

WOMEN IN THE WIND:

**ANALYSIS OF MIGRATION, YOUTH ECONOMIC
EMPOWERMENT AND GENDER IN VIETNAM AND
IN THE PHILIPPINES**

Authored by Kirsten Anderson, Kara Apland, Maurice Dunaiski and Elizabeth Yarrow

REPORT SUMMARY

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Comissioned by Plan International France & Plan International Asia to CORAM @ Coram Children's Legal Centre (CCLC)

This research was funded by Plan International France and Plan International Germany. The researchers would like to express their sincere appreciation to Plan International experts from the Asia Regional Office, France, Germany, International Headquarters, Philippines, and Vietnam for their valuable inputs to this research.



A female migrant worker living in a suburb of Hanoi

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1. EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

While internal youth migration is thought to be an increasingly prevalent phenomenon in a number of Southeast Asian countries, very few research studies have examined this topic in depth. In particular, little is known about the experiences of young women who migrate internally, and the gender-specific aspects of youth migration.

In response to these gaps in evidence, Plan International contracted Coram International in 2016 to conduct a research on the gender, youth economic empowerment, and internal economic migration experiences in Vietnam and the Philippines. The research aims to answer the question: how do gender hierarchies and gender norms influence decision-making and experiences in relation to internal youth migration?

The purpose of the study was to: (i) examine the push and pull factors driving internal youth migration; (ii) identify the difficulties and risks, as well as the opportunities, faced by young migrants, and the gendered dimensions of these; and (iii) provide policy and programming recommendations to promote safe migration, and support young women and men to take full personal and economic advantage of their migration status. Field work for the study was carried out in October and November 2016.

The study draws on Plan International's commitment to tackling gender-based inequalities, exclusions and injustices, towards a world in which all children and young people realise their full potential without discrimination.

Key concepts and definitions

For the purposes of the study, youth was defined in accordance with the respective national laws in both countries. Vietnam's Youth Law defines any person between the ages of 16 and 30 years as youth.¹ In the Philippines, 'youth' is anyone between 15 and 30 years, in line with the Youth in Nation-Building Act.²

Internal migration refers to the movement of people from 'one place to another temporarily, seasonally, or permanently... for voluntary and/or involuntary reasons', within the borders of a sovereign state (Anh, Hoang Vu, Bonfoh, & Schelling, 2012, p.2).³

Economic migration is frequently conceptualised as 'migration with the intention of earning money' (Hampshire, 2002, p.19), and is typically juxtaposed with other types of migration such as 'marriage migration', 'forced migration' or trafficking (see e.g. Anh et al., 2012). In practice, it is often difficult to distinguish between different types of migration, as migrants' decisions to move are typically influenced by a range of complex and intersecting factors, and characterised by multiple desires, aspirations and protection needs. Whilst the focus of this review is on the internal economic migration of young people, this analytical focus does not imply that 'earning money' is the only motivation for migration, or that the experiences of economic migrants are free from any degree of compulsion or force.

There is no single theoretical framework that can fully capture or explain the complex dynamics of migration. However, one possible way of explaining the phenomenon makes use of the so-called 'push-pull framework'. This framework conceives of migration decisions as determined by a set of 'push factors', which operate in the migrant's home community (or 'source' community), and a set of 'pull factors', which operate in the migrant's destination community. A number of scholars using the 'push-pull framework' have also added intervening 'obstacles' or 'barriers' as variables, which may help to explain why individuals migrate (or stay in their home communities). The 'push-pull framework' is attractive due to its simplicity, however, it can also lend itself to a somewhat deterministic and reductionist view of migration. Whilst the 'push-pull' framework is used in this study, attention has also been afforded to the personal stories and subjective accounts of experiences of migration provided by young migrants themselves.

2.METHODOLOGY

The research design was primarily qualitative to enable researchers to explore the topics of gender, youth and migration in an in-depth, contextualised manner. Existing (secondary) quantitative data was analysed in order to examine the patterns of internal economic migration in Vietnam and the Philippines. Research questions were framed to gather evidence on the extent and nature of youth internal economic migration; push and pull factors that shape young people's migration; experiences, risks and opportunities of young migrants; and the impacts of legislative and policy. All issues were explored through a gendered lens.

The study began with a desk-based review of existing literature and nationally representative survey data to examine the extent and nature of internal economic migration in Vietnam and the Philippines. The findings from the desk-based review allowed preliminary conclusions to be drawn on the prevalence and patterns of internal economic migration, the profile of migrants, and migrants' experiences in accessing support services.

In addition to the desk-review, researchers collected primary qualitative data in six research sites: three sites in Vietnam and three sites in the Philippines. In total, 34 key informant interviews were conducted, including representatives from government and civil society. Additionally, 28 focus group discussions were carried out with young migrants, and young people and adult community members in 'source communities'. The focus groups provided a useful forum for exploring gender norms and how these affect youth migration patterns. Finally, eight life-history interviews were carried out with young people who had internally migrated in order to get in-depth, detailed and holistic accounts of individual migration journeys.

Research sites were selected to include both migrant 'source communities' (where migrants come from) and 'destination communities' (where migrants go to). In order to capture some of the diversity in relation to migratory experiences, research sites were also selected based on rural-urban differences, ethnic diversity, and levels of economic development. Furthermore, research sites were selected from current or previous Plan programme areas in order to facilitate access to respondents and to ensure relevance of findings to Plan's programming.*

Given the qualitative nature of the collected primary data and the purposive sampling approach, it is important to emphasise that the study's findings are not nationally representative. However, the research sites were selected to capture some of the geographic and demographic diversity within both countries, with the aim of generating rich, complex, diverse and explanatory data.

*See table on annex : Research sites in the Philippines and Vietnam : Locations and Characteristics



A migrant mother and her child by their make-shift house next to railway tracks in Hanoi

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3. CONTEXT OF YOUTH INTERNAL MIGRATION IN VIETNAM AND THE PHILIPPINES

3.1. Extent and nature of internal youth migration

Representative data on internal migration patterns in the Philippines is very limited, which makes it difficult to establish the exact prevalence of youth internal migration (Asis & Battistella, 2013, p.38). The most important data source is the Census of Population and Housing 2010, which found that around 2.74 million Filipinos had changed their place of residence within the previous five years. This suggests that the prevalence of internal migration in the Philippines stands at around 3.3% of the total population, which (as far as available data allows comparison) could be classified as medium to low rates of migration, compared to global trends (United Nations Population Division, 2013).⁴

In comparison, data in Vietnam is more readily available. The most updated statistics are found in a 2015 'Internal Migration Study' conducted by the General Statistics Office, which was carried out in 20 provinces and centrally-run cities representing the country's six socio-economic regions. The study indicates that the prevalence of internal migration in Vietnam is high, estimated at 13.6% of the population overall, and 17.3% of the population aged 15-59 years; about a third, (the largest category) of whom indicated that their primary motivation for migration was to find employment.

YOUNG WOMEN TEND TO MAKE UP THE MAJORITY OF THE MIGRANT POPULATION IN BOTH COUNTRIES.

The (albeit limited) evidence from the Philippines on the gender composition of migrant populations is particularly striking. Gultiano & Xenos (2004) draw upon census data to note a consistent pattern since the 1960s of growing proportions of young female workers engaged in rural-urban migration, estimating that young female migrants significantly outnumbered young male migrants (82% were female) in urban areas by the year 2000, a pattern confirmed in a more recent study by Asis & Battistella (2013).

The ratio of female to male migrants in Vietnam, on the other hand, may be more uniform. The 2015 Migration Study found 52.4% of migrants were female, which is broadly consistent with previous estimates (e.g. Anh et al. 2012). Using data from the 2012 Household Living Standards Surveys (VHLSS) in Vietnam, Guilmoto & De Loenzien (2014) suggest that women tend to migrate at a younger age than men, and are especially likely to migrate before the age of 25. Jones (2014) also reports that female internal migrants in Vietnam are, on the average, a year younger than their male counterparts.

In both countries, internal migration patterns are characterised by movement from rural areas towards major urban centres. Using VHLSS data in Vietnam, Coxhead et al. (2015) show that out-migration rates are significantly higher in rural areas (5.33%) compared to urban areas (1.93%), and that as many as 52% of all internal economic migrants moved to one of the two largest cities in Vietnam, Ho Chi Minh City and Hanoi, a pattern which is confirmed by Nguyen-Hoang & McPeak (2010). Similarly the overwhelming majority of migration in the Philippines appears to be characterised by movement from rural areas to urban centres, with the top destination regions clustered around Metro Manila. According to the 2010 census data, over 60% of internal migrants live in Metro Manila or its surrounding 'bedroom regions' (Perez 2016). These migration flows are contributing to the rapid expansion of key urban centres in the country, generating stark disparities in levels of social economic development. It is estimated that approximately eight in 10 Filipinos will be living in a city by 2030.⁵

Migration patterns in the primary research sites

Destination case studies

Metro Manila, including the Manila proper (the capital of the Philippines) and 12 other cities in the National Capital Region, is home to 12.9 million persons (UN Statistics Division, 2015), and is one of the most populous and dense urban centres in the world, attracting a large proportion of internal migrants. Manila is the country's economic centre; which has been fuelled by a Manila-centric government economic policy (World Bank, 2016). Metro Manila is characterised by mixed migratory movements. One particular pattern noted by participants in this study was the movement of young migrants from poor rural areas into Manila to seek out a variety of work and education opportunities. The qualitative data also indicates that many arrivals in Manila travel to the capital as a 'stopgap' measure with the intention of making arrangements to continue their migration journey overseas: to first gain experience, save money to pay for fees and transport costs, and submit the necessary (visa and other) applications.

Mariveles was the first dedicated Export Processing Zone (EPZ) established in the Philippines. The job opportunities created by this status have made it a major destination area for internal migration. A key informant from the municipal government estimated that more than 75% of Mariveles' total population of 120,000 are internal migrants.⁶ These migrants are primarily young people, who have migrated in order to work in factories producing manufactured goods (jackets, backpacks, tennis balls, optical lenses) intended for

export. Qualitative evidence from interviews suggests that factories in Mariveles are particularly inclined to hire young female migrants, as girls are perceived to be more 'flexible' and 'manageable' than boys.⁷ Young migrants in Mariveles come from various regions within the Philippines, with locations in Central Luzon Region mentioned as a primary 'source' of migrants.⁸

Hanoi is the capital of Vietnam and the second largest city in the country. It has an estimated population of 7.7 million people in 2015 (General Statistics Office), and rising. Several studies have predicted Hanoi to be the fastest growing city in the world. While Hanoi ranks second behind Ho Chi Minh City in terms of immigration rates, qualitative evidence suggests that it is the primary destination for migrants from the northern part of Vietnam, where Plan International operates. As the seat of government, Hanoi's is Vietnam's political and cultural centre, and is also considered to be the academic capital of the country, with numerous universities and higher education institutions. Qualitative data from the study suggests that Hanoi attracts a diverse range of migrant groups. In particular, it appears that young people migrate to Hanoi to complete higher education, or to pursue employment opportunities, either in an industrial zone company, the informal sector, or, more rarely, in a professionalised industry.

Source case studies

Ifugao is a remote mountainous province in northern Philippines, and was selected as a 'source community' for this study. Ifugao is a relatively poor province and home to a large number of ethno-linguistic minorities. Evidence from qualitative interviews conducted in Ifugao suggests that migration patterns in this province



are made up of seasonal rural-to-rural migration flows into neighbouring provinces as well as more long-term out-migration to major urban centres or overseas.⁹ Job opportunities in Ifugao Province appear to be very limited. A number of respondents noted that rice farming is ‘the only [livelihood] option’ for uneducated young people and that local government is the main employer of college graduates.¹⁰ Even though there is no robust quantitative data on out-migration from Ifugao, qualitative evidence from the interviews suggests that out-migrants are primarily young people. Many young Ifugao men (especially those from poor households) appear to migrate to neighbouring Benguet Province on a seasonal basis to work on vegetable or rice plantations;¹¹ whilst, many young Ifugao women migrate to major urban areas such as Baguio, Manila, or Laguna to work in factories or as housemaids.¹²

Thai Nguyen is a province in northeastern Vietnam, with a traditionally agricultural economy. It remains a largely rural province, with a relatively large provincial capital, Thai Nguyen City. According to recent government data, 66% of the population live in rural areas. Seasonal migration is prevalent in Thai Nguyen, where farmers migrate during the off-season for short term work in construction, logging, mining and manufacturing. In addition, respondents reported that young people migrate for long-term employment, particularly for manufacturing jobs in industrial zones, both within Thai Nguyen province, and outside, in or near Hanoi. Finally, respondents reported that young people migrate to Hanoi and Thai Nguyen city to pursue work in the service sector, construction/manual labour and domestic work.

Ha Giang is a remote rural province in the far north of Vietnam along the border with China. It is one of the least populated provinces in the country, with a population density of 89 persons per km². Ha Giang is inhabited by a number of ethnic minorities. It is amongst the poorest provinces in Vietnam, and its mountainous terrain makes agricultural activity a challenge. Nevertheless, the majority of economic activity in Ha Giang is small scale farming and forestry. There is also some mining in the province, and the government is encouraging foreign direct investment to increase industrial activity.

Barriers to migration are high in Ha Giang, which is largely due to the fact that travel is extremely difficult due to the mountainous terrain. Research participants explained that the main migration flow is illegal cross-border migration to China to work informally in the farming industry or to perform other types of manual labour. Additionally, young people may migrate to Ha Giang City for employment in the service industry or informal labour markets.

3.2. Law, policy and internal migration

As in the case in the majority of states around the world, the internal movement of persons within the Philippines is not legally controlled. There are open possibilities for (economic) migration through different regions, districts and barangays (the smallest political unit in the country), with the exception of movement that violates legal rules prohibiting the use of exploitative labour contained within the Anti-Trafficking in Persons Act of 2003. While specific rights and protections are not provided to internal migrants who are in the labour force, the country’s Labour Code and other labour laws like the Domestic Workers Act of 2013 still apply.

In stark contrast to the Philippines, the political economy of Vietnam has long been characterised by expansive state control over internal mobility. Policy measures for regulating migration have included explicit legal restrictions on the geographic movement of people, particularly through the use of the *ho khai* (‘household registration’) system. Through this system, access to social welfare services is tied to registration with a local authority; i.e., a person cannot move and keep these benefits without the formal permission of a local official (Duong & Thu Hong 2008). This makes Vietnam one of very few countries whose citizens must formally ask the government’s permission before migrating within state borders (Jones, 2014).

Each of these highly different legal and policy contexts presents its own challenges for internal migrant communities. In the Philippines, the increasing trend of internal migration from rural to urban centres has led to calls for a more organised and coordinated national policy response, including the development of improved support systems and services specifically for internal migrants. The absence of any government strategy for attending to the issue of internal migration has been contrasted to the considerable attention that the government has afforded to issues of migration overseas, and has been linked to the lack of effective policy interventions directed at protecting the rights and welfare of persons who internally migrate.

On the other hand, the situation in Vietnam highlights some of the risks associated with a heavily regulated system, characterised by tight, centralised government controls. The residence-based nature of the social protection system has resulted in swathes of internal migrants in urban centres being denied access to health care, education, social security and other services (Duong & Thu Hong 2008; Le, Tran, & Nguyen, 2011).

While it appears that the *ho khai* system in Vietnam is less strictly enforced today than in the past, it still prevents many internal migrants from obtaining legally permissible and affordable services. The 2004 Migration Survey data suggest that up to half of migrants in Vietnam are unofficial, and therefore potentially face barriers to accessing basic services (as cited in Jones, 2014, p.10).



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4. DRIVERS OF INTERNAL MIGRATION

4.1. Economic drivers

Respondents consistently identified economic factors as the key dominant driver of youth migration in both Vietnam and the Philippines. In particular, the findings suggest that youth migration in both countries is motivated by growing disparities in employment opportunities and earning potential between rural and urban areas.¹³ As a researcher at the Institute for Social Development Studies in Hanoi explained:

“With agriculture shrinking, the city is more attractive, so the flow of migration comes to the city. Whatever you do in the city is better than in the village because in the city you can earn at least US\$2-3 a day. This would require a week or a month in the countryside. That is why it is on the rise.”¹⁴

Research participants consistently explained that rural source communities offer few employment opportunities for young people, outside of basic subsistence farming, pushing them to seek further opportunities elsewhere. For example:

“What are the main reasons for young people migrating? They leave to seek better job opportunities. Here in Asipulo [Philippines], there are no job opportunities.”¹⁵

“It is hard to find jobs in my home town: the jobs are few and the labour resources are abundant. Many of my friends come to Hanoi [Vietnam] to work and when they come home for New Year they would tell me how it is easy to find a job, the income is higher, [and] there is a wide variety of choice for work.”¹⁶

Besides a general desire to seek out improved economic opportunities, respondents explained that young people are often compelled into migrating as a coping strategy in response to poverty or economic crisis at home. In the source communities that the researchers visited in the Philippines, respondents identified ‘land poverty’ as an important factor that pushes young people to look for job opportunities elsewhere: “Those that are poor have to leave. The wealthy, those who have land to till, they stay.”¹⁷ Similarly, in Ha Giang province in Vietnam, where barriers to movement appear to be quite high, migration appears to occur as a ‘measure of last resort’ necessary for economic survival:

“The reason they migrate is lack of water for agricultural work. Even when they can grow corn in the dry season sometimes the corn does not do well so they lose the crop and have difficulty with income and finances. So they have to migrate.”¹⁸

In addition to protecting families from income shock, respondents explained that young people migrate in order to gain income capital needed for investments at home. This may be particularly the case for young people, who choose to migrate to raise their income before settling down to raise a family in their hometowns: “What is the age range of people who migrate? They are still young and want to save money so they can come back and get money and get married and start a small business.”¹⁹ This trend was further explored in a study examining rural-to-urban migration in Vietnam (Phan, 2012), which found that for households with a high demand for agricultural investments and high net migration returns, migration is used as a way to finance capital investments in their home community.

While poverty and lack of economic opportunity were identified as important push factors, which drive young people’s migration in both Vietnam and the Philippines, it is important to note that in some cases,

Respondents in both Vietnam and the Philippines emphasised that economic opportunity is the primary motivation for both young men and young women's migration, regardless of gender:

"What are the different considerations that influence women's decision to migrate as compared to men? The ultimate goal is to find a job and explore the world outside of their environment."²²

"In the electronics companies [in Mariveles], there are more girls because they have more flexible hands! It has to do with the temperament of the men. Girls are more patient so they are more suited for the jobs."²³

"Electronics [companies] prefer women because they are more detail-oriented and industrious."²⁴

There appears to be a perception that women are more 'detail-oriented' and 'meticulous' than men. They are also perceived to be more 'manageable', which may be associated with a norm that requires women to be more compliant in the workforce.

A similar dynamic was found to apply in the large domestic work sector, which primarily employs female migrants in both countries (Asis & Battistella, 2013; Locke et al, 2008). Young migrants and community members in both Vietnam and the Philippines tended to express the view that it is more 'natural' for women to perform household work, and that women are inherently more suited to this work. This appears to be related to dominant gender role norms, which associate women with playing a 'homemaker' role and see them as better 'household managers'.²⁵

Young men, in turn, are primarily employed in transport, motor repair and agriculture; (Gultiano & Xenos, 2004; Quisumbing & McNiven, 2006). Jobs in these sectors “take physical strength” that, according to a number of respondents interviewed for this study, only young men are perceived to possess.²⁶ As an informal recruiter working in Hanoi explained: “for mechanical engineering companies or heavy load kinds of jobs like ceramic bathrooms for households, they prefer male – 80% of those employed are male.”²⁷



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4.2. Education

Education also appears to play a key role in determining youth migration in both Vietnam and the Philippines. A number of studies provide empirical evidence that an increase in individuals' level of education 'increases the probability of rural to urban migration, for both males and females' (Gultiano & Xenos, 2004, p.9). While the correlation between education and migration is relatively uncontroversial, it is less clear whether internal migration is a consequence or a cause of educational attainment.

Respondents reported that young people may migrate to pursue further educational opportunities after graduating from high school, including university education or vocational training opportunities. Opportunities in higher education tend to be concentrated in large cities, such as Hanoi and Manila: "Those from my age group graduate from high school and come to pursue further study... in our hometowns education and job opportunities are not as abundant as in Hanoi".²⁸ Findings suggest that young people who migrate for further study also often pursue informal employment on the side in order to cover their costs, and tend to stay in the city after graduating in search of employment.

Despite evidence that education is a relevant 'pull-factor' for internal migration, there is evidence that this factor may be less significant than economic drivers of migration. Some respondents expressed skepticism about the value of higher education, explaining that a university degree may serve as a disadvantage when applying for certain jobs:

"For me a university degree is not as high value as it was previously considered. People now think about experience of a person in a certain field rather than looking for certain qualifications. There are a lot of media reports lately that university graduates are unemployed at a high rate... University graduates only receive theoretical training rather than practical training to meet the needs of the market – that is why the unemployment rate is so high."²⁹

On the other hand, education could also be considered a significant push factor. Evidence suggests that (already) better educated young people residing in rural areas are more likely to migrate to urban centres due to a mismatch between their acquired skills and the conditions of the rural job market in their home communities (Gultiano & Xenos, 2004; Perez, 2016); as a group of young people explained: "Even in Solano [a city in Nueva Vizcaya province, Philippines] we would need to work as cashiers in the supermarket even though we all have college degrees!"³⁰

In the Philippines, in particular, the study revealed evidence that relationships between education, employment and migration are strongly mediated by dominant gender norms in source communities.

Daughters are typically perceived as 'more studious', 'patient' and 'willing to sacrifice' than sons so Filipino families prefer to 'invest' in their daughters' education. Gender norms that de-value men's education thus appear to act as indirect barriers to migration for young men by limiting their educational opportunities, which in turn restricts the number and types of jobs that are available to them. Respondents interviewed in source communities suggested that young men lacked 'role models', which would encourage them to do better at school and be more ambitious; for example:

"It is mostly girls that graduate from college. The boys are lazy! They prefer working here on the rice fields. The young men stay here. They lack self-confidence and they have lower self-esteem than the girls. Most of the boys only finish elementary school. In the classrooms you can see that girls' grades are better. Girls don't want to work in the rice fields, they have ambitions... Most of the girls' mothers will have worked abroad as Overseas Filipino Workers so they see them as 'role models'."³¹



Young women tending a farm in the Philippines

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A female migrant worker living in a suburb of Hanoi

4.3. Gender expectations, roles, and family dynamics

In addition to shaping the opportunities available to young migrants, gender norms and expectations operate as underlying determinants which place pressure on young people to migrate in some cases, and restrict them from migrating in others. In the Philippine research sites, respondents described how women are under particular pressure to migrate, and bear greater responsibility for providing economic support to their families than boys and young men: “When the men are lazy, the women have to go and find work elsewhere. This happens a lot. The men get involved in drugs and then it falls on the women to earn the income.”³²

It appears that young women in particular are expected to migrate in order to send remittances back home and support their families. The notion that young women have a particular obligation to provide for their parents frequently surfaced during group discussions in source and destination communities.

“Why are there more female migrants here? The boys simply stay at home if they don’t find a job. This is not okay for girls. Boys want to hang out and drink. Girls are expected to support their families.”³³

When asked why they thought that women, rather than men, were expected to carry the ‘burden’ of migrating to support their families, respondents suggested that “girls are seen as more mature and responsible”³⁴ and that, as a woman, “you have to feed your kids”.³⁵

While evidence from the Philippines suggests that gender norms, which hold women responsible for their families, operate as push factors, these same norms appear to create obstacles to migration in Vietnam, where women are expected to take responsibility for family life, providing childcare, and looking after family

property. Indeed, several respondents remarked that men are more likely to migrate, explaining that women prioritise marriage and motherhood over employment opportunities: “Men are more likely to migrate than women. Men are considered to be the breadwinner and after women get married they have babies and parents to take care of.”³⁶ Norms that restrict women’s autonomy in Vietnam, and constrict them to the family sphere are also linked to strict social rules that insist upon control of women’s sexuality and create barriers to migration. In Ha Giang Province, a particularly remote and impoverished sources community in Vietnam, respondents expressed views that it is not appropriate or acceptable for women to migrate alone, or travel independently:

“There will be a rumour in the community that if a girl goes out of this area and works somewhere else and then returns that maybe she worked as a prostitute and no one will want to marry her. It is a social prejudice and then they are afraid of that and they won’t go.”³⁷

The different expectations about women’s family responsibilities in Vietnam compared to the Philippines were reflected in young people’s sequencing of labour migration and family life. In Vietnam, respondents explained that young people are more likely to migrate before they return to their source communities to marry and start a family; “it is easy to get around without family members when you are single”.³⁸ This finding is consistent with a previous Plan study on migrants in Hanoi found that only 16% of female migrants and 6% of male migrants to be married (PLAN, 2009). By contrast, in the Philippines, respondents reported that women and girls marry and have children at a younger age and migrate to earn money to support them: “those with grown up children will move away to support their children’s college education. Most girls here have children when they are under [eighteen].”³⁹

4.4. Social networks

Social networks were found to function as both drivers of, and barriers to, internal migration. It appears that existing family or friend networks in destination areas are a key precondition and/or facilitating factor driving internal migration. Networks not only function to provide young people with information and access to opportunities, it may enable them to migrate independently even if they are married and have children, especially when parents or other family members are able to provide child care support and take care of property: “If you stay with the parents, they will look after the kids and the wife can do agricultural work. If they live alone then the wife looks after the kids and you can only go for a short while.”⁴⁰

On the other hand, family and friend networks can also be one of the main reasons youths decide not to migrate from their home towns. For example, in their study of internal migration patterns in Mindanao, Quisumbing & McNiven (2006) find that the most important reason for not moving cited by respondents living in rural areas is the presence of friends and family (p.22). In this case, family ties and the importance of maintaining family networks appear to operate as a barrier to migration in source community case studies included in the study. When asked why young people are hesitant to accept employment opportunities in industries promoted by the local government, one commune level authority explained: “the culture of ethnic minorities is that you need family; before, members of the family would never go very far from their homes.”⁴¹

4.5. Marriage

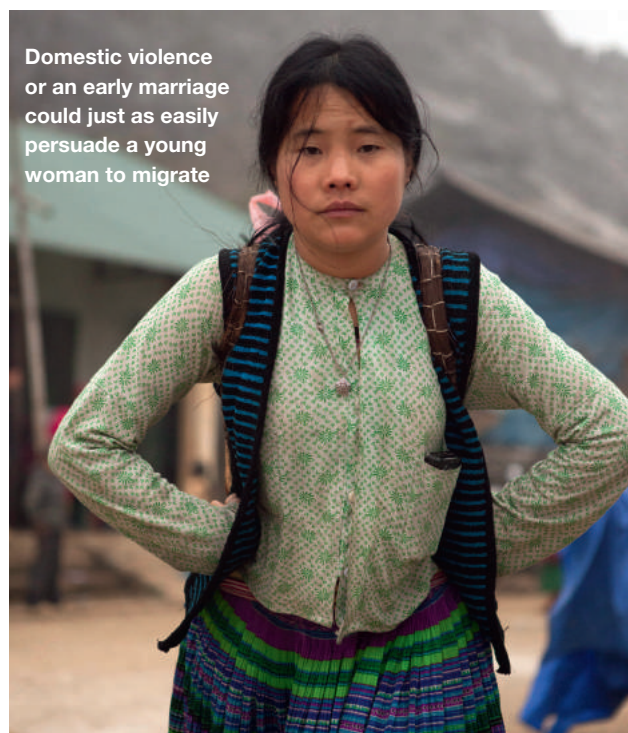
Existing evidence suggests that marriage also functions as a push and a pull factor that influences migration for some groups of women and girls. Analysing the VHLSS 2010 data from Vietnam, Coxhead et al. (2015) found that migration for the purpose of marriage (21%) is the second most dominant reason for internal migration after moving for employment purposes. It is, however, difficult to disentangle ‘marriage migration’ from ‘economic migration’, as individuals who migrate for marriage are often motivated by economic and personal reasons; as a group of respondents explained: “there are some cases where the [woman] gets the opportunity to marry and get more money... [she] flees... because she sees the opportunity to make more money marrying a man, and be better off.”⁴²

Escape from abuse within marriage or avoiding pressure to marry early were found to be push factors which motivate women and girls to migrate across research sites. A key informant from the Ifugao Provincial Government in the Philippines suggested that the two most important reasons for out-migration were “job opportunities and escaping early marriage.”⁴³ The following excerpts from a group discussion with young women in Manila and Ha Giang also highlight

how domestic violence can push women to migrate to other provinces:

“I separated from my husband in the province. My mother sent me to Manila [Philippines] to live with my sister. She wanted me to come to the city to escape my husband. He used to be violent and beat me.”⁴⁴

“In some families there are problems – the husband mistreats the wife and then she cannot stand it any longer and she will run to China.”⁴⁵



Domestic violence or an early marriage could just as easily persuade a young woman to migrate

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4.6. Perceptions of life in the city

Another significant pull-factor influencing internal migration was found in young people’s drive for excitement, adventure, and their perceptions and expectations of a new life in the city. As one young respondent explained: “I thought ‘before I get married’... I wanted to see other faces, experience other places, have other opportunities, that aren’t available in my home province.”⁴⁶ Young people’s perceptions of the city are informed by friends and family who have migrated and return to their hometowns with tales of the excitement of urban life. When asked about advice he would give to potential migrants in his village, a young male migrant in Hanoi exclaimed, “you will have a chance to open your eyes, to explore, to be exposed to a new and modern life!”⁴⁷ Similarly, a young female migrant replied, “...I would encourage that young girl. Life is more interesting – you have the chance to meet people. It is much better than a boring hometown, raising cattle.”⁴⁸

PUSH FACTORS IN SOURCE COMMUNITIES

Gender norms in source communities in the Philippines make families more likely to 'invest' in the education and migration of girls

Gender norms in source communities place a particular burden on women to support their families

Lack of access to higher education

Lack of employment opportunities

Lower salaries

Land poverty

Mismatch between education and available employment opportunities in source communities

Expectations to migrate in order to support family through remittances

Escaping domestic abuse and early marriage

PULL FACTORS IN DESTINATION COMMUNITIES

Gender norms stratify labour demand and employment opportunities along gender lines

Expectations of life in the city as 'exciting' and 'full of opportunities'

Social networks in destination communities

Better employment opportunities

Better opportunities for capital investment in source communities

Higher salaries

Increased access to higher education in destination communities

Prospects of marrying someone 'better off'

BARRIERS TO MIGRATION

Lack of resources to finance migration

Legal /administrative restrictions on internal movement (Vietnamese household registration system)

Gender norms that place responsibility on women for children, families and property

Limited access to information about migration pathways and opportunities in destination communities

Gender norms that restrict women's autonomy and insist upon control of women's sexuality

FACILITATING FACTORS

Family and friend networks in destination communities

Increased access to information about opportunities in destination communities

Recruitment agencies

Safe and affordable transport links to destination communities



The long commute is just one of the many experiences young migrants have while working in the city

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5. EXPERIENCES OF YOUNG MIGRANTS: RISKS, CHALLENGES AND OPPORTUNITIES

“When I first arrived I just had a backpack. I went to an area under a bridge and looked for a notice to share [a] room. I went to a tourist area and found a job working from 9 AM to 9 PM. I was given a monthly salary and lunch and dinner. The salary was to pay rent and to send money to my mother. The job was selling clothes for a clothing shop.”⁴⁹

5.1. Experiences in employment

While many young women and men migrate to access improved employment opportunities, the data evidences that young migrant workers in both Vietnam and the Philippines tend to be confined to specific industries, which are typically low-paying with poor working conditions and stratified along gender lines. Migrants typically work long hours, struggling to raise enough money to cover the high costs of living in the cities, as well as to send remittances home to support their families.

High living costs, often coupled with the need to support family members, place migrants in a position where they are unable to refuse job offers, even those with very poor wages/conditions. The evidence indicates that these burdens and pressures may be heightened for young women, especially those caring for children and other dependents:

“Life is very difficult here [in Manila]. You can't choose the job that is right for you, you have to settle for anything; the first thing that you can find. I have children to care for, so even if I was offered a job that pays 100 PHP (US\$ 2), I have to take it. I have no choice. I have to accept washing clothes. I have to do whatever I can get.”⁵⁰

Tending to have low levels of education and qualifications, many migrant workers face barriers to access secure employment in the ‘formal’ sector. With reduced employment prospects and bargaining power, migrants are often confined to working ‘informally’, without any official employment contracts. Workers may be paid on an hourly basis, without any additional rights or entitlements, such as sick pay, and other forms of social or medical insurance. Participants explained:

“There is no contract and they don't have any documents. When these informal workers have any accident while working they will not be covered by insurance. It is a common practice for a business owner to ‘informalise’ their workers, so that they can avoid all the tax responsibilities.”⁵¹

In the absence of formal contracts, rights and entitlements, migrant workers are at the discretion, disposal and mercy of their employer. Their ability to secure fair and lawful working conditions will also depend on the age, confidence and experience of migrants: those who are younger, less educated and less experienced in the labour market may be unable to negotiate favourable and fair working conditions.

“Some bosses or recruiters have bad attitudes towards us. There are cases where people will have payments delayed because they have no legal agency to guarantee [their pay]. Without an agreement it is very hard. With a contract it would be easier to resolve.”⁵²

Insecure employment in less formal markets has implications for workplace health and safety. The dire health and safety conditions in employment sites where many young migrants work was a consistent theme raised by participants in the research, particularly in Vietnam, where heavy physical work, skipping meals, limited (or no) availability of safety equipment and protective gear, toxic chemical exposure, repetitive strain injuries and others, were all raised as risks associated with typical forms of migrant labour.

Young female migrants are particularly likely to end up in precarious and risky forms of labour, often working informally as street hawkers or as domestic employees, where they are particularly prone to forms of exploitation and abuse, by their employers as well as law enforcement. One stakeholder explained the risks:

“For those who work as freelance or domestic workers [the employer] may end the contract without any notice and no organisation will protect their rights. Or if they are sexually abused there is no organisation to protect their rights. Female workers are especially hesitant and avoid speaking out about their problems – so they are vulnerable.”⁵³

While attempts have been made in the Philippines to formalise domestic work, most notably through the introduction of the Domestic Workers Act 2013, the law is poorly implemented in practice. The majority of domestic workers are not registered and labour inspectors cannot enter private homes. This places domestic workers in a very vulnerable situation, which is likely compounded for internal migrants, who may not have a support network of family or friends.

In addition to working as street vendors and domestic help, young female migrants in both countries often end up working in factories associated with the textile industries, which overwhelmingly employ female workers; i.e. foreign-owned enterprises in export processing zones that offer jobs in the clothing, footwear and furniture industry and others. The conditions of employment with such firms are reportedly characterised by ‘short-lived’ and easily disposed contracts, and female migrant workers are vulnerable to exploitation by employers and harassment by local police and authorities (Locke et al. 2008). One migrant woman in Vietnam explained:

“Inside [the] companies, I recall complaints of sexual abuse by supervisors. In order to get bonus or get promoted some female workers are abused to get promoted. [They do] sexual favours. [Also] sometimes the managers shout at the workers if they do not meet quota.”⁵⁴

5.2. Vulnerability, isolation and social exclusion

“When they arrive, there are many temptations. If they cannot control themselves, [they] will get caught in [these] temptations – gambling, drugs and illegal types of work.”⁵⁵

Feelings of loneliness and social exclusion were found to be common experiences of migrants in both countries. Cut off from their family and community networks, some young migrants reported feeling isolated and alone: “Vietnam has a traditional way. [You are] protected by a certain network in your community, so when you leave your community you leave your network.”⁵⁶

Many participants raised concerns that these feelings of isolation could drive young migrants into the more dangerous aspects of city life, including petty crime, gambling, drug use, sex work and other ‘social evils’ in Vietnam.

There were gendered aspects to these dangers, as well. While participants felt that men were more likely to engage in crime, gambling and drug use, young women often spoke of their fear of sexual harassment, exploitation and other forms of abuse. Young women working in factories in Mariveles mentioned fear of violence as a negative aspect of their new location, such as feeling unsafe when they would have to walk through areas that are notorious for crime following their night shifts.⁵⁷ A young female migrant in Hanoi told researchers:

“Hanoi is also more dangerous for female migrants because people flirt with them a lot – even the policeman sometimes. They always flirt. After work I close the door. I lock the door and do my cooking inside. I worry that if we open the door something may happen.”⁵⁸



A female migrant in the Philippines in the construction industry

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The sex industry

Many young migrants, particularly young women, end up working in the sex industry; either on the streets, or as part of their employ within restaurants, bars, karaoke clubs, massage parlours and beer gardens. Vietnam, in particular, has a vibrant sex trafficking industry (fuelled by both domestic demand, and foreign 'sex tourism') and migrants, particularly young female migrants, are overwhelming represented within its 'workforce'. One key stakeholder claimed:

"We used to work with a group of sex workers. Ninety percent came from other places to Hanoi. They had the intention to [migrate to] find a decent job but end up being trafficked to become a sex worker."⁵⁹

As this extract suggests, young migrants' experiences in relation to migration and the sale of sex appear to lie along a continuum, with the 'autonomous' decision to enter the sex industry (before, during or after migration) at one end of the spectrum, and being the victim of 'trafficking' for the purposes of sexual exploitation on the other. A range of different forms of expression, conveying variant degrees of choice, coercion and force were used to describe how young migrants enter into the sex industry. In practice, migrants, particularly those who were young, and from relatively disadvantaged, uneducated, and poorer backgrounds, were characterised as being 'lured', 'persuaded', 'cheated', 'misled', 'trapped' or 'forced' into 'illegal forms of work', 'social evils', and the sale of sex in exchange for money:

"Many young people are trafficked. They are cheated into providing service in restaurants, karaoke, massage parlours, and gradually become engaged in sex work. When they don't have work in the home village, and they cannot find a job [in the city] with enough income, they may do it on the side..."⁶⁰

"They come from the Visayan Islands and Mindanao and come here [to Manila]. They have no qualifications and they want to earn a high income, so they end up being [sexually] exploited."⁶¹

Data from trafficking shelters visited in the Philippines demonstrated the vulnerability of young (particularly female) migrants to being trafficked. The data suggests that those vulnerable to trafficking are persons from disadvantaged families, often in rural areas and with limited opportunities. According to key informants, these factors place them in a situation in which they are 'desperate' to accept any job or educational offer that appears to provide them an opportunity to develop or earn an income. Trafficking appears to take place through 'informal' channels: for instance, through encouragement by a family member, friend or acquaintance.

"Because my mum was not earning regularly, she couldn't send all of us to school. I had a friend in Cavite [Philippines] and she asked if I wanted to go with her to work in a bar...I thought I was only going to have to drink with the customers. But then, the bar owner told me that part of the job was to go out with customers. I still didn't know what he meant when he said 'go out with customers.' I didn't know it meant having sex with them."⁶²

While young female migrants are likely to end up in forms of sex work, or situations of sexual exploitation, participants in both countries were also keen to emphasise that such issues also affect young migrant men and boys.



5.3. Access to services

Internal migrants in both countries face challenges in accessing social welfare and public services. This was particularly the case for Vietnam as a result of the *ho khau* system, which requires citizens to register as ‘permanent residents’ before they can purchase housing, work legally, receive vocational training, register births and access government-subsidised health care (UNFPA, 2010). While a number of benefits and services are available to those with ‘temporary’ registration certificate, the procedures for applying and obtaining temporary registration are reportedly complex, long and onerous.

While there are no legal restrictions placed on migrants’ access to services, migrants in the Philippines still experience structural forms of marginalisation and exclusion, including discrimination against migrant populations, social isolation, and feelings of insecurity and illegitimacy, which compromise their confidence to seek out services, and leave them without the skills and knowledge to navigate complex administrative and bureaucratic procedures. Lack of access to cash funds and other resources, and limited time off work are other factors that impede migrants’ ability to access services.

These qualitative findings are confirmed by existing quantitative evidence from both countries. Data from the 2004 Vietnam Migration Survey suggests that access to health services is lower for internal migrants compared to non-migrants, and that migrants are more likely to resort to self-treatment (UNFPA, 2006), citing expensive treatment fees as the main reason for non-access. In addition, respondents with permanent household registration (KT1) were more likely to have a health examination compared to those with temporary household registration (KT2-4), with un-registered migrants having the lowest health examination rate.⁶³ Similarly in the Philippines, previous research has found substantially lower rates of educational enrolment and reduced service-seeking behaviour among migrants (Gultiano & Xenos, 2004, Basa et al., 2009, p.23).

5.4. Migration and empowerment

Although this report has explored many of the risks and challenges that young internal migrants face, it is important to note that not all migration experiences were negative. Many migrants spoke in positive terms about the excitement, diversity, novelty and opportunities of their new lives in the city: “*you can communicate with different people*”; “*I will have the chance to know different dishes from around the world*”; “*there are opportunities to expand your knowledge, open your eyes*” were typical ways that participants characterised their experience.

Overall, the majority of migrants were keen to emphasise that the benefits of migration outweighed its drawbacks and risks. Research participants frequently highlighted the positive economic benefits of migration, and independence and economic empowerment that it can bring: “*[through] migration you become independent and learn to survive on your own.*”⁶⁴ This independence may be particularly empowering for young women, especially those from rural areas, where gendered hierarchies and dependence on male family members have traditionally limited women’s autonomy and decision-making power:

Whoever has the money, makes the decision ... Once women are able to earn an income, they get to decide for themselves, and they get to have higher decision-making power. I think migration can help them do that.⁶⁵

Migration doesn’t only benefit individual migrants themselves, it can also contribute to the economic empowerment of broader families and communities; additional income from migrants’ remittances can help support families to establish a business, put children through school, and many others.



A female migrant in the Philippines



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6. RISK AND PROTECTIVE FACTORS

The study identified a number of risk and protective factors associated with youth internal migration in Vietnam and the Philippines. A risk factor refers to any characteristic or condition of a young migrant that increases his or her likelihood of becoming a victim of any form of abuse, violence, or exploitation. A protective factor is the mirror image of a risk factor, referring to characteristics or conditions of young migrants that prevent or reduce the impact of abuse, violence, or exploitation.

6.1. Economic status

The study revealed that young migrants from poor family backgrounds are particularly vulnerable to abuse or exploitation - during the process of migration as well as in their destination locations. Young migrants from poor family backgrounds often migrate out of a sense of 'desperation', which limits their ability to refuse job opportunities, regardless of the working conditions or terms of employment, and reduces their bargaining power vis-a-vis their employers. The study also revealed that young migrants' sense of 'desperation' frequently interacts with dominant gender norms, which place additional expectations on young women. In the Philippines, for example, young women in particular are expected to migrate in order to send remittances back home, and the notion that young women have an obligation to 'pay back' their parents frequently surfaced during interviews with young people.

6.2. Education and knowledge

The study also revealed that young migrants who have no or limited access to education and/or information are at a particular risk of ending up in exploitative working environments or being trafficked. In particular, those young migrants who have limited knowledge and understanding of their rights, the labour laws, and available complaints procedures were found to be vulnerable to being exploited by labour agencies, employers and co-workers. The study also revealed how gender norms may restrict young people's access to information, which in turn increases their vulnerability. In the Philippines, for example, the study found that dominant gender norms de-value men's education, restricting the types of jobs young men can apply and migrate for, which may in turn lead these young men to accept any job opportunities, regardless of the working conditions or terms of employment. Furthermore, the study found that young people with limited access to education and information are particularly vulnerable to becoming victims of trafficking. Evidence from the Philippines also revealed a gender dimension to trafficking, with boys primarily trafficked for farm and construction work, and girls primarily trafficked for sexual exploitation.

6.3. Age

Evidence from the study suggests that younger migrants are more vulnerable to abuse and exploitation than older migrants. This appears to be because younger migrants are less likely to be aware of their rights and/or less likely to recognise abuse or exploitation when it occurs. However, the study also revealed that age does not always

act as a protective factor and can in some cases also result in restricted access to services for young migrants who experienced exploitation and/or abuse. For example, the shelter for trafficking victims visited by researchers in Pampanga (in the Philippines) only provided services (accommodation, food, counselling, education, etc.) to girls under the age of 18 years, at which point they would be re-integrated into the community regardless of their (or their families') preparedness.

6.4. Gender norms and perceptions of risk

Respondents interviewed for this study generally perceived female migrants to be more at risk of sexual abuse and trafficking than their male counterparts. These gendered perceptions of risks associated with migration were particularly prevalent in the source communities in Vietnam and somewhat less prevalent in the Philippines. Male migrants, in turn, were often perceived by study respondents to be more at risk of becoming involved in drugs, gambling, and criminal gangs in their destination community, both in Vietnam and the Philippines.

Even though female migrants were generally perceived to be more vulnerable to exploitation and abuse than their male counterparts, evidence from the study also showed how traditional gender norms can stigmatise male victims of abuse (especially sexual abuse), creating gender-specific barriers to accessing services for male migrants who experience abuse and/or exploitation.

6.5. Family and friend networks

The study identified existing family and friend networks as important protective factors, reducing young migrants' exposure to abuse and/or exploitation in their destination locations. Family and friend networks were often mentioned as the first point of contact if young migrants experienced any problems or challenges. They also appear to play an important role in 'initiating' young migrants into life in 'the city'; making them aware of potential risks and dangers that may not exist in their home communities. Respondents frequently highlighted that support networks in destination communities are particularly important for young female migrants who migrate alone, as these were perceived to be at an increased risk of abuse and exploitation.

6.6. Law and policy

A lack of enforcement of existing laws and limited monitoring of compliance with laws regulating employment was identified as a major risk factor contributing to the vulnerability of young migrants in

Vietnam and the Philippines. For example, many young migrants interviewed in the Philippines indicated that they were employed on an 'informal' basis, without contracts; a pattern particularly pronounced in the case of domestic workers. Without contracts, young migrants are particularly vulnerable to exploitative employment practices, as the following case study illustrates.



Interview with a former domestic worker, Quezon City, Philippines, 24 October 2016

"MY EMPLOYER USED TO DEPRIVE ME OF FOOD. I WOULD ONLY EAT TWICE A DAY. AND I WOULD ONLY GET HALF PORTIONS. MY EMPLOYER HAD BAD VIEWS ABOUT MAIDS, SHE DISCRIMINATES AGAINST MAIDS. AFTER BEING IN HOSPITAL SHE FORCED ME TO WORK AGAIN, ALREADY AFTER TWO WEEKS. I WAS SHAKING! WHAT DID YOU DO ABOUT THIS? I RAN AWAY FROM THAT HOUSE. WAS THERE ANYONE YOU COULD ASK FOR HELP? NO, THERE WAS NO-ONE. DID YOU HAVE A CONTRACT? NO, ONLY A VERBAL AGREEMENT, NO WRITTEN CONTRACT."

Laws and policies that restrict access to services based on migrants' residence status were also identified as significant factors that increase the risk of further exploitation/abuse and prevent migrants from seeking the help they may need. The household registration system in Vietnam, for example, prevents unregistered migrants and temporary residents from accessing education, health care and other public services; services they may need to access when experiencing abuse or exploitation in their destination locations.



Young men working
on motor mechanics
in Vietnam

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7. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This research provides detailed, in-depth evidence and analysis on: (i) the push and pull factors that shape youth internal migration in Vietnam and the Philippines; (ii) young migrants' experiences, including the challenges and opportunities they face in their destination; and (iii) the risk and protective factors that shape their experience, and may determine whether migration is safe, positive and empowering for young migrants. These findings have implications for law, policy and programming, which are explored in this section.

The research identified that norms and expectations relating to gender influence young people's decisions to migrate and their experiences as internal migrants. Gender norms and dynamics shape the opportunities that are available to young men and women, determine the demand for their labour, compel or proscribe their migration, and inform (perceptions) of their vulnerability. Only through understanding the risks and opportunities that accompany youth economic migration through a gender perspective, can policy and programming effectively address risk and better empower young migrants.

7.1. Policy recommendations

- More comprehensive, age- and gender-disaggregated data collection on internal migration, especially in the Philippines.
- In Vietnam, removal of legal regulations that limit freedom of movement, including those that require migrants to obtain permission from source and destination community authorities in order to move, either temporarily or permanently.
- In Vietnam, legal reform to ensure that internal migrants are entitled to the same services as permanent residents, including education, health care and social security services.
- Expansion of benefits programmes that apply to other vulnerable groups (e.g. students, farmers) to apply to migrant labourers as well.
- In Vietnam, reform of legal provisions, which limit migrants' right to association.
- In the Philippines, the implementation of collective bargaining rights.

- Enforcement of legal requirements stating that employers are required to provide complaints mechanisms, and inform all workers about how to use these.

7.2. Programming recommendations

- Ensure individuals and families have access to a range social security and support services in source communities to lessen the pressure to migrate.
- Address the gendered divisions of labor and expectations, and gender norms in general in order to increase the opportunities available for both women and men in the workforce.
- Increase the knowledge and understanding of youth in source communities on the risks and opportunities of internal migration.
- Increase the knowledge and skills of youth and communities on their rights of as employees, and how to enforce these rights in the event of breaches.
- Facilitate the registration of internal migrants as temporary residents in Vietnam.
- Ensure migrants receive information on relevant employment laws and regulations, and access to advice, assistance and other support services.
- Support migrants in accessing services and contacts with unions in the event of rights breaches, and to enforce fair and lawful working conditions.

- Introduce community social sessions for new migrants and community members.
- Create online support networks for internal migrants to connect, share experiences and advice and offer support.



Hanoi

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ENDNOTES

- ¹ Youth Law 2005, Article 1
- ² Youth in Nation-Building Act 1994, Section 2, Paragraph 2.
- ³ The distinction between internal and international migration may not always be straightforward, as states' sovereignty and/or borders may evolve over time (e.g. ex-Yugoslavia) or be disputed (e.g. Israel/Palestine).
- ⁴ The figures presented here are from the Philippine Statistics Authority website: <https://psa.gov.ph/content/domestic-and-international-migrants-philippines-results-2010-census> [accessed 03.10.16].
- ⁵ Philippine Statement to the Commission on Population and Development, on its 46th session, 22 – 26 April 2013, presented by Commission on Filipinos Overseas, http://www.un.org/en/development/desa/population/pdf/commission/2013/country/Agenda%20item%204/Philippines_Item4.pdf
- ⁶ Key informant interview with Public Employment Officer, Mariveles Municipal Government, 25.10.16
- ⁷ FGDs with young female migrants, in Mariveles Town Hall and in EPZ factory, 25.10.16
- ⁸ Key informant interview with Public Employment Officer, Mariveles Municipal Government, 25.10.16
- ⁹ FGDs with community members in Asipulo, 29.10.16
- ¹⁰ FGD with community members in Asipulo, 29.10.16
- ¹¹ FGD with community members in Lamut, 29.10.16
- ¹² FGD with young women in Lamut, 29.10.16
- ¹³ This finding is consistent with existing quantitative evidence; in an analysis of data from the 2004 Vietnam Migration Survey, Anh et al suggest that economic motives account for the movement of more than 70% of all types of migrants (Anh et al., 2012).
- ¹⁴ Individual interview, key informant, Institute for Social Development Studies, Hanoi, 24.10.2016
- ¹⁵ FGD with community members, Asipulo, Ifugao, 28.10.16
- ¹⁶ Individual interview, male migrant worker, Hanoi, 7.11.2016
- ¹⁷ FGD with community members, Lamut, Ifugao, 29.10.16
- ¹⁸ Focus group discussion, village leaders (mixed gender), Ha Giang Province, 27.10.2016
- ¹⁹ Focus group discussion, young people (mixed), Thai Nguyen Province, 10.11.2016
- ²⁰ FGD with community members, Lamut, Ifugao, 29.10.16
- ²¹ KII with Youth Employment Bureau (DOLE) representative, Manila, 28.10.16
- ²² Focus group discussion, female migrants (18-24), Hanoi, 8.11.2016
- ²³ FGD with female migrant workers, Mariveles, Bataan, 25.10.16
- ²⁴ Individual interview, intermediary providing recruitment services, Hanoi, Vietnam, 25.10.2016
- ²⁵ KII with representative from the Commission on Population, Metro Manila, 27.10.16.
- ²⁶ FGD with young women in Malabon, Metro Manila, 25.10.16
- ²⁷ Individual interview, intermediary providing recruitment services, Hanoi, Vietnam, 25.10.2016
- ²⁸ Focus group discussion, male migrants in vocational training, Hanoi, Vietnam, 8.11.2016
- ²⁹ Focus group discussion,
- ³⁰ FGD with young women, Lamut, Ifugao, 29.10.16
- ³¹ FGD with young women, Lamut, Ifugao, 29.10.16
- ³² FGD with male migrants, Quezon City, Metro Manila, 24.10.16
- ³³ FGD with female migrant workers, Mariveles, Bataan, 25.10.16
- ³⁴ KII with Interagency Council against Trafficking representative, via Skype, 08.11.16
- ³⁵ KII with Provincial DSWD Officer, Lagawe, Ifugao, 28.10.16
- ³⁶ Focus group discussion, young people (mixed gender), Thai Nguyen province, Vietnam, 10.11.2016
- ³⁷ Individual interview, Commune Women's Association, Ha Giang Province, 27.10.2016
- ³⁸ Focus group discussion, young men, Hanoi, Vietnam, 23.10.2016
- ³⁹ FGD with young women, Asipulo, Ifugao, 28.10.16
- ⁴⁰ Focus group discussion, young men, Ha Giang Province, Vietnam, 27.10.2016
- ⁴¹ Individual interview, plan staff, Ha Giang Province, Vietnam, 26.10.2016
- ⁴² Focus group discussion, young men and women, Ha Giang Province, Vietnam, 28.10.2016
- ⁴³ KII with Provincial DSWD Officer, Lagawe, Ifugao, 28.10.16
- ⁴⁴ FGD with young women, Malabon, Metro Manila, 25.10.16
- ⁴⁵ Focus group discussion, young men and women, Ha Giang Province, Vietnam, 28.10.2016
- ⁴⁶ FGD with young men, Malabon, Metro Manila, 25.10.16
- ⁴⁷ Focus group discussion, young men, Hanoi, Vietnam, 8.11.2016
- ⁴⁸ Individual interview, young female migrant, Hanoi, Vietnam, 7.11.2016
- ⁴⁹ Individual interview with female migrant worker, Hanoi, 7.11.2016
- ⁵⁰ FGD with young migrant women, Malabon, Metro Manila, 25.10.16
- ⁵¹ Individual interview, Representative from Light, Hanoi, 7.11.2016
- ⁵² Focus group discussion, young male migrants, Hanoi, 8.11.2016
- ⁵³ Individual interview, representative from DOLISA (district level), Ha Giang Province, 26.10.2016;
- ⁵⁴ Group interview, Center for Development and Integration, Hanoi, 11.11.2016;
- ⁵⁵ Individual interview with male migrant, Hanoi, 07.11.16
- ⁵⁶ Individual interview, Representative from NGO, Hanoi, 7.11.2016
- ⁵⁷ FGD with young women, Mariveles, Bataan, 25.10.16
- ⁵⁸ Individual interview with female migrant worker, Hanoi, 7.11.2016;
- ⁵⁹ Individual interview, Representative from NGO, Hanoi, 7.11.2016
- ⁶⁰ Individual interview, Representative from ISDS Hanoi
- ⁶¹ KII with the Director of the Haven for Girls, Metro Manila, 28.10.16
- ⁶² Individual interview with 17 year-old trafficking, Metro Manila
- ⁶³ KT1 refers to permanent residence. KT2 denotes semi-permanent residential status involving intra-provincial movement. KT3 refers to semi-permanent residential status involving inter-provincial movement. Lastly, migrant workers and students temporarily residing outside of their province of permanent residence fall under KT4 (Hardy, 2001).
- ⁶⁴ FGD with community members, Asipulo, Ifugao, 28.10.16
- ⁶⁵ KII with Deputy Executive Director, Commission on Population (POPCOM), Metro Manila, 27.10.16

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ANNEX : RESEARCH SITES IN PHILIPPINES AND VIETNAM LOCATION AND CHARACTERISTICS

Selected location in Vietnam	'Location type'	Geographic configuration	Relative economic status	Relevant demographic features
Hanoi	Destination community	Red River Delta (North), urban	Developed	Predominantly Kinh (Viet)
Thai Nguyen	Source community	North Central, rural	Medium development / mixed income	Predominantly Kinh (Viet)
Ha Giang	Source community	Far North, mountainous, rural, remote	Less developed/ low income	Predominantly ethnic minority: Tay Nung, Dao and Hmong

Selected location in Philippines	'Location type'	Geographic configuration	Relative economic status	Relevant demographic features
Manila	Destination community	National capital, urban	Developed	Largely Tagalog, Christian
Mariveles	Destination community	Central Luzon, urban peri-urban	Developed	Largely Tagalog, Christian
Ifugao	Source community	Cordillera Administrative Region (North Luzon), rural / remote	Less developed/ low income	Ethnically diverse (home to ethnic minority groups including Ifugao, Ilocanos, Kalahan), animist



Young woman with
her child

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Plan International in Asia
14th Floor, 253 Sukhumvit 21 (Asoke)
Klongtoey-Nua, Watana, Bangkok
Thailand 10110
Tel : +66 2204 2630
yes@plan-international.org

Plan International France
14, boulevard de Douaumont
75017 Paris
France
Tel : +33 (0)1 44 89 90 90
contact@plan-international.fr



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