INSTITUTE FOR SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT STUDIES

FROM COUNTRYSIDE TO CITIES

Socioeconomic impacts of migration in Vietnam

Le Bach Duong & Nguyen Thanh Liem

WORKERS' PUBLISHING HOUSE

In charge of publishing: Le Huy Hoa
In charge of transcript: Le Bach Duong and Nguyen Thanh Liem
Editor: Nguyen Khac Hoa
Translator: Nguyen Thanh Duc and Nguyen The Vinh
Transcript editors: Tran Giang Linh and Nguyen Thao Linh

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Add: 175 Giang Vo - Dong Da - Hanoi
ĐT: (04) 3851 5380 - Fax: (04) 3851 5381
Website: nxblaodong.com.vn

Cover page photo: Ganh ha, by photographer: Le The Thang
Designed & Printed by Compass Printing. JSC
Licence No: 161-2011/CXB/46-07/LĐ

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ACKNOWLDEGEMENT

This book is made possible through a generous grant from The Rockefeller Foundation. The authors would like to sincerely thank Dr. Katherine Bond, the Associate Director, and Mr. Alan Feinstein, the Acting Director of the Foundation for their heartening support of our research proposal that led to the issuance of the grant. Our thanks also go to Ms. Busaba Tejagupta, the Grants Manager whose timely assistance effectively helped the project to progress. From technical side, we are indebted of scholarly advices of Dr. Michael Joseph White, Professor of Sociology, Brown University.

In particularly, we would like to thank all the people who were the respondents of the survey conducted under this research for their generosity in spending time and sharing their life information with us. Without them, this new knowledge on migration and development would not be made.

Last but not least, we thank Nguyen Thanh Duc and Nguyen The Vinh for their translation of this book.

The authors

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Le Bach Duong

Photo: Collected from the Internet

1.1 AN OVERVIEW OF MIGRATION IN VIETNAM

From its inception, Vietnam has always been a country on the move. Archeological artifacts and recorded history told stories of territory expansion and migration of the Viet people first from the southern China to the lowland of the Red River delta and finally to the southern end of the Mekong River delta about three hundred years ago (Murray, 1996). During the French colonial period (1862-1945), large movements of laborers were organized and channeled to plantations and mines; while rural food insecurity caused significant rural-rural migration flows of peasants in search of temporary jobs (Thompson, 1968). Although rural-urban migration occurred, slow industrialization and urbanization created minor demand to absorb labor redundancy from the countryside.

Following the defeat of the French in 1954, the country was partitioned along the Cold War line between the North and the South. In the South, the war itself was the most important force defining large flows of migration from the bombarded countryside to the large urban centers. In just more than 10 years, urban population of the South skyrocketed from 15% in the early 1960s to 47% by 1974. This growth was five times greater than all less developed nations during the same period, making the South the second most urbanized "country" in all of Southeast Asia after Singapore (Kolko, 1985).

Migration of the North during the war time followed a contrasting direction. Urban population remained largely unchanged (10.9% in 1965; 12.2% in 1975) as the government determined to discourage rapid urban growth in favor of a relatively even hierarchical urban system. The government's objective was to encourage the growth of provincial centers and cities located at strategic mining and energy sources, enhance reciprocal relationship with their immediate rural hinterlands, and reinforce the dynamism and self-sufficiency of the provinces, thus supporting agricultural collectivization and industrial growth at the same time (Nguyen, 1984). Indeed, large urban concentration was also not a viable option for the government in the conditions of devastating warfare. Significant movements of population were organized exclusively within

the "Going to the New Economic Zones" movements by which people from the densely populated provinces of the Red River delta were redistributed to the northern upland. When the country was reunified in 1975, nearly one million people had resettled in New Economic Zones (Desbarat, 1987).

Following the national unification, the government applied the migration and urbanization models of the North to the South. One immediate policy was the relocation of the war-induced urbanites back to the countryside. This was done out of the need of relieving population and social pressures on the large urban centers of the South. Another policy was to reduce the historical population density imbalance between the North and the South. Thus, within a short period, about 1.5 million people left Sai Gon (renamed to be Ho Chi Minh City after the war), leaving space for roughly 700,000 people from the North to move in. Da Nang, the second largest city of the South, experienced an even more drastic reduction from half of a million down to 319,000 residents by 1979. Similarly, the city of Quy Nhon lost almost half of its population. By the end of 1970s, about 2.5 million people already migrated from the North to the South. The government also redistributed 1.3 million Southern people to the New Economic Zones (Thrift and Forbes, 1985). Yet, due to the lack of basic social infrastructure and the shortage of readily cleared land for cultivation, as many as a half of resettled people returned to their home provinces or back to the cities. The returnees and Northern migrants thus made the overall urban population of the South remained relatively high. The government's deurbanization policy only resulted in a reduction of southern urban population from 30 to 26 percent between 1976 and 1979 (Desbarats, 1987).

The government decision to embark upon a new path of the country's development towards a market economy officially took place in 1986 at the 6th Party Congress. Known as Doi moi economic reforms, this policy change unleashed market forces to liberate people and institutions economically, resulting in unprecedented economic growth and social transformation. For migration and urbanization, the implications of these reforms were phenomenal. Decollectivisation and the introduction of the household contract system *(khoan ho)* in the rural areas increased labour

incentives and productivity while at the same time exposed rural laborers to chronic unemployment and underemployment. No longer being tied economically and administratively to the cooperatives, rural laborers were set free to decide where to locate their labor for the highest return. This labor redundancy interfaced with the emergence and rapid expansion of the market, sanctioned by the Government since the economic reforms *(Doi moi)*. This process, together with the removal of administrative and police barriers to free flows of goods and capital, the improvement of transportation infrastructure as well as the spread of information through mass media and social network, linked rural laborers to job market opportunities located away from home. Indeed, the issuance of the new Land Law in 1993 granted rural households the rights to transfer, exchange, mortgage, lease and inherit land, thus giving them more economic flexibility, and the declining of the household registration system in both urban and rural areas as an institutional entitlement of employment and daily necessity, were a positive contribution to the mobility of the population (Duong et al, 2008). In return, social network of migrants sustained and expanded further migration.

Since the mid 1990s, despite negative impact of the Asian financial crisis in 1997, the economy of Vietnam has continued to expand and undergo structural changes. The pace of growth is particularly high since the year 2000. As the forces of the market spread and the country embarks firmly on industrialization, rural and urban areas are closely linked, economically and socially. Export-oriented, labor-intensive industries such as garment and electronics mushroomed around large urban centers and ports become the magnets for flows of rural labors (Do, 2001). Foreign direct investment, steadily increased since the 1990s (reaching over US$ 60 billion in 2008), has fueled the movement.

Economic growth has however been shadowed by rising inequality between rural and urban areas, among regions, and across populations. Although absolute poverty rate has declined dramatically, from nearly 60% of the population in the early 1990s to less than 20% in more than a decade, what has been observed is the widening income gap. Between 1993 and 2002, the Gini coefficient that measures the inequality among

groups increased from 0.33 to 0.41, implying that gains brought about by the economic prosperity has not been distributed to different regions and groups in an equity manner (Duong et al., 2005). Urbanization and migration to the cities are not only the reflection of industrialization but also of the rising economic and social inequality.

Results of the 2009 census show that 6.6 million people aged over 5 migrated over the 2004-2009 period, a significant increase from the 4.5 million internal migrants estimated in the 1999 Census. Indeed, many types of migration, for example the short-term or unregistered ones, were not included in these figures. Migration flows consisted of mainly young adults. Large number of migrant were urban-bound (contributing to 3.4% urban growth rate compared to 0.4% in rural areas) due to better employment opportunities in urban areas. While by 1999, 23.5% of the population was urban, the figure for 2010 was about a third and projected to be 45% ten years later (Koesveld, 2001).

Micro-level analyses of migration show that migration is among key household and individual strategies for achieving economic security. Migration has been potential for poverty alleviation and development of their left-behind and sending communities (Dang, 2008). But migration is also associated with heavy social costs of being away from family and the social support network, both formal and informal, at home communities. Yet, in overall migrants remain very adaptive to new working and living environments as most considered difficulties and problems of their geographical dislocation are offset by better income compared to the levels they are able to make at home areas (Dang et al., 2003).

Although positive contribution of migration has been recognized by the government as an essential factor for poverty alleviation and development, concerns of the state about its negative impact continue to grow, particularly towards spontaneous migration (flows not organized by the state). For this type of migration, key worries include pressures of in-migrants on the already overloaded infrastructures and public service systems of the migrant-receiving cities; urban disorder and crimes; environmental destruction; and the shortage of labors with knowledge,

skills and good health at the sending rural areas. As a response, implicit barriers, most notably the household registration system *(ho khau)*, aimed at increasing costs borne by migrants (apart from relocation costs) have been raised in order to discourage these movements (Nguyen Thang, 2002). It is important to know that this suspicious view of the government towards spontaneous migration and migrants has been translated into institutionalized risks and disadvantages that migrants themselves have to face and suffer, besides their own disadvantages as poor and low/unskilled laborers. The utilization of the household registration as a migration control measure is "effective" only in preventing migrants to access employment opportunities and social services, such as health care and education, as equally as local residents. As proved by many studies worldwide, since most migrants come to stay (to become urban residents), such marginalized populations will become an ever enlarging pool of urban poor, hence posing serious challenges to the government's "growth with equity" strategy for economic and social development. Meanwhile, observable constructive contributions of migration to urban places are almost totally neglected. In fact, no study has ever been done on this topic. Even for the source areas, very limited information is available on the impact of migrants on the left-behind families and communities. Most of the academic knowledge on migration is limited to migration determinants and migrants' socio-economic characteristics.

1.2 PREVIOUS STUDIES ON IMPACT OF MIGRATION ON SENDING AND RECEIVING AREAS

In responding to the above-mentioned knowledge gap, in 2008 the Institute for Social Development conducted a unique and important research on socio-economic impact of rural-urban migrants on both home and host communities. The key purpose of this research is to provide first-time empirical evidences of the migration impacts that can assist change of the conventional discourse on migration away from negativity towards relative positivity (i.e. migrants are in fact productive actors and contributors to development process). The researchers believe that by documenting important measurable contributions of migrants to poverty reduction at left-behind villages and to urban economy at places of destination, an enabling setting and momentum will be created for government's and society's acceptance of the needs to protect migrants' rights, ease their integration into the mainstreams at urban destinations, and maximize positive impact of migration on both sending and receiving ends. Indeed, any downside the migration flows create to both areas and to migrants themselves were also assessed in this research. Key research themes covered by the research are the follows:

Theme 1. Impact of migration on sending communities

A key inquiry is on the use of remittances sent home by working migrants. Essentially migration is a strategy of households in response to risks and income opportunities by allocating their labor assets over dispersed locations to maximize family incomes and minimize risks. In this way, the flow of remittances is not a random by-product of individual migration, but an integral part of family's strategy for livelihood generation. The impact of remittances may not be limited within family boundary. It has been seen from international literature that remittances may help not only the family of migrants but also influence community development.

Thus, the research examined households' responses to migration opportunities, and the benefits of urban-ward migration for households and communities. Migration and development relation is examined by looking at the impact of migration on migrants' household well-being and

community development. The research also assessed impact that go beyond economic remittances, e.g. social remittances and socioeconomic impact to those who left-behind due to the absence of migrants. For example, increasing out-migration of young and main labors may leave more works and greater burdens to the elderly and children who stay behind. Likewise, the observed feminization of migration implies an increasing absence of the traditional, and usually the main care-takers, which further implies less and poorer care for the elderly and children. Much of those positive and negative impacts of migration on those who stay behind and the sending communities remain unknown, and we tempted to explore them in this research to get better understanding of multiple impact of migration on sending communities.

Theme 2: Impact of migration on receiving areas

As documented in the international literature, in any economy, including the developed ones, there are always sectors and occupations that local laborers find undesirable. Often these jobs are filled by migrant laborers who have fewer occupational choices, given their (relative) lower level of human capital (stock of productive skills and technical knowledge embodied in labor) as well as poorer urban social capital (advantage created by their location in structures of urban relationships that are resourceful). Although many of these occupations can be considered as 3D-jobs (dirty, dangerous, and degrading), they are yet indispensable in any urban economy. For this research, we assessed occupational structure of migrants in comparison to non-migrants to explore occupational segregation of migrants.

We also delved into interrelated issues that cover a wide range of migration impact, including the flows of wealth between two sending and receving areas, the perceived socioeconomic impact on receiving communities as well as the attitudes towards migration of both the migrants and local residents. One important theme that we explored is the common myths of "migrants equal social service burden" and "migrants mean social evils" in the urban place of destination. The conventional view from the government conveyed by the media to the society is that unauthorized migration, especially temporary migration, harms development and social stability. Two key arguments are: (i) migrants put heavy pressures on limited

social services at urban places of destination; and (ii) migrants are likely to be involved in 'social evils", i.e. drug use, sex work, and criminal activities. However, these are more political assumptions and sensations than claims that are supported by systematic scientific evidence. For instance, in a recent heated debate at the National Assembly, those who are advocating for the issuance of the new Residential Law charged that migrants' access to social services in urban areas is severely limited, as they do not have household registration which is prerequisite for receiving services. Even if they manage to buy the services, quite irrationally they are required to pay much higher prices compared to local residents. The argument here is that migrants deserve to get attention from and should be considered as part of the place of destination as long as those places need migrants and benefit from migrants' contribution. Also, regarding the assumed relation between migration and the so-called "social evils", evidence was validated/ invalidated with data collated at the community level.

1.3 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Given the complex questions raised, we developed a comprehensive research design to collect empirical data. Fieldwork were carried out in 2 provinces of high level of out-migration: Thai Binh (in the North) and Tien Giang (in the South); and 2 major destination for rural-to-urban migration, Hanoi and Ho Chi Minh City.

In the source provinces

At each sending province, 2 districts were selected; within each district, 3 communes or sub-districts were selected; and 3 villages from each commune were selected. The selection districts, communes and villages were based on probability proportional to size (PPS). A sampling frame of all households in the study sites were constructed and classified into two groups: family members of households with rural-urban migrants and family members of households without rural-urban migrants.

In the next stage, a random procedure were used to have 1,400 family members of rural-urban migrant household (with approximately 800 households) and 900 people from non-migrant households (with approximately 600 households).

The survey questionnaire includes sections to assess the impact of migration on the overall well-being of households of the migrants. We examined households' responses to migration opportunities, costs or amount of investment of the household to enable migration, the benefits of migration for households and communities, and the impact of migration on those who left-behind, especially the elderly and children. We were particularly interested with the use of remittances of the families of migrants.

The study of the impact on local communities also adopted a gender approach and include both households with female migrants as well as male migrants. For example, the absence of migrating husbands and wives/ mothers may signify a reorganization of the household division of labor. Furthermore, questions were raised around the impacts of the absence of migrant adults to well-being of other household members who stay behind.

Questions were developed to capture various impacts of migration on those who left-behind such as education of children, school performance of those kids, the care for children and elderly. Or while remittances may present a considerable share of the overall income pooled from diversified sources, the use of remittances is sometimes for family's daily consumption or to purchase luxury goods.

In the cities

On the basis of the research objectives, a multistage probability sampling method was applied for a survey of migrants and non-migrants, or local residents. The sample of non-migrants was necessary because they served as the control group against which attributes of migrants, their works, and contributions were compared and isolated.

In the first stage, areas were sampled. In each city, 1 district from the old quarter areas and 1 district from the newly developing areas were be selected. Within each district, 3 urban wards (or sub-districts or clusters of sampling units) with observably high concentrations of spontaneous rural-urban migrant workers were be identified and selected. Since those migrants often come to work and live in the cities without household registration, field sites for data collection included not only residential houses but also boarding houses where migrants stay. This sampling strategy allowed us not only to locate this floating population but also to maximize migrant jobs and situations to be covered in the study.

In the second stage, at the selected wards, respondents were selected randomly and separately for the migrants and the non-migrants, or the local residents. We were interested in the adults aged between 15 and 50. Given the complexity of migration in Vietnam and our interests as stated in the specific objectives of the study, we were not interested in any type of migrants in the city but recent and rural-urban temporary migrants. We define non-migrants - the control group - as those who were born and who have a permanent household registration in the city under the study. Sampling frame for this group were generated by updating the household registration booklets and classifying them. A random procedure was used to select 'non-migrant households' and then 1 to 2 non-migrant respondents from each household were purposively selected for interview.

Migrants are those who came from a rural area within 6 months or less prior to the time of the interview and who do not have a permanent household registration in the city of destination. Some of them may show up in the registered households as friends or relatives, but their number from this source is most likely very small. The majority of them would instead be approached at boarding houses and work sites. A list of boarding houses and work sites was constructed as a sampling frame and a random procedure was used to select those sites. Then 1 to 4 respondents from each site (depending on the size of those sites) were selected purposively for the interview.[1] Previous studies showed that most of these migrants are found to be poor, vulnerable and marginalized to the mainstreams of the society, yet their labor is often needed in the expanding urban economies[2]. It is important to know that students, police and military forces were excluded from the sampling frame for migrants because of their distinctive features that may have strong but unpredictable effects on the findings.

In total, data collection were carried out in 4 districts and 12 sub-districts or wards in the two cities of Hanoi and Ho Chi Minh. Spatially these sub-districts were scattered throughout the city. An overall sample of approximately 1,200 migrants in about 800 sites (boarding houses and working sites) and 1,000 non-migrants from about 700 households were approached and interviewed. It means in each city, 750 'households' with 600 migrants and 500 non-migrants were be selected.

Two survey questionnaires were developed for collecting quantitative data from migrants and non-migrants. For the two groups of respondents, similar questions were asked regarding their demographic and social characteristics, occupations, working conditions, salaries and work-related

---

[1] We had to select the respondents purposively as we did not know distribution of the target population, i.e. we did not know the number of recent temporary migrants. The ultimate total number of respondents in each category was set by quota. Consequently, the data could not provide estimates of the number of recent temporary migrants. Our focus was on the comparative differentials between migrants and non-migrants.

[2] Dang Nguyen Anh. 2005. Internal Migration: Opportunities and Challenges for the Renovation and Development in Vietnam. Vietnam Asia-Pacific Economic Center. The Gioi Publisher: Hanoi, 2005.

welfares, as well as vocational training and job promotion. Here the hypothesis is that migrants are more likely to work in lower strata of the urban labor market at the study city. Some are in fact working in 3D-jobs which are refused by the local residents yet critically needed for the urban economy. Even when migrants and non-migrants are working in a same type of job, it is likely that migrants are receiving lower wages with little or no welfare, fewer chance for having training and job promotion, etc., compared to non-migrants. Other job-related critical issues including attitude of migrants and non-migrants to different jobs in the city, their job aspirations, and attitudes and behavior of non-migrants to migrants and vice versa were assessed.

Another important section of the questionnaires was the levels of migrants' consumption of public service versus that of non-migrants. Thus, questions regarding accessibility (allowed/not allowed; conditions to access) and the use of public services (use/not use; in/out of city; government/private; free/pay; high/low cost) such as health care, education, housing, and utilities (electricity, water, telephones etc.) were asked to both groups of the respondents. The hypothesis we wanted to test here was that migrants are consuming much less and with much higher prices for those services, thus are not posing a heavy pressure on the public services. Moreover, some migrants tend to move back to their hometown to access free or cheaper and affordable public services there. Comparing consumption data of the two groups would likely show that in general migrants' access to those services is very limited due to the fact that they are not considered as local residents and do not have household registration which is the precondition for receiving the services. In case they can buy the services, migrants are required to pay much higher prices.

The questionnaire for migrants also included questions relating to remittance sending behavior, its purposes, its relations to saving behaviors, the relation between remittance sending behavior and social network of migrants as well as their ties to that network, etc. Questions regarding both economic and social remittances were raised.

For the questionnaire of the non-migrants, besides the above questions, an additional KAP[3] section were included to explore their perceptions, attitudes and behaviors towards migrants. As being observed, urbanward migration has been appreciated by urban population who now receive wide array of products and especially services brought about by rural-urban exchange through migration. An important section of the urban middle class can even have their opportunity costs reduced with their recruitment of domestic workers. Migration to the cities also contributes to cultural diversity, making city urbanism rapidly increased. Clearly, there is a gap between government's dogmatism and societal perception towards the migrants. The study evidenced this gap through the analysis of empirical data.

The study also inquired into the issue of integration between the new comers and the local residents. In many countries, integration is thorny, particularly among different ethnics. In the context of Vietnamese urban places, the question is more of policy and institutional constraints. Once change in policies is made, integration will certainly increase, and the current situation of isolation and marginalization of the migrant communities from the main stream society will be improved. The study focused on the social base of isolation versus participation upon which policy implications can be drawn.

[3] Perceptions, Attitudes, and Practices.

CHAPTER II

RURAL-TO-URBAN MIGRATION PROCESS

Nguyen Thi Phuong Thao

Photo: Collected from the Internet

As discussed in the previous section, twenty years of Doi Moi have resulted in the country's significant achievements in economic and social transformations. However, beside figures reflecting the robust economic growth, widening gaps in development and wealth between regions and population groups have been increasingly recognized. Urban-rural disparity is also found to be among the most acute. The increase in migration from the countryside to the large urban centers clearly reflects this gap.

Research literature on rural-urban migration in the developing world often emphasizes the economic cause of the flow. Migration is considered to be a livelihood generation strategy of rural households in allocating labor in order to maximize income and minimize risks. In fact, in many poverty-stricken localities, migration comes out as the only viable option for rural households to survive livelihood deadlock (Dang, 2003). Yet migration is also an instrument for social upward mobility for rural population. The city represents economic and social opportunities that are not available in the countryside. Migration provides pathways for migrants to access these prospects in critical domains such as employment, education, and social capital.

In most circumstances, decision to migrate is not only of migrants themselves but a collective choice of household to send the most appropriate members to cities (De Jong and Gardner, 1981). Migration selectivity can thus be considered as a way of household labor investment for immediate economic outcomes. Yet, as this research shows, the impact of migration tends to be not only short but also long term.

This section depicts the urbanward migration process from a sub-set of rural population drawn from two migrant sending provinces of Thai Binh in the Red River Delta and Tien Giang in the Mekong River Delta. The section starts with an examination of migration decision making at the household and individual levels, then proceeds profiling the migrants in the migration selection process and ends up with a discussion of how the migrants were incorporated into life of the city.

2.1 PUSH AND PULL FACTORS IN MIGRATION DECISION MAKING

It should be noted that our sample excluded all children aged under 6 and people who moved to the city for schooling, as the major research question is about economic impact of migrant labor. Migrant household in this research is a household that has at least one member who lives and/or works in the city at the time of the interview. Non-migrant household is a household with no member who is a migrant as such described. By these definitions, our sample includes 1,702 migrants coming from 1,199 migrant households; and 671 non-migrant households.

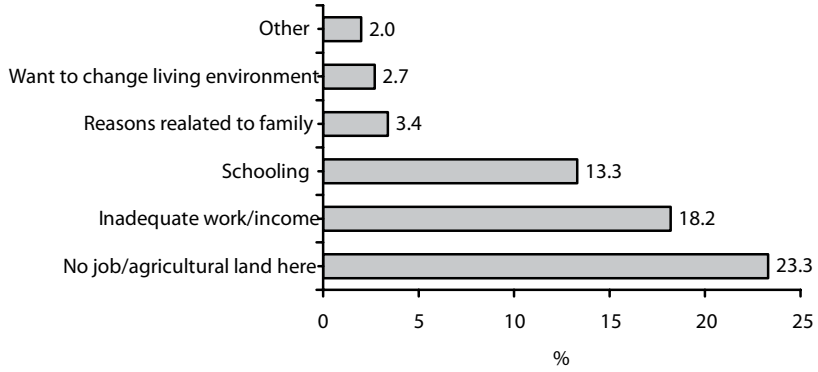
Migration decision in the Vietnamese rural setting is largely and collectively made by household adult members. The data drawn from MIS Survey provide a sketch of key reasons that motivated the households to send selected members to the city.

As we can see from Figure 1, more than a half of the migrants left their home villages for the city because they were not content with the works and the level of income they had had and expected to get better employment opportunities in the city. One in every four migrants left because of that the lack of sufficient cultivation land and/or chronic underemployment and unemployment. In combination, economic reasons explained 80% of the moved, thus should be considered as the major motive or purpose of migration.

Ranked second after economic reasons was schooling, accounting for 13.3% of the moves. Obviously education was not only a factor of selectivity as discussed above, it was also a reason for migration itself. In fact, many migrants have stayed after schooling to live and make their living in the city rather than go back to their places of origin, given the sustained and widening gaps in living conditions and opportunities between the urban and rural areas.

Other reasons for migration were minor, including various family matters (marriage, family reunion, live with relatives), accounting for 3.5% of the moves. A small number of the migrants (nearly 3%) left because of their desire to change their accustomed habitat for a new, supposedly more interesting, one in the city.

Figure 1: Reasons of migration



Comparison between the two sending provinces shows that the lack of employment and/or cultivation land explained for the move of a higher proportion of the migrants in Tien Giang (32.4%). This figure for Thai Binh was much lower, 14.3% (the differential between the two provinces is statistically significant with $p<0.05$ in Chi2 test). For Thai Binh, pendulum migration was found more common: many migrants did not stay in the city for a prolonged period of time but moved back and forth between sending and receiving areas. They continued to own their land and work in the agriculture, but moved to the city to find temporary jobs during the off seasons. This situation explained the lower proportion of the migrants whose move was caused by the lack of jobs and cultivation land in this province compared to Tien Giang. For the latter province, most migrants moved to work in industrial parks and processing zones. Their jobs were therefore more permanent and stable in nature compared to jobs of the temporary migrants in Thai Binh.

2.2 HOUSEHOLD'S MIGRATION SELECTIVITY

The predominant economic drive behind migration explained the way migration selection of household members to migrate was made. Worldwide, migration selectivity has been found along several key dimensions as the follows.

Sex

Migration for work is strongly structured by the economies at both sending and receiving areas; and the economic structures at the both ends are highly engendered, with more opportunities and other advantages ranging from labor market accessibility to financial remuneration or work-related welfares that favor males. As revealed in studies worldwide, more males are found as migrants compared to females, although a trend of feminization of migration is beginning to emerge, for example in Asia due to a shift in bussiness and mass production that practically need more female laborers. Indeed, gender norms prevailing in any society also affect the way labor in family is allocated. For example, for many societies including Vietnam, husband is often expected to be the "bread winner" while wife's position is largely reduced to domestic works and child rearing.

Table 1 presents the distribution of 1,702 rural-urban migrants in the MIS sample by sex. What we can see is that close to two third of the migrants (61.5%) were males. Comparison between the two sending provinces from which the MIS sample was drawn however shows a significant difference. While most of the migrants from Thai Binh were males (70.1%), for Tien Giang the percentage of male migrants accounted just slightly higher than that of female migrants, 52.2% versus 47.5% respectively (statistical test shows the differences are significant with $p<0.05$ in Chi 2 test).

Table 1: Percentage of migrants by gender

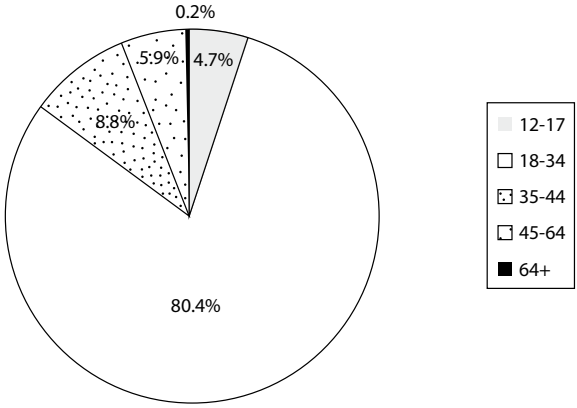
	Thai Binh	**Tien Giang**	**Total**
Male	70.09%	52.51%	61.46%
Female	29.91%	47.49%	38.54%
N	**866**	**836**	**1,702**

This sharp difference can be partly explained by looking at the occupational structure of the migrant sample (presented in another sub-section): more migrants from Tien Giang were employed in industrial parks and processing zones; these industries recruit much larger number of female workers; and more of them are located in the South. Evidence of this economic geography can be seen in a report released by the Department of Management of Industrial Parks and Export Processing Zone (Ministry of Planning and Investment): in May 2007, out of 90 industrial parks and processing zones across Vietnam, 60% were located in the South; 26% in the North; 14% in the Center. These enterprises employed mostly women, accounting for about 90% of their labor force, since assembly-line work does not require workers with high education and skills but those with diligence, submission, and acceptance of low pay, the characters often found among female workers (Mohammed L. A, 1998).

Age

Age is another dimension of migration selectivity. Figure 2 visualizes the distribution in ages of the rural-urban migrants in the MIS sample (it should be noted again that students and children aged 6 or less were excluded). The ages of the migrants ranged from 12, with the mean and the median were 27.2 and 25 respectively (see Table 2). Over 80% of the migrants were between 18 and 34 years old, which are indeed the most economically active ages. If we consider also higher age groups, then up to 90% of the migrants were between 18 and 44. It should also be noted that the data on ages of the migrants were collected at the time of the interview. It means that the ages at their first migration should be even younger. As commonly occurred in the developing world, migration for work takes place more often among relatively young population when they are considered to be at their most productive stage of their life cycle.

Figure 2: Age structure



There was a small group of child migrants aged from 12 to 17, accounting for about 5% of the total sample, or 79 people. Of this group, 78 worked for pay. Child labor is a consistent feature of the informal labor market where the labor law that requires minimum age for paid work is often not enforced. The cohort aged between 45 and 64 accounted for another 5%; and less than 0.25% of the migrants aged over 65.

Table 2: Mean and median of ages of the migrants

	Male	**Female**	**Total**
Mean	28.06	25.91	27.23
Median	26	24	25

Although more males were found among the migrants, the females were likely to migrate at the younger ages (Table 2). The proportion of the female migrants aged less than 25 was higher than that of the male migrants, 55.4% compared to 42.4% respectively (this difference is statistically significant at $p<0.05$ in Chi2 test). More specifically, the median of the female migrants' ages was 2 years less than that of the male migrants, or 24 versus 26 (age difference between the two groups is statistically significant with $p<0.05$ in Mann-Whitney test). This differential has been explained in some previous

studies as being due to the association between age of migration and age of marriage (migrants, both males and females, tend to migrate when being single; and marriage age of females is often younger than that of males) (GOS, 2006). In addition, some other research suggest that females often have more economic responsibilities to their family earlier than males and this is another explaining factor of age differentials between the two groups of the migrants in this study. Thus, although men continue to be the bread-winner for the family, the economic role of women has significantly increased.

Marital status

Marriage can have dual impact on migration possibility. On the one hand, people can be tied to their spouse and children, thus are less willing to migrate. On the other hand, having a family to support is a strong impetus to go. For the migrants in the MIS sample, by the time of the interview two third of them (or 67%) remain single (Table 3). Compared to the male group, the female migrants who were single accounted for higher proportion, 70.8% versus 64.8% respectively; and this differential is statistically significant with $p<0.05$ in Fisher's exact test. Thus, while marriage is identified as a factor preventing mobility of people, it is more likely so for females than for male. In the Vietnamese social context, married women are expected to devote most of their time to family, particularly in child rearing. Unmarried women can go to the city to make a living for themselves and their family. Given the average marriage age for women in the countryside is about 21 or 22, the very high proportion of female migrants who were single (at the time of the interview) suggests that migration, or economic needs, was a factor that significantly delayed marriage among those women.

Table 3: Marital status of the migrants

	Male	**Female**	**Total**
Never married	64.78%	70.80%	66.82%
Married	34.35%	27.18%	31.59%
Other	0.86%	2.75%	1.59%
N	**1,045**	**655**	**1,700**

For the males, marriage is less likely to be an inhibiting factor of migration. As shown in this table, one in every three male migrants in the MIS sample was a married man. But because the migrants were found mostly among the young cohorts, a much higher proportion of men (65%) were single at the time of the interview.

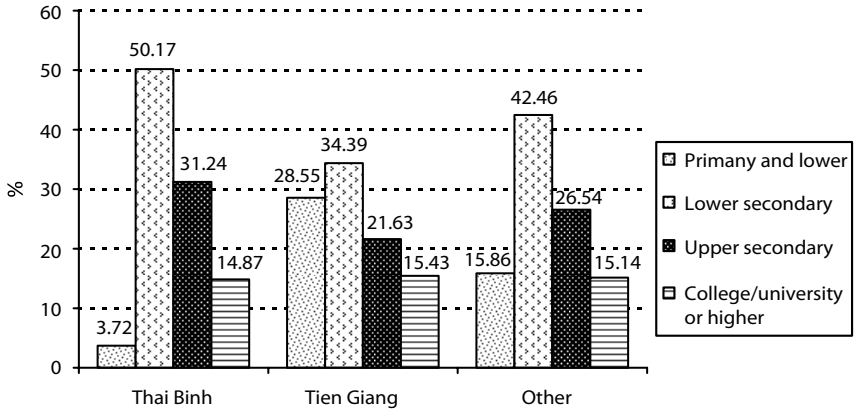
Although very few migrants were divorced or separated (1.6%), more females than males fell into this category. By design, this cross-sectional study does not tell us whether family break-down took place before or during migration. Yet, it is clear that women should have heavier economic responsibilities once being divorced or separated, and migration is likely to be a viable option for their strategy of livelihood generation.

Education

Educational attainment of the migrants in this research is measured by the total number of school years and the highest level of educational attainment. We found that in overall the migrants were relatively well educated. As demonstrated in the data, the migrants spent 9.5 years in average for schooling. Nearly 70% of the migrants had completed lower secondary education level or even higher. Over one fifth of the migrants had completed upper secondary level; and there were 15.4% of them having higher education level (vocational schools and/or college) (Figure 3).

Clearly, besides age, sex and marital status, education is another dimension of migration selectivity. Studies worldwide on migration consistently point out that education attainment of migrants is likely higher than that of non-migrants. The 2004 Migration Survey undertaken in Vietnam by the General Statistics Office with technical support from the United Nations Fund for Population Activities (UNFPA) provided similar findings. Migration is far from the option of the poorest and the most disadvantaged populations. Migration capacity requires certain social and human capitals in which education is an important asset. People with higher education generally have more mobility options and livelihood opportunities. In addition, better educated individuals often desire higher social upward mobility and they are more likely to migrate in order to improve their socioeconomic situation.

Figure 3: Education attainment



Comparison between the two sending provinces shows that in general the migrants in Tien Giang had attained lower education than their counterparts in Thai Binh. Specifically, while the percentage of the migrants having education attainment of primary level or lower in Tien Giang was quite high, 28.6%, in Thai Binh this figure was just less than 4% (this differential is found statistically significant at $p<0.05$ in Chi2 test). Indeed, this sharp contrast between the two sending provinces only reflects the broader historically and culturally-induced situation in which the overall level of education of the general population in the North is higher than those of the South, as reflected for example in the national population census (1989, 1999, 2009). Various cultural studies suggest that the society in the North put very high value for education; and the region's system of schools ranging from the primary to higher education has been more developed than in the South. For the whole sample, however, the relatively high percentage of the migrants with only primary educational level or even lower (15%) mean that they were a disadvantaged group in the urban labor market as employment opportunities for them were largely confined to precarious low-paid jobs in the unprotected informal sector. Employment of the migrant sample is discussed in more details in the other sub-section.

Health

About 98% of the migrants in the sample had "good" or "very good" health status as subjectively reported. Health is another distinctive dimension of migration selectivity. It is often the case that household members with better health are more likely to migrate. In addition, since migration is among household strategies for livelihood generation, in order to reduce risks, healthier members are preferred to be sent to seek employments in the city.

Nevertheless, once the age selectivity is controlled, rural-urban migrants do not have health that is as good as that of city residents due to many reasons such as better living conditions, higher income, better health care services and health care seeking behaviors of the latter group (Nguyen, 2004). Migrants, particularly new comers who are unskilled laborers often face many hardships in employment and living conditions that negatively affect their health. In addition, migrants to the city face many institutional obstacles regarding accessibility to social services, including health care. Also, high costs for health care prevent many low-income migrants to seek services. In combination, all these factors are detrimental to health of migrants in both short and long terms.

Family relationship

Table 4 presents the relationship of the migrants to the household heads. Within the family, household heads' children who were in their active working ages were most appropriate members to work away from home. Data from the survey show over 80% of the migrants were children of the household heads. Indeed, the household heads who were males and relatively young were also likely to go (10% of the migrants were the household heads). In the context of Vietnam, a household head is often a family decision maker and a key "bread winner". Income generation for family is also household head's responsibilities. In addition, gender roles and power favoring men over women mean that household heads are often male (over 80% of household heads in this study were men). Married women should bear more responsibilities towards domestic works and child care.

Table 4: Relationship of migrants with the household head

	Thai Binh	Tien Giang	Male	Female	Total
Household head	15.1%	3.7%	14.6%	1.4%	9.5%
Spouse of HH	4.0%	2.3%	1.5%	5.8%	3.2%
Child	74.8%	84.7%	80.5%	78.4%	79.7%
Son/daughter-in-law	5.1%	3.5%	0.3%	10.6%	4.3%
Other	1%	5,8%	3.1%	3.8%	3.3%
N	**866**	**836**	**1,046**	**656**	**1,702**

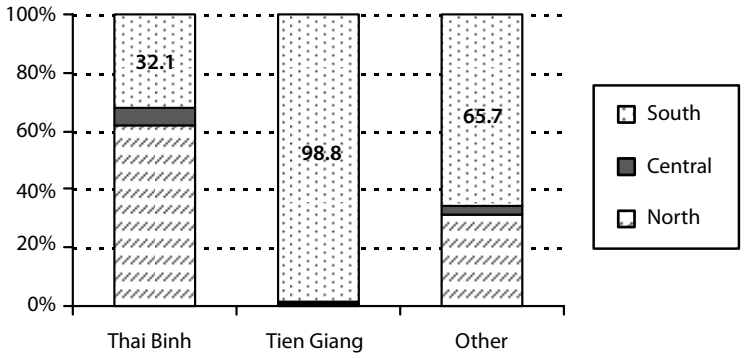
In short, as a collective decision, the rural households in the MIS study often sent members who were young, or relatively young, single, with relatively good education and good health to work in the city. The best household labor was therefore allocated to the city for expected highest returns. In the next sub-section, we will see how the selected household members were incorporated into the city's labor market.

2.3 ARRIVING AND WORKING IN THE CITY

Destination

Figure 4 provides information of the place of residence of the migrants in the MIS sample by the time of the interview. We can see that the South was the major region of destination of the migrants. Not to mention almost all people from Tien Giang, which is in the South, but nearly a half of the migrants from Thai Binh, which is in the North, were residing in the South at the time of the interview. As mentioned earlier, the South has a high concentration of industrial parks and processing zones that recruit large number of workers; the region has the largest urban center, the Ho Chi Minh City; employment opportunities in both private and informal sectors are more abundant; southern climate is more friendly; and southern society is more open, receptive of new comers and cultural diversity. Ho Chi Minh City is the destination of the majority of the intra-regional and inter-regional migrants to the South. For migration in the North, like Ho Chi Minh City, Hanoi was the major destination. As being documented in other research, surveys and national censuses, these two urban centers are the largest magnets of the migratory flows from the countryside.

Figure 4: Place of destination



Time length of stay

According to Dang (2006), migrants often make their first move during the years of their twentieth. Similar findings can be found in this study as the median and the mean of ages of the migrants at their first migration was 20 and 21.8 respectively. More than a half of the migrants had their first migration three years prior to the time of the MIS interview; and about one fifth of them made the first move five years prior to the time of the interview. Clearly, many migrants in this study had considerable migration experiences, and this significantly improved their well-being as well as their capacity to support their left-behind families.

Table 5: Time length of stay in the city of the migrants

	Thai Binh	**Tien Giang**	**Total**
Less than 1 month	5.1%	4.1%	4.6%
1 to less than 6 months	16.2%	12.9%	14.6%
6 months to less than 1 year	11.2%	10.5%	10.9%
1 to less than 3 years	32.5%	24.3%	28.5%
Three 3 years or longer	35.1%	48.3%	41.5%
N	**810**	**762**	**1,572**

Table 5 presents in details the time length of stay in the city of the migrants. In general, the majority of the migrants stayed extended time in the city. Over 70% of the migrants had stayed in the city over one year by the time of the interview; and one in every four migrants had lived in the city for over five years prior to the time of the survey. These figures reflect the strong pull of the cities as lands of livelihood opportunities for the rural population.

However, it should be stressed that the migrants worked mostly in low-paid economic sectors. Their income in the city were likely higher that what they could earn in their origin areas, but in most cases were just enough for their survival with some remittances to send home.

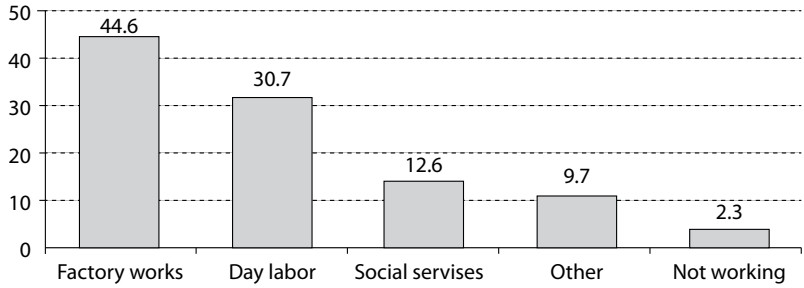
Table 5 also presents differentials in time length of stay of the migrants by province of origin. The proportion of migrants who had stayed in the city for less than one year was higher in Thai Binh than in Tien Giang, 32.5% versus 27.6% respectively. In contrast, the proportion of migrants staying in the city for more than 3 years was much higher in Tien Giang compared to Thai Binh, 48.3% versus 35.1%. These differentials are all statistically significant at $p<0.05$ in Chi2 test. Comparison of the median of time length of stay in the city of the migrants also shows that those from Tien Giang stayed longer than their counterparts from Thai Binh, or 3 years compared to 2 years (the difference is statistically significant at $p<0.05$ in Mann-Whitney test). These findings are consistent with what discussed earlier: the migrants from Tien Giang mostly worked in industrial parks, thus having more stable jobs, compared to the migrants from Thai Binh who more likely to be temporary migrants.

Occupations

As evidenced internationally, unequal socioeconomic development, especially the gap in income is the major driving of migration from rural areas to urban areas. The city provides more ample employment opportunities and chances, and income including wage is often much higher than what migrants can make at their back-home community. Yet, for migrants in general, the process that situates them in the urban economy is by no mean easy as most find themselves being trapped in certain cycles of urban poverty and the bottom layer of the local labor market.

Figure 5 presents the occupational structure in which the migrants in this study were employed. Jobs that accounted for the highest number of the migrants were factory works, day labor, and services, composing of 44.6%, 30.7% and 12.6% of the migrants respectively. Specifically, for the group of the migrant workers, over 50% were employed in garment and shoe industries, 20% in machinery and electronics, 10% in food processing and frozen goods; the rest worked in goods production such as plastics, carpentry, or paint production, etc. Most of the migrant workers were employed in chain production which is more suitable for females. This confirms the previous findings of the feminization trend in the migration flows towards industrial parks and processing zones.

Figure 5: Occupational structure



Despite the migration selectivity that likely selected the most capable members of the rural families to leave for urban jobs, the human capital of the migrants remained low, creating barriers for their accessibility to higher-paid skilled works. More than a half of the migrants in the MIS study could only find job in the informal sector. More specifically, over one fifth of the migrants worked as construction workers, mostly in small teams organized by a private individual contractor; cook, waiters or cleaners in restaurants (over 10%); daily-recruited porters or various types of manual labor (13%); the rest were motorbike drivers, domestic workers, gate keepers, etc. A considerable proportion of the migrants worked in jobs that were physically heavy (construction; pottering) and outdoor (construction sites, open market, on streets).

Beside the common situation where the migrants had no other option but the so-called 3D jobs (difficult, dirty and dangerous), about 10% of the migrants found employments in social services such as medicines, teaching, engineering, accounting, or office administration. Migration thus provided both unskilled and skilled human resources for the expanding urban economy, contributing to the rapid growth of the cities and urbanization process.

Figure 5 also shows that about 2% of the migrants were not working. Of this group, the majority was housewives (28 out of 39 people); the rest comprised of those who were searching for jobs; those who were retired or those who lost their work capacity. Increasingly many wives of the migrants followed their husbands to the city. Upon arrival, they

continued to do domestic chores while some were actively finding ways to increase household income. In so doing, they helped reducing costs of being geographically dislocated while increasing the total income for their families. Their adaptability and flexibility to the unfamiliar urban setting was impressive, reflecting the dynamism of migration process in today Vietnam.

Figure 6: Sectors of employment

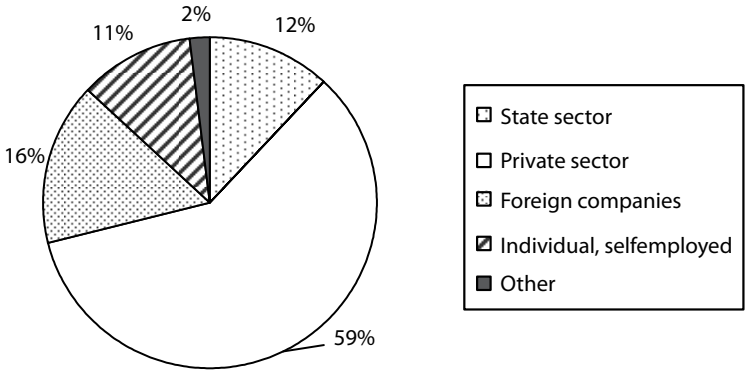
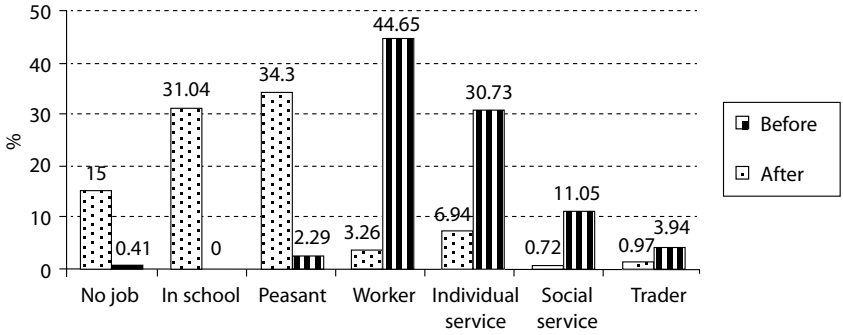


Figure 6 illustrates the sectors of employment of the migrants in the study. As we can see, only 12% of the migrants were able to get jobs in the state sector. Migrants working in this sector comprised those who were teachers, engineers, office workers, doctors… as above described. Nearly 60% of the migrants were employed by the private sector such as company, private workshops; 16% worked for companies with foreign investments such as industrial parks. More than one tenth of the migrants were self-employed, day laborers, street vendors, barbers, or hired motorbike drivers, etc.

Compared to Tien Giang, the percentage of the migrants employed in the state sector in Thai Binh was higher, 14% versus 10%. Two reasons explain this differential. First, because the migrants from Thai Binh had a relatively higher level of educational attainment, chances for them to get employment in the state sector was higher. Second, having state employment is often highly valued by people in the North. As such, people would take

any opportunity in order to get into the state sector. This attitude is much less common in the South. In addition, Tien Giang's geographical location allows greater access to employments in industrial parks and processing zones, particularly those located near Ho Chi Minh City and in Binh Duong province which is one of the most industrialized provinces in the country. Data of this study show a considerably higher proportion of the migrants in Binh Duong working for foreign invested companies, compared to that of Thai Binh, 20% versus 11% respectively, and this difference is statistically significant ($p<0.05$ in Chi2 test).

Figure 7: Employment before and after migration



The economic drive of migration is also reflected in the change of occupational structures before and after the first migration. As shown in Figure 7, the percentage of the migrants having no job dropped from 15% to below 0.5%. There was a remarkable shift of employment from agriculture to factory works, services, self-employed and other non-agricultural jobs. Another important transformation was the relatively high proportion of the migrants doing business in the cities. Clearly, migration to the city provided many economic benefits and occupational progression for the migrants themselves, and part of these benefits were transferred by the migrants to their left-behind families and home communities. This issue is the focus of the next section.

CHAPTER III

IMPACT OF MIGRATION ON RURAL PLACE OF ORIGIN

Tran Giang Linh & Nguyen Thi Phuong Thao

Photo: Vu Thi Thanh Nhan

The impact of migration can be found multiple at several levels ranging from migrant themselves, their families, their peers, home/host communities and other higher levels such as nation and internationally. For this section, we focus only on the impact of migration and migrants on their left-behind family and community of origin. Impact is assessed both in economic and social terms. In the next section, the impact is examined for the host communities at the place of destination in the city.

3.1 IMPACT ON MIGRANTS AND LEFT-BEHIND HOUSEHOLDS

3.1.1 Opinions of family members on the impact of migration

Impact on the household

In the survey, the interviewers asked the respondents (2,088 members of both migrant and non-migrant households) about their (subjective) assessment of the overall impact of migration on migrants themselves and migrant households. Table 6 lists their responses. In general, the majority of the respondents (81.3%) considered, albeit subjective, that migration has positive impact on the migrants themselves, with more respondents from the migrant households considered so, 84.2% compared to 75.7% of the respondents from the non-migrant households (the differential is statistically significant with $p<0.05$ in Chi2 test).

Assessment of migration impact was however differed regarding sex of migrants. More respondents thought that the impact is positive for male migrants than those who thought the impact is positive for female migrants (81.2% versus 75.5%). Due to the common view of the society on the prescribed role of women, i.e. women should be at home to work on domestic chores, women who migrate tend to be viewed negatively. The city life is deemed to have harmful influence on migrant women. The participation of women, many of them are migrants, in entertainment sector, including sex work, further augments this view.

Table 6: Percentages of repondents viewing migration have positive impacts

	Migrant households members	Non-migrant household members	Both
On migrants	84.2%	75.7%	81.3%
On male migrants	83.8%	76.2%	81.2%
On female migrants	79.1%	68.5%	75.5%
On migrant households	84.2%	78.6%	82.4%
On family of male migrants	83.9%	77.3%	81.7%
On family of female migrants	77.5%	72.3%	75.7%

Similarly, when being asked about the overall impact of migration on the migrant households, most of the respondents gave positive answers, more for households of male migrants (81.7%) than those of female migrants (75.7%). In overall, more respondents of the migrant households considered migration to have positive impact on both migrants and their families than the respondents from the non-migrant households.

Table 7 depicts the subjective assessments of the respondents on the impact of migration on specific areas of the household well-being, namely household income, living condition, education and health of household members as well as the social status of the families.

Table 7: Percentages of respondents viewing migration have positive impacts on household's well-being

	Migrant households members	Non-migrant household members	Both
Household income	89.6%	85.4%	88.1%
Living conditions	77.4%	68.7%	78.4%
Education of household members	44%	46%	44.7%
Health of household members	41.7%	37.1%	40.1%
Household social status	31.9%	27.7%	30.4%

In general, most of the positive assessments were about income and living conditions, thus emphasizing mostly migration economic impact. This finding is consistent with that of migration research worldwide. Most of the studies on migration impact focus on household income and the contribution of remittance. Migration is often considered to be a part of household economic strategy. The household strategy (Stark and Bloom, 1985), for example, views migration as being integral to household economic calculation to maximize income and minimize economic risks in order to improve economic status of households.

Impact of migration regarding education and health was less positive, with two contrasting views: about less than a half of the respondents were positive while the other half were negative. Similarly, the health impact of migration (on household members who stayed at home) was viewed as positive by only 40% of the respondents.

The respondents were also asked about their assessment of migration impact on other social matters in order to have a comprehensive understanding of how migration impact was perceived by the family. Most of the studies of migration in Vietnam ignore non-economic impact of migration.

Based on the approach that examines the relationship between migrants and left-behind family members proposed by Van Hear (1998), we collected subjective opinions of the respondents on the issues that were matter to parents when children migrated; to husbands/wives when wives/husbands migrated; and to children when fathers/mothers migrated.

Table 8 presents the percentages of the respondents who were agreed with a number of statements below listed. Thus, over 60% of the respondents agreed with the statement that "children migration makes parents work harder". Nearly 80% of the respondents agreed that "children migration makes parents worried"; yet 70% consent that "children migration makes parents happy". The mixed feeling of happy and worry was real for parents as on the one hand they saw their children now have more opportunities yet were worried about various problems may happen to their children.

Table 8: Percentage of respondents agreed with statements on migration of children

Children migration makes parents much worried	78.3%
Children migration makes parents happy	68.8%
Children migration makes parents work harder	61.8%
Children migration makes parents work less hard	37.6%

One serious concern about migration was about the faithfulness of husbands and wives towards their spouses. Some previous research documents a rather common view that migrants are at high risk of engaging in social vices (Tran Xuan Cau, 2006; Uy ban cac van de xa hoi cua quoc hoi, 2005). The relationship between migration and HIV is due to the dislocation of migrants away from families, friends and social network and support at home communities (Hirsh, 2002). Phinney (2008) also shows that wives of migrants have risks of contracting HIV from their husbands as condom was rarely used in their sexual relation. In addition to research, the mass media also focus on negative side of migration such as poverty and social vices. However, it is important to realize that migrants do not form a homogenous group; thus the link between migration and HIV should not be considered as being conclusive.

Table 9: Percentage of respondents agreed with statements on migration of husbands and wives

Wives/husbands are concerned of faithfulness of migrating spouse	69.1%
Wives/husbands of migrants have to work harder	87.1%
Wives/husbands of migrants have higher socioeconomic status	35.3%

Regarding to labor allocation or division within the family, most of the respondents thought that left-behind spouses tended to work more on domestic chores when their husbands or wives migrated. Because most of the Vietnamese households are nuclear families with husband and wives with or without children, the absence of a spouse means the other have to be responsible more on domestic works. In a sense, for the case of migrants who are wives, this contributes to changes in gender roles in which men find themselves doing tasks that previously confine to women only, such as cooking, washing, child rearing etc. At the same time, increased economic contribution of women who migrate significantly improve their economic status in family and community, thus helping to these changes.

Table 10: Percentage of respondents agreed with statements on impact of migration on children

	Mother migrated	**Father migrated**
Provision of better conditions for education	22.4%	40.7%
More healthy	21.3%	40.5%
Better access to health care service	27.2%	42.4%
More domestic works	77.1%	66.2%
More negative conducts	55.7%	44.3%
Become hot tempered	41.8%	32.5%

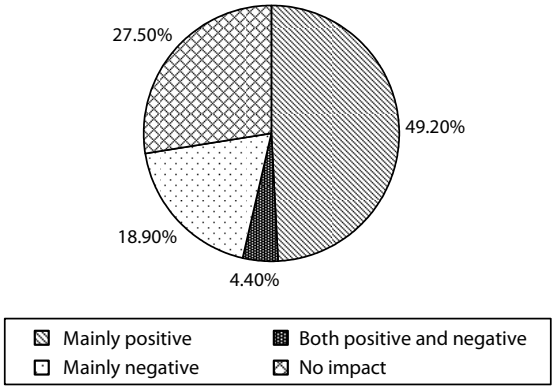
Regarding the impact of migration on the children (of the migrants), in this research we focus on issues of education, health, work and psychological development of this group of the left-behind. Findings show that more respondents considered migration to be having negative impact than positive one (Table 10). For example, children had to work more on domestic works, became hot tempered, tended to have negative conducts, while the impact on better education, health and health care services remained limited.

We also differentiate the impact on children when their mothers migrated versus when their fathers migrated. The data show that migration of the mothers had less positive impact and more negative impact than the migration of the fathers. For example, children whose mothers migrated faced more difficulties than those whose father migrated (in doing domestic works, 76% versus 66%; have more negative conducts, 55% versus 44%; hot tempered, 41% versus 32%). Also, the former group also had less positive impact than the latter (better education, 22% versus 40%; healthy, 21% versus 40%; better access to health care services, 27% versus 42%). Clearly, for children the role of mothers in providing close care is more crucial; thus their migration can exert some negative effects on the left-behind children.

Impacts on the community

At the community level, our examination focuses on the opinions of the respondents on the impact of migration on the socioeconomic development of the sending communities. Figure 8 visualizes the responses of the respondents. Half of the respondents (49.2%) viewed migration as having positive impact; about 27% of the respondents thought migration had no impact; one fifth of the respondents believed that migration had negative impact; and a minority of 4% of the viewed that migration had both positive and negative impact.

Figure 8: Assessement about impact of migration on socioeconomic development of sending communities



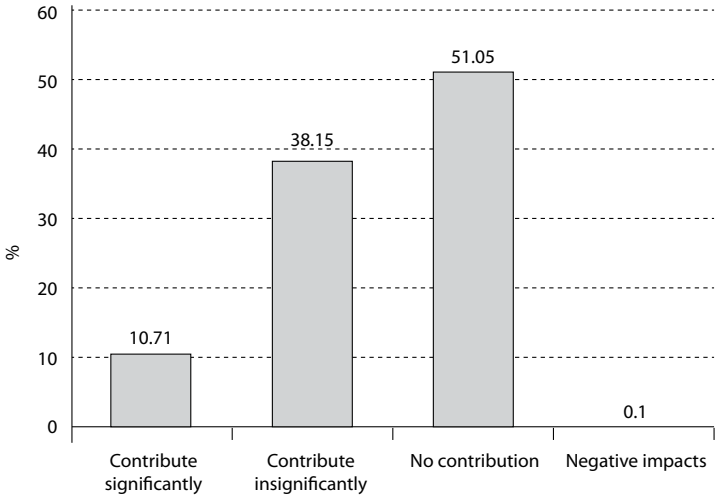
In fact, it is very difficult to assess the actual impact of migration on the community if the information is based only on the subjective opinions of the community people. Here we need to have better measurements that should be buttressed with insights from qualitative inquiries. Some previous studies already provided evidences of positive contributions of migration on poverty reduction at sending areas though the improvement in living standards of migrant households (GSO, 2004; Dang Nguyen Anh, 2005). Yet, these studies could only measure the impact at the household level rather than the community one.

Figure 9: Assessement about impact of migration on public safety in sending communities

In order to understand in more details the impact of migration on the sending communities, we asked the respondents to provide their opinions on the matters of community safety, local economy, and social development. Figure 9 presents the views of the respondents on the impact of migration on the local public safety. The majority of the opinions (over 70%) were that migration did not result in any increase of misdemeanors in the sending communities. Still, about one fifth of the respondents believed that migrants when returning home would bring with the so-called urban social vices, most notably drug use (24.2%), sex work (19%), theft (19%), public disorder (20.3%). Given the common messages conveyed through the mass media on migrants as a source of "social evils", it is likely that these negative opinions of the respondents are caused by media impact rather than based on factual observations. Already, some research studies have shown that not migrants themselves but migration of parents create some conditions for children to engage in social vices.

Opinions of the respondents on the impact of migration on the local economy are also encouraging with about a half thought that the migrants contributed in some ways, with 10.7% considered the contribution were significant.

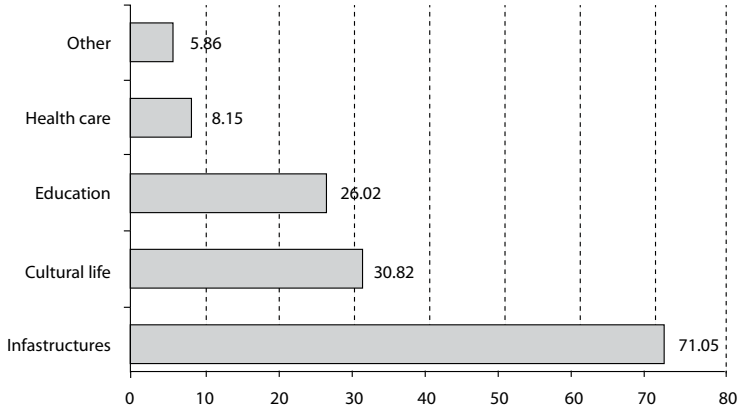
Figure 10: Assessment of contribution of migrants on local economies



So far, the government and the national mass media have only mentioned of the economic contribution of international migrants (oversea Vietnamese or international labor migrants) with data of remittances, while contributions of internal migrants have been neglected (IOM, 2005; Skeldon, 2006). In fact, there is no national estimate of the money sent home by internal migrants. In addition, impacts of internal migration are primarily known at the family level, while those at the higher level are hard to assess. However, it is not difficult to realize that remittances sent home make it possible for families to improve their living conditions and standards, build new houses, invest in education and health care as well as in various economic activities. These impacts would certainly help the overall development of sending communities, albeit in a more indirect pathway.

Figure 11 lists the opinions of the respondents on specific contributions of the migrants on the local socioeconomic development. Over 70% of the respondents saw the migrants contributing to improve infrastructure of the communities. About one third of the respondents thought the migrants helped to enrich the cultural life of the communities. One fifth of the respondents agreed that the migrants contributed to education through giving money to education promotion funds. Nearly one tenth of the opinions were about the contribution of the migrants in health care. A minority of 5% of the respondents mentioned of the contributions in other matters such as charity or support of family clans.

Figure 11: Assessment on migrant's areas of contribution



Some other research also pointed out significant contribution of migration to poverty alleviation programs at sending areas. The 2004 Migration Survey (GSO, 2004) revealed that about a half of migrants sent remittances home in the last 12 months prior to the survey; and two third of them sent over 1 million dong. If we considered the size of migrant population (6.6 millions according to 2009 Census), we can roughly estimate the amount of money sent home by migrants nationwide. Indeed, the actual figure must be much higher, as the 2009 Census did not include the number of temporary migrants, estimated to be over 10 millions (Le Bach Duong et al., 2005).

Qualitative insights can also provide evidence of the contribution of migrants to the communities. For example, during the fieldwork of the MIS survey in Thai Binh province, in all communities that the researchers visited, stories of successful entrepreneurs who were migrants and contributed to the communities were proudly told. For instance, one entrepreneur donated to one billion dollar (about 60,000USD) to build the commune war cemetery. Migrants not only remit but also open economic opportunities for local labor force through various development projects at home communities.

As discussed so far, evidences from the MIS survey show impact of migration and the migrants at levels of community, household and the migrants themselves. The following sub-sections will discuss in details the issue of remittances in order to unpack much more the contribution of migration.

3.2 REMITTANCES AND THEIR DETERMINANTS

The objectives of this sub-section are threefold. First, since remittances are documented in many studies as one central factor in the migration-development nexus, we analyze the receipt of remittances among migrant-sending households, particularly factors that likely affect the amount of remittances sent home by the migrants. Second, we examine the extent to which migration and remittances affected the household welfare. At a broader level, we are interested in the extent to which migration and remittances transformed the local income distribution among the households at the sending communities. Finally, we focus on analyzing how remittance-receiving households used remittances. One way to do that is to compare expenditure patterns between remittance-receiving households (recipient households thereafter) and non-remittance-receiving households (non-recipient households) as well as between migrant households and non-migrant households.

For the purpose of clarity, for this section we examine the information on migration impact collected only at the migrant households whose migrant members were working with income at the time of the interview. Households whose migrant members were seeking for a job at the time of the interview were excluded from our analysis. As such, the sub-sample used for the analysis in this section consists of 1,199 migrant households of 1,691 migrants.

3.2.1 Types and monetary values of remittances

Findings of the MIS survey show that the majority of the migrant households (73.5%) reported having received money or goods remitted by their migrant members working in the cities during the past 12 months prior to the time of the survey. As discussed in the previous section, the lack of cultivation land and income generating opportunities make migration to be a viable option for many rural households regarding their livelihood generation strategy. Given the steady needs for cash to pay for various economic and social services that families utilized, remittances from migrants formed a critical financial source to cover those expenses.

Table 11: Types of remittances

Money	88.5%
Goods	9.6%
Both money and goods	1.9%
N	**877**

Not surprisingly, the migrants from our sample mostly sent remittances in the form of cash rather than goods. Up to 88.5% of the households received money only, while the percentage of those who received remittances in kind or both in cash and in kind was very small, 9.6% and 1.9% respectively (Table 11). Similar findings regarding high prevalence of remittance receipt can also be found in other studies on migration in Vietnam. For example, using nationally representative data of the Vietnam Living Standard Surveys (VLSS) of 2002 and 2004, Nguyen (2008) found similarly high proportions of migrant households who received remittances from their members (78.2% in VLSS 2002 and 86.3% in VLSS 2004).

One in fourth migrant households (or 26.5%), however, received nothing from their members living in the city during the past 12 months. The main reason explained was that migrant members were not able to send (83%), rather than the households were in no need for cash (just 9%).

In average, the recipient households were remitted 4.08 million Dong (slightly more than 200 USD) from their migrant members during the last 12 months. Yet when looking at the range of remittance values, as presented in Table 12, we can see that although over a half of the recipient households received less than 5 million Dong in the past 12 month, one in four recipient households received from 5 to about 10 million Dong (200-500USD) and one in every five households were remitted more than 10 million Dong. For many rural households, these amounts of money were considerable compared to what they could make in agricultural works.

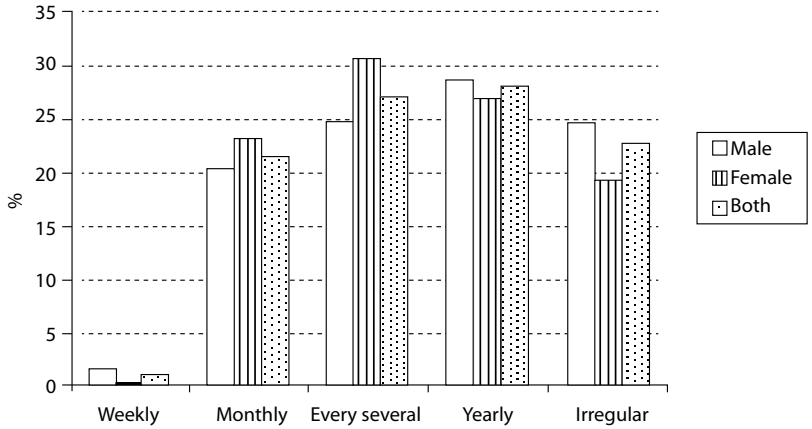
Table 12: Amount of remittances in the past 12 months

Less than 1 million Dong	13.1%
From 1 to less than 5 million Dong	40.0%
From 5 to less than 10 million Dong	25.6%
From 10 million and more	21.4%
N	**758**

Survey results also reveal that in average the migrants started to send money/goods back home after 10 months after their departure for the city. Clearly, as most of the migrants could only find low-paid jobs in the informal sector, and they often had to cover expenses for their initial settlement in the city after arrival, their ability to save and remit home was quite limited. The average amount that they remitted home the first time was just 1.37 million VN dongs (about 60USD).

Figure 12 shows the frequency that the migrants sent remittances home. Most of the migrants sent money and/or goods regularly, ranging from every week (only 1% of the migrants could do so), every month (21.4% of the migrants), every several months (27%) once to several times a year (28%). These figures show the high need of the rural households to get cash support from their migrant members. A number of the migrants (22.6%), however, did not send money home in a regular manner, reflecting for most cases their incapacity to get regular income. Although the frequencies of sending remittances were relatively similar for both the male and the female migrants, the latter group tended to remit home more regularly than the former. In the study we found that male migrants were more likely to remit after they had saved a relatively large amount of money.

Figure 12: Frequency of sending remittances



Most of the migrants did not send remittances to their relatives through banking system. Specifically, over two third of the migrants brought money/goods home during their visits. About 16.3% of the migrants asked their relatives or friends who were in the city with them to bring money home; and 15.6% sent remittances through transfer services.

3.2.2 Determinants of remittances

Regarding key determinants of remittances at the individual and household levels, our analysis is generally framed by two of the dominant theories namely *altruism* and *self-interest*. Glytsos (2001: 253) points to "a demand and supply scheme" of remittance determination in which the supply side is "the ability of the migrant to remit" and the demand side is "the claim of the family on the migrant's income". Therefore, in order to understand the economic impact of internal migration and remittances on sending families, it is necessary to explore the determinants of remittances from the perspective of the individual migrants, as well as in the context of their family of origin. We thus developed a multivariate analysis to examine how the migrants' characteristics and their circumstances at the place of destination as well as the characteristics of their origin households influence their remitting behaviors.

Table 13 gives a description of all the variables used in our regression analysis. The selection of predictors was based on the existing literature on migration and remittances that is relevant to the Vietnamese context.

The dependent variable for this analysis is the total monetary amounts of remittances (including both in cash and in kind) that a migrant sent home during the past 12 months prior to the survey. The average amount of remittances is approximately five million dongs for the total sample.

Our multivariate analysis includes two sets of predictors:

First, a set of individual-level variables accounting for the migrant's characteristics and living conditions in the place of destination, including the migrant's age, sex, marital status, educational level, position in the household (household head or not), place of origin (Thai Binh or Tien Giang), whether the migrant resided in a large city[4] , the migrant's[5] current occupation, whether the migrant worked for informal sectors, and duration of stay in the destination. We hypothesize that migrants who are older, male, married, better educated, household head, originated from Thai Binh, lived and worked in a large city, worked in the formal sector, and had a longer duration at the place of destination were more likely to remit larger amounts of remittances.

Being male, older and better educated should give migrants richer social capital, thus contributing to earning of higher income than being female, young, and less educated. A hypothesis of a positive relationship between the amounts remitted and the educational level of migrants is also guided by the self-interest approach which employed by Poirine. According to what Poirine calls "an informal loan agreement" or "contractual relations between household and migrant", a migrant remits in order to repay his or her earlier resources that his or her family invested in his or her education

[4] A large city is defined as a city under the central government, opposed to medium/small city, town or rural areas.

[5] Unfortunately, this survey data do not have information about migrant's registration status, migrant's earnings, living conditions at the destination, ect. which may affect remittance-sending behaviors of migrants.

(Glytsos, 2001). Migrants who are married and household head should be more likely to remit more due to their stronger ties and responsibility with those who are left behind. Migrants who live in a large city have more opportunities to find better jobs and earn higher incomes. Theoretically, migrants who work in formal sectors should have more secured and stable jobs than those working in informal sectors hence would be more likely to send more money home. We include duration of stay at the destination as a control variable. Based on the past research on remittance sending patterns, we hypothesize that there should be an increase in amounts of remittances after a few years of stay, and a decline as the stay extends. On the average, the surveyed households in the MIS study had members migrating to work in the cities for nearly four years.

Second, the household-level variables measuring the relative need of the migrant households for remittances, including the total number of household members (excluding the number of the migrants), the number of rural-urban migrants, perceived household economic status, as well as the perceived strength of social ties between the family and their migrant members, including money/goods sent to migrant members, and the number of migrants' home visits.

Past research studies show that the likelihood and the amount of remittances increase with the number of family members living in the place of origin due to a greater need (Knowles & Anker 1981). As suggested by the altruism theory of remittance-sending behavior, the amount remitted will depend on the well-being of the recipients. We hypothesize that more sizable remittances should be sent to households that have a larger size, less number of family members working away from home, and low perceived economic status. Finally, we expect positive coefficients for closer economic and emotional ties as measured by money/goods exchange from the family to the migrant and the number of visits home.

Table 13: Description of variables included in multivariate regression analysis

	Description	Mean
Remittances (million dongs)	Total value of money and goods a migrant sent home during the last 12 months period prior to the survey interview date	4.984
Characteristics of migrants		
Age	Age expressed in years	27.19
Male	Dummy variable for being female	0.615
Married	Dummy variable for being married	0.315
Educational level		
Primary and less	Dummy variable for being illiterate or having primary education	0.158
Lower secondary	Dummy variable for being having lower secondary education	0.423
Upper secondary	Dummy variable for being having upper secondary education	0.267
College+	Dummy variable for being having college degree or higher	0.151
Household head	Dummy variable for being household head	0.095
Coming from Thai Binh	Dummy variable for originating from Thai Binh	0.507
Reside in a large city	Dummy variable for living in a large city	0.752
Current job		
Worker	Dummy variable for being a worker	0.449
Individual service	Dummy variable for working in individual services	0.377
Social service	Dummy variable for working in social services (e.g. Doctor, teacher) or working in police/army or being management cadre	0.144
Trader	Dummy variable for being a trader	0.030
Non-state	Dummy variable for working for non-state-owned enterprises (e.g. private, joint/foreign invested companies) or working for family or being self-employed	0.878
Duration in destination		
Less than 1 year	Dummy variable for living in a city for less than 1 year	0.300
From 1 to less than 3 years	Dummy variable for living in a city for 1 to less than 3 years	0.285
From 3 to less than 5 years	Dummy variable for living in a city for 3 to less than 5 years	0.165
More than 5 years	Dummy variable for living in a city for more than 5 years	0.250

Household characteristics		
Household size	Total number of household members, excluding number of urban migrants	3.48
Number of internal migrants	Total number of internal migrants	1.703
Perceived household economic status		
Poor	Dummy variable for having a poor family	0.238
Moderate	Dummy variable for having a moderate family	0.675
Rich	Dummy variable for having a rich family	0.873
Links to households		
Remittances from home to migrants	Dummy variable for receiving remittances from home during the last 12 months prior to the interview	0.171
Number of visits home	Number of visits home during the last 12 months prior to the interview	4.85

Table 14 presents the tobit estimates for the remittance model, translated into marginal and impact effects for the continuous and dummy variable respectively.

As the first column shows, age of the migrants exerted an expected marginal positive effect on remittances. According to the marginal effect, if age of migrants increased by 1 year, this should raise the amount remitted by 0.1 million dongs. This finding can be explained by the progression of life course. Responsibilities to the family increase with age.

Sex of migrants had a significant positive effect on the size of remittances sent home. Specifically, for the male migrants, the amount of remittance flow increased by 0.2 million dongs compared to female migrants. This is consistent with the cultural expectation in the Vietnamese context that men are expected to support the family financially while women are instead encouraged to keep some money to themselves. Also, in the rural areas where there is limited social security and pensions for the elderly, old age support almost solely relies upon sons.

Being household head and coming from Thai Binh had the strongest positive effect on remittance flows. The amount of remittances sent to relatives was higher among those who were household head and originated from

Thai Binh province compared to their counterparts, by 0.8 and 0.2 million dongs, respectively.

As for current occupation of migrants, compared with workers, a migrant who worked for private sector and social services/police/military were more likely to send greater volume of remittances back home. The opposite is the case for those working as small and big traders. This finding could be explained by the stability for each type of jobs. For instance, jobs in social services (e.g. teacher, doctor…) and police/military were likely to be more stable than being workers.

As expected, we find a strongly positive relationship between the length of stay in the city and the level of remittances. The amount of remittances sent home increased with the number of years living in the city, by approximately 0.3 million dongs for each category of duration. This finding is inconsistent with the remittance decay hypothesis, as suggested by Lucas and Stark (1985) (the probability of sending money home increases with duration of stay abroad, peaks at a certain point, and then declines).

The other four individual-level variables, including marital status, educational level, whether the migrant lives in a large city, and whether the migrant works for the informal sector did not appear to significantly affect remittance behavior, although the marginal effects suggest that married migrants, better educated migrants, and migrants who lived in large cities and worked for formal sectors, were more likely to remit more.

As far as the characteristics of the origin households of the migrants are concerned, household size did not have any significant impact on the levels of remittances. In contrast, variables depicting the number of members migrating to work in the city were strongly significant. Marginal effect reveals that if the number of urbanward migrants within the family increased by one person, this should reduce the amounts remitted by 0.1 million dongs.

Regarding perceived household economic status, we find its well-defined positive effect on the amount of remittances. Specifically, migrants whose family economic status was moderate should remit home 0.4 million dongs

more, compared to those coming from a poor family. The marginal effect rised to 0.6 million dongs for those who were from the well-off families. Given that we are controlling for other determinants of remittance-size, the positive coefficients on perceived household economic status seem to match the assumptions of self-interest theory which assume that larger remittance flows would come to better-off families, since the migrants are concerned with their potential inheritance within their families or they want to build up assets at home, such as land and houses for their future return home (Lucas & Stark, 1985).

Finally, variables measuring economic and emotional ties between the migrants and home families had strong positive significant associations with the amount of remittances. Those who had ever received financial support from the origin households during the last 12 months period prior to the survey tended to remit less than those who did not received such support. This finding is inconsistent with the case of rural-urban migrants in China (Qian Cai, 2003). The migrants who visited home more may have stronger attachment to the family, therefore be likely to send larger amounts back. Indeed, remittance is an effective way to demonstrate migrants' responsibility and concern to their home families and to maintain and strengthen family ties between them.

Overall, our analysis sheds some lights on the issue of remittance-sending behavior as an outcome of an implicit contractual arrangement between the migrant and their family of origin. The family pooled its resources to foster the migration of its members, and continued to support economically and emotionally to its migrant members. Given the fact that most of the rural-to-urban migrants in our sample were young (mean age was 27 years old), single (68.5%) and sons/daughters of household head (82%), the main motive of migrants to remit was to express their gratitude and respect toward the parents, to repay the educational costs and to improve the family welfare. This explains why the majority of migrants (81%) sent home remittances in order to support daily living expenses of their families. Furthermore, the motivation to remit was also guided by the migrants' potential benefits from home such as inheritance and assets built up for future home return.

Table 14: Maximum likelihood estimates for tobit model

	Marginal and impact effects	Asymptotic Standard Error
Characteristics of migrants		
Age	0.104*	[0.055]
Age squared	-1.265**	[0.614]
Male	0.160**	[0.080]
Married	0.076	[0.103]
Educational level		
Primary and less[a]		
Lower secondary	0.121	[0.115]
Upper secondary	0.130	[0.126]
College+	-0.054	[0.173]
Household head	0.834***	[0.165]
Coming from Thai Binh	0.244***	[0.095]
Reside in a large city	0.069	[0.091]
Current job		
Worker[a]		
Individual service	-0.171**	[0.083]
Social service	-0.007	[0.146]
Trader	0.078	[0.233]
Non-state sector	0.112	[0.125]
Duration in destination		
Less than 1 year[a]		
From 1 to less than 3 years	0.313***	[0.101]
From 3 to less than 5 years	0.311***	[0.119]
More than 5 years	0.347***	[0.114]
Household characteristics		
Household size	-0.006	[0.024]
Number of internal migrants	-0.104**	[0.048]
Perceived household economic status		
Poor[a]		
Moderate	0.421***	[0.099]
Rich	0.553***	[0.146]
Links to households		
Remittances from home to migrants	-0.172**	[0.101]
Number of visits home	0.040***	[0.007]
Number of observations		**879**
R^2Square		**0.1988**

Note: ** significant at 10%, ** significant at 5%, *** significant at 1%, (a) reference category.*

3.3 MIGRATION, REMITTANCES AND HOUSEHOLD WELL-BEING

Research on remittances worldwide show that the most obvious and direct economic effect of remittance is its contribution to household well-being, including household income and living conditions. At the community level, migration and remittances may alter, either increase or reduce, the local income distribution. In this sub-section, we examine the impact of remittance on household well-being. The analysis is made to compare between among groups of households: migrant households whose members sent remittances during the last 12 years (recipient households thereafter); migrant households whose members did not remit in the last 12 years (non-recipient households); and non-migrant households.

3.3.1 Migration, remittances and income distribution

Income distribution between recipient and non-recipient households

The first analysis is on the effect of remittances on the living standards of the migrant households; and on income distribution of the recipient households and the non-recipient households. Given the importance of remittances as an income source, it is interesting to see whether income distribution varies between recipient and non-recipient households. Table 15 presents several indicators of the well-being of the migrant households by the value of remittance, including categorical monthly household income, perceived household economic status, per capita household expenditure, and Gini coefficients. For the purpose of analysis, we divide migrant households into five subgroups by the amounts received: no remittance (non-recipients); less than 1 million dongs (least recipients); from 1 million to less than 5 million dongs; from 5 million to less than 10 million dongs (moderate recipients); and more than 10 million dongs (largest recipients).

Table 15: Indicators of household economic welfare, by amounts of remittances among migrant households

Household welfare indicators	No-recipient	Recipient				Total
		<1 million dongs	1-<5 million dongs	5-<10 million dongs	>=10 million dongs	
% of all migrant households	29.42	9.22	28.21	18.06	15.08	100.0
Monthly total household income (excluding remittances)* **						
Under 1 million dongs	25.32	34.34	20.46	25.77	16.67	23.56
From 1 to less than 2 million dongs	35.76	35.35	41.91	38.66	31.48	37.34
From 2 to less than 3 million dongs	19.30	18.18	18.48	18.04	23.46	19.37
More than 3 million dongs	19.62	12.12	19.14	17.53	28.40	19.74
Perceived household economic status* **						
Rich	7.35	9.28	8.94	10.36	15.53	9.76
Moderate	64.86	55.67	97.55	74.61	78.26	68.57
Poor	27.80	35.05	23.51	15.03	6.21	21.67
Per capita household expenditure* ** **(in VN dongs)**	761,021.7	583,211.3	806,896.5	734,596.2	929,958.8	778,282.5
Gini coefficient (based on information on total expenditure per capita)	0.47	0.48				0.48
		0.44	0.53	0.44	0.50	
Number of Observations	**316**	**99**	**303**	**194**	**162**	**1,074**

Note: *Chi-square test is used for testing the correlations between two qualitative variables.*

** significant at 10%, ** significant at 5%, *** significant at 1%; (a) reference category.*

It should be noted that one of the most important indicators to estimate the effect of remittances on household well-being is the household income. Unfortunately, the data on exact total household income was not reliable enough, given the difficulty to get correct income information from the respondents. Nevertheless, the data contain the information of estimated household income levels excluding remittances, thus correlations between remittance and household income can be made.

As expected, receiving remittances resulted in higher level of income. The non-recipient and least recipient households belonged to the lowest income category (less than 1 million dongs), while the largest recipient households were generally found in the group with the highest income level (more than 3 million dongs). The level of household income was similar among moderate recipient households (those that received from 1 to less than 10 million dongs). It is noteworthy that the annual average amount of remittances that migrant sent home was more than 4 million dongs. If the estimated amount of remittances is added to the income of recipient households, then the income disparity between recipient and non-recipient households should become more substantial.

Migrant households were also asked to assess their economic status on the basis of comparison with those of other households in the same community in which they lived. It is obvious, as presented in Table 15 that the percentage of the migrant households reporting "poor" decreased as the amount of remittances moved from none to the largest, while the percentage of households declaring "rich" increased.

As far as total expenditure per capita is concerned, the highest recipient households had the highest average expenditure per capita (about 930,000 dongs) while those received the smallest amount of remittance had the lowest expenditure (approximately 580,000 dongs). Overall, these findings suggest that those who received little or no remittance were indeed low-income households, while the moderate and especially the largest recipient households belonged to the higher-income groups.

In order to examine income distribution among the migrant households, we examine the Gini coefficient. According to World Bank definition: "Gini index measures the extent to which the distribution of income (or, in some cases, consumption expenditures) among individuals or households within an economy deviates from a perfectly equal distribution. A Lorenz curve plots the cumulative percentages of total income received against the cumulative number of recipients, starting with the poorest individual or household….The Gini index measures the area between the Lorenz curve and a hypothetical line of absolute equality, expressed as a percentage of the maximum area under the line. Thus a Gini index of zero represents perfect equality while an index of 100 implies perfect inequality".

As mentioned above, since we lack information on the exact total household income, we are not able make a comparison of the total household income with and without remittances to illustrate more precisely the effect of migration and remittances on income inequality. Also, this does not allow us to calculate Gini coefficients based on the total household income. Thus we used information about consumption expenditure per capita instead.

As shown in Table 15, there was little variation in terms of the Gini coefficient between the non-recipient and the recipient households, while there were large variations among the recipient households. Gini coefficient is smallest (0.44) among those who received smallest and moderate amounts of remittances, while larger among those who received highest amounts. These indices provide evidence that there was a higher income disparity among those receiving larger remittances. As found above, the non-poor households tend to receive larger remittances than the poor. Taken together, it is reasonable to state that remittances sent to households of origin by the migrants increased income inequality in the survey areas. These findings, to some extent, are consistent with what Nguyen (2008) found in his analysis on the impact of foreign remittances on poverty and inequality in the context of Vietnam using data from two national surveys, the Vietnam Housing Living Standard Survey (VHLSS) in the years 2002 and 2004. Specifically, the Gini coefficient is 0.35 for household income with remittances, and 0.34 for household income without remittances; international remittances brought the income distribution about 3 percent closer to the inequality point.

Income distribution between migrant and non-migrant households

Apart from looking at the variations of income distribution within the migrant households, we examine income distribution between the migrant and non-migrant households, with the non-migrant households are used as a reference group. Table 16 shows the same indicators of household welfare for these two types of households.

Table 16: *Indicators of household economic welfare, between migrant and non-migrant households*

Household welfare indicators	Migrant households	Non-migrant households	Total
Monthly total household income (excluding remittances)			
Under 1 million dongs	22.45	25.31	23.45
From 1 to less than 2 million dongs	37.56	34.78	36.59
From 2 to less than 3 million dongs	19.20	20.96	19.82
More than 3 million dongs	20.78	18.94	20.14
Perceived household economic status* **			
Rich	9.09	9.28	9.16
Moderate	68.18	57.86	64.58
Poor	22.73	32.86	26.26
Per capita household expenditure* ** (in VN dongs)	769,487	640,625	769,292
Gini coefficient (based on information on total expenditure per capita)	0.48	0.51	0.51
Number of Observations	**1,194**	**644**	**1,838**

Note: *Chi-square test is used for testing the correlations between two qualitative variables*
** significant at 10%, ** significant at 5%, *** significant at 1%*

Regarding levels of monthly household income, there seemed to be no variation between the migrant and non-migrant households. Significant differences between these two groups of the households were found in the perceived household economic status. In particular, a larger proportion of the non-migrant households considered their families as being "poor" compared to that of the migrant households (32.9% versus 22.7%). On average, the non-migrant households spent nearly 17 percent less than migrant households for each member in a month. The Gini coefficient for the expenditures of the migrant households was 6.3 percent greater than those of the non-migrant ones (0.51 versus 0.48). It is noteworthy that the most recent United Nation's Human Development report on Vietnam found that the Gini coefficient for all households is 0.34 for 2010. Thus, income inequality (using information on expenditure) among the households in this study was found to be much higher than the national estimate.ia.

However, as pointed out by Rodriguez (1998: 331-332), data on household income always needs to be used with caution, especially to draw conclusions about the impact of remittances on income distribution: "Income may be poorly estimated across income classes and over time. One possible bias reflects the fact that noncash income is more important to the poor. As their income becomes more monetized with time, the probability of estimating noncash income may decline, so their reported share of income may show a spurious increase. Conversely, richer families generally have a greater tendency to underreport their incomes than do the poor, and this may become more accurate over time".

3.3.2 Migration, remittances and household living conditions

Table 17 presents key economic indicators of household living conditions, including housing type, possession of basic consumer durables, and toilet type in order to make comparisons between the recipient and non-recipient, as well as migrant and non-migrant households.

Table 17: Indicators of household living conditions between migrant and non-migrant households

Household living conditions	Migrant households		All households	
	Recipient households	Non-recipient households	Migrant households	Non-migrant households
Housing type				
Simple, temporary[6]	9.01	9.78	9.3	16.5
Semi-permanent[7]	50.16	49.26	49.4	47.7
Permanent[8]	40.06	41.73	41.3	35.9
Possession of basic consumer durables				
a. Television	97.03	95.56	96.6	93.7
b. Radio/Cassette player	28.65	33.12	30.0	31.4
c. Computer	1.94	2.22	2.1	2.2
d. Internet	0.57	0.63	0.7	0.5
e. House-line telephone	36.19	41.01	37.3	28.3
f. Cellular telephone	40.69	42.22	41.1	43.2
g. A video cassette/ DVD/VCD	69.37	69.09	69.1	62.6
h. Refrigerator	15.54	17.72	16.0	15.7
i. Washing machine	2.40	2.54	2.4	3.5
j. Hot water heater	2.51	2.22	2.4	1.5
k. Air conditioner	0.57	0.95	0.7	1.7
l. Motorbike/Bike	72.72	70.98	72.2	69.5
m. Car	0.34	0.95	0.5	1.5
n. Boat	2.51	2.86	2.6	3.4
o. Production machine	9.83	9.52	9.9	14.3
Toilet type				
Flush toilet with sewage pipes/septic tank	25.77	31.55	27.38	25.47
Double/single vault compose latrine	62.83	60.88	62.10	59.16
No toilet	11.40	7.57	10.52	15.37
Total	**877**	**317**	**1,194**	**644**

[6] *Simple/temporary houses include all other houses, which do not belong to the above-mentioned types. These houses are with simple composition and primitive materials. Walls are usually made of dirt/leaves/woven sheets (not built of bricks or wooden frame) and roof of bamboo/leaf/oil-paper...*

[7] *Semi-permanent houses are* defined as houses with walls made of brick/wood/wood frame and with roof made of tile/cement-mortar roofing/metal roofing etc. or houses constructed of equivalent materials.

[8] *Permanent houses* are defined here as one- or multi-storey houses which are built in bricks with solid roof (tile/concrete roof).

Among the key indicators of household living conditions, housing was the most important indicator. Better housing means better living conditions. A house can also be used for economic purposes, for example, as a venue for income-generating activities. House value is considered by banks and credit institutions as a condition for allowing loans. In itself, a house is also a commodity with a market value. Moreover, a house can be used in the quest for upward social status within the community.

Significant variations were found in housing quality among migrant and non-migrant households. While a higher proportion of the migrant households could afford to live in permanent houses (41.3% compared to 35.9%), a larger proportion of non-migrant households tended to live in simple and temporary houses (16.5% compared to 9.3%). No significant contrasts were found in terms of housing types among recipient and non-recipient households. Majority of them lived in semi-permanent houses.

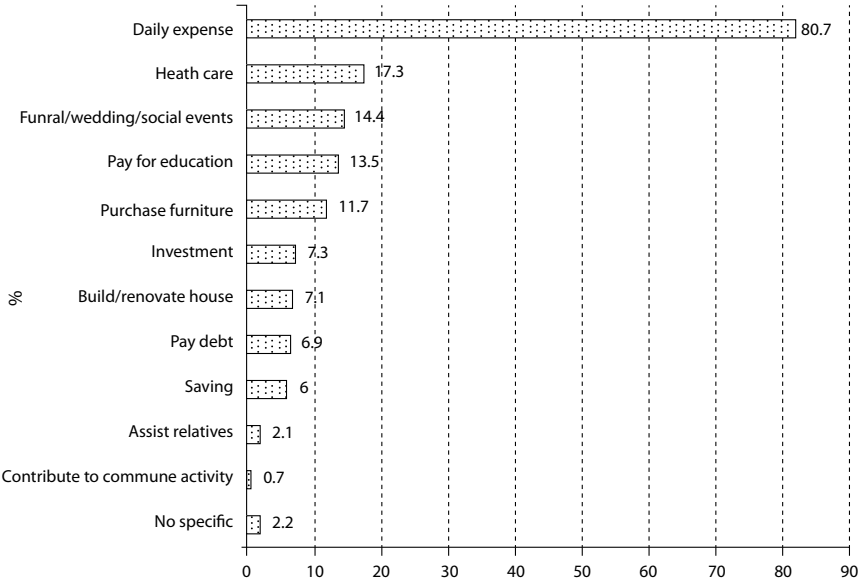
In addition to housing type, a set of key consumer durables is used as a basis to compare the living conditions between groups of households. Included in the list are 15 items including television, radio/cassette player, computer, Internet, landline telephone, cellular telephone, video cassette/DVD/VCD, refrigerator, washing machine, hot water heater, air conditioner, motorbike/bike, car, boat, and production machine. These are not only goods that have high value in the rural areas, but are also essential for people to gain access to information, better transportation, and faster connections to people and market opportunities. On average, the migrant household owned 3.83 items, slightly higher than did the non-migrant households (3.57 items).

Toilet type is also an economic indicator that reflects living standards of households. As shown, more migrant households had toilets inside home while more non-migrant households had no toilet or used shared toilets.

3.4 MIGRATION, REMITTANCES, HOUSEHOLD CONSUMPTION/EXPENDITURES AND INVESTMENTS

In this section, we examine the use of remittances of the recipient households and spending behaviors among different household groups. As illustrated in Figure 13, most of the recipient households (80%) used remittances to cover immediate daily expenses. The second priority in using remittances was to pay for health care (about 17%). while children's education received less investment. A third use of remittances is to invest in production. A smaller proportion of households reported that they spent remittances on household status-oriented goods (i.e. house-building/ renovation, expensive consumer durables…), since an annual amount of remittances received was not enough to do so. In addition, very few households used remittances for social purposes, such as contributing to community activities or assisting relatives/kinship.

Figure 13: The use of remittance



Expenditure patterns

As shown in Figure 14, total consumption expenditure per capita for migrant households during the month preceding the interview date are disaggregated into six categories, including food, education, health care, production, electricity/water, and entertainment/festivals/travelling. Results show that the largest expenditure went into production (accounting for 43.5% of the total per capita expenditure), followed by food (34.1%), health care (26.5%), and education (10.2%).

Figure 14 : Expenditure pattern

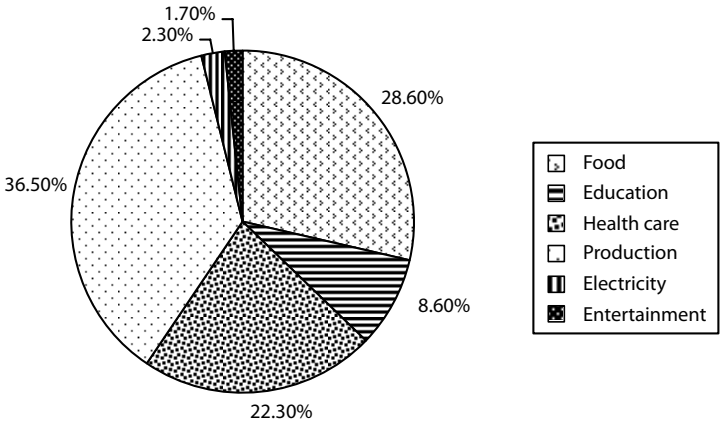


Table 18 compares mean expenditure per capita among groups of the households. As we can see, within the monthly household expenditure budget, the migrant households tended to spend more than the non-migrant households, and among the migrant households, those received remittances tended to spend more than the non-recipient households in almost all the categories of expenditure.

Table 18: Mean expenditure per capita

Expenditure category	Mean expenditure per capita (in VN dongs)			
	Recipient household	**Non-recipient households**	**Migrant house-holds**	**Non-migrant households**
Per capita food consumption expenditure	264,012	258,879	262,177	223,791
Per capita educational expenditure	72,991	89,564	78,399	60,837
Per capita healthcare ex-penditure	224,179	149,613	203,822	190,289
Per capita production expenditure	344,067	308,483	334,629	350,909
Per capita electricity and water consumption ex-penditure	20,576	21,690	20,847	17,079
Per capita entertainment/ Festivals/Traveling expenditure	18,656	17,670	15,828	12,536
Number of observations	**317**	**877**	**1194**	**644**

In short, the results presented above revealed that migration and remittances sent back home by the migrants made significant contribution to household well-being. The survey data provided evidences on significant variations in the levels of household income, perceived household economic status, per capita consumption expenditures among the sampled households. Among the migrant households, those received larger amounts of remittances during the 12 months prior to the survey had a higher level of household income and expenditure per capita, tended to perceive their household economic status compared with the average within the community as "rich", lived in permanent houses, owned more consumer durables than those received none or smaller amounts of remittance. Similarly, those households having member migrating to work in urban areas significantly had higher amounts of average expenditure per capita, were more likely to report that they were rich, and lived in permanent house than those who did not have members migrating to the city.

In addition, the Gini coefficient which was calculated based on the information about per capita total expenditure, indicated that income inequality among the recipient households was a little bit higher than the non-recipient households (0.48 versus 0.47); and income disparity among the migrant households was much higher than non-migrant households (0.51 versus 0.48). Overall, income inequality in our survey areas was substantially higher than that of Vietnam (0.34 in 2010).

How the households used remittances and what differed in spending behaviors between the households with and without remittance and migrants were also identified in our study. Results revealed that remittances were primarily spent on daily and immediate needs (i.e. food), the development of human capital (i.e. education and healthcare), and production activities. When comparing expenditure patterns between different groups of the households, we found that migrant households tended to have more expenditure than the non-migrant households; and among the migrant households, those receiving remittances tended to spend more than the households receiving no remittance.

One limitation of our analysis is that, because the MIS study was based on a cross-sectional survey, thus we could not compare the situations of the households before and after migration. In addition, since all information on the migrants was obtained from their household members who stayed at home, the information could be inaccurate or incomplete.

CHAPTER IV

IMPACT OF MIGRATION ON URBAN DESTINATION

Nguyen Thanh Liem & Nguyen Hanh Nguyen

Photo: Collected from the Internet

This chapter aims: 1) to identify and compare basic socioeconomic characteristics of migrants to those of non-migrants to find out differences and similarities between these two groups; 2) to identify the social network and flows of wealth between cities and rural areas; 3) to assess perceived impacts of migration from rural areas to the urban destinations from both migrant's and non-migrant's perspectives; 4) to assess attitudes of urban residents, both migrants and non-migrants, on rural-to-urban migration; and 5) to provide major implications for rural-to-urban migration related policies.

Migrants in this chapter are defined as people who came from rural areas of another province and currently living in the two studied cities, Hanoi and Ho Chi Minh city. Migrants who came from another district or ward of the same city are treated as non-migrants in the city; and migrants who came from another country are not included.

The studied population is categorized into three large groups: non-migrants, permanent migrants, and temporary migrants. This is also called migrant status of the respondent. This categorization was made based on findings from previous studies on migration in Vietnam showing the heterogeneity among migrant population or the difference between the permanent and temporary migrants. This study further looks at the heterogeneity within temporary migrant population by dividing them into permanent temporary migrants (PTM) and temporary temporary migrants (TTM) based on their intention to live (permanently or temporary) in the studied cities.

Box 1: Migration status

- *Non-migrants* include persons who self-identified themselves as non-migrants.
- *Permanent migrants* include persons who self-identified themselves as permanent migrants.
- *Permanent temporary migrants* (PTM) include persons who self-identified themselves as temporary migrants and had intention to live permanently in the studied cities.
- *Temporary temporary migrants (*TTM) include persons who self-identified themselves as temporary migrants and had intention to live temporarily in the cities or had not yet determined to live permanently or temporarily in the studied cities.

4.1 SIMILARITY AND DIFFERENCE BETWEEN MIGRANT AND NON-MIGRANT POPULATION

4.1.1 Demographic characteristics

Comparison between the basic demographic characteristics of migrants and that of non-migrants shows that permanent migrants have more similar characteristics to non-migrants than temporary migrants. Besides, it is shown that there are significant differences between the permanent migrant population and the temporary migrant population as well as within the temporary migrant population or between the PTM and TTM groups.

In terms of age, migrants are generally younger than non-migrants and temporary migrants are much younger than permanent migrants. The results show that the median age of the non-migrants is 39 and that of the permanent migrants is lower at 34 years old. Temporary migrants are much younger with median for the PTM and TTM groups are 27 and 26 respectively.

Table 19: Demographic characteristics of migrants and non-migrants

	Non-migrants	Permanent migrants	Temporary migrants	
			Permanent	Temporary
Median age	39	34	27	26
% female over total population	56.3 %	56.8 %	50.9 %	54.3 %
% never married	21.8 %	19.0 %	50.9 %	50.6 %
Mean number of years in the city		11.6	4.5	4.0
Median number of years in the city		9.6	3.6	3.0

In terms of sex, more than half of the total population of both migrant population and non-migrant population are female. This proportion in the non-migrant group and permanent migrant group is slightly higher than the temporary group but not significant.

On average, temporary migrants have stayed in the city for about 3 years while permanent migrants have stayed in the city for more than 11 years. Half of the temporary migrant population has stayed in the city for 3 years or less while for the permanent migrant population it is nearly 10 years.

In terms of marital status, more than 50% of the temporary migrants have never been married while for the non-migrants and permanent migrants this is only about one fifth of the population: 22% and 19% for the non-migrant and permanent migrant populations respectively. These findings are largely affected by the migrants' young population structure.

These results are consistent with the results found in previous studies on migration both worldwide and in Vietnam. These results once again show that young and single are two notable characteristics of migrants, especially temporary migrants.

4.1.2 Employment and income

Structure of economic activities and employment

Table 20: Structure of economic activity by migration status (%)

Structure of employment	Non-migrants	Permanent migrants	Temporary migrants	
			Permanent	Temporary
Loss of working ability	1.3	0.8	0.0	0.0
No job and not seeking employment	2.1	1.1	0.0	0.2
No job and seeking employment	2.1	0.6	1.3	1.0
Still at school	11.1	5.0	3.1	4.3
Retired	9.0	5.2	0.0	0.2
Household work	12.4	11.0	4.0	2.0
Working	62.0	76.3	91.6	92.3
Total	**100**	**100**	**100**	**100**
N	**765**	**363**	**226**	**507**

In terms of structure of economic activities, the proportion of working people in the temporary migrant group is much higher than in the permanent migrant and non-migrants groups. With a younger population, the fact that the proportion of retired people in the temporary migrant group is lower than that of the permanent migrant and non-migrant groups is completely reasonable. However, there is a larger share of the temporary migrant group that are attending school; this finding reflects the disadvantages of temporary migrants in attending school.

The proportion of people that are not currently working in the temporary migrant group is the lowest among all groups (loss of working ability, no job and not seeking employment, no job and seeking employment, still at school, retired, and housework) compared to permanent migrants and non-migrants.

Table 21: Structure of employment for working people by migration status (%)

Structure of Employment	Non-migrants	Permanent migrants	Temporary migrants	
			Permanent	Temporary
Workers	13.5	20.2	34.8	43.0
Traders	24.05	20.22	13.05	16.02
Personal services	32.5	26.7	27.1	29.5
Social services	16.0	20.6	16.9	5.6
Managers	5.5	4.0	2.4	0.6
Others	8.4	8.3	5.8	5.3
Total	**100**	**100**	**100**	**100**
N	**474**	**277**	**207**	**468**

Regarding structure of employment, services have the largest proportion in all groups. While the proportion of people working in personal services is relatively similar among all groups with a third of the population do this type of work, the proportion of people working in social services is close among non-migrant, permanent migrant and PTM groups, this proportion in the TTMs is much lower. For permanent migrants and non-migrants, traders hold the second position and then production in which there are mainly workers. For temporary migrants, production in which there are mainly workers holds the second position and traders is the third. Over one third of the PTMs and nearly half of the TTMs are workers. Another notable difference is the significantly higher proportion of managers in the permanent migrant and non-migrant groups compared to the two groups of temporary migrants.

Beside main jobs, the number of people report that they have extra work is relatively small; only approximately 5% of the respondents from all groups have extra work and the majority only have one extra job.

Unemployment

Generally, the unemployment rate is low for all groups of migrants and non-migrants and this proportion is similar (slightly lower than the general rate of urban areas) to the overall national rate from the recent Population and Household Census.

Table 22: Unemployment rate by migration status (%)

	Non-migrants	Permanent migrants	Temporary migrants	
			Permanent	Temporary
Unemployment rate	3.3	0.7	1.4	1.1

Compared to non-migrants, migrants have significantly lower rate of unemployment (0.7% versus 3.3%). With the non-migrants' advantages of information and relationships based on residence time and their social network and relatives in the city, we expected the opposite results. This contradictory finding suggests that migrants accept jobs more easily than non-migrants. In fact, the easy acceptance of migrants has also been found in previous studies on both domestic migration and international migration, the lack of information and social network are factors that prevent migrants from finding work, but also are factors that create pressure for them to find work more quickly and accept it more easily because they cannot rely on anyone or they rely on fewer people and have to earn money to maintain life.

4.1.3 Type of work

The analysis results also show significant differences about working areas structure between migrants and non-migrants among the people in labour force are working. More specifically, permanent migrants and non-migrants have a higher proportion of people working in the public sector (21% for the non-migrant group and 23% for the permanent migrant group compared to 12% for the PTMs and 5% for the TTMs) while the proportion that work for private sectors are much lower than temporary migrants (33% for the non-migrant group and 40% for the permanent

migrant group compared to 60% for the PTMs and 66% for the TTMs). Compared to migrants, especially temporary migrants, non-migrants have a higher proportion of being boss.

Table 23: Structure of working areas of main jobs by migration status (%)

	Non-migrants	Permanent migrants	Temporary migrants	
			Permanent	Temporary
Paid jobs in public sector	21	23	12	5
Paid jobs in private sector	33	40	60	66
Boss	46	35	28	29
Unpaid jobs	0	2	0	0
Total	**100**	**100**	**100**	**100**

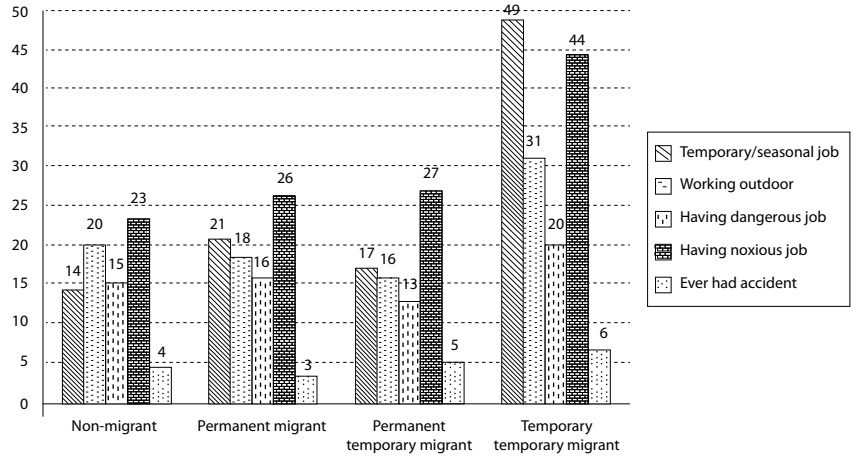
4.1.4 3D jobs

The study of job characteristics of migrants and non-migrants shows obvious difference between TTMs and other groups: TTMs have a much higher proportion of people that reported working unstable and dangerous jobs, often known as 3D jobs than other groups; while permanent migrants and PTMs have insignificantly different job characteristics from non-migrants.

The results show that, nearly half (49%) of the TTMs work mainly in temporary or seasonal jobs; whereas for other groups, this proportion is on about one fifth or smaller: 21% for permanent migrants, 17% for PTMs, and 14% for non-migrants.

Nearly one third of the TTMs are working outdoor, this is nearly double compared to other groups. Studying on dangerous and noxious jobs also gives the same results: the proportion of TTMs working dangerous jobs is half as much as other groups and the proportion of TTMs working noxious jobs is nearly double the rest. Besides, it is not clear but TTMs seems to be the group that has the highest rate of having an accident while working.

Figure 15: Characteristics of main job by migration status (%)



These results are completely consistent with findings in other countries on the involvement of migrants with temporary, dangerous, demeaning and high-risked jobs. With the migrants' pressure to earn the money for immediate expenses for themselves and for remittance while they do not have as much information about the employing market as local residents, they easily accept to demean themselves and take jobs that local residents or non-migrants are less interested in because of its danger or low wage. The findings from this study also show more clearly the differentiation within the migrant group; not any migrant can easily accepts 3D jobs but only highly temporary migrants can accept this type of job more easily.

4.1.5 Number of working hours among those who are employed

In terms of average number of hours worked per week from low to high, non-migrants have the lowest number (49 hours per week), and then come permanent migrants (51 hours per week), PTMs (53 hours per week) and the highest one is for TTMs (55 hours per week).

In terms of side jobs, beyond expected, the proportion of people having side jobs are high among the non-migrants (12.5%) and permanent migrants (13.1%) while for temporary migrants this rate is nearly halved.

This may be because most temporary migrants have to spend too much time for their main jobs and they themselves cannot easily find a job at the city place of destination.

Although the mean number of hours worked in side jobs is highest for non-migrants, overall when taking into account both main and side jobs, non-migrants still have the lowest mean number of hours worked and TTMs have the highest mean. This result shows more clearly the disadvantages of the temporary migrant population, especially the TTMs.

Table 24: Number of hours worked per week by migration status (hour/week)

	Non-migrants	Permanent migrants	Temporary migrants	
			Permanent	Temporary
Mean number of hours worked per week from the main job	49	51	53	55
Mean number of hours worked per week from the side job	18.5	14.5	9.8	15.1
Mean number of total hours worked per week (both side and main job)	51	52	53	55

4.1.6 Work contracts and social insurance

Among the people having a job, there is only from one third to about one half of the labour force from all groups have work contracts. A lot of people do not have contracts when working for their families, relatives, or themselves. If we take into account only the people work for someone else (other individuals, private companies, state-owned companies, joint venture companies, etc), the proportion of people sign contracts increased to about two thirds up to three quarters. If we still only take into account people that are employed by someone else, the proportion that has contracts is highest for the permanent migrant group (75%), slightly lower for the non-migrant group and PTMs (both 69%) and is lowest for TTMs (62%).

In general, among those who have work contracts, most of them have permanent contracts or contracts for 6 months or more. This proportion is over 90% for all groups and the lowest is still for TTMs at 91% compared to about 95% for other migrant and non-migrant groups.

Table 25: Work contracts and social insurance from main jobs (%)

	Non-migrants	Permanent migrants	Temporary migrants	
			Permanent	Temporary
Total labour force				
% having work contract	39	49	55	46
% having 6 months + contract	95	94	94	91
% having social insurance for people with work contract	86	85	73	76
% having social insurance for the total labour force	39	46	43	37
People working for other individuals, private, state-owned, joint venture companies				
% having work contract	69	75	69	62
% having 6 month + contract	96	95	95	91
% having social insurance for people with work contract	87	86	74	77

About three quarters of people with work contracts have social insurance. However, if we take into account the total labour force this number is only about over one third to less than one half of the total labour force among all groups in the survey. Comparison among all the non-migrant and migrant groups shows that the proportion that has social insurance of the temporary migrant group is significantly lower than the permanent migrant and non-migrant groups.

4.1.7 Income of those who are employed

The majority of those employed have income from their work and so there is no difference among the migrant groups in the study. However, when

considering the stability of income we see that the proportion of people with unstable income is lowest for the non-migrant group. This is highest for the TTMs.

The results again show a very clear differentiation in the temporary migrant group. For the PTMs, the proportion that has unstable income is relatively low, is only higher than non-migrant group and lower than the permanent migrant group. In general, PTMs have much better conditions to earn income than TTMs; PTMs even have better conditions than permanent migrants and no worse than non-migrants.

Table 26: Proportion of people having income and unstable income from work by migration status

	Non-migrants	Permanent migrants	Temporary migrants	
			Permanent	Temporary
% having income from work	99.6	98.5	100	99.8
% having unstable income	16.4	22.9	17.9	27.5

Findings on the average income of those having income shows that temporary migrants, especially the TTMs, have relatively lower income than non-migrants and permanent migrants. The average monthly income per capita of the non-migrants and permanent migrant is the highest at almost 3 million dongs a month; the income of PTMs and TTMs is significantly lower at 2.3 and 1.8 million dongs a month respectively.

In terms of irregular jobs, the income of non-migrants is much higher than migrants. In general, when taking into account the total income from both regular and irregular sources, non-migrants have the highest average income, then permanent migrants and PTMs, lastly is TTMs.

Table 27: Average monthly per capita income by income sources and migration status (dongs)

	Non-migrants	Permanent migrants	Temporary migrants	
			Permanent	Temporary
Average monthly income from regular sources	2,872,765	2,774,579	2,271,454	1,756,659
Median	2,000,000	2,000,000	2,000,000	1,500,000
N	**472**	**273**	**207**	**464**
Average monthly income from irregular sources	9,378,222	2,060,541	1,653,448	950,984
Median	1,000,000	1,000,000	500,000	300,000
N	**90**	**37**	**29**	**61**
Monthly income per capita	4,660,985	3,042,701	2,503,097	1,873,605
Median	2,500,000	2,000,000	2,000,000	1,500,000
N	**472**	**274**	**207**	**466**

4.1.8 Expenditure and savings among those who are employed

Non-migrants have significantly higher wages than migrants and their total expenditure is also corresponding to the amount that they spend initially.

Table 28: Total expenditure in the last month prior to the survey by migration status

	Non-migrants	Permanent migrants	Temporary migrants	
			Permanent	Temporary
Total population				
Mean	1,763,211	1,653,036	1,531,710	1,128,475
Median	1,300,000	1,200,000	1,200,000	1,000,000
N	**473**	**275**	**207**	**463**
People having income				
Mean	1,766,735	1,654,690	1,531,710	1,128,475
Median	1,300,000	1,200,000	1,200,000	1,000,000
N	**472**	**274**	**207**	**463**

With higher mean income, non-migrants and permanent migrants have higher average savings than temporary ones.

4.1.9 Relationship at work

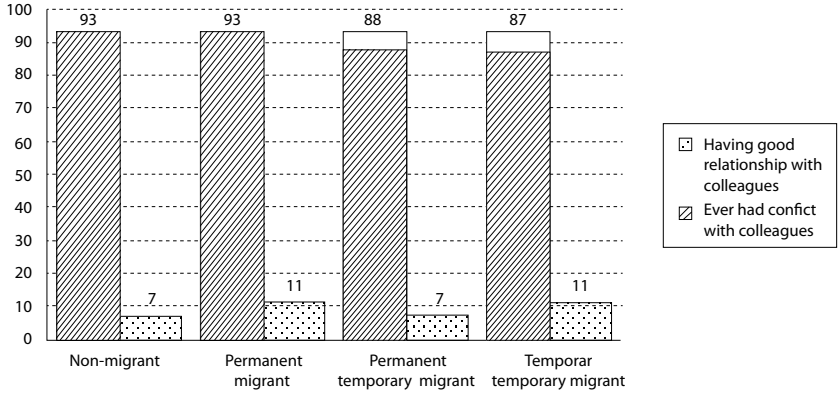
Table 29: Average monthly savings during the last 12 months before the survey by migration status

	Non-migrants	Permanent migrants	Temporary migrants	
			Permanent	Temporary
People having income				
Mean	587,850	579,597	499,759	433,090
Median	0	0	300,000	300,000
N	**472**	**273**	**207**	**466**
People having savings				
Mean	1,445,130	1,255,794	814,567	679,529
Median	1,000,000	1,000,000	600,000	500,000
N	**192**	**126**	**127**	**297**

Most workers, regardless of their migration status (almost 90% or more in every group), reported that they have good relationship with their colleagues. Conversely, the proportion of workers that have ever had conflict with their co-workers is low (from 7% to 11%).

In general, the proportion of non-migrants and permanent migrants that have good relationship with their co-workers is higher than temporary migrants: 93% of the non-migrants and permanent migrants have good relationship with their co-workers while for PTMs and TTMs the proportions are 88% and 87% respectively.

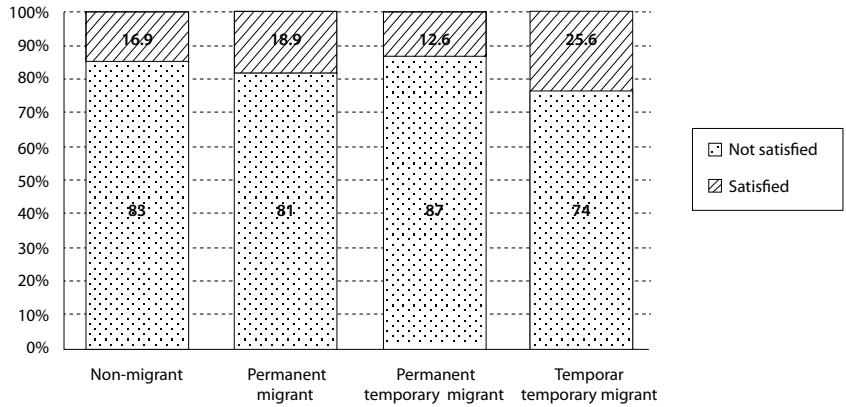
Figure 16: Relationship with co-workers by migration status (%)



4.1.10 Satisfaction with work

With the higher percentage of people having temporary, noxious, dangerous and demeaning jobs but having lower average income, the finding that TTMs have the lowest percentage of people that are satisfied with their current job (74%) is obviously understandable. The percentage of permanent migrants that are satisfied with their job is relatively similar to non-migrants (81% and 83%) and this is lower than that of the PTMs (87%).

Figure 17: Level of satisfaction with work by migration status (%)

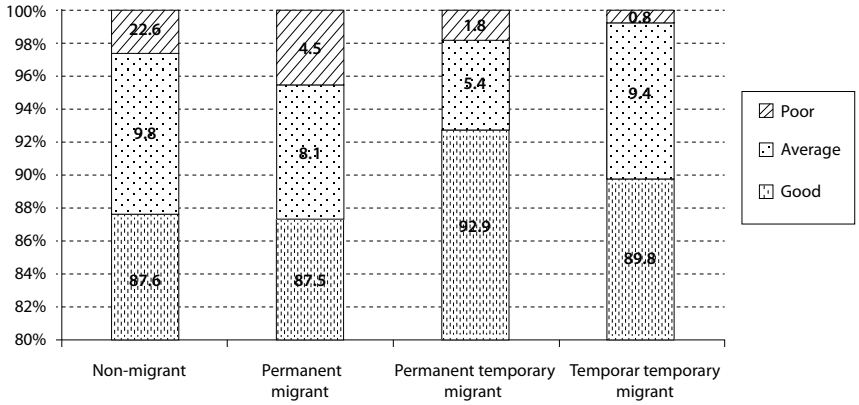


4.2 HEALTH STATUS AND RELATED BEHAVIORS

4.2.1 Health status by respondents' self-assessment

In general, non-migrants and migrants have relatively good health as over 95% of the respondents among all groups say that their health is average or good. Comparing the percentage of self-assessed health status between migrant and non-migrant groups shows that the temporary migrant group has the best self-assessed health, even better than the non-migrant group and the poorest is the permanent migrant group. Differences in self-assessed health status among the temporary migrant group and the other two groups could be affected by the selectivity of age or the younger of the temporary migrant population. However, it should be noted that the difference in the proportion of respondents reported good or poor health shows that there is a difference in this self-assessed health status among all groups but this is very small.

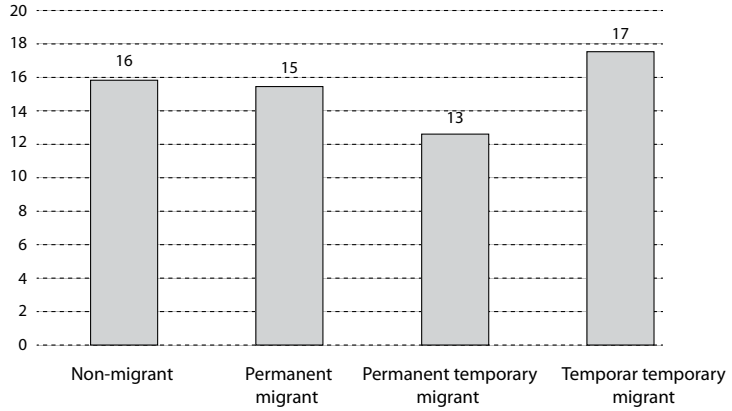
Figure 18: Self-rated health status by migration status (%)



4.2.2 Being ill and have to stay at home for at least one day

A more objective indicator that assesses the health status of respondents is the percentage of people getting ill and have to stay at home at least one day in the last 12 months. This shows that, among the temporary migrants, PTMs have better heath status than the permanent migrant and non-migrant groups (represented by the lower percentage of people being ill and have to take at least a day off in the last 12 months). However, TTMs have poorer health status (higher percentage of being ill and have to take at least a day off in the last 12 months) than permanent migrants and non-migrants. This finding again shows greater disadvantages of the TTMs compared to other groups. This result is perhaps more relevant and affected by the higher proportion of people having temporary, dangerous and noxious jobs while TTMs have a much longer working hours than other groups.

Figure 19: Percentage of being ill and have to stay at home for at least one day in the last 12 months prior to the survey by migration status (%)



TTMs have the highest percentage of being ill and have to stay at home for at least one day but they have the lowest average amount of working days off because of ill. This result may partly reflect the better health status of the TTMs as seen in the self-assessment. On the other hand, this result may also be affected by age differences in health behaviors: TTMs are younger and "hard to stay still" when being ill. Finally, the greater pressure of TTMs to earn money to cover living expenses and to remit and the difficulty to rely on people around them as TTMs have smaller social network and household size than permanent migrants and non-migrants may also be a factor that strongly influences the results. Further analysis on this subject can give us the independent impact of each of these causes.

4.2.3 Spiritual and mental health

Table 30: Average amount of working days off because of ill by migration status

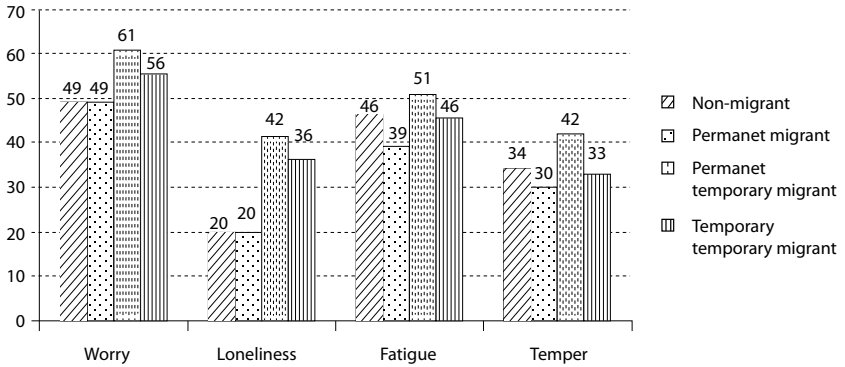
	Non-migrant	Permanent migrant	Temporary migrant	
			Permanent	Temporary
Mean	9	11	6	4
Median	3	3	2	2
N	**112**	**53**	**28**	**79**

Spiritual and mental health of the respondents were approached using three main indicators: 1) the feelings of anxiety, worry, loneliness, depression, fatigue, and temper in the last month; 2) concerns about economic status, jobs, education and health issues; and 3) levels of satisfaction with current spiritual life of the respondents.

The analysis results in Figure 20 show that worry is the most common feeling of the respondents from all groups: about half of the respondents frequently or occasionally experienced this feeling in the last month before the survey. Fatigue is also relatively common as nearly half of the respondents often or sometimes had this feeling in the last month before the survey.

The most obvious difference between the migrant and non-migrant groups is the experience of loneliness: temporary migrants, both PTMs and TTMs, have a much higher percentage of people had this feeling than permanent migrant and non-migrant groups (about 40% compared to about 20%). This result is expected, as we knew that most of temporary migrants have relatives in their rural hometown and the size of their households in the city is only half the permanent migrants and non-migrants. In other feeling indicators, temporary migrants also tend to have more disadvantages but the difference among groups is not significant.

Figure 20: Mental problems encountered last month by migration status (%)



In general, the temporary migrant group has significantly higher percentage of people who have experienced at least one of the four feelings in the last month before the survey than the permanent migrant and non-migrant groups.

Table 31: Percentage of people who have experienced one of the four feelings last month by migration status

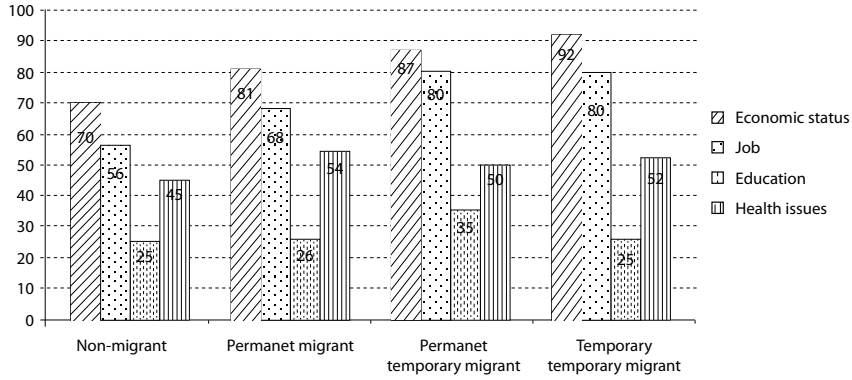
	Non-migrant	Permanent migrant	Temporary migrant	
			Permanent	Temporary
Frequently	17	17	21	19
Frequently or occasionally	71	67	81	76

In the four key problems in life of the respondents, economic status and jobs are two issues that the respondents are most concern about, then health and finally education.

Migrants, especially temporary migrants have to worry more than non-migrants and permanent migrants, particularly about economic status and jobs. There is 92% of the TTMs and 87% of the PTMs often or sometimes worry about economic issue; it is slightly lower for the permanent migrant population (at 81%) and lowest yet high (70%) for the non-migrant population. Similarly, the percentage of people that expressed their worry about job issues for the TTMs, PTMs, permanent migrant and non-migrant groups is 80%, 80%, 68% and 56% respectively.

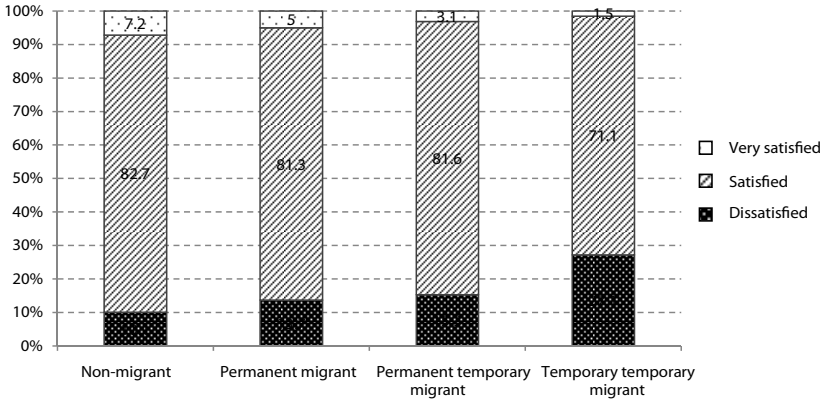
About half of the respondents from all groups often or sometimes worry about health issues and about a quarter often or sometimes worry about education. The analysis results also showed no obvious difference between migrant and non-migrant populations in these two issues.

Figure 21: Level of concern to some problems of life in last month by migration status (%)



Overall, the proportion of people satisfied with their current spiritual life in all groups is relatively high: for non-migrants, permanent migrants, PTMs and TTMs are 90%, 86%, 95% and 73% respectively. With the differences seen in previous parts on the concern about various problems in life between migrant and non-migrant groups as well as the results in jobs and income, the finding that TTMs have the lowest percentage of people satisfied with their spiritual life is entirely reasonable.

Figure 22: Level of satisfaction with current spiritual life by migration status (%)

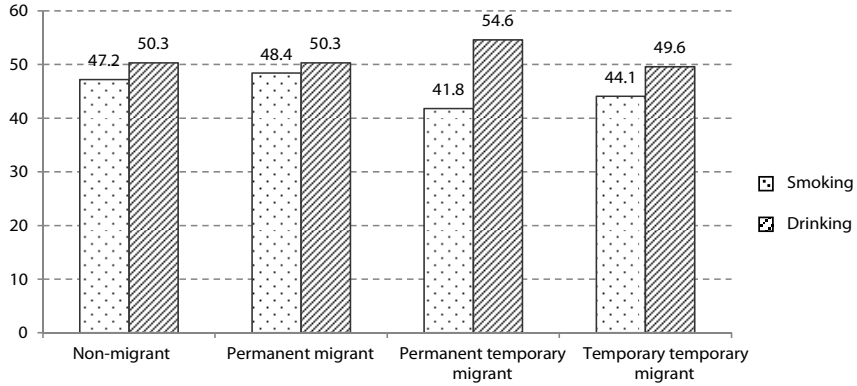


4.2.4 Health-related behaviors

The percentage of people smoking and drinking alcohol is much lower among females than among males and this percentage is very low: only 1% of females smoke and under 2% of females drink alcohol. For males in the studied cities this percentage is nearly a half. Because of that difference, the further analysis in this section will focus on the male group.

Comparison between migrant and non-migrant populations shows that temporary migrants have slightly lower percentage of people smoking than permanent migrants and non-migrants, but this difference is very small. Besides, there is almost no difference among groups in the percentage of people drinking alcohol.

Figure 23: Percentage of males smoking and drinking by migration status (%)



4.2.5 Health seeking behavior in the last sick

One of the more concerned health behaviors of the migrant population is the access to health services when they are ill. Self-medication can be found as the most common behavior when people are ill and have to stay at home for at least one day in the last sick as over 40% of people in all groups did this; then seeking doctor or hospitals, clinics comes after that. The percentage of people that go to commune health clinics is still higher than the percentage of people that go to private doctors and clinics. The good news is the low percentage of people doing nothing: only under 4% of people do nothing in the last time they got ill.

Comparison between migrant and non-migrant groups shows that self-medication is a more common behavior in the temporary migrant group and seeking doctors or health clinics, both commune and private, is a more common behavior in the permanent migrant and non-migrant groups in the last time they got sick. These results together with the above results show that temporary migrants, especially TTMs, having higher proportion of people being ill and have to stay at home for at least one day and higher proportion of people having dangerous and high-risk jobs shows clearly the difficulties of temporary migrants. Lower income and greater pressure to earn money and remit home of temporary migrants may have contributed to this non-recommended health seeking behavior.

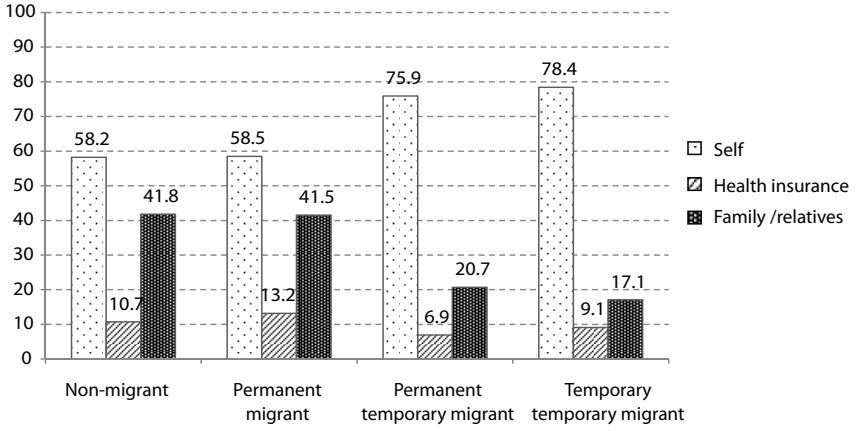
Table 32: Health seeking behaviors in the last sick by migration status (%)

	Non-migrant	Permanent migrant	Temporary migrant	
			Permanent	Temporary
Self medicated	46	42	62	53
Seek doctors or hospitals, clinics	55	60	38	42
N	**124**	**53**	**29**	**89**

4.2.6 Payment for the last sick

Over three quarters (78% of the TTMs and 76% of the PTMs) of the temporary migrants have to pay for medical treatment for their last sick, while the percentage for the non-migrant and permanent migrant populations is over a half and under two thirds (58%). Conversely, non-migrants and permanent migrants have much higher percentage of people that have families/relatives paid for their last sick than temporary migrants (about 40% of the non-migrant group compared to about 20% in the PTMs and TTMs). Health insurance is ranked third and about only one tenth of the respondents from all migrant and non-migrant groups were covered for the most recent illness by health insurance.

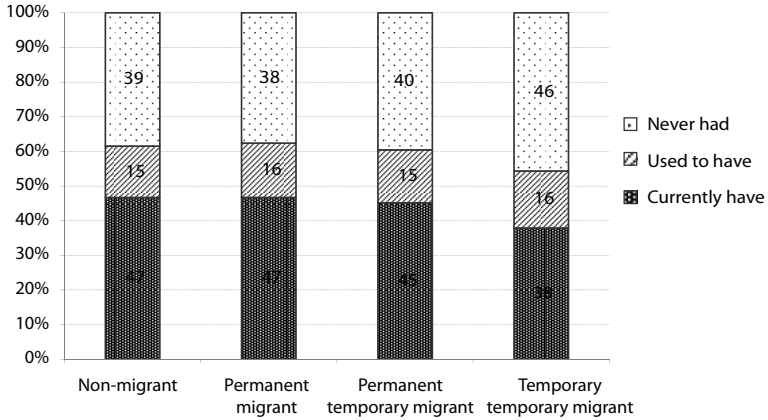
Figure 24: Payers for the last sick by migration status (%)



4.2.7 Health insurance

In general, the percentage of health insurance (HI) coverage remains low as fewer than 50% of the respondents currently have health insurance. It is notable that while the percentage of permanent migrants and PTMs that have health insurance is hardly different from that of the non-migrants (45% to 47%), this percentage in the TTMs group is significantly lower (38%). Besides, TTMs are also the population that has the highest proportion of people that have never had health insurance (46%) when compared to other groups (from 38% to 40%).

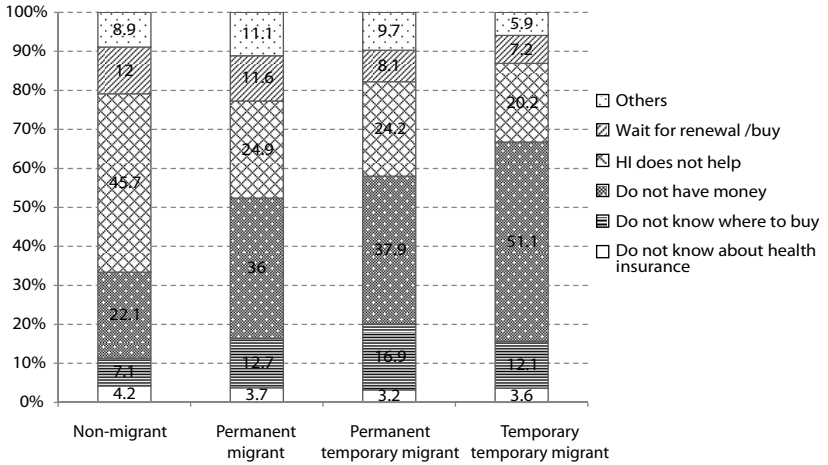
Figure 25: Distribution percentage of having health insurance by migration status (%)



In terms of the reasons for not having health insurance, for non-migrants, the most important reason that makes them not to take health insurance is because of their lack of confidence in the benefits of health insurance: nearly 50% of non-migrants said that this is the reason why they did not buy health insurance. Meanwhile, the more important reason for migrants, particularly TTMs, is about money: over two thirds of permanent migrants and PTMs and over a half of TTMs said that they did not buy health insurance because they "did not have money" or more precisely, they did not have money to buy health insurance. The results are reasonable, as we know that TTMs have lower income and have greater priorities in life such

as pressure to remit home. The proportion of migrants that do not know where to buy health insurance is relatively low and the proportion that do not know about the health insurance program is very low in all migrant and non-migrant groups.

Figure 26: Reasons for not having health insurance by migration status



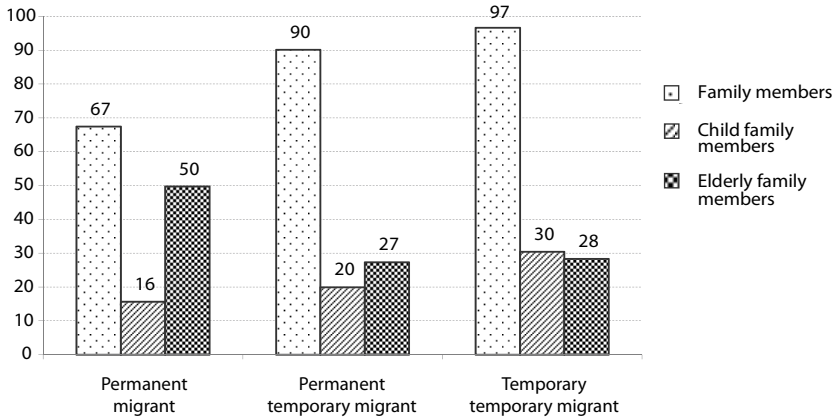
4.3 URBAN-RURAL SOCIAL NETWORK AND FLOWS OF WEALTH

4.3.1 Social network and relationship

Family members in the rural place of origin

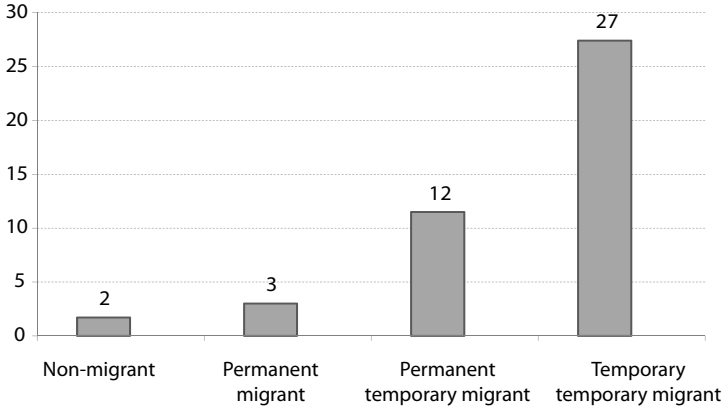
The analysis results show that migrants, especially temporary migrants, still have strong ties with their hometown. Over two thirds of permanent migrants and the majority (over 90%) of temporary migrants have family members in their rural hometown in the past 12 months before the survey. In terms of age of the family members left behind, we can see that many of them are elderly and children. Nearly a half of permanent migrants are elderly and this proportion in the two temporary migrant groups is quite similar and is about over a quarter. Temporary migrants, especially TTMs, have higher proportion of people left behind that are children: for the permanent migrant, PTMs and TTMs groups the proportion is 16%, 20% and 30% respectively. Permanent migrants have older population structure, their parents and children have higher average age, and thus this result is relatively reasonable. Similarly, temporary migrants have younger population structure, their children are also younger and many of them have largely contributed to the above differences.

Figure 27: Percentage of having family members at hometown by migration status



Over a quarter of the TTMs have spouse that currently lives in another city/ province while this proportion in PTMs is only about over one tenth, 3% for permanent migrants and under 2% for non-migrants. This finding shows that temporary migrants, especially TTMs, have the most disadvantages of love as they live far away from their spouse. This may be one of the most important reasons that led to the results of the higher proportion of temporary migrants than other groups that felt lonely found in the last section.

Figure 28: Percentage of respondents having spouse who lives in another province/city

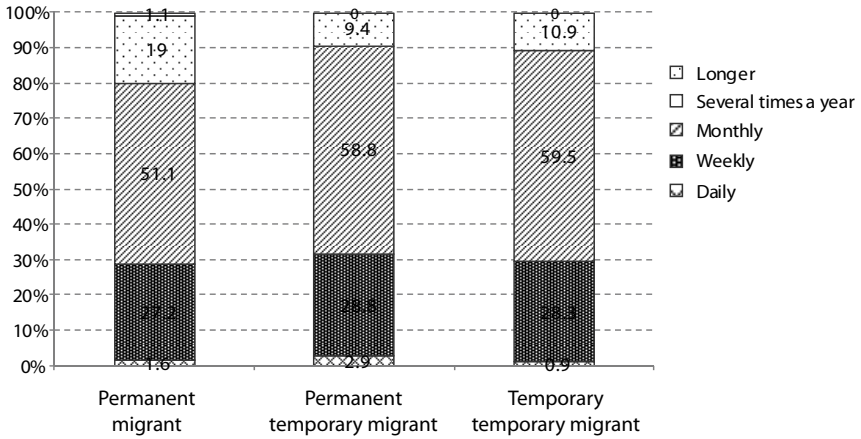


Contact family members in the past 12 months

Almost every migrant in all groups contacted their family members at hometown in the past 12 months before the survey: 95%, 98% and 98% for permanent migrants, PTMs and TTMs respectively.

Migrants contact their family members at hometown quite frequently. Nearly one third of the migrants in all groups contact their family members at hometown weekly and over half of the migrants in all groups contact their family members at hometown monthly. With more ties to family members back home, it is not surprised to find that temporary migrants and especially TTMs have higher frequency contacting their family members than permanent migrants.

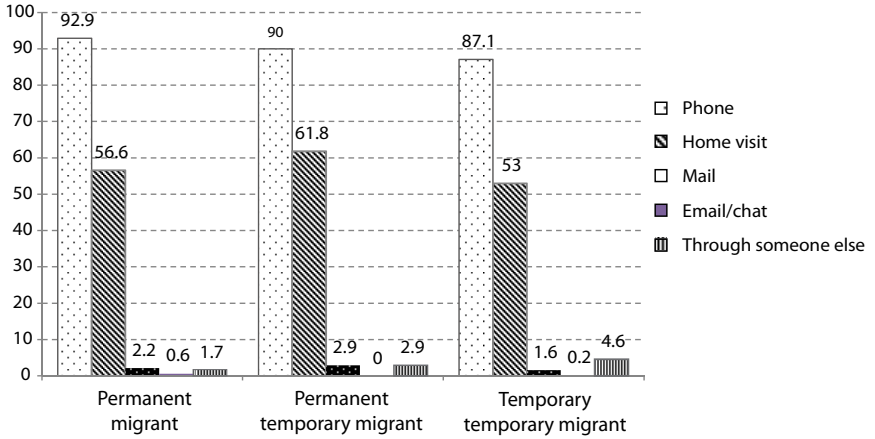
Figure 29: Frequency of contacting family members at hometown by migration status



Telephoning and visiting home are two key contact channels of migrants to their family members at hometown. It is notable that nearly almost every migrant contacts their family members by phone: the percentage of permanent migrants, PTMs and TTMs contact their family by phone is 93%, 90% and 87% respectively. This result is consistent with the very high percentage of households that use cell phones in all groups.

The proportion that contact their family members by visiting home in the past 12 months before the survey is lower as there is from about a half to under two thirds of the respondents in all migrant and non-migrant groups contact their family members by this way. Obviously, calling family members is much more convenient and cheaper than having to travel to visit their relatives. Along with this convenience, other traditional communication channels such as mailing or text messaging through a friend has lost its position and there is a very small percentage (under 5%) of migrants contacting relatives through these traditional channels. Besides, another modern communication channel is email or chat despite relatively strong growth in recent years but has yet to become a popular channel among migrating population.

Figure 30: Communication channels with relatives by migration status

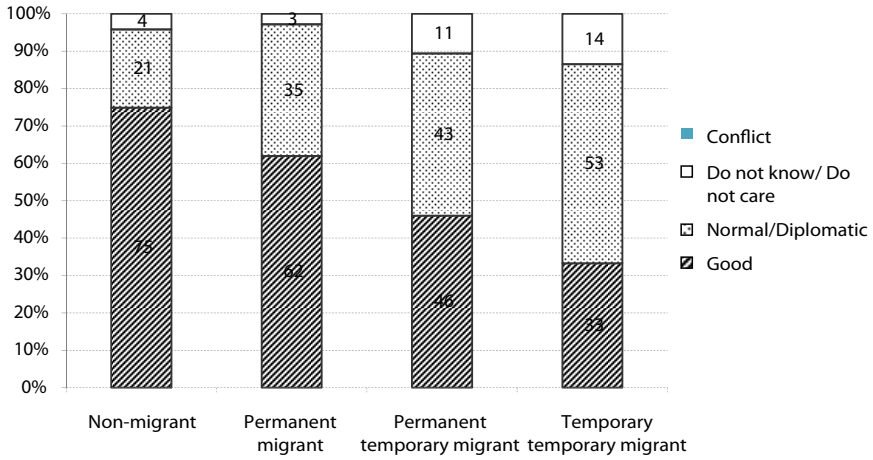


Relationship with neighbors and local residents

Research on the relationship between migrants and local permanent residents shows that, most of the migrants have a good or normal self-assessed relationship with local residents. Respondents can choose from 5 levels of this self-assessed relationship: very good, good, normal/diplomatic, do not care/do not know, and conflict. The percentage of respondents that have very good relationship is so small in all groups (about 5%) that it was included into the good relationship group. Compared to non-migrants, migrants have lower percentage of people that have a good relationship with local residents and this percentage in the temporary migrant group is smaller than that of permanent migrants: this percentage in the non-migrant, permanent migrant, PTMs and TTMs groups is 75%, 62%, 46% and 33% respectively.

It should be noted that none of the respondents, whether migrants or non-migrants, has conflict with local residents. Besides, there is also a notable proportion (10%) of the migrants that do not care/do not know about their relationship with local residents, which is significantly higher than that of the permanent migrant and non-migrant groups (5%).

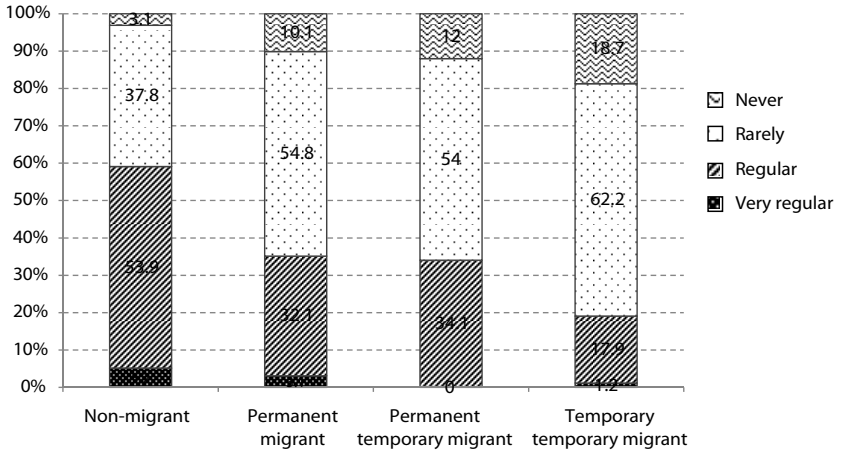
Figure 31: Relationship with local residents by migration status



Similar results were found when asking about self-assessed relationship between the respondents and their neighbors. Just like the relationship with local residents in general, the notable point is that migrants as well as non-migrants said they have no conflicts with their neighbors.

Differences in the relationship with neighbors among these population groups are very similar to differences in the frequency of neighbor visit: non-migrants have the highest proportion that visits neighbors when there is illness, funerals, weddings, after that are the permanent migrant, PTMs groups and TTMs have the lowest proportion. The proportion that rarely or sometimes visits neighbors is relatively high in not only the migrant group (65% for permanent migrants, 67% for PTMs and 81% for TTMs) but also the non-migrant group (over 40%). Longer working hours and shorter period of stay at place of destination as seen in previous sections seems to have a strong influence to the results found in this section.

Figure 32: Frequency of visiting neighbors by migration status

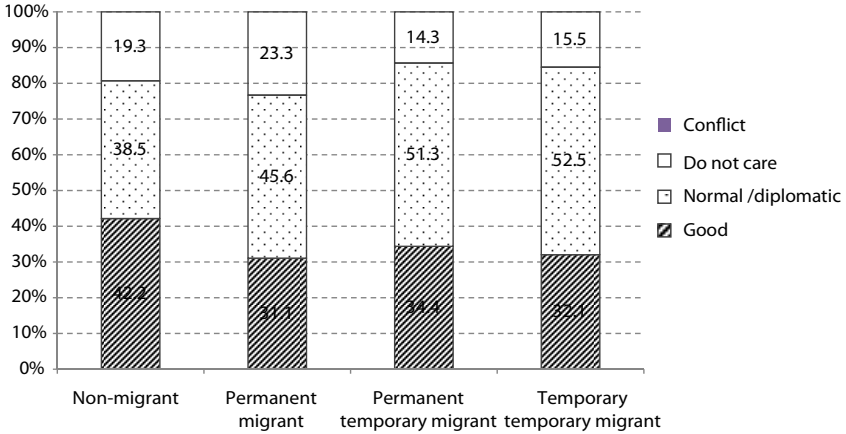


Relationship with new in-migrants in the city

When respondents are asked about their relationship with new in-migrants in the city, about one third of them said that they have a good relationship with new in-migrants. A notable result when comparing the population groups is that the non-migrant group has higher percentage of people have a good relationship with new in-migrants in than migrant groups: there is 42% of non-migrants said that their relationship with new migrants was good while that of permanent migrants, PTMs and TTMs are only 31%, 34% and 32% respectively.

All the studied population groups, migrants or non-migrants, do not have conflict with new in-migrants. There are only a notable proportion of people that do not care about these new in-migrants. For non-migrants, permanent migrants, PTMs and TTMs it is 19%, 23%, 14% and 16% respectively.

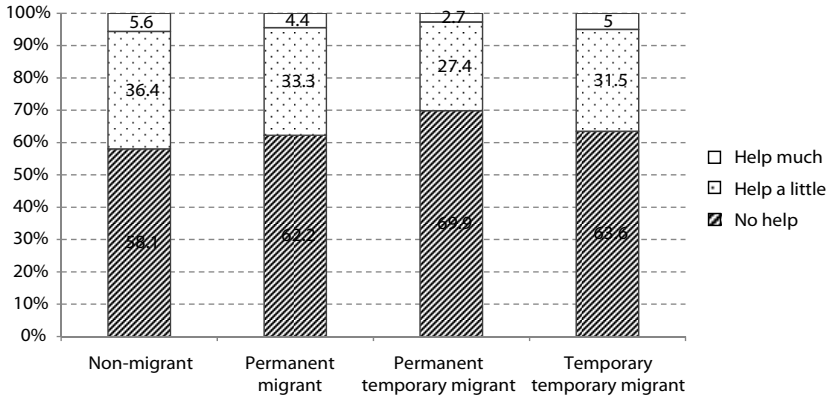
Figure 33: Relationship with new in-migrants in the city by migration status



Support to migrants from city local residents and authorities

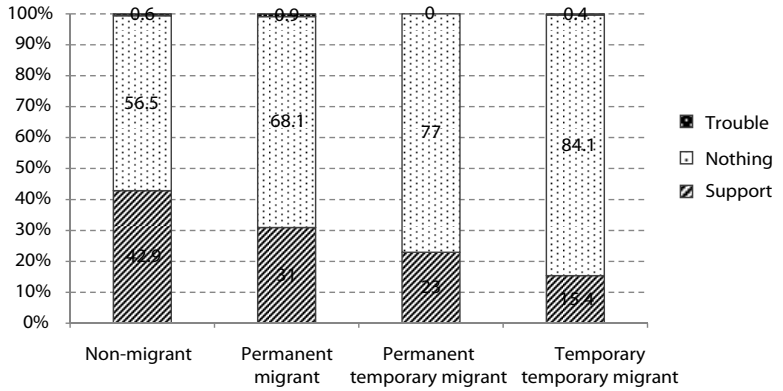
Nearly two thirds of migrants do not receive any support from people live in the same city; however, this is only slightly higher than that of non-migrants as there is 58% of the non-migrants do not received any support from people in the same city. This finding is consistent with the fact that the proportion of migrants that receive support from people in the same city is nearly as high as that of non-migrants. Very few migrants receive a lot of support from people in the same city but this proportion in non-migrants is similarly low.

Figure 34: Percentage of people receiving support from local residents by migration status



The percentage of respondents said that local authorities caused trouble for their life in the local area is almost zero in all groups. Over half of the respondents said that local authorities had never helped or supported them for their life in the local area and the rest of then said they more or less received support or help from local authorities. Among the population groups, non-migrants have higher proportion of people received support or help from local authorities; however, this percentage in the migrant groups is not small at all: 31% of the permanent migrant group, 23% of the PTMs and 15% of the TTMs.

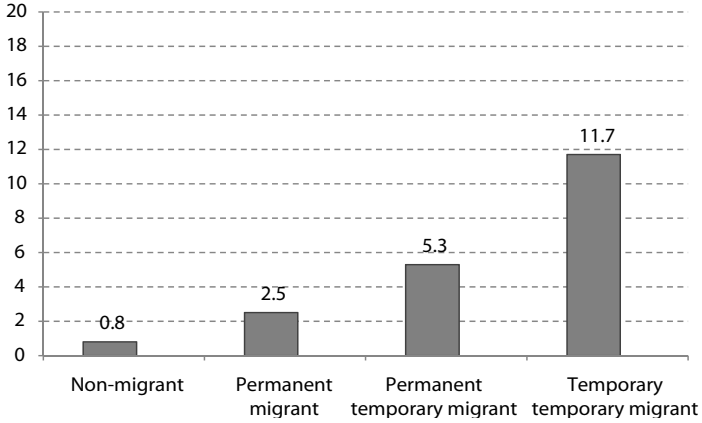
Figure 35: Level support for life from local authorities by migration status



Stigmatization against migrants

Analysis results show that migrants have higher proportion of people that felt they are stigmatized in the city than non-migrants; and the more temporary the migrants are, the higher this proportion is. The percentage of non-migrants felt that they are stigmatized is very small and is almost zero (under 1%); while that of TTMs is 12%.

Figure 36: Percentage of migrants and non-migrants felt that they are stigmatized

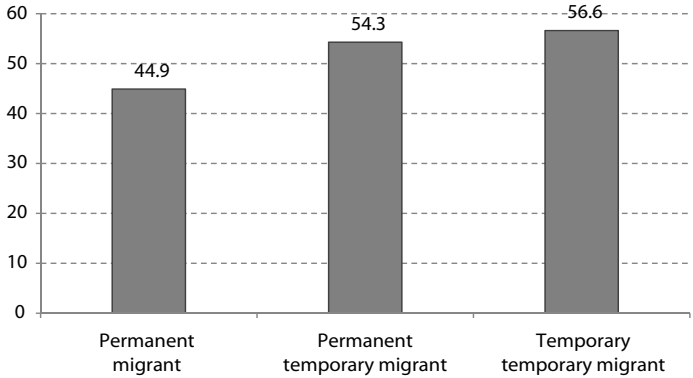


4.3.2 Urban to rural flows in the past 12 months

Sending remittances

About half of the migrants in the city sent remittances in cash or kind to their family or relatives in rural hometown. Although temporary migrants, especially TTMs have lower income, they have significantly higher proportion of people remit home (55%) than permanent migrants (45%). This result again reflects the stronger ties and links with relatives at home of temporary migrants compared to permanent migrants.

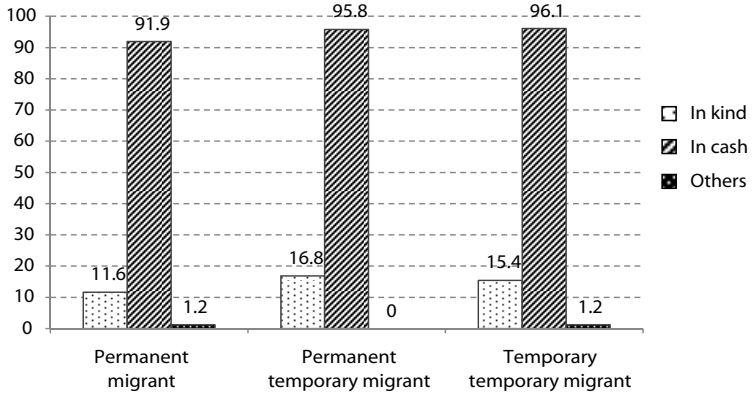
Figure 37: Percentage of migrant people sent remittances in cash or kind to relatives in rural hometown by migration status



Type of remittances

Along with the growth of the market economy and the ease of transferring money via assured methods at a reasonable cost, sending home remittances in cash has become so popular. Over 90% of the migrants supported their family with cash while there is only under one fifth of the migrants supported their family with remittance in kind in the past 12 months before the survey. Analysis results show there is no clear difference in type of remittances among the population groups.

Figure 38: Type of remittances of migrants in the most recent time by migration status



Amount of remittances

Although temporary migrants, especially TTMs have significantly lower income than permanent migrants, the mean amount of remittance that every temporary migrant, especially TTM, sends home is much higher than that of permanent migrants.

In terms of cash, about half of the temporary migrants sent home 3 million dongs or more in the past 12 months; while that of the permanent migrant group is only 2 million dongs a year. In terms of both cash and kind, after exchange the value of kind into monetary value, about a half of the TTMs sent home from 4 million dongs or more a year (remittance median); this amount is higher than the median that the PTM group sent to their relatives in rural hometown (3 million dongs a year) and is significantly higher than the remittance median that permanent migrants sent home (2.3 million dongs).

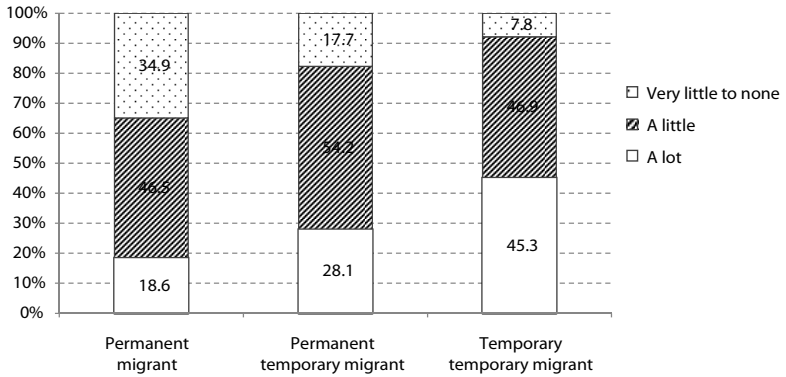
Table 33: Amount of remittances by migration status

		Permanent migrants	Temporary migrants	
			Permanent	Temporary
Average amount of remittance	Mean	3,482,386	4,191,146	4,558,538
	Median	2,000,000	3,000,000	3,000,000
Average amount of total remittance (including kind and cash)	Mean	3,903,409	5,242,292	5,182,095
	Median	2,300,000	3,000,000	4,000,000

Perceived usefulness of remittances to family in rural hometown

The more temporary the migrants are, the higher proportion of the group said that remittance helped their family in rural hometown a lot. The percentage of permanent migrants, PTMs and TTMs said that their remittance was very or considerably useful to their family back home is 65%, 82% and 92% respectively. At the help-family-at-hometown-a lot level, this percentage in three groups is 19%, 28% and 45% respectively.

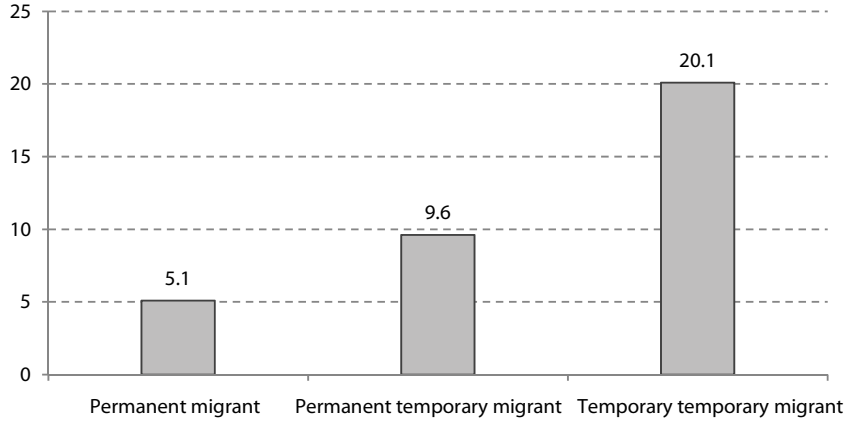
Figure 39: Level of usefulness of remittances to those who live in hometown by migration status



Helping family in rural hometown in harvest season

Besides helping the family with remittance in cash or kind, many migrants, especially TTMs, also came home to help in the harvest season. The percentage of permanent migrants came home to help in the harvest season is relatively low, only 5% of the total permanent migrant population. However, the number of PTMs and TTMs came home to help their family in the harvest season account for a significant proportion of the total population of the group; this percentage for the two groups is 10% and 20% respectively.

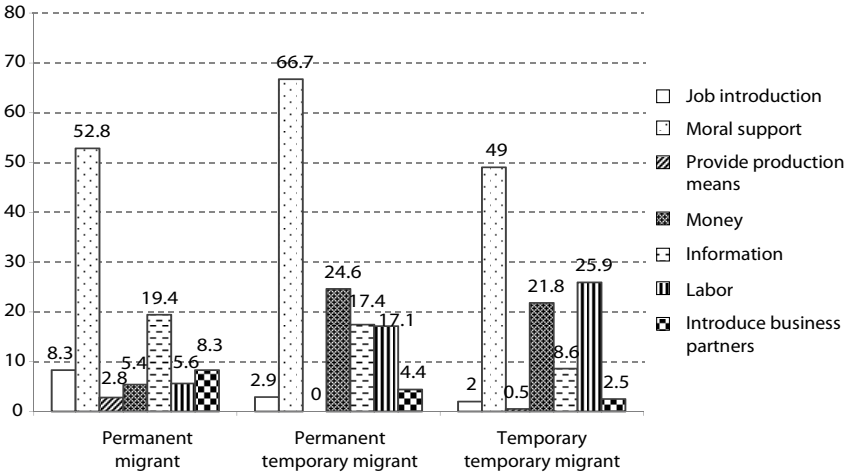
Figure 40: Percentage of migrant visiting hometown in harvest season by migration status



A similar model of the support from migrants to their relative in rural hometown was found when we analyze the support of migrants in developing business and production: temporary migrants and especially TTMs have higher proportion of migrants that help relatives at home than permanent migrants. This percentage in the 3 permanent migrant, PTM and TTM groups are 9%, 28% and 34% respectively.

However, there is a high proportion (about a half) of the migrants in all groups said that their support were mainly moral support. Migrant groups have different ways to help. Permanent migrants have higher proportion of people that supported in an indirect way such as job introduction, providing production means, information, and introducing business partners. Temporary migrants have higher proportion of people that supported in a direct way such as money or labor.

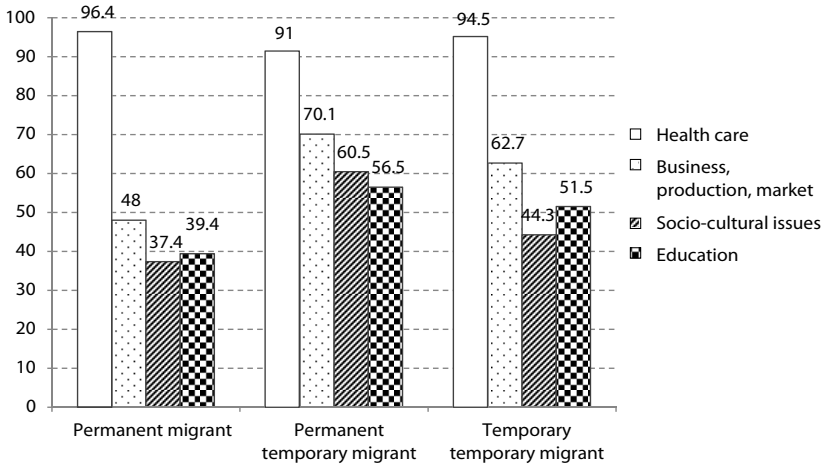
Figure 41: Ways to help develop business and production by migration status



Communication between migrants and their family in rural hometown

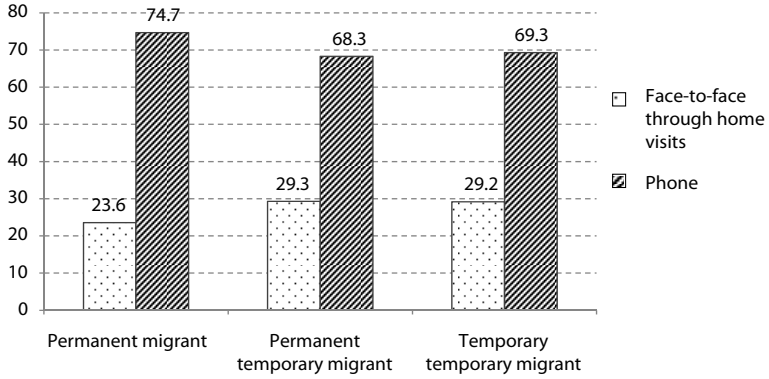
In addition to direct support, migrants can also help relatives at home by sharing information when talking directly or through phone. When being asked about the content of the conversations between migrants and their relatives in rural hometown, migrants said that the most talked-about topic is healthcare, then business and production; socio-cultural and educational issues are also often talked about but less than the others.

Figure 42: Percentage of migrant communication with people in hometown on some issues



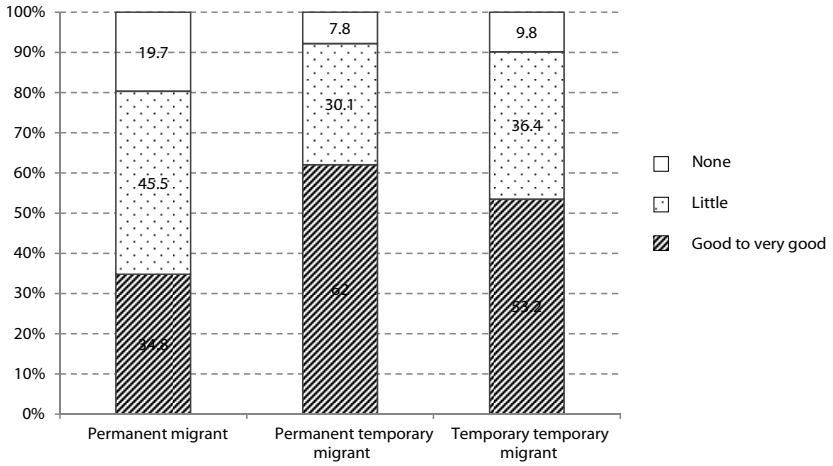
Once again we can see the role of telephone in communication between migrants and their relatives at home. Over two thirds of the migrants (75% of the permanent migrants, 68% of the PTMs and 69% of the TTMs) talk to their relatives at home through the telephone. Besides, about a quarter of the migrants talk to their relatives when they visit home.

Figure 43: Major modes of communication by migration status



Over a third of the permanent migrants and over half of the temporary migrants being in touch with their relatives at home said that the sharing of information through those talks is very useful to their relatives at home. In addition, about 46% of the permanent migrants, 30% of the PTMs and 36% of the TTMs think that such communication is useful but not so much for relatives at home.

Figure 44: Level of contribution of communication between migrants and relatives at home by migration status



4.3.3 Rural to urban flow in the past 12 months

Receiving supports from the family in rural hometown

In all three migrant population groups, nearly one fifth (19% in all migrant populations) of the migrants in the city received support in cash or kind from their relatives at hometown. This is two to nearly three times lower than the percentage of people that sent remittance in cash or kind from the city to their relatives at home

In average, among those who received money from relatives at home, permanent migrants received nearly 4.5 million dongs in the 12 months before the survey, slightly higher than PTMs (4.4 million dongs) and much

higher than TTMs (2.7 million dongs). In terms of both cash and value of goods or kind sent by relatives at home, permanent migrants, PTMs and TTMs received the mean amount of 5.5 million, 5.0 million and 3.5 million dongs in the 12 months before the survey respectively.

Table 34: Amount of remittances received by migration status

		Permanent migrants	Temporary migrants	
			Permanent	Temporary
Average amount of cash received	Mean	4,459,730	4,379,091	2,860,465
	Median	0	0	0
Average total received (cash and kind)	Mean	5,515,135	4,980,606	3,497,372
	Median	1,400,000	1,000,000	1,000,000

Comparision between urban-rural and rural-urban flows of remittances

Combining and comparing the flow between rural place of origin and urban place of destination gives us some notable results. Firstly, most of the migrants who receive money from home also send remittance home; the percentage of migrants receiving and not sending, sending and not receiving, neither sending nor receiving is very low and is almost zero. Secondly, although the two flows coexist in parallel, the flow of wealth is mostly from migrants in the city to the rural areas. Almost all the migrants (nearly 100%) in the city send more remittance home to their relatives than what they receive from them.

Table 35: Rural to urban flow of remittances

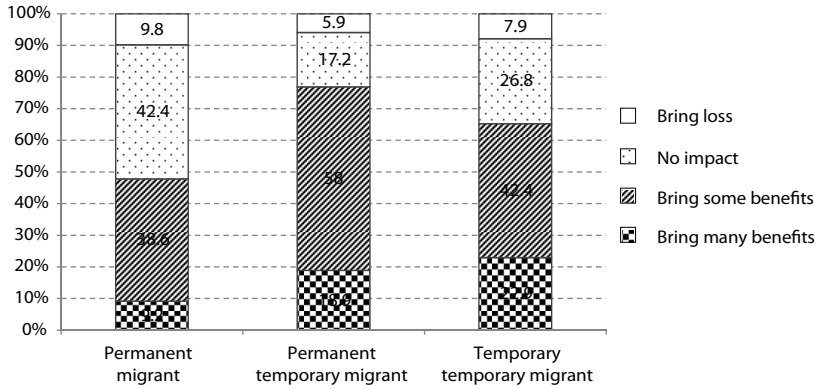
	Permanent migrants	Temporary migrants	
		Permanent	Temporary
No send, no receive	0	0.4	0.2
Only send	0	0	0.2
Only receive	0	0	0
Send = receive	0	0	0
Send < receive	0	1.3	1.0
Send > receive	100	98.2	98.6
Total	**100%**	**100%**	**100%**
N	**363**	**226**	**507**

4.4 ASSESSMENT ABOUT IMPACTS OF MIGRATION

4.4.1 Assessment of migrants about impacts of migration on family left-behind in hometown

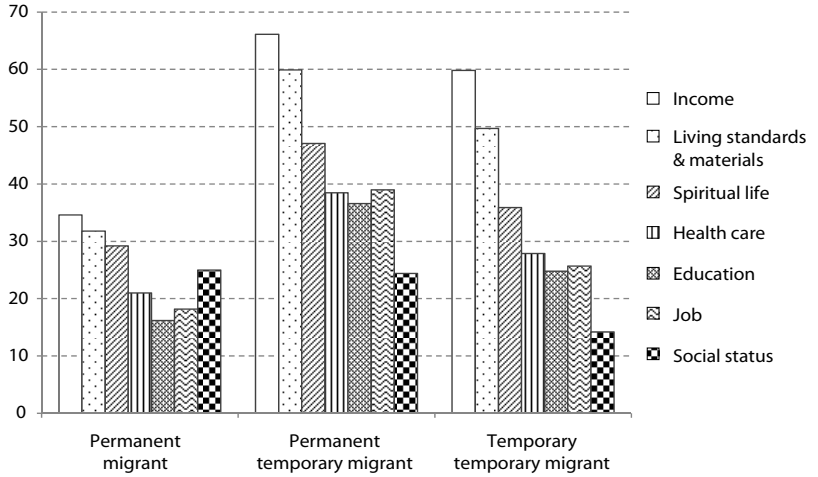
When assessing the impacts of rural-urban migration on the family left-behind in hometown, most of the migrants say that migration to the city brings more positive than negative impacts to their family. While just under 10% of the people that have family or relatives still live in the countryside in all migrant groups say that their migration brings loss (from a little to a lot) to their family at home, there are 48%, 77% and 65% of the permanent migrants, PTMs and TTMs said that their migration brought benefits to their family at home; the rest thought that migration did not have any impact or did not bring any loss or benefit to their family in hometown. A significant percentage of migrants, especially temporary migrants, said that migration brought many benefits to their family in hometown.

Figure 45: Impacts on family in hometown by migration status



Migrants in the city also said that their migration brought positive impacts on most of the important aspects in their family's life in hometown. In order of priority, for all migrant population groups, the most common reported benefit is income, then living standards and materials, then spiritual life, then come other specific aspects but no less important: health care, education and job.

Figure 46: Percentage of people reported that migration bring benefits to their family in hometown on some life aspects by migration status



4.4.2 Assessment of urban residents about impacts of migration on city place of destination

City residents also say that migration has more positive than negative impacts on many important aspects of the city life such as economy, culture, health care and education. The percentage of people, non-migrants or any migrant group, say that rural-urban migration has positive impacts on those aspect of the city, especially economy, is exceptionally higher than the percentage of people say that migration has negative impacts on the same aspects. At least over two thirds of the respondents in all groups think that migration has a positive impact on the economic life of the city while only under 3% of the respondents think that the economic impact of migration to the city is negative.

Comparison among the migrant and non-migrant populations shows that the percentage of non-migrants think migration has positive impacts on aspects of the city life is not much different from this percentage in migrant groups; however, the percentage of non-migrants think that migration has negative impacts is slightly higher than that of migrant groups.

Assessing the impacts on infrastructure shows a fairly equal percentage of each migrant group that think the impact of migration to the city on infrastructure is positive or negative. Particularly for the non-migrant population, the percentage of non-migrants think that the migration has a negative impact on infrastructure is significantly higher than the percentage of non-migrants that think it is positive (37% compared to 23%).

Table 36: Perceived impacts on city place of destination by migration status (%)

	Non-migrants	Permanent migrants	Temporary migrants	
			Permanent	Temporary
Economy				
Positive effect	72.6	82.3	69.3	72.0
No effect	24.8	15.7	28.4	25.3
Negative effect	2.7	2.0	2.2	2.8
Culture				
Positive effect	42.3	59.2	44.0	42.5
No effect	45.2	35.2	51.6	53.3
Negative effect	12.6	5.6	4.4	4.2
Health care system				
Positive effect	32.0	46.4	27.1	33.0
No effect	52.9	43.6	59.1	59.2
Negative effect	15.1	10.1	13.8	7.8
Education				
Positive effect	39.6	52.8	36.4	35.5
No effect	51.2	41.3	58.7	60.2
Negative effect	9.2	5.9	4.9	4.4
Infrastructure				
Positive effect	23.4	30.7	27.1	23.1
No effect	39.3	37.2	45.3	49.5
Negative effect	37.3	32.1	27.6	27.4

Both migrants and non-migrants have stricter view on in the impacts of migration on social issues in the city such as drug use, prostitution, robber, and social security. About 60% of non-migrants think migration has negative impacts to each of those above issues while the percentage of non-migrants think migration has positive impacts to such issues is only under 3%.

Notably, although migrants have less strict view, shown through the lower percentage of people think migration has negative impacts on those above issues of the city, they still have the same view with non-migrants as there is a fairly high percentage of migrants think that migration to the city has negative impacts on social issues of the city: there is over a third to nearly half of the migrants in all groups think migration has negative impacts on the such issues.

Table 37: Perceived impacts on some social issues of city place of destination by migration status

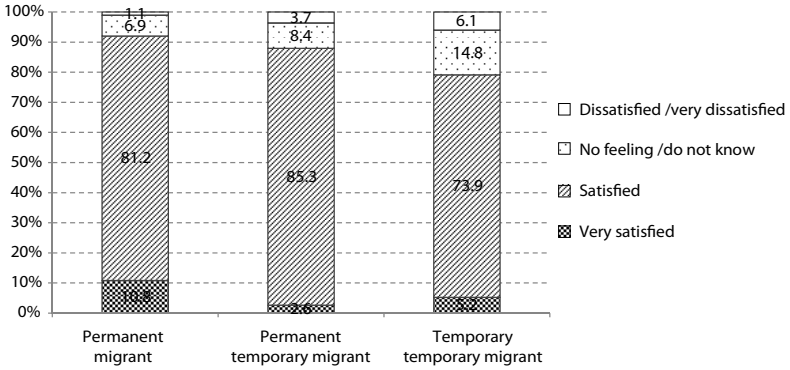
	Non-migrants	Permanent migrants	Temporary migrants	
			Permanent	Temporary
Drug user				
Positive effect	1.9	0.8	2.7	2.0
No effect	42.3	55.3	62.2	55.8
Negative effect	55.9	43.9	35.1	42.2
Prostitution				
Positive effect	1.9	0.3	1.3	1.4
No effect	40.2	54.2	61.8	54.5
Negative effect	57.9	45.5	36.9	44.1
Robber				
Positive effect	2.0	0.8	1.8	1.6
No effect	40.4	53.4	58.2	51.9
Negative effect	57.6	45.8	40.0	46.5
Security				
Positive effect	2.3	0.8	2.2	2.0
No effect	35.7	51.8	56.0	51.2
Negative effect	62.0	47.3	41.8	46.8

4.5 ATTITUDE TOWARDS RURAL-TO-URBAN MIGRATION

4.5.1 Satisfaction with migration

Most of migrants are satisfied with their migration decision and the more permanent the migration is, the higher the percentage of migrants satisfied with their decision. There are 92% of permanent migrants feel satisfied and very satisfied with their migration decision; the percentage for PTM and TTM groups are 88% and 79% respectively. Permanent migrants also have significantly higher percentage of being very satisfied than temporary migrants. The percentage of people that feel dissatisfied with their decision is very small: almost negligible in the permanent migrant group (1.1%), only about 4% in PTM group and 6% in TTM group).

Figure 47: Satisfaction with migration decision by migration status

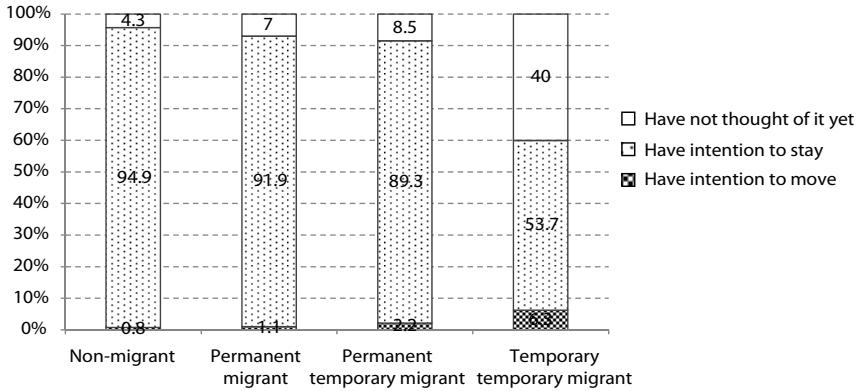


4.5.2 Intention to stay or move

When got asked about intention to move to another city/province to live or work in the future, the vast majority of the migrants and non-migrants said that they did not intend to move or had not thought of it yet. The percentage that do not have intention to migrate or move to another city/province in the non-migrant, permanent migrant and PTM groups are 95%, 92% and 89 % respectively. This percentage in the TTM group is

lower (54%) but the percentage of TTMs that have not thought of it yet is very high (40%). With these results, the percentage of people intend to migrate or move to another city/province is almost negligible and is under 3% in non-migrant, permanent migrant and PTM groups. This percentage in the TTM group is slightly higher but still remains very low (about 6%) and many of these have the ability to repatriate rather than moving to new city/province.

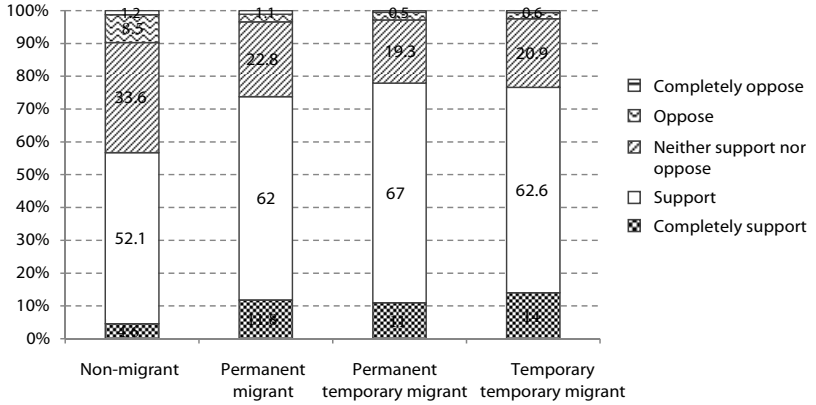
Figure 48: Intention to move



4.5.3 Support or opposition to migration from rural to city

In general, migration from rural to city gets a lot of support and very little objection. There are about three quarters of migrants in all groups support migration from rural to city; this is totally understandable as migration is linked with many benefits for the migrants themselves and their family. Besides, there is over a half of non-migrants living in the city (57%) support migration from rural to city. In addition, about one third of non-migrants and about one fifth of migrants in all migrant populations have neutral point of view that means neither supporting nor against rural to city migration. There is only a very small percentage of people (under 10% of non-migrants and under 4% of migrants in all groups) do not support migration from rural to city.

Figure 49: Support to rural-to-urban migration



These results seem to show that the positive impacts and benefits of migration from rural to city are much larger than concerns over the negative impacts of this type of migration.

SUMMARY AND DISCUSSIONS ON THE IMPACTS OF MIGRATION ON CITY PLACE OF DESTINATION

Results of this study show several interesting findings on characteristics of rural-to-urban migration, more specifically migration from rural to the two largest cities of the country namely Hanoi and HCMC, and its impacts on the city place of destination. The major and noticeable ones include:

1. There is a great heterogeneity among migrant population. Temporary migrants are younger, more likely to be single or never married.

Migrants are categorized into three groups: permanent migrant (PM), permanent temporary migrant (PTM), and temporary temporary migrant (TTM). It is consistently found that migrants is not a homogeneous population; permanent migrants are very much different from temporary migrants; and moreover, there is a great heterogeneity among temporary migrants. For instance, temporary migrants are much younger and more likely to be single or never married than permanent migrants while permanent migrants are just slightly younger than non-migrants. The finding that permanent migrants are very much different from temporary migrants is consistent with findings from previous studies, e.g. the study on migration and health in Vietnam in 1997 by PSTC /Brown University and Institute of Sociology.

This study further finds that some temporary migrants, i.e. permanent temporary migrants, in fact have some socio-economic characteristics that are closer to permanent migrants than the rest of temporary migrant population. Such differences were found repeatedly in this study and some of them are being summarized in the next parts.

2. Migrants have lower unemployment rate than non-migrants but they, TTMs in particular, are more likely to work for private sector and involve with temporary or seasonal, dangerous and noxious jobs with longer working hours and a higher likelihood of having accident from work.

It is argued that the unemployment rate among migrant population is low because they accept any job even if it is lower than their capability to make

a living in the place of destination while non-migrant population is able to get support from their family and wait for a high salary or good job. Results from this study seem to strongly support this argument. It is found in this study that the unemployment rate among all studied groups is relatively low but it is also clear that the rate is lower among all migrant groups compared to that of non-migrant population. Moreover, the proportion of people working in private sector among migrant population, especially temporary migrants, is much higher than that of non-migrant population. Quite the reverse, the proportions of people working in public sector, self-employed and unpaid work among temporary migrant population are all significantly lower than of non-migrant population. The pattern found among permanent migrant population is very similar to that of non-migrant population. In term of characteristics of the job, it is found that TTM is the most vulnerable population as they are more likely to involve 3D jobs and their consequences: a significantly larger share of TTM population work in temporary or seasonal, dangerous, and noxious jobs; TTMs work longer; and the proportion of population that have had accident from job among TTM population is also higher. With those in mind, it is not surprise to find that TTMs are less satisfied with their current job than the other groups.

3. Temporary migrants, especially TTM, have higher proportion of people having income from work but higher proportion of people with irregular income and lower average income (among those who have income).

This finding supports the argument that temporary migrants will take any job even if it is much lower than their capacity to survive, save and remit. The great motivation to save and remit, especially among the temporary migrants, are presented and will be summarized in the later point. Besides, migrants are excluded from certain jobs that require permanent household registration. This finding is very similar to the findings elsewhere in developed countries with the immigrant population; e.g. immigrants without a social security number in the United States.

4. Temporary migrants have higher proportion of people having saving money but they have a smaller average amount of saving (among those who have saving money).

As temporary migrants have lower income, it is not surprise to see that they have lower saving; What is interesting from the result is the higher proportion of temporary migrants who have a saving. This result shows a greater pressure among temporary migrants to save money, most likely to remit to their family in the hometown. Our qualitative interviews with temporary migrants indicate that the "small" income in the city provides a "big" and important source of living for their family in the rural areas. This is especially important in off-season when there is no job in the farm.

5. Temporary migrants have similar self-evaluated health but they worry more, they are more lonely and less happy with their non-economic life than non-migrants and permanent migrants.

Our expectation of better self-evaluated health among temporary migrants as they are younger was not met; the difference in self-evaluated health among studied groups is trivial. However, it was clearly evidenced from this study that temporary migrants have poorer mental health. The facts as found from this study that a significantly larger share of temporary migrants are never married, the majority of them have family members living in their hometown, and a relatively much lower frequency of social visit to their neighbors are among factors that may have contributed to the greater feeling of lonely, worry, and unhappy.

6. TTMs have a higher proportion of getting ill and smaller number of sick days.

Regardless of their similar or even better self-evaluated health, TTMs have a higher proportion of getting ill and smaller number of sick days in the 12 months prior to the time of the survey. On one hand, the younger characteristic of TTMs would help them to recover quickly and it explains for the smaller number of sick days. On the other hand, pressure to make, save and remit more money would lead to the same consequence. The behavior

in the second possible explanation comes with a danger of further health problems and faster deterioration of health among the TTMs as it was found in another study on migrant's health in Vietnam.

7. When temporary migrants get sick they are more likely to choose self-medication while non-migrants and permanent migrants are more likely to seek public hospital, and non-migrants are also more likely to seek private health.

The lower income of the temporary migrants would be a reason for their unfavorable health seeking behavior. Another factor that may also contribute to this difference is the lower likelihood of owning health insurance among TTMs. Besides, difference in awareness of and accessibility to health care facilities in the place of residence may also contribute to this picture. Pressure to save money and remit home would be another factor contributing to this unfavorable health seeking behavior. Unfortunately, the last two factors cannot be evidenced from this study given the unavailability of data.

8. TTMs are less likely to have health insurance.

"Do not have money" is the main reported reason for TTMs not having health insurance. This is a fair reason given the significantly lower average income of TTMs in comparison to the other groups. The result is also consistent with another finding that TTMs are much less likely than the other groups, especially the non-migrants, to participate voluntary scheme of health insurance. It is also found that a larger share of TTMs only join health insurance if they have to do so as their proportion in compulsory scheme of health insurance is significantly larger than that of the other groups.

Suspicion of the health insurance system, i.e. "health insurance does not help", is more frequently reported by non-migrants for not having health insurance. Nonetheless, it is found that the likelihood of participating voluntary scheme among non-migrants is much higher than that of the other groups.

9. While a much larger share of non-migrants as well as permanent migrants got paid for their last sick by their families or relatives, a much larger share of temporary migrants paid for their last sick by themselves.

The result is partially influenced by household size or number of household's members as non-migrants and permanent migrants have a large household size than temporary migrants.

Nonetheless, this finding shows the importance of social network and the more vulnerable position of temporary migrants in the city when social network is considered. As migrants leave their hometown, they also leave behind their strong social network and join the new environment where they have much fewer and weaker ties and hence much less support from that network. This social network can be strengthened over time and it could be as strong as it was seen among permanent migrants but it takes time.

10. Migrants have very strong ties and links to their rural place of origin. The more temporary of the migration, the stronger the ties. Cell phone is the dominant mean of communication.

It is found that a majority of migrants, i.e. two-third of permanent migrants and more than 90% of temporary migrant, have family members living in their hometown and almost all of them keep regular contact with family members through phone or home visit.

It is interesting to find that about 90% of migrants contact their family members through phone, about more than a half of them contact family members through home visits, and there is a very small proportion of people contact family members through other traditional channels like mail or a third person or modern channels like chat and email. Nowadays in Vietnam, with the low price of mobile phone services, it is not surprise at all nor difficult to find a garbage collector or a small street vendor using a cell phone. For the fixed phone, there is a huge gap between non-migrants and non-migrants as more than 80% of household of non-migrants have a fixed phone while it is only 62%, 16% and 7% for permanent migrants, PTM

and TTM respectively. For the cell phone, it is found that more than 80% of the household of non-migrants, permanent migrants, and PTM have a cell phone; this figure for TTM is smaller but it is still very high at 72%. Those results suggest that cell phone is the dominant mean of communication between migrants and their families.

11. About half of migrant in the cities send remittance to their relatives in rural hometown in the past 12 months.

The proportion of migrants sending remittance is higher among temporary migrants compared to permanent migrants. It is also found that TTM send more frequently and significantly larger sum regardless of their lower income in comparison to the other migrant groups. Together with other findings showing that TTMs have a greater proportion of people having saving money and stronger ties to their rural hometown, this finding indicates that TTMs have stronger bonds to the rural hometown; they have greater responsibility and pressure to save money and remit. Their poor living conditions, poor access to social services, and longer working hours are likely the consequences of their sacrifice to save money and remit.

Cash is the dominant type of remittance as the majority (more than 90%) of those who remit in the past 12 months did it in cash while between 10% to 20% of them remit in kind. This is a sound result under the current market economy and the ease of bank transfer.

12. The more temporary of the migration, the greater the reported usefulness of the remittance to those who were left-behind in the rural hometown.

Again, the stronger ties to rural hometown of the more temporary migrants would contribute to this sound finding. It was showed that the more temporary migrants send more frequently and a significant larger amount of remittances. Besides, temporary migrants may come from poorer families who would be more highly appreciating remittance and the remittance would play a more important role than that in families of permanent migrants.

13. There is also a flow of support in cash or kind from rural to urban areas with less than a fifth of migrants of any type have received this support.

Compare to the flow from urban to rural areas, this rural-to-urban flow is smaller. Moreover, while the average amount of remittance is larger for the more temporary migrants in the urban-to-rural flow, it is smaller in the rural-to-urban flow. In other words, compare to permanent migrants, temporary migrants in the city on average send a larger amount while they receive a smaller amount of money from rural hometown.

In total, the sampled migrant population of about 1.1 thousand people residing in the two studied cities have sent about 2.7 billion VND and 454 million VND value in kind from city to rural hometown in the past 12 months and they have received about 1.5 billion VND and 254 million VND value in kind from rural hometown during the same period. In summary, from a sample of about 1.1 thousand migrants residing in the two studied cities, a net amount of about 1.4 billion VND was sent to rural areas.

14. From migrant's perspective, migrants reported good relationship with local residents and authorities.

A large share of migrants reported good relationship and none of them ever had conflict with neighbors and local residents in the city place of destination. A large share, i.e. about a third, of migrants even have receive some support from local residents and this share is not much lower than the share of non-migrants who have received some support from local residents.

15. From non-migrant's perspective, non-migrants in the city reported good relationship with migrants.

A large share of city non-migrants reported good relationship and none of them ever had conflict with migrants in their city.

This finding and the finding showing the good relationship between migrants and non-migrants from migrant's perspective provide evidence to relieve the fear that in-migrants cause troubles, social conflict and social

insecurity in the city place of destination. The fact that some migrants involve to criminal activities and that many migrants live in poor and unsafe neighborhood do not necessary mean that they make more trouble than the non-migrants. Although we do not have neighborhood information, it is not strange to see a high concentration of temporary migrants in poor and usually unsafe neighborhood as we found that temporary migrants have a great motivation to save and remit to their relatives in the hometown.

16. Most migrants in the city found positive impacts of their migration on rural hometown.

The majority of temporary migrants in the cities reported that their migration bring some to many benefits to their family in the rural hometown. A much smaller proportion of them (less than 8% and 6% of TTM and PTM respectively) found that their migration brings loss to the family. The proportion of permanent migrants found benefit from their migration on the family in their hometown is smaller but it is still large and much larger than the proportion of permanent migrants who found that their migration brought loss to their family.

17. City residents think that migration to the city has both positive and negative impacts on the city place of destination.

The majority of people, i.e. more than two-third of both migrant and non-migrant, think that migration has positive impact on the economy of the city place of destination.

There is a dominant proportion of city residents think that migration has positive impact on culture, health care system, and education of the city. There is a half and half situation for infrastructure as the proportion of city residents think that migration has positive impact on infrastructure is very close to that of negative impact.

On the other hand, there is a dominant proportion of city resident think that migration has negative impact on drug use, prostitution, robbery, and social security in the city. This result reflects the fear or concern of local city residents about the involvement of migrants to socially unfavorable

and criminal activities. While this fear is reasonable, it should be noted that city non-migrant residents would get into similar unfavorable activities elsewhere. Sex workers, for instance, are hardly work in their hometown as they want to hide their identity; hence, local city residents may find that most of sex workers are in-migrants but local sex workers who are working outside are not so visible to them.

18. The majority of migrants satisfied with their migration decision and have intension to stay or no intension yet.

The more permanent of the migration, the more satisfied the migrants have with their migration decision; and there is only less than 7% of migrants dissatisfied with their migration decision. It is also found that the majority of migrants (92% of the permanent migrants, 89% of PTM and 54% of TTM) have intention to stay; and there is a very small proportion of people have intention to move (less than 7%) as there is also a significant share of population have not thought of the migration intention yet (especially among TTM with 40% of them still have not thought of the migration decision yet).

19. The overwhelming majority of people, both migrants and non-migrants, support rural-to-urban migration.

Among migrant population, more than two-third of migrants of any type support rural-to-urban migration while there is only less than 4% of them did not support it. Non-migrant population also show great support to rural-to-urban migration: more than a half of non-migrants in the cities support it while less than 10% of them did not support it.

KEY CONCLUSIONS

- There are strong ties and links between migrants in the cities and their relatives at rural hometown. Migrants, especially the "more temporary" ones, find that their contribution to their family in the hometown is very positive.
- Phone, especially cell phone, is the major mean of communication between migrants and their relatives at rural hometown.
- Temporary migrants are young and healthier population but they are facing more stress, having a worse non-economic life, having a lower likelihood of owning a health insurance, having a less preferable health seeking behavior, i.e. self-medicating, compared to non-migrants and permanent migrants.
- Temporary migrants are more likely to work in private sector, involve with temporary or seasonal, dangerous and noxious jobs with longer working hours and higher likelihood of having accident from work; however, they have lower income and lower saving.
- School-age migrants have a much lower likelihood of attending school.
- Migrants in cities are a heterogeneous group of population with permanent and temporary migrants; furthermore, there is also a heterogeneity among temporary migrants.
- There are concerns, especially among non-migrants, to the negative impact of migration on infrastructure, drug use, prostitution, robbery and social security in the cities. However, the perceived impact of rural-to-urban migration is much more positive than negative. Most people think that migration has positive impact on culture, health care, education, and especially economy of the city place of destination as well as rural place of origin.
- None of the migrants reported conflict with local residents in the cities and none of the city residents reported conflict with migrants to the city. They even reported good relationships and support to each other.

- There is a great support to migration from rural-to-urban areas among not only migrants but also non-migrants.
- Many findings in this report are inter-connected; some factors in one relation would be confounding factors of another relation.
- Migration from rural to cities will continue to accelerate as the majority of migrants are satisfied with their migration decision and the majority of them also have intention stay in the cities.
- In general, it is found that migration from rural areas bring more good than harms to city, it has received good supports from not only migrants but also local city residents, it is accelerating and many migrants will become city permanent residents.

KEY RECOMMENDATIONS

- Prepare for the great deal of migration from rural to urban areas and include migrant population in local social service provision and socio-economic development plans.
- Support rural-to-urban migration as it brings more benefits and positive impacts than harms.
- Use cell phone in interventions targeting migrant population.
- Explore issues raised in this report with in-depth analysis to control for confounding factors and have deeper understanding of the independent impacts of migration.

CHAPTER V

THE MISSING LINK: SOCIAL PROTECTION FOR MIGRANTS

Le Bach Duong

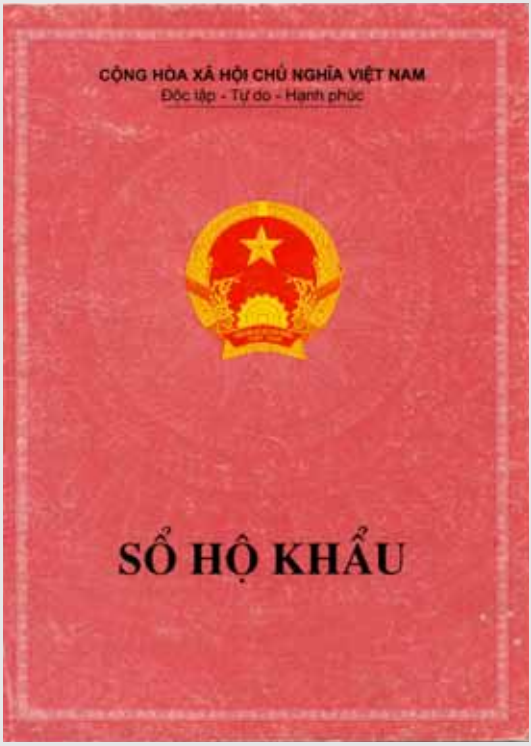


Photo: Nguyen Thi Phuong Thao

As mentioned earlier, rural-urban migration in Vietnam remain to be viewed as potentially negative by the government and the host communities. The suspicious view of the government towards this type of migration has resulted in various policy and institutional barriers to prevent migrants to come to the city, most notably in limiting their access to employment opportunities and social services, such as health care and education. Needless to say, these barriers not only create unnecessary costs to the migrants themselves but also significantly reduce the positive impact of migration on both sending and receiving areas. This section examines key policies and institutional measures that are detrimental to migrants themselves and to any positive impact of migration. In so doing, the section suggests better social protection policy for migrants as a nexus between migration and development.

5.1 SOCIAL PROTECTION FOR RURAL-URBAN MIGRANTS: THE ABSENCE OF A LEGAL FRAMEWORK

To define social protection is very important as it will be one of the most important bases for the formulation of the policy and legal framework. In Vietnam as well as other countries, defining social protection is connected to the selection of policies and legal documents reasonably considered as pertaining to the subject. The Government's policies have largely shaped the development and impact on social protection in Vietnam. Up till now, there is not yet a formal, agreed definition of social protection in Viet Nam. The reasons for this situation include the fact that it is a new concept for a country that has been departing from a centrally-planned, bureaucratic and command economy to a market economy and is opening up to the world (Nguyen, 2003).

Social protection is considered to be provided in Government's social policies. For decades, social protection has been largely confined within the frameworks of poverty reduction policies, social assistance and social relief for people in especially difficult situation, support for disadvantaged populations, and benefits for families/persons with national merit. Essentially, social protection is designed more as a safety net for critically poor populations, and measures are primarily to cope with difficult

situation once it has taken place. Prevention and mitigation strategies are not well embedded in the country's social protection structure. Since the last two decades, the government has introduced social insurance and health insurance into the country's social security system.

The current legal structure, however, does not cover spontaneous rural-urban migrants[9]. The government's overall view is to discourage this form of migration which is considered to be counterproductive to the national development. Spontaneous migration, or unorganized migration, is deemed to create pressures on the urban overloaded social services and infrastructure, employment capacity as well as social orders. Institutionally, there is no government agency that is responsible for matters relating to spontaneous migration. The Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development (MARD) is only responsible for organized migration; the Ministry of Public Security deals with registration; and the Ministry of Labour-Invalids and Social Affairs (MOLISA) does not have a policy tailored to the particular risks posed to these migrants.

[9] The government classifies migrants into two categories, namely organized migrants and spontaneous migrants. Organized migrants are those who migrate within government plans due to the loss of land caused by natural calamities, extremely difficult living conditions in their original residences; households that voluntarily go to new economic zone to promote agricultural, forestry and aqua-culture production and other trades; households that move to communes in border areas and on islands; families of the personnel of the armed forces, youth volunteers and intellectuals that are working in project areas of organized migrants.

5.2 *HO KHAU* AS INSTITUTIONAL BARRIER TO SOCIAL PROTECTION FOR RURAL-URBAN MIGRANTS

Any discussion about migration, migrants' well-beings and social protection in Vietnam should take into account the so-called *ho khau*, or the household registration system. Until recently, however, there was little systematic analysis of *ho khau* system in Vietnam, especially its links to migration (Zhang et al., 2006). Practically, each household is given a household registration booklet *(so ho khau)* which records the names, sex, date of birth, marital status, occupation of all household members and their relationship with the household head. In principle, no one can have his or her name listed in more than one household registration booklet. The *ho khau* is intimately tied to place of residence. If a person changes the place of residence, his or her *ho khau* should follow.

Imported from China, where it is known as the hu kou, the *ho khau* was introduced gradually since the 1950s. Before 1953, in Viet Minh zones, an identity system was managed by commune People's Committees and by the police thereafter. Household registration was formally implemented in urban areas in 1955, and extended throughout the countryside in 1960. During the war time, the household registration proved to be an effective mechanism that helped the government to mobilize humans for national objectives and to oversee the national security (Hardy, 2001).

Under the period when the economy was centrally managed after Independence (1975-1986), household registration existed for the main purpose of providing the government with socio-economic knowledge about the population and regulating the distribution of resources and welfares. During this period, people had to depend on the government subsidies and rationing for their daily necessities, especially in urban areas. It was only with household registration booklet *(so ho khau)* that a household or an individual could claim their rights to food provisions and other commodities, as well as access to social services, including education and health care. In other words, the ho khau was used not only as a system of identification, but also for controlling access to rights and services. As Le explained:

Almost all the civil rights of an individual can be guaranteed only with the presence of ho khau. Other benefits and rights including rations for food and almost all necessary consumer items, ranging from cooking oil to the "rights" to be on the waiting list for purchasing a bicycle or government house assignments, even summer vacation, all were bound to and determined by his specific position under the administration of a specific employer within the state sectors (in the countryside, people were also in the similar situation as their work and benefits were tied to the agricultural, fishing, or handicraft cooperatives) (Le, 1998, p. 131).

In addition, the *ho khau* regime, together with employment policies, played an important role in regional economic planning and for population redistribution. In particular, the government strictly controlled migration into two main streams, to rural areas and to upland provinces in the North – the so-called new economic zones - in order to decrease population density as well as to ease food shortage. This policy, based on the regulations of the household registration, made it very difficult for people from rural and mountainous areas to move to large cities and the plains, unless they were assigned employment by the state or reunited with their family; (Dang, 2005; Le, 1998; Hardy, 2001) and therefore limited opportunities and livelihoods choices.

In 1986, the National Assembly of Vietnam introduced the market reforms, often known as *Doi Moi*, which led to an important shift in economic policy from central planning to a market-oriented economy. Since then, the household registration system has been continued but its function in controlling the population mobility, especially spontaneous rural-urban migration, has been gradually declined due to the rapid growing of employment opportunities in the non-state sector. Yet, *ho khau* remains its great significant to most Vietnamese citizens in every aspect of life (Hardy, 2001). An article published in the *Vietnam Investment Review* on 15 September 2003 reflects this situation in detail as follows:

During the heyday of Vietnam's centrally planned economy, people often joked that there was no fear like the loss of your so gao, a person's individual book of food ration coupons… That fear no longer exists but there are new worries over another kind of book; the so ho khau (a household registration book) that

contains rights of a citizen… To buy a house or land, to get married, to be employed, to register for a training course, to borrow from a bank, to register your child's birth, to get a motorbike license, to go abroad, or to install a phone line if you are Vietnamese, you need a so ho khau.

5.3 DOCUMENTATION OF THE KEY RESIDENCE-BASED SOCIAL POLICIES AND INSTITUTIONAL PRACTICES

At the highest level, the first Constitution in Vietnam in 1946 confirmed, among various rights, the freedom of all the citizens to move and reside anywhere within and outside the country's territory (Article 10). It also stated the equal economic, social and political rights of all citizens (Article 6). Subsequent revisions of the Constitution in 1959, 1980 and 1992 also reconfirmed the rights to move and reside (Article 28 in the Constitution 1959 for example)[10], while improving other rights that are relevant to migrants. Specifically, the Constitution in 1959, while reconfirming the state commitment to compulsory free-of-charge primary education, emphasized the rights to education of all the people (Article 33). It also added others rights entitled to all, notably the rights to work (Article 30) and to welfare (Article 31).

The Constitution endorsed by the National Assembly in 1980 reiterated freedom to move and reside *'in accordance to the Laws'* (Article 71). Other relevant rights such as rights to work, skill upgrading, safe working conditions (Article 58), welfare (rest, convalesce, social insurance) (Article 59), education (Article 60) were reconfirmed and expanded. In addition, the Constitution stated the rights to free-of-charge health care to all the citizens (Article 61), and rights to housing (Article 62).

The Constitution in 1992 is considered to be most comprehensive in which rights of migrants were made more deliberately. Again, the rights to migrate and reside of the people were mentioned (Article 68).[11] Others rights mentioned in the previous Constitution were reconfirmed and detailed with some new rights and obligations. Article 52 confirms equal rights of every citizen; Article 55 - rights to work; Article 56 - working conditions and welfare; Article 57 - freedom to do business; Article 59 -

[10] The difference between the Constitutions 1946 and 1959 regarding migration is that while the former stated the rights to mover and to reside within and outside Vietnam, the later excluded movement outside of the country.

[11] Migration abroad from Vietnam and to Vietnam was allowed 'in accordance to the Laws'.

rights to education; primary education is compulsory and free of charge; Article 61 - rights to health care; Article 63 - gender equality rights; Rights 65 - care and protection of children.

Nonetheless, at the lower level, different laws, ordinances, decrees, decisions and circulars create barriers to rural-urban migrants to access resources, services and support programs. Most noticeable among the obstacles faced by migrants is the household registration system. As mentioned above, household registration system is the prerequisite for access to housing ownership and various economic and social entitlements. Follows are some policies and practices in which having permanent household registration is critical and an analysis of how household registration system create obstacles to migrants.

Household registration policies

The most obvious law regarding household registration is the nation-wide division of all residents in a city into five groups. These categories are used to restrict migration and control population (Dang 2005)

Category	Status	Rights	Obligations/Legal restrictions
KT1	Residents (including both non-migrants and migrants) with permanent household registration at place of current residence.	• Purchase and sell land and housing and have land/house ownership certificates. • Access to public facilities and social services at current place of residence • Access to formal financial loans • Access to employment	• Access to public social services including education and health care *only within their district of residence*

KT2	Intra-district migrants who have permanent household registration at the province/city of current residence;	• Purchase and sell land and housing and have land/house ownership certificates. • Access to public facilities and social services • Access to formal financial loans • Access to employment	• Access to education and health care *only within the district where they registered* • Lack of access to financial loans/formal financial services
KT3	Migrants who do not have permanent registration at the place of current residence but have temporary registration for 6-12 months with the possibility of extension;	• Access to public facilities and social services	• Lack of access to legal housing • KT3 children can go to public schools only when they are not used to full capacity (by KT1 and KT2 children). If the schools are overcrowded, KT3 children have to go to private schools, where they have to pay higher school fees • Lack of access to financial loans/formal financial services
KT4	Migrants who do not have permanent registration at the place of current residence but have temporary registration for 1-6 months	Do not have the right to purchase land and access to public social services and financial loans	
Non-registered residents	Those who do not belong to any of the above category	Do not have the right to purchase land and access to public social services and financial loans	

As can be seen, the KT3 and particularly KT4 registration migrants face a number of complicated and growing risks. At the *macro level,* they receive inadequate policy attention and assistance, thus being marginalized without social support. At the *covariant level*, the risks include fierce economic competition for jobs, social pressure living in city with environmental pollution, poor sanitation and contagious and communicative diseases, crime, abuse and violence. At the *micro level,* problems of migrants are identified as deteriorate health, poor living and working conditions, limited access to adequate education and health care services, unemployment, and an overall lack of labor protection, including those related to registration. As reported by the 2004 Vietnam Migration Survey, migrants and especially unregistered migrants have difficulties getting access to credit and basic social services. Unfortunately, no statistical data is currently available to ascertain the exact number of migrants, especially the poor labor migrants who should have benefit from the Government's social protection schemes developed for the poor or the handicapped, etc. This limitation has hampered any attempts to improve their situation and conditions through such macro measures as budget allocation, sector planning and the provision of legal assistance.

The major legal documents that stipulate the management of household registration are the Governmental Decree No. 51/CP issued on 10 May 1997 and Circular 06/TT/BNV issued in the same year by the Ministry of Internal Affairs (now called the Ministry of Public Security). According to these documents, household registration and management is considered as "a measure of administrative management of the State to determine the citizens' place of residence, ensure the existence of their rights and obligations, enhance social management, and maintain political stability, social order and safety" (Article 1 of the Decree No. 51). They also state that people moving across administrative boundaries must declare their departure, motivations, and their new address to the local Police Department where their *ho khau* registered. On arrival, within at most 7 days in a city/town, they then have to register as temporary residents at the police station. Their name could be struck from their household registration book if they are absent for more than six months without declaration [Government Decision 51/CP, Hanoi, 10 May 1997; Ministry of Interior Circular 6/TT-BNV (13), Hanoi, 20 June 1997]. In practice, however,

the enforcement of these regulations related to *ho khau* is lax due to the tradition of negotiations and bargaining between the state and its citizens (Hardy, 2001); many rural people do move without informing local authorities of their departure and arrival.

In this Decree, the requirement to prove legal residency in a house is the most difficult precondition for migrants who plan to live in the cities in the long run. In particular, in order to register for permanent residence status (KT1 or KT2 status), they have to present a certificate of a legal dwelling house (house-ownership and land use certificate - the so-called "Red certificate"). And, in order to possess a house with their name in the deed, the migrants must be officially registered permanent residents. This requirement intrinsically constitutes dilemma for many migrant applicants.

The administration of *ho khau* is criticized complex, multi-layered, bureaucratic, and politicized (Dang et al., 2003; Hardy, 2001). It is administered by four separate ministries: the Ministry of Public Security, the Ministry of Labor, Invalids and Social Affairs, the National Family Planning Committee, and the General Statistical Office (Dang et al., 2003; Hardy, 2001). Their duties include "the coordination of household registration with the administration of the civil registry *(ho tich)*, the labor registry, population statistics and family planning… to ensure coherence both of situation and statistics in order to provide for the needs of social control and the requirements of the people for the state" (Government Decision 51/CP, Hanoi, 10 May 1997). Furthermore, under the law, *ho khau* in deed creates institutional barriers for migrants. In this sense, registration is dependent on having the rights legal papers, including identification card and a temporary leave certificate, both of which are issued by their place of origin and problems with these documents have to be resolved at the commune level. These regulations raise difficulties for migrants from more distant locations. As a result, without *ho khau*, migrants might be restricted from accessing their social and political entitlements, services and support programs (Catherine, 2008; GSO, 2006; Dang et al., 2003; Hardy, 2001). The migrants' unprotected legal status leads to their vulnerabilities and social exclusion in urban areas.

In order to amend and revise some unpractical articles of the Government Decree No.51/CP, the Prime Minister issued the Decree No.108/2005/ND-CP on August 19 2005. In implementing this Decree, the Ministry of Public Security has promulgated the Circular No.11/2005/TT-BCA-C11 on 7 October 2005 guiding the new practices of household registration in accordance with the Government Decree No.108. Migrants who desire to change status from temporary to permanent residents need to meet three conditions to be issued a registration book in a city: (1) Residing in a legal house; (2) Having a stable income; (3) Having continuous residence in the city at least three years. It is agreed upon the media community and citizens that the conditions for issuing a household registration book for migrants have been relaxed. The new easier points of these regulations are follows: *First,* the minimum residence duration has been reduced from five years to three years. *Second,* the term "legal" house does not just mean a land-use certificate or house-ownership certificate; it can be a certification from the commune People's Committee about the legal status of the house or a house-renting contract. *Third,* in the past, only spouses and children were eligible for application for permanent residence status; nowadays, application can be widened to include nieces and nephews. Finally, time-limit for household registration is reduced from 20 to 10 working days for those moving to the cities/towns. For example, an article published in the *Cai cach hanh chinh online (Administrative reform online)* considers the Decree No. 108 and the Circular No.11 as a breakthrough in the administrative reform. These documents have created a more open legal framework for the household registration for rural-urban migrants. Also, the troublesome regarding household registration has been relieved for the citizens (Cai cach hanh chinh Online, 2007) (see also Weibel, 2008; Thanh, 2006).

However, those that are qualified for the new, easier conditions are mostly people belonging to the KT3 category. These regulations deny spontaneous migrants (or KT4) to cities to have permanent household registration as long as they have not resided continuously for at least three years. Without permanent household registration, migrants are barred from other rights granted to them by the Constitution and other laws.

In practice, a small proportion of migrants could obtain their new ho khau in their destination. According to the data of the 2004 Vietnam Migration Survey (VMS), less than 5 percent of migrants had no household registration in their place of destination and, among those who have some form of registration, only a small proportion of migrants have permanent household registration at their current place of residence. In particular, only 18 percent of migrants are registered in the category of permanent household registration (KT1 or KT2), 34 percent with KT3 registration, and 48 percent with KT4 registration. Hanoi and Ho Chi Minh City are among cities that have a small proportion of migrants who have permanent household registration. In Hanoi, there has been a far higher proportion of migrants acquiring KT1 status and smaller of those with KT4 registration compared in Ho Chi Minh City (5.3% versus 0.5%; and 35.8% versus 86.4%) (GSO, 2006).

Most recently, a noticeable step forwards the improvement of the legal situation of migrants was made on 1st July 2007, when a new Residential law came into effect. The new law on Residence generally includes two major contents that are the rights to residence and the order and procedures for residential registration and control. This new law is believed to open a door for temporary migrants to apply for permanent residency status even far more easily in major cities. Now, the beneficiaries which are KT3 migrants are only required proof of their uninterrupted employment status for at least one year as well as a continuous legal residence for the same period of time. This stipulation is also applicable to those who do not own a house but just rent or borrow a housing unit, as long as they can show the written agreement of the owner, lender or host thereof. Previously, migrants had to reside in the cities for three consecutive years (until 2005 the requirement was even five years). The law also provides that a holder of permanent residence register is eligible to admit his/her spouse and children to his/her current accommodation. However, a major remaining problem that this law caused to migrants is not related to legal residential issues, but to prove that they have had an uninterrupted stable job for one year (Weibel, 2008). In most cases, migrant workers are not provided with no or short-term written work contracts that rarely extend over one year. This new Residential Law allowed more than 230,000 migrants from other provinces to register as permanent residents in Ho Chi Minh City in the year of 2007 (Vietnamnews, 2007).

At local level, recent development continues to show the Government's hesitation to ease the conditions for people to have household registration. The draft Law of Capital City (Hanoi) proposes stricter requirements by: (i) increasing the minimum residence duration back to five years; (ii) having a permanent job with salary which is double the minimum wage; (iii) residing in a legal house. This draft law is drawing public criticisms mostly because its contents obviously contradict current domestic laws and international conventions as well as a strong bias among legislators in Hanoi. For examples, Vietnamnet points out that this new draft law is inconsistent with the Residential Law, which stipulates the minimum residence duration in the city is one year only. Tuoi Tre publishes a story posing a question in the title: "Do low wages hinder the Capital City citizenship?". In this article, a senior official of the Ministry of Justice is quoted as explaining that "the capital city is a special city… so Hanoi has the right to give regulations different from those in the Law on Residence". Meanwhile, the vice chairman of the National Assembly even says that "in case, there are conflicts between the Law on Capital City and other related laws, then the Law on Capital City will prevail in Hanoi". The Saigon Times Daily (2010) concludes that the draft law strips many basic rights of people, especially vulnerable groups.

Household registration policies

Employment

- The rights to work are among the basic rights of every citizen as confirmed by the Constitution. The Labour Code also provides that rights to work are delinked from having a permanent household registration. Yet in cities like Hanoi and Ho Chi Minh City, recruitment practices of the state authorities and public organizations continue the requirement of permanent household registration. Enterprises also give priority to local labor force. In fact, sometimes pressure comes from city authorities who want to address the problems of redundancy of labor who are permanent residents. Labor recruitment of enterprises with foreign investment is often undertaken through Department of Labor, Invalids and Social Welfare (DO LISA) which is likely to introduce only local labourers. Since 2003, however, these enterprises have rights to directly recruit laborers, as provided by the

Laws of Enterprises and the amendments of the Labor Code. Still, high requirements on labor skills prevent the majority of migrants to access to employment at these enterprises.

- Other local policies and practices also negatively impact access to the formal labor market of migrants. For example, in 1998, the People's Committee in Ho Chi Minh City drafted a "Proposal on Management of Migrants" requiring migrant workers to have some minimum skills in order to be legally accepted; and firms employing migrant workers should make a contribution of 5% of wages paid to migrant workers to the so-called "welfare funds" of the City; the bearing of this cost was ultimately passed on to migrants themselves. In fact, many employers also tried to avoid signing a long-term contract with migrants as required by law, in order to save costs on social and medical insurance paid for employees. (Nguyen Thang, 2002).

- In Hanoi, the People's Committee of the city issued the "Temporary Regulation on Restoring the Order and Managing Migrant Workers Coming to Hanoi in Search of Jobs" attached to Decision No. 3189 dated 26 August 1995. The regulation requires that labor migrants to Hanoi should have a letter of reference from the authority of place of origin, a temporary work permit valid for 3 months and renewable to be paid every time it is issued or renewed; and identification card (Nguyen Thang, 2002).

- The Decree 103/2003/ND-CP issued on September 12, 2003 by the government regarding the issuance of work permit for health care professionals and pharmacists does not require applicants to have permanent household registration. Yet at the large urban centers of Hanoi, Da Nang, and Ho Chi Minh City, only local residents are able to apply for this work permit in health care and pharmacy.

Loan and credit

- As holders of temporary registration status, migrants are barred from access to loans of the national fund supporting employment. As clearly defined in the Joint Circular 13/1999/TTLT-BLDTBXH-BTC-

BKHDT issued on May 8, 1999, the Joint Circular 06/2002/TTLT-BLDTBXH-BTC-BKHDT issued on April 10, 2002 by MOLISA, Ministry of Finance, Ministry of Planning and Investment, and recently the Decision 71/2005/QD-TTg issued by the Prime Minister, households applying for loans should have a permanent household registration as a precondition.

- Similarly, the Decision 475/NHCT-QD issued on January 30, 1991 by the General Director of the Bank of Industry and Commerce states that only families having permanent household registration at districts/provincial centers where the Bank located can get access to credits provided by the Bank for enterprises and households. This provision effectively excludes all migrants who do not have KT1 and KT2 status.

Education

- The Circular 22/2005/TTLT-BLDTBXH-BTC-BGDDT was issued on August 10, 2005 by MOLISA, Ministry of Finance, and Ministry of Education and Training in order to guide the implementation of the Decision 62/2005/QD-TTg of the Prime Minister on August 8, 2005 regarding universalization of primary education nationwide. For poor and disadvantaged pupils, the government provides financial support to cover textbook and learning aids. Yet one requirement is that those pupils should have permanent household registration, making temporary migrants falling short from the category of policy beneficiaries.

- Toward universalization of lower secondary education, a new advancement objective of education progress in Vietnam, the Circular 17/2003/TT-BGDDT issued on April 28, 2003 by the Ministry of Education and Training to guide the implementation of the Decree 88/2001/ND-CP issued on November 22, 2001 by the government defines that all pupils successfully completed primary education should be accepted to lower secondary schools at localities where they have permanent household registration or temporary registration from 6 months and above. Migrants with KT4 status are therefore not

eligible to enroll at local public schools, with an exception that when those schools do not have enough students according to the class-size norms of the Ministry of Education and Training. The present situation of over-crowded schools at urban centers means that almost all migrant students are not able to enroll.

- Some related policies designed for education development are also excluding temporary migrants. The Decision 1134/2001/QD-NHNN issued on September 26, 2001 by the Governor of the State Bank on loans for students of colleges and universities, vocational and technical schools allows only students with permanent household registration (provided that their performance meets average scores). The Decision 26/2001/QD-BGDDT issued on July 5, 2001 by the Minister of the Ministry of Education and Training defines clearly that target group of students for universalization of lower secondary education should include those aged between 11 and 18 who have completed primary education, having permanent or long-term temporary household registration at the locality.

- For students who want to go for vocational schools, colleges and universities, they can register to take entry exams only at localities where they have permanent household registration, according to the provisions of the Decision 07/2005/QD-BGDDT issued on March 4, 2005 and the Decision 05/1999/QD-BGDDT issued on February 23, 1999 by the Minister of the Ministry of Education and Training.

Health care

- On May 16, 2005, the government issued the Decree 63/2005/ND-CP on health insurance. The Article 17 defines that people having health insurance have rights to select one of primary health care establishments at place where they permanently reside or places designated by their employer. Beyond these places, their health insurance is not valid.

- The Circular 02/2005/TT-UBDSGDTE issued on June 10, 2005 by the National Committee of Population, Family and Children allows the exemption of health check and treatment of children aged below 6

with permanent household registration or who actually reside at the locality. Yet, in practice, for children with no permanent household registration, birth certificate of children and certification from the local authority that those children are actual reside in the area must be presented in order to get the exemption.

Others social and rights

- Temporary migrants of KT3 and KT4 status are paying much higher prices for electricity and pipe water consumption compared to local residents. It is a requirement that when apply for electricity and pipe water services, permanent household registration should be presented to receive normal price services. However, this practice varies according to localities.

- In Hanoi, the People Committee of the city allows only residents with permanent household registration to buy and sell land and housing in the city territory and to have land/house ownership certificates. Temporary migrants with KT3 and KT4 status are not allowed to have these rights.

- Household registration is required in order to have birth certification for newborns in addition to marriage license of parents (Decree 83/1998/ND-CP). Without birth certificate, children are not able to register for schooling at public schools in the city, free health check and treatment at place of residence.

- Similarly, at many localities, permanent household registration is required for marrying couples to get marriage certificate.

- The laws require that citizen aged 17-27 should register to local authority at place of residence for military service, with or without household registration. Yet, asking for household registration remains a practice at many localities, preventing temporary migrants to claim these rights.

5.4 RECENT DEBATES ABOUT THE NECESSITY AND IMPROVEMENT OF *HO KHAU* SYSTEM

As mentioned above, the new Law on Residence was recently passed by The National Assembly in July 2007. Before and after the issuance of this Law, there have been a variety of propositions for reconsidering the necessity for *ho khau* in the management of migrants as well as for improving this system among legislators.

At the highest level, in debates leading to the passage of the Bill on Residence, Assembly members echoed a common public concern that the *ho khau* system may violates the freedom of residency which was clearly stipulated in the Constitution. In recent media coverage, many citizens and lawmakers believed that the government, especially the Ministry of Public Security, used *ho khau* system to create a barrier for individuals and families to move within the country and become permanent residents in their new destination, and create discrimination between migrants and non-migrants. Also, it has become a notorious example of excessive government bureaucracy. A report by the National Assembly Commissions for Laws estimated that there are over 420 legal documents on transactions that require *ho khau* of involved parties; and 380 documents still take effect (Lao Dong, 2007). Lawmakers even agreed that the ho khau system sometimes has been "misused" in many administration activities such as in real estate transactions, job application, and school registration… Under the law, *ho khau* is no longer a condition of eligibility for a state job. However, in reality, many state employers, especially in urban areas, still keep the administrative psychology by the old link between *ho khau* and employment.

Anti-*ho khau* legislators suggested either abolishing this system and using identification card which is added the holder's household information or combining the *ho khau* and the identification card into what they called "a resident permit" or "an electronic resident card" - a more modern management method.

Eventually, a majority of deputies on the National Assembly Standing Committee as well as senior officials from the Ministry of Public Security (MPS) (the agency is responsible for drafting the Residential Law and manage *ho khau* system) argued that it is "very necessary" to maintain the current administrative system using *ho khau* for the sake of social order and security. Also, they recommended that the procedures for registration should be improved and simplified, rather than systematically replacing it with a new system, for instance "a resident permit" because it would create prodigal procedures for the people and present infrastructure, technical facilities, budget and human resources capacity were insufficient. Many deputies suggested that the new law must provide concrete stipulations for banning the "exploitation" of *ho khau,* which means *ho khau* must be considered as a residence certification only, but not be linked to any other economic, social and political interests of the citizens. In discussion on which government agency should take responsibility for managing *ho khau* system, one deputy suggested a civil agency instead of the Ministry of Public Security as currently.

In short, the design and execution of social policies and programs in Vietnam remain largely residence-based. This denies mobile or unregistered residents access to many economic and social entitlements. Unless the residence-based principle of the current national social security system is removed, rural-urban migrants will continued to be excluded and marginalized from the social progress brought about by the market reforms. Policy revision should rest first on increasing migrants' access to key social and economic resources and second on recognizing the legal status of the migrants themselves in the places of destination.

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