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A
FISHING
VILLAGE
IN
CENTRAL
VIETNAM

John D. Donoghue
1963

MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY VIETNAM ADVISORY GROUP
AGENCY FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT
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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.

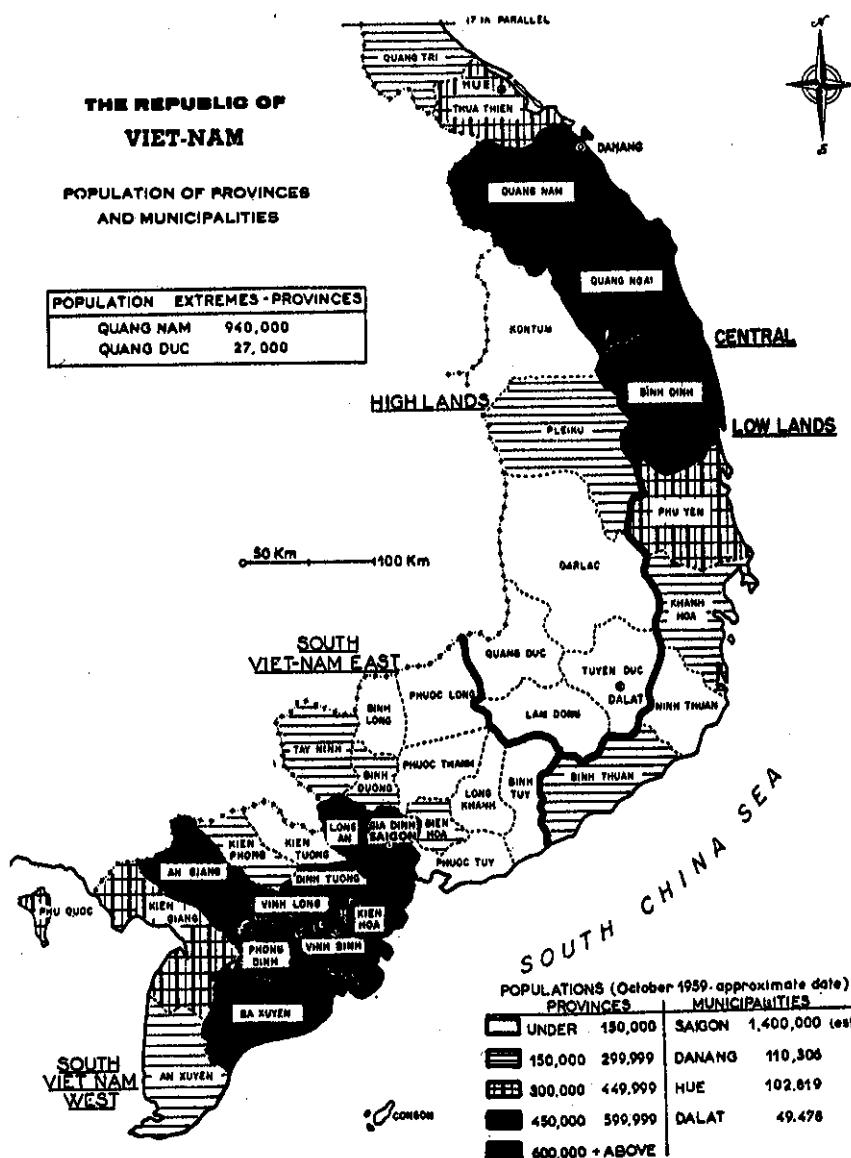
Members of the Michigan State University group have included specialists in the field of public administration, police administration, economics, anthropology, psychology, sociology and other special fields. In the course of over seven years of technical cooperation in Vietnam, members of the Michigan 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.

THE REPUBLIC OF
VIET-NAM

POPULATION OF PROVINCES
AND MUNICIPALITIES

POPULATION EXTREMES - PROVINCES	
QUANG NAM	940,000
QUANG DUC	27,000



PROVINCIAL BOUNDARIES - SPRING, 1960

Preface

I

This study is the result of the second cooperative village research effort by staff members of the National Institute of Administration (NIA) and the Michigan State University Advisory Group (MSUG) in Vietnam. The first such study, published in two parts, was carried out in the Mekong Delta region of southern Vietnam.¹ The present volume is concerned with the social, economic, and administrative characteristics of a central Vietnamese lowland fishing village.

These village studies were conceived as a part of the provincial-local administration series initiated by joint National Institute of Administration-Michigan State University Group teams. In addition to the village level research, studies were concurrently conducted at the district and province levels, not only to afford an over-all view of provincial administration, but also to allow members of the various teams to follow through from one level to another the ramifications of data collected. For example: In Cam An Village a dam was constructed

¹John D. Donoghue, *My Thuan: The Study of a Delta Village in South Vietnam*, (Saigon: Michigan State University, May 1961).

Truong Ngoc Giau and Lloyd W. Woodruff, *My Thuan: Administrative and Financial Aspects of a Village in South Vietnam*, (Saigon: Michigan State University, July 1961).

which the villagers considered detrimental to their interests. Although interviews were held with a number of village officials and ordinary fishermen, we were unable to discover the rationale behind the decision to build this dam. That evening when the teams from the three levels met to discuss the day's activities, the matter of the dam was called to the attention of the other groups. On the following day interviews in the district and province headquarters led to a satisfactory explanation of why the project was undertaken. A number of such problems were resolved, or in part explained, because of easy access to the various levels of administration.

The advantage of this "wholistic" approach to provincial administration also operated in reverse and permitted us to better understand district and provincial matters because of information gathered in the village. The Chief of Dien Ban District, for instance, called a meeting of elders from the villages of the district to discuss problems of local government²; information was gathered in Cam An on the process of selection of elders to attend this meeting. Thus, the monographs of the provincial-local administration series should be regarded as separate enterprises which combine to contribute to a clearer comprehension of the total matrix of local administration in Vietnam.

Another, and equally important, objective of this monograph series is to make available for classroom use up-to-date, empirical observations of practice and problems in provincial and local administration. Each monograph is published in both English and Vietnamese and made available to the students of the NIA and the University of Saigon. The research experiences of the NIA and MSUG faculty members are incorporated into their lectures, bringing to their students a better understanding of actual administrative processes. Thus, the monograph series plays the dual role of providing readings in the Vietnamese language and illustrative, concrete cases to support the instruction of administrative theory.

It is hoped that the results of these studies will be of some value to the Vietnamese Government and the personnel of the various American agencies in Vietnam, as well as to scholars and other individuals interested in learning more about the Vietnamese and their problems.

II

Prior to the actual field trip to Cam An, Quang Nam Province, members of the NIA-MSUG staff met with provincial officials to plan the

²Luther A. Allen and Pham Ngoc An, *A Vietnamese District Chief in Action*, (Saigon: Michigan State University, May 1961).

research. Together we considered the security problem, chose the district and village to be studied, and arranged for living quarters and security while in the field.

Back in Saigon a general research design for the village study was outlined, and team members were assigned to various project areas according to their competence and interest. During the two weeks in the village, continual communication, cross-referencing, and feedback among the members of the research group constantly guided and, when necessary, reoriented the course of the interviews and observations.

Thus, although each individual team member was responsible for a given body of data, the research was a unified effort aimed at discovering over-all patterns of life in Cam An Village. At the completion of the field work, each team member submitted a working paper encompassing his field notes. These were then distributed to the rest of the members for discussion, criticism, and modification.

The preparation of this volume was undertaken by Dr. John D. Donoghue with the assistance of Mr. Nguyen Van Thuan. The research responsibilities were divided as follows:

Professor Truong Ngoc Giau of the NIA spent one week with the village chief observing his work patterns and the types of problems he handled, and recording his daily activities. Much of the information throughout the volume on administrative activities is a result of these observations.

Mr. Nguyen Duy Xuan, an economist with the NIA, undertook the arduous task of collecting information relative to the economic activities of the Cam An people. This included detailed information on a variety of subjects such as fishing techniques, marketing behavior, and many others.

Mr. Tran Quang Thuan, NIA anthropologist, probed into such aspects of the social structure as kinship and clan organization. Much data on behavior, as related to the family structure, were also collected.

Miss Vo Hong Phuc, a sociologist with the Michigan State University Group and lecturer at the University of Saigon, was primarily interested in the areas of religion, beliefs, and attitudes.

Dr. John D. Donoghue, anthropologist, and Mr. Nguyen Van Thuan, research associate, both with the Michigan State University Advisory Group, did their research on village administrative structure. This included the organization of the village, hamlets, and fishermen's associations.

The information on the police and security situation was collected by Mr. Paul Shields, police administration advisor of the Michigan State University Advisory Group.

Although the data were collected by the team, and this work must stand upon that data, any errors of interpretation and judgment are the responsibility of the author. We are grateful to Myrna Pike for her editorial assistance, and, of course to the people of Cam An Village who so generously contributed their time and hospitality.

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Introduction

A number of studies have recently appeared on village life in farming districts in the southern part of the Republic of Vietnam. However, there have been few works which have been concerned with the social, economic, and administrative activities of villages in central Vietnam, and no recent systematic descriptions of fishing villages anywhere in the country. This study is an attempt to rectify both deficiencies. The lush Mekong River Delta of the south and the overpopulated, sandy, sterile, lowland coastal strip of the center differ significantly in history, geography, and culture. These differences are reflected in village organization, economic activity, social structure and the nature of the security problem.

The purpose of this study is to provide information on certain key institutions in a central Vietnamese village similar to that already available on southern villages so as to readily facilitate comparison between the two areas.¹

The southern delta provinces of Vietnam are newly settled frontier lands whereas the central lowlands, core of the ancient Champa civilization, have been inhabited by Vietnamese for more than 700 years.²

¹Gerald C. Hickey, *The Study of a Vietnamese Rural Community—Sociology*, (Saigon: Michigan State University, January 1960).

James B. Hendry, *The Study of a Vietnamese Rural Community—Economic Activity*, Michigan State University, 1959; L. W. Woodruff, *The Study of a Vietnamese Rural Community—Administrative Activity*, two volumes, (Saigon: Michigan State University, May 1960); Donoghue, *op. cit.*

²For a brief survey of the History of Quang Nam Province, see Allen and An, *op. cit.*, pp. 27-43.

This historical factor is an important variable for the understanding of the differences between the two areas. The plains of the central lowlands supported a dense population and intensive agriculture for centuries; the delta area is still underpopulated and agriculturally underdeveloped. The sedentary population of the center live in tightly agglomerated settlements, while the farmers of the south live in noncontiguous isolated farmsteads.

During the migrations to the south, traditional clan organization, lineages, and kinship ties were by necessity altered and disorganized. These structures continue to operate in central Vietnam, and, together with the highly developed territorial organization of the village (*lang*), hamlet (*thon*), and subhamlet (*xom*), form the basic social units of the people of the central lowlands. In the south, although ancestor worship and various forms of animism persist, a degree of secularism has developed in belief and ceremony, possibly resulting from the de-emphasis of clan and lineage relationships and the breakdown of territorial ties through emigration and mobility. The religious life of the center is more active than that of the south, with numerous village, hamlet, clan and lineage ceremonies. The long, close relationships that have developed around the family and neighborhood group have apparently been conducive to the maintenance of these religious activities.

In the delta region, there is a relative absence of voluntary, spontaneous, territorial or occupational associations. This may be a result of government measures to counter Viet Cong terrorism, or it is possible that such groups never existed in the areas studied.⁸ In the center, local associations based on occupation and territory form an intricate part of the organization of the villages. In many instances these associations exist parallel to, or are complementary to, formal administrative structures prescribed by the government.

Security conditions at the time of the studies in the southern and central regions differed markedly: the delta provinces were under threat of the Viet Cong; the lowlands were relatively free of terrorism, although propaganda campaigns were beginning. This fact may account, at least in part, for the separateness of village life in the south as opposed to the interrelatedness of the various group activities, associations, and beliefs in the central lowlands.

The remainder of this monograph is devoted to the investigation of a number of aspects of life in Cam An Village which we hope will illustrate or highlight some of the general observations above.

⁸Donoghue, *op. cit.*, pp. 22-44.

1

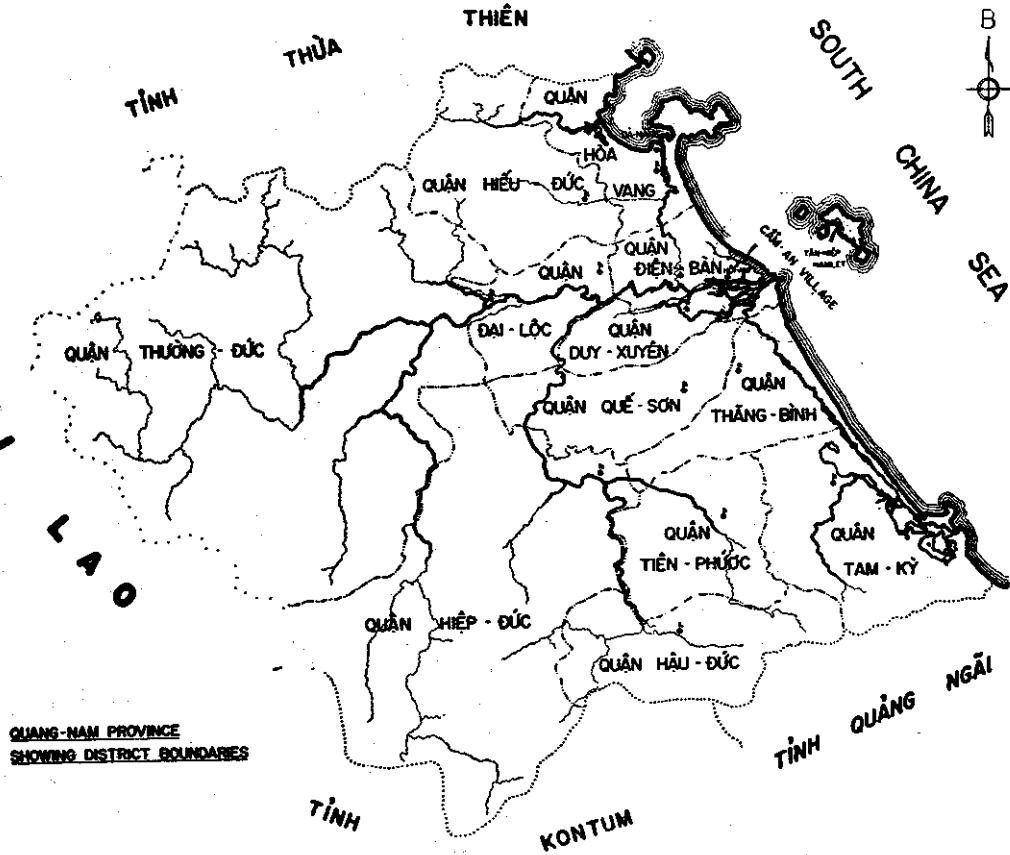
Village Organization and Administration

A. THE SETTING

Cam An is one of 30 villages in Dien Ban District. Located 4.5 kilometers from the provincial capital of Hoi An, its 6,166 inhabitants live in three agglomerated settlements on a 12-square kilometer, narrow, sandy peninsula at the mouth of the Thu Bon River. Another 325 persons live on the Cham Island in the South China Sea, 16 kilometers from the coast. The dwelling units on the mainland are oriented more toward the river than the ocean front (see Figure 1) because the coconut trees and sand dunes afford a break from the seasonal winds. The soils of the peninsula are sandy and unsuited even for the cultivation of garden crops. A kind of pine tree is raised throughout the area as a source of wood for timber and pine needles for fuel. Women and children assiduously rake and sweep the needles into large piles giving the village a neat, clean appearance.

Since there is no agriculture, fishing and allied trades, such as net making and boat building, are the major sources of income in the mainland hamlets of Cam An. The island hamlet of Tan Hiep is located on the largest of the three Cham islands where there is some wet-rice cultivation to supplement fishing. Here the population is concentrated along the coast facing the mainland. On the northern tip of the island is a Chinese enterprise subsidized by the government, which produces salangane (bird's) nests, a Vietnamese delicacy. Communication between the mainland and the island hamlet is infrequent and sporadic.

MAP 1
Quang Nam Province



The one available motor boat in the village makes the trip in 1½ hours; by sailboat it takes more than 3 hours. When weather conditions are poor and the seas rough, passage is sometimes halted for weeks.

The fishing cycle, as well as the round of ceremonial activities in Cam An, is related to the climatic conditions of the area. From the first to the third lunar month the weather is cool and pleasant, and from the fourth to the sixth month it is hot and clear with calm seas. The height of deep-sea fishing activity is reached during these first six months. From the seventh to the ninth lunar month the rainy season begins and continues through the tenth to the twelfth month. This is the season of rough seas and cool weather; fishermen's activities are confined to offshore fishing and net and boat repairs. Religious events and various social activities mark the beginning and end of these major climatic periods.

The village of Cam An is composed of four hamlets which were, until 1956, four administratively separate units. The largest of these units, or villages, are now the hamlets of An Ban and Tan Thanh. Phuoc Trach, now the most populous hamlet, had only ten households in 1953. In that year, the French built a garrison there, and people migrated to Phuoc Trach to gain protection and to exploit the rich fishing grounds. The island hamlet of Tan Hiep with its small population was previously a hamlet with its own administrative body.

The village council, during the early French period, consisted of an elected village chief, who apparently was the only village official responsible to district and provincial mandarins. The chief was assisted by a chief of a group of extended families and five councilors: a record keeper, a police councilor, a welfare agent, an information councilor, and a treasurer. These members were selected by the council of notables and the positions were mostly ceremonial and honorary. The council of notables, composed of learned village elders, included such ranks as *ong cuu*, or a mandarin of the royal court, and the *dai hao muc*, the great village notable. Primary administrative functions were carried out by the village chief and the heads of the hamlets or *xom*.

The *xom* was the smallest administrative subdivision of the village. It was a territorial grouping with a chief, usually an elder, and his assistant whose main function was to disseminate information throughout the *xom*. Instructions, orders, and information were relayed from the province and district officials through the village chief to the *xom* chief and his messenger. Each *xom* had its own shrine or pagoda where the founders of the *xom* or village were venerated. In addition to the

two annual *xom*-wide ceremonies, rituals were also held at the shrines by the various clans of the *xom*.

In 1946, under the Viet Minh, the villagers were integrated into the Seventh National Zone (*Khu Bay*), but their boundaries remained the same. Each village was administered by a committee composed of a president, vice president, and secretary, all of whom were popularly elected by male and female villagers, 18 years or older, holding identity cards.

B. VILLAGE ORGANIZATION

The present organization of Cam An Village is a result of the amalgamation of the four former villages and the proclamation of Law 57-A which prescribes the official structure of village administration throughout Vietnam. Although the internal organization of the four *thons* is somewhat different and their histories vary, they do form, as the village of Cam An, a natural geographic and economic unit.

The settlements on the mainland are contiguous and set apart from the adjacent rice-producing village of Cam Chau by the Thu Bon River. Fishing and allied crafts are the main occupations, and there is little financial or economic disparity among the *thons*. The fishing cycle and the religious practices of the fishermen create a temporal harmony within the village which differentiates it from the nearby farming villages or market centers. Thus, although a "Cam An feeling" or village identity does not exist amongst the people, a basis for concensus and cooperation is present.

At right are the names of the hamlets and the population of each according to sets.¹

After the enactment of Law 57-A, the elected councilmen were replaced by officials, appointed by the district chief, who are directly responsible for village administration. The village council consists of a village chief, a police councilor, finance officer, administrative councilor,

¹We were not satisfied with our attempt to estimate annual income per family in Cam An. However, some informants seemed more articulate than others on the subject and following is a tentative estimation based upon information supplied by our best sources.

1st to 5th lunar month	8,000\$
6th to 9th lunar month	8,000
9th to 12th lunar month*	2,000
Total	12,000\$
Total	VN\$ 12,000
Cost such as nets and other equipment	5,000
Average cash income per family**	7,000\$

*Income from labor in other fishing areas such as Phan Ri, Phan Rang, Nha Trang, or Binh Thuan.

**Informants said that this figure might be a little high for the poorest families, but added that there is little difference between the poor and the well-to-do villager.

FIGURE 1
VILLAGE POPULATION FIGURES

District of Dien Ban	Village of Cam An	Thon An Ban	Thon Tan Thanh	Thon Phuoc Trach	Thon Tan Hiep
Total Population 1960	6,491	1,822	1,390	2,954	325
Male Voters	1,511	457	259	704	91
Female Voters	1,820	518	397	804	101
Deaths: 1959	19				
Deaths: 1960	38				
Births: 1959	75				
Births: 1960	118				

and a civil status councilor, who is also responsible for information and youth. The village chief receives an allowance of 1,700\$ per month, the others 1,500\$. In addition, the village employs the services of a health commissioner (400\$ per month) and a messenger (600\$) who do not enjoy councilor status.

In principle, an advisory council exists, whose major function is to solve new problems which arise in the village as a result of policies and programs initiated from higher echelons of administration. For example, if a community development program were started in the village by order of the district or province chief, this council would meet to discuss the problem and help disseminate information throughout the village. By provincial order, the council consists of: (1) civil representatives, such as members of the National Revolutionary Movement, hamlet officials, and interfamily group chiefs; (2) administrative representatives, including members of the village council, and (3) a military representative still to be selected. Apparently, the advisory council was created in order to stimulate greater popular participation in local affairs. However, it has never met and exists in name only.

To check on the handling of financial affairs by the village council, a budget control committee, composed of representatives of notables, youth, and the National Revolutionary Movement, meets occasionally to audit the books on income and expenditures. In contrast to the advisory council, no members of the village council sit on the budget committee.

A number of new, semiofficial organizations have recently been introduced into Cam An: the National Revolutionary Movement; the Republican Youth; a Farmers' Association; and a mutual assistance association. None of these organizations is very active. For example, when first asked about the Farmer's Association, the village chief stated it did not exist. Later, he received correspondence from the district

relative to the association and admitted that, in fact, the village had been instructed some time ago to organize such a group.

Heading each of the four hamlets (*thon*) of Cam An is a man appointed by the district chief upon recommendation of the village chief. The major function of a *thon* chief is the dissemination of information from the village office to the fishermen of the hamlet. He is responsible for the official administration of the *thon*, the organization of meetings of various kinds, security in the hamlet, and the appointment of the heads of interfamily groups (*lien gia*). Each chief receives an allowance of from 600\$ to 800\$ per month from the village budget, depending on the size of the hamlet.

In contrast to the traditional Vietnamese pattern, the *thon* chiefs of Cam An are not respected elders or notables, but articulate young fishermen. Experience and family status are not necessary prerequisites in their selection since their major duties consist in carrying out pre-determined administrative orders. Where matters of judgment are concerned, such as in the selection of the interfamily heads, the young *thon* chiefs often seek the advice of elders, notables, or heads of the fishermen's guilds (*van*).

It was reported that the *thon* chief calls a meeting every Saturday at 7 p.m. in order to issue information, news, and propaganda. These meetings are attended by at least one member of each family in the *thon*. However, informants indicated that the timing of the meetings was irregular, and sometimes they were not held at all. On other occasions the *thon* chief might hold meetings to discuss local problems that arise.

The hamlets are subdivided into *lien gia* or interfamily groups. In Cam An, as in other villages in Quang Nam, the size of the *lien gia* varies from 12 to 40 households. During the Viet Minh period the interfamily groups were composed of only five households, but since 1958 the *lien gia* composition has been altered to coincide with the former *xom* organization. Thus, the *xom*, or subhamlet, with its shrine and related religious activities is identical with the *lien gia*, and consequently, each *lien gia* now has an informally recognized group of elders and ceremonial leaders besides the appointed *lien gia* chief, deputy chief, information officer, and security agent.

Some interesting implications arose with the superimposing of the *lien gia* on an already existing socio-religious infrastructure. In some of the southern regions of Vietnam, including Saigon, the *lien gia* has yet to become a meaningful local organization. Although the primary

functions of the *lien gia* are to disseminate news and information and provide security, these activities are often carried out through informal channels. The organization of the *lien gia* in these areas is considered artificial and sometimes illogically imposed with regard to natural social groupings. In Cam An this is not the case, since the *lien gia* conforms to an already functioning social unit.

The terms *lien gia* and *xom* are both used, but in different contexts, when dealing with issues and problems of an official nature, such as the organization of work groups for community development projects or the reception of information and propaganda from the village office, the group is referred to as the *lien gia* and the activities are organized through *lien gia* officials. However, when concerned with the mundane problems of everyday life, such as minor disputes or financial or personal advice, the group is called the *xom*, and the *xom* chief, *xom* elders or the head of the *thon* fishermen's organization function as unofficial advisors. On occasion, however, the separateness of functions is blurred, and it was noted, for example, that sometimes the village chief issues memos to a "xom representative" rather than to the chief of the *lien gia* as would be expected.

The fishermen of Cam An conceive of the *xom* as their basic territorial (as opposed to kinship) organization, and *xom* identification is strong. It is within this unit that most daily, face-to-face relations occur.

Each *xom* has a name and a given number of households. For example: An Ban, has 6 *xom*, the largest consisting of 130 households and each of the others of from 30 to 50 families. Each *xom* is a tightly agglomerated group of houses adjacent to another *xom*, all within a few minutes walking distance from each other. The close physical proximity of these units within the hamlet contrasts with the relatively great social distance. For example: People would often remark, "I don't know how they do it over in that *xom*, but here in An Hoi (a *xom* name) we do it this way." Solidarity is further reinforced by the *xom* religious rituals which still are celebrated during the first and eighth lunar months.

The importance of the *xom* varies from one hamlet to another. In An Ban, Tan Thanh, and the island hamlet of Tan Hiep, which have had relatively stable populations for the past century, the *xom* maintains its social and religious significance. In Phuoc Trach, however, which was recently settled, the *xom* has no historical depth and is much less important than the Fishermen's Association as the center of social, economic, and religious activity.

C. LAW ENFORCEMENT AND SECURITY AGENCIES

The police councilor on the village council is responsible for law enforcement and security in the village. He holds all police powers and judicial authority. He has the right to make an arrest, keep a minor offender in custody for two hours, and impose fines not exceeding 30\$ (or one day's work on behalf of the community in case of insolvency). He administers justice in minor civil disputes.

He serves all court warrants and subpoenas, as well as government orders regarding the draft or the yearly training period which ex-servicemen must undergo. In these cases, the police councilor merely makes copies of the paper in question, sends the council's only messenger out to summon the party concerned to the communal house, and, when the person arrives, has him sign the notification. He issues authorizations for villagers to travel outside the province (suspected subversives are barred from that privilege) and rice trading licenses when rice is rationed. He makes monthly reports to the district chief on the number of villagers who have joined the Viet Cong since the Geneva Agreement. (The figure is 55 and has remained unchanged since 1955). He is responsible for the surveillance of the *cau luu* or "offenders under investigation." These people, 51 in all, are suspected of being Viet Cong sympathizers, either because some relatives have joined the Viet Cong or because they were denounced as suspects by other Cam An inhabitants during public meetings in 1955.

The police councilor is assisted by the four hamlet self-defense chiefs. Each chief has under his command 6 platoons or 18 squads of 12 men each. Every able-bodied male between the ages of 18 and 25 is a member of the self-defense group. At the time of the research, 864 men were active in it.

In each hamlet the night watch is rotated among the six platoons. They man the three designated watch posts and, twice during the night, patrol within the hamlet boundaries. The police chief held one training course on and off for four weeks which consisted of close order drill, ambush techniques, patrol and search, watch and guard, and deployment and disposition in case of emergency. Each man has the following standard armament:

1. One wooden stick, lm. 70cm. long.
2. One 5-meter rope.
3. One kerosene torch.
4. One tocsin, a piece of hollow bamboo used for beating out messages.
5. One bag containing 25 pebbles or brick splinters used as hand-thrown projectiles.

The basic functions of the People's Self Defense Group are to insure security and maintain peace and order in the four hamlets. Questioned as to their effectiveness in case of Viet Cong activity, the police chief said that elsewhere, in Quang Nam Province, such units have been known to have kept armed Viet Cong agents at bay. Having no other weapons, they surrounded the Viet Cong and threw rocks at them.

The police chief claimed that since he took office in July 1960, he had had no trouble with the Viet Cong, gambling, land disputes, prostitution, or fighting. However, he did become involved in two cases, one suicide and one theft, descriptions of which are repeated here because of their cultural interest.

The suicide occurred about two months prior to our interview. One night, at about 11:30 p.m., the police councilor was notified that a woman from the fisherman's hamlet had drowned herself in the river. Around midnight, he arrived on the scene. The victim's body already had been recovered and brought to her house. After ascertaining that the woman was dead, the police chief made a certified statement of the case and then proceeded to question witnesses. He finished his report at 2 a.m. and sent it at once to the district chief with a duplicate copy to the gendarmerie outpost at Dien Ban.

At 9 a.m. the next morning, one gendarme came to Cam An to make inquiries. His findings appeared to confirm the preliminary report made by the police councilor. The victim, a newly married girl, had jumped into the water to drown herself. Alerted neighbors were unable to rescue her because of darkness. It was rumored that the girl had been unhappy since her marriage and that she had suffered from mistreatment by her mother-in-law. With the gendarme's agreement, the village council issued a burial permit and the gendarme left.

However, the victim's family refused to bury her, complaining that justice had not been done. When at the end of two more days the body was still in the house, the police councilor had no choice but to notify the gendarmerie again. This time the gendarmes came back with an ambulance and a man in a white smock who villagers thought to be a medical doctor. This man said that since the victim's parents questioned her death, he was obliged to perform an autopsy right in their home. The parents were disturbed by this information so they withdrew their complaints and buried their daughter's body that day. Sometime later, the victim's husband and parents-in-law were reportedly summoned to the Hoi An tribunal by an examining judge but were allowed to go free after giving testimony. This was the extent of the police councilor's knowledge of the case.

The other case dealt with a theft of jewelry just before *Tet* (Vietnamese New Year). A villager found one day that a pair of earrings he kept in a locked suitcase had disappeared. He suspected a neighbor woman of having stolen them but did not file a complaint. He waited until one day when the suspected woman started on a trip to Hoi An. He intercepted her at the bus station, searched her and found the earrings. The accompanying struggle attracted a large crowd, and both the accused and accuser were arrested. The woman denied stealing the earrings, claiming she had bought them in Hoi An. The complainant could not prove ownership of the jewelry. The police councilor simply took statements from the two and prepared a report in triplicate: one for the Quang Nam court, one for the district chief's office and one for the gendarmerie. The parties involved were, at the same time, placed at the disposal of the court. The police councilor did not follow up on the case and therefore did not know its final disposition.

D. ADMINISTRATIVE ACTIVITIES

This section is comprised of a brief biographic sketch of the village councilors; a description of administrative activities observed during the period of investigation, and problems which confront the villagers and the village council.

1. Biographies

a. THE VILLAGE CHIEF.

The 56-year-old village chief, a former elementary school teacher in Cam An, spent four years in jail during the Viet Minh period. The reason he gave for his confinement was his ability to speak French. He was appointed village chief in 1957 and attempted to resign in 1960. Instead of accepting the resignation the former district chief assigned him the additional responsibility of controlling boat traffic and fishing activities in the Cua Dai estuary for security purposes.

The village chief stated he will attempt to resign again after the new district chief becomes better acquainted with district problems. He is eager to retire because of his age and ill health. Village officials had not received their allowances for five months preceding the field study, but the chief claimed he had been working in his job to help his country rather than gain material advantages. Thus, the lack of remuneration for his efforts was not advanced as a reason for his desire to resign.

b. THE POLICE CHIEF.

The village councilor in charge of police and security is a 31-year-old fisherman with a three-year elementary school education. From 1951 to 1953, he served in the Vietnamese army where he received the Cross of Valor. After his return to Cam An he served as the head of a *lien gia* and as chief of the villages self-defense corps. In 1960, he was appointed village police chief. Like the village chief, he has been supportd by his family recently because of lack of funds for monthly allowances.

c. THE FINANCE COUNCILOR.

Several weeks prior to the field study a new finance councilor was appointed by the district chief. The former councilor was reportedly relieved of his duties because of his involvement in misappropriating funds. After the district chief ordered his removal, the village council and elders met to choose his successor. They named the head of the village National Revolutionary Movement, but when the district chief found this individual had been with the Viet Minh, he disapproved the appointment and selected a villager who had no experience, desire, or qualification for the position. The council members and some of the villagers had misgivings about the final appointment but the district chief claimed that loyalty was the major consideration when making such appointments.

The district chief, a Catholic, felt that since the new finance councilor was a Catholic, he could be trusted. A number of Catholics in the village expressed concern over the nonacceptance of the new finance councilor because it might be related to the religious issue. The village council members continued to call on the services and advice of the ex-finance officer; the new councilor remained reticent and relatively voiceless in village affairs.

d. THE ADMINISTRATIVE COUNCILOR.

Before being appointed to this post, the administrative councilor had worked in the village as the police chief (1955) and secretary to the village council (1956). He acquired his present status in 1958. He is 41 years old and has a 3-year elementary school education. Besides keeping records and vital statistics, the administrative councilor is charged with the training and propaganda functions of the National Revolutionary Movement.

2. Activities

The purpose of the following description is to indicate the types of work performed and the range of problems encountered by the village chief and his staff. It will be noted that few decisions are made which are vital to the village as a whole. Rather, the primary functions of the village chief, at least during the period of observation, tended to be routine fulfillment of directives from the district and province, maintenance of records and land registers, security, and the control of the movement of boats and villagers.

During the week of observation, four declarations of loss of identity cards were made, accompanied by requests for new ones. Usually the village council made the applicants wait several days before their cases were reviewed. This deliberate delay was imposed by the village chief to point up the seriousness of losing these important papers. New cards finally were issued, certified by the village chief. No charge or fine was levied.

Another frequent request submitted to the council was for permission to leave the village for such purposes as joining a fishing group, buying salt from another village, and traveling to Hoi An and other distant places for shopping and business. Indications were that this security measure was applied more vigorously during the time of the study because of the forthcoming presidential election; the district chief wanted to discourage travel so the villagers would be at home to fulfill their duties as voters.

The period of study was a hectic week for the village council because it was charged with the completion of the village voting list. At least sixty claims of errors and omissions were submitted to the council. The district chief, who did not want to take the time to set up a special election committee, was nevertheless concerned with accuracy and had issued instructions on how to rectify errors rapidly.

A number of fishermen visited the village office each day to check the names in the fishermen's register, to have their log books inspected, or to register the names of crew members.

The village chief and the police councilor were also requested to issue written authorization to hold the Spring Celebration (*Te Xuan*), the *van*'s annual whale ceremony with classical theatrical performances, and a *xom* ceremony in honor of Princess Ngu Hanh which included a performance by *thon* artists. In the cases of the ceremonies, the village chief was concerned with security and the maintenance of order. He

instructed the *van* leader to talk with a *thon* chief about taking security measures for the whale ceremony. At the insistence of the *van* leader, the village chief finally issued written instructions to the chief of Phuoc Trach, where the ceremony was to be held. When the *xom* representative approached the village chief concerning the *xom* ceremony, he was instructed to request security measures from his *thon* chief before permission was granted.

Following is a list of other functions carried out by the village chief during the week:

Issue of authorization, requested by a man from the Protestant church, to show a film to villagers.

Distribution of draft orders to young villagers through the hamlet chiefs.

Conferring with a representative of the provincial agrarian service to ascertain the location of private lands, and a representative of the cadastral service to check on some properties in the village.

Certification of records for per diem submitted by cadastral agents.

Consideration of a case related to Cam An public land use by people of a neighboring village for planting pine trees. The village chief referred this affair to a special commission at the province level. A similar case occurred in another village which resulted in a fight between village notables, some of whom received jail sentences from the court.

Compilation of a list of all village and district information agents in compliance with instructions from the General Directorate of Information in Saigon.

Selection of a village councilor to attend a training course on election procedures.

Maintenance of the sea control register.

Publication of the private land register and maps, and receipt of ownership claims from the Private Land Survey Commission which was composed of 5 or 6 village notables assigned to help the cadastral service survey lands and draw maps.

Meetings at the village level to discuss:

- (1) Training material
- (2) Military reserves

- (3) Compilation of a list of first-aid agents and midwives in the village to attend an in-service training course.
- (4) Dissemination of information on election procedures through theatrical performances.

Meeting at provincial headquarters to study election procedures.

Below is a list of the main records and files kept by the administrative councilor:

1. Incoming mail journal.
2. Outgoing mail journal.
3. Current affairs file
4. Completed work file
5. Secret correspondence.
6. Correspondence with higher authorities
7. Documents pertaining to economic activities
8. Documents pertaining to the election
9. Miscellaneous documents
10. Declarations of identity card losses
11. Journal of correspondence going out of the province
12. Record of immigrants coming from other villages
13. Record of emigrants
14. Correspondence with hamlets
15. Lists of voters
16. Lists of fishermen
17. Record of meetings (of the Advisory Council, etc.)

3. Problems

a. THE VILLAGE BUDGET.

Most of the funds needed to defray village expenses are collected locally. Surcharges on rice fields, land taxes (licensing, revenues from public lands, and "contributions by village residents" or head taxes² constitute the major village resources (see Appendix IV). In Cam An, however, officials have had difficulty collecting these revenues, thus creating a deficit in income which has forced the curtailment of allowances to

²"Head taxes" are taxes for which an equal rate applies to all village residents.

members of the village council. In 1960, for example, receipts and expenditures were to have totaled 277,783\$, but only reached 161,000\$ of which 70,000\$ were subventions from the province and two other villages. The remainder of the income was expected to come from the local residents. In fact, these funds were not collected. In 1961, the subventions from the province and other villages were not forthcoming, and the village chief estimated fairly early in the year that the total income for F.Y. 1961 would only amount to 55,000\$, roughly the amount collected from surcharges on public properties and land taxes. Therefore, estimated receipts would total less than one-fifth of the projected village expenditures.

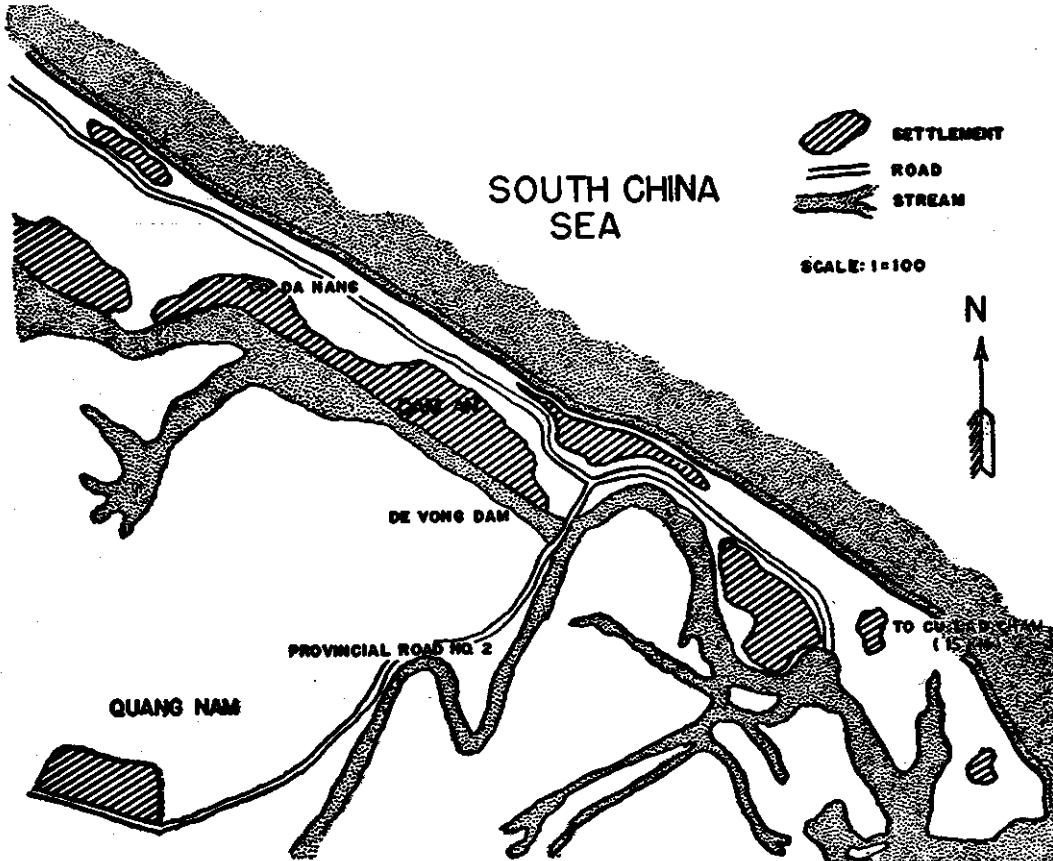
The financial problem of Cam An rests on the inability of the village council to collect contributions from villagers or, conversely, the inability of fishermen to pay the head taxes. The "voluntary" yearly contributions were set at 40\$ per adult in 1960 and raised to 60\$ in 1961. The head tax was increased to offset the decrease in revenues from outside subventions.

The village chief argued that the average fisherman had so little money that he was unable to pay taxes;² therefore, the chief attempted to collect only from the wealthier boat owners, a practice which may not incense the people but which could not be expected to acquire the funds necessary for the management of village affairs.

Tax collection or "voluntary contributions" from villagers in Vietnam has long been a problem. In recent years taxes have been levied, but since villagers do not traditionally pay them, they have been largely ignored. In traditional Vietnam, the wealthy carried the financial burden, and generally, they also formed the council of notables which governed village affairs. The notables received no allowance, since they usually held their positions because of their independent means. The responsibility of government was not that of the governed, but of those who governed. Cam An illustrates the problem of creating a peasantry responsible for its own administration; the village council is reluctant to insist on tax payment for fear of arousing negative sentiments, and the villagers feel no particular concern for problems outside those directly affecting themselves.

The government of the Republic of Vietnam is now attempting to assure the loyalty of the people, especially the villager. Collecting taxes from peasants and the methods used are issues that the Viet Cong stresses in its propaganda tracts. Apparently, intensive attempts at tax collection in rural areas at this time, especially with an uneducated

MAP 2
Cam An Village



and unresponsive peasantry, would be ill-conceived. In market towns, provincial centers, and semiurban communities the problem is not so acute because a major portion of local government funds accrue from sources other than the head tax. It might be advisable to locate other sources of revenue for the more remote and isolated villages, i.e., the majority of Vietnamese communities. In Cam An, for example, the village chief indicated that possibly the government would allocate part of the estimated 435,000\$ per year revenue it receives from the swallow nest industry on the Cham Islands, one of the four hamlets of the village. He also believed that subsidies from the province or from wealthier towns and villages might be utilized to support village needs.

Ultimately the villagers must be educated to assume the responsibilities of financial contribution. However, given the severe security situation, it may be unwise at this time to press the issue. It is not that the villagers are disloyal or do not support the present regime, but tradition and present circumstances dictate against the initiation of "voluntary contributions" or taxation from a subsistence level populace that remains unaware of contemporary political problems and fiscal considerations.

b. THE CAM AN DAM.

The major community development project undertaken by the government in Cam An—a dam built in 1959 across the river-inlet or estuary which divides Cam An from the three adjacent rice-producing villages (see map 2)—is a continuing source of irritation to the villagers. For people in An Ban and Tan Thanh, the estuary, once used to dock boats, has become virtually useless; fishing has been affected and even coconut production has declined because of the dam. Furthermore, the amount of time Cam An people had to spend working on construction of the dam, without pay, still rankles them.

Before construction began, representatives from the four villages bordering the estuary were summoned to the district office where provincial authorities outlined the project. The Cam An people did not oppose the dam at the time because, they said, they could not foresee its negative effects. Representatives from the other villages believed the dam would help deter the flow of salt water into upriver areas, thus providing more fresh water for irrigation.

The first phase of the construction was financed by provincial funds, but ultimately laborers from seven villages had to be recruited to work without pay in order to complete the project. In the first stage,

which lasted four months, the work was done by laborers hired at 30-40\$ per cubic meter of mounded earth. After that, unpaid labor was used and Cam An Village contributed more than 20,000 man days to the over-all 60,000 required to finish the dam. Although people throughout the village complained about working on the dam, claiming they either lost money from being unable to fish or had to send their wives or old people to work, the major objections were raised by the residents of An Ban and Tan Thanh. Boat owners and builders now have to lift their boats over the dam in order to get them from the estuary into the sea. This process requires the assistance of many men since there are no mechanical lifts. Thus, the flow of traffic on the estuary has become negligible and boats must be berthed in the inlet far from the hamlets. This is apparently the major aggravation caused by the dam. In addition, however, fishing in the area cut off by the structure has declined because salt-water fish no longer inhabit these waters. Thus, the area of operations for one form of offshore fishing (push-lift net fishing, see Chapter 2) has been decreased. Villagers claim that many people depended upon this type of fishing during the offshore season and their livelihood is being threatened.

Coconut production has also declined since the dam was built. The coconut trees which line the banks of the inlet thrive on a mixture of salt and fresh water. Since the dam separates the fresh from the salt, the trees are gradually dying.

One wealthy, longtime resident of An Ban who is both a boat builder and fisherman summarized the sentiments of most of the villagers. He immediately turned our interview on kinship to the problem of the dam: "Why don't you (the Americans) do something about getting rid of that dam? It has caused all the villagers great anxiety. We don't know why they built it in such a place but we have heard that it was ordered by the Americans—maybe for military purposes. You should tell them that it is hurting us and that they should remove it and build a movable bridge so that boats and water can flow freely in the estuary."

The village chief claims he has complained about the dam to higher authorities and even requested the intervention of a National Assemblyman because no one in the village wants the dam. "However," he continued, "we have been cautious not to voice our dissatisfaction too strongly, since rumors have been circulated that the dam was built for some military purpose."

We learned from interviews at provincial headquarters that the dam has military significance. The only road from Hoi An to the sea

crosses a narrow bridge which could easily be destroyed by an invading force. To avert this possibility, an alternate route to the sea was constructed over the much less vulnerable dam. District and provincial authorities also claim that although the fishermen of Cam An have been "inconvenienced," wet-rice agriculture in the other three villages has improved markedly because of irrigation made possible by the dam.

It is unfortunate that accurate information has not been disseminated to the people of Cam An on the dam issue, and possibly some compensation given to those who suffered economically as a result of its construction. Although the dam might be beneficial to the upriver villagers and also a military necessity, serious aggravation was created in Cam An by the "community development" project nobody wanted.

2 | *Economic Activity: Fishing and the Van*

From 85 to 90 percent of the households of Cam An are engaged in fishing, the remainder in related enterprises such as boatbuilding, net-making and sailmaking, and the operation of small supply shops and grocery stores. Villagers almost never seek employment outside, even in the nearby towns of Hoi An and Da Nang, because, according to informants, employment opportunities usually exist in fishing, the trade they know best. Even when fishing is poor, or the weather bad, people are reluctant to change occupations because of their traditional attachment to the sea as the source of their livelihood. Many fishermen live on houseboats and their wives give birth to children and rear them on the boats. Youngsters who live on the land begin to join in the fishing at 10 or 11 years of age. Fishing is central to existence in Cam An and is considered a way of life rather than an occupation or an economic enterprise.

Occasionally elderly men or women retire from fishing to open small stores selling cigarettes, Coca Cola, beer, and other items which may net them 5\$ or 6\$ per day. But generally even those who are too old to fish spend their time repairing nets and boats, drying fish, hanging the nets, and in other activities related to fishing. Old women and children of both sexes also sweep and collect pine needles which are used for fuel, and on the island hamlet of Tan Hiep some households

are engaged in lumbering and small-scale wet-rice agriculture. However, these activities only supplement fishing.

The remainder of this chapter is devoted to a description of the classification of fishermen, types of fishing and fishing boats, credit, marketing, and the fishermen's association, the *van*.

A. CLASSIFICATION OF FISHERMEN

The two most important factors related to occupational activity and social status in Cam An are the ownership of a boat and fishing equipment, and the acquisition of fishing skills. In principle, taxes are levied on the basis of boat ownership and size, as are contributions to the *van* and to religious festivals. Large boatowners have more influence in *van* and hamlet affairs than do small boatowners or crewmen. In Cam An there is little social mobility, and the differences between socio-economic status groups are small. The purchase of a boat would, of course, raise the status of an individual, but since boats are expensive this is not the usual route to higher position in the society. Rather, a crew member seeks to acquire special skills in fishing in the hope of becoming an assistant skipper on a large deep-sea fishing boat. Such a position raises his social as well as his economic status. In rare instances his increased income might allow the purchase of a boat and further social mobility.

Fishermen in Cam An can be divided roughly into three broad categories: (1) expert fishermen, (2) crew members, and (3) ordinary fishermen. The first group is subdivided into *lat chanh*, fishermen who own boats, and *lat phu*, those who do not. The *lat chanh*, assisted by a *lat phu*, directs fishing operations aided by less experienced crew members called *ban* (friends). The third category, ordinary fishermen, make a living by offshore fishing with their own equipment. This is not an inflexible stratification because experienced crew members may become *lat phu*, and ordinary fishermen are often recruited as crew members for deep-sea operations.

B. FISHING METHODS

There are two major types of fishing in Cam An waters determined by the season: deep-sea and offshore.

1. Deep-Sea Fishing.

Deep-sea net fishing starts on the first day of the second lunar month and continues until the end of the fifth lunar month. During this season

the seas are usually calm and larger boats may be out for as long as 15 days, depending on the catch. One informant said that the boats go beyond sight of land, probably more than 60 kilometers from Cam An. If the catch is good, the boat returns early and goes out again.

A deep-sea fishing boat is equipped with three sails and several sets of nets. It has a skipper, his assistant and a crew of four to six members. The *lai chanh* provides food and other necessary materials such as salt, which is used in place of refrigeration. It is estimated that about one ton of salt is used for each long trip. The *lai chanh* recruits crew members from among the villagers, usually selecting those who have worked with him before and who have experience and proven skill in deep-sea fishing.

The major fish caught in deep-sea operations is the *ca chuon*, or flying fish, but there are innumerable other species in Cam An waters such as cod (*ca thu*), tiger shark (*ca map*), mackerel tuna (*ca ngu*), blue-fin tuna (*ca chong*), sardine (*ca be*), and dolphin (*ca dua*).¹ This is just a partial list; one informant said that two days would not be sufficient time to list the varieties of fish that are caught around Cam An.

After fishing grounds have been temporarily exhausted or a boat has been loaded with fish, which are immediately packed in salt, the fishermen return to Cua Dai, a landing at the mouth of the Thu Bon River where the catch is sold to a middleman (*roi*). It is to the advantage of the *roi* if he can prolong the bargaining because the fishermen are eager to sell their catch and return to the sea. Prices for the major catch are relatively high, varying from a few thousand to 100,000\$. This is much more than offshore fishermen can earn with their daily landings.

The cost of food, salt, and other materials necessary for the fishing operation, originally supplied by the *lai chanh*, are deducted from the amount of the total sales. The remainder is divided in two, the *lai chanh* receiving one half and crew members the other half. In principle, the assistant skipper shares in the crew's half, but he usually receives extra money from the *lai chanh*.

2. Offshore Fishing.

After June when the rains begin and the seas are rough, the Cam An people depend on fish caught near the shore of the village. Fishing opera-

¹The English terms were found in K. Kuronuma, *A Check List of Fishes of Vietnam*, (Division of Agriculture and Natural Resources, United States Operations to Vietnam, January 1961).

tions of this type include long-line fishing, push-lift net fishing, *nghe gla* (offshore net), *luoi quet* (sweeping net), *luoi rung* (vibrating), *manh ngang* (lateral), and *manh com* (small-hole net). The long-line operation is carried out by some fishermen the year around. It consists of a main line carrying a number of branch lines at regular intervals, each with a baited hook. Recently nylon line has been introduced to Cam An to replace silk and hemp, but since nylon line costs about 1,000\$ per kilogram, most of the long-line fishermen have not yet been able to afford it. Two-ton wooden boats with sail and oars and a four- to six-man crew are required for long-line fishing. The catch varies with the weather, and often the cash returns do not even cover the cost of the bait (shrimp). Villagers estimate a long-line crew averages about 50\$ per day.

The *nghe gla* (offshore net) season begins in the fifth lunar month and lasts until the end of the year. This is a daily operation going on from 4 a.m. until 7 p.m. All sizes of boats are used and the catch includes a wide variety of fish such as flounder (*ca danh*) and pony fish (*ca liet*).

Luoi quet, the sweeping net method, requires a large number of small five-oar boats operated by 30 or 40 crewmen. Nets are "swept" through the waters near the beach to trap the many types of small offshore fish. *Luoi quet* operations occupy the months of November and December of the lunar calendar.

The most fascinating method of fishing employed in Cam An is the push-lift net (*ro*) type. Five or six boats, equipped with nets supported by a frame and fixed to a lever, line up along side each other with nets lowered in the water. The men of the family operate the lever while the women man small "chaser" boats. The "chaser" boats move into formation about 20 meters in front of the "net" boats. At a given signal the women, standing up, row toward the "net" boats and stamp their wooden clogs on the floor boards of the "chasers." The loud staccato noise produced is supposed to chase the fish toward the nets. When the "chasers" approach the "net" boats, the men jump on the levers, raising the nets. Although this is a well-coordinated, organized venture, it is not very productive, the average return for a day's work being about 40\$ per boat. Push-lift net fishing takes place in the inland waters of the Thu Bon River estuary and has been hampered by the recent dam construction. Not only are the catches smaller, but the area of operation has been diminished.

A number of other less important types of offshore fishing methods are utilized in Cam An, but these are generally variations of those described above and depend upon the size of the net meshing. For ex-

ample, nets of a very fine mesh, (*mank com*) are used to catch the tiny *ca com*.^a

3. Fishing Boats.

Fishing boats used in Cam An are all of wood and powered either by sail or oar. The best boats are made of *sao* a hard wood which is water resistant and known for its durability. Boatbuilders, of whom there are 11 in Cam An, estimate it takes about 100 days of skilled labor to build a large 3 sail boat. A 3-sail boat usually cost from 60,000\$ to 70,000\$ but these were selling for as little as 45,000\$ at the time of this research because of a decrease in the price of timber. A new boat needs no major repairs for the first four years; after that annual repairs are required. A boat can be used for about 15 years.

Only the 3-sail boats are used for deep-sea fishing; the offshore boats have 1 or 2 sails and sometimes merely oars.

Of the 369 boats registered in Cam An, only 52 are of the deep-sea type.

FIGURE 2
TYPES AND NUMBER OF BOATS BY HAMLET^b

HAMLET	Total	Deep-Sea Boats	OFFSHORE BOATS		Misc.
			Long-Line Fishing	Fishing Net	
An Bang	148	29	53	40	26
Tan Thanh	81	3	50	9	19
Phuoc Trach	126	20	60	21	25
Tan Hiep	14		1	8	5
Total	369	52	164	78	75

C. SYSTEM OF CREDIT AND PROBLEMS OF MARKETING

One of the major problems in developing nations whose economies are based on primary industries such as agriculture and fishing is that of a system of credit for investment in those industries. In a subsistence economy based on agriculture, for example, the proceeds from the previous year's crop are spent before the next planting season. The farmer is hard pressed for seed and the means to hire labor to work the fields for the next crop. Furthermore, funds are not available for innovations such as fertilizer, irrigation, weed killers, or insecticides, all necessary for modernization and economic development. The only means of overcoming this cyclical obstacle to livelihood, as well as development,

^aCom means rice, an indication of the minute size of the fish.

^bInformation supplied by village chief and village budget.

is some form of credit by which a farmer can borrow on the following year's crops. Credit is available in most of these societies but the system is usually so usurious that the farmer continually goes further into debt. The same is true of fishermen in a developing country and Cam An is a case in point.

In Cam An only 4 or 5 boatowners are solvent; the remainder, as well as ordinary fishermen, are in debt. The creditors in the village are the storekeepers who act as permanent and ready suppliers of all the fishermen's needs: rice, salt, ropes, hooks, lines, oil, floats, and wine. The amount of indebtedness varies among classes of fishermen. A *lat chanh* may owe as much as 30,000\$, which can include money borrowed to pay a portion of the cost of constructing his boat or credit on provisions for a deep-sea fishing excursion. Crew members accept loans of rice, dried fish, or oil which they leave with their families before embarking on a fishing trip.

The storekeepers, of course, collect interest on their loans. This is done in two ways: (1) a 10 percent rate is charged for short, 1- to 5-month loans, and (2) the price charged for items sold on credit is higher than that charged in other areas or if bought with cash. For example: 100 kilograms of rice in Hoi An may cost only 600\$, but on credit in Cam An it may be 650\$ or more.

The exact time for repayment of loans cannot be set because of the varied nature of the fishing operations, but generally a fisherman is expected to repay his debts whenever he is able. The respect of this practice establishes his credit rating and allows him to contract loans in the future. Although the amount each family owes may vary from a few piasters to 30,000\$, debt is a universal phenomenon in Cam An.

The fishermen of Cam An are well aware of a possible solution to their problem—easy credit through a fishery cooperative. A cooperative was formed in July 1959, but, fishermen complain, they have received no benefits. Each share in the cooperative was to cost 100\$, and each member could acquire up to 5 shares. Some fishermen were reluctant to join but about 224 bought shares. Most of them have not yet received a receipt of payment, much less loans. Thus, the cooperative in Cam-An is not yet operative as a credit institution and its inefficient management has led to a deterioration of trust in the handling of village affairs by "outsiders" including government officials.

The present head of the cooperative is a Hoi An businessman who was appointed by the district chief. According to informants, he does not visit the village and has little concern for, or awareness of, the prob-

lems encountered by fishermen. They believe he has swindled them of their hard-earned cash; they feel they have no recourse for the injustice. The fishermen must continue to borrow from the storekeepers and remain in debt.

The failure of the fishing cooperative is disappointing to many villagers, not only because of the organization's inability to make low interest loans available, but also because it has not functioned as a marketing institution. The cooperative was originally conceived as a multiservice organization with the purpose of improving the living conditions of fishermen through credit and marketing. Present marketing conditions, while advantageous to the middleman, impede the development of efficient fishing practices, especially deep-sea operations. This problem is best summarized by a sub-*van* chief who is a deep-sea fisherman.

If the cooperative were well organized it would help us very much. It usually takes us from 2 to 4 days to market our catch. If the cooperative were ready to buy our catch, it would pay us to sell to them at a lower price than we now sell to the middlemen. We would be able to dispose of our catch in one day, or a half a day, and return to the fishing grounds. Now the marketing process is so cumbersome it hurts our fishing operation, because it prohibits us from exploiting the good fishing opportunities.

The cooperative idea throughout Vietnam, as well as in other parts of the world, is not easy to sell. It assumes knowledge on the part of the peasant that he will receive a return on his original investment. It is difficult to entice a subsistence farmer or fisherman to invest in an unestablished, unseen, and unproven organization. He cannot *see* the advantages of such an investment in contrast, let's say, to a kilogram of rice or a fishing net.

Furthermore, there is a general fear among the peasantry of "government," usually defined as any organization or concept larger than a hamlet or neighborhood grouping. "I would not dare to borrow money on next season's fish (or rice). If I could not pay back because of a poor catch (or yield), I would certainly go to jail." This was a common response to questions on credit institutions on the island of Tan Hiep.

In general, however, the fishermen of Cam An clearly see the need for an efficient, multi-purpose cooperative; they have invested in one and seek its benefits. Unfortunately, the operation of such an organization requires skilled administrators, trust, and imagination. But, as one villager said, "the man in charge of the cooperative is in Hoi An and knows nothing about fishing. We should have a cooperative geared to our own problems, organized by our own people. But most of the people in Cam An are not capable of successfully running the kind of cooperative we need."

D. ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES IN TAN HIEP

The economy of the island hamlet of Tan Hiep differs from the mainland hamlets in that fishing is not the major source of income. Lumbering and agriculture are at least, if not more, important. Cash is scarce, and generally, people eat what they grow in the fields or catch from the sea. The four small, sundry shops sell only candy, candles, rice wine, and cakes. There are two barber shops and no fish supply stores. Thirty students attend a new primary school recently constructed from American-aid funds. The hamlet headquarters is located near the school, at the small-boat landing. In the valley between two high slopes is a small clearing for paddy fields.

Nearly one-half of the 82 households own small strips of paddy field, the rest of the people work for their neighbors as farm laborers. The largest landholding in Tan Hiep is 3,600 square meters (0.36 hectares) and the average is one-tenth of this, or 360 square meters. Seedlings for the first rice crop are prepared in the 9th lunar month, transplanted during the 11th month, and harvested in the 3rd month, of the following year. The fields are then plowed, and transplanting for the second crop is completed in the fifth lunar month and the rice is harvested in the eighth month. Because of the scarcity of water, only one-half of the land is cultivated for the second crop.

Agricultural laborers are paid 15 liters of paddy per day for plowing, transplanting, and harvesting. Meals are also supplied by land-owners except during harvest season. It is estimated that a farm laborer only can work up to 15 days per year. Agriculture is preferred over fishing and lumbering in Tan Hiep because of the certainty of the yield. Fishing has not developed as an occupation on the island and that which is done is of the seasonal offshore variety. Occasionally, middlemen visit the island to buy fish but the amount sold is negligible. Some timber cut from the forested mountain sides is sold and lumbering activities consume about six months of the year. Most households in Tan Hiep engage in all three areas of work—lumbering, agriculture, and fishing.

The islanders rarely visit the mainland, although marriages are arranged between people of Tan Hiep and those of the three mainland hamlets. When weather permits, hamlet officials journey to Cam An to gather information, news, and instructions.

The chief of Tan Hiep said the hamlet's two main problems are security and monkeys. Thus far no Viet Cong has been seen approaching the island, but a constant alert is maintained and the beach must be guarded at night. There are no weapons on the island. Monkeys outnumber

ber humans on Tan Hiep, and the villagers are seeking means to eradicate the animals because of the damage they do to rice and sweet potato crops. So far, the efforts have been unsuccessful.

E. VAN ORGANIZATION

The fishermen's guild in Cam An is one of the most important social and economic groupings in the village. It is a professional organization which until 1945 had a charter detailing its functions and activities. These included the definition of relationships between boatowner and crewmen, mutual assistance among fishermen, and the settlement of disputes within the *van*. The charter, which was approved by the province chief, was destroyed during the war and no attempt has been made since then to rewrite it or to gain official recognition of the guild. The functions of the *van* remain the same today but it is no longer a quasi-governmental organization.

Van members cooperate in times of danger or distress, such as when shipwrecks or other accidents occur at sea; they loan supplies or money to each other in cases of disaster or loss; members are aided in recovery of wreckage and repair of equipment, and they participate together in religious festivals and related entertainments.

The officials of the *van* are popularly elected by the residents of the village. Candidates for the office of chief are nominated by village elders, boatowners, and village officials, past and present. The chief is elected for an indefinite term, the present one having held his position for eight years. He is assisted by a deputy *van* chief who he selects and *thon van* chiefs who are elected by *van* members in each of the four hamlets. Elections are held every three years for the *thon van* chiefs. Although the *van* chief and his deputy are elected at large from the village, the primary functions of the *van* are maintained at the *thon* level.

When the present hamlets were villages, the *van* chief was an official advisor to the village chief and village council. He was consulted on all decisions and apparently held as much authority as the village chief since he represented the fishermen, the major segment of the population. At present, while holding no official administrative position, the *van* chief and the *thon van* chiefs are consulted by the village council and *thon* chiefs. *Van* officials continue to play a major role in settling disputes and quarrels among fishermen, maintaining equal distribution of the catch, and other occupation-related activities. They also aid the *thon* chiefs in executing instructions and disseminating news and information. Thus, the *van* chiefs act as unofficial assistants

within the *thon* and, according to village officials, are most instrumental in the maintenance of village harmony. For example: It was estimated that only about 30 percent of the occupation-related disputes within the village are called to the attention of the village council, the majority being successfully settled by *van* officials.

The *van* chief receives no salary but is exempt from taxes, guard duty, and community labor. His services are required by the village when occasional visits are made to Tan Hiep by government officials. He musters boats and crews, sees to the decoration of boats for the occasion, and arranges all matters pertaining to transportation. In addition to other duties, *van* chiefs are ceremonial leaders and play a leading role in certain occupational rites and festivals. (See the section on the whale ceremony in Chapter 4.)

The three mainland hamlet *van* are subdivided into a number of smaller units depending on the type of fishing activity and the kind of boat operated. The sub-*van* do not appear to be stratified. For example, the present *van* chief of Tan Thanh is a member of a sub-*van* of small boats. There are 4 sub-*van* in An Ban, 2 in Tan Thanh, and 7 in Phuoc Trach. Following is a list of the sub-*van* in Phuoc Trach, the characteristics of which are similar to those in the other two *thon*:

Van da: includes fishermen in the *thon* who work the three-sail boats or those who engage in deep-sea fishing: 33 boats.

Van Luoi Hat: consists of those who operate small three-ton boats: 30 boats.

Van Cau: includes those operating small boats (one ton with hooked nets: 50 boats

Van re tro: involves fishermen who use the sweeping net method.

Van luoi cuoc: consists of fishermen employing the digging technique which necessitates the cooperation of 30 or 40 people per boat.

Van man ca com: includes those who fish for very small fish in three-ton boats.

Van da rut: comprises those who operate one- to five-ton boats, usually four fishermen to a boat.

The sub-*van* has no chiefs nor any social or economic importance per se, although fishermen of the sub-*van* may, and often do, cooperate

with each other in numerous ways. The *sub-van* is simply a convenient administrative and functional subdivision of the *van*. Occupational disputes are more likely to occur among fishermen engaged in like operations and *van* officials find that quarrels usually occur within a given *sub-van* rather than between *sub-vans*. This breakdown aids in categorizing and solving such problems and also facilitates mobilization for rescue and relief work and the collection of contributions for relief and fees for religious ceremonies, all of which are dependent upon boat size and type of fishing operation.

Unfortunately, limited time in the field precluded the gathering of more intensive information on *van* organization and functions. Until recently, when the present village of Cam An was created, each hamlet or former village had its own *van* organization which differed in various particulars from the others. These differences have persisted, and our field workers continually received conflicting information which could ultimately be traced to *thon* variations. Therefore, the major portion of our time in the field devoted to *van* research was utilized in tracing inconsistencies in data. For these reason, we are not able at this time to detail some of the more important social and economic functions of the *van*, such as the relationship between the *van* and cooperation in fishing, boat repairing, net repairing, labor recruitment, marketing, and interpersonal relations in general. However, we believe we have established that the *van* is a type of indigenous cooperative organized by the fishermen for their own well-being. Cooperative purchase of nets, thread, hooks, and bait and cooperative selling of the catch are all partial functions of the *van*. It was suggested by one villager, in fact, that the reason for the failure of the fishermen's cooperative was possibly a result of its functions overlapping those of the *van*. It might be noted in this connection that the *van*, unlike the co-op, has important ceremonial functions which are central to the religious life of the community.

We also have abundant "scraps" of data, which we were unable to follow up, that might be of sociological significance. We were told, for example, that the fishermen themselves might change from one *van* to another, but that the fisherman's boat must remain in the *van* of original "registration." The meaning, or symbolic meaning, of this and other such pieces of information remain obscure for the present.

In spite of these deficiencies in data, several observations relative to administration and social organization in Cam An emerge from the available information. Two indigenous, voluntary, nonofficial, nongovernmental institutions which appear to function in the organization and

administration of the village have been described: the *xom* and the *van*, both operating within the context of the local unit, the *thon*.⁴ Thus, although administrative and organization functions have been shifted officially to the larger unit, the village, primary activities in these areas remain *thon*-centered and informal.

The appointed *thon* chief is advised by, and seeks consultation with, the chiefs of *xom* and *van* who assist in relaying instructions, news, and propaganda; settle disputes and act as consultants on affairs both personal and occupational; organize religious ceremonies as well as economic, mutual aid, and security activities. In short, the *xom* and the *van* are the units of organization around which the people of the village order their lives and participation in the society.

These observations may seem matter of fact but they have broad ramifications which should be considered in a developing society concerned with more efficient administration and faced with the threat of subversion. For example:

1. They indicate that the community is a tightly knit social unit whose organization and administration is based on local, informal, primary, face-to-face relationships. This is an important consideration for an understanding of the problem of subversion in central Vietnam. Unlike the south where homesteads are widely scattered, the people of the central hamlets are aware not only of the movement of outsiders in the village, but of the most minute details of the lives of their friends, neighbors, and relatives. It is unlikely that Viet Cong cadres and agents could come into these hamlets or live there without a widespread knowledge of their presence.

2. Appointed government officials at the local level are *not* overly involved in administration. The village council members in Cam An are relatively underworked. The village office has few visitors, the village council few problems with residents. The office is quiet except for routine matters of budget, taxation, minor record keeping, and, at the time of our visit, the presidential elections. Primary problems of administration in Cam An are handled through unofficial channels in the *thon*. Information passes from the district office through the village office to the grassroots administrators. The real village leaders are not those in the village office who merely transmit orders and information from above, but are instead the informal *xom* and *van* chiefs in the hamlets.

⁴In the next chapter (Kinship, Marriage and the Family), we shall see the third important non-official sociological unit which governs the life of the people of Cam An.

3. If these observations concerning village administration can be generalized to include a large percentage of Vietnamese villages, then some thought should be given to the advisability of concentrating heavily on technical training, both pre-service and in-service, of village level officials. Decisions of a technical nature as well as the responsibility for carrying out development programs are centered at the district and provincial levels of administration. They are relayed through the village council to the informal *thon* leaders for action.

In the light of this study, training at the village level, if it is to be considered at all, should emphasize the necessity of utilizing already existing "leaders" and organizations for the successful implementation of programs.

3

Kinship, Marriage, and the Family

Whereas the Cam An villager, in his everyday economic, religious, and management activities, participates through such groups as the *van*, *lien gia*, or *xom*, it is his wide circle of relatives and clan members, with whom he interacts, that influence the more personal aspects of his life and the circumstances surrounding the life crises such as birth, marriage, death and natural disaster. Marriage choice, ascribed social status, occupation, inheritance, residence, and the afterlife are all related to the system of kinship. As in other parts of Vietnam, this system is undergoing change mainly due to such external influences as war, political turmoil, and modernization. In the pre-French and French eras, the village was more or less a self-contained unit with few outside influences. The majority of the villagers were illiterate; there were few contacts with provincial or national authorities.

Since 1945, however, there has been a conscious attempt, first by the Viet Minh and then by the Republic of Vietnam, to stimulate changes in these rather isolated villages. Probably the major attention has been focused on evoking political awareness and a feeling of national identity,

but, consequently, certain other ideas have filtered down to the peasant. Literacy has spread, schools have been built, some modern health facilities have been introduced, army recruitment and the civil guard have drawn people out of the villages, and there is more interaction between villages as a result of improved boats and fishing techniques. These and other factors have had an effect on the traditional systems of kinship and marriage.

The changes that have taken place in these areas in Cam An, however, appear to be changes only in emphasis or in the degree of adherence to certain accepted principles. The forms of a (assumed) prototype still exist but the meanings, understandings, and related behavior are not nearly universally accepted phenomena. The remainder of this chapter is an outline of the system of kinship and marriage in Cam An with emphasis on its changing character.

A. THE CLAN

A clan consists of people within or without the village who possess the same surname. Members of a clan claim common descent from an unknown ancestor and therefore consider themselves consanguineously related. For this reason, ideally, marriage is forbidden between members of the same clan. There are a number of clan shrines in Cam An and some houses contain altars where the clan founder is venerated at an annual ceremony. There is no clan chief and no hierarchy of families or lineages within the clan.

Within the main clans are subclans. For example: Tran is a main clan with three subclans: a. Tran-quang, b. Tran-tai, c. Tran-van.

There is another main Tran clan completely different from the one above, also having three subclans: a. Tran-dinh, b. Tran-hiu, c. Tran-duc.

The members of the subclans recognize a common clan ancestor and marriage between subclans is forbidden. Marriage, of course, is permitted between the two different "Tran" clans.

Women do not change their names at marriage so they remain in the clan of their birth throughout their lives. However, since descent is traced through the male, children become members of the father's clans.

The primary function of the clan is the regulation of marriage; it is considered incestuous to marry a member of one's own clan. How-

ever, an indication of the degree of awareness of clan membership or clan "identity" is reflected in the fact that, according to informants, as many as ten percent of the marriages in Cam An may be between members of the same clan. Two reasons were given to explain this: a girl may become pregnant by a clan brother, thus forcing marriage, or the partners to a marriage may not know that they are members of the same clan. The latter usually occurs, of course, as a result of a "love" marriage, and this is the reason why many elders in the community prefer arranged marriages. Formerly the partners to an incestuous marriage would be severely punished, but now it is overlooked.

In the case of marriage between members of the same clan, rumors and an awkward situation are avoided by temporarily changing the name of one of the partners on the marriage announcements and on the paper lanterns which are carried in front of the wedding procession. For example, if Tran Van Lam marries a girl called Tran Thi Thuyet, she may change her name to Nguyen Thi Tuyet. The relaxation of punishment and the easy means of circumscribing the incest rules may indicate a change from our (assumed) prototype of strict clan exogamy, but then possibly there have always been devious means of breaching the taboo.

B. LINEAGE

Ideally, a clan is composed of a number of patrilineages but, in fact, true lineages do not exist. Although there is a heavy patrilineal orientation, relations are recognized on both the paternal and maternal sides. Marriage is forbidden between relatives on both sides and both participate in celebrating the life crises and cooperating on various economic ventures. The patrilineal orientation in Cam An is only a matter of emphasis. For example: Relatives on the paternal side are mourned for a longer period after death; more relatives from the paternal side are present at birth and marriage celebrations. The kinship terminology, too, reflects the patrilineal emphasis. The term *ngoai* (outsider), for example, appears as a suffix on a number of maternal referential terms (*ong ngoai*—maternal grandfather; *ba ngoai*—maternal grandmother), while paternal grandparents are called *ong* and *ba noi* or Mr. and Mrs. "Insider." This may or may not reflect an earlier lineage prototype.

At present, however, a Cam An fisherman lives in a relatively small hamlet surrounded by numerous "relatives." Kinship bounds are close and the relatives undoubtedly give the individual a sense of warmth and security. We were surprised to hear the average villager list not

only the names and relationships of distant relatives and their spouses, but also their occupations and the location of their living quarters. While the recognition of such a wide range of relatives upon whom the individual can rely in times of stress must have certain positive psychological ramifications, it also presents problems in a small and isolated community. Many informants expressed the fear of a son or daughter unwittingly marrying or falling in love with a relative. There is no doubt that the large number of "relatives" seriously limits the range of choice in marriage.

The functions of the kin group have been gradually declining through the years. According to informants, many of these functions have been taken over by neighbors and the *van*. For example: It was reported that years ago only relatives were invited to marriage ceremonies and relatives carried the coffin to the burial ground. Neighbors now attend these ceremonies and may perform or participate in them as they do in house and boat repair. They may also help in times of stress. In a small community where all of the people are engaged in a single occupation, where interdependency and mutual aid and trust are a necessity for existence, the importance of the kin group gives way to the primacy of the local group. Thus, the social fabric of Cam An is a composite of both familial and neighborhood relationships. The individual's social world consists of a number of "insiders," or relatives, and an even greater number of friendly "outsiders."

C. MARRIAGE PATTERNS

Marriage in Cam An is contracted in a manner similar to that in other parts of Vietnam—a mixture of arrangement and free choice. Contrary to our expectations, we did not find a sharp division between the old and the young as to which type of marriage contraction was preferable. Some among both the older and younger generation informants considered arranged marriages preferable; others leaned toward the free choice type.

Most agreed, however, that a combination of the two types is the form most commonly practiced. In all cases, they said, the parents are consulted for approval. A typical case was cited: If a boy sees a girl whom he thinks he would like to marry, he requests his parents to begin negotiations for her. The parents ask a go-between to approach the girl and her parents. If the latter agree, the boy's family brings alcoholic beverages and betel to the girl's house for the *le hot* or engagement ceremony. The boy must then perform groom service at the house

of the bride-to-be for about two years. This might consist of house, boat or net repairing as well as fishing and related enterprises. When the service requirement is fulfilled, the marriage ceremony takes place and the bride moves to the house of her husband. Patrilocality is the ideal, but, in fact, residence is dependent upon a number of factors. If the bride is an only child, for example, the couple may live with her parents. In some cases, an eldest son remains with his parents, but in others, elder sons will build new houses and the youngest son will stay in the family home. There are no clear-cut patterns but patrilocality is preferred in principle.

A widely expressed attitude relative to partner selection was that elders did not want to impose their preferences upon their children. One reason for this is that parents do not want to be blamed for a mismatch that might lead to quarreling and divorce. Thus, it is better for the children to choose their own mates, providing no relationship exists.

A number of people felt the most important variable in marriage is age. "If the ages are not compatible," stated an old woman, "then the marriage cannot be expected to last." Another woman described the ideal daughter-in-law as "neither beautiful nor efficient, for I am not concerned with these qualities. To me, age is the most important thing in the choice of a daughter-in-law. If the ages of the boy and girl are right, the couple will be happy. I have four children, two boys and two girls, and all are happily married. I attribute this success to the careful selection of ages."

There is a high incidence of village endogamy in Cam An. While the majority of marriages are between people who reside in Cam An, it must be remembered that the present village is an amalgamation of four hamlets. In effect then, marriage between people of An Ban and Tan Thanh is considered by the people to be exogamous. From numerous interviews we arrived at the following estimates for hamlet or local endogamy:

An Ban	60-70%
Tan Thanh	60%
Phuoc Trach	50-60%
Tan Hiep	30-40%

The higher frequency of marriage within the hamlet in An Ban and Tan Thanh was to be expected since they are older settlements than Phuoc Trach. Residents of the island hamlet of Tan Hiep, with its small population, have a tradition of arranging marriages with people from the mainland hamlets. A number of marriage exchanges have taken place

between Cam An and the neighboring agricultural village of Cam Hai. With places more distant, only three exchanges have been recorded: one each in Hoi An and Tam Ky in Quang Nam Province and one in Nha Trang in Khanh Hoa Province.

Several reasons may account for the relatively high degree of hamlet exogamy. As mentioned earlier, marriage between relatives and people of the same clan is avoided. Age compatibility as determined by the local calendar reader is another limitation imposed on the small populations of the hamlets. Social status is also a factor governing the choice of mate. Generally, offspring of people of the same occupation tend to marry. In Cam An, of course, since most people are fishermen this fact may appear irrelevant, but social distinctions, determined by size of boat, type of house, and respect in the community, are maintained.

Divorce is rare but not unheard of in Cam An. Informants related that sterility and concubinage are the major causes of marital friction. If, for example, a couple is married for 2 or 3 years without the wife bearing a child, the husband can return her to her parents. The husband then sends a notice to the village council explaining the separation. In cases where the wife has contributed materially to the household prosperity, she is entitled to half the property. If the divorce is not due to sterility and there are children, the property is divided into three shares. The house is an exception to the sharing principle and remains with the husband since it is a shrine or center for ancestor veneration as well as a dwelling. Although concubinage is not common in Cam An, it has occurred frequently enough to be listed by informants as a major problem. One source indicated that separation usually results from a desire to avoid friction when the husband wants a concubine. In other cases, wives are willing to allow the husbands the prerogative of a second wife, and separation or divorce is unnecessary. Ordinarily, a concubine maintains her own household and does not live with the first wife.

As in many other societies, concubinage is a practice of the wealthy, the poor being unable to support more than one woman or family at a time. According to female informants, concubinage causes disputes and disrupts village harmony. Often the wife goes to the home of a concubine and insults her. Neighbors, elders, and the *xom* or *van* chiefs interfere at this point to attempt a reconciliation between the two women. Male informants defended the concubinage system, stating, "if there is no polygamy how can the society solve the problem of widows and surplus women in the village? Besides, many government officials have many wives—why should they forbid us?"

D. THE LIFE CYCLE

This section consists of two parts: (1) a composite view of the life cycle abstracted from a number of interviews, and (2) a brief life history of one villager. Details of child training, weaning, and education will appear in the next section.

The people of Cam An are born in the village, grow up there, marry another Cam An resident, and die at the place of their birth. Life is hard and monotonous, the only excitement being an occasional trip to Hoi An for a movie, or several months spent on the open sea where fishermen might come into contact with people from other fishing villages. Young people fall in love, get married, have children and fall into the general pattern of the fisherman's life.

A month after a child is born, the parents celebrate *came thang* or *kham thang* (a full month). Both close and distant relatives may attend this ceremony. From the time a child is old enough to walk until he is about eight years old, he is free to roam about the village. At about eight the child begins school and his education continues, sporadically, for several years (see Section E). When boys reach the age of 12 or 13, they begin to learn fishing skills. It is at this time too, that children of the opposite sex stop playing together and become somewhat shy in each other's presence. Girls begin to blacken their teeth at about 17 years, the first indication of an interest in beauty. The ideal marriage age for women is from 18 to 22 and for men from 20 to 24. In practice, however, the marriage age is older—from 25 to 27 for men and from 20 to 24 for women.

It is said that a couple reaches adulthood at marriage. It is then the never ending quest for food and other manifestations of a decent livelihood begin. Children are born and the couple grows old. Traditional Vietnamese celebrations at ages 60 or 70 are not held because, villagers said, Cam An people are too poor. Finally, old people fall ill and turn to native medicines and prayer for the elimination of the evil spirits. When a death occurs, the children and other relatives mourn and arrange for the funeral. On the 3rd, 7th, 21st, 49th, and 100th days after death, relatives honor the spirit of the dead family member. Each year, on the anniversary of a death, the family members and relatives gather to venerate and celebrate a feast for the deceased.

The following story was told by the 46-year-old chief of An Ban: I was born here in this hamlet. My parents were poor fishermen. When I was about 12 years old, I started to learn written Chinese for 2 years and I studied written Vietnamese for 1 year. Now, I can only write a few simple Chinese characters.

During that time I had to help the family by performing menial tasks such as sweeping the house, boiling rice, and looking after the babies. At the age of 15 I became sick, but fortunately I recovered without taking any medicines except some herbs gathered by my mother. The illness was caused, people said, because my grandfather's tomb was not properly maintained. After that I started going to sea where I met my wife.

We were married when I was 22 years old. We have had 6 children, but only 2 have survived. Our first child was born 17 years ago, and we now have a 9-year-old daughter who attends the village school. We pay 10 piasters a month for her tuition. The other surviving child is a 3-year-old boy. When we got married my wife came to live in my father's house which is this one. My father was killed by the Viet Cong many years ago. My mother still lives here, but she runs the small shop next door during the day. Before we married, I had to *lam re* (groom service) at the house of my wife's parents for two years. During this time I could not talk to her or even meet her. I had to help my father-in-law build his house, and we built a new boat, too.

I courted my wife by talking to her, and exchanging betel and tobacco. We rarely held hands and I did not kiss her before we were married. During the *lam re* I often watched her to see if she could cook and manage a house. When children were born I did not sleep with my wife for 3 or sometimes 5 months afterwards. (Why?) It is not good to sleep with a woman too soon after she has given birth to a baby. Besides, the sight of a pale, weak, ugly wife after childbirth is repulsive to me. (The wife was present at the interview.)

We are not afraid of dying, but we are constantly worried about starvation. We hope our children will fare better than we have in the fishing business.

E. CHILD TRAINING

Because Cam An is a fishing village, the division of labor in the family and between the sexes is not as sharp as it is in agricultural villages or in towns and cities. Men are often seen carrying babies about the village and "sitting" with older children. These men, when asked about their occupation, state they are unemployed; their wives support the family while they take care of the household chores and tend to the children. Women substitute for men in offshore fishing; they mend nets, paddle boats, and help in boat repair. Older children sometimes engage in river fishing, net mending and various household chores such as carrying water and baby-sitting. Thus, individuals of both sexes, representing many age groups, generally participate in the same wide-ranging, interchangeable activities.

The lack of adult specialization with regard to sex and age is reflected in the generalized nature of the childhood period. Because adults are busy earning a living, children spend the majority of the working hours in unsupervised play. Space is limited in the village and the open houses are situated close together. With the adults at

work and the weather usually fine, the children from a cluster of houses arise in the morning, carry their breakfasts out onto the streets and plots surrounding the houses and begin the daily play. Interestingly, the play is conducted within the confines of the built-up areas and along the river inlet, not on the beautiful, sandy beaches of the South China Sea.

The play groups include children of both sexes from the age of 4 up to about 11 or 12. There are no divisions by sex and little by age in the schools, and there is no differentiation by dress. Both girls and boys wear shorts, if they wear anything at all, until the age of 7 or 8 when the girls don white overblouses and sometimes the black, pajama-like trousers.

After weaning, the father spends about as much time with the children as the mother, but neither is with them a great deal except when sleeping. Discipline under these circumstances is difficult. A village school teacher complained: "They aren't too bad in school, but when they get out of class, they don't care about discipline any more. They behave like little devils." On numerous occasions during our time in the village, we had the opportunity to witness futile attempts by adults to control children's behavior. Invariably, verbal advice, instructions, and orders went unheeded. Usually these would be repeated several times and then the adult would either give up or administer a sound beating to the errant child. The child training pattern, as we observed it, appeared to be one of extreme permissiveness sometimes followed by brief periods of severe physical punishment.

Weaning begins relatively late, a fact which may signal the permissiveness of later childhood. In principle, weaning begins at about 18 months but it is common to see a child of 3 or 4 years being breast fed by his mother in addition to his regular diet. Usually, a mother stops breast feeding a child when she becomes pregnant again. However, this is not always true. Sometimes she may exercise more care in the diet of her first child and not wean him even while pregnant again. Intermediate children may be breast fed for a shorter period and the last baby for a longer time.

Birth control and the spacing of babies are of little concern to the mothers of Cam An. Children are considered to be "gifts of the gods" which cannot be refused. Modern devices of birth control are, of course, unknown. Although we heard some complaints about too many children, the general attitude of the villager, despite the hard life, is that it is better to have many children than none at all. Furthermore, since the infant mortality rate is high and childhood diseases often fatal because of the lack of medical knowledge and facilities, a

woman must give birth to several children to be sure one will survive. Life expectancy is not high, and despite the large number of pregnancies, the rate of annual population increase is low. Almost half of the population—3,110 out of a total 6,491—is under 17 years of age.

The period of childhood permissiveness and irresponsibility for both sexes ends rather abruptly between the ages of 12 and 15. During this time both boys and girls are taught to paddle boats, fish in the river and along the coast, and repair nets. In addition, girls learn to cook and do general household work such as cake making, baby sitting and shrimp fishing. The biggest sexual division of labor in the village takes place when the boys begin deep-sea fishing at about 15 years of age. The period of adolescence is cut short and boys begin to participate in strictly adult, male work. Adult behavior patterns are learned through direct observation and experience in an adult group. It is at this time, too, that the psychological distinctions occur between male and female. Members of the two sexes begin to avoid each other, and a reserve and shyness develops in their relationships which continues until marriage when both finally assume their adult roles in the community.

F. FORMAL EDUCATION

The people of Cam An place little importance on formal education. In recent years, however, they have wanted their children trained to read and write Vietnamese. Illiteracy has long been a problem in Vietnam, and a government literacy campaign has been underway for several years. This has increased the villagers' awareness of the problem and, in Cam An, has resulted in greater attention being paid to reading and writing. However, because of poor school facilities, lack of competent teachers, and most important, because of the need for youth to begin earning a living at an early age, formal education exceeding 1 or 2 years is deemed unnecessary. Because of this attitude, school enrollment is not high and absenteeism is prevalent.

Formal education is provided in the *thon* or hamlet schools. Phuoc Trach has 3 elementary schools: a public 3-year school, and a semipublic and private school, both of which offer only a 2-year course. The public school is controlled and financed by the village council.

The semipublic school was built by the *thon* residents five years ago. The teacher is a 29-year-old native of the *thon* who has taught at the school since it was inaugurated. He was appointed by the village council and receives 1,000\$ per month, 700\$ from the village council and 300\$ from student fees. As with other local officials, he had not re-

ceived the portion of his income which comes from the village budget for several months prior to our visit. He, his wife, and his three children depend upon the wife's earnings from a small shop. The teacher has a primary school education (five years), enough to qualify him to teach the first and second grades. The semipublic school is under the supervision of the principal of the Cam An village primary school located in Tan Thanh. Each month the teacher submits a report to the principal concerning salary, enrollment, and school conditions. He meets twice monthly with the principal and all other *thon* teachers for political education and training. He says there are 250 school age children in Phuoc Trach, 85 of whom are enrolled in his school. Two-thirds are boys ranging in ages from 6 to 11. School hours are from 8:30-11 a.m. and from 2:30-5 p.m. The school is closed Thursdays and Sundays and classes meet only in the morning on Saturdays. First-grade students pay 5\$ per month tuition and second-grade students, 10\$.

The private school is operated by a Phuoc Trach resident who received two years of secondary education in Hoi An. She supports her husband who remains at home with the children. Fees vary from 20\$ to 30\$ per student per month and the enrollment, at most, is 80 students in three classes, depending on the season. From the first to the seventh lunar month, school attendance is good but during the remaining months (the offshore fishing season), enrollment and attendance drop. The private school teacher's average monthly income is about 1,500\$. This, of course, depends upon student fees which sometimes come in installments or not at all. She confesses that fee collection is a problem but she says nothing to parents for fear of antagonizing them and having the children taken out of school altogether. She holds classes in her home from 6 a.m. to 6 p.m. without a break.

One incentive for sending children to school, it was reported, is to keep them out of trouble. Delinquent children are said to have been "playing in the sun too much." While the teacher is an important influence in the training of children who attend school, education is not considered to be the teacher's primary responsibility. This, teachers believe, is the reason for poor attendance and the difficulties encountered in discipline and the learning process.

G. KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY

Although there are some differences in usage, kinship terminology employed in Cam An and other parts of Vietnam is quite similar. Because of the scarcity of data in English on this subject, we have included a

listing and discussion of the terminological usages in Cam An. To the reader not interested in this type of reference information, it is suggested that he skip the final section of this chapter and proceed to Chapter 4.

Vietnamese kinship terms display certain regularities based upon generation. For example, in the fourth ascending generation, *to* is a common prefix for members of the affinal as well as consanguinal group; in the third ascending generation it is *co*, and in the second *ong*. The term *ngoai*, "outsider," indicates members of the affinal, and *noi*, "insider," members of the consanguinal group. The terms are used not only for members of ascending generations, but also might be employed to distinguish cross-cousins on the paternal or maternal sides. Cross and parallel cousins are terminologically distinct.

The following tables and charts are listings of terms collected in Cam An. Analysis of the terminological system will appear in later publications. The Chinese characters are listed for possible use in comparison with other East Asian terminologies.

Terms used for the dead and for ceremonial purposes, such as inscriptions on tombs and altar tablets, differ from those in common use:

FFF	<i>Tang to khao</i>	唐 爭 朝
FF	<i>Hien to khao</i>	賢 爭 朝
F	<i>Hien khao</i>	賢 朝
S	<i>Truong tu</i>	長 子
S (2nd)	<i>Thu tu</i>	叔 子
S (3rd)	<i>Manh tu</i>	孟 子
S (4th)	<i>Trong tu</i>	仲 子
S (last)	<i>Quy tu</i>	季 子

Fictive kinship terminology is also employed in the village. When it is believed a child is difficult to rear, for example, father is called *duong* (mother's sister's husband), *chu* (father's younger brother), or *tia* (a Cham term). Under these circumstances the mother is referred to as *di* (mother's sister) or *thin* (father's younger brother's wife). Following is a list of fictive terms used in Cam An.

Anh Refers to a man older than the person speaking or to whom one gives a nominal kind of respect.

Chi The same as above but applied to women.

Chu Indicates someone inferior in age or in social status. It sometimes also refers to someone of one's father's generation, but younger than one's father.

Co Could be used to refer to a lady younger in age or lower in social status, or to a sister of one's father.

Cau Refers to a young man but of high birth, learned or appearing learned.

Ong Refers to a gentleman, a term of respect.

Ba Used to indicate an old lady, or a lady belonging to a high social class.

Cu Refers to an old gentleman, a very respectful term.

Ngai An extremely respectful term used to indicate a religious man or a national leader. When used, the proper name is avoided.

Thay A priest (Buddhist), a school teacher, a learned man, master.

Nguoi A religious man or a national leader.

Cha Used to indicate a Catholic father.

Co Refers to a very old man, or to a bishop.

Duc Cha Refers to a bishop.

Thang That fellow (degrading).

No That man.

May You (degrading).

Tao I (high to lower).

Dang ay You (intimate).

To I (humble).

Nho Little man or fellow.

Be Small fellow.

In Vietnam, men usually have three names. For example: Tran could be a surname, Van the middle name, and Lan the personal name. Sometimes the middle name is a part of the surname and cannot be changed. Tran-Van, for example, is a subclan of the Tran clan. Therefore, Van is an integral part of the name. Women also have three names. In the name Vo Thi Phuc, Thi indicates a female but there has been a tendency in recent years for women to forgo the female classifier and substitute a name of beauty. Vo Thi Phuc then, might become Vo Hong

TABLE I VERTICAL TERMINOLOGY

GENERATION	CONSANGUINE			AFFINE		
	English	Vietnamese	Chinese	English	Vietnamese	Chinese
1	FFFF	<i>To phu</i>	示且 父	FFFF w	<i>To mau</i>	示且 母
2	FFF	<i>Co ong</i>	故	FFF w	<i>Co ba</i>	故
3	FF	<i>Ong noi</i>	內	FF w	<i>Ba Noi</i>	內
4	F	<i>Cha</i>		F w	<i>Me</i>	
5	EGO			Wife	<i>Vo</i>	
6	S	<i>Con</i>		S w	<i>Con dau</i>	
7	SS	<i>Chau</i>		SS w	<i>Chau dau</i>	
8	SSS	<i>Chat</i>		SSS w	<i>Chat dau</i>	

TABLE 2 HORIZONTAL TERMINOLOGY

GENERATION	CONSANGUINE			AFFINED		
	English	Vietnamese	Chinese	English	Vietnamese	Chinese
1	FFFF o.B. FFFF y.B. FFFF Si.	<i>Duong Ba</i> <i>Duong Thuc</i> <i>To Co</i>	養 伯 養 叔 示且 女古	MFFF	<i>To Ngoai</i>	示且 外
2	FFF o.B. FFF y.B. FFF o.So. FFF y.Si.	<i>Co Ba</i> <i>Co Thuc</i> <i>Cung-co-ti</i> <i>Cung-co-muoi</i>	女古 伯 女古 叔 養女古 姨 養女古 姥	MFF	<i>Co Ngoai</i>	女古 外

3	FF o.B. FF y.B. FF Si.	Ong noi ba Ong noi thuc (chu) Ba co	內	伯	MF	Ong Ngoai	
4	F o. B. F y. B. F Si.	Bac Chu Co			MB MSi.	Cau Di	
5	EGO o.B. EGO y.B. EGO o.Si. EGO y.Si.	Dong Duong Huynh (anh) Dong Duong De (em) Chi Em	同	上	兄	EGO wife o.B. EGO wife y.B. EGO wife o.Si EGO wife y.Si	Anh vo Em vo Chi vo Em vo
6	S. D.	Con trai Con gai			D. husband S. wife	Con re Con dau	
7	S.s. S.d.	Chau trai Chau gai			SD husband SS wife	Chau re Chau dau	
8	SS s. SS d.	Chat trai Chat gai			SSD husband SSs wife	Chat re Chat dau	

*Chinese counting for 8th and 9th generations.

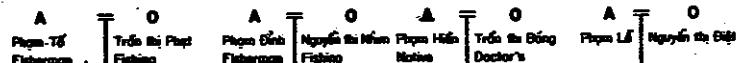
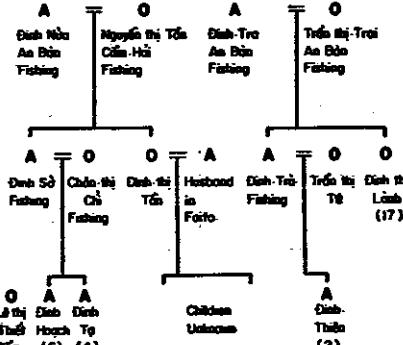
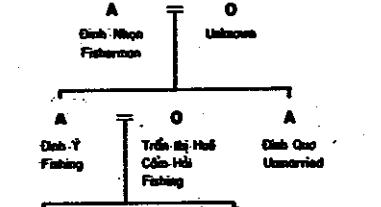
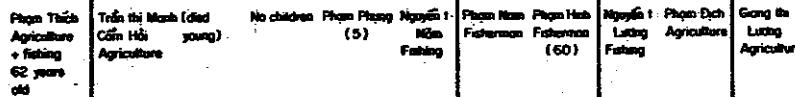
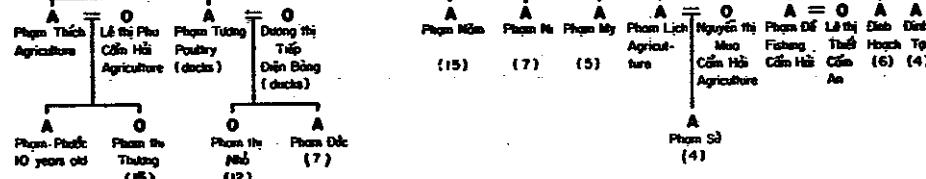
PATERNAL1st GENERATION2nd GENERATION3rd GEN. / ESO4th GEN.5th GEN.

CHART A
Genealogy (Paternal-Maternal, Six Generations)

THE INFORMATION FOR THIS CHART WAS GIVEN BY A BOAT OWNER, AGED ABOUT 54, WELL VERSED IN CHINESE CLASSICS; HE IS AN IMMIGRANT TO CAM-AN AND HAS SERVED AS VILLAGE CLERK. HE NOW LIVES IN HAMLET II. HE COULD NOT REMEMBER THE NAME OF HIS GRAND FATHER'S BROTHER'S WIFE OR THE GRAND MOTHER'S BROTHER'S WIFE. FOR OTHER NAMES HE HAD TO REFER TO THE FAMILY BOOK. BELOW ARE NAMES OF 5 GENERATIONS WITH TWO ASCENDING AND TWO DESCENDING

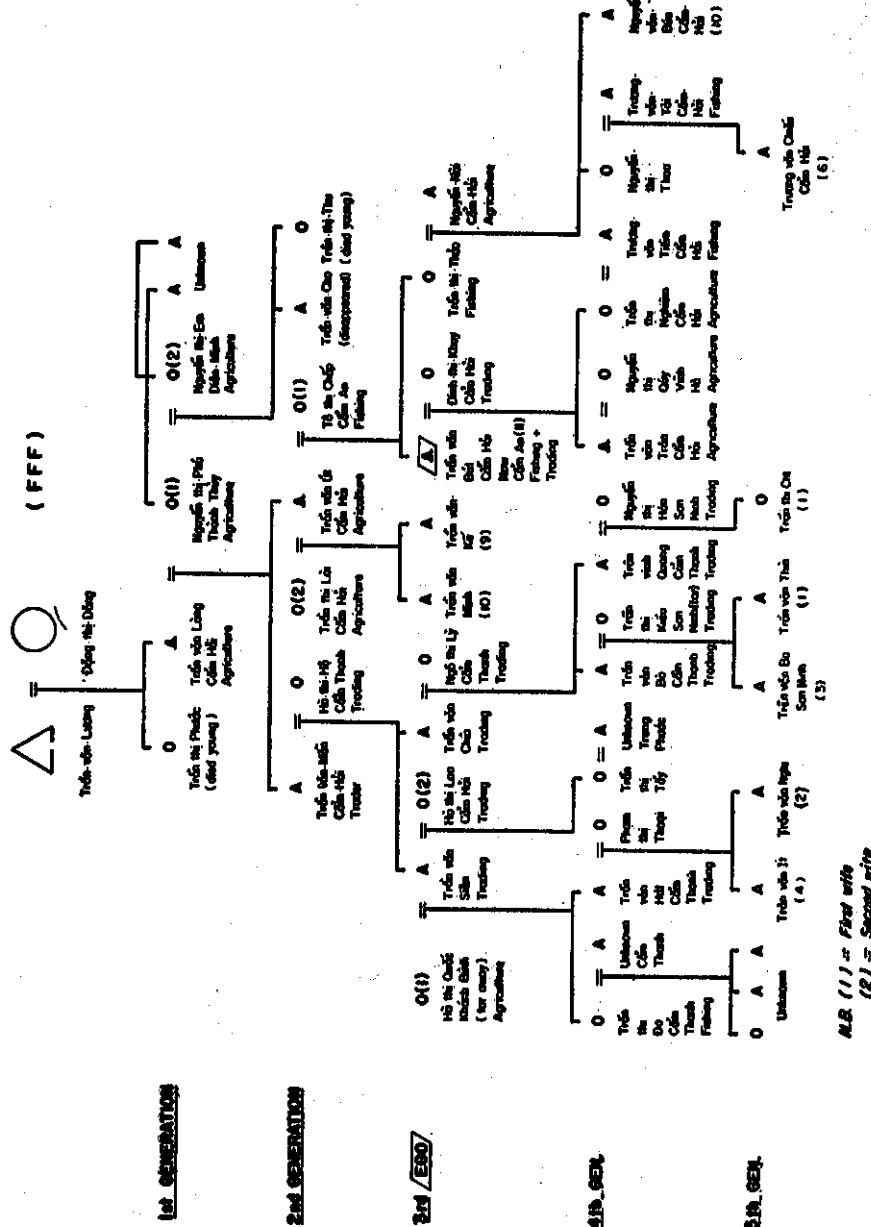


CHART B
Genealogy (Five Generations)

REFERENTIAL TERMINOLOGY

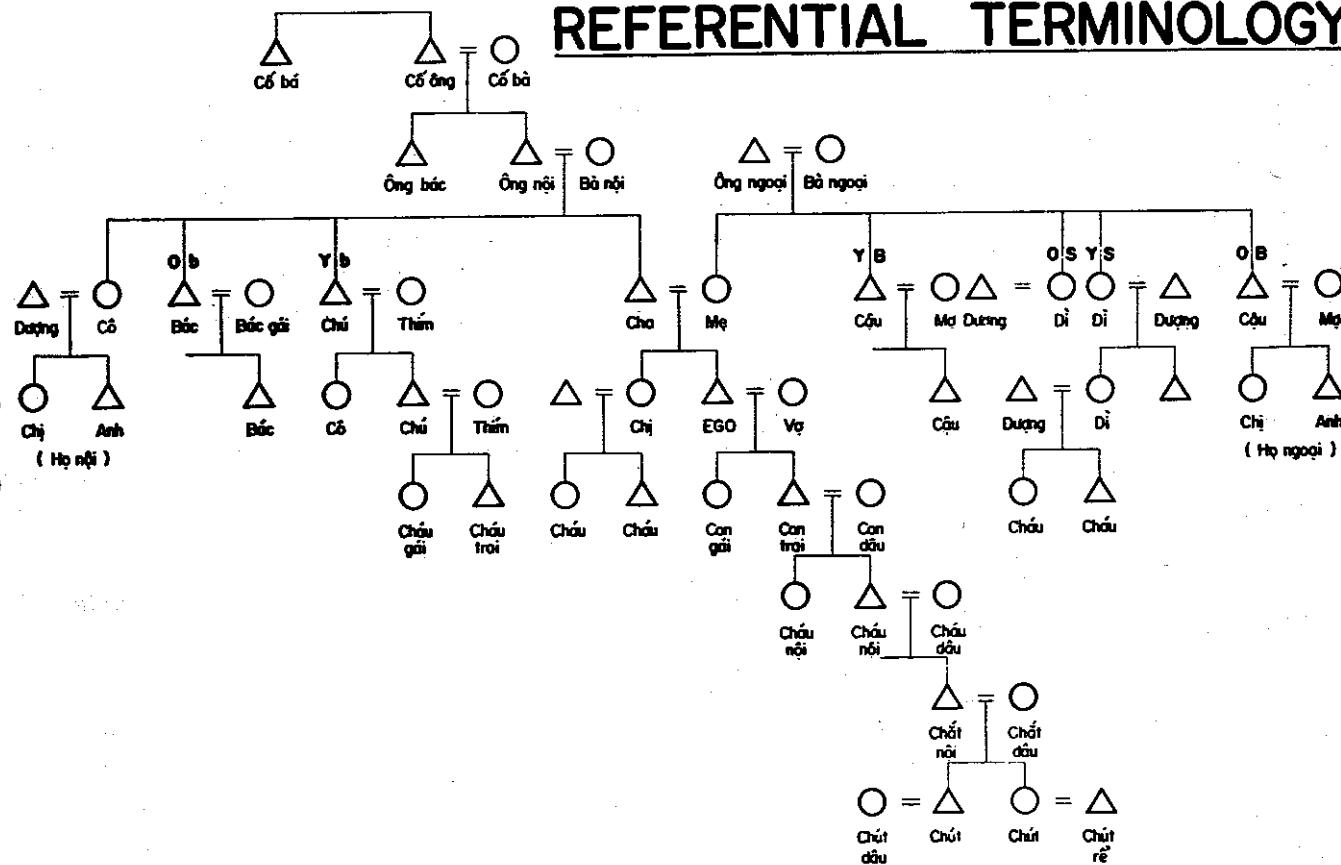


CHART C Referential Terminology

Thuc ("Pink Happiness" instead of Miss Happiness"). Another alternative is to maintain the classifier while adding a name as in Vo Thi Hong Phuc. Women usually use their own family or clan name after marriage.

Two genealogies were obtained in Cam An (see Charts A and B). These not only indicate kinship relationships, but also occupations and localities. On Chart A, the informant recited the information without reference to the *gia pha* or family book. The first of the 12 generations lived in the 36th year of Canh Hung, or the middle of the 17th century. The informant, Pham Hien, was a member of the ninth generation. On Chart A, it should be noted that middle names are dropped or changed but on Chart B, *Van*, as the name of the subclan remains the same from one generation to the next.

4 | Religious Beliefs and Ceremonies

Religion and associated beliefs and ceremonies are an integral part of everyday life in Cam An. Therefore, it would be presumptuous to pretend to do more than outline some of the more important features of this aspect of village culture. Some attempt has been made to ferret out and conceptualize the various beliefs and practices for purposes of exposition. For example, we distinguish between Buddhism, or so-called Great Tradition, and whale veneration, or a Little Tradition; we separate hamlet or territorial ceremonies, such as the *dinh* rites, from individual ceremonies of exorcising evil spirits. It must be emphasized, however, that these discriminations are the writer's means of slicing the totality of the religious life of the fisherman for purposes of understanding and clarity. They in no way reflect the world view of the villager who is engaged in a precarious occupation, the success or failure of which depends upon "correct" religious and ritualistic behavior regardless of category.

The peasant lives in a world of natural phenomena—birth, death, sickness, natural disaster; he exists from day to day, continually fighting starvation and death. His world is filled with spirits, ghosts and god, both evil and benign, who influence the course of natural events

and survival itself. It would be incorrect to say that he attempts to manipulate events or control the spirits and gods. Rather, he worships, venerates or exorcises the latter by practicing correct rituals. The fisherman's home contains an elaborate Buddhist altar in its center; he venerates his ancestors, worships the whale and the Goddess of the Elements; he consults a fortune teller to learn auspicious dates for fishing, marriage, and many other tasks and events; he prays to the hamlet genie and clan founders for protection, and he exorcises evil spirits through numerous symbolic acts. Buddhism, animism, ancestor worship, and other such sophisticated classifications are not meaningful distinctions to the villager. In a whale ceremony described later, for example, elements of all of these are found. There are numerous entities from whom protection is sought—the whale, the clan founders, Buddha, the village genie. The world of the unknown is more complex than the realm of the known.

In the discussion that follows, religious beliefs and practices are divided according to their association primarily with the group, the ancestors, or the individual. Catholicism, which has recently been introduced, is treated separately.

A. GROUP PRACTICES

In Vietnam, as in other parts of Asia, a rather clear distinction can be made among group, ancestor and individual religious behavior.¹ Group practices encompass the local territorial group—a hamlet or village—whereas the other two center about the family, relatives, and the dead. In Cam An, three "cults" exist which are associated with the well-being of the hamlet: The Whale, the Princess of the Elements, and the *Dinh* Genie.

1. Worship of the Whale.

To the fishermen of Cam An, the whale is their god of protection. Not unlike the Biblical tale of Jonah and the whale, *Ong Ca* (Mr. Fish) is the guardian of the fisherman's life. Whale worship and the associated ceremonies, therefore, are the most important and grandiose in the village. Each hamlet in Cam An formerly had a whale shrine and an adjacent graveyard for the burial of whale remains. However, two of the shrines were destroyed and the one in An Ban has not yet been replaced. If a dead whale washes up on the beach, or if one is encountered at sea, the fishermen bring it, piece by piece, to the cemeteries where

¹Donoghue, *op. cit.*, p. 44.

burial rites are conducted. A number of fishermen said they do not relish the prospect of coming upon dead whales because burial is expensive and time consuming. The meat and by-products of the huge creature are not utilized.

The largest whale shrine, in Phuoc Trach facing the sea, is an imposing sight. A large building houses the altar, and on the grounds are a big tomb and a stone entrance gate. This shrine, constructed thirty years ago, was destroyed by the Viet Minh and rebuilt in 1958 with the aid of funds from the *van* organization. Since whale worship is the most important rite in the village, fishermen do not hesitate to contribute to the upkeep of shrines and the conduct of ceremonies.

The whale ceremonies, which mark the changes in the fishing cycle, are celebrated twice a year. The first occurs in the first lunar month shortly after the *Tet*, or Vietnamese New Year, and marks the beginning of the deep-sea fishing season. The second rite, which ends deep-sea fishing and opens the offshore season is held in the seventh or eighth lunar month. Following is a description of two ceremonies, in *An Ban* and *Phuoc Trach* at the beginning of the deep-sea fishing period.

a. AN BAN.

On the 12th day of the first lunar month, the day before the research team arrived in the village, *An Ban* concluded its whale ceremony. The village chief, a resident of *An Ban* described in detail the ceremony which is known as *Le Te Ky Ngu*.

Two committees were initiated to organize the rites, the cult committee and the student committee. The cult committee's duty was to buy flowers and decorate the altars and village hall *dinh* where the rites were to be held. In addition, this committee was responsible for writing, in black Chinese characters on red scrolls, the speeches which would be delivered. Members of the student committee, on the other hand, carried candles and joss sticks in the procession and acted as prompters for the master of ceremonies. This committee was composed of literate married men.

A whale ceremony, more elaborate than usual, is supposed to be held every five years with the agreement that everyone in the hamlet will join to pay the costs. Last year's celebration was the largest since the war and the *An Ban* residents contributed more than 2,000\$.

The ceremony was divided into a preliminary rite from 10 to 11:30 a.m., and a main rite from 9 to 11 p.m. Food was offered and incense and joss sticks burned in the morning ceremony.

Prior to the evening ceremony, a lantern procession brought the imperial decree, which tells of the achievements of the village founder, to the *dinh*. Three previously designated village elders conducted the rituals in front of the main altar and the two side altars. The *dinh* at the time of the ceremony was arranged as follows:

ALTAR	MAIN ALTAR	ALTAR	
PHAN HIEN	CHANH TE	PHAN HIEN	MASTER OF CEREMONY
CANDLE HOLDER	JOSS STICK HOLDER	CANDLE HOLDER	ASSISTANT MASTER OF CEREMONY
	HOLDER	HOLDER	HOLDER
SPEECH HOLDER			
DRUM BEATER	BAND	GONG BEATER	

The *xuong*, or master of ceremonies, directed the proceedings by announcing the steps to be taken by the attendants, such as who should bow first and how many times each should bow. Behind him the *nhac xuong*, or assistant, stood ready to prompt the *xuong* if he forgot any of the details. The assistant is the expert on rituals. The two men were dressed in traditional Vietnamese garb—black turban and the ceremonial blue tunic with wide sleeves over a black tunic and white trousers. The village council members and respected elders from neighboring hamlets were guests at the ceremony.

It is noteworthy that, insofar as we could discover, the *van* and *thon van* chiefs had no important role in this fisherman's ceremony. Furthermore, the ceremony was held in the *dinh* since the whale shrine has not been restored and contributions were received from residents of the hamlet as a whole. Apparently, the whale ceremony in An Ban is merging with the more generalized *dinh* rituals and losing some of the

more distinctive features found in the ceremony conducted by Phuoc Trach.

b. PHUOC TRACH.

In principle, this celebration for *Ong Ca* was to be a joint effort of Tan Thanh and Phuoc Trach, but the residents of Phuoc Trach played the major role in planning, contributions, and actual participation. At first we were interested in the ways in which the two hamlets would cooperate, coordinate, and divide the labor and honor. But as our research continued, we found Tan Thanh was only a nominal partner in the celebration.

When the ceremony was being planned the village *van* chief, who resides in Phuoc Trach, called a meeting of the *thon van* chiefs of the two hamlets to decide on a date for the celebration and the amount of contributions required from *van* members. The amount depends on whether fishing was good in the preceding year; if it was, an opera performance would be held. In ordinary years the contribution is from 20-30 per *van* household, but last year the assessment was higher because of the decision to hold the opera: 200\$ for owners of big boats, 150\$ for medium boats, and 50\$ and 30\$ for owners of small boats and ordinary fishermen. Those not engaged in fishing could contribute if they wished. Ultimately, the contributions reached 15,000\$, of which 7,200\$ was allocated to pay a 15-member opera troupe from nearby Hoi An. The observance was set for the 21st day of the first lunar month.

The ceremony in the shrine was preceded by a procession, beginning at 10 a.m., by 20 *van* members dressed in traditional clothing and a *chu te* (also called *chanh bat*), or cult master. Four men carried the portable shrine which contained the imperial decree (actually the decree was destroyed during the war so the shrin contained only an incense burner). Two shrine assistants carried the mandarin parasols, six played classical Vietnamese musical instruments, and eight carried national flags. One of the flag bearers led the procession and the *chu te* brought up the rear.

This group marched several kilometers north along the beach and then returned to the main shrine for rest and refreshments. Afterwards, the band tuned up again and proceeded along the beach to the south. In their march beside the sea, the *van* members implored the living whales and the other sea divinities to join the fishermen and the spirits of the dead whales in the ceremonies and festivities.

At about 3 p.m., after the procession was over, a ceremony similar to the one described in An Ban was held in the whale shrine. A pavilion

or tent had been erected next to the shrine, and local peddlers and merchants had set up refreshment stalls in the immediate area. At 10 p.m. the opera performance began and several thousand people gathered to eat, drink, gamble, and enjoy the entertainment until 4 a.m. the following morning. At 10 a.m. on the 22nd, the people again assembled and the opera played until 6 in the afternoon. Its themes dealt with classical Vietnamese stories, legends and heroes.

Although the *van* chief is the principle figure in the organization and conduct of the ceremonies and festivities, the *van* members each year elect a *chu te* and two assistants, the *phan hien*. The *chu te* must be a respectable married man who is an expert in ritual and whose age is compatible with the year in which he is elected. No widower or divorced man is acceptable because he might bring bad luck to the fishermen. The *chu te* acts as the representative of the *van* members and villagers in "dealing" with the whales.

Once the festivities are over, deep-sea fishing begins. At the end of the season, another more simple ceremony is held, both to give thanks for past protection and to plead for a prosperous offshore fishing season.

2. Other Group Ceremonies.

The particular gods worshipped in villages in Vietnam vary from region to region. In Cam An the people worship *Ba Ngu Hanh*², or the Goddess of the Five Elements—metal, wood, fire, water, and earth. Villagers invoke her protection and avoid her wrath, the latter being detrimental to the harmony and safety of the village. It is believed, for example, that the Goddess of Fire shows her anger by setting fire to houses or boats. These gods are called "natural gods" to distinguish them from devils and evil spirits whose actions are entirely of a wicked nature. Each hamlet has a shrine for the worship of the "natural gods" where annual ceremonies are held.

As mentioned previously, religious rites are celebrated at least once a year in the *xom* shrines to venerate the founders of the *xom* and village. In these ceremonies, the protection of the founders is sought for the residents of the *xom*.

The other important hamlet-wide ceremonies are held in the *thon dinh* which is a gathering place for the entire community. Each *thon* has its own cult committee composed of five village elders who have high prestige in the hamlet. Before a celebration in the *dinh*, the elders call together members of the *xom* or *lien gia* to decide the date of the

²This is a collective term which refers to the five goddesses.

ceremony and the amount each family should contribute. The most important *dinh* ceremony of the year is the *Cau An* in the first lunar month. Its purpose is to call on the guardian spirit of the village to bring peace and prosperity. Another ceremony at the *dinh* is the *Trung Thu*, or Autumn Festival celebrated in the eighth lunar month.

B. ANCESTOR VENERATION

Ceremonies, rites, and beliefs related to ancestors and the dead in rural Vietnam are a blend of local folk beliefs with Buddhism, Confucianism, and Taoism. It is difficult to identify one or another belief or ceremony with any particular religious grouping, but Buddhism seems to have had the most important influence on contemporary religious practices. The *Thanh Minh* rites in the spring and fall, for example, are held in Buddhist temples and conducted by Buddhist priests. However, Confucianism is apparent even in these ceremonies with emphasis on hierarchy, discipline, and the family. Much of the mysticism surrounding beliefs and practices may be a result of Taoist influence. Informants in the village estimated that between 95 and 100 percent of the people would label themselves Buddhist.

Regardless of their origins, the beliefs and practices surrounding ancestor veneration play an important part in the religious life of the village. Household altars and their ornaments are kept cleaned and polished; graves are maintained; signs from the dead are sought on numerous occasions. Failure to carry out proper rituals and practices may lead to sickness, economic failure, and unhappiness. The veneration of ancestors is primarily the duty of members of the extended patrilineal family. Although women participate in the veneration of the deceased of their immediate families, it is the responsibility of male members to initiate and perform the ceremonial duties honoring male ancestors.

Burial rites are related to the ancestor conception and, accordingly, the duties connected with funerals and mourning fall on the living relatives. The patrilineal bias is shown most clearly in the longer time required for mourning relatives on the patrilineal side. The period of mourning becomes less, also, as one moves farther out on the lateral line.

Male members of a clan gather once a year to venerate the clan founders and seek their protection. These ceremonies are carried out in the various clan shrines throughout the village.

It should become apparent that there is a close relationship in Cam An between the living and the dead. The dead—*xom*, clan and vil-

lage founders, and ancestors of various degrees—are venerated throughout the year; their protection and guidance is sought; they are respected through ritual and feared if they have been neglected or improperly treated.

C. INDIVIDUAL PRACTICE

In addition to the group beliefs and ceremonies, there are a number of quasi-religious practices that are associated mainly with the individual. Of primary importance in Cam An, as in other rural and urban districts in Vietnam, is a person's birth date. Each individual at birth is placed under 1 of 5 stars and 1 of the 12 animals of the Zodiac. Before undertaking any important, or sometimes even a minor venture, a person must consult an occultist who can inform him of an auspicious date for the undertaking. This is an especially important consideration in the arrangement of a marriage (see Chapter 3) and choosing an auspicious date for a wedding.

Before the deep-sea fishing period, fishermen visit an occultist who will reveal the auspicious time for each to celebrate the opening of his individual fishing season. Each person is given a date and hour compatible with his sign of the zodiac and its relationship to the stars. A fisherman may know from experience, for example, that the best time to begin a fishing trip is at 4 a.m., but if he is told that his hour on a particular day is 10 a.m., he will wait until then to begin his fishing year. At 10 a.m. he will go to the sea and symbolically wet his net, an act considered important for prosperity in the season to come. His "Inaugural Day" ceremony completed, he will join the other fishermen at 4 a. m. on the following day and set out to sea.

The sea, the sky, and the village are inhabited by numerous evil spirits or demons. Whenever ill health strikes or the fish are not plentiful, the individual attempts to appease the spirits who often are causing the trouble. Sometimes they are appeased or exorcised through a practitioner and sometimes the individual undergoes private exhortations, depending upon cause and seriousness of the problem. Sorcery and witchcraft are not unknown in Cam An, but we were unable to gather much reliable data on these manifestations of individual religious behaviors and belief.

D. CATHOLICISM

A leader of the Catholic group in Cam An estimates that 15 families, or about 50 people, have recently been converted to Catholicism. Al-

though the Catholic group is numerically insignificant in the village, some discussion of the religion is included here because of certain attitudes it introduces relative to stability and change.

Generally, village elders and notables expressed disdain for Catholicism due to their interest in preserving their conception of traditional customs and values. Apparently, propagators of the Catholic faith in Cam An have emphasized the incompatibility of "ancestor worship"⁸ with Christian dogma. A recent convert stated, for example, "I was converted because I felt it was wrong to worship the dead. Before I used to gamble a lot, but Catholicism has been good for me and I no longer drink and gamble." The abolition of this important aspect of village life seems incomprehensible, not only to the elders and conservatives, but to the majority of the villagers.

We sensed a kind of hostility toward Catholicism in general throughout the village. Prior to our arrival, a popular village council member had been replaced by an unpopular Catholic. He was appointed by the district chief, a Catholic. This may account for some of the resentment. An example of the feeling toward Catholicism is afforded by the informant who stated, "Mary (the Blessed Virgin) was an unwed mother." Another example of this resentment was expressed by a number of villagers on the occasion of a Catholic priest entering the village during an opera performance to propagate the faith. According to these informants, most of the villagers looked most unfavorably upon this intrusion.

The villagers have a broad range of religious beliefs and practices which are related to their livelihood and their daily and yearly round of activities. Apparently, attempts to alter these beliefs or their manifestations are met with open resentment and hostility.

E. TABOOS: MENSTRUATION, CHILDBIRTH, AND SICKNESS

Another form of "individual" belief, whether considered religious or not, is the taboo. A taboo might be defined as the avoidance of certain behavior whose practice, at least at certain times, would bring ill fortune. In Cam An, and in Vietnam generally, these taboos are concerned mostly with menstruation, childbirth, and sickness.

During the menstrual period, it is believed, women must avoid hard work and water. One female informant stated that women should

⁸The term "ancestor worship" has been avoided in this report because of its ambiguity. Certain Catholic missions, notably in China and Japan, have argued that it is not worship, as defined by the Catholic Church, at all but rather respect in the Christian sense and, therefore, not incompatible with Catholic dogma.

not bathe from the time the period starts until one week after it has ended. "If water gets on the body, a woman may get sick. I don't really know the reason why we should not take a bath, but we have been told to stay away from water. Some people say that if we take a bath during our period, our bones will be stiffened when we are old." Menstruating women are also forbidden to go near the sea, cross over bridges, or go into streams and rivers for fear of polluting the water and bringing bad luck to fishermen.

Women are not allowed to participate in rituals during their periods, particularly in those ceremonies which involve bowing in front of the altar, because, as one said, "We are not clean ritually at that time. We must avoid passing temples, shrines, and other religious places." A woman must avoid eating sour fruits, such as lemons and oranges, for fear of lengthening the menstrual period, which lasts from 3 to 5 days. She is not supposed to have sexual intercourse with her husband during this time.

During pregnancy, breast feeding of older children is usually discontinued because the woman's milk is considered bad for the nursing child's health. But this is not always true (see Chapter 3). A woman must avoid certain practices which ultimately may be detrimental to the health of the unborn child. Certain kinds of food, especially chicken, guava, and bananas, must be avoided. Chicken may cause *phong*, a kind of skin disease, and guava and banana may cause the child to suffer from a furuncular condition and constipation. Except for these restrictions, the pregnant woman may eat whatever she likes, for after childbirth she must follow a very strict diet. According to an old village saying, "good food must be sought and eaten during pregnancy, for after childbirth, while confined in bed, a woman is not allowed to eat for a long time." In other words, she should take advantage of the situation while she can.

For the first 3 or 4 days after childbirth, a Cam An mother eats only rice with salt and pepper. After this, she may add fish sauce until the tenth day. From then on she is allowed to eat fish and meat. After giving birth a woman must be confined for at least ten days but the length of confinement varies according to financial status. The more wealthy women, who do not have to work, may remain in bed for as long as one month.

Babies are delivered at home or at a maternity clinic away from the village. Most of the village women prefer a local midwife to the clinic because the cost is less—only 50\$ per delivery if the case is simple

and 100\$ if it is complicated. The maternity clinic may charge more than 1000\$.

A number of taboos are related to sickness. The most common illnesses in the village are *cam gio*, *cam nang*, and *cam nuoc*, caused by the wind, the sun, and the water, respectively. Although these ills usually are not serious, preventive measures are taken in order to avoid complications. If a person has *cam gio*, he must keep warm and away from the wind; someone with *cam nang* must avoid the sun. A person suffering from any of these conditions is forbidden to bathe for fear of lengthening and aggravating the disease. Rice soup is the major food eaten during illness.

The village doctor, or *thay lang*, is a native physician and druggist. He diagnoses diseases and prescribes medicine, usually charging 50\$ to 70\$. Although native medicine is predominant, there is a growing tendency, according to a trained nurse who lives and works in the village, for patients to use western medicines, especially Aureomycin. He said: "They (the villagers) are still illiterate and cannot understand the existence of germs. Generally, they wait too long to bring the patient to me. In some cases, the illness is so serious that there is no way to cure it. People use all sorts of plant leaves for any kind of illness. I also practice traditional as well as Western medicine."

5 | *Aspirations and the Future*

To some extent, villagers' lives will be influenced by their aspirations and concepts of what the future holds. In Cam An, we found the people are essentially conservative and particularistic. No one has grandiose schemes for radical innovation; everyone is concerned with the world of Cam An and his own problems.

Unlike some areas in the southern Mekong Delta, the people of Cam An look to Saigon as a kind of Mecca. All informants stated a desire to visit Saigon, either for pleasure or for employment. A typical remark was that of a 22-year-old tailor: "If I had money I would visit Saigon because I have heard many people talk about the place. There are many zoos, parks, bridges, and nice buildings. These buildings are said to be brought back from abroad. Of course, the first trip would be for pleasure, but if there were any chance to stay there, I would."

A 27-year-old unmarried woman stated: "I would like to go to Saigon to work because life in the village is hard. My mother had been to Saigon before and through her I have learned that Saigon is a very

gay city. She says says there are many interesting things in Saigon such as heavy traffic all day long and beautiful parks and zoos. Working in Saigon would be very exciting."

A village elder informed us that he would like to send his son, who had recently been discharged from the army, to Saigon: "After the presidential election¹ I hope he will go to Saigon and find a job. I have heard from many people who have been in Saigon that there are so many things one can do over there. My son may get a job at an ice cream counter, a laundry or be employed as a tea packer. If he earns some extra money, he can send it back to me."

To what extent these dreams will be realized is unknown, but thus far in Cam An there has been no apparent pattern of out-migration to Saigon. However, since the "pull" of the city exists, if fishing does not improve, or if the security situation worsens, it can be expected that for some the wish to move may be fulfilled.

Most informants expressed the belief that there should be some change in the future, but the kinds of change or the ways in which change should occur were vaguely defined. A typical remark was that of a village elder: "I would like to see a change in fishing methods introduced into the village, because now we use very primitive methods. The government should take the initiative in bringing about some changes because we cannot do it by ourselves." In general, the people of Cam An aspire to a higher living standard but the means of attaining it are not clear. Although asked, none of our informants could design a plan for realizing their idea of a better way of life. The feeling was best conveyed by a middle-aged fisherman: "We would like to have a nice house and much money so we would not have to worry about starvation. Fishing work is not very steady. For example: I only work 3 or 4 days a week. Most of the time I baby sit and help my wife sell cakes. I think the only way to become rich is to win the lottery."

There is a widespread belief that change should or does come from outside the village, that the people of the village cannot control their own destiny. One man said: "We ought to have community development projects based on our own needs and desires, but this can only be done with the help of officials from the district or the province who probably do not share our opinions. We don't have the money to carry out projects so we have to listen to outside ideas." Another told us: "Most of the people want a lighthouse at the entrance of the river inlet in order to avoid collisions and accidental deaths. When it is

¹Before the election, people were discouraged from leaving the village. The government considered it essential for people to remain in their villages to vote.

foggy, people cannot see their way back and too often the boats collide. Last year there were 12 deaths due to the lack of a lighthouse. The government ought to build us a lighthouse, we cannot do it ourselves."

Attitudes and aspirations reflect the limited, particularistic world-view of the villager. Educated, urbanized Saigonese are concerned with Communism, war, American aid, and travel abroad; the people of Cam An are worried about sickness, poverty, death, and immediate problems of existence. When asked about change and the future, most villagers discussed matters limited to their own specific fields of interests. An elder in charge of certain village ceremonies wanted to see rituals simplified to reduce costs; school teachers wanted better school rooms and more books; the village tailor hoped for more awareness of new fashions in clothing; parents longed for proper marriages for their children; fishermen talked of new nets and boats, a lighthouse, and an effective marketing cooperative. In short, the people of Cam An are hopeful of gradual life improvement and security.

Appendices

APPENDIX I

Summarized Contents of Important Documents Being Acted upon in Cam An Village Office During Research Period.

Official correspondence No. 220TTT/TT/VP/M dated February 6, 1961, assigning information duties to the village Youth Commissioner (reference: circulars No. 5/NV dated December 7, 1960, and No. 60 BPTT.VP/M dated January 17, 1961).

The Commissioners or chiefs of information teams will serve as assistants to the village Youth Commissioners in the performance of information duties. In the provinces of South Vietnam-West, assistants to the village Information Commissioner will be retained, placed under the supervision of the assistants to the village Youth Commissioner and charged with information responsibilities.

In case the former Commissioners or chiefs of information teams are elected Youth Commissioners, the assistants in charge of information must take over in order to carry on the information activities.

The *thon* information cadre in Central Vietnam who formerly received the same allowance as that of a chief of an information team in the South will nowadays assume the information in the *thon* under the authority of the Youth Commissioner in charge of information.

A statement on the number of information centers, materials, equipment and village information cadres is to be prepared and sent to the Information Service.

Salaries for the information cadres which were paid by the Information Directorate will, as of February 1961, be paid by the Directorate General of Youth.

(Each *thon* cadre receives 800\$; payment is made by the district every 4 months.)

Correspondence No. 918 HC/DB to Cam An Village from Dien Ban District: 700,000\$ obtained from the government to finance the renovation of the Lien Tri and the De Vong dams. Work is scheduled to start on February 9, 1961.

In order to provide work for the people, especially the poor families, it is requested that the villagers ensure the following labor force:

To work on the De Vong dam, 150 workers are needed:

Cam Hai 50 workers

Cam He 30 workers

Cam Chau 40 workers

Cam An 30 workers (each person working for 9 days).

Priority is to be given to the poorest villagers who, regardless of sex, have never been involved in activities beneficial to the Viet Cong (shortage of labor should be avoided during New Year's day). A *thon* head should be designated each day to maintain liaison with public works officials in the establishment of the workers' list. (It was learned that each worker is paid 40\$ a day and allowed to work 3 days.)

Another correspondence of the same date contained the procedures for concentrating the necessary equipment (pickaxes, boats) and asserted that this was a "charitable" project.

The District's correspondence No. 872-TC dated February 6, 1961, said that the team of inspectors will start their inspection of the financial records of Cam Chau Village on February 8, and of other villages in the Cam Pho area.

Teachers remind pupils to ask their parents if they have checked their names on the voters' lists, and to ask their parents to help in the preparation of electoral campaign slogans and banners.

(Instructions from) the Secretary of the Interior: precaution against the Viet-Cong infiltrators disguised as national soldiers; control must be exercised over stores selling old military uniforms and the dyeing of these uniforms.

Service order dated February 6, 1961, temporarily appointing Mr. Nguyen Ngoc Anh to the position of Finance Councilor of Cam An Village to replace Mr. Truong Duong.

The administrative status of the appointee will later be adjusted by decision of the provincial authorities.

Correspondence No. 799-HC from the District: financial audit at 30 villages; examination of letters denouncing those village councilors in the district for their misuse of village funds or abuse of powers and corruption, in order to eliminate false accusations against honest village councilors and at the same time to purify the ranks of cadres.

Composition of the inspection team:

All village notables and men of letters,
Representatives of popular groups,
Two nominated representatives from each *lien gia*.

Inspection procedures:

Representatives of the *lien gia* should be prepared to present the financial problems communicated to them by the family heads.

The inspectors must take into account the worries expressed by the people and check on every detail.

Extensive announcement of the inspection to encourage massive popular participation. Representatives of the *lien gia* should carry all receipts for payment to be checked.

The inspection can be made once or twice again and the composition of the inspection body be modified in case the preceding inspection is not effective.

Drive for financial aid to the families of the Police Councilors of Xuyen Thu and Xuyen My villages assassinated by the Viet Cong at 1700 hours on January 24, 1961:
Village councilors 20\$ Thon chiefs 10\$
These contributions are needed to fulfill the objectives of the Village Councilors' Solidarity Association.

Announcement No. 11/1 from the Province. The records and maps of the inherited rice fields of *Thon Phuoc Trach* are kept at the village hall from January 16 to March 16, 1961. Landowners may review these records to see if they conform with the actual state of their land and rice fields.

Complaints should be sent to the Land Registration Service of Quang Nam within the above period, or to the village council.

Correspondence from the District on January 16th: distribution of the rice supply to the people:

Cam An Village: 3 tons.

Each village is a center for selling rice.

Five days after the rice supply is obtained from the wholesale shops, village councils are requested to make payment through the District.

The per *ta* (100 kg.) price of rice sold at the center equals the wholesale price at the wholesale shops plus 3\$ per *ta* for unloading and transportation costs of .40\$ per *ta* per kilometer. A report should be prepared with the concurrence of the village Economic Committee (names of buyers, and the price at the center). Security and order should be maintained at the rice selling center. Rice is made available at the wholesale shop, 27 Nguyen Thai Hoc St. on January 18th.

District correspondence on January 18th authorizing the village council to get rice from the following shops for sale to the people.

Cash payment of 655.65\$ at the *Tieu Bai* (retail shop) for 100 kg. of white rice; rice of lower quality: 583.74\$ plus .40\$ for transportation per km., plus 3\$ for returning empty sacks to the seller.

Correspondence to higher authorities.

March 2nd: Letter of introduction for the village Administrative Councilor and the village chief of *Cong Hoa* (Republican) Youth to attend training course for polling booth supervisors on March 3rd:

Workers age 18-40 (in the village)	Men	476
	Women	328

Having received training (February 7, 1961)

Village representative: July, 1957

Police Councilor: May, 1960, 2 months.

Not having received training: Civil Status Councilor
Administrative Councilor

Study and training in election procedures:

Village representative (in Hoi An introduction)

Administrative Councilor dated February 7th)

List of personnel in charge of the polling booths.

APPENDIX II

Record Book of Incoming Correspondence January, February and March, 1961

From	Date	Contents
District	Jan. 4	Invitation to attend a meeting to discuss receipt of the supplied rice for sale to the people.
	Jan. 5	Providing information on families of deceased soldiers.
	Jan. 5	Emigration (transportation of resettlers).
	Jan. 5	Monthly report* on workers receiving food.
	Jan. 5	Invitation to attend meeting at the District on January 7, 1961.
	Jan. 7	The Viet Cong's adoption of arson tactics in raid on guard posts.
	Jan. 7	The Viet Cong's line of action.
	Jan. 7	Selection of the youth commissioners to serve on the village council.
	Jan. 7	Training in fisheries statistics.
	Jan. 10	Transmission of materials on "duties and interests of the village youth commissioner."
	Jan. 10	Transportation of resettlers.
	Jan. 10	Training in fisheries statistics.
	Jan. 11	Questions raised by some districts and police services on the election of village youth commissioners.
	Jan. 11	Draft orders for six military draftees.
	Jan. 11	Note prohibiting civilians from entering the firing range to pick up ammunition shells.
	Jan. 11	Receipt of civil status records.
	Jan. 11	The village administrative councilor to attend a district meeting on January 13, 1961, to study procedures for establishment of a voters list.
	Jan. 12	Conscription order for Nguyen Phuoc, reserve serviceman.
	Jan. 12	Relief for impoverished flood victims.
	Jan. 12	Recruitment of elementary school teachers.
	Jan. 12	Medals awarded to three outstanding women.
	Jan. 13	Receipt of formal elementary education certificates.
	Jan. 13	1961 elementary education exam.
	Jan. 13	Decision of the provincial administration to terminate the services of the village finance councilor.
	Jan. 16	Fixing the age requirements for election as village youth commissioners.
	Jan. 16	Election of village youth commissioners.
	Jan. 17	Report on the liaison system and the permanent worker in charge of hanging flags on the Cham Island.
	Jan. 17	Duties of the navigation control stations.
	Jan. 17	Launching of crop protection movement.
	Jan. 17	Fields records at the District.
	Jan. 17	Redistribution of public land and fields.
	Jan. 17	Submission of receipts for draft orders by youths born in 1940.
	Jan. 17	Note prohibiting civilians from entering the firing grounds to pick up ammunition shells.
	Jan. 18	Stepped up Viet Cong subversive activities.
	Jan. 18	List of young men who have rallied to the Viet Cong since 1959.
	Jan. 18	Submission of report on the transfer of duties from the old to the new village finance councilor.
	Jan. 18	Sale of rice supply to the people.
	Jan. 19	Examination of the 1960 village budget.

From	Date	Contents
District	Jan. 19	Second Lt. Nguyen van Hoi was held jointly responsible for a "financial affair."
	Jan. 19	Inspection of domestic animals.
	Jan. 19	Survey of inherited land and fields.
	Jan. 19	Payment for purchase of record books for 1961.
	Jan. 19	Monthly report on January 20, 1961.
	Jan. 19	Acknowledgment of receipt of "intimate letter" from the District.
Provincial Headquarters District	Jan. 19	Questions raised by My Xuyen District.
	Jan. 19	Prosecution order.
	Jan. 19	Follow-up on operations of seagoing boats.
	Jan. 19	Submission of names and dossiers of candidates for village youth commissioner positions.
	Jan. 19	Rice purchased from small shops for relief of the people.
	Jan. 19	Return of receipt for a draft order addressed to Ho Phu.
	Jan. 19	Check on the transmission of reconscription orders to reserve servicemen.
	Jan. 21	Rate of fees imposed on radios.
	Jan. 21	Declaration of wasteland which can be used to plant coconut trees and poplars.
	Jan. 21	List of all businessmen, industrialists and handicraftsmen practicing their profession during 1961 for the imposition of licence tax.
	Jan. 21	New declaration on the area and categories of private and public lands and fields in the village.
	Jan. 21	Note fixing the rate of percentage surcharge on business licences and landfields taxes for the village budget.
	Jan. 21	Aid given to the boats and fishermen carried by storms from Thua Thien Province.
	Jan. 21	Submission of list of fishermen.
	Jan. 21	Industrial census.
	Jan. 21	Payment to owner of the lime kiln.
	Jan. 23	Request for removal of name from the voters' list.
	Jan. 23	Report of payment of expenditures in 1960 for the District.
	Jan. 23	Civil investigation.
	Jan. 24	Submission of receipts from sale of relief rice.
	Jan. 24	Names of officials serving as station chiefs at the Cua Dai (bay).
	Jan. 24	Check on licence for retail sale of rice.
	Jan. 24	Deadline for submission of statistical survey forms on marine fisheries.
	Jan. 24	Transportation of resettlers after the Tan-Suu new year.
	Jan. 24	Payment of labor for reconstruction of District public offices.
	Jan. 24	Fund drive: contributions from the village councilors and <i>thon</i> chiefs for aid to the family of the finance councilor of Loc Ninh Village, murdered by the Viet Cong.
	Jan. 24	Posting of the list of candidates for village youth commissioner positions.
	Jan. 26	Transmission of authorization for retail sale of rice in 1961 to a named person.
	Jan. 26	Submission of statistics on marine fisheries.
	Jan. 26	Report on the prices of rice on sale in the locality.
	Jan. 26	Election of village youth commissioners.
	Jan. 26	Receipt for revolvers and munitions.
	Jan. 26	List of ex-servicemen living in the village.

From	Date	Contents
District	Jan. 27	The provincial administration authorizes the people to buy relief rice at small shops in Hoi An.
	Jan. 27	Authorization granted to a named person to sell relief rice to the people.
	Jan. 27	Keeping track of unidentified sailboats coming from the north.
	Jan. 27	Intensification of defense until new order.
	Jan. 27	Transmission of a copy of exam notice to a named person (Vo Ton).
	Jan. 27	Formation of committee in charge of polling booths.
	Jan. 27	Note inviting the village chief and finance councilor to the District to liquidate expenditures by the District in 1960.
	Jan. 27	Report on food, labor and fuel.
	Jan. 27	Stamps made.
	Jan. 27	Preparation of additional voter lists.
	Jan. 27	Control over the sale of rice by a named small businessman.
	Jan. 27	Procedures for preparing and distributing voting cards.
	Jan. 30	Maintenance of security of communication lines.
	Jan. 30	Village chief reports to District on Jan. 30.
	Jan. 30	Public service order to a named person (Dang Xuan Chinh) to represent District authorities as supervisor of the election of village youth commissioners.
	Jan. 30	Establishment of voter lists for the election of village youth commissioners.
	Feb. 1	About the trade of old military equipment.
	Feb. 2	List of present village council members and hamlet chiefs.
	Feb. 6	Decision replacing Mr. Truong Duong by Mr. Nguyen Ngoc Anh.
	Feb. 6	Control of village finance.
	Feb. 6	Payment of allowances granted to agents in charge of identity card delivery.
	Feb. 7	Monthly report on labor, food and natural resources.
	Feb. 7	Village Council and representatives of other bodies attending the training courses on election of President and Vice President of the Republic.
	Feb. 7	Participation of elementary school pupils in election campaign.
	Feb. 7	Attendance at a party at District headquarters.
	Feb. 8	Mobilization of labor for De Vong dam construction.
	Feb. 8	Invitation sent to the police commissioner to attend a meeting.
	Feb. 8	Supply of labor for maintenance of the De Vong dam.
	Feb. 9	Payment of village guard salaries for January and February, 1961.
	Feb. 10	Organization of the Tan Suu Campus (Tet party).
	Feb. 10	Invitation to <i>thon</i> chiefs to attend a meeting at the District headquarters at 1500 on February 11, 1961.
	Feb. 14	Publication of list of candidates for the Presidency and Vice Presidency.
	Feb. 20	Discussion of village budget at the District headquarters on 21 February, 1961.
	Feb. 20	Leaving out of names from the voters' list.
	Feb. 20	Mobilization of labor to work on the De Vong dam.
	Feb. 21	Organization of study in the interfamily group.
	Feb. 21	Sale of "rationed" rice.
	Feb. 22	Subvention and gifts to families of young men killed by Viet Cong.
	Feb. 22	Monthly report.

From	Date	Contents
District	Feb. 22	Notification of the moving of District headquarters.
	Feb. 23	Money subscription for the families of Village Council members killed by Viet Cong.
	Mar. 1	Economic development.
	Mar. 1	Selection of participants for Election Training Course.
	Mar. 1	Slogan praising President Ngo to be put on concrete sign post.
	Mar. 1	Transmission of bill to Nguyen Trai.
	Mar. 1	Follow up on a strange boat rowing southward.
	Mar. 1	Leaving out voters' names.
	Mar. 1	Appointment of Civic Action Agents to work in the village.
	Mar. 1	Orders sent to young men to be called up for the draft-1940.
	Mar. 1	Payment of allowances to village guards for January and February, 1961.
	Mar. 1	Check of short-term loans granted by the Agricultural Credit Office.
	Mar. 1	Proposal for appointment of the village youth commissioner.
	Mar. 1	Recruitment of an assistant to the village youth commissioner.
	Mar. 1	Training of the village youth commissioner.
	Mar. 1	List of villages and hamlets included in the study of fishing situation.
	Mar. 1	Authorization to organize a theatrical performance at Phuoc Trach.
	Mar. 1	A communique from the Ministry of Education.
	Mar. 1	Change in the family status and address of military reserves.
	Mar. 1	Competitive dramatic performance.
	Mar. 1	Youth and information commissioners attending the meeting at District headquarters on 23 February, 1961.
	Mar. 1	About the coastal navigation control stations.
	Mar. 1	Appointment of Mr. Truong Thieu as chairman of the election committee.
	Mar. 1	Call-up orders for military reserves.
	Mar. 1	Transfer and orientation of the youth commissioner's work, including the village information function.
	Mar. 1	Invitation to Village Council representative and financial commissioner to attend a general meeting at the District headquarters on 3 March, 1961.
	Mar. 1	Change to be made on the list of voters and reports.
	Mar. 1	About calling up military reserves.
	Mar. 1	Making up list of male nurses and midwives in the village.
	Mar. 1	Promotion of a large-scale and intensive campaign on the study of election law and regulations.
	Mar. 1	Payment of allowances to called-up people who have returned to their homes. (at provincial headquarters.)
	Mar. 1	Convocation of the village Republican Youth to attend a meeting.
	Mar. 1	Attendance at a training course for people in charge of ballot rooms.

APPENDIX III

Record of Outgoing Correspondence January, February and March, 1961

Destination	Date	Contents
District	Jan. 11	About village guards who have no connection with "regrouped people."
	Jan. 16	Transmission of orders to people to be called for military service.
	Jan. 15	Report on movement of emigrated people.
	Jan. 16	Report on candidates for office of village youth commissioner.
	Jan. 17	Transmission of orders to people who have finished their military service.
	Jan. 18	Report on transfer of responsibility between the former and the new financial commissioner.
	Jan. 18	Personal records of the candidates for the office of youth commissioner.
	Jan. 18	Transmission of a bill to Tran Di.
	Jan. 19	Transmission of a bill to Ho Phu Anh (year of birth: 1940).
	Jan. 19	List of candidates to office of village youth commissioner.
	Jan. 25	Reply to three requests for leaving out the names of voters Le Thi Hai, Le Thi Chap and Pham Em.
	Jan. 25	Census of domestic animals.
	Jan. 26	Transmission of correspondence on fishing activities.
	Jan. 26	Report on rice prices in the village.
	Jan. 27	Report on military officer and NCO.
	Jan. 30	Transmission of a bill to Vo Ton.
	Jan. 30	Report on the number of people of the NRM hanging password flags.
	Jan. 30	Report on the list of people in charge of ballot rooms.
	Jan. 31	Report of the voters in the election of the village youth commissioner.
	Feb. 1	Leaving out the name of Do Thi But.
	Feb. 1	Reply to request for leaving out the name of Do Thi But from the voters' list.
	Feb. 2	Report on election of the village youth commissioner.
	Feb. 2	Leaving out the name of voter Dinh thi Ky.
	Feb. 2	Leaving out the name of voter Nguyen Nhan.
	Feb. 2	Leaving out the name of voter Nguyen thi Luong.
	Feb. 2	Reply to request for leaving out the names of Dinh thi Ky, Nguyen Nhan and Nguyen thi Luong.
	Feb. 3	Transmission of bill to Bui Dien.
	Feb. 4	Report on the corpse of Mr. Nguyen Cuc.
	Feb. 4	Report on the three lists of people in charge of the ballot rooms.
Hamlet	Feb. 7	About the guarding of coastal area.
District	Feb. 7	Report on the list of participants in election training course.
Hamlet	Feb. 8	Marshaling labor to mound the De Vong dam.
District	Feb. 8	Report on list of village council members and hamlet chiefs.
Hamlet	Feb. 10	Notification to hamlet chiefs of a meeting at District Headquarters at 10 a.m., 11 February, 1961.
District	Feb. 11	Report on payments to be made to the District—1961.
	Feb. 11	Time schedule and work assignment for village council members during the Tet period.

Destination	Date	Contents
	Feb. 14	Nine reports on the publication of names of candidates for the Presidency and Vice Presidency of the Republic.
	Feb. 24	Transmission of a bill to Tran Nhieu.
	Feb. 24	Monthly report on labor, food, and raw material.
	Feb. 24	Transmission of orders to called-up people.
	Feb. 24	Transmission of orders to Huynh Dong.
	Feb. 27	List of participants to the Training Course at Chi Anh School—Hoi An.
	Feb. 28	Transmission of orders to reserve military people.
	Mar. 1	Transmission of orders to people to be called up in the draft—1940.
	Mar. 1	Transmission of orders to people to be called up in the draft—1940.
	Mar. 1	Report on different categories of vehicles.
	Mar. 1	Transmission of warning bill.

*Many of the words used in these pages, such as "Report," "transmission," are not fully understood by the translator.

APPENDIX IV

Republic of Vietnam

Province of Quang Nam

District of Dien Ban
Village of Cam An

Minutes of the Debate over the Budget

On this day the 25th of December 1959, at 8 a.m., we, Representative of the government, of the Bodies, Notables, Hamlet and Interfamily Chiefs of Cam An Village (including 58 people), hold a meeting at the Village Hall under the chairmanship of the Cam An Village Council Chief, to discuss the Village Budget Draft for 1960.

In compliance with the decision made at the General Meeting of Civilian, Military and Governmental Representatives held on December 10, 1959, about the collection and utilization of revenues from Public land and rice fields, from Public properties, from voluntary contribution to be made by fishing people (boatowners and hired men) and about the setting up of the 1960 Village Budget Draft.

After a careful deliberation, we entirely approve all the items planned for the 1960 Village Budget as follows:

Receipts:	277,783.00
Expenditures:	277,783.00

exactly as they appear

in the draft.

The meeting is closed at 2 p.m. on the date mentioned above and we all have put our signatures below:

Representative of Groups and Bodies
Village Section of NRM
Village Group of National
Revolutionary Youth
Subbranch of the Anti-Communist
Association

Village Council Chief,
Financial Commissioner,
Other Village Council Members,
Notables,
Hamlet Chiefs,
Interfamily Chiefs.

Receipts 1960

PART I		<i>Percent Surcharges</i>		Item 1	50 percent surcharge on basic rice field tax and 30 percent surcharge on basic home site and garden tax, to go to the Village budget:
Item 1		Surcharges on rice field and land tax	563		Rice field: Basic tax <u>563</u> $\frac{563 \times 50}{100} = 283\$$
Item 2		Surcharges on license tax			
Item 3		Surcharges on land tax, on slaughtering houses, etc . . .			Land tax: Basic tax <u>985</u> $\frac{985 \times 30}{100} = 295\$$
		Total	563		
PART II		<i>Revenues from Public Properties</i>		Item 1	At the general meeting of the Civilian, Military and Government Representatives, it was stated that the revenues from bids on 8,7670ha rice fields equaled (234 aag of paddy at 20\$ each, and 554 aag of sweet potato at 10\$ each. $234 \times 20 = 4,680\$$ $554 \times 10 = 5,540$ <u>10,220\$</u>
Item 1		Revenues from public land and rice fields	10,220		
Item 2		Concession of public land and rice fields	28,000		
Item 3		Sale of unused material, equipment and animals		Item 2	The whole population of Hamlets Phuoc Trach and An Bang approved the bidding of 7ha of water palm land for 28,000\$ to go to the Village budget.
		Total	38,220		
PART III		<i>Miscellaneous Revenues</i>		Item 2	Taxes levied on fishing boats coming from other villages.
Item 1		Tax on occupation of Public place		Item 3	Fines charged people who disturb the public order in the village.
Item 2		Tax on boat and vehicle stations	1,000	Item 4	Fees obtained from issuance of legal documents and transcripts of Certificates (of birth, marriage, death . . .) and legalization of personal properties and real estate sales contracts.
Item 3		Fines	500	Item 5	Taxes paid by woodcutters coming from other villages.
Item 4		Fee for issuance of legal documents, transcripts	2,000		
Item 5		Others	500		
		Total of Chapter III	4,000		
PART IV		Total		Item 2	Ferry boat is to be bid on by villagers to obtain revenues for the village budget.
			8,000		
PART V				Item 1	Subvention granted by the Province is 20,000\$ in 1961.
				Item 2	Voluntary contribution made by boatowners, and other resident villagers, to the Village budget.
		Total	227,000	Item 3	Subvention granted by the Ky Chau Village 20,000\$; by the Thank Truong Village 10,000\$.

Expenditures 1960

PART I			Expenditures on Administration		
Item 1	Salaries of Village Council members	134,400	Item 1	Salaries of Village Council members/month. Village Council Representative (chief) 1,700\$; financial commissioner 1,600\$; administrative, civil status, police commissioners: 1,500\$/each. Three hamlet chiefs at 700\$, each. Two hamlet chiefs at 800\$ and 600\$. One liaison agent at 600\$.	
Item 2	Salaries of assisting personnel (secretary, hamlet chief, liaison agent, etc. . . .)	9,800	Item 2	Total $11,200 \times 12 = 134,400$ /year	
Item 3	Purchase of equipment, materials		Item 3	Stationery: 400\$/month = 4,800\$ plus cost of a typewriter and other office supplies.	
	Total	144,200			
PART II			Expenditures on Security		
Item 1	Salaries or allowances to Village guard		Item 1	Allowances to Village guard:	
Item 2	Purchase of equipment, material		Item 2	— one assistant chief 400\$/month 4,800	
	Total	44,400	Item 2	— eleven guards 300\$/month $39,600$	
		5,000	Item 2		
		49,400	Item 2		
			Item 2	$44,400$	
			Item 2	Purchase of military supply and material for Village guard.	
PART III			Expenditures on Education		
Item 1	Salaries of Personnel	25,200	Item 1	Allowances to three Village masters:	
Item 2	Purchase of equipment, material and prize gifts	1,200	Item 1	700\$/month, each.	
Item 3	Popular education	1,000	Item 2	$700 \times 12 \times 3 = 25,200$	
	Total	27,400	Item 3	Purchase of equipment, material for rural schools and prize gifts for school pupils.	
			Item 3	Expenditures on popular education.	
PART IV			Expenditures on Health		
Item 1	Salaries of personnel	4,800	Item 1	Allowances to health agents (400\$/m) $400 \times 12 = 4,800$ \$	
Item 2	Purchase of equipment and material	1,000	Item 2	Purchase of equipment and material necessary to health program.	
Item 3	Purchase of medicine				
	Total	5,800			
PART V			Expenditures on Public Works		
Item 1	Construction of public building		Item 1	Expenditures on community development projects.	
Item 2	Roads and bridges	20,683	Item 2		
Item 3	Dikes, sewage, canal, etc.	2,800	Item 2	Installation of a new drainage pipe, and maintenance of the demolished ones located across the village main streets.	
Item 4	Breaking the new ground and waste-land				
	Total	23,483			
PART VI			General Expenditures		
Item 1	Subvention to people in distress	3,000	Item 1	Subvention to village groups and individuals in distress.	
Item 2	Ceremonies, celebration reception	7,000	Item 2	Expenditures on reception, ceremonies, celebration in the current year.	
Item 3	Miscellaneous exp.	4,700	Item 3	Travel allowances for Village Council members (300\$/m $\times 12 = 3,600$ \$). Allowances for maintenance of vehicles, and for lamp oil used in night study and meetings during the current year.	
Item 4	Unforeseeable exp.	8,000	Item 4	Unforeseeable expenditures in the current year.	
Item 5	Contribution to Mutual Assistance Fund		Item 7	Expenditures on information groups.	
Item 6	Delinquent payments		Item 8	Expenditures on youth organization in the current year.	
Item 7	Expenditures on information	2,400			
Item 8	Expenditures on youth organization	2,400			
	Total	27,500			

Summary of Receipts

PART I Receipt Items

PART I Percent Surcharge	563.00
II Revenues from Public Properties	38,220.00
III Miscellaneous receipts	4,000.00
IV Revenues from bidding and concessioning operation	8,000.00
V Subvention	227,000.00
Total Receipts	277,783.00

Summary of Expenditures

Expenditure Items

PART I Expenditures on Administration	144,200.00
II Expenditures on Security	49,400.00
III Expenditures on Education	27,400.00
IV Expenditures on Health	5,800.00
V Expenditures on Public Works	23,483.00
VI General Expenditures	27,500.00
Total Expenditures	277,783.00

Both the Receipts and the Expenditures amount to 277,783.00

Checked by the
District of Dien Ban
December 31, 1959

Cam An, December 25, 1959
Village Council Representative
Checked and approved by the
Province Chief of Quang Nam
Signed: Major VO HUU THU

Actual Receipts and Expenditures - 1960

	<i>Receipts</i>	<i>Expenditures</i>
January	1,400\$	1,675\$
February	7,200	1,980
March	42,000	2,950
April	14,300	2,275
May	8,440	5,530
June	8,211	74,880
July	21,150	8,180
August	11,780	6,880
September	10,140	16,201
October	81,535	7,495
November	10,625	28,900
December	20,805	30,580
	187,536\$	187,506\$

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