

THE WORK FORCE IN SAIGON

A SURVEY OF SOME ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL CHARACTERISTICS
OF EMPLOYEES IN MEDIUM SIZED INDUSTRY

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The newly independent nations of Southeast Asia generally evidence a strong desire to alter their basic economies from emphasis on primary production to viable semi-industrialization, and in this respect the Republic of Viet Nam is similar to many of her neighbors. Whatever the merits or demerits of this course of action, one may assume that Viet Nam will attempt to raise the level of industrialization from its pre-war and pre-independence levels. Although this study does not consider the economic or technical justification for this change, it does examine some of the social and economic characteristics associated with employment in medium scale industrial enterprises in Viet Nam at the present time -- an environment and type of work situation which presumably represents a major shift from traditional ways of life.

For perspective on the present level and type of economic activity in Viet Nam, it is helpful to start with recognition that the structure of the economy today essentially reflects two things -- the natural resource endowment of the country and the colonial policies followed by the French over nearly a full century of control. The southern part of French Indochina contained a combination of resources eminently suited to agricultural development -- rich delta lands watered by the Mekong River system, plentiful rainfall, and also upland country which is excellent for rubber and the plantation development of tea and coffee. The northern part

contained some coal and other mineral deposits, but the Red River delta also provided another large area suitable for intensive agriculture. Building on these basic resources, the French kept the economy heavily specialized in the production of agricultural commodities for export, particularly in the case of the area now included in the Republic of Viet Nam. Here, more than three-quarters of the population continue to live in rural areas and engage in agricultural pursuits.

It is widely believed that the French fostered a dual economy in Indochina, with industry in the North and agriculture in the South. It is true that the North had industries, and that it produced cement, glass, textiles and leather in addition to the minerals which were mined. But, at the same time, the South exceeded the North in the production of electricity, refined sugar, rubber sheets, ice, oxygen, acetylene, carbonic acid, beer and soda. Also, the South had more urban centers than the North. Its biggest city, Saigon-Cholon, had more than three times the population of Hanoi and its suburbs, the largest metropolitan area in the North. Considering these facts, it is misleading to visualize the South as a region completely without previous industrial experience, or as necessarily far behind the level of industry in the North. However, only a small minority of the total population ever entered the industrial work force, and for that reason neither industrial experience nor skills became very extensive.

Another factor affecting future industrialization was French domination of finance, industry and commerce, with the exception.

of the strong position in the processing, exporting and domestic wholesaling of rice which the Chinese occupied. Vietnamese found relatively few opportunities to acquire experience in these fields, and rarely rose to responsible positions in the foreign-owned firms. This pattern was buttressed by Vietnamese tradition which discouraged business activity, but attached great prestige to university, professional or government service careers. Further, relatively few Vietnamese received technical training, either in France or Viet Nam. Thus, although Viet Nam has now won its independence, and is understandably hoping to develop indigenous industry, it is handicapped by the classic legacy of colonialism -- lack of managerial experience, technical knowledge and capital among Vietnamese. This is, of course, coupled with a relatively small pool of workers with industrial work experience or skills.

These are the most important long-range factors which have shaped the basic structure of the economy. In addition, numerous short-term influences have brought important changes in the period since 1946. For example, from 1946 to the Geneva Agreements of 1954, the country saw intermittent heavy fighting in most areas as the French sought to retain their dominant position in Viet Nam. Since Geneva, there have been further strains and pressures associated with the transition from dependence to national autonomy, as well as continuing insecurity in some areas and the assumption of a heavy burden of defense expenditure.

The fighting, along with the bitter struggle for the loyalty and support of the people in rural areas, forced many to flee from

their home villages to larger centers of population and, presumably, safety. Unfortunately, there are no reliable records of the numbers involved in this flight to the cities, and there is also some reason to believe that earlier estimates of it were much too large.¹

Nevertheless there is no doubt that the insecurity of the countryside rapidly increased the population of the urban centers to an important extent, particularly Saigon-Cholon, and that many of those who came to the city remained after the fighting ceased.

At the height of the French military effort in 1953-1955, their military forces stationed in Viet Nam numbered around 200,000 men. The impact of this expeditionary force resulted in a rapid expansion of the distribution sector of the economy, in services, and in direct employment by the French army. Certain industrial activities also expanded. This stimulus served to provide employment opportunities for refugees who had come to the city, but when the French forces withdrew in early 1956, these economic props were suddenly removed. Not only did the spending by the French troops drop, but Vietnamese in French military service were demobilized, 75,000 working in military installations were discharged, and French private firms either closed down entirely

¹A complete census of Viet Nam has not been taken since the end of the war, but some preliminary sample surveys indicate that earlier estimates of the population of Saigon-Cholon were too large, perhaps by as much as one-half million persons. For example, a common estimate of the population of Saigon-Cholon was 1.9 million in 1956. This compares with the sample survey estimate of the metropolitan sector (not including the suburbs) of 1.2 million in 1958. Institut National de la Statistique, Enquete Demographique 1958 a Saigon, (Saigon: Secretariat d'Etat a l'Economie nationale, 1959).

or continued operations with greatly reduced local staffs.²

The kind of economy which remained after the departure of the French may be inferred from the distribution of the Gross Domestic Product for 1956 among major categories. Its heavy imbalance is shown in the fact the commercial sector accounted for about 29 percent of the total, while the agricultural sector, with more than three-quarters of the total work force committed to it, was responsible for only 27 percent. Industry, which produced only 11 percent of the total in the same year, followed both the service and the government sectors, which accounted for 19 and 14 percent respectively. Tertiary activities such as commerce and services (together accounting for almost half the total Gross Domestic Product) are not the basis for economic development and rising standards of living, and their relatively large importance in Viet Nam's present economy is an indication of the magnitude of the development problem ahead.

The continuing importance of agriculture does not show up well in the national accounts, but it may be seen from the fact that rice and rubber dominate Viet Nam's exports, and constituted approximately 88.8 percent of total exports in 1958. Other exported commodities included duck feathers, tobacco and cigarettes, and tea, although each of these provided only a very small proportion of total exports in any recent year. Inability to restore agricultural

²United Nations, Economic Survey of Asia and the Far East, 1956 (Bangkok: United Nations, 1957), p. 169.

production to anything approximating pre-war levels has meant continuing pressures on the balance of payments. In 1958, total exports of US\$54.7 million were matched against total imports of US\$232.1 million. Furthermore, the ratio of imports to exports was actually increased in 1958 over 1957, as rubber and rice exports fell behind the levels of the previous year in both volume and dollar value. While both exports and imports were lower in 1958, the drop in exports was proportionally greater.³

American aid has been an increasingly important factor in Viet Nam since 1950, when the first U.S. aid mission was established in Saigon to work indirectly through French channels. Following the Geneva Agreement of July, 1954, however, the pattern of aid shifted in early 1955 to one of assistance directly to Viet Nam. The cessation of hostilities brought a reduction in the size of the aid programs, but the emphasis has continued to be heavily weighted toward military assistance and defense support. Aid is brought into Viet Nam through a Commercial Import Program which provides imported goods for sale through regular commercial facilities. The Vietnamese piasters generated by the sale of these imports are placed in counterpart funds, and a large portion of these funds is used for the pay and support of the military forces. Table 1.1 shows the distribution of imports under this program in recent years by types of goods which have come into Viet Nam.

³United States Operations Mission to Viet Nam, Monthly Statistical Bulletin, Supplement, (May, 1959), pp. 14-15.

Table 1.1

DISTRIBUTION OF IMPORTS UNDER THE COMMERCIAL IMPORT
PROGRAM, BY MAJOR CATEGORIES OF IMPORTS
(Thousands of U.S. Dollars)

Category of Import	1955	1956	1957
1. Industrial machinery and equipment	42,500	28,966	52,205
2. Raw materials, fuels and other essential supplies for local industry and agriculture . . .	77,364	65,925	101,185
3. All other commodities	<u>110,239</u>	<u>98,937</u>	<u>116,498</u>
Total	<u>230,103</u>	<u>193,828</u>	<u>269,888</u>

Source: United States Operations Mission to Viet Nam, Building Economic Strength, Annual Report for the 1958 Fiscal Year (Saigon, United States Operations Mission, 1958), p. 50.

In the period 1955-1957, imports of industrial equipment and machinery totalled a little more than \$123 million, or slightly less than 20 percent of the total value of imports for the same period. The importation of transportation vehicles accounted for more than 20 percent of this industrial equipment. Much of this equipment was replacement for that which had been destroyed or had deteriorated during the war years, and the total therefore does not cover just new industry or new expansion of existing industry.

As a matter of fact, the rate of industrial expansion thus far has been disappointingly slow, considering the obvious pressure on the balance of payments and the availability of American aid. The major new industrial projects approved by late 1958 included only

a privately financed spinning weaving mill and a glass bottle plant that is a joint private-government enterprise.⁴ Neither of these was in operation at the end of 1958.

However, the governments of Viet Nam and the United States have both expressed an intention to promote industrial development in the country, and in addition to the financing of imports of industrial equipment and machinery already referred to, the U.S. has assisted in the creation of an Industrial Development Center in Saigon. This semi-autonomous government organization has recently announced a program which contains three principal elements:

(1) Dissemination of information about, and promotion of interest in establishing or expanding industrial activity in Viet Nam, (2) technical assistance to individuals or firms interested in participating in the program, and (3) provision of funds to be used for granting long-term capital loans.⁵

The position of the Vietnamese government with respect to industrialization was clearly set forth in the presidential message to the opening session of the National Assembly on October 6, 1958. On that occasion President Diem stated:

In the industrial field, our first effort will be to establish light industries for the domestic market and industries for processing agricultural products. This year we completed a first cotton spinning mill. Two other more important spinning mills will be set up at Saigon and at Tourane.

A sugar refinery is to be built at Tuy-Hoa. We are on the verge of concluding an agreement with a foreign company to establish a paper mill capable of producing 10,950 tons

⁴United States Operations Mission to Viet Nam, Building Economic Strength, Annual Report for the 1958 Fiscal Year (Saigon: United States Operations Mission, 1958), p. 46.

⁵Ibid., p. 43.

a year.⁶

Complete details of this anticipated industrialization are not available although specific projects are reported in the press and through official channels from time to time. The figure of VN\$20 billion in new investment for the period 1957 to 1961 has appeared as one estimate of the broad scope of this program.⁷ The government has issued an appeal to domestic and foreign investors to submit investment plans, and has outlined incentives and guarantees which would be available to them. These included guarantees against nationalization or expropriation without due compensation, tax exemptions under certain conditions, permission to repatriate salaries and profits and to withdraw capital within limits, and reduction of customs duties on parts to be assembled in Viet Nam.⁸ This was supplemented by an agreement signed by the Republic of Viet Nam and the United States on November 22, 1957 which guarantees American investors in Viet Nam against war risk, expropriation and currency inconvertibility.

In addition to the aid which is being furnished by the United States, Viet Nam continues to receive economic assistance from

⁶Message of President Ngo Dinh Diem to the National Assembly, (Opening Session, 6 October 1958), Department of Information Pamphlet, p. 11.

⁷The Colombo Plan for Co-operative Economic Development in South and South-East Asia, Sixth Annual Report of the Consultative Committee p. 171.

⁸Declaration of the President of the Republic of Viet Nam on the National Policy of Investments in Viet Nam, March 5, 1957.

France and from the Colombo Plan. The French established a Technical and Economic Mission for Viet Nam on August 24, 1955, but its activities include aid to Cambodia and Laos as well as Viet Nam. The Mission divides its activities into Technical Assistance, Medical and Sanitation Assistance, and Economic Aid. By 1958 the Economic Aid Section had given aid totalling 15.4 billion francs, much of it going to help in the transportation and resettlement of refugees. New capital equipment furnished under the French program was largely for the rail system and for the reclamation and improvement of agricultural facilities, however, and little is earmarked for local industry. The French also contribute substantial amounts for technical assistance, for welfare work, and for aid to education.

Viet Nam has received help under the Colombo Plan from Australia, Canada and the United Kingdom, but only Australia has contributed capital aid. By 1957 this had totalled £261,165 Australian, in addition to which £96,028 was granted for technical assistance. The capital expenditures were largely for irrigation equipment and municipal public works equipment, but some was also used for refugee resettlement and for aiding a school of agriculture established with U.S. aid funds. As in the case of the French aid program, the Colombo Plan grants have not contributed directly to industrialization, but have concentrated in the areas of refugee resettlement, technical assistance and agricultural development.

The kind of industry which is likely to emerge from these various government and foreign aid programs, and the kinds of

manufacturing which characterize much of the industry already in operation, are "light" or "medium sized" from the standpoint of type of product and number of employees per firm. For example, some of the more important types of manufacturing, in terms of value of product, include clothing and textiles, shoes, pottery and tiles, printing, ice, soft drinks, beer, tobacco, soap and dentifrices. ICA industrial consultants have recommended expansion or introduction of new capacity in textiles, cement, glass, paper and sugar refining. The Vietnamese government reports by late 1958 that it had already received applications covering 50 industrial projects which anticipate employment of more than 14,000 people. This represents an average employment of less than 300 persons per project, and is consistent with the type of industrial pattern already established. In short, industrial development now foreseeable for Viet Nam will provide a continuation of the current emphasis on light industry in plants which are of medium to small size by western standards.

CHAPTER II

THE OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

The Background of the Project

UNESCO interest in the effect of industrialization. -- Given the foregoing picture of the current stage of industrialization in Viet Nam, and the additional important fact that the near future should see growing attention paid to means to increase the levels of industry, the question of the probable effects of further industrialization is clearly an important one.

The economic and social results of new industry in a country need not parallel experience in other periods of time or in other cultures. Rapid industrialization has often been associated with social disorganization and heavy social cost, but this is not inevitable. Social pressures certainly come with a change in social values and with new patterns of work and leisure, but this is not always accompanied by social demoralization.⁹

The importance of this to Asian countries undertaking development of their economies, and the need to understand what happens when industrialization takes place, has stimulated interest on the part of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization. In addition to participating in UN-UNESCO seminars on urbanization

⁹For example, see John Useem, "The Changing Structure of a Micronesian Society," American Anthropologist, 47, No. 4 (October-December, 1945), 567-588, and Simon Rottenberg, "Income and Leisure in an Underdeveloped Economy," The Journal of Political Economy, IX, No. 2 (April, 1952), 95-101 for examples of societies amenable to social change. See also Margaret Mead (ed.), Cultural Patterns and Technical Change (New York: The New American Library, 1955), pp. 236-252 for a review of the types of social problems associated with technical change in several areas of the world.

held in Bangkok and Tokyo in 1956 and 1958, the UNESCO Research Centre in Calcutta has published a volume of five studies on urbanization and industrialization in Asia,¹⁰ and is currently sponsoring studies of the impact of industrialization in the Philippines and India.

The Research Center has also sought to encourage similar studies throughout Southeast Asia, and in this connection addressed a letter to the National Institute of Administration in Saigon, calling attention to this research interest in July, 1957. Later that same year, the National Institute and the Michigan State University Group which works with the NIA in Viet Nam, met to discuss various possible projects for inclusion in a joint program of research. The idea of a study of the social effects of industrialization in Viet Nam was regarded as a valuable suggestion, and it accordingly received a high priority in the program. Under the allocation of assignments made within the joint research program, faculty members from the National Institute assumed an advisory role on this particular project, but the actual field work and preparation of findings was done by Vietnamese and American staff members of the Michigan State University Group. Pretesting of questionnaires began in March, 1958, and the interviews on which this study is based were started soon thereafter.

Objectives of the Study

The need to limit the scope. -- The UNESCO research program

¹⁰/R.B. Textor at el.7, The Social Implications of Industrialization and Urbanization (Calcutta: UNESCO Research Centre, 1956).

is concerned with the social effects of industrialization, and this study was first proposed in those terms. However, it was not feasible to study the effects of industrialization in Viet Nam in any sense because, for all practical purposes, there is no base from which to measure change. What began, therefore, as a study of social effects became quickly converted into a survey of some of the more important social and economic characteristics of the industrial work force in Saigon. Furthermore, since there were limitations to the resources which could be assigned to this study, even these restricted objectives had to be approached in a limited fashion.

The result was a decision to set up what was essentially a pilot study. As such, it would provide policy makers with more detailed information than had previously been available to them on the nature of the work force and some of the conditions and attitudes found among them. It would also provide experience in the use of a questionnaire approach to social science research in Viet Nam, and even if not a definitive work on the problem, it would yield useful and important hypotheses for further research. In all, five general areas of interest were selected for testing, and these provide the major divisions of the study.

A description of the work force. -- At the time this project was first considered, there were no data available which could provide a complete picture of the composition of the work force in Saigon. The Institute of Statistics was then planning a survey census of population in Saigon, but results were not expected until late 1958 or early 1959. The Ministry of Labor was engaged in a survey of the

work force, but again, no results were expected for some time. Although the sample of firms used in this study was not selected to provide a statistically valid way to generalize about the entire industrial population, it could provide some initial information about employees in terms of age distribution, sex distribution, income range, length of employment, former employment, and similar characteristics.

Some of these descriptive measures were not included in the surveys conducted by other agencies, but many of them were. At points where there is overlap, it is possible to make a comparison of the findings. These comparisons show that the various surveys have tended to correspond with one another for the most part, and they thus serve to increase confidence in the other findings where benchmark data of this kind are not available.

Living conditions and family structure. -- An important concern in considering the impact of industrialization is the effect on standards of living and traditional family relationships. Since very little is known of comparable conditions in the rural areas, other than impressions of living standards and general observations on family size and family structure, it is impossible to state with precision what change has taken place. However, it is possible to make statements about some expenditures, types of housing, recreation opportunities, marital status, family size, family composition, and similar aspects of urban life from the responses obtained from this sample of industrial employees. This gives an idea of what industrialization means in these terms, even if it does not trace the degree

to which it may have caused social disorganization or demoralization.

The movement of the industrial population. -- In the special case of Viet Nam there has been a major problem in caring for those who have left their homes in search of safety. Since Geneva, Viet Nam has absorbed more than 800,000 refugees from the northern part of the country, most of them in resettlement projects in under-populated rural areas. Before that time, large numbers fled to the cities and towns to avoid the fighting in the countryside. No one knows with any degree of accuracy just how large this flight was, or what portion of those who came to the cities in the days before Geneva tended to remain once peace was restored. The government has resettled some of those who came to Saigon but no one knows how the migrants who remained adjusted to their new environment, or how many would willingly return to their former homes if the opportunity was provided.

The third section of this study looks into some of these questions. It tries to determine to what extent the migrants have been absorbed into the industrial work force, and if there is any indication that a majority of those coming from outside Saigon did so in particular years. It examines the education and experience of the migrants to see if there is any significant difference between these workers and those who have always lived in Saigon. Finally, the section deals with workers who were foreign born, or born with foreign citizenship. This is of particular importance in Saigon because a large proportion of the total population once held Chinese citizenship. Any basic differences between this group and the rest of the work force could

provide useful clues to the kind of social adjustment they can make over the next several years.

Industrial employees and labor organizations. -- Labor unions in Viet Nam are in the earliest stages of development, and their role vis-a-vis their members, management, government and the general public should continue to change as they acquire experience. The French did not permit workers to organize freely under the colonial administration, but it is also true that there was relatively little pressure to organize because the degree of industrialization was so small. The new government has officially favored union growth since independence, but stimulation from above inevitably raises the question of whether the new unions rely more on government than their membership for support. Another element in the problem is the tendency for industrial establishments in Asia to adopt a paternalistic attitude toward their employees, a feature which is consistent with strong traditions of filial piety and family unity. Labor unions may be a disruptive element in such situations, and it is difficult to predict employee attitudes toward them even where the economic gains from membership may seem obvious and long overdue.

For these reasons it is important to try to obtain some understanding of the union movement at this point in time. The data in the section on labor organization show some of the facets of membership. For example, they show its composition in terms of job skills, citizenship, length of employment, sex of members, and type of plant. There is also an attempt to evaluate the reaction of members to their union as indicated in attendance at union meetings and their assessment of

the benefits received by virtue of membership.

Work satisfaction and attitudes toward management. -- In addition to trying to assess the attitude of labor union members toward their union, this study explores employees' attitudes toward management and toward the work they perform. Research on subjective estimates such as these is always difficult to carry out, but particularly so in Viet Nam where there are many grounds on which to question the real meaning of the replies which are given by respondents to a questionnaire. Public opinion polling is virtually unknown here, and people are understandably hesitant to answer questions which may affect their jobs. There is the further problem that the questions may be misunderstood because they may call for kinds of evaluation by the respondent that he is not accustomed to make, even for himself. In spite of these and other drawbacks, an attempt has been made to develop some tentative observations in this important area.

An employee's attitude toward his work is a major social problem. Industrialization generally implies a high proportion of tedious, routine jobs that strip the performance of work of any sense of accomplishment or creative rewards. One of the main fears of countries considering programs of rapid industrialization is that abrupt removal of peasants from their land, and from the job satisfaction associated with agricultural work, will cause increased social unrest, even though their economic position may be improved by the move. Although it is impossible to measure the degree of social unrest or social disorganization among industrial workers

in Saigon at the present time, a cross tabulation of responses can provide some light on the extent to which fears on this score are justified.

The final section of the study therefore examines the preferences of industrial employees as between urban and rural work and considers their job satisfaction in terms of such variables as their job skills, the plant in which they work, their educational background, and the length of time they have been in Saigon. It also looks into their attitudes toward the management in the plants and their plans for the future. Finally, it tries to determine what specific suggestions for improvement in working conditions would eliminate some of the causes of dissatisfaction with present jobs, again relating these to such things as the plants in which respondents are employed and their job skills.

Putting all this data together, what emerges is a description of things as they are in a few selected industrial plants in Saigon. Lacking a basis for comparison in most cases, one cannot say which of the described conditions or attitudes are truly the effects of industrialization and which would be found in non-industrial situations as well. What can be said is that industrialization does seem to be associated with certain things, and from there one is free to apply his own knowledge, values and standards in deciding how he will judge them. In the process of describing current conditions, however, a number of common suppositions may be questioned. Given the nature of the sample used, these areas of doubt should stimulate the additional research which will eventually give a more complete and accurate view.

The Firms in the Sample

The selection of the firms for the sample. -- Although Saigon is essentially a commercial center, and not an industrial one, medium and small industry is located throughout the metropolitan area. A city of broad, tree-lined boulevards, modern office buildings, smart shops and handsome residences, Saigon also contains large areas of crowded quarters of thatch and wood, narrow winding lanes, dirt streets, sprawling markets, and countless small shops. Around the factories, the streets are choked with trucks, carts and bearers moving goods to and from the plants. Plant exteriors vary in style and condition from freshly painted, fairly modern buildings to dingy old structures that are poorly lit and poorly ventilated. The interiors generally vary accordingly, and in some the visitor must pick his way carefully through piles of debris and refuse, avoiding the moving machinery and trying to stay out of the way of the employees. By contrast, other firms are well ordered, and the machinery is properly maintained, if often somewhat obsolete.

The markets of the city open early in the morning, and by six o'clock the streets are already filled with people on their way to work and to buy the day's food needs. Many stop for a quick breakfast of glutinous rice, or bread and coffee, or boiled manioc root at one of the many mobile food vending stands that collect around the living areas and factories. Bicycles, motor scooters and motor bicycles fill the streets at the rush hours, and traffic becomes hazardous. Most plants begin at 7:00 or 7:30 a.m. and work until 11:30 a.m. The afternoon shift begins at 1:30 p.m. and usually lasts until 5:30 p.m., altogether

making an eight-hour work day which is broken by a two-hour siesta period. During the siesta period, workers simply sleep wherever they can find shade and coolness. Most plants are uncomfortably hot throughout the day, and a mid-day rest is a well established part of the daily routine, designed to restore energy for the afternoon's work. The six-day work week is almost universal, although some plants may work through Sunday because of special problems associated with the flow of raw materials used in their production.

Facilities for workers are not extensive in most plants. Toilets for men and women are usually separated, but few firms provide places for showers or washing up after work. At best, employees are permitted to use company water taps for these purposes. Company recreation or rest areas are not unknown, but they are comparatively rare, and medical care available at the plant generally consists only of first aid equipment. In all, while the plants in Saigon do not resemble the "satanic mills" of early industrial England, working conditions in many of them are still harsh and dangerous by advanced western standards.

This then, is the nascent industry of Viet Nam, and from it the survey picked four firms that were believed typical. Several industry categories would fit the requirements of being medium sized and also representative of Viet Nam's current production, and the four firms chosen while not the only ones that would qualify, all make products which are important from this standpoint. However, they also provide variation in the nationality of ownership, number of employees, kind of production, and geographical location, and therefore constitute a judgment sample, picked specifically to provide a variety of the

characteristics which seem to be typical of Viet Nam's medium scale industry.

A brief description of the firms in the sample. -- The plants in the sample are identified here only by letter, although anyone who knows Saigon industry well can probably determine which firms are included. The industries represented are pottery manufacture, drugs and plastics, soap, and printing, but the description of the firms below avoids this order to preserve anonymity if possible.

Plan A is an established family firm which has been in business for fifty years. It is still under family control, and family members take an active part in the management. None of these has had technical training, but all have had considerable experience with the firm.

The firm employs 235 daily workers and 74 salaried employees, most of whom are Vietnamese. There are no engineers, but technicians on the staff handle machinery maintenance and repair, and several of these are Chinese. The management claims paternalism in its employee relations, and says it tries to inculcate a reciprocal filial attitude. To provide an example of this, one of the sons told an anecdote concerning an older woman member of the family who had occasion to chastise one of the employees. The worker was told to regard this as a reprimand from his mother, who was disciplining him for his own best interest. The firm provides some housing in two empty warehouses, and picks the families permitted to live there on the basis of the distance to work from their former homes.

The management has never tried to measure worker productivity,

but stated that it could actually produce in 250 days what now takes 300 days. The reason for this, according to the firm, is that it prefers to spread the work over the longer period of time, thereby giving the employees a longer pay period and easing their subsistence problems to some extent. This was also used as further evidence of their concern for their employees. The production process does not lend itself well to piece work, particularly since there are numerous slow slow-downs and shut-downs for reasons which the employees themselves cannot control (e.g., the electric power may be shut off at times). Some are slow to arrive in the morning, and are said to take their time on the job, but there is no absenteeism problem because most of them are daily wage workers, and therefore are paid only for the actual days they work. The firm does not provide its employees with a noon meal, and those who work a ten-hour night shift are given only one-half hour off for rest. This, however, is a special shift for certain skilled operations, and is followed by a 2-day layoff for those who work it.

The machinery, much of it obsolete, is part French and part American. The firm hopes to import new German or Italian machinery in the future, but at the time of the interview the necessary import permits had not been received. The plant keeps some of its by-products and markets them in Viet Nam and abroad. A large part of its raw materials are obtained locally, but some essential items must be imported.

The firm is in a good competitive position vis-a-vis its domestic competitors, but this is for the low quality markets. Foreign

competition is an important factor in higher quality sales and here the firm's position is not as strong. In general, the plant has been increasing production at a rate of five percent per year, but the market picture as a whole is considered stable and not expanding. The recession in Viet Nam during the summer of 1958 did not affect sales materially.

The family is interested in maintaining control of the firm, and has followed a policy of financing all improvements internally. They have never borrowed from banks or outsiders, even for their imports of raw materials. However, the firm is contemplating expansion into new products in the next few years, and members of the family have expressed a desire to attract capital from outsiders at that time, even if this means formation of a corporation and some reduction in the family share in the business.

Plant B is the oldest firm in the sample, and has been established for ninety years. Originally started by French capital, it was sold to Vietnamese interests in 1950. The present managing director of the firm has been educated in France, but not in a technical field.

The plant employs around 100 persons, a large number of whom are skilled workers. Since it is located in the commercial section of the city, none of the employees live near their place of work. The recession of 1958 brought some drop in business volume, but the management says it tried to maintain the work force at full strength to avoid the hardship of unemployment for its regular staff. Since the production process is highly mechanized the plant is relatively clean. For the most part, it is also well lighted, and the machinery does not generate

too much additional heat -- an important feature in a tropical climate.

Many of its clients have run up substantial debts which they have not paid, and this has placed a strain on the firm since it has to rely on internal financing for investment expenditures and working capital. It does some contract work for the Vietnamese government, but this is irregular and does not constitute a significant part of the total sales. The firm has approximately 30 large and 150 small competitors, of whom it regards the smallest as the most vigorous, and as posing the greatest threat to its position. Almost all of its raw materials are imported, but there is some expectation that one of the major import items will be produced in Viet Nam in the near future.

Plant C is less than 20 years old, but during that time it has become a modern, well-equipped firm that has a strong position in the markets for its products. It is family owned, with members of the family occupying all managerial posts of responsibility, but technical direction is supplied by French-trained engineers who are also full-time civil service employees with the Vietnamese government. They give part-time advice to the firm on technical matters, and receive a share of the total sales as their compensation for this work.

The plant hires more than 100 persons, a large majority of whom are women. Because the firm manufactures drug items, some efforts are made to keep the premises and the production process clean and sanitary. The women employees wear white uniforms and the men blue khaki, but there are no company regulations requiring showers or clean-up preliminaries prior to the start of work, and employees are not given

medical examinations before being hired. The plant is well lighted and well ventilated, even to the point of providing fans for the employees' comfort.

The machinery in this factory is fairly new and well maintained, and the management plans to expand its facilities by importing additional machinery from Germany. Despite the loss of markets in north Viet Nam, due to the partition of the country, sales have continued to increase over time. There are seven other Vietnamese firms competing in the markets for its main product, but the most vigorous competition is supplied by brands imported from abroad. As in the case of the other firms, all capital for expansion has been provided by the family-owners, and, like Plant B, it relies heavily on imported raw materials.

The final plant in the sample, Plant D, was founded in 1934, and is the only one of the four owned by non-Vietnamese. This firm is owned by a single French family, and family members are responsible for the actual supervision, assisted by one engineer who is Chinese. The original plant, located outside the city, was burned during the war, and the replacement was built in 1949 on the present site.

The firm hires more than one hundred employees, a majority of whom are men. The plant building is open on four sides, and although noisy, there is enough ventilation to make working conditions comfortable most of the time. The raw materials used in production all come from Viet Nam, but their arrival is usually so sporadic that work will proceed feverishly for a time, to be followed by long periods of lay-off and inactivity.

Sales are subject to some seasonal fluctuations, with the peak periods coming at the lunar New Year and during the dry months. It produces for general wholesale markets as well as contracting to do special jobs for major industrial customers. The general level of sales has been stable in the past few years, but the firm retains a predominant position relative to its domestic competitors. Not only does it not require any imported raw materials, it has little competition from foreign imports of finished products. Its machinery is old, but the production process itself is not complex and this therefore may not be an important factor.

These are the firms in the sample -- some larger than the others, some more mechanized than the others, some finding the markets for their output expanding while others have stable or falling sales, some dependent on imported raw materials where others actually export some of their product, three are Vietnamese owned and one is foreign owned. In the chapters which follow, the responses of those who work in these four firms will be used to piece together a picture of some of the characteristics of industrialization at this stage of its development in Viet Nam.

CHAPTER III

THE COMPOSITION OF THE WORK FORCE

A General View of Industrial Employees

The distribution by age, sex and job skills. -- A first look at the people who currently comprise the industrial work force in Saigon shows them to be young, predominantly male, unskilled or semi-skilled, and for the most part in their present jobs for six years or less. A number of these factors are interrelated, of course, but as a summary statement this conveys an overall picture of the types of people who have found their way into industry of the sort represented by the sample firms.

In more specific terms, over two-thirds of the employees were male, but the proportions between male and female workers varied widely from one plant to another.¹¹ (Table 3.1) This is due largely to the kind of work involved in the production by each plant, and therefore the kind of skills or abilities required of employees. For example, more than half the employees of Plant C are women, and there the work is light, routine and requires little skill. In contrast,

¹¹The percentages or proportions used hereafter with respect to the findings of the study refer to the data compiled in the sample only. Since the plants selected represent a judgment sample, and not a random sample, the data cannot be considered as a statistically valid estimate of the true characteristics of the population. However, to the extent that the plants in the sample are typical of medium scale industry in Saigon, the data are indicative and useful approximations to the true population even though their reliability cannot be expressed in terms of probabilities. Comparisons are made throughout the text between sample data and census or other figures where comparable measurements were available. In this way the extent to which the sample is "typical" is subject to some check.

TABLE 3.1

SEX DISTRIBUTION OF THE WORK FORCE, BY PLANTS IN THE SAMPLE

Sex	Plant A		Plant B		Plant C		Plant D		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Male	63	75.0	33	94.3	22	44.9	38	64.4	156	68.7
Female	21	25.0	2	5.7	27	55.1	21	35.6	71	31.3
Total	84	100.0	35	100.0	49	100.0	59	100.0	227	100.0

TABLE 3.2

AGE DISTRIBUTION OF THE WORK FORCE, BY PLANTS, IN THE SAMPLE

Age of employee	Plant A		Plant B		Plant C		Plant D		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
24 or less	34	40.5	7	20.0	25	51.0	24	40.7	90	39.6
25-34 ..	25	29.8	3	8.6	11	22.4	13	22.1	52	22.9
35-44 ..	10	11.9	12	34.3	6	12.3	10	16.9	38	16.7
45-54 ..	10	11.9	8	22.8	6	12.3	10	16.9	34	15.0
55 and over.	5	5.9	5	14.3	1	2.0	2	3.4	13	5.7
Total	84	100.0	35	100.0	49	100.0	59	100.0	227	100.0

men constitute nearly 95 percent of those working in Plant B, where the work, for the most part, is highly skilled. Plant A also uses a high proportion of male workers, but in this plant there is a large amount of unskilled heavy work and less need for skilled labor. These points are demonstrated more fully in the discussion below of the distribution of job skills in the plants in the sample (Table 3.6), and the relation between the sex of the employee and job skills (Table 3.5).

Turning to the age distribution in the sample, a bare majority (51.5 percent) are below 30 years of age,¹² but nearly four-fifths are under 45 years of age. (Table 3.2) For the sample as a whole, ages ranged from a few youths of seventeen to two men in their early seventies, and, as in the case of sex distribution, the ages of workers varied from plant to plant. Table 3.3 shows partly why this occurs as it does, for the age distribution of the work force by the sex of the interviewee reveals that the women, as a group; are much younger than the men. Where only two-fifths of the men (41.6 percent) are under 30, nearly three-quarters of the women (73.2 percent) fall in that age bracket. The plant hiring the largest proportion of women, Plant C, also has the youngest work force -- 59.1 percent of their employees are under 30 years of age. But this is not a complete explanation because Plants A and D, with large portions of their respective work forces made up of men, also have relatively young employees. In Plant A, for example; 56 percent are under 30, and Plant D has a very similar pattern. The rest of the answer therefore seems to lie in the

¹²The age distribution of the work force by plants in the sample is shown with more frequent age intervals in Appendix Table A-I.

TABLE 3.3

AGE DISTRIBUTION OF THE WORK FORCE, BY SEX OF INTERVIEWEE

Age of employee	Male		Female		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Under 20	20	12.8	16	22.5	36	15.8
20-24.....	30	19.2	24	33.8	54	23.8
25-29	15	9.6	12	16.9	27	11.9
30-34	19	12.2	6	8.5	25	11.0
35-39	18	11.6	3	4.2	21	9.3
40-44	15	9.6	2	2.8	17	7.5
45-49	15	9.6	6	8.5	21	9.3
50-54	12	7.7	1	1.4	13	5.7
55 and over...	12	7.7	1	1.4	13	5.7
Total	156	100.0	71	100.0	227	100.0

distribution of job skills as between plants.

Fortunately, some provisional census data have become available for employees in manufacturing industries in the city of Saigon for the same year, 1958, and the reliability of the sample can be checked against them with respect to the distribution between men and women workers and by different age groups. This comparison is shown in Table 3.4. The two sets of data correspond very closely in almost all respects, indicating that the sample resembles the

work force as a whole in its sex and age composition.¹³ Once again the data show that women workers tend to be younger than men, for the percentage of men in any age group tends to increase as the ages increase. Men still constitute more than two-thirds of the work force overall, but this proportion is somewhat less valid for the lower age groups.

Reference has already been made to Table 3.5 which shows the distribution of job skills by the sex of the interviewees. For purposes of this study, the category of "skilled" labor included all those who have a clearly identifiable craft or trade, or who have become highly specialized in some technically advanced operation which required special training and long experience. The term "semi-skilled" was applied to all occupations for which the employee received some training on the job, or for those people who passed a short period of apprenticeship in the plant before being signed on as a regular employee. "Unskilled" labor covers all jobs for which no special training was required, and which involved no special skill or competence to perform adequately. The "clerical" help included all personnel engaged in office work below the actual management level.

¹³ Testing the significance of the difference between proportions of males in the sample and the census data yields a T value of -1.284, or no significant difference between the two sets of data at a significance level of 5 percent.

The men in this sample turned out to be relatively skilled, and nearly two-thirds of them held "skilled" or "semi-skilled" jobs. In contrast to this, none of the women fell in the category of "skilled" workers, and only 11.3 percent of them were considered "semi-skilled." When job skills are distributed by plants, as in Table 3.6, plants A, C and D are found to have over half their employees in the "unskilled" category. Thus it appears, without making a separate tabulation, that age and job skills are also related in such a way that the younger employees tend to be those having fewer skills.

Taking still another facet of the work force, that of educational background, the data show that over three-fourths of all the employees interviewed were at least able to read and write slightly, and that over one-third of them had had some elementary school training or better. Only 23.8 percent admitted that they were illiterate. (Table 3.7) This is an unexpectedly high degree of literacy for a group of industrial employees in an undeveloped country, but apparently this figure is not too distorted.

Provisional results from the census survey make a comparison possible with respect to the degree of literacy, thereby again providing a check on the accuracy of the sample findings. This is shown in Table 3.8 where the literacy ratio of the sample and the literacy ratio of the adult population are arrayed together. The census figures distinguished only an ability to read and write and complete illiteracy, and no attempt was made to determine years of

TABLE 3.4

SEX DISTRIBUTION OF EMPLOYEES IN MANUFACTURING INDUSTRIES
COMPARED WITH SEX DISTRIBUTION OF WORK FORCE IN SAMPLE

	Sex	Male	Female	Total
	Under 20	Census (%) ¹ Sample (%)	56.7 55.5	43.3 44.5
20 - 29	Census (%) Sample (%)	68.3 55.5	31.7 44.5	100.0 100.0
30 - 39	Census (%) Sample (%)	79.0 80.4	21.0 19.6	100.0 100.0
40 - 49	Census (%) Sample (%)	80.6 79.0	19.4 21.0	100.0 100.0
50 - 59	Census (%) Sample (%)	82.2 92.3	17.8 7.7	100.0 100.0
Total	Census (%) Sample (%)	72.5 68.7	27.5 31.3	100.0 100.0

¹Compiled from data presented in Enquete Demographique a Saigon, Juin-Juillet 1958 (Resultats Provisoires), Institut National de la Statistique.

schooling or highest levels attained. All sample data which implied at least an ability to read and write were therefore combined in order to make the comparison shown. On both accounts, roughly one-quarter of the adult population are illiterate, and three-quarters able to read and write to some degree. The slightly lower ratio of illiterates in the sample is not significant, and literacy among industrial workers therefore appears to be the same as for the adult population at large.¹⁴

¹⁴The difference between proportions of illiterates in the sample and in the adult population yields a T value of 1.5, or no significant difference between the two sets of data at a significance level of 5 percent.

TABLE 3.5

JOB SKILL IN THE WORK FORCE, BY SEX OF INTERVIEWEE

Job skills	Male		Female		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Unskilled	54	34.6	61	85.9	115	50.7
Skilled	64	41.0	--	--	64	28.2
Semi-skilled	34	21.8	8	11.3	42	18.5
Clerical	4	2.6	2	2.8	6	2.6
Total	156	100.0	71	100.0	227	100.0

TABLE 3.6

JOB SKILL IN THE WORK FORCE, BY PLANTS IN THE SAMPLE
AND FOR THE SAMPLE AS A WHOLE

Job skill	Plant A		Plant B		Plant C		Plant D		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Unskilled	43	51.2	6	17.2	31	63.3	35	59.3	115	50.7
Skilled	25	29.8	23	65.7	10	20.4	6	10.2	64	28.2
Semi-skilled	13	15.5	4	11.4	7	14.3	18	30.5	42	18.5
Clerical	3	3.5	2	5.7	1	2.0	--	--	6	2.6
Total	84	100.0	35	100.0	49	100.0	59	100.0	227	100.0

Considering the sample only, one explanation for the high literacy ratio may be that some interviewees would not admit they could not read or write. Since no test of their ability was made at the time of the interview, the accuracy of the replies cannot be verified. A substantial portion of those who admitted illiteracy were Chinese in national origin, and for whom Chinese is a primary language. This was true even for those born in Viet Nam. In many cases they did not even speak Vietnamese well, to say nothing of reading and writing in that language.

Another possible explanation is that there has been a very significant stride forward in combating illiteracy through special courses which have been organized for that purpose. Under the French, schooling for the children of poor parents was too expensive to be very widespread, with the result that most of them did not manage to get even an elementary school education. In recent years the government has organized evening classes for adults, 16 to 50 years of age. Two terms of instruction are offered, each of them four months long, at the end of which the students have acquired some reading and writing ability. The high percentage of workers stating that they had achieved this level of literacy possibly reflects the success of these courses. There is no way to determine how well these people can read and write, but many have apparently made a beginning.

Of those who report they have had some schooling, the percentage with elementary school training is much higher for men, 43 percent, than it is for women. Only 21.1 percent of all female employees

TABLE 3.7

EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUND, BY SEX OF INTERVIEWEE

Education	Male		Female		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Illiterate	27	17.3	27	38.0	54	23.8
Some reading and writing	62	39.7	29	40.9	91	40.1
Elementary school	48	30.8	12	16.9	60	26.4
Secondary school or higher	19	12.2	3	4.2	22	9.7
Total	156	100.0	71	100.0	227	100.0

TABLE 3.8

COMPARISON OF ADULT POPULATION OF SAIGON WITH WORK FORCE IN SAMPLE BY KNOWLEDGE OF READING AND WRITING VIETNAMESE

Literacy Attainment	Sample (%)	Census ¹ (%)
Illiterate	23.8	28.3
Reading and writing	76.2	71.7
Total	100.0	100.0

¹Data for the adult population, ages 15-59, are compiled from an Enquete Demographique a Saigon, Juin-Juillet 1958 (Resultats Provisoires), Institut National de la Statistique.

have received equivalent training. The higher status men have always enjoyed in Vietnamese society would account for this difference. With education expensive and difficult to obtain, families tend to send sons to school before they send daughters, or in some cases may simply not send daughters, even if they can afford to do so. No attempt was made in this survey to get a detailed breakdown by years of actual schooling, for the main purpose was simply to see to what extent industrial workers had received any schooling at all.

The elementary school program in Viet Nam lasts five years, at the end of which students take an examination for a Certificat d'Etudes Primaires. Secondary school training takes seven years and is divided into two cycles, one of four years and a second of three years. Successful completion of the full twelve years of instruction leads to the award of a baccalaureat diploma. However, in interpreting the replies to the questionnaire used here an elementary school education means anything up to five years of school, while attendance at a secondary school means only a minimum of six years in school.

Piecing together these various ways of looking at the work force, a consistent pattern seems to recur throughout which is also more or less what one would expect. It shows that employees in industry tend to be young -- not surprising in a country with a low life expectancy -- and that there is a higher percentage of men than women in industrial occupations. Women, on the whole, tend to be much less skilled than the men, and a largershare of the men hold

skilled or semi-skilled jobs. Those plants which have a production process requiring a high proportion of unskilled labor will have a younger set of employees than those which do not, and they are also likely to employ more women than men if the unskilled work is not too strenuous. Not only are women as a group younger and less skilled than the men, they are also less well-educated, although the degree of literacy of the entire sample seems high.

The income range. -- Any survey of the characteristics of industrial employees must include some estimate of the income available to them, for the size of income determines the conditions under which they must live and sets limits to their opportunities for social or cultural advancement. The "usual" or "normal" monthly income was selected as the most meaningful measure for the purposes of this study, although actual wage rates are set on a piece rate or hourly basis.

The Department of Labor has fixed a minimum daily wage for women at 38¢VN, and a minimum for men at 42¢VN. Most employees in industry are hired on a day to day basis, and while they have no contractual job security for the most part, they do tend to keep their jobs as long as the plant can maintain operation and their work is satisfactory. In the pottery plant, for example, layoffs of several days occur from time to time when there are not enough materials on hand to continue production, but these are partially offset for the same group of employees by the overtime opportunities available when production begins again. Under normal conditions, the standard work

week is 48 hours, and anything over this becomes overtime with additional pay at overtime rates.

As a general rule the employee who works on a daily basis does not receive any income supplements in the form of meals or special allowances of any kind. He is not covered by pension plans or unemployment insurance, and at best can expect medical care only in cases where he has been injured at his work. His normal monthly money income is therefore a fairly accurate indication of the total resources available to him. If an employee is killed or seriously injured on the job, the labor courts will usually award the next-of-kin a year's wages. In case of death, burial costs are also added. If an employee is discharged through no fault of his own he must be given a separation allowance that is "fair," and this payment is subject to approval by the courts. In practice the amount accepted as "fair" may vary with the particular situation giving rise to the discharge, but the principle of granting a separation allowance under these conditions is well established. Occasionally fringe benefits are available, as in the case of the older firms who give bonuses, usually equal to one month's pay, at the lunar New Year (Tet). Others permit employees to borrow small loans against future income, and will deduct the loan from wages at amounts prorated over a period of one year. Interest-free loans of this kind are a very great advantage because the rate of interest on normal personal borrowing ranges from five to ten percent per month, depending partly on the size of the loan.

TABLE 3.9
MONTHLY INCOME, BY TYPE OF JOB SKILL

Monthly Income	Skilled		Semi-skilled		Unskilled		Clerical		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
999 or less	--	--	6	14.3	55	47.8	--	--	61	26.9
1000-1499	13	20.3	17	40.5	48	41.7	--	--	78	34.4
1500-1999	10	15.6	9	21.4	6	5.2	1	16.7	26	11.4
2000-2499	14	21.9	7	16.6	4	3.5	2	33.3	27	11.9
2500-2999	11	17.2	1	2.4	1	0.9	--	--	13	5.7
3000-3499	4	6.3	1	2.4	--	--	--	--	5	2.2
3500-3999	5	7.8	--	--	--	--	2	33.3	7	3.1
4000 and over	7	10.9	1	2.4	1	0.9	1	16.7	10	4.4
Total	64	100.0	42	100.0	115	100.0	6	100.0	227	100.0

The survey questionnaire did not contain a question on consumer debt, but many of the interviewees volunteered the information that they found it necessary to borrow money from time to time from neighbors, relatives or money lenders, and the resulting financial burden of high interest charges became a severe handicap. Family allowances are generally not provided for other than salaried employees.

The monthly income of the workers in the sample as a whole was low compared with wages in more industrialized economies. Over three-fifths of all those interviewed (61.3 percent) reported monthly incomes of 1500 Φ VN or less, and 84.6 percent received less than

2500\$VN. Converting this to US dollars at an approximate "free" market rate of 70\$VN to \$1US, it means that a majority of them receive slightly under \$1US per day of actual work, or about 70 cents a day if the total income is prorated over the entire month. Only 15 percent make the equivalent of \$35US or more per month (Table 3.9).

8 By themselves, these figures do not tell a great deal because they must be viewed in a context of local prices and the availability of goods and services of various kinds. Further, some observers consider even those local wage rates too high because the productivity of labor in Saigon is low. They argue that at these wages local industry cannot compete with imported manufactured goods from abroad, or begin to expand exports in world markets. However, productivity and competitive advantage are as much related to capital availability, the way in which production is organized and managed, and the rate of foreign exchange as they are to labor effort alone. A study of this kind is not designed to analyze industry productivity or to prescribe the appropriate wage rates, but in presenting a description of industrial incomes it is at least necessary to note the qualifications which apply to any interpretation of the data.

Given the overall distribution of income as it has been reported, the pattern of distribution by type of job skill (Table 3.9) and by sex of interviewee (Table 3.10) is very much as expected, and is consistent with other data already discussed. Those in more skilled occupations generally receive more income than those less skilled,

TABLE 3.10
MONTHLY INCOME BY SEX OF INTERVIEWEE



999 or Less

1000 -- 1499

1500 -- 1999

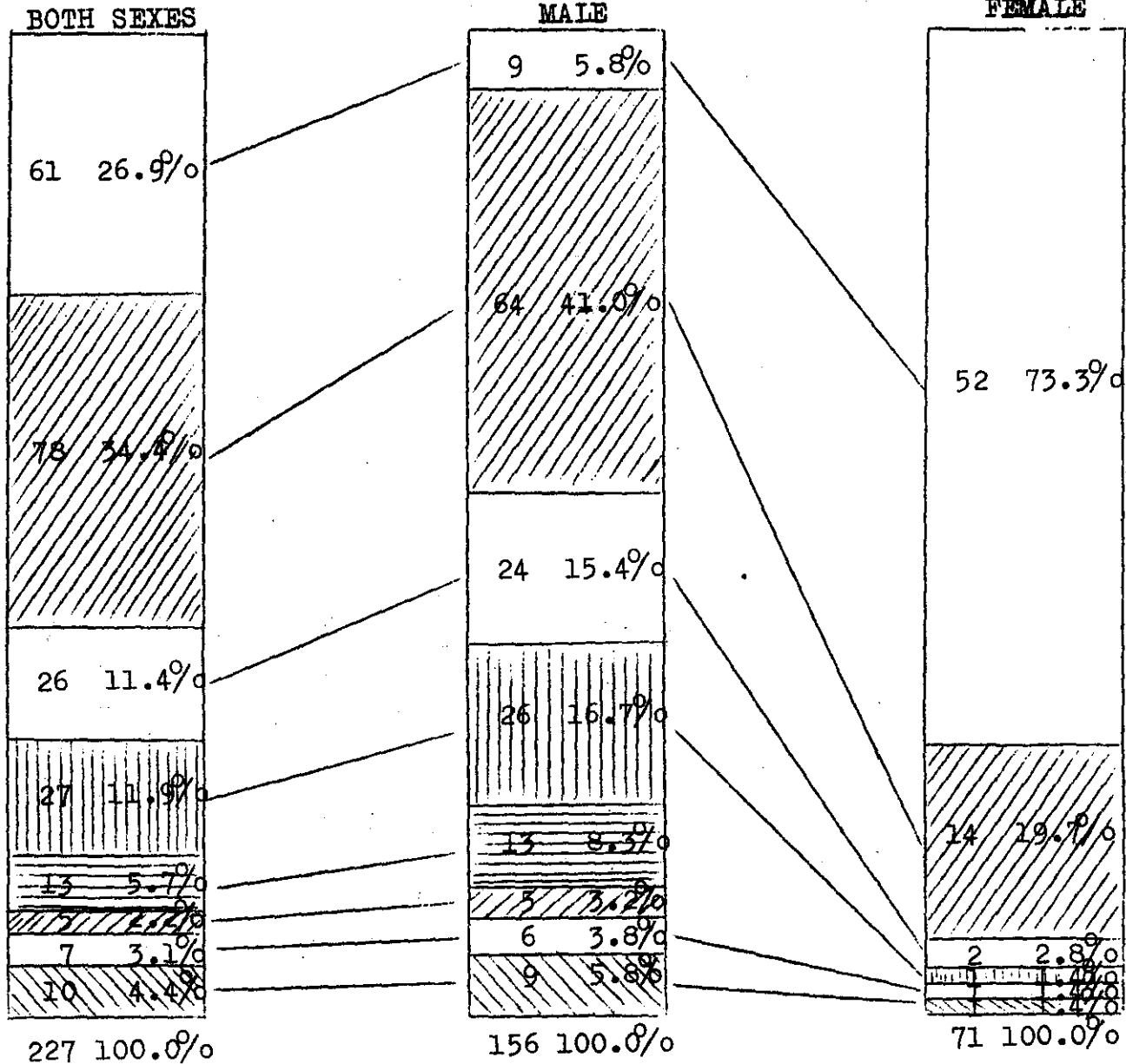
2000 -- 2499

2500 -- 2999

3000 -- 3499

3500 -- 3999

4000 & Over



although there is some overlapping from category to category.

Clerical workers in the sample were too few to provide much basis for generalization, but their income would be more comparable to that of skilled workers than any others. They are salaried employees, and as such they are eligible for family allowances, cost of living allowances, and bonuses. With these added fringe benefits, they receive approximately 1000\$VN more per month in real income than their monthly wage scale shows.

Actually, the pay of skilled workers is not very high, although it is proportionally much higher than the other categories. Over half of them (57.8 percent) receive less than 2500\$VN per month, and less than one-fifth (17.7 percent) receive more than 3500\$VN. At the other end of the scale, an overwhelming proportion of unskilled laborers (89.5 percent) receive less than 1500\$VN per month, and none receive more than 3000\$VN. The semi-skilled fall in between these extremes, but even so over three-quarters of them received less than 2000\$VN.

Since the distribution of job skills between men and women is such that women are less skilled than men, the income distribution between men and women follows the same pattern of inequality. Where over half the men earn at least 1500\$VN per month, only 7 percent of the women in the sample earn that much. In fact, nearly three-quarters of the women earn less than 1000\$VN per month. (Table 3.10) Since approximately 35 percent of all men in the sample are unskilled, as opposed to 85.9 percent of all women (Table 3.5), the fact that

only 5.8 percent of the men earn below 1000\$VN per month indicates that there is inequality in rates of pay as between men and women on the same level of job skill. This is in addition to the pattern of inequality between men and women which arises from the unequal distribution of job skills between the two. Once again this finding is not surprising because discrimination against women in the form of unequal pay for jobs requiring similar skills is found in almost all countries to some degree. In Saigon industry we simply find additional evidence of an almost universal practice.

Because the wage levels seem quite low, it was necessary to determine the extent to which incomes were supplemented by the additional work of spouses in families of industrial employees. The questionnaire originally contained a question which asked for estimates of income from sources other than the earnings of a spouse, but replies to this were all negative and therefore not tabulated. The relative youth of the work force also makes it unlikely that they receive much supplemental income from the earnings of children. Thus the occupation of the spouse gives the single most important source of additional income in the nuclear family.

Considered from the standpoint of male employees first, it is surprising to find that only 20 percent of the men have spouses who are gainfully employed. Only half of those with wives who work are working in the same plants. Since only married women employees were asked this same question, it was expected that their husbands would be the primary income earners in the family, and that a

TABLE 3.11

OCCUPATION OF SPOUSE, BY SEX OF INTERVIEWEE

Status	Male		Female	
	No.	%	No.	%
Unemployed (male) . . .	--	--	5	17
Housewife	90	80.4	--	--
Work in same plants . . .	12	10.7	10	35.7
Work elsewhere	10	8.9	13	46.4
Total	112	100.0	28	100.0

TABLE 3.12

INCOME OF EMPLOYED SPOUSES, BY SEX OF INTERVIEWEE

Monthly income	Male		Female	
	No.	%	No.	%
999 or less	13	59.1	1	4.3
1000 - 1499	2	9.1	8	34.8
1500 - 1999	--	--	2	8.7
2000 - 2499	1	4.5	4	17.4
2500 - 2999	--	--	1	4.3
3000 - 3499	--	--	2	8.7
3500 - 3999	--	--	--	--
4000 or over	--	--	1	4.3
Doesnt know	6	27.3	4	17.4
Total	22	100.0	23	100.0

majority of married women employees would have employed spouses. This turned out to be true, although several reported that their husbands were unemployed at the time of the interview. Further, among married women employees the division between those who work in the same plants as their spouses and those who work elsewhere is roughly the same as it is for men. (Table 3.11)

The income which is added by the earnings of married wives and married husbands is shown in Table 3.12, and in the case of husbands with working wives the pattern corresponds well with other data already presented. For example, nearly 60 percent of the wives earn less than 1000\$VN per month, which again reflects the low income so characteristic of the women workers. However, over one-fourth of the men did not know how much their wives earned. The most probable explanation of this is that the wives of these men are employed in irregular occupations such as peddling or selling food or household articles in the city markets. The income in such situations is likely to vary greatly from day to day, and husbands could not make a close estimate on a monthly basis. It is also common for Vietnamese husbands to leave the household finances in the hands of their wives, which is added reason to accept the response that a husband did not know the size of his wife's income.

The sample shows that nearly half (47.8 percent) the husbands of working wives earned less than 2000\$VN per month, and almost two-thirds (65.2 percent) earned less than 2500\$VN. The percentage earning between 1000\$VN and 1499\$VN per month (34.8 percent) is the same

same as that for the sample as a whole (34.4 percent), and only slightly less than the percentage in that bracket of all men in the sample (41.0 percent). However, comparing the earnings of these husbands with the earnings of all in the sample, the average income level places them somewhere among the higher paid semi-skilled or the lower ranks of the skilled.

The importance of additional earnings to the families of industrial workers thus turns out to be less than one would expect, given the low levels of income in industry. Relatively few of the men employees have wives who work for extra income. Even more surprising is the finding that the wives who are employed are married to men whose incomes are comparatively high, and not to those in the very lowest income groups where extra income would presumably be most necessary. There is no marked tendency for husbands and wives to work in the same plant, but this may reflect a lack of opportunity to do so as much as choice. Since the interview did not attempt to learn the reasons why wives, in particular did or did not have gainful employment, nothing positive can be said with respect to motivation. However, opportunities to earn extra income in Saigon are fairly good in petty commerce and domestic service, if not in industry, and it therefore appears that maintaining the household is generally valued highly perhaps even at the expense of gainful employment.

Previous work experience and job turnover. -- Another important characteristic of the work force, and one which also has implications

for social well being, is that of labor turnover and change to different types of employment. To the extent that employees feel their job tenure is relatively secure, as evidenced by long periods at the same place of employment, one may discount fears that industrialization brings anxiety over sudden and frequent loss of work. The survey sought to determine how frequently people have changed jobs in the past, as well as the extent to which employees are working at their first place of employment.

The proportion of the work force in the sample holding a job for the first time is shown in Table 3.13. Consistent with the earlier finding that the work force was essentially composed of young adults, over half the employees interviewed had never worked before. The lack of previous experience was more pronounced in the case of women employees than it was for men, for over three-quarters of them were on their first job. Since women in the sample were, as a group, younger and less skilled than the men, this is also expected and consistent with earlier findings.

Of those who had worked previously, over half worked in a different kind of job. This was a broad category, and could mean both work outside of industry and work in industry, but in the latter case at a different kind of process or on a different kind of product. The few women who had held previous jobs all replied they had different kinds of work, but nearly half the men stated they had the same kind of work in previous employment. (Table A-II) Given the broad interpretation of "different kind of work," the change in kinds of work shown undoubtedly includes a substantial amount of change in types

of industrial job, and does not mean only change from non-industrial to industrial employment.

Examination of the data on length of employment shows that employment has been relatively steady. For the group as a whole, a majority (61.2 percent) have been working in the same plant for three years or more, or to put it another way, a little under two-fifths have been working at the same place for two years or less (Table 3.14). In terms of job skills the record is even better than that, for a majority of skilled, semi-skilled and clerical employees have held their present jobs for five years or more. About half the unskilled have held their jobs less than three years. Keeping in mind the facts that the unskilled category contains a large component of women workers, and that a major share of the women in the sample are young and employed at their first job, the shorter records of employment at the present job do not seem due to any inherent instability in the tenure of unskilled jobs as such.

This is also borne out by the record of length of employment distributed by the age of the employees (Table 3.15) As expected, the youngest employees in the sample, comprising those who have entered the work force most recently and with the shortest potential work experience, are heavily bunched in the shortest periods of employment. As the age of employees increases, the median length of employment in the same plant also increases. Thus, the median length of employment for workers 25 to 29 years old is three to four years. The median for those 35 to 39 years old is seven to eight

TABLE 3.13
PREVIOUS EMPLOYMENT, BY SEX OF INTERVIEWEE

Job status	Male		Female		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Previously employed	92	59.0	15	21.1	107	47.1
Not previously employed	64	41.0	56	78.9	120	52.9
Total	156	100.0	71	100.0	227	100.0

years, and for 55 years old or more it is over eleven years in the same plant. The age group of 40 to 44 years provides the one exception to this otherwise persistent tendency. The reason for this is partly that older workers also tend to be the more valuable skilled workers managements are anxious to keep. However, a part of the explanation must also be that job tenure is relatively stable, otherwise all age levels would show large proportions of employees in the same job for short periods of time.

Another way to test this observation is to see if any plants in the sample show particularly high turnover rates, as evidenced by large proportions of employees with short periods of employment. This could be due to several things, but in the absence of any strong reasons to the contrary it could be interpreted as related to such things as poor working conditions or specific management practices. In the case of the plants in the sample however, this does not seem

TABLE 3.14

LENGTH OF EMPLOYMENT IN PLANT, BY JOB SKILL

Length of employment	Skilled		Semi-skilled		Unskilled		Clerical		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Less than a year.....	3	4.7	--	--	14	12.2	--	--	17	7.5
1 - 2	13	20.3	13	31.0	43	37.4	2	32.3	71	31.3
3 - 4	11	17.2	6	14.3	22	19.1	1	16.7	40	17.6
5 - 6	7	10.9	7	16.7	10	8.7			24	10.6
7 - 8	10	15.6	8	19.0	9	7.8	1	16.7	28	12.3
9 - 10.....	4	6.3	4	9.5	8	7.0	1	16.7	17	7.5
11 or more..	16	25.0	4	9.5	9	7.8	1	16.7	30	13.2
Total.....	64	100.0	42	100.0	115	100.0	6	100.0	227	100.0

to be the complete explanation. (Table 3.16) The plant with the lowest median period of employment, Plant C, is also the plant with the youngest work force, the largest proportion of unskilled workers and the largest proportion of women employees. The plant with the highest median length of employment of workers, Plant B, exhibits the opposite in all these same respects, e.g., the oldest work force, the highest percentage of skilled workers, and the largest proportion of men. There is therefore reason to conclude that the length of employment in plants in this sample is basically associated with such factors as age, sex and job skills of the employee. It could also reflect management policy, for example paternalism would work in the same direction, lack of knowledge or lack of alternation opportunity, but the data provide no means to test these possibilities.

TABLE 3.15
LENGTH OF EMPLOYMENT, BY AGE OF EMPLOYEE

		Length of employment							
		Less than a year	1-2	3-4	5-6	7-8	9-10	11 & more	Total
Under 20	No.	8	23	5	-	-	-	-	36
	%	22.2	63.9	13.9	-	-	-	-	100.0
22 - 24	No.	3	19	15	9	7	-	1	54
	%	5.5	35.2	27.8	16.7	13.0	-	1.8	100.0
25 - 29	No.	1	10	8	2	2	4	-	27
	%	3.7	37.1	29.6	7.4	7.4	14.8	-	100.0
30 - 34	No.	2	7	5	1	4	4	2	25
	%	8.0	28.0	20.0	4.0	16.0	16.0	8.0	100.0
35 - 39	No.	2	1	1	6	4	1	6	21
	%	9.4	4.8	4.8	28.6	19.0	4.8	28.6	100.0
40 - 44	No.	1	4	2	3	3	2	2	17
	%	5.9	23.5	11.8	17.6	17.6	11.8	11.8	100.0
45 - 49	No.	-	5	3	-	4	4	5	21
	%	-	23.8	14.4	-	19.0	19.0	23.8	100.0
50 - 54	No.	-	1	-	3	2	1	6	13
	%	-	7.7	-	23.1	15.4	7.7	46.1	100.0
55 and over	No.	-	1	1	-	2	1	8	13
	%	-	7.7	7.7	-	15.4	7.7	61.5	100.0
Total	No.	17	71	40	24	28	17	30	227
	%	7.5	31.3	17.6	10.6	12.3	7.5	13.2	100.0

TABLE 3.16

LENGTH OF EMPLOYMENT, BY PLANT IN SAMPLE

Length of employment	Plant A		Plant B		Plant C		Plant D		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Less than a year.....	8	9.5	1	2.9	4	8.2	4	6.8	17	7.5
1 - 2	21	25.0	6	17.1	26	53.1	18	30.5	71	31.3
3 - 4	16	19.1	5	14.3	8	16.3	11	18.6	40	17.6
5 - 6	7	8.3	6	17.1	6	12.2	5	8.5	24	10.6
7 - 8	10	11.9	4	11.4	2	4.1	12	20.3	28	12.3
9 - 10.....	9	10.7	3	8.6	2	4.1	3	5.1	17	7.5
11 or more..	13	15.5	10	28.6	1	2.0	6	10.2	30	13.2
Total...	84	100.0	35	100.0	49	100.0	59	100.0	227	100.0

Finally, a look at the period of employment compared with the length of time the employee has been in Saigon continues to present the same kind of pattern as the other measures. (Table A-III) This applies only to employees who have come to Saigon from some other place, and the size of the group is therefore quite small in several of the age brackets. Still, the longer a worker has been in Saigon, the longer the period of his employment with the same firm. In most cases, nearly half those in any age group seem to have worked at the same plant the entire time they have been in Saigon.

Considering these various factors which could affect the length of time an employee stays with one firm, there does not seem to be any basis on which to assume that industrial employment in Saigon is characterized by great insecurity of job tenure or high labor turnover. Barring large scale unemployment due to business recession or other similar major cause, it seems general practices for employees to remain with the same employer for relatively long periods of time. Obviously, there is some turnover, but it does not seem very high. The reasons for this cannot be fixed precisely from the sample data themselves, other than that the older an employee, and the longer time he has been in Saigon, the more likely that he has worked in the same plant for some period of time. Beyond this management attitude toward employees and the high cost of labor turnover due to severance pay provisions in government labor codes are probably important in maintaining stability of job tenure, but to a degree present study was not designed to determine.

CHAPTER IV

FAMILY COMPOSITION AND LIVING CONDITIONS

Family Structure in Workers' Households

Marital status and the size of the nuclear family.--- One of the important questions associated with industrialization concerns what happens to the family in the transition from rural village life to an urban society. Unfortunately, as for most other aspects of Vietnamese life and society, the basic data on which to make a comparison over time, or from rural to urban conditions, are not available. However, a description of the size and composition of the families of industrial workers can provide at least a beginning to an understanding of this social unit.

A starting point for a description of this kind is with a measure of the marital status of employees in industry. Some check on the reliability of the sample data is provided by census figures, and a comparison of the two sets of data is made in Table 4.1. The census data pertain only to the adult population, aged 15 to 59 years, since no tabulation was made of the marital status of workers in industry, but they are used here as the best available basis for comparison. The total population distributions for the two groups show a great degree of similarity, at least with respect to the proportions of married and single people. From the standpoint of either the adult population of Saigon or the employees in the sample, around three-fifths are married and slightly less than one-third are single. Since there is no significant difference between the

sample and the census proportions, the results shown in the sample with respect to the marital status of the two sexes combined are what one would expect to find in random samples of the adult population.¹⁵

The proportions of persons either widowed or divorced do not match as well, but both represent small percentages of the total population. The proportion of divorced persons in the sample is significantly greater than that for the adult population, as a whole, suggesting that for some reason or other divorced persons are apt to go into industrial work force to a greater degree than they are found in the adult population. Looking at the breakdown between men and women, the reason seems to lie in the female component of the work force. Paralleling the findings for the total population, the percentage of divorced women among females in the work force is significantly greater than that for the female population as a whole.¹⁶

It is difficult to know just what interpretation to place on these findings with respect to divorced persons. For example, it looks as though divorced women as a group have a greater need to find industrial employment than widows. There is no basis,

¹⁵

Testing the significance of the difference between proportions of married persons in the sample and the census data yields a T value of $-.486$, or no significant difference between the two sets of data at a significance level of 5 percent.

¹⁶

Testing the significance of the difference between proportions of divorced persons in the sample and the census data yields a T value of 7.591 , or a significant difference between the two sets of data at a significance level of 5 percent. A similar test of the female components only yields a T value of 6.356 , again a significant difference at a significance level of 5 percent.

TABLE 4.1

COMPARISON OF ADULT POPULATION OF SAIGON WITH THE
 WORK FORCE IN THE SAMPLE, DISTRIBUTION OF
 MARITAL STATUS BY SEX OF INTERVIEWEE

Marital status	Male		Female		Total population	
	Census ¹ (%)	Sample (%)	Census ¹ (%)	Sample (%)	Census ¹ (%)	Sample (%)
Married	64.8	71.8	62.0	39.4	63.3	61.7
Single	33.2	23.7	27.6	46.5	30.3	30.8
Divorced	.3	--	1.0	8.5	0.7	4.9
Widowed	1.8	4.5	9.4	5.6	5.8	2.6
Total	100.1	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.1	100.0

¹Compiled from data contained in Enquete Demographique a Saigon, Juin-Juillet 1958 (Resultats Provisoires), Institut National de la Statistique. Census data are for adult population, ages 15-59 years.

however, from which to infer that industrialization is responsible for broken homes, or that divorce is more prevalent in the homes of industrial workers than elsewhere. Instead, it seems more likely that widows have better access to outside support than divorced women, for they may have the families of the deceased husbands to draw upon in time of need in addition to the resources of their own families and whatever may have been bequeathed them.

However, the divorce picture is complicated by other factors associated with the institution of divorce in Viet Nam. Traditionally marriages have been arranged by the parents of a couple, and until recently polygamy was permitted. Registration with the civil author-

ities was sometimes lax in the case of second marriages or concubine relationships, and among the poorer strata of society even first marriages were sometimes unrecorded. In these cases, no legal divorce was necessary because no legal marriage really existed. A man dissatisfied with marriage was free to leave his wife or concubine and establish a new household elsewhere. Despite the ease of divorce in Viet Nam in the past, divorce has overtones of disgrace. Since marriages are arranged by parents, a bad marriage reflects on their efforts and the parents often take strong measures to prevent the breakup of a family.

Taking all these factors into account, the possibility exists that the relative amount of divorce or desertion is understated in both the sample and in the census of the adult population. The relative stability of the nuclear family, as shown by the percentages in Table 4.1, may be misleading. However, any fuller understanding of the importance of divorce in Vietnamese society in the past must come from more detailed study of the problem than was possible in a study such as this.

In the case of women in the work force, there is another significant difference in the percentage who are single. Nearly one-half of the women in the sample are unmarried, whereas less than one-third of the women in the adult population are single.¹⁷ This fits with other findings that have been developed, for it has been established already that women in industrial work tend to be young and working at their

¹⁷Testing the significance of the difference between proportions yields a T value of 3.56, or a significant difference between the percentage of single women in the sample and in the adult population at a significance level of 5 percent.

first employment. Further, a large majority of the men in this sample do not have wives who are gainfully employed, which may be considered as partial evidence that wives generally do not seek outside employment in industrial work or other types of gainful occupation.

The proportions of men in the work force who are single and married are significantly different from the proportions in the adult population, but the difference is not nearly as great as in the case of women employees.¹⁸ The reasons for this are not too clear, other than that the general youth of the work force may mean that a larger percentage have not yet married. Since there is so little difference in the marital status of the men in the sample and the men in adult population, however, the underlying reasons for it do not seem very important.

The size of the nuclear family for those in the work force who are married is not as large as one might expect in a part of the world known for high birth rates and strong family system.¹⁹ The sample shows that three-fifths (61.1 percent) of those who are married, divorced, or widowed have only two children or less, and only 15

¹⁸Testing the significance of the difference between proportions yields a T value of 2.51, or a significant difference between the proportion of single men in the sample and in the adult population at a significance level of 5 percent. However, there would be no significant difference if wider limits were set and a significance level of 1 percent were used.

¹⁹The term "nuclear family" as used here refers to parents and their children only. An "extended family" refers to a social unit in which a nuclear family lives with other relatives of either nuclear family parent.

percent have five children or more (Table 4.2). Roughly the same proportions hold true for married couples alone, but these also comprise the bulk of those in the total. Although the numbers involved are quite small, the sample data indicate that the number of children in families where divorce has occurred tends to be lower than in families where one of the parents is deceased.

It is widely believed that the Vietnamese prefer large families, especially in the rural areas. A strong tradition of ancestor worship exists which requires that the children maintain the cult of the ancestors. It is therefore somewhat surprising to find relatively small numbers of children in the families of the industrial work force. Since birth control is illegal in Viet Nam, birth control information is not available as in some other Asian countries and it is highly doubtful, therefore, that people in this industrial sector of society know about or practice any form of birth control. Despite the economic burden, industrial laborers' families still want children, particularly male children, to judge by the general tenor of their side comments at the time of the interview.

The explanation again seems to lie in the relative youth of the work force, as demonstrated in the earlier sections on age distribution. A large proportion of the married couples have many years remaining in which to have children, and for many the number of children will undoubtedly increase as they grow older. In support of this, Appendix Table A-IV shows that over half the married women in the sample are under 30 years of age. Although increasing

industrialization is often associated with a decrease in the birth rate and family size, and the pattern in this sample of industrial workers' families is consistent with this observation, there are no clear reasons to assume that urbanization or industrial work as such affect workers' attitudes toward the number of children they want. In the absence of any evidence of changing attitudes toward family size, relative youth remains the most plausible reason for the findings.

Size and composition of the extended family. -- Another popular opinion about Vietnamese society is that people tend to live in extended family units. This is thought to be due to the strong family cohesion which results from the important role played by the family in society, and is an aspect of the security which the family provides for its members. How accurate this picture is cannot be verified by existing data, but the universality of its acceptance by Vietnamese is an indication that it must be at least partially correct. Any tendency toward disintegration of the extended family among industrial employees must therefore be considered an important social effect of industrialization.

This is a particularly difficult area to cover adequately with a survey of this type, and all that really emerges is the bare outline of things as they are. One approach to it is to identify the composition of the domicile of employees in the sample who are married, divorced or widowed, since these would constitute nuclear families if they did not live with relatives. This distribution, shown in

TABLE 4.2

NUMBER OF CHILDREN IN FAMILIES IN THE WORK FORCE
DISTRIBUTED BY MARITAL STATUS OF THE PARENTS

Number of children	Married		Divorced		Widowed		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
None.....	21	15.0	1	16.7	--	--	22	14.0
1	34	24.3	2	33.3	3	27.3	39	24.8
2	27	19.3	3	50.0	5	45.4	35	22.3
3	19	13.6	--	--	1	9.1	20	12.7
4	16	11.4	--	--	2	18.2	18	11.5
5	10	7.1	--	--	--	--	10	6.4
6 or more ...	13	9.3	--	--	--	--	13	8.3
Total	140	100.0	6	100.0	11	100.0	157	100.0

Table 4.3, indicates that equal proportions of employees who are not single live as nuclear families and with extended families. Together, they account for all but about 12 percent of the employees who are not single. In the latter category there are some whose marriages have ended in divorce, but for the most part they are men who have left their families in the home village and have come to Saigon to work. Having no relatives in Saigon, they stay with friends or live in boarding houses.

Without benchmark data of any kind, it is difficult to state the effect which industry may have had on the extended family.

TABLE 4.3
 DOMICILE OF FAMILY UNITS OF INTERVIEWEES
 WHO ARE MARRIED, DIVORCED OR WIDOWED

Domicile	Number	Percent
Living with nuclear family	69	43.9
Living with extended family	69	43.9
Living with friends	9	5.7
Living without family and boarding	10	6.4
Total	157	99.9

Since nearly half those who are married, divorced or widowed live with the extended family, it obviously is still an important social institution. This is also seen in the data for the domicile of single employees, although less precisely. Appendix Table A-V shows that nearly four-fifths of all single employees live with their families, but no breakdown between nuclear and extended families is available. What does seem clear is that young people entering the work force for the first time continue to live at home, and in general do not establish separate living arrangements on their own.

The composition of the extended family shows enough uniformity that the term "extended family" takes on fairly specific meaning. For example, nearly half the extended families in the sample (44.9 percent) consists of the nuclear family plus the parents

TABLE 4.4
COMPOSITION OF EXTENDED FAMILIES IN
THE SAMPLE

Nature of Extended Family	Number of Respondents	Percent
1. Parents of husband or Wife	31	44.9
2. Parents of Husband or Wife and Siblings of Husband or Wife.	16	23.2
3. Other relatives of Husband or Wife	10	14.5
4. Siblings of Husband or Wife	6	8.7
5. Siblings of Husband or Wife and other relatives of Husband or Wife	4	5.8
6. Parents of Husband or Wife and other relatives of Husband or Wife	1	1.4
7. Parents of Husband or Wife, Siblings of Husband or Wife and other relatives of Husband or Wife	1	1.4
Total	69	99.9

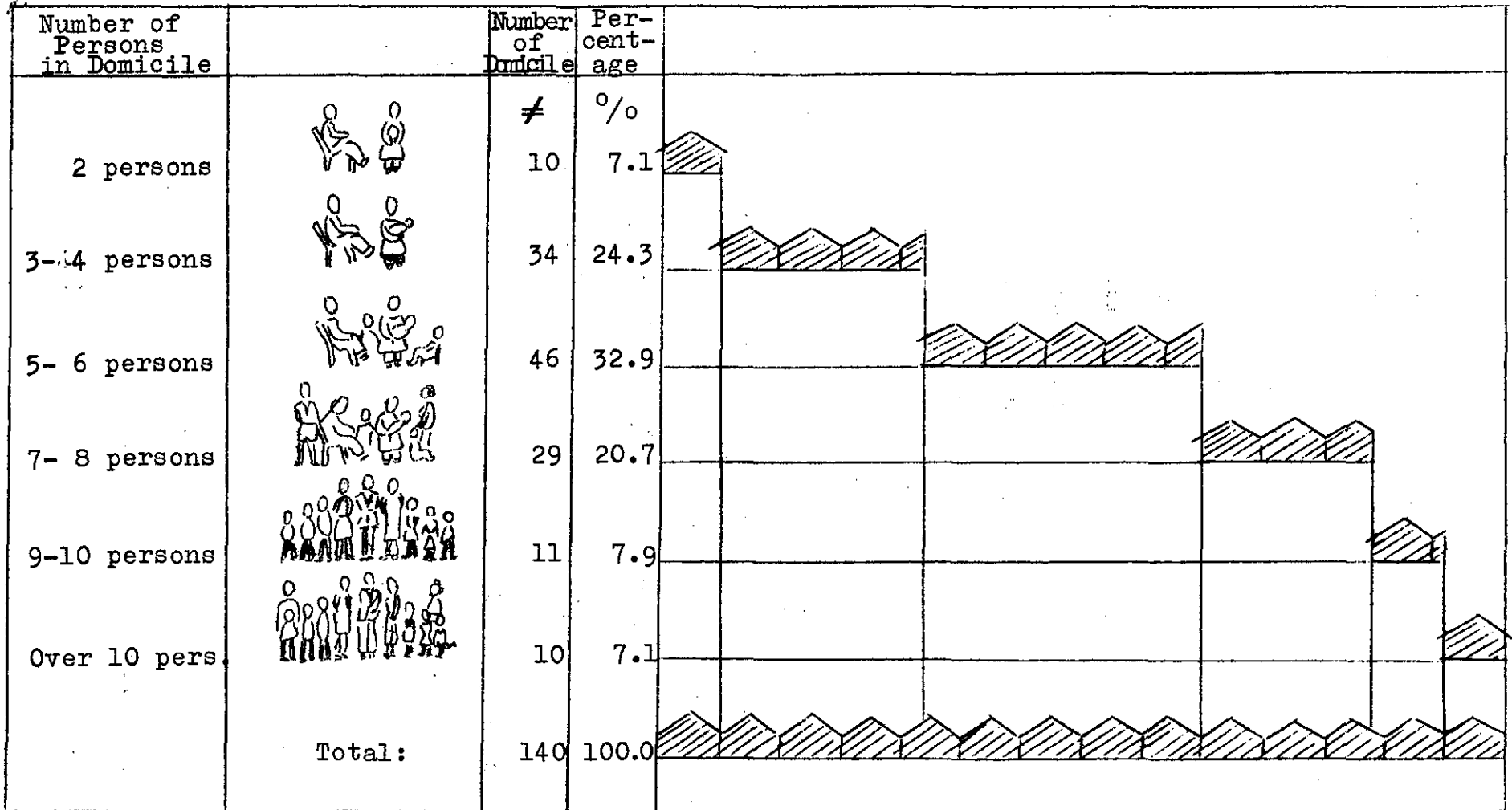
of either the husband or the wife. (Table 4.4) The second most common group adds siblings to the parents of the husband or wife, and the third most common group is made up of relatives of the husband or wife other than siblings or parents. All other combinations apparently occur very rarely, and from the evidence of the sample it would be unusual to find parents and other relatives living with a husband

and wife, or for a husband and wife to live with siblings and other relatives. Thus, the extended family really refers to one or more parents living with the nuclear family, sometimes adding siblings as well, for together these two family combinations account for nearly four-fifths of the extended families in which these industrial employees live.

Extended families do not always greatly increase family size for the nuclear family. In a majority of the extended families, only one or two persons are added, usually the parents of the husband or wife and in nearly four-fifths of all extended family domiciles fewer than five extra persons are added to the nuclear family (Appendix Table A-VI). This corresponds closely with the finding that extended families consist primarily of the closest relatives of the nuclear family, for this limits the number of people who are apt to be included in any enlarged household.

A final view of household size is presented in Figure 4.1, which shows the number of persons in the domiciles of married couples. Married couples in this case include those living with extended families as well as those living by themselves as nuclear families. This gives some idea of the size of typical households of industrial workers who are married. That is, with reference only to the married employees, it shows how many people are likely to be living with them in their domiciles. While few appear to live alone as a couple, nearly two-thirds live in households with six persons or less. One-fifth live in households of seven or eight persons, but only a small proportion are larger than this.

FIGURE 4.1
 NUMBER OF PERSONS IN DOMICILES OF MARRIED COUPLES



A summary of the findings on family structure.-- Despite the fact that it is not possible to measure the impact of industrialization on family structure in Saigon, a general picture of the industrial employee's family begins to emerge. The marital status of workers is roughly the same as that for the adult population as a whole, but a smaller proportion of the women are married than is true for the adult population. The number of children per married couple is not large, probably because the work force tends to be relatively young, and the households of workers do not seem large. Nearly half the married workers live in extended family domiciles, usually with parents. A disproportionate number of divorced women seem to enter the work force. The overall pattern of family structure probably differs to some extent from that which would be found in rural areas, but the findings do not contain anything which, on the surface at least, indicates rapid or extreme breakdown of traditional family relationships as a result of industrialization.

Living Conditions Among Industrial Employees

Housing.--Industrial growth and development, particularly in its early stages, has generally been accompanied by strain on existing housing facilities, overcrowding, and an increase in urban slum areas. This type of environment has also been related to increases in crime rates, juvenile delinquency, and bad health conditions, and is thought to contribute to the deterioration of the traditional structure of the society as a whole. With this in mind, the study examined some aspects of living conditions among industrial employees in Saigon.

TABLE 4.5
TENURE CATEGORY, BY TYPES OF HOUSING

Tenure Category	Thatch Roof		Metal Roof		Tile Roof		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Rental.....	26	21.1	13	25.0	49	17.3	48	21.1
Owner - Occupied	88	71.6	21	40.4	120	40.4	130	57.3
Boarding.....	7	5.7	2	3.8	6	11.5	15	6.6
Housing Provided by Plant.....	1	0.8	11	21.2	26	30.8	28	12.3
Housing Provided by Government ¹	1	0.8	5	9.6			6	2.7
Total	123	100.0	52	100.0	252	100.0	227	100.0

¹ Certain houses were destroyed during the fighting which occurred in 1955 and were rebuilt by the government.

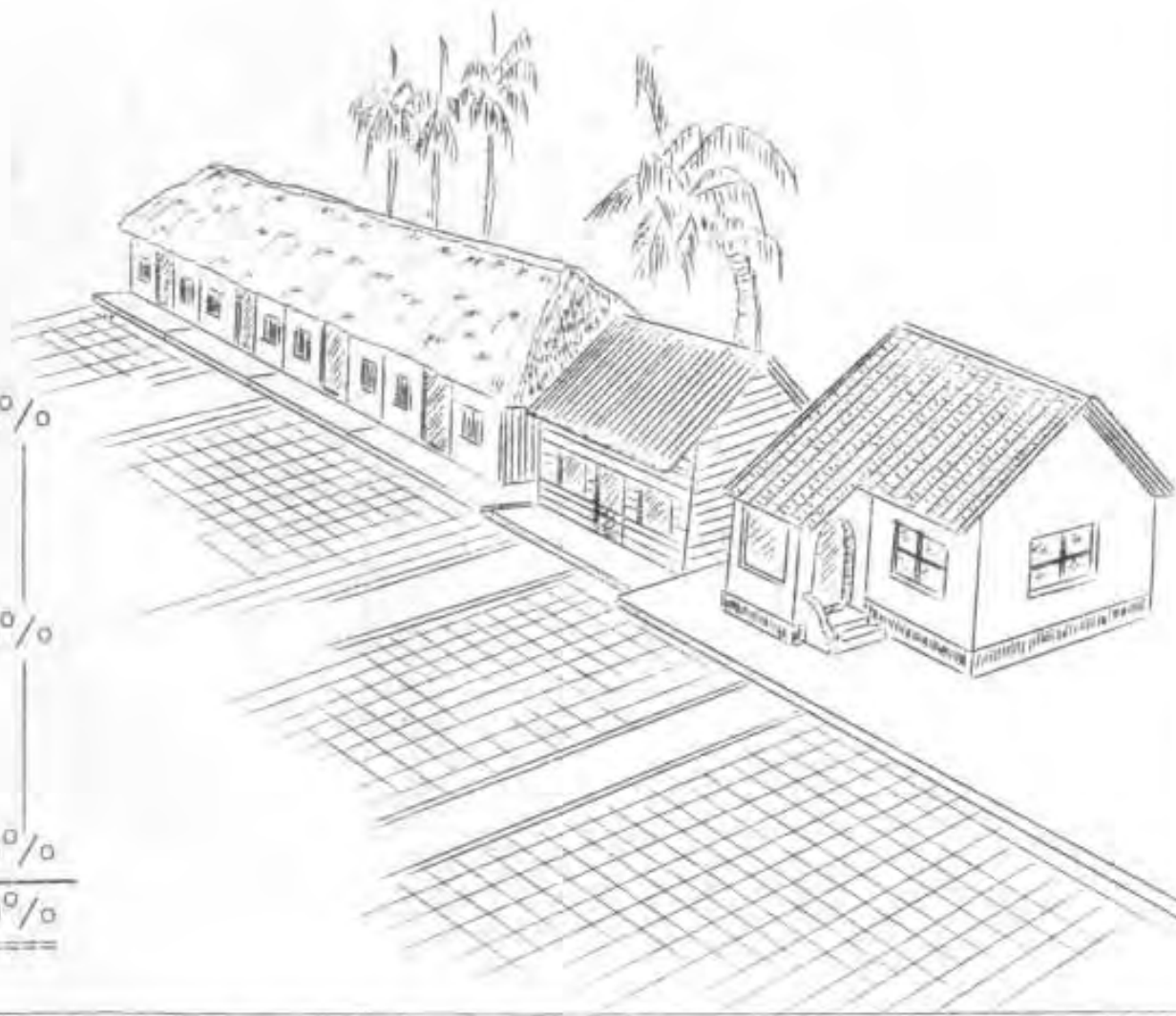
of living cost from food, industrial employees in 8 men.

The basic picture of workers' housing with respect to house types and tenure is shown in Table 4.5 and Figure 4.2. One striking feature of the housing is the high proportion of owner-occupied dwellings -- nearly three-fifths of the total. Only one-fifth of those in the sample occupy rental housing, and less than one-sixth live in housing provided by their employers. The percentage boarding or in housing that is provided by the government is negligible. Examination of the various house-types reveals that the high rate of owner-occupancy is to a large extent due to ownership of thatch roof houses, although two-fifths of those in houses with either metal roofs or tile roofs also owned their own homes. The percentage of employees renting

FIGURE 4.2

TYPES OF OWNER-OCCUPIED HOUSING FOR FAMILIES IN THE WORK FORCE

Thatch roof	88	67.69 ^o / _o
Tin roof	21	16.15 ^o / _o
Tile roof	21	16.15 ^o / _o
Total:	<u>130</u>	<u>100.00^o/_o</u>



their homes ran roughly the same for all house types, but was slightly higher among those in metal roof houses than for others. Employers who furnish housing for their employees apparently provide something more sturdy than thatch houses, although in this case it does not imply that the living conditions are necessarily any better.

The terms "thatch roof," "metal roof," and "tile roof" are used to indicate the three main house-types which workers are most likely to occupy. The first type is found in many forms, but basically consists of a wooden frame on which water palm or coconut palm leaves are tied, a dirt floor, and anywhere from one to three rooms inside. The thatch should be replaced every four years or so, but this may be delayed by extensive repatching. Metal roof houses and tile roof houses are sturdier, but are not necessarily better housing. They are usually located away from the commercial and industrial areas or in the older parts of the city, and are small, in need of repair, and quite crowded together. As Figure 4.2 indicates, a substantial majority (67.7 percent) live in thatch roof houses, while the rest live in the two other house types in equal proportions.

Generally speaking, industrial laborers live in poor housing, but this is also true of the people who live in the rural areas. In a tropical climate housing may be adequate, in a sense, if it shelters occupants from sun and rain, for there is no problem of protection from cold. Since even the simplest type of palm thatch dwelling will provide this type of minimum shelter, quality of housing must be measured by other factors such as the degree of crowding,

availability of utility services, adequacy of sanitation facilities, and location with respect to place of work. On most of these counts the work force in Saigon is not well housed.

It was not feasible to attempt a measure of the degree of crowding in homes, but the impression gained from any visit to a workers' quarter is that people are cramped for living space both within their homes and in terms of crowding with their neighbors. Although family size does not seem unduly high, as measured in the preceding section, most housing units are quite small. Privacy for different parts of the group sharing the same unit is provided by partitions of palm leaf or curtains of cloth. Nor does this always tend to improve when the employer provides the housing. In this sample, employer-furnished housing consisted of two warehouses, partially destroyed by bombing, which had been given over for use as living quarters for fifty families totalling more than two hundred persons. All lived together under the same roof, families separated from each other by partitions of wood, bamboo, curtains, or, in some cases, only a piece of furniture, and this included both nuclear and extended families.

Sanitation in the areas occupied by industrial laborers is minimal. No public sewage systems serve them, and toilet facilities consist of pit latrines, four to five meters deep, which simply drain into the earth around them. Most of these are located inside the houses or in the yard adjacent, but in some cases community latrines are built by the owner to serve a row of rental units. Those who live along rivers or canals use these for sewage disposal. This lack of

proper sanitation facilities, together with the overcrowded quarters, poses a constant threat to public health, although fortunately Saigon has not had any major epidemics in recent years.

The common utility services of water and electricity are also lacking for the most part, as shown in Appendix Table A-VIII. Over two-thirds of the sample live in houses without water and electricity, but only 14.1 percent have both. Those who live in housing furnished with both utilities either occupy employer-furnished quarters or own tile roof houses, and in the case of the former the services are merely extensions of plant facilities. Almost no families live in houses served with water only. Electricity only is available in almost all tenure categories, but it is more apt to be found in tile roof and metal roof housing than in the more prevalent thatch roof homes.

The majority of the workers, who do not have electricity or water service, draw water from public pumps at certain periods during the day and night or use river water if it is available. They use kerosene or gasoline lamps and candles for lighting, and cook on charcoal braziers. The danger to public health and safety inherent in these conditions is obvious. In the last few years Saigon has had several large fires in areas where thatch roof houses predominate. These have occurred during the dry season when the housing materials are highly inflammable, and the fires spread rapidly through the densely populated quarters once they started. Inadequate water supplies hampered attempts to control the flames, and the ultimate damage in most cases was extensive.

TABLE 4.6

OWNERSHIP STATUS, BY TYPE OF OWNER-OCCUPIED HOUSING

Tenure Category	Thatch Roof		Metal Roof		Tile Roof		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Owner of house but not land....	79	89.8	19	90.5	14	66.7	112	86.2
Owner of house and land	9	10.2	2	9.5	7	33.3	18	13.8
Total.....	88	100.0	21	100.0	21	100.0	130	100.0

Turning to the question of housing tenure, and bearing in mind the high rate of home ownership, it should be noted first that home ownership does not imply land ownership, for it is very difficult to purchase land in Saigon. Over 85 percent of those who own their houses do not own the land on which they are built (Table 4.6), Many of these are squatters who have built on land belonging to the government or to absentee landowners. Prior to 1945, the Prefecture of Saigon collected monthly rents on land which it owned, but during the period of hostilities and the subsequent change in government the authorities have made no efforts to collect rents. The same has been true of absentee private landowners, mostly French or Vietnamese living abroad. Popular feeling ran high against these groups, and few landlords among them have attempted to assert claims to rental payments against squatters on their lands. For these reasons a substantial number of people throughout all parts of the

city have built houses on land to which they have no legal claim and from which, in theory, they can be evicted at any time. Realistically, however, it is unlikely that any serious move will be made to do so, and there is little danger that people will be forced to abandon the houses they have built because they refuse to pay rent. Too many people are squatters, and the political repercussions of any drastic move could be serious.

Actually, the monthly rents charged for the use of land are not high (Appendix Table A-IX), but this is not a complete measure of the situation. For approximately the past fifteen years it has been the practice in Saigon to pay lump sum amounts (tiền tung đất) to the owner or occupant of a piece of residential land in order to become a tenant on it. This reflects the overcrowding which was associated with war in conjunction with composition of rent controls and applies primarily to land owned by Saigon residents. The amounts paid vary with the size and location of the land and range from ten to twenty five percent of the value of the land. Land located far from the city will be at the lower end of the scale, and that which is more centrally situated will command the higher rates. The owner of the land receives these payments when he rents his property for the first time, but thereafter the occupants recoup this from their successors. Sometimes the owner receives five or ten percent of these subsequent payments as a fee for signing the new lease agreements.

The same kind of arrangements prevail for rental housing, where monthly payments are not particularly high but the real rent is

obscured by the need to pay "key money" literally "money to enter the door" (tiền vô cửa). This is generally set at around one-third the value of the house, but it is difficult to get straightforward replies to questions on this item. The rentals per month are shown in Appendix Table A-X, but, as in the case of land rentals, the figures should be heavily discounted as a measure of actual rents for the reasons already given. The real burden to the tenant is not the monthly payment he makes; rather, it is the large cash outlay which is required before he can take occupancy. While this is usually recouped, at least partially, when he moves, it is a handicap to those setting up a new household or arriving in the city for the first time.

The distance from the home to the factory is the one remaining aspect of housing quality which the study attempted to measure in some way. This is of interest in terms of whether or not workers' homes tend to be concentrated around their places of work, and also in terms of the difficulties in getting back and forth.

The growth of industries in Saigon has not followed any particular plan, and no zoning provisions have forced industrial plants into areas reserved for such activities. The result has been that plants are found in all parts of the city. The plants in the sample were widely scattered, reflecting a variety of locational factors. For example, Plant A was established on land that is reserved to maintain the cult of the ancestors (hương hỏa) and has been in the owning family for several generations. Plant C grew on the site of the residence of the owner. Plant B is located near its customers in the

center of metropolitan Saigon, and Plant D was built on land which had the double advantage of being both suitable for the kind of production and available. Table 4.7 shows how the location has worked out with respect to the work force hired in each of the plants.

What is meant by distance from the factory could not be expressed in precise quantitative terms because many of the employees did not know the exact distance between home and plant. Therefore, "far from the factory" was used to describe a distance that would be considered an uncomfortably long walk, roughly two kilometers or more. As a check on a response of this kind, follow-up questions tried to determine approximately how long the walk would take.

Taking all the plants together, slightly more than half live at or near the factory, and slightly less than half live far away. The location characteristics of each plant determine the transportation problem of its employees in different ways. Two plants, A and C, are both located in Cholon, a section of Saigon whose residents are largely Chinese in origin. A majority of the workers in Plant C are Chinese, and Plant C also has the largest percentage of employees living near the factory. Plant A, however, hires more Vietnamese, with the result that a larger proportion come to work from farther away, i.e., from the Vietnamese parts of the city. Plant B is in the heart of the business district where there are few residences, and a very large part of its work force must come from distant areas. Plant D is isolated from the others, but located near residential areas of dense population. Since it also provides some

TABLE 4.7

DISTANCE OF RESIDENCE FROM PLACE OF WORK, BY PLANTS
IN THE SAMPLE AND SAMPLE AS A WHOLE

Distance of residence	Plant A		Plant B		Plant C		Plant D		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
At factory.....	23	27.4	1	2.8			12	20.4	36	15.9
Near factory...	20	23.8	5	14.3	28	57.1	32	54.2	85	37.4
Far from factory.....	41	48.8	29	82.9	21	42.9	15	25.4	106	46.7
Total	84	100.0	35	100.0	49	100.0	59	100.0	227	100.0

housing for its employees, it has the largest percentage living close to their place of work of any plant in the sample, (74.6 percent).

Despite the high proportion of people who live far from the plant, getting to work is largely a matter of walking or riding a bicycle.

(Appendix Table A-XI) Nearly three-fifths of all employees in the sample walk, and slightly more than one-fourth more go by bicycle,

neither of which requires payment of a fare. Even among those who live far from the factory, over 30 percent walk back and forth daily.

Public bus service is available in Saigon, but even the low fares are too expensive, and buses are crowded, slow, and often inconvenient

to use. Thus the finding in the sample that buses are not widely used by laborers. All other forms of transport account for less

than 10 percent of the total, and since many different kinds of

vehicles are included no one of them is very important. It is not

likely, for example, that many industrial laborers can afford a motor scooter or a motor bike. If they own a wheeled vehicle at all, a bicycle is the best that most of them will have.

Perhaps the best way to generalize about the housing of industrial workers in Saigon at present is to say that it provides shelter, but little in the way of comfort. Although many of them own their houses, they are most apt to be made of thatch, without water or electricity, crowded against their neighbors, poorly furnished with sanitation facilities, and in many cases lacking legal tenure to the land on which they are built. For those who rent there is the ever-present problem of key money, and the quarters they occupy are not better than the housing of families who build their own. The same may be said for those who occupy company-furnished dwelling space. Finally, many live a good distance from their work, so that even the advantage of proximity is denied them.

Some Measures of Living Standards

A limited view of some major expenditure items.--In addition to providing some idea of housing conditions among urban industrial employees, the survey initially tried to develop some firm data on typical household expenditures. This would provide another means by which to evaluate the effects of industrialization and show, in more or less detail, how the families of laborers spend their income. Unfortunately, this was not feasible because pre-testing the questionnaire showed that the male employees do not know, in most cases, just how their wages are spent by their wives. It is customary in

Viet Nam for the men to turn over most of their wages to their wives, retaining only what they need themselves for the purchase of things such as hair cuts and cigarettes. This was a disappointing discovery, but rather than try to develop a picture of overall household expenditures from the replies of respondents who were unable or unwilling to give accurate details, it was decided to limit the scope of the questions to those expenditure items about which the male employees would have first hand information. The same limitation applied to the female interviewees, for, if married, their full time work precluded their acting as the household manager as well. Single girls in the sample simply turn over their full wages to their families, and in return receive a daily allowance for their personal use, usually only five piasters or so. Clothing purchases, however, were one major expenditure about which all were assumed to have some personal knowledge. Ordinary Vietnamese outer clothing is quite standardized, and consists of trousers and an upper garment for both men and women. For people in the income range of factory employees, these will be either ready made or made to order from inexpensive cotton cloth, usually either solid black or white, and will be purchased as a "set" of two garments (bộ quần áo). There is some variety, however, for some men prefer western-style trousers and shirts and some women will buy printed material when possible. At the time of the lunar new year (Tết), most people try to buy new sets of clothes for all members of the family because this is an important part of the new year preparations, particularly for the

children of the household. Actually, the hot climate makes it unnecessary to have much in the way of work clothes, and most male employees prefer to work in shorts only, or with a sleeveless undershirt added at most. One exception is the pharmaceutical firm which furnishes employees with uniforms. New "sets of clothing" purchased would therefore be a measure of workers' ability to buy something beyond the minimal need for work clothing, and thus to some extent be an indication of relative living standards. Purchases of new clothing during the year are shown in Table 4.8.

According to the replies received, a large majority (70 percent) purchase fewer than five sets of new clothes per year, and most of these buy from two to four sets annually. This level of purchases seems typical for all workers, whether single or married, and probably represents a minimum necessary to replace clothing that is worn out during a year. Annual wear would tend to be rapid because the material is not the highest quality to begin with, and laundering methods, featuring beating on rocks and the use of harsh soaps, are very hard on clothes. The fairly large percentage (20.3 percent) who did not know how many new sets of clothes they bought a year may reflect many things -- e.g., a lack of interest in clothes that purchased were made by other members of family, an unwillingness to make an estimate, hostility to the question, and so on -- but it is unlikely that more specific replies from these would change the pattern shown for the others in any significant way. Essentially then, urban industrial employees are able to provide themselves with only a minimum of replacement clothing each year.

TABLE 4.8

ANNUAL PURCHASE OF NEW CLOTHING, BY INTERVIEWEES IN THE SAMPLE

Number of sets of clothes per year	Married		Single		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Less than 2	34	21.7	9	12.8	43	18.9
2 - 4	79	50.3	37	52.9	116	51.1
5 - 7	7	4.4	8	11.4	15	6.6
More than 7	5	3.2	2	2.9	7	3.1
Does not know	32	20.4	14	20.0	46	20.3
Total	157	100.0	70	100.0	227	100.0

Workers' expenditures on luxury items.--The kinds of expenditures which the male employees make for themselves fall largely in the category of luxury goods, although the variety of such purchases is quite limited. For example, the use of alcohol and tobacco would constitute a kind of luxury consumption which would fall outside the limits of what is considered necessary, but one would normally expect some purchases of these items even among the poorest families. The tabulation of replies by males in the sample to questions on this point is shown in Table 4.9.

It is extremely interesting to find that such a high percentage (84.0 percent) do not use alcohol often enough to register regular monthly expenditures. There is little in traditional Vietnamese

TABLE 4.9

MONTHLY EXPENDITURES ON ALCOHOL AND TOBACCO
BY MALES IN THE SA PLE

Monthly Expenditure in VN	Alcohol		Tobacco	
	No.	%	No.	%
Non - User	131	84.0	75	48.1
Less than 99\$VN.....	13	8.3	19	12.2
100 - 199\$VN.....	6	3.9	27	17.3
200 - 299\$VN.....	5	3.2	17	10.9
Over 300\$VN	1	0.6	18	11.5
Total	156	100.0	156	100.0

culture that is opposed to the use of alcohol as such. Wine is an important sacrificial item in family and village ceremonies, and it is served at all festive occasions. Moderation is a virtue that is valued highly, but it is also true that a person who can drink a large amount at feasts, for example, is admired for his drinking prowess. The replies with respect to the use of alcohol should be interpreted, therefore, as financial inability to indulge rather than moral opposition or hesitancy to admit its use. In all probability, people in this group do consume some alcohol in the course of a year, but only on infrequent occasions which would not constitute regular monthly use. Those who do use alcohol regularly, mostly beer or wine, seem to spend relatively small amounts on it, and the

TABLE 4.10
MONTHLY ATTENDANCE AT ENTERTAINMENT EVENTS,
BY MARITAL STATUS

	Married		Single		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
No attendance	100	63.7	35	50.0	135	59.5
Movies	41	26.1	26	37.1	67	29.5
Theater	3	1.9	2	2.9	5	2.2
Soccer game	5	3.2	5	7.2	10	4.4
Movies & theater..	6	3.8	1	1.4	7	3.1
Movies & Soccer game	2	1.3	--	--	2	0.9
All three..	--	--	1	1.4	1	0.4
Total..	157	100.0	70	100.0	227	100.0

largest group spends under 100\$VN per month.

Tobacco use is more widespread, but again a surprisingly large proportion (48.1 percent) does not use it at all. Tobacco is grown in Viet Nam and is also imported, and it is sold in bulk or in locally manufactured cigarettes. Pipe smoking is not very popular, but many buy the bulk tobacco and roll their own cigarettes. This is particularly common in rural areas. Moreover, from general observation at least, those who do smoke tend to smoke heavily. Judging from the breakdown given in Table 4.9, probably two-thirds

to three-quarters of those who smoke roll their own cigarettes and use the strong tobacco that is grown in Viet Nam. The rest would smoke manufactured cigarettes which come in blends of local and imported tobaccos. This estimate is based on the amounts spent per month, for it would be difficult to spend less than 200\$VN monthly for manufactured cigarettes at normal rates of smoking.

Another element of non-essential spending is entertainment, and the amount of entertainment a person can afford each month would be another key to his general standard of living. Attendance at various entertainment events is shown in Table 4.10, and the limited amount of attendance shown there is consistent with scant use of alcohol and tobacco illustrated in the previous Table.

According to Table 4.10, a majority of all those in the sample go to entertainment events so rarely that they cannot report any regular monthly attendance. This is more true for married persons, 63.7 percent of whom indicated non-attendance, than for single people, but even among the latter, entertainment is an infrequent luxury. For those who do manage some entertainment, the single most popular form is the movies. Traditional theater and sports events, or combinations of these with the movies, draw far fewer customers from this section of the population. Further, attendance at the movies for those who do attend consists, for the most part, of less than three times per month, (Appendix Table A-XII).

Taking these various findings together, there is little in the lives of industrial employees that constitutes pleasure or minor

luxury, at least as measured by consumption of alcohol, tobacco or entertainment. Since the prevailing culture does not discourage indulgence in these items, and in the case of alcohol even places its use at the center of traditional ceremony and ritual, the limited use must reflect economic restraints more than personal choice. Although no measurable comparisons are possible, luxury consumption of this type is probably higher in certain rural areas, at least in some parts of the South.

Family Health.-- Health conditions among industrial employees are yet another measure of the state of well-being within this group. Unfortunately, attempts to quantify the incidence of specific illnesses were not too successful because interviewees could not recall all the illness occurring in their families during the previous year, or, in some cases, could not identify ailments accurately. The replies to the questionnaire are tabulated in Appendix Table A-XIII, but it should be emphasized that these findings are not very reliable.

With the generally poor living quarters occupied by workers -- the bad overcrowding, poor sanitation, poor water facilities, and so on -- one would expect a great deal of sickness, and actually over half those interviewed reported illness of some kind in their families during the previous year. Some of this was reported as general ill health (17.6 percent), but the rest was spread among several other types of specific ailments of major and minor importance. However, only 4.9 percent reported that members of their family had tuberculosis, which seems much too low for the urban area of Saigon.

Cancer was not reported by any of the interviewees, although the incidence is high in the city. Also, according to these replies, health conditions in thatch roof houses are somewhat better than in other types of housing. This may, in fact, be true, but it seems more plausible that family health would be poorest in the worst kind of housing. It may also be an indication that housing quality is not correlated with house-type categories used in the survey. At any rate, the replies are clearly an insufficient basis from which to draw any firm ideas on general health conditions, but they are presented as an indication of the state of health of workers as they themselves see it.

Employers' attitudes toward the health of their employees differ from firm to firm, and while some provide minimum medical facilities at the plant, others do not. The director of one firm was asked why he did not undertake to examine all employees for tuberculosis as a means to help them combat this disease, and he replied,

We are very much in favor of having our personnel X-rayed, but the result may be both profitable and disastrous. It would be profitable because the health of the employees would be safeguarded; disastrous because their inevitable dismissal would undoubtedly cause temporary unemployment.

It is hard to say how much of this is realistic concern and how much is rationalization of a basic disinterest on the part of the management, but it does seem to express an attitude that it is preferable to be ignorant of the state of employees' health as long as their work performance is satisfactory.

Factories employing fifty workers or more are supposed to have a

medical dressing station on the premises, and they should also be fully responsible for the medical expenses incurred as a result of accidents on the job. However, one firm in the sample made no provision for medical expenses resulting from accidents at work, and required that employees provide their own medical treatment. The firm did pay sick leave, but to obtain it an employee had to present a certificate from a physician stating that he was unable to work because of illness. Since it costs from 60\$VN to 100\$VN to get such a certificate, or more than the average daily wage, employees in this firm said they could not afford to apply for sick leave in the case of minor illness.

When industrial workers need medical care, the preference seems to be for western-style medicines or a combination of occidental and traditional remedies, (Table 4.11). Traditional medicine in this context refers to Chinese and Vietnamese prescriptions and patent medicines that are dispensed by drug shops or licensed practitioners, although some practitioners have not complied with licensing regulations. From the evidence of the sample, less than one-third of those questioned rely on this exclusively, although the percentage doing so is slightly higher among workers from Saigon and foreign born than it is for those from other parts of Viet Nam. One important factor in this distinction between the two kinds of medical care is that traditional medicine is expensive, both for the medicine itself and the services of the practitioner, whereas occidental medical care can be obtained free or at reduced cost at public hospitals

in the city. The fact that nearly three-fifths use traditional medicine to some extent indicates that it is still considered to be effective for many kinds of illness. Nearly one-third take advantage of both kinds of medication or treatment. As a comparison, slightly more than 70 percent use occidental medicine to some degree.

Although the government is committed to expanding and improving the free medical care available to all, hospitals are still understaffed and facilities are inadequate for proper care. Wards are crowded, and hospital budgets are often so low that provisions for items such as patients' diet are severely curtailed. The military services absorb most of the doctors graduating from the medical school

TABLE 4.11

USE OF TRADITIONAL AND OCCIDENTAL MEDICINE, BY PLACE OF ORIGIN

Place of origin	Saigon & Suburbs		Other parts of Viet Nam		Foreign		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Traditional Medicine	47	32.4	11	17.2	6	33.3	64	28.2
Modern Medicine.....	53	36.6	34	53.1	6	33.3	93	41.0
Both Traditional and Modern Medicine.....	45	31.0	19	29.7	6	33.3	70	30.8
Total.....	145	100.0	64	100.0	18	100.0	227	100.0

so that the numbers available for private or public health service have not increased significantly in the last few years.

On the whole, the survey failed to develop a very clear or extensive view of health conditions among industrial workers. From the replies to the questionnaire, general health is better than one would expect, given the living conditions, poor diet and lack of proper care which are associated with this group. However, in the opinion of the interviewers the responses to questions on health must be discounted because the employees could not recall all instances of illness during the previous year, and also because they were not aware of illness in the family in all cases. It seems highly probable that some diseases, for example tuberculosis or venereal disease, are not recognized as such because they have never been diagnosed. Finally, although occidental medicine is used widely, partly because it is available at low cost, a large percentage among workers still rely on traditional medical remedies wholly or in part. Government-provided medical facilities should increase and improve with time, but at present they must be considered inadequate to cope with the health problem that exists in metropolitan Saigon.

CHAPTER V

THE GEOGRAPHICAL ORIGINS OF THE WORK FORCE

Immigration to Saigon and Its Impact on the Work Force

The work force classified by place of birth.-- Ten years of war and political unrest, 1945 to 1955, forced many people to leave their homes, with the result that the population of urban areas, and Saigon in particular, increased rapidly. Aside from this general observation, however, little is actually known about the shift in population, even of its true magnitude. Who these people are, what skills they brought with them, what work they do -- all these are matters for speculation and informed guessing, for there is almost no information with which to provide more reliable answers. This survey has made a beginning, at least, toward an assessment of the relation between this enforced urbanization and the composition of the industrial work force.

The basic data for the sample on place of birth of industrial employees are presented in Table 5.1, and from these it is clear that a large majority come from Saigon and its suburbs, or from provinces of the south. The people born in Saigon or its suburbs ordinarily would not include anyone who shifted residence to escape hostilities, so that even excluding those born in the south, a majority (63.9 percent) of the work force in the sample would be non-refugees.

To see to what extent this is true of the population of Saigon generally, the native born adult population in the Saigon census survey can be compared with the native born laborers in the sample.

The result, shown in Figure 5.1, is that the proportion Saigon-born in the adult population is significantly lower than the proportion in the sample of the work force. According to the census data, less than one-third of the adult population was born in Saigon, as opposed to more than two-thirds of the sample of the work force. If those born in Saigon are added to those from the southern provinces, this basic comparison between the two sets of data does not change, although the difference is not so startling. The work force sample still contains a significantly larger percentage of those from the south, in this combined sense, than does the adult population of Saigon.

TABLE 5.1

PLACE OF BIRTH, BY SEX OF INTERVIEWEE

Place of Birth	Male		Female		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Saigon and Saigon Suburbs.....	101	64.8	44	61.9	145	63.9
South Viet Nam.....	28	17.9	15	22.5	44	19.4
Central Viet Nam....	5	3.2	--	--	5	2.2
North Viet Nam.....	10	6.4	5	7.1	15	6.6
Total of Viet Nam....	144	92.3	65	91.5	209	92.1
Foreign.....	12	7.7	6	8.5	18	7.9
Total.....	156	100.0	71	100.0	227	100.0

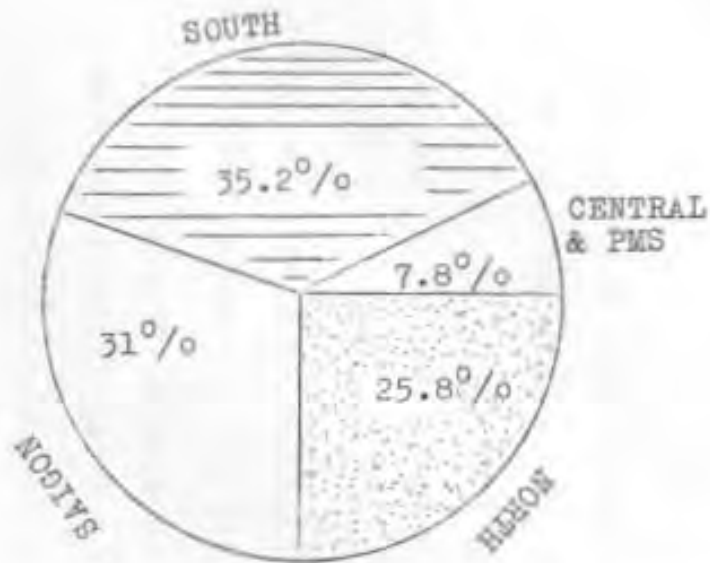
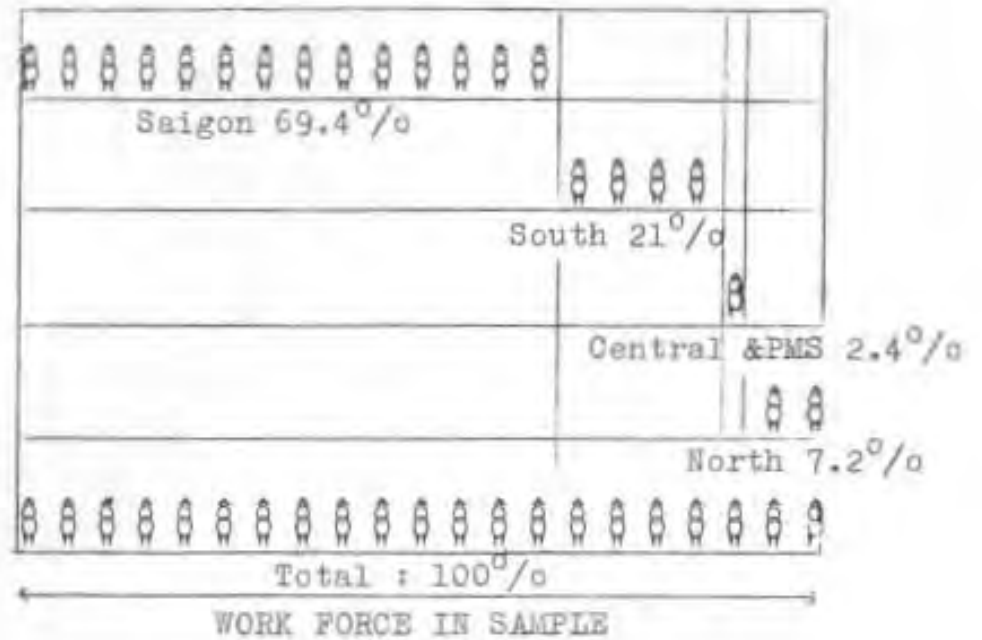
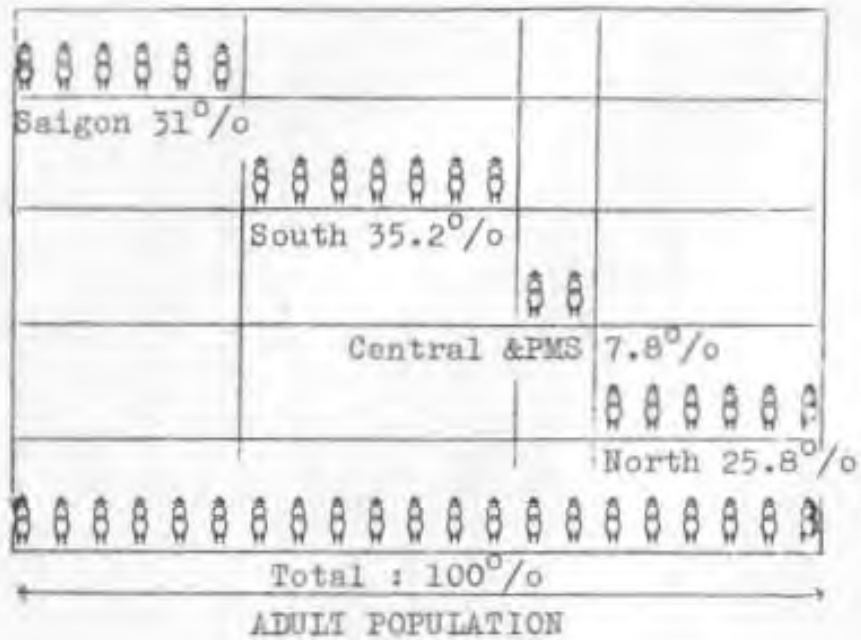


FIGURE 5.1

There are several reasons why there should be this significant difference between the two groups. For example, industry in Saigon tends to draw its employees from those who come from that area. Much of the hiring is done through friends and relatives, which would perpetuate an existing geographical pattern. In at least one of the firms, the management showed a strong preference for job applicants from the home village and home province of the owner. Saigon residents of long standing may be more accustomed to the idea of industrial work and turn to it more readily than those from other parts of Viet Nam. In fact, it is very likely that those who have come to Saigon from the northern and central parts of the country have gone into government service and commerce rather than industry because that has been their background experience. Those who were industrial workers in the north probably stayed there and did not migrate south. Refugees from rural areas in the north tended to come with others from the same village and these have been resettled in villages throughout South Viet Nam where they continue to engage in agriculture.

On the other hand, the sample included only four firms, all of them well established in Saigon for fairly long periods of time. The tendency to hire employees from Saigon and the south could therefore be a function of the particular firms in the sample, rather than a generalization that is true for all industry. New firms may show a very different pattern. However, as pointed out in the introductory chapter, there has been so little new industry started in

recent years that the bias in the sample on this score should not be too great. The first set of reasons advanced above is consistent with existing conditions, and probably applicable to a large part of Saigon industry.

The length of time migrants have spent in Saigon.-- To get some idea of the dates at which people have moved into Saigon, and therefore the extent to which those born outside Saigon are really refugees, or contrasted with migrants, the length of time spent in Saigon was tabulated against the place of birth, (Table 5.2). If the migrants were true refugees, their times of arrival should be concentrated during the periods of greatest unrest. These would be 1945-1949 and 1954-1956, or ten to thirteen years ago and two to three years ago respectively, although sporadic fighting took place between these periods. Since only one-third of those in the sample came from outside Saigon and its suburbs, the respondents to this question are unfortunately spread quite thinly over time. The number coming from central Viet Nam is particularly small, and the situation for north Viet Nam and the foreign born is not much better. The breakdown by region of origin is therefore much too fine to be really reliable.

Despite these limitations, the total for all migrants provides a slightly better basis for measuring the timing of migration. From the proportions arriving at different two year intervals, it does not appear that those coming to Saigon from other parts of Viet Nam did so during the critical periods to any marked extent. It is true

TABLE 5.2

LENGTH OF TIME IN SAIGON, BY PLACE OF BIRTH

Length of time	South VN		Central VN		North VN		Foreign		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
2 years or less...	8	18.2	-	-	-	-	1	5.5	9	11.0
3 - 4	6	13.6	-	-	9	60.0	3	16.7	18	22.0
5 - 6	2	4.5	1	20.0	-	-	1	5.5	4	4.9
7 - 8	8	18.2	-	-	1	6.7	3	16.7	12	14.6
9 - 10....	9	20.5	-	-	1	6.7	2	11.1	12	14.6
11 - 12...	5	11.4	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	6.1
13 or more	6	13.5	4	80.0	4	26.6	8	44.5	22	26.8
Total	44	100.0	5	100.0	15	100.0	18	100.0	82	100.0

that the addition of nine workers from the North increases the percentage in the sample who arrived three to four years ago, or about the time of the Geneva Agreements, but not enough to constitute a major influx of people at that time.

Another check on the characteristics of the migrants is to measure their arrival times against their age. If certain periods have heavy representations of migrants of all age groups, this would constitute some evidence that they were refugees. This type of correlation would be consistent with flight and a sudden uprooting from established ways of life. On the other hand, if the length of time spent in Saigon tends to increase as the age of the group increases, it would indicate that industrial workers come to Saigon at a relatively young age, and probably to look for employment. It is this latter pattern which seems to apply to the migrants in the sample work force, as illustrated in Appendix Table A-XV. There the median length of time in Saigon increases with the age of the group. The older migrants in the sample seem to have spent more time in Saigon than the younger ones, which would not be true if migrants in the work force were essentially refugees. In fact, all the scattered evidence offered here tends to support the view that refugees have not found places in industrial employment to any material extent.

The job skills of the migrants.- The job skills and educational background of the migrants offer further possible insight into their identity and their reasons for coming to Saigon. A first glance at Table 5.3 gives the impression that those from outside Saigon are somewhat more skilled than those born in the city, except for those who were born outside of Viet Nam

entirely. This latter group falls far behind the others in the proportion who are skilled workers. However, there is apparently no significant difference in percentage of skilled employees between the group from the south, and the sample as a whole. Once again, the numbers from north and central Viet Nam are too small to give a reliable indication of the distribution of job skills among people coming from those parts of the country. Instead, only the south provides any basis for comparison of job skills by place of birth.

The lack of census data on job skills makes it impossible to really test whether people coming from outside Saigon tend to bring or achieve a higher degree of skill than is true for the adult population as a whole. All that can be said is that from the evidence on hand it appears that the migrants are at least as skilled in industrial work as those born in Saigon and its suburbs, possibly even slightly more so. In other words, the migrants bring with them, or acquire after arrival, the same distribution of skills that this sample of the work force exhibits, which means they appear less like refugees and more like purposeful industrial job seekers.

This can be checked to some extent by referring to their educational background as well. Since job skills seem related to education a significantly higher level of education in a group would tend to support the hypothesis that the group as a whole had a significantly higher level of skills. While there are no comparable census data on job skills, there are for literacy. Using the data on educational background, by place of birth, presented in Appendix Table A-XVI,

TABLE 5.3

JOB SKILLS IN THE WORK FORCE, BY PLACE OF BIRTH

Job Skill		Skilled	Semi-skilled	Unskilled	Clerical	Total
Saigon and Suburbs	No. %	40 27.6	25 17.2	77 53.1	3 2.1	145 100.0
South Viet Nam	No. %	15 34.1	6 13.6	21 47.7	2 4.6	44 100.0
Central Viet Nam	No. %	3 60.0	1 20.0	1 20.0		5 100.0
North Viet Nam	No. %	5 33.3	2 13.3	7 46.7	1 6.7	15 100.0
Foreign	No. %	1 5.6	8 44.4	9 50.0		18 100.0
Total	No. %	64 28.2	42 18.5	115 50.7	6 2.6	227 100.0

the degree of illiteracy among those coming from south Viet Nam can be tested for significance. The result is that the percentage of illiterates coming from the south is significantly lower than for the adult population of Saigon.²⁰ This increases the likelihood that the higher level of job skills shown for people from the south in Table 5.3 is also significant, although, of course, this does constitute a complete test of that hypothesis.

²⁰The difference between the proportion of illiterates among those coming from south Viet Nam and the adult population of Saigon yields a T value of -2.49, or significantly lower at a significance level of 5 percent.

To summarize these findings with respect to the origins of the force, it seems largely true that a majority of the industrial workers are not migrants, but come from Saigon and its suburbs. The largest group of migrants comes from the southern provinces of Viet Nam, which would also be the closest to Saigon. There does not seem to be much evidence to support the view that refugees from the countryside during the troubled years of 1945-1949, or 1954-1956, have been drawn into industrial occupations. Saigon may have received a large influx of this type of refugee, but from the evidence of the sample, at any rate, they have not become industrial workers. From a comparison of age with length of stay, it seems much more likely that those who have come from outside Saigon have come at about the time they would normally begin to work. The group from the south, in particular, seems a little better educated and possibly more skilled than is normal for the urban population of Saigon, which may mean that they originally left their place of birth because they felt better equipped to make their way in a new environment. In fact, several of the older workers who were questioned said they had first come to Saigon to find work, but still planned to return to the village of their birth when they retired and were too old to hold jobs in industry.

The foreign worker.--Saigon has always had a large Chinese community, centered in the formerly separate sister city of Cholon, and as in other parts of Asia the Chinese retained their language, their cultural traditions, their citizenship, and their identity as

a group in isolation from the Vietnamese culture around them. Over time they acquired a strategic position in Vietnam's commerce and trade, particularly commerce in rice and food products, from which they could, and did, prevent all but a few Vietnamese from entering into it. After independence, the Vietnamese government gave high priority to a program designed to break down some of this cultural and national isolation, and also open new opportunities for Vietnamese businessmen. Presidential ordinance closed eleven key occupations to anyone not a citizen of Viet Nam, Chinese schools were required to teach Vietnamese as well as Chinese, shops and individuals had to change Chinese names to Vietnamese, and acquisition of Vietnamese citizenship was simplified, particularly for those who were born in Viet Nam but who had retained Chinese citizenship acquired through their parents.

Many feared these regulations would bring serious economic repercussions, and that despite the limitations imposed a majority of the Chinese would not give up their Chinese citizenship. It is still too early to know how valid these fears were, but a study of the whole naturalization program would make an interesting and important contribution to knowledge about social change. Here the chief concern is to determine what proportion of the work force sample is of foreign nationality and what kinds of workers they are.

The word "foreigner" is subject to many possible interpretations. In Saigon, it largely refers to Chinese or those of Chinese origin, although some other national origins are also represented. It may be measured by actual citizenship, by mother-tongue, by place of birth,

by citizenship of parents at time of birth, or possibly in other ways as well. Table 5.4 shows a comparison between the adult population and the sample of the work force by nationality. However, because the census based its definition of nationality on mother tongue, while the sample used actual citizenship at the time of the interview, the comparison cannot be an exact one.

The table shows that almost identical percentages of the two groups are Vietnamese, so that the proportion of non-Vietnamese, from the standpoint of either mother tongue or original citizenship, is the same in the work force and the adult population. Since the census data show that 13.4 percent of the adult population is Chinese in origin, and the sample indicates that 7.5 percent of the respondents are naturalized Vietnamese, possibly half of those who once held Chinese citizenship have given it up under the pressure of the new laws. If this is true, the naturalization program went farther in two years than many predicted, and compliance with the new regulations has been unexpectedly prompt.

Unfortunately, the number of foreign born in the sample was not very large, so that the data on job skills and educational background are not very impressive. Further, the definition used in Table 5.3, for example, was by place of birth, and many of those who would be considered foreign by virtue of citizenship or mother tongue were not included. For what it is worth, however, the foreign born in the sample fall disproportionately in the semi-skilled category, with very small representation in the skilled worker group.

TABLE 5.4

COMPARISON OF THE ADULT POPULATION OF SAIGON WITH
THE WORK FORCE IN THE SAMPLE, BY NATIONALITY

Census ¹		Sample	
Nationality	Percent	Nationality	Percent
Vietnamese.....	85.3	Vietnamese	85.0
Chinese	13.4	Naturalized VN	7.5
Other foreign	1.3	Other foreign	7.5
Total	100.0	Total	100.0

¹The census data refer to mother tongue rather than nationality. Prepared from data presented in Enquete Demographique a Saigon, Juin-Juillet 1958 (Resultats Provisoires). Institut National de la Statistique.

Also, a very high proportion are illiterate in Vietnamese, and none of the group has attended even elementary school. Apparently they have been able to work their way into semi-skilled jobs despite the handicap of illiteracy and, probably, a poor working knowledge of spoken Vietnamese. Thus the foreign industrial worker tends to work under some disadvantage vis-a-vis a native born Vietnamese, but there is nothing to indicate that his status as foreign born or as a foreign citizen affects his employment opportunities. Foreign workers, meaning all those other than native born Vietnamese, appear in the work force in approximately the same proportion they do in the adult population.

CHAPTER VI

LABOR ORGANIZATION IN VIET NAM

A Brief History of Trade Union Growth

Authorization to form labor organizations.--Labor organizations have existed in Viet Nam since 1949, and Viet Nam has been a member of the International Labor Organization since that date, but their growth has not always been either vigorous or sound. One of the early steps toward an encouragement of trade unionism occurred in June 1952 when a delegation chosen by the National Government participated in the 36th International Labor Conference held in Geneva. Delegates to this conference drew up and signed nine labor code recommendations on behalf of their governments, among them one recommendation which declared that all countries should grant their citizens freedom to organize into labor unions at their own initiative. The conference regarded this right to organize as a basic labor right, in conformity with Articles 20 and 23 of the Declaration of Human Rights of the United Nations. The National Government of Viet Nam, then under the control of the French, promulgated Ordinance No. 23 on November 16, 1952 in a token effort to implement this action by its delegation.

This ordinance remains one of the major elements in the labor code of Viet Nam, and it has never been repealed or substantively amended. Unfortunately, because French policy at that time was more concerned with controlling and restraining the development of unionism than in promoting it, Ordinance No. 23 is essentially contrary to the

spirit of the conference recommendations which the delegates had signed. A Department of Interior Circular, issued April 14, 1958, subsequently simplified some of the procedures which labor unions must follow, but limitations on organization still remain which were first put in force by the French. The Constitution of the Republic of Viet Nam, in Articles 14 and 23 of the second chapter, also recognizes the right to work for fair remuneration, and the right to form trade unions and strike in conformity with the procedures and conditions prescribed by law. However, official spokesmen state that while the government has no desire to restrict labor organizations as such at the present time, it is also reluctant to give them too much freedom of action on grounds that unions might then be used for political purposes or to endanger the common security. Thus, for example, the government still retains and exercises the right to expel members, to reject applications for permission to organize trade unions, and to intervene in union negotiations with management. Authorities must be notified in advance of any union meeting, and most union activities are somewhat restricted for the above reasons.²¹ Trade unions in Viet Nam may continue to advance in membership and prestige, but they will do so at rates and under conditions largely subject to control by the government, assuming no change in current regulations.

²¹These ideas were contained in a speech made by the Secretary of Labor to a delegation from the International Confederation of Free Labor Unions in Saigon on March 28, 1958, a translation of which is as follows:

"There is no intention on the part of the Republic of Viet Nam to place restrictions on labor unions, but

.../..

The major trade union federation.--Three major trade union federations are now active, in addition to an association of government civil servants that really does not qualify as a trade union. The oldest, and probably the strongest, is the Vietnamese Federation of Christian Labor (CVTC) (Tổng Liên Đoàn Lao Công Việt Nam). Founded in 1949, it has received organizational assistance from the French Federation of Christian Workers, and became affiliated with the International Federation of Christian Trade Unions in November, 1951. Further, the French government has granted ten million piasters under the Rural Life Improvement Plan to aid in development. Some of this may be used by unions on the condition that they accept the assistance and advice of French experts on cooperatives, labor organization, and handicrafts. The union claims a membership of 490,000 spread among 387 regional and local units which are divided along craft lines. Farmers comprise the single largest group of members, but they are not the most active. As in the case of all the major federations, dues are collected from only a fraction of the members, and the claimed membership is probably much higher than the number of those who are actively involved in union affairs.

A second union, Vietnamese Federation of Labor Union (Tổng Liên Đoàn Lao Động Việt Nam) was founded in 1953, and now claims more

21 (cont.) the main reasons why the government does not allow the unions unlimited freedom is because there are doubtful elements present in various labor unions who could create trouble or engage in political activity which might endanger the common security of labor. Thus, there is a need to control unions and to expel bad elements in order to protect union members from political deception."

than one million members. It includes farmers and plantation employees but the largest single group of members comes from Saigon.

The third federation is the Vietnam Labor Union (Lực Lượng Thổ Thuyền Việt Nam). Also founded in 1953, it is the smallest of the three major federations and claims only 97,000 members. Its members are organized in nine craft groups, but unlike the others farmers are not an important element in its membership. In its origins, it received some assistance from the French Force Ouvriere but it was never an organic part of that organization. Since November, 1958, it has been affiliated with the International Confederation of Free Trade Union.

On paper, at least, all the federations have administrative structures that call for member participation to some extent, but only one, the Vietnam Labor Union, has moved even slightly toward adopting democratic procedures. In this union, rank and file members at the local level select representatives to attend a federation congress which is scheduled every three years. There the representatives elect a 22-man Central Executive Committee which assumes responsibility for policy decisions over the subsequent three year-period. The Central Executive Committee also selects officers from its own membership, and the officers comprise a permanent bureau for the Federation which administers the day-to-day affairs of the union and carries out the decisions of the Central Executive Committee. The election of officers is therefore quite indirect, and the triennial congress and elections provide only a slight element of choice by the union membership at large.

The other unions are administered by governing bodies that are largely self-perpetuating, at least up to the present time. They direct the organizing drives, deal with management and the government, and fix the policies for the union as a whole. At the plant level, union members elect one of their member as shop steward or shop representative, and this member presents grievances to management and acts as liaison with the national union headquarters. Regular and special meetings for members of the local, generally including more than one plant, are organized and run by union staff members, not the shop stewards, although the latter are responsible for announcing the meetings and stimulating attendance by the members in their plants.

Union Membership and the Work Force in the Sample

Some factors related to union membership.--The foregoing very brief description of the history of union growth and development has touched on some of the difficulties under which trade unions operate, hinting at reasons for their current weakness. By moving from the general to the more specific, the survey data make it possible to consider unions from the standpoint of their relations with their members, and in the process bring out other problems which the unions face in these formative years.

As indicated earlier, union claims for the size of their membership should be heavily discounted. The fact that an employee signed a membership application at some time does not mean that he has remained a member in good standing, that he pays his dues, or that he takes an active part in union affairs. It is important, therefore, to get some additional measures which will illustrate some of the factors which

TABLE 6.1

LABOR UNION MEMBERSHIP, BY SEX OF INTERVIEWEE

Status	Male		Female		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Member	59	37.8	39	54.9	98	43.2
Non-member.....	97	62.2	32	45.1	129	56.8
Total.....	156	100.0	71	100.0	227	100.0

are associated with union membership.

Considering first the membership distribution by sex, the proportions of men and women in the sample who are members of trade unions are shown in Table 6.1.

Although a majority of workers in the sample as a whole are non-members, over half the women have joined unions. In contrast, nearly two-thirds of all the men have not become members. In light of western experience, this seems unusual, for the first attempts at unionization there usually involved men. Women as a rule were among the last to be organized. In Viet Nam this does not seem to have been the case, for in the early years a larger proportion of women in this sample of the work force were drawn into the labor movement than is true for men. This does not mean, however, that there are more women than men in the labor movement.

The same kind of reverse experience applies to the relation between membership and job skills. In the United States, for example,

the first successful unions were organized along craft lines. Skilled workers, who held an important strategic bargaining advantage because their skills were scarce and valuable, jealously guarded their ranks against an influx of unskilled labor for many years. Not only did their skills give them a tactical advantage, but they also served to unite them more solidly than had been possible in the non-stratified type of unions which preceded.

In Viet Nam, there is division along craft lines in some union federations, but the same unions may also include farmers and workers without specific skills. Further, from the evidence of Table 6.2, the skilled workers in the work force are the least attracted by unionization. Instead of leading the union movement, they seem to avoid participating in it. Only one-fourth of the skilled workers in the sample are members, whereas nearly three-fifths (59.5 percent) of the semi-skilled and one-half (48.7 percent) the unskilled have joined unions. The number of clerical workers in the sample is very small, and although the percentage shown as members of unions is possibly typical of clerical workers generally, the number here is not big enough to provide a reliable basis for generalization of any kind.

This attitude of the skilled workers may be affected by their belief that the scarcity of their skills gives them individual security and bargaining strength. They may feel that, if necessary, they can leave a job and find an equally good position with relatively little trouble, and therefore the union membership offers them little advantage. The skilled workers also tend to be somewhat older than the less.

skilled, and in many cases have worked for a long time with the same employer. Loyalty to the firm may thus be coupled with an independent attitude with the result that union appeals meet considerable resistance within this group. The unskilled and semi-skilled present the opposite type of picture in almost every respect -- they are less secure in their jobs, less certain of their bargaining strength as individuals, faced with much competition from others who also have little skill, and they generally have been employees of the same firm for shorter periods of time. To people in such circumstances the appeal of the unions would be understandably greater.

Actually, these findings raise more questions than they solve, and the hypothesis that skilled laborers are more resistant to union organization than unskilled workers in Viet Nam is worth further exploration on a more detailed and inclusive basis. Not only would it be important to establish the validity of the hypothesis, but it would also be necessary to examine the underlying reasons for this attitude if it does, in fact, exist. Unfortunately, because of the nature of this particular study, it can only point out what appear to be interesting or unusual characteristics of the work force, and leave the task of verification and exhaustive examination to the more detailed studies which may follow as a result.

Another interesting aspect of union membership is the distinction which seems to prevail between Vietnamese and those who have recently acquired Vietnamese citizenship or still retain foreign

TABLE 6.2
LABOR UNION MEMBERSHIP, BY JOB SKILL

Status	Skills		Semi-skilled		Unskilled		Clerical		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Member.....	16	25.0	25	59.5	56	48.7	1	16.7	98	43.2
Non-member	48	75.0	17	40.5	59	51.3	5	83.3	129	56.8
Total.....	64	100.0	42	100.0	115	100.0	6	100.0	227	100.0

TABLE 6.3

LABOR UNION MEMBERSHIP, BY CITIZENSHIP

Status	Vietnamese		Naturalized VN		Foreign		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Member.....	77	39.9	11	64.7	10	58.8	98	43.2
Non-member...	116	60.1	6	35.3	7	41.2	129	56.8
Total	193	100.0	17	100.0	17	100.0	227	100.0



nationality. Table 6.3 shows that much higher percentages of the naturalized Vietnamese and foreign nationals are members of unions than is true for native born Vietnamese. This appears to reflect a group solidarity on the part of these minority groups, or a need to band together in an effort to preserve mutual interests.

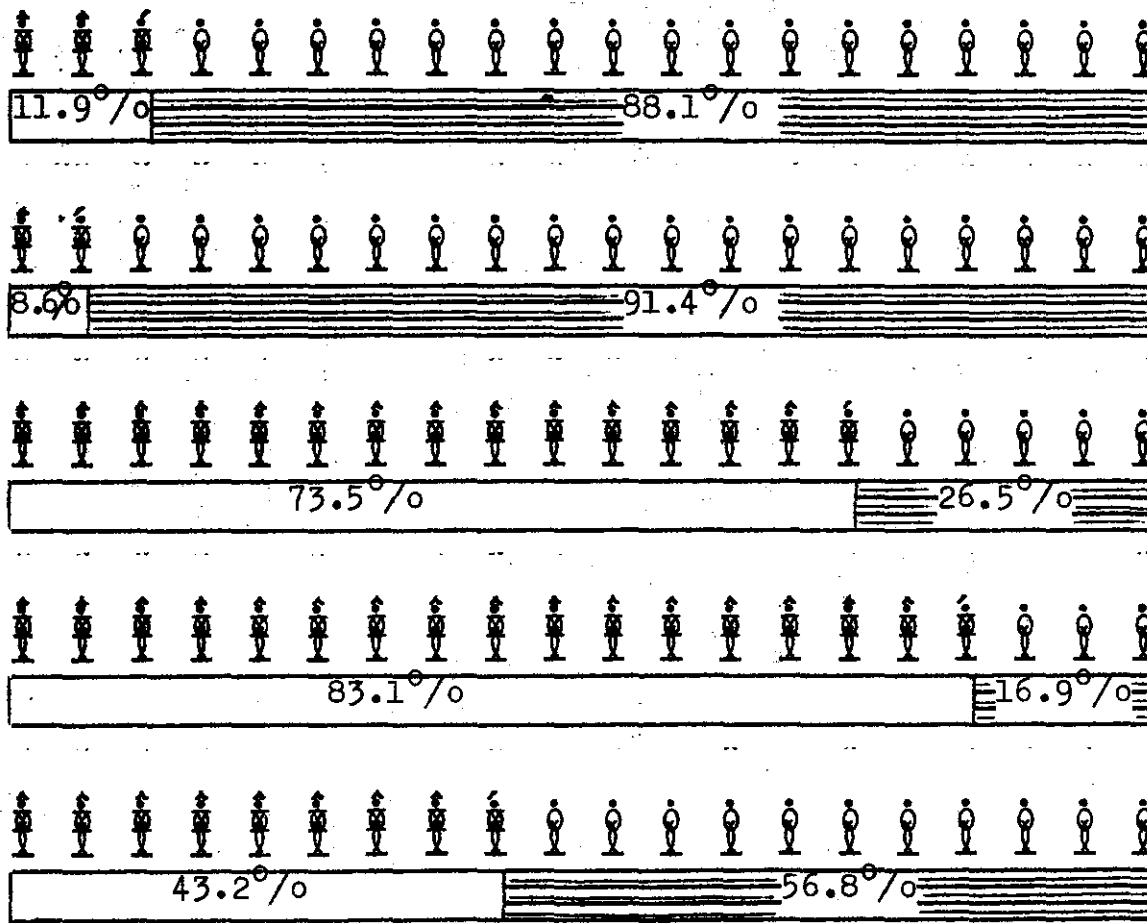
Interviewers were told that in some cases one member will take the lead in joining a union, and the others will follow his example. Others reported that they joined because they thought the union would help them and protect them, but they also felt that members of a minority group must stay together. This type of group feeling does not seem as prevalent among the Vietnamese, who, being the majority group in the society, would probably not respond as readily to the call of national identification as they would to other types of appeal.

Having already noted the way membership and non-membership divides on the basis of sex, job skill and nationality, it is not surprising to find that those with the poorest educational background tend to become union members, while those with a better education tend to refrain from membership. The replies, tabulated in Appendix Table A-XVII, show that as the level of education or learning increases, the proportion of the group who are union members steadily decreases. Among the illiterates, more than half are members, but among those who have reached secondary school nearly three-fourths (72.7 percent) are non-members.

When union membership is correlated with the plants in the sample, as in Table 6.4 the bulk of the membership is shown to be concentrated in two of them. In both these firms, membership is very high, running upwards of seventy percent in each. In contrast, the other two firms do have some employees as members of unions, but the percentages are very low. Finally, membership was also arrayed

TABLE 6.4
LABOR UNION MEMBERSHIP BY PLANTS IN THE SAMPLE



 Member Non-Member
 EA. Symbol represents 5%



PLANT A
10 + 74 = 84

PLANT B
3 + 32 = 35

PLANT C
36 + 13 = 49

PLANT D
49 + 10 = 59

ALL PLANTS
98 + 129 = 227

according to the length of time employees had been at a plant, with the result that the percentage of union members tends to be higher among shorter term employees than among those who have worked in the same firm for longer periods of time. (Appendix Table A-XVIII)

Reviewing these different ways of looking at union membership, and adding what is known about the plants and their history, it is possible to make a few tentative generalizations. The emphasis is on the tentative nature, however, for there are important problems of interpretation of the data. For example, since the labor needs of the plants differ, a successful membership campaign by a union in one plant can alter the characteristics of union members as perceived through the sample. Thus, organizing the workers of a firm that employs mainly unskilled workers of foreign nationality results in a picture of union membership as identified with this level of job skill and this type of citizenship. In short, the problem is to identify determining factors in union membership, and to decide to what extent personal traits and talents or the place of work are the important variables.

The most cautious explanation is to assign some causal significance to each of these two major factors, and it is also the most plausible explanation on a priori grounds. The most successfully organized plant in the sample is also the only plant that is owned by French. A large residue of dislike and distrust of the western foreigner still remains with the Vietnamese. Workers commented to the interviewees that they feared foreign management and supervisory

staff might resort to harsh methods, or take undue advantage of the employees, unless a strong union was present to protect employee interests. There were no complaints of unjust treatment by the management of this particular firm, but many expressed general apprehension on this score, and stated that this would be shared by workers contemplating employment by any non-Vietnamese firm. The appeal of union organizers would therefore tend to be stronger, other things equal, to those who work in foreign-owned plants.

On the other hand, the two plants with the lowest proportions of union members among their employees are owned by Vietnamese families and both have been in business for fairly long periods of time. Unions gained only a small foothold here. The managements take a paternalistic approach to employee relations, and seek, with apparent success, to have the employees rely on management's judgment and sense of obligation to the employees. The result is that some employees state they feel it would be a betrayal of the employer to turn to a labor union for the protection of their interests. In a culture where the family is so very important, and where individual security is linked to the well-being of the family as a whole, it is entirely understandable that employees could respond to appeals that are couched in terms of reciprocity of responsibilities and benefits and the importance of loyalty. This type of appeal might be especially effective if the firm is small, family-owned, and where members of the family take an active part in its operation.

However, paternalism and attempts to elicit employer loyalty

and identification are not initially successful. One of the firms that is family-owned and operated hires a large number of very skilled employees. The proportion of union members in this plant is very small. Another family-owned firm hires large numbers of unskilled women and foreign nationals, mostly Chinese, and is heavily unionized. Family-ownership is therefore not a completely determining factor, although it has undoubted importance in some kinds of situations. Another element in the success of a membership drive that deserves mention is the skill and ability of the union organizer in charge. Since no attempt was made to study the organizing campaigns in the plants in this sample, or to inquire about the personalities of those directing them, this particular variable remains an unknown. This is also true for another intangible, the attitude of management in each case toward the unions. An active effort to discourage employees from joining unions, particularly if the firm is family-owned with a good employee relations record, could probably prevent effective organization of the plant for a considerable period of time.

To summarize these bits of information and scattered data, union membership seems likely to be greater in plants owned by foreigners, particularly westerners, than in Vietnamese-owned firms. This reflects the comments of interviewees in the sample as well as the evidence of the single foreign-owned firm. Plants owned and operated by Vietnamese are much more apt to avoid unionization on a large scale, especially if their record toward their employees has been a good one. However, union membership also seems associated with minority group

status, which would include women in the work force, so that firms hiring large numbers in this category will tend to have heavily unionized personnel. Workers for minority groups also tend to be less skilled and less well educated than, say, native born Vietnamese men in the work force, but it seems more reasonable to assume that it is the need to unite with and identify with others in the same group that stimulates union membership rather than lack of education as such. The lack of skill, however, may be a significant independent variable, for the skilled workers may tend to feel that they do not need unions to speak for them or promote their interests, whereas the unskilled and semi-skilled feel much less secure. Thus, a foreign-owned plant, using largely unskilled women or men of foreign nationality, will probably be very highly organized, but a Vietnamese firm, hiring skilled Vietnamese men for the most part will tend to have a very small percentage of its employees become members of labor unions. These represent the extreme positions on each side. Variations in between will probably be more governed by the character of the work force than by nationality of ownership as such, although the skill of the labor organizers and the policy of management toward unions will also be important determining factors.

As a final observation, it is probably true that foreign-owned firms generally provide better working conditions and greater fringe benefits than do local firms. It is also probable that most of the foreign firms, having had greater familiarity and experience with unions, are more willing to accept the organization of their employees than are local firms. This means that although the fears of exploit-

ation by foreigners are exaggerated and inconsistent with actual work conditions at the present time, the attitude of foreign employers toward unionization works in the same direction as the fears held by employees, i.e., a greater tendency for foreign-owned plants to become unionized. Clearly, this is another important area where more research in detail could produce useful results. If employee attitudes toward foreign employers are really hostile or suspicious, it could influence the volume and quality of foreign investment, in a country where new investment is vitally needed. Union attitudes toward foreign managements are equally vital. However, if the true nature of the problem is known and understood, appropriate steps can be taken to deal with it if necessary. Unfortunately, all that this study can do at the present time is to point up some apparent relationships that have emerged in this limited sample of Saigon industry.

Participation in union activities.-- For unions to acquire nominal membership is a beginning, but the progress which unions will make in the future will be influenced by the ability of unions to produce results, but also partly by the degree to which members take an active part in union functions. Obviously, many things will affect the latter, one of the most important being how much the unions permit the members to participate. However, without going into a detailed study of the various things which determine it, the survey sought to get a measure of member participation, and thereby member interest in union affairs, by asking a question on the frequency of attendance at union meetings. These are usually held once a month or more, and an answer that

indicated attendance at least that often was considered evidence of active interest in the union and strong identification with it. Less frequent attendance would indicate indifference to varying degrees, although occasional attendance could reflect mitigating circumstances and not lack of interest alone.

The replies by union members are presented in Table 6.5, and on the criterion just indicated one must conclude that member interest is fairly low. Less than one-quarter attend union meetings regularly, and a similar proportion report they do not attend at all. The biggest percentage of all report "occasional" attendance, which could be anything from once a year to almost once a month. Perhaps the most interesting thing of all to emerge from these replies is the relatively poor attendance record of naturalized Vietnamese and those who still retain their foreign citizenship. Since these two categories tended to have larger percentages as union members than the native born Vietnamese, it is surprising to see so little interest in the unions on their part. The reason, according to the respondents themselves, is that being largely of Chinese origin many of them do not speak or understand Vietnamese well enough to follow what takes place at the meetings or participate in them in any way. Thus, although they feel drawn to unions, and look to them for assistance and protection of their interests, as yet they do not appear to be taking an active role in the activities of the unions.

A similar breakdown between men and women, shown in Appendix Table A-XIX, does not reveal as striking a difference between the two groups, although the women reported a smaller percentage in regular

TABLE 6.5

FREQUENCY OF ATTENDANCE AT LABOR UNION MEETINGS,
BY CITIZENSHIP OF UNION MEMBERS

Attendance per month	Vietnamese		Naturalized		Foreign		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
No attendance	11	14.3	4	36.4	6	60.0	21	21.4
Occasional	47	61.0	7	63.6	2	20.0	56	57.2
Once a month or more	19	24.7	-	-	2	20.0	21	21.4
Total	77	100.0	11	100.0	10	100.0	98	100.0

attendance than the men, and also a higher proportion of occasional attendance. About the same proportion in both groups did not attend meetings at all. The reason for this in many cases is the same as for the nationality distinction, for many of those of Chinese origin were women. Their feeling that they could not participate would be heightened by the fact that they are women, and as such barred from taking any very active role in the unions.

CHAPTER VII

THE ADJUSTMENT OF WORKERS TO INDUSTRIAL OCCUPATIONS

Occupational Choice and Job Satisfaction

The choice of a job in industry.-- This final chapter deals with the adjustment industrial employees have made to their jobs. Their attitude toward their work, their plans for the future, and their conception of their chief problems all constitute different elements in this adjustment. The measurement of such subjective attitudes poses numerous problems, to be discussed in the course of presenting the findings, but the survey nevertheless included a number of questions designed to draw direct responses which would indicate something, at least, of worker attitudes in certain key areas. The results, by and large, show a consistency in pattern that justifies qualified optimism that the replies were reasonably honest and reliable.

The reasons for choosing a particular job are one approach to job satisfaction, for the attitude a new employee brings to his search for work may heavily influence his capacity to derive satisfaction from his job. Workers in the sample were asked why they chose the particular job they held, and their replies were divided among the four main descriptive headings shown in Table 7.1. The most common response, given by nearly half those interviewed, expressed an indifferent acceptance of work. These people were merely looking for jobs that would provide an income. They had no particular preferences, regarded all jobs as pretty much alike, and took the job they held essentially because it was available at a time when they needed it. Others, who may have also been indifferent to the nature of the job itself, replied

TABLE 7.1

REASONS FOR CHOICE OF PRESENT OCCUPATION, BY
PLANTS IN THE SAMPLE AND FOR SAMPLE AS A WHOLE

Reasons	Plant A		Plant B		Plant C		Plant D		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Indifferent acceptance of work	38	45.2	21	60.0	18	36.8	31	52.6	108	49.6
Introduced by relative	21	25.0	4	11.4	11	22.4	14	23.7	50	22.0
Introduced by friend	14	16.7	3	8.6	20	40.8	9	15.2	46	20.3
Prefer type of work	11	13.1	7	20.0	--	--	5	8.5	23	10.1
Total	84	100.0	35	100.0	49	100.0	59	100.0	227	100.0

that the main reason they were in their present occupation was because friends or relatives introduced them to it. All together over forty percent of the answers fell under this second general heading. This left only ten percent who stated that they were in their present occupation because they actually preferred the type of work. In short, finding a job in industry seems largely a matter of chance opportunity or contacts made through friends or relatives. Choice, in the sense of looking for a particular type of work, enters into it very little. Further, the high percentage who do find jobs through friends and relatives is consistent with the earlier findings that a majority of the work force comes from Saigon, for recruiting in this way would

tend to continue an existing pattern of geographical origin for employees in industry.

When the replies are tabulated by plants in the sample, two of them show slightly different combinations of reasons given by their employees. Plant B, for example, contains a higher percentage than the others of employees who looked for a preferred type of work, although, as shown in Table 7.2 below, these same employees do not register as high a degree of actual job satisfaction as those in other plants. Plant B workers also indicated a higher percentage than others who accepted work indifferently. Since this plant hires large numbers of skilled laborers, this would imply that skilled persons may be more likely to look for work where their skills are used, but it also seems to show that a high percentage of skilled workers have an attitude of indifference when they begin to look for work. In other words, there is no clear showing here that the acquisition of skills engenders any positive attitude toward work. Finally, the small proportion of skilled employees who rely on friends or relatives to find them jobs may mean that their skills make them more self-reliant, more able to find work on their own than others.

In another plant, Plant C, none of the employees questioned took his job because he preferred the type of work, but a large proportion was introduced through friends. This firm hires a large number of unskilled women, and tends to draw them from the same village community. This would account for the important part played by introduction through friends in this firm. However, it should be born in mind that those who got jobs through relatives or friends may also have an indifferent

TABLE 7.2
COMPARISON OF JOB SATISFACTION, BY JOB SKILLS¹

Job satisfaction	Skilled		Semi-skilled		Unskilled		Clerical		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Present job most satisfactory	20	46.5	16	59.2	17	48.6	1	50.0	54	50.5
No job has been satisfactory	19	44.2	9	33.4	11	31.4	1	50.0	40	37.4
Some previous job most satisfactory	4	9.3	2	7.4	7	20.0	-	-	13	12.1
Total	43	100.0	27	100.0	35	100.0	2	100.0	107	100.0

¹ Replies tabulated only for those who have held some previous job.

attitude toward the type of work or the plant where they work. The categories are not necessarily exclusive on this count. What is interesting and unambiguous, though, is the very small percentage who took their present jobs because they actually preferred the type of work.

Satisfaction derived from industrial work.--, Since the measurement of job satisfaction in some absolute way seemed impractical, workers were asked instead to rate their present job with other jobs they had held. This limited the number of responses to those who had worked before, and also meant that it would not be possible to determine the real extent to which workers derived any satisfaction at all from their work. However, it could show whether or not they felt they had increased job satisfaction by moving to their present job, and also if they found

no satisfaction at all in the work they have done.

From the data shown in Table 7.2, it appears that half those questioned on this point found their present work as satisfying as any they had done before. Only very small percentage (12.1 percent) preferred some previous job. The other large group (37.4 percent) reported that they found no job very satisfactory.

Excluding the clerical employees, whose representation in this part of the sample is too small to be reliable, the skilled workers show the highest proportion who have not found any job satisfactory and the lowest proportion who like their present job. The semi-skilled appear to derive satisfaction from their present job to a greater extent. This distinction, however, is probably not valid, for there is probably no significant difference in job satisfaction as between different levels of skill. Since some of the cells in Table 7.2 contain less than five responses, a X^2 test cannot be applied to this Table directly. However, a test can be made by excluding clerical workers and dividing the replies into those which show the present job is most satisfactory and "all other replies" combined. The X^2 value in this case is 1.179, which at a five percent level of significance means acceptance of the hypothesis that satisfaction with one's present job is independent of levels of skill.

The same seems to be true when job satisfactions are related to educational background or place of work. Despite the fact that some categories show fairly high percentages deriving more satisfaction from the present job than any other situation, as in Tables 7.3 and 7.4,

TABLE 7.3
COMPARISON OF JOB SATISFACTION¹ BY EDUCATIONAL
BACKGROUND²

Job satisfaction	Illiterate		Some reading & writing		Elementary school		Secondary school or beyond		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Present job most satisfactory	15	71.4	22	48.9	11	42.3	6	40.0	54	50.5
No job has been been satisfactory	5	23.8	15	33.3	12	46.2	8	53.3	40	37.4
Some previous job most satisfactory	1	4.8	8	17.8	3	11.5	1	6.7	13	12.1
Total	21	100.0	45	100.0	26	100.0	15	100.0	107	100.0

¹Replies tabulated only for those who have held some previous job.

X² tests indicate job satisfaction is also independent of both educational background or place of work.²⁹ The attempt to measure job satisfaction has therefore not uncovered any particularly new or unusual

²⁹The tests applied were both to modifications of the basic Tables in which job satisfactions were again divided into the two categories of "present job most satisfactory" and "all other replies." X² values were 5.094 and 2.326 respectively, neither of which were significant at a five percent level of significance.

attitudes or relationships. Perhaps the most accurate interpretation to put on the responses is that they essentially reflect indifference. Except for the very few who actually thought some previous job was more satisfying, the laborers really seemed to be saying either that they found no job satisfactory or were as content in their present job as they would be in any. Because their work, for the most part, is repetitive and not very challenging, it would be surprising to find that large numbers felt their jobs were rewarding. There is also the further consideration that some of the interviewees may have been defensive on a question of this kind and afraid that a negative answer could jeopardize their jobs.

Another variant of the same kind of question was asked those who had migrated to Saigon. These workers were asked if they preferred working in Saigon to returning to their home villages. (Table 7.5) An overwhelming percentage (89 percent) indicated they wanted to stay in Saigon, although some of these were also included in those who registered indifference when seeking work or toward the jobs they held.

When these same people were asked why they continue to stay in Saigon (Table 7.6), they offered as main reasons that they found it easier to get work there or they had no place to return. What was interesting in these responses was the very little weight which the migrants attached to a positive preference for city life as such or the pressure of family obligations. Also included in the category of "others" were such reasons as the better educational opportunities

TABLE 7.4
COMPARISON OF JOB SATISFACTION, BY PLANTS IN
THE SAMPLE¹

Job satisfaction	Plant A		Plant B		Plant C		Plant D		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Present job most satisfactory	16	45.7	11	47.8	10	45.5	17	63.0	54	50.5
No job has been satisfactory	15	42.9	9	39.1	9	40.9	7	25.9	40	37.4
Some previous job most satisfactory	4	11.4	3	13.1	3	13.6	3	11.1	13	12.1
Total	35	100.0	23	100.0	22	100.0	27	100.0	107	100.0

¹Replies tabulated only for those who have held some previous job.

TABLE 7.5
PREFERENCE FOR PRESENT SITUATION, BY LENGTH OF TIME IN
SAIGON¹

Preference	2 years or less		3-4 years		5-6 years		More than 6 years		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Prefer working in Saigon	8	88.9	15	83.3	3	100.0	47	90.4	73	89.0
Prefer return to village	1	11.1	3	16.7	-	-	5	9.6	9	11.0
Total	9	100.0	18	100.0	3	100.0	52	100.0	82	100.0

¹Replies are tabulated only for those who have migrated to Saigon

TABLE 7.6
REASONS ADVANCED FOR STAYING IN SAIGON¹

Reasons	Number	Percent
Easier to find jobs.....	33	40.2
No place to return.....	28	34.1
Prefer city life	4	4.9
Family obligations.....	4	4.9
Reluctant to change residence..	4	4.9
Other.....	6	7.3
No opinion.....	3	3.7
Total.....	82	100.0

¹ Replies are tabulated only for those who have migrated to Saigon and the greater security in the city, but neither of these seems to exert any strong influence over those who have been drawn into the industrial work force from outside Saigon. Thus, briefly, the attraction of the city once there is simply that it is easier to find work, or that no other alternatives seem possible or inviting enough to stimulate a move.

Opinion of management. -- The satisfaction derived from the work is one part of the job, but another aspect of it is the opinion the worker holds of the management in his plant. "Management" as used in this survey was a very broad term, and included all those who might be regarded by the employees as responsible for the origin or execution

TABLE 7.7

OPINION OF MANAGEMENT BY PLANTS IN THE SAMPLE

Opinion	Plant A		Plant B		Plant C		Plant D		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Good	32	38.1	20	57.1	22	44.9	12	20.3	86	37.9
Indifferent	20	23.8	4	11.4	16	32.7	28	47.5	68	29.9
Fair	24	28.6	9	25.8	11	22.4	11	18.6	55	24.2
No opinion	8	9.5	2	5.7	--	--	1	1.7	11	4.8
Antagonistic	-	-	-	-	--	--	7	11.9	7	3.2
Total	84	100.0	35	100.0	49	100.0	59	100.0	227	100.0

of plant policies. This meant, in effect, all those from foremen to the owners. The question was phrased so that opinion of management and satisfaction with work would be distinguished as separate reactions, since it is possible to hold a low opinion of management and still find the work interesting, or vice versa. It should be recognized, however, that when employees are asked for their opinion of management, their attitude may be apprehensive and their replies guarded. Thus, there was probably some bias in the direction of giving more favorable opinions than were genuinely felt.

The opinions of workers in the different plants in the sample are shown in Table 7.7. On an overall basis, they indicated that over one-third held a "good" opinion of the management in their plants and around one-fourth found management only "fair". This should be

TABLE 7.8
OPINION OF MANAGEMENT BY JOB SKILL

Opinion	Skilled		Semi-skilled		Unskilled		Clerical		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Good	34	53.1	10	23.8	38	33.1	4	66.7	86	37.9
Indifferent	15	23.4	22	52.4	31	26.9	-	--	68	29.2
Fair	11	17.2	7	16.7	35	30.4	2	33.3	55	24.2
No opinion	3	4.7	1	2.4	7	6.1	-	--	11	4.8
Antagonistic	1	1.6	2	4.7	4	3.5	-	--	7	3.2
Total	64	100.0	42	100.0	115	100.0	6	100.0	227	100.0

interpreted as a positive attitude toward management in varying degrees, one that finds it reasonably honest and responsible in dealing with employees, aware of employees' interests, and making some effort to take them into consideration. Altogether, a majority of those questioned seem to fall into this category.

The rest of those interviewed expressed attitudes ranging from indifference to antagonism, but the largest single group among them registered indifference (29.9 percent of the sample). Only a very few refused to offer some opinion, and an even smaller number were openly antagonistic. Keeping in mind the nature of the question, it is probably accurate to say that a majority of the laborers really hold the view that management is only fairly good or have no strong feelings about it. It is also likely that more are antagonistic than admitted it.

However, the variations in opinion of management as between plants differed significantly, indicating that the replies probably reflect actual opinions to some extent at least.²² Plant D shows the highest percentage of "indifferent" replies, the lowest percentage of "good" replies, and has all the "antagonistic" replies in the sample. This same plant shows many interesting characteristics, for in addition to having a work force expressing the lowest opinion of management, on the whole, it is also the plant that is most thoroughly unionized.²³ Despite the low opinion of management, the workers in the plant reported the highest percentage for any plant to derive more satisfaction from their work than any previous job.²⁴ This appears contradictory to some extent, but it is probably not. For one thing, the satisfaction with the work, although higher than that for any other plant, was not significantly different from the others. More important is the fact that Plant D is owned by foreigners, which is probably the major factor accounting for both the high degree of unionization and the low opinion held of the management.

²² A χ^2 test was applied to the data in Table 7.7, but the categories of "indifferent," "antagonistic," and "no opinion" were combined into one category of "other replies." The χ^2 value was 23.360, which is significant at a five percent level of significance. Thus, the hypothesis that opinion of management and place of work are independent should be rejected.

²³ See Table 6.4 above.

²⁴ See Table 7.4 above.

In contrast to this, the employees of Plant B have the highest opinion of management, but did not score particularly high on job satisfaction and are the least unionized.²⁵ They are also skilled workers for the most part, work in the smallest plant in the sample, and one that is owned by Vietnamese. The firm that tends to hire its employees from the home village of the owner, Plant C, also registered a high percentage of employees who had held a good opinion of the management. When the opinion of management is arrayed according to job skill, there is again significance in the way the interviewees replied.²⁶ Skilled workers in Table 7.8 show the highest proportion of those who find management "good" and the lowest proportion who reported themselves as "indifferent." The semi-skilled had the lowest percentage who said they had a "good" opinion of management, and the highest percentage of those who were "indifferent". Although all those who were "antagonistic" came from the same plant, they were not all at the same level of job skills. The clerical workers, too few in this case to offer a very reliable measure, showed the high degree of satisfaction with management that would be expected, given the general tendency for clerical help to identify with management. The unskilled, as a group, show a pattern of

²⁵See Tables 7.4 and 6.4 respectively.

²⁶A χ^2 test of the data in Table 7.8 gave a χ^2 value of 17.400, which is significant at a five percent level of significance. The data were grouped as in the previous test, with an additional correction of deleting the clerical workers because the numbers in this category were too small. With these qualifications, the hypothesis that opinion of management and level of job skills are independent should be rejected.

TABLE 7.9

OPINION OF MANAGEMENT, BY UNION MEMBERSHIP

Opinion	Member		Non-member		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Good	29	29.6	57	44.2	86	37.9
Indifferent	41	41.8	27	20.9	68	29.9
Fair	20	20.4	35	27.2	55	24.2
No opinion	2	2.0	9	6.9	11	4.8
Antagonistic	6	6.2	1	0.8	7	3.2
Total	98	100.0	129	100.0	227	100.0

responses very similar to that of the skilled workers.

A third factor which could have some influence over opinions toward management is membership in labor unions, and this tabulation is given in Table 7.9. Assuming that membership in a union reflects some feeling on the part of the members that a union will promote and protect their interests with management, one would expect non-members to hold a higher opinion of management than is true for union members. The data in Table 7.9 bear this out, for while over 70 percent of the non-members feel that management was either "good" or "fair," exactly half the members held that high an opinion. All but one of those who were "antagonistic" were members, and, of course, the biggest proportion of members replied they were "indifferent." Further, the responses were not independent of the classification as

members and non-members, and the difference in responses by the two groups was significant.²⁷

Two other ways of looking at employee opinion of management did not yield significant differences in response between the different methods of classification which were used. Thus Table 7.10 arrays the opinions of management according to the place of origin of the respondent, and Table 7.11 relates the opinions of management to job satisfaction.²⁸ From these it appears that opinions of management are independent of the place of origin of the employee and also of his attitude toward his job. The foreign born, who were excluded from the X^2 test, seem to have a higher opinion of management than those who have come from Viet Nam, but their numbers are too small to determine how valid this impression may be. In general, therefore, it would be safest to assume that the place of origin does not influence opinion of management to any major degree.

The failure to find any relation between job satisfaction and opinion of management appears contradictory at first, as it does in the specific case of Plant D, but it may also indicate that the two

²⁷The X^2 value for the data in Table 7.9 was 10.864, which is significant at a significance level of five percent.

²⁸The X^2 values for these tables were 1.924 and 1.775 respectively, neither of which was significant at a five percent level of significance. Because of the small numbers of replies in some cells of these tables, the data were regrouped. For Table 7.10, the categories used were "good," "fair," and "other responses," and replies by foreign born were excluded. For Table 7.11, the opinion of management was classified into "good," "fair," and "other responses", job satisfaction was classified into "present job most satisfactory" and "other responses."

attitudes are really separate, and that the questionnaire made it possible for the interviewees to distinguish between them. This latter interpretation is buttressed by the fact that opinion of management did seem significantly related to other means of classifying the workers.

Finally, a comparison was made between opinion of management and the length of time the employees had been in the plant, the data for which are shown in Appendix Table A-XX. No test of significance was made because many of the cells in this Table contained too few responses, and simple inspection does not uncover any special tendencies. Given the type of correlation which exists between other variables in this study, one would expect to find that the opinion of management would become more favorable the longer a worker had been employed by a firm. This does not seem to be true, however, for the percentage holding a "good" opinion of management fluctuates over time, and exhibits no noticeable tendency to increase as the length of employment increases.

Summarizing these findings, the opinion of management probably ranges from indifferent to fair if allowance is made for some overstatement of "good" opinions. However, the proportion of the sample who do hold "good" opinions is high, and not all of this can be due to fear of answering otherwise. Supporting this is the fact that opinions of management seem related to such variables as the particular plants in the sample, the level of job skills, and membership in trade unions, all of which seem plausible influencing factors. Place of origin and length of employment in a plant do not seem very important from this

TABLE 7.10

OPINION OF MANAGEMENT, BY PLACE OF ORIGIN

Opinion	Saigon & Suburbs		Other VN		Foreign		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Good	57	39.3	19	29.7	10	55.5	86	37.9
Indifferent	42	28.9	21	32.8	5	27.8	68	29.9
Fair	36	24.8	16	25.0	3	16.7	55	24.2
No opinion	6	4.2	5	7.8	-	--	11	4.8
Antagonistic	4	2.8	3	4.7	-	--	7	3.2
Total	145	100.0	64	100.0	18	100.0	227	100.0

standpoint. Finally, the worker's opinion of management does not seem to influence the degree of satisfaction he derives from his job, although it should be kept in mind that a high percentage probably get little or no satisfaction from their work.

The need for improvements in working conditions.— Since large proportions of the work force reported varying degrees of dissatisfaction or indifference with respect to both satisfaction from their jobs and opinion of management, the survey attempted to find which improvements the workers were most anxious to have made, or if they felt any improvement was needed at all. The replies to the latter question are shown in Table 7.12. Here the distribution between those who felt improvements are needed and those who did not, or who had no opinion, is approximately the same in percentage terms as the distribution of job satisfactions. Slightly more than half of those

TABLE 7.11

COMPARISON OF JOB SATISFACTION BY OPINION OF
MANAGEMENT¹

Opinion of Management	Job Satisfaction				
		Present job most satisfactory	No job has been satisfactory	Some previous job most satisfactory	Total
Good	No.	18	14	5	37
	%	48.7	37.8	13.5	100.0
Fair	No.	17	6	5	28
	%	60.7	21.4	17.9	100.0
Indifferent	No.	15	16	2	33
	%	45.4	48.5	6.1	100.0
No opinion	No.	3	2	1	6
	%	50.0	33.3	16.7	100.0
Antagonistic	No.	1	2	-	3
	%	33.3	66.7	-	100.0
Total	No.	54	40	13	107
	%	50.5	37.4	12.1	100.0

¹Replies tabulated only for those who have had previous employment.

interviewed agreed that some improvements were necessary, but there seemed to be no significant difference in the responses as between the different plants in the sample.²⁹ This suggests that the reaction to a question of this kind is more a state of mind than something related to explicit conditions in different plants. The plants differ

²⁹The X^2 value for the data in Table 7.12 is 1.825, or not significant at a significance level of five percent. This would be consistent with the hypothesis that the workers' feeling that improvements were needed is independent of the plants in which they work.

TABLE 7.12

THE NEED TO IMPROVE WORKING CONDITIONS,
BY PLANTS IN THE SAMPLE

Plant	Improvement needed		No improvement needed		No opinion	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Plant A	47	56.0	23	27.3	14	16.7
Plant B.....	16	45.7	15	42.9	4	11.4
Plant C	27	55.1	16	32.7	6	12.2
Plant D	28	47.5	19	32.2	12	20.3
Total	118	59.9	73	32.2	36	15.9

from one another in so many ways -- the kind of product, size of work force, nature of work, skill of work force, and so on -- that one would anticipate quite different problems in each of them, with the need to make improvements varying accordingly. A large part of the answer seems to be in the kind of improvements that the respondents had in mind.

Table 7.13 shows that an overwhelming majority of those who thought improvements of some kind were needed were thinking only of increased pay. This was less true for employees in Plant B, but the response is striking in all other plants. Such things as more vacation time, better health facilities or better working conditions do not seem very critical issues from the workers' standpoint. Other scattered replies, combined under the category of "other," included improvement of machinery, more stability, more personnel in the plant, and more education for employees, but none of these received any significant support.

The same kind of pattern is found if the suggested improvements are distributed according to the job skill of the employee suggesting the improvement (Appendix Table A-XXI). Here, however, there is a somewhat more pronounced tendency for the skilled workers to be less interested in improved pay than the unskilled, which would be consistent with the relative pay which the two groups receive.

To see to what extent those who feel improvements are needed are either dissatisfied with their work or have a low opinion of management, the attitudes of the group on these two questions were tabulated in Table 7.14 and 7.15. In both cases, the distribution of satisfaction

TABLE 7.13

SUGGESTED IMPROVEMENTS IN PLANTS, BY PLANTS IN THE
SAMPLE¹

Suggested improvements	Plant A		Plant B		Plant C		Plant D		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Better pay	37	78.7	9	56.2	20	74.1	24	85.8	90	76.3
Other	2	4.3	4	25.0	4	14.8	2	7.1	12	10.2
Better health program	2	4.3	3	18.8	3	11.1	2	7.1	10	8.5
Better working conditions	5	10.6	-	--	-	--	-	--	5	4.2
More vacation time	1	2.1	-	--	-	--	-	--	1	0.8
Total	47	100.0	16	100.0	27	100.0	28	100.0	118	100.0

¹ Replies tabulated only for those who stated improvements were needed.

and opinions follows closely the distribution registered for the sample of the work force as a whole. Thus, instead of finding that this group is dissatisfied with their work and/or has a low opinion of management, as one might expect, the results are quite the contrary. The view that a plant should introduce improvements seems independent of either of the other two attitudes.

These findings all seem to point to the conclusion that the members of the work force are not overly concerned with the working conditions in their factories, and that "improvement" to them is largely a matter of increased wages. No one thing -- job skills, place

of work, opinion of management, satisfaction with their work -- seems particularly related to the feeling that improvement is needed. Some simply hold this opinion; others do not. It therefore seems likely that the responses are less an articulation of deep-seated, long pondered grievances than they are the off-hand reactions of those who were willing to express a desire for better wages.

Plans for the future.--As a final measure of the adjustment process, the survey sought to determine what plans workers had for the future. If industrial work was unrewarding, in terms of either money income or job satisfaction, or if the employees harbored any desire to leave particular plants, the replies should show this in the plans they had for the future. Even if there was little hope that other opportunities might arise, or very little in the way of concrete plans for change, replies of "undecided" would indicate that adjustment to the job and the plant was not complete. Again, there was always the possibility that some workers might be reluctant to admit they would leave a job if they could, and consequently there is a possible bias in favor of answers that show an intention to stay in the same plant.

In general, the replies fell into two categories -- that the worker would stay with the factory as far as he knew, or that he was undecided. Only a very small percentage (6.2 percent) indicated they planned to change jobs at some future time. (Table 7.16) A majority planned to stay with the same employer, but over one-third (37.4 percent) reported they were undecided. This uncertainty could reflect dissatisfaction with the work or the conditions, but it could also be general uncertainty over the future. The people of Viet Nam,

TABLE 7.14

JOB SATISFACTION, BY EMPLOYEES WHO FEEL IMPROVEMENTS ARE NEEDED¹

Job satisfaction	Number	Percent
Present job most satisfactory	51	52.6
No job has been satisfactory	39	40.2
Some previous job most satisfactory	7	7.2
Total	97	100.0

¹ Replies tabulated only for those who felt improvements are needed and who have also held previous jobs.

TABLE 7.15

OPINION OF MANAGEMENT, BY EMPLOYEES WHO FEEL IMPROVEMENTS ARE NEEDED

Opinion	Number	Percent
Indifferent.....	47	39.8
Good.....	38	32.2
Fair.....	26	22.0
Antagonistic.....	5	4.3
No opinion.....	2	1.7
Total.....	118	100.0

TABLE 7.16

PLANS FOR THE FUTURE, BY PLANTS IN THE SAMPLE
AND FOR THE SAMPLE AS A WHOLE

Plans for future	Plant A		Plant B		Plant C		Plant D		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Stay with factory	39	46.4	18	51.4	27	55.1	44	74.6	128	56.4
Undecided	35	41.7	15	42.9	21	42.9	14	23.7	85	37.4
Change jobs	10	11.9	2	5.7	1	2.0	1	1.7	14	6.2
Total	84	100.0	35	100.0	49	100.0	59	100.0	227	100.0

undergoing the transition and strains they now face, have obvious reasons for the latter. Even allowing for this, however, the undecided must be regarded as not settled in some sense and to some degree.

According to the responses by plants, there is a significant difference in the way employees in the different plants regard the future.³⁰ For example, a higher proportion of the workers in Plant

³⁰In applying a X^2 test to the data in Table 7.16, replies of "change jobs" and "undecided" were grouped together under a single heading of "other plans." The X^2 value was 11.964, which is significant at a five percent level of significance. This would call for rejection of the hypothesis that plans for the future and place of work are independent of each other.

D plan to stay with the firm than in any other plant or for the sample as a whole. This would be consistent with the higher degree of satisfaction shown in Table 7.4 above, but less so with the low opinion held of management shown in Table 7.7. This provides some further support for the conclusion stated earlier that the opinion of management is largely an emotional reaction, possibly rooted in prejudice, and does not influence the satisfaction which workers get from their job or, in this case, their plans for the future. The other plants in the sample do not show much variation, with the possible exception of Plant A which has a higher proportion than the others of employees who seem to have definite plans to change jobs.

As a check on the consistency of the responses, the plans for the future were related to the satisfaction, or lack of it, workers get from their jobs. The result of this comparison, shown in Table 7.17, was that those who found their present job the most satisfactory also displayed a significantly greater intention to remain with their present employer.³¹ The opposite is also true, for the laborers who have never found any work satisfying are about equally divided, either content to stay where they are or undecided.

Three other factors which could possibly influence plans for the future -- income, age of the employee, and distance of residence from place of work -- were also considered, and the tabulations of responses for those are given in Appendix Tables A-XXII, A-XXIII, and A-XXIV respectively. None of these seemed particularly linked to plans for the future, although in individual cases they may

³¹Data from Table 7.17 were re-grouped as in the case of data from Table 7.16. The X^2 value was 9.674, which is significant at a five percent level of significance. This would call for rejection of the hypothesis that plans for the future and job satisfaction are independent of each other.

TABLE 7.17

COMPARISON OF PLANS FOR THE FUTURE, BY JOB SATISFACTION

Future plans	Present job most satisfactory		Some previous job most satisfactory		No job has been satisfactory		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Stay with factory	38	70.3	5	38.5	16	40.0	59	55.1
Undecided	14	26.0	8	61.5	18	45.0	40	38.7
Will change job	2	3.7	-	--	6	15.0	8	6.2
Total	54	100.0	13	100.0	40	100.0	107	100.0

be important. For example, one would expect that the lowest income groups would be the most mobile, but to some extent the opposite seems to be true. The same holds for age categories, where younger employees seem more inclined to stay with their firms than some of the middle-aged workers. It is unlikely that the percentage shown for any one income or age bracket is significant, but the lack of clear trend from one end of the range to the other is important. The one exception to this is that very high percentages of the oldest workers do plan to remain with their present firms.

The location of the residence of the employees was not an important factor affecting plans for the future.³² Those living far from

³²A χ^2 test of the data in Appendix Table AXXIV yields a value of 1.159, or not significant at a significance level of five percent. This would be consistent with the hypothesis that plans for the future and the distance from work to residence are independent of each other.

the factory show a slightly higher percentage who are undecided about their plans, but this difference is not significant.

A summary of conclusions with respect to adjustment.--With the many sources of possible bias which are present in this attempt to measure subjective attitudes toward work, toward management, and toward plans for the future, it would be foolhardy to draw many firm conclusions from the data available. Nevertheless, an image of sorts does emerge, and with all due respect to the limitations of the data and the analysis it can be sketched in some broad general terms.

For most workers, the attitude toward one's job is probably one of indifference. To them work is work, and one job is as good, or as bad, as any other. This is not fully reflected in the quantitative replies, which asked only for a comparison of job satisfactions, but was a common type of attitude expressed by workers at the time of the interview. They are not indifferent in their attitudes toward management, however, and significant differences of opinion arise according to the place of work, level of job skill, and trade union affiliation of the employee. Since this does not seem related to job satisfaction or any desire to see improvements made, it is therefore probably an emotional rather than a deliberative reaction. Furthermore, not all workers are willing or able to identify the kinds of improvements they would like their employers to make, and those who are ~~thank~~ mostly in terms of increased wages. A large proportion are undecided about their plans for the future, and an even larger percentage are probably content to remain at their present jobs and in their present status. In short, one does not get an impression

from the responses that the workers have well defined or articulated grievances, or that they have decided upon specific plans to improve their situation. This is not the same as saying they are content, or that they have no opinions or feelings about their position, but in the uncertainty and insecurity which permeates their environment the predominant attitude is one of fatalistic acceptance of what is, tinged with fleeting hopes that it may become somewhat better.

APPENDIX A

SOME NOTES ON METHOD AND INTERVIEW EXPERIENCE

Selection of interviewees.-- A roster of names on the payroll of each plant was provided by the managements, and from these every other name was selected in each section of each plant. One exception was Plant A, the largest of the four, and here every fourth name was chosen instead. The result was a sample, stratified by section, that was slightly less than half the total number of employees in all plants in the sample.

Managers and owners were also interviewed at length to get background information on the firms and their production and personnel problems. In addition, the firms arranged tours of inspection and made facilities available so that interviews could be conducted in quiet and privacy.

Pre-testing the questionnaire.-- An initial questionnaire was pretested in three plants, none of which were included in the final sample. As a result, the number of questions was reduced, and the questions were made more direct and less complicated than before. The pre-test showed that answers to open-ended questions were often vague, and the final questionnaire therefore provided more questions which offered a choice between a limited number of specific replies. Some questions on the expenditure of income had to be dropped because it developed that men usually have little knowledge of the amounts going into the most common household expenditures. There was also

a problem of terminology, for despite the care that went into the phrasing of questions in Vietnamese, they were not always understood. Accents and terms vary between regions of Viet Nam, and some interviewees did not speak Vietnamese well. This meant that the interviewers had to exercise judgment in asking the same question with different words, at the same time retaining the original meaning.

In its final form, the questionnaire required about thirty minutes to complete, with variations depending on the individual interviewee and the difficulty in communicating with him. Interviews were conducted in private -- neither representatives of management nor fellow employees were present during the questioning.

Interview techniques and interview problems.-- One of the main problems was to define and establish a role for the interviewers which the workers would understand and respect. Managements explained the project to their personnel directors and to the labor union representatives, and asked them to pass the word to the employees so that they would be prepared for possible questioning. Even so, the first few to be interviewed wanted to know such things as; "Who are you? What organization do you represent? What is the purpose of the interview? Why have you chosen me? What use are these detailed answers to you? Are you connected with the government? What help will you give us with our problems?"

The interviewers explained that they were making a study for a university, and were interested in learning about the lives and problems of workers in industry. They specifically denied that they

would help solve any problems, and warned against expecting any concrete results from the survey as such. Since both interviewers were women, they expected some negative reactions because of this, and, although, they did have some, this factor was not a major problem. It was possibly even an advantage in some respects. Being women, they appeared less threatening than men, and most workers readily accepted the explanation of their role and cooperated willingly. Women interviewees, in particular, responded well. In some instances, there was hostility to any kind of survey, but most of this was eventually overcome.

Since the interviewees were questioned at their place of work, they could not be detained too long. This would not only offend management, but in the case of workers paid on a piece-work basis would reduce income. Also, workers' spans of attention were often fairly short, and it was necessary to conclude the interview before they could grow tired and inattentive.

Even so, daily wage workers, on the whole, were more cooperative than the clerical employees. Once put at ease, the factory hands often took an interest in the study, asked numerous questions about it, and some who were not picked for interviews even asked to be included. Despite all efforts to the contrary, most came to regard the interviewers as "trouble shooters" who would solve problems or somehow help the employees. Clerical workers were more aloof, more condescending in manner, and cooperated only because they felt required to do so.

People coming from the north were more talkative than those from

the south and the center. This was even true for Chinese who had lived for a long time in the north. On the other hand, Chinese who come from the south rarely spoke fluent Vietnamese, and in a few cases the interviews had to be partially conducted through an interpreter.

APPENDIX B

QUESTIONNAIRE

I. PERSONAL BACKGROUND

1. Sex Male Female

2. Age

3. Birth place

- Saigon
- Suburbs of Saigon
- South Viet Nam
- Central Viet Nam
- North Viet Nam
- Foreign

4. If you are not from Saigon, when did you come to Saigon?

5. Marital status.

- Single
- Married
- Divorced
- Widowed

6. Does your husband or wife have a gainful occupation?

- Yes No

7. If yes:

- a) Name of firm -
- b) Monthly income

8. Number of children -

9. Educational background :

- Illiterate
- Knowledge of reading writing
- Elementary school
- Secondary school - 1st cycle
2nd cycle

10. What is your job in the factory?
- skilled
 - semi-skilled
 - unskilled
 - clerical
11. What is your monthly income?
12. Have you ever worked before coming to this factory?
- Yes No
13. If "yes", what kind of work Same
different
14. Reasons for which you have chosen this occupation.
- Because I like it
- Because I must earn my living
- Because one of my friends works in the factory
- Because one member of my family works in the factory

Living Conditions of Workers

1. Where do you live:
- At the factory
- Near the factory
- Far from the factory
2. How do you get to work?
- Walking
- By bicycle
- By bus
- Transportation provided for by the factory
3. What type of house do you live in?
- Thatch roof
- Tin roof
- Brick house
4. Is there any person living with you other than your immediate family:
- Yes No

5. If "yes", how many?

6. Who are they?

Parents (of wife, of husband)
 Brother & Sisters (of wife, of husband)
 Relatives (of wife, of husband)
 Friends

7. Do you own your house
 rent your house

Do you own your land
 rent your land

8. If you rent, then how much per month?

If you rent the land, how much per month?

9. Does your house have electricity?

Yes No

Running water?

Yes No

10. How much do you spend per month on:

- a. Food
 b. Drink
 c. Cigarettes
 d. Medicines
 e. Miscellaneous
 f. Do you take traditional medicine modern
 medicine
 g. How much illness have you and your family had
 in the past year?

a good deal

some

none

What kind of illness?

h. How often do you buy a new set of clothes?

11. Do you go to the movie?

Theater

Soccer game

Others

If "yes," how often in each case?

12. Do you belong to a Labor Union or any other employees' organization?

- a. Yes No
 b. If "yes", which one?
 c. How much are the membership dues per month?
 d. Do you attend meetings?

Yes No

If "yes," how often?

13. Has the Union protected you and improved your lot?

Yes No

If "yes," what has the Labor Union done?

14. Would you rather work here than returning to your place of origin?

Yes No

If "yes", why?

If "no", why?

15. Do you think it is necessary for the factory to improve job conditions?

Yes No

If "yes," in what respects:

- a. Better pay
 b. More vacation time
 c. Better health program
 d. Better working conditions
 e. Shorter working hours
 g. Others (specify)

III. ATTITUDES OF WORKERS

16. What is your opinion toward the management?

Good
 Fair
 Indifferent
 No opinion

17. What are your plans for the future?

- a. To stay with the factory
 b. To change your job
 c. Undecided

18. What is the most satisfying job you have held up to the present time?

Present job most satisfactory

Some previous job most satisfactory

No job has been satisfactory

Why?

APPENDIX

of

TABLES

TABLE A-I

AGE DISTRIBUTION OF THE WORK FORCE BY PLANTS
IN THE SAMPLE AND FOR SAMPLE AS A WHOLE

Age of employee	Plant A		Plant B		Plant C		Plant D		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Under 20	15	17.9	4	11.4	7	14.3	10	16.9	36	15.8
20 - 24	19	22.6	3	8.6	18	36.5	14	23.7	54	23.8
25 - 29	13	15.5	2	5.7	4	8.2	8	13.5	27	11.9
30 - 34	12	14.3	1	2.8	7	14.3	5	8.5	25	11.0
35 - 39	4	4.8	7	20.0	4	8.2	6	10.2	21	9.3
40 - 44	6	7.1	5	14.3	2	4.1	4	6.8	17	7.5
45 - 49	6	7.1	5	14.3	4	8.2	6	10.2	21	9.3
50 - 54	4	4.8	3	8.6	2	4.1	4	6.8	13	5.7
55 and over..	5	5.9	5	14.3	1	2.0	2	3.4	13	5.7
Total.....	84	100.0	35	100.0	49	100.0	59	100.0	227	100.0

TABLE A-II

FORMER OCCUPATION OF THOSE PREVIOUSLY EMPLOYED,
BY SEX OF INTERVIEWEE

Kind of Work	Male		Female		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Same kind of work	43	46.7	--	--	43	40.2
Different kind of work	49	53.3	15	100.0	64	59.8
Total.....	92	100.0	15	100.0	107	100.0

TABLE A-III
 LENGTH OF EMPLOYMENT BY LENGTH OF TIME IN SAIGON

		Length of Employment							
		Less than a year	1-2	3-4	5-6	7-8	9-10	11 & more	Total
2 years or less	No. %	-- --	9 100.0	-- --	-- --	-- --	-- --	-- --	9 100.0
3 - 4	No. %	2 11.2	8 44.4	8 44.4	-- --	-- --	-- --	-- --	18 100.0
5 - 6	No. %	-- --	1 25.0	1 25.0	2 50.0	-- --	-- --	-- --	4 100.0
7 - 8	No. %	1 8.3	3 25.0	-- --	3 25.0	5 41.7	-- --	-- --	12 100.0
9 - 10	No. %	2 16.7	3 25.0	3 25.0	-- --	-- --	4 33.0	-- --	12 100.0
11- 12	No. %	-- --	2 40.0	1 20.0	-- --	1 20.0	1 20.0	-- --	5 100.0
13 years or over	N. %	1 4.5	4 18.2	1 4.5	4 18.2	-- --	1 4.6	11 50.0	22 100.0
Total	No. %	6 7.3	30 36.6	14 17.1	9 11.0	6 7.3	6 7.3	11 13.4	82 100.0

TABLE A-IV
AGE DISTRIBUTION OF FEMALE EMPLOYEES,
BY MARITAL STATUS

Age	Single		Married		Divorced		Widowed		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Under 20 ...	14	42.4	2	7.1	--	--	--	--	16	22.5
20 - 24	13	39.4	10	35.7	1	16.7	--	--	24	33.8
25 - 29	4	12.1	3	10.7	4	66.6	1	25.0	12	16.9
30 - 34	2	6.1	4	14.3	--	--	--	--	6	8.5
35 - 39	--	--	1	3.6	1	16.7	1	25.0	3	4.2
40 - 44	--	--	1	3.6	--	--	1	25.0	2	2.8
45 - 49	--	--	5	17.8	--	--	1	25.0	6	8.5
50 - 54	--	--	1	3.6	--	--	--	--	1	1.4
55 and over	--	--	1	3.6	--	--	--	--	1	1.4
Total.....	33	100.0	28	100.0	6	100.0	4	100.0	71	100.0

TABLE A-V
 DOMICILE OF SINGLE PERSONS IN THE SAMPLE

Domicile	Number	Percent
Boarding	15	21.4
Living with own family.....	55	78.6
Total.....	70	100.0

TABLE A-VI

NUMBER OF PERSONS IN EXTENDED FAMILY DOMICILES
 OTHER THAN THE NUCLEAR FAMILY

Number of persons	Number of Domiciles	Percent
2 or less	43	62.3
3 - 4	11	15.9
5 - 6	6	8.7
7 - 8	6	8.7
9 or more	3	4.3
Total	69	99.9

TABLE A-VII

NUMBER OF PERSONS IN DOMICILES
OF MARRIED COUPLES

Number of persons in Domiciles	Number of Domiciles	Percent
Two persons	10	7.1
3 - 4	34	24.3
5 - 6	46	32.9
7 - 8	29	20.7
9 - 10	11	7.9
Over 10	10	7.1
Total	140	100.0

TABLE A-VIII

UTILITY SERVICE BY TYPE OF HOUSING AND TENURE CATEGORY

			Utility Service				
			Electricity only	Water only	Electricity & water	None	Total
Thatch Roof	Rental	No.	5	--	1	20	26
		%	19.2	--	3.9	76.9	100.0
	Owned	No.	5	--	1	82	88
		%	5.7	--	1.1	93.2	100.0
	Others ¹	No.	3	--	--	6	9
		%	42.9	--	--	57.1	100.0
Metal Roof	Rental	No.	2	1	--	10	13
		%	15.4	7.7	--	76.9	100.0
	Owned	No.	4	--	--	17	21
		%	19.1	--	--	80.9	100.0
	Others ¹	No.	8	--	6	4	18
		%	50.0	--	37.5	12.5	100.0
Tile Roof	Rental	No.	--	--	5	4	9
		%	--	--	55.6	44.4	100.0
	Owned	No.	5	--	5	11	21
		%	23.8	--	23.8	52.4	100.0
	Others ¹	No.	6	--	14	21	22
		%	27.0	--	63.0	10.0	100.0
	Total	No.	38	1	32	156	227
		%	16.7	0.5	14.1	68.7	100.0

¹ The category of "others" contains boarding houses and quarters furnished by the plant or the government.

TABLE A-IX

MONTHLY RENTALS OF LAND
 RESPONSES BY INTERVIEWEES RENTING RESIDENTIAL LAND

Monthly Rental (in \$VN)	Number	Percentage of Total
0 - 19\$VN.....	15	21.1
20 - 39\$VN.....	23	32.4
40 - 59\$VN.....	10	14.1
60 - 79\$VN.....	4	5.6
80 - 99\$VN.....	2	2.8
Over 99\$VN.....	8	11.3
Don't know.....	9	12.7
Total.....	71	100.0

TABLE A-X

MONTHLY RENTALS BY TYPE OF RENTAL HOUSING

Monthly Rental (in VN\$)	Thatch Roof		Metal Roof		Tile Roof		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Less than 124\$VN	5	19.2	3	23.1	1	11.1	9	18.7
125 - 174\$VN	-	-	-	-	2	22.2	2	4.2
175 - 224\$VN	9	34.6	1	7.7	-	-	10	20.8
225 - 274\$VN	2	7.7	-	-	-	-	2	4.2
275 - 324\$VN	3	11.6	1	7.7	1	11.1	5	10.4
325 - 374\$VN	-	-	1	7.7	-	-	1	2.1
375 and over	7	26.9	7	53.8	5	55.6	19	39.6
Total	26	100.0	13	100.0	9	100.0	48	100.0

TABLE A-XI

MEANS OF TRANSPORTATION TO WORK BY DISTANCE
OF RESIDENCE FROM FACTORY

Means of Transportation	At Factory		Near Factory		Far from Factory		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Walking	36	100.0	63	74.1	33	31.1	132	58.1
Bicycle			17	20.0	46	43.4	63	27.8
Bus					14	13.2	14	6.2
All other Transport ¹			5	5.9	13	12.3	18	7.9
Total.....	36	100.0	85	100.0	106	100.0	227	100.0

¹Including motor scooter, motor bike, boat, private car, train, factory car, and horse cart.

TABLE A-XII

FREQUENCY OF ATTENDANCE AT
MOVIES BY MOVIE GOERS

Attendance per month	Movie Goers	
	Number	Percent
2 times or less	61	79.2
3 - 5 times	13	16.9
6 - 8 times	3	3.9
Total	77	100.0

TABLE A-XIII

FAMILY HEALTH IN PREVIOUS YEAR, BY TYPE OF HOUSING

Health Condition	Thatch Roof		Metal Roof		Tile Roof		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Poor Health* (cause unspecified)	19	15.4	14	26.9	7	13.4	40	17.6
Cold	11	8.9	3	5.8	3	5.8	17	7.5
Cough	3	2.4	-	-	3	5.8	6	2.6
Fever	4	3.3	2	3.8	4	7.7	10	4.4
Malaria	12	9.8	4	7.7	1	1.9	17	7.5
Hepatitis ,.....	1	0.8	2	3.8	-	-	3	1.3
Tuberculosis	5	4.1	2	3.8	4	7.7	11	4.9
Stomach trouble and Appendicitis	5	4.1	1	1.9	4	7.7	10	4.4
Rhumatism.....	2	1.6	-	-	-	-	2	0.9
Heart trouble	5	4.1	5	9.7	3	5.8	13	5.7
No bad health	56	45.5	19	36.6	23	44.2	98	43.2
Total	123	100.0	52	100.0	52	100.0	227	100.0

*

Including small pox, insanity, high blood pressure, and eye trouble.

TABLE A-XIV

COMPARISON OF NATIVE-BORN ADULT POPULATION OF SAIGON
WITH WORK FORCE IN SAMPLE BY PLACE OF BIRTH

Origin	Census (%)	Sample (%)
South	35.2	21.0
Saigon	31.2	69.4
North	25.8	7.2
Central and P.M.S.	7.8	2.4
Total	100.0	100.0

TABLE A-XV

LENGTH OF TIME IN SAIGON, BY AGE OF INTERVIEWEE

	Length of time								
		2 years or less	3 - 4	5 - 6	7 - 8	9-10	11-12	13 or more	Total
24 or less	No.	4	7	1	1	4	2	1	20
	%	20.0	35.0	5.0	5.0	20.0	10.0	5.0	100.0
25 - 34	No.	2	5	3	3	2	2	1	18
	%	11.1	27.8	16.7	16.7	11.1	11.1	5.5	100.0
35 - 44	No.	--	3	--	6	3	--	9	21
	%	--	14.3	--	28.6	14.3	--	42.9	100.0
45 - 54	No.	3	2	--	1	3	1	7	17
	%	17.6	11.8	--	5.9	17.6	5.9	41.2	100.0
55 - 64	No.	--	1	--	1	--	--	3	5
	%	--	20.0	--	20.0	--	--	60.0	100.0
65 and over	No.	--	--	--	--	--	--	1	1
	%	--	--	--	--	--	--	100.0	100.0
Total	No.	9	18	4	12	12	5	22	82
	%	11.0	22.0	4.9	14.6	14.6	6.1	26.8	100.0

TABLE A-XVI
EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUND, BY PLACE OF BIRTH

		Educational Background				
		Illiterate	Some read- ing & writing	Elementary school	Secondary or beyond	Total
Saigon & Suburb	No.	29	67	41	8	145
	%	20.0	46.2	28.3	5.5	100.0
South VN	No.	5	15	15	9	44
	%	11.4	34.1	34.1	20.4	100.0
Central VN	No.	1	2	2	--	5
	%	20.0	40.0	40.0	--	100.0
North VN	No.	4	4	2	5	15
	%	26.7	26.7	13.3	33.3	100.0
Foreign	No.	15	3	--	--	18
	%	83.3	16.7	--	--	100.0
Total	No.	54	91	60	22	227
	%	23.8	40.1	26.4	9.7	100.0

TABLE A-XVII
LABOR UNION MEMBERSHIP, BY EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUND

Status	Illiterate		Some reading and writing		Elementary school		Secondary S. or higher		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Member	29	53.7	42	46.2	21	35.0	6	27.3	98	43.2
Non member..	25	46.3	49	53.8	39	65.0	16	72.7	129	56.8
Total...	54	100.0	91	100.0	60	100.0	22	100.0	227	100.0

TABLE A-XVIII

LABOR UNION MEMBERSHIP, BY LENGTH OF EMPLOYMENT IN PLANT

		Status		
		Member	Non member	Total
Less than 1 year	No.	5	12	17
	%	29.4	70.6	100.0
1 - 2 years	No.	39	32	71
	%	54.9	45.1	100.0
3 - 4 years	No.	19	21	40
	%	47.5	52.5	100.0
5 - 6 years	No.	8	16	24
	%	33.3	66.7	100.0
7 - 8 years	No.	14	14	28
	%	50.0	50.0	100.0
9 - 10 years	No.	4	13	17
	%	23.5	76.5	100.0
11 or more years	No.	9	21	30
	%	30.0	70.0	100.0
Total	No.	98	129	229
	%	43.2	56.8	100.0

TABLE A-XIX

FREQUENCY OF ATTENDANCE AT LABOR UNION MEETINGS
BY SEX OF UNION MEMBER

Attendance per month	Male		Female		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
No attendance..	13	22.0	8	20.5	21	21.4
Occasional.....	29	49.2	27	69.2	56	57.2
Once a month or more	17	28.8	4	10.3	21	21.4
Total.....	59	100.0	39	100.0	98	100.0

TABLE A-XX
 OPINION OF MANAGEMENT, BY LENGTH OF
 EMPLOYMENT IN PLANT

		Opinion					Total
		Good	Indifferent	Fair	No opinion	Anta- gonistic	
Less than one year	No. %	4 23.5	7 41.2	4 23.5	2 11.8	-- --	17 100.0
1 - 2	No. %	17 23.9	24 33.8	23 32.4	4 5.6	3 4.3	71 100.0
3 - 4	No. %	18 45.0	12 30.0	7 17.5	2 5.0	1 2.5	40 100.0
5 - 6	No. %	7 29.2	9 37.5	5 20.8	2 8.3	1 4.2	24 100.0
7 - 8	No. %	15 53.6	4 14.3	6 21.4	1 3.6	2 7.1	28 100.0
9 - 10	No. %	5 29.4	6 35.3	6 35.3	-- --	-- --	17 100.0
11 or more	No. %	20 66.7	6 20.0	4 13.3	-- --	-- --	30 100.0
Total	No. %	86 37.9	68 29.9	55 24.2	11 4.8	7 3.2	227 100.0

TABLE A-XXI
SUGGESTED IMPROVEMENTS IN PLANTS, BY JOB SKILLS¹

	Skilled		Semi-skilled		Unskilled		Clerical		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Better pay	22	59.4	19	73.1	49	94.2	-	-	90	76.3
Other.....	6	16.3	2	7.7	2	3.9	2	66.7	12	10.2
Better health program	5	13.5	4	15.4	1	1.9	-	-	10	8.5
Better working conditions.....	3	8.1	1	3.8	-	--	1	33.3	5	4.2
More vacation time.....	1	2.7	-	--	-	--	-	-	1	0.8
Total.....	37	100.0	26	100.0	52	100.0	3	100.0	118	100.0

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Replies tabulated only for those who stated improvements were needed.

TABLE A-XXII

PLANS FOR THE FUTURE, BY MONTHLY INCOME

	Plans for future				
	Stay with factory	Undecided	Change jobs	Total	
Less than 999\$VN %	62.3	29.5	8.2	100.0	
1000-1499\$VN %	52.6	41.0	6.4	100.0	
1500-1999\$VN %	73.1	26.9	-	100.0	
2000-2499\$VN %	51.9	44.4	3.7	100.0	
2500-2999\$VN %	46.2	53.8	-	100.0	
3000-3499\$VN %	60.0	40.0	-	100.0	
3500-3999\$VN %	14.3	71.4	14.3	100.0	
More than 4000\$VN %	60.0	20.0	20.0	100.0	
Total	No. %	128 56.4	85 37.4	14 6.2	227 100.0

TABLE A-XXIII

PLANS FOR FUTURE, BY AGE OF EMPLOYEE

		Plans for future			
		Stay with factory	Undecided	Change jobs	Total
Under 20	%	47.2	41.7	11.1	100.0
20 - 24	%	53.7	40.7	5.6	100.0
25 - 29	%	59.3	33.3	7.4	100.0
30 - 34	%	52.0	4.0	44.0	100.0
35 - 39	%	57.1	42.9	-	100.0
40 - 44	%	41.2	52.9	5.9	100.0
45 - 49	%	57.1	33.3	9.6	100.0
50 - 54	%	76.9	15.4	7.7	100.0
55 and over	%	84.6	15.4	-	100.0
Total	N %	127 55.9	86 37.9	14 6.2	227 100.0

TABLE A-XXIV

PLANS FOR FUTURE, BY DISTANCE OF RESIDENCE
FROM PLACE OF WORK

Plans for future	Location of Home							
	At Factory		Near Factory		Far from Factory		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Stay with factory	21	58.3	51	60.0	56	52.8	128	56.4
Undecided.....	12	33.3	28	32.9	45	42.5	85	37.4
Change jobs.....	3	8.4	6	7.1	5	4.7	14	6.2
Total	36	100.0	85	100.0	106	100.0	227	100.0