



local
ADMINISTRATION

IN
VIETNAM

THE
NUMBER
OF
LOCAL
UNITS

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
AGENCY FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20523

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Preface to the Vietnam Studies Publications

In 1955 Michigan State University began a program of technical assistance to the Government of South Vietnam, supported by a contract with the predecessor agency of the United States Agency for International Development. Through this program Michigan State University provided technical advisors in the broad field of public administration, including police administration. In recent years, most of this advisory service has been devoted to strengthening the teaching, in-service training, and research programs of the National Institute of Administration, an agency in Saigon created by the Vietnamese Government to strengthen the public service generally.

Members of the Michigan State University group have included specialists in the field of public administration, police administration, economics, anthropology, psychology, sociology and other special fields. In the course of over seven years of technical cooperation in Vietnam, members of the Michigan State University group have contributed a large number of surveys and studies of various types, training documents, and reports containing recommendations on various administrative problems.

This document is one of many prepared in Vietnam as a part of the work of the Michigan State University group. It was written for a specific purpose and under particular circumstances and should be read with these qualifications in mind. It is being reproduced and made available at this time for the use of the Agency for International Development, and is not intended for general circulation. We suggest that this study be used with the understanding that additional materials are available from the earlier MSUG studies which appeared in mimeographed form, and that it fits into the broad context of a technical assistance program as part of the U. S. foreign aid program in Vietnam.

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Foreword

This study describes the number and types of general administrative units that existed in South Vietnam as of October 1959. Its original purpose was to provide some of the macrodata needed for a comprehensive review and evaluation of local administration throughout the entire nation. At that time, insofar as the writer could determine, information of this type was not readily available.

It is obvious now that the study is out of date in the sense that it contains no information about the various new types of local units, such as the strategic hamlets, that have been established during the past two years. When the data for this study were being collected, the "agrovilles" were barely over the horizon and presumably were not going to grow rapidly and the more recent innovations were not even in sight.

Regardless of the many recent changes in the patterns of local administration, this study still provides a useful basis for grasping some insights into the nature of government in Vietnam. It describes the basic organizational characteristics of the entire array of field and local administrative units, the populations and the regional locations that existed in late 1959. It should also provide a valuable base line from

which to measure the impact of the current programs to reorganize local administration.

Almost all of the census information for this study was obtained directly from the files of the national census bureau, the National Institute of Statistics, located in Saigon. The Institute had collected the information from responsible local administrators with the use of standardized questionnaires. Although one might justifiably doubt the complete accuracy of the population reports, nevertheless it is fair to assume that they are reasonably close to the actual, given the elaborate and extensive hierarchy connecting each individual through his family, neighborhood, and hamlet to the village council.

One of the most difficult problems faced by the writer during the preparation of this study was developing reasonable translations of the many titles given to local units, especially to villages, hamlets, and hamlet subgroups. Greatly aiding him in this respect was his good colleague, Professor Truong Ngoc Giau who carefully reviewed the translations.

Most of the initial compilations and translations were prepared by Mr. Nguyen Ngoc Yen of the Michigan Group. Other members, especially Professor Jason Finkle, gave the writer various suggestions about both form and content. The writer, of course, assumes full responsibility for the text.

LLOYD W. WOODRUFF
St. Paul, Minnesota
September, 1962

1 | *The Scope of This Survey*

This survey covers all units of general administration below the level of the Central Government. These units include the provinces, municipalities, districts, cantons, villages and hamlets. Their total number is shown in Figure 1. Regional and population analyses represent the hard core of this survey but it also includes limited explanatory data about organizational and administrative characteristics. However, the latter have only limited value since they are largely generalizations based on impressions rather than on extensive analyses of empirical data.

In contrast to what might be expected, this survey provides no information about the legal bases of local administration. The writer would have liked to have included a complete legal index, but the task would have been too great. There is a need not only for compiling the existing legal documents—the decrees, ordinances, memoranda—but also for rebuilding the entire legal basis of local administration. Few Vietnamese have any comprehension at all of the laws and regulations that control local administration.

FIGURE 1
THE UNITS OF LOCAL ADMINISTRATION IN VIETNAM

Provinces	38
Municipalities	4
Districts	209
Cantons	310
Villages	2,579
Hamlets	16,398*
Vietnam	19,538

SOURCE: Records of the National Institute of Statistics, Republic of Vietnam, October 1959.

*This is fairly accurate but until a more satisfactory classification of subvillage units is prepared, it must be assumed as subject to some error. Apart from the classification problem, error comes from the practice of some villages reporting only a number equal to that for which they receive hamlet chiefs' allowances from the province. Thus, My Thuan Village in Vinh Long Province reports 3 hamlets but in practice it has 11 hamlets. The 11 hamlet chiefs share the provincial grant allotted for only 3 hamlets.

This survey would have been greatly enriched if it could have included information about the area of each local unit for there is considerable variation between units. In some cases a hamlet consists of little more than a few acres while in other instances it contains hundreds if not thousands. Likewise all higher units vary greatly. However, the writer was advised that the data on file probably were not even reasonably accurate. Some appreciation of probable patterns of areal measurements for provinces can be gained from the following estimates found in a major socio-economic study prepared for the Bank of Vietnam:¹

SOME ILLUSTRATIONS OF VARIATIONS IN AREAS OF PROVINCES

REGION PROVINCE	SQUARE AREA SQUARE AREA	SQUARE MILES SQUARE MILES
<i>South Vietnam: West</i>		
An Xuyen Province	5,184	1,993
Vinh Long Province	1,805	694
<i>South Vietnam: East</i>		
Tay Ninh Province	4,450	1,711
Gia Dinh Province	850	250
<i>Central Lowlands</i>		
Thuan Thien Province	4,700	1,807
Phu Yen Province	3,700	1,422
<i>Highlands</i>		
Darlac Province	21,400	8,226
Pleiku Province	9,300	3,574

To appreciate the sizes of these provinces one might compare them with American state and county governments. The smallest state, Rhode Island, has about 1,200 square miles and Massachusetts with 8,257 square miles exceeds the largest of the provinces. It is not uncommon, of course, for American counties to have well over 700 square miles, the approximate area of Vinh Long Province and almost three times that of Gia Dinh.

1. SOURCE: Mission Economie et Humanisme, *Etude sur Les Conditions de Vie et Les Besoins de la Population du Vietnam*, Banque Nationale du Vietnam, Republique du Vietnam, Septembre, 1959, Tableau I, p. 63.

2 | *Provinces and Municipalities*

The 38 provinces and 4 municipalities cover Vietnam and represent the first level in the hierarchy of local units. In principle, the municipalities are entirely independent of the provinces; unlike the other local administrative units they enjoy direct contact with both the Central Government and the people. The municipalities, therefore, have a special status in the pattern of central-local administrative relationships.

Although the provinces contain almost 90 percent of the nation's population, it cannot be said that this represents the proportion having rural characteristics. There are many urban centers scattered throughout the provinces. Formerly some enjoyed the legal status of municipalities but they were reduced to village status in 1957 as a means of integrating with provincial administration. The most interesting part of the provincial-municipal population breakdowns shown in Figure 2 is the predominant position of Saigon among the four municipalities. With almost 85 percent of the municipal population it dwarfs the other 3.

THE PROVINCES

Although the major pattern of provinces has become stabilized, changes are still being made. The most recent change was the addition of new

FIGURE 2
PROVINCIAL AND MUNICIPAL POPULATION IN VIETNAM

PROVINCES	POPULATION		TOTAL POPULATION	
Highlands	539,105	4.4%		
South Vietnam: East	1,888,782	15.5		
Central Lowlands	4,114,172	33.7		
South Vietnam: West	5,677,916	46.5		
		100.1%	12,219,975	88.0%
MUNICIPALITIES:				
Highlands: Dalat	49,478	3.0%		
South Vietnam-East: Saigon	1,400,000*	84.2		
Central Lowlands:				
Hue	102,819	6.1		
Danang	110,306	6.6	1,662,603	12.0%
		99.9%	13,882,578	100.0%

*Estimated.

SOURCE: Records of the National Institute of Statistics, Republic of Vietnam, October 1959.

provinces in the southern part of the Highlands and in the South Vietnam-East region: Quang Duc, Lam Dong, Tuyen Duc and Phuoc Thanh. In addition, boundaries of four Central Lowlands provinces—Khanh Hoa to Quang Ngai inclusive—have been moved farther west into the mountainous regions. The major reorganization movement occurred in 1956 and 1957; many changes were made particularly in the provinces located in South Vietnam-West and South Vietnam-East, the area formerly known as Cochin China. In a few cases, provinces were completely eliminated by being divided and placed in existing or newly established provinces. In almost all cases new names were given to the southern provinces.¹

Organization and administration.

Every provincial unit is headed by a Chief of Province appointed by the President of the Republic. Usually a career civil servant or a field-grade officer,² the province chief serves for an indefinite term. Apart from his privileged position as a Presidential appointee, the province chief holds a position of significant influence in provincial affairs through the exercise of budgetary and fiscal—as well as general administrative—powers, modified, of course, by the interest of the Central Governmental technical services, such as education, health and public works, in their own provincial offices. In case of a conflict between a province chief and a technical service, observers believe that as a rule the province chief wins out since he is held responsible by the president for the most crucial local

¹Details of the reorganization movement of 1956-57 which also included the municipalities are reported in the following study: David C. Cole and Uong Ngoc Thach, *Financial Activities of the Provinces, Prefecture and Municipalities of Vietnam in 1956*, (mimeo.) Michigan State University Vietnam Advisory Group, Saigon, 1957, pp. 1-4.

²As of September 15, 1960, 21 of the 35 province chiefs held military ranks. "Provinces of Vietnam," USOM Public Administration Division, (mimeo.), p. 15.

service—political development—and therefore must be allowed to exercise considerable judgment over all other programs.

The influence of the province chief also pervades the local units. He exercises broad authority over the selection and removal of personnel in districts, cantons, and villages; he formulates local budgetary and fiscal policies including the transfer of funds from one village to another as well as from villages to districts and even to the province. He is, in fact, the chief executive for all administrative affairs in the province.

Regional distribution.

The largest concentration of provinces is in South Vietnam-West, the southern delta region.³ It contains 13, or 34 percent, of the 38 provinces (and close to 50 percent of the provincial population). Second in rank, with 10 provinces is South Vietnam-East, which is the foothill and rolling land region between the lowlands of the Delta and the Highlands. Third is the Central Lowlands with nine provinces. The Highlands, with its problems of communication but not of large populations, contains only six provinces.

Population characteristics.

The most outstanding feature of provincial population characteristics is the great variation in size. Quang Duc Province, 1 of the 3 recently created in the southern end of the Highlands, is a midget alongside Quang Nam Province in the Central Lowlands; for with its population of 27,000, Quang Duc is about one thirty-fifth the size of Quang Nam.⁴ Similarly, even within each of the four regions there is little uniformity in size. The least difference is found in the Highlands where the ratio is 1 to 7. In South Vietnam-East, which contains the suburban province of Gia Dinh, the ratio increases almost three times so that the least populous province has only one-twentieth of the population of the largest.

What is the population of a typical province? Given the great range in provincial populations and the small number of provinces, it is not wise to generalize about this characteristic—any single statistical computation would be misleading. As shown in Figure 4, which presents a statistical summary by region as well as for all provinces, there is

³The four regions, whose boundaries are shown in the map, were established by the Central Government for limited administrative purposes, largely inspection and coordination of provincial activities by the Department of Interior and the Presidency. Other departments may establish their own plan of regional organizations; they need not follow this pattern.

⁴Con Son Province with by far the smallest population of 620 residents plus the prisoners is excluded from this comparison and from all of the following analyses. As an offshore prison island its situation is unique.

considerable difference between the arithmetic mean and the median. The mean population of 330,000 far exceeds the median of 272,000, which in itself points up the difficulty of talking about a "typical" province.

FIGURE 3
PROVINCE: REGION AND POPULATION

REGION + PROVINCES	POPULATION	
I. Highlands:		
1. Quang Duc	27,000	
2. Lam Dong	55,025	
3. Tuyen Duc	56,107	
		(median)
4. Kontum	76,161	
5. Darlac	141,745	
6. Pleiku	183,067	
Total:	539,105	
II. South Vietnam-East		
1. Binh Tuy	34,083	
2. Phuoc Long	39,668	
3. Binh Long	64,931	
4. Phuoc Thanh	65,357	
5. Long Khanh	73,973	
		(median)
6. Phuoc Tuy	132,202	
7. Bien Hoa	265,948	
8. Tay Ninh	275,000	
9. Binh Duong	293,743	
10. Gia Dinh	643,877	
Total:	1,888,782	
III. Central Lowlands		
1. Ninh Thuan	123,623	
2. Binh Thuan	246,320	
3. Quang Tri	269,530	
4. Khanh Hoa	271,944	
5. Phu Yen	341,345	
6. Thua Thien	429,937	
7. Quang Ngai	685,663	
8. Binh Dinh	806,049	
9. Quang Nam	939,761	
Total:	4,114,172	
IV. South Vietnam-West		
1. Con Son	620*	
2. Kien Tuong	54,333	
3. Kien Phong	270,386	
4. An Xuyen	276,650	
5. Kien Giang	434,910	
6. Phong Dinh	467,777	
7. Long An	482,794	
		(median)
8. Vinh Binh	524,861	
9. Vinh Long	532,705	
10. Kien Hoa	540,652	
11. Ba Xuyen	638,254	
12. Dinh Tuong	652,497	
13. An Giang	801,477	
Total:	5,677,916	
Vietnam Provinces		12,219,974†

*Con Son is an offshore island used primarily as a penal institution. It will not be included in the other figures.

†The total does not include military personnel, overseas Vietnamese, and prisoners.

Source: Records of the National Institute of Statistics, Republic of Vietnam, October 1959.

FIGURE 4
PROVINCE: POPULATION CHARACTERISTICS

REGION	NUMBER OF PROVINCES	MEAN	POPULATION MEDIAN	RANGE
Highlands	6	89,851	66,134	27,000 - 183,067
South Vietnam-East	10	188,878	103,088	34,083 - 643,877
Central Lowlands	9	457,130	341,345	123,623 - 939,761
South Vietnam-West	12*	473,108	503,828	54,333 - 801,477
Vietnam	37	330,253	271,944	27,000 - 939,761

*The prison island province of Con Son was excluded.

SOURCE: Records of the National Institute of Statistics, Republic of Vietnam, October 1959.

A classification of the 37 provinces by population ranges of 100,000 shows the following distribution:

POPULATION	NUMBER OF PROVINCES
Less than 100,000	10
100,000 - 199,999	4
200,000 - 299,999	8
300,000 - 399,999	1
400,000 - 499,999	4
500,000 - 599,999	3
600,000 - 699,999	4
700,000 - 799,999	0
800,000 - 899,999	2
900,000 - 999,999	1
Total	37

This points up the large proportion of provinces having extremely small populations. Ten of the 37, or almost 30 percent, have populations under 100,000; and 22 have less than 300,000 population.

It is even more hazardous, of course, to make comparisons of typical provinces by region. It is evident that the most populous provinces are concentrated in 2 of the 4 regions—South Vietnam-West and the Central Lowlands. The one exception is Gia-Dinh province which surrounds Saigon and borders on the South Vietnam-West region. The pattern of means, medians, and ranges also depicts the low populations of the Highlands provinces.

THE MUNICIPALITIES

In the legal sense the municipalities are distinguished from the villages by a separate system of regulations based largely on two ordinances pre-dating the Republic. In addition, the Prefecture of Saigon, which is treated as a municipality in this survey, has its own special legal status. As will be noted, there are several administrative characteristics that distinguish municipalities from the villages.

The status of municipal administration in Vietnam has been downgraded in recent years by both statutory and administrative actions.

Prior to 1956 there were 11 municipalities in addition to the Prefecture of Saigon. As part of a general reorganization of provincial and local administration, 8 of the 11 were reduced to the status of villages. These legal actions placed the municipalities directly under the control of the province chiefs, whereas before 1956 they enjoyed considerable autonomy.

After the 1956-57 reorganization movement, the status of 2 of the 3 remaining municipalities was reduced by administrative action. Both Hue and Dalat are at present administered by province chiefs in an ex officio capacity; in fact, almost all municipal services in Hue are administered by provincial personnel. And it is likely that a similar pattern of provincial administration exists in Dalat whose mayor became the first province chief of the newly established province of Tuyen Duc.

In keeping with the diminishing pattern of self-administration, municipal (including prefectural) advisory councils have been losing status in local affairs. If the practice in Saigon prevails elsewhere, no replacements have been made for the many vacancies in council membership. Hardly more than one-half of the seats in the Saigon council were occupied. Normally, replacements if not filled by appointments could be refilled every three years by local elections; however, no elections have been held since 1953. The Saigon council lost further status in 1959 when its members were deprived of their positions as chiefs of district administration. While council members pleaded that they served as valuable connecting links between the people and the government, the reorganization which placed career civil servants in their former positions was presented as a means for increasing efficiency in prefectural administration.⁵

Organization and administration.

Like the provincial units, the municipalities are headed by strong executives appointed by the President of the Republic. In principle the municipalities contain their own separate array of technical services although in practice, as already indicated, considerable integration with provincial services exists. Being the national capital, the Prefecture of Saigon has many special arrangements with the Central Administration. The existence of advisory councils distinguishes municipal from provincial organization;⁶ as does, of course, the more limited geographical area

⁵Although no comprehensive study exists of the municipalities, considerable information about the Saigon Prefecture is presented in a study prepared by Professor Tran Van Dinh, National Institute of Administration. Only a typewritten manuscript of the English translation is available; however, a related study prepared for a forthcoming UNESCO conference in New Delhi in December 1961 should be in printed form.

⁶In 1961 the government announced its intention to establish provincial advisory councils.

subject to municipal administration. The municipalities serve only urbanized areas.

To facilitate the administration of municipal affairs, the municipalities contain a series of subdivisions. The first two levels of these subdivisions for all four municipalities are shown in Figure 5. As can be noted, the pattern varies considerably among the four. Saigon, for example, although by far the most populous unit contains only 8 units—districts—on the first level of subdivisions while Danang has 27 units bearing a different title of *khu-pho*, and Hue, 3 police districts. Presumably their organizational arrangements differ as well as their titles and numbers.

The administrative divisions below these levels were not reported. If the developing pattern in Saigon exists in the other units, there are at least two additional organizations that connect each family with the municipal administrative system—the *khom* (group of interfamily groups) and the *lien-gia* (five-family groups). A similar but less complex pattern exists in the rural villages, the *Khom* normally being excepted.

Regional distribution.

Saigon, located between South Vietnam-West and South Vietnam-East, divides the ricelands of the delta from the foothills of the Highlands. No municipality is located in the delta region to the south. Two are in the northern lowland area and the third in the Highlands.

Population characteristics.

Because of the tremendous population difference between Saigon and the three municipalities, generalizations about population characteristics of the four municipalities might be misleading. (See Figure 2.) With almost 86 percent of the municipal population, Saigon greatly outranks the others; and among the three, lesser units, Dalat is far outranked.

FIGURE 5
MUNICIPALITIES: SUBDIVISIONS

MUNICIPALITY	FIRST LEVEL	No.	SECOND LEVEL	No.
Saigon	Districts	8	<i>Phuong</i>	41
Danang	<i>Khu Pho</i>	27	<i>Phuong</i>	113*
Hue	Police		<i>Phuong</i>	21
	Districts	3	<i>Van</i>	11
Dalat	<i>Khu Pho</i>	10	Hamlets	45
	<i>Lang</i>	1	<i>Khu</i>	1

*Plus one residential area for military personnel.

SOURCE: Records of the National Institute of Statistics, Republic of Vietnam, October 1959.

3 | *The Districts*

In the administrative hierarchy of field administration in Vietnam, the district is located immediately below the provincial level. As shown in the preceding discussion, the title of "district" is also used by the Prefecture of Saigon and "police district" by the municipality of Hue; these *municipal* districts were not included in the following discussion.

Organization and Administration

Like the province, the district organization is headed by an executive--the district chief--appointed by the Central Government. Like his superior, the district chief assumes responsibility for general administration, including supervision of the lower units of administration and the coordination of the various offices and technical services within his district. Also like the province chief, he may be either a civil servant or a military officer; if the latter, he usually holds the rank of lieutenant or captain. In some provinces almost all district chiefs are military officers. He serves for an indefinite term.

The number and types of services found in the district organization depend upon the judgments of the higher administrators, that is, the provincial and central administrators in the various services and departments. District organization, therefore, varies from district to district.

There are, however, certain services found in most districts: collection of vital statistics, supervision of local taxation and budgetary activities, adjudication of minor civil and criminal cases, and administration of local security. Such services as public health, agricultural extension, and public works may be added, depending on local needs and availability of personnel.

Unlike the provincial administration, the districts do not enjoy budgetary and taxation powers. Their financial support comes from the provincial budget and from assessments prorated among the villages within their jurisdiction.

Regional distribution.

The two regions of South Vietnam-West and the Central Lowlands contain almost three-fourths of the nation's districts. South Vietnam-West has 81 districts and the Central Lowlands, 72. Only 18 districts are found in the Highlands region, even though its area is large. This distribution indicates, of course, that area itself is not a significant determinant of the distribution of districts.

It is apparent that the number of districts in any one province can vary considerably. In 3 provinces there are only 2 districts each, while at the other extreme 2 provinces have 12 districts each. For the 37 provinces the mean is 5.6 and the median, 5.2, districts per province.

Population characteristics.

Even though there is a far greater number of districts than provinces, it is equally difficult to generalize about district population characteristics. The distribution does not readily lend itself to such measurements as means and medians which are most useful when data fall into neat patterns clearly reflecting a "central-tendency" characteristic. As a result, although the means and medians have been computed, they need to be weighed not only against each other but also against the actual range of district populations shown in the final column of Figure 7. In addition, Figure 8 should also be noted.

FIGURE 6
DISTRICTS: REGIONAL DISTRIBUTION

Vietnam: 209		Provincial	Mean: 5.6	Median: 6
I. Highlands			III. Central Lowlands	
Quang Duc	3		Ninh Thuan	3
Lam Dong	2		Binh Thuan	7
Tuyen Duc	3		Quang Tri	7
Kontum	4		Khanh Hoa	5
Darlac	3		Phu Yen	6
Pleiku	3		Thua Thien	9
Total	<u>18</u>		Quang Ngai	11
Mean	3		Binh Dinh	12
Median	3		Quang Nam	<u>12</u>
			Total	<u>72</u>
			Mean	8
			Median	7
II. South Vietnam-East			IV. South Vietnam-West	
Binh Tuy	3		Kien Tuong	4
Phuoc Long	4		Kien Phong	4
Binh Long	2		An Xuyen	6
Phuoc Thanh	3		Kien Giang	8
Long Khanh	2		Phong Dinh	5
Phuoc Tuy	6		Long An	8
Bien Hoa	3		Vinh Binh	9
Tay Ninh	4		Vinh Long	6
Binh Duong	8		Kien Hoa	7
Gia Dinh	6		Ba Xuyen	8
Total	<u>41</u>		Dinh Tuong	7
Mean	3.8		An Giang	9
Median	3.5		Total	<u>81</u>
			Mean	6.8
			Median	7.0

SOURCE: Records of the National Institute of Statistics, Republic of Vietnam, October 1959.

Like the provincial population pattern, there is a tremendous difference between the least and the most populous districts in Vietnam. The least populous district, located in Phuoc Long Province, has a population of 1,300; in contrast there is a district in the suburban province of Gia Dinh with a population of almost 190,000. Its population is about 145 times larger than that of the Phuoc Long districts.

The other major characteristic of district populations is the lack of any "central tendency" in the variations. This is shown in Section (a) of Figure 8. Rather than a large concentration of districts in the middle-ranges, there is a fairly even spread among all population ranges.

FIGURE 7
DISTRICTS: POPULATION CHARACTERISTICS

REGION	NO.	MEAN	DISTRICT POPULATION	
			MEDIAN	RANGE
Highlands	18	29,950	23,750	7,753 - 109,097
South Vietnam-East	38	49,705	39,333	1,278 - 190,085
Central Lowlands	72	55,984	44,375	3,437 - 183,526
South Vietnam-West	81	70,098	78,571	8,091 - 171,535
Vietnam	209	58,102	50,000	1,278 - 190,085

SOURCE: Records of the National Institute of Statistics, Republic of Vietnam, October 1959.

FIGURE 8
DISTRICTS: BY POPULATION RANGES

	POPULATION IN THOUSANDS											Total
	0-9	10-19	20-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60-69	70-79	80-89	90-99	100 Up	
<i>(a) Frequency</i>												
Highlands	3	5	4	3	1	-	-	-	1	-	1	18
South Vietnam-East	10	2	5	3	5	2	1	2	2	2	4	38
Central Lowlands	5	12	10	6	8	4	3	5	4	4	11	72
South Vietnam-West	1	6	4	7	5	7	14	8	7	7	15	81
Total	19	25	23	19	19	13	18	15	14	13	31	209
<i>(b) Percentages</i>												
Highlands	17%	28%	22%	17%	6%	-	-	-	6%	-	6%	
South Vietnam-East	26	5	13	8	13	5%	3%	6%	6	6%	11	
Central Lowlands	7	17	14	8	11	6	4	7	6	6	15	
South Vietnam-West	1	7	5	9	6	9	17	10	9	9	19	
	9%	12%	11%	9%	9%	6%	9%	7%	7%	6%	15%	100%
<i>(c) Cumulative Percentages</i>												
	Population less than: (in thousands)											
	10	20	30	40	50	60	70	80	90	100	200	
Highlands	17%	45%	67%	84%	%	90%	%	%	%	96%	100%	
South Vietnam-East	26	31	44	52	65%	70	73%	79%	85	91%	100	
Central Lowlands	7	24	38	46	57	63	67	74	80	86	100	
South Vietnam-West	1	8	13	22	28	37	54	64	73	82	100	
Total	9%	21%	32%	41%	50%	56%	65%	72%	79%	85%	100%	

SOURCE: Records of the National Institute of Statistics, Republic of Vietnam, October 1959.

4 | The Cantons

The importance of the canton has greatly diminished with its functions being taken over by the district, the next higher unit; its complete elimination is being considered by the Central Government.

Organization and administration.

It is difficult to generalize about the cantons. Knowledge about a few cantons suggests that the typical canton consists, in addition to a canton chief and a clerk, of possibly two deputy canton chiefs. While the canton chief is empowered to select his own clerk, he and his deputies are appointed by the province chiefs. The office may be located in the home of the canton chief or some other villager, or in the village hall, or even in a district headquarters. It has been customary to fill the cantonal offices with recognized community leaders, including village councilors.

Cantonal administration has a two-fold objective—to assist the village councils and villagers in their affairs and to assist the district in a capacity somewhat similar to that provided by the four regional delegates for the Central Government, that is, by inspection and coordination. Assistance to the villagers is provided mainly by serving as an unofficial appeals court for civil disputes heard at the hamlet and village levels. Some district chiefs depend upon the cantonal officials for periodic inspection of financial and other records in the villages. In addition, they may ask canton chiefs to supervise village activities of special interest, such as the reception of a high official. Presumably, some cantons in the southern provinces have been given additional responsibilities in an effort to strengthen local lines of administration and defense.

For their financing, the cantons, like the districts, usually depend upon assessments levied against the villages. The canton officials receive

an allowance which, although modest, is greater than that granted village officials.

Regional distribution.

Unlike districts and provinces, the cantons are not found throughout all rural Vietnam. Ten provinces reported no cantonal units and some provinces, especially in the Central Lowlands, indicated that the cantonal units were used only in the more isolated, mountainous areas where communications between districts and villages are unduly extended. As a result in Vietnam there are only 310 cantons limited in use to 27 of the 37 provinces.

With 152 cantons the South Vietnam-West region has almost 50 percent of the nation's total. The Highlands is second with 82 cantons—its Province of Pleiku with 25 cantons ranks first among all provinces. Only 3 of the 9 provinces in the Central Lowlands contain cantons. And it is evident that their use in 2 of the 3 provinces is severely limited—only 2 cantons were reported for Khanh Hoa Province and 3 for Thua Thien.

FIGURE 9
CANTONS: REGIONAL DISTRIBUTION

Vietnam: 310	Provincial	Mean: 8.4	Median: 8.0
I. Highlands		III. Central Lowlands	
Quang Duc	4	Ninh Thuan	—
Lam Dong	7	Binh Thuan	—
Tuyen Duc	11	Quang Tri	—
Kontum	20	Khanh Hoa	2
Darlac	15	Phu Yen	6
Pleiku	25	Thua Thien	3
Total	82	Quang Ngai	—
Mean	13.7	Binh Dinh	—
Median	13.0	Quang Nam	—
		Total	11
		Mean	1.2
		Median	0.0
II. South Vietnam-East		IV. South Vietnam-West	
Binh Tuy	—	Kien Tuong	9
Phuong Long	17	Kien Phong	8
Binh Long	—	An Xuyen	—
Phuoc Thanh	3	Kien Giang	—
Long Khanh	2	Phong Dinh	8
Phuoc Tuy	7	Long An	17
Bien Hoa	8	Vinh Binh	20
Tay Ninh	8	Vinh Long	22
Binh Duong	10	Kien Hoa	21
Gia Dinh	10	Ba Xuyen	16
Total	65	Dinh Tuong	15
Mean	6.5	An Giang	16
Median	7.5	Total	152
		Mean	12.7
		Median	15.5

Sources: Records of the National Institute of Statistics, Republic of Vietnam, October 1959.

5 | The Villages

In the era of emperors and mandarins the Vietnamese villagers lived in a world almost of their own—a state within a state, so to speak. Historians invariably portray the traditional village as a political isolate coming into contact with higher authorities on only infrequent occasions when a financial tribute was due and when young men were needed for military service. To underscore this concept of the traditional village the historians point out that the higher authorities were relatively powerless since no vital statistic records left the villages and that most villages hid their identity behind a protective bamboo hedge. The great era of the traditional village preceded, of course, the settlement of the southern delta region.

Today, the typical village provides a sharp contrast with the historic village. No longer does the village enjoy much autonomy. Standardized reporting forms, centralization of major public services, periodic conferences and visits and other means of centralizing administrative controls characterize the central-local administrative system.

Organization and administration.

The basic elements in village organization are a village chief, a police chief, and a finance official. As a group they are called the village council. In the more populous villages one or two additional councilors may be added. A village council may enjoy a staff of one or more deputies and clerks. In the South Vietnam-West region, three special commissioners have been added for the purpose of strengthening the role of the village council in the anti-Communist campaign. They are to deal with political affairs, information programs, and the youth. In contrast to all of the other units of local administration, responsibility is not centered in one executive. Although the village chief occupies a higher position, district and provincial authorities are oftentimes inclined to charge the entire

council with the effective performance of some task.¹ All members of the village council are appointed by the province chief on the basis of recommendations received from the district chiefs. The Central Government may revoke the province chief's appointments, but this power is seldom exercised. Council members receive a modest allowance paid out of the village funds, the amount being determined according to regulations set or approved by the Central Government. The political affairs information, and youth commissioners found in the South Vietnam-West region receive about one-third of the amount paid to the village councilors. Clerical and other village employees are also paid out of village funds. Their compensation is distinguished from that of the council members for it comes under the classification of "salaries," a more demeaning term than "allowances."

In addition to the village council, almost every village contains several other administrative organizations, some of which may be closely supervised by the village council. The most common are the village self-defense guard and the hamlet self-defense corps; a village youth and sports group; farmers association; and a local branch of the National Revolutionary Movement, the major political party in Vietnam.

The village council participates to some extent in almost every phase of village life. Its major activities include law enforcement, tax collection, health, vital statistics, justice, and public works. Because its members come from the elite of the community, it may be expected to actively participate in local religious, as well as secular, affairs. Ownership of some agricultural and other lands gives the village council additional status in village life.

Like the province, the village has, in principle, the powers and privileges of a corporate body. It can adopt a budget, levy taxes, purchase and sell property, and perform other corporate functions. All of its functions are, however, closely supervised by district and provincial authorities. This has been especially true since 1956 when existing legal provisions were suspended pending a general revision of village administrative regulations.

¹Although the Central Government is encouraging the standardization of village administration, many variations still exist. For example, in the Central Lowlands province of Thua Thien special advisory councils have been established in an experiment to democratize local administration. Reports from other Central Lowland provinces indicate the continuation of titles, and perhaps of forms, that were abolished in the general reorganization movement in 1956 when most chief-towns were reduced from a municipal to a village status.

The provinces of Binh Dinh and Quan-Ngai identified their chief-towns as *thi-xa* or municipalities rather than as *xa* or villages. A still greater deviation from the village form was suggested by the report from the northernmost province of Quang Tri which used the former title of *Nha Dai Dien Hanh Chanh* or administrative center for its chief-town. An exception to patterns of administration in chief-towns is suggested by the report from Khanh Hoa Province in the Central Lowlands. This report indicated that the chief-town consisted of two villages—Nha Trang East and Nha Trang West—with equal populations. No data have been obtained about village organization in the Highlands other than the statement that the government is replacing the tribal organizations with the standard form.

Regional distribution.

Closely following the distribution of population among the four regions, the distribution of villages shows that the two regions—the Central Lowlands and South Vietnam-West—contain 72 percent of the nation's 2,579 villages. (These regions contain 80 percent of the provincial population.) Among the provinces there is a great variation in the number of villages. Quang Duc Province in the Highlands has only 14 villages while at the other extreme Quang Nam Province in the Central Lowlands has 230 villages. More than one-half of the provinces contain less than 50 villages each.

Population characteristics.

Similar to the provincial and district patterns, the most outstanding characteristic of village populations is the tremendous difference between the least and the most populous villages. The smallest village reported a population of 35, while the largest village showed a population of 91,308—which makes it about 2,600 times the size of the smallest. A more detailed

FIGURE 10
VILLAGES: REGIONAL DISTRIBUTION

Vietnam: 2,579	Provincial	Mean: 69.7	Median: 58.0
I. Highlands		III. Central Lowlands	
Quang Duc	14	Ninh Thuan	24
Lam Dong	23	Binh Thuan	58
Tuyen Duc	27	Quang Tri	84
Kontum	94	Khanh Hoa	95
Darlac	63	Phu Yen	70
Pleiku	122	Thua Thien	90
Total	<u>343</u>	Quang Ngai	167
Mean	57.2	Binh Dinh	166
Median	45.0	Quang Nam	<u>230</u>
		Total	<u>984</u>
		Mean	109.3
		Median	90.0
II. South Vietnam-East		IV. South Vietnam-West	
Binh Tuy	17	Kien Tuong	25
Phuoc Long	15	Kien Phong	43
Binh Long	54	An Xuyen	23
Phuoc Thanh	30	Kien Giang	54
Long Khanh	16	Phong Dinh	51
Phuoc Tuy	44	Long An	96
Bien Hoa	51	Vinh Binh	74
Tay Ninh	49	Vinh Long	81
Binh Duong	56	Kien Hoa	115
Gia Dinh	61	Ba Xuyen	76
Total	<u>393</u>	Dinh Tuong	124
Mean	39.3	An Giang	97
Median	46.5	Total	<u>859</u>
		Mean	71.6
		Median	75.0

SOURCE: Records of the National Institute of Statistics, Republic of Vietnam, October 1959.

examination of population distributions shows that populations of less than 1,500 are found in 578, or 24 percent, of the villages, while populations of 12,000 and above are found in 138, or 6 percent, of the villages.

Where are the more populous villages located? Every region contains at least 1 village of over 9,000 population, the South Vietnam-West region leading with 83 having over 12,000 population.

FIGURE 11
VILLAGES: POPULATION CHARACTERISTICS

REGION	NUMBER	POPULATION (2,452 VILLAGES)		
		MEAN	MEDIAN	RANGE
Highlands	343(a)	1,572	1,164	35 - 27,018
South Vietnam-East	389	4,855	2,794	66 - 91,308
Central Lowlands	984	4,181	3,425	62 - 49,923
South Vietnam-West	858	6,617	5,360	298 - 44,622
Vietnam	2,574	4,747	3,848	35 - 91,308

(a) Includes Pleiku Province—122 villages which are not in median and range analyses.
SOURCE: Records of the National Institute of Statistics, Republic of Vietnam, October 1959.

FIGURE 12
VILLAGES: POPULATION CHARACTERISTICS

	(a) Frequency									
	Population in thousands									
	0-1.4	1.5-2.9	3.0-4.4	4.5-5.9	6.0-7.4	7.5-8.9	9.0-10.4	10.5-11.9	12.0+up	Total
Highlands	143	53	14	8	1	1	—	—	1	221
South Vietnam-East	126	80	59	44	15	17	15	10	23	389
Central Lowlands	286	164	150	149	94	56	32	22	31	984
South Vietnam-West	23	114	197	165	115	75	62	24	83	858
Vietnam	578	411	420	366	225	149	109	56	138	2,452(a)
	(b) Percentages									
Highlands	65%	24%	6%	4%	1%	1%	—	—	1%	100+%
South Vietnam-East	32	20	15	11	4	4	4%	3%	6	100—
Central Lowlands	29	17	15	15	10	6	3	2	3	100
South Vietnam-West	3	13	23	19	13	9	7	3	10	100
Vietnam	24%	17%	17%	15%	9%	6%	4%	2%	6%	100 %
	(c) Cumulative Percentages									
	Population less than: (in thousands)									
Highlands	1.5	3.0	4.5	6.0	7.5	9.0	10.5	12.0	92	100%
South Vietnam-East	32	52	67	78	82	86%	90%	93%	99%	99%
Central Lowlands	29	46	61	76	86	92	95	97	100	100
South Vietnam-West	3	16	39	58	71	80	87	90	100	100
Vietnam	24%	41%	58%	73%	82%	88%	92%	94%	100%	100%

(a) Exclusive of the 122 villages in Pleiku Province and five other villages for which population data were not obtainable.
SOURCE: Records of the National Institute of Statistics, Republic of Vietnam, October 1959.

6 | *The Hamlets*

A recent Secretary of the Interior in the Government of South Vietnam viewed the hamlet as the key unit for the future development of the countryside. In his judgment the hamlet was the "real unit which can get things done." He viewed the village as providing general support but that the hamlet should become the focal point of socio-economic development programs. Yet in spite of his views, the hamlet as yet does not even enjoy any legal statutory basis.

A typical hamlet in South Vietnam is a small, rural settlement stretched along a small stream, canal, or roadway, but a surprisingly large proportion of hamlets are today like the wards in a city. What happened in these latter cases is that the administrative use of the hamlet continued even though socio-economic patterns changed. Thus, in a large market town by walking down any main street one can pass unknowingly from hamlet to hamlet.

This acceptance of a distinction between a social and an administrative hamlet has in turn had its impact on some settlements still predominantly rural in character. In the Village of Khanh Hau, Long An Province, population not more than 3,200, one hamlet was subdivided into "A" and "B." Administrative duties, the writer was told by the village chief, had become too burdensome for one hamlet chief. Conversely in other villages where higher authorities had consolidated hamlets

into larger administrative hamlets, local practices continued to ignore the change even though this required prorating provincial payments for the hamlet chiefs.

Given the absence of a legal base, it is not surprising that considerable variation exists among hamlet titles (and probably among hamlet organizations). Altogether, 16 different titles were reported as shown in Figure 13. Perhaps, some of these should have been classified as units either above or below the hamlet level; but without additional information no reasonable bases for differentiating could be constructed.

The most outstanding variation occurred in the Central Lowlands which reported over 2,300 *thon*, a unit that can be best described, given the limitations of present information, as an "extended hamlet." A few additional comments need to be offered about this unit.

FIGURE 13
TITLES OF UNITS CLASSIFIED AS HAMLETS IN THIS REPORT
(See Appendix G for more detail)

UNIT TITLE	LITERAL TRANSLATION
1. <i>Buon</i>	Village of Highlanders
2. <i>Ho</i>	A small quarter; a group of families living in a predominantly urban or market area
3. <i>Khom</i>	Group of families
4. <i>Khu</i>	Zone; area
5. <i>Khu cho</i>	Market area
6. <i>Khu pho</i>	Urban residential quarter
7. <i>Khu vuc</i>	A region having definite boundaries
8. <i>Lang</i>	Village
9. <i>Lien thon</i>	Inter- <i>thon</i> group
10. <i>Lien thuyen</i>	Inter-boat group
11. <i>Pho</i>	A row of residences along a street
12. <i>Phuong</i>	Occupational group; guild
13. <i>Soc</i>	Hamlet of Highlanders
14. <i>Thon</i>	Village
15. <i>Van</i>	Fishing settlement
16. <i>Xom</i>	Hamlet

SOURCE: Titles—Records of the National Institute of Statistics, Republic of Vietnam, October 1959.

FIGURE 14
CENTRAL LOWLANDS: HAMLETS, THON, AND BUON BY PROVINCE

PROVINCE	HAMLETS	THON <i>Thon</i>	BUON <i>Buon</i>	TOTAL
Ninh Thuan	35	90		125
Binh Thuan	235	—		235
Quang Tri	272	317		589
Khanh Hoa	160	199	30	396
Phu Yen	231	242	91	564
Thua Thien	195	403		624
Quang Ngai	460	310		770
Binh Dinh	493	669		1,173
Quang Nam	998	109		1,141
	3,079	2,339	121	5,539*

*78 additional units were reported but classification could not be determined.

SOURCE: Records of the National Institute of Statistics, Republic of Vietnam, October 1959.

This mixture of ordinary hamlets and *thon* in the Central Lowlands points up the transitional period of local administration in that area. The origin of this period is the advent of the VietMinh following World War II. Under that regime many of the smaller villages were consolidated in the Central Lowlands region to form more efficient units—the former villages which were called *thon* became parts of larger villages called *lien-xa* or group of villages. The impact of this reorganization on socio-administrative patterns undoubtedly varied considerably from area to area, even within the same province. In some cases probably all vestiges of the former patterns were destroyed while in others many remained. Thus, the mixture of *thon* and *ap* (hamlet) still is found. This mixture is found not only within districts but even within villages—several villages reported both *thon* and *ap* as equal units; others indicated that the latter were subordinate units of the former.

To develop some additional insight into this mixture, a comparison was made of the population characteristics. Presumably the *thon* being former villages should be more populous than the hamlets. The general pattern of population distributions shows this to be true: 43 percent of the *thon* (in contrast to 56 percent of the hamlets) had less than 500 population. That this difference in population patterns is meaningful—that is, that it resulted from some cause such as a tendency to view the

FIGURE 15
CENTRAL LOWLANDS: HAMLETS, THON AND BUON BY POPULATION RANGES

	(a) Frequency											Total
	0 499	500 999	1,000 1,499	1,500 1,999	2,000 2,499	2,500 2,999	3,000 3,499	3,500 3,999	4,000 4,499	4,500 4,999	5,000 Up	
<i>Thon</i>	1,009	579	362	182	98	42	26	18	11	5	9	2,339
Hamlets	1,728	706	348	160	66	31	13	5	3	5	14	3,079
<i>Buon</i>	120	1										121
Central Lowlands	2,857	1,286	710	342	162	73	39	23	14	10	23	5,539
	(b) Percentages											Total
	X = less than 1%											
<i>Thon</i>	43%	25%	16%	8%	4%	2%	1%	1%	X%	X%	X%	100%
Hamlet	56	23	11	5	2	1	X	X	X	X	X	100
<i>Buon</i>	99	1										
Central Lowlands	52%	23%	13%	6%	3%	1%	1%	X%	X%	X%	X%	100%
	(c) Cumulative Percentages											Total
	Population less than:											
<i>Thon</i>	500	1,000	1,500	2,000	2,500	3,000	3,500	4,000	4,500	5,000	17,000	
Hamlet	43%	68%	84%	92%	96%	98%	99%	100%				
<i>Buon</i>	56	79	90	95	97	98%	99%		100%			
<i>Buon</i>	99	100										
Central Lowlands	52%	75%	88%	94%	97%	98%	99%	100%				

SOURCE: Records of the National Institute of Statistics, Republic of Vietnam, October 1959.

more populous settlements as *thon* in preference to hamlets—was supported with the use of statistical measurements. Thus, on the whole, units in the Central Lowlands reported as *thon* do differ from the hamlets, at least in terms of their total population characteristics and probably in other characteristics also.

Organization and administration.

While some of the larger hamlets may have a more complex organization, usually the hamlet unit is administered by only one administrator—the hamlet chief—working on a part-time basis. The hamlet chief is a resident of his unit, probably chosen from the established leaders. He is appointed by the district chief on the basis of recommendations from the village council. Usually his hamlet home serves as his office. A recent change is the allowance now granted—hardly above the token level—by the provincial administration.

Since he is a “generalist,” the hamlet chief becomes involved in most phases of village administrative life. As an accepted practice, any member of the village council may call upon him for assistance. In the regions where security is a major concern, most of his attention perforce is directed toward supervising the hamlet self-defense corps and assisting the village police. Costs of any hamlet activities are usually paid by *ad hoc* contributions of the residents since the hamlets do not possess formal budgetary powers.

Regional distribution

Since today the number of hamlets is determined largely by population, it is not surprising that the greatest concentrations are found in the most populous regions and provinces. There are over 6,600 hamlets in the South Vietnam-West region and 5,600 in the Central Lowlands. In 3 provinces the number is close to 1,200 and in 18 it exceeds 400 hamlets. Throughout the Central Lowlands provinces the mean is 624 hamlets per province and for the South Vietnam-West provinces, 555 hamlets per province on the average. Far below all other provinces, Phuoc Long reported only 70 hamlets.

Population characteristics.

Although 50 percent of the hamlets in Vietnam have populations under 500, there are 77 hamlets whose populations exceed 5,000. One hamlet,

in fact, contains almost 17,000 (located in Gia Dinh Province) and 3 of the 4 regions reported at least 1 hamlet each with a population in excess of 16,000. Since at the other extreme a hamlet with a population of only four is found, the tremendous range in populations becomes the most outstanding characteristic of hamlets.

FIGURE 16
HAMLETS: REGIONAL DISTRIBUTION

Vietnam: 16,398		Mean: 455.5	Median 382.5
I. Highlands		III. Central Lowlands	
Quang Duc	211	Ninh Thuan	125
Lam Dong	272	Binh Thuan	235
Tuyen Duc	291	Quang Tri	589
Kontum	527	Khanh Hoa	396
Darlac	395	Phu Yen	564
Pleiku	(Not reported)	Thua Thien	624
Total	<u>1696</u>	Quang Ngai	770
Mean	339.2	Binh Dinh	1173
Median	291.0	Quang Nam	1141
		Total	<u>5617</u>
		Mean	624.1
		Median	589.0
II. South Vietnam-East		IV. South Vietnam-West	
Binh Tuy	122	Kien Tuong	203
Phuoc Long	70	Kien Phong	176
Binh Long	238	An Xuyen	286
Phuoc Thanh	135	Kien Giang	328
Long Khanh	101	Phong Dinh	414
Phuoc Tuy	284	Long An	852
Bien Hoa	294	Vinh Binh	708
Tay Ninh	370	Vinh Long	479
Binh Duong	325	Kien Hoa	880
Gia Dinh	487	Ba Xuyen	674
Total	<u>2426</u>	Dinh Tuong	1155
Mean	242.6	An Giang	504
Median	261.0	Total	<u>6659</u>
		Mean	554.9
		Median	491.5

SOURCE: Records of the National Institute of Statistics, Republic of Vietnam, October 1959.

Generally the more populous hamlets are found in the South Vietnam-West region, where populations under 500 are found in only 34 percent of the hamlets, and close to 30 percent have populations in excess of 1,000. In contrast, in the Highlands 95 percent are under 500 population; and nationally, 23 percent have populations exceeding 1,000.

FIGURE 17
HAMLETS: POPULATION CHARACTERISTICS

REGION	NUMBER	HAMLETS POPULATION		
		MEAN	MEDIAN	RANGE
Highlands	1,696(a)	210(e)	267	6 - 7,444
South Vietnam-				
East	2,426(b)	774(f)	458	7 - 16,895
Central				
Lowlands	5,617(c)	732(g)	485	4 - 16,161
South Vietnam-				
West	6,659(d)	853	708	32 - 16,441
Vietnam	16,398	733	506	4 - 16,895

(a) Includes 6 hamlets having no population breakdown. Population for the 6 was 1601.
 (b) Includes 35 hamlets not used in population analyses other than the mean.
 (c) Includes 78 hamlets and those not used in population analyses other than the mean.
 (d) Includes 913 hamlets not used in population analyses other than the mean.
 (e) Less Pleiku.
 (f) Excluded was population of 11,357 reported for military families not included in any hamlet tabulations.
 (g) Excluded military-family population of 3,500.

SOURCE: Records of the National Institute of Statistics, Republic of Vietnam, October 1959.

FIGURE 18
HAMLETS: POPULATION CHARACTERISTICS

	(a) Frequency											
	POPULATION											
	0-499	500-999	1,000-1,499	1,500-1,999	2,000-2,499	2,500-2,999	3,000-3,499	3,500-3,999	4,000-4,499	4,500-4,999	5,000 Up	Total
Highlands	1,581	76	13	7	6	2	1	-	1	-	3	1,690
South Vietnam-												
East	1,305	591	234	105	54	32	20	7	7	9	27	2,391
Central												
Lowlands	2,857	1,286	710	342	162	73	39	23	14	10	23	5,539
South Vietnam-												
West	2,189	2,364	1,005	399	172	89	39	42	12	11	24	6,346†
Vietnam	7,932	4,317	1,962	853	394	196	99	72	34	30	77	15,966

	(b) Percentages											
	X = less than 1%											
	94%	5%	X%	X%	X%	X%	X%	-%	X%	-%	X%	100±%
Highlands	94%	5%	X%	X%	X%	X%	X%	-%	X%	-%	X%	100±%
South Vietnam-												
East	55	25	10	4	2	1	1	X	X	X	1	100±
Central												
Lowlands	52	23	13	6	3	1	1	X	X	X	X	100±
South Vietnam-												
West	34	37	16	6	3	1	1	-	X	X	X	100±
Vietnam	50%	27%	12%	5%	2%	1%	1%	X%	X%	X%	X%	100±%

	(c) Cumulative Percentages										
	Population less than:										
	500	1,000	1,500	2,000	2,500	3,000	3,500	4,000	4,500	5,000	17,000
Highlands	94%	99%	-%	-%	-%	-%	-%	-%	-%	-%	100%
South Vietnam-											
East	55	80	90	94	96	97	98	-	-	99	100
Central											
Lowlands	52	75	88	94	97	98	99	-	-	-	100
South Vietnam-											
West	34	71	87	93	96	97	98	99	-	100	100
Vietnam	50%	77%	89%	94%	96%	97%	98%	-%	-%	-%	100%

*35 hamlets not having population breakdowns were excluded.

†313 hamlets not having population breakdowns were excluded.

SOURCE: Records of the National Institute of Statistics, Republic of Vietnam, October 1959.

7 | *Summary*

In the preceding analyses the approach was on a unit basis, beginning with the provinces and municipalities. In the following table the same data have been presented on a regional basis in order to show the entire array of local units by region.

FIGURE 19
LOCAL UNITS: REGIONAL DISTRIBUTION*

	TOTAL	MEAN	PER PROVINCE MEDIAN	RANGE
I. Highlands - 6 Provinces				
Districts	18	3.0	3.0	2 - 4
Cantons	82	13.7	13.0	4 - 25
Villages	343	57.2	45.0	14 - 122
Hamlets ^(a)	1,696	339.2	291.0	211 - 527
II. South Vietnam-East - 10 Provinces				
Districts	38	3.8	3.5	2 - 8
Cantons	65	6.5	7.5	0 - 10
Villages	393	39.3	46.5	15 - 61
Hamlets	2,426	242.6	261.0	70 - 487
III. Central Lowlands - 9 Provinces				
Districts	72	8.0	7.0	3 - 12
Cantons	11	1.2	0.0	0 - 6
Villages	984	109.3	90.0	24 - 230
Hamlets	5,617	624.1	589.0	125 - 1,173
IV. South Vietnam-West - 12† Provinces				
Districts	81	6.8	7.0	4 - 9
Cantons	152	12.7	15.5	0 - 22
Villages	859	71.6	75.0	23 - 124
Hamlets	6,659	554.9	491.5	176 - 1,155
Vietnam - 37‡ Provinces				
Districts	209	5.6	5.2	2 - 12
Cantons	310	8.4	8.0	0 - 25
Villages	2,579	69.7	58.0	14 - 230
Hamlets	16,398	455.5	382.5	70 - 1,173

†Pleiku Province not included.

‡Con Son Province excluded.

*Exclusive of the four municipalities: Highlands-1; South Vietnam-East-1; Central Lowlands-2; South Vietnam-West-0.

SOURCE: Records of the National Institute of Statistics, Republic of Vietnam, October 1959.

FIGURE 20
LOCAL UNITS: POPULATION CHARACTERISTICS*

	NUMBER	Population		
		MEAN	MEDIAN	RANGE
I. Highlands				
Provinces	6	89,851	66,134	27,000 - 183,067
Districts	18	29,950	23,750	7,753 - 85,566
Villages	343(a)	1,572	1,164	35 - 27,018
Hamlets	1,696(b)	210	267	6 - 7,444
II. South Vietnam-East				
Provinces	10	188,879	103,088	34,083 - 643,877
Districts	38	49,705	38,333	1,278 - 190,085
Villages	389	4,855	2,794	66 - 91,308
Hamlets	2,426(c)	774	458	7 - 16,895
III. Central Lowlands				
Provinces	9	457,130	341,345	123,623 - 939,761
Districts	72	55,984	44,375	3,437 - 183,526
Villages	984	4,181	3,425	62 - 49,923
Hamlets	5,617(d)	732	485	4 - 16,161
IV. South Vietnam-West				
Provinces	12(e)	473,108	503,828	54,333 - 801,477
Districts	81	70,098	78,571	8,091 - 171,535
Villages	858	6,617	5,360	298 - 44,622
Hamlets	6,659(f)	853	708	32 - 16,441
Vietnam				
Provinces	37	330,253	271,944	27,000 - 939,761
Districts	209	58,102	50,000	1,278 - 190,085
Villages	2,574	4,747	3,848	35 - 91,308
Hamlets	16,398	733	506	4 - 16,895

(a) Includes 22 villages not included in median and range analyses.

(b) Less Pleiku province.

(c) Includes 35 hamlets used only in mean population analyses.

(d) Includes 78 hamlets used only in mean population analyses.

(e) Con Son province excluded.

(f) Includes 313 hamlets used only in mean population analyses.

*Exclusive of the four municipalities: Highlands-Dalat, 49,478; South Vietnam-East: Saigon, 1,400,000; Central Lowlands: Danang, 110,308 and Hue, 102,814.

SOURCE: Records of the National Institute of Statistics, Republic of Vietnam, October 1959.