

## MIGRANT WORKERS IN INDUSTRIAL ZONES AND RETURN MIGRATION

Case studies in Que Vo and Yen Phong industrial zones of Bac Ninh province  
and Van Thang commune of Nong Cong district, Thanh Hoa province, Vietnam





COMMUNAUTÉ FRANÇAISE DE BELGIQUE  
UNIVERSITÉ DE LIÈGE – GEMBLoux AGRO-BIO TECH

## **Titre**

### **Migrant workers in industrial zones and return migration:**

Case studies in Que Vo and Yen Phong industrial zones of Bac Ninh province and Van Thang commune of Nong Cong district, Thanh Hoa province, Vietnam

**NGO TRUNG THANH**

Dissertation originale présentée en vue de l'obtention du grade de docteur en sciences agronomiques et ingénierie biologique

Co-promoteur : Associate Professor. Dr. Nguyen Thi Dien

Promoteur : Professor. Dr. Philippe Lebailly

2020



# Résumé

**NGO Trung Thanh. (2017).** Les travailleurs migrants dans les zones industrielles et la migration de retour étude de cas à Que Vo et Yen Phong zones industrielles dans la province de Bac Ninh et commune de Van Thang du district de Nong Cong, dans la province de Thanh Hoa, Vietnam (Thèse de doctorat en anglais). Gembloux, Belgique, Gembloux Agro-Bio Tech, Université de Liège

Il est clair que le rôle important de la migration de la main-d'œuvre dans le développement, qui se reflète dans les effets des transferts de fonds, existe actuellement dans de nombreux pays du monde. La nature complexe de la migration doit être interprétée dans un contexte dynamique au sein d'une société en mutation. Une analyse de la littérature permet de mettre en évidence les motifs des migrations au travers de nombreuses théories. Par ailleurs, de nombreuses recherches empiriques ont été intégrées aux débats sur les causes des migrations. Cependant, il existe toujours un manque de littérature au sujet des raisons pour lesquelles les migrants domestiques quittent leurs foyers pour travailler dans des sites considérés comme abusifs et dégradants, tels que les zones industrielles.

En outre, la notion de migration est considérée comme un processus d'entrée et de sortie. Certains ont tenté d'expliquer le motif de l'émigration, mais peu d'entre eux se concentrent sur celle du retour. De plus, la littérature existante se concentre davantage sur la migration de retour internationale que sur la migration de retour interne et les théories de la migration de retour font l'objet de divers débats. Depuis 1975, après la réunification du Vietnam, le gouvernement a appliqué une politique de réorganisation de la population qui a conduit à une migration interprovinciale. Depuis lors, de nombreuses études ont été menées sur la migration, mais peu d'entre elles se sont concentrées sur la migration de retour.

Cette étude porte sur 310 travailleurs migrants dans les zones industrielles de Que Vo et Yen Phong de la province de Bac Ninh, et 68 rapatriés dans la commune de Van Thang, district de Nong Cong, province de Thanh Hoa au Vietnam. Des entretiens en tête à tête avec deux questionnaires spécifiques ont été appliqués à ces échantillons, l'un étant destiné aux travailleurs migrants et l'autre aux rapatriés. Par ailleurs, certaines méthodes qualitatives sont également appliquées pour compléter les données collectées par les questionnaires.

Grâce à ces méthodes, cette étude a montré que les motivations des travailleurs migrants sont complexes. La théorie du "push and pull" ne suffit pas à elle seule à expliquer ces motivations. L'ajout de la nouvelle théorie économique de la main-d'œuvre migrante a rendu l'explication des motifs de migration plus complète. De plus, cette recherche a montré que les facteurs qui poussent les populations rurales à quitter le pays sont, en premier lieu, la pénurie locale d'emplois non agricoles, qui pousse les travailleurs migrants à trouver des alternatives dans les zones industrielles de Bac

Ninh. Plus important encore, il y a une pénurie d'argent liquide pour la consommation de tous les jours. Ce problème ne peut être résolu par la production agricole, qui est une caractéristique importante des zones rurales. Il est intéressant de noter que le statut économique du ménage avant la migration n'est pas considéré comme un facteur de motivation. Toutefois, la migration vers les zones industrielles est devenue le mode de vie des jeunes ruraux. Le fait de vivre dans ces zones suscite des aspirations chez ces derniers en raison de la possibilité de mener une vie différente de celle de leur région d'origine, ce qui constitue un facteur incitatif au départ. En outre, les travailleurs migrants sont tous attirés par la forte demande de main-d'œuvre qui a créé un accès plus facile à l'emploi dans les zones industrielles de Bac Ninh. Cette étude a également montré que le réseau social agit à la fois comme un facteur d'incitation et d'attraction pour immigrer vers les zones industrielles.

Elle a également révélé que les travailleurs migrants, qui constituent une main-d'œuvre importante pour les zones industrielles, sont maintenant confrontés aux défis engendrés par le modèle de développement instable. La durabilité du développement des zones industrielles de Bac Ninh est menacée par le fait que ces zones suivent le modèle de développement instable apparu dans les années 1990. Par ailleurs, cette étude a montré que les travailleurs migrants des zones industrielles de Bac Ninh sont confrontés à un compromis entre l'acceptation d'une vie dure et l'accumulation de capitaux et d'expériences pour une vie meilleure par la suite. En outre, la migration entreprise par les travailleurs migrants dans les zones industrielles de Bac Ninh semble être une migration circulaire.

En ce qui concerne la migration de retour, cette étude a démontré que le motif du retour ne résulte pas seulement des échecs potentiels liés à l'augmentation du coût de la vie de la future vie conjugale, mais également des liens entre les enfants laissés au village d'origine et les personnes qui restent. Les migrants de retour sont tous motivés par une obligation filiale envers leurs parents, façonnée par les normes ou la culture de la communauté d'origine. Les possibilités d'emploi non agricole autour des villages d'origine sont davantage un motif de retour pour les migrants célibataires. Cette étude a également montré que les femmes jouent un rôle important dans le développement de l'agriculture à Van Thang. Ce secteur est probablement un tampon pour les impacts négatifs du retour, tandis que les rapatriés cherchent de meilleurs emplois non agricoles autour de leurs villages d'origine.

**Mots-clés.** push and pull, NEM, intérieur, intra-province, migration, zone industrielle, retour, motif, genre

# Abstract

---

**Ngo Trung Thanh. (2020).** Migrant workers in industrial zones and return migration: Case studies in Que Vo and Yen Phong industrial zones of Bac Ninh province and Van Thang commune of Nong Cong district, Thanh Hoa province, Vietnam. (PhD Dissertation in English). Gembloux, Belgium, Gembloux Agro-Bio Tech, University of Liège, page, table, figure.

---

The important role of labor migration in development reflected through the impacts of remittance currently exists in many countries around the world. The complexed nature of migration that needs to interpret in a dynamic context and a changing society. Reviewing literature demonstrates the discourses of the motives of migration across many migration theories. Then, there are plenty of discussions of the motives of migration added from empirical research. However, there is still a lack of literature that requires discussion on why the domestic migrants leave their homes to work at places considered as exploitative and degrading, like industrial zones.

Besides, migration is understood as an in and out process. Attempts have been made to explain the motive of out-migration, but few ones focus on return migration. Furthermore, literature focuses more on international return migration than internal return migration and the theories of return migration are subject to various debates. Since 1975, after the reunion of Vietnam, the government enforced a policy to restructure the population which led to inter-province migration. Many studies have conducted on migration since, but few focused on return migration. This research surveyed 310 migrant workers in Que Vo and Yen Phong industrial zones of Bac Ninh province, and 68 returnees in Van Thang commune, Nong Cong district, Thanh Hoa province of Vietnam. Face-to-face interviews with two designed questionnaires have been applied to those samples. One is for migrant workers and the other is for returnees. Besides, some qualitative methods are also applied for supplementing the data collected by the questionnaires. Through those principal methods, this study found that the motives of migrant workers are complex. Push and pull theory by itself is not enough to explain these motives. The addition of the new economic theory of migration labor has made the explanation of migration motives more complete. Also, the research illustrated that the factors pushing rural people outmigration are, firstly, the local shortage of non-agricultural jobs, causing migrant workers to find alternatives in Bac Ninh industrial zones. More importantly, there is a shortage of cash for daily consumption. This itself, agricultural production, a prominent feature of rural areas, cannot be solved. Interestingly, the economic status of the household before the migration is not considered clearly as a push factor. But migration to industrial zones seems the rural youths' way of life. Experiencing in these zones aspires those people due to a life different from the areas of origin, acted as a pull factor. Furthermore, migrant workers are all attracted by high labor demand that created easier access to

employment in the industrial zones of Bac Ninh. This study also found that social network acts as both push and pull factors for immigrating to the industrial zones. Furthermore, it revealed that migrant workers, a major labor force for industrial zones, now face challenges created by the unstable model of development. The sustainable development of industrial zones in Bac Ninh is threatened by the fact that these zones follow the footloose of their development model exposed in the 1990s. Additionally, this study found that migrant workers in industrial zones in Bac Ninh faced a trade-off between accepting a hard life and accumulating capitals and experiences for an expected better one after. Furthermore, the migration undertaken by migrant workers in industrial zones of Bac Ninh seems circular. Regarding return migration, this study demonstrated that the motive to return not only resulted from potential failures related to the increased living costs of the future married life but also associates with children left behind at the home village with stayers. Returnees are all driven by a filial obligation to their parents, shaped by the norms or culture of the home community. Non-farm employment opportunities around home villages are more of a motive to return for single migrants. This study also found that women play an important role in agriculture development in Van Thang. This sector is likely a buffer for the negative impacts of the return while the returnees seek better nonfarm employment around their home villages.

**Keywords:** push and pull, NELM, domestic, intra-province, migration, industrial zone, return, motive, gender



# Acknowledgements

---

First of all, I would like to thank the Vietnamese Government who provide me financial support for my PhD in Belgium, especially the Department of International Cooperation, Ministry of Education and Training who provided me administrative supports to complete my PhD in Belgium. I also extend thanks to ARES CCD who delivered financial aids for scientific communications in the PhD training program.

I would love to thank Prof. Philippe Lebailly who is the supervisor and the greatest contributor to the success of the dissertation.

I would like to thank Assoc. Prof. Nguyen Thi Dien who is a co-supervisor and a colleague who always shares difficulties for my PhD.

I would like to thank the Department of Rural and Economic Development, Gembloux Agri Bio-Tech, University of Liege, Belgium where I have worked all my time studying PhD Special thanks to the members of the Department, Madam. Nadine Stoffelen, Madam. Fadeur Christine, Madam. Anne Pompier, Dr. Ho Thi Minh Hop, Prof. Philippe Buny, Prof. Thomas Dogot who directly assisted me in the learning process.

I would like to thank Phuong Lieu and Nam Son communes in Que Vo district, Dong Tien and Long Chau communes in Yen Phong district, Bac Ninh province for facilitating data collection for the research.

I would like to thank Van Thang commune, Nong Cong district, Thanh Hoa province and especially Mr. Dong Minh Quan, the President of People's Committee, for directly supports for data collection.

I would like to thank the students from the Department of Sociology for helping me to collect data in Bac Ninh and Thanh Hoa: Dam Thi Quy from XHHK56, Le Quy Duong, Vu Viet Bac, Nguyen Ngoc Phuong Mai, Tran Ngoc Mai, Ha Sinh Quan, Nguyen Tu Anh from XHH K58, Ngoc Anh, Nguyen Cong Thanh and Doan Thu Phuong, Tran Dinh Thang, Bui Quang Huy, Nguyen Khanh Linh and Nguyen Thi Thu Ha from XHH K59.

Many thanks to my friends who shared Hamende's house and created the best social atmosphere in Gembloux.

Lastly, I would like to thank my family members who patiently wait for my PhD completed.

# Tables of contents

Résumé.....	i
Abstract .....	iii
Acknowledgements .....	v
Tables of contents .....	vi
List of Figures .....	ix
List of Tables.....	x
List of Boxes .....	xiv
1 .....	1
Introduction .....	1
1. The statement of problem.....	2
1.1. Why study the motives of the migrant workers in the industrial zone?..	2
1.2. Why study return migration? .....	4
2. Objectives of the study.....	6
2.....	7
Literature reviews.....	7
1. The neoclassical and historical-structure theories of migration .....	8
2. Push and Pull model of migration .....	9
3. New economic of labor migration (NELM) .....	10
4. Employment in industrial zones.....	11
5. Return migration.....	13
5.1. Determinants of return .....	13
5.2. Determinants of the living of migrants after return.....	15
3.....	17
Methodology.....	17
1. Site selection.....	18
1.1. Overview of the regions for study sites.....	18
1.2. Bac Ninh industrial zones .....	19
1.3. Van Thang commune .....	21
2. Sampling and data collection .....	21
2.1. For migrant workers in Yen Phong and Que Vo .....	21
2.2. For returnees in Van Thang .....	23
3. Analytical framework and data analysis.....	23
3.1. Analytical framework .....	23
3.2. Data analysis. ....	25
4.....	26
Migration determinants: views from the areas of origin .....	26
1. Migrant workers' personal characteristic .....	28
1.1. Age, gender, and marriage status .....	28
1.2. Migrant workers' level of education.....	30
1.3. Areas of origin .....	32

2.	Migrant workers' household characteristic.....	34
2.1.	Agriculture land .....	34
2.2.	Main livelihood activities and Economic status before outmigration....	35
2.3.	Household size and labor arrangement before migration .....	36
3.	Preoccupation and perception toward farm and nonfarm employment before migration .....	41
3.1.	Employment status before migration .....	41
3.2.	Migrant workers' perception of farm employment .....	42
3.3.	Migrant's perception of nonfarm employments.....	43
5	.....	46
	On the move to industrial zones of Bac Ninh province .....	46
1.	Deciding to move – the role of family members and friends .....	48
1.1.	Decision makers for outmigration .....	48
1.2.	The effect of previous migrants within the village .....	50
1.3.	Initial aims of the trip .....	51
2.	Access to nonfarm employment .....	53
2.1.	Local industrial zones or cluster and nonfarm employment opportunities 53	
2.2.	Nonfarm employment opportunities outside local industrial zones or clusters.....	56
6	.....	59
	Working at industrial zones – the migrant worker's trade-off? .....	59
1.	Recruitment and employment requirements.....	61
1.1.	Selecting destinations and employment.....	61
1.2.	Labor demand and the attractiveness recruitment.....	63
2.	Working environment and migrant worker's income in industrial zones of Bac Ninh.....	65
2.1.	Probation period and working hours .....	65
2.2.	Earnings and remittances .....	68
2.3.	Promotion opportunities.....	72
2.4.	.....	74
3.	Non-working environment .....	75
3.1.	Accessing to social insurance and basic social services.....	75
3.2.	Living strategy .....	77
3.3.	Expenditures for living .....	78
3.4.	Entertainment activities.....	79
4.	Stay on work or move out of the zones? .....	81
4.1.	Permanent or temporary employment? .....	81
4.2.	Migrant worker's ongoing strategy .....	83
7	.....	88
	Return migration: reasons and consequences.....	88
1.	The characteristics of return migrants.....	90
1.1.	Age, gender, and direction of first move .....	90

1.2.	Marriage status.....	91
1.3.	Level of education and trainings.....	93
2.	Motives to return areas of origin .....	94
2.1.	Push factors.....	94
2.2.	Pull factors .....	95
3.	The consequences of return.....	97
3.1.	Agricultural land accessibility and gender difference .....	97
3.2.	Gender perspective of employment generation .....	99
8.....		102
	Conclusions .....	102
	References .....	109
	Annex.....	121

# List of Figures

---

<b>Figure 3-1: Study sites .....</b>	<b>18</b>
<b>Figure 3-2: Analytical framework.....</b>	<b>24</b>
<b>Figure 4.1: Migrant workers' original hometown .....</b>	<b>33</b>

## List of Tables

---

<b>Table 3-1: Industrial zones in the Red river Delta of Vietnam .....</b>	<b>20</b>
<b>Table 3-2: The development of employment in industrial zones of Bac Ninh.....</b>	<b>20</b>
<b>Table 3-3: Distribution of employment in the industrial zones of Bac Ninh .....</b>	<b>21</b>
<b>Table 4-1: Migrant workers’ age, gender .....</b>	<b>28</b>
<b>Table 4-2: Migrant worker’s marriage status.....</b>	<b>29</b>
<b>Table 4-3: Migrant workers’ level of education in industrial zones of Bac Ninh.....</b>	<b>31</b>
<b>Table 4-4: Migrant workers’ area of origin .....</b>	<b>32</b>
<b>Table 4-5: Agricultural land access of migrant workers’ household.....</b>	<b>34</b>
<b>Table 4-6: Household’s economic status and main livelihood activities before migration .....</b>	<b>35</b>
<b>Table 4-7: Household’s labor before the migration.....</b>	<b>36</b>
<b>Table 4-8: Agricultural land and labors of migrant workers’ household before and after migration.....</b>	<b>37</b>
<b>Table 4-9: Labor arrangement crossing livelihood activities of the household of migrant workers.....</b>	<b>40</b>
<b>Table 4-10: Previous occupations of migrant workers before outmigration .....</b>	<b>41</b>

<b>Table 4-11: Targeted employment of workers before migrating to industrial zones of Bac Ninh.....</b>	<b>44</b>
<b>Table 5-1: Decision and family consensus for the first move out of the areas of origin .....</b>	<b>49</b>
<b>Table 5-2: Previous migrants and friend’s employment status effecting on outmigration.....</b>	<b>51</b>
<b>Table 5-3: Initial purpose of outmigration crossing groups of migrant workers .....</b>	<b>52</b>
<b>Table 5-4: Initial purposes of outmigration crossing the household and marriage status of migrant workers .....</b>	<b>53</b>
<b>Table 5-5: Industrial zones or clusters and nonfarm employment at areas of origin .....</b>	<b>54</b>
<b>Table 5-6: Reasons for not working at local industrial zones or cluster</b>	<b>55</b>
<b>Table 5-7: Reasons for not seeking a nonfarm employment outside local industrial zones or clusters .....</b>	<b>57</b>
<b>Table 6-1: Migrant workers’ friends and relatives at destinations.....</b>	<b>61</b>
<b>Table 6-2: Migrant worker’s concerns on employment details before working at industrial zones of Bac Ninh .....</b>	<b>62</b>
<b>Table 6-3: Recruitment at areas of origin .....</b>	<b>63</b>
<b>Table 6-4: Migrant workers assess on the recruitment process for an employment in industrial zones of Bac Ninh .....</b>	<b>64</b>
<b>Table 6-5: Probation and working hours in industrial zones of Bac Ninh .....</b>	<b>66</b>

<b>Table 6-6: Migrant worker’s satisfaction of extra working overtime.....</b>	<b>68</b>
<b>Table 6-7: Migrant worker’s total earnings at industrial zones of Bac Ninh .....</b>	<b>69</b>
<b>Table 6-8: Migrant worker’s satisfaction of earning in industrial zones of Bac Ninh .....</b>	<b>69</b>
<b>Table 6-9: Remittance crossing groups of migrant workers in industrial zones of Bac Ninh .....</b>	<b>71</b>
<b>Table 6-10: Using remittance by migrant worker’s households.....</b>	<b>74</b>
<b>Table 6-11: The last overall medical check of migrant workers .....</b>	<b>76</b>
<b>Table 6-12: The last illness treatment of migrant workers.....</b>	<b>77</b>
<b>Table 6-13: The last Assistances for temporary stopped working treatment .....</b>	<b>77</b>
<b>Table 6-14: Migrant worker’s expenses for living in industrial zones of Bac Ninh .....</b>	<b>79</b>
<b>Table 6-15: Migrant worker’s entertainments.....</b>	<b>80</b>
<b>Table 6-16: Migrant worker’s entertainments crossing gender and marital status .....</b>	<b>81</b>
<b>Table 6-17: Working spell of migrant workers in industrial zones of Bac Ninh.....</b>	<b>82</b>
<b>Table 6-18: Migrant worker’s decision to stay on employment in industrial zones .....</b>	<b>83</b>
<b>Table 6-19: Migrant worker’s ongoing activities after leaving industrial zones of Bac Ninh .....</b>	<b>84</b>



<b>Table 6-20: Ongoing activities after leaving industrial zones crossing group of migrant workers.....</b>	<b>85</b>
<b>Table 7-1: Returnee’s age, gender, and direction of the first move .....</b>	<b>90</b>
<b>Table 7-2: Returnee’s marriage status.....</b>	<b>92</b>
<b>Table 7-3: Returnee’s marriage time .....</b>	<b>92</b>
<b>Table 7-4: Returnee’s education and professional training.....</b>	<b>93</b>
<b>Table 7-5: Education and professional training crossing the last destinations.....</b>	<b>94</b>
<b>Table 7-6: Push factors of return .....</b>	<b>95</b>
<b>Table 7-7: Pull factors of return.....</b>	<b>97</b>
<b>Table 7-8: Gender difference in agriculture land access .....</b>	<b>98</b>
<b>Table 7-9: Gender difference of employment after the return.....</b>	<b>100</b>

## List of Boxes

---

<b>Box 1: While waiting for new recruitment opportunities, not working is wasteful.....</b>	<b>31</b>
<b>Box 2: Leaving agricultural production – a migrant worker’s effect.....</b>	<b>38</b>
<b>Box 3: I feel more dependent from my parents.....</b>	<b>42</b>

# List of Abbreviations

---

AHA:	ASEAN Coordinating Centre for Humanitarian Assistance on disaster management
ADB:	Asian Development Bank
EPZ:	Export Processing Zone
GSO:	General Statistic Office
ILO:	International Labor Organization
IZ:	Industrial zone
UNCTAD:	United Nations Conference on Trade and Development
VND:	Vietnamese Dong



# 1

---

## Introduction

## 1. The statement of problem

### *1.1. Why study the motives of the migrant workers in the industrial zone?*

The important role of labor migration in development reflected through the impacts of remittance currently exists in many countries around the world. Migration reportedly contributes to the livelihood diversification of the households in areas of origin (De Haan, 1999; Ellis, 2000; Skeldon, 2003). Rural migrants help improve the livelihoods of their families at home through money. The remittances can be used to repair or build a new house and pay a debt or children's education (ADB, 2007). Even if the households do not expect to receive remittances, migration can potentially create an advantage (de Brauw *et al.*, 2014). For example, outmigration helps reduce labor redundancy that is increasing in rural areas (ADB, 2007). The income of households that have migrant labor is higher than those that do not have (T. L. Nguyen, 2007; Vakulabharanam & Thakurata, 2014).

Besides, because of the increasing number of migrants (MPI, 2015), the complexed nature of migration that needs to interpret in a dynamic context and a changing society (De Haan, 1999). The pattern of migration that usually engages with different social and cultural values and changes over time (Majumder, 2012), the labor migration receives more and more attention from scholars. This means that the discourses of labor migration are also increasing, especially for the motives of migration. Their complexity is underestimated (De Haan, 2011).

Reviewing literature demonstrates the discourses of the motives of migration across many migration theories. According to (Haas, 2007), in the neoclassical theory of migration, with the development optimism approach, the motives of migration likely resulted from unequal economic opportunities. Meanwhile, the historical structure theory of migration, with the pessimism and skepticism approach, viewed migration as the failure of the development process and mentioned the motives of migration as forced choices (Deshingkar *et al.*, 2014). Turning to the new economics of labor migration (NELM) theory, migration viewed as a household's livelihood strategy aims at diversifying the income generation activities. Therefore, the motives of migration referred to the spread of the risks of household income through remittances (Haas, 2007). Also, the push and pull theory of migration added that the motives of migration arise from both the hardships in the areas of origin and the expected opportunities in the destinations where migrants are supposed to go in (E. S. Lee, 1966).

It is on account of those discourses of migrant theories that there are plenty of discussions of the motives of migration added from empirical research. For example, Ellis (2000) argued that rural labors out migrate because of landlessness, risks, seasonality, and market failure. Gröger and Zylberberg (2016) documented that rural

outmigration resulted from shocks caused by natural disasters. P. Deshingkar and D. Start (2003) found that the outmigration is based on the household economic status. Poor households and households with labor scarcity are less likely to migrate. ADB (2007) found that rural labors migrate to find jobs and better living conditions. However, there is still a lack of literature that requires discussion on why the domestic migrants leave their homes to work at places considered as exploitative and degrading (Deshingkar et al., 2014). Those workplaces were referred to industrial zones that numerously established in many developing countries as a strategy of development to promote economic growth (Milberg & Amengual, 2008).

It is not doubted that the industrial zones in many countries like Philippines, Malaysia, Dominican Republic, Bangladesh Sri Lanka provided plenty employment opportunities (ILO, 2003; Milberg & Amengual, 2008). In addition, Glick and Roubaud (2006) reported that the industrial zones in Madagascar offered higher income opportunities for women who otherwise would be working for a low-wage informal sector. However (Glick & Roubaud, 2006) claimed that the wage in the industrial zones was still lower than that was in the private sector outside. Many other studies also demonstrated that migrant workers, the majority labor force, in industrial zones have faced both the critical working and non-working environment in destinations. McCallum (2011) indicated that a labor-repressive environment and low union density were found in industrial zones. Unlike in Madagascar, higher income in the industrial zones of Taiwan and Maritius was not documented in comparison with non-industrial zones (Kusago & Tzannatos, 1998). In the same vein S. Sen and Dasgupta (2008) demonstrated that those who worked in the industrial zones of West Bengal, Delhi, Haryana, Gujarat and Maharashtra in India received lower wages than those who were outside. Besides Arunatilake (2012) argued that the migrant workers in the industrial zones of Sri Lanka have faced precarious works because they have asked for temporary contracts to reduce the costs of the enterprises in those zones. Regarding the non-working environment related to industrial zones (Hewamanne, 2006) reported that migrant workers usually stayed in boarding houses with minimum facilities and little space while they were working in industrial zones. It became even worse when female migrants, accounting for the larger part of migrant workers, experienced verbal and physical harassment around their living places (Attanapola, 2006; Senarath *et al.*, 2016).

Like many developing countries, industrial zones have been developed rapidly for more than 20 years in Vietnam. Since the first establishment in 1991, 347 industrial zones had been built by the end of 2015 (AHA, 2015). Together with the formation of those zones, the number of employment has increased from one million in 2006 (Phong, 2007), to 1.6 million in 2011 (Vinh, 2012), and to 2.1 million in 2013 (Thu & Xuan, 2014). It also found that migrant workers contributed the majority labor force in industrial zones. According to Lê and Hiên (2014); Thu and Xuan (2014) the proportion of migrant workers reaches 70 percent of the total. However, some literature documented that both the migrant workers in industrial zones have had both negative working and non-working environment. For example, the study of T. T. Ngo

(2009) found that low wages and unstable employment in Que Vo industrial zones in the Bac Ninh province were not attracted the labors of the land loss households. Hài (2013) reported that the working hour in industrial zones lasted for 10 to 12 hours per day. Sometimes, workers agreed to extent it to 14 hours per day for extra earnings. Do and Masina (2017); Lê and Hiên (2014) added that the average migrant worker's space in residential areas was only from 3m<sup>2</sup> to 4 m<sup>2</sup>, reaching about 50% of the national standards.

Although industrial zones reallocated labors in Vietnam, it imbalanced in terms of gender and age. The industrial zones in Bac Ninh benefit women rather than men and young labors rather than older ones. This may put pressure on improving the non-work environment for young women leaving parental home (Puri & Cleland, 2007; Shaw, 2007). Moreover, migration to the industrial zones in Bac Ninh seems circular due to the current working spell of migrant workers that is inconsistent with the line of the development of the industrial zones. A common tendency of those immigrants is to return their areas of origin rather than to stay working permanently in industrial zones. Therefore, the areas of origin or rural settings will be challenged by the employment generation.

In addition, there exist many studies that elaborated on the motives of migration in Vietnam. However, few studies focus on the discussions of those who migrate to industrial zones. Instead, they paid more attention to the determinants of destination selection, like in the study of Nghi *et al.* (2012) or job stress, like in the study of Ngoc Khuong and Yen (2016). Also, it found commonly that the motives of migration almost included in rural-urban migration, for example, in the studies of Phan and Coxhead (2010); Phuong and McPeak (2010), and Duc Loc *et al.* (2015). Meanwhile, the industrial zones which are commonly in rural settings do differ from urban areas in terms of infrastructure and social facilities like education and health care. Those might cause different influences on migrant workers' livings. After taking into consideration the about discussions, it could be interesting to question why rural labors migrate to industrial zones. Whether they would achieve what they expected before migrating to industrial zones? Is it a trade-off between the economic desires the youth of rural labors?

## ***1.2. Why study return migration?***

The following content will be introduced in this thesis regarding the return of migrants. On the one hand, it is for a more complete analysis of migration. On the other hand, it complements the limitations of previous migration studies when separating outmigration and return migration. Migration is understood as an in and out process. Attempts have been made to explain the motive of out-migration, but few ones focus on return migration. Furthermore, existing literature focuses more on international return migration than internal return migration (Hirvonen & Lilleør, 2015). It is often considered that returnees come back with skills and knowledge that positively affect the development of the areas of origin (Démurger & Xu, 2011a; Marchetta, 2012; Wahba & Zenou, 2012). However, it is restrictive to consider its



international aspect only. Indeed, recent studies have shown that the internal return migrations also bring a positive impact on the development of areas of origin. (Démurger & Xu, 2011a; W. W. Wang & Fan, 2006).

According to Lapah and Tengeh (2013) migrants do want to return. Nevertheless, the theories of return migration become subject to various debates. For example, according to the neoclassical approach, return migration is determined by the failures of migration experience and defined by individuals. Conversely, the approach of new economic migration labor demonstrates that success causes the return, based on migrant's household strategy. After achieving their targets, migrants were likely to return (Cassarino, 2004). Furthermore, to explain motives of return, failure or success approaches are limited because they focus on economic determinants and draw little attention to non-economic ones at the areas of origin such as the social and political environment (Cassarino, 2004; Dustmann, 2003; Junge *et al.*, 2015; Nedomysl & Amcoff, 2011; Piotrowski & Tong, 2010; W. W. Wang & Fan, 2006). The evidence of non-economic factors likely referred to the *Ho khau* regulations in China and Vietnam. According to W. W. Wang and Fan (2006), regulations on *Ho khau* in China have constrained rural migrant workers from gaining an official position in urban areas. As a result, it prevented the employment mobility of rural migrants in cities (Zhang, 2010). In Vietnam, *Ho khau* became laxer than that of Chinese neighbors (Do & Masina, 2017). It's also unlikely a factor for migrant workers to return to their villages. However, empirical evidence suggests that these regulations impede rural migrant workers' access to services education for their children (Phạm, 2016)

Although the phenomenon of return migration is not as common as outmigration, the more there is out migrants, the more there might be returnees (Hirvonen & Lilleør, 2015). Return migration can be found in both developed and developing countries. Among internal migrants, the proportion of return accounts for 26% in Finland (Kauhanen & Tervo, 2002), 23% in Germany (Hunt, 2004), 17% in Tanzania (Hirvonen & Lilleør, 2015), 26% in Thailand, 31% in Vietnam (Junge *et al.*, 2015) and about 25-38% in China (Démurger & Xu, 2011b; W. W. Wang & Fan, 2006; Y. Zhao, 2002)

Since 1975, after the reunion of Vietnam, the government enforced a policy to restructure the population which led to inter-province migration. Then, from 1986, migration bloomed due to the reform of the economy, *Doi Moi* (UN, 2010). Many studies have been conducted on migration ever since (Bélangier & Linh, 2011; De Brauw, 2010; De Brauw & Harigaya, 2007; Duc Loc *et al.*, 2015; Malamud & Wozniak, 2012; Resurreccion & Van Khanh, 2007), but few focused on return migration, especially in Vietnam. Furthermore, a huge number of rural labors have migrated to industrial zones where existed unstable employment (Kusago & Tzannatos, 1998; Rondinelli, 1987). Moreover, according to Thanh (2016) most of the migrant workers in industrial zones do not stably engage with the zones. Thus, this research will discuss which differences between migrants returning from workplaces inside and outside industrial zones to continue the discussions of the case study of Bac

Ninh; which motives to return according to workplaces before the return; and how returnees generate employment on the return through the lens of gender.

*In summary*, this research focuses on the domestic or inter-province migration in Vietnam. It aims at analyzing the determinants of the worker's migration to industrial zones. To analyses why labors, migrate to industrial zones, how do they manage their living in the zones, and how migrant workers return to their baseline villages? This research divide into 8 chapters. Of which, chapter one will raise the researcher question. Chapter 2 will work on literature reviews. Chapter 3 will introduce the methodology and data analysis. Chapter 4 will discuss both individual and household characteristics of migrant workers. In Chapter 5, discussions on the factors from areas of origin will be examined. Afterward, the discussions turn to the working and non-working environment of industrial zones of Bac Ninh in Chapter 6. Chapter 7 will focus on the return of migrants. Finally, the conclusions will be drawn in Chapter 8.

## **2. Objectives of the study**

Overall objective:

Investigating how rural labors to migrate to the industrial and consequences of return migration

Specific objectives:

Objective 1: Investigating the determinants of workers' migration to industrial zones in Bac Ninh province of Vietnam.

Objective 2: investigating working environment in the industrial zones in Bac Ninh and living environment of migrant workers while working in the industrial zones of Bacs Ninh.

Objective 3: Investigating the determinants of return migration and managing employment after returning.

# 2

---

## Literature reviews

# 1. The neoclassical and historical-structure theories of migration

The neoclassical model, the first contribution for migration theory, was remarked by Ravenstein (1885) by showing the economic issues as a driving force of migration. According to Hein de Haas (2007), at the macro level, the motive of migration explained by the neoclassical model is based on the differences between two sectors. Thus, migrants seem to move from low-income areas to high-income areas, from the areas with high supply of labor to the areas with high demand of labor. It means that the migrant moves from labor-surplus regions, where there are low wages, to labor-scarce regions, where there are higher wages. Therefore, the neoclassical model provides the first explanation of domestic migration, from rural to urban areas. At micro level, migration is viewed individually, and migrant decision is based on cost-benefit calculation.

Later, the human capital framework integrated into this model and migration is viewed as an investment decision. This let us explain the motives of migration beyond that focusing only on cost, and to pay further attention to the internal structure and segmentation of labor markets and the relevance of individual socio-economic characteristics and capitals in the migration decision (Bauer & Zimmermann, 1998). However, the neoclassical model is criticized for largely ignores the existence of market imperfections and other structural constraints on development, and for unable to deal with constraining factors such as government restrictions on migration (Haas, 2007); The evidence of those restrictions is more realized in the case of China and Vietnam where there is a presence of household registration systems, *Ho khau*, with the aim of migration control. According to WB and VASS (2016), *Ho khau* allows people access to public services with reasonable costs in very specific places where they have permanent registration, not for those who migrate out of those places with the temporary one. Besides, the neoclassical model is rather historical and Eurocentric, meanwhile contemporary migration in and from developing countries performed differently, although perhaps not fundamentally so (Skeldon, 1997)

Response to the neoclassical theory of migration, the 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 (DS Massey *et al.*, 1998). This criticizes the neoclassical model that rural populations have no free choice, they are deprived of their traditional livelihood and become cheap labor flourish urban areas (Haas, 2007). However, the historical-structure theory has been criticized for not flexible in viewing individuals as victims and migration as a very cause of underdevelopment. Historical evidence shows that exporting labor gains economic growth in many developing countries (A. Sen, 1999). Also, it was not doubted that remittance facilitated approval situation at the areas of origin (Haas, 2007).

In summary, although both the neoclassical and the historical-structure theory

initially provided the explanation of migration, they failed to explain why people do not migrate (DS. Massey *et al.*, 1993; Reniers, 1999). Revising the failure of those models is referred to Lee (1966) who demonstrate the push and pull model of migration.

## 2. Push and Pull model of migration

E. S. Lee (1966) firstly, contributed to the push and pull model of migration. In this model, migration is decided by factors such as areas of origin, areas of destination, intervening obstacles, and personal characteristics. For Lee, people respond to the areas of origin and destination in both positive (plus) and negative (minus) ways according to the personal characteristics of migrants (Reniers, 1999). According to Passaris (1989) Lee's analytical framework is referred to push and pull model of migration.

Basically, the push and pull model relies on individual choices supporting the neoclassical model at the micro level (Haas, 2007). It means that people do choose to make migration decisions, but it does not imply that they choose it freely. People have to choose to migrate or to stay. The direction of migration is largely determined by their network (De Haan, 1997).

Clearly, push and pull factors when they are related respectively to a household crisis caused by hardships in areas of origin and a better hope at destinations. Although a huge body of literature has tried to analyze drivers of out-migration, push and pull factors are still complex. It is no doubt that household hardships may arise from natural disasters like a typhoon, flood and drought that damage household assets and cause negative impacts on income generation activities of labors who are then pushed to alternative income activities, including outmigration (Gröger & Zylberberg, 2016; Ishtiaque & Ullah, 2013; L. D. Nguyen *et al.*, 2015). Besides, push factors may result from less development in the areas of origin where employment is inadequately provided. Indeed, low living standards and income are not enough to sustain labors' lives and their families (Fan, 2005; Fukase, 2013; Korra, 2010; Lamonica & Zagaglia, 2013; Narciso, 2015; Phuong & McPeak, 2010; Sridhar *et al.*, 2013). However, this argument is inconsistent with the study of Lamonica and Zagaglia (2013) who stated that economic conditions in the area of origin do not cause an effect on migration decisions. Even when economic growth and urbanization progress taken place, the realized modern lifestyle that has not been fulfilled at the areas of origin created a desire to leave (Bal, 2014).

In addition, the increasing consumption pressures resulting from a larger household size and a higher household's dependent ratio also motivated outmigration. According to Tegegne and Penker (2016), the probability of outmigration was up to 48% when household size increased one unit, and the more dependent members were, the more out-migration took place to generate income for dependent ones. Xu *et al.* (2015) showed that one labor in the households increased, the probability of inter-province migration increases 51.7%, while one child who attends to school increased, the probability of inter-district migration increases 46.3%. Referring to the household's

assets, it found that land scatter also pushed rural labors out of their home village. Due to traditional inheritance, agricultural land was divided into smaller pieces for siblings' inheritance that insufficiently sustained their livelihoods, thus, outmigration could be a reasonable option (Tegegne & Penker, 2016). This argument is consistent with Bezu and Holden (2014) who stated that decreasing farm size pushed youth labors to migrate. However, the study of Xu et al. (2015) demonstrated no significant impact of arable land per capita on outmigration decision. A possible explanation was that although arable land per capita was low, 0.067 ha, the proportion of off-farm income, accounting for 71.9% of total household income was significantly higher than that of farm income.

Referring to pull factors, the empirical analyses have concentrated on a better expectation at the destination. For example Korra (2010), T. T. Ngo (2010), Fukase (2013), Sridhar et al. (2013), Ishtiaque and Ullah (2013), and Shrestha (2017) who stated that higher expected income and employment availability, both non-farm and off-farm employment created by informal sectors of urban spheres and formal sectors of industrial zones attracted migrants from rural areas. Also, Lucas (2015) also found better amenities such as schools, health centers, electricity, and greater security that provide better living or working conditions highly encourage immigration. Similarly Iqbal and Gusman (2015) added that the culture of destination where migrant workers could integrate with acted as pull factors. In the same vein, S. W. Lee (2017) revealed that giving easy access to an institution put an emphasis on attracting immigrants for education.

Although the push and pull model of migration significantly added new values for school of migration, it is criticized for the different factors that impact on migration decisions are enumerated in a relatively arbitrary manner. Besides, such factors alone cannot explain why people move. They migrate because of expectations for a more satisfying living, not for less population pressure. Moreover, different scales of analysis of the model seem to be confused. It became unclear from individual to the global scale. In addition, push and pull factors are vague in terms of boundaries. Push factors overlap pull factors sometimes and vice versa (Haas, 2007). Moreover, the aspirations of people that crucially cause an impact on the trend of migration have been ignored by the push and pull model (Petersen, 1958).

### **3. New economic of labor migration (NELM)**

The new economic model of labor migration was involved in migration theories in the 1980s and 1990s. Unlike the lines of thought in previous migration theories, which focused on migrant individuals populate. NELM considers migrating in the context of the migrant household and migration decisions shifted from individual migrants to households of migrants (Abreu, 2012). If migrants and their households not only maximize income-generating activities but also aim to disperse their risks, NELM viewed migration as a household livelihood strategy. In this perspective, remittances of migrants become a guarantee for income-generating activities of their households when risks such as crop failure, unemployment or decreasing price (agricultural

products) occurred. Therefore, these remittances also motivate migration (Haas, 2007). Reviewing literature also demonstrated that about 17% of the total migrant's earnings have remitted to their homes in the areas of origin in Vietnam (Niimi *et al.*, 2009). Moreover, the migrants from both well-off and non-well-off households have sent money back to homes. Thus, the income of migrants' households is higher than that of non-migrant ones because of remittances (L. D. Nguyen *et al.*, 2015; T. L. Nguyen, 2007).

Besides, NELM considers migration as a household livelihood strategy to address market constraints. Thus, migrant households are viewed in the context of an imperfect market that commonly appears in many developed countries. Then, the remittances from migrants play a key role for their households to overcome the market's constraints (Haas, 2007). Much empirical evidence also demonstrated that remittances of migrants bring a positive effect on increasing the assets of rural households, for both poor and non-poor households in Vietnam. Specifically, poor households even have a higher proportion of growth in assets than non-poor households (Amare & Hohfeld, 2016). Also, the studies of Phan (2012) and Khué (2019) added that migrant workers' remittances contributed critical to investments in agricultural production. The higher the investment demand for agricultural activities, the more money was used for this purpose (Phan, 2012).

In response to the previous theories of migration, the NELM school of thought argued that the neoclassical theory of migration was not enough complex while focused rigidly on individuals. It was also unrealistic because of the assumptions of the perfect market that never happens in many developing countries (Abreu, 2012; De Haas, 2010). Besides, NELM criticized that the neo-classical school of thought ignored remittances and failed to explain when and where migration took place (Abreu, 2012). Regarding the historical structure theory of migration, NELM reversely emphasized labor power in the migration aspect. In this point of view, NELM argued labor migration as supply sources for capital accumulation rather than the failure of development. In addition, the historical structure theory of migration ignored and somehow forgot the positive impacts of migration on the areas of origin. Therefore, the scholars of this school of thought who argued migration as the failure of development was immoderate (Abreu, 2012).

## **4. Employment in industrial zones**

According to neoclassical theory, the traditional form of the industrial zone, based on two sectors model of development, was established to attract foreign direct investments to create more employment, and economic values (Cling & Letilly, 2001; Farole & Akinci, 2011). This model of industrial zones presented much of light industries with low-skilled and intensive labors (Aggarwal, 2007). In this point of view, the establishment of industrial zones contributed to the well-being of host countries as mentioned by (Miyagiwa, 1986). However, the debates of the industrial zone's impacts are still prolonged. Gupta (1994) and Cling and Letilly (2001) argued that those zones created a higher proportion of unemployment, reduced national

incomes, and were challenged by the globalization process. It was likely that the external effects of industrial zones that were ignored by classical theory have been paid more attention by new growth theories. According to Farole and Akinci (2011), the traditional model of industrial zone step by step had been changed toward a new model that focused more on the links between industrial zones to local economies. Besides employment provision, these zones transferred knowledge and technology that enable local enterprises to upgrade their capacity (M. Zhao & Farole, 2011). In this way, industrial zones played a true role that leveraged the development of host countries.

Haan (1997), with the case study in Calcutta, defines rural migrants in the industrial sector under the term of unsettled settlers because of the circular of migration. People migrate to the industrial area but are not confined to the industrial sector. Most migrants maintain links to origin areas while they 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 the industrial area is circular. According to Haan, such a pattern of migration in Calcutta is stimulated by five factors including well-developed transportation and communication, organization of industry, employment environment and living conditions of the worker, landholding in a rural area, and the existence of a joint family. It is also reflected in the existence of strong regional identities within the town including differences in perceptions about female labors. There is no evidence to prove that these differences caused by employers' strategies or difference between the North and the South of India.

In the pattern of the gender, whereas cultural factors in Calcutta prevented the female migrants working in industrial zones (De Haan, 1997), the evidence in many developing countries indicated most of the female migrant workers in industrial zones (Kusago & Tzannatos, 1998; T. T. Ngo, 2010; UNCTAD, 1999). The possible explanation was that industrial zones frequently engaged to light industries such as food processing, garment and textile, electrical appliances and components, metal product, optical instruments, and toys and craft manufacturing and assembling activities that required unskilled labor (McCallum, 2011; T. T. Ngo, 2009; Rondinelli, 1987). Therefore, women provided cheap labors that enterprises preferred, and light industries that appeared in most industrial zones required dexterity and docility that presented almost in women's characteristics. In addition, it was more often in developing countries where gender norms referred women to less heavy or technical works, leading them to labor extensive works provided by light manufactures in industrial zones (Tejani, 2011). So, those works relevant more to females than male labors. As it has been shown in the study of Kusago and Tzannatos (1998) who argued that the high participation of women in industrial zones probably resulted in labor shortage in sectors outside industrial zones. Indeed, those employment creations in industrial zones could not decrease the unemployment rate in the local economy. However, in a positive point of view, employment opportunities provided by those zones brought empowerment for women, a breadwinner (Aggarwal, 2007; Hancock,



2009). Unfortunately, the proportion of female labor in industrial zones was found to decline in some places due to changes in technology and the industrial composition of firms (labor-intensive to capital-intensive; light to heavy industries) and in wages (Kusago & Tzannatos, 1998).

The wage in the industrial zone is differently among countries and between inside and outside industrial zones. In Asia and Pacific workers received relatively low wages (Rondinelli, 1987). In Taiwan, Mauritius, and Nicaragua the wages inside the industrial zones found lower than that outside the zones. However, in China, Thailand, Sri Lanka, Honduras, and South Africa the wages reported higher (Kusago & Tzannatos, 1998; McCallum, 2011). Some countries like Republic of Korea and Malaysia, the wages in EPZs were initially lower than that in non-EPZs but became higher after some time (Kusago & Tzannatos, 1998). The situation with wages does not imply that workers have decent work. Since industrial zones were formed, working conditions in the zones have never evaluated positively. In some places, working hours in industrial zones last 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 legislation has already presented, enforcement and accountability remained weak and laws often became unenforceable (McCallum, 2011).

## 5. Return migration

### 5.1. *Determinants of return*

As literature reviewed both economic and noneconomic factors determine the motives of return migration. Since it was mentioned by the neoclassical model of migration, return migration is determined by the failures of migration experience (Cassarino, 2004). Before leaving out of villages, migrants have brought an expectation that their status would be improved. When their efforts fail to achieve, migrants were more likely to return home (Farrell *et al.*, 2012; Piotrowski & Tong, 2010). The failures regarded to this approach consider negative human capital selectivity as a determinant of return. It found that migrants with lower educational level have a higher probability to return because of getting lost in the competition labor market (Hirvonen & Lilleør, 2015; Lindstrom & Massey, 1994; Piotrowski & Tong, 2010). Meanwhile trained and more educated migrants found less to return, keep the migration on the move (W. W. Wang & Fan, 2006). However, by comparison to non-migrants, returnees are not failed by the low educational levels. It demonstrated higher educational levels among migrants than non-migrants (Constant & Massey, 2002). Even among returnees, higher education appears to regional return rather than local return (Newbold & Bell, 2001; Piotrowski & Tong, 2010).

Coming closer to the approach of new economic labor of migration, when migration is viewed as a strategy to diversify the household's income, return migration is somehow determined by the success. Farrell *et al.* (2014) illustrated that return was motivated when migrants accumulated sufficient funds for elaborating a business or

purchasing accommodation or gaining a satisfactory experience. Furthermore, empirical data analyzed by Démurger and Xu (2011a) showed that experiences gained during migration help returnees to obtain self-employment as entrepreneurial activities in the areas of origin. It found that migrants return to rural Zimbabwe with more skills and experiences than when they left the village. Therefore, returnees were more advanced compared to local ones in terms of searching for employment (Dziva & Kusena, 2013).

Referring to noneconomic factors, return migration is considered as a process of re-embeddedness with social economic, social psychology and social network at the area of origin. It found that personal characteristics (age, gender) and cultural circumstances (ethnic, religious) were shaped the embeddedness (van Houte & Davids, 2008). In addition, family ties are considered more important than financial interaction to sometimes pull migrant homes. The initial attempt of migrants to return is desired by filial obligations (Binh, 2016). The fellow feeling of home communities seems to pull migrants to return whenever they achieve their goals at destination (Farrell et al., 2014). Hence, the more returnees have, like children, spouse and mother in the areas of origin, the more they return (Junge et al., 2015; Piotrowski & Tong, 2010). Especially, when migrants gave birth or when it appears a member of the family got a severe illness, the forces to return increased (Farrell et al., 2012). By contrast, the migrants who married in migration destinations were less to return, meanwhile, the amount of sending remittance home did not cause an effect on the decision of return (Piotrowski & Tong, 2010). Actually, on the one hand, such social networks from family or friends of returnees support for their income generation or employment at the area of origin (Farrell et al., 2014; Gashi & Adnett, 2015; Niedomysl & Amcoff, 2011). On the other hand, origin, or rural setting itself was considered as a value that attracts migrants to return. In this vein returnees perceived ancestor worship, safe, closer relationship, community and a place for the family to become more important than other factors that impact return decision (Farrell et al., 2012; Jellema, 2007). Last but not least, the return perceived by migrants as a natural progression of family life. When migrants left their village, it was hidden a promise to return (Le Mare *et al.*, 2015).

No way out of the ordinary outmigration is determined by low economic development and lack of employment in the areas of origin. The return is based on the similarities in the area of origin compared to the destination, possibility to return is more realized with the rise of employment opportunities (Farrell et al., 2014; Niedomysl & Amcoff, 2011). Nevertheless, the growth of regional nonfarm employment determines both regional and local returnees in a certain context. For example, in Vietnam the nonfarm opportunities at the regional level encourage more local returnees than regional ones. Closed distance to the township allows returnees to implement commuting daily. Meanwhile, in Thailand regional returnees are more pulled by the growth of regional nonfarm than the local returnees (Junge et al., 2015).

## ***5.2. Determinants of the living of migrants after return***

Continuing to existing reviews, this part of the paper focuses on the livings of migrants after returning to the areas of origin. As far as return migration demonstrated in a body of literature, its impacts following the return are diverted according to time and space. Studies in China showed that return migrants became more entrepreneurs by investing to productive assets (Y. Zhao, 2002) and they engage more to self-employment in comparison with non-migrants (Démurger & Xu, 2011a). By contrast, according to Hirvonen and Lilleør (2015) in Tanzania, the improvement of livelihood appeared to returnees who engage with agriculture activities in comparison with both migrants and non-migrants. Interestingly, local returnees in Vietnam engage with nonfarm employment, meanwhile, those in Thailand engage with both nonfarm and farm activities (Junge et al., 2015).

Referring to determinants that impact on the return migrants' livelihood, there exists a controversy on the role of working experience for the occupational changes following the return. Démurger and Xu (2011a) revealed that working experience during migration spells related more to the occupational changes after the return than occupations before migration. The longer migration spell, the more improvement of returnees' livelihood is (de Haas *et al.*, 2015). Usually, significant entrepreneurial skills are brought by returnees to favor their business at an area of origin (Black & Castaldo, 2009; Marchetta, 2012). However, the studies of Farrell et al. (2014); Le Mare et al. (2015) showed in some cases, what migrants have gained on their occupation at destinations have fairly contributed to their search for employment in the area of origin, except learning from different communications with people, different discoveries with varied systems (Farrell et al., 2014). Furthermore, it is found in the study of Pekkala (2003) that return migrants could not find employment based on their working experiences. Thus, stated by Farrell et al. (2014), the failure of using working experiences results from the recession that even negatively effect on rural settings to generate nonfarm employment. In addition, returnees with low educational levels or skills face a constrain to good employment opportunities. Therefore, more reasonable options are to take low-skill work in local factories or to be daily hired labor or to return agricultural works (Le Mare et al., 2015).

Another body of literature that puts arguments on the determinants of the living of migrants after their return relates to individual characteristics. The probability of becoming an entrepreneur is impacted by the age of returnees. Démurger and Xu (2011a) state that new business at home village appeared to middle age returnees, but it was not presented at younger and older ones (Newbold, 2001). The key determinants that created the success of middle age returnees result from the necessary accumulation of financial and social capital during migration spell. Others were more averse to risk that prevented them from becoming entrepreneurs (Démurger & Xu, 2011a). Complementing to this discussion, gender issue is also argued as a factor that shapes the consequences of returnees. According to Le Mare et al. (2015), the

employment following the return was confined by aspirations between man and woman within the home community. Men returned as the end of the working period while women have just changed their work as taking care of their family. Therefore, going back with family became more favorable than setting up a new business. The gender differentiation is confirmed by Amcoff and Niedomysl (2015); Démurger and Xu (2011a), but reverted. It suggested that female returnees generated self-employment less than male ones. Therefore, women gained less economic benefit for the living after the return.

Finally, the consequences of the return were determined by the migrant's household characteristics. Démurger and Xu (2011a) found that in the households usually appearing with fewer dependent labors like old family members and female labors, the return migrants engage more with nonfarm self-employment. It can be a rational choice because these households are characterized as a lack of agricultural land. In the same vein, when households access more available agriculture land, the return migrants prefer less nonfarm employment than farm ones (Hirvonen & Lilleør, 2015). Social life after the return is mentioned by few literature, except the study of Binh (2016). She found in the households with familyism ideology, the return migrants have incited with some ethnic conflicts resulting from unbalancing supports between family and nonfamily members.

# 3

---

## Methodology

# 1. Site selection

The primary data of this research was collected by three main surveys. The first was conducted for six months, from March to September 2015 including three months in Yen Phong and three others in Que Vo. The second has lasted for four months, from March to June 2018, dividing equally to two zones like the first one. The third was conducted in Van Thang commune, Nong Cong district, Thanh Hoa province in August 2016 and returned in May 2017 for the extra survey.

Secondary data regarding the information of industrial zones of Bac Ninh was provided by Bac Ninh Management Board of Industrial Zones, a provincial level. The information used for setting up interviews was obtained from communal authorities (Dong Tien, Long Chau, Nam Son and Phuong Lieu in Bac Ninh and Van Thang in Thanh Hoa). Thanks to the supports of local authorities, accessing the interviews in the villages became more convenient.



**Figure 3-1:** Study sites

## *1.1. Overview of the regions for study sites*

*The Red River Delta* is one of the two largest deltas in Vietnam, consisting of 11 provinces, and always at the top of the population density compared to other regions of the country. According to data provided by the General Statistics Office, in 2018, this region had 21.6 million population living in an area of approximately 21.3 km<sup>2</sup>. The average population density was more than 1 million people per km<sup>2</sup>.

Over the past 10 years, although the region has been heavily influenced by

urbanization, the proportion of the rural population remains high, accounting for approximately 60%. Besides, compared to other economic regions of Vietnam, the Red River Delta has the smallest agricultural land area, about 791.7 thousand hectares (GSO, 2018). However, the business activities that take place in this area are relatively developed. In 2018, there were more than 222,000 active enterprises, accounting for 30.1% of the number of enterprises in the country. It ranked second in key economic regions (after the southeast region, more than 295 thousand), of which 38.9 thousand were newly established. These enterprises, in 2017, provided jobs for more than 4.9 million workers, accounting for about 33.2% of the country's total labor force (GSO, 2018). The Red River Delta region consists provinces where industrial zones have been developed rapidly, especially Bac Ninh, Vinh Phuc and Hai Duong.

*North Central Region* consists of 6 provinces, from Thanh Hoa to Thua Thien Hue. It has more than 10 million population living in an area of 49 thousand km<sup>2</sup>. Its population density is almost lowest in key economic regions, with just over 200,000 people/km<sup>2</sup>. In addition, the proportion of the population living in rural areas accounts for nearly 80% of the total population of the region, the highest in the country. Figures from GSO (2018) showed that agricultural land in this area is the second smallest in the country. The total agricultural land area of the whole region is at 978.8 thousand hectares, only higher than the Red River Delta. Agricultural land is concentrated mainly in 2 provinces of Thanh Hoa and Nghe An, accounting for 56%.

Compared to other regions in the country, business activities in this area less developed. According to GSO (2018) this region has 38,237 enterprises, accounting for 5.4% of the number of enterprises in the country. The number of newly established enterprises in 2018 was at 7,767, accounting for 5.9% of the whole country. These enterprises provide employment for more than 720 thousand employees in the region, accounting for nearly 5% of the number of employees working for enterprises throughout the country.

## ***1.2. Bac Ninh industrial zones***

Bac Ninh is in The Red River delta region where population density is the highest compared to the other provinces of the region and provinces of Vietnam, at 994.0 per km<sup>2</sup>. Although it was known with long tradition agriculture practice, its economic development has transformed to be more industrialized and has provided an increasing contribution to gross domestic product. It was at 17.6% in 2012, 20.6% in 2014 and 21.9 in 2016 (GSO, 2017). Due to the concentration development of industrial zones, productivity and income of the Red River delta were also relatively higher than those in other regions (Sarma *et al.*, 2017).

Among provinces in the Red River delta, Bac Ninh was selected for further data collection because of the significant development of industrial zones in this region. Compared to other provinces in the region, it is ranked the second in terms of the number of the industrial zones and the total area, and the first in terms of employment creation (Table 3-1). This province also showed a high rate of migrants who are working in the industrial zones (Table 3-1 and 3-2).

**Table 3-1:** Industrial zones in the Red river Delta of Vietnam

Provinces	Number of IZs	Area (ha)	Labor	
			Total	Migration rate
TP Ha noi	14	3.499,9		
Bac Ninh	15	6.393,6	189,465*	67%
Hai Duong	11	2.570,5	63.000	35%
Vinh Phuc	20	7.259,2	37.000	70%
Hai Phong	5	2.629,3	na	na
Ha Nam	2	433,8	na	na
Hung Yen	5	930,8	na	na

*Source: Data collection from the official website of Industrial Zones in the provinces of Vietnam*

*Notes: (\*) Management Board of Industrial zone of Bac Ninh, 2015. Employment report*

**Table 3-2:** The development of employment in industrial zones of Bac Ninh

Year	Total of labor (person)	Domestic labor (person)	Migrant labor (person)	Migration rate (%)
2008	33,111	20,231	19,476	58.8
2009	41,323	21,900	19,423	47.0
2010	56,874	25,678	31,196	54.9
2011	87,053	35,655	51,398	59.0
2012	117,455	44,673	72,782	61.9
2013	129,423	45,197	84,226	65.0
2014*	189,465	62,081	127,384	67.2

*Source:* [http://www.izabacninh.gov.vn/?page=news\\_detail&category\\_id=3734&id=8249&portal=kcnbn](http://www.izabacninh.gov.vn/?page=news_detail&category_id=3734&id=8249&portal=kcnbn), accessed 24/6/2014.

*Notes: (\*) Management Board of Industrial zone of Bac Ninh, 2015. Employment report*

Que Vo and Yen Phong industrial zones have been selected for surveying migrant labors because they are the two largest industrial zones of Bac Ninh province in terms of size and the employment provision. According to Management Board of Industrial zone of Bac Ninh (2015), The Que Vo industrial zone covers 600 ha and offers 58,017 employment including 50.4% migrant labor, whereas the Yen Phong zone spreads over 1,200 ha and provides 71,879 employment including 82.2% migrant labors. Que Vo has nearly doubled migrant labors and Yen Phong has more than triple ones compared to the third, Tien Son industrial zone (Table 3-3). Furthermore, these zones have been considered as the pioneer of industrial development in Bac Ninh. Que Vo was established in 2001, followed by Yen Phong in 2005.



**Table 3-3:** Distribution of employment in the industrial zones of Bac Ninh

No	Industrial zone	Total number of workers	Local worker	Migrant worker	
				Number	Percentage
1	Tien Son	27,948	10,159	17,789	63.65
2	Vsip	20,467	5,546	14,921	72.90
3	Que Vo	58,017	28,786	29,231	50.38
4	Yen Phong	71,879	12,815	59,064	82.17
5	Dai Dong- Hoan Son	8,274	2,550	5,724	69.18
6	Hanaka	297	114	183	61.62
7	Thuan Thanh	2,583	2,111	472	18.27
	<b>Total</b>	<b>189,465</b>	<b>62,081</b>	<b>127,384</b>	<b>67.23</b>

*Source: Management Board of Industrial zone of Bac Ninh, 2015. Employment report*

### ***1.3. Van Thang commune***

Van Thang commune is in Nong Cong district, Thanh Hoa province of the central north region of Vietnam. The idea of doing further analyze on return migration in this area departed from the previous study. T. T. Ngo *et al.* (2015) demonstrated that most of the migrant workers in the industrial zone of Bac Ninh were from Thanh Hoa and most of those migrant workers had an idea to return baseline villages.

Otherwise, according to the data provided in an interview with the head of the commune, Van Thang has a long tradition of agriculture production that shapes current livelihood of households. About 80% of total households in this commune currently relies on agriculture activities, except 5% of total households who reside along the national road 45 which generates its main income from non-farm activities. At the time, the survey was being conducted, per capita income per year within the commune reached approximately 23 million VND (1 USD = 22.330 VND). Since the mid-1990s, residents in Van Thang started migrating out of the commune, unfortunately statistics on migration were out of concern by the authorities of the commune.

## **2. Sampling and data collection**

### ***2.1. For migrant workers in Yen Phong and Que Vo***

Phuong Lieu and Long Chau commune were selected for data collection. Those places provide rooms for migrants to rent. In those communes, the density of migrant workers presents the highest compared to others around the zones. As it was impossible to arrange interviews with migrant workers at the enterprise, the meeting was set in their stays, in the villages around the industrial zones. The sample selection was based on the list of households providing rooms for rent and the number of rooms those households provided. Accordingly, 93 households (67 in 2015 and 26 in 2018) were selected in four communes: Dong Tien and Long Chau for migrant workers in the industrial zone of Yen Phong, and Nam Son and Phuong Lieu for migrant workers

of the industrial zones of Que Vo. Then, 12 households with the highest quantity of room in O Cach village, 32 in Ngo Xa village, 14 in Thai Bao village and 35 in Giang Lieu were chosen to visit migrant workers for interviews. These villages belong respectively to the four communes mentioned above. In Yen Phong industrial zone, there is a dormitory built by a private enterprise for migrant workers. The access to this dormitory was denied without an explanation. Thus, the survey could not be conducted in that place.

The sample size was calculated by the following equation suggested by (Yamane, 1967):

$$n = \frac{N}{(1 + N * e^2)}$$

where  $n$  = sample size;  $N$  = total population (189.465 migrant workers);  $e$  = sample variance (assumed at 6%). For these parameters,  $n = 277$  was supposed to generate. However, after cleaning the data, still 310 have been used for analysis.

The survey used individually face-to-face interviews with a questionnaire. The questionnaire design was based on the researcher's experiences of researching industrial zones and industrial workers since 2007. Besides, before designing the questionnaire, 07 individual in-depth interviews were conducted, including one owner of the boarding house, 1 migrant worker who is the leader and 5 other migrant workers who do not hold a managerial position, including 1 married worker. These interviews and questionnaire interviews later were conducted with the support of local authorities such as the village head and commune officials. Those interviews aimed to understand the overall situation of migrant workers, both the reason for leaving their villages, the working and non-working environment in industrial zones.

The content of the questionnaire is divided into four main parts (Annex 1). The first part focuses on the personal information of migrant workers. This section answers the question of who the migrant workers in the industrial zones in Bac Ninh are. The second part focuses on the drivers of the migration of migrant workers. The information in this section answers the question: What the household economic status of migrant workers in industrial zones is; what are the opportunities for non-farm employment of migrant workers at the place of origin; what are the social factors that motivate labor migration to the industrial zones in Bac Ninh. The third part of the questionnaire focuses on the migrant worker's pull factor and the process that migrant workers have searched for a job in the industrial zones in Bac Ninh. Besides, this section also aims at gathering information on the working environment and the non-working environment of migrant workers. Finally, the questionnaire is geared towards gathering information on the intentions of migrant workers. This section intends to answer the question whether migrant workers plan to engage in long-term industrial enterprises. If not, what are their intentions?

Added to the questionnaire survey, 70 other notes also performed to seek additional qualitative data that absent in the questionnaire. These notes were made while

applying the questionnaire survey. The main contents of the notes consist the data on the migrant worker's decisions, on the household background of migrant workers, on the migrant worker's difficulties in living in industrial zones and on the reasons for their intentions in the future.

## ***2.2. For returnees in Van Thang***

Based on the pre-survey for the national election conducted by Van Thang's authorities in March 2016, about 600 migrants who were working out of the commune and 162 returnees who already resided within the commune for at least one year were identified. Among that population, a sample has been drawn randomly according to the calculation as following the formulation of (Yamane, 1967) mentioned in the section 2.1. In the case of the return migration in Van Thang commune, the total population ( $N$ ) is 162 returnees and sample variance ( $e$ ) is assumed at 10%. For these parameters, the sample size ( $n$ ) was supposed to generate 62. However, after the survey was completed, 68 have been used for analysis.

The survey was conducted in August 2016 and used face-to-face interviews with a prepared questionnaire. The content of this questionnaire is divided into 5 sections (Annex 2). The first part concerns the general information of the returnees. This section is to determine who the returnees are. The second part looks for information regarding employment and the lives of returnees before returning to their home villages. The next section aims at collecting information about life and work in the homeland of returnees. Next, the questionnaire moved on to find out about the returnee's decision-making process and the reasons for returning. Finally, this questionnaire aims to find out the personal and household information of returnees at the time before their migration.

Then, in early May 2017 group discussions with single and married returnees (marriage status before the return) have been applied to generate more qualitative data. The single group consisted of 7 interviewees and a married group of 9. In group discussions, wealth ranking tools of participatory rural appraisal were used to generate information. All group discussions were conducted after 7 PM because working on the field prevented gathering interviewees during the daytime.

## **3. Analytical framework and data analysis**

### ***3.1. Analytical framework***

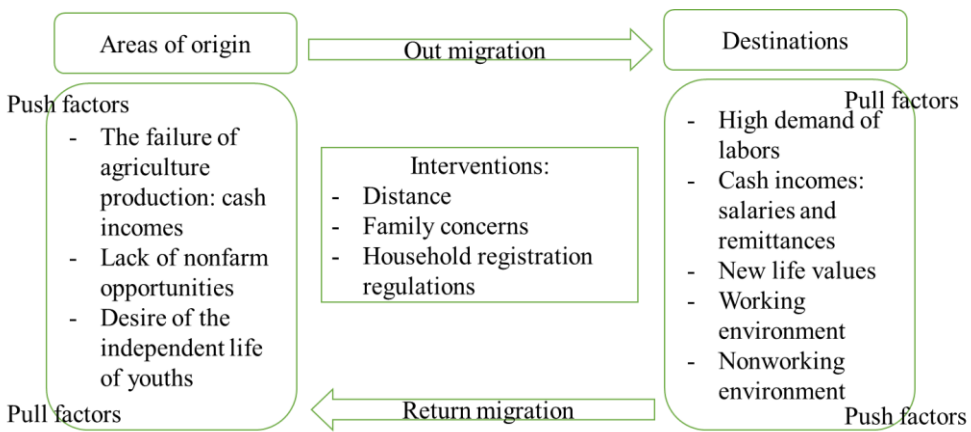
This study adopted the push and pull theory to analyze both the motives of the migration to industrial zones and the motives of return migration (Figure 3-2). The push factors for migrant workers to industrial zones arise from the areas of origin, while the factors that push back returning migrants come from their destinations. In contrast, the pull factors of workers' migration to the industrial zones appear in the destinations, while the pull factors of returnees come from their areas of origin.

For outmigration, this means that the decision to migrate out is both influenced by pushing force from the origin, and by pulling force from the destinations (industrial zones of Bac Ninh). Pushing forces may arise from the failures of agricultural

production in cash income and from accessibility to non-farm employment at the areas of origin. Pulling force, meanwhile, may arise from the high demand for labor, availability of cash incomes, the expectation for a better working environment, and new life values in the destinations.

In contrast to the outmigration process, the returning migration is probably influenced by the pushing force that originates from the difficulties encountered at work and living conditions at the destinations. Meanwhile, the pull factor may arise from the migrant’s desire to reunite his or her family after a long period of outmigration or from the social values dictated by the community of the areas of origin.

In addition, to analyze the motives of migration to industrial zones, the study applied the approach of NELM theory to consider relatively the role of remittances for households of migrant workers. These approaches enable the verification of these households’ cash shortages in consumption. Also, it allows analysis of migrant’s motives to industrial zones and to return in the context of the migrant’s family. Furthermore, it emerges migrating motives in the context of existing regulations, which affect the living of migrants at destinations. The fact has also proven that there are regulations, which partly hinder migration and the lives of migrants at the destination.



**Figure 3-2:** Analytical framework

To analyze the data, this study splits the sample into groups. First moved migrant workers, consist of 194 samples, and secondary moved migrant workers, consist of 116 samples, are used to investigate the causes of outmigration. First moved migrant workers are those who selected industrial zones in Bac Ninh as their first destination. Reversely, the secondary moved migrant workers are those who moved from other destinations to industrial zones of Bac Ninh during doing the surveys.

This division allows a more natural perspective on the motives of migration to industrial zones, via the first moved group. Those in this group who supposed to be less unaffected by other working environments than those in the secondary moved group were. This does not seem to be addressed separately in many migration studies in Vietnam. Typically, workers migrating to industrial zones are often included in the study subjects of migration to urban areas. In addition, the study of Lundholm *et al.* (2004); Xu *et al.* (2015) showed that differences in age, referring to previous work experiences, probably influenced the choice of migrants for workplaces. On this basis, those in the first moved group can experience less than the secondary moved one do.

Regarding return migration, this study also splits the sample into two groups: returnees from industrial zones and from workplaces outside industrial zones. The aim of the division is to examine the intention of migrant workers that will be discussed in other parts of the dissertation before turning to return migration. Then, because of the difference in gender of returning migrants, this study ends with a comparison crossing male and female returnees for employment generation after returning home villages

### ***3.2. Data analysis.***

The analysis method used mainly descriptive statistics for both content migration to industrial zones and return migration. The variables were almost presented by the proportions for the nominal variables and the means for the continuous variable. Accordingly, the Chi-square test has been applied for analyses of dichotomous and multiple independent variables without equality of variances when dependent variables are measured at a nominal level (McHugh, 2013). Besides, applying the z-test was added for the analysis of the post hoc of the Chi-square test.

Furthermore, because of a small sample, the N-1 Chi-square test was applied for the data collected in Van Thang commune (return migration and consists of 68 samples). As recommended by Campbell (2007), the N-1 Pearson Chi-square test is more appropriate to small sample sizes and two by two tables where the minimum expected number is less than 5.

Similarly, when population variances were unknown, the T-test was appropriately applied to analyze the differences of variables (Park, 2009). Therefore, this study adopted independent T-Test for the independent and unpaired variables. Accordingly, this test was applied when comparing two groups of migrant workers in age, the number of labors in households, the working hours in industrial zones, the migrant worker's earnings, migrant worker's satisfaction of earning, migrant workers' remittances, migrant workers' expenses, migration spell, and the areas of agricultural land. Whereas, the paired sample T-test was applied for independent and paired variables, for example, before and after migration.

Besides, this study used some qualitative analyses by adopting some case studies from interview notes to enrich some arguments of the study.

# 4

---

## **Migration determinants: views from the areas of origin**

*This chapter investigates both individual and household characteristics of migrant workers to exanimate the factors that push labor to industrial zones. Then, the investigate turn to the migrant worker's desire to move out of their village through their preoccupations and perceive of nonfarm employment.*

# 1. Migrant workers' individual characteristic

## 1.1. Age, gender, and marriage status

As demonstrated in the body of literature, migrant workers' personal characteristics such as age, gender, marriage status, educational level are key factors that influence migration decisions (Lamonica & Zagaglia, 2013; Xu et al., 2015). In recent years, the national survey of domestic migration in Vietnam showed that the age of migrants has not significantly changed. At the age under 34 years old, there are more migrants than those who stayed in home villages. As the demonstration in GSO (2016), the proportion of under 34-year-old migrants accounted for 76.2% of the total. In addition, within the groups of migrants, the proportion of those between 20 and 24 years old reached the highest accounting for 27.0%. The others were at 12.8%, 21.9% and 14.5% for 15-19, 25-29 and 30-34 respectively (GSO, 2016). This study, similar with GSO (2016), found the first move migrants to industrial zones of Bac Ninh at 21.99 years old, while those who made the secondary move was at 24.23 years old (Table 4-1). On average the age of migrant workers in the industrial zones of Bac Ninh was 22.8 years old. However, it is not in line with Liu *et al.* (2015) who illustrated that the proportion of over 30-year-old workers accounted for a larger part of those working at industrial zones in China.

**Table 4-1:** Migrant workers' age, gender

	Pooled (N=310)	First moved migrant (N=194)	Secondary moved migrant (N=116)	Mean Difference
Age	22.830 (3.430)	21.99 (3.291)	24.23 (3.204)	2.243***
Male	0.270 (0.443)	0.2200 (0.413)	0.3500 (0.480)	0.137**

*Notes:* Standard deviations in parentheses. Significances of the mean differences are based on a t-test. \*  $p < 0.10$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$

*Source:* Data collection

Referring to the gender of migrants, this study demonstrated a statistically significant difference in gender between the first and secondary moved migrant workers. Females likely presented more in the first moved group than the secondary moved group (Table 4-1). This practice indicated that males started out-migrating earlier than females. Compared to the other survey of domestic migration, the propensity of migration likely unchanged. According to GSO (2016), the proportion of female labors who left their areas of origin increased from 50% in 1999 to 53.1% in 2009 and reached 54.6% in 2014. Also, it follows the study of (Fan, 2003) who demonstrated that the proportion of male migrants in China has decreased during ten years. Besides, this study found the proportion of female migrant workers is at 73% of the total sample. It is similar to the study of T. T. Ngo (2010) who demonstrated



that more than 75% of female migrant workers presented in industrial zones. Furthermore, it is also similar to the case of Shenzhen, a special economic zone in the southern of China where female workers were accounted for more than 60% of the total (Liu et al., 2015). However, this finding is inconsistent with Thuita and Oiyee (2018) who demonstrated more males working in industrial zones than females in Kenya.

**Table 4-2:** Migrant worker's marriage status

		First moved	Secondary moved	Total	Pearson Chi-Square
Single	Count	124 <sup>a</sup>	55 <sup>b</sup>	179	0.017
	%	69.27	30.73	100.00	
Married	Count	69 <sup>a</sup>	60 <sup>b</sup>	129	
	%	53.49	46.51	100.00	
Divorced	Count	1 <sup>a</sup>	1 <sup>a</sup>	2	
	%	50.000	50.00	100.00	
Total	Count	194	116	310	
	%	62.58	37.42	100.0	

*Notes:* Different subscript letter presents significantly different proportions based on a Z-test at the .05 level.

*Source:* Data collection

The feminism situation in industrial zones was reported commonly in many developing countries. For example, Ngai (2004) found that young female labors who worked in light industries of special economic zones in China accounted for 90% of total labor. Next, Glick's study (2006) who demonstrated that employment provision created by industrial zones in Madagascar flourishes to women, accounting for 68%. Shakir and Farole (2011) added that women contributed 64% of total labor forces in exported processing zones. The possible explanation is that the enterprises who take advantage incentives provided by those zones like taxation, land access, investment procedures manufactured products that mainly based on low-cost labor and required dexterous skill of works. Indeed, those enterprises working on light industries such as food processing, garment and textile, electrical appliances and components, metal product, optical instruments, and toys and crafts manufacturing and assembling activities (McCallum, 2011; T. T. Ngo, 2009; Rondinelli, 1987) preferred to employ women rather than men to work on their productions (Tejani, 2011; Vargas-Lundius *et al.*, 2008).

Regarding migrant workers' marriage status, the national survey of domestic migration demonstrated that the proportion of married migrants reached higher than that of single ones. It was at 56.5% and 40.2% respectively for married and single migrants (GSO, 2016). Reversely, the survey of this study showed that migrant workers who got marriage accounts for 41.61%, and those who were single accounts

for 57.74% of the total sample (Table 4-2). These arguments follow Glick and Roubaud (2006) who illustrated that the proportion of married migrant workers in the industrial zones of Madagascar, accounting for 46%, was less than that of singles. In optimism view, this practice demonstrates empowerment for women. However, it probably leads to discrimination that excludes married migrant workers as it happened in the industrial zones of Mexico, Dominica and Philippine (Tejani, 2011). Additionally, it found both single and married migrants in the first moved group that the secondary moved group. The proportion of first moved migrant workers who were single is at 66.27% and that of married migrant workers is at 53.49%.

### ***1.2. Migrant workers' level of education***

According to GSO (2016), migrants' level of education was diverse. Of the total respondents, it was at 7.0% for no school, 14.6% for primary school, 19.7% for secondary school, 27% for high school, and 31.7% for those who have already obtained professional training from vocational schools, colleges, universities or even higher than university level. However, migrant workers in industrial zones of Bac Ninh did not present a level of education that was less than secondary school, but almost high school education, accounting for 70.3% of the total (Table 4-3). Additionally, the proportion of those who had completed high school was higher than that of those who demonstrated in GOS's survey (2016). It is also in contrast to the study of Hancock *et al.* (2015) who demonstrated that 97.6% and 96.3% of respondents, working respectively on textiles and non-textile sector in industrial zones of Sri Lanka, reached secondary school; the study of Kinyondo *et al.* (2016) who figured out 53% of total workers in industrial zones of Tanzania attended to a level of education less than high school. The lower educational achievements led those workers fewer opportunities to work in other factory types with (arguably) better working conditions. Basically, the model of industrialization in developing countries relied on low-cost labor that referred to unskilled or less trained workers.

Comparing the two groups of migrant workers shows no statistically significant difference in almost their educational levels, except for those with the secondary school. According to the survey results, more of the secondary moved migrant workers have a secondary school level of education than first-moved migrant workers. In other words, migrant workers who have low educational level preferred to select workplaces outside the industrial zones of Bac Ninh for their first move. The presence of those labors somewhat suggests a high labor demand from enterprises in the industrial zones of Bac Ninh. According to T. T. Ngo (2009, 2010), the industrial zones in Bac Ninh did not target this labor group in the early stage of establishment. The common requirements for employment in the industrial zones of Bac Ninh at least were the high school level of education.

Interestingly, this study found higher education like college and university graduation on migrant workers who employed as unskilled labors. The survey showed those accounted for 15.1% of total respondents (Table 4-3). This finding is not in the

line with the studies of Hancock et al. (2015); Kinyondo et al. (2016) who pointed out that workers in industrial zones who obtained a tertiary level of education, accounting for 1.1% in Sri Lanka and 11% in Tanzania, mainly worked away from production lines as low-skilled labors. However, it demonstrated consistency with the study of Xu et al. (2015) who argued that those received training desired more to work on non-farm sectors outside their areas of origin.

**Table 4-3:** Migrant workers' level of education in industrial zones of Bac Ninh

		First moved	Secondary moved	Total	Pearson Chi-Square
Secondary school	Count	17 <sup>a</sup>	22 <sup>b</sup>	39	
	%	43.59	56.41	100.00	
High school	Count	142 <sup>a</sup>	76 <sup>a</sup>	218	
	%	65.14	34.86	100.00	
Vocational school	Count	5 <sup>a</sup>	1 <sup>a</sup>	6	
	%	83.33	16.67	100.00	
College	Count	20 <sup>a</sup>	8 <sup>a</sup>	28	
	%	71.43	28.57	100.00	
University	Count	10 <sup>a</sup>	9 <sup>a</sup>	19	
	%	52.63	47.37	100.00	
Total	Count	194	116	310	
	%	62.58	37.42	100.00	

*Notes:* Different subscript letter presents significantly different proportions based on a Z-test at the .05 level.

*Source:* Data collection

According to the interviews obtained from the fieldwork, these trained laborers, as workers, failed to find a job in the field of their training, then selected the employment in the industrial zones of Bac Ninh as an alternative option while waiting for better job opportunities. Though working in industrial zones seems hard and not commensurate with what they have trained, it brings monthly income for them to survive or at least avoid damage to the finance of their families or parents. Besides, they can use the savings from what they earn can use for finding better jobs later (Box 1).

**Box 1:** While waiting for new recruitment opportunities, not working is wasteful.

*Mr. C is 23 years old and graduated from the College more than 1 year before he went to work in the Que Vo industrial zone. After graduation, he applied as a teacher at a high school in origin. However, it was unsuccessful. Then, thank the friend's information of employment, C decided to look for a job in the Que Vo industrial zone. C said that the school where C wants to work only recruits once a year. Therefore, while waiting for the next recruitment, staying at home to work on the farm is wasteful (C's family has more than 4.3 thousand m<sup>2</sup> of agricultural land*

*and raises more than 3,000 chickens). Besides, C also needs income to cover daily life. C said that his parents already gave him money for schooling. When he finished studying, he did not want to use their money anymore. Currently, C has been working at the Que Vo industrial zone for 12 months (up to the time of doing the interview). C’s current income is at 5.5 million VND/month (about 250 USD). C uses about 60% of that income for his current life in the industrial zone. The rest is for savings. C expected to use these savings for the next recruitment in the area of origin if it is necessary. According to C, to get such a formal job, it is necessary to create new relationships.*

*Source: Interview note D9*

### **1.3. Areas of origin**

Emerging the stream of migration studies, the industrial zones of Bac Ninh province attracted labors who mainly originated from rural areas, accounting for 91.9% of the sample (Table 4-4). This finding is consistent with the result of (GSO, 2016) that showed major migration propensity was rural – urban. Besides, it follows the study of T. T. Ngo (2010) who demonstrated that rural migrant workers in the Que Vo industrial zone accounted for 77.8% of the total respondents. Also, those from rural areas were likely more the first moved migrant workers than the secondary moved ones. The survey shows that the proportion of the first moved migrant workers who came from rural areas is at 64.56%, while that of secondary moved ones is at 35.44% (Table 4-4). Reversely, the first moved migrant workers from the district town of origin were less than the secondary moves ones.

**Table 4-4:** Migrant workers’ area of origin

		First moved	Secondary moved	Total	Pearson Chi-Square
Urban city	Count	1 <sup>a</sup>	2 <sup>a</sup>	3	0.05
	%	33.33	66.67	100.00	
District town	Count	9 <sup>a</sup>	13 <sup>b</sup>	22	
	%	40.90	59.10	100.00	
Rural area	Count	184 <sup>a</sup>	101 <sup>b</sup>	285	
	%	64.56	35.44	100.00	
Total	Count	194	116	310	
	%	62.58	37.42	100.0	

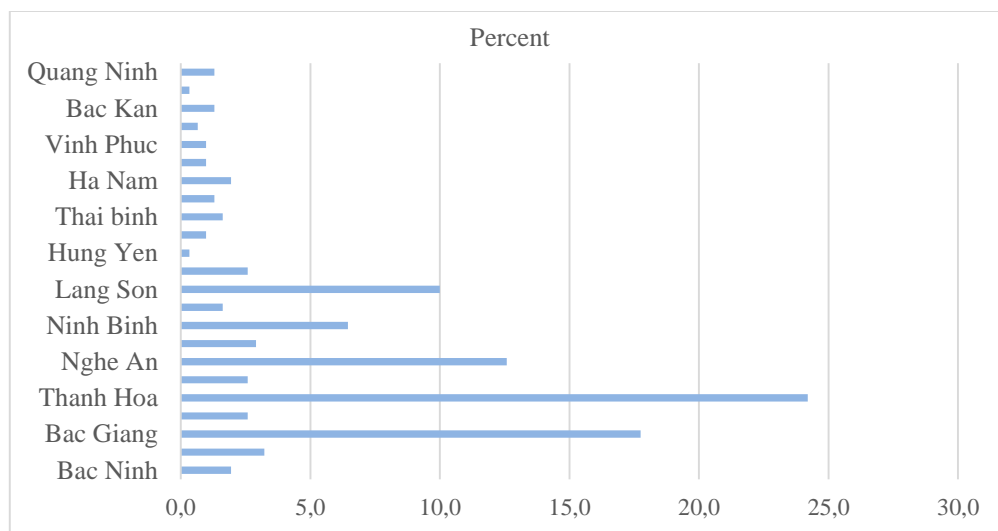
*Notes:* Different subscript letter presents significantly different proportions based on a Z-test at the .05 level.

*Source: Data collection*

Additionally, this study found the distance between the migrant’s hometown and their workplaces in Bac Ninh is not so far. Of 22 areas of origin, 27.7% of the surveyed migrant workers come from neighboring provinces like Bac Giang, Lang Son (Figure 1) where they can take between 1 and 1.5 hours by bus to industrial zones. This point was marked incredibly important by young female laborers and married

ones because this allows them to visit their families or left behind members every weekend.

It also found that 36.8% of migrant workers originated from Thanh Hoa and Nghe An province, over 250 km south of Bac Ninh province. Although the distance from those provinces to Bac Ninh is twice the time compared to the distance from Bac Giang and Lang Son, it enables the migrant workers to go back home within a day in case of an emergency. This practice had never happened before with poor infrastructure. Since the last five years, Que Vo and Yen Phong industrial zone have well connected to many provinces due to the upgrade of National Road N1 and N18. Moreover, it was reported by migrants that industrial zones in Bac Ninh are much closer to their home village compared to the zones further the south like in Binh Duong and Dong Nai province. Even for other mountainous provinces like Tuyen Quang, Cao Bang and Yen Bai, migrant workers have never taken more than one day to travel home.



**Figure 4.1:** Migrant workers' original hometown

*Source: Data collection*

Furthermore, this study found more inter-province migrant workers in the industrial zones of Bac Ninh, accounting for 98.1% of the total sample. This finding is not in line with the study of T. T. Ngo (2010), who found out migrant workers more intra-province in the early stage of the industrial development in Bac Ninh. As addressed by Majumder (2012), the types of migration have changed from short to long distances according to the development of infrastructure. This possibly explain why migrant workers from Thanh Hoa and Nghe An account for the largest of the total.

## 2. Migrant workers' household characteristic

### 2.1. Agriculture land

A body of the literature demonstrated that the accessibility of agricultural land could determine the migration decision of the households, although the direction of that impact was controversial (Priya Deshingkar & Daniel Start, 2003). As a rule, this study argued that accessing agricultural land of migrant workers' households in the areas of origin does not cause an effect on the migration decisions. The proportion of households that possibly use rice land is at 87.1% and cash-crop land at 38.7% (Table 4-5). Particularly, up to 21.6% of the total respondents reported that the rice land of their households is from 1800m<sup>2</sup> - 3600m<sup>2</sup>. Those who have from 3600m<sup>2</sup> to 36000m<sup>2</sup> were at 17%. As a result, the average rice land of migrant workers' households reported relatively higher in comparison with the average of the whole country, reaching to about 5.4 *Sao* (2000 m<sup>2</sup>). This finding is inconsistent with a previous study of L. D. Nguyen et al. (2015) who demonstrated that households with agricultural land were less likely to send their members to migrate. The larger agricultural land needed to be fulfilled by the larger number of laborers. However, this finding supports the argument of Bezu and Holden (2014); Tegegne and Penker (2016) that migrant workers were from households with small agricultural land. Also, it is in line with the study of Coffey *et al.* (2015) who demonstrated that most of the migrant households had agricultural land.

**Table 4-5:** Agricultural land access of migrant workers' household

	N	Min	Max	Mean	Std. Dev
Area of rice land	310	0	30	5.374	4.3941
Rice land access	310	0	1	0.8710	0.33578
Less than 1800 m <sup>2</sup>	310	0	1	0.4839	0.50055
More than 1800 m <sup>2</sup> to 3600 m <sup>2</sup>	310	0	1	0.2161	0.41227
More than 3600 m <sup>2</sup>	310	0	1	0.1710	0.37709
Cash crop land access	310	0	1	0.3871	0.48787

*Source: Data collection*

More interestingly, although agricultural land availability existed in most migrant workers' households, migrant workers personally remained out of decision. In rural areas of Vietnam, the use of agricultural land normally decided by the head of the household (parents). The children are never to have the right to make decisions or any personal influence on those areas until they marry and organize their living separately. As a rule, they will receive a part of the household's farmland as a source of capital to start a new life after their marriage. In another case, when their parents are aging and can thus no longer work on that agricultural land, land use decisions will be given to a son who will live with his parents and take care of them for the rest of their lives. As a result, most migrant workers who have not married yet before leaving out of the villages were likely away from the decision of agricultural land. More precisely, they

participated in the use of household agricultural land under the control of their parents. Therefore, working far from home could be a rational choice at that time, while waiting for real land access.

## ***2.2. Main livelihood activities and Economic status before outmigration***

It could be argued that the livelihood activities of migrant workers' household before migrating were diverse, ranging from agriculture-based activities to nonfarming activities. The proportion of migrants' households that generated main income from crop or plantation activities accounted for 57.09%, from livestock and poultry were at 12.58%, and from nonfarm was at 30.32% (Table 4-6). Moreover, it was no doubt that the proportion of migrants' households that main livelihood activities relied on the farm was higher than that of those relied on nonfarm. Of the total surveyed migrant workers, 69.67% reported that their household generated the main livelihood activities from agriculture. The possible explanation for this practice refers to land accessibility. According to surveys, more than 96% of migrant workers reported that their households have accessed to agricultural land. The mean area of rice land is at about 5.6 *sao* (2,016 m<sup>2</sup>). More interestingly, it found that the main livelihood of migrant workers' households with livestock and poultry accounted for 12.58%. These findings are not in line with Priya Deshingkar and Daniel Start (2003) who argued that the more agricultural land migrant households in Madhya Pradesh of India have, and the more livestock migrant households in Andhra Pradesh of India have, the less outmigration is. In addition, in-depth interviews with married migrants (who were economic autonomy before the migration), the main livelihood activities from agriculture provide only in-kind incomes that bring about a cash shortage in daily expenditures. Meanwhile, the development of the market economy requires households to use cash for even everyday foods (meat, fish and including milk for children).

**Table 4-6:** Household's economic status and main livelihood activities before migration

		Economic status before migration			
		Well-off	Average	Poor	Total
Plantation / Crops	Count	5 <sup>a</sup>	122 <sup>a, b</sup>	50 <sup>b</sup>	177
	%	2.82	68.93	28.25	100.00
Livestock and poultry	Count	0 <sup>a</sup>	32 <sup>a</sup>	7 <sup>a</sup>	39
	%	0.00	82.05	17.95	100.00
Non-farm	Count	11 <sup>a</sup>	66 <sup>b</sup>	17 <sup>b</sup>	94
	%	11.70	70.21	18.09	100.00
Total	Count	16	220	74	310
	%	5.16	70.97	23.87	100.00

*Notes:* Different subscript letter presents significantly different proportions based on a Z-

test at the .05 level. Pearson Chi-Square test:  $P = 0.003$ .

*Source: Data collection*

Regarding the household’s economic status, the study found that migrant workers come from all well-off, average, and poor households. Of the total respondents, it was at 5.16%, 70.97% and 23.87% respectively (Table 4-6). This finding seems to disagree with Priya Deshingkar and Daniel Start (2003) who demonstrated that labor from poor households failed to migrate because difficulties related to transportation and destination living cost. However, it is consistent with Narciso (2015); D. L. Nguyen *et al.* (2017) who argued that migrant workers were likely from non-poor households, including well-off and average once. In addition, it could argue that the decision to migrate to industrial zones is not necessarily influenced by the economic status of the household in the areas of origin. It all found migrant workers from well-off, average, and poor households. It supports the argument of Kundu and Sarangi (2007) that the economic factors itself is not essential enough to explain why rural dwellers migrate out. In addition, it follows the study of Hoppe and Fujishiro (2015) who illustrated employment aspiration as a driver of out-migration.

### ***2.3. Household size and labor arrangement before migration***

#### *Household size*

As the economic situation, household size did not differ statistically between the two migrant groups despite a difference in dependent labors. The first-moved migrant worker’s households seem to have it more than the secondary-moved migrant workers once (Table 4-7). The possible explanation is that the first-moved migrant workers were excluded from the labor forces of the households because most of them were in school before the migration. The evidence for that explanation will be presented in the following session.

**Table 4-7:** Household’s labor before the migration

	Pooled (N=310)	First moved (N=194)	Secondary moved (N=116)	Mean Difference
HH members	4.81 (1.172)	4.85 (1.055)	4.73 (1.347)	0.118
Number of labors	3.53 (1.227)	3.44 (1.169)	3.67 (1.311)	(0.229)
Number of dependent labors	1.06 (0.931)	1.15 (0.926)	0.91 (0.923)	0.249**

*Notes:* Standard deviations in parentheses. Significances of the mean differences are based on a t-test for continuous variables. \*  $p < 0.10$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$

*Source: Data collection*

Besides, this study revealed that the migrant worker’s household size seems



relatively larger in comparison with that of the whole country. On average, there were 4.8 persons (Table 4-7) while those of the whole country were 3.6 persons (GSO, 2016). It is no doubt that household size can create an effect on the decision of migration. Larger household size and a higher dependency ratio of labor probably become the factors that push labors toward outmigration (Coffey et al., 2015; Tegegne & Penker, 2016; Xu et al., 2015). Also, the proportion of dependent labor of these households presented at relatively low level. On average, each household has 1.06 dependent members. Particularly, it was up to 31.3% of the total migrant worker's households that did not have any dependents. According to Bal (2014); Bezu and Holden (2014); Tegegne and Penker (2016), such practice utilizes the theory of aspiration and desire for migration rather than that of the neoclassical model of migration. As discussed in the previous section, most migrant workers left their home villages since young. Therefore, they probably preferred something outside that differed from their villages.

#### *Labor arrangement*

To examine the motives of migration, this section turns to the discussions of labors used in migrant workers' households before and after migration. This comparison will accompany with the changes in the agricultural land of these households. Table 4-8 showed that the mean of labors involved in plantation or crop activities was at 2.5 labors, in livestock activities was at 1.7 and in non-agricultural activities was at 0.99 before the migration. Those households used mostly family members as labors, and fewer hired labors. It found only 5.8% of migrant workers' households who hired labors for cultivation production and 0.97% of those did so for nonfarm (Table 4-9). Of the total sample, 88.06% of migrants' parents participated in cultivation or crop activities, 66.45% were in husbandry activities and 35.81% were in nonfarm activities. It suggested that migrant workers' parents remained to contribute the highest participation in all the income generation activities of the households.

**Table 4-8:** Agricultural land and labors of migrant workers' household before and after migration

	Before migration	After migration	Mean Difference
Agricultural land ( $m^2$ )	5.374 (4.394)	4.723 (4.073)	0.652***
Plantation/Crop ( <i>person</i> )	2.477 (1.316)	2.126 (1.310)	0.352***
Livestock and poultry ( <i>person</i> )	1.684 (1.420)	1.455 (1.600)	0.229***
Nonfarm ( <i>person</i> )	0.990 (1.362)	1.332 (1.512)	0.342***

*Notes:* Standard deviations in parentheses. Significances of the mean differences are based on a paired sample t-test. \*  $p < 0.10$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\* $p < 0.01$ .  $N=310$

*Source: Data collection*

Interestingly, the labor in the migrant workers' households has shifted from agriculture to non-agriculture with the decreased area of agricultural land before and after the migration. The survey result shows that the mean number of labors in cultivation and husbandry significantly decreased to 2.13 and 1.46 respectively after migrant workers have left their homes. Meanwhile, the mean number of labors in nonfarm increased to 1.33. Besides, the mean of agricultural land significantly decreased to 4.723 m<sup>2</sup> (Table 4-8).

In addition, analyzing the movements of labors within the migrant worker's households illustrated that the leaving of migrant workers probably created a spill effect on the labor arrangement of their households. Some other family members left the agricultural land behind after (Box 2). Thus, the shrinking of the agricultural land is the consequence rather than the motive for outmigration. On the one hand, their parents who were mainly involved in agricultural production tended to move out of this sector because of aging. Table 4-9 shows that the proportion of parents in the plantation or crop and husbandry significantly decreased to 84.52% and 62.90% respectively after the migration. Meanwhile, the others preferred to follow migrant workers to work on non-farm employment. The participation proportion of those people all increased. It is at 11.29%, 28.06% and 7.74% for respectively husband or wife, older brother or sister, and younger brother or sister (Table 4-9). Indeed, the agricultural land of those households became abundant and could be used for a lease or to borrow.

**Box 2:** Leaving agricultural production – a migrant worker's effect.

*Mss. N is 26 years old and has worked in Yen Phong Industrial Zone for 2 years. She comes from Ninh Binh province, two and a half hour away from Yen Phong by bus. After finishing high school, N worked on the farm with her parents for 1 year because her household has 3600 m<sup>2</sup> of agricultural land. Later, N immigrated to Hai Duong province to work for a company producing electronic components. The work in Hai Duong lasted for 3 years. Then, she was tired of the job and wanted to go home, no matter what life could be. However, after 6-7 months at home, she could not find suitable jobs. She continued to migrate to Yen Phong Industrial Zone.*

*N's family consists of 6 people, she has two brothers and a younger sister. She is the first in her family to leave farming and work away from home. Before N came to Hai Duong to work, her family's main livelihood activity relied on agriculture. At that time, the main labors were her parents and eldest brother. She and her 2nd brother were extra labors because they were schooling. The youngest child was still young. After she came to Hai Duong to work, the oldest brother married and still engaged in agricultural production with his parents. However, the second brother moved to work as a construction worker in Hai Phong province. N added that the second brother wanted his eldest family to use agriculture land while his parents are aging. She also said that her eldest brother, several times, has asked*

*her and her second brother to introduce him a nonfarm work at her or his place. Thus, sooner or later he will leave. Following the second brother, N's younger sister found a work in a garment company near home.*

*Source: Interview note Q2*

Furthermore, after the departure of migrant workers, although the participation proportion of their parents in agriculture decreased, it was still the highest share within the household. While the spouses and brothers or sisters of migrant workers were involved, less than 42% in agricultural production, including plantations and husbandry, their parents were more than 62% (Table 4-9). In this point, it demonstrated the unchanged roles of the elderly on agricultural production. This argument is similar to the study of S. X. Wang and Yu Benjamin (2019) who claimed that the elderly have worked on the farm in areas of origin, while younger have tried out to find nonfarm income outside. Also, this practice demonstrated that outmigration is unlikely to affect the cultivation production of the households in the areas of origin.

**Table 4-9:** Labor arrangement crossing livelihood activities of the household of migrant workers

	Cultivation/crop			Husbandry			Non-Farm		
	Before migration	After migration		Before migration	After migration		Before migration	After migration	
Parents	0.8806 (0.325)	0.8452 (0.362)	0.0355***	0.6645 (0.473)	0.6290 (0.484)	0.0355***	0.3581 (0.480)	0.3419 (0.475)	0.0161
Husband/wife	0.1065 (0.309)	0.0419 (0.201)	0.0645***	0.0645 (0.246)	0.0355 (0.185)	0.0290***	0.0774 (0.268)	0.1129 (0.317)	-0.0355***
Older brother/sister	0.2871 (0.453)	0.1774 (0.383)	0.1097***	0.1968 (0.398)	0.1387 (0.346)	0.0581***	0.2065 (0.405)	0.2806 (0.450)	-0.0742***
Younger brother/sister	0.1323 (0.339)	0.1194 (0.325)	0.0129	0.1161 (0.321)	0.0935 (0.292)	0.0226*	0.0419 (0.201)	0.0774 (0.268)	-0.0355***
Hiring labors	0.0548 (0.228)	0.0645 (0.246)	-0.0097	0.0032 (0.057)	0.0065 (0.080)	-0.0032	0.0097 (0.098)	0.1161 (0.321)	-0.1065***

*Notes:* Standard deviations in parentheses. Significances of the mean differences are based on paired sample T-test.

\*  $p < 0.10$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\* $p < 0.01$ .  $N=310$

*Source:* Data collection

### 3. Preoccupation and perception toward farm and nonfarm employment before migration

#### 3.1. *Employment status before migration*

To clearly understand the motives of migration, this section turns to discuss the employment status of migrant workers before migrating. It probably unpacked the previous economic situation of migrant workers. This study found that most of the migrant workers surveyed in the industrial zones of Bac Ninh did not have a job in original areas before migrating. They were schooling, accounting for 58.06% of total respondents (Table 4-10). Those who have worked on the farm and the nonfarm sector accounted for 29.35% and 12.58% respectively. The finding is consistent with an argument of Aggarwal (2007) who found that industrial zones in India created the entrance of the labor market. Most migrant workers had no previous employment. However, it is inconsistent with Sun (1989) who argued that the proportion of migrant workers who were not previously working was lower than that of those who were working.

**Table 4-10:** Previous occupations of migrant workers before outmigration

		First moved	Secondary moved	Total	Pearson Chi-Square
Studying at high school	Count	123 <sup>a</sup>	57 <sup>b</sup>	180	0.000
	%	68.33	31.67	100.00	
Working on farm	Count	58 <sup>a</sup>	33 <sup>a</sup>	91	
	%	63.74	36.26	100.00	
Working on nonfarm	Count	13 <sup>a</sup>	26 <sup>b</sup>	39	
	%	33.33	66.67	100.00	
Total	Count	194	116	310	
	%	62.58	37.42	100.00	

*Notes:* Different subscript letter presents significantly different proportions based on a Z-test at the .05 level.

*Source:* Data collection

Interestingly, it found that there exists a statistically significant difference between the two migrant categories. Before migrating to the industrial zones of Bac Ninh, migrant workers who were schooling in first moved group were more than those in the secondary moved group. Meanwhile, the secondary moved migrant workers were more likely than the first ones to engage with nonfarm employment. Table 4-10 shows that 68.33% of those who were schooling before the migration was the first moved migrant workers while this was true for 31.67% of those who were the secondary moved. Similarly, 33.33% of the migrant workers of the first moved group already had a nonfarm work before migrating compared to 66.67% for the secondary moved

group. Concerning previous farm works, although the first moved migrant workers counted for a larger part compared to the secondary moved ones, the statistical test did not support a significant difference between them.

### ***3.2. Migrant workers' perception of farm employment***

As previously discussed, most of the migrant workers originated from rural settings and the majority of respondents' household was engaged with an agricultural livelihood. Thus, it is usual when the surveys found many of migrant workers have directly experienced agricultural works that they were uninterested in. Surprisingly, the disengagement from those works resulted from their working experiences. Those who used to work on the farm all understood how hard it was, especially for migrant workers who did not previously work as the main labor of households (studying at high school) before the migration. Working outdoor under severe weather became the worst memory. Particularly, it was repeated by migrant workers in many interviews that a very early wake-up call from their parents in the morning for working on the rice field brought them a nightmare. All those things, therefore, decreased migrant workers' wills to work on the farm.

**Box 3:** I feel more dependent from my parents.

*Ms. L, from an average household, was graduated from high school in 2013 and has been working at the Samsung, Yen Phong industrial zone for about two years. The main livelihood activities of her household are based on cultivation and husbandry. Before she decided to migrate to the Yen Phong industrial zones, her family has 2,500 m<sup>2</sup> paddy rice, 10 pigs, and about 20 chickens. The family does not have financial difficulties. According to L, her parents sell pigs twice a year and some chickens at the end of the lunar year for main cash income. Most of the rice harvested was used for home consumption and for husbandry feed, about one fourth of rice was sold for cash. However, all cash is kept by her parents and she must ask them for all her daily expenses. After graduating from high school, she felt ashamed to ask her parents money for daily use except for valued things like new clothes, gifts for birthdays and weddings. She migrated to the Yen Phong industrial zone because she now earns money for and by herself. She sends home part of her wage as saving and keeps the rest for her needs. Now she proudly said that, "I feel more interdependent from my parents"*

*Source: Interview note Q1*

In addition, migrant workers ignored the farm works because of its seasonal characteristics. This field just provided works in certain periods of the year, while migrant workers preferred full-year employment. Therefore, those who married before migration and their household livelihood relied mainly on agriculture paid less attraction on farm works. The burdens arising from expenditures for their children

required them to work more than they were. Furthermore, they themselves perceived that farming works brought insufficient income for later livelihood. Moreover, young migrant workers reported that working on farms with family made them be more economically dependent (Box 3). As mentioned in the previous section, migrant workers used to be considered as additional labors to household income managed by their parents. In many interviews, both male and female migrant workers addressed that they would remain dependent of their parents until they would marry and be able to form a separate household. This norm was formed a long time ago and is hard to change.

### ***3.3. Migrant's perception of nonfarm employment***

No doubt that the migrant workers in the industrial zones of Bac Ninh disengaged with working on the agricultural sector in their areas of origin as previously discussed. Indeed, most of them targeted to find nonfarm employment before moving out of villages, accounting for 97.1% of the total respondents (Table 4-11). According to migrant workers, nonfarm employment will bring them fewer hardships than farm works, but higher income. More importantly, nonfarm employment provides monthly cash income, which does not exist in agricultural works. Due to market economy spreading to areas of origin, cash income is needed not only to meet the daily consumption needs of the family but also to pay for things like monthly tuition and milk for children. Further, monthly cash brings more economic independence for those who were young and shared living with parents before the migration. They do not have to ask their parents for chores or daily expenses that were reported as an obsession (Box 3).

More interestingly, although the statistic test did not support the difference between the two groups of migrant workers, this study found few migrants targeted their current works in the industrial zones at the beginning of the migration process. It reported that only 13.55% of the total respondents previously wanted to become an industrial zone worker. Instead, working for local government and running self-employment at areas of origin were more wanted, accounting for 35.81% and 15.45% respectively. In addition, up to 31.29% of the total surveyed workers did not identify their specific nonfarm employment. For those migrant workers, moving to industrial zones was likely to get away from agricultural works at baseline villages. However, the difference between the targeted and current employment probably suggests that migrant workers are leaving industrial zones later. As the case study of Mr. C (Box 1), although he initially failed the targeted employment as a teacher at a high school, he keeps it in his mind for the following attempts in the areas of origin. Similarly, in the case of Mss. L, 21 years old from Quang Ninh province, stated that *"I wanted to generate a hair salon in my home village. It requires about 25 -30 million VND (about 1-1.5 thousand USD). Therefore, I moved to work here (Que Vo industrial zone). I was supposed to stay on this work for two years (accumulating enough money). Then I will return to my village for the hair salon"*. (Interview notes M2)

**Table 4-11:** Targeted employment of workers before migrating to industrial zones of Bac Ninh

			First moved	Secondary moved	Total	Pearson Chi-Square
Unclear employment	nonfarm	Count	61 <sup>a</sup>	36 <sup>a</sup>	97	0.869
		%	62.89	37.11	100.00	
Farm		Count	4 <sup>a</sup>	5 <sup>a</sup>	9	
		%	44.44	55.56	100.00	
Government officer		Count	71 <sup>a</sup>	40 <sup>a</sup>	111	
		%	63.96	36.04	100.00	
Factory worker		Count	25 <sup>a</sup>	17 <sup>a</sup>	42	
		%	59.52	40.48	100.00	
Trader		Count	16 <sup>a</sup>	10 <sup>a</sup>	26	
		%	61.54	38.46	100.00	
Service provider		Count	17 <sub>a</sub>	8 <sup>a</sup>	25	
		%	68.00	32.00	100.00	
Total		Count	194	116	310	
		%	62.58	37.42	100.00	

*Notes:* Different subscript letter presents significantly different proportions based on a Z-test at the .05 level.

*Source:* Data collection

### In summary

The characteristics of migrant workers in industrial zones in Bac Ninh are similar to those in the national migration survey (2016). They are all young people, concentrated from 22 to 24 years old. Most of them are female and come from rural areas. However, there are some differences between those workers. First, in the 2016 national migration survey, most migrants were married, while most migrant workers in Bac Ninh industrial zones did not. Second, both this study and the national survey on migration showed the diverse educational levels of migrants. However, this study did not find migrant workers under the secondary level of education, which appeared in the 2016 national migration survey. More interestingly, there was the presence of skilled workers in the position of unskilled workers. This fact somewhat suggests temporarily for migrant workers in industrial zones in Bac Ninh.

Also, analyzing the household practice of migrant workers in Bac Ninh industrial zones before migrating showed that the livelihood activities in their households are relatively diverse, including both agricultural and non-agricultural activities. Similarly, the economic status of these households is both well-off, average, and poor. However, migrant workers, most of whom were unmarried, are relatively separated in their access to agricultural land. Most of their households in the areas of origin can access to agricultural land. However, the migrant worker's parents take all the decisions regarding agricultural land use at the time they migrate. They are probably



the next generation to decide the use of that agricultural land when their parents are aging.

Besides, analyzing the labor arrangements before and after migrant workers leaving showed the tendency of labor shortage in agricultural production. After migrant workers leaving homes, other household members also follow migrant workers to move to nonfarm employment. Indeed, the area of agricultural production in their households shrunken. The reason for this shift, according to migrant workers, is the shortage of cash for daily expenses which is not available due to the seasonal character of agricultural production. This practice suggests that the leaving of migrant workers is probably not because of the labor surplus in their households.

Comparing the characteristics of two groups of migrant workers in the Bac Ninh industrial zone also shows the difference in age, gender, marital status, and occupation before migration. Those in the first moved groups are younger, more female, more single, and married than those in the secondary moved group. Before migration, those who were schooling are likely more in the first moved group, while those who have already had a job are likely more in the secondary moved group.

# 5

---

## **On the move to industrial zones of Bac Ninh province**

*This chapter investigates the effects of people who are around migrant workers but caused an impact on workers' migration decisions. In addition, investigating then turns to opportunities for access to non-farm employment in the areas of origin and point out the reasons why workers refuse such jobs or are prevented from accessing these non-farm jobs.*

# 1. Deciding to move – the role of family members and friends

## 1.1. Decision makers for outmigration

It would be an omission when analyzing the motives of migration without referring to decision makers. Normally, migrants choose to stay within the baseline villages or to leave for the targeted destinations. However, who decides the choice probably exposes the different nature of migration? Following this vein, this study found although migrant workers decided unilaterally for their move out of the areas of origin, their decisions take place in accordance with the harmony of families. Of the total number of migrant workers surveyed, 82.58% (Table 5-1) reported that their decision for outmigration did not influence by any other family members. They did decide to migrate whatever receiving family consensus or not. However, most of them received consensuses, accounting for 72.9% of the total samples did not create conflict within their families. Those workers have waited for those consensuses when raising an outmigration issue. As a migrant worker reported: *“When I talked to my family that I want to work far from home, I did want my family to agree with my decision. The consensus is probably meaningless, sooner or later if I want to go, I will. However, when receiving that consensus, I felt concreted to step forward”* – Interview A3. The rest of the total respondents did not get immediate consent because their family still worried about a hard living at destinations. Some parents perceived that their children, who have never experienced a formal work, who have never gone away from home, and who were young girls, could face higher uncertainty at new places. In these cases, the negotiations between migrant workers and their families took place afterward. Reportedly, getting consensus from parents or other family members was not too difficult. The persuasion focused on explaining the safeties at the destination referring to the friends or relatives who have been currently working in destinations. Those findings are consistent with the study of Hoang (2011) who demonstrated that more than 80% of interviewed migrants in Thang Loi village, Nam Cuong commune, Thai Binh province of Vietnam received family’s consensuses and about 3% of them did negotiations prior outmigration.

Additionally, the testing results did not support the significant difference in migration decision and family consensus between the two groups of migrant workers: the first and secondary moved. However, migrant workers who reportedly made a migrating decision without the involvement of other family members were likely more schooling than working before the migration. The proportions of those migrant workers were at 65.62% and 34.38% respectively (Table 5-1). Most of those who were schooling shared home with their parents, and they considered as added labors of the household. Therefore, working far from home was easier to decide individually. Meanwhile, most of those who have worked married before migration. Therefore, their outmigration seemed a strategy of household livelihood and needed acceptance of other family members.

**Table 5-1:** Decision and family consensus for the first move out of the areas of origin

			First moved	Secondary moved	Total	Chi-Square Tests	Working BF migration	Schooling BF migration	Total	Chi-Square Tests
Migration decision	Family	Count	34 <sup>a</sup>	20 <sup>a</sup>	54	0.949	42 <sup>a</sup>	12 <sup>b</sup>	54	0.00
		%	62.96	37.04	100.00		77.78	22.22	100.00	
	Migrant worker	Count	160 <sup>a</sup>	96 <sup>a</sup>	256		88 <sup>a</sup>	168 <sup>b</sup>	256	
		%	62.50	37.50	100.00		34.38	65.62	100.00	
	Total	Count	194	116	310		130	180	310	
		%	62.58	37.42	100.00		41.94	58.06	100.00	
Family consensus	No	Count	27 <sup>a</sup>	17 <sup>a</sup>	44	0.857	14 <sup>a</sup>	30 <sup>a</sup>	44	0.142
		%	61.36	38.64	100.00		31.82	68.18	100.00	
	Yes	Count	167 <sup>a</sup>	99 <sup>a</sup>	266		116 <sup>a</sup>	150 <sup>a</sup>	266	
		%	62.78	37.22	100.00		43.61	56.39	100.00	
	Total	Count	194	116	310		130	180	310	
		%	62.58	37.42	100.00		41.94	58.06	100.00	

*Notes:* Different subscript letter presents significantly different proportions based on a Z-test at the .05 level.

*Source:* Data collection

## ***1.2. The effect of previous migrants within the village***

Many studies illustrated that several factors such as difficult economic conditions, lack of jobs, or problems arising at the place of origin pushed rural laborers to migrate. In addition, this study found that the achievements of a previous migrant within the village were likely to pull migrant workers. According to surveys, 90.65% of total respondents reported that they knew a previous migrant in baseline village before the move. Of those, 69.04% stated that the previous migrants created an effect on decision-making for outmigration (Table 5-2). Traditionally, every *Tết* holiday (Luna New Year festival), when all Vietnamese including migrant workers go back home to reunite their families, it is also the time when the villagers witness migrants with many new things. As migrant workers in Bac Ninh said, both the way they dressed up and the stories of their life at workplaces attract many people in the village, especially young people, who are in the final stages of high school. Many in-depth interviews revealed that the migrant workers' intention to work away from home has formulated since they saw other migrants coming home for Tet. Some other migrant workers who married before the migration observed the improving economic situation of the migrant households leading them to think about a better life for their families.

Besides, this study also found that the migrating decision of workers in the industrial zones of Bac Ninh was likely affected by their friends' employment status, particularly for migrant workers who have just finished high school. At the time when workers decided to migrate, there were 57.1% of respondents revealing that most of their friends already having a job away from villages. Among them, 78.29% reportedly stated that the employment achievement of their friends partly motivated their desire to migrate. On the one hand, a possible explanation originated from the norm: "like me, like my friends" (*Bằng bạn bằng bè*). Migrant workers wanted to do as what their friends did. They thought that they and their friends are at the same age, shared the living in the same village; thus, their friends had a job, they wanted to have a job too. On the other hand, migrant workers, as reported in many interviews, stayed behind with the feeling of useless while most of their friends went out for work.

Additionally, comparing the first moved and secondary moved migrant workers did not support a significant difference in existing previous migrants in their villages. But it did for the friend's employment status. It found migrant workers' friend having an employment outside the villages in the first group more than the secondary groups before they decided migrating to the industrial zones of Bac Ninh. Table 5-2 showed that while the proportion of friends who obtained employment outside the villages was at 63.35% for the first moved group, that was at 36.65% for the secondary moved one.

**Table 5-2:** Previous migrants and friend's employment status effecting on outmigration

			First moved	Secondary moved	Total	Pearson Chi-Square
Existing previous migrants in village	No	Count	16 <sup>a</sup>	13 <sup>a</sup>	29	0.387
		%	55.17	44.83	100.00	
	Yes	Count	178 <sup>a</sup>	103 <sup>a</sup>	281	
		%	63.35	36.65	100.00	
	Total	Count	194	116	310	
		%	62.58	37.42	100.00	
Friend's employment status	No	Count	73 <sup>a</sup>	60 <sup>b</sup>	133	0.015
		%	54.89	45.11	100.00	
	Yes	Count	121 <sup>a</sup>	56 <sup>b</sup>	177	
		%	68.36	31.64	100.00	
	Total	Count	194	116	310	
		%	62.58	37.42	100.00	
Effect of previous migrants	No	Count	54 <sup>a</sup>	33 <sup>a</sup>	87	0.508
		%	62.07	37.93	100.00	
	Yes	Count	124 <sup>a</sup>	70 <sup>a</sup>	194	
		%	63.92	36.08	100.00	
	Total	Count	178	103	281	
		%	63.35	36.65	100.00	
Effect of friend's employment status	No	Count	28 <sup>a</sup>	10 <sup>a</sup>	38	0.155
		%	73.68	26.32	100.00	
	Yes	Count	91 <sup>a</sup>	46 <sup>a</sup>	137	
		%	66.42	33.58	100.00	
	Total	Count	119	56	175	
		%	68.00	32.00	100.00	

Notes: Different subscript letter presents significantly different proportions based on a Z-test at the .05 level.

Source: Data collection

### ***1.3. Initial aims of the trip***

This section turns to discuss the initial aims ignored in the body of literature while studying the motives of migration. It showed that although the first moved groups did not differ from the secondary moved group, migrant workers in the Bac Ninh industrial all set various purposes before migrating. Table 5-3, the most important one according to migrant workers' assessment, revealed that those purposes are to satisfy both their personal goals at present and future. Of the migrant workers surveyed, 44.19% stated that their most important goal was to earn money to help their families. Meanwhile, 36.13% of them aimed at earning money to support their current life, 11.19% did outmigration for accumulating more experience for life and 7.42% of them went out of the areas of origin to earn some money to set up a future business at

home. Thus, it could indicate that working away from home was not only the livelihood strategy of households but also the desire to change the personal lifestyle of migrant workers from depending on their parents to a more independent life, especially in financial issues. This argument somehow is consistent with the study of Schizzerotto and Lucchini (2004) who demonstrated that youths often left parental houses while entering adulthood. It also follows the argument of Iacovou (2010) who stated that young people preferred independence when they were growing up.

Also, Table 5-3 demonstrated that the migrant workers seemed to hide the aims of leaving industrial zones or returning homes in the initial aims of migration. Those who initially intended to leave homes for earning money for future business and for accumulating experiences contain high probability to leave workplaces when their targets completed. Besides, it found non-economic factors in migrant workers' initial aims. Understanding and accumulating experiences were also a need for these workers to move beyond their residence. Those expected experiences probably pull migrant workers out of the villages.

**Table 5-3:** Initial purpose of outmigration crossing groups of migrant workers

Purposes		First moved	Secondary moved	Total
		Count	69 <sup>a</sup>	43 <sup>a</sup>
Earning money for self-expenditure	%	61.61	38.39	100.00
	Count	88 <sup>a</sup>	49 <sup>a</sup>	137
Earning money for supporting family	%	64.23	35.77	100.00
	Count	12 <sup>a</sup>	11 <sup>a</sup>	23
Earning money for setting up future business at baseline village	%	52.17	47.83	100.00
	Count	9 <sup>a</sup>	1 <sup>a</sup>	10
Getting away from agriculture	%	90.00	10.00	100.00
	Count	13 <sup>a</sup>	11 <sup>a</sup>	24
Obtaining self-experience	%	54.17	45.83	100.00
	Count	3 <sup>a</sup>	1 <sup>a</sup>	4
Others	%	75.00	25.00	100.00
	Count	194	116	310
Total	%	62.58	37.42	100.00

*Notes:* Pearson Chi-Square  $P = 0.361$ ; Different subscript letter presents significantly different proportions based on a Z-test at the .05 level.

*Source:* Data collection

Furthermore, the testing results supported statistically significant differences between migrants from poor and well-off households (Table 5-4). Thus, in some respects, the economic status of households before migration likely caused an effect on the initial migration purpose of industrial zone workers. Those from poor households were more likely to earn money to support their families than those from



well-off and average households. Meanwhile, workers from better-off households preferred to target obtaining more experience than those from poor households.

**Table 5-4:** Initial purposes of outmigration crossing the household and marriage status of migrant workers

		Well-off	Average	Poor	Total
Earning money for self-expenditure	Count	6 <sup>a</sup>	83 <sup>a</sup>	23 <sup>a</sup>	112
	%	5.36	74.11	20.54	100.00
Earning money for supporting family	Count	4 <sup>a</sup>	93 <sup>a, b</sup>	40 <sup>b</sup>	137
	%	2.92	67.88	29.20	100.00
Earning money for setting up future business at base line village	Count	0 <sup>a</sup>	20 <sup>a</sup>	3 <sup>a</sup>	23
	%	0.00	86.96	13.04	100.00
Getting away from agriculture	Count	0 <sup>a</sup>	5 <sup>a</sup>	5 <sup>a</sup>	10
	%	0.00	50.00	50.00	100.00
Obtaining self-experience	Count	4 <sup>a</sup>	18 <sup>b</sup>	2 <sup>b</sup>	24
	%	16.67	75.00	8.33	100.00
Others	Count	2 <sup>a</sup>	1 <sup>b</sup>	1 <sup>b</sup>	4
	%	50.00	25.00	25.00	100.00
Total	Count	16	220	74	310
	%	5.16	70.97	23.87	100.00
Pearson Chi-Square		P = 0.000			

*Notes:* Different subscript letter presents significantly different proportions based on a Z-test at the .05 level.

*Source:* Data collection

## 2. Access to nonfarm employment

### 2.1. Local industrial zones or cluster and nonfarm employment opportunities

Although industrial zones have rapidly developed throughout the country, few of them have been built at the migrant's areas of origin. According to the survey, 62.26% of migrant workers stated that no industrial zones were built in the areas of origin at the time they decided to work away from villages.

Besides, the area of origin with a richer supply of nonfarm employment or where existed industrial zones or small and medium industrial clusters could provide nonfarm employment, migrant workers still escaped from these works. Only 28.21% of migrant workers from those areas attempted to seek employment in those industrial

zones or clusters (Table 5-5).

There were some possible reasons to explain this situation. First, migrant workers did not satisfy with the salary proposed by enterprises in local industrial zones or clusters, accounting for 69% (Table 5-6). Through their friends and relatives who have worked away from villages, they partly realized that the income from these jobs was not reasonable. The results of statistical tests did also not support the low salary difference between groups of migrant workers, such as the first and secondary move to IZs. However, the proportions of those who reported the low salary as a preventing factor to access the local industrial zones or clusters suggested this practice as a remarkable note.

**Table 5-5:** Industrial zones or clusters and nonfarm employment at areas of origin

	N	Frequency	Proportion
Existing industrial zones or cluster at areas of origin	310	117	37.74
Tried to search employment in local industrial zones or clusters	117	33	28.21
Tried to search other employment OUTSIDE local industrial zones or clusters	310	81	26.13

*Source: Data collection*

Second, not working in industrial zones or clusters in the areas of origin also resulted from characteristics of employment and requirements of recruitment, accounting for 66.0% (Table 5-6). Except for working at garment factories with low income in the areas of origin, most of female migrant workers in industrial zones did not fit to work on construction-related jobs. Furthermore, enterprises that offered reasonable employment positions often come with vocational training requirements, such as electricity or mechanics, which migrant workers have not obtained yet before migrating. The interview results demonstrated that young migrant workers seemed to encounter more this obstacle.

In line with those discussions, this study found a significant difference between the first and secondary moved migrant workers. In areas of origin where existing industrial zones or clusters, up to 64.94% of those who reportedly encountered unsuitable employment and recruitment were in the first moved group. Meanwhile, 35.06% of those who could not find suitable jobs for their training degree or capacity were in the secondary moved one (Table 5-6). An appropriate explanation was that the first moved group, as discussed in section 4.1, included more female and younger than the secondary moved group.

Third, it reported that the unsuitable distance to local industrial zones or clusters removed migrants' appeal of employment, accounting for 55% of the total respondents. Besides, this obstacle was presented more in the first group than the secondary group of migrant workers. According to interviews, those zones or clusters located a bit far for commuting, but a bit close to rent accommodation. Therefore, younger migrant workers in the first moved group faced more difficulties to persuade

their families to rent a room in these workplaces. The survey demonstrated that up to 67.19% of those in the first moved group did not work at those places for this reason, while this proportion of those in the secondary group was at 32.81%. (Table 5-6)

**Table 5-6:** Reasons for not working at local industrial zones or cluster

			First moved	Secondary moved	Total	Pearson Chi-Square
Low salary	No	Count	24 <sup>a</sup>	12 <sup>a</sup>	36	0.212
		%	66.67	33.33	100.00	
	Yes	Count	44 <sup>a</sup>	37 <sup>a</sup>	81	
		%	54.32	45.68	100.00	
	Total	Count	68	49	117	
		%	58.12	41.88	100.00	
Unsuitable distance	No	Count	25 <sup>a</sup>	28 <sup>b</sup>	53	0.029
		%	47.17	52.83	100.00	
	Yes	Count	43 <sup>a</sup>	21 <sup>b</sup>	64	
		%	67.19	32.81	100.00	
	Total	Count	68	49	117	
		%	58.12	41.88	100.00	
Poor non-working environment	No	Count	33 <sup>a</sup>	26 <sup>a</sup>	59	0.629
		%	55.93	44.07	100.00	
	Yes	Count	35 <sup>a</sup>	23 <sup>a</sup>	58	
		%	60.34	39.66	100.00	
	Total	Count	68	49	117	
		%	58.12	41.88	100.00	
No village mates or friends	No	Count	30 <sup>a</sup>	29 <sup>a</sup>	59	0.108
		%	50.85	49.15	100.00	
	Yes	Count	38 <sup>a</sup>	20 <sup>a</sup>	58	
		%	65.52	34.48	100.00	
	Total	Count	68	49	117	
		%	58.12	41.88	100.00	
Unsuitable employment and recruitment	No	Count	18 <sup>a</sup>	22 <sup>b</sup>	40	0.038
		%	45.00	55.00	100.00	
	Yes	Count	50 <sup>a</sup>	27 <sup>b</sup>	77	
		%	64.94	35.06	100.00	
	Total	Count	68	49	117	
		%	58.12	41.88	100.00	

*Notes:* Different subscript letter presents significantly different proportions based on a Z-test at the .05 level.

*Source:* Data collection

Fourth, migrant workers put forward the poor non-working environment surrounding local industrial zones or clusters. These zones or clusters mainly attracted

surrounding labors who could commute, few people rent accommodation there. Therefore, according to migrant workers, their life would be bored when going back and forth daily. This was true for migrant workers who have just graduated from high school (Table 5-6).

Finally, leaving industrial zones or clusters in the areas of origin for work at remote destinations was due to a lack of social relationships, accounting for 50% (Table 5-6). On the one hand, migrant workers wanted nonfarm employment, on the other hand, they also wanted to work at a place where their village mates or friends have been working. Although this practice did not differently make a scene for the first or secondary moved group, it was particularly true for those who were schooling before migrating compared to those who already had a job. In response to the question: Why you did not want to work in industrial zones, many migrant workers who have left homes just after finishing high school started their works with: I don't know anybody there or the friends don't work over there. This evidence probably added to the arguments that social networks shape the direction of migration in many studies.

## ***2.2. Nonfarm employment opportunities outside local industrial zones or clusters***

Conventionally, not only enterprises and factories in the industrial zones or clusters at the area of origin but also those outside these zones or clusters can provide nonfarm employment. Labors probably search for nonfarm employment at government agencies and public service organizations and even create nonfarm employment by themselves. However, the failure to access to nonfarm employment in this sector, including areas where industrial zones or clusters have not been built yet, added to the factors that pushed labors to migrate. According to the survey, the proportion of migrant workers who did not attempt to seek other nonfarm employment outside local industrial zones or clusters was relatively high, accounting for 73.87% of total respondents (Table 5-5). Possible reasons for this practice may arise from different crossing fields of nonfarm employment mentioned above.

For example, migrant workers failed to access for employment provided by enterprises, factories, or private production facilities outside local industrial zones, where jobs are relatively similar to those in these zones or clusters because of the lack of information. Unlike in local industrial zones or clusters, the dispersion of employers leads to a difficulty that migrant workers got loose while tracking employment information. Meanwhile, jobs referral center which in provincial cities, far from migrants' villages was likely helpless. According to the survey, the proportion of migrant workers who did not know where those employers were at 40.17% (Table 5-7).

With respect to employment created by government agencies and public sector

organizations at the areas of origin, failure to access resulted from high comparative recruitment where migrant workers did not have advantage. Recruitment was limited, while high level of education that most migrant workers would not obtain before migrating was required. In addition, to get a work position in this field, migrant workers may need the social networks based on relationships with friends, relatives who act as job referrals. However, it was reported that more than 44% of migrant workers who did not attempt for nonfarm employment outside local industrial zones did not have such social networks before migrating. For this reason, some migrant workers in industrial zones of Bac Ninh who graduated from universities or colleges failed to access employment at the areas of origin.

Regarding the generation of nonfarm self-employment desired by 15.45% of the sample, as stated in the previous section, it required a certain amount of investment and skill that migrant workers could not fulfil before migrating. Especially for migrant workers who have not had a job before migration (schooling), running self-nonfarm employment became over their capacity. That was the reason why many migrant workers targeted that employment after migration when they accumulate enough capital and experiences. They have thought that several years working as migrant workers in the industrial zones might help them gain enough money for nonfarm employment in the areas of origin.

**Table 5-7:** Reasons for not seeking a nonfarm employment outside local industrial zones or clusters

	N	Frequency	Proportion
Don't know where employers were	229	92	40.17
Stay home for housework	229	35	15.28
Don't have social networks	229	102	44.54

*Source: Data collection*

Finally, about 15.28% of the sample stated that not seeking nonfarm employment outside the local industrial zones in the areas of origin was because of the housework in the family. It happened for labors who have just left high school before the migration. While they were waiting for employment far from the area of origin, assisting other family's members for housework could be a reasonable choice.

In summary:

Although migrant workers decided unilaterally to leave homes for migrating to the Bac Ninh industrial zone, their decision relatively associates with family consensus. In addition, previous migrants, such as their friends and other migrants within the village, who have had nonfarm employment away from home were likely to pull migrant workers out of their family. However, the analysis showed that migrant workers seemed to hide a reason to leave industrial zones in Bac Ninh later or return to their areas of origin in their initial purposes before migration. The desire for a job before migrating illustrated that few migrant workers before leaving homes aimed at

working like in the industrial zones of Bac Ninh. In the beginning, they aim at satisfying the current financial needs for themselves and their families, to meet the need to experience new life beyond the boundaries of the village. However, the end of these initial aims is to return home.

The obstacles in nonfarm employment access in the areas of origin probably pushed migrant workers to the industrial zones of Bac Ninh. There are not as many industrial zones in the areas of origin as in Bac Ninh, so there are few options for nonfarm employment. Even if there existed industrial zones or clusters in some areas of origin, those places are not attractive to migrant workers due to low wages, unsuitable requirements for recruitment, lack of appeal of the living environment, and unsuitable distance. Besides, the restrictions on access to local nonfarm employment outside the industrial zones or clusters in the areas of origin are likely to encourage migrant workers to move to the Bac Ninh industrial zones. Limited capacity and social relationships prevent them from accessing nonfarm employment in the state sector, while the lack of information does not allow them to achieve other nonfarm employment in the areas of origin before migration.

Comparing the first and second migration groups, there was no difference in their migration decisions. This suggests that the initial destination, outside or inside the industrial zones of Bac Ninh, did not relate to the initial decisions and purposes of the migrant workers. However, first-moved migrants appear to be having more obstacles than secondary moved migrants to access non-agricultural jobs in the areas of origin.

# 6

---

## **Working at industrial zones – the migrant worker's trade-off?**

*This chapter discusses factors that pull the labors to industrial zones of Bac Ninh, including employment recruitment, labor demand, and cash earnings. Besides this chapter will discuss the working environment in industrial zones in Bac Ninh and life after working hours in the industrial zones of migrant workers. Finally, this chapter turns to a discussion of migrant workers' desires while working in industrial zones of Bac Ninh.*



# 1. Recruitment and employment requirements

## 1.1. Selecting destinations and employment

As previously discussed, the social networks based on kin and friendship were likely not enough for nonfarm employment in the areas of origin. This practice led to the fact that migrant workers ignored to search employment in local industrial zones or clusters, local agencies, institutions, and government organizations. Conversely, these networks are remarkable for those people working outside the area of origin. The survey shows that 73.55% of the total migrant workers choose to work at the first destination where their friends and relatives have been working. Similarly, 77.42% of the total sample shaped their direction of migration moving toward industrial zones of Bac Ninh through information introduced or provided by their friends or relatives (Table 6-1). According to migrant workers, those people contribute to a reduction of hardships that they encountered during the early days at destinations. Moreover, friends or relatives working at industrial zones are convincing evidence for an acceptable employment. This finding is consistent with the study of Nghi et al. (2012) and T. T. Ngo *et al.* (2019) who demonstrated that village-based relationships determined the direction of the migration. Besides, it follows (Kuhn, 2003) who argued that these relationships brought trust between migrants in a destination with severe constraints. Migrants who rely on such informal network like this are probably having a bigger chance to find employment (Long *et al.*, 2017).

**Table 6-1:** Migrant workers’ friends and relatives at destinations

	Pooled (N=310)	First moved (N=194)	Secondary moved (N=116)	Difference
First destination (%)	73.55	73.20	74.14	0.94
Bac Ninh Industrial Zones (%)	77.42	73.20	84.48	11.28**

*Notes:* Significances are based on Chi-square test of equality proportion. \*  $p < 0.10$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$

*Source:* Data collection

Interestingly, a comparison between migrants also reveals a significant difference (Table 6-1). More than 73% of first moved migrants had friends or relatives working in industrial zones of Bac Ninh, it was true for more than 84% of secondary-moved migrants. The first moved migrants who lacked experience in working and living away from home than the secondary moved migrants were (as discussed in the previous section) were easier to rely on their networks. Therefore, most of them have been driven by kinship or friendships to work in the industrial zones of Bac Ninh. Meanwhile, many industrial zone enterprises have conducted recruitment with a focus on high school labors in their area of origin due to the scarcity in the labor market. In this way, these enterprises provided the first-moved migrants, commonly youths,

more trust and confident to work away from home. Therefore, some migrant workers decided to migrate to the industrial zone without the attention of kinship or friendship, even though it was their first move. This practice also demonstrates that laborers are likely less to rely on the social network for employment when confidential information of those employments deployed.

**Table 6-2:** Migrant worker’s concerns on employment details before working at industrial zones of Bac Ninh

Concerns	Pooled	First moved	Secondary moved	Difference
	N=310	N=194	N=116	
Probationary salary (%)	46.13	42.27	52.59	10.32*
Probationary period (%)	43.55	39.69	50.00	10.31*
Salary (%)	48.71	43.30	57.76	14.46**
Salary increase cycle (%)	29.35	24.23	37.93	13.70**
Work duration per day (%)	38.71	34.02	46.55	12.53**
Overtime duration (%)	31.29	29.38	34.48	05.10
Overtime payment (%)	20.65	18.04	25.00	06.96
N° of overtime days per month (%)	19.68	16.49	25.00	08.51*
Vacation (%)	34.52	33.51	36.21	02.70
Promotion (%)	23.23	20.10	28.45	08.35
Insurance (%)	32.90	28.87	39.66	10.79*

*Notes:* Significances are based on Chi-square test of equality proportion. \*  $p < 0.10$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$

*Source:* Data collection

Furthermore, this study reveals that migrant workers are likely to pay less attention to employment details before deciding to work in industrial zones of Bac Ninh due to their reliance on social networks. Collected data shows that none of the employment details received migrants’ concerns over 50%. Those who were concerned about salary information accounted for, the highest proportion, 48.71% of the sample (Table 6-2). Other employment details such as vacation time, insurance benefits even received less concern, respectively accounting for 34.52% and 32.9%. Particularly, few migrant workers put their concern on promotion opportunities, overtime payment per day. It was at 23.23%, 20.65%, and 19.68% respectively. This practice might cause an effect on work in progress in the industrial zone when migrant workers realize lately that those works are worse than they expected.

Although migrant workers did not concern employment details much, this study found it significantly different between groups of migrant workers. The secondary moved migrant workers were more likely than the first moved migrants to concern on employment details. For example, secondary moved migrant workers who were

concerned on probationary salary, probationary period, salary, salary increase cycle, work duration per day, the overtime days per month and insurance account for 52.59%, 50.0%, 57.76%, 37.93%, 46.55%, 8.51%, and 10.79% respectively. Whereas the corresponding figures for first-moved migrant workers are at 42.27%, 39.69%, 43.30%, 24.23%, 34.02%, 16.49% and 28.87% respectively.

## ***1.2. Labor demand and the attractiveness recruitment***

At the time of doing the surveys, labor shortage occurs across enterprises in industrial zones in Bac Ninh, leading to high demand for migrant workers for the development of those zones. It is unlike the early stage of the establishment when applicants should be in industrial zones for employment, many of them even had to pay black pride to be recruited (T. T. Ngo, 2009). However, enterprises in industrial zones of Bac Ninh turned to seek their workers actively in recent years. Therefore, the recruitment took place not only at the enterprise’s headquarters but also at the migrant worker’s area of origin, accounting for 17.7% of the sample. This provides migrant workers somewhat better access to employment in industrial zones, which was likely a hardship in areas of origin. In addition, first-moved migrant workers are more likely than secondary-moved migrant workers to be recruited at areas of origin. The proportion of those in the first moved group is at 22.68%, while that of those in the secondary moved group is at 9.48%. Besides, it found that Yen Phong industrial zone was more likely than Que Vo industrial zone to recruit migrant workers at areas of origin. (Table 6-3). Furthermore, the labor scarcity for industrial zones of Bac Ninh is more realized when it found the increasing number of less educated workers. Lacking labors lead to an extension of workers’ education requirements to secondary school. Those labors accounted for only 1.1% in the early stage of industrial zone development in Bac Ninh (T. T. Ngo, 2010) increased to 12.6% in the current surveys. The statistical test supports for a significant difference of 11.49% ( $p = 0.00$ )<sup>1</sup>.

**Table 6-3:** Recruitment at areas of origin

	Pooled	First moved (N =194)	Secondary moved (N=116)	Yen Phong IZ (N=158)	Que Vo IZ (N=152)
Proportion	17.74	22.68	9.48	25.32	9.87
Difference (%)	-	13.2***		15.45***	

*Notes:* Significances are based on Chi-square test of equality proportion. \*\*\* $p < 0.01$

*Source:* Data collection

Besides, migrant workers also stated that employment in industrial zones of Bac

<sup>1</sup> Compare two proportions by Chi-squared test, available at [https://www.medcalc.org/calc/comparison\\_of\\_proportions.php](https://www.medcalc.org/calc/comparison_of_proportions.php)

Ninh attracted them because the recruit requirements were easily fulfilled. It is not too complicated to prepare for an application to work at industrial zones of Bac Ninh. Conventionally employers have asked migrant workers an application form, a resume certified by the local authority, and a medical certificate. Those things take two days maximum to complete. It also reported that in some cases migrant workers could have a health certificate at surrounding industrial zones with about one hundred thousand VND. Those who competed for the application procedure without difficulty accounted for 88.71% of the total sample, including 87.07% of first moved migrant workers, and 89.69% of secondary moved migrant workers (Table 6-4).

**Table 6-4:** Migrant workers assess on the recruitment process for an employment in industrial zones of Bac Ninh

		Total	First moved	Secondary moved	Pearson Chi-Square
<b>Preparation for an application</b>					
Simple procedure		88.71	87.07	89.69	0.492 <sup>(1)</sup>
Total	Count	310	194	116	
<b>Interview for employment</b>					
Extremely hard to success	Count	8	4 <sup>a</sup>	4 <sup>a</sup>	0.561
	%	100.00	50.00	50.00	
Hard to success	Count	43	27 <sup>a</sup>	16 <sup>a</sup>	
	%	100.00	62.79	37.21	
Easy to success	Count	248	158 <sup>a</sup>	90 <sup>a</sup>	
	%	100.00	63.71	36.29	
Extremely easy to success	Count	11	5 <sup>a</sup>	6 <sup>a</sup>	
	%	100.00	45.45	54.55	
Total	Count	310	194	116	
	%	100.00	62.58	37.42	

Notes: <sup>(1)</sup>. Significances are based on Chi-square test of equality proportion \*  $p < 0.10$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$ . Different subscript letter presents significantly different proportions based on a Z-test at the .05 level

Source: Data collection

Furthermore, it was reportedly easy to fulfil interviews for employment in industrial zones. According to migrant workers, common interview questions targeted to the information of their hometowns, their parent’s occupations, their household livelihood. It also referred to accessing the information on recruitment, and migrant workers’ desire to work for the enterprises. Each interview usually lasted for about five to ten minutes only.

To observe the applicant’s physical and health to see if the applicant meets the working conditions demands or not, the employers also asked applicants only to walk four or five meters or use a chopstick to pick and short a small rounded ball by color as quickly as possible. Of the total surveyed workers, 83.55% stated that they passed

the interview easily. This proportion is also not statistically significant difference between the first and secondary moved group of migrant workers.

## **2. Working environment and migrant worker’s income in industrial zones of Bac Ninh**

### ***2.1. Probation period and working hours***

Although the working environment in industrial zones has reportedly changed toward unexploited labors, there is likely an inconsistency regarding the probation period in the cases of the industrial zones of Bac Ninh. After being accepted for employment, migrant workers were asked for a probation period of 1-3 months depending on the recruiting enterprises. The average migrant worker’s probation period is approximately 1.5 months. In addition, migrant workers who made first move industrial zones of Bac Ninh practiced a probation period of 1.55 months meanwhile those who made the secondary move did that for 1.41 months (Table 6-5). In comparison with the study of (T. T. Ngo, 2010) who revealed that the migrant worker’s average probation period in the industrial zones prolonged more than three months, that in this study is lower. However, the migrant workers still reported that such a probation period lasted for too long. To get acquainted with the current work in industrial zones of Bac Ninh, migrant workers need one week only. It is likely inconsistent with Article 27 of the 2012 Labor Law and Article 7 of Decree 05/2015/ND-CP, which provides untrained labor regulations for jobs similar to migrant workers do. Besides, this study found no evidence of contracts signed by enterprises and migrant workers for the probation period. However, it was reported that after ending the probation period, a one-year labor contract is signed. If the migrant workers agree to keep working at the enterprise, this contract, regulated by the Law of Labors in Vietnam, can then be extended for the next 1-3 years depending on the labor needs of employers. After finishing the third definite term employment contract, an indefinite term employment contract is probably extended.

**Table 6-5:** Probation and working hours in industrial zones of Bac Ninh

	Pooled (N =310)	First moved migrant (N=194)	Secondary moved migrant (N=116)	Mean Difference	Que Vo IZ (N=152)	Yen Phong IZ (N=158)	Mean Difference
Probation period	1.497 (0.642)	1.546 (0.668)	1.414 (0.591)	0.1326*	1.421 (0.724)	1.570 (0.546)	-0.1486**
Working hour per day	10.724 (1.020)	10.740 (1.014)	10.698 (1.032)	0.0414	10.783 (1.065)	10.668 (0.974)	0.1152
Overtime hour per day	2.873 (0.812)	2.910 (0.759)	2.810 (0.894)	0.0995	2.790 (1.063)	2.953 (0.444)	-0.1631*
Overtime days per month	20.758 (6.868)	20.706 (6.393)	20.846 (7.638)	-0.1396	22.937 (7.141)	18.761 (5.964)	4.1753***

Notes: Standard deviations in parentheses. Significances of the mean differences are based on Independent T-test for continuous variables. \*  $p < 0.10$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$

Regarding working hours per day, this study reveals an achievement of regulatory compliance in the industrial zones of Bac Ninh. Working hours per day decreased from over 12 hours in the early stage of the development of industrial zones (early 2000s) to under 12 hours currently. The average working time per day of migrant workers reached approximately 11 hours, of which a minimum of 8 hours and a maximum of 12 hours. Average overtime per day was 3 hours, of which maximum reached 4 hours. Additionally, on average migrant workers have worked for 21 overtime days per month. The proportion of migrant workers with overtime days from 26 to 30 days per month is at 32.0%; 3-9 days per month is for 5.1%. Those findings are inconsistent with the previous research of T. T. Ngo (2010) who demonstrated a violation of labor regulation in industrial zones. According to T. T. Ngo (2010), up to 12.4% of migrant workers in the survey sample have worked more than 12 hours per day with overtime over 4 hours per day. However, compared to the study of Hancock et al. (2015) who demonstrated that the total working hours per day of workers in industrial zones in Sri Lanka lasted for about 9 hours, current working hours per day in the industrial zones of Bac Ninh still remains long one.

In addition, although the statistical test does not support for a difference between the first moved and secondary moved migrant workers, it is true for a comparison between those who have been working at Que Vo and those who have been working at Yen Phong. Migrant workers in Yen Phong industrial zones are likely to have longer overtime hours per day, but less overtime working days per month than those in Que Vo industrial zones. Overtime hours per day and overtime working days per month were at 2.95 and 18.76 respectively in Yen Phong industrial zone while they were 2.79 and 22.94 respectively in Que Vo industrial zone (Table 6-5).

Notably, this study found migrant workers’ dissatisfaction with the addition of overtime work, accounting for 74.84% sample. It is consistent with the argument of Masud *et al.* (2013) who illustrated a discontent in exported processing zones because of long working hours and Cirera and Lakshman (2017), who argued that workers in industrial zones had longer working day than those outside the zones were. Also, following the study of Cirera and Lakshman (2017), working overtime must be based on a worker’s will (with the consent of the workers), it is compulsory rather than an option. Denying overtime works usually goes along with a fine or a mistake that decreases bonus money (counted through work attendance) afterward if migrant workers unable to provide a reasonable excuse or to find someone else to replace. As reported by many migrant workers, this practice occurs in most of the enterprises in both Que Vo and Yen Phong industrial zone. Therefore, “Working overtime” is the term that must be accepted as the characteristic of industrial zone employment,” *as said by an experienced migrant worker*. In the view of enterprises, operating a production assembly needs all positions to be filled and an absence of workers might extend to a huge cost or increase the possibility of orders broken.

Additionally, this study found the dissatisfaction proportion is not a statistically

significant difference between the first moved and the secondary moved migrant workers; between Yen Phong and Que Vo industrial zones. However, regarding gender and marriage status, male migrant workers and singles likely dissatisfied more than female and married migrant workers, respectively. It means those who are female or married are more likely to accept the addition of overtime work than others. This is the only way to increase their income in the industrial zones of Bac Ninh.

**Table 6-6:** Migrant worker’s satisfaction of extra working overtime

	N	Proportion	Difference
Pooled	310	25.16	
First moved migrant	194	24.74	1.12
Secondary moved migrant	116	25.86	
Yen Phong IZ	158	24.05	2.27
Que Vo IZ	152	26.32	
Single migrant	181	19.89	12.67**
Married migrant	129	32.56	
Female migrant	227	29.07	14.62***
Male migrant	83	14.46	

*Notes:* Significances are based on Chi-square test of equality proportion. \*  $p < 0.10$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$

## 2.2. Earnings and remittances

Migrant worker’s source of earnings in industrial zones includes wages, overtime payments, and bonuses. In the probation period, the migrant worker received about 155 USD (3.4 million VND) per month on average. After signing an official labor contract (definite term, from 1 to 3 years), the mean of migrant workers’ earnings was about 300 USD (6.6 million VND). According to the study of Cerimele (2017) in Thang Long industrial zone of Vietnam, the earnings of migrant workers relied mostly on overtime payments which let them reach the living standard.

Additionally, although the testing result does not support a statistically significant difference in migrant workers’ probationary wage between the Que Vo and Yen Phong industrial zone, it is true for migrant workers’ total earnings. Monthly earning of migrant workers in Yen Phong industrial zone is at about 318 USD (7 million VND) on average, while that of those in Que Vo is at about 282 USD (6.2 million VND) (Table 6-7). In comparison with 250 USD (5.5 million VND) per month<sup>2</sup>, the average national income of workers in industrial zones, migrant workers in Yen Phong and Que Vo have respectively 1.3 times and 1.1 times higher. Moreover, migrant worker’s earnings in those zones is higher than that of wage workers who work in

<sup>2</sup> General Labor Confederation, 2018. <http://www.congdoan.vn/tin-tuc/hoat-dong-cong-doan-3569/cong-bo-ket-qua-khao-sat-doi-song-va-tien-luong-cua-nld-gia-tang-so-lao-dong-phai-chi-tieu-tan-tien-kham-kho-355208.tld>, accessed in 29/10/2019



informal sectors. According to GSO and ILO (2018) informal wage workers’ salaries were at 185 USD (4.07 million VND) per month. This finding is in the same vein with the studies of Glick and Roubaud (2006) who revealed that wage in the informal sector was lower than that in industrial zones of Madagascar. Also, it follows the study of Cirera and Lakshman (2017) who argued that enterprises in industrial zones provided a higher wage than those outside the zones.

**Table 6-7:** Migrant worker’s total earnings at industrial zones of Bac Ninh

	N	Min	Max	Mean	Std. Deviation	Mean Difference
Wage in probation period	309	1	9.4	3.4372	0.926	
First moved migrant	194	1.8	8	3.4782	0.865	0.041
Secondary moved migrant	115	1	9.4	3.3679	1.020	
Yen Phong IZ	157	1	9.4	3.4513	1.018	0.083
Que Vo IZ	152	1	7	3.4226	0.822	
Single migrant	178	1	9.4	3.3516	0.925	0.071
Married migrant	131	2.05	8.5	3.5534	0.918	
Female migrant	82	1	9.4	3.7626	1.295	0.209**
Male migrant	227	1.4	8.5	3.3196	0.718	
Total earnings	309	2.3	12	6.6155	1.563	
First moved migrant	194	3.7	12	6.6139	1.578	0.004
Secondary moved migrant	115	2.3	11	6.6183	1.543	
Yen Phong IZ	157	3.5	12	6.9939	1.590	0.769***
Que Vo IZ	152	2.3	11	6.2247	1.438	
Single migrant	178	3.2	12	6.6624	1.624	0.111
Married migrant	131	2.3	10	6.5519	1.480	
Female migrant	82	2.3	12	7.1146	1.909	0.679**
Male migrant	227	3.2	10	6.4352	1.378	

*Notes:* Significances of the mean differences are based on Independent T-test for continuous variables. \*  $p < 0.10$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\* $p < 0.01$

Following the studies of Zohir (2001) and Chaudhuri (2010) who demonstrated that a gender gap of wages in industrial zones of Bangladesh, this study shows gender differences in the earning of migrant workers in industrial zones of Bac Ninh. The female migrant workers earned 323 USD (7.1 million VND) per month on average while male migrant workers got 291 USD (6.4 million VND) (Table 6-7). However, this finding is inconsistent with Soni-Sinha (2010) who argued that the gender gap in wages did not get influence from industrial zones.

**Table 6-8:** Migrant worker’s satisfaction of earning in industrial zones of Bac Ninh

	N	Min	Max	Mean	Std. Deviation	Mean Difference
Earning satisfaction	310	0	1	0.9032	0.2961	-
Level of satisfaction	280	1	10	3.0250	1.6868	-
First moved migrant	174	1	10	3.0172	1.6630	
Secondary moved migrant	106	1	10	3.0377	1.7330	0.021
Yen Phong IZ	157	1.5	10	3.1847	1.8417	
Que Vo IZ	123	1	10	2.8211	1.4473	0.364**
Single migrant	159	1	10	2.8616	1.5395	0.378*
Married migrant	121	1	10	3.2397	1.8474	
Female migrant	72	1	10	3.0139	1.5405	
Male migrant	208	1	10	3.0288	1.7381	0.015

*Notes:* Significances of the mean differences are based on Independent T-test for continuous variables. \*  $p < 0.10$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$

Regarding migrant workers' reflection in total earnings, this study revealed that although the proportion of migrant workers who were satisfied with earnings in industrial zones remained relatively high, accounting for 90.32% of the total sample, the level of satisfaction of migrant workers remained relatively low, with 3.0/10 points on average (Table 6-8). In addition, migrant workers in Yen Phong industrial zone were more likely to satisfy their earnings than those in Que Vo industrial zone. The earning satisfaction level of migrant workers in Yen Phong industrial zone was at 3.2/10 while that of those in Que Vo industrial zone was at 2.8/10. Furthermore, migrant workers who married more likely satisfied their income in the industrial zones than singles were. The satisfaction level of married workers was at 3.2/10 while that of single ones at 2.9/10. According to in-depth interviews, the satisfaction results mainly from cash earnings that migrant workers received monthly. Migrant workers could hardly find those earnings in the areas of origin where major migrant household's livelihood relied on agriculture activities. The dissatisfaction of migrant workers' earnings stems from overtime payments. Working overtime was not only mandatory but also low paid. On average, migrant workers are paid about 13.6 USD (30,000. VND) per hour for overtime.

Regarding remittance, most surveyed migrant workers in those zones send money back home, accounting for 86.13% of the sample. On average, migrant workers send remittance to their families back home every 8.3 months with an amount of 3.7 million VND. (Table 6-9). Comparing groups of migrant workers revealed that first moved migrant workers send remittances more frequently than secondary moved migrant workers. The first moved migrant workers sent remittances home every 7.9 months while it was every 9.0 months for the secondary moved migrant workers. Similarly, single migrant workers are more frequently sent remittances to their households in the areas of origin than those who married.

**Table 6-9:** Remittance crossing groups of migrant workers in industrial zones of Bac Ninh

	N	Min	Max	Mean	Std. Deviation	Mean Difference
Remittance (1=Yes; 0=No)	310	0	1	0.8613	0.346	-
Amount of remittance (million VND per time)	267	1	20	3.7210	2.237	-
First moved migrant	91	1	15	3.9066	2.266	0.282
Secondary moved migrant	176	1	20	3.6250	2.222	
Yen Phong IZ	139	1	10	4.5072	2.531	1.640***
Que Vo IZ	128	1	20	2.8672	1.452	
Single migrant	155	1	15	3.6355	1.905	0.204
Married migrant	112	1	20	3.8393	2.633	
Female migrant	202	1	12	3.6114	1.904	0.450
Male migrant	65	1	20	4.0615	3.042	
Remittance frequency (month)	266	1	13	8.2387	4.216	-
First moved migrant	90	1	12	8.9500	3.997	1.075**
Secondary moved migrant	176	1	13	7.8750	4.289	
Yen Phong IZ	139	1	12	8.0935	4.300	0.304
Que Vo IZ	127	1	13	8.3976	4.133	
Married migrant	111	1	12	8.7703	4.158	0.912*
Single migrant	155	1	13	7.8581	4.230	
Female migrant	201	1	13	8.2886	4.260	0.204
Male migrant	65	1	12	8.0846	4.106	

Notes: Significances of the mean differences are based on Independent T-test for continuous variables. \*  $p < 0.10$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\* $p < 0.01$

Regarding the number of remittances, the testing result does not support for statistically significant differences between the migrant groups. However, migrant workers in Yen Phong industrial zone were more likely to have a larger amount of remittance than those who have been working at Que Vo industrial zone. On average, workers in Yen Phong industrial zone sent 4.5 million VND homes per time while those in Que Vo industrial zone were at 2.9 million VND per time (Table 6-9).

Additionally, it was reported that households in areas of origin used remittances of migrant workers for various purposes, but mainly for consumption and accumulation (for future life). The proportion of respondents who spent remittances for consumption accounted for 61.42%, including 45.32% for daily expenses and 16.10% on buying valued items or house repair. The proportion of those who sent remittance home as an accumulation accounted for 27.34%, of which 22.47% for saving and 4.87% for “*choi họ*” (microfinance like Grameen bank). These findings are similar to the study of Devkota (2016) who illustrated that more than 35% of total remittances

from migrants in Nepal were used for food, drinks, clothing, home furniture or electric devices, vehicles and house construction; more than 8% was for saving. It is also consistent with T. T. T. Ngo *et al.* (2016) who argued that more than 70% of the migrant workers surveyed in the peri-urban of Ho Chi Minh city of Vietnam sent remittances home for daily consumption. However T. T. T. Ngo *et al.* (2016) found few migrant workers sent remittance homes for saving. Also, it follows the study of Khué (2019) who revealed that 64.4% the migrants in Mai Thon village, Que Vo district, Bac Ninh province spent remittances for daily consumption and 57.5% for house construction. However, these findings are inconsistent with Bandara (2016); Devkota (2016) who demonstrated migrant workers’ remittance as an investment.

More interestingly, using remittances by migrant workers’ households was differently crossing their main livelihood activities. The households that main livelihoods based on agriculture activities more likely spent remittances for daily consumption than those based on non-farm activities. Table 6-10 shows that the proportion of migrant workers’ households with mainly agricultural livelihoods before and after migration using the money for daily expenses is at 50.82% and 54.17% respectively. Meanwhile, that of those with mainly nonfarm livelihood activities were at 33.33% and 34.96% respectively.

In contrast, using remittances to purchase valued housing equipment or house repair is more likely to happen in households with the dominant of nonfarm livelihood than in those with dominant of agricultural livelihoods. The proportion of migrant workers’ households with mainly nonfarm livelihood before and after migration using remittances for valued items or house repair is at 22.62% and 25.20%, respectively. Meanwhile, that of those with livelihoods relied on agriculture activities before and after the migration is at 13.11% and 8.33% respectively.

The results of this study are in line with the study of Khué (2019), who demonstrated that remittances play an important role in agricultural production. This difference might result from the differences in migration patterns. While Khue’s study (2019) focused on commuting migrants, this study dealt more with those who resided in workplaces. Indeed, the migrant workers in the industrial zones of Bac Ninh spent more earnings maintaining their living, and likely to remit less frequently than commuting migrants. This practice might lead to a smaller part of the earnings of migrant workers contributing to household agriculture.

Similarly, Khue’s study (2019) suggested that remittances in the mixed migrant group used to overcome difficulties in agricultural production were found higher than other migrant groups. The reason may be because, this group contained only 35.7% of workers in industrial zones, the rest account for 57% of other non-agricultural jobs with higher incomes such as civil servants, business. This group also included international migrants who could obtain much higher income than internal migrants.

### **2.3. Promotion opportunities**

Regarding promotion opportunities at work, the study of Arunatilake (2012) in Sri Lanka demonstrated that although autonomous works in industrial zones were less

likely to challenge migrant workers, the promotion for their career was unclear. Similarly, this study found that migrant workers in industrial zones have few positions to move toward. Available evidence in Bac Ninh suggested that their closest position probably to achieve is the sub leader who oversees managing one production line with 24 workers, then a leader who manages 4-5 sub leaders (4-5 production lines). Other higher positions like shift leader and section leaders have never been mentioned by migrant workers in interviews as opportunities for employment promotion. These positions both require long working experience and a higher level of education like a university, which most migrant workers do not have. According to Do (2017), the migrant workers in industrial zones more likely mentioned the extension of labor contracts as their promotion opportunities rather than expectation of higher working positions.

However, this research found enterprises in industrial zones of Bac Ninh to provide an opportunity that upgrades the working skills of the migrant worker. Specifically, there is an enterprise that built up a connection with a university to upgrade their workers’ level of education on electrical engineering, electronics, accounting, and the Korean language. Migrant workers can choose neither to pay for the further upgrade by themselves or ask responsible enterprise to pay for it. Of course, receiving money from enterprises always comes with a working commitment after graduation.

**Table 6-10:** Using remittance by migrant worker’s households

	Pooled (N=267)	Livelihood before migration			Livelihood after migration		
		Nonfarm (N=84)	Fam (N=183)	Difference	Nonfarm (N=123)	Fam (N=144)	Difference
Savings (%)	22.47	26.19	20.77	05.4	21.95	22.92	01.0
Daily expenses (%)	45.32	33.33	50.82	17.5**	34.96	54.17	19.2***
Interest payment	08.61	08.33	08.74	0.4	10.57	06.94	03.6
Valued housing equipment or house repair (%)	16.10	22.62	13.11	09.5*	25.20	08.33	16.9***
<i>Choi ho</i> (Grameen bank microfinance) (%)	04.87	07.14	03.83	03.3	05.69	04.17	01.5
Unknown (%)	02.62	02.38	02.73	0.4	01.63	03.47	01.8

Notes: Significances are based on Chi-square test of equality proportion. \*  $p < 0.10$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$

Source: Data collection

### 3. Non-working environment

#### 3.1. Accessing to social insurance and basic social services

##### *Social insurance*

Following (Oxfam, 2015) who argued that industrial zones respected the regulation of social insurance, enterprises in the industrial zones in Bac Ninh obey the law on social insurance. According to regulations, employees participating in compulsory social insurance are those working under labor contracts with a term of full 3 months or more and labor contracts with an indefinite term according to the provisions of the Law of labor (Article 3, Labor Law 2006). According to this study, 93.3%<sup>3</sup> of surveyed migrant workers have compulsory social insurance after signing the official contract with enterprises in Bac Ninh industrial zones. It reported that migrant workers paid a small part of insurance premiums, the bigger part was paid by enterprises.

##### *Housing*

Migrant workers in industrial zones of Bac Ninh faced lives full of hardships. Although a dormitory provided it was only enough room for about 3 thousand of the 57,000 migrant workers, and not existed in every industrial zone. Those who did not have a space in the dormitory had to stay in rented rooms provided by locals. As presented in the study of T. T. Ngo *et al.* (2018) those rooms are about 9-12 m<sup>2</sup> including cooking space (about 2m<sup>2</sup>) set up simply by migrant workers, but not integrated toilet. Shared toilets and shared rooms were more frequently observed in boarding houses. Living in such condition became extremely hard for those who married with infants. These findings are similar to the studies of Arunatilake (2012); Hewamanne (2006); Shaw (2007) who argued that the living conditions of migrant workers in industrial zones in Sri Lanka were poor and difficult.

##### *Education service*

In Vietnam, social benefits related to public education still associate with *Ho Khau* (household registration system) that supports local dwellers. Therefore, migrant workers are almost reportedly excluded from the benefits of public education (for their children). Or they have to pay more than local residents to access those public services. Meanwhile, private education services seem to be beyond their financial capacity. To cope with that practice, after giving birth, migrant workers often asked their family members to take care of children and send them home to live with grandparents to save costs. This argument is in line with the study of Keung Wong *et al.* (2007) who illustrated that migrant worker’s children were prevented from accessing public schools because of the Chinese residential registration system. Also, it follows the case study of Khué (2019) who demonstrated that the temporary

---

<sup>3</sup> 6.7% of the sample has not got social insurance yet because they were in probation period

migrants in Mai Thon village left their children home to resist *Ho Khau* regulation in Hanoi, the capital city. However, it will be an omission when discussing the constraints related to education services for migrant workers in the industrial zones of Bac Ninh without a mention of the local capacity. Recently, both Phạm (2016) and Do (2017) argued that the public educational facilities surrounding industrial zones were challenged by increasing population. Meanwhile, the establishment of industrial zones did not go along with the construction of those facilities.

#### *Health care*

In recent years, Vietnam has made a great improvement regarding access to health insurance. Those who have health insurance can access to any medical facilities without *Ho Khau* (*residential registration*). Therefore, it is more convenient for migrant workers to access health care with insurance while they were working in the industrial zones of Bac Ninh. Like social insurance, health insurance is compulsory by the Law of labor. Thus, migrant workers who passed the probation period successfully and signed an official labor contract with the enterprises have covered by health insurance. The finding also suggests that migrant workers in industrial zones get a better access to health insurance than those in the informal sector. According to Oxfam (2015) nearly 99% of migrant workers in the informal sector did not have health insurance.

However, most of the migrant workers in the industrial zones of Bac Ninh have never been to a public medical facility. They have also used their health insurance irregularly. The survey results show that a common treatment applied to migrant workers when they got sick was to take medication and treatment advice from pharmacies by themselves, accounting for 89.03% of the sample (Table 6-12). In case of worse illness that requires migrant workers to stop temporarily working for a couple of days, they often ask for an assist from friends or family members to come over the boarding house, accounting for more than 36% of the sample. This finding is similar to the study of Oxfam (2015), who reported that more than 70% of migrant workers who had health insurance still went to pharmacies themselves as a medication to treat their illness, instead of going to medical facilities.

**Table 6-11:** The last overall medical check of migrant workers

	Pooled (N=310)	First moved (N=194)	Secondary moved (N=116)	Difference
In industrial zones (%)	86.77	85.05	89.66	-4.60
In public hospital (%)	3.87	4.64	2.59	2.05
In local health care station (%)	1.29	1.03	1.72	-0.69
In private clinic (%)	2.58	2.58	2.59	-0.01
Not yet checked (%)	5.48	6.70	3.45	3.25

*Notes:* Significances are based on Chi-square test of equality proportion. \*  $p < 0.10$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$



Source: Data collection

**Table 6-12:** The last illness treatment of migrant workers

	Pooled (N=310)	First moved (N=194)	Secondary moved (N=116)	Difference
Go to pharmacy (%)	89.03	90.72	86.21	4.51
See doctor (%)	10.65	9.28	12.93	-3.65
Go to medical section of enterprise (%)	0.32	0.00	0.86	-0.86

Notes: Significances are based on Chi-square test of equality proportion. \*  $p < 0.10$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\* $p < 0.01$

Source: Data collection

**Table 6-13:** The last Assistancess for temporary stopped working treatment

	Pooled (N=310)	First moved (N=194)	Secondary moved (N=116)	Difference
Self-care (%)	63.55	63.92	62.93	0.99
Assist from friends (%)	29.03	30.41	26.72	3.69
Assist from family members (%)	7.42	5.67	10.34	-4.67

Notes: Significances are based on Chi-square test of equality proportion. \*  $p < 0.10$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\* $p < 0.01$

Source: Data collection

### 3.2. Living strategy

To reduce living costs and get more pleasant, it is common to find a shared room as a migrant worker’s strategy in boarding houses. Those who were either single or married often share a room with 2 to 4 other people who were mostly in the same areas of origin in order or same working enterprise. However, it found more single migrant workers than married ones to share a room (looking at migrant workers’ expenditures revealed that singles spent money on accommodation less than married ones). Additionally, female migrant workers who married, or were single never shared a room publicly with a man. It violates not only the rule of boarding house owners but also traditions and customs. They are afraid that living with a man before marriage might lead to a bad reputation that migrant workers have to suffer from the surrounding community, and especially when the information leak to family members or community in the areas of origin.

For married migrant workers, the situation becomes much more complicated. Those with children under 1 year suffered more hardships than others. To keep working (after six months after giving birth), the grandparent was requested to come over to take care of the child until he or she is more than one year old. Then the child together

with his or her grandchild return home while his or her mother was working in the zones. Some others went home for newborns, then they returned to work after their child turning one year old. Since then, the suffering deepened by their parting was likely multifaceted, especially among female migrant workers. When children mentioned during the interview, a female migrant worker was in tears to answer the question: “*every child needs his or her mother, no one can compare with his or her mother. She said that many times when she managed to pay a short visit to her children, they did not follow her, but instead clung to her grandmother*” Interview T6.

Migrant workers who married but have not had a child yet and the couple all worked in the same industrial zone probably gained the happiest. Although material life was difficult, they were mentally compensated. However, most families in Vietnam expect a newborn after marriage, not only for the couple but also for the relatives behind.

### ***3.3. Expenditures for living***

Regarding expenditure, this study demonstrates that, excluding remittances, migrant workers spend their earnings on essential needs only for living in industrial zones. On average, each worker uses 2.9 million VND<sup>4</sup> per month, accounting for about 44.4% of the total monthly earnings. Of total expenses, the largest part is for food, about 1.12 million VND per month, which accounted for approximately 40%. Then, it was for pocket money, about 1 million VND per month, which accounted for more than 30% of the total. These findings are in the same line to the study of Shaw (2007) and Oxfam (2015) who found that migrant workers spend more on food than other items, accounting for respectively 23.6% and 33.4% of total income. However, both Shaw (2007) and Oxfam (2015) all argue that migrant workers spent more on accommodation than the other remains.

In addition, the expenditure of migrant workers is different crossing the groups of migrant workers. It found the first moved group to spend less on living than the secondary moved group was. On average, the first moved migrant workers spent 0.63 million VND for the renting room, while that was at 0.69 million VND for the secondary moved ones. In addition, the first moved migrant workers were likely less than the secondary ones to spend their earnings on food. Those expenses were at 1.07 million VND and 1.19 million VND for the first and secondary groups respectively (Table 6-14). The reason for this practice probably arose from sharing living spaces. Available evidence reported that the first moved migrant workers frequently staying in the room for 4 to 6 people. Those people relied more on friends or relatives to maintain their livings. Indeed, they probably preferred sharing living spaces rather than living separately.

---

<sup>4</sup> 1 USD = 22.000 VND

**Table 6-14:** Migrant worker’s expenses for living in industrial zones of Bac Ninh

	Pool (N=310)	First moved (N=194)	Secondary moved (N=116)	Mean Difference
Rent room (electricity, internet included) (1000 VND)	0.6530 (0.266)	0.6330 (0.267)	0.6864 (0.261)	0.0533*
Phone recharge (1000 VND)	0.1625 (0.109)	0.1563 (0.106)	0.1728 (0.112)	0.0166
Food (1000 VND)	1.1148 (0.546)	1.0693 (0.503)	1.1909 (0.606)	0.1216*
Others (1000 VND)	1.0020 (0.732)	1.0129 (0.734)	0.9837 (0.731)	0.0291

*Notes:* Standard deviations in parentheses. Significances of the mean differences are based on Independent T-test for continuous variables. \*  $p < 0.10$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$ .

*Source:* Data collection

### 3.4. Entertainment activities

Activities that entertained migrant workers can take place both inside and outside the boarding house. Inside boarding house, entertaining activities of migrant workers often emerged with their smartphone, including browsing Facebook, listening to music, watching movies, and reading newspapers. It respectively accounts for 85.81%; 81.61%, 67.1% and 58.39% of the total number of respondents. Entertaining activities performing outside the boarding house, such as singing and drinking and karaoke, accounted for 52.9% and 50.97%, respectively (Table 6-15).

In addition, the study also found more male migrant workers interested in outside entertaining activities than female migrant workers. The proportion of male migrant workers who experienced chatting and singing karaoke as an entertainment is at 67.47% and 63.86%, respectively. Meanwhile, the that of female migrant workers is at 47.58% and 46.26% respectively. Regarding entertaining activities that took place in a boarding room, male migrant workers likely engaged more with news than female migrant workers are. The proportion of male migrant workers who read newspapers is at 67.47% while that of female migrant workers is at 55.07%.

Interestingly, entertaining activities of migrant workers are similar crossing their marital status, except using Facebook and watching movies. Single migrant workers prefer using Facebook as an entertaining activity than married migrant workers are. According to the survey results, the proportion of single migrant workers using Facebook accounts for 92.74% while that of married migrant workers is at 67.34%. In contrast, it found more married migrant workers than single migrant workers to watch movies as daily entertaining activities. The proportion of married migrant workers who watch movies daily as entertainment is at 52.67%, while that of single migrant workers is at 39.66%.

**Table 6-15:** Migrant worker’s entertainments

	Pool (N=310)	First moved (N=194)	Secondary moved (N=116)	Difference
Watching movies (%)	67.10	67.01	67.24	0.23
<i>Daily</i>	45.16	43.81	47.41	03.60
<i>Weekly</i>	16.77	17.53	15.52	02.01
<i>Monthly</i>	05.16	05.67	04.31	01.36
Reading news (%)	58.39	59.28	56.90	02.38
<i>Daily</i>	36.13	36.08	36.21	0.12
<i>Weekly</i>	10.65	10.82	10.34	0.48
<i>Monthly</i>	11.61	12.37	10.34	02.03
Listening to music (%)	81.61	79.38	85.34	05.96
<i>Daily</i>	72.58	71.13	75.00	03.87
<i>Weekly</i>	07.74	06.70	09.48	02.78
<i>Monthly</i>	01.29	01.55	00.86	0.68
Browsing Facebook (%)	85.81	85.57	86.21	0.64
<i>Daily</i>	78.06	77.32	79.31	01.99
<i>Weekly</i>	06.45	06.19	06.90	0.71
<i>Monthly</i>	01.29	02.06	-	02.06*
Singing Karaoke (%)	50.97	49.48	53.45	03.96
<i>Daily</i>	01.29	01.03	01.72	0.69
<i>Weekly</i>	11.29	09.79	13.79	04.00
<i>Monthly</i>	38.39	38.66	37.93	0.73
Chatting outdoor (%)	52.90	49.48	58.62	09.14
<i>Daily</i>	20.97	17.01	27.59	10.58**
<i>Weekly</i>	18.06	14.95	23.28	08.33*
<i>Monthly</i>	13.87	17.53	07.76	09.77**
Reading online novels (%)	36.77	37.11	36.21	0.91
<i>Daily</i>	15.16	15.98	13.79	02.19
<i>Weekly</i>	08.39	09.28	06.90	02.38
<i>Monthly</i>	13.23	11.86	15.52	03.66

Notes: Significances are based on Chi-square test of equality proportion. \*  $p < 0.10$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\* $p < 0.01$

Source: Data collection

Furthermore, entertaining activities inside the boarding house seem to occur more frequently than those outside the house. The survey results showed that using Facebook, listening to music, watching movies took place daily with a higher proportion at 78.06%, 72.58%, 45.16% respectively. Meanwhile, chatting performed weekly with a higher proportion at 18.06% and monthly singing karaoke was with a higher proportion at 38.39% (Table 6-15).

**Table 6-16:** Migrant worker’s entertainments crossing gender and marital status

	Male (N=83)	Female (N=227)	Mean Difference	Single (N=179)	Married (N=131)	Mean Difference
Watching movies (%)	73.49	64.76	08.74	6592	6870	02.78
Reading news (%)	67.47	55.07	12.40**	5978	5649	03.29
Listening to music (%)	83.13	81.06	02.08	8324	7939	03.85
Browsing Facebook (%)	87.95	85.02	02.93	9274	7634	16.40***
Singing Karaoke (%)	63.86	46.26	17.60***	5140	5038	01.02
Chatting outdoor (%)	67.47	47.58	19.89***	5251	5344	00.92
Reading online novels (%)	39.76	35.68	04.08	3631	3740	01.09

Notes: Significances are based on Chi-square test of equality proportion. \*  $p < 0.10$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\* $p < 0.01$

Source: Data collection

## 4. Stay on work or move out of the zones?

### 4.1. Permanent or temporary employment?

Migrants’ working spell for industrial zones of Bac Ninh was rather short compared to the operational time of industrial zones. Although Que Vo and Yen Phong zone have been respectively put into operation for 15 and 10 years (until 2015), it was reported that most surveyed migrant workers have worked in those zones for less than 3 years, including 58.06% for less than 12 months; 30.32% for 13 to 24 months, and 10% for 25 to 36 months. The proportion of migrant workers who have worked for more than 3 years in those zones was at 1.3% (Table 6-17). In addition, Chi-square test for those proportions did not support for statistically significant difference between groups of migrant workers catalogued as following: first moved and secondary moved; male and female

However, a significant difference in working spell occurred between this study and

the study of T. T. Ngo (2010) who did a similar survey on migrant workers in Que Vo industrial zone. It found that the proportion of migrant workers who have worked in industrial zones for less than a year decreased by 14.35% ( $p=0.015$ )<sup>5</sup>. In addition, the proportion of migrant workers who have worked more than 3 years in those zones is at 1.3%, while those did not exist in the study of T. T. Ngo (2010).

**Table 6-17:** Working spell of migrant workers in industrial zones of Bac Ninh

	N	Min	Max	Mean	Std. Deviation
Up to 12 months	310	0	1	0.5806	0.4943
From 13-24 months	310	0	1	0.3032	0.4604
From 25-36 months	310	0	1	0.1000	0.3005
More than 36 months	310	0	1	0.0129	0.1130

*Source: Data collection*

More interestingly, few migrant workers have considered the work at the zones as permanent employment, accounting for only 24.19% of the total sample. The results also indicated more male than female migrant workers to decide to stay on employment in the industrial zones of Bac Ninh. The proportion of male migrant workers who intended to continue working in Yen Phong and Que Vo industrial zones is at 4.96%, while this proportion of female migrant workers is at 18.06%. Besides, the first moved migrant workers were more likely to plan to leave the industrial zone than the secondary moved migrant workers were. The proportion of first moved migrant workers who intended to leave the industrial zones is at 81.96%, while that of second moved migrant workers is at 65.52% (Table 6-18).

This practice can be explained by the satisfaction of migrant workers with the working environment and the living environment while working in the industrial zones of Bac Ninh. As discussed previously, most migrant workers did not satisfy with their overtime works. According to the study of Ngoc Khuong and Yen (2016) and Keung Wong et al. (2007) who argued that overload and lack of rest can lead to work stress. Thus, it probably leads migrant workers to leave industrial zones. Likewise, the living environment was reportedly even better than in areas of origin and the migrant workers are still satisfied with the living environment surrounding the industrial zones at a low level. On average their satisfaction was at about 3.0 compared to 10.0. Additionally, temporary living facilities presented in the boarding house partly implies that migrant workers will leave the industrial zone in one day.

<sup>5</sup> "N-1" Chi-squared test, calculated from

[https://www.medcalc.org/calc/comparison\\_of\\_proportions.php](https://www.medcalc.org/calc/comparison_of_proportions.php)

**Table 6-18:** Migrant worker’s decision to stay on employment in industrial zones

	N	Proportion	Difference
Pooled	310	24.19	-
First moved	194	18.04	09.18***
Secondary moved	116	34.48	
Married	179	23.46	01.08
Single	131	25.19	
Male	83	40.96	10.92***
Female	227	18.06	

*Notes:* Significances are based on Chi-square test of equality proportion. \*  $p < 0.10$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\* $p < 0.01$

*Source:* Data collection

Furthermore, according to T. T. Ngo et al. (2018) single migrant workers desired to marry to village mates rather than others. Then they could organize a living close to parents after the wedding. This could help them to receive more supports from their family while facing many hardships of their living. Those who already married were motivated by their children who currently live with stayers at areas of origin.

#### ***4.2. Migrant worker’s ongoing strategy***

Most migrant workers who plan to leave the Que Vo and Yen Phong industrial zone wanted to return to their hometown, accounting for 77.02%. More interestingly, this study shows that there is a gender difference in migrant workers’ desire for return. Specifically, male migrant workers desired to return to the areas of origin than female migrant workers are. The proportion of male workers who wish to return is at 85.71%, while that of female migrant workers is at 74.73% (Table 6-19). In addition, secondary moved migrant workers wish to return home more than first moved migrant workers are. Of the total number of secondary moved migrant workers who intended to leave the industrial zone, 80.26% desired to return to their areas of origin, while this proportion of first-time migrant workers is at 75.47%.

Turning to detail activities that migrant workers desired to do immediately after returning baseline villages, approximately 35% would like to set up income-generating activities, of which 28.51% would prefer self-employment, such as opening a farm or small shops. The remainder, accounting for more than 20% of migrant workers who planned to leave the industrial zone, wanted to carry out non-economic activities such as giving birth or taking care children and other family members, accounting for 7.23% or organizing weddings, accounting for 13.19% (Table 6-20). In addition, this study also illustrated more male than female migrant workers to generate self-employment in the areas of origin. Similarly, more married than single migrant workers to desire self-employment. The proportion of male migrant workers and married people who desired self-employment after returning home is at 42.86 and 34.69, respectively. Meanwhile, the proportion among female

migrant workers and unmarried women is at 24.73% and 24.09%, respectively (Table 6-20). The study also found that single female workers wanted to return to baseline village to marry, while female migrant workers and those who married wanted to return home to give a newborn or take care of children.

**Table 6-19:** Migrant worker’s ongoing activities after leaving industrial zones of Bac Ninh

	N	Proportion	Difference
Return areas of origin	235	77.02	-
First moved	159	75.47	-0.0479*
Secondary moved	76	80.26	
Married	137	69.34	-0.1842
Single	98	87.76	
Male	49	85.71	
Female	186	74.73	0.1098***
Find other nonfarm employment outside IZs	235	07.66	-
Do further study	235	15.32	-

Notes: Significances are based on Chi-square test of equality proportion. \*  $p < 0.10$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\* $p < 0.01$

Source: Data collection.

Among migrant workers who planned to leave the industrial zone, those who wish to continue their studies further account for 15.32% and those who expect to find nonfarm jobs outside the industrial zones (not in the areas of origin) account for 7.66%. The survey results showed that those who wanted to study further were more likely women, unmarried and first moved migrants. Those who wanted to find nonfarm jobs outside the industrial zones have higher educational levels such as vocational college or university. According to these people, if they come back to the areas of origin, there will be few opportunities to find a job that suits their training.



**Table 6-20:** Ongoing activities after leaving industrial zones crossing group of migrant workers

	Pooled (N=235)	Male (N=49)	Female (N=186)	Difference	First moved (N=159)	Secondary moved (N=76)	Difference	Single (N=137)	Married (N=98)	Difference
Return for self-employment (%)	28.51	42.86	24.73	18.13**	26.42	32.89	06.48	24.09	34.69	1061*
Return for a new baby or child (%)	07.23	02.04	08.60	06.56**	08.81	03.95	04.86	-	17.35	1735***
Return for marriage (%)	13.19	06.12	15.05	08.93*	12.58	14.47	01.90	20.44	03.06	1738***
Return for nonfarm employment (like IZ) (%)	06.38	08.16	05.91	02.25	07.55	03.95	03.60	08.03	04.08	0395
Find other nonfarm employment outside IZ (%)	07.66	08.16	07.53	0.64	05.66	11.84	06.18	09.49	05.10	0439
Do further study (%)	15.32	06.12	17.74	11.62***	18.87	07.89	10.97**	21.17	07.14	1403***

Notes: Significances are based on Chi-square test of equality proportion. \* p < 0.10, \*\* p < 0.05, \*\*\*p < 0.01

Source: Data collection

In summary:

The discussions in chapter 6 showed a high demand for labor in Bac Ninh industrial zones. To find labor resources, the enterprises in industrial zones in Bac Ninh not only carry out the recruitment at the company's headquarters (in Bac Ninh) but also move to areas of origin to recruit. This has never happened at the beginning of industrial zones. Besides, the enterprises also simplified recruitment requirements by paying attention only to health conditions and even recruiting those with a secondary level of education. This also rarely happens in the early stage of industrial zone development in Bac Ninh. Also, the study results show that the migration decisions of workers in Bac Ninh industrial zones are guided by their relationships with friends and relatives. These people proved as safety at the destination when migrant workers persuaded other members of their families. The presence of friends and relatives in Bac Ninh industrial zones seems a testament to an acceptable job. This is also the reason why migrant workers do not pay much attention to details on employment in industrial zones. Those who was concerned about probationary salaries and regular salaries as the most interested in accounted for less than 50% of the total sample.

Next, although the working environment in industrial zones in Bac Ninh has improved significantly compared to the early stage of establishment, this study still showed limitations that probably cause the dissatisfaction of migrant workers. It reported that the probationary period is too long compared to the time that they can get used to the works. Similarly, daily working hours are reportedly longer than migration workers expected. Moreover, in the industrial zones in Bac Ninh, there remains a "compulsory voluntary" regarding the overtime options. Migrant workers wrote the application voluntarily to work overtime. However, they have no choice to refuse. With these working hours, the earnings of migrant workers are slightly higher than the national average. They can still save and can send money back to their family, although the spell of sending remittance lasted relatively long, from 8 to 9 months. However, migrant workers have satisfied with these earnings at a low level. Besides, the results of a recent study, arguing that overtime payment plays a critical role in reaching the living standard of those workers, suggests that migrant workers face hard employment. The study also found that migrant households use remittances for daily expenses at the highest rate. This is especially true for households of migrants whose main livelihood relied on agriculture.

Regarding the life of migrant workers after working hours, the study found more difficulties than advantages. Besides poor amenities, they also face poor non-economic life. Their main entertainment relies more on smartphones with virtual interactions than actual ones. They also face many obstacles in accessing social services such as health care and education services. On the one hand, the discussion in this chapter revealed that these obstacles probably result from the limitations of the Ho Khau system. On the other hand, the nature of the constraints probably arises from the responsiveness of the local communities where the industrial zones are located.

The current educational facilities designed to sever the local dwellers could not cover numerous added populations, like migrant workers in industrial zones. Therefore, those workers were likely excluded from those educational services.

Finally, this study identified that the employment of migrant workers in industrial zones in Bac Ninh is more short-term than long-term. Migrant workers will leave these industrial zones in search of better opportunities outside industrial zones or mostly intend to return their home countries. This finding is consistent with discussions, discussed in the previous section, about the initial purpose of migrant workers to include the implications of leaving industrial zones or returning home.

A comparison between the two groups of migrant workers shows that the secondary moved migrant workers have more friends and relatives working in Bac Ninh industrial zones than the first moved migrant workers. They were more likely than the first moved migrants to concern about the probationary period, probationary pay, working hours per day, official salary, and extra hour payments before selecting the current employment. They have migrated and most of them did not participate in recruitment at the place of origin as the first moved migrant workers. Therefore, they probably need more information to compare with the previous job. Differences between these two migrant groups continue to occur at the probationary period. It is probably because of working experience, the secondary moved migrant workers have a shorter probationary period than first-time migrant workers. Testing results do not show differences in other criteria such as working time of the day, over time in the day, overtime in the month, and satisfaction with overtime. Also, the two groups do not differ in income and remittances. However, the frequency of remittances of secondary moved migrant workers is higher than that of first-time migrant workers. The livings of these two groups of workers after working hours are similar, they both face the same difficulties. However, first moved migrant workers are likely to spend less on accommodation and food. The possible reason is that these workers share the room and kitchen. Finally, first moved migrant workers tend to leave the industrial zones and return to their home countries more than secondary moved migrant workers.

# 7

---

## **Return migration: reasons and consequences**

*This chapter links to the interesting findings presented in chapter 6 that the majority of migrant workers tend to leave industrial zones, of which the majority desire to return to their homes as originally intended. Also, due to data collected on migrant workers in Bac Ninh industrial zones (destinations), the returning trend is only predictive. Therefore, the question is whether the return of migrant workers from industrial zones is reliable? If they return, what are the real motives for returning? How do they adapt to livelihoods? Besides, as discussed in the previous chapters, the feminization of migrant workers in industrial zones is common. Consequently, the end of this chapter discusses the adaptation to livelihood creation after returning in a gender-related manner. Whether there is a gender difference in returnees' livelihood strategies.*

*Due to the inability to chase migrant workers in Bac Ninh industrial zones to their home villages, this study extended the survey to Van Thang commune, Nong Cong district, Thanh Hoa province. This is the region that reported the largest number of workers migrated to the Bac Ninh industrial zone (as discussed in chapter 4).*

*This chapter presents the characteristics of returnees. Besides factors such as insufficient incomes that push migrants to home villages, migrants are motivated by filial obligations to their parents. Single migrants' motives associate with the potential failures that can be a burden on their livings after marrying. Married migrants' motive to return results from living away from their children. This study also demonstrates that women play an important role in the development of agriculture. Additionally, agriculture acts as a buffer to the negative impacts of return migration.*

*To discuss the findings in this chapter, some evidence and arguments have been extracted from the published article below, as a part of the PhD study.*

*Ngo, T. T., Lebailly, P., & Nguyen, T. D. (2019). Internal Return Migration in Rural of Vietnam: Reasons and Consequences. Mediterranean Journal of Social Sciences, 10(1). doi: Doi: 10.2478/mjss-2019-000*

# 1. The characteristics of return migrants

## 1.1. Age, gender, and direction of first move

This section aims at providing discussions to clarify, of those working in the industrial zone, who were returnees, when they return, and if the first destination effect on the last destination before returning. To highlight those who returned from industrial zones, those from outside industrial zones were selected to compare. According to the survey, although male returnees, accounting for 41.18%, were slightly less than female returnees, accounting for 58.82% of the total sample (Table 7-1), there were profoundly different between returnees from inside and outside industrial zones. The proportion of female returnees from industrial zones accounted for 79.41% while that was at 38.24% for those from workplaces outside the industrial zones. Compared to the discussions in section 4.1, indicating more men than women in the industrial zones of Bac Ninh, suggest that the female migrant in industrial zones are, the more female returnees from industrial zones.

**Table 7-1:** Returnee's age, gender, and direction of the first move

	Pooled (N=68)	Inside industrial zones (N=34)	Outside industrial zones (N=34)	Difference
Male (1=Yes; 0=No)	41.18	20.59	61.76	41.18***
First destination (1= industrial zones; 0= not)	54.41	82.35	26.47	55.88***
Age of return (year)	29.8676 (8.350)	29.0882 (8.775)	30.6471 (7.958)	1.5588
Go back and forth (times)	1.5147 (0.855)	1.3824 (0.779)	1.6471 (0.917)	0.2647
Migration spell (year)	7.2941 (4.633)	6.4706 (3.492)	8.1176 (5.476)	1.6471

*Notes:* Standard deviations in parentheses. Significances of the mean differences are based on a t-test for continuous variables and the proportion differences are based on N-1 Chi-square test for binary variables. \*  $p < 0.10$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$

*Source:* Data collection

Interestingly, this study found a correlation between the selection of the first and the last destination of the returnee. Those who selected industrial zones as their first destination tended to select industrial zones as their last destination. Moreover, more the returnees from outside industrial zones than those from inside those zones select their first destination in industrial zones. The proportion was at 26.47 and 82.35% respectively for outside and inside industrial zone returnees. (Table 7-1). This finding

suggested that many migrants who selected industrial zones in their first move have changed workplaces to outside industrial zones before returning. It somehow supports the argument in the previous chapter that most of the migrant workers in the industrial zones of Bac Ninh intend to leave those zones. Also, it follows the study of De la Roca (2017) who demonstrated that 30% of migrants left their first destinations to the others, of those 67% returned baseline villages afterward.

Regarding age, although migrants to industrial zones are younger than those who migrate to work outside the industrial zones, the return age of migrants does not differ significantly. According to the survey results, the average return age of migrants is at 29.9 years old, of which migrants returning from industrial zones are at 29.1 years old, and migrants returning from work outside the industrial zone are at 30.7 years old. These findings follow the study of Junge et al. (2015) who argued that the age of local returnees was at 32.05 years old on average in Vietnam. In addition, this study did not find any statistically significant difference in the migration time of these two returning groups. On average, returnees have had 7.3 years of migration, in which migrant workers returning from industrial zones were at 6.5 years and those returning from workplaces outside the industrial zone was at 8.1 years.

Although the statistic test did not support differences in migration spell and the number of going back and forth between returnees from inside and outside industrial zones, it probably reported that on average returnees have worked in industrial zones for 6.5 years and in workplaces outside industrial zones for more than 8 years. Also, it argued that those returnees all go back and forth before returning. This finding suggests that the relationships with their family were closely maintained during the migration. It is similar to the argument of (Niedomysl & Amcoff, 2011) who illustrated that the closer families in the home village, the more migrants to return.

## ***1.2. Marriage status***

Marrying is a turning point for many people, including migrants. In the previous chapter, migrant workers in the industrial zones of Bac Ninh reported their intention to return the areas of origin for getting marriage. Indeed, this section will examine the reliability of that purpose. It was true that among 80.88% of married returnees of the total sample (Table 7-2), 23.64% got marriage after returning (Table 7-3). At this point, the significant difference in the proportions of those people between inside and outside industrial zones did not exist. Also, 7.35% of divorced cases found in the total sample suggested that the ending of marriage was probably a motive of return. This argument follows the study of Hirvonen and Lilleør (2015) who demonstrated that women in Tanzania returned home villages when their marriage ended.

In addition, this study found that the larger part of returnees organized their wedding during the migrating period and was between the moves. It was at 43.43% and 13.33% of the total married returnees, respectively. This practice suggests there was a hidden motive going along with the returnee's marriage that shaped their return. Probably some hardships have arisen from the extension of returnees' families. This subject later will be discussed in section 2.1.

More interestingly, analyzing the marriage strategies of returnees who married during and between the migration showed that those people hide an aim for return. They have tried to seek a partner from the same areas of origin, accounting for 76.36% of the married returnees. The survey results also demonstrated that married partners during the migration and after return was more likely from inside than outside the areas of origin. The proportion of married partners from inside the area of origin accounted for 73.33% in the period of migration. The proportion of those who returned to marry to a partner in the same areas of origin was at 100%. Similarly, the proportion of returnees who married to people in the same area of origin between the waves of migration was at 62.5%, while it was at 37.5% for those who were outside the areas of origin (Table 7-3).

**Table 7-2:** Returnee’s marriage status

	N	Count	Proportion
Single	68	08	11.76
Married	68	55	80.88
Same areas of origin	55	42	76.36
Divorced	68	05	07.35

*Source: Data collection*

**Table 7-3:** Returnee’s marriage time

		Inside	Outside	Total	Partners	Partners	Total
		IZs	IZs		Outside areas of origin	Inside areas of origin	
Before migration	Count	5 <sup>a</sup>	5 <sup>a</sup>	10	0 <sup>a</sup>	10 <sup>a</sup>	10
	%	50.00	50.00	100.00	0.00	100.00	100.00
During migration	Count	15 <sup>a</sup>	9 <sup>a</sup>	24	10 <sup>a</sup>	14 <sup>b</sup>	24
	%	62.50	37.50	100.00	41.67	58.33	100.00
Between waves of migration	Count	3 <sup>a</sup>	5 <sup>a</sup>	8	3 <sup>a</sup>	5 <sup>a</sup>	8
	%	37.50	62.50	100.00	37.50	62.50	100.00
After return	Count	6 <sup>a</sup>	7 <sup>a</sup>	13	0 <sup>a</sup>	13 <sup>b</sup>	13
	%	46.15	53.85	100.00	0.00	100.00	100.00
Total	Count	29	26	55	13	42	55
	%	52.73	47.27	100.00	23.64	76.36	100.00
Chi-Square Tests		0.589			0.006		

*Notes:* Different subscript letter presents significantly different proportions based on a Z-test at the .05 level.

*Source: Data collection*

In addition, although the testing results did not support statistically significant differences, this study partly reflected the marriage tendency of returning migrants.



Specifically, migrants returning from industrial zones were more likely to marry during migration than those returning from work outside industrial zones. The proportion of those who returned from industrial zones was at 62.5% while that of those who returned from workplaces outside industrial zones was at 37.5% (Table 7-3). In contrast, migrants who returned from work outside industrial zones tend to marry between the waves of migration and after returning home. The marriage proportion of returnees who from workplaces outside industrial zones and married during migration was at 62.5%, while that of those from outside industrial zones and already returning was at 53.85%.

### ***1.3. Level of education and training***

Regarding the level of education, the survey results showed that returning migrants who obtained the secondary school level of education accounted for the majority of the sample. Those who obtained the high school level and above accounted for 42.65% (Table 7-4). Larger part of returnees received vocational training during migration. The proportion of returning migrants who have reportedly trained a professional accounted for 52.94% of the sample. Of those, 75% obtained professional training during the migration. Before migrating, this proportion accounted for only 19.44%. However, according to in-depth interviews, the returnee's professional training was mainly obtained in their working process (learning by doing), especially for those who have worked in industrial zones.

In a comparison between the groups of returning migrants, it found that although those industrial zones attracted migrant workers with higher levels of education, it is likely that employment in industrial zones offers fewer vocational training benefits to returnees. Table 7-5 shows that the proportion of migrants who had higher education and returned from industrial zones is at 50%, while that proportion of those who returned from a workplace outside industrial zones is at 35.29%. Similarly, the proportion of returnees from industrial zones receiving vocational training benefits is at 38.24%, while the proportion of those returning from outside industrial zones is at 41,18%.

**Table 7-4:** Returnee's education and professional training

	N	Count	Proportion
High school and above	68	29	42.65
Professional training	68	36	52.94
Before the migration	36	07	19.44
During the migration	36	27	75.00
After the return	36	02	05.56

*Source: Data collection*

**Table 7-5:** Education and professional training crossing the last destinations

	Inside industrial zones (N=34)	Outside industrial zones (N=34)	Difference
High school and above (%)	50.00	35.29	14.71
Vocational training in migration (%)	38.24	41.18	02.94

*Notes:* the proportion differences are based on N-1 Chi-square test for binary variables. \*  $p < 0.10$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$

*Source:* Data collection

## 2. Motives to return areas of origin

### 2.1. Push factors

Following a study of Farrell et al. (2014) who followed the neoclassical theory of migration and argued that failure at destinations possibly pushed migrants to return. This study demonstrated that return decisions arose from hardships at workplaces including hard-working hours and insufficient income, accounting for 25% (Table 7-6). According to data from group discussions with returnees, the income of migrants before deciding to return home was between 4 and 5 million VND per capita (118 - 270 USD). With this money, the unmarried migrants can hardly save for their future as organizing a wedding, feeding children ... Compared to life at the destinations, returning brought them an advantage of living closer to their originated family where they would receive both home feelings and economic supports. For married migrants, it became more difficult. Living conditions at the destinations were not enough for the whole family to sustain the living. With an income of about 4.1 million VND per month on average (118 USD), it could not afford them to send their children to a nursery school at destination. The possible reasons probably resulted from *Ho Khau* system, as discussed in section 3.1 of Chapter 6. Due to temporary residential identity, returnees' children had limited access to public educational services at a lower cost. Or the facilities for those public services could not cover for temporary residents in destinations like their family. Therefore, their common strategy was to send their children home, like migrant workers in industrial zones in Bac Ninh. This argument is similar to the study of (Khué, 2019) who revealed that migrants from Mai Thon village of Bac Ninh province left their children behind to cope with *Ho Khau* system in Hanoi City.

Next, although the results did not reflect statistical significance, returnees from industrial zones were more likely than those returning from workplaces outside the industrial zone to be motivated by the factor of inadequate income. The proportions of migrants returning from industrial zones who considered insufficient income and dissatisfaction of the working environment at destinations as the most important reason for the return were at 32.35% and 5.88% respectively. Meanwhile, those proportions of migrants returning from workplaces outside the industrial areas were

at 17.65% and 2.94% respectively (Table 7-6). However, the results from group discussions, as presented in the paper of T. T. Ngo et al. (2019), a part of this research, demonstrated that returning motive ranked differently from insufficient income in destinations crossing returnees' marriage status. Single returnees were more likely to rank it as the most important motive, while married ones ranked it as the third important factor.

In addition, the descriptive statistics showed that the dissatisfaction of the working environment was not likely a frequent motive of return. Only 4.41% of the total sample responded (Table 7-6). However, in the group discussions with single returnees, the ranking of this motive was moderate (3/5) (T. T. Ngo et al., 2019). Besides, this study found that the factors associated with the health problems of migrants (regarding the aging in the group discussion with married returnees) probably pushed the migrants to return. Although the proportion of migrants who returned for this reason presented at relatively low level, accounting for 5.88% of the total sample (Table 7-6), the return due to health problems only appears to returnees from workplaces outside industrial zones, accounting for 11.76%. These people started to migrate earlier and had a longer migration spell than returnees from industrial zones. According to interviews, when migrants aging, they could not be able working far from home. This argument is similar to the study of Lu and Qin (2014) who indicated that when the health of migrants became poorer, they tended to return their home villages. Moreover, when the health problem referred to the aging of migrants, the finding of this study that revealed 0.00% of returnees from inside industrial zones probably supplements for the study of Khué (2019) who argued that enterprises in industrial zones ceased migrants' work at the age of 35. As discussed in the previous section, on average the age of returnees from inside industrial zones was at 29 years old.

**Table 7-6:** Push factors of return

	Pooled (N=68)	Inside industrial zones (N=34)	Outside industrial zones (N=34)	Difference
Insufficient of income (%)	25.00	32.35	17.65	15.00
Dissatisfaction of working conditions (%)	04.41	05.88	02.94	02.94
Health under employment requirements (%)	05.88	0.00	11.76	11.76**

*Notes:* The proportion differences are based on N-1 Chi-square test for binary variables. \*  $p < 0.10$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\* $p < 0.01$

*Source:* Data collection

## 2.2. Pull factors

As outmigration, the return is also influenced by factors that pulled migrants from

the areas of origin. This study shows that the return of migrants is mainly originated from the desire of family union. The surveyed returnees stated that they returned because they needed to take care of their children in baseline villages. It accounted for 45.59% of the sample (Table 7-7). In fact, the decision to return was realized when migrants paid a concern to stayers like their children and parents. Thus, they returned when their children, who were living with grandparents, growing enough to go to primary school. According to interviews, children at this age required more care not only from their grandparents but also from their parents. This finding is closer to studies of Piotrowski and Tong (2010) and Junge et al. (2015) who illustrated that the more migrants with children or spouses at their home villages, the more they returned. Previously, Dustmann (2003) also noted that the motive to return was shaped by migrants' concerns for their children. According to Cassarino (2004), such a motive utilizes the transnationalism theory of migration which links return with family relationships.

In addition, this study also indicated that returnees from industrial zones were more likely than those from workplaces outside the industrial zones to be pulled by the children left behind, although the test results did not show statistical significance. Taking care of children pulled 52.94% returnees from industrial zones, while it was true for 38.24% of returnees from workplaces outside industrial zones.

More interestingly, this study found that the reason for the return also follows communal values, the norms formulated in the villages and the concrete relationships with stayers. They all addressed concern for their parents as the second important determinant of return, accounting for 30.88% (Table 7-7). As perceived by returnees, taking care of parents is a filial obligation shaped by culture, when those are getting older or get health problems, despite their satisfaction at the destination. Otherwise, migrants would be condemned as immoral individuals by the whole home community. This rumor could last for the rest of their lives and even weight on the next generations. Furthermore, returning home to take care of parents is also meant to set an example for migrants' children on the value of family and the way to deal with their parents in the future. These findings reflect the work of Le Mare et al. (2015) and Binh (2016) when they suggest the return is part of the circle of family life and it is like a filial responsibility.

Furthermore, it found that returnees from industrial zones are less likely than those from workplaces outside the industrial zones to be pulled by communal values. The proportion of those who returned from industrial zones because of taking care of their parents is at 20.59%, while that of those who returned from workplaces outside industrial zones is at 41.18% (Table 7-7). A possible explanation is returnees from workplaces outside industrial zones were more male (61.76%) than those from industrial zones (20.59%) (Table 7-1). Traditionally, one of the sons in the family must take care of his parents when they get older and older.

**Table 7-7:** Pull factors of return

	Pooled (N=68)	Inside industrial zones (N=34)	Outside industrial zones (N=34)	Difference
Taking care of children (%)	45.59	52.94	38.24	14.70
Getting married (%)	13.24	14.71	11.76	02.95
Taking care of parents (%)	30.88	20.59	41.18	20.59*
Getting an employment (%)	02.94	02.94	02.94	-

*Notes:* The proportion differences are based on N-1 Chi-square test for binary variables. \*  $p < 0.10$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\* $p < 0.01$

*Source:* Data collection

In consistency with Niedomysl and Amcoff (2011) who demonstrated that employment opportunities at the areas of origin were less likely an important factor which affected decisions to return, this study found that those who ranked nonfarm employment opportunities as the most important motivation of return accounted for 2.94%, the lowest compared to other pull factors. Additionally, it revealed that those who married were less likely to mention nonfarm opportunities in the areas of origin as a pull factor of return in the survey. Those returnees responded that available agriculture work after their return provided them enough food, while other alternative employment has not been generated yet. In fact, most of the returnees in Van Thang commune started searching for nonfarm employment after their return. As observed, several garment factories built in neighbor communes brought returnees more nonfarm employment opportunities than it was at the time they moved out of the village.

### 3. The consequences of return

In recent years, it was no doubt that migration and gender have been concerned by many studies. However, there is little understanding of gender issues in the studies of return migration. Furthermore, the previous discussions in this chapter indicated more female than male migrants returning home villages. Therefore, it is necessary to undertake the consequences of return in the context of gender. Accordingly, it is necessary to question gender differences in accessing agricultural land, the main available resource in baseline villages. Then, the gender perspective of employment generation after the return is needed to clarify.

#### *3.1. Agricultural land accessibility and gender difference*

Although agricultural land use rights can be bought and sold in Vietnam, returnees did not go for it in Van Thang. Instead, they accessed agricultural land in two main ways. Returnees could receive it from their parents as an inheritance or rent it from other villagers. The proportions of returnees who inherited and rent agricultural land

are at 79.4% and 29.4% respectively (Table 7-8). Of those land renters, 5.9% belonged to families that had no more available farmland to share.

In response to gender regarding agricultural land access, the area that female returnees received from their parents was less than male returnees were. The survey showed that each female was given 2.0 *sao* (01 *sao* = 500 m<sup>2</sup>) on average, while each male was at 2.9 *sao* on average. This originates from a perception that women, after marrying, have to follow her husband's family where they might access to more agricultural land through a part of her husband received.

In fact, this study found more male returnees than female ones had their land leased after receiving it from their parents. The proportion of male returnees who leased their agricultural land is at 21.4%, while that of female returnees is at 7.5% (Table 7-8). A possible explanation is that given agricultural land for male returnees was higher than that for female returnees.

**Table 7-8:** Gender difference in agriculture land access

	Pooled (N=68)	Male (N=28)	Female (N=40)	Difference
Given agriculture land (1=Yes; 0=No) (%)	79.41	85.7	75.0	10.7
Leasing agriculture land (1=Yes; 0=No) (%)	13.24	21.4	07.5	13.9*
Renting agriculture land (1=Yes; 0=No) (%)	29.41	28.6	30.0	01.4
Given agriculture land area ( <i>sao</i> )	2.3853 (1.963)	2.868 (1.9724)	2.048 (1.9091)	0.82*
Leasing area ( <i>sao</i> )	0.3765 (1.066)	0.664 (1.4454)	0.175 (0.6360)	0.489*
Renting area ( <i>sao</i> )	1.3500 (3.505)	0.886 (1.6550)	1.675 (4.3524)	-0.789

Notes: Standard deviations in parentheses. Significances of the means are based on a t-test and the proportion differences are based on N-1 Chi-square test. 01 *sao* = 500m<sup>2</sup>. \*  $p < 0.10$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\* $p < 0.01$

Furthermore, it could be an interesting finding when looking at rented agricultural land by gender. Although the testing result did not support for a statistical significance, female returnees seem to rent more agricultural land than male returnees. On average, female returnees rented nearly 1.7 *sao*, while it was at 0.89 *sao* for male returnees.

In addition, it is consistent with an argument of McCaig and Pavcnik (2013) who revealed that due to the reform of economic development in Vietnam, more and more agriculture labors moved toward the service or industrial sector, creating more higher availability of agricultural land. It did so in Van Thang. Thus, renting or even

borrowing more agricultural land was easily achieved. The survey also found two cases with agricultural land up to 1ha managed by female returnees. Such an area was about 10 times higher than the one allocated to a normal villager by local authorities.

### ***3.2. Gender perspective of employment generation***

Considering the alternative employment generation, this study illustrated a statistically significant gender difference at the early stage of return. Whereas female returnees who preferred agriculture works accounted for 77.42%, male returnees were at 22.58% (Table 7-9). Reversely, it found more male than female returnees to select nonfarm employment. The proportion of male and female returnees in nonfarm employment was at 60% and 40% respectively. In fact, working experiences of female returnees who mostly came back from industrial zone created less impact on nonfarm self-employment on the return, except few of them who have previously worked at garment factories could operate a tailor shop. Thus, working in agriculture become a rational choice when a better employment opportunity remains unsure. Reversely, male returnees who mostly back from workplaces outside industrial zones gained more nonfarm employment because of their experiences. They have worked in construction (hired labor), motorbike or repairing services for refrigerators before the return, and those can be found recently in places around home villages.

At the time of the survey, around one year after the return, the gender difference remained within agriculture works. The proportion of female returnees who kept working on agriculture was at 75.00%, while that of male returnees was at 25%. However, the proportion of females decreased by 45% of the total respondents (Table 7-9). By contrast, those females who worked on nonfarm employment increased from 20% to 45%. The possible reason for this result is that the establishment of some garment factories nearby provides more employment for female returnees who have worked in industrial zones before the return.

Although there is a difference between genders, the participation of male and female returnees in agriculture work is not consistent with the work of Junge et al. (2015) who claimed that local returnees engage less in self-employment in Vietnam, and with the work of Démurger and Xu (2011a) who found that local returnees in China engage more in nonfarm employment by entrepreneurial activities. However, these findings are similar to Hirvonen and Lilleør (2015) who argued that return migrants in Tanzania worked more on their farm. The availability of accessing agriculture land is a possible reason to drive returnees to agriculture employment. However, the study of Bezu and Holden (2014) in Ethiopia illustrated that the restriction of access to agricultural land drove rural labors away from agriculture livelihoods.

**Table 7-9:** Gender difference of employment after the return

		Early stage of return			Current stage of return (more than one year after return)		
		Female	Male	Total	Female	Male	Total
No job	Count	7 <sup>a</sup>	5 <sup>a</sup>	12	1 <sup>a</sup>	3 <sup>a</sup>	4
	% row	58.33	41.67	100.00	25.00	75.00	100.00
	% column	17.50	17.86	17.65	2.50	10.71	5.88
Agriculture	Count	24 <sup>a</sup>	7 <sup>b</sup>	31	18 <sup>a</sup>	6 <sup>b</sup>	24
	% row	77.42	22.58	100.00	75.00	25.00	100.00
	% column	60.00	25.00	45.59	45.00	21.43	35.29
Non-agriculture	Count	8 <sup>a</sup>	12 <sup>b</sup>	20	18 <sup>a</sup>	15 <sup>a</sup>	33
	% row	40.00	60.00	100.00	54.55	45.45	100.00
	% column	20.00	42.86	29.41	45.00	53.57	48.53
Mixed	Count	1 <sup>a</sup>	4 <sup>a</sup>	5	3 <sup>a</sup>	4 <sup>a</sup>	7
	% row	20.00	80.00	100.00	42.86	57.14	100.00
	% column	2.50	14.29	7.35	7.50	14.29	10.29
Total	Count	40	28	68	40	28	68
	% row	58.82	41.18	100.00	58.82	41.18	100.00
	% column	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00
Pearson Chi-square		0.015			0.141		

*Notes:* Different subscript letter presents significantly different proportions based on a Z-test at the .05 level.

*Source:* Data collection



In summary:

The findings of this chapter reflect the reliable intention of migrant workers to return as discussed in chapter 6. More women are returning from the industrial zone than men. The average working spell of returnees from industrial zones is at about 6.5 years and the returning age is at about 29. Similar to migrant workers in Bac Ninh industrial zones, most of the returnees married during migration and between the waves of migrations. Specifically, 23.64% of the returnee's marriage objected to those in the areas of origin, as the intention of migrant workers in the Bac Ninh industrial zone. In addition, the study results also show that those who return to marry during migration contain their intention to return. They often find their partner among the people from the same regions or the same areas of origin.

Regarding the motives for returning, this study shows that insufficient earning at destinations push migrants back baseline villages. After leaving the village with the hope of a better life, returnees realized the harder life in the destinations than they imagined, especially when the family size is expanded. Getting married and having children creates a burden on their family life. At that time, their income seemed smaller than what their family needed. In this context, the return likely reflected a failure of the migration process. Moreover, the returnees are also pulled, perhaps strongly, by the factors arising from their home villages. They feel their responsibility to their extended family (including their parents and children) is increasing as their parents get aging and their children growing up. More importantly, for male migrants, their return is part of the responsibility of their ancestors. This partly explains the phenomenon that the migrants who succeed in migration still return to baseline villages.

Regarding the employment of migrants after returning, this study shows gender differences. More female returnees access to agricultural land after returning than male returnees. Although female returnees do not receive as much agricultural land as male returnees, they can rent or borrow more agricultural land from villagers, mostly relatives. The tendency of laborers to leave the village to work far from home leads to an abundance of agricultural land, making it easy for female returnees to rent or borrow. Because of this, soon after returning, female returnees tend to work in agriculture more than male returnees. However, later those people tend to move to nonfarm employment. Thus, immediately after returning, agricultural production serves as a buffer step for returnees while they were seeking for nonfarm employment afterward.

# 8

---

## Conclusions

This study contributes to a further understanding of both the outmigration and returning migration literature of Vietnam, particularly from young rural labors that were less mentioned by other studies. It is unlike many migration studies in Vietnam which were mainly relied on the national surveys of migration every ten years. Those surveys focused on permanent migration only and did not classify industrial zones as a scale of data. In addition, this study shed a light on return migration, especially the returnee's gender dimension of employment access that mentioned less in the literature of return migration in Vietnam.

Regarding return migration, research novelties were put forward: characteristics of the migrants crossing destinations: inside and outside industrial zones and arguments of motivation to return which is less mentioned in the body of migration literature. Furthermore, a gender perspective of employment on the return is added to the understanding of return migration research, where women are highlighted in the development of agriculture.

### **Determinants of workers' migration to the industrial zones of Bac Ninh**

Following De Haas (2010) who argued that plural approach needs to integrate to migration studies, this study shows that push and pull theory is inadequate to explain the motives of migrant workers in Bac Ninh industrial zones. They are complex and influenced by a variety of factors. Therefore, the addition of the new economic theory of migrant workers has made the explanation of migration motives more complete. The intention to leave industrial zones by migrant workers in Bac Ninh and returning migrants in Van Thang showed that migration always associated with their family background. Despite the individual migration decisions of migrant workers, they always expect the consensuses of their families. Besides, they left baseline villages in part due to the labor arrangement in their households. The lack of nonfarm employment at baseline communities may result in fewer opportunities. However, even in some places of origin, when existing availability of nonfarm employment, these workers still decide to migrate to industrial zones in Bac Ninh. In this case, it can be explained that migrant workers' motivations for migration stem from their desire for more independence from their family life.

This study pointed out several factors that push workers to migrate to Bac Ninh industrial zones. Firstly, the shortage of opportunities for nonfarm employment in the areas of origin pushes migrant workers to find alternatives in Bac Ninh industrial zones. In most of the areas of origin, there reported no industrial zones where the opportunities for nonfarm employment were probably available like in the industrial zones of Bac Ninh. In addition, accessing formal nonfarm employment outside industrial zones in the areas of origin faced obstacles that lead to the left of these migrant workers. More importantly, this study revealed that push factors probably arose from a shortage of cash for the daily consumption that failed to achieve in agricultural production, a feature of rural areas in Vietnam. Accordingly, the migrant workers objected to the industrial zones in Bac Ninh, where they earn monthly cash. Also, the discussions in chapter 6 which showed that most remittances using by the

households of migrant workers for the daily expenses provided a clearer complement for this argument. Interestingly, the desire for new values of living differing from those in the villages of migrant workers hidden behind this cash shortage. Furthermore, migrant workers' propensity to return reflected that migration to industrial zones is the rural youths' way of life. Therefore, these aspirations function as the key factors that promote the migration decision of young migrant workers in Bac Ninh industrial zones. This argument is consistent with (Bal 2014) who demonstrated that modern lifestyle in urban areas created a desire to leave.

Besides, this study argued that the economic status of the household before the migration is not considered clearly as a push factor. On the one hand, the study found migrant workers were all in well-off, average, and poor households before the migration. Then, their household's livelihood activities engage with both farm and nonfarm. On the other hand, if migrant workers were out of their home because of household economic problems, remittance would play an important role. Conversely, the finding does not support a correlation between remittance, household status, and main livelihood activities before the migration. Thus, the main reason for outmigration maybe the economic problem of individuals who desire cash for daily expenses.

Regarding pull factors, this study revealed that migrant workers were likely attracted by the high labor demand of enterprises in industrial zones in Bac Ninh. However, the availability of nonfarm employment in the industrial zone itself is not enough to pull migrant workers out of their homes. Instead, having easy access to employment over there is also important. It allows us to explain partly why the migrant workers fail to try to search nonfarm employment in the areas of origin, even in some cases, it is available. Unlike the early stage of establishment, these enterprises have currently undertaken recruitment in the areas of origin along with that in their headquarters. They even accepted secondary level-educated workers. Also, simple recruitment procedures and requirements made it easier for migrant workers to access jobs in these industrial zones. This argument is partly consistent with Lee (2017) who revealed that giving an easy access to a destination attracted immigrants.

However, these both push and pull factors seem unclear when migrant workers decide to work in Bac Ninh industrial zones based on their social relationships. Lack of social networks in the areas of origin prevents migrant workers to obtain nonfarm employment. Meanwhile, the availability of those networks in industrial zones in Bac Ninh encourages rural labors to come. This point of view proves the argument of Xu et al. (2015) that the more social network rural labors have, the more opportunities of outmigration are. In fact, social networks facilitate initial settings on the first move. Employment information provided by relatives and friends who have been working in the industrial zones is a trust to encourage rural labors to migrate out.

It is more interesting when research results demonstrated that the factors from the place of origin, commonly known as the push factor, are related to the more pull factor. Many migrant workers claimed that their motive for migration comes from the

previous migrants who were in the village. These people returning to their hometowns during Tet brought a different image to the destinations. This has created an attraction for rural workers.

Finally, analyzing the initial purpose of migrant workers in the Bac Ninh industrial zone illustrated a hidden promise to return behind these goals. Only few migrant workers have an original purpose that suits their current job. Most of them wanted other jobs or accumulated capital to return to their hometown or gain experience to find better jobs after that.

### **Working and non-Working environment in industrial zones of Bac Ninh**

According to this study, the migrant workers, major labor force for the industrial zones of Bac Ninh, now face challenges created by the unstable model of development. Industrial zones provide a working environment that seems not to fulfil the satisfaction of migrant workers. Therefore, the sustainability of the development of industrial zones in Bac Ninh is threatened by the fact that those zones follow the footloose of their development model exposed in the 1990s when the zones favored more to young and female labors with intensive working hours, as a study of Madani (1999). Those who typically low skilled labors and created an advantage for industrial zones development was no longer sustained as it did in Honduras, the pioneer country running industrial zones as leverage for economic development (Farole & Akinci, 2011).

This study found that migrant workers in industrial zones in Bac Ninh faced a trade-off between accepting a hard life and accumulating capitals and experiences for a better one afterward. Most of the migrant workers in those zones suffered from working environments because of long hours of schedule and “voluntary compulsory” scheme of work. Besides, a non-working environment provides inadequate facilities for migrant workers’ stable living while they are working in the industrial zones of Bac Ninh. They were residing in places with minimum requirements for their living. Emigrating to industrial zones with a hope to change the better way of life differing from rural hometown, however, migrant workers failed to achieve even a basic social service, except accessing to internet. Therefore, migrant workers’ propensity is leaving rather than staying on works at these zones. This argument is in line with the study of Cirera & Lakshman (2017) who illustrated that working hour inside industrial zones was longer than that was outside the zones sometime and workers in industrial zones still suffered from compulsory extra hours. Besides, it is similar to the study of Shaw (2007) who argued that migrant’s living surrounding industrial zones was poor.

In addition, working and non-working environment in industrial zones of Bac Ninh combined with migrant workers’ characteristics and initial purposes create circular migration. Those zones function as a place for young rural labors to enter the nonfarm labor market rather than to provide them long-term employment. Most migrant workers tend to keep on their minds a promise to return to their areas of origin or to move out of the zones after several years of staying on their works.

### **Return migration in Van Thang**

Regarding the return of migrants, the findings in this study reflected the reliable intention of migrant workers in industrial zones to return. Adding to migrants who marry after returning, those who married during migration and among waves of migration also contained their intention to return. The common marriage strategy for these people was to find partners in areas of origin.

Besides, the return of migrants in Van Thang likely arise from a failure rather than a success. As the family size of migrants expanded, returnees realized that the earnings at the destination were not enough. Additionally, the obstacles in accessing basic social services as discussed in the case of migrant workers in industrial zones in Bac Ninh likely occur in the case of returning migrants in Van Thang. Sending their children to the baseline villages to cope with the limited income at the destinations has created a force to pull these migrants to return. More importantly, the moral values shaped by the norms in the home communities also added a factor that pulls returnees to return. They cannot ignore filial obligation to their parents, who are aging, and unable to ignore the responsibility to worship their ancestors that seems a part of the lives of returnees. These arguments, on the one hand, support the study of Junge, Revilla Diez, & Schätzl, L (2015) who demonstrated that the stayers left behind urged migrants to return. On the other hand, they are consistent with the study of Binh (2016) who emphasized filial obligation as a critical motive of return.

Concerning employment after returning, this study demonstrated a gender difference. The female returnees were more likely to engage with agricultural work than male returnees. This suggests an important role in agricultural production for female migrants after returning to Van Thang commune. In the early stage of return, female returnees have worked in this area as a buffer, while waiting for non-farm jobs thereafter. More interestingly, this study revealed the movements of labor from agriculture to non-agriculture. Although, 45.29% of those returning to work in agriculture in the early stage of return, 10% of them turn to non-agricultural jobs afterward. Meanwhile, 29.41% of returnees were engaged in nonfarm employment, nearly 20% were added to this proportion later. However, the appearance of few farming households with much larger than the usual scale in Van Thang commune suggests an accumulation of agricultural land. Although currently this phenomenon is arranged by returnees through verbal contracts.

However, due to limited resources this study just refers to the case of Bac Ninh and Thanh Hoa province. It might defer from other provinces further to the south of Vietnam where industrial zones are also well developed. In addition, adopting mainly descriptive statistics combined with qualitative methods to analyses motivation of migration to industrial zones and lack of advanced quantitative appliances might prevent a deeper understanding of determinants that are presented in this study.

## **Recommendations**

Migration to industrial zones seems inevitable. Restricting rural workers to migrate to industrial zones can harm the development of industrial zones specifically and the country generally. Therefore, the solutions, on the one hand, focus on improving non-farm employment opportunities in the areas of origin to reduce pressure on industrial zones. On the other hand, it focuses on creating regular migration channels, improving the working environment, and living environment of workers working in existing industrial zones. In addition, the migration of industrial zone workers is circular. As stated in the research results, most of them have decided to leave the industrial zones to leave a space for a new generation. Therefore, there should be employment solutions for these workers when they return to their areas of origin.

### ***For nonfarm employment in the areas of origin:***

According to this study, one of the motives for migration to industrial zones arises from the desire of cash for daily expenses, which fails to obtain from agricultural production. Additionally, the lack of nonfarm opportunities in the areas of origin lies industrial zones as an outstanding choice for unskilled young labors. Therefore, creating more nonfarm employment opportunities, developing the labor market in the areas of origin can increase the competitiveness of the labor market. This probably leads to a better working environment in industrial zones to attract workers. Besides, when the nonfarm employment market is getting better, rural labors perhaps getting better employment information, so they may have better options for their nonfarm employment. This may help for those who started to enter the labor market and those who returned from industrial zones.

### ***For employment in industrial zones:***

Currently, although some enterprises have accessed rural labor through direct recruitment at the areas of origin, migrant workers mostly access industrial zones in Bac Ninh through their social networks (friends, relatives). Therefore, it is also essential to develop regular migration channels. Through these channels, information on employment is guaranteed, creating confidence for migrants.

Besides, to continue the development of industrial zones, the working environment needs to be improved. There are clear regulations on working conditions for workers, including workers in industrial zones such as the Labor Law (2012). However, the practice of these regulations needs to be more closely monitored, especially on a probationary time, overtime participation. To avoid the footloose when the unskilled labors become no longer a comparative advantage, enterprises in industrial zones need to provide more training to upgrade the skill of labors.

### ***For the living environment of migrant workers working in industrial zones:***

According to this study, migrant workers currently face poor living conditions in spontaneously built in the villages surrounding industrial zones. The conditions for these places should also be standardized by regulations. In addition, access to social services at the destination currently brings one of the striking difficulties of migrant

workers. Therefore, it may be helpful to adjust the household registration mechanism more effectively so those migrant workers can have a better access to social services, especially for educational services, with a cost consistent with the income of migrant workers. At present, facilities for health and education services for migrant workers are likely based on the capacity of localities. Therefore, upgrading those facilities is needed.

***For returning migration:***

The tendency to approach agricultural work soon after returning and move to nonfarm employment later suggests that more favorable conditions for the maintenance of agricultural jobs should be created in the areas of origin, with the focus on women. Concerning agricultural land consolidation, currently returning migrants gathering agricultural land based on kinship relationships without sustainable legal provisions. Therefore, it is necessary to create a legal corridor for agricultural land accumulation.



## References

- Abreu, A. (2012). The New Economics of Labor Migration: Beware of Neoclassicals Bearing Gifts. *Forum for Social Economics*, 41(1), 46-67. doi:10.1007/s12143-010-9077-2
- ADB. (2007). Migration and Rural Labor Market: Impacts and Solutions. *Market and Development Bulletin*, 12.
- Aggarwal, A. (2007). *Impact of Special Economic Zones on Employment, Poverty, and Human Development*: Indian Council for Research on International Economic Relations New Delhi.
- AHA. (2015). *Natural Disaster Risk Assessment and Area Business Continuity Plan Formulation for Industrial Agglomerated Areas in the ASEAN Region*. Retrieved from
- Amare, M., & Hohfeld, L. (2016). Poverty transition in rural Vietnam: The role of migration and remittances. *The Journal of Development Studies*, 52(10), 1463-1478.
- Amcoff, J., & Niedomysl, T. (2015). Is the Tied Returnee Male or Female? The Trailing Spouse Thesis Reconsidered. *Population, Space and Place*, 21(8), 872-881. doi: <https://doi.org/10.1002/psp.1969>
- Arunatilake, N. (2012). Precarious Work in Sri Lanka. *American Behavioral Scientist*, 57(4), 488-506. doi:10.1177/0002764212466246
- Attanapola, C. T. (2006). Were they ever 'in place'? Sense of place and self-identities among migrant female export-processing zone workers in Sri Lanka. *Norsk Geografisk Tidsskrift-Norwegian Journal of Geography*, 60(3), 217-226.
- Bal, E. (2014). Yearning for faraway places: the construction of migration desires among young and educated Bangladeshis in Dhaka. *Identities*, 21(3), 275-289. doi:10.1080/1070289X.2013.833512
- Bandara, S. (2016). *Usage of Workers' Remittance by the Households of Origin in Sri Lanka*. Paper presented at the 3rd International Conference on Social Sciences (3rd ICSS), 30th September - 01st October 2016, Research Centre for Social Sciences, Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Kelaniya, Sri Lanka.
- Bauer, T., & Zimmermann, K. (1998). Causes of International Migration: A Survey. In Haas, H. d. (2007). *Migration and Development: A Theoretical Perspective*. Transnationalisation and Development(s): Towards a North-South Perspective. Center for Interdisciplinary Research, Bielefeld, Germany.
- Bélanger, D., & Linh, T. G. (2011). The impact of transnational migration on gender and marriage in sending communities of Vietnam. *Current Sociology*, 59(1), 59-77.

- Bezu, S., & Holden, S. (2014). Are rural youth in Ethiopia abandoning agriculture? *World Development*, 64, 259-272.
- Binh, N. T. T. (2016). The Dynamics of Return Migration in Vietnam's Rural North: Charity, Community and Contestation *Connected and Disconnected in Viet Nam* (pp. 73-108): ANU Press.
- Black, R., & Castaldo, A. (2009). 'Return migration and entrepreneurship in Ghana and Cote d'Ivoire: the role of capital transfers. *Tijdschrift voor economische en sociale geografie*, 100(1), 44-58. doi: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9663.2009.00504.x>
- Cassarino, J. P. (2004). Theorising Return Migration: The Conceptual Approach to Return Migrants Revisited. *International Journal on Multicultural Societies (IJMS)*, 6(2), 253 -279.
- Cerimele, M. (2017). Quá trình hình thành các mô hình phi chính thức hóa lao động ở Việt Nam trong quá trình công nghiệp hóa do FID dẫn dắt. Nghiên cứu trường hợp tại khu công nghiệp Thăng Long *Sự phát triển công nghiệp trong 20 năm sau chính sách đổi mới ở Việt Nam, 1986-2006 (An interpretation of industry development during the first 20 years of the Vietnamese Doi Moi, 1986-2006)*.
- Chaudhuri, S. Z. (2010). *Gender Balance in the EPZ: A Socio-Economic Study of Dhaka Export Processing Zone in Bangladesh*. Retrieved from <http://182.71.188.10:8080/jspui/bitstream/123456789/78/1/Gender%20balance%20in%20the%20EPZ%20Bangladesh%20-%20GPN%20.pdf>
- Cirera, X., & Lakshman, R. W. D. (2017). The impact of export processing zones on employment, wages and labour conditions in developing countries: systematic review. *Journal of Development Effectiveness*, 9(3), 344-360. doi:10.1080/19439342.2017.1309448
- Cling, J.-P., & Letilly, G. (2001). Export Processing Zones: A threatened instrument for global economy insertion. *DIAL, documento de trabajo, DT/2001/17*.
- Coffey, D., Papp, J., & Spears, D. (2015). Short-Term Labor Migration from Rural North India: Evidence from New Survey Data. *Population Research and Policy Review*, 34(3), 361-380. doi:10.1007/s11113-014-9349-2
- Constant, A., & Massey, D. S. (2002). Return migration by German guestworkers: Neoclassical versus new economic theories. *International Migration*, 40(4), 5-38.
- De Brauw, A. (2010). Seasonal migration and agricultural production in Vietnam. *The Journal of Development Studies*, 46(1), 114-139.
- De Brauw, A., & Harigaya, T. (2007). Seasonal migration and improving living standards in Vietnam. *American Journal of Agricultural Economics*, 89(2), 430-447. doi:<https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-8276.2006.00989.x>
- de Brauw, A., Mueller, V., & Lee, H. L. (2014). The Role of Rural–Urban Migration in the Structural Transformation of Sub-Saharan Africa. *World Development*, 63(0), 33-42. doi:<http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.worlddev.2013.10.013>

- De Haan, A. (1997). Unsettled Settlers: Migrant Workers and Industrial Capitalism in Calcutta. *Modern Asian Studies*, 31(4), 919-949.
- De Haan, A. (1999). Livelihoods and poverty: The role of migration-a critical review of the migration literature. *The Journal of Development Studies*, 36(2), 1-47.
- De Haan, A. (2011). *Inclusive growth? Labour migration and poverty in India*. Retrieved from
- De Haas, H. (2010). Migration and Development: A Theoretical Perspective. *International Migration Review*, 44(1), 227-264. doi:10.1111/j.1747-7379.2009.00804.x
- de Haas, H., Fokkema, T., & Fihri, M. F. (2015). Return Migration as Failure or Success? *Journal of International Migration and Integration*, 16(2), 415-429. doi: <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12134-014-0344-6>
- De la Roca, J. (2017). Selection in initial and return migration: Evidence from moves across Spanish cities. *Journal of Urban Economics*, 100, 33-53. doi:<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jue.2017.04.004>
- Démurger, S., & Xu, H. (2011a). Return Migrants: The Rise of New Entrepreneurs in Rural China. *World Development*, 39(10), 1847-1861. doi:<http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.worlddev.2011.04.027>
- Démurger, S., & Xu, H. (2011b). *Left-Behind Children and Return Decisions of Rural Migrants in China*. Retrieved from
- Deshingkar, P., & Start, D. (2003). Seasonal migration for livelihoods in India: Coping, Accumulation and Exclusion. *Overseas Development Institute, London*.
- Deshingkar, P., & Start, D. (2003). *Seasonal Migration for Livelihoods in India: Coping, Accumulation and Exclusion*. Retrieved from London:
- Deshingkar, P., Zeitlyn, B., & Holtom, B. (2014). Does migration for domestic work reduce poverty? A review of the literature and an agenda for research. *Migrating out of Poverty RPC*.
- Devkota, J. (2016). Do Return Migrants use Remittances for Entrepreneurship in Nepal. *Journal of Economics and Development Studies*, 4(2), 90-100. doi:DOI: 10.15640/jeds.v4n2a8
- Do, T. K. (2017). Việc làm và đời sống của công nhân trong các khu công nghiệp: Một số kết quả nghiên cứu thực địa (Employment and life of workers in industrial zones: Some results of field research) *Sự phát triển công nghiệp trong 20 năm sau chính sách đổi mới ở Việt Nam, 1986-2006 (An interpretation of industry development during the first 20 years of the Vietnamese Doi Moi, 1986-2006)*.
- Do, T. K., & Masina, P. P. (2017). Sự phát triển công nghiệp trong 20 năm sau chính sách đổi mới ở Việt Nam, 1986-2006 (An interpretation of industry development during the first 20 years of the Vietnamese Doi Moi, 1986-2006).

- Duc Loc, N., Raabe, K., & Grote, U. (2015). Rural–Urban Migration, Household Vulnerability, and Welfare in Vietnam. *World Development*, 71, 79-93. doi:<http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.worlddev.2013.11.002>
- Dustmann, C. (2003). Children and return migration. *Journal of Population Economics*, 16(4), 815-830. doi: <https://doi.org/10.1007/s00148-003-0161-2>
- Dziva, C., & Kusena, W. (2013). Return Migration from South Africa: Piece of Good Fortune or Menace to Human Security in Mberengwa Rural District of Zimbabwe? *Journal of Business Management & Social Sciences Research*, 2(9), 1-9.
- Ellis, F. (2000). *Rural Livelihoods and Diversity in Developing Countries*: Oxford University Press.
- Fan, C. C. (2003). Rural-urban migration and gender division of labor in transitional China. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 27(1), 24-47.
- Fan, C. C. (2005). Modeling interprovincial migration in China, 1985-2000. *Eurasian Geography and Economics*, 46(3), 165-184.
- Farole, T., & Akinci, G. (2011). *Special economic zones: progress, emerging challenges, and future directions*: The World Bank.
- Farrell, M., Kairytyė, E., Nienaber, B., McDonagh, J., & Mahon, M. (2014). Rural Return Migration: Comparative Analysis between Ireland and Lithuania. *Central and Eastern European Migration Review*, 3, 127-149.
- Farrell, M., Mahon, M., & McDonagh, J. (2012). The rural as a return migration destination. *European Countryside*, 4(1), 13. doi: <http://dx.doi.org/10.2478/v10091-012-0012-9>
- Fukase, E. (2013). *Foreign job opportunities and internal migration in Vietnam*. Retrieved from Washington, DC: <https://openknowledge.worldbank.org/bitstream/handle/10986/15566/wps6420.pdf?sequence=1>
- Gashi, A., & Adnett, N. (2015). The Determinants of Return Migration: Evidence for Kosovo. *Croatian Economic Survey*, 17(2). doi: <http://dx.doi.org/doi:10.15179/ces.17.2.2>
- Glick, P., & Roubaud, F. (2006). Export processing zone expansion in Madagascar: What are the labour market and gender impacts? *Journal of African Economies*, 15(4), 722-756. doi:<https://doi.org/10.1093/jae/ejk016>
- Gröger, A., & Zylberberg, Y. (2016). Internal Migration as a Shock-Coping Strategy: Evidence from a Typhoon. *American Economic Journal: Applied Economics*, 8(2), 123-153.
- GSO. (2016). *Kết quả điều tra di cư nội địa năm 2015*: Nhà xuất bản Thông Tấn.
- GSO. (2017). *Statistical summary book of Vietnam*: Statistical Publish House.
- GSO. (2018). *Statistic Book*: Statistic Public House.
- GSO, & ILO. (2018). *The 2016 Report on Informal Employment in Viet Nam*. Retrieved from [https://www.ilo.org/hanoi/Whatwedo/Publications/WCMS\\_638330/lang-en/index.htm](https://www.ilo.org/hanoi/Whatwedo/Publications/WCMS_638330/lang-en/index.htm)

- Gupta, M. R. (1994). Duty-free zone, unemployment, and welfare a note. *Journal of Economics*, 59(2), 217-236. doi:10.1007/BF01238970
- Haas, H. d. (2007). *Migration and Development: A Theoretical Perspective*. Paper presented at the Transnationalisation and Development(s): Towards a North-South Perspective, Center for Interdisciplinary Research, Bielefeld, Germany.
- Hải, Đ. Q. (2013). Current situation of spiritual life of workers in industrial zones and export processing zones in Vietnam (Thực trạng đời sống văn hóa tinh thần của công nhân tại các khu công nghiệp, khu chế xuất ở Việt Nam hiện nay). *Journal of Historical studies*(1), 3-15.
- Hancock, P. (2009). Gender, status and empowerment: A study among women who work in Sri Lanka's Export Processing Zones (EPZs). *Journal of developing societies*, 25(4), 393-420.
- Hancock, P., Carastathis, G., Georgiou, J., & Oliveira, M. (2015). Female workers in textile and garment sectors in Sri Lankan Export Processing Zones (EPZs): gender dimensions and working conditions. *Sri Lanka Journal of Social Sciences*, 38(1).
- Hewamanne, S. (2006). "Participation? My Blood and Flesh is being Sucked Dry": Market Based Development and Sri Lanka's Free Trade Zone Garment Factory Workers" in *Journal of Third World Studies*, Vol. xxiii, no.1 (Spring 2006): 51-74. *Journal of Third World Studies*, Vol. xxiii, no.1 (Spring 2006): 51-74., 51-74.
- Hirvonen, K., & Lilleør, H. B. (2015). Going Back Home: Internal Return Migration in Rural Tanzania. *World Development*, 70, 186-202.
- Hoang, L. A. (2011). Gender Identity and Agency in Migration Decision-Making: Evidence from Vietnam. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 37(9), 1441-1457. doi:10.1080/1369183X.2011.623618
- Hoppe, A., & Fujishiro, K. (2015). Anticipated Job Benefits, Career Aspiration, and Generalized Self-efficacy as Predictors for Migration Decision-Making. *International journal of intercultural relations : IJIR*, 47, 13-27. doi:<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijintrel.2015.03.025>
- Hunt, J. (2004). Are migrants more skilled than non-migrants? Repeat, return, and same-employer migrants. *Canadian Journal of Economics/Revue canadienne d'économique*, 37(4), 830-849. doi: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.0008-4085.2004.00250.x>
- Iacovou, M. (2010). Leaving home: Independence, togetherness and income. *Advances in life course research*, 15(4), 147-160.
- ILO. (2003). *Employment and social policy in respect of export processing zones (EPZs)*. Retrieved from
- Iqbal, M., & Gusman, Y. (2015). Pull and Push Factors of Indonesian Women Migrant Workers from Indramayu (West Java) to Work Abroad. *Mediterranean Journal of Social Sciences*, 6(5 S5), 167.

- Ishtiaque, A., & Ullah, M. S. (2013). The influence of factors of migration on the migration status of rural-urban migrants in Dhaka, Bangladesh. *Human Geographies*, 7(2), 45.
- Jellema, K. (2007). Returning Home: Ancestor Veneration and the Nationalism of Doi Moi Vietnam. In P. Taylor (Ed.), *Modernity and Re-enchantment: Religion in Post-revolutionary Vietnam* (pp. pp 57-89). Singapore: ISEAS- Yusof Ishak Institute.
- Junge, V., Revilla Diez, J., & Schätzl, L. (2015). Determinants and Consequences of Internal Return Migration in Thailand and Vietnam. *World Development*, 71, 94-106. doi:<http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.worlddev.2013.11.007>
- Kauhanen, M., & Tervo, H. (2002). Who Moves to Depressed Regions? An Analysis of Migration Streams in Finland in the 1990s. *International regional science review*, 25(2), 200-218. doi: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/016001702762481249>
- Keung Wong, D. F., Li, C. Y., & Song, H. X. (2007). Rural migrant workers in urban China: living a marginalised life. *International Journal of Social Welfare*, 16(1), 32-40. doi:10.1111/j.1468-2397.2007.00475.x
- Khué, N. T. M. (2019). *Impacts of migration on agricultural development in Red River Delta, Vietnam*. (Doctoral dissertation), Université de Liège, Gembloux, Belgium.
- Kinyondo, A., Newmann, C., & Tarp, F. (2016). *The role and effectiveness of Special Economic Zones in Tanzania*. Retrieved from
- Korra, V. (2010). *Nature and Characteristics of Seasonal Labour Migration: a case study in Mahabubnagar district of Andhra Pradesh*. Retrieved from <http://opendocs.ids.ac.uk/opendocs/handle/123456789/3152#.VjXNjG6hHIU>
- Kuhn, R. (2003). Identities in motion: Social exchange networks and rural- urban migration in Bangladesh. *Contributions to Indian Sociology*, 37(1-2), 311-337. doi: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/006996670303700113>
- Kundu, A., & Sarangi, N. (2007). *Migration, Employment Status and Poverty: An Analysis across Urban Centres* (Vol. 42).
- Kusago, T., & Tzannatos, Z. (1998). *Export Processing Zones: A Review in Need of Update*: The World Bank.
- Lamonica, G. R., & Zagaglia, B. (2013). The determinants of internal mobility in Italy, 1995-2006: A comparison of Italians and resident foreigners. *Demographic Research*, 29, 407-440.
- Lapah, C. Y., & Tengeh, R. K. (2013). The migratory trajectories of the post 1994 generation of African immigrants to South Africa: An empirical study of street vendors in the Cape Town metropolitan area. *Mediterranean Journal of Social Sciences*, 4(4), 181.
- Le Mare, A., Promphaking, B., & Rigg, J. (2015). Returning Home: The Middle-Income Trap and Gendered Norms in Thailand. *Journal of International Development*, 27(2), 285-306. doi: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1002/jid.3064>



- Lê, N. H., & Hiền, N., Thị Hương. (2014). Current situation of employment, life of workers in industrial zones (Thực trạng việc làm, đời sống người lao động trong các khu công nghiệp). *Journal of Labour science and social affairs*, 12.
- Lee, E. S. (1966). A Theory of Migration. *Demography*, 3(1), 47-57.
- Lee, S. W. (2017). Circulating East to East: Understanding the Push–Pull Factors of Chinese Students Studying in Korea. *Journal of Studies in International Education*, 21(2), 170-190.
- Lindstrom, D. P., & Massey, D. S. (1994). Selective emigration, cohort quality, and models of immigrant assimilation. *Social Science Research*, 23(4), 315-349.
- Liu, J., Cheng, Y., Lau, J. T. F., Wu, A. M. S., Tse, V. W. S., & Zhou, S. (2015). The Majority of the Migrant Factory Workers of the Light Industry in Shenzhen, China May Be Physically Inactive. *PLoS ONE*, 10(8), e0131734. Retrieved from <http://dx.doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0131734>  
doi:10.1371/journal.pone.0131734
- Long, W., Appleton, S., & Song, L. (2017). *The impact of job contact networks on wages of rural–urban migrants in China: a switching regression approach* (Vol. 15).
- Lu, Y., & Qin, L. (2014). Healthy migrant and salmon bias hypotheses: A study of health and internal migration in China. *Social Science & Medicine*, 102, 41-48. doi:<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.socscimed.2013.11.040>
- Lucas, R. E. (2015). *Internal migration in developing economies: An overview*. Retrieved from
- Lundholm, E., Garvill, J., Malmberg, G., & Westin, K. (2004). Forced or free movers? The motives, voluntariness and selectivity of interregional migration in the Nordic countries. *Population, Space and Place*, 10(1), 59-72. doi:10.1002/psp.315
- Madani, D. (1999). *A review of the role and impact of export processing zones*: The World Bank.
- Majumder, R. (2012). *Workers on the move: migrated labour in post-reform india*. Retrieved from <http://mpra.ub.uni-muenchen.de/44765/>
- Malamud, O., & Wozniak, A. (2012). The Impact of College on Migration Evidence from the Vietnam Generation. *Journal of Human resources*, 47(4), 913-950.
- Marchetta, F. (2012). Return migration and the survival of entrepreneurial activities in Egypt. *World Development*, 40(10), 1999-2013.
- Massey, D., Arango, J., Hugo, G., Kouaouci, A., Pellegrino, A., & JE, J. T. (1998). *Worlds in motion: Understanding international migration at the end of the millennium*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Massey, D., Arango, J., Hugo, G., Kouaouci, A., Pellegrino, A., & Taylor, J. E. (1993). Theories of International Migration: A Review and Appraisal. *Population and Development Review*, 19(3), 431-466.
- Masud, A., Hoque, A., Hossain, M. S., & Hoque, M. R. (2013). Corporate social responsibility practices in garments sector of bangladesh, A study of

- multinational garments, CSR view in dhaka EPZ. *Developing Country Studies*, 3(5), 27-37.
- McCaig, B., & Pavcnik, N. (2013). *Moving out of agriculture: structural change in Vietnam*. Retrieved from
- McCallum, J. K. (2011). *Export processing zones: Comparative data from China, Honduras, Nicaragua and South Africa*. Retrieved from
- Milberg, W., & Amengual, M. (2008). *Economic development and working conditions in export processing zones: A survey of trends* Retrieved from Geneva:
- Miyagiwa, K. F. (1986). A reconsideration of the welfare economics of a free-trade zone. *Journal of International Economics*, 21(3-4), 337-350. doi:10.1016/0022-1996(86)90045-0
- MPI. (2015). *International Migrant Population by Country of Destination, 1960-2015*. Retrieved from <http://www.migrationpolicy.org/programs/data-hub/charts/international-migrants-country-destination-1960-2013?width=1000&height=850&iframe=true>
- Narciso, G. (2015). *Labour and migration in rural Vietnam*. Retrieved from
- Newbold, K. B. (2001). Counting Migrants and Migrations: Comparing Lifetime and Fixed-Interval Return and Onward Migration. *Economic Geography*, 77(1), 23-40.
- Newbold, K. B., & Bell, M. (2001). Return and onwards migration in Canada and Australia: Evidence from fixed interval data. *International Migration Review*, 35(4), 1157-1184.
- Ngai, P. (2004). Women workers and precarious employment in Shenzhen Special Economic Zone, China. *Gender & Development*, 12(2), 29-36. doi:10.1080/13552070412331332170
- Nghi, N. Q., Trinh, B. V., Châu, N. T. B., & Luân, N. T. (2012). Các nhân tố ảnh hưởng đến quyết định của công nhân khi lựa chọn khu công nghiệp Hòa Phú để làm việc. *Tạp chí Khoa học Trường Đại học Cần Thơ*, 24, 274-282.
- Ngo, T. T. (2009). Land loss for industrial zone and rural employment. *Sciences and Development*, 7- English N<sup>o</sup> 1.
- Ngo, T. T. (2010). *Migration Labor in Industrial Zone and Rural Labor Market. A Case Study in Que Vo Industrial Zone, Bac Ninh Province*. Paper presented at the Understanding Policy and Practice: Studies of Livelihoods in Transition, Hue City.
- Ngo, T. T., Lebailly, P., & Dien, N. T. (2015). *Migrants in industrial zones: Push and pull factors: A case study in industrial zones in Bac Ninh province, Vietnam*. Paper presented at the Migration, Gender and Rural Development.
- Ngo, T. T., Lebailly, P., & Dien, N. T. (2018). Migrant Workers for the Development of Industrial Zones in Bac Ninh Province, Vietnam *Asian Social Science*, Vol. 14, No. 12, Pp 115-123. doi:Doi: 10.5539/ass.v14n12p115



- Ngo, T. T., Lebailly, P., & Nguyen, T. D. (2019). Internal Return Migration in Rural of Vietnam: Reasons and Consequences. *Mediterranean Journal of Social Sciences*, 10(1). doi:10.2478/mjss-2019-0003
- Ngo, T. T., Ho, T. K., Chau, T. T., & Dai Ngo, L. H. (2016). The livelihood adaptation of Khmer immigrants in Binh Tan district, Ho Chi Minh City: a case study from Binh Tri Dong B and An Lac wards. *Science and Technology Development Journal*, 19(2), 89-104.
- Ngoc Khuong, M., & Yen, V. (2016). Investigate the Effects of Job Stress on Employee Job Performance — A Case Study at Dong Xuyen Industrial Zone, Vietnam. *International Journal of Trade, Economics and Finance*, 7, 31-37. doi:10.18178/ijtef.2016.7.2.495
- Nguyen, D. L., Grote, U., & Nguyen, T. T. (2017). Migration and rural household expenditures: A case study from Vietnam. *Economic Analysis and Policy*, 56, 163-175.
- Nguyen, L. D., Raabe, K., & Grote, U. (2015). Rural–Urban Migration, Household Vulnerability, and Welfare in Vietnam. *World Development*(0). doi:<http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.worlddev.2013.11.002>
- Nguyen, T. L. (2007). Household income and migration characteristics of children from rural areas (Thu nhập của hộ gia đình và đặc điểm của con cái từ nông thôn). *Sociology*(2), 66-75.
- Niedomysl, T., & Amcoff, J. (2011). Why return migrants return: survey evidence on motives for internal return migration in Sweden. *Population, Space and Place*, 17(5), 656-673. doi: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1002/psp.644>
- Niimi, Y., Pham, T. H., & Reilly, B. (2009). Determinants of Remittances: Recent Evidence Using Data on Internal Migrants in Vietnam\*. *Asian Economic Journal*, 23(1), 19-39. doi:10.1111/j.1467-8381.2009.02000.x
- Oxfam. (2015). *Rào cản pháp luật và thực tiễn đối với người lao động di cư trong tiếp cận an sinh xã hội*: NXB Hồng Đức.
- Passaris, C. (1989). Immigration and the Evolution of Economic Theory. *International Migration*, 27(4), 525-542. doi:10.1111/j.1468-2435.1989.tb00469.x
- Pekkala, S. (2003). Migration flows in Finland: Regional differences in migration determinants and migrant types. *International regional science review*, 26(4), 466-482.
- Petersen, W. (1958). A General Typology of Migration. *American Sociological Review*, 23(3), 256-266. doi:10.2307/2089239
- Phạm, V. H. (2016). Demand for social work services in the field of preschool child care in industrial zones in Vietnam (Nhu cầu dịch vụ công tác xã hội trong lĩnh vực chăm sóc trẻ mầm non tại các khu công nghiệp ở Việt Nam hiện nay). *Journal of Information of Social Sciences*, 400(4), 34-40.
- Phan, D. (2012). Migration and credit constraints: Theory and evidence from Vietnam. *Review of Development Economics*, 16(1), 31-44.

- Phan, D., & Coxhead, I. (2010). Inter-provincial migration and inequality during Vietnam's transition. *Journal of Development Economics*, 91(1), 100-112. doi:<http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.jdeveco.2009.06.008>
- Phong, L. D. (2007). Livelihood and employment of households whose agricultural land recovered for building Industrial Zones. Retrieved from [http://www.khucongngghiep.com.vn/news\\_detail.asp?ID=163&CID=163&IDN=994](http://www.khucongngghiep.com.vn/news_detail.asp?ID=163&CID=163&IDN=994)
- Phuong, N. H., & McPeak, J. (2010). Leaving or staying: Inter-provincial migration in Vietnam. *Asian and Pacific Migration Journal*, 19(4), 473-500.
- Piotrowski, M., & Tong, Y. (2010). Economic and Non-Economic Determinants of Return Migration: Evidence from Rural Thailand. [Les déterminants économiques et non économiques de la migration de retour en Thaïlande rurale]. *Population*, 65(2), 333-348. doi:<http://dx.doi.org/10.3917/popu.1002.0361>
- Puri, M., & Cleland, J. (2007). Assessing the factors associated with sexual harassment among young female migrant workers in Nepal. *Journal of interpersonal violence*, 22(11), 1363-1381.
- Ravenstein, E. G. (1885). The Laws of Migration. *Journal of the Statistical Society of London*, 48(2), 167-235. doi:10.2307/2979181
- Reniers, G. (1999). On the History and Selectivity of Turkish and Moroccan Migration to Belgium. *International Migration*, 37(4), 679-713. doi:10.1111/1468-2435.00090
- Resurreccion, B. P., & Van Khanh, H. T. (2007). Able to come and go: reproducing gender in female rural–urban migration in the Red River Delta. *Population, Space and Place*, 13(3), 211-224. doi: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1002/psp.434>
- Rondinelli, D. A. (1987). Export Processing Zones and Economic Development in Asia: A Review and Reassessment of a Means of Promoting Growth and Jobs. *American Journal of Economics and Sociology*, 46(1), 89-105. doi:<http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1536-7150.1987.tb01766.x>
- Sarma, V., Paul, S., & Wan, G. (2017). *Structural Transformation, Growth, and Inequality: Evidence from Viet Nam*. Retrieved from Tokyo: <https://www.adb.org/sites/default/files/publication/231546/adbi-wp681.pdf>
- Schizzerotto, A., & Lucchini, M. (2004). Transitions to adulthood. *Social Europe: Living Standards and Welfare States*, Edward Elgar, Cheltenham, UK, 46-68.
- Sen, A. (1999). *Development as freedom*. New York: Anchor Books.
- Sen, S., & Dasgupta, B. (2008). Labour under stress: Findings from a survey. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 65-72.
- Senarath, U., Wickramage, K., & Peiris, S. (2016). Health issues affecting female internal migrant workers: A systematic review. *Journal of the College of Community Physicians of Sri Lanka*, 21(1).

- Shakir, M. H., & Farole, T. (2011). The Thin End of the Wedge: Unlocking Comparative Advantage through EPZs in Bangladesh. *Special Economic Zones*, 25.
- Shaw, J. (2007). 'There is No Work in My Village' The Employment Decisions of Female Garment Workers in Sri Lanka's Export Processing Zones. *Journal of developing societies*, 23(1-2), 37-58.
- Shrestha, M. (2017). Push and pull: A study of international migration from Nepal: The World Bank.
- Skeldon, R. (1997). *Migration and development: A global perspective*. Essex: Longman.
- Skeldon, R. (2003). *Migration and migration policy in Asia: a synthesis of selected cases In: Migration, Development and Pro-Poor Policy Choices in Asia*. Retrieved from Dhaka, Bangladesh:
- Soni-Sinha, U. (2010). Gender, subjectivity and agency: a study of workers in Noida export processing zone, India. *Global Labour Journal*, 1(2), 265-294.
- Sridhar, K. S., Reddy, A. V., & Srinath, P. (2013). Is it push or pull? Recent Evidence from Migration into Bangalore, India. *Journal of International Migration and Integration*, 14(2), 287-306.
- Sun, Y. (1989). Export Processing Zones in China Buji: A Case Study. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 24(7), 355-365.
- Tegegne, A. D., & Penker, M. (2016). Determinants of rural out-migration in Ethiopia: Who stays and who goes? *Demographic Research*, 35, 1011-1044.
- Tejani, S. (2011). The Gender Dimension of Special Economic Zones. *Special Economic Zones*, 247.
- Thanh, N. T. (2016). *Migrant labor in industrial zones. Case study in industrial zones of Bac Ninh province, Vietnam*. Paper presented at the Demographic changes and Regional development, Malang Indonesia.
- Thu, P. M. T., & Xuan, L. M. (2014). *Chăm lo đời sống văn hóa, tinh thần của công nhân các KCN (Livings of migrant workers in Industrial zones)*. Retrieved from [http://www.khucongnghep.com.vn/nghiencuu/tabid/69/articleType/Article\\_View/articleId/1009/Chm-lo-i-sng-vn-ha-tinh-thn-ca-cng-nhn-cc-KCN.aspx](http://www.khucongnghep.com.vn/nghiencuu/tabid/69/articleType/Article_View/articleId/1009/Chm-lo-i-sng-vn-ha-tinh-thn-ca-cng-nhn-cc-KCN.aspx)
- Thuita, G., & Oiyee, Y. (2018). Compensation, working conditions and employee satisfaction in Kilifi export processing zones, Kenya. *International Journal of Economics, Business and Management Research*, 2(2).
- UN. (2010). *Di cư trong nước, cơ hội và thách thức đối với phát triển kinh tế xã hội ở Việt Nam*. Retrieved from [http://www.un.org.vn/images/stories/pub\\_trans/Migration\\_Main\\_Paper\\_VIE\\_FINAL.pdf](http://www.un.org.vn/images/stories/pub_trans/Migration_Main_Paper_VIE_FINAL.pdf) (September 9, 2016)
- UNCTAD. (1999). *Trade, sustainable development and gender*. Paper presented at the Pre-UNCTAD X Expert Workshop on Trade, Sustainable Development and Gender, News York and Geneva. [http://unctad.org/en/docs/poedm\\_m78.en.pdf](http://unctad.org/en/docs/poedm_m78.en.pdf)

- Vakulabharanam, V., & Thakurata, S. G. (2014). Why Do Migrants Do Better Than Non-Migrants At Destination? Migration, Class And Inequality Dynamics In India. *The Singapore Economic Review*, 59(01), 1450003.
- van Houte, M., & Davids, T. (2008). Development and Return Migration: from policy panacea to migrant perspective sustainability. *Third World Quarterly*, 29(7), 1411-1429. doi: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/01436590802386658>
- Vargas-Lundius, R., Lanly, G., Villarreal, M., & Osorio, M. (2008). International migration, remittances and rural development.
- Vinh, N. V. (2012). Đổi mới phương thức phát triển KCN (*Renovate on development of Industrial zone* ). Retrieved from <http://www.khucongnghiiep.com.vn/nghiencuu/tabid/69/articleType/ArticleView/articleId/588/i-mi-phng-thc-pht-trin-KCN.aspx>
- Wahba, J., & Zenou, Y. (2012). Out of sight, out of mind: Migration, entrepreneurship and social capital. *Regional Science and Urban Economics*, 42(5), 890-903.
- Wang, S. X., & Yu Benjamin, F. U. (2019). Labor mobility barriers and rural-urban migration in transitional China. *China Economic Review*, 53, 211-224. doi:<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.chieco.2018.09.006>
- Wang, W. W., & Fan, C. C. (2006). Success or failure: selectivity and reasons of return migration in Sichuan and Anhui, China. *Environment and Planning A*, 38(5), 939-958.
- WB, & VASS. (2016). *Vietnam's Household Registration System*. Retrieved from
- Xu, D.-d., Zhang, J.-f., Xie, F.-t., Liu, S.-q., Cao, M.-t., & Liu, E.-l. (2015). Influential factors in employment location selection based on “push-pull” migration theory—a case study in Three Gorges Reservoir area in China. *Journal of Mountain Science*, 12(6), 1562-1581. doi:10.1007/s11629-014-3371-z
- Yamane, T. (1967). *Statistics: An Introductory Analysis* (2nd Edition ed.). New York: Harper and Row.
- In: Mora, R.-J., & Kloet, B. (2010). Digital forensic sampling. Sans Institute Publication.
- Zhang, H. (2010). The Hukou system's constraints on migrant workers' job mobility in Chinese cities. *China Economic Review*, 21(1), 51-64. doi:<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.chieco.2009.10.002>
- Zhao, M., & Farole, T. (2011). Partnership Arrangements in the China-Singapore (Suzhou) Industrial Park: Lessons for Joint Economic Zone Development. *Special Economic Zones*, 101.
- Zhao, Y. (2002). Causes and Consequences of Return Migration: Recent Evidence from China. *Journal of Comparative Economics*, 30(2), 376-394. doi:<https://doi.org/10.1006/jcec.2002.1781>
- Zohir, S. C. (2001). Social impact of the growth of garment industry in Bangladesh. *Bangladesh Development Studies*, 27(4), 41-80.

# Annex

Annex 1: Questionnaire for surveying migrant workers in the industrial zones of Bac Ninh

Code. .
---------

## QUESTIONNAIRES

On.... Months..... Years 20...

The interview..... Years: ..... Gender: (1) Nam; (2)

Female

Level: of education: .....

Areas of origin: A. Bac Ninh B. Outside of Bac Ninh (Specify province)

.....

Area:

A (1). Urban City B (2). District town C (3). Rural

You are currently working for the company: .....

Moves: : (1) first moved(2) Secondary moved

### I. INFORMATION on MIGRANT workers

1.1. Going away from home since (for the first time): .....

#### 1.2. Deciding to make a meal away:

A. By the worker himself deciding B. By family (parents/spouse) Decisions

In case a family (parent/spouse) does not agree to make a long-distance meal, do you decide to work or not? A. Yes B. No

1.3. Occupation before the First migration

Students	
Home (No jobs)	<p>Are you participating in family income generation activities?</p> <p>Yes no</p> <p>If yes, what activity:</p> <p>A. Agriculture time: ..... Years</p> <p>B. Non-farm time : ..... Years</p> <p>Why not continue to work:</p>

	..... .....
Already had nonfarm employment	What (Specify): .. ..... Salary: ..... Why not continue to work: ..... .....

**1.4. Vocational training**

Until now, do you attend any vocational training? Yes/no

If **There are**:

TT	Craft	Training time (months)	Before/ after migration	Notes
1				
2				

**1.5. Marital status**

At the present time	(1) married	Where is the spouse currently working? (1) in areas of origin (2) the same industrial Zone (3) Other industrial zones
	(2) Not married	
	(3) Divorce	
At the time of pre-migration (first time)	(1) with the DIRECTOR (2) No MANAGER (3) Divorce	

**II. PUSH FACTORS**

**2.1. The economic situation of the household (before migrating)**

**2.1.1. Number of Hhs members.....**

➤ Number of labors: .....

TT	Relationship with the interviewee	Years	Sex	Career	Work locations (1) in the areas of origin (2) not in the areas of origin
1					
2					
3					
4					
5					

➤ Number of dependent members: .....

TT	Relationship with the interviewee	Years	Dependent causes	Footnote
1				
2				
3				
4				

**2.1.2. Economic status of the household (compared to other households in the hamlet)**

Before migration	After migration (present)
A. Well-off b. Average C. Poor	A. Well-off b. Average C. Poor

**2.1.3. Main source of income of the family**

Prior to migration		After migration (present)	
Income Generating Activities	Sort by relative importance level (1 is the most important)	Income Generating Activities	Sort by relative importance level (1 is the most important)
Cultivation:			
-Rice			
-Color			
.....			
Livestock			
-Pigs			
-Cow Buffalo			
.....			
Non-farm (specify)			
-			
-			

**2.1.4 Scale of production**

Income Generating Activities	Quantity (pre-migration)	Quantity (after migration)
1. Cultivation:		
1.1. Rice (m2)		
1.2. Cash crop (m2)		
.....		
2. Livestock Breeding		
2.1. Pigs		
2.2. Cow Buffalo		
.....		
3. Non-agrarian (specify)		
-		
-		
-		

Explain the changes

1. ....
2. ....
3. ....

**2.1.5. Labor allocation (any activity? How many people do?)**

TT	Relations with immigrants	Prior to migration			After migration		
		Cultivation activities	Livestock Activities	Non-farm activities	Cultivation activities	Livestock Activities	Non-farm activities
1	Dad/Mom						
2	Spouse						
3	Older Bro/sis						
4	Younger Bro/sis						
5	Hired labors						

**2.2. Job opportunities before migration**

**2.2.1. Before migration, do you have industrial parks (or factories that can provide employment) in the locality? Yes/no**



If **There are:**

- Do you try to find jobs in the industrial zone (or factories that can provide jobs)? Yes/no
- Why do not you work in the industrial zone (or factories can provide jobs)?

.....  
 .....  
 .....

**2.2.2. Before migration, do you seek employment OUTSIDE of industrial parks (or factories that can provide employment)?** Yes/no

Explanation

.....  
 .....

**2.2.3. Do you attend local vocational training classes?** Yes/no

If **not?** Why?

.....  
 .....  
 .....

**2.2.3. How do you evaluate the job search for an employment in the areas of origin)?**

- (1) Easy
- (2) Hard

Explanation?

.....  
 .....  
 .....

**2.3. Social factors**

**2.3.1. What is the desire of employment before migration?**

- (1) Agriculture
- (2) Non-agrarian (specify: .....)

Explanation:

.....  
 .....

**2.3.2. Purpose of going to work away (for the first time)**

Purpose	Rank by relative importance Order <sup>6</sup>
1. Make money to feed yourself	
2. Make extra money for your family	

---

<sup>6</sup> Most importantly the number 1. **NOTE: comparison can be used Folder Double to define the order of importance**

3. Earn an amount of money to start business in areas of origin	
4. Escape from agriculture production	
5. Accumulate experience for yourself	
6. Others (Specify)	
1. ....	
2. ....	

**2.3.3. Do you want to study further before your migration? Yes/no**

If **Yes**: Are you done? Yes/no

    If **NOT** done, why?

        (1) Insufficient capacity (2) family with no economic conditions

If **not**: Why do you not want to learn next?

        (1) Insufficient capacity              (2) family with no economic conditions

Does continuing/not continue to study affect your migration decision? Why?

.....  
 .....  
 .....

**2.3.4. Before migration, do your friends have a job?**

        (1) Almost Yes (2) Almost No

Do your friends have a job with/or without work affecting your immigration decision? Yes/No. Why?

.....  
 .....  
 .....

**2.3.5. Do you contradict a family member before migrating? Yes/no**

If **Yes**, does that conflict affect your migration decision? Yes/no

**2.3.6. Do you contradict your boyfriend/girlfriend before you migrate? Yes/no**

If **Yes**, does that conflict affect your immigration decision? Yes/no

**2.3.7. Before migration, does your family Agree/support? Yes/no**

Explanation

.....  
 .....  
 .....

If **not**, how to convince?

.....  
 .....

.....

### III. PULL FACTORS

#### 3.1. Before going to work at IPS (or to do at the current company), did you work for the unit/company?

(1). went to work (2). Yet to work

If (1) went to work, how many companies (transfer the company how many times):

.....

**If (2) have not worked, switch sentence: 3. 2**

#### 3.2. After arriving at the IZ (or arriving at the current company)

##### 3.2. 1. How do you participate in recruitment?

- (1) interviewing in the areas of origin  
(2) interviewing at the company's headquarters

##### 3.2. 2. Your assessment of the employment application process?

- (1) simple (2) complex

Explanation: .....

.....

##### 3.2.3. What is your assessment of recruitment requirements?

- (1) Extremely difficult (2) Difficult (3) Easy (4) Extremely easy

Explanation:

.....

.....

##### 3.2. 4. Current Job

Items	UNIT	The number of	News Source <sup>7</sup>
Information about employment			
Work spell (*)	Month		
Do what (*)			
Where (*)			

---

<sup>7</sup> Ask for information before transferring a job (for each item). If answering NO, write NO to Source. If yes, asks who?

(1): Family/relatives; (2) Acquaintance; 3 Fly Ad (4) Media information; (5) Floor Job Transactions; (6) Other: Specify

Probation wage		VND/month		
Probation period		month		
Earnings (Salary/overtime/Bonus)		VND/month		
Salary increase period		Year/Time		
Working hour		Hours a day		
Overtime hour per day		Hours aday		
Overtime payment		VND/hr		
Overtime days per month		Days/months		
Frequency of overtime per year		Times/year		
Remittance (*)		Country		
Remittance Frequency (*)		Times/year		
Contract (*)		Yes/No		
Contract period		month		
Vacation time		Days a year		
Number of times vacation		Times/year		
Events (8/3; 20/10. ...)		Times/year		
Training		Times		
Insurance	Enterprise	%		
	Laborer	%		

**3.2. 5. How much money do you save per month?..... VND.**

**3.2. 6. How do you evaluate the role of a deposit on family?**

- (1) Very important (2) Important (3) No matter

Explanation:

.....  
 .....  
 .....

**3.2. 7. What are the Pressures of working in the industrial zone?**

- (2) Unpressured  
 (3) Yield pressure  
 (4) Pressure in social relationships at work

(5) Other pressure (specify).....

3.2. 8. Do you *have a* Labor *accident DURING your work in the IZ?* Yes/no  
 If **Yes**, how many times? .....

TT	Description	Rate rating: 1. Seriously 2. Not Serious	Reasons for workers ' accident 1. Personal careless/Wrong operation procedure 2. No protective equipment
1st time			
2nd time			
3rd time			
4th time			

3.2. 9. *In the process of working in the industrial zone you have received any indecent offer?* Yes/no

If **Yes**, who? (1) Colleagues (2) Superior

Suggested frequency: 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

3.2. 10. Why *Choose AN Existing Industrial zone (why not work differently or not work close to home or not farming?)* – Arrange the reason in the order of importance **1, 2, 3...**

.....  
 .....

3.2. 11. *Assessment of employment at the current industrial zone/company*

- *Current income vs. income at the place of residence (hometown)*

Lower										Unchanged			Higher than							
10	9	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

- *Working environment versus work environment in the country of residence*

Inferior										Unchanged			Better than							
10	9	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

Explanation

.....  
 .....

• *Incentive mode*

0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	----

Explanation

.....

.....

.....

**3.3. The life of industrial park workers**

**3.3. 1. Spending**

TT	Expenses	UNIT	Amount of money	Notes
1	House money	VND		
2	Electricity and Water	VND		
3	Your phone	VND		
4	Food	VND		
5	Other genera (specify)		VND	
			VND	
			VND	

**3.3. 2. Entertaining**

TT	Entertainment type	Frequency <i>1. Daily; 2. Weekly 3. Monthly</i>	Quality assessment <i>1. High; 2. Average 3. Low</i>
1	Watch movies		
2	Read newspaper		
3	Listen to Music		
4	Facebook or Chat		
5	Karaoke		
6	Face to face Chatting		
7	Reading Stories (Internet)		
8	Others (Specify)		
	.....		
	.....		

**3.3. 3. Health Care**

-Where are your periodic health check-ups?

(1) by company (2) Hospitals (3) Clinics (4) Private premises

-When you have common diseases, how do you handle it?

(1) Self-healing (buy oral medicine) (2) go to Doctor

-In the event of a common illness, who cares?

(1) self-care (2) call friends (3) call relatives

**3.3. 5. Security**

-Have you ever lost personal items? Yes/No

If **Yes**, times: ... ..

How do you handle it? (1) Passing it (2) Reporting to local authorities.

Explanation

.....

-Do you ever get too outrageous? Yes/No

If **Yes**, several times: ... ..

How do you handle It every time you get ironically?

.....

**3.3. 6 How do you evaluate your life in the industrial zone versus the areas of origin (hometown)**

Inferior									Unchanged			Better than								
10	9	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

Explanation:

.....

**IV. Intended**

A (1). Stay on work permanently with the company

B (2). Only do a certain time (Specify how long:... .. Months)

Explanation: (If select b specifies what to do? And why that is intended)

.....

Interviewer

Annex 2: Questionnaire for surveying returnees in Van Thang commune

**QUESTIONNAIRES**  
*(Migrant workers return to van Thang commune)*  
 Hamlet....., day... Months... Year 2016

Interviewee: ..... Year of birth ..... Gender: (1) male; (2) Female

Education level: ..... Vocational training: No/Yes  
 (specifically what profession .....)

**I. GENERAL INFORMATION**

1.1. Year of Migration: ..... 3.	1.2. Year of return: ..... 4.	1.3. Number of back and forth: ..... 5.	1.4. Migration spell: .... year(s)
--	----------------------------------	---	---------------------------------------

1.5. Forms of migration:  
.....

**1.6. Family organization before migrating**

1.6.1. Shared Living (with parents)	1.6.2. Live separately
-------------------------------------	------------------------

**1.7. Marital status**

(1) Not married	(2) Married 6. 2.1. Prior to Migration 7. 2.2. while migrating 8. 2.3. between waves of migrations 9. 2.2. after return	(3) Divorced
-----------------	---	--------------

1.8. When did you meet your spouse? (1) before returning (2) During migration  
 (3) After returning

1.8.1. Destination ... ..
1.8.2. Did you know someone who currently working in destinations before leaving the village? (1) Relatives/friends (2) No one

1.9. Spouse's Hometown: (1) Same province (2) same district (3) same commune (4) other provinces



1.8.3. If (1)– if your relatives/friends were not available, were you willing to go? Yes/no

why.....

.....

.....

1.10. Numbers of children....., of those, During migration ..... After returning .....

## II. LIFE AND EMPLOYMENT IN DESTINATIONS (the latest moment, just before returning)

### 2.1. Life

2.1.1. Living in destination: (1) sharing with relatives (2) sharing with friends (3) sharing with workmates (4) not sharing with somebody else

2.1.2. Support of relatives/friends with a country:

(1) Does not support (3) Job Search

(4) Other

(2) Accommodation support (Specify).....

2.1.3. Living conditions in the destinations compared to at home villages before emigration:

Worse than									Unchanged			Better than								
10	9	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

Explanation

.....

Social environment in the destinations compared to at home villages before emigration:

Inferior									Unchanged			Better than								
10	9	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

Explanation

.....

Living difficulties in the destination (Rank as the most important )

Difficulties:	Explanation
1. .... .....	1. .... .....
2. .... .....	2. .... .....
3. .... .....	3. .... .....

2.2. Job

2.2.1. Number of changes: .....

TT	Employment (what work?)	Time (months)	Locations (1) <i>inside</i> <i>IZs</i> (2) <i>outside</i> <i>IZs</i>	Earnings/Month	Working hours per day	Notes
1						
2						
3						
4						

2.2.2. Saving amount/01 Month how much: ..... VND  
(counted within 6 months before returning home).

2.2.3. Have you sent money to the family? Yes/No if yes,

2.2.4. When to send money back (1) Upon request from home (workhouse)  
10. (2) periodically (the specific months /times:  
.....)

2.2.5. How much have you sent each time? .....  
VND

2.2.6. Job satisfaction (final employment) before returning:

2.2.6.1. About earnings	(1) Satisfaction (2) dissatisfaction	Explanation:
2.2.6.2. Regarding the working environment	(1) Satisfaction (2) dissatisfaction	Explanation:

III. THE EMPLOYMENT AFTER RETURN

	Early stage of return	Present
--	-----------------------	---------

3.1. Occupation		
3.1.1. Wife's		
3.1.2. Of her husband		

3.2. When returning, how much agricultural land have you received from family: ..... (m2)

3.3. Total agricultural land (current)?..... (m2), Where:

3.3.1. leasing ..... (m2)

3.3.2. renting ..... (m2), namely:

If Renting from whom?	(1) Relatives	(2) Villagers
Area (m2)		

3.4. Income generating activities

	Early stage of return	Present
3.4.1. Cultivation		
- Rice (m2)		
- Cash crop (m2)		
3.4.2. Livestock		
- Pig		
- Poultry		
- Buffalo/cattle		
- Aquatic Products		
3.4.3. Non-agricultural		
-		
-		
-		

3.5. Difficulties for income generation activities **when returning home** (ask carefully why It is difficult, How to overcome and write down)

When new about	Present
.....	.....
.....	.....
.....	.....
.....	.....

..... .....	..... .....
----------------	----------------

**IV. THE RETURN**

4.1. Year of return (when did you return?)	
4.2. The reasons for returning	
1. Income in destination was insufficient for living	
2. Better nonfarm employment opportunity in the areas of origin	
3. The working environment in destination was not good	
4. Living environment was inappropriate	
5. Children needed more care	
6. Getting married	
7. The parent's health got worse	
8. Other (Specify): .....	

4.3. Employment intention when returning the areas of origin:

- (1) No intention            (2) Agriculture            (3) Non-agriculture (specify what to do. ....)

**If (2) or (3): explain**

.....  
 .....  
 .....LI

**FE BEFORE EMIGRATION (going to work away)**

4.4. Number of HHs member: .....

4.5. Number of labors: .....

4.6. The main source of income:  
 .....

4.7. Economic status of households: (1) Well-off            (2) Average            (3) Poor

4.8. Agricultural Land area: ..... (m2)

4.9. Occupation prior to migration:

Students	
----------	--

Home (No jobs)	Have you participated in household income generation activities? Yes                    no If yes, what activity: A. Agriculture time: ..... years B. Non-farm time        : ..... year Why you have not kept working on those activities: ..... ..... ..... ..... .....
Had a work	What (Specify): .. ..... Salary: ..... Why you have not kept working on that work? ..... ..... ..... ..... .....

4.10. Marital status before a business trip away:

- (1) have been married    (2) Not married (yes/ no boyfriend/girl)
- (3) Divorce

4.11. The purpose of going to work away

- 1.     Make money to feed yourself
- 2.     Make extra money for your family
- 3.     Accumulate an amount of money to start up in the areas of origin
- 4.     Exit agricultural production
- 5.     Accumulate the experience for yourself
- 6.     Other  
 (Specify).....

11.

**The interviewer:** .....