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APEC Regional Study on Gender and Globalization in Agriculture

*APEC Agriculture Technical Cooperation Working Group (ATCWG)
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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ADB	Asian Development Bank
AFTA	ASEAN Free Trade Agreement
CFAW	Committee for the Advancement of Women
CFAW-MARD	Committee for the Advancement of Women in MARD
CPRGS	Comprehensive Poverty Reduction and Growth Strategy
EU	European Union
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organization
FDI	Foreign Direct Investment
GAD	Gender and Development
GCOP	Government Committee on Organization and Personnel
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GSO	General Statistics Office
ILO	International Labor Organization
IMF	International Monetary Fund
LUCs	Land Use Certificates
MARD	Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development
MNE	Ministry of Resources and Environment
MOET	Ministry of Education & Training
MOLISA	Ministry of Labor, Invalids, and Social Affairs
MPI	Ministry of Planning and Investment
NCAFW	National Committee for the Advancement of Women
NGOs	Non Governmental Organizations
ODA	Official Development Assistance
PMU	Project Management Unit
POA/2	Plan of Action /2
PWU	Provincial Women's Union
SARD	Section of Agriculture & Rural Development (at district level)
SOEs	Stated Owned Enterprises
TNCs	Transitional Companies
UNDP	United Nations Development Program
USBTA	US-Vietnam Bilateral Trade Agreement
VBARD	Viet Nam Bank for Agriculture and Rural Development
VLSS93	Viet Nam Living Standards Survey, 1992/93
VLSS98	Viet Nam Living Standards Survey, 1997/98
VND	Vietnam Dong (Currency)
VWU	Viet Nam Women's Union
WB	World Bank
WID	Women in Development
WTO	World Trade Organization

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS	iii
TABLE OF CONTENTS	iv
LIST OF TABLES	
LIST OF FIGURES	

PART I

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background	1
1.2. Objectives of the Study	2
1.3. Literature Review of The Globalization, Gender in Agriculture	3
1.3.1 Concept of the Globalization.....	3
1.3.2 Gender in Agriculture in the Context of Globalization.....	9

PART II

STUDY ON GENDER, GLOBALIZATION IN AGRICULTURE OF VIETNAM

2.1. Introduction	11
2.1.1 Background	11
2.1.2. Objectives of the Study	112
2.1.3. Research Methodology.....	112
2.2. Gender in Agriculture and Rural Development in Vietnam	12
2.2.1 Status of Rural Women	13
2.2.2 Roles of Gender in Agriculture and Rural Development.....	13
2.2.2.1 Participation in the Administration of The local Authorities	13
2.2.3 Gender and Production Capacity.....	18
2.2.4 Access to Factors of Production.....	22
2.3. Gender in Agriculture and Rural Development in the Context of Globalization	28
2.3.1 Vietnam's Integration with the Global Economy	28
2.3.2 Legal System Supporting the Gender Issues.....	30
2.3.3 Impact of Trade Liberalization.....	31
2.3.4 Gender and Poverty Reduction	40
2.3.5 Negative Impacts.....	41
2.4. Conclusions	46

PART III

GLOBALIZATION AND GENDER IN THAILAND AGRICULTURE

3.1 Introduction	50
3.1.1 Background	50
3.1.2 Objectives of the Study	50
3.1.3 Research Methodology.....	51
3. 2. Literature Review of the Globalization and Agricultural Gender	52

3.2.1 Concept of Globalization	52
3.2.2 Gender in the Context of Globalization.....	52
3.3. Review of Agricultural Economics and Social Performance Related to Women in Thailand	53
3.3.1 Agricultural Policy and Plan Related to Women in Thailand.....	53
3.3.2 Gender Aspect in the Thai economy	55
3.3.3 Gender in Agricultural and Rural Development in Thailand.	60
3.4. Impact of Globalization	63
3.5. Summary and Recommendations	65
3.6 Conclusion	66

PART IV

REGIONAL RECOMMENDATIONS

4.1. Strengthening capacity of the recourse access through the interventions that are designed and implemented in a participatory, demand-based approach:	68
4.2. Continuing implementation process of policy and institutional changes and transforming social attitudes and narrowed down the negative impacts of the globalization.....	68

PART V ANNEX

GENDER AND COFFEE IN DAK LAK OF VIETNAM

5.1 Introduction of Vietnam Coffee production and market.....	70
5.2. Coffee production in Dak Lak province	71
5.2.1 Dak Lak Profiles.....	71
5.2.2 Coffee Production Development.....	71
5.2.3 Coffee-growing households	72
5.2.4 Gender Participation and Ethnic Minority in coffee production.....	72
5.2.5 Private middlemen and coffee export businesses.....	74
5.3. The impact of trade liberalization on coffee production in Dak Lak	74
5.3.1 The Positive impact on livelihoods	74
5.3.2 Negative Impacts.....	75
5.3.3 The impact on coffee monoculture households.....	81
5.3.4 The impact on diversified households.....	81
5.3.5 The impact on the poor.....	82
5.3.8 Changing income sources.....	83
5.4. Conclusion	84
REFERENCES	86

LIST OF TABLES

PART II

Table 2.1: Selected Gender Indicators in Agriculture and Rural Development.....	15
Table 2.2: Participation in Agriculture Self-employment Activities by Sex, 1998.....	17
Table 2.3: Gender labor division in a farm household in rice production (%).....	18
Table 2.4: Gender Division Labor in Varied Crops (%)	19
Table 2.5 : Percent of households who raised animals of different types	21
Table 2.6: Gender division of Labor in Livestock Maintenance and Aquaculture	21
Table 2.7: Difference between Male and Female headed registered of land use (%).	23
Table 2.8: Mean land area cultivated by male and female-operated farms (m ²).....	23
Table 2.9. Vietnam number of employed people aged 15 years and over by sectors	32
Table 2.10: Changes in Poverty by Socio-economic Characteristics.....	40
Table 2.11: Qualifications and Real Annual Wage Earnings by Sex, 1998.....	46

PART III

Table 3.1 Growth rate of the Thai economy.....	53
Table 3.2 Sectoral share of agriculture to GDP.....	54
Table 3.3 Population classified by sex, 1990-2003.....	55
Table 3.4 Labor force and employment classified by sex, 2000.....	55
Table 3.5 Labor participation rate by sex, 1990-2002.....	56
Table 3.6 Unemployment rate by sex, 1990-2002.	56
Table 3.7 Participation rate in labor force classified by age group and sex, 2000.....	57
Table 3.8 Proportion of employee classified by wage and monthly salary and sex, 2000..	57
Table 3.9 Proportion of employed population to total population by industry,1991 - 2000.	58
Table 3.10 Proportion of employees classified by wage and monthly salary and sex, 2000.	58
Table 3.11 Daily average wage rate in Agriculture and Non-agriculture	59
Table 3.12 Average number of years of enrolment classified by sex	59
Table 3.13 Percentage share of education.	60
Table 3.14 Percentage share of Education	60
Table 3.15 Agriculture population by sex	61
Table 3.16 Farm holding 2003	63
Table 3.17 Percentage Share of Trade to GDP, 1990-2002.	64

PART V

Table 5.1: Increasing yield, area and output of Dak Lak coffee, 1990-2000	71
Table 5.2: Gender divisions in work and decision-making in ethnic minority families	72
Table 5.3: Ownership of various assets by district (%).....	75
Table 5.4: Difficulties of households by district (%)	75
Table 5.5: Debt by household type and source (VND million).....	76
Table 5.6: Migration to Dak Lak, 1976-2000.....	79
Table 5.7: Differences between food-shortage and food-sufficient households	79
Table 5.8: Average area and age of coffee trees by district and household type	83
Table 5.9: Income from coffee and as a percentage of total household income by district and household type	83
Table 5.10: Agricultural land use by district (ha/household)	84

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 2.1: Women in People's Committees of Local Authorities	14
Figure 2.2: Gender Participate in Leaders of MARD.....	15
Figure 2.3: Mean farm profits per hectare cultivated – by gender of household head and farm operator	19
Figure 2.4: Mean farm profits per hour of family labor – by gender of household head and farm operator.....	20
Figure 2.5: Land area cultivated (hectares)	23
Figure 2.6: Source of Rural Loans	24
Figure 2.7: Gender balance Decision in Borrowing Loan.....	25
Figure 2.8: Gender in Purposes of Getting Loans	26
Figure 2.9: Gender Access to Extension and Training	27
Figure 2.10: NCFAW Structure	31
Figure 2.11: Employment Type by Sex in Agricultural Sector VLSS98.....	34
Figure 2.12: Sex Aggregation by Sector.....	36

PART I INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

Globalization has been the talk of the new millennium and the watchword of the 1990s for an important structural trend characterizing the dynamics of an evolving world economy. Globalization can be a powerful force for stimulating growth and development in the region, resulting in higher living standards and improved social well-being for our communities.

Globally, the increase in women's overall share of the labor force has been particularly marked in export-oriented sector, where women comprise as much as three-quarters of the labor workforce. However, vulnerabilities as women in rural areas (about two third of them at least) could not enjoy these benefits and have largely been kept at the margins. Therefore, we resolve to work to ensure that the challenges globalization presents for women, especially those who are living in rural areas and mostly engaged in agricultural activities, are properly dealt with and that the benefits of structural reform and a global marketplace reach all our communities, including the most disadvantaged groups.

In order to achieve fully benefits of economic integration and economic restructure brought about by the New Economy, all APEC member economies have recognized the need to eliminate gender inequalities in all aspects of social and economic life, the value of the multiple roles that women play in the economy as well as the double burden of paid and unpaid work on women's shoulder. APEC members have also recognized significant contribution of women in APEC economies and that society, as a whole, would gain from equal participation of both men and women in the policy and decision-making processes.

In the context of globalization, APEC's trade and investment liberalization efforts have resulted in strong regional economic growth and development. The regional growth has, in turn, enabled increased participation of women in all facets of the economic life in the region. APEC's experience demonstrates that globalization can be a positive driving-force to reduce poverty and improve the lives of women. However, the positive outcomes have not been evenly spread across all economic sectors. Much remains to be done to ensure that women reap the benefits of globalization and, particularly that rural women and women working in agriculture and traditional industries have access to the improvements of living standards as results from the comprehensive liberalization policies.

APEC urges member economies to consider the negative impact on rural women and their communities due to the high levels of agricultural protectionism and encourages its members to pay attention to women who are dislocated through structural changes required from the trade liberalization process.

Nevertheless, to date, gender dimension of trade liberalization and globalization has so far received little attention within APEC. An analysis and systematic research with concrete recommendations is needed to support APEC member economies to develop their gender sensitive policies in line with the APEC Gender Framework. Besides, it will assess the impacts of trade liberalization and globalization to women in agriculture, as well. In these regards, a policy study titled "*APEC Study on Globalization, Gender and Agriculture*" has been proposed by Vietnam under the framework of APEC Agricultural Technical Cooperation Working Group (ATCWG) to address some following concerns:

- What are the specific impacts of international economic integration and trade liberalization to gender within the framework of agriculture and rural development? For example, what is the impact of financial sector reform, liberalization of land market, commercialization of agriculture, promotion of export processing industries, reductions in tariff and non-tariff barriers, state own enterprise (SOE) reform, technology and information transfer. Those information will be gathered through surveys, literature reviews and analyzed in the study report outlining the main findings and the short-term indicators of success.
- In light of the above analysis, what policies and programs are necessary to ensure that the expected benefits are evenly distributed among various interest groups (men and women, regional, class, ethnic minorities...). The development of policy recommendations and programs will therefore be a short-term indicator of success, as well.

The Study is jointly conducted with the aims to analyze the practical situation of gender issues in agricultural and rural sector under the context of fast trade liberalization and provide sound policy recommendations so that gender will be properly taken into account while policies on economic integration being made.

This study considers the impacts of globalization, gender in agriculture in two developing member economies of APEC, i.e. Vietnam and Thailand. After the introduction section, the next section analyzes gender in Vietnamese agriculture and impact of globalization to gender in agriculture and rural development. Similarly, in the second part, an analysis of globalization and gender in Thailand agriculture is addressed. After those sections is the regional recommendations and awareness raising relating to gender in agriculture with the aims to support APEC member economies to well cope with the globalization. The final section presents a case study on globalization impacts to gender in coffee sub-sector of Vietnam.

1.2. Objectives of the Study

1.2.1 Overall Objective

The overall objective of this project is to increase understanding within the region of the opportunities and constraints women face in the context of globalization specifically with respect to agriculture and rural development with a view to developing recommendations for APEC economies. These recommendations will be aimed at assisting APEC members to develop gender sensitive policies and to implement the Gender Framework, specifically in relation to access to productive resources necessary to ensure women are able to increase their productivity and value added. Therefore, in the long-term the development of these recommendations and the implementation by governments and regional organizations will be an indication of success.

1.2.3 Specific Objectives:

- To understand and identify the differences of the gender aspects in agriculture among the selected APEC economies as Vietnam and Thailand;

- To analyze the gender specific opportunities and constraints in the context globalization, specifically with respect to access to input and output markets, financial services, technology, skills and information transfer in the area of agriculture and rural development in selected APEC economies.
- To make recommendations to the APEC economies to strengthen facilitate women's access to the relevant skills and resources for the promotion of gender equality in agriculture and rural development in the context of globalization and suggest appropriate policies to implement the Gender Framework.

1.3. Literature Review of The Globalization, Gender in Agriculture

Globalization is not a new phenomena but the process at this era has its own characters and contains really new issues such as new markets and agents; new regulations and standards, new facilities and instruments. The space is being narrowed down, time is shortened and the boundaries between nations are gradually eliminated, thus people all over the world can be communicated strongly and rapidly. Globalization segments the production, labor market, political institutions and the societies and therefore that process contains, in the one hand, positive impacts, reform and dynamic factors and in the other hand, negative impacts and erective factors.

This chapter is a brief literature review of the concept of globalization and gender in agriculture in context of globalization.

1.3.1 Concept of the Globalization

To date a series of the organizations and authors have given the conceptualization of globalization. According to Ali Taqi (1996), globalization means the increasing integration of national economies into a world market through trade, investment and other financial flows. Putting it another way, the increasingly intense and complex worldwide interchange of goods, services, finance, productivity and working people. Globalization is not a simple phenomenon and not only an economic process but it rather contains besides the new trends of economies also changes and redistribution of work and re-organization and relocation of enterprises (J. Rantanen, 2001). While there is no formal consensus on the definition of globalization, there is broad agreement that globalization is a form of accelerated transnational economic activity that finds expression in the increased movement of information, capital, goods and services (Bayan Tabbara, 2002). It is a dynamic process, rather than a phenomenon, that involves and transforms many aspects of financial, technological, economic, social, cultural and geopolitical activity. This process is being institutionalized by an international polity of openness and enforced by international agreements on trade, technology and capital movements whereby millions of decision makers influence prices and allocate resources, including labor, in a manner that erodes the control of national authorities.

Globalization generally refers to policies and trends associated with market liberalization. Such policies include reductions in tariff barriers, the reduction or elimination of restrictions on foreign investment, and the inclusion of services such as banking and insurance in trade regimes. As a result, foreign goods, services and investment have an increasing share in national economies. Investment has led to employment growth in some areas but also increased competition between local production and imports. Market

liberalization has coincided with advances in telecommunications technology, which together have facilitated the global mobility of capital. The ease of relocation of firms and investors has increased competitive pressures among countries and insecurity among workers. Increased integration into the global economy also has reduced the ability of national governments to act independently (J. Schalkwyk and Woronjuk, 1998).

Neo-liberal conceptualizations of globalization and the movement towards a single global economic system view this process as inevitable, and believe the impact on growth and development are overwhelmingly positive (Anker, 2002). To support their position, advocates often point to the successes of Asian countries, namely China, India, and Viet Nam. In addition, neo-liberal scholars offer evidence of: (1) substantial economic growth and increased economic freedoms that have emerged in response to effective macroeconomic policies; (2) significant advances in human development in the face of improved governance, technological innovation and the reduced costs of these technologies; and, (3) increasing international and institutional democratization (World Bank, 2001). Furthermore, when these scholars discuss the relationship between globalization, gender and health, they often describe a significant increase in women's participation in the paid labor force, shrinking gender gaps in wages, an overall decline in absolute poverty, significantly improved female education levels worldwide, and dramatic increases in women's life expectancy in many developing countries (World Bank, 2001).

Gendered Critiques

Gendered critiques of economic globalization and related macroeconomic reforms share many of these concerns; however, they introduce another layer to the analysis by explicitly examining the relationship between globalization, gender and other types of social stratification. These critics challenge the assumption that the contents of macroeconomic policies are 'gender-blind' or gender neutral'. Instead they argue that these policies are inherently social and thus have gendered impacts (Elson et al, 2000). For convenience, we have divided our discussion of this literature review into two broad categories. First, a review of challenges to the theoretical assumptions implicit in macroeconomic reforms associated with the current wave of globalization and espoused in the literature supporting these reforms. Second, scholarship that questions the measurements and outcomes associated with globalization, growth and development.

Globalization and Equality between Men and Women

In the future, instead of publishing Human Development Reports, the UNDP should publish "Globalization and Gender Inequality Report" to monitor and evaluate the impact of globalization on gender, race, and social class or poverty. It is important to recognize that the globalization program is increasing the gender inequality and class differentiation. The economic rich, although in small minority, are getting richer while the economic poor are getting poorer (Shiraz Ramji, 1997).

Recent studies show that export-orientation in developing countries creates in tandem with the increase in women's share of wage employment. 'In the contemporary era, no strong export performance in manufactures by any developing country has ever been secured without reliance on female labour' (Joeke, 1995).

In addition, increases in female employment through export-oriented production seem to be more common in the manufacturing sector and in semi-industrialized economies. By

contrast, although research is sparse, case studies suggest that trade liberalization in predominantly agricultural economies may disadvantage women compared to men, even when traditional export crop production increases. For example, in many sub-Saharan African countries, women are critical to food security, as they are typically small farmers or food crop producers. Trade reform tends to advantage large and medium producers, since small farmers, especially women, often lack access to credit, new technologies, marketing know-how etc. needed to take advantage of new markets.

Increasingly, women's share of wage employment in the export sector brought about by sectoral reallocation may not be sustainable over time. If the principal cause of the increase is the substitution of female workers for male workers in this sector, it could be expected to be sustained, leading to wage equalisation over time, albeit in a downward direction. If, however, as evidence seems to indicate, the increase occurs largely as a result of the expansion of sectors with predominantly female workers and a decline in sectors with predominantly male workers, it is unlikely to eliminate gender inequalities in wages and working conditions. It is significant that the increase in women's share of paid employment has taken place at a time when the power of workers generally has eroded, owing to increased capital mobility, greater flexibility due to technological innovation as well as labour market deregulation caused by the need to stay competitive in an era of intensified globalisation and market liberalisation.

Thus although trade liberalisation may advantage women in terms of employment, their "competitive advantage" as workers lies in their lower wages and inferior working conditions. Indeed, much of women's trade-related gains in employment have occurred in state promoted export processing zones (EPZs), which are exempt from local labour laws, and in the informal sector, where work is characterised by long hours, insecure employment, unhealthy conditions, low wages and often, sexual harassment.

Any assessment of the impact of trade liberalization on gender equality must look at its impact not only on women's paid employment opportunities, including wages and working conditions but also on the unpaid care economy. Researchers have long observed that increases in women's labor force participation are not accompanied by a commensurate reduction in their unpaid domestic work, as men have been reluctant to pick up the slack. Two outcomes are widely observed: either the provision of care is squeezed, and/or women's leisure time is reduced.

In addition, trade liberalization takes place as part of a package of market deregulation, privatization and fiscal austerity. Many governments lack the administrative and fiscal capacity to mitigate the negative social consequences of economic liberalization. First, market liberalization itself hampers the capacity of governments to provide services and/or safety nets for the most vulnerable by reducing state revenues. Moreover, in order to attract foreign capital, governments have been compelled to give tax breaks, shifting the burden of taxation from capital to labor in the world economy.

When public spending in social services, user fees are charged, the impact falls primarily on the poor, the majority of whom are women. Women bear a double burden in that not only do they lose services such as education, health care, clean water, and so on, but also they must increase their hours of unpaid household and care labor in order to make up for the shortfall.

The point is not only that some women lose while others gain from trade expansion. Rather, as gender inequalities are multidimensional, even women who may gain in one dimension, such as employment, may lose in another, such as leisure time. On the one hand, wage employment can potentially give them greater control over income and increase their status and bargaining power within households or communities. Further, increased control over income is likely to increase women's own well-being and that of their children. At the same time, women become incorporated into the paid workforce as "inferior" sellers of labor, reflecting both inter-class disadvantage vis-à-vis capital and intra-class disadvantage vis-à-vis male workers.

J. Schalkwyk and Woronjuk (1998) identified that globalization trends and related policies are often thought to be gender-neutral, which offer new opportunities as well as risks for both men and women. That is having similar impacts on women and men. However, a closer look at the way they affect people reveals significant gender-differentiated impacts.

Globalization also affects women who may not be integrated into the formal sector. Under the yoke of the SAPs that have been in vogue in most African countries since the early 1980s, women whose work is outside the arena of the globalized market in goods and services have been adversely affected. Rendered invisible by concepts such as "efficiency", "stabilization", and "cost-effectiveness", the labor of African women becomes the shock absorber of the processes of adjustment and the social costs that result there from. Unfortunately, the so-called social "safety nets" that have subsequently been introduced to "alleviate" the situation of these women have done little to fundamentally mitigate the crisis. There can be little doubt that the involvement of women in the elaboration of the regimes governing international trade, investment and finance has been rather abysmal. Indeed, women continue to be a grossly under-represented group within institutions such as WTO and the IMF, and even the World Bank.

Furthermore, the attempts to conduct gender-related analyses of the activities of such organizations have been few and far between - especially from within. Consequently, there is a very great need to "engender" the institutional frameworks within which the processes of globalization are being elaborated. Furthermore, there is an urgent need to conduct gender specific analyses of the impact of globalization in its trade, investment and financial aspects.

How do gender-differentiated effects arise?

Among the distinct groups of society upon whom impact of globalization has been most telling, women clearly stand out. Few observers will deny that the general issue of gender relations globally, and the question of women's human rights specifically, has undergone significant transformation. Spurred on by the various international conferences, declarations and, most significantly, by the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women, the respect for and recognition of women's human rights has made significant advances worldwide. Needless to say, while much has been achieved, there remains a considerable amount yet to be accomplished. The phenomenon of globalization adds greater complexities to this quest, particularly in the economic arena, but also within the context of culture and politics.

The gender-differentiated effects of globalization are associated with characteristics of society and the economy that reflect existing patterns of inequality between women and men, including:

Distribution of the labor force by sector: In most countries women and men are distributed differently across manufacturing sectors, between the formal and informal sectors, and within agriculture. The uneven impact of globalization by sector therefore has gender-based effects. These may include increased female employment in labor intensive manufacturing, increased male unemployment in formerly-protected industrial sectors, new opportunities for agricultural exports for farmers with resources to increase production (more likely to be men), etc.

Areas of comparative advantage: For many developing countries, an area of comparative advantage is low-wage labor-intensive employment such as garment manufacturing (in which women predominate). An export strategy based on low-wage female labor may increase the proportion of women in the labor force but also increase the overall wage gap between women and men and decrease the prospects for closing this gap.

Distribution of productive assets: The ability to benefit from new opportunities is related to access to productive assets – including education, skills, property, credit – to which women have less access than men.

Distribution of unpaid household labor between women and men: Women continue to carry a larger share than men of the work necessary to maintain families and the labor force. This necessary but unpaid work is generally taken for granted, with little attention to the impact of trade policy choices on workloads and economic opportunities.

Gender and Poverty

Women are more vulnerable to chronic poverty because of gender inequalities in the distribution of income, access to productive inputs such as credit, command over property or control over earned income, as well as gender biases in labor markets. Resource allocation is often gender-biased within households as well as in state and market institutions. It is often stated that labor is the poor most abundant asset. But women do not always have full control over their own labor or the income they earn. Men may forbid their wives from working outside the household or extract labor from women through actual or threatened violence, making it harder for women to *transform* their capabilities into incomes or well-being.

While gender inequalities reproduce the poverty of families, communities and nations from one generation to the next, they also have an impact on growth performance and therefore have direct and indirect consequences on poverty and poverty reduction. Gender inequalities mediate the relationship between macroeconomic and trade policies, on the one hand, and the outcomes of these policies, on the other.

What particular equality concerns have been raised?

Globalization can have positive as well as negative consequences. The challenge is to shape policies and processes so that they promote improved living standards and increased gender equality. Further monitoring and policy research on the impacts of globalization are necessary. Areas for attention include:

- Quality of jobs created. Many researches have been conducted to work out effective way to use human resources. The changing of labor pattern indicated that globalization led to feminization of the work-force. However the increasing

participation of woman did not mean the discrimination decrease. Women accounted for a large proportion in the sub-contracts with low wage and poor working conditions.

- Many new jobs in growth sectors have low wages, insecure tenure, and limited training or promotion prospects. These conditions may be exacerbated by the relaxation of labor standards (or reduced enforcement of standards) as a means to attract investment.
- Downward pressures on wages and working conditions where increasing numbers of workers must resort to lower-wage jobs and the informal sector. The increased uses of subcontracting and low rates of unionization also decrease the negotiating position of workers.
- Decreased state investment in social services. If decreased government revenues (with reduced tariffs and licensing fees) are compensated through decreased social services, women are more directly affected than men.

Constructive responses to equality concerns in globalization		
WHAT	WHY	HOW
Policy research on liberalization measures that support gender equality.	To increase the knowledge base on the potential to shape liberalization policies so that they support equality.	Support for research by governmental and non- governmental organizations on policy options related to the phasing of liberalization, the targeting of adjustment measures (retraining, access to technology, access to credit), the links between social investment and economic growth, etc.
Increased representation and more effective involvement of equality advocates in national and international trade policy discussions	To ensure that the concerns and views of equality advocates are represented and the issues debated.	Support for networking activities among organizations concerned with the impact of globalization on different social groups and the equality impacts of market liberalization. Also support for research and analysis to inform advocacy and the development of effective strategies for advocacy.
Capacity development for consistent application of a gender perspective to policy decision-relevant to making in all areas globalization, including macro-economic, trade, employment and adjustment policies.	To facilitate the development of policies those have positive impacts on gender equality (and to enable governments to fulfill commitments to mainstream a gender perspective in all policy decision-making).	Within governance and institution-strengthening initiatives, there are opportunities to build organizational capacity for applying gender equality perspectives to policy analysis and development. This could include strengthening data and information systems to generate sex-disaggregated data necessary for policy and planning; strengthening analytic skills of planners; modifying decision-making processes to require analysis of equality implications; and strengthening participatory mechanisms
Systematic monitoring of equity	To support more informed policy	Support for monitoring (data collection and analysis) by government and non-

Constructive responses to equality concerns in globalization		
WHAT	WHY	HOW
impacts.	development at the international, regional and national levels.	government organizations. Areas for monitoring include the implications for women and men of changes in employment, agricultural production, income, access to resources, workloads, health, etc.

Source: Cited from J. Schalkwyk and Woronjuk, 1998

1.3.2 Gender in Agriculture under the Context of Globalization

With globalization, agriculture is becoming more and more vertically integrated, coordinated and responsive to market forces. Agricultural policies in developing countries are becoming more oriented towards reliance on markets and private agents. Policies of economic liberalization and privatization aim at the creation of a macroeconomic environment favoring economic growth. While this is expected to bring widespread benefits in the long term, such policies are having negative impacts on small and poor farmers.

Also, many researches raised question as in the predominantly agricultural economies, can the association of trade liberalisation with an increase in rural/migrated women's share of wage employment in the export sector be expected to lead to higher incomes and greater empowerment for women, especially poor women? There are a number of reasons to be sceptical. Most importantly, even in economies where trade liberalisation is associated with an increase in women's share of wage employment, the sectoral reallocation of work creates both winners and losers among women as well as between women and men. If job losses are concentrated in the informal sector, in small firms, specially in rural areas and among low-skilled workers, while gains occur among skilled workers, poor women are likely to suffer disproportionately vis a vis less poor women as well as vis a vis men.

Moreover, even in cases where household income increases with increased production for export, the well-being of women and children may not improve. If the increase in family income is accompanied by a decrease in food crop production because women's labor is mobilized for cash crop production, the family nutritional intake might suffer while women's work burden increases. The problem lies not only in unequal resource control within households, but in institutionalized gender biases in both the state and the market.

Evidence suggests that in some countries there has been a shift from sustenance farming, which predominantly employs women-to cash cropping, which predominantly employs men. Challenges associated with work in this sector given this shift include long working hours; significant loss of income and/or potential earnings for women who are not legally permitted to own land and/or are unable to access credit and other productive resources; and increased competition among women in similar micro-enterprises who must sell goods in a flooded local/domestic market. Accordingly, 'many women are unable to reap the benefits of export based diversification' (Women's Edge, 2002).

The standard policy prescriptions for developing countries have been to liberalize trade and provide and provide incentive to produce for export. These policy trends may have serious implication for women in agriculture. With the movement towards liberalization and the resulting increase international trade, industrial development and the introduction

of advanced technology, the nature of agricultural sector as well as women's role in the sector is likely change. An accelerated shift from subsistence agricultural production to the growing of cash and export crops has a number of gender implications. On the other hand, introduction of new technology could allow farmers diversify and intensify their agricultural production, raising productivity and reducing their vulnerability to crop failure. However research in many countries shows that capital intensive mechanization of agriculture has resulted in the displacement of female labor, as men are preferred for operating agricultural machinery. The increasing new production methods through foreign investment is likely to displace traditional methods of production and land use, as well as small scale producers and traders, the majority of which are women. The implications of trade liberalization on women in agriculture should therefore be further explored and policy developed to address future needs of large portion of the labor force (Mia Huyn, 2000).

Market promotion policies often entail fiscal constraints. This often leads to reduced government spending on social services, and to increases reliance on private spending or provision. This has proven to have a regressive gender distributive effect because it disproportionately affects women. In addition the increased financial costs, reduced spending in education, health and childcare leads to increased workloads for women. Women must spend more hours in both productive work to earn more to pay for services, and in unpaid reproductive work, to compensate for the reduction in above services (Elson et al. 2000).

Adverse impacts of trade liberalization on women in agriculture can be counteracted by public policies which provide incentives to equalize men and women's access to productive resources using public expenditures and pricing mechanisms to promote investments in women's human capital through education and training, and access to financial services, re-distributive income policies, creating more labor intensive employment and instituting measures for social protection (Mia Huyn, 2000).

Economic policies that reduce inequality achieve more than promoting equity, which is itself an important policy objective. Promoting equity, as well as being a policy objective is also a means to increase efficiency and stimulate growth. There is growing body of evidence supporting the view that social disparities rather than being an inevitable side effect of globalization work against broad based growth and poverty reduction (Fritzen, 2000).

PART II

STUDY ON GENDER, GLOBALIZATION IN AGRICULTURE IN VIETNAM

2.1. Introduction

2.1.1 Background

Vietnam has experienced strong socio-economic development for over a decade since the renovation process began. Between 1991-2000, the country achieved an annual average GDP growth rate of 7,5% and the number of poor households was reduced from above 70% in 1990 to about 14.5% in 2002. The agricultural and forestry production value has grown by 5,4% in 2002. Revenues from agricultural, forestry and aquatic product exports increased to \$5.1 billion in 2002. The combination of state investments and national reform policies - particularly land reform - has led to broad based hunger eradication and poverty reduction in rural areas. The living standard of people living in rural areas, where most of the poor reside, has therefore been improved significantly.

During the economic reform process, farming households acquired increasingly greater rights and more important role of the self-administered economic unit. Households received right to long term use of land, the power to make decisions regarding labor division, production, trade and investment that were previously assigned to agricultural cooperatives. The household economy has played most important role in agricultural achievements.

However, the reform policies which aim to strengthen the household economy including allocation of agricultural and forestry land use rights, definition of the legal status and regulation of civil transactions related to common property of households, provision of credit to households, and delivering agricultural and forestry extension services and information often target to men as household heads in most cases. Men in rural areas, in reality, have therefore enjoyed many more fruits of empowerment in the economic reform process than women. As a result, most agricultural and forestry large scale farms have a male owner- manager. Very few women become owners of commercialised farms or enterprises in the rural areas although women started shifting to a market economy at a similar position as men. The number of women with good knowledge and production skills is also much fewer than men. The fact that women are lagging behind men in the renovation process not only influences the household economy directly but also creates an overall development constraint in the agricultural sector as compared to other sectors as women constitute more than a half of the agricultural labour force. Strengthening and building the capacity of rural women and empowering them equally mean overcoming the development constraints and developing the sector further.

As the process of international economic integration continues, Vietnam will need a more efficient agricultural sector in order to remain competitive. This will require faster progress through better use of abundant human resources. Greater efforts are required to develop the potential of rural women, assist them in quickly gaining capacity and confidence to play a key role in the sector and empower them to be effective and equal partners of men.

Under the framework of APEC Agricultural Technical Cooperation Working Group (ATCWG), the study on "Globalization and Gender in Agriculture and Rural Development" has been approved for implementation. The study aims to analyze the practical situation of gender issues in agricultural and rural sector in the context of fast

trade liberalization and to provide sound policy recommendations so that gender will be properly taken into account while policies on economic integration being made.

2.1.2. Objectives of the Study

This part of the Study aims to:

- Overview gender situation in agriculture in Vietnam under globalization conditions;
- Analyze gender specific opportunities and constraints in the area of agriculture and rural development in Vietnam.
- Be used as the base for formulating regional awareness raising recommendations in conformity with the APEC Gender Framework.

2.1.3. Research Methodology

It is a gender impact analysis, will be used a working definition of gender analysis is a diagnostic process used to assess differential impact of policies and programs on gender. These can be either positive or negative. Gender planning refers to the process of developing preventive measures to minimize anticipated negative impacts and capitalize on potential opportunities. The variables used for assessing gender impacts include the gender division of labor (resulting in vertical horizontal segregation in both the productive and the reproductive sphere), the levels of access and control over resources and benefits, and the level of influence and participation in decision making processes. The impacts in case of Vietnam can be seen as renovation process initiated in 1989 including institutional reform, trade liberalization and integrated in the world economy. Of which resulted great achievements to agriculture sector of Vietnam.

Impacts of trade liberalization will be forecasted basing on available data and information in the published reports or statistics, and also from researches carried out by the Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development of Vietnam (MARD). This will include a survey of findings of the projects undertaken, collection of sex-disaggregated data in these areas and a literature review of studies already carried out and the identification of areas/gaps where the new research needs to address.

The research was also conducted field survey in Dak Lak province. The field survey was focus on farm households, gender and coffee production. This will involve consultation with the major stakeholders, such as Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development, CFAW-MARD, and relevant agencies. In addition, the research consult with stakeholders as women and men in rural areas to find out the impacts of trade liberalisation, foreign direct investment and deregulation of markets on their livelihoods as well as to make sound recommendations to raise people's awareness

2.2. Gender in Agriculture and Rural Development in Vietnam

This section attempts to provide general gender issues in agriculture and rural development in Vietnam and an insight of gender status in rural areas, participation and production capacity as well as access to factors of production in agriculture and rural development.

2.2.1 Status of Rural Women

Viet Nam is still predominantly a rural society with majority of the population (76%) dependent upon the sector for socio-economic development. Two-thirds of them depend on farming for a living (UNDP Viet Nam, 1999). According to the General Statistics Office (GSO) (2002), 51% of the total population are women. Female workers account for 54% of the total agricultural workforce (MARD, 2003) in 1999 compared to 60% in 1989. Out of the female labor force, 68% (58% of male labor) are engaged in the agriculture sector compared to 73% (71% of male labor) in 1989. At the same time returns to women are less than for men for the same work, indicating an increased gender inequality in agriculture (ADB, 2003).

Decision making on the farm is largely the role of men, even in female-dominated areas such as irrigation. Women in rural areas are often not aware of their legal rights due to their low education levels compared to their urban counterparts) and lack of access to information (UNDP, 2003). An interesting finding of the Vietnam Living Standards Survey 1998 (VLSS98) was that in 27% of male headed households, women were found to be the decision makers. Nevertheless, it is men who have access to land, credit, and technical training because they are considered the head of the household (and work shorter hours than women). They work an average of 12.5 hours per day, and in the north, north-central and mountainous areas, rural women work an average of fourteen hours per day. If they are single this can increase to an average of sixteen hours per day (Tran and Le, 1997). The longer working hours of women leave them little time for to attend community meetings, listen to the radio or read books to increase their knowledge of their rights, and learn for agricultural extension skills and training courses. For example, even though women do as much of the work in cultivation (50.4% of total work) as men and more of the work in livestock maintenance (61.4% of total work), women comprise only 10% of participants in courses on cultivation and 25% in courses on animal husbandry. Very few agriculture extension officers are women.

Several rural studies in Vietnam indicated that women are often not visible as farmers (Hood, 2000), with many people making the assumption that only the man in the family is a farmer (UNDP, 2003). In the agricultural sector, the absence of women in macro and in local level policy and planning is conspicuous, and agricultural policy and resource allocations tend to ignore female needs, favoring for example, cash crops over subsistence, export crops over self sufficiency in food, cattle over small ruminants and poultry, raw materials production for factories over sustainable community and social forestry and capture fisheries over aquaculture (Hood, 2000).

In term of ethnic groups, the agriculture activities of ethnic minorities differ markedly from those of the Kinh. Many ethnic minority groups are engaged in shifting cultivation and some depend on hunting and gathering for their livelihood. Ethnic minority groups with limited access to the market economy resort to selling firewood and timber for building, which contributes to the environmental vulnerability caused by deforestation (ADB, 2003).

2.2.2 Roles of Gender in Agriculture and Rural Development

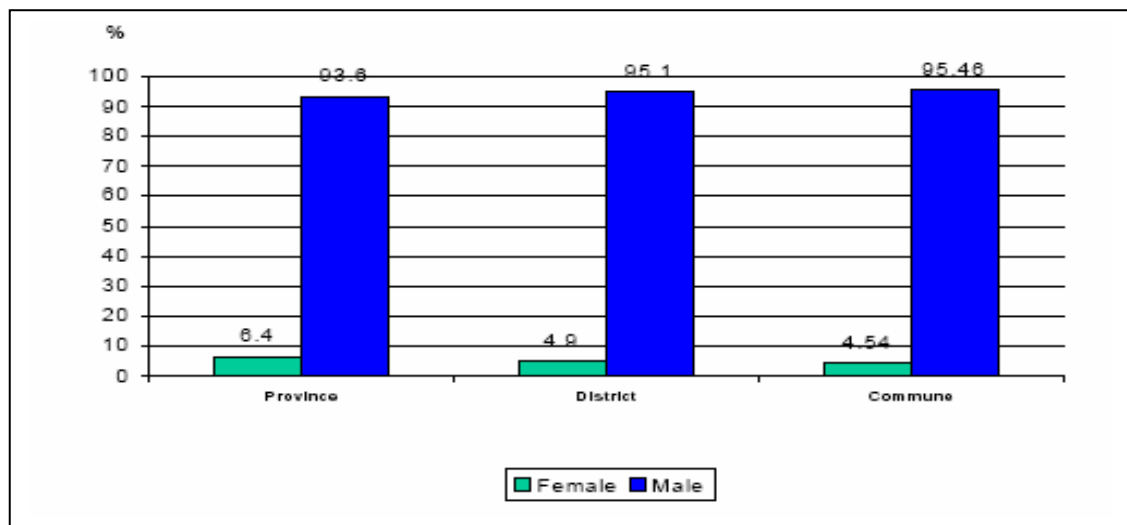
2.2.2.1 Participation in the Administration of The local Authorities

Within the administration of the Government, women in positions of power and decision-making may promote the formulation of policies to the benefit of women. The number of

women in key positions in the Central Government administration, and all local levels has increased slowly but remains low.

The rate of women in leadership positions in the People’s Committees, which administer policy and programs at local levels, is also low. An average of 5 to 7 percent of the People’s Committee members are women (Figure 2.1), and the rate of women Presidents of People’s Committees averages 1 to 3 percent at the Provincial/City, District/Quarter and Commune/Ward levels (GCOP, 1997).

Figure 2.1: Women in People's Committees of Local Authorities

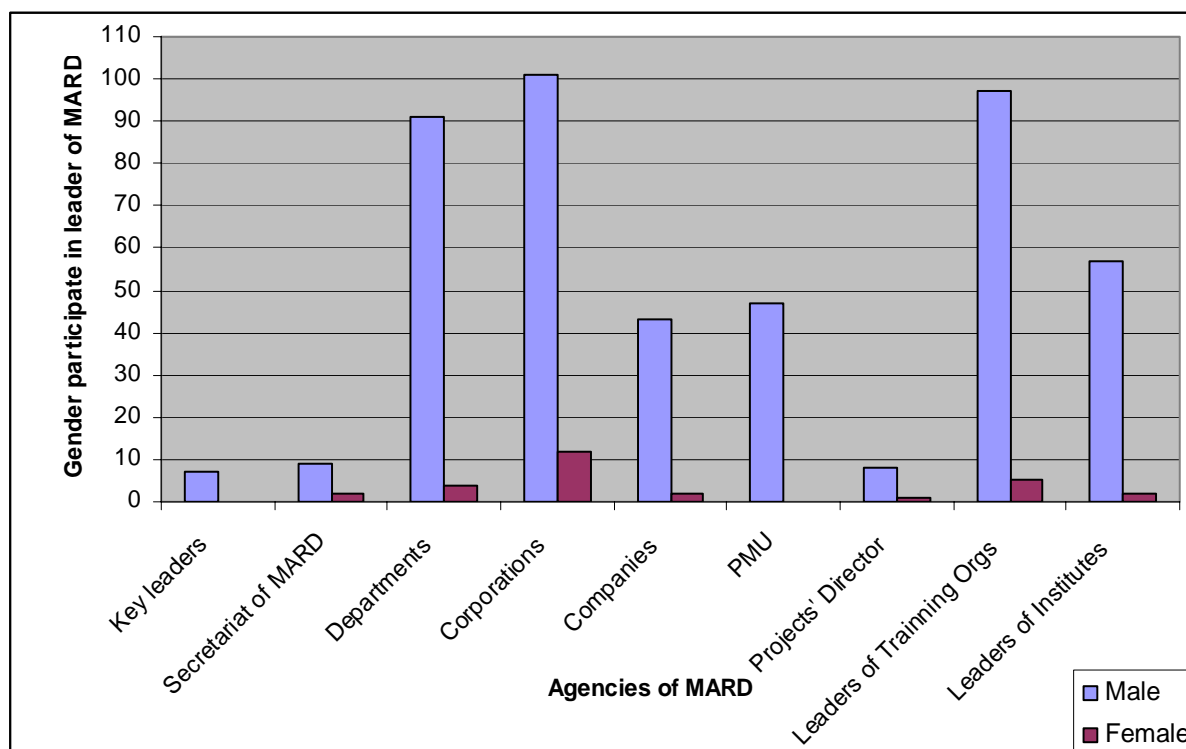


2.2.2.2 Women in Research and Advocacy in Rural Development and Agricultural Issue

The main involving in agriculture and rural issues as MARD, the ministry has with over 300,000 employees. It was created in 1995 by the amalgamation of three pre-existing ministries. MARD has undergone staffing cuts and organizational restructuring and continues to struggle with bureaucratic downsizing, decentralization and reorganization, including its role with the provincial DARDs (Department of Agriculture and Rural Development) and district level SARDs (Section of Agriculture and Rural Development). Each provincial DARD relies on MARD, albeit in a changing and perhaps declining manner, for technical input for agriculture and rural development services including extension, forestry, plant protection, water supply and sanitation, irrigation, veterinary services, etc

Women are significantly absent from MARD/DARD leadership and decision and policy-making levels. At national level, MARD’s leadership currently consists of the Minister and four male Vice Ministers. There is no female Director General of all departments (including both functional and administrative departments) and in the Central Ministry there are only five women at the Vice-Director level (CFAW-MARD, 2003).

Figure 2.2: Gender Participate in Leaders of MARD



Among the total employee of MARD, the proportion of female is only 39.9 percent while the rate of male is 60.1 percent respectively. Similarly, in all sub-sectors in agriculture and rural development sector, number women are normally lower than men. Specially, the large gap between male and female in extension services, the percentage of male extension workers is 72 percent while the figure of female is 28 percent (Table 2.1)

Table 2.1: Selected Gender Indicators in Agriculture and Rural Development

Indicators	Female	Male
1. Percentage of the total employees of MARD	39.9	60.1
- Agriculture	50.6	49.4
- Forestry	40.9	59.1
- Agro-processing	44.6	55.4
- Power, gas and water production and distribution	7.9	92.1
- Construction	9.4	90.6
- Trading	44.7	55.3
- Science and Technology	44.1	55.9
- Administrative Management	39.1	60.9
- Training and Education	38.5	61.5
- Extension Works	28.0	72.0
- Others	38.5	61.5
2. Rate of population form 15 years old and up participate in working in rural areas	49.5	50.5
3. Rate of Wage labor in agriculture (laborforce only)	1.7	98.3
4. Rate of educated labor force in rural areas	9.2	15.2
5. Rate of under-employment in total Economic Active Population from 15 years old up in rural areas	55.8	57.0

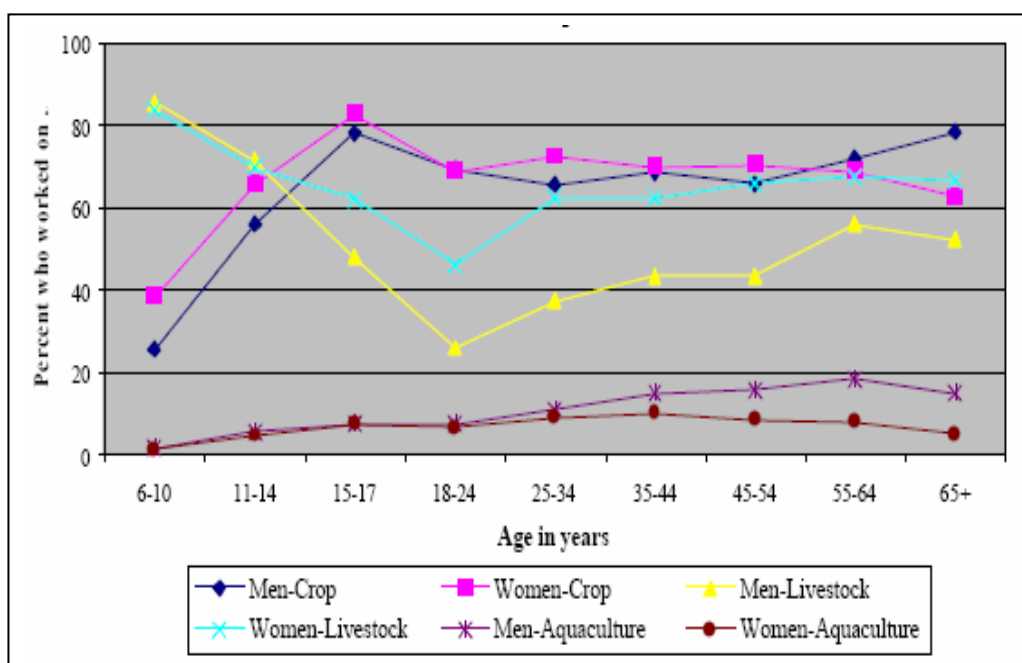
Indicators	Female	Male
6. Rate of unemployment in total Economic Active Population from 15 years old up in rural areas	1.0	0.9
7. Rate of using working time in rural areas	84.2	84.2
8. Number of schooling years of rural people (years)	5.1	6.2

Source: CFAW-MARD, 2003

2.2.2.3 Participation in agriculture

Activities in agricultural sector include crop production, livestock maintenance, aquaculture (i.e. raising fish, shrimp, etc.), forestry, agricultural processing and transport, and marketing of products of these activities. Data from the VLSS98 showed that more than 75 percent out of the total farm households receive income from crop cultivation, and 70 percent of them receiving income from livestock maintenance. The group of rural households engaged in and receiving income from aquaculture is 19 percent. These activities account for 80 percent of total employment in rural areas (Desai, 2000).

Figure 2.3 Participation of the labor force in crop production, livestock maintenance, and aquaculture



Source: Desai, 2001

Participation in the mentioned activities and contribution of labor time varies depending on the ages and gender in agricultural sector (Figure 2.3). In rural areas, even children in primary school ages also involve in the work of crop cultivation and livestock maintenance, contribution of the main income-earning activity. According to results of VLSS98, the percentage of those involve in livestock maintenance work though fairly significant percentages also work in crop cultivation. In the mature groups and gain physical strength, there is a shift - from livestock maintenance to crop cultivation – and the share of labor time spent on livestock maintenance drops (Figure 2.3). The proportion of men shifting away from livestock is much greater, with the result that during adulthood, while women are more likely to raise livestock and devote more time to it. Practically,

women between 25 and 55 are likely to spend almost 30 percent of their total labor effort in agricultural self-employment like livestock maintenance. In contrast, men spend less than 20 percent of their time in agricultural self-employment.

Most economically active women live in rural areas, and most self-employed women work in agriculture-related activities in the household. Of all women who worked during 1998, 78% (and 75% of men) were engaged in some forms of agriculture-related production as shown in Table 2.2 . In agriculture processing, women are involved in mulberry growing and sericulture, baking, and the production of dry rice noodles, dried fruits, herbal tea, sweets, and smoked meat.

Table 2.2: Participation in Agriculture Self-employment Activities by Sex, 1998

Type of Work	Female (% of Total Females Who worked in Last Year)	Male (% of Total Males Who Worked in Last Year)
Cultivation	70.5	68.0
Livestock	61.8	43.7
Aquaculture, Fisheries	8.2	12.0
Forestry	3.9	5.6
Agriculture Processing	2.5	2.1
Agriculture Product Selling	6.9	2.1
Any Type of Agriculture Self-Employment	77.6	74.8

Source; Desai, 2001

According to a draft gender research funded by the Danish Embassy, it is indicated that (i) Women are very active in agricultural production; (ii) Women are very active in doing non-farm activities however, those are closely or directly related to agriculture (such as on-farm activities: mushroom production; sericulture, rice cake making, noodle making, weaving....) in order to earn more extra income for their households; (iii) The time for rest and leisure of women is less than men one; (iv) Men's labor cost is higher than women one, in rural areas men labor cost is 15,000 VND per day while the rate of women is only 10,000 VND.

2.2.2.4 Labor Time in Agriculture and Rural Development

Normally, women spend almost twice as much time on production and reproduction work including household responsibilities. Hence, among all age groups, women may work up to twice as long as men and women represent the majority of all the people who work 51 to 60 hours per week, and over 61 hours per week. Moreover, women between the ages 10 and 65 spend more time in income-generating activities than men and studies have shown that rural women in rural Viet Nam are typically working about twelve to fifteen hours per day; on average, about six to eight hours longer than men per day. Specially, in the crop season, working hours of both men and women are increased in harvesting period such as harvesting rice, longan, litchi and other crops, a man spends only 30-60 minutes while a women spends more than 3-4 hours (MARD, 2001). There are significant negative consequences of such heavy labor burdens including health problems for women and their families, the lack of leisure time for social activities or participation in community. Women have to be responsible for both production and reproduction functions.

In other hand, the difference of gender labor time in agriculture is significant between male headed and female headed, women work longer hours in female-operated farm households, and what is interesting is that even though female-operated farm households have less labor resources and cultivate less land, they tend to cultivate land more intensively than male-operated farm households (Desai, 2001). According to VLSS98 showed that, female-operated farm households use 7,702 hours of family labor on each hectare of land they cultivate, but male-operated farm households use only 6415 hours of family labor respectively. There is an inverse relationship between land area cultivated and labor hours used to produce crops, so the observed gender difference is partially due to the fact that female-operated households cultivate less land. However, gender differences persist even after land size differences have been taken into account, suggesting that female-operated households cultivate land more intensively than their male counterparts.

2.2.3 Gender and Production Capacity

2.2.3.1 Gender in Crops Cultivation

Although, the roles of women and men are slightly different, but the characteristics of the labor of each gender are much different. Normally, men often gain more physically strength than women. They take charge of heavy works while women do easier ones despite longer time. Men are in charged of heavy works such as ploughing, harrowing, digging holes to plant litchi and longan, spraying pesticide.....The works taken by women are planting, transplanting, tending, weeding. Works such as harvesting, threshing, and looking after the crops are normally done by both men and women. Similarly, they both take care of the products marketing. However, women spend more time in the all activities than men, while men are more involved in the more technical and experienced works and mostly migrate or shift to looking for the non-farm activities (Table 2.3).

Table 2.3: Gender labor division in a farm household in rice production (%)

Activities	Husband	Wife
Land preparation	21.1	29.6
Planting, sowing	5.6	61.1
Crop tending	2.1	59.4
Watering ^{a/}	1.02	27.3
Preventing and combating crop diseases	36.0	29.1
Harvesting	5.9	32.6
Processing	5.2	50.8
Marketing	2.2	83.3
Purchase of supplies	8.3	74.0

Source: Nguyen Phuong Thao, 1997

a/:Vu Tuan Huy, 1999

The figures in other researches may have slightly different figures as those in Table 2.4 but they are also similar in terms of showing the more burden works of women in agriculture activities such as in industrial crops, fruits and vegetables production, harvesting, processing and marketing, excluding the proportion of men engaged in transporting industrial and fruit crops, which is higher than women (Table 2.4).

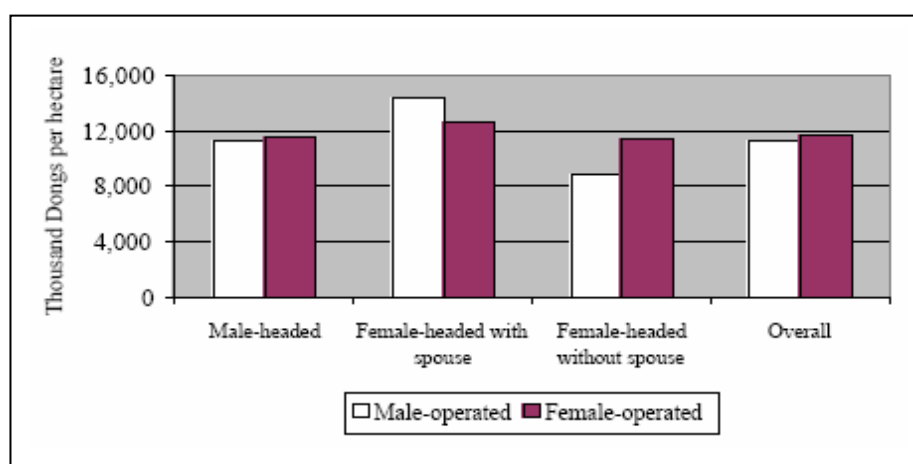
Table 2.4: Gender Division Labor in Varied Crops (%)

Activities	Industrial crops		Cereal crops and vegetables		Fruits	
	Women labor)	Men labor	Women labor	Men labor	Women labor	Men labor
Harvesting	26.8	17.7	51.1	8.9	24.1	19.3
Transporting	16.8	31.4	36.0	23.1	17.6	38.2
Preserving	25.5	23.6	61.6	8.3	18.2	27.3
Processing	17.6	23.5	73.6	4.6	31.6	31.6
Selling at home	52.6	8.2	70.7	5.3	38,3	15.0
Marketing market	56.2	14.6	85.8	5.7	69.2	15.4

Source: MARD, 2001: Gender Analysis in Post Harvest Technology.

The difference of individual practices in agricultural cultivation are mentioned above, the questions are raised on what and how gender difference between male and female headed in term of operated farms? In crop production, differences in the types of crops cultivated by male-operated and female-operated farms are relatively small but important nevertheless. Almost 90 percent of all farm households out of the 20 percent of female – headed in rural areas cultivate paddy rice, female-operated farms are more likely to grow other staple crops. Women-operated farms are more food security oriented, especially since they are also less likely to engage in the cultivation of industrial crops like cashew nut, peanuts, coffee, tea, etc. Differences in household labor resources, specifically the lack of active labor have a large bearing on crop selection, but these differences between male and female-operated farms are observed even within male and female-headed households. Practically, in terms of crop selection, female-operated farms are more oriented towards cultivating crops that meet household food security needs.

Figure 2.4: Mean farm profits per hectare cultivated – by gender of household head and farm operator

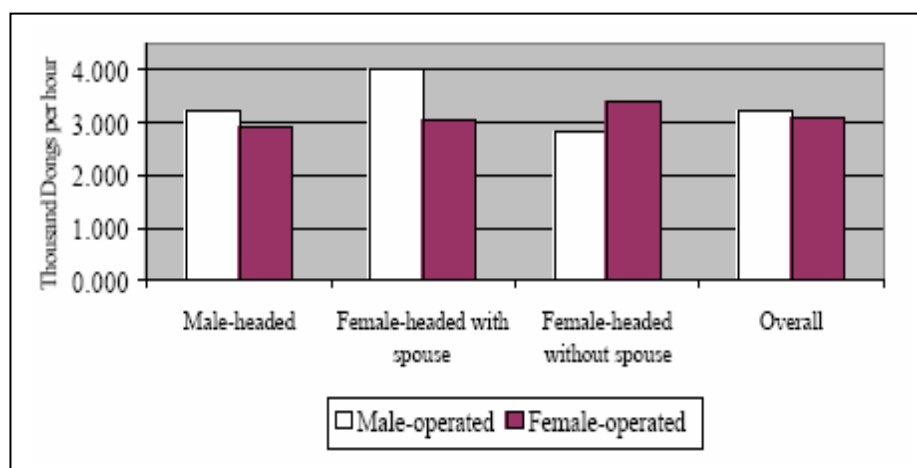


Profits from female-operated farms are only 62 percent compared to those of male-operated farms. In comparison with female-headed households, male-headed households have higher crop income, but even within male-headed households, the farm profits of female-operated farms are only 72 percent of those of male-operated farms. These

differences in farm profits are largely due to differences in the area of land cultivated by male operated farms and female-operated ones (Desai, 2001).

There are not only differences in cultivated land area but also farm profits per hectare of cultivated land. Figure 2.4 shows that mean profits of female-operated farms are 11,645,000 VND per-hectare, while those of male-operated farms are 11,303,000 VND per-hectare. In the light with the farm profits per ha, earnings of farm (farm profits) per hour of family labor used, these are higher in male-operated farms (Figure 2.4), but the difference is not statistically significant. These results suggest that there is no differences in resource-use efficiency and female-operated farms are able to generate the same level of earnings from each hectare of the land they use as well as each hour of their work effort (Desai, 2001).

Figure 2.5: Mean farm profits per hour of family labor – by gender of household head and farm operator



2.2.3.2 Gender in Livestock Maintenance and Aquaculture

a. Gender in Livestock Maintenance

Livestock maintenance is crucial activity in Vietnamese rural households, therefore, undoubtedly it is a more female-oriented activity. According to VLSS98, there were more than 80 percent of households raising some types of animal, the more common ones being small animals (pigs, goats, and deer) and poultry (chicken, ducks, and geese); only 36 percent of rural households raise large animals such as buffalo, cattle and horse (Table 2.5). Animals are raised for different purposes. Large animals like buffalo, cattle and horse are maintained largely for draught power, though their high market value also makes them excellent assets. Smaller animals like pigs, goats, and deer are raised primarily for generating cash incomes. As an income-generating activity and a means to accumulate assets that reduce vulnerability, raising animals is very important in rural areas (Desai, 2001).

Capacity livestock maintenance is also depending on having the necessary labor resources. Within households, females, of all ages, are more likely to take care of animals, and women's labor contributions make up, on average, 69 percent of the total labor effort of a household (Desai, 2001). Noteworthy, there are differences – in women's labor

contributions - across the country and between male and women - headed households (Table 2.5)

Table 2.5 : Percent of households who raised animals of different types

Gender of household head	Buffalo, cattle, horse	Pigs, goats, deer	Chicken, ducks, geese	Bees, Silk Worms	Other	Any animal
Male-headed	32.0	64.2	66.0	1.2	9.8	74.3
Female-headed with spouse in	16.9	44.0	44.7	0.6	5.8	53.1
Female-headed without spouse	15.8	45.7	47.9	0.5	5.6	56.8
Rural	35.6	72.6	75.9	1.3	11.0	84.3
Urban	3.3	16.7	13.7	0.1	1.6	22.0
Total	27.8	59.2	61.0	1.0	8.7	69.4

Source: Desai, 2001

The pattern of labor division in small livestock shows that most of livestock maintenance activities are done by women. Normally, men only involve in preparation of the infrastructure, equipment for animal husbandry as making cages and decision how farm household's capital be invested and used. In contrast, most of activities such as tending, cleaning, veterinary and selling are carried out by women, even including marketing of the livestock products (Table 2.6).

Table 2.6: Gender division of Labor in Livestock Maintenance and Aquaculture

Activities	Women labor (%)	Men labor (%)
Livestock maintenance	55.5	6.8
Of which: Selling at home	57.3	6.8
Selling at market	77.1	3.1
Aquaculture	63*	-

Source: MARD, 2001, Gender Analysis in Post Harvest Technology

* Le Thi, no date

b. Gender in aquaculture

Aquaculture is also widespread in Viet Nam, with both men and women active in different roles, there are about 19 percent of rural households engaged in aquaculture (Desai, 2001). VLSS98 showed that male engaged in aquaculture and fisheries is about 12 percent while the proportion of women is 8 percent. Women provide the labor for the feeding of fish on a daily basis and also dominate in small-scale processing, fish sauce production and marketing. The role of men focuses more on decision making in deciding the fish species, purchasing, netting and harvesting (FAO, 1997).

2.2.4 Access to Factors of Production

2.2.4.1 Access to Land

Land is a critical resource for rural women. First, land access is important for household food security and for market-oriented agricultural activities. Second, to a large extent land ownership determines access to credit. Land, as the key household asset for most rural people, is a crucial factor determining economic and social status (Action Aid 1999).

For farmer land is most important production resource, and access to the land largely determined by the productivity of farming enterprise. In Vietnam, in spite of well-defined allocation policies aimed at equal distribution of resources, female headed households do not have adequate access to this key resource (Hood, 2000; Tran Thi Que et al., 2000).

In general, women are in a poor legal and social position to influence decisions regarding land use. As heads of the household, men have the power to make decisions in most important matters such as land use and transfer, accessing credit, purchasing production tools, the division of labor within the family and the use of family income (Le Thi, 1998). In most households, men make the majority of the agricultural decisions (Desai, 1995). The head of the household, usually male, has dominant role in land use decision-making, and given that land is the household's most valuable asset, this results in men having more economic and legal power than other household members do.

Generally, in rural area, access and legal rights to land are determined by law and also by tradition (MARD-CFAW, 2002), both of which tend to favor men rather than women. Land is allocated to households rather than to individuals and title is granted to a single head of household. Tradition grants to the household –headed who are normally as the father and the husband, leaving wife and daughter no the legal rights to land. Disruption to the household, including divorce or separation, the death of a spouse, or the establishment of a separate household for a single woman or single mother put women in a vulnerable position. Traditionally, a woman is granted land rights only through her relationship to a man. Single women and female-heads of farm households are an exception to the rule, and legal and customary system tend not to work in their favor, or to allow them access to the same rights as male headed of farm households (Hood, 2000; Nguyen Nhat Tuyen, 1999). Notify, in practice, implementation of the allocation of land did not always result in equal access to land.

Regarding the distribution of total land area cultivated by households, it can be seen quite clearly that female-operated farms cultivate less land than male-operated ones, though even the latter have very small land holdings because of differences in adult labor resources, female-headed households, which are a large percentage of female operated farm households, have fewer adult males in the household (MARD-CFAW, 2002; Desai, 2001). Similarly, if a couple share family land and have no common land of their own, the women will receive no share of this land in the event of divorce. In addition, policy concerning the allocation and registration of land is administered inconsistently in different regions of the country and tend to be influenced by traditional attitudes, which men have more favor rights in their families. The gender study in post harvest technology of MARD (2001) showed that, in all types of registered land, men are absolutely dominant (Table 2.7).

Table 2.7: Differences between Male and Female headed registered of land use (%).

	Annual land	Perennial land	Hill/forest	Resident land	Water surface
Male	74.4	73.9	80.7	73.3	80.3
Female	25.6	26.1	19.3	26.7	19.7

Source: MARD, 2001 (Gender Analysis in Post Harvest Technology)

Data from the VLSS98 shows that the average Vietnamese household cultivates 7,024 square meters (0.7 hectare) and female-operated farms cultivate only 54 percent of the land area cultivated by a male-operated farm.

Table 2.8: Mean land area cultivated by male and female-operated farms (m²)

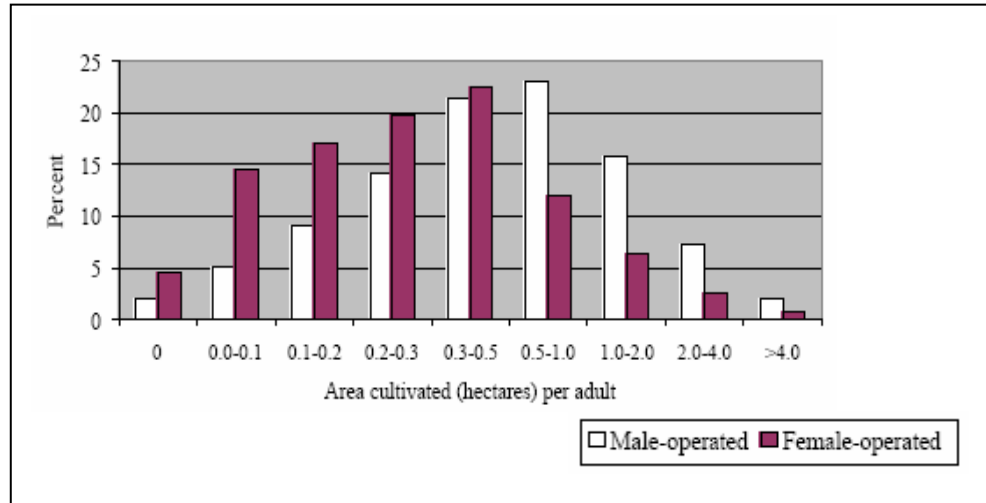
Gender of household head	Male-operated		Female-operated		Total	
	Total land cultivated	Land per adult	Total land cultivated	Land per adult	Total land cultivated	Land per adult
Male	8,627	3,106	5,066	1,957	7,669	2,797
Female with spouse in household	6,797	2,517	3,985	1,431	4,692	1,704
Female without spouse in household	9,384	2,958	4,128	2,004	4,773	2,121
<i>Regions</i>						
Northern Uplands	9,972	3,740	6,575	2,547	8,598	3,258
Red River Delta	3,033	1,242	2,448	1,080	2,732	1,159
North Central	7,124	2,824	4,020	1,685	5,653	2,284
Central Coast	6,193	2,187	3,164	1,423	5,109	1,914
Central Highlands	14,522	5,380	13,102	5,980	14,253	5,494
Southeast	14,624	4,935	8,510	3,467	12,689	4,471
Mekong Delta	10,804	3,531	5,735	2,350	9,450	3,216
Rural	8,834	3,166	4,940	2,036	7,346	2,734
Urban	5,113	1,886	2,002	928	3,397	1,357
Total	8,608	3,088	4,606	1,910	7,024	2,621

Source: Desai, 2001 and VLSS 1997 - 1998

Note: 10,000 sq. m. equal 1 hectare

However, even when these differences in adult labor resources are controlled, and land differences are compared in terms of per-adult land area cultivated, it is clear that female-operated farm households cultivate less land than their male counterparts (Figure 2.6).

Figure 2.6: Cultivated land area (hectares)

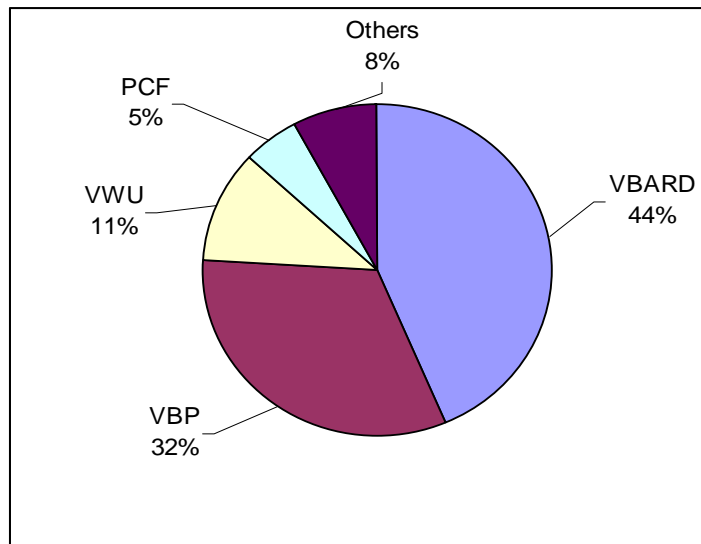


2.2.4.2 Access to Capital Resources

Lots of international researches found that providing women with greater access to savings institutions and credit will enhance their economic status and security, and help improve household welfare (World Bank, 2000). Thus, when women have access to credit, their social position within the family and the community tends to improve, and their role in decision-making tends to increase. Credit and savings are possible for a household to endure changes in income and costs, and to withstand crises. Credit also makes a household possible to expand production when regular income is so limited that it is very difficult to increase surplus.

In Viet Nam, a series of private, formal and informal institutions offer credit fund to rural households. Formal institutions include the Viet Nam Bank for Agriculture and Rural Development (VBARD), Viet Nam Bank for the Poor, People's Credit Fund, and informal funds of moneylenders, traders, and relatives (revolving credit funds). In rural areas, women tend to borrow from informal sources where interest rates are higher and funds are limited, whereas men more commonly borrow from government banks. Findings of the MARD study on Gender and Post harvest technology indicated that 44 percent of borrowers in rural areas are getting loan from VBARD, then more than one third receive from VBP and the rests are receiving from other sources as Women Union, People's Credit Fund etc... (Figure 2.7) According to MARD study, about 70 percent of farm households have borrowed loans. Among official credit and loan institutions, men represent majority of the borrowers (63.1%). Among loans made under the programs of the Viet Nam Bank for the Poor, men received 67.4 % of the loans - double the number of loans to women. Under VBARD's Creating Employment Program, men receive 58.3 % of credit while women receive only 41.7%. Among others, e.g. Trade Bank, Investment Bank etc., lending practices reveal that men receive more than triple the number of loans (73.1%) than women (22.6%). As a result, women tend to borrow from private, informal sources, often with significantly higher interest rates, and provide collateral for 27% of loans as opposed to 41% for men. The VLSS98 shows that women hold 41% of all loans but only 29% of loans from official sources.

Figure 2.7: Source of Rural Loans

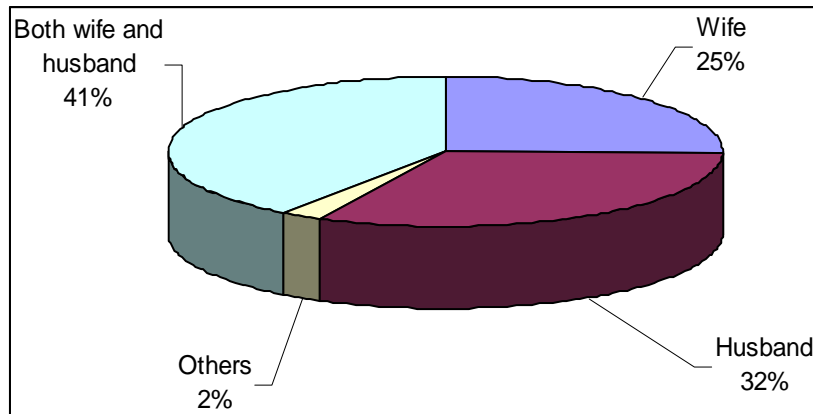


Access to credit is particularly difficult for the poor and for poor women in particular. Analysis of why women tend to borrow from informal sources is not conclusive. However, it is related to the limitation of one loan per family from formal sources, generally in the name of a male; impediments in the application process; and women's lack of skill and confidence in larger-scale entrepreneurial activities. Women's borrowing tends to be for small loans. The Vietnam Women's Union (VWU) manages a revolving credit scheme and makes low-interest loans available to women. Women borrow small amounts to buy chickens, piglets, and rice seed (ADB, 2003).

Among the rural formal credit system, VBARD is the largest institution providing loan for farm households with diversified amount of loans and period as well as methods of payment. Of the 4 million farmers borrowing from this bank each year, only 10% are women. Collateral is not required for loans of less than 5 million VND, but in practice staff require a property list and collateral trust from the chairperson of the commune's people's committee. If the borrower defaults, funds are taken from the commune budget. Female heads of household may experience more difficulty securing a loan if they are not influential in the commune. Divorced and separated women may experience opposition due to the social stigma. The People's Credit Fund also offers loans without collateral, but the interest is higher and the term is shorter than for VBARD. The Viet Nam Bank for the Poor is operated through VBARD but does not target women. International organizations, NGOs and mass organizations provide semi-formal sources of credit, and the informal sector, including, moneylenders, traders and relatives is very active. Women in Vietnam tend to face more difficulties than men in accessing formal credit sources, and predominate as borrowers in the informal sector, where they face higher interest rates and limited funds.

In other words, the decision in access credit is dominant by men in both borrowing and using loan. Only when women are able to access credit through specialized programs, then they can control loan funds. We can see the gender balance in decision making of borrowing loan in a farm household, it is found that percentage of male (32.1%) decision makers are higher than that of female (25.4%) (Figure 2.8).

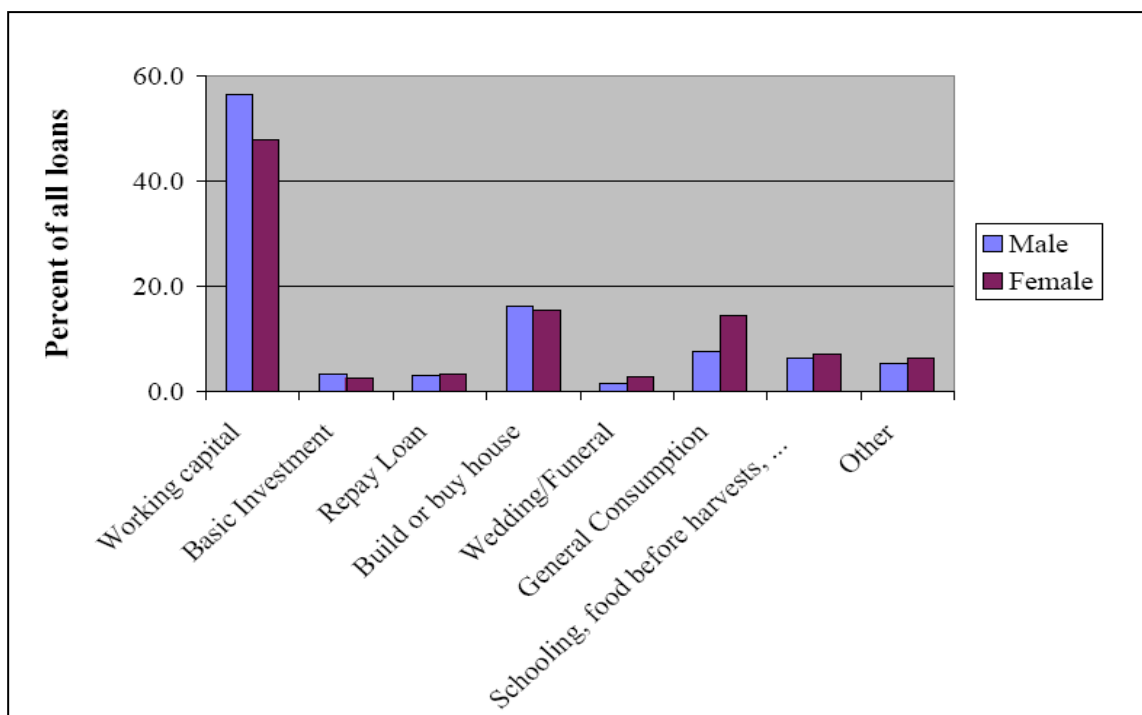
Figure 2.8: Gender balance Decision in Borrowing Loan



The main purposes of loan are used in investment to develop agricultural and forestry production (48.6%) and husbandry (32.4%) as well as promotion of non-farm activities. However, in the MARD study on gender and post harvest technology conducted in 7 regions of Vietnam, the findings are that very few households borrow loans for trading, doing business as well as services (only 1.9%).

Data from VLSS98 showed reasons to apply for a loan, including those that meet “joint” consumption or “jointly produced income” needs are most important. Among the purposes of loans, loan used as working capital needs are cited as the main reason for 53 percent of all loans, house purchase or construction for 16 percent, and general consumption for 10 percent of all loans. This is not to say that there are no differences related to individuals, however, loans undertaken by women are somewhat more likely to be used for general consumption. That said there are important differences in terms of the source of loans, the collateral requirements of loans, and the interest paid on them.

Figure 2.9: Gender in Purposes of Getting Loans



It is clear that the borrowing decision makers and the borrowers are mainly men, but users of loans are women, the investment areas are therefore limited. Practically, if we have a new mechanism enabling women to get access to funding sources, they will become genuine subjects in the household economic development process-by then, women will directly contribute to promoting the rural economy development.

2.2.4.3 Gender in Access to Extension Services

Extension and agricultural services enable farmers to make informed decisions about their production activities and to introduce new technologies. With access to research findings through training, farmers can make better use of existing resources. Improving the skills and knowledge of women farmers in animal husbandry and the cultivation of short-term crops is one of the key factors in increasing productivity and income. The provision of training in this area also has been shown to reduce the risk of livestock loss which can cause serious financial difficulties especially for poorer households (World Bank, 1999). Extension services can reduce the risk of crop failure and livestock epidemic (Vietnam: Attacking Poverty, 1999). In conjunction with credit, extension services enable farmer to diversify into new crops, breeds and new production approaches.

In the previous parts, we mentioned about more women than men involved in cultivation, animal husbandry, agricultural processing and selling of agricultural products. In the production of livestock such as pigs, chickens and ducks, women are responsible for almost all aspects of the process (MARD, 1998). Women also play an active role in the cultivation of rice and other short-term crops. In agricultural extension training, however, women participate far less often than men. While women represent more than half to three quarters of those raising livestock (depending on the region) they participated in only 20% of extension trainings. Similarly, though 80% of women are working in cultivation, they constitute only 10% of participants in related extension trainings (MARD- CFAW, 2004).

Figure 2.10: Gender Access to Extension and Training



Practically, demand of agricultural extension is high but the capacity to providing these services is limited to many farmers in Viet Nam. The training needs of women receive

even less attention, as agricultural extension tends to focus on areas of the sector and types of activities in which women are less likely to be involved. Design and implementation of service delivery in the MARD system does not take gender roles into account and the majority of civil service cadres at the local level are men who often identify the male head of the household as the target of extension services (MARD-CFAW, 2004). Livestock extension, for example, receives less attention than cultivation extension. In other words, the methodology also tends to neglect the low input and small-scale approach to agriculture, which is more common to women and poor farmers. There are lots of factors that are not taken into account when providing new varieties such as the availability of inputs to maintain such varieties, which poorer farmers and many women do not have.

In agro-forestry development, including effective management of forests, national programs aim to speed up natural regeneration activities as well as create concentrated raw material areas connected to the wood and non-timber products processing industries. Such activities also aim to generate employment opportunities, especially for mountainous people. However, current efforts to disseminate key information and education regarding forest management fail to target women, particularly ethnic minority women, as well as men (MARD-CFAW, 2003).

At macro level, the stipulation of the specific needs of female farmers is neglected or not mentioned, and gender concerns have not been integrated into the research, planning, or implementation of any official programs. There are inadequate numbers of agricultural workers and almost no women working in the field. Training for extension workers tends to be traditional with a technical orientation, and little attention to participatory methods or communication skills. Gender issues are not part of the training curriculum for extension workers. Agricultural extension training is usually not targeted at women farmers, especially poor women, and the VWU is often given the responsibility of providing agricultural extension to women, which further marginalizes women from mainstream agricultural extension activities. In addition, women have to perform their roles and responsibilities with limited access to agricultural training. They often have prior commitments to the daily household maintenance and income-generating tasks, which interfere with attending courses. Their participation in courses is also limited by the need to obtain approval from their husbands in order to attend, and the general understanding within the community as in society at large, that women farmers do not need or can not use new skills and knowledge in order to do their work.

2.3. Gender in Agriculture and Rural Development under the Context of Globalization

In the previous chapter, an overview of gender in agriculture and rural development in Vietnam is elaborated. This chapter will analyze the gender positive and negative impacts of globalization in agriculture in different aspects. The impacts are addressed in the perspectives of renovation process/ changing economic structure, trade liberalization, FDI, changing institutions etc. The effects are gender division of labor; access and control over resources (factors of production) and benefits; and participation in decision making...

2.3.1 Vietnam's Integration into the Global Economy

Until the end of the 1980s Vietnam was largely isolated from the capitalist world economy as a result first of war and then of US sanctions, and of its membership in the socialist bloc. The integration of Vietnam into the global economy began with the adoption of

renovation process “*Doi Moi*” in 1986, from the central planning system into the market oriented one. During this period, the government followed an inward-oriented development strategy. International trade was managed through agreements with foreign governments and the overall level of trade was low.

Vietnam became much more integrated into the global economy by strengthening trade promotion with the neighboring and regional countries such as Japan, Korea and OECD and NIC countries, which became increasingly important markets for Vietnamese exports during the 1990s.

The process to strengthen integration in the world economy of Vietnam in the 1990s is partly a reflection of the policies introduced to liberalize trade and promote foreign investment and the ending of the trade embargoes that limited trade during the 1980s. Trade liberalization began at the end of the 1980s. According to Rhys Jenkins (2003), the main elements as following:

- Liberalization of entry into international trading activities
- Removal of most export taxes
- Removal of non-tariff barriers
- Reductions in tariff levels and bands – maximum tariff reduced from 200% to 120% and the number of bands to 15
- Negotiation of various trade agreements – AFTA; agreement with Japan; agreement with EU (1992);
- Bilateral Trade Agreement with US (2000)
- Initiative joining WTO (2005)
- Measures to promote exports – import duty rebates; establishing export processing zones

Parallel with the trade liberalization and openness, Vietnam also focused on the attraction of foreign direct investment (FDI) through series of the legal documents supporting to FDI. In 1987, the first foreign investment law was passed. At the following years, the legislation on foreign investment has been revised four times in 1990, 1992, 1996 and 2000. These revisions have liberalized the original law in a number of ways. The ways of the promotion FDI are be listed as:

- Remove obstacles and difficulties for FDI enterprises to operate;
- Reduce risks for FDI enterprises in land clearance and shifted responsibility for compensation and land clearance from foreign partners to Vietnamese side;
- Allow FDI enterprises to mortgage their land use rights to borrow from credit organizations;
- Relax currency balance regulations on foreign invested enterprises;
- Give more autonomy to FDI enterprises and lessened issues that require consensus in the Management board;
- Allow investors more freely to change the investment form, re-organize enterprises, and transfer capital;
- Continue to improve procedures on government’s FDI management;
- Give more preferences to foreign investors, increasing the list subject to import tariff exemption and reduction, reduce profit transmittal tax rates from 10 percent, 7 percent and 5 percent to 7 percent, 5 percent, and 3 percent respectively; and,
- Allow 100 percent foreign owned enterprises and foreign partners in Business Contract Cooperation to carry forward losses.

As the reaction of the changing legal system, FDI inflows were rapidly increased in the 1990s except the downward trend in FDI following the impacts of the Asian Crisis. The FDI sector posted an average growth rate of 19 percent during 1994-1999 (Le Xuan Ba et al., 2003). Rhys Jenkins (2003) cited that FDI inflows rose to an average of over 9% of GDP between 1994 and 1997, the highest level in any developing and transition economy in this period. In agricultural sector, the FDI accounted for 12 % of the total number of projects and 6% of total FDI of the country. The main projects focus on agro-products processing, animal feed, livestock and forestation. With advanced technology and good management practice, FDI contributed to develop agriculture and increase export value. Despite its relative late-coming status with regard to foreign investment, the ratio of FDI stock to GDP in Vietnam was also high, especially compared to other low income countries. Foreign invested firms now play an important and growing role in the Vietnamese economy.

2.3.2 Legal System Supporting the Gender Issues

The Vietnam Communist Party defines *“The liberalization of women is closely link with the liberalization of the country and liberalization of the working class”*. The support of gender issue is more clearly in different legal documents. Since the foundation of the country, women are always stated in the Constitutions in the year of amended as 1946, 1959, 1980 and 1992.

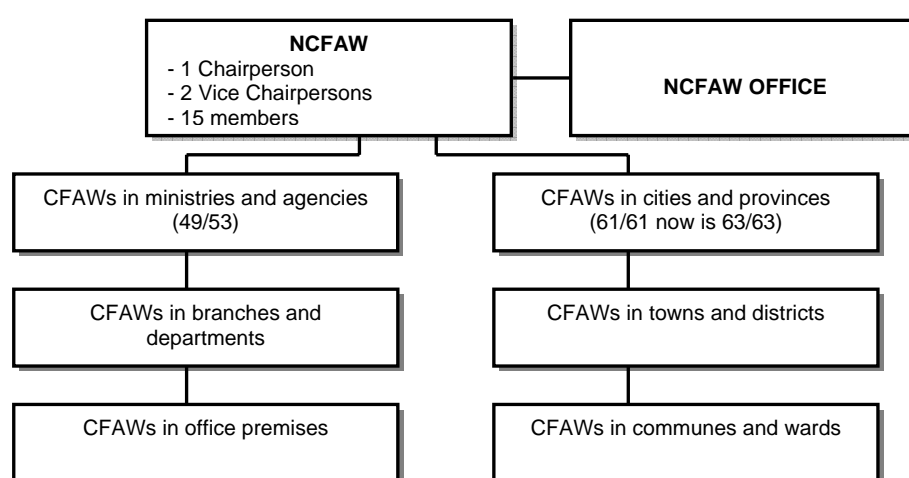
Especially the Article 63 of the Constitution in 1980 reconfirmed of the gender as *“Men and Women have equal rights in all respects: Political, Cultural, Social and Family life. The State and society are responsible for raising political, cultural, social scientific and professional standards of women and constantly promoting their role in society. The State and society ensure the development of maternity clinic, kindergartens, canteens and other social welfare facilities to create favorable conditions for women to work, study and rest”*. In addition in order to implement the statement in the Constitution, the resolution of the Vietnamese Communist Party Political Bureau in the previous period promoted that *“Improving women’s material and spiritual life, of enhancing women’s social status and realization of their right to equality. The Directive of the Party Central Committee designed to increase women’s participation in political leadership, states that all levels of the government and the Party should aim to have at least 20 percent of all positions held by women”*. *“It requires all branches of the State apparatus to improve their gender awareness, develop plans for training and restraining women cadres increase the number of women employees and formulate policies to develop women skills”*.

As stated by the Prime Minister in Announcement 207/TB/VPCP, dated 7 December 1999 *“Ministries, branches and people’s committees in provinces and cites directly under the central authorities need to integrate gender issues in the national economic development plan and overall socio-economic development plan for the period from 2001 to 2010”*.

Continuing the renovation process and integration into the world, Vietnam gradually changes policies and institutional system, the Government has adopted a Gender Strategy and National Plan of Action for the Advancement of Women 2001–2005 (POA), which is the most important gender-specific planning document. The Plan outlines 6 objectives and activities in the areas of employment and economic status for women, education and training, health, leadership and decision making, women’s rights, and strengthening the national machinery. The recommendations for POA include an additional section strengthening the role and function of the national machinery, understood as National Committee for the Advancement Women (NCFAW) and the Vietnam Women’s Union

(VWU). Each ministry and province has a Committee for the Advancement of Women (CAFW), responsibility and accountability for implementation of gender sensitive policies on the appropriate line ministries and other government bodies. Ideally, POA will be integrated into the Comprehensive Poverty Reduction and Growth Strategy (CPRGS), as well as the Government's sector specific strategies dealing with economic management, rural development, human development, and governance and public administration reform. NCAFW-CAFW network will require strengthening in terms its capacity to coordinate and evaluate the implementation of POA. The network are promoting establishment in the national wide according to the Figure 2.11.

Figure 2.11: NCAFW Structure



Source: CFAW-MARD, 2003

Continuing the implement POA, the Prime Minister approved the Decision No.19/2002/QD-TTg, dated 21st January, the gender equality objectives of the National Strategy for the Advancement of Women to the year 2010. In order to implement the Decision No.19/2002/QD-TTg, the Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development (MARD) formulated the Gender Strategy for Agriculture & Rural Development in the period 2001-2010 with the aims to further strengthen MARD's ability to contribute to the achievement of gender equality in agriculture and rural development.

In addition, the Viet Nam Women Union (VWU), a mass organization with more than 11 million members, operates at the commune, district, provincial, and national level. The VWU is currently taking responsibility for addressing women's needs in arrange of sector. In addition to its mandate of raising awareness and advocacy at the grassroots level, the VWU has involved more in implementing programs and projects targeting to women.

2.3.3 Impact of Trade Liberalization

2.3.3.1 More opportunities in formal and non-formal employment

In the previous section, we mentioned about trade liberalization and FDI. In order to understand the impacts of these issues, it is necessary to identify opportunities and constraints for agricultural sector, and gender related issues under the conditions of free

trade. Many researches indicated that so far there are no comparison studies on gender impacts of FDI between agricultural export and manufacturing export. Therefore, there is not enough data to clear cut the gender issue in general and in the agriculture sector in particular.

As mentioned in previous section, Vietnam's trade underwent major changes in the 1990s, both in terms of the rapid growth of exports and the changes in the country's major trading partners. Another feature of the changing pattern of foreign trade was the increasing share of agro-processing and manufactured goods within total exports. In the 1980s Vietnam's exports of manufactures were overwhelmingly of agro-products. The 1990s however have seen a major growth of exports from unskilled labor intensive sectors, predominantly garments and footwear, while the major export agro-products as rice, coffee, cashew nut, rubber, tea, pepper, seafood and handicrafts.... By the late 1990s these accounted for almost 60% of the country's manufactured exports, compared to only 10% in the early 1980s. However, the share of human capital intensive exports also increased during the 1990s but from a very low base (Rhys Jenkins, 2002).

Trade liberalization has resulted in a rapid growth of exports in the 1990s, which have had a major impact in terms of employment since exports were so heavily concentrated in labor-intensive sectors, both agricultural and manufactured products, which have employed mostly young relatively educated female workers in the rural areas. These trend will affect women differently depending on which sector affected. In the case of Vietnam, women are concentrated in light manufacturing as opposed to heavy industry or construction, which are male dominated:

Pursuing the export-oriented policy, the comparative advantage effect here is positive since Vietnam will tend to have a high export share in labor-intensive industries, they are forced to become more efficient to compete on international markets with a likely negative effect on employment at a given level of output. This indicated by the case of the agro products and other manufactured such as garment and food wear etc, has contributed to create more wage employment and non-wage employment for a young cohort of women for whom options are few and far between in the countryside, thereby reducing rural underemployment or unemployment contribute to poverty reduction by providing a route out of farming. Table 2.9 shows the increasing of employment of the country during the past in different economic sectors.

Table 2.9. Number of employed people of 15 years' age and over by sectors

Unit: thousand of people

	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000
Total	33,978	34,352	34,801	35,680	36,205
State	2,973	3,094	3,533	3,606	3,644
Non state	31,005	31,128	31,083	31,884	32,343
Foreign investment		130	184	190	218

Statistical Data of Vietnam Labor Employment 1996-2000, 2001.

The last period experiences the increase in exports, which provides 700,000 additional employment. Half a million new employment were generated by the growth of domestic demand, but increased import penetration during the period led to an estimated loss of almost a quarter million jobs. This indicates that the net effect of trade, both through increased exports and import penetration was somewhat under half a million extra jobs or

around 100,000 new jobs a year. Finally increased productivity (in terms of the output per person employed) led to a reduction in employment of more than 600,000 jobs, giving a net increase in total of 350,000 (Le Xuan Ba et al., 2002).

However, in Vietnam, wage employment is the main form of employment for about 40 percent of all labor force, it can be considered as a relatively positive indicator of labor-market change, especially of change in rural areas. According to the World Bank estimates based on VLSS93 and VLSS98 (World Bank, 2000), wage employment has grown by 3.5 percent annually for the country, and by 3.3 percent for rural areas. Of which the growth coming in the formal sector: wage employment in industry has increased by 4.5 percent per annum, and that in services has grown by 7 percent per annum. This can be seen as an encouraging signal, if we take into account that wage employment as such was almost non-existent during the previous decade in the Vietnamese countryside.

NCFAW (2001) indicated that as Viet Nam will industrialize and modernize, the share of wage employment will increase and that of the other two forms of employment will go down. Of all wage jobs, roughly 41 percent are in the state-owned sector, and 50 percent are in the private sector and the rest is fell in the foreign investment sector. Formal sector jobs usually offer the best level of earnings and benefits within the economy. In some areas of the sector such as non-state-owned manufacturing, women play a dominant role. In fact, some of the foreign invested labor-intensive export-oriented sectors (garments, shoes, food processing), which have grown significantly under “*Doi Moi*”, have primarily created employment for young women. The positive impacts of this development on the economic status of these women, their status in the family, their technical qualifications should not be under-emphasized. This development is also creating extra incentives for parents to educate their girl children.

The “open door” policy has brought to Vietnam a foreign invested sector. Though employment in this sector is not much in compared with other economic sectors in the economy, the sector has an important role for the Vietnamese government in tackling its unemployment issue. Total employment in firms with foreign investment increased from 146,000 in 1996 to 353,804 in 2000 of which female accounted 60%. In rural areas, the employment of the FDI firms were 148,615 in 2000, accounted for 42% of the total employment in foreign direct investment sector of the country, of which the proportion of female employment was 67.9% (MOLISA, 2001). In 1996, foreign invested firms accounted for about a quarter of industrial output while employing about 5 percent of the industrial labor force. Yet the employment in FDI sector is still modest, accounting for less than one percent of the labor force in 1999. This is partly because of much higher productivity in the foreign invested firms, but also because much of the foreign investment flows have been channeled into heavy and capital intensive industries with highly protected domestic markets but little job creation capacities. However, the positive impact of the policy to promote foreign investment can be clearly seen in percentage of the labor force working in those regions with better infrastructure. Specially this sector absorbed the large cohort young female of the country, of which rural young female gain more opportunities in this sector. For example in Ho Chi Minh City has 41 percent of total employment, and Dong Nai 21 percent (Le Xuan Ba et al., 2002).

Also, it is largely recognized that there has been a rapid growth in employment in non-farm activities. These include retailing, food processing, fisheries, or other activities organized and managed by the households living in the village. Employment in these activities has grown by more than 5 percent annually. The growth rate has been relatively higher in rural areas (7 percent) than in urban ones (4 percent). The activities have

occupied redundant labor, and in this way have helped to re-duce underemployment in the rural areas. Estimates by the World Bank (2000) based on VLSS93 and VLSS98 have revealed that both severe unemployment and underemployment have decreased somewhat during the last five years in both rural and urban areas. In rural areas, where underemployment is a more serious problem, which has declined from 71 to 61 percent.

In agricultural sector, with economic renovation, the rate of women engaged in agricultural activities has grown. Women represent 54 percent of the agricultural workforce. Of the new agricultural jobs created each year, women take up 92 percent. Over the last five years, men have tended to move from agriculture to non-farm employment, both self-employed and for wage earnings (Bales, 2000).

Data VLSS98 show that 58 percent of men and 65 percent of women are self-employed farmers. Another 17 percent of men and 20 percent of women work as self-employed workers, but in the non-farm sector in small-scale trading, household enterprises, etc. And only 24 percent of men and only 15 percent of women work for wages. Of these, the share wage employment agricultural sector was even smaller; only 20 percent of male workers and only 10 percent of female workers work in the formal sector. The informal sector, which comprises the self-employed non-farm plus the wage workers in agriculture, thus accounts for 22 percent of male workers and 26 percent of female workers. Thus, for both males and females, the predominant employment type by far is self-employment in the agricultural sector, followed by employment in the informal sector, and lastly employment in the formal labor market (Desai, 2000).

At the same time, in the coming years, the agricultural sector will increasingly be unable to absorb the annual expected 1.2 to 1.4 million new entrants to the labor market. Also, the potential for further agricultural productivity growth (as manifested in the past 10 years) in the current structure of small-sized farms is limited. This will mean that new entrants will either seek work in the off-farm rural enterprise sector if this takes off properly, or move increasingly to cities. The gender impacts of these expected shifts need to be understood better.

Figure 2.12: Employment Type by Sex in Agricultural Sector VLSS98



Source: VLSS98

Although this brought positive changes in gender relations by economically empowering women, and provided incentives for parents to educate their daughters, there is a perceived conflict stemming from the pressures of international competitiveness based on low cost labor and the need to maintain labor standards and conditions. Empirical evidence, suggests that lowering labor standards does not make a country more competitive, especially if that country does not improve productivity. Competitive advantage lies not in cheap labor but low per unit labor cost which relies more on improving productivity of the labor force by strengthening human capital rather than lowering wages and other working conditions (UNDP, 1999). In general, women are consistently paid less, thus there is strong motivation for employers to hire more women.

2.3.3.2 Impacts in Diversification and Commercialization

Globalization will encourage the increasing diversification and commercialization of agriculture. The gender impact will depend on a series of factors. The introduction of new methods through foreign investment, which favors more educated labor force, whilst increasing efficiency of the overall economy, will displace more traditional methods of production and land use. In Vietnam these production methods are directed at domestic and world markets, small scale producers and traders, which is dominated by women, will be displaced. Among the past years, thanks to the agricultural reform, commercial cash crops has developed over food crops for domestic consumption and export. This shift from subsistence agricultural production to the growing of cash and export crops results in wage income becoming increasingly central to rural household food security.

As the export processing sector, trade liberalization does offer some opportunities for women in agricultural sector, specially in the urbanization areas, where agricultural land were transferred into residential land and for industrial purposes. In Vietnam, the diversification of cash crops varied among seven eco-regions, their commodities for exports are almost non-traditional agricultural products such as rice in the Red River and Mekong River Deltas, coffee are concentrated in the Central Highland and North Central Coastal Region; tea of the North Mountainous Region , Rubber, Pepper, Cashew nut, ...of the North South East Region; seafood from the Coastal national wide. Earnings from these exports have risen rapidly and women comprise the majority of the work force. Part of them are paid in cash for their labor, whereas on farm households their labors were previous unremunerated. However, deteriorating terms of trade for agricultural commodities result in lower returns for women's labor.

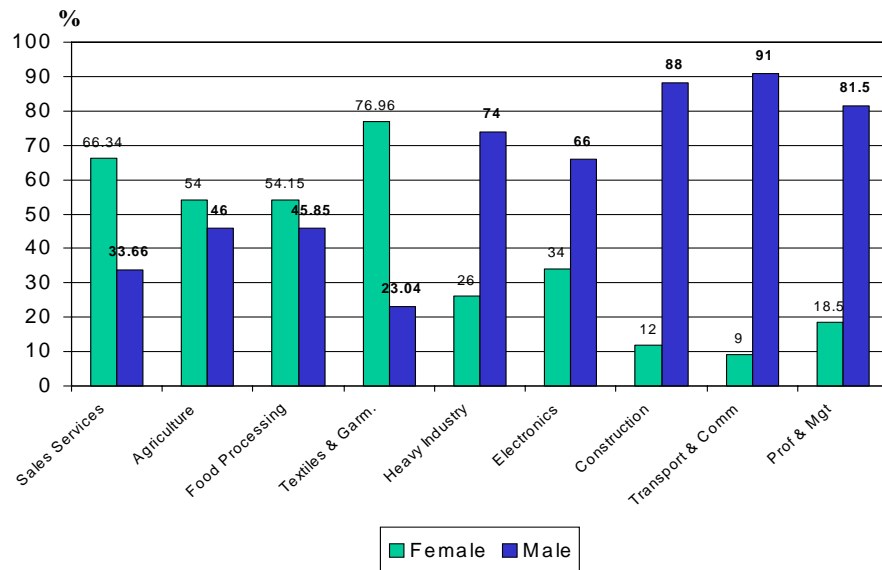
Participation in the commercialization and diversification of agriculture, there are 3,599 enterprises including 881 State-own enterprises (SOEs), 2,525 private enterprises, 50 foreign invested companies and others, that are operating in agricultural sector in the national wide and absorb 289,001 laborers of rural areas. Moreover, 7513 agricultural cooperatives are operating and contributing to promote agricultural development. Since farm household is considered an unit of production in the society, farm households have autonomy in deciding their development plan, together with highly accessible factors of production, thus, the outputs of agricultural sector have increased rapidly during nearly past decades, the growth rate of agricultural is 4.5 % per year, this sector becomes a major contribution to rural gross outputs as well as of the whole country. This supports Vietnam not only for self-sufficiency of the 80 million people but also to become the leading exporters in the world in terms of rice, coffee, tea, rubber, cashew, seafood... There are 13.07 million farm households cover 58.41 million rural people and 31.34 million rural laborers in 2001. Moreover, the number of commercial farm is developing rapidly in recent years, up to now the country has 61,107 commercial farms with diversified crops,

livestock and aquaculture. The farm size is expanding, varied from 0.2 ha to more than 10 ha. These commercial farms become dynamic in development of agriculture and rural areas in terms of mobilizing internal resources, applying and transferring technology to their periphery areas, provide rural employments for unemployment and underemployment in rural areas and produce commodities as well as create and increase income for rural laborers. The total laborers working in these commercial farms are 368,650 in 2001 including both family and hired laborers; average 6.04 laborers per farm. Noteworthy that more than half of them are women, which create great opportunities for rural women. The commodity production and value of a commercial farms are much higher than a household farm. The gross outputs' value of each farm was 91.03 million VND, and income reached 32.27 million VND, while average income of a household farm was 19.27 million VND and 14.85 million VND per household farm in rural areas. Different from household farms, almost products of these commercial farms are supplied to markets, and the rate was more than 90 percents. However, the female head of these commercial farms still modest, about 10 percent (GSO, 2003). Within internal agricultural sector, income diversification of farm households is also improved, the proportions of cash crops, livestock and non-farm incomes are increasing, while the income of rice and cereal tend to reduce. This increase the need for rural income diversification, by increasing the value-added of women's work (Mia Hyun, 2000).

In addition, trade liberalization will also lead to diversification and possible expansion of the informal sector, as well as new methods of production such as subcontracting, home based production which tend to employ more rural women. After the Soviet Union collapsed, the Soviet Union and East Europe markets were also dismantled/ blocked. Almost the handicraft and rural cottage cooperatives in rural areas were stopped operation or dismantled because of no markets for their products in the earlier of the 1990s. However, as results of a range of changing policies, handicrafts of rural cottages are booming, almost the traditional occupation were recovered together with developing new occupations in rural areas rapidly, contributing to create more employment, increase income and reduce poverty. In 2001, there are 710 handicraft and rural cottage villages, of which 264 old traditional occupation villages are maintained and 446 villages are recovered and newly established since the introduction of the reform policy. Those villages are operated by 187.8 thousand households and provide more than 500,000 employment for rural laborers (GSO, 2003). The dynamic of the development includes both the demand of domestic consumption due to increasing household incomes and for exporting as result from the expanding of new markets.

The subcontracts between exporting state and private enterprises with the communities through leaders of communes, cooperatives, mass organizations such as women union are mostly undertaken by farm households, which creates more rural employment and extra income for rural underemployment during the slack seasons. For example, rural women participating in weaving, ceramic making, furniture producing, handicraft..., and women mainly dominate such activities, while men tend to migrate to cities in search of wage labor.

Figure 2.13: Sex Aggregation by Sector



The extent to which women benefit from these changes will depend on the gender specific barriers to enter new high value added employment opportunities. Given the strong vertical and horizontal segmentation of the labor market, there is a danger that women are trapped in less remunerative activities, and that they are marginalized from industrial production of new technologies and land uses or are excluded from higher value added production and manufacturing. Much of this will depend on the gender differentiated access to factors of production.

2.3.3.3 Changing in Access Factors of Production

Globalization relates to the differential access to factors of production necessary to compete in the market. In Vietnam, globalization encourages policy changes that can promote gender's active participation in production and other activities. In this section, it is aimed to present the changes of gender in accessing factors of production resulted by reform policies.

a. Changes in Land use rights

According to Mia Hyun (2000), land access is important for household food security and market orients agricultural activities, and it is also critical to facilitate access to credit from formal financial institutions which require collateral. One of the elements of the incentive package for mobilizing foreign and domestic investment is to liberalize the market for land which will allow amalgamation of land to accommodate more efficient large scale agricultural commercial production purposes. There is a risk when land ownership concentrated in hands of a few powerful agricultural enterprises as larger private companies take over land occupied by small rural farmers. This leads not only to loss of land but also loss of livelihood.

Vietnam is continuing integration into the world market, with the long term agricultural goals--including food security and export, which will keep creating great demand and competition for land ownership. The Land Laws was promulgated in 1993, according to which all land are granted with long-term use certificates to individuals and households

for a period of 20-50 years. Farm households have full autonomy in decision of production in their land. Legally, land is the common right of all adult members of the household; however up to now, Land Use Certificates (LUCs), commonly referred to as the *Red Book*, have traditionally listed only the head of household, almost always a man. This has created a situation where women often lack the “assets” to secure loans and where marriage, separation, divorce and death can result in women losing their effective rights to land.

Recent strategies included the goal of listing both spouses’ names on LUCs, though it is unclear if this will apply to the newly issued LUCs or changing all LUCs. Under the Comprehensive Poverty Reduction and Growth Strategy (CPRGS), MARD and the Ministry of Resources and Environment (MNE) have responsibility to ensure that LUCs will have both names of husband and wife by the end of 2005.

This is a positive impact of the macro policy changes, which facilitate women to have more opportunity in terms of access to other resources and production where they have higher power in decision. Notify that, in reality, the rate of women have less in industrial crops production as analyzed in chapter 3, however, by the permission of the Government in reduction of land for rice in projection areas or regions, which will have major implication for women, the potential of increasing income for their farm households, but also creating the risk of crop failure as well as loss of employment for rural women.

b. Change in Access to Financial Services

Generally, women lacking collateral is a major barrier to accessing formal financial services. This inhibits women’s ability to access agricultural inputs, new technology, transportation to new markets, which would enable them to benefit from the opportunities that trade liberalization brings back.

In the renovation process, farm household is considered an unit of production in the society, which has resulted in greater financing needs for them both men and women. A number of lending channels exist in both the formal and informal sectors. Formal credit system is growing rapidly. In rural areas, majority of formal credit institutions including Viet Nam Bank for Agriculture and Rural Development (VBARD), Viet Nam Bank for the Poor, People’s Credit Fund, NGOs and mass organizations (such as Women’s Union, Farmer’s Union, Veteran Association...) provide semi-formal sources of credit, and informal funds of moneylenders, traders, and relatives (revolving credit funds) as well as saving groups etc.

According to the Law on Credit Institutions, the Government monitors and manages all banking activities. By law, preferential credit services in terms of funding, interest rates, terms of payment and payment period should be provided to the poor and people in difficult situations and people in rural, mountainous, island and remote areas. In practice, however, it is difficult for formal credit systems to provide suitable credit to these borrowers, and there are few incentives for credit officers to serve these customers (NCFAW, 2000).

However, the limitation of women access to financial services is gradually changed. Thanks to the changes in list of both spouse in the LUCs, it will ensure the rights of women in respond to the requirements in collateral, mortgage, certifications and documentation. Together with the releasing of procedures, credit institutions also allow collateral trust of the Chairman of the Commune People's Committee, leaders of villages, as well as leaders of mass organizations. Moreover, amount and term of loan are also more

diversified accordance with the trend of commodity development in agricultural sector. For example, the Government policy indicates that VBARD can provide loans of up to 20 million VND without collateral since 2004 instead of 5 million VND previously. It is noted that in the near future almost financial programs and projects as well as credit institutions also focus much on the poor and women.

c. Impacts of Technology Changes

Globalization has led to technological changes in production methods. Many researches in Vietnam indicated that the contributions of technology changes in agricultural sector is about 30 percent. Almost crop's productivities have been increased, the qualities also have been improved in order to meet the need of market. That might be right and suitable, through the access to new and relevant technology which can increase commercial viability and value added of agricultural production (in all stages such as new varieties, new methods of processing, storage, etc.), that is particularly increasingly important in the context of competition. However, the application of modern farming techniques is more accessible to men than women but it will help reduce burden works for women such as land preparation, spraying, harvesting, transportation to home and market etc. Women have more opportunities in accessing information of production and market, which affect their decision. Globalization brings opportunities for educated women and scientist in agricultural sector in learning new experimental methodologies and social methods, information, exchange of research results with outsiders. It is emphasized that, the top down approach is gradually changed to the bottom up method. In reality, after nearly two decades of reform, Vietnam agro-products can highly compete with other countries', even Vietnam becomes a leading exporter in the world market thank to the contribution of internal research and development resulted from technology changes.

In agricultural extension, the perception of women's role in agriculture is also changed. Before, agricultural extension programs tend to be gender-bias that most of the extension workers are male, and they tend to target men farmers, even in sectors where women do the work. Women miss out important information because men either do not transfer or convey inaccurately the new knowledge. However, trend of agricultural extension is different in the past, after a long period of unsuccessfulness in extension programs, women target are paid more attention by many programs and projects in rural areas, especially poor women and ethnic groups.

d. Changes in input and output markets

Since the implementation of the open door policy, the Government has maintained policy support for farm production to change relatively prices of agro-forestry products through adjustments of domestic trade and import-export policies, which maintain advantageous prices for food production and crops. Agricultural sector has made substantial progress towards market oriented and openness to international trade. Farm prices have gradually increased to world market levels and at the same time, the prices of agricultural inputs have been reduced closer to world prices (Dang Kim Son, 2000). The 1990s saw an increasing simplification in trade regulations and procedures, moving from a highly controlled state-owned enterprise trading structure to the one which increasingly allowed and simplified the procedures for private sector to engage in agricultural trade. Moreover, tariffs increasingly replaced quantitative restrictions on trade during the 1990s. By 1995, all quantitative restrictions on exports were removed for all commodities except rice. The tariff structure itself has also undergone a number of alterations during its short history, and has become a key source of government revenue and import protection, though being

decreased (John Thoburn, 2003). The changes of agricultural inputs and outputs policies have resulted in more competitive market prices for imported fertilizer, pesticides and seeds. Thus, women have more chance to access input suppliers with competitive prices, which helps reduce production cost significantly. In addition, with the flexible markets of outputs, women can sell their products in various ways to different stakeholders with the negotiable prices instead of dual prices like in the past.

2.3.4 Gender and Poverty Reduction

Vietnam has substantially liberalized its trade regime over the last nearly two decades, and has concluded a number of trading agreements, highlighting its commitment to integration into the global community. Parallel with the integration process, poverty in Vietnam saw a substantial decline impressively, with number of people in poverty falling from 58.1% of the population in 1992-93 to 37.4% in 1997-98 and 28.9% in 2001-02. In Vietnam, 90 percent of the poor are living in rural areas, majority engaging in agriculture. According to ADB (2003), women's health and education are worse than men's, wage differentials exist, and women are underrepresented in the formal labor market. An additional dimension is that the gender gap appears to be more acute within poor households. Table 2.10 indicates that with the government's efforts and outside assistances for poverty reduction, the percentage of rural households in rural areas, that were lifted out of poverty, was slightly higher than the national average.

Table 2.10: Changes in Poverty by Socio-economic Characteristics

	1992-93	1997-98	2001-02
All Vietnam	58.1	37.4	28.9
Type of Household			
Urban	24.9	9.2	6.6
Rural	66.4	45.5	35.7
Northern Uplands	78.6	58.6	
- North East			38.0
- North West			68.7
Red River Delta	62.8	28.7	22.6
North Central	74.5	48.1	44.4
Central Coast	49.6	35.2	25.2
Central highlands	70.0	52.4	51.8
South East	32.7	7.6	10.7
Mekong River Delta	47.1	36.9	23.2
Ethnic Group			
Vietnamese (Kinh)	55.1	31.7	-
Chinese	11.8	8.4	-
Other	86.4	75.2	-
Occupation of the head			
White Collar	23.6	9.9	-
Sales	27.7	13.0	-
Agriculture	69.0	48.2	-
Production	45.9	28.0	-

Other/no work	44.4	25.5	-
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Source: Justino and Litchfield, 2002; GSO, 2004

The data from VLSS02 sought to identify whether these changes in poverty and the movements into and out of poverty had their basis in the reform process. Through the commodity export channels of rice and coffee, as well as other exported commodities such as seafood, it has positive effect on the poverty status of households involved. Liberalization and trade reforms in other areas and the increase in non-agricultural exports have brought about improvements in rural poverty for households whose family members worked in seafood, food processing, textile and garments industries and had an increased chance of escaping from poverty through creating more wage employment for rural female migrants and rural laborers.

2.3.5 Negative Impacts

2.3.5.1 Negative Impact of reducing public spending

a. Welfare situation before integrated economy process

Before integrating in the world economy, women worked in state-owned enterprises (SOEs) where they had job security, received fully paid 180-day maternity leaves, were free at noon time to go home to cook, and benefited from provisions for supervised child care. In other words, almost employment were provided accommodations without payment by the SOEs and Government. Although during that time there were two – third of wage employment both men and women were rural migrants and shifted from sectors, where mostly they were formerly served in the army and other sectors related to the war. It was explained that, before the rural sector accounted for more that 90 percent while the percentage of urban population was about 10 percent, the growth rate of urbanization was much depended on the rural-urban migration. In rural areas, agriculture cooperatives provided rural women with similar social and economic security. The operation of the handicraft and rural cooperatives were stable, which absorbed a large of rural female labor force since their products were exported to the Soviet Union and East Europe markets through export-import SOEs. Women participated in mass organizations such as women’s union and trade union. The centralized system achieved impressive gains for basic education and health care for both men and women. Women did not have to pay education fee, healthcare fee for themselves as well as their relatives. For instance, the Government and economic organizations all observed regulations on maternity leave, sick leave, childcare leave with paid salary for female laborers. Female laborers in SOEs and other economic organizations received rather good care. Women enjoyed maternity allowance, child feeding allowance from the State budget. In enterprises, factories with domination of female laborers had specialized medical stations and kindergartens operated by support from the Government’s budget (Tran Han Giang, 2002). Noteworthy that, not only the fees, but other contribution to invest in infrastructure (power, water, irrigation system, transportation...), they also did not have to contribute. Women were less burden of unpaid works due to the good social security.

b. Underemployment and Unemployment

Following the renovation process, the government introduced the rule of law and trade-off social equality for economic efficiency. Economic renovation introduced a significant reduction in state subsidies to public services, deregulation of the market and increased competition. The major policy was to attract direct foreign investment as a short cut to

boost the economy as well as to start industrialization. Many State-owned enterprises (SOEs) were collapsed to promote private initiatives and create a labor market. The resulting redundancies in the state and co-operative sectors during 1990-92 affected women disproportionately. However, in this section, the main purpose is to examine the negative impacts of the process directly or indirectly affected to laborers both women and men. The first period of renovation process saw substantial structural change, with total state employment falling by about 250,000 persons each year. Unemployment increased and real wages fell, by 30 to 50 per cent, because of high inflation (ILO, 1994). The different subsidies that were once blessings for women were abolished. Moreover, the women were first to be fired in the SOEs at a faster rate than the men at that. In the state sector, the women's participation rate dropped from 50 percent to 30 percent. Many research indicated that about 550,000 women lost their jobs during the downsizing of the state owned enterprises, compared to roughly 300,000 men. This loss was larger in relative terms, as employment in SOEs represented a larger share of wage employment among women. These changes to the employment sector resulted in large numbers of women leaving more secure wage and salary employment in these sectors and moving partially into less secure household and informal sector work.

Employment and labor structure of Vietnam has also been changed, however, the majority was still heavily dominated by the agricultural sector, its share of employment, from 73% to 63% between 1990 and 1999. A popular explanation was Vietnam's import substituting protection, bias towards the state sector, and Vietnam's rigid labor market (John Thoburn, 2000). In agricultural sector, the percentage of non-employment is dominated, proportion of wage employment is low. However, the contribution of agricultural sector is about 25 percent of the GDP, the lowest proportion. While the industrial sector's employment has been only about 10 percent of total employment, even though that sector contributes the biggest share to the GDP. The service sector's employment share, though it has been growing faster recently, is still modest. Vietnam's employment pattern is one of the most backward compared to other neighboring nations.

By the comparison, the imbalance between the GDP and employment-share increment of the industrial sector have confirmed the fact that development of industrial sector has become more capital-intensive, rather than labor-intensive. The labor-intensive is fell in agricultural sector. These create the big gap labor productivity between employment in agriculture and other sectors. It means that rural women is gradually pushed out of the development, less competitiveness and opportunities.

c. Impact of Reduction of Public Spending

In other words, under globalization policies, government reduces funding for human for basic human development objectives such as health, education, and social security. This is due to a reduction in government budget in aggregate from import tariffs, increase in tax incentives as well as to the fact that external liberalization is often accompanied by the internal deregulation to allow the market to allocate resources more efficiently. The resulted in pressures to reform and reduction in size and scope and decrease the capacity of the state to provide public services (Mia Huyn, 2000 cited from Lodhi, 2000). The reduction of public support more affected women. Wage employment in agricultural sector as well as others also faced with less competitiveness, higher skills and education levels led to higher productivity, which could tract only high quality and educated labor in the high quality FDI. Together, they had to look for their accommodation, all unpaid fee before were abolished. Women even had to choose whether they continued working or

stayed home to take care their children. Specially a large proportion of them had to be re-educated in order to meet new requirements of their works.

In rural areas, due to dismantle of agricultural cooperatives, all subsidies for their members were also cut off, which created more burden to rural women in terms of childcare and their family. The unpaid works were increasing. Women had to maintain two functions of reproduction and production. Moreover, they had less access to other social facilities, paid more for education and healthcare for themselves, their children as well as their relatives.

In case of healthcare, the health reform has included the introduction of user fees, the provision of health services by private sector, liberalization of drug sale and other medical supplies, and introduction of health insurance. Payment of health care fees is a serious challenge for the poor in general and poor women in particular. On the basis of VLSS98, the actual expenditure by the poor for one visit to a public hospital consists of 45 percent of non-food expenditure per capita, while for the rich this cost represents only 4 percent of the non-food expenditure (World Bank, 1999). Being unable to afford health care fees, the poor are less likely to seek health services, relying instead on drugs purchased without prescription from local outlets, and care provided in the home by women. Access to health services is particularly difficult in the poor, rural, mountainous, and remote areas. Within the health care system, women tend to be more disadvantaged than men, especially poor women, are less likely than men to pay for and receive health services, and when family members are sick, women are more likely than men to care for them.

Noteworthy, the reduction in infrastructure investment of the cooperatives in rural areas more affected women, the heavy contribution to develop rural infrastructure for many years such as schools, power system, irrigation system, rural road, water supply system, common houses are out of reach of the poor farm households and poor women.

Further more, not only adult rural women are affected, so are rural girls, their chance to go to higher education is less than boys. Generally, the progressive fee and expenditure for education in higher education e.g. from high school and up, the percentage of girls enrollment in rural areas as well as in the whole country is lower than boys'. Percentage of girls from 13 years old dropped out of school is 3 times higher compared to boys (Le Thi, 1998). Girls also participated in working in order to create more income for the farm households. The perception of rural parents to support to boys go to higher education rather than girls in the case they have to decide to send them to further study.

d. Women's Working Condition

According to Tran Han Giang (2002), about 1,500 types of occupations considered as hard, harmful and dangerous works in 70% of the total enterprises (96.26% of SOEs and 59.93% of Non-State enterprises), of which 10% have hygienic and safe working conditions under the permitted level. The percentage of female workers in such dangerous work is more than 20%. The high competition forces almost enterprises pursuing profit target, finding any way to cut and save expenses, thus reducing expenses on improvement of the working conditions. Even the large number of female wage employment are working in manufacturing sector since the renovation process, however, they are to be trended to work in the highly competitive environment at both domestic and abroad but less protected. Moreover, in the non state enterprises, the late upgrading equipments or

incomplete technology standard are more polluted and harmful for wage employment specially for women.

Regarding female in agricultural sector, the labor safety is less severe, though working time of women is longer and with harder processes, women become main labor forces in agriculture. Even women have to undertake insecticide and pesticide spraying for plant protection, the danger of poisoning for women is increasing because of simply and unsafe farm tools. The number of women poisoned by plant protection chemicals increased 3 times compared to previously (Tran Han Giang, 2002).

2.3.5.2 Rural-urban migration and trafficking

Many researches show the trend for men to migrate into cities and larger towns in search of wage labor. In these cases, women are left as the sole providers of the household and have to adopt the full operating tasks of the farm, in addition to taking care of all the household tasks (Le Thi, 1994).

Migration is a process of moving labor from rural areas to urban areas to seek for jobs, aimed at increasing incomes for the families. Propulsive forces may be or may not be due to economic reasons. As a result of interviews with some migrants to Hanoi, it has showed that economic difficulties like lack of jobs or no jobs at residential area are the most important reasons of migration. Almost migrants originate from poor rural areas and households, insufficient employment and very low income. Other reasons resulted from the rapidly urbanization and industrialization, agricultural land is transferred to other purposes as industrial zones, expanded urban resident, new road construction... Women are being increasingly 'left behind' to take care of agricultural work and their families. However, according Ha Thi Phuong Tien et al (2000), the percentage of women migrants was not so much different compared to men, there are changing of gender in rural-urban migration, the gender difference between women and men migrants is about 10 to 20 percent. Data collected from the study on migrants to Hanoi showed that reason for migrants moving from rural to urban areas: 62.76% due to economic difficulties; 10.6% due to family marriage; 9.6% due to study and training, 4.3% due to attraction of towns etc...and some other reasons. Temporary migrants account for almost 80% at age group of 20 – 39, with a ratio of 100 women/457 men (Hao, 2003). Most of them are young and healthy and they accept heavy jobs which are less attractive and urban people do not want to do. Main reason leading to migration if lack of jobs, 70% of interviewed people are farmers who have a very limited area of cultivated land per household in average: 50% of interviewed people have less land in average: 1,200 m²/household; the remainder: <1000 m² or less. Each household ranging from 4.3 to 4.7 people, thus, average land are per head has less than 360m². These migrants move to the cities with the purpose of seeking jobs to generate incomes at their agricultural leisure time, they don't intend to live for long time in the cities and they are not a threat to job opportunities of present laborers because they only concentrate on some certain activities of labor market.

Migration is not prohibited but migrants are largely unprotected. A large of migrants working with no contracts and low wage. Most migrant workers have to live in squalid conditions and have little access to education and social services. Part of young migrants become prostitutes, according to an estimation of the Ministry of Labor, Invalid and Social Affairs (MOLISA) and UNICEF, currently about 200,000 women are involved in the sex industry, and at least 10 percent of these are children (Bond and Hayter, 1998; cited by Kelly and Le Bach Duong, 1999), the contribution of rural women migrants is higher than the percentage generates from the urban sector.

Sexual harassment is also a social problem in the new environment since the policy reform, specially in informal sector. Rural women migrants working in informal sector are not provided the social secured rights as those working in the formal sector. Many servants are pregnant with the men owner, and to be gone out after that, but they still have to keep silent in solving the problem (Ha Thi Phuong Tien et al, 2000). Other research indicated that women express feeling more vulnerable to problem such as sexual harassment in the foreign and private companies. Due to shaming in taking about this issue as well as fearing of losing their jobs, it keeps many women silent (Khuat Thu Hong, 1998).

In addition, the increasing of women and children trafficking becomes a serious problem in Vietnam. According to Ta Thi Minh Ly (2002), more than 3,000 women are said to be trafficked annually across national borders to China and during 1995-1996, 1,428 women were recorded to have been trafficked to Cambodia. Most of women trafficked to China are sold to poor families for marriage while those trafficked to Cambodia are sold for prostitution. Poverty, lack of education, increased commodities of women as a result of economic development, more consumerism and weak law enforcement are among the mentioned reasons behind causes of this trafficking in women and children in Vietnam.

2.3.5.3 Increasing inequalities

Although Vietnam is a successful country in poverty reduction during the past years. However, the incidence of poverty is still high in the Northern Uplands, North Central Coast and Central Highlands. These regions are dominated by majority of the ethnic minority groups and migrants . The inequity has increased slightly, the GINI coefficient has been rising from 0.33 in 1993 to 0.35 in 1998. Incomes in rural areas grew by 30% whereas urban incomes grew by 61% during this period. Most poverty occurs in rural areas (45% of the rural population and 90% of the poor) with much lower incidence in urban areas (10% of the urban population). The rural women poor and women ethnic minorities are at greater risk because they are more vulnerable to shocks caused by natural disasters and illness (ADB, 2003). In 1998, among 79% of the country's poor only 61% of the population were employed in agriculture. Poverty is associated with those engaged in subsistence agriculture and non-farm activities that have low productivity because these people do not have enough skills, credit and access to the factors of production.

Regarding the wage employment , women have a lower wage rate than men, but the gap of the average wage between these two groups has been narrowed. Data from VLSS93 show that men earned 24 percent higher wages than women. This rate was reduced to 15 percent in VLSS98. However, the income gap between educated and non-educated groups has widened. In VLSS93 the gap between university-educated workers and those with less than primary schooling, was 1.3 times. According to VLSS98, this gap increased to 2.3 times. Despite the fact that many key export-oriented industries rely on cheap female labor and women are sometimes exploited, non-agricultural employment is generally seen as a better option than remaining in agriculture or as unpaid household workers. Specially, due to the less efficiency of SOEs in agricultural sector, most of agricultural SOEs are losing, thus the wage employment is lower than other sectors. In terms of equality of non-employment, women still largely do not receive equal pay to men. Besides, the substantial economic work done by women in the informal sector remains unaccounted in official statistics and continues to be unregulated or unprotected by laws and labor standards.

Table 2.11: Qualifications and Real Annual Wage Earnings by Sex, 1998
(‘000 dong/hour)

Highest Level of Schooling Completed	Rural Areas		Urban Areas	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
No School	2,641	1,517	5,067	2,856
Less than Primary	2,399	1,775	4,991	3,582
Primary	2,623	2,070	5,495	4,754
Lower Secondary	2,787	2,209	6,434	5,204
Upper Secondary	3,583	3,471	7,887	6,506
Junior College University	4,913	4,513	13,339	8,477

Source: Desai 2000,

2.3.5.4 Impact of the highly competitive inputs and outputs markets

Besides the increased commercial farms in agriculture, the favor large scale farming and production cash crops, there was an increasing tendency of a part of farm households without land. According to GSO (2001), there were 445 thousand farm households without land, accounting for 4.2% total farm households of the country, which increased 335 thousand farm households in comparison to year of 1994. Without land, most of those farm households much depend on employment in agriculture. Not all of those are poor, however, majority of them are not better off households due to various reasons pushing them to quit/transfer their land. In these cases, rural poor and rural women are facing difficulties in terms of access to factors of production.

It can also be anticipated that agricultural inputs and extension services will be increasingly provided by private sector. However, private service providers usually do not have explicit measures to target women e.g. fertilizers, seeds, animal feed..., thus there is a danger that women will have even less access to extension services.

In addition, in the highly competitive environment, it requires higher standards of efficient storage, processing and transfer of goods, as well as information networks, which rely on a strong communication and transportation infrastructure, not all rural farm households can meet the need of the market, while women have less capital and less mobility thus women tend to have less access to these facilities. Gender-based inequalities in controlling over resources such as land, credit and skills not only hinder women’s ability to take advantage of new opportunities created by trade liberalization, but also constrain the output response and thus the export capacity of the whole economy.

2.4. Conclusions

There is no doubt about the role of women in rural areas, with dominant in both share of population and labor force engaging in agriculture and rural development. Women in rural areas are often not aware of their legal rights due to their low education levels compared to their urban counterparts and lack of access to information (UNDP, 2003). Decision making on the farm is largely the role of men, even in female-dominated areas. Ethnic women and particularly those living in remote areas are more vulnerable in all aspects.

The rate of women in leadership positions in all levels is much lower than their counterparts, even in the areas of agriculture. Although there is a small proportion of women in MARD/DARD leadership, in the decision and policy-making levels, and in all sub-sectors in agriculture and rural development sector, the number of women are normally lower than men. These findings show that gender inequity is more significant in rural areas, women are more participation and spend more working time in agriculture, however, the shift from annual crops to cash crops and livestock maintenance more devote for men.

Land is the most important production resource, access to the land is largely determined by the productivity of the farming enterprise. In Vietnam, in spite of well-defined allocation policies aiming at equal distribution of resources, female headed households do not have adequate access to this key resource. Usually men have dominant role in land use decision-making, and given that land is the household's most valuable asset, this results in men having more economic and legal power than other household members do. Women with greater access to savings institutions and credit enhances their economic status and security, and helps improve household welfare (World Bank, 2000). Decision in access to credit is dominant by men in both borrowing and using loan. Only when women are able to access credit through specialized programs, do they control loan funds. Access to credit is particularly difficult for the poor and for poor women in particular, but the users of the loans are women, the investment areas are therefore limited. Extension services can reduce the risk of crop failure and livestock epidemic (Vietnam: Attacking Poverty, 1999). In conjunction with credit, extension services enable farmers to diversify into new crops, breeds and new production approaches. In agricultural extension training, however, women participate far less often than men. The training needs of women receive even less attention, as agricultural extension tends to focus on areas of the sector and types of activities in which women are less likely to be involved and gender issues does not take into account of the design and implementation of extension services.

Vietnam's integration in the world economy in the 1990s is partly a reflection of the policies that were introduced to liberalize trade, promote foreign investment and export oriented. Trade liberalization has brought about substantial restructure in the Vietnamese agricultural sector as well as the national economy with more efficiency of resources being directed towards exports than ever before. All those have had a major impact in terms of employment since exports were so heavily concentrated in labor-intensive sectors, both agricultural products and manufactured products. Major winners from the expansion of manufacture exports as agro-products processing and slight industries have been women workers, particularly those migrating from rural areas, while male employment has not expanded. However, the substantial contribution to employment of the significant inflows of FDI to Vietnam during the 1990s is still modest not compared to exported agro-processing and manufacturing sectors. However, the positive impact of the policy to promote foreign investment can be clearly seen as the labor force working in those regions with better infrastructure and facilities and has learnt some valuable lessons and experiences from its FDI enterprises and trans-national companies (TNCs).

Women have gained more in agricultural sector including both wage employment and self-employment, though women represent 54 percent of the agricultural workforce. Of the new agricultural jobs created each year, women take up 92 percent. Over the last five years, men have tended to move from agriculture to non-farm employment, both self-employment and wage earnings (Bales, 2000).

Globalization will encourage the increasing diversification and commercialization of agriculture. This shift from subsistence agricultural production to the growing of cash and export crops results in wage income becoming increasingly central to rural household food security and revenue. Diversified and commercialized process is substantial for women in changing production methods and scale as well as marketing. Living standard of women is better off.

In Vietnam, globalization encourages policy changes that can promote gender's high participation in production and other activities to implement commitment integration in the international market. Women are more support in access to land through listing both spouses' names on LUCs which facilitate for women more opportunity in terms of access other resources and production when they have higher power in decision. Diversified capital resources, and changing administration procedure, together with target women are more focusing on development programs, which would enable them to benefit from the opportunities which liberalization brings.

However, application of modern farming techniques are more accessible to men than women, which will reduce burden works for women such as land preparation, spraying, harvesting, transportation to home and market etc. Women have more opportunities in accessing information of production and market, which affecting their decision. Globalization brings opportunities for the educated women and scientists in agricultural sector in learning new methodologies in experimental and social methods, information, exchanging the research results with outsiders. It is emphasis that, the top down approach are gradually changed by the bottom up method.

Agricultural sector has made substantial progress to open up to international trade. Farm prices have gradually increased to world market levels and at the same time, prices of agricultural inputs have been reduced closer to world prices (Dang Kim Son, 2000). Thanks to the changes of agricultural inputs and outputs policies, market prices for imported fertilizer, pesticides and seeds get more competitive. Thus, women have more chance to access input providers with good prices, which reduces production cost significantly. Together with the flexible markets of outputs, women can sell their products in various ways to different stakeholders with real market prices instead of dual prices like in the past.

Parallel with the integration process, poverty in Vietnam saw a substantial decline with the number of people in poverty falling from 58.1% of the population in 1992-93 to 37.4% in 1997-98 and 28.9% in 2001-02. Through the commodity export channels of rice and coffee, as well as other commodity exports such as seafood, it had positive effect to the poverty status of households involved in those channels, where women are dominated.

Economic renovation introduced a significant reduction in state subsidies to public services, deregulation of the market and increased competition. The increase of unemployment and underemployment are resulted from structural adjustment in SOEs during 1990s. Unemployment increased and real wages fell by 30 to 50 per cent because of high inflation (ILO 1994). The reduction of public support more affected to women wage employment. Providing accommodation and all unpaid fee before are abolished. The dismantle of agricultural cooperative, all subsidies for their members were also cut off, thus bringing about more burden to rural women in terms of childcare and their family. The unpaid works are increasingly. Women have to pay more for education and healthcare for themselves, their children and their relatives as well as contribution for infrastructure investment. All these fees and contributions are out of reach of the poor

farm households and poor women, particularly to rural girls in terms of their accessibility to higher education.

Rural women migrants are unprotected and work in the unsecured conditions with no contracts and low wage, have little access to education and social services. Following that, the social evils get higher such as sexual harassment, prostitutes, HIV/AIDS, trafficking of women and children.

The fact that inequalities are more widen between the rich and the poor, urban sector and rural sector, men and women etc. The inequity has increased slightly, the GINI coefficient has been rising from 0.33 in 1993 to 0.35 in 1998. Poor rural women and women at the ethnic minorities are at greater risk because they are more vulnerable to shocks caused by natural disasters and ill(ADB, 2003). For non-employment, women still largely do not receive equal pay to men. Besides, substantial economic work done by women in informal sector remains unaccounted in official statistics and continues to be unregulated or unprotected by laws and labor standards.

Private sector service providers of fertilizers, seeds, animal feed... usually do not have explicit measures to target women, thus there is a danger that women will have even less access to extension services (Mia Huyn, 2000). In the highly competitive environment, it required efficient storage, processing and transfer of goods, as well as information networks, which relies on a strong communication and transportation infrastructure, but not all rural farm households can meet the need of the market, while women have less capital and mobility, thus they tend to have less access to these facilities.

PART III
GENDER AND GLOBALIZATION IN THE THAI AGRICULTURE

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3.1 Introduction

3.1.1 Background

Gender issues become increasingly important in the context of globalization since it has impact on economic development of the countries. Women and men are considered as consumers, sellers, traders, workers, producers and others. As globalization intensifies along with the world trade rules, subsequently the global and domestic markets change; this will affect roles of men and women in the market. New set of the national policies under the trade liberalization in each country strongly effect on the government's economic and social activities, Therefore, the issues on gender, economics, sociality and globalization should be analyzed in an integrated manner specifically focused on the impact upon women in agricultural and rural development involving review of various research literature.

As mentioned previously, gender issues relating to economic and social development in the context of globalization, are studied focusing on agriculture, and rural development which aims to increase understanding of the opportunities and constraints that women face.

There are few researches and studies on the gender in Thailand and most of them mainly focused on social and political aspects. The study on gender related to agriculture is focused particularly on specific area, i.e. on specific villages, provinces or groups of activities. It is expected that the study on Gender and Globalization in the Thai Agriculture will be useful to policy planners to have an understanding and being aware of problems that women face in this integral world so that appropriate policies and plans will be set up in conjunction with the strengthening of women.

3.1.2 Objectives of the Study

3.1.2.1 Overall objective

The overall objective of the study is to increase understanding within the region the opportunities and constraints that women face in the context of globalization specifically with respect to agriculture and rural development with a view to develop

recommendations to the Thai government. The recommendations will aim to assist the government to develop gender sensitive policies and to implement the Gender Framework, specifically in relation to productive resources necessary to ensure that women are able to increase their productivity and value added. Therefore, in the long-term, and the implementation by the government and concerned organizations and the development as to the adopted recommendations will be the indication of success.

3.1.2.2 Specific Objectives

The major objectives are as follow:

- To study and identify gender aspects in the context of globalization in Thailand focusing ones involved in the agriculture.
- To analyze the gender specific opportunities and constraints in the context of globalization, specifically with respect to access to input and output markets, financial sources, technology, skills and information transfer in the areas of agriculture and rural development in Thailand.
- To develop recommendations for the government to facilitate women's access to the relevant skills and resources for the promotion of gender equality in agriculture and rural development in the context of globalization and create appropriate policies to implement in the gender institutional framework.

3.1.3 Research Methodology

The methodology will focuses on using qualitative approach which includes:

Literature review

Literature review and study of research/projects already implemented in Thailand, emphasizing on gender aspects in agriculture and rural development in the context of globalization, will allow the parameters of the research to be determined. The research on impacts of the trade liberalization will include collection of sex-disaggregated data, survey of findings of projects implemented, literature review of studies already carried out and the identification of area/gaps where new research needs to be undertaken. The information/data will come from published reports and or statistics and also, researches carried out by researchers.

Interview and Meeting

Participatory approach will also be used in the research. This will involve consultation with major stakeholders such as women's organization, the Ministry of Agriculture and Cooperatives, the Ministry of Commerce, NGO's. In-depth interview and group discussion are also included.

Data collection and compilation

The study mainly used secondary data made available by various governmental agencies which conducted the survey and collection of data, for example, the National Statistical Office, Department of Local Administration, and Ministry of Interior. Data compilation on agriculture and rural development are worked out from Agricultural Household Socio-

Economic Survey which was carried out by the Office of Agricultural Economics once for two years.

3.2. Literature Review of the Globalization and Agricultural Gender

3.2.1 Concept of Globalization

Globalization is the word used for the increasing global economic integration, which involves increased flows of capital, technology, people, trade and information and increased economic relationship of many kinds among countries and regions. Today, modernization makes the earlier geographic constraints shrank. Advancement of information technologies assists in narrowing boundaries among countries.

The term "globalization" has acquired considerable emotive force. Some view it as a process that is beneficial-a key to future world economic development-and also inevitable and irreversible. Others regard it with hostility, even fear, believing that it increases inequality within and between nations, threatens employment and living standards and thwarts social progress. This brief offers an overview of some aspects of globalization and aims to identify ways in which countries can tap the gains of this process, while remaining realistic about its potential and its risks. Countries that have been able to integrate are seeing faster growth and reduced poverty. By contrast some have had negative impacts on their economies, for example, in many cases, especially Africa, adverse external developments made the problems worse. As these regions changed their policies, their incomes have begun to rise. An important transformation is underway that globalization offers extensive opportunities for truly worldwide development but it is not progressing evenly.

The process of globalization started with the first transactions among country boundaries, these transactions increased and became trader's market for trade. Now globalization has expanded and not as simple as in the past. It becomes more complicated. Competitiveness in the world economy is increasing. To participate in a competitive market requires assets and endowments, information and communication facilities, capital, technology human resources, infrastructures and access to markets, etc. This will lead to the involvement of two phenomena, globalization and trade liberalization, which will have impact on social and economic development among countries. Theoretically, it is believed that trade liberalization will benefit to all concerned. In fact, opportunities and risks of becoming part of the global economy have differed greatly from country to country. The country with transition economy benefits less from the opportunities related to globalization and suffers risks due to its structure and institutional weakness.

Trade liberalization involves tariff reduction, eliminating barriers of border trade, trade in transparency and relaxing government control of the market. Thus, liberalization impacts upon government macroeconomic and social policies. Consequently, there will be relationship among non-trade concerns of gender, employment, investment and economic and social variables. Many developing countries engage in the international trade through increased exports. It creates employment, which relates to surplus low-income labor and gender as well. Susan Joeke (1999) showed that industrialization in developing countries depended upon the use of female labor in production. New job openings for women is dependent on the expansion of production of exports which lead to give opportunities for women to work and effect income and social welfare of the women.

3.2.2 Gender in the Context of Globalization

Gender issues are becoming more important, as mentioned earlier. It is believed that national economy will benefit if the roles of men and women in society are equal. However, in most parts of the world, women are poorly represented in economic decision-making, even the actual implementation of the policies has direct impact on both sex. Therefore, to increase efficiency of the global economy, the gender aspect should be brought into consideration. As mentioned before, globalization has benefit and loss to the economies and simultaneously it increased inequality treatment and living of people. In this connection, among men and women will be similarity be effected in the same manner. Nevertheless, its effect is more complicated; it is difficult to summarize the impact of globalization/trade on women, especially in the developing countries. It was found that participation of women in the labor market has increased significantly and changed during the past decade according to UNCTAD. This shifts the production in the agricultural sector from subsistent to market production and from domestic to export markets. It was also found that there were constraints by gender-based inequalities. Cash crops are considered the domain for men and subsistent crops the domain for women. Women's opportunities to produce cash crops for the market can be hampered by their lack of control over resources. UNCTAD attempted to support the developing countries to design and develop their own capacities to participate effectively in the globalization process by using the trade role as a tool in the economic development. Relating to women opportunities to get employed, the evidence showed that the rapid growth of export capacity in the manufacturing sector in the developing countries has been beneficial to women. Women gain increase in the formal wage labor market. Consequently, preference for women workers in this sector rise. As women employment increases, the income distribution was shifted between genders towards women. Thus, the consumption patterns are modified which lead to improvements in human resources.

3.3. Review of Agricultural Economics and Social Performance Related to Women in Thailand

3.3.1 Agricultural Policy and Plan Related to Women in Thailand

(1) General Economic Situation

Thailand has launched the first National Economic and Social Development Plan in 1961. Now it is under the implementation of the Ninth Plan (2002-2006). In this connection, the agricultural development plans have used the National Plan as the guidelines for implementation on developing the agricultural and rural areas. The goals of the national development in the past had been mainly on the expansion of the economy. In this respect, Thailand can be said to attain the very great success, achieving the annual growth rates of Gross Domestic Products (GDP) as much as 5 – 10 percent in the periods of the National Economic and Social Development Plans I – VII. However, the severe impact of the national economic crisis during the successive National Economic and Social Development Plan VIII (1997 – 2001) greatly shrank the economic development. Thus, only 0.83 percent of the growth rate was achieved wherein the slump of the non-agriculture was more than that of the farm sector. As the target of the growth was 3.1%, the farm sector had shown to be more absorptive, thus less adversely affected. However, the farmers had faced more difficulties in earning their living as a result of the population's income becoming less and the reduction in the domestic consumption.

Table 3.1 Growth rate of the Thai economy

Sector	Unit : percent							
	Plan1	Plan 2	Plan 3	Plan 4	Plan 5	Plan 6	Plan 7	Plan 8

GDP	8.62	9.64	7.09	7.71	5.37	10.95	7.16	0.83
AG	6.98	4.34	4.21	3.91	3.91	4.55	3.14	1.77

Source: The Office of National Economic and Social Development Board (NESDB)

Table 3.2 Sectoral share of agriculture to GDP

	Unit: percent							
Sector	Plan1	Plan 2	Plan 3	Plan 4	Plan 5	Plan 6	Plan 7	Plan 8
GDP	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
AG	35.81	29.20	25.70	21.24	19.01	14.91	10.92	10.91

Source: The Office of National Economic and Social Development Board (NESDB)

Thailand used to have a comparative advantage in agriculture through the utilization of abundant labor force, exploitation of forest lands and other natural resources in the early stage of the development. The development plans and policies also influence the growth of agriculture. However, Thailand had begun to lose its comparative advantage in this sector, looking at the percentage share in GDP. Its share has dropped sharply from 35.8 percent in the first plan to 14.9 percent in the sixth plan. And, yet, after that it remained stable during the seventh and the eighth plan at the rate of 10.9 percent

(2) Policy and Plan Related to Women in Thailand

During the First through the Fourth National Economic and Social Development Plans (1961-1981), the policy objectives and targets were aimed mainly at the economic growth, as mentioned before. Most implementation placed importance on infrastructure development, i.e. road, irrigation, electricity, etc. and facilitation on production and marketing while the development plan on human resource was not clear.

The Fifth Plan (1982-1986) was considered the first plan involving women development (including children, youth and hill tribe people). Although women were accounted for about 50 percent of the total population and labor, but their role and capability were unaccepted. This resulted in the women receiving wages lower than men. In addition, they had to work ordinary everyday chore in their home, i.e. raising children, household work and work in non-farm jobs. The objective of the program in this plan aimed to develop women education, both formal and non-formal system and to promote women to be leaders of women organization. Establishment of women development committee to coordinate, promote and support women implementation was made. Unfortunately, there were no monitoring and evaluation on the accomplishment of these development. However, it was the significant starting point from the policy level to pay more attention to women roles.

During the period of the Sixth to Seventh Plan, the women development was not identified clearly as in the Fifth one. The program was clearer in the Eighth Plan. There was content of social environment development to support women role on their rights and equal opportunity to participate in the process of economic, social and political decision making.

In the agricultural plan, the Ministry of Agriculture and Cooperatives set objectives and implementation of cope with the national plan. There was no specific plan for women development. However, this matter is not neglected later on because there were various programs/projects to develop housewives in the farm sector, mostly on their part time work.

3.3.2 Gender Aspect in the Thai economy

Gender composition in various activities has been a matter of concern not only in Thailand, but also in the other developing countries. It, thus, creates a need to have information on the nature and distribution of the gender in various statistics of the economy.

(1) Population

According to the Department of Local Administration, Ministry of Interior, women constituted about half of the total population. It slightly increased from 50.35 percent in 2000 to 54.45 percent in 2003. In contrast, the male composition slightly declined from 49.65 percent in 2000 to 49.50 percent in 2003.

Table 3.3 Population classified by sex, 1990-2003.

Unit : million persons

Year	Female	%	Male	%	Total
1990	28.12	49.95	28.18	50.05	56.30
2000	31.15	50.35	30.72	49.65	61.87
2001	31.40	50.39	30.91	49.61	62.31
2002	31.66	50.41	31.14	49.58	62.80
2003	31.83	54.45	31.22	49.50	63.05

Source: Department of Local Administration, Ministry of Interior.

(2) Labor force participation and employment situation.

The statistics show that female labor force is slightly less than the male. With reference to the National Statistical Office, there were 33.87 million of labor force in 2000. The percentage share between male and female were 54.7 and 45.3 respectively.

In 2000, about 47 percent of the total female population were employed in the agricultural sector which was relatively close to the employed male, 49.28 percent of the total male population. Proportion of the female worked in service and commercial sector were almost the same, i.e. 17.26 and 17.14 percent, respectively, which were higher than the employed male population, 12.69 and 12.43 percent. Regarding the manufacturing sector, 15.71 percent of the female and 13.51 percent of the male worked in this sector. This reflected the production characteristics which focus on labor intensiveness, especially in textile and electronics industries where most of them hired women more than men. In contrast, most men were hired in the construction sector. Only 1.2 percent of the total female population chose to work in this sector compared to 6 percent of the total male. However, the proportion did not change much during the past decade. The same was true in the transportation and communication sector, where the employment involved more male than female.

Table 3.4 Labor force and employment classified by sex, 2000.

Unit : million persons

Sex	Labor force		Employment	
	numbers	%	numbers	%
Male	18.534	54.72	18.165	55.04

Female	15.339	45.28	14.836	44.96
Total	33.873	100	23.001	100

Working decision of the labor force in each group depends upon various factors, namely expected wage rate, income from other sources, family size, and component and economic activities of household members. Economic development may change their production activities from household enterprises into commercial ones. Although, there are some changes but one thing still remains : family burden between male and female. Women, thus, usually carry both burden, i.e. family activities and labor market access.

The participation rate of labor force was low during off-season. The rate tended to decrease from 77.7 percent in 1991 to 70.6 in 2002 during off-season. In addition, the participation rate of the male labor was higher than the female.

Regarding unemployment rates, its trends reduced during the period of 1990 to 1997. However, the rates started to rise again after the economic crisis. The unemployment was found bringing the participation rate in the labor force into consideration based on sex and education level, it was considered that education is an important factor in joining economic activities.

Table 3.5 Labor participation rate by sex, 1990-2002.

Year	1990	1991	1995	1998	2000	2002
1. Off season						
Male	Na	86.6	82.2	81.0	80.3	79.8
Female	Na	58.9	63.7	61.9	61.9	61.5
Total	Na	77.7	72.9	71.4	71.0	70.6
2. In season						
Male	87.7	87.7	83.5	81.5	80.6	81.5
Female	76.3	74.5	68.9	65.8	64.9	65.6
Total	81.9	81.1	76.2	73.6	72.7	73.5

Source : National Statistical Office, Office of the Prime Minister.

Table 3.6 Unemployment rate by sex, 1990-2002.

Unit: Percent						
Year	1990	1991	1995	1998	2000	2002
1. Off season						
Male		3.0	2.3	4.7	4.1	2.9
Female		4.1	2.6	4.5	4.6	2.7
Total		3.5	2.3	4.6	4.3	2.8
2. In season						
Male	2.0	2.0	0.9	3.4	2.4	1.8
Female	2.4	3.5	1.3	3.4	2.3	1.7
Total	2.2	2.7	1.1	3.4	2.4	1.8

Source: National Statistical Office, Office of the Prime Minister.

The participation rate of the economically active population (13 to over 60 years of age) was 69.7 percent in 2000 with 77.3 and 62.3 percent for male and female, respectively. The rate was relatively high for all age groups except the age group of 13 – 14 and 15 – 19

years. It is noted that the rate of female was lower than male in all age groups. In the mean time, comparing the rates up to the last decade, the rate in 13 – 14 and 15 – 19 years groups decreased remarkably due to success of expansion of education opportunity over the country. The rate reduced sharply from 68 and 37.8 percent in 1991 for the 15 – 19 and 13 – 14 years group to 30.9 and 7.1 percent in 2000, respectively. Similarly, the rate of male fell because of the use of labor under 13 years of age was very restricted.

The participation rate for labors graduated from university is higher than other groups and there is difference in the rate between the male and female. The distinction of the rate in the low and uneducated groups, are 43% and 62% for the female and male, respectively. However, statistics from the National Statistical Office survey also showed that most women were less educated than men. Trend of the female education in younger group increased along the male ones. The number of years of their education also rose. In the young group in which their ages were less than 25 years old, women had average years of enrolment in their education of 8.2 years while it was 7.9 years for men. In 25-35 years old group, the average year was similar by sex, i.e. 10.6 years for women and 11 years for men.

Table 3.7 Participation rate in labor force classified by age group and sex, 2000.

Age group	Male	Female	total
Total	77.3	62.3	69.7
13 – 14	8.7	7.1	7.9
15 – 19	38.0	30.9	34.5
20 – 24	77.2	66.4	71.9
25 – 29	94.4	79.7	87.2
30 – 34	96.2	82.8	89.5
35 – 39	97.6	84.0	90.8
40 – 49	97.6	82.1	89.8
50 – 59	93.2	70.1	81.3
60 and over	45.8	23.1	33.6

Source : Labor Fore Survey, round 3, August 2000
National Statistical Office.

Table 3.8 Proportion of employee classified by wage and monthly salary and sex, 2000.

Wage & monthly salary Bath	Male	Female	Total
Total	100	100	100
Below 1,560	1.7	3.4	2.4
1,561 – 3,500	25.5	34.2	29.4
3,501 – 6,500	42.6	36.2	39.8
6,500 and over	28.6	24.6	26.9
Unknown	1.6	1.5	1.6

Source : Labor Force Survey, round 3, August 2000 , National Statistical Office

(3) Employment Structure of Women in the Labor Market

The Thai economic growth since the past up to now depends mainly on agriculture. Both male and female labors were mostly absorbed by the agricultural sector. The utilization of labor in other industries was thus adjusted along the expansion of the farm sector, i.e. the employment was varied seasonally. Agricultural labor migration was higher in rainy season than dry season. This caused the labor migration in other industries to become high in the dry season. Such structure in the labor market resulted in the slow development growth in the industrial sector in Thailand during the period of 1974-1984 since seasonal migration caused inefficiency in utilization of machines.

In the past, farm machines were less utilized in the rainy season in order to be adjusted with the labor situation because seasonal unemployment occurred during this period.

Table 3.9 Proportion of employed population to total population by industry,1991 and 2000

Unit : percent

Industry	1991		2000	
	male	female	male	female
Total	100	100	100	100
Agriculture	59.88	60.81	49.28	47.49
Mining	0.25	0.19	0.17	0.05
Manufacturing	10.19	12.23	13.51	15.71
Construction	5.92	1.26	6.00	1.28
Transportation	4.39	0.66	4.61	0.77
Commerce	9.78	12.80	12.43	17.14
Services	8.99	11.97	12.69	17.26
Others	0.69	0.17	0.77	0.29

Source : Labor Force Survey, round 3, August 2000
National Statistical Office, Office of the Prime Minister.

(4) Wages and Monthly Salaries

Wages and salaries received by female workers were lower than the male. The evidence was supported by NSO data which showed that about 37.6 percent of female workers earned less than 3,500 bath/month compared with 27.2 percent of the male. Considering the workers in private agencies, the difference was wider, i.e. 44.9 percent of the female had their return not exceeding 3,500 bath compared with 32.8 percent of male. In the public sector the female employees had little advantages in their salaries. The earning proportion between male and female was close, i.e., 7.7 and 6.2 percent respectively.

Table 3.10 Proportion of employees classified by wage and monthly salary and sex, 2000 .

unit : Baht

Wage & monthly salary	Male	Female	Total
Total	100	100	100
Below 1,560	1.7	3.4	2.4
1,561 – 3,500	25.5	34.2	29.4
3,501 – 6,500	42.6	36.2	39.8
6,500 and over	28.6	24.6	26.9
Unknown	1.6	1.5	1.6

Source: Labor Force Survey, round 3, August 2000 ,
National Statistical Office, Office of the Prime Minister

As to the wage rate in agriculture and non-agriculture sector, there was about 1.65-2.0 times difference in daily average wage rates between the two sectors. There were no evidences showing wage rate between men and women in agriculture. However, interviewing members of women /housewife group related to agriculture activities, it was reported that women received daily average wage 20 percent less than men. They said because of physical figure, men can do some difficult and hard tasks so that men are paid higher wages than women.

Table 3.11 Daily average wage rate in Agriculture and Non-agriculture

Year	Agriculture	Non-agriculture	The difference
1990	45	90	1:2.00
1995	75	145	1:1.93
2001	100	165	1:1.65
2002	120	175	1:1.50

As for the education of the agriculture people, the survey on Social and Economic Household Situation and Agricultural Labor Force, conducted by the Office of Agricultural Economics, Ministry of Agricultural and Cooperatives during crop year 2001/2002 showed that 51.8 percent of this group of people had compulsory education or primary level of schooling. It, thus, assumed that women have mostly had primary education level too. This was supported by interviewing the agricultural housewife groups that 80 percent of the members have the compulsory primary level.

(5) Education

According to Mingsarn Kaosa-ards' study about women education status in Thailand, the average number of years of enrolment of female and male in the households had an increasing trend during 1976 to 1998. Most of the women had less education than men. As a result of the Thai traditional culture that men or boys have had the priority to study over women or girls. However, the attitude in the Thai society has been changed due to the education of parents and globalization. Thus, the trend of female education in the young group rose significantly following the male ones and years of enrollment were also on the move, i.e. the average years of female enrollment was 8.2 for the group less than 25 years of age while it was 7.9 years for male. For the group of 25-35 years of age, the average between the two was close, 10.6 years for the female and 11 years for the male.

Table 3.12 Average number of years of enrolment classified by sex

Age	Average number of years of enrollment		Number Of household		Proportion of household (female with higher education than male)
	female	male	female	male	
>25 years					
1976	5.81	5.92	4,852,081	4,738,506	1.02
1988	7.21	7.23	4,198,997	3,952,625	1.06
1998	8.14	7.92	4,212,324	4,059,598	1.04
25-35 years					
1976	6.84	7.68	2,372,569	2,893,566	0.82

1988	8.66	9.31	2,706,393	2,937,635	0.92
1998	10.55	10.95	3,313,305	3,259,719	1.02
36-50 years					
1976	5.67	6.54	1,389,056	1,743,216	0.80
1988	6.84	7.80	1,312,400	1,373,985	0.95
1998	8.01	9.00	1,897,191	2,086,019	0.91
>50 years					
1976	4.47	5.47	1,105,604	1,151,716	0.96
1988	5.18	6.25	1,558,607	1,515,661	1.03
1998	5.85	6.78	1,463,640	1,479,063	1.00

Examining the proportion of female and male, it was found that the proportional trend increased. This means more education opportunity of the Thai women. The education equality gap between the two groups became closer due to the expansion program of education into the rural areas.

Table 3.13 Percentage share of education.

	1970		1980		1990		2000	
	female	male	female	male	female	male	female	male
total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Un-education	31.1	21.4	19.0	12.9	12.9	8.6	9.9	7.0
Primary school	64.5	70.7	71.6	72.9	70.5	69.7	59.5	58.4
High school	0.6	6.3	7.4	11.4	11.5	16.1	21.7	25.7
graduate	0.5	0.9	2.0	2.4	5.1	5.3	8.0	25.7
others	0.3	0.7	0.0	0.4	0.0	0.3	0.02	0.3

Source : National Statistical Office

(6) Literacy

The literacy rate between male and female in Thailand was not much different. Statistics showed that literacy was high as 98 percent in the group of 15-24 years old. Therefore, in the group of 15 years old and over there was a slightly dropped being 93 percent due to the elderly people being accounted in the group.

Table 3.14 Percentage share of Education

year	15-24 years old			15 years old and over		
	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
1990	98.1	97.8	98.4	93.2	95.5	91.0
1994	98.6	97.3	98.7	93.3	96.1	90.6
2000	98.8	97.8	98.1	92.6	94.9	90.5

Source : National Statistical Office

3.3.3 Gender in Agricultural and Rural Development in Thailand.

(1) Status of Woman in the Thai Agricultural.

There was a significant decline of percentage share of agricultural structure in the Thai economy. However, the agricultural sector is still the important sector to the Thai economy. His Majesty King Bhumipol Aduldej, the present King of Thailand, addresses the importance of agriculture that “Our country’s economy has long depended on the agricultural sector. Most of the nation’s revenues generated for development have come from this sector. We could say that the prosperity of this country depends on agricultural sector.” Its importance can be seen from.

- The agricultural sector still occupies a considerable number of population which was accounted more than 50 percent of total population.
- In the meantime, the agricultural sector occupies more than 50 percent of the total labor force.
- The agricultural products are input to drive an expansion as well as growth in the other sectors, for example, agro-processing sector.

The national census, carried out by the National Statistical Office in 1990 found that Thailand had population about 56.3 million. It was counted that 50.05 percent of the total was male while 49.95 percent was female. There was a slight change, however, among male and female population, with reference to the census in 2000. In 2000, there were 61.87 million persons of which 30.72 millions were male with 49.65 percent while 31.15 millions or 50.35 percent was female. It was estimated that the percentage share of female significantly rose to 54.45 in 2003, while there was a small change in the male.

The Office of Agricultural Economics, Ministry of Agricultural and Cooperatives has carried out the study on Social and Economic Household

Situation and Agricultural Labor Force during crop year 1995/96 and reported that the population in agriculture* were about 26.41 million people. The study which aimed to assess agriculture policy affecting the living of farmers. Unfortunately, the study did not figure out the numbers between men and women who were affected from such policy.

However, in the crop year 2001/2002, which the latest study was undertaken, a clear picture was made for men and women population in this sector. It was found that total agricultural population was 25.06 million people, 49.9 percent of which was devoted to women and the rest was men.

Table 3.15 Agriculture population by sex

Sex	1995/96		1998/99		2001/2002	
Female	13.24	50.9	n.a	n.a	12.50	49.9
Male	12.77	49.1	n.a	n.a	12.56	50.1
Total	26.01	100	25.87	100	25.06	100

Source : The Office of Agricultural Economics.

The study on Social and Economic Household Situation and Agricultural Labor Force showed a significant decrease of people who work in this sector. One reason which can be explained is that the income from agricultural activities themselves is less than income from other activities. In the agricultural population means :

1. People who regularly serve agricultural activities all through a crop year.
2. Members of a family who move to serve agricultural activities during crop year.

3. Members of family who temporarily work more in agriculture rather than other activities meantime, the agricultural activities always face unstable climatic conditions, price fluctuation as well as the overwhelming strength from non-agricultural activities such as industry, trade, services etc.

(2) Female labor in agricultural sector

During the period of the third plan (1974 – 1979), most of the additional female labor moved to agricultural sector. However, the rate of female migration to the farm sector reduced considerably during 1983 – 1987 and 1992 – 1998. The proportion of female labor to total labor force also decreased during 1992 – 1998, a reduction from 33.1 percent in 1992 to 30 percent in 1987. Changes in female labor structure were hypothesized as follows

Firstly, the irrigation projects expanded considerably after 1973. It caused the demand for labor to rise in the dry season. Female labor in the farm sector greatly increased during 1974 – 1979 along with the expansion of irrigated area. In 1976, it increased at the rate of 16.4 percent annually. Three years later, the rate still rose at the rate of 4.7 to 6.5 percent. The rate averaged 6.9 percent during 1974 – 1979 but it reduced to 4.23 percent during 1983 – 1987. From 1988, the irrigated area was 0.91 percent reduced to 2.8 percent. The expansion of the irrigation systems caused the farm production to rise. Consequently, the demand for labor increased following the expanded irrigated area. However, the trend of female labor in the farm labor may reduce due to no more addition of the irrigated area, more alternative of jobs because of high education, and more information in occupation.

Secondly, international prices of farm products were favorable during 1974 which responded to increased demand. This caused an expansion of production areas. However, taking forest areas into consideration, it was found that the areas reduced remarkably at the rate of 9.06 percent during 1974 – 1978 or 29.1 million rai (11.64 acre). The rate decreased continuously to 1 percent of the total area or 3.3 million rai (1.32 acre). The decrease caused the demand for female labor to rise in the farm sector.

However, an expanded use of farm machines caused decreasing trend of the female labor. It was believed that the farm machines are usually developed along with male labor utilization rather than female. This caused surplus female labor because increase in the farm machines did not substitute female labor directly.

Globalization is a factor contributing to the severity of the economic crisis of the Thai open economy during the Plan VIII, having a continuing impact spilling over the other sectors. In the farm sector, the reduced farm productivity had certainly created more unemployment and underemployment. In this regard, women has been expected to be the first group of people affected since they are deemed excess labor with low educational attainment. Furthermore, the migratory ability to work elsewhere is not as much as the male counterparts, for their having to be responsible and taking care of children, husbands and parents in addition to the household cores.

The information on the decline of people in agriculture has been supported by the study on “Women labors in Village Enterprise : A Dimension of Development” by Benja Jirapatrapimon, 1999. The study stated that more farmers had stopped working in the farm due to low returns from agricultural activities whereas some of them had sold their farm lands to real estate developers, financial bankers or brokers. In order to look for an opportunity for themselves and their families, they headed to work in other sectors such as

being labor in town as well as leaving to be employed aboard. Most of the people who left agricultural activities were men. In this connection, women, children together with old people were left to work in the farms. Thus, women in the agricultural sector tends to increase accordingly. Women not only work in the farms but they are also responsible for their household work.

(3) Accessibility to credit of women in Agriculture

From the Agricultural Household on social and Economic Survey crop year 2001/2002, farm borrowings was accounted for 3.36 million households or 59.43 percent of the total households. The figures indicated a high accessibility to the farm credit sources with 87.44 percent being borrowed from institutional organization, for example, the Bank of Agriculture and Cooperatives (BAAC). The Village Credit Fund, which was initiated by the present government, was also the main source of borrowing of the rural people. In this connection, 71.8 percent of loans and credits were used for farm activities where as the rest was used for household consumption.

Lands are considered to be the key assets to guarantee the loans and credits from the resource funds. According to the Advanced Report of 2003 Agricultural Survey, farm holding were almost equal between women and men. So that, male and female are considered to have the equal accessibility for borrowing from the resources fund. With respect to the Thai culture, men, mostly are the head of the family. The decision making in the family was also led by men. Women were usually being the followers

Table 3.16 Farm holding 2003

Sex	4-7.6 acre	8-15.6 acre	others	Unit : percent
				total
Male	14.12	12.58	23.39	50.09
Female	13.95	12.41	23.54	49.91

Source : National Statistical Office

3.4. Impact of Globalization

With reference to the concept of globalization involving linkages of global economies, flow of the investment funds, technology, information, trade, information network, etc., the Thai economy which has long been entered in globalization is assessed to continue to be effected both positively as well as negatively as a result of global economic changes. As to the impact on Thailand and certainly on the labor, the women labor in particular, it is described as follow.

1. The Thai economy is heavily relied on the world economy as the percentage share of her exports and imports to the GDP has risen significantly since 1990 and accounted for about 50 percent of GDP in 2002.

With rules and regulations of the World Trade Organization (WTO) and trade liberalization under the ASEAN Free Trade Area (AFTA) which Thailand has join since 1993, Thailand was capable to expand her exports and imports significantly. Thailand's trade volume in terms of 27 percent and 39 percent of export shares of GDP respectively.

Table 3.17 Percentage Share of Trade to GDP, 1990-2002.

unit : percent

Year	GDP	Total		Agriculture	
		Export	Import	Export	Import
1990	100.00	27.01	39.06	10.27	5.76
1995	100.00	33.54	43.82	9.72	5.10
1997	100.00	38.05	40.66	10.24	4.84
2000	100.00	56.15	50.66	12.72	5.60
2002	100.00	54.10	50.96	12.73	5.97

Sources : 1. NESDB

2. Customs Department, Ministry of Finance

In 1995, the initial year for WTO and AFTA members to comply its external economic activities expansion of Thailand's trade volume was more progressive that its export contributions to GDP became 33 percent in 1995 and 54 percent in 2002 Likewise, the import trend looked similar.

However, the farm trade of Thailand did not perform as remarkably as that of the total trade in the same period as reflected by non-significant changes of the farm trade's share in GDP. In this sense, the benefit of Thailand's participation in the global economic activities did not really materialize. The farm commodities are regarded to be quite sensitive and the farm producers of almost all countries are constantly protected. Some countries, including Thailand, even delay their market access commitments.

2. The farm sector is not the direct beneficiary of the globalization but the direct impact often falls into the non-farm sector which enhance the trade volume to grow as against GDP. The incremental increases act to canvass the resources of the farm sector for their production includes the labor. Consequently, the resources show that while the farm labor, both male and female were reduced, employment in the other sectors climbed up.

3. Trade expansion is strongly associated with a specific demand for female labor in production. However, with low education and skillfulness of the female labors, the female workers received lower wages than male at the same level.

4. The study finds that globalization involving networking of the information adds to education opportunities of the female as more and more of them entered into higher education. However, some training activities in agriculture career are prepared for men and women are executed, for example raising cattle. Technology in agriculture are also invented and prepared for men, for instance, plough machine, tractors etc.

5. There is another impact on the gender from this globalization. When the structures in the Thai economy has been changed from agrarian base to non-agrarian base, it forced women to work harder. Women in rural areas not only work in the houses (taking care of children, elderly, cooking, etc.) but they also work in the field, in factory and extra work at home like simple processing agricultural products. Based on interview the housewife groups in the rural areas, 100 percent of women takes care almost of the family work. In addition, women have less leisure time or private time. Unfortunately, there is no study or research indicating that women have more stress or being less healthy having more burden with less leisure time.

6. Thailand has lost its comparative advantage in agriculture to other sectors so that the share of agricultural sector to GDP has declined significantly. In order to sustain the agriculture and its people, the government introduced the activities which is able to increase the value added of agricultural products. In addition, the government has launched the project named “One Tam boon (or village) One Product (OTOP)”. The activity not only increase the value added of the farm products but also increase income of the family and help reduced the poverty as well. It can be said that it is a successful project of the agriculture that the farm households are increasing capable to survive in the globalization.

Technique of processing the products has been transferred by various government organizations to villagers who are mainly in the rural areas. Women, in this connection, mostly benefit from the transfers. The OTOP products have been developed from time to time by villagers themselves and also inspired by the consumer’s preferences, domestic and the world. Nowadays, the OTOP products create more than 80,000 millions of baht (2,000 millions US dollars) a year where as women in rural areas earn more income from more work.

8. In addition, another important impact apparent arises out of the globalization. Rigorous expansion of the agricultural women development programs is seen in the organization of the farm housewife groups. Their aims include transfers of the production technique, exchange of know-how and group action for sustainability of the group management. The number of farm housewife groups arose significantly, from 1,411 groups to 3,729 groups in 2003, with the support from the Department of Agricultural Extension, Ministry of Agriculture and Cooperatives.

3.5. Summary and Recommendations

Reviewing the studies, researches policies and plans related to gender in general and in the farm sector together with this study, it can be summarized and recommendations shared as follows.

1. Since the past decades, goal and objectives of the development plans have not yet given priority to gender issues, indicating the weakness on setting and implementing the socio-economic development policy and plan in the Thai society. As women are believed to help and sustain the economy, women need an opportunity to increase their capability of work. In addition there should be plans for developing women in light of the safety net for the country. Plans should involve opportunities for education, vocation as well as participation in the society.

These opportunities will encourage and strengthen the capability of women so that they are able to find good jobs, increase family income and lift up their living

2. With the integration of the Thai and world economy, information and technology continue to spill over to the country. It is recognized that the information and technology are important to the country’s development. In this regard, policy and plan on human resources development (HRD) should be set up as priority of the development equally for men and women.

3. As mentioned before that there was no comprehensive development plan for female in the social and economic development plan. Thus, data and information disaggregated into sex were not much available

Basic data and information are necessary for policy makers and researchers to formulate a good policy and plan for development of the gender. In addition, authorities concerned in collecting and compiling data are suggested to survey and compile data on the gender.

4. Women in agriculture are commonly skillful and gifted in household tasks, for example, cooking, embroidery, etc. The field survey for this study has found that women are encouraged to form into a village group that they have expertise in which members share responsibility to undertake the group work. The popular activity is the simple agricultural processing (or household processing), for instance, fermented agricultural products (garlic, soybean and others) handicraft and rice crackers. Women can do processing at home and deliver their products to the group center for marketing in the name of the group. This activity is also in accordance with the OTOP project. The household processing not only increase the family income but also increase the capability and efficiency of women in rural areas as well. What they want are transfers of the processing techniques and seeking marketing outlets. In this regard, the government agencies and NGOs are looked upon as the bodies to support their desires. Therefore, the agricultural planners working on the development of the women's potentials should formulate plans and programs on transfers of production techniques for small processing enterprises stressing on food hygiene/safety for consumers' confidence and attractive packaging.

The world activities are always on the move so women has to move along. To date, study visit and knowledge exchange among the neighboring countries are also important to women to continue their work in this globalization. Thus, government agencies and NGOs as well should put this into consideration and set forth the implementation.

3.6 Conclusion

An integration of the world has effected the successive economic development of Thailand as shown from the favorable growth rate of GDP since the last four decades. The country has adjusted the development plans and strategies to cope with the dynamic change of the world. Such developments lead to changes in the economy's structure from agricultural base to industrial one. In connection, the resources in agriculture, i.e. lands, labors, have been mobilized to stimulate the prosperity of the non-agricultural sector and the country. The income gap between the agricultural and non-agricultural sector is getting wider and wider which brings the farm sector and its people suffer.

The impacts from the change have diverted the way of living in the rural areas and the farm sector. Generally, women in agriculture and rural areas carry out the household work while men take a burden in the farm. Nevertheless, in this changing world, women take more responsibility besides the house work. Some women leave their homes and farms for the higher income in town to substitute the declining income from their farm. Their lives take more risks in other jobs and in urban areas because of the lack of education and skillfulness. Although the dynamic world have increased the accessibility of women in education, employment, loans and credits but these have made women to work more and harder. The more they work, the less privacy and leisure time they have.

Women are the main group to support the family and the economy, strengthen and reduce poverty. Women take various roles in the society: mothers, labors, housemaids, leaders, etc. However, policy still fails to consider the roles of women even if they have the same rights as men. Women are inferior against to men in almost every activity. Thus, it is necessary for policy makers, as well as the women themselves to understand the way of

interaction of men and women in the society and push forward the accurate and appropriate development. In this connection, policy makers should consider a long term together with the short term of plans and programs for improvement capability and productivity of women. In particular, HRD is the most essential program for the women in the farm sector and rural areas.

PART IV

REGIONAL RECOMMENDATIONS AND AWARENESS RAISING

4.1. Improve possibility for resources access through the interventions that are designed and implemented in a participatory and demand-based approach

Increasing incomes of women through a series of interventions: increasing access to appropriate terms of credit and training; strengthening farming inputs and market access for agricultural, livestock and non-farm products; ensuring equal access to non-farm employment opportunities; providing consistent and relevant information on new technologies and market opportunities.

Empowering and improving the self-confidence and skills of women through mentoring programs, community groups and leadership development. Providing scholarships, particularly for young women, should be made available under conditions that meet the needs of girls and women.

Improving the quality and gender sensitivity of extension services. Strengthening and training for extension workers at the national, provincial, district and commune levels in gender analysis, gender-equitable program development and implementation. Participation targets for women and men should be compulsory for all public agricultural extension training activities, and monitored through systems of accountability that evaluate service delivery using gender and sex disaggregated indicators.

Strengthening community infrastructures and services that have a direct impact on women's labor time (e.g. water supply and sanitation, childcare, etc.). At the grass root level, childcare services should be offered and subsidized by the local authorities.

Publishing and private agricultural services should include farm economics and marketing. The periodic but routine provision of farm economists with an understanding of gender issues can improve the quality of extension and training services.

Improving effectiveness and sustainability of literacy programs for poor ethnic communities. National literacy programs should be adequately financed, including monitoring and evaluation. Specific needs of ethnic minority women, which vary significantly among ethnic groups and locations, need to be factored into design and delivery of public services in agriculture.

4.2. Continuing implementation process of policy and institutional changes, transforming social attitudes and narrowed down negative impacts of the globalization

Each economies should establish formal mechanisms for M&E and annual reviews of socio economic development plans to ensure the engendering of national and provincial plans. In addition, promoting the review, enforce and ensure consistency in national

legislation, laws and policies - particularly labor, civil servant employment regulations to ensure that women and men have equal rights and benefits.

It is needed focus on reform key Labor and Human Resource legislation and procedures to ensure gender equality in recruitment, hiring, re-appointment, promotion, retirement, professional development and salary and benefits in both the public and private sectors.

Considering a full time Gender Equality paid position in the local authorities with responsibility to achieve gender equality and mainstreaming gender in sectoral programs, Provide incentives to the private sector for ensuring equal opportunities for women and men.

Mainstream women in the agricultural and rural development sector through affirmative action policies at vocational schools, universities and among public and private employers. Support further development of experimental female owned SMEs in the agriculture sector.

Mass media programs, advertisements and propaganda for the agricultural sector must be gender sensitive and aim to promote gender equality; this may require the development of guidelines and training for staff working in the mass media.

Capture global opportunities in trade, capital flows: expand employment opportunities especially for women and the poor, focus on productive jobs, emphasise labour intensive industrialisation.

Protect poor women and men from vulnerabilities: upgrading skills, increasing flexibility of skills to respond to changing labour market demands, maintaining reasonable working conditions (wages and labour standards) increase productivity of informal sector (facilitate access to credit, markets etc), anti-poverty programmes.

Overcome resource limitations from constrained fiscal policies, restructure public expenditure to benefit women and the poor through targeted programmes for education and health, basic infrastructure.

Promote productivity of small-scale agriculture, micro enterprises and the informal sector through increased access to credit and other productive resources.

Interventions should not be limited to temporary 'safety nets' but should address long term income generation needs of affected populations thereby ensuring sustainable livelihoods.

Policies must address gender specific constraints at the macro level (legal framework), at the meso level (institutional reforms), and at the micro level: (creating incentives which facilitate women's participation at the household and enterprise level.)

PART V: ANNEX

GENDER AND COFFEE OF DAK LAK OF VIETNAM

In the trend of integration into the global economy, countries like Vietnam follow the oriented export policy specially agro-products have resulted in many achievements, however, the negative effects of this process also pose threats to the agricultural economy.

Dak Lak's experience is typical of the impact of trade liberalization on producers and traders, especially women and the poor. Coffee prices reached a historical high in the 1990s, precipitating over-production and then price dampening. This has had a serious negative impact on the livelihoods of Vietnamese coffee producers, particularly in Dak Lak province, the largest coffee-producing area in Viet Nam.

Given current low global coffee prices, increasing globalization, and the continuing move toward trade liberalization, such situations are likely to happen with greater frequency, while farmers, especially women and the poor, will continue to be the most vulnerable to them. This case study aim to elaborated impacts of trade liberalization on gender, coffee producers in Dak Lak province of Vietnam supporting to the study gender, globalization in agriculture of Vietnam.

5.1 Introduction of Vietnam Coffee production and market

Since renovation process, the coffee production area was largely expanded. Total coffee area of the country was 150,000 ha, accounted for 1.32% of the total crop area in 1994 increasing to 516.7 thousand ha in 2000, or 4.14% of Viet Nam's total crop area. Coffee production area increased 23 times while output increased more than 83 times in the period of 1980- 2000 (ICARD, 2003).

In the 1990s, high coffee prices encouraged producers to expand coffee production, especially in Viet Nam. Between 1993 and 2000, the area of land under coffee production increased by 1.56%/year world-wide, while productivity increased by 2.45%/year. Viet Nam's coffee cultivation area increased dramatically, by about 23.9%/year, and production responded with a huge jump of 20%/year (in 1994, 1995, and 1996, production grew at the even higher rates of 48.5%, 45.8% and 33% respectively).

Coffee became the key export commodity of agro-products of Viet Nam in the 1990s. Annual export value was US\$400-600 million, held about 6% and 10% of national export revenues. Viet Nam has become the second biggest coffee exporter in the world market after Brazil. Viet Nam exports coffee to 59 countries. However, coffee domestic consumption in Viet Nam remains low at around 30,000 tons/year, mainly in urban areas and in the southern.

More than 95% of output for export and with highly liberalized economy, the Vietnamese coffee has become closely linked with the world coffee trade. Export and domestic prices were affected by the world price fluctuations. In reality, Viet Nam's coffee trade is relatively more liberalized than its trade in other agricultural products. Viet Nam's coffee-

related trade policy has been geared toward further liberalization. All enterprises have their own autonomy in buying, selling and processing coffee for export as well as domestic consumption. In recent years, the coffee export tax has been exempted. The world coffee price has clearly had directly influence on Viet Nam's export price and on farmers' selling prices.

5.2. Coffee production in Dak Lak province

5.2.1 Dak Lak Profiles

Dak Lak is located in the Central Highlands of Vietnam, about 350km from HoChi Minh City, Dak Lak's population was about 1.8 million people (2002). Dak Lak's ethnic minority population was 0.36 million, of which the E De make up 64.5% (18.4% of the provincial population) and the M'ngong 17% (4.8% of the provincial population). The annual population growth rate is 6.18%.

With favorable conditions of area, soil and labor, Dak Lak has a potential for development of agro-forestry, particularly specialized agricultural production areas. Being located in a tropical region facilitates to develop diversified crops. There are two seasons making crops growth easy. With most of its basal soil having advantageous qualities such as fine texture, high water absorption level, and high fertility, Dak Lak is well-suited for the development of various industrial crops including coffee, rubber, pepper, and cashew, as well as short-term crops such as hybrid maize and cotton.

5.2.2 Coffee Production Development

The rapidly increased market coffee price in mid-1990s, together with a reduced global coffee supply of the main coffee exporters in the world which resulted in an increase in Viet Nam's coffee export price, income from coffee production rather than other crops. thus, farmers in Dak Lak substituted production of coffee for that of other crops.

In the 1990-2000 period, the coffee area of the province expanded greatly, by about 14.1%/year. By the year 2000, the coffee plantation area in Dak Lak had reached 260,000 ha. Coffee now accounts for 57.43% of agricultural land in Dak Lak and 86.24% of the perennial industrial crops area in the province, and Dak Lak has become one of the biggest coffee-specialized regions in the country, accounting for **50% of total area and 53% of national output**

However, the increase in coffee production in Dak Lak has been extensive rather than intensive (Table 5.1). In that period, coffee output growth was 30.4%/year, of which two-thirds was due only to expansion of the area being planted to coffee. The average coffee yield in Dak Lak is about 2.45 tons/ha.

Table 5.1: Increasing yield, area and output of Dak Lak coffee, 1990-2000

		% increase
Yield	7.0	
Harvested area	23.4	
Output	30.4	

Source: ICARD, 2003

The declined coffee export price led to reduced farm gate price, which hit a record low in the last two years. In Dak Lak, the price of dry coffee bean decreased from VND 11,500/kg in January 2000 to VND 4,000-4,500/kg in December 2000, an overall reduction of 62%. Compared to January 1999's level of VND 20,500-21,000/kg, the coffee price fell by 80%. (Fresh coffee prices and dried coffee prices are equal to one-fifth and one-half of the coffee bean price, respectively). With coffee prices fluctuating, export companies are not willing to store as much coffee as they had previously, further reducing demand.

5.2.3 Coffee-growing households

In general, in Dak Lak farm size of a coffee produce household was about 1 ha per household, not only Kinh participate in growing coffee but also ethnic minority households. High coffee prices encouraged them to expand their production area by reclaiming wasteland and cutting down forest land. Coffee producers used their family labors as the main source of labor force and capital is mainly borrowed from banks, household savings and other sources. In favorable areas (with good soil, flat land, stable water source, favorable transportation conditions, and so on) and in specialized coffee-growing regions, coffee is the main income source, so the households in this group allocate most of their resources to planting coffee. In less favorable areas, agricultural production is more diversified with a lower level of investment and less intensive coffee production.

Among the households engaged in coffee production, 10-15% have contracts with state farms and coffee companies. Those households have benefits to enjoy under their contracts but also obligations to fulfill and sell their products to those enterprises. They were provided production materials in advance such as fertilizer, seedlings, and service like irrigation; some households receive a monthly salary. However, they have to mobilize their own labor, and may have to invest in more fertilizer or other inputs than are provided by the contractor.

Except households contracted to state farms, almost all coffee-producing households sell their produce to local private middlemen. These households do not get support from the government and are not involved in contracts to sell their coffee to processing and exporting companies.

5.2.4 Gender Participation and Ethnic Minority in coffee production

In Dak Lak, ethnic minority groups follow a matriarchal system. The typical work division between husband and wife is elaborated as shown in the Table 5.2.

Table 5.2: Gender divisions in work and decision-making in ethnic minority families

Activity	Wife	Husband
<i>1. Housework</i>		
- Cooking, washing	✓	
- Taking care of children	✓	
- Chopping/carrying firewood, carrying water	✓	
<i>2. Coffee plantation work</i>		

Activity	Wife	Husband
- Digging holes	Helps husband	✓
- Planting coffee seedlings		✓
- Weeding	Helps husband	✓
- Fertilizing	Helps husband	✓
- Watering		✓
- Spraying pesticides		✓
- Making brooms, breaking off dried branches, cleaning coffee gardens	✓	✓
- Harvesting coffee	✓	✓
- Transporting, loading		✓
- Protecting products	Some	✓
- Drying coffee	✓	✓
<i>3. Other work</i>		
- Fishing		✓
- Harvesting vegetables and young bamboo	✓	
- Working for others	✓	✓
<i>4. Decision-making</i>		
- Purchasing materials	✓	✓
- Selling coffee	✓	✓
- Buying assets, machines	✓	✓
- Cutting down coffee trees		✓
- Planting other crops		✓
- Borrowing from banks	Don't know	✓
- Borrowing from others	✓	✓

Source: Result of Discussions with women's groups in Dak Lak Field Survey, 2003

In general, like Kinh women, ethnic minority women have to cover almost housework, including heavy works such as chopping and carrying wood. Production works and other heavy works for example coffee plantation work, are done by men, and women also help their husbands when needed. Children's work follows an informal split with “sons helping fathers and daughters assisting mothers.” Widows or women with sick husbands have to do all the work themselves, including such tasks as pesticide spraying.

Decisions to buy production and household materials and sell coffee are based on agreements between husband and wife. If the wife does not agree, the husband will not act alone, showing that the wife is not only the “money keeper.” However, gender equality remains very hard to attain, even in matriarchal communities. Although women play an important decision-making role when dealing with family assets, most important decisions requiring technical knowledge, such as cutting back coffee trees, diversifying crops or borrowing money, are the responsibility of men. The main reason for this, according to ethnic minority women, is that “husbands know more than wives do, because husbands have a higher educational level and can grasp more information.” The “red book” of land certification is registered under the name of the man (men are still considered to be the household heads), generating contradictions: inequality in land control between men and

women is enshrined in these books, but according to the matriarchal system, ethnic minority women are the main inheritors in the family.

Women also suffer in education, where “in case families lack money for sending children to school, girls must be the first to stay at home to help with the housework.” There were almost no ethnic minority women leaders in the survey areas, except for Women’s Union officials (only men hold the position of village head and take part in commune leadership). The reasons as perceived by the ethnic minority women themselves are that “they are low-educated, and they are very busy with housework.” One encouraging sign is that there have been some ethnic minority women working as primary school teachers recently.

5.2.5 Private middlemen and coffee export businesses

Among the private middlemen, the percentage of women was about one-third, this proportion of exporter was still lower, most of them are Kinh people. Private middlemen purchase over 90% of farmers' coffee. Big communes generally have a group of middlemen who purchase coffee from households. Price differences between various middlemen are about VND 50-100/kg; the middlemen gain their margins mainly from primary processing (removing extraneous matter, rubbing and polishing) and sorting. The key task of the middlemen, however, is transportation of coffee from producers to processing/exporting enterprises. Neither households nor middlemen use wet processing methods because of the high costs involved. Many private middlemen (over one-third of surveyed firms) have received loans from banks, at an average of VND 600 million.

Coffee export businesses have established networks with many district agents and some affiliated middlemen; district agents have their own networks in coffee-producing communes. Once contracts are signed with foreign customers, these businesses will often pay 80-90%, or even 100%, in advance for agents to purchase coffee (without payment in advance, agents might not abide by contracts should prices change).

5.3. The impact of trade liberalization on coffee production in Dak Lak

5.3.1 The Positive impact on livelihoods

High coffee price in first and middle years of 1990s helped to reduce poverty in the coffee-growing regions of the surveyed districts of Dak Lak. The poverty rate in 2000 had decreased greatly compared to the previous year, falling to only 8.69%, but according to the new government criteria, the incidence actually rose to 25.55% (Dak Lak DOLISA, 2003). Most of households have access electricity and purchase many assets during this period. On average, about 70% of surveyed households now own bicycles, 45% television sets, and 25% motorbikes and "tricycles" or tractors etc. Thanks to the development of national and provincial electricity networks, many households are able to access groundwater by digging wells and installing water pumps. Yet coffee is a water-intensive crop. It is estimated that about 40% of the current coffee plantation area is irrigated by groundwater.

GDP per capita was highly increasing from US\$204 in 1990 to US\$390 in 2000. The agricultural structure has been shifted to ward develop industrial crops such as coffee and pepper for export. Dak Lak become a well agricultural performance province and achieved the highest volume of export turnover of agro products. Beside that, local infrastructure and other facilities such as electricity, school, clinic systems etc. have been improved

Farmers have opportunities in application of new production methods from subsistence to market oriented purpose.

Table 5.3: Ownership of various assets by district (%)

Assets	Total	District		
		Cu Mgar	Buon Don	Lak
Electricity	99.1	99.7	98.7	98.8
Bicycle	69.0	71.9	75.8	57.5
Radio	54.3	70.0	72.6	37.1
Television	45.9	47.3	42.5	48.3
Motorbike	25.8	27.8	24.0	25.5
Tractor	25.0	22.4	30.8	21.2
Water pump	24.2	24.3	28.6	18.9

Source: Field Survey, 2003.

5.3.2 Negative Impacts

As we mentioned in the previous section, during the past years, growing coffee in Dak Lak have improved living standard and poverty reduction. However, the decline in coffee prices in the period 1999- 2002, since that period has to some extent reversed this trend. As concluded by one farmer, “the rich have become medium-off people, the medium-off the poor, and the poor have fallen into hunger...” On average, 45% of coffee-growing households now lack adequate nourishing food, including rice, 66% have bank debts, and 45% have members who have turned to selling their labor to earn money (Table 5.4). However, the impact of declining coffee prices is different among different types of households specially falling into the female-head households whose have more vulnerabilities in terms of information, market and recourses access.

Table 5.4: Difficulties of households by district (%)

Difficulty	Total	District		
		Cu Mgar	Buon Don	Lak
Have debt from bank	66.0	78.6	68.0	48.3
Work as hired laborers	45.7	38.5	47.9	51.9
Lack food	45.0	36.0	36.6	65.9
Have debt from traders or middlemen	6.6	0.0	11.0	9.5
Have debt from mass organizations (Women's Union, Farmers' Union)	4.8	8.5	1.6	4.2

Source: Field Survey, 2003.

5.3.2.1 The impact on gender and ethnic minorities

The most notable impact of low coffee prices on ethnic minority women has been a change in family diet and a reduction in family income, particularly in coffee monoculture households. According to result of the survey a women stated that “Previously they had enough food, always had several hundred thousand VND in savings in case of illness, and

never ate cassava. But now for the lack of rice, many of them must eat cassava. People here started planting cassava in 2000.” Poor women report that now they have to earn money, for example by going to the forest every day to harvest young bamboo, whereas “previously they only went to the forest for one or two days after the harvest.” Women feel the increasing pressure from these difficulties, as they are responsible for so many important aspects of the household, including supplying rice, while men only “go to work, and do not concern themselves with such trivial matters.” They added, “we not only find difficulty in terms of our material life but also in terms of our spirit, because we must worry for tomorrow. We are not comfortable with the current situation.” Single women feel much worse because in their case, “they do not know with whom they can discuss their difficulties and what they should do.”

Another key worry of women is that their children may have to quit school because of lack of money. Even some richer families who had been sending their children to secondary or high school in towns or cities have had to force their children to drop out of school due to high costs.

Relationships with their husbands are also of great concern to women. “A hard life makes both discouraged so quarrels happen regularly.” However, few women interviewed complained about the drinking habits of their husbands, even though they lack rice to eat but still have tens of kg of rice to make alcohol.

Finally, the traditional communal use of forests by ethnic minorities has been circumscribed. Instead, ethnic minorities have been forced to use forests unsustainably, as immigration has decreased the length of the fallow period for shifting cultivation. At the same time, ethnic minorities' awareness of legal regulations is limited.

5.3.2.1 Indebtedness

Low prices caused losses for coffee producers and traders in Dak Lak of VND 1,400 billion (Dak Lak Statistic Office, 2002), discouraging people from further investing in coffee, and leading farmers to destroy several thousand ha of coffee plantation area in order to grow other crops. Meanwhile, farmers face indebtedness as it is difficult to repay loans borrowed in better times for expansion of coffee production.

Table 5.5: Debt by household type and source (VND million)

<i>Household</i>	Banks	Private organizations	Friends, relatives	Total debt
Rich	3	4.9	3.3	11.2
Medium-off	8.2	1.2	2.6	12
Poor	2.9	2.5	1.1	6.5
Very hungry	4.9	0.8	0.1	5.8

Source: Field Survey, 2003.

Over 60% of surveyed households now have debts with banks, other organizations, or individuals, averaging about VND 11.6 million (rich and medium-off households), VND 6.5 million (poor households), and VND 5.8 million (hungry households), boad-based survey data on all households (both those with and without debts) gave an average debt amount of VND 2.1 million in Cu Mgar, VND 2.4 million in Buon Don, and VND 0.8

million in Lak.(see Table 5.5).The debt burden of the average poor household surveyed is three times its average 2001 income.

Nearly 90% of the poor have not found ways to repay their debts, those are vulnerability and female-head households, hoping instead for preferential credit policies from the Government, suspension of debt and loan rollover, some still fear they will have to sell their land to repay their debts. One problem is that some poor households do not use their loans for production purposes, leaving them with no revenue from which to make loan payments. Some farmers also face difficulties in paying agricultural taxes, though if they want to borrow more, some banks require them to pay their taxes.

Using a loan for a non-productive purpose makes repayment difficult

Mrs Be's is a poor M'ngong family in Ye Yuk village, Dak Phoi commune, Lak district. The couple has three little children and 2 *sao* of coffee trees. Without applying fertiliser, last year they harvested only 100 kg of dry coffee beans, all of which they sold, earning just VND 200,000. This year they have not watered their coffee trees at all because they have no money to hire a water pump (one period of watering their trees takes 4 hours at a cost of VND 15,000/hour). They also have 4 *sao* of dry land for rice and subsidiary crops. They are short of rice from March to September every year. Mrs Be's husband has to sell his labour to other families and weave papooses for money to buy rice.

Last year Mrs Be got a preferential loan of VND 2 million from the "Women Union's fund." She spent all of it on roof sheets to prepare to erect her house. The core problem is that the money has been spent to buy the roof sheets while they do not have enough rice. How can she repay the loan?

Some middlemen firms have gone bankrupt, having been forced to sell at a loss. In the past, they had been able to store coffee to sell at higher prices later in the season, but due to abrupt price fluctuations and price cuts in 2000-2001, the storage of coffee has become very risky. Meanwhile, coffee processing and exporting enterprises currently have bad bank debts on the order of billions or even tens of billions of VND, with an average of over VND 5 billion per enterprise. Because of this, they are now paying special attention to diversifying their products. All enterprises surveyed now have fax machines and computers connected to the internet to facilitate analysis of the international market and signing of contracts. These enterprises are in a strong position to provide information on prices and state credit policies to private middlemen, yet presently they focus only on short-term information.

5.3.2.3 Insufficient capital

Most poor households have found it difficult to access official loan sources, in part because they have less land (hence less collateral), a lower educational level, and fewer saving opportunities. Taking debt size as a proxy for the degree of access to credit, households suffering from food insecurity have less access to loans than do the food-secure in all three districts surveyed. Even when the poor are able to borrow, some on-lend to other people, using the interest to repay the bank, but leaving them with no capital for farming.

Women's saving/credit groups are also facing difficulties. Every month, their members pay interest and put aside savings. The amount is not large (VND 10-15,000/month), but

when coffee prices are down, many of the women cannot contribute or repay their loans, limiting the operation and even viability of the groups.

Most ethnic minority households surveyed have been following a cycle of “spending first, paying later.” Early each year, they borrow money from coffee traders and middlemen at interest rates higher than the bank, from 1.5%/month to as high as 5%/month in some cases (meaning that a loan of VND 100,000 requires a monthly interest payment of VND 5,000), to buy fertilizer, oil and rice. At the end of the year at harvest time, these households must repay both the loan and the accrued interest in coffee or cash. When coffee prices declined, coffee revenues declined also, increasing people's in-kind debt. In fact, since the 2001 coffee season, most traders and middlemen have stopped providing loans to coffee producers.

Middlemen with non-performing loans are also in a precarious position

Mrs H is the middleman who purchases coffee in Ea Pok commune, Cu Mgar district. Companies often pay her 100% in advance to purchase coffee for them. The difference between the company's price and the purchase price is about VND 100/kg. Farmers in the area have had a long relationship with Mrs H and bring coffee directly to his house. Mrs H also has 8 ha of coffee plantation land with an average yield of 4 tons of coffee beans/ha; at the current price of VND 5-6,000/kg, she still makes a big loss. She has 6 permanent workers at a salary of VND 500,000/month each.

Apart from purchasing and growing coffee, Mrs H also provides loans for others to buy fertilizer at an interest rate of 1.5%/month. Farmers can repay in cash or coffee. At current price levels, farmers owe Mrs H over VND 100 million. Last year, for the first time, Mrs H had to borrow VND 80 million from the Southeast Bank, using all his land as collateral at an interest rate of 1%/month for repayment within 3 years. At present, he is losing from coffee and does not dare to borrow more.

The heavy debt that many poor households owe banks has also left them very afraid of borrowing more. They want to settle their existing debts first, even if banks would be willing to provide them with preferential loans and longer repayment periods. Only Kinh and rich ethnic minority households in coffee-intensive areas now want to borrow more to invest further in coffee. Loan suspension notwithstanding, bank policy is ostensibly to keep lending to households in coffee-intensive areas and in areas slated for intensive production under government master plans; however, this policy has not been implemented. Therefore, in fact, banks have not been providing coffee-growing households with further access to loans.

5.3.2.4 Creating highly migration

On the other hand, result from the highly income from coffee production during middle 1990s, which attracted people from other provinces of the country migrate to Dak Lak not only Kinh people but also ethnic minorities from the Northern. In addition, coffee production requires a large amount of labor and intensive labor 240-250 person-days/ha. High coffee prices and subsequent coffee farm expansion opened an active labor market in coffee-growing areas, and led to a local labor shortage, especially during the harvest.. The number of migrants peaked in the early 1990s, dropping slightly when coffee production levels declined (Table 5.6). This trend of migration is rural to rural, because of the attracted coffee production income, farmers from other provinces migrate to Dak Lak participate to coffee production. According to provincial statistical office, there are more

than 50% of migrants are women. During the past years, migrants are facing with many difficulties such as children having to drop school earlier than when they were resident in their home land, specially girls, lack of healthcare services for women... Because when migrants move to Dak Lak they are normally live far from the centre thus accessing to the social facilities is very difficult. When they started growing coffee, price was still high enough as they expect they will have better off living condition rather than their home land. However, when they start harvest coffee, the declining prices, and coffee mono-cultivation put most of migrants in difficulties: lack of capital for continuing to take care coffee farms, of money for daily expenditure, healthcare, schooling fee, etc. As mentioned in the next section many farm households become poorer, even food insufficient.

Table 5.6: Migration to Dak Lak, 1976-2000

	1976-80	1981-85	1986-90	1991-95	1995-99	2000
Free migration	14693	40699	91658	116227	7984	3090
Planned migration	114267	100002	79836	14334	0	0
Total	128690	140701	171494	180561	7984	3090

Source: Resettlement Committee of Dak Lak, 2002.

Massive migration waves have changed the population structure of Dak Lak. The population density increased from 17 people/km² in 1975 to 61 people/km² in 1995 and is presently around 94 people/km².

5.3.2.5 Food Insecurity

Coffee-producing households recall that when coffee prices were high, one kg of coffee beans could be exchanged for five or more kg of rice; there were no worries about food then, since "the higher the income, the stronger the consumption." Since coffee prices began to decline, the in-kind value of one kg of coffee beans has dropped to just over one kg of rice, and coffee farmers have begun to face food insecurity. The problem is even more serious for people who have not been able to save, including many ethnic minority people.

Households have tried to deal with food insecurity in a variety of ways. Some have reduced the number of meals they eat in a day. Others have changed the types of food they eat, "eating rice porridge" or "supplementing food with cassava and maize," strategies that are particularly common in coffee monoculture areas. Some have benefited from the support of local authorities, who since the end of 2001 have been providing occasional food donations. Households have also given a higher priority to rice and other crops, yet very limited paddy land and inadequate irrigation means only one crop per year can be harvested in many places. Ethnic minority people are particularly at risk as they do not have the custom of wet paddy cultivation.

Table 5.7: Differences between food-shortage and food-sufficient households

Household type	Average land area (ha)	Average debt (all hhs) (VND million)	Average debt (borrowing only) (VND million) HHS	% of households hiring their labour
Food-shortage households	1.06	1.10	1.69	73.9

Food-sufficient households	1.55	2.42	3.02	22.7
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Source: Field Survey, 2003.

5.3.2.6 Reduced school attendance of children

The educational level of people in the surveyed areas is low. Each village has only a few residents who are high school graduates. However, local people still value education highly. As a poor father in Lang village, Ea Pok commune, Cu Mgar district, said, “Even though I am poor, I still encourage my children to go to school because I know I am ignorant.”

The large reduction in household incomes due to low coffee prices in recent years has forced many children of medium-off and poor households to quit school, particularly secondary school students. Parents who are able, continue to send their children to school, but say that if prices and incomes continue to decline, they may be forced to pull their children out of school.

In public schools, the children of poor households and ethnic minority children are exempt from tuition fees and school contribution fees. Despite this, school attendance has a high cost for large, poor families. Clothing and shoes are expensive. In "semi-public" schools such as the one in Ea Pok commune, Cu Mgar district, costs are even higher as families do have to pay fees of on average VND50,000/month/child. The need for children's labour to generate more income also increases the (opportunity) cost of school attendance.

No money for shoes

Ms A is an E De widow in Lang village, Ea Pok commune, Cu Mgar district. Her family is one of the poorest in the village. She has nine children. The highest education level they have reached is 4th class. She plants only coffee on 2 *sao* of garden land and 2 *sao* of fields far from a water source. Her home life is very difficult; the family eats rice with sweet potato and cassava. Recently, knowing her situation, some farmers hired six of her children, but the pay is low: “just 1 bag of rice, equivalent to 45 kg, instead of money.” She does not know what to do, and does not have money to invest in diversifying her income or even for the cutting down of her coffee trees. In addition, planting crops on her land is very hard.

Ms A's youngest child, who is 14 years old, was until recently studying in the 5th class. But Ms A revealed that her family is so poor that she does not have money to buy shoes for him to go to school, and “he was ashamed in front of his friends so he quit school.” Her household is registered as a poor household, so her children are exempt from tuition fees, but the difficulty is that she does not even have enough money to buy other necessities such as shoes for her children. She really wants to be supported to enable her youngest child to go back to school.

5.3.2.7 Deforestation

Attractive market signals in the 1990s encouraged the province to exploit more "barren land" for coffee production, while increased migration gradually ate up production land. The natural environment has been seriously devastated as a result. Forest coverage decreased from about 90% in the 1960s to 57% in 1995, and to less than 50% in the late 1990s. In the past 20 years, Dak Lak has lost 20 thousand ha of forests a year to both

public and private coffee plantations and gardens. (It is one of the contradictions of the transformation from central planning to a market-oriented economy that while half of Dak Lak's forestry area is still managed and used inefficiently by state agro-forestry farms, more and more public forest land has been transformed into highly-valued private agricultural land.)

5.3.3 The impact on coffee monoculture households

Households living in favorable coffee-growing areas such as Cu Mgar have specialized in coffee, becoming "monoculture households." When coffee prices were high, all garden land, hill land and "waste land" was converted to coffee plantations. Many families invested all their savings and borrowed from banks to buy more land to expand their coffee production. As a result, when coffee prices declined, they no longer had savings to maintain their coffee land and fell into debt, often as much as several million VND. Many of these households had raised no animals and lacked knowledge of and experience in planting other crops. Further, the basal red soil of these areas, so favorable for perennial industrial crops such as coffee, is not good for planting annual crops such as rice.

Poor monoculture households have therefore suffered a decline in living standards and a lack of food. They are forced to depend on hiring their labor to other farmers, though the income from such work is low, and the work is seasonal and short-term. Richer monoculture households have been able to rely somewhat on their savings from the high-price period.

Poor monoculture households suffer

Mrs N, 45 years old, in Ea Pok commune, Cu Mgar district, her family has 7 children who have all quit school. She has one ha of coffee land, including 2.5 *sao* of coffee garden land and 7.5 *sao* of coffee fields. Previously, when coffee prices were high, her family had a cassette player, enough rice for food and enough money to buy fertilizer and water for their coffee trees. But now her family has to eat cassava (though three times, she has received state support of rice, each time 5 kg/person). She has never borrowed money and knows nothing about loans. She has no intention of cutting down her coffee trees even though she has no more money to buy fertilizer (she is so poor that agents do not allow her to buy it on credit). They must now work as hired laborers.

If coffee prices continue to drop in the coming years, Mrs N will not be able to grow more coffee as she will not have the money to irrigate or fertilize her coffee trees. This year, she intends to plant durian and sweet potato along with coffee. She wants to borrow money without paying interest for three years in order to have money to take care of her coffee. In addition, she wants to receive technical support.

5.3.4 The impact on diversified households

Coffee-growing households in less favorable coffee-growing districts such as Buon Don and Lak have many non-coffee income sources such as paddy, other food crops, cotton and especially cattle raising. Richer "diversified households" have a better life. The decline in coffee prices has affected their incomes, but not dangerously so.

The better-off are not very affected by low coffee prices

Mr P is the head of a rich household in Buon Nieng 2 village, Ea Nuol commune, Buon Don district. He has four children of whom three are pursuing their studies and the last is too young to go to school. He has 2 *sao* of garden land, 1.2 ha of coffee fields, 3 *sao* of other fields for planting cotton, green beans and maize, and 1 *sao* of water paddy. He also raises two cattle and one pig.

In 2001, he earned VND 3 million from maize and beans. Since 2001, he has planted cotton on 3 *sao*, harvesting from July to November. He has signed a contract with a cotton company (the village head keeps the contract). For every 1 kg of seed he planted, he was provided by the company with 2 bags of fertiliser and 1 bottle of a fungus-prevention drug. In 2001, he harvested 7 quintals of cotton, receiving VND 1.7 million.

His family has not cut down their coffee trees, only reducing their investment in them. In this difficult period, he does not hire workers and does all the work by himself. He said, "lower coffee prices do not much affect my family's income."

5.3.5 The impact on the poor

Most of the poorer households, especially those in less favorable coffee-growing areas, do not plant coffee. Those who do, make only a little money from it because their land area is so small (just a few *sao*) and their yield so low (due to low investment). They had begun planting coffee in the high-price period from 1994 to 1997, but often a bit later than their neighbors, so when their coffee trees were ready for harvesting, the price had already begun to decline, causing large losses (see Table 16). High coffee prices did not, therefore, bring a substantial benefit to these households.

A poor ethnic minority household follows extensive cultivation

Mrs D in Lak district, her family moved out of their parents' home just 4 years ago and has one small child. She is very poor, "not having enough rice for 3 meals a day." She has had 4 *sao* of coffee land since 1998. Last year, she harvested 70 kg, which had been watered just once at a total cost of VND 100,000 and fertilized with 20-30 kg of fertilizer. This year, after harvesting, she must ignore her coffee due to low coffee prices.

Her family also has 6 *sao* of field land, which they previously used for planting upland rice. However, now she must replace the paddy with other crops, due to the poor quality of the land. Last season, she harvested only 1 quintal of dried maize due to a lack of fertilizer, earning a total revenue of VND 100,000. In addition, her family also possesses some hundreds of square meters of paddy fields which lack water, so each year, she only harvests 50 kg of rice, enough for just one month's eating. Mrs D and her husband must work for others in less busy times to earn a few thousand dong a day. She goes to the forest to collect wood every two to three days but earns only VND 2,000/trip. She has never borrowed funds from a bank because she has no land use certificate. Now, her household really wants to borrow money to buy two cows.

**Table 5.8: Average area and age of coffee trees by district and household type
(ha and years)**

Household type	Cu Mgar		Buon Don		Lak	
	Area	Age	Area	Age	Area	Age
Rich	1.8	12	1.4	12	0.8	10
Medium-off	1.9	12	2.6	8	0.6	7
Poor	1.7	9	1.3	8	0.6	5
Very hungry	1.2	10	1.2	5	0.2	7

Source: Field Survey, 2003.

5.3.8 Changing income sources

Of the surveyed districts, Cu Mgar has the highest revenue from coffee, Buon Don is next, and Lak is last. Richer households in more favorable coffee-growing areas such as Cu Mgar get a higher percentage of their total incomes from coffee, while richer households in regions less favorable to coffee growing, such as Lak, have more diverse sources of income (see Table 5.9). But even poor ethnic minority coffee producers have moved away from subsistence farming, because coffee revenue was until recently enough to pay for food, material goods, and other necessary expenditures.

Despite the past three years of low and declining coffee prices, richer households still retain their coffee plantations because they have made such a substantial investment in them. On the other hand, poor families now face hardship whether or not they retain their coffee trees. Lower coffee prices have also seriously reduced farmers' savings, especially for the poor. Most people have had to sell assets such as animals to continue investing in and maintaining their coffee plantations. And rich or poor, all coffee-producing households have had to begin to prioritize other crops and income sources, such as hybrid maize, cotton, paddy and livestock.

Table 5.9: Income from coffee and as a percentage of total household income by district and household type (VND million)

Household type	Cu Mgar		Buon Don		Lak	
	Revenue	%	Revenue	%	Revenue	%
Rich	19.456	83.1	15.663	40.5	1.434	9.2
Medium-off	11.700	64.5	7.223	35.9	1.634	31.2
Poor	7.764	45.2	4.314	28.9	0.694	18.1
Very hungry	2.324	71.4	2.677	29.0	0.534	13.4

Source: Field Survey, 2003.

However, land for the cultivation of other crops in regions favorable for coffee-growing is very limited, especially paddy land: most households only reserve 1 *sao* for paddy cultivation (see Table 5.10). The result is highly undiversified incomes from agriculture. There are an increasingly large number of people working as hired laborers, and stable income sources such as a salary, pension, annual state support or income from other work such as weaving have become even more important for many people, particularly the poor. Ironically, as hired labor has become a more important income source, demand for it has decreased. People who work for coffee producers in weeding, trimming branches, digging

beds, watering, fertilizing and harvesting, have seen their wages reduced by 25% as a result of low coffee prices, from VND 20,000/day in previous years to only VND 15,000/day currently.

Table 5.10: Agricultural land use by district (ha/household)

District	Average land area	Land use		
		Coffee	Inter-cropped rice	Non-rice crops
Cu Mgar	1.46	1.05	0.38	0.03
Buon Don	1.58	0.58	0.73	0.27
Lak	0.87	0.29	0.40	0.18

Source: Field Survey, 2003.

5.4. Conclusion

Coffee in Vietnam has rapidly developed since the renovation process, coffee has greatly contributed to increase the economic growth rate, and strengthen poverty reduction in the region and Dak Lak has become Viet Nam's biggest coffee-specialized area. Unlike other agro-products, almost coffee products is exported, thus the world market price has strong effect to the coffee producers of Vietnam.

Even in matriarchal communities, gender equality remains very hard to attain, however, decisions to buy production and household materials and sell coffee are based on agreements between husband and wife. Men have more opportunities to access social facilities and information. Although women play an important decision-making role when dealing with family assets, most important decisions requiring technical knowledge, such as cutting back coffee trees, diversifying crops or borrowing money, are the responsibility of men. The main reason for this, according to ethnic minority women, is that "husbands know more than wives do, because husbands have a higher educational level and can grasp more information." The "red book" of land certification is registered under the name of the man (men are still considered to be the household heads), generating contradictions: inequality in land control between men and women is enshrined in these books, but according to the matriarchal system, ethnic minority women are the main inheritors in the family.

Trade liberalization has directly impact to coffee producers including both positive and negative ways. The living standard has been improved, together with rural facilities, infrastructure upgraded, ensuring food security, farmers can buy the high value assets, the high rate of children school attendance, creating employment as well as poverty reduction since the renovation process to mid of 1990s, local people have opportunities to change their obsolete custom as well as self-sufficient production manner. However, when the coffee world price decline, coffee producers fold into indebttness, food insecurity, lack of capital for reinvestment, high population density, reduced children school attendance specially girl children. In addition, result of the monoculture as coffee crops and lack of knowledge and experiences in order to develop other enterprises, thus poor monoculture households have suffered a decline in living standards and a lack of food. The natural environment has been seriously devastated which as a result of the rapidly exploit more "barren land" for coffee production, while increased migration gradually ate up production

land. Ethnic minorities and women who have been accustomed to subsistence production have suddenly had to adapt to an export-oriented production economy.

Diversified cultivation systems for ensuring the family's food security have been replaced by extensive specialized gardens. These new production methods may generate higher benefits if there are stable markets, but they cause problems when there are market fluctuations. Old customs of respect for village leaders who distributed and managed the land of the community have died out, while the new way of state and individual land control has not been completely developed. Trade liberalization together with high incomes from coffee production have led to a fever of exchanging land use rights, creating coffee-specialized areas, while local people have not been able to adapt themselves to the operations of a land market. On the one hand, fertile land has been transferred to farmers from other areas, and on the other hand, local people have encroached on public land and forests to continue their coffee production in less favorable coffee-growing regions.

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