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MIGRANTS IN INDUSTRIAL ZONES – PUSH AND PULL FACTORS

A case study in industrial zones in BacNinh province, Vietnam

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Abstract

Since migration was mentioned as a pattern of development the debates have never ended. In Vietnam, the industrial zone has been developed rapidly for more than 20 years. However, the rate of migrant labor is high. Based on push and pull theory of migration the study is to find the reasons that push or pull rural labors to migrate to industrial zones. By surveying 190 migrants in industrial zone, the study found that the employment in the zones is not stable in the long run. Migration not always driven by poor economic condition of the household in the areas of origin, it is the way of life of young rural labor and the migrants in the zones seem to be pulled rather than pushed.

Keywords: migration, push and pull, industrial zone

Tóm tắt

Từ khi di cư được đề cập đến như là một vấn đề của phát triển, vẫn còn nhiều tranh cãi về vấn đề di cư. Tại Việt Nam, các khu công nghiệp được phát triển một cách nhanh chóng trong vòng 20 năm gần đây. Tuy nhiên tỷ lệ lao động ngoại tỉnh làm trong các khu công nghiệp cao. Dựa trên cơ sở lý thuyết kéo và đẩy của di cư, nghiên cứu này nhằm tìm hiểu những nguyên nhân kéo và đẩy lao động nông thôn di cư đến các khu công nghiệp. Thông qua điều tra 190 lao động di cư làm việc trong các khu công nghiệp, nghiên cứu đã chỉ ra rằng việc làm trong các khu công nghiệp không bền vững trong tương lai. Việc di cư không phải lúc nào cũng do hoàn cảnh kinh tế của hộ gia đình, di cư là một dạng của cuộc sống và các lao động di cư đến các khu công nghiệp chịu sự chi phối của các yếu tố kéo nhiều hơn là yếu tố đẩy.

Từ khóa: di cư, kéo và đẩy, khu công nghiệp

Introduction

Migration is not a new subject of study. Historically the mobility of population is common and it increases annually. According to Migrant Policy Institute (MPI) the number of migrant around the world is triple during 1960 – 2013⁵⁰. Although there are a lot of studies have been done nowadays, the nature of migration is mystery. It is still not enough to understand migration in a dynamic context and a changing society. In fact, the relations between migration and development are diverse. Its forms usually engages with different social and cultural values (De Haan 1999) and have changed over time (Majumder 2012) Since migration was mentioned as a pattern of development the debates have never ended. The theories of migration has tended to swing back and forth, from development

⁵⁰MPI (2015). International Migrant Population by Country of Destination, 1960-2013.

optimism, to structural and neo-Marxist pessimism and skepticism. Then it is turned to the new economics of labor migration with livelihood approaches. However, the integration of those theories of migration is more problematic than it is suggested (Haas 2007). Similarly the notions of migration are also diverse and its complexity is underestimated (De Haan 2011). For example, Ellis (2000) argued that rural laborers out-migrate because of landlessness, risk, seasonality, market failure. Deshingkar & Start (2003) found that out-migration is based on the household economic status. The poor households and households with labor scarcity are less likely to migrate. ADB (2007) saw the labor migrate to find a job and better living conditions. Gröger and Zylberberg (2015) considered the shock caused by natural disasters as a factor that pushes rural out-migration... As

In fact, migration as well as its notions is a topic that is considered by policy makers because of its impacts. On one hand, migration is important and viewed as the determinant of livelihood diversification in areas of origin (De Haan 1999, Ellis 2000, Skeldon 2003). Through remittances, the migration brings economic development for home rural households. The remittances can be used for repairing or building a new house, paying a debt or education of children (ADB 2007). The income of households that have migrant labor is higher than those that have not (Liem 2007, Vakulabharanam and Thakurata 2014). Additionally, out-migration helps to reduce labor redundancy that is increasingly in rural areas (ADB 2007). Even if the households do not expect to receive remittance, migration can potentially be a benefit (de Brauw, Mueller et al. 2014). However, migration itself contains a risk (Narayan-Parker and Patel 2000). If migrant laborers can not send home their remittances (Kothari 2002) or migrant workers fell in debt due to their migration (Skeldon 2003). In rural areas, out-migration causes a labor shortage in agriculture production in a certain time (Byerlee 1974, Binswanger and Rosenzweig 1986)

As a strategy of development to promote economic growth, a thousand industrial zones have been found in developing countries (Milberg and Amengual 2008). On one hand, industrial zones provided employment opportunities (ILO 2002, Milberg and Amengual 2008), but, wages and employment in the industrial zones was low and unstable. Kusago & Tzannatos (1998) showed that income in Export Processing Zones (EPZs) was lower than it was in non EPZs in Taiwan and Mauritius. It was also found in Rondinelli's (1987) conclusion that EPZs primarily create low-wage employment in Asia. As Sricharatchany (1983) explains, industries attracted to industrial zones are light industries, seek out cheap labor, require low skilled workers and pay relatively low wages. Thanh's study (2008) found low wages and unstable employment prevented landless households from getting employed by the enterprises in Que Vo industrial zones in Bac Ninh province. Moreover, a labor-repressive environment and low union density in industrial zones were also concluded by McCallum (2011). In fact it is still a lack of literatures that develop discussion why the migrants in this type leave their home to work at a place considered as exploitative and degrading (Deshingkar, Zeitlyn et al. 2014).

In Vietnam, the industrial zone has been developed rapidly for more than 20 years. Since the first establishment was in 1991, 149 zones have been built by 2007 (Huy 2007) and

289 zones by 2013⁵¹. Together with the formation of industrial zones, employment has been provided increasingly. In 2006, about one million employments have been created in industrial zones (Phong 2006). It increased to 1.6 million in 2011⁵² and 2.1 million in 2013⁵³. However, the larger part of labor in industrial zones is migrated in some of the fastest province in term of industrial development. For example, in PhuTho and Thai Binh province migrant labor accounts for 80 percent of total labor in the industrial zones⁵⁴. It is about 70 percent in the industrial zones of VinhPhuc⁵⁵ and, 65 percent in industrial zones of Bac Ninh⁶. Thus, this research proposes to find out why the proportion of migrant labor is high in the industrial zones, while the wages was low and the employment was instable.

Methodology

Research has been conducted in BacNinh province because Its development of industrial zone has been considered as prominent province in Vietnam. Compared to other provinces in the North of Vietnam, it is ranked at the second in term of the number of industrial zones and areas, and at the first in term of employment creation. It is also considered as the province that has high rate of migrant labor working in the industrial zone.

QueVo and Yen Phong industrial zones have been selected for doing a survey of migrant labor. The selection is based on the size and the employment provision of the zones. QueVo industrial zone has 600 ha and provides 58,017 employment, including 50.4% migrant labor. Yen Phong has 1200 ha and provides 71,879 employment, including 82.2% migrant labor⁵⁶

The survey by questionnaire has been conducted on 190 migrants who have been working at the two industrial zones in BacNinh. Sample selection was based on 20 households who have highest room for rent in two villages, Giang Lieu in Phuong Lieu commune and Ngo Xa in Long Chau commune

⁵¹Phan Minh ToanThu , 2014. Building accommodation for labor in industrial zone: experience and solution. <http://www.khucongngghiep.com.vn/nghiencuu/tabid/69/articleType/ArticleView/articleId/1053/Default.aspx>, accessed in 24/6/2014

⁵²Nguyễn Văn Vịnh, 2012. Đổi mới phương thức phát triển KCN. <http://www.khucongngghiep.com.vn/nghiencuu/tabid/69/articleType/ArticleView/articleId/588/i-mi-phng-thc-pht-trin-KCN.aspx>, accessed in 31/7/2014

⁵³Phan Minh ToànThu - Lê Minh Xuân, 2014. Chăm lo đời sống văn hóa, tinh thần của công nhân các KCN. <http://www.khucongngghiep.com.vn/nghiencuu/tabid/69/articleType/ArticleView/articleId/1009/Chm-lo-i-sng-vn-ha-tinh-thn-ca-cng-nhn-cc-KCN.aspx>, accessed in 24/6/2014

⁵⁴ Industrial zones of Vietnam, 2014. Accommodation for migrant labor in industrial zones: practice and solution. <http://www.khucongngghiep.com.vn/nghiencuu/tabid/69/articleType/ArticleView/articleId/861/NH--CHO-CNG-NHN-CC-KCN--Thc-trng-v-gii-php.aspx>, accessed in 2/6/2014

⁵⁵<http://www.baomoi.com/Can-chinh-sach-an-long-cong-nhan-o-cac-khu-cong-ngghiep/47/13725299.epi>

⁵⁶ Management board of Industrial zone of BacNinh, 2015. Employment report

Literature review

The development of migration theories

Neo-classical model, the first contribution for migration theory, was remarked by Ravenstein(1885) by showing economic as a driving force of migration. Migrants seem to move from low income area to high income area. According to Hein de Haas (2007), at the macro level, the notion of migration explained by neo-classical model is based on the demand and supply of labor. On one hand, the migrant moves from labor-surplus regions where is low wage to labor-scarcer regions where is higher wage. On the other hand, at the micro level, migration is viewed as individual and migrant decision is based cost-benefit calculation. Later, human capital framework is also integrated to this model and migration is viewed as investment decision. This enables to explain the notion of migration beyond that focusing only on cost, and to pay further attention into the internal structure and segmentation of labor markets as well as the relevance of individual socio-economic characteristics and capitals in the migration decision (Bauer and Zimmermann 1998). However, neo-classical model is criticized for largely ignores the existence of market imperfections and other structural constraints on development; for not able to deal with constraining factors such as government restrictions on migration (Haas 2007); and for being a-historical and Euro-centric meanwhile contemporary migration in and from developing countries takes place are rather different, although perhaps not fundamentally so (Skeldon 1997)

Response to neo-classical theory of migration, historical-structure theory of migration is formed. It suggests that people access to resources unequally because of the expansion of capitalists. And migration which is interpreted as a manifestation of capitalism results from the process of capital accumulation (Massey, Arango et al. 1998). This criticizes the neo-classical model that rural population have no free choice, they are deprived their traditional livelihood and become cheap labor flourish urban areas (Haas 2007). However, historical-structure theory has been criticized for not flexible in viewing individual as victim and migration as very cause of underdevelopment. Historical evidences show that exporting labor gains economic growth in many developing countries (Sen 1999).

Infact, both neo-classical and historical-structure theory of migration fail to explain why people not to migrate (Massey, Arango et al. 1993, Reniers 1999). To revise the failure of those model, Lee' research (1966) adds that migration is decided by the factors such as area of origin, area of destination, intervening obstacles and personal characteristics. For Lee, people response to origin and destination area in both positive (plus) and negative (minus) ways according to personal characteristics of migrates (Reniers 1999). According to Passaris(1989) Lee's analytical framework is referred to push and pull model of migration.

Basically push and pull model rely on an individual choice that supports to the neo-classical model at the micro level (Haas 2007). It means that people do have a huge of choice to make migration decision, but it does not imply that they are free to choose. People have to choose to migrate or stay. The direction of migration they are chosen is largely determined by their network (De Haan 1997).

Critical respond to neo classical theory of migration the new economics of labor migration (NELM) theory war formed. This approach considers migration not only as risk-

sharing behavior of families or households, but also as a strategy to overcome various market constraints. People who migrates is not because of a desperate response to destitution, it rather is a deliberate attempt to minimize the risks of the households by social groups to improve their social and economic status and, hence, to overcome local development constraints(Haas 2007). However it is criticized that NELM is based on unrealistic assumption. The household is not monolithic and the decisions of the household is not always taken to the advantage of the whole group (Carling 2005). Additionally, the notion of migration of labor, according to the line of NELM, is viewed as a link to livelihood strategy. This link is often lacking stability in practice(Lindley 2009).

Rural migrants in industrial zones

Haan(1997), with the case study in Calcutta, defines rural migrants in industrial sector under the term of unsettled settler because of the circular of migration. People migrate to industrial area but are not confined to industrial sector. Most of migrants maintained links with origin areas whilethey were provided comparatively permanent employment by industry. Even different groups of migration characterized by social economic, culture and ethnicity go along with different patterns of spatial migration, the main pattern of migration in industrial area is circular. According to Haan, such pattern of migration in Calcutta is stimulated by five factors including well developed transportation and communication, organization of industry, employment environment and living condition of worker, landholding in rural area, and the existence of joint family. It is also reflected in the existence of strong regional identities within the town including differences in perceptions about female labor. There are no evidences to prove that these differences caused by employer's strategies or difference between the North and the Sound of India.

In pattern of gender of migrant workers, not like the case of Calcutta where the female migrants were prevented to work in industrial zone by cultural factors (De Haan 1997), the evidences have been found in many developing countries that most of migrant workers were female (Kusago and Tzannatos 1998, UNCTAD 1999, Thanh 2010). In fact, industrial zones engage to light industries such as food processing, garment and textile, electrical appliance and components, metal product, optical instrument, and toys and crafts manufacturing and assembling activities that require unskilled labor (Rondinelli 1987, Thanh 2009, McCallum 2011). So the work is more relevant to female than male labor. However, the proportion of female labor in industrial zones has declined over time. This might be related to changes in technology and the industrial composition of firms (labor-intensive to capital-intensive; light- to heavy-industry) and also in wages (Kusago and Tzannatos 1998).

Wage in the industrial zone is different among countries and between inside and outside industrial zones. In Asia and Pacific workers receipted relatively low wage (Rondinelli 1987). In Taiwan, Mauritius and Nicaragua wages inside the industrial zones were lower than that outside the zones. However, in China, Thailand, Sri Lanka, Honduras, and South Africa the wages were higher (Kusago and Tzannatos 1998, McCallum 2011). Some countries like Republic of Korea and Malaysia, wages in EPZs were initially lower than in non-EPZs but became higher after some point in time (Kusago and Tzannatos 1998). Actually the situation with wages does not imply that workers have a decent work. Since the

early of industrial zones were formed, working condition in the zones has never evaluated positively. In some places, working hours in industrial zones are longer than that outside the zones. Furthermore, discrimination exists between male and female workers on issues of pay equity and equal treatment. Even when the actual legislation present, enforcement and accountability remain weak and laws are often unenforceable (McCallum 2011)

Findings and discussions

Who migrants are?

Age and gender

According to Le Thi Kim Anh and Vu (2012) an analysis of interprovincial migration in Vietnam from 1989 to 2009 showed that the proportion of female migrants is growing and the average age of migrants is decreasing. However, the study finds that almost migrant labors in industrial zones are young and dominated by female. Average age of migrant labor seems not change from 2009 to 2015. Median of age was 22.4 years old in 2009 and 23.0 in 2015. The proportion of female migrants that accounted for 75.6% in 2009 moves slightly to 77.4% in 2015 (see table 1).

Education

Normally employment in industrial zones is reported as low skill, so high education level was not required for being a worker. It is not an exception for migrant labors who have been working in the zones. The data collected in 2009 and 2015 both shows that the proportion of migrant labors who graduated from secondary and high school is prominent and even increases slightly. However the migrant labors who have vocational training seem to decrease.

Areas of origin

Data collected shows that almost of migrant labors in industrial zones are originated from rural areas. As presented in table 1 the proportion of rural labor among migrant accounts for 77.8% in 2009 and increases to 93.2% in 2015. Meanwhile the proportion of migrant originated from district town decreases from 21.1% in 2009 to 6.3% in 2015.

Table 1: Characteristics of migrant labor in industrial zones of BacNinh

		2009 ^(*)		2015 ^(**)	
		Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
Age	Median	22.4		23.0	
	N	90		190	
Gender	Male	22	24.4	43	22.6
	Female	68	75.6	147	77.4
	N	90	100.0	190	100.0
Education	Secondary School	1	1.1	16	8.4
	High school	59	65.6	136	71.6
	Vocational School	10	11.1	5	2.6
	College	9	10.0	21	11.1
	University	11	12.2	12	6.3
	N	90	100.0	190	100.0
Original area	City	1	1.1	1	0.5
	District town	19	21.1	12	6.3
	Rural area	70	77.8	177	93.2
	N	90	100.0	190	100.0

Source: (*)Thanh (2010); (**) Data collection 2015

Working duration

Although the QueVo industrial zone was established for more than 13 years; Yen Phong for more than ten years, the working duration of migrant surveyed in 2015 is mainly up to two years. Only 7.9% of migrant reported to work at the zones more than 2 years (see table 2).

Table 2: Duration working at industrial zones

Duration working at industrial zones	Frequency	Percent
Up to 12 months	119	63
From 13-24 months	55	29.1
From 25-36 months	14	7.4
More than 36 months	1	0.5
Total	189	100

Source: Data collection, 2015

Advantage of distance and infrastructure

One of the notions of migration is the advantage of distance. According to the survey the migrants departed from diverse areas of origin. More than twenty provinces are appeared as the areas of origin of migrant workers. However, the larger part of migrant in the industrial zones come from the neighbor provinces like BacGiang, Lang Son, accounting for 32.22% of the total (see figure 1). Shorter distance makes migrants contact to their family more often by every weekend. Reported by those migrants that it takes about one and a half hour to two hours to visit their home land which is especially an importance for young and female labors. The tendency seems to change slightly compared to the early state of

industrial development in BacNinh when the migrants were dominated by intra province (Thanh 2010). In fact as addressed by Majumder (2012) the type of migration changes from short to longer distance according to the development of infrastructure. This can be an explanation for the reason that why migrant workers from ThanhHoa and Nghe An account for 34.74%, the largest of the total. Although the distance from those provinces to BacNinh is twice time compared to the distance from BacGiang and Lang Son, the migrant workers still go back home within a day in case of urgent that is impossible if they would have worked in the zones further the south like in Binh Duong and Dong Nai. Even for other mountainous provinces like TuyenQuang, Cao Bang and Yen Bai, migrant workers have never taken more than one day to travel home

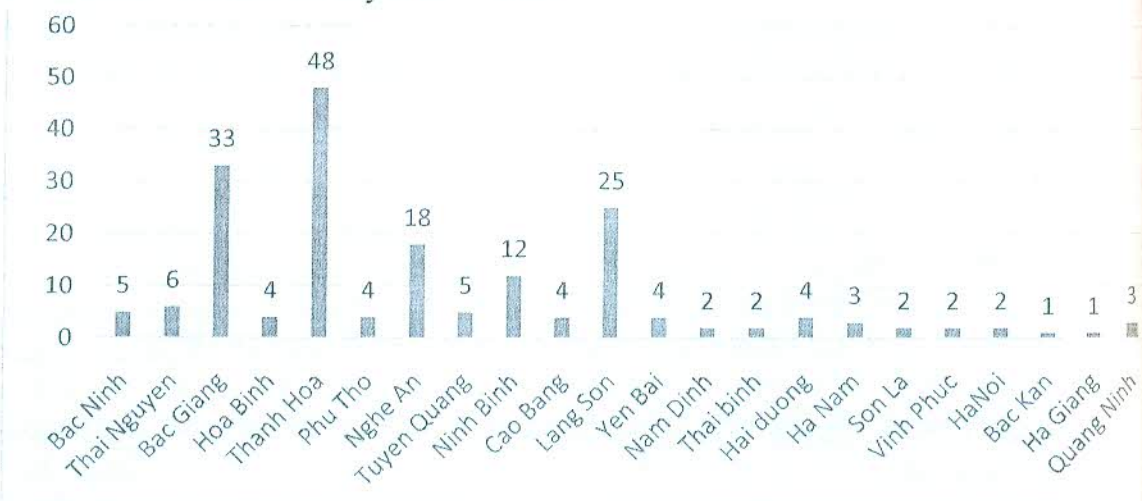


Figure 1: The areas of origin of migrant workers in industrial zones of BacNinh

Source: Data collection in 2015

Lack of none farm employment opportunities in the areas of origin

Because rural labors observed and participated in agriculture work since they were young, their perception of employment tends to get rid of farm activity in order to have a better life. Almost of surveyed migrants have not perceived farm activity as their future employment. It is seen as the hard work because of outdoor performance, especially under the conditions of severe climate. However, none farm employment in the areas of origin failed to attract rural labor. More than a half of migrant labor reported that the industrial zone or factory has not been established in the areas of origin (see table3). Even the zones or factories are existed, they did not set a priority to work at over there. In fact, there are 81.6% surveyed migrant did not seek for a none farm employment in the areas of origin, including 37.9% not seeking in the zones or the factories nearby, 8.4% seeking for a job in the zones or the factories nearby, but not ready to work over there.

According to in depth interviewsthe fields of none farm employment in the areas of origin is not relevance to rural labor in term of gender and the wage is low. As reported garment and construction industries are the most popular field over these areas. The garment enterprises pay about 3 -4 million VND, meanwhile those in industrial zones of BacNinh page about 5.5 – 8.0 million VND. And the construction work is rather suitable for male than female labor. They do not intend to work at the zones or factories nearby their home

land as well because the distance is too close. As mentioned in the previous section, at the young age the migrant worker prefer to work far from their home in order to get more independency that hard to implement if they choose a commuting works

Table3: None farm opportunity in the areas of origin

	Frequency	Percent
Have no industrial zone/factory	102	53.7
Have industrial zone, but not looking for jobs in the zone	72	37.9
Have industrial zone, looking for jobs, but not work in the zone	16	8.4
Total	190	100.0
Looking for none farm jobs (in and outside the zone)	35	18.4
Not looking for none farm job (in and outside the zone)	155	81.6
Total	190	100.0

Source: Data collection in 2015

In addition, almost of the migrant workers have not tried to find other none farm employment in the areas of origin. Only 18.4% of them has attempted to seek none farm employment (see table 1). In fact no of them has thought about creating none farm employment by themselves. They prefer to be employed rather than to be an owner to avoid the risks. Otherwise, in order to run a business in none farm sector they should need a certain amount of capital and an understanding that are not satisfied by migrants' household. Borrowing capital from financial institutions contains risk which is not easy to be accepted by almost of rural labors.

The last considered as the more importance is their perception of getting employment that have to be based on a person, like a friend or a relative, whocapable introducing them to the work. The survey shows that 88% of migrants who have had no attempt to find nonfarm employment in the areas of origin does not have such kind of network, including 50% reported that they did not have any social network and 38% did not know where are employer (see figure 2). In addition migrant labors have thought that nonfarm employment, especially in state administrative system, is out of their financial capacity. Several years working as a migrant worker in industrial zone might gain enough money for a position in state administrative system in the areas of origin

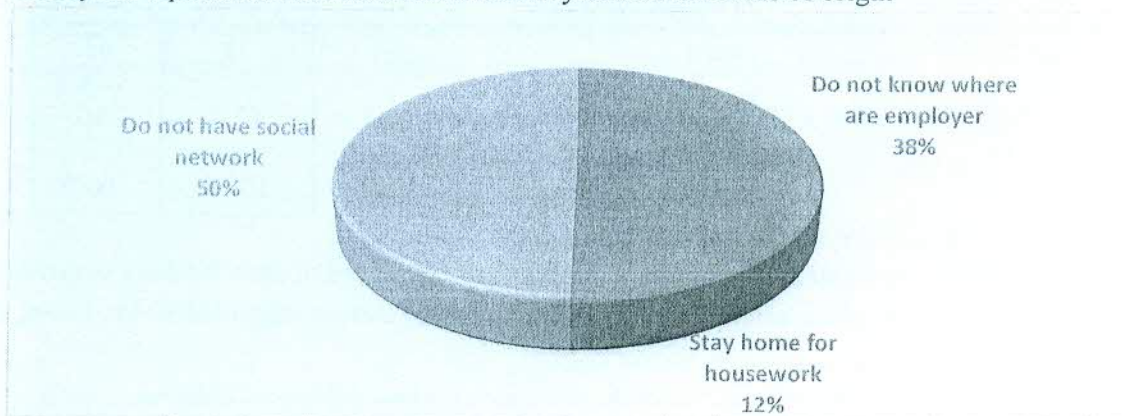


Figure 2: The reasons for not looking for none farm jobs in the areas of origin

Source: Data collection, 2015

Economic status of the household

According to classical push and pull model of migration, the decision of migration might cause by the economic struggle in the areas of origin. This study argues that the decision to migrate to industrial zones in BacNinh has not been impacted by the economic status of the household in the areas of origin. The survey shows that 79.5% average and well-off households send their labor to the zones and so do the 20.5% poor households⁵⁷ (see table 4). Additionally the main livelihood activities of the households was also diverse before labors decided to migrate to the zones in BacNinh. Not only the households that have their main livelihood activities based on agriculture (including cultivation and husbandry) send the labors to the zones, but also the households that have those based on none farm. It is likely shown that migrating to the industrial zones has not impacted by livelihood activities of the household in the areas of origin as well

Table 4: Household status and main livelihood activities before migration

		Main Livelihood Activities			Total
		Cultivatio n	Husbandr y	Nonfarm	
HHstatus_ before migration	Well off Count	5	0	7	12
	% within HHstatus_ before	41.7	0.0	58.3	100.0
	% within Livelihood	5.3	0.0	11.1	6.3
Average	Count	69	27	43	139
	% within HHstatus_ before	49.6	19.4	30.9	100.0
	% within Livelihood	73.4	81.8	68.3	73.2
Poor	Count	20	6	13	39
	% within HHstatus_ before	51.3	15.4	33.3	100.0
	% within Livelihood	21.3	18.2	20.6	20.5
Total	Count	94	33	63	190
	% within HHstatus_ before	49.5	17.4	33.2	100.0
	% within Livelihood	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Data collection, 2015

In fact, unstable income from agriculture and the desire of cash for daily expenditure push young rural labors migrate to the industrial zones. Before migrating to the zones, the

⁵⁷ Poor household has been evaluated base on the certification that provided by local authority.

main livelihood activities of two third migrants' households depend on agriculture which is characterized as seasonal production. The in kind products of agriculture capable converting into cash at the end of the season only. Meanwhile their daily needs have been satisfied by cash that they are waged by enterprises monthly in industrial zones. Moreover, working in agriculture with their family makes young labors more economically depend on household and be considered as additional labor that are not expected by the labors.

Box 1: I want to be more dependence from my parents.

Mss. L graduated from high school in 2013 and she have work in Samsung, Yen Phong industrial zone for about two years. Her family has been considered as average household compared to other in the village. Their main livelihood activities are based on cultivation and husbandry. Before she decided to migrate Yen Phong industrial zones, her family has 2520 m² land of rice⁵⁸ and raises 10 pigs, about 20 chickens. The family does not have difficulties in term of financial. According to L, her parents sell pig twice a year and send some chickens at the end of lunar year for main cash income. Almost of rice has been used for home consumption and for husbandry. Just about one fourth of rice sell for cash. However, all cash is kept by her parents and she has to ask them for all her daily expenditure. After graduated from high school, she felt shame to ask her parents money daily use except valued things like new clothe, a gift for friends' birthday and wedding ... She migrates to industrial zone because she is paid monthly. Apart of her wage is send home as a saving, and the rest is spend for her daily expenditure as she want. Now she said "I feel more dependence from my parents"

Source: Data collection, 2015. An in-depth interview migrant worker.

Social network

Social network plays an importance role in seeking for an employment, but, it is not available much for rural labors in the areas of origin. As discussed in the previous section that almost migrant in industrial zones did not looking for nonfarm employment in the areas of origin because of lacking social network. However, this network is available in relation with looking for employment in industrial zones. The study finds 68% of migrants based on the introduction of relatives and friends to migrate to the industrial zones in BacNinh. Those people who have been working at the zones are considered as an evidence to convince rural labors that they are capable to work over there. Additionally, such kind of network did not require any payment that easily accepted by rural labor. Only 10% of them managed the migration by themselves. The rest, accounting for 10%, migrated to the zones because the enterprises organized the recruitment at the areas of origin (see figure 3)

⁵⁸ 2520 m² = 7 sao

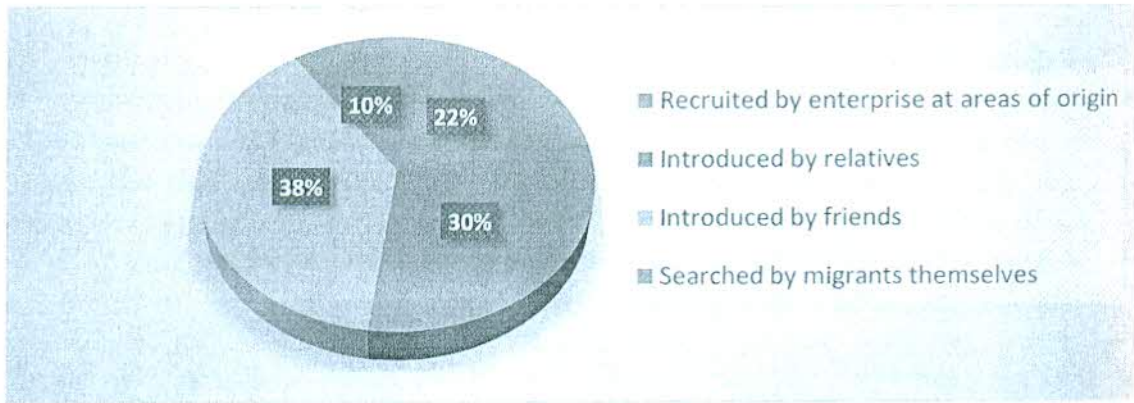


Figure 3: The reason to select industrial zones in BacNinh

Source: Data collection, 2015

Recruitment requirement and employment environment

Considered by migrant labors, recruitments by enterprises in industrial zones in BacNinh were not so difficult. The story differed from ten years ago that the labors were required high school level and sometimes had to pay a pride to work in the zones. Currently the enterprises requires only identity card, secondary school level and health certification which easily taken at 100 thousands VND (5 euro) from somewhere around the zones.

The interview for employment was also easy. It usually took about five to ten minutes with simple question that every labor can answer. As report by migrants, during the interview the enterprises just observer physic health if it meets the demand of work or not. The labors were tested by walking four or five meters or using chopstick to pick a small rounded balls. Actually the work at the zones is simple, but it requires long hours working, usually from 8 to 12 hours. Moreover the enterprises need labors to work rather than labor need a work.

In term of employment environment it was perceived differently by migrant labors before and after migration. Before migration working at industrial zones has been considered as better environment. It was reported by migrant's friend or relative that labors have been worked indoor with air conditioner which they have never had in agriculture work. Additionally the work is light and simple, not like ploughing or weaving in agricultural work. However, pressure on the work was realized by the larger part of migrants when they have been working in the zone (see table 5). The others who did not feel a pressure on their work because they choose working hour less than 10 hours that was not expected by the enterprises. So, almost the migrants do not intend to work further in the zones. Only 16.3% of migrants have considered the work at the zones as permanent employment (see table 5)

Table 5: Pressure of work and decision to stay in the industrial zones

	Frequency	Percent
Pressure of work		
Without pressure	76	40.0
With pressure	114	60.0
Total	190	100.0
Decision to stay in the industrial zones		
Permanent	31	16.3
Temporary	149	78.4
Stop whatever	10	5.3
Total	190	100

Source: Data collection, 2015

Conclusion

Because of employment requirements, labors in the industrial zones in BacNinh as well as migrant labor are dominated by young age and female. It also means the zones seem not to benefit for labor who getting older. Addition with the appearance of migrant labor at college and university level (who are not expected to be a worker) shows that the employment in the zones is not stable in the long run. What is more important is to think further on the way back of migrant labor of industrial zones. What they have earn in the zones will contribute for the development of their livelihood in the areas of origin later?

Migration not always driven by poor economic condition of the household in the areas of origin, it is the way of life of young rural labor. They migrated to the zones because of the desire of cash for everyday needs that is not available in agriculture production. Otherwise the financial dependence from origin family might be considered as a push factor.

In fact migrants in the zones seem to be pulled rather than pushed. They migrate to the zones because of the eyewitness that her or his friends or relatives presented over there. The network that supports for nonfarm employment is available in the zones rather than it is in the areas of origin. Compared to agricultural work, the employment environment in the zones has been perceived better before migration.

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