of workingage people in rural areas would be 34.34 million. According to the analysis of authors, if we subtract the necessary agriculture workers of around 13.9 million and add with about 5.91 million of not engaging in economically activities and 7.5 million of workers operating in off-farming activities, we can conclude the number of underemployment in rural areas approximately with the jobless rate of 24.7 percent. Expectedly, by the year

⁽¹⁾ Vu Ba Dinh. Vietnam economic times No 71 (637) dated 14/6/2000.

2010, the rural population will be 57.58 million, of which 36.40 million people at working age (i.e. 63.2 percent the total of rural population). Based on the development level of the economy in general and the agriculture in particular as well as the participating level of rural workers into economic activities, authors supposed to have two possibilities:

- If the growth rate of GDP agriculture in period of 2001-2010 enjoys 3.3 percent annually, the growth of farming products is 2.7 percent; and the agriculture labour capacity is 5 percent; the proportion of people at working age but do not engage in economic activities is 19 percent - i.e. as many as 6.92 million people, the agrarian production utilises around 11 million people and other types of activities in rural areas absorb 500,000 people per year, the number of underemployment in 2010 will be decline and stay somewhere of 5.98 million.

- If the growth rate of GDP agriculture in period of 2001-2010 enjoys 4.3 percent annually, the growth of farming products is 3.6 percent and the agriculture labour capacity is 5 percent; the proportion of people at working age but do not engage in economic activities is 20 percent - i.e. as many as 7.28 million people, the agrarian production utilises around 12 million people and other types of activities in rural areas absorb 500,000 people per year, the number of underemployment in 2010 will be on decrease and enjoy somewhere of 4.12 million.

Table 5: Estimation on population and rural workers by 2010

	1999	2000	2010	
National population (million people) (*)	76.3	77.9	88.6	
Rural population (million people)(**)	58.4	58.6	57	7.59
Rate of rural/national population	76.5	75.5	65	
Number of people at working age	33.89	34.34	36.34	
Proportion with rural population	58.0	58.6	63.2	
Demand for rural workers			First plan	Second plan
Total (million people)	21.0	21.4	23.5	25.0
Of which				
Agriculture	14.0	13.9	11.0	12.0
Non-farming activities	7.0	7.5	12.5	13.0
Number of economically active people (million people)	5.78	5.91	6.92	7.28
Number of underemployment (million people)	7.11	7.03	5.98	4.12
Unemployment rate in rural areas	25.29	24.28	20.28	14.15

Source: Vu Ba Dinh - Estimation on population and rural workers.

Upon the above conditions, the economic growth rate or labour capacity are acceptable, but the ability of attracting labour into non- farming activities in rural areas annum of 500,000 people is too large, because the labour capacity and payment for a day working is very low in this area and getting

^{*} The Institute of Development Strategy, Resource department, Sep. 1999.

^{**} Strategy for urban development in Vietnam by 2020.

more and more difficult to compete with industrial production. In reality, many traditional activities are loosing the ability to absorb large amount of workers day by day. Service trade such as: making clothes, hairdresser's, motorbike repairing, construction and small-scale business... are likely to expand in rural areas, but it fails to meet the employment for 500,000 workers. To solve this problem, it can be expected to the industrial development and labour export. At the moment, these works are facing with many difficulties, for instance: the ability of attracting workers is not good enough to reduce the redundant in the society. At such, in next 10 years, the economy keep developing but the number of unemployment in rural areas still pick up, in addition to that the advancement in agricultural labour capacity will make number of people involving in farming activities having more free time. Of course, women will constitute a considerable proportion among these. As a result, the matter of rural people including female workers moving to cities for seeking job is about on upward tendency.

In terms of income and the disparity on living standard, according to the latest result of General Statistics Office, the average income per head of Vietnam increased by 30.1 percent i.e. 295,000 VND/month against that in 1996. Of which, urban people had 832,500 VND/month, increased by 63.4 percent over that in 1996 and in rural areas, people got 225,000 VND/month increased by 19.7 percent. The rate of poverty households reduced from 15.7 percent in 1996 to 13.33 percent

in 1999. In other word, the living standard and income of rural people have been seen much improvement over past few years. However, the disparity between these two components is getting wider and expected to happen in next coming time. With such great disparity, the attractiveness of cities is not only faded but drives the migration flow into cities much more.

Besides, the slow improvement of infrastructure in rural areas also makes local people try to get out of their homeland.

However, there will be a structural transition and the number of provisional immigrants by season will be grow up but in lower rate. Meanwhile number of seekers for sustainable jobs will increase in cities. And so do the rate of skilled young workers, they will take it by their education and look for job there after graduation. This tendency was estimated in the survey result of project RAS/07/M11/DNN tittle "Promoting the influences of Trade Union in informal sector" announced in the workshop dated 15 August 2000 in Hanoi, accordingly 50.8 percent free workers aged of 26-40 in the society, of these 32.3 were students and pupils; 24.9 percent were farmers and 14.1 percent were soldiers having finished army duty.

II - LEGISLATIVE BACKGROUND AND DECISION ON THE MATTER

After the Liberation Day and reunification of the country, Vietnam has been undergoing in the socialism orientation, State and Vietnam government has made many policies on

socio- economic development, and paid much concern about the right and benefit and development of people. These policies have formed a completed system including common policies and legislation (strategy on socio-economic development, constitution) affecting to the whole social life in development process, policies and laws dealing with certain field and specific issues such as labour, employment, health care, body safety, investment improvement. These policies are divided into groups: for farmers, workers and women. They are carried out in locations and for those who have resident registration or official registration; especially in recent time, the State, agencies at different levels and branches have made some progressive effort to job creation for the labourers in general and agriculture and rural areas in particular, it deploys guidelines and policies, and diversifies on agriculture production and plant and husbandry, develops processing technology, strengthens subservice system for agricultural production, recovers and develops craft traditional villages, policy on consuming farm products, vocational training, job generation for rural labourers via the policy from National fund on job generation and assistance Program on 1,300 poor communes, Nation program on poverty alleviation and strengthening the activities of politic-socio organisations and others bodies, realise the credit loan and mobilise the savings from inner power to facilitate women to self-generate employment and solve the problem of job for other labourers.

Due to the fact that it has been become evident recently, spontaneous-migrant workers in general and female workers in particular in cities have not enjoyed any policies, though they make an considerable account of the total city population and have tendency to be upward. As for the current policies, because they move out of the permanent resident and freely immigrated into cities (as illegal action), so that they have no enjoyment of right and benefit from these policies. In the contrary, they have to suffer the adjustment and force of many other policies and laws when living on other places. It can be surveyed more specifically the relation over some aspects of female spontaneous workers in cities. This is an unfair and incompatible matter when the State and Party are planning to enhance the development of multi-faced market economy with the direction of socialism.

It should reconfirm that in the Constitution of Socialist Republic of Vietnam, Articles No 55 and 68 define that working is as right and obligation of every citizen. A citizen has right to travel freely and reside in the country. In concretises the regulation of Constitution, Labour Code in Article No 5 and No 13 confirm that every body has right to work and select freely their own job and occupations, all income-created activity are acknowledged employment provided that they are not break the law. So that, spontaneous migrant workers are entitled to enjoying equal right in terms of resident, labour and having job in cities as other people.

Regarding to the female workers, the labour code spends a chapter Xth with 9 provisions stipulating in detail their rights and benefit. For instance, in Article No 109 defines: the State ensures the working right for women as all aspects as for men: supporting policies on employing female workers regularly... Article No 111: any discrimination, ill treatment and violation the dignity and honour of women are forbidden... Article No 110 mentions to the responsibility of authorised agencies for widening the suitable types of training for women to facilitate them to have contingent occupations.

As such, although the targets and the issues have been newly appeared and popular in the context of structural renovation and development of market economy for past 10 years, they are still under the specified framework and protected by the law.

However, this is newly social affair, it contains twoprolonged aspects, so in our opinion it should have studies and assessments comprehensively, cautiously and objectively, associated with the development orientation as below:

- It should regard targets and the migration process at the time being as a cause of the socio-economic development; a distributing form of labour force corresponded to the development of market economy; a positive factor contributing to the socio-economic advance rather than a pressing problem needed addressing or a consequence of the development required hindering by administrative measures. That shall be an action against the development rule failing to gain the

efficiency in various aspects. It shall deny the significant efforts of this labour force in dealing with many important contents and work in urban economy, in other hand it shall affect directly to the need of income and hunger eradication and poverty reduction in rural areas unsatisfying the urgent needs of the labour market across the country.

- The solution for the spontaneous migration is not only a matter either of population or economy but it also a matter of human, in this regard, its solutions should not be in administrative manner but humanity, for the people and placed emphasis on the needs of improving lives for movers or inhabitants as a optimal goal in the strategy for migration and socio-economic development.
- It should be placed at the common aspect as the whole country rather than separate task of either any level or locality. Policy solutions should be targeted to the requirements of the socio-economic development in both urban and rural areas the close relation between the destination and departure places. Migration should be viewed as a fundamental component of socio-economic planning of the country.
- Its solutions should focus on the socio-economic determinants in the first place. It is probably shown step by step through each period corresponding to the development progress of the economy.

The experience on the agrarian migration policy in some Asian countries present the solutions to decline the total number of population via birth control and family planning or administrative measures to prevent rural people from moving to urban areas, for instance:

- + Dispatching redundant in rural areas to unoccupied land with the assistance of "rural development program"
- + Forming on-the-site urban development centres in rural areas and satellite cities next to big cities. The redundant force from key cities or rural areas will be gathered there.
 - + Exporting labour with definite term (1).

III - SOME SOLUTION FOR ISSUES OF MIGRATION IN GENERAL AND FOR FEMALE SPONTANEOUS MIGRANTS INTO CITIES IN PARTICULAR

Based upon on above point of view and experiences, we would like to propose the following fundamental solutions:

1. Short-term solutions:

a) Implementation the program of: job creating, the hunger eradication and poverty reduction, and other socio-economic programs at the rural areas to sole the original reasons for migration into cities. They should be fostered skills with the priority given to appropriate occupations in the locality enabling them to expend production, run business and operate small-scale enterprise there. At the same time,

necessary knowledge shall be provided for them to find out a better job in cities, not to accept manual works with low and unstable income, often facing threat of losing job or works to be harmful to women's reproductive health. The vocational guidance should be taken in the advance and matched with the goal of socio-economic development of cities avoiding the waste of labour resources and the formation a burden for society.

Presently, there are many private vocational centres and vocational centres for youth but mostly are service occupations as: clothes making, hairdressing... in Hanoi, Da Nang and Ho Chi Minh city, the learners can be make ends of living when they finish courses. This is true, yet in fact it is not totally appropriate and unsatisfied the demand of socio-economic development of the city in particular and the country in general. That is responsibility of authorised agencies as DOLISA, Department of construction, Department of commerce and mass unions in vocational guidance in cities at macro level. It is necessary to develop the social determined fabric as well as service programmes expending for female participation, especially for youth generation with an aim at providing knowledge, skills, and consultative information for their best economic decisions.

More important and comprehensive, it is necessary to upgrade the educational level, knowledge for rural people, of which attention should be given to women, youth, to create the

⁽¹⁾ Studying social policy for Vietnam's rural. State politic publishing house, 1996, P.107.

basic knowledge that is the most valuable procession for job seekers who are bare-handed and lack of capital and without initial material foundation. It helps them to find out job more easily in many places and to be more active, mindful and integral to new jobs to upgrade skills, experience and improve income for migrants. When the program of laboured co-operation is available, they should have opportunity to joint into exported labour team with definite term.

b) Ensuring the provisions of social services for migrant labourers in general and female labourers in particular, attributing to protect their rights and benefits, helping them to work effectively and to be able to re-create the labour power in the lowest living conditions, avoiding too bad or unhygienic situations. In the future it is necessary to construct houses for migrant's hiring with meeting the needs in water, power, and sewage and latrine at least. It should grant licenses for loadinghouse if its conditions on daily activities, sanitation are ensured. This is of importance for health of female labour in general and the community in particular. It will help for the resident registration of migrants right at the beginning time. Enabling for migrants to access to accommodation, community-based activities participate in activities of street's inhabitant groups, mass unions to let them fulfil the urban lifestyles, duty, rights and benefits of farmers. Particularly, it is necessary to expand the participation of female migrant labourers in the women's union in cities, or associations, branches of far-away-from hometown people... Arranging them into organisations, helping

them to promote capacity and way to self-protect and heightening their status in the society. Accordingly, it shall translate into reality the implementation of urban lifestyles, prevention social evils, giving away the situation of being nowhere person without the management of any social organisation and freely live in a particular rule stipulated by the migrant or by migrating groups that shall do harm for himself and the social community. When they get support and assistance of organisations, localities they feel more confident and ready obey rules, regulations of the authority and ensure the social security of the city.

c) Intensifying the supervision of labour legislation in enterprises, protecting the rights and benefits of employees via monitoring labour activities to eliminate the unfairness and the labour exploitation. All the activities of hiring longterm labourer, including of enterprises, or of private owners must be done on the basis of the labour contract and fulfilled the social and health insurance. By labour contracts, State agencies both control and protect the working rights of employees from situation of shift-adding, shift-increasing without additional payment, or stretching the apprenticeship and vocational training or holding considerable part of wage to trap them, whenever having any problems in production or in a stage of stagnation, they will be received no regard, be put into prostitute or social evil (of which some dismissed women does not go back to countryside but still stay in cities and become sexual workers, drug trafficker or fall into other social evils);

besides, labour contract shall monitor income from the hiring migrated labour and facilitate for the adjustment of levies fairly and practically. In other words, by signing labour contract with migrants it is possible to collect the fee from enterprises for infrastructure construction, social services for the increasing population in the city.

Although it is urgent work but not easy to realise, it requires the preparation in terms of legal framework, time human resource and kind.

d) Organising soundly the migrant network to create the close social relation between the migrant and emigrant places, making an active contribution to the suitable mediation of transmigration with the regard to avoid the unreliable information and the wrong decision for movers. Once the migration network is developed it shall remain the rural/urban migration flows under the self-adjusted mean without the outside intervention.

2. Long-term solutions

Along with the short-term solutions already mentioned, to address the rural/urban spontaneous migration problem effectively, the matter of reviewing and solving to the root of emerging issue are actually fundamental, key measures, not only for the immediate but for the long term prospects.

a) Enhance the industrialisation rural areas in line with helping people to develop off-farm production industries at the localities to absorb female workers, men, the elderly, likely-working children to eventually get over the situation of underemployment in localities - this is key issue. To this end, the main working members in household are needed to equip with knowledge on production sectors, business management in parallel with the funding to enable them to start business of the small-scale on business, food-processing, craft and home craft industry... in commensurate with output markets in localities, solving on-the-site employment for family members and probably attracting more labour in surrounding families. This makes the reunion, stability in business, activities in families and gets out of the situation of "people staying in rural area, people moving to urban area" with unexpected events causing the instability for families.

It is necessary to make policies on developing rural areas of which emphasis should be given to the technical science transfer, preserving and processing techniques for increasing labour productivity in agriculture that are inaccessible to few women (although they are main labourers for this kind of activity). With the capital support, price-subsidising for agriculture, eventually building up the infrastructure in rural area...it shall enable for rural areas to develop on the available advantages and gradually reach to the establishment of export market in rural areas.

It is necessary to have policies to develop economic regions to promote the dominance of each region. Policies on distributing

industry to set up new industrial centres in rural areas or growing centres to attract local labour and step-by-step modernisation rural areas to have opportunity of integrating and not too be different with urban areas in the region. This requires a long-term socio-economic development strategy in 10-20 years for each region based on the specific characteristics on natural and human resources at each place enabling rural people to access to the situation of "not farming by not leaving hometown" or "working in factory not entering city" for rural people.

on land in rural areas to distribute it in supplementary more appropriately for households, especially for those who have labour power and owning little land. At the present, the number of farmers having possibility of producing but not yet allocated or owned little land, even no land is upward trend. Especially in Cuu long river delta, mountainous areas, the State offers loan from Hunger Eradication and Poverty Reduction Fund to redeem their land for them, facilitating for labours in agriculture accessing to cultivation land for farming, forestry and husbandry, thereby making a sustainable life for them. At the time being, Vietnam has rather big amount of unexplored land (42.96 percent), used agricultural land of over 7 million hectare making an account of 22 percent and availing agricultural land constituting 29.72 percent(1).

The number of availing land is mainly used in monoculture causing over-croped soil and ineffective production. The improvement on land shall help farmers to produce effectively and bring about the practical benefits for them and for the society making the cohesion between farmers and fields and limiting number of leaving hometown to wander in other places or swarming in urban areas to live. With poor households owning no land but know how to run business, they can contribute capital by their land with the farm owner to joint co-operate. The State should encourage farm owners to attract labour and making preferential policies for them.

c) Realising population and family planning work properly in rural areas. This takes significant role for rural areas in Vietnam-where living 80 percent population of the country and suffering rather high birth-rate and population growth pace posed a great pressure over land for every household as well as many rural areas. Policies are required to advocate and educate constantly for rural people to recognise the practical benefit for their family as well as for the community in limitation of birth delivery. The matter of giving few children, well fostering them in co-operation with the sound performance of taking care and protecting the aged in every family will make people feel ensure about the living in rural areas to bring up children, family and take care old parents not to endeavour to move to city.

Thus, the basic orientation mentioned above both creating employment for farmers and decreasing the demand of getting

⁽¹⁾ Tran Hoang Kim - Vietnam economy in period 1945-1995 and prospective by the year 2020, Statistical Publishing House, 1996.

job for working age people. To deploy the orientation soundly, it needs the Party leadership, State active contribution via industrialisation rural areas, employment generation programme, and hunger eradication, poverty reduction programme as well to promote the movement of reducing birth rate in rural areas. At the same time, it needs the assistance from social organisations of communities in communes, villages and the support of public opinion to encourage families to actively proceed in implementing. In our opinion, these orientations should be realised consistently both in short-term and long-term solutions, carrying out alternately long-term solutions, regarded short-term solutions as the premise for completing long-term ones to achieve the sound outcomes, helping the people in general and women in particular to feel ensure to live in their countryside and unnecessarily leave it for the cities.

Appendix 1

GUIDELINE FOR IN-DEEP INTERVIEWING FEMALE, MALE SPONTANEOUS MIGRANTS IN SOME CITIES

1. The essential information about herself /himself and her/ his family's history of emigration concerned

- General information of interviewee: name, age, level of education, native village, professional (place of training if possible), working place before coming to cities, reason for stop working, attitude to old work, old colleagues.
- Number of interviewee's children (if she/he has got marriage, age, sex, education)
 - Daily division of labour in her/his family.
- Living level of his/her family in the village, who is mainly earn in the family.
 - Cultivated land per capital.
 - The reasons for she/he go to cities.
- Who did she/he go with? Is there any relative lives in the city, where do they live.
 - Does she/he know any information about city before going.

2. Information about job of female spontaneous migrant labour.

- Free work or hired labour (create the work by her/himself of hired labour)
 - What is specified work she/he do?
 - Why does she/he do this work but why does not others.
 - What are difficulties in working now?
- Is there any concerning between education, skill and the current work?
 - Is there any body in family or relative do this work?
- He/she find herself/himself or who recommend for this work? Who decide to do this work?
 - How long has he/she been doing this work?
 - Is this possible to find other work, why?
 - What is most difficult in finding the job?
 - Does she/he need a support to have other work?
 - The work is stable or not?
- Time load (number of hours per day, per work, per month and per year).
 - The season work or regular work.
 - Work in owner's house or somewhere?
- If it is hiring labour, how about contract or agreement, who make the contract?

- How organised work?
- Management by herself/himself or owner?
- The field of working
- The role of intermediary people?
- How she/he behaves to ward intermediary people?
- How she/he can get information about work?

3. The information about economy, living condition and working condition.

- How about in come? Is it stable? When it increases and when it decrease.
- Chance for improving skill, income (she/he find herself/himself or from supporting)?
- Is there any intending to learn for improving skill or shift other work?
 - Income of female in comparison with male in the same work?
 - Does she/he receive money on time? approaching capacity
- How does she/he use her/him income, what is mainly used for, is there any for herself/himself?
 - How much is she/he saving, how she/he control this money?
 - Who borrow it?
- Contribution of her/his earning money to family's economy, specific amount? How often she/he send money home?
 - How living level of family change since he or she going to city?

- Living condition of spontaneous migrant labourers (place for food, sleeping, taking the bath.. other accommodation); spending for these conditions?
- His/her impression and feeling about city where she/he come and countryside where she/he leave.

4. The impact of working on health and other social pressure

- Hard work concerned to age, education, sex characteristic.
- Diseases, accidence and risk caused by hard working.
- Level of security, pay damages from owner (if occur).
- Time for rest, pleasure (what does she/he do in the free time)
- How to take care when illness, what diseases has she/he got it before.
- How does she/he fell about health now (thinner, weaker, fatter, stronger)?
 - How long she/he will do this work, why?
 - Some other risks concerned to health
 - + Be prejudice from social pressure, owners pressure.
 - + Injury cause body's power abuse.
 - + Being threaten of safety, work, earning.
 - + Others social pressures.
 - Is there any tie down if she/he wants to shift to other work?
 - What is most concerning and worry about.

5. The social questions occur from female spontaneous migrant labour

Their attitude to work

- Interviewee's conception about female spontaneous migrant labour.
 - What are advantages and disadvantages?
 - The chance to looking for good job.
 - The favourable and unfavourable when they do this work.
 - What do they do to keeps stable of work?
 - Do they intend to take their friends or relatives to go city?
- Do they come back to work in their village after they have some saving?

Thinking herself/himself about public opinion on female spontaneous migrant labour to city.

- Does society support and agree to these works?
- How the attitude of people?
- What is satisfy and unsatisfied of people about migrants?
- The relation of family and relatives when they go to city (level of closing respect, keep away from them) Why? How often they she/he come back to see family?
- Is there any group of fellow villagers or same habits in the working place? Who is leader? How can they have each other?
- How supporting of authority and mass organisation at working/ living place for spontaneous migrants.

6. In most felling, wishes and recommendation

- What is most their concerning?
- Strategy for survival
- Planing for future, especially for jobs and working, education of children.
- Do they intend to come back and work at their village. After working outside or do they continue to take relatives to the city?
- What is their wishes and recommendation for policy of in-out place.
 - Do they earn enough for living if they have try in their village?
- According to her and him, what is most necessary condition for life without migration to city.

Appendix 2

GUIDELINE FOR IN-DEEP INTERVIEWING HOUSEHOLD WITH FEMALE LABOURER(S) SPONTANEOUS EMIGRATE INTO CITIES

1. General information of household.

- Name of interviewee.
- Address (village/commune/district/province).
- Number of persons living in household their relation in household (name, age, education, career).

2. Economic status of household

- The living level of household in comparison with others in the village (lower, equal to, higher).
- Area of agricultural land per person, total agricultural land of household.
 - Other income sources.
- Is this enough food for household for last year if inadequate, how many months/year they have not enough.
 - Housing status.
 - Furniture.

3. The thinking of female labourers go to work in the cities

- How long has she gone, what does she do now, where, why she got this job and why not others.
- Do you or your family know about her favourable and unfavourable in the city?, How about her health status now?
 - The reason for her working out side.
- Do you and your family agree for her going to work out side, why?
 - What are difficulties for your family when she go far from home.
 - How often she goes home?
 - How much money she bring or sent to your family?
- How change in economic status of your family when she work out side.
- How effect to education of her children (when she absent from home).
- How sentiment of couple, mother children when she far from home.
- Have you get any worry about her when she is working in the city?
- How about opinion of neighbours around her going far from home.
 - Do you want to let her continue to work in the city? why?
- What do you and your family do to help her continue to work in the city?
- Do you have any wishes recommendation around her going to work in the city?
 - How about your family's plan for development of life.

Appendix 3

Unofficial translation

Hanoi City People's Committee Socialist Republic of Vietnam

No. 49/CT - UB

Independence - Freedom - Happiness

Hanoi, 10 October 1994

DIRECTIVE

RE-ARRANGING THE ORDER OF WORKERS COMING FROM PROVINCES AND OUTSKIRTS OF HANOI

SEEKING JOB IN HANOI

Recently, due to the impact of market economy, a great number of workers from provinces and surrounding areas have rushed into Hanoi for seeking casual and unskilled jobs leading to the increasing number of "labour markets" in some streets of Hanoi.

A large number of workers living in unsettled conditions have caused the disorder of public security, influenced on city's landscape and polluted environment. More seriously, some of them broke the law and competed each other for getting job and turned out to be "knavish contractors" or "gangsters". The Hanoi city People's Committee (HNCPC) assigned to the

Department of Labour-Invalids and Social Affairs (DOLISA) to pilot a model of "Station for exchanging and supplying labour" in order to learn lessons for working out effective measures purpose to manage this labour force and protect their rights and benefit as well as the public rules of the city.

HNCPC requires District People's Committees, heads of branches and industries to perform the following works at once:

- 1. District People's Committees would conduct surveys on "labour markets" within their respective locations, based upon the amount and the complicity of gathering points to establish "Station for exchanging and supplying labour" (SFESL) where served for exchange works between job seekers and employers; gather these workers into the station and guide them to observe city's regulations to avoid negative impacts.
- 2. DOLISA would have responsibility to introduce the professional qualification to these stations; then put forward the short-term and long-term measures to HNCPC in accordance with Ministry of Labour Invalids and Social Affairs (MOLISA) and other branches, industries and localities to step by step solve basically the situation of outside workers rushing into Hanoi for seeking job in order manner. Every quarter, it should make reports and deployment plan to draw experiences for overall direction work.
- 3. The city police would direct police at district level to perform management work in their respective locations; take close administration measure on the declaration for staying

provisionally; in co-ordinated with SFESL to control number of outside workers looking for job. City police shall take strict penalties to any person acting in breaching of the law and public security; and keep "Labour market" impossible to set up in disallowed places.

- 4. The Culture and Information Branch should make public advocacy on mass media and local broadcasting systems to keep people informed clearly about the direction and comply selfconsciously with city's regulations as well as the raise the awareness and responsibility of levels, branches and everybody towards protection of public security and urban civilisation.
- 5. Committee of Planning, Department of Price and Finance and Organisation Committee of City Government would make plan on funding and appointing cadres to districts to keep stations operated.

Administration and arrangement the order of outside workers coming to Hanoi for seeking job is a new issue with pressing social manner in the city at the time being. Until a master measure has not been taken, HNCPC requires all branches and levels with their respective authorities to perform well the above tasks.

Receivers:

FOR HA NOI CITY PEOPLE'S COMMITTEE President

- Government Office

- MOLISA

- District People's Committees

- Related Departments and branches

- HNCPC's Office

LE AT HOI

(signed)

Appendix 4

Unofficial translation

Hanoi City People's Committee

Socialist Republic of Vietnam

Independence - Freedom - Happiness

INTERIM REGULATIONS ON RE-ARRANGING THE ORDER AND MANAGING PROVINCIAL WORKERS COMING TO HANOI FOR SEEKING JOB

(Enclosed with the Decision No. 3189 dated 26 August 1995 by Hanoi City People's Committee)

Executing Article 181 of Labour Code of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, Decree 36/CP dated 26 May 1995 of the Government on re-arranging the order of road transportation security and urban transportation security; Directive 49CT/UB dated 10 October 1994 of HNCPC on re-arranging the order of provincial workers coming to Hanoi for seeking job.

To gradually dealing with the disorder caused by "labour markets" to the public security and city's landscape; practising State administration on labour in Hanoi location and regulations specified in Labour Code, provincial workers coming to Hanoi for seeking job and their employers have to comply adequately with labour legislation and the following regulations of HNCPC:

Article 1: As for the workers

1.1 Provincial workers must register for their provisional staying with ward police agent and comply with all necessary formalities to have the temporary labour card and pay a fee of 10,000 VND/time, even in case of extending 3-month validity pursuant to regulations of People's Committee where they have registered for staying provisionally.

The papers required for granting cards including:

- The introduction granted by local government where they reside to whom coming to Hanoi for seeking job.
 - Identity card or certificate of personal identity
- The registry of provisional staying granted by the ward police agent
 - Two photographs 3 x 4 size
- 1.2 The labour card signed and issued by DOLISA commonly in force with 3 months, when it expires, workers must hand in a request for extend its validity if they have demand for longer staying in Hanoi. Within 3 months, if any changes happen, the local police agent must be informed for its convenience in monitoring and managing.

- 1.3 During the time of waiting for job, workers must gather in the permitted places, they must not gather or wander in pavements, streets and public places. In night-time, they must go back to place where they have registered for staying provisionally. This regulation is applied to the provincial workers coming into city's inlaying areas for seeking job.
- 1.4 For provincial workers who have found job, they must present at the People's Committee of ward where they have registered for staying provisionally to handle necessary procedures to get labour card. Once the new card granted could they go on working in Hanoi.

Article 2: As for the employers

- 2.1 Only employ provincial workers who have been granted with temporary labour card.
- 2.2 If they employ fewer than 10 workers, they can contact directly with workers in permitted places.

If they employ 10 workers and over they are required to register with Employment Promotion Centres of the city.

2.3 When employing workers, all employers must observe the regulations specified in Labour Code and other ones stipulated by the city related to labour relation.

Article 3: As for the branches

3.1 Department of Labour- Invalids and Social Affairs:

- Carrying out the administration of this labour force through registering and issuing the temporary labour card; introducing and providing appropriate conditions for employers when they have request for hiring provincial workers via Employment Promotion Centres.
- Formulating and submitting to HNCPC the interim regulations related to administrative sanctions applied for employers and workers who acting in breach of the provisions of Labour Code or city's regulations.
- Bearing responsibility to generalise reports and promote promptly solutions on removing obstacles during implementation process and make a proposal financial statement to HNCPC for getting approval.
- Directing Employment Promotion Centres under DOLISA to closely co-ordinate with wards to grasp the number of provincial workers to control and place employment.

3.2 The city police

- Being the main responsible agent for directing district to address basically the situation of disorder of transportation security in urban areas caused by the formation of labour market, with the co-ordination of DOLISA and relevant branches.
- Directing the district police agents and guiding local police in co-ordination with street defence boards to provide

introduction and gather provincial workers in pubic places waiting for job to permitted places.

- Organising the registry for provisional staying and managing provincial workers coming to the city for seeking job.
- Taking measures in time and dealing strictly with those who break the law and violate the Decree 36/CP of Government and city's regulations.

Every quarter, it bears responsibility of reporting HNCPC the number of provincial workers residing in Hanoi (DOLISA shall be the receiving place for reports).

3.3 Organisation Board of City Government

- Bearing responsibility to supplement missions and set up norm on labour management by the current scheme and rearrange the personals in labour management division in wards.

Article 4: As for Ward People's Committee

- The chairperson of the district People's Committee holds the responsibility under HNCPC the re-arrangement the order and management of provincial workers in the district location.
- Making the specific plan to direct wards to implement, at the same time to define the places where provincial workers can wait for job, not to let them gather in utter disorder as pavements, streets or public places.

- Making monthly reports to HNCPC about the implementing progress (according to the APPENDIX 2) and emerging matters during its realisation (DOLISA will be the receiver of reports, then synthesise and submit to the HNCPC).

Article 5: DOLISA will be main responsible agent with assistance of other relevant branches to help HNCPC to carry out inspecting and checking agencies, units, collectives and individuals who having hired and/or employed provincial workers; workers or employers will be liable to administrative sanctions if any violations related to Labour Code and/or city's regulations are found.

Article 6: This interim regulation will be taken into effect on the date of signing. Any obstacles faced during its implementation process will be presented by District People's Committee and relevant branches to HNCPC (through DOLISA) to amend and supplement.

FOR HANOICITY PEOPLE'S COMMITTEE

Deputy Chairman
NGUYEN TRIEU HAI

(Signed)

Appendix 5:

Unofficial translation

Ho Chi Minh city People's Committee
Ho Chi Minh city Steering Board of
setting up labour personals and
population information system

Ho Chi Minh city Sub - Steering Board of Administration on Migrants

Socialist Republic of Viet Nam Independence - Freedom - Happiness

> Ho Chi Minh city, 24 September 1998

SCHEME

ON ARRANGING THE ADMINISTRATION ON MIGRANTS IN HO CHI MINH CITY

I - SITUATION AND CHARACTERISTICS OF MIGRANTS IN HO CHI MINH CITY

Right at the time of taking over the city, the population management has been attached to great concern of the city, thanks to that the natural population growth rate has decreased to 1.52 percent in 1995 against 1.61 percent in 1991, yet recently it has seen with rather high rate of population growth organically due to the large number of migrants from other places flocking into the city to work and live.

Realising the Directive No. 11/CT-UB dated 24 April 1996 of Ho Chi Minh city People's Committee (HCMCPC) of

administration plan on migrants, in July 1995 the city carried out verifying and supplementary surveys on this amount. By 15 August 1996, all the districts had completed the work and transferred all the questionnaires to the centres for processing statistic information to synthesise and generalise.

Upon the preliminary finding, the number of migrants in the city in 1996 as follows:

- The total number of respondents:

515,787 persons

- + The number of persons still keeping their staying: 390,701 persons
- + The number of persons having left the old resident place: 125,086 persons
- The total of the newly surveyed persons: 187,014 persons

As such, the number of current migrants in the city: 577,715 persons

(Increased by 61,928 persons in comparison with that in 1995)

Besides, 101,402 persons registered as frequenting residents)

In short, it can estimate that there are around 700,000 migrants in the city. However, only when the work of processing synthetically information is completed can we access to the general statistics and precise structure of migrants.

At the time being, the initial finding makes it possible to give the following assessment:

- The number of migrants in the city's inner made an account of 69.26 percent the total of migrants, and 30.74 percent migrants came to surrounding areas.
- The districts had large number of migrants found in Tan Binh: 84,639 persons; Thu Duc: 58,252 persons; Binh Thanh: 57,787 persons; Go Vap: 43,092 persons; District No VIII: 38,974 persons; Hoc Mon and Binh Chanh: 35,000 persons. The lowest rate was found in Can Gio: 6,762 persons; and other districts were seen around somewhere from 15,000-20,000 persons per district.
- The male migrants making up 51.39 percent and female ones making up 48.61 percent. The rate of workers aged over 16 years old making up 79.01 percent.
- Residing situation: in legally-bought houses or by written papers: 27 percent, in renting houses: 13 percent; living under the same roof with other's 35 percent and living in self-built houses or occupying land: 20 percent.
- The migrants having found job making up: 92 percent of which 31.79 percent having sustainable jobs; 8 percent out-of-work; majority of them engaging in mid-paid jobs.
- In terms of aspiration, most of them wanted to reside and work in long time in the city. Around 10 percent desired to have their own business in new economic zones of the city.

Clearly, in one hand, migrants make partly significant contribution to the demand for socio-economic development of the city, in the other hand they pose a pressure over the durability of available socio-technical infrastructure due to their unskilled professions and multi-resource human structure, at the same time, they make the management of public security and the deployment of city's development plan complicated and the employment generation and living standard increase difficult to realise.

General speaking, the immigration into the city has its own objective reasons: the urgent needs for employment; and the family feeling, of which some State workers whose families had been also enhanced and appointed; are assigned to go to development areas. However, the main determinant for this is the inconsistent implementation on population management and the loose in many fields as the registry of number of inhabitants, land administration, construction, labour-employment management, business administration on hotels and lodging-houses (at the moment, there are 19,036 renting houses, 99 percent operating without permission and over 100,000 persons residing), in addition to that, some of the legislation documents on labour-population management have not been concretised closely making some weakness for moving labour spontaneously and living freely against State laws.

If the situation keeps happening, it will have consequence on the social crisis and break the current economic structure and city's development.

II - THE OBJECTIVES - SOLUTIONS - POLICY ON POPULATION MANAGEMENT AND MIGRANTS' LIMITATION

To have work of managing and limiting number of migrants done well, it is necessary to practice the following contents:

A. Policy measures restricting population growth:

- 1. All branches, levels, and districts must master thoroughly and set up specific measures respectively to units and localities; realise Resolution of Congress of City delegations VI th "to ensure the growth rate and the socio-economic structure of the city and take the natural population growth rate under control of less than 1.5 percent and reduce at most the organic population growth rate; adjust the construction plan of the city under the modernisation-based orientation focusing on the city's inner area; restrain the population of less than 3,000,000 and not more than 5.5 million and 7 million by the year 2000 and 2010 respectively.
- 2. Following closely with the requirements of land management and plan-based construction of the city; and complying strictly with laws, principles on land and reconfirming that houses have not been issued permission by the authorise agencies, and all citizens living there are illegal. The city shall firmly address and clear illegally-occupied or built houses and re-distribute the residents.
- 3. Adjusting the management on population registry and number of inhabitants decentralised from the city to district

and then to commune; taking initiative to the Government regulations on the registry and management of number of inhabitants to be suitable with the practical characteristics of the city; recommending to have workshop presided by Government in cities and provinces to work out the measures to bound the rural/urban immigration. At present and in few years, the matter of registry for permanent residence for people from outside coming to cities will be conducted by the Stateissued regulations, the city has no direction to pass any city level's regulations to this issue for spontaneously-immigrated persons in the city.

It is very essential for the city to issue rules on registry and permission on provisional staying, besides necessary conditions and procedures for outsiders to stay provisionally in the city by principles as follows:

a) As for application of staying provisionally:

- Having the permission granted by resident authority (i.e. where they registered with permanent residence) to move with appropriate and reasonable reasons.
- Having the guarantee persons in the city, it they will be employed by an enterprise, they need having labour contract and labour book certified by DOLISA.
- Having stable and legal accommodations (i.e. guaranty houses, purchased houses or rented houses).

They will be granted provisional-staying card by local police agent (the model and other papers specified by the city police) provided that they have all said-above documents.

b) As for the owners of residing places:

- The house should be ensured with legal documents, if it is a private house the holder has to apply for acting as guarantee and comply all the procedures for staying provisionally.
- In case of renting or lodging houses, they must have business-operating license issued by authorised agencies and comply with necessary procedures for staying provisionally.
- 4. Deploying the management of renting and lodging houses, planing the areas where are permitted to operate (except for State offices, foreign consul general areas, and State-planned-and-managed streets which are not allowed to purchase, sell or cede). Setting up the standard on construction and arrangement of renting houses and rules on business administration corresponding to the law. According to the degree of offence, illegal cases will be punished strictly or prosecuted for penal responsibility.
- 5. Strengthening the labour management; requiring agencies and enterprises located in the city not to recruit workers without city' family-register:
- Workers should register in advance and get approval from Ho Chi Minh city DOLISA. The agreed principles are priorities given to those who possessing skilled and technical occupations

(i.e. over 3 level in terms of technician) and occupations which are difficult to employ city-born people (i.e. ones which are confirmed by employment promotion centres and districts to be unable to supply with anyone).

- Only outside workers having showed adequate conditions required to have official family-register by the city (or stay provisionally) in accordance with the provisions of law, can they be employed
- When recruiting officially, the labour contract should be signed, the labour book should be granted and other schemes on wage, social and medical insurance should be exercised correctly in accordance with provisions of Labour Code.
- Labour's users have to pay a contribution for the city's welfare fund (estimated to be 5 percent wage of signed labour contract applied to people who have no city family-register working in the enterprise) to spend for charity purpose and control labour population and other social policies.

It is essential to issuing regulations to bound the recruitment of casual workers from other localities coming to the city at the same time, it should hinder some of occupations which using primitive means and occupying road-bed. Enterprises and business units as restaurants - food shop - lodging-houses - discotheques - and massage are not entitled to recruiting people who have no city family-register to work as receptionist and water or waitresses.

Frequently, it should collect and gather number of wandering people on the pavements, sidewalks and public places to facilitate for DOLISA to fulfil task as well to manage schools and stations and stabilise new economic zones.

6. Improving the equipment for districts and communes to manage population and regularly updating the labour-population developments.

B. Measures - policies solving the matter of immigration at the time being:

- 1. Expending new economic zones of the city and districts; continuing to dispatch migrants to live there; making plan with other provinces (in short term, Long An, Binh Phuoc, Lam Dong, Binh Duong, Tay Ninh) to set up new residence zones next to the developed production area of the province to redistribute the population in provinces where having no place to reside.
- 2. Setting up residence zones next to the industrial zones in suburbs; re-distributing population by the form of stretching them from the city's inner to surrounding and suburb areas; ensuring the implementation of the population development plan of city's inner and the city by the spirit of the Resolution of Congress of Party Committee VI th.

III-GOVERNANCE-DIRECTION-IMPLEMENTATION:

To complete the scheme, the branches and levels are assigned the following tasks:

1. Ho Chi Minh city Police:

- Setting up the content of the city in accordance with the issuance of the Government on the Decree on the registry of population to be on par with the situation of the city (by 10 October 1996).
- Studying and proposing regulations at city level about the standards, conditions and procedures on registering for provisional stay; and the process of the registry decentralised by order of city - district - commune.
- Based upon the statistics on migrants which are surveyed, generalised and analysed to promote appropriate and specific solutions to right targets as: permission for granting familyregistry in accordance with Government regulations; permission for provisional stay; any one who reside illegally by provisions of Decree No. 49/CP shall be liable to administrative sanctions; clearance occupied and illegal residence areas.
- Directing police agent in areas, wards and communes to record and update information on developments and the departing-and- coming movement of the migrants as specified in the regulation.

2. Ho Chi Minh city Department of Statistics - Centre for processing statistic information

- Making reports on the synthesised and analysed statistics on the situation of the migrants upon the regulation and the Directive No. 11/CT-UB dated 24 April 1996 of Ho Chi Minh city People's Committee (by 30 September 1996); Designing totally the statistic system with professional qualification, processing information system and forming database system.

- Studying and submitting to the Ho Chi Minh city People's Committee to pass the rules on organisation the information system on the migrants in wards/communes (addition to the Rule No. 6904/QDUB dated 20 September 1996 by HCMCPC on updating the population developments thorough computer system). In co-operation with the police branch to conduct the work of updating and managing migrants.
- Proposing to HCMCPC to invest financially into the working equipment and exchanging the information base facilitated to wards/communes to realise the work of population management and to update population - labour developments.

3. Ho Chi Minh city Department of Labour-Invalids and Social Affairs

- Studying and formulating the city's regulations on requirements, conditions and standards to recruit and manage provincial workers without city family-register flocking into the city for seeking job; proposing to MOLISA supportive measures to complete well said-above matters with an aim to limit the number of migrants.

Appendix 5

- Studying and setting up solutions for migrants who have not enough conditions for residence staying in the city (for instance, wandering people in pavements or public places, persons are not entitled to registering with permanent residence in the city...), they should be taken to new economic zones located next to production areas in provinces to re-distribute the number of provincial workers having come to the city.
- Checking enterprises located in the city, which have recruited a large number of workers who have no city family-register and then propose the solutions to HCMCPC.

4. Executing agency of Department of Trade in cooperation with Department of Science Technology and Environment.

- Studying and submitting to HCMCPC to pass regulations on planning residence areas which are allowed to organise lodging houses and renting houses in the city; stipulating conditions, procedures needed to grant license to operate renting houses and lodging houses.
- In co-ordination with Ho Chi Minh city police to solve and release illegal lodging and renting houses, in short-term, it should concentrate on the building areas where public security and environmental sanitation are impacted or too many people living in a too narrow space.

5. Executing agency of Department of Housing and Land in co-operation with Department of Land and Department of Construction

- Investigating to learn the situation of illegally-built houses and then proposing measures to deal with this problem to HCMCPC.

6. Executing agency of Organisation Board of City Government co-operation with Ho Chi Minh city DOLISA

- Reporting the assessment on mobilising officers, state workers, technicians and retired officials from provinces into the city for past 5 years. Proposing requirement at city level and recommend to the Government and calling for sound measures taken.

7. Ho Chi Minh city Economics Institute

- Studying and proposing city's strategic measures on population management, in order to realise the goal of ensuring the population planning of the city in 1996,2000 and 2010.

8. Ho Chi Minh city Department of Justice

- Assigning experts to participate with other branches to complete assigned tasks on formulating city's regulations on administration of migrants, it shall share the responsibility on legal documents of drafting division submitting to HCMCPC to be issued.

9. Department of Finance and Department of Planning and Investment:

- Participating with directing role to the scheme.
- Reconsidering the investment plan to scheme's feasible programs.

10. District People's Committees

- Setting up scheme on managing the migrants to be suitable with the local features, besides, in co-operation with other departments and industries of the city to propose appropriate measures to manage the migrants as well to re-distribute the inhabitants in the location. Conducting consistently other orientated measures to population planning of the city in 1996, 2000 and 2010, reporting and updating the population-labour situation promptly by period.

11. Communal People's Committees:

- This shall be the directive level to mange the migrants, it shall shoulder the responsibility of propagating, educating and disseminating legal regulations to all residents in the location observe seriously State policies on moving and leaving. Any kind of illegal residence or free dispatch is forbidden.
- To keep the scheme performed well in terms of content and process, the city has establish a "Steering Board on formulating and implementing the scheme on administration of migrants" (i.e. Sub- Steering Board on administration of migrants) including the following members:

- Director: Leader of Ho Chi Minh city People's Committee
- Deputy Director: Director of DOLISA
- Deputy Director: Director of Ho Chi Minh city police
- Members: assigned directors of departments and branches and directors of departments in Tan Binh, Binh Thanh and Thu Duc
- Some of experts from HCMCPC, departments and branches will work as assistants.

IV - PROGRESS AND IMPLEMENTING DURATION:

- From 1 October 1996 to 30 December 1996:
- + Organising city meeting, collecting the result of immigration surveys and introducing the way of managing the update of moving developments.
 - + Deploying the scheme on managing migrants.
- + Departments and branches complete specialised subjects, plan and draft documents on the regulations of the city (as assigned) and get approval from the Steering Board and HCMCPC.
- First quarter in 1997: HCMCPC consider the matter of issuing the regulations on the administration of migrant and labour employment; management of lodging and renting houses and put forward solutions to release illegal buildings and houses.

- Second quarter in 1997: Organising the deployment of city's regulations; at the same time studying strategic solutions on population management.
- Third quarter in 1997: Generalising to drawing the experience and supplementing to the perfection of the measures.

Sub-Administration Board on Migrants

Appendex 6

Unofficial translation

Ho Chi Minh city People's Committee

Socialist Republic of Vietnam

No. 11/CT - UB - NC

Independence - Freedom - Happiness

Ho Chi Minh city, 23 April 1996

DIRECTIVE

ON IMPLEMENTING THE ADMINISTRATION OF MIGRANTS INTO THE CITY

For past many years, Ho Chi Minh city has been receiving large number of people from other places coming to seek job and live with rather high speed. However, through the population-labour survey managed by the computer system, it has recorded 339,138 people who have not been granted with family-register residing in the city so far. They are included number of registering provisionally for 6-month frequent-staying, meanwhile it is not covered unregistered people, the newcomers and new leavers in 1996, due to the work of management has not been closely and precisely conducted. It is clearly that, on the one hand the migrants

contribute in part to the human resource for the need of city's construction, in other hand owing to the fact that they are mainly are unskilled workers and the human structure is derived from many sources leading to the pressure on the available socio-technical infrastructure and the complication of the public security and order as well as the deployment program of development planning of the city; besides, it finds hard to generate job and increase living standard for city dwellers as a consequence.

To manage precisely the resources of migrants to the city, including the situation of their residence and employment; the situation of the movement and the leaving-and-coming developments, it is necessary to take sound measures on population-labour management and transmigration of migrants in accordance with provisions of laws; the limitation of organic increase and the guaranty of labour demand-supply balance to be on par with the development needs of the city should be taken into account. Based upon the Directive No. 660-TTG dated 17 October 1995 of Government on "solving the situation of spontaneously transmigration to Highlands and some other provinces", HCMCPC appoints:

1. To establish the Sub-Steering Board of Administration on migrants under the Ho Chi Minh city Steering Board of setting up Labour Personals and Population, facilitating it to solve the matter of immigration to respond to the development planning of the city ratified by the Government.

- 2. The City Steering Board of personals-labour and the Sub-Steering Board of Administration on migrants will have the following responsibilities:
- a) Surveying adequately the information about the quality and quantity of migrants into the city: processing, generalising and analysing the statistics inputted into the computer under the scheme on labour- population management; supplementing migrants (who have not been managed or just newly come in 1996) in parallel with verifying the available list. The force of surveyors included: area police, statistic officers, and personals in charge of labour- invalids and social affairs.
- The implementation starts from 1 June 1996 to 30 July 1996.
- The City Department of Statistic and Centre for processing statistical information will deploy directly the survey plan, build up the general program system, make use of statistics and update the developments of migrants from wards/communes to cities to serve for the administration of central, branch levels.
- b) The City Sub-Steering Board of Administration on Migrants shall be reasonable for co-ordinating with relevant branches, district People's Committees to study and propose to HCMCPC to issue the measures to limit the immigration into the city matched with the current laws and should complete before 15 May 1996 to report to City Party Standing Committee and HCMCPC to realise.

Appendix 6

- 3. Funding for survey on migrants will be assigned to Department of finances; it shall consider and make a financial estimation to submit to the HCMCPC to approve.
- 4. District People's Committees shall hold the responsibly to set up Steering Board of Administration on Migrants in respective locations in Cupertino with City Sub-Steering Board on Administration on Migrants and authorised branches to direct Communal People 's Committees to fulfil the regulations on surveys and administration of migrants in wards/communes locations.
- 5. District People's Committees will be the direct level to mange the migrants, they will shoulder the responsibility of propagating, educating and disseminating legal provisions to migrants to observe seriously State policies and HCMCPC's regulations; they have to grasp exactly the number of population, labour developments and coming-leaving movement in their locations. Any kind of illegal residence or free labour movement is prohibited.

Ho Chi Minh city People's Committee requires Directors of related Departments and branches, Chairpersons of District/Communal People's Committee to perform well this directive.

FOR HO CHI MINH CITY PEOPLE'S COMMITTEE

Chairman TRUONG TAN SANG

(Signed)

References

- Anh Kiet. *I go for Taylor.* Agriculture of Vietnam Newspaper. 12-15/3/1998
- Cao Hung. *More labourers leaving... agriculture*. Labour Newspaper 8/5/1999.
- Centre foe Population and Labour Resources Studies. *Project Vie/93/P0 Free Emigration to Dong Nai and Vung Tau,* State Politic publishing House, 1996.
- Centre for Statistical Data Processing. The Data of Immigrants in Ho Chi Minh city up to 1/7/1996.
- Centre of Population and Human Resources Studies. State of the Art Report on Spontaneous Migration in Vietnam. Hanoi 10/1993.
- Communist Party of Ho Chi Minh city. *Direction for Management of Immigrants*, 17/10/1996.
- Communist Party of Ho Chi Minh city. Direction of Communist Party of the city for management of immigrants in the city, 10/1996.
- Conclusion of President of Hanoi Luu Minh Tri for Management of Free immigrant Labour in Hanoi. 3/1/1988.

References

- Dieu Thu, Phuong Hoa. *Increasing of Rural Female go to Sai Gon for Drug Selling.* Youth Newspaper, 3/5/1999.
- Dinh Dung. *The Students Have no Tet.* Youth Newspaper, 23/1/1998.
- Do Thi Thuy. Some Discussion about Rural Women. Agricultural Newspaper 13-16 / 8/1998.
- Department of settlements and Development of new Economic Areas - Ho Chi Minh city. General report of settlement and Development of new Economic Areas 1990-1996. 10/12/1996.
- Direction of Primer Minister for solution of Free Emigration to Tay Nguyen and other provinces. Hanoi 17/10/1995.
- Department of Statistic of Ho Chi Minh city. The Situation of residents without registration in Ho Chi Minh city. 4/10/1996.
 Data 1996.
- Dang Canh Khanh. *Emigration of Labour and Citizens from Rural to Urban in Vietnam*. (The report in Workshop, Hanoi 2000)
- Dang Nguyen Anh. Emigration and Development in the New Circumstance of the Country. J. of Sociology No. 1 (61) 1998.
- Dang Nguyen Anh. The role of Rural Urban Emigration in Rural Development Nowadays. J. of Sociology No. 4 (60) 1997.
- Dang Nguyen Anh Nguyen Binh Minh. Ensuring the Providing Cervices for Immigrant Labour in the City J. of Sociology, No. 4 (64) 1998.
- Doan Mau Diep. Some Result from Survey of Free emigration.
 Labour and Society, No. 4/1996.

- Doan Mau Diep Trinh Khac Tham. Rural Urban emigration in Vietnam: Essence, Relationships and Policy. Asian Policies to Emigration- Agricultural Publishing House, Project VIE/95/004.
- Dao Quoc Thuy. *Emigrant Policy and Resettlement in Indonesia*. Laboured and Social Science No. 1/1994.
- Dang Hien Ly. Free Emigration: Overload of weight. Industry and Society No. 2/1997.
- Dinh Quang Thanh, Nguyen Dinh Na. *The Good land, the birds landed.* Settlement New Economy No. 3/1996.
- Do Chuyen. *Malaysia Obstruct the illegal immigrants*. Sai Gon Liberation 28/10 -1/11/1996.
- Do Ngoc. 700.000 Immigrants in the City, how to solve? Ho Chi Minh city Women 27/11/1996.
- Do Van Hoa. The Emigration and Study about Emigration to Solve the Question of Inter-emigration in Vietnam. Settlement New Economy No. 2/1996.
- Emigrant labour in some Asian Countries. Labour and Social Sciences, No. 1/1994.
- Emigration and Issues. Vietnam Agricultural. Newspaper 25/12/1996.
- Gary L. Peters, Robert P. Larkin. *Population Problem, Concepts and Prospects*. 2nd edition. Kendall/Hunt Pub. Company, 1993.
- Government Decision about some Regulation to free emigrants. Hanoi 10/1996.

- Ha Binh. The Quiet Emigration of young intellectual. Labour and Society No. 30 (39) 25/8/1994.
- Hang and Huong. *The Selling Vendor of Porcelain*. Special issue of Metropolitan Women, No. 96
- Hoang Cat. The City and Trap. Agricultural Newspaper, 7-10/5/ 1998.
- Hoang Vu. *Drought Rural Labour rushing to cities*. Ho Chi Minh city Women Newspaper, 27/3/ 1999.
- Hoang Dong. *Free Emigration and Solutions*. Labour and Society No. 7/1993
- Hoang Tien Hanh. *The emigrant Wave to City.* Tia Sang Newspaper No. 7/1996.
- Hoang Tien Dung. *The questions for immigrants at Lam Ha.* Settlement New Economy, No. 3/1996
- Hoang Tuan. *Professional for Female the Real Situation to be Considered.* Vietnamese Women Newspaper, 24/9/1998.
- Ho Quang. *The Rural Female goes to the town.* Agriculture of Vietnam Newspaper. 3-6/12/1998.
- Hong Lien. Poor Rural Female Gets Marriage in the City. Metropolitan Women Newspaper, 29/4/1998.
- Hong Lien. The Team of Load and Loaded by pole. Special issue of Metropolitan Women, No. 38
- Huynh Ngoc Anh. Survey in Immigrants in Ho Chi Minh city. The Solution for Urban Pressure. Labour and Society No 26 (133) 21-27/6/1996.

- Institute of Economy of Ho Chi Minh city. *Emigration into City. Problems and Solutions.* Ho Chi Minh city, 6/1992
- Institute of Economy of Ho Chi Minh city. *Emigration and Urbanisation* Labour Resources and Jobs in Ho Chi Minh city. 9/1995.
- Institute of planing for Urban / Rural. Sociology in Building Planing and Urban Management 1994.
- Islam Nazrul. Rural Urban Migration in Asia: Its Patterns Impact and Policy; AIT, Thailand, 1985.
- Khac Dung. Free Emigration, The Hard Moving. Vietnam Agricultural Newspaper, 21/12/1995.
- Khue Viet Truong. Leaving in her Native Village. Labour and Society No. 21/1994 (29), 23-29/6/1994.
- Lam Thanh. *Meeting with Porter Women*. Special issue of Metropolitan Women, No. 82
- Le Anh. *People from Rural Area Go to City.* Special issue of Metropolitan Women. No. 70, 1996
- Le Thanh Luong. When Female labourers in Rural Area not be in suffer loss. Law Newspaper 5/3/1999
- Le Dang Giang. Exceed supply Due to Free emigration from Rural areas to City. Labour Market, No. 11/11/1996.
- Luong Dinh. *Stories of Immigrants*. Tien Phong Newspaper, 31/10/1998
- Le Thanh Giang. In side Nhieu Loc Canal (District 3) will be "Urban Area"? Sai Gon Economic Time, No. 11/1995 (219), 9-15/3/1995.

- Le Thi. *Thinking about free immigrant labour in Hanoi.* J. of Economic Study 241(6/1998)
- Ly Diep. Emigration in Ha Bac a Difficult Math. Vietnam Agricultural, 20/6/1996.
- Ly Ha. Earning by Litters. Vietnam Economic, 22/8/1998
- Manado Abella. Emigrant Labour in Asia. A General. Labour and Society, No. 7/1991.
- MARD-Department of settlement and Development of new Economic Areas. Project for Distribution of labour settlements and Development of new Economic Areas at Tay Nguyen, 1996-2010, March/1996.
- Minh Ngoc. *The Hardship of people in the Polluted Areas.* Sai Gon Liberation, No. 6850, 18/8/1996.
- Minh Nguyet. *I Nurture by Junk*. Special issue of Metropolitan Women, No. 135.
- My Van. The Rural Women go to Hanoi for ... "Danh dam" (Fishing). Special issue of Metropolitan Women, No. 106.
- Nga My. Rural Urban Emigration, A Social Problem. J. of Sociology, No. 2 (58) 1997
- New Policy for Solution of free emigration. Labour and Society Newspaper No. 10 (100) 2-8/11/1995, No. 11 (101), No. 9 -15/11/1995.
- Ngo Thanh Nhan. The plague of Emigration into Hanoi.
 Vietnamese Women Newspaper, 1/1/1999
- Ngoc Bich. *The real Situation is founded at Suburb.* Sai Gon Liberation, 13/12/1996, No. 6981.

- Ngoc Ha. Still too many people go to Hanoi looking for jobs.
 Nhan dan Newspaper 9/10/1998.
- Ngoc Lan. Women in Emigrant question. Labour and Society, 11/1994.
- Ngo Hoang Giang. Intermost feelings of Nhieu Loc Canal. Labour Newspaper, No. 68, 16/6/1996.
- Nguyen An. How to solve the question of housing for Urban poor people? Dai Doan ket Newspaper, 21/11/1996.
- Nguyen Ha. The Complexion Events of the Houses. Labourers Newspaper, 19/10/1996.
- Nguyen Lan Huong. *The Modern "Servant"*. Education & Era, 6/4/1999.
- Nguyen Minh Ngoc. Tet for people who can't come back their native village. Labour Newspaper- The Special Issue on Tet - 1997.
- Nguyen Thuy. Ho Chi Minh city carries out some measures for management of immigrants, Youth Newspaper, 19/12/1996.
- Nguyen Thuy Ngoc Son. About City District population of Immigrants in Ho Chi Minh city. Youth Newspaper 24/12/1996.
- Nguyen Tien Dat. *Dialogue with "Miner" at Tay Mo dump Vietnam.*Agricultural Newspaper, 15-18/10/1998.
- Nguyen Dinh Dang. Ho Chi Minh city: Canal The issue of Environmental Pollution. Market Financial, No. 88. 24/10/1996.
- Nguyen Duc Vinh. The Attitude lead to immigrate of some communes at Bac Bo Delta: The Sociological Aspect 1996, VN 1227.

- Nguyen Hai Hoanh. Do not led the emigration become a Calamity. Labour and Society No. 33 (140), 9-15/8/1997.
- Nguyen Que Anh. *The City place*. Vietnamese Women Newspaper 10/8/1998.
- Nguyen Quoi. *Immigrants in Ho Chi Minh city (a Case Study at Go Vap District)*. Sociology 3/1996.
- Nguyen Tam. *Emigration inter Hanoi*. Labour and Society No. 5/1995.
- Nguyen The Hue. The Situation of Emigration. The varies of population in Red River Delta since 1976 up to now.
- Nguyen Thi Canh. The impact of Labour Market to immigration to Ho Chi Minh city - An opinion about Policy. Labour and Society. No. 2/1992.
- Nguyen Kim Phuong. *I.L.O Forecast about Emigrant pressure.* Labour and Society. No 10/1991.
- Nguyen Thien. Sai Gon, Living place of people leaving of native Village. Labour and Society, No. 3 (25-10/10/ 1993).
- Nguyen Trung Hung. Some thinking about Population Development, urbanisation and Industrialisation and emigration in Condition of urbanisation, Modernisation of the country. Information and Theory, No. 8/1996.
- Nguyen Van Chinh. Changing in Eco -Society and Moving or labour from rural to Urban in The North of Vietnam J. of Sociology, No. 2(58), 1997.
- Nguyen Van Chinh. *The question of "Labour Markets" in Hanoi.* J. of Sociology, No 2(54), 1996.

- Nguyen Van Tai. Rural Urban Free emigration In Ho Chi Minh city, Agricultural Publishing House, 1998.
- Nhat Thanh. Ho Chi Minh city: Only nearby 2% of Free Immigrants
 Wanted to come Back to Native Village. Youth Newspaper
 27/2/1996.
- Oberai A.S. State Polices and International Migration; New York, 1983.
- On Tuan Bao. The EC Programme: How Vietnam can participate to solve the employment in Rural and Urban? Areas. Labour and Society, No. 12/1991.
- People Committee of Ho Chi Minh city. General Report on Planing for Socio-Economy of the City until the year of 2010.
- People Committee of Ho Chi Minh city. Implementation of Direction No. 05 CT-TU. 10/1996 of City's Party about management of immigrants. Ho Chi Minh city, 17/12/1996.
- Pham Thi Thanh Binh. *Hire the "Servant"?* Vietnamese Women Newspaper 19/7/1999.
- Pham Thu Trang. Women to be petty traders. Special Issue of Metropolitan Women, No. 133.
- Pham Van Dong. Free emigration Becoming the Calamity. Labour and Society, No. 16-22/8/1996.
- Pham Van Dong. Free Emigration A toss about question. Numeric and Events, No. 7/1991.
- Phi Van Ky. The Policy for Free Emigrants and Solutions. Labour and Society, No. 20-26/1/1996.

- Phuong Dinh Nguyen. When Immigrant Labourers to Settle Down? Tien Phong Newspaper, 17/12/1998.
- Police of Ho Chi Minh city. Planing for Survey of free residents at streets and Pubic Laces, and Solution for Social Evils. Ho Chi Minh city 23/7/1996.
- Police of Ho Chi Minh city. *Guideline for Checking, listed for Management of residents without registration in Ho Chi Minh city.* 12/6/1996.
- Quach Tam. *I go to Hanoi to Nurture my child...* Special Issue of Metropolitan Women, No. 122.
- Quynh Hoa. Looking for Promised area. Vietnam Foreign Investment, No. 2, 8/1/1996.
- Southeast Asia Development. Geographical Perspectives. Edited by D.J. Dwyer, 1990.
- Thanh Huyen. *Scavengers*. Special issue of Metropolitan Women, No. 120
- Thanh Ha. *I go to Hanoi to work for hire*. Special issue of Metropolitan Women, No. 115.
- Thanh Quan. Let Return to Labour Markets a Toss About. Vietnamese Women Newspaper, 20/4/1998.
- Thao Suong. *The Women Selling Vegetable in Hanoi.* Ho Chi Minh city Women Newspaper, 13/3/1999.
- Thao Suong. *Tet at the Dump.* Ho Chi Minh city Women Newspaper, 20/2/1999.
- Thuc Hanh. *The Shoulder of Vendor, Unlucky of Poor people.* Vietnamese Women Newspaper. 21/5/1999.

- Thuy Ngoc Anh. *The Servants*. Agricultural of Vietnam, 9-12/4/
- Tran Viet. Sad and Pleased of the Junk. Special issue of Metropolitan Women, No. 107.
- Tran Khai Thanh Thuy. *The Series stories of "Servant"*. Agricultural of Vietnam, 3-7/6/1999 and 8-10/6/1999.
- To Kim Ngan. *House-maid, a Career need to be Concerned.* Special issue of Metropolitan Women, No. 58.
- Tuan Thanh, Minh Phong. "Go to city" I sell water for hire. Law Newspaper. 10/1/1999.
- Thuy Duong. *People looking for lucky*. Special issue of Metropolitan Women, No. 65.
- Thanh Huyen. Female Labour in Brick making by hand. Special issue of Metropolitan Women, No. 129.
- The Emigration of Poor people. The Information of Social Sciences, 6/1996.
- Torado Michael. *Economic Development in the Third World,* 3rd edition, Longman Pub, New York and London, 1985.
- Torado Micheal. *Internal Migration in Developing Countries*. International Labour Office Genev, 1976.
- Thanh Tam. *Stories about Immigrants*. Sai Gon Liberation, No. 23/12/1996.
- Thu Thuy. Who Would be resignedly permanent in the City? Labour Newspaper, No. 67-1996, 4/6/1996.
- The Board of Management of Immigrants in the City Planing for carrying out of the Direction No. 11/CT UB -NC 23/4/1996

References

- of City People Committee for Immigrants. Ho Chi Minh city, 15/5/1996.
- The Board of Management of Immigrants in Ho Chi Minh city. Constancy for management of Immigrants in the city. 10/7/1996
- The Board of Management of Immigrants in Ho Chi Minh city.
 The Proposal for management of immigrants . 24/9/1997.
- Tran Hoang Kim. Vietnam Economy period of 1945-1995 and Prospectus until the year of 2020. Statistical Publishing House, 1996.
- Tran The Chung. City District Population Services. How can be seen. Sai Gon Liberation, 23/12/1996.
- Trinh Khac Tham. The State management to emigrants to develop economy of Cuu Long Delta area. Forecast Economy, No. 9/1992.
- Trong Nguyen. *The new Economy looking from Emigrant Aspect*. Labour and Society, No. 7/1994. (17-23/1994).
- Truong Si Anh. The Lines Emigration into Ho Chi Minh city.
 Some Character and Reasons for emigration. Institute of Economy of Ho Chi Minh city, 1997.
- Truong Thi Thuy Hang. China with Emigrant question and Employment Solution. The World of Economies, No. (44) 12/1996.
- Truong Kien. *Native Village of People Looking for Promised Areas*. The Sunday Women, 8/9/1996.
- Tuong Lai. Emigration in Vietnam in the Pass and at Present J. of Sociology, No. 2(62)1988.

- Vu Dang But. *Free Emigration The Worry*. Labour Newspaper, No. 113, 31/8/1996.
- Vu Lien Huong. *The Cities in the World control the Emigration*. DH GD CN, No, 12/1996.
- Vu Thanh Hung. *Emigration in Hanoi and its effects in Recently years*. Labour and Society, No. 7/1993.
- Vu Thi Hong. Report on "Gender in Emigrant into Ho Chi Minh city" (Workshop in Hanoi 2000).
- Vuong Linh. *Ho Chi Minh city Hard to solve the emigrant wave.* Ho Chi Minh city Women, 17/7/1996.
- Vu Mai Hoa Son. *Going to Labour market at suburb...* Law Newspaper, 16/3/1999.
- Y Ban. *The Child Labour a Toss About.* Special issue of Metropolitan Women, No. 71.
- Y Lang. From Survey on Rural Youth Female in Long An: What did they Wishes? Youth Newspaper, 30/31998.

Female Labour Migration RURAL - URBAN

WOMEN'S PUBLISHING HOUSE

Chịu trách nhiệm xuất bản:

TRẨN THU HƯƠNG

Chịu trách nhiệm bản thảo:

MAI QU'YNH GIAO

Dịch thuật:

NGUYỄN HỮU NHÂN - HOÀNG ANH

Hiệu đính:

NATASHA L. PAIRAUDEAU

Vě bìa:

Hoạ sĩ VĂN SÁNG

Sửa bản in:

NGUYỄN MINH THANH

In 500 cuốn khổ 14.5x20,5cm, tại Công ty In Công Đoàn Việt Nam, 169 Tây Sơn, Đống Đa, Hà Nội, Giấy phép xuất bản số 93/PN cấp ngày 17/10/2000. In xong và nộp lưu chiều tháng 4 năm 2001.

Female Labour Migration

Rural - Urban

Ha Thi Phuong Tien is in the Centre for Family and Women's Studies, Hanoi.

Ha Quang Ngoc is in the Institute on State Organizational Sciences - Governmental Committee on Organizational and Personnel, Hanoi