FORMS OF OWNERSHIP, INSTITUTIONAL ARRANGEMENTS AND THE WELL-BEING OF FEMALE WORKERS
(A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF TEXTILE AND GARMENT ENTERPRISES IN VIETNAM)

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LIST OF ACRONYMS

AMI : Average Monthly Income
BOM : Board of Management
CA : Capability Approach
CG : Corporate Governance
CS : Corporate Strategy
EPZ : Export Processing Zone
DPEs : Domestic Private Enterprises
FWs : Female Workers
GDP : Gross Domestic Products
GEL : Gender Equity Law
GSO : General Statistics Office
HCMC : Ho Chi Minh City
HDG : Human Development Governance
ILO : International Labour Organization
FDI : Foreign Direct Investment
Jsc. : Joint-stock company
LCV : Labour Code of Vietnam
LREs : Labour Regimes
LRs : Labour Rights
NEL : New Enterprise Law
NPM : New Public Management
OC : Organizational Culture
ODA : Official Development Assistance
OS : Organizational Structure
SOEs : State-owned Enterprises
SMW : Single-mother Worker
T&G : Textile and Garment
TU : Trade Union
UEL : Unified Enterprise Law
VINATEX : Vietnam National Textile and Garment Corporation
VND : Vietnam Dong
WBSP : Welfare Benefits and Social Protection
WTO : World Trade Organization
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

## CHAPTER I INTRODUCTION

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I Background to the Study</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II Focus and Scope of the study</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Study Objectives</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Research Questions</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Scope and Limitation of the study</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III Research Methodology and Data Collection</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV Definition of Concepts and Analytical Diagram</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Definition of Concepts</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Analytical Diagram</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## CHAPTER II ENTERPRISE DEVELOPMENT AND INSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORK

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I Enterprise Development in Vietnam</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II The Female Workforce in T&amp;G sector</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III The Institutional Framework for Enterprises</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV Gender aspects of institutional arrangements in Textile and Garment Enterprises</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Gender Relation - differences by type of ownership</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Gender Well-being: From workplace to the society</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.1. Work and Family Life: Workers, Mothers and Family burden</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.2. Work and personal life: Young girls and legitimate aspirations</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## CHAPTER III ORGANIZATIONS AND THE DIFFERENCES IN INSTITUTIONAL ARRANGEMENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I Analysing 5 selected Institutional Arrangements</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Organizational Culture (OC)</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Organisational Structure (OS)</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter</td>
<td>Title</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Corporate Strategy (CS)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Labour Regime (LRE)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Welfare benefit and Social Protection (WBSP)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>Domestic Private Enterprises (DPEs) and State-owned Enterprises (SOEs): Growth prospects, Constraints and Institutional Arrangements</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>DPEs and Enterprise P</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>DPEs in Vietnam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>Background of Enterprise P</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>SOEs and Enterprise S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>SOEs in Vietnam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>Background of Enterprise S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>Institutional Arrangements compared</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>Organizational Culture compared</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>Organizational Structure compared</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>Corporate Strategy compared</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>Labour Regime compared</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>Welfare Benefit and Social protection compared</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV</td>
<td>THE WELL-BEING OF FEMALE WORKERS - A COMPARISON BETWEEN THE TWO FACTORIES</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>Corporate strategy and the notion of workers’ well-being compared</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Corporate Strategy (CS) and Workers’ well-being</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Workers’ well-being from different perspectives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>The Voice of Managers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>The Voice of Workers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>The Voice of Workers’ family member</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Comparison of experience of women workers in the two enterprises</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>Intra-firms differences</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>Inter-firm differences</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Comparison of women workers’ well-being in the community</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>Workers’ well-being in the community</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>How can the workers survive?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>CONCLUSION</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Title</td>
<td>Page</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------------------------------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Questionnaire For Board of Management</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Form A</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Questionnaire For Female Workers</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Form B</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diagram 1 Analytical Diagram</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table 2 The Industrial growth rate by activities years 1995-2000 (By Gross Output)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table 3 Industrial enterprise development, 30 June 1998 by sector, industry, ownership</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Graph 4 Enterprise development by ownership, 2000-2004</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Graph 5 Non-state industrial output value 1999-2005, T&amp;G sector</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table 6 Female workforce in some T&amp;G enterprises in Vietnam</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diagram 7 Culture in three layers</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table 8 General assessment about DPEs in Vietnam</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table 9 The Number of female labourers by ownerships</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table 10 General assessment about SOEs in Vietnam</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diagram 11 Organizational Structure, Enterprise P</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diagram 12 Organizational Structure, Enterprise S</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table 13 Health check result, Enterprise S (2001-2005)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Graph 14a, Graph 14b Additional Payment for workers in Enterprise S, 2005</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Graph 15 Business Management Circle</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Graph 16 Number and % of female workers succeeded in “Salary level increasing” examination, Enterprise S (2000-2005)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table 17 Worker’s AMI comparison in the country and in the region</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table 18a Average Monthly Expenditure of a single migrant FW/ married FW in Vietnam</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table 18b</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
ABSTRACT

This paper addresses the gender-based institutional arrangements in Vietnam’s Textile and Garment enterprises and its impact on the well-being of female workers in the competitive context of globalization. I demonstrate how these arrangements are conditioned by forms of ownership - State and Private - which in turn have bearings on the specific objectives and goals set by firms.

The notions of workers’ well-being are perceived differently in SOEs and DPEs as the firms adopt different kinds of Corporate Strategy. Although firms of both types of ownerships express their concerns about the well-being of female workers, market pressures under severe competition force them to take different decisions that can adversely affect these concerns. A big gap between the well-being of female workers in SOEs and DPEs is found including the differences in income level and social security. Firms of both of types of ownership have yet to pay attention to the gender-based vulnerability faced by female workers such as: those living under co-habitation arrangement being subject to stigmatisation and gossip, the noxious working atmosphere, low-wages and work intensity. SOEs offer higher compensation with better security, but chances to work in this ownership are few as the number of SOEs is decreasingly rapidly due to obligatory Equitization Route scheduled to be completed in 2010.

The paper concludes, in order to enhance the well being of female workers in TGI, conflicting interests of stake-holders must be resolved, requiring the involvement of different actors including state authority, social organs, enterprises and female workers themselves.

Key words: Female worker, enterprise, organization, institutional arrangements, Corporate Strategy, workers’ well-being, freedom, choice, gender equity, equality.

(Note: All figures quoted in VND in this paper can be converted into EUR with the exchange rate of VND20,489/EUR, selling rate, VIETCOMBANK, September 2006).
CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION

I. BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

The application of Doi-Moi (Renovation Policy) involving a range of reforms in Vietnam in 1986 with priority given to the liberalization of markets and the re-organization of enterprises has led to remarkable transformation of the economy and society. Within two decades, the two-tier economy (state sector and collective sector) has been transformed into a five-tier one, composing of: (a) the State sector; (b) the Collective sector; (c) Domestic private sector; (d) Joint-venture; and (e) 100% foreign-invested enterprises. The 1992 Constitution (amended and supplemented in 1992) reaffirmed the strong determination of the government to consistently implement the policy on a multi-sector economy, which clearly shows that all the economic sectors are important, equal in cooperation and competition. The New Enterprise Law (NEL) introduced in 2000 ensures that all types of enterprises are to be treated equally and has met with a spectacular growth of the private sector, marking major contributions to the national economy. In practice, preferential treatments to SOEs (State-owned Enterprises) still prevail with regard to land, credit and labour. Competition also fosters rapid diversification of enterprise’s operational mechanisms and unequal operating conditions, tending to foster different institutional arrangements across different types of enterprises.

Two key gender-related characteristics of Vietnam’s reform policy are important in framing this research. Incentives given to the female-dominated manufactured industries have been introduced in conjunction with a de-emphasis of state duties in the social organization of caring activities, which is expected to be shifted to the household level. Industrial restructuring and the market liberalization have also created different types of ownership, which do not implement the principles of equal treatment in a uniform way, particularly with regard to the labour conditions of female workers (FWs). Previous studies on the textile and garment sector have focused on FWs’ entitlement and empowerment, emphasizing their dual responsibilities as mothers and workers. A gap of knowledge exists on the interrelation between the life cycle of women, their preferences about work and family life balance and work place arrangements. Organizational aspects of the firms can play an important role in shaping different options as well as create new forms of vulnerabilities for FWs inside and outside the work place.
A study by Bowen (2005) emphasises the impacts of migration on young women’s social and economic well-being. Young workers form a competitive labour force with relative freedom from patriarchal family restrictions. Although, the working conditions are harsh, the wage is low; they keep working with no resistance. The study gives general assessment about young migrant workers’ well-being as a part of the women labour force in export-oriented enterprises. By contrast, Lee’s study on FWs in Hong Kong and South China factories (Lee, 1998) presents numerous evidences about workers’ life with different types of agency and collective action. Chhachhi (2004) assesses women’s employment in India through the views both from the work place and the household; she uses the concepts of domestic regime and gendered labour regime, emphasising the link between agency/citizenship in practice. However, none of these studies challenges the organisation-based system or assesses FWs’ well-being in close relation with their organizations. Workers’ well-being is an essential element in human resources for enterprises and their long-term development. So far, most researchers on T&G sector tend to concentrate on the exploitation of women’s labour; insufficient attention is given to what the firms can do to protect workers’ benefits.

This study seeks to contribute to a policy debate on gender-based dimensions of workers’ well-being to help T&G enterprises in Vietnam improve the working conditions and daily life of their FWs. It offers a perspective on institutional arrangements at the work place and how they can impact the life of FWs and their emotional, spiritual well-being. The research focuses on the period from 2000-2005, the first five years after the implementation of New Enterprise Law which much accelerates the enterprise development and the growth of Vietnam’s economy.

II. FOCUS AND SCOPE OF THE STUDY

1. Study Objectives
The study seeks to: (1) trace the gender-based characteristics on the institutional arrangements adopted by the firms and how they might affect the well-being of FWs - defined as a combination of material, spiritual and psychological aspects; (2) explore how managers, workers and their families view FWs’ well-being to offer some suggestions for further actions to improve the life of FWs inside and beyond the work place.
2. Research Questions
The study focuses on following main questions:

1. In what way do the institutional arrangements of the enterprises reflect the legal frameworks on labour rights and gender equality? How do female workers respond to these arrangements?
2. Do the enterprises consider the well-being of female workers as a central goal for sustainable development?
3. How do female workers and their family members perceive 'work' in T&G factories and the daily life associated with it?

3. Scope and limitation of the study
The study would be more relevant if I could have got more supported data and evidences from some other SOEs and DPEs, or increase the number of the case studies. Time and budget constraints also limit the scope and depth of the paper. In this paper, I explore the firm's Corporate Strategy to see its linkage with social arrangements offered to FWs. Corporate Strategy is the core bone of every organisation, the firm always wants to keep it confidential. So, it is not easy to obtain necessary information, especially accounting data which relate to business profits and workers' benefits. Language discrepancies are also the barrier which hampers my ability to explain and argue the problems clearly.

III. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY AND DATA COLLECTION
This paper takes a comparative case study between SOEs and DPEs and focuses on the experience of three categories of female workers: (a) Married women with double burden; (b) Single women residing in the dormitories; (c) Young women in co-habitation with male workers. The study relies on both secondary and primary data. One-month field work in the factories helped me obtain actual evidences relating to the well-being of Textile and Garment FWs. I first met with the Board of Management (BOM), expressed the desire to study about the well-being of female workforce and my willingness to enhance gender awareness among the staffs and workers. Thanks to the good relationship with the members of BOM and the introduction from my organization - VWU (1) I got permission

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(1) VWU - Vietnam Women's Union is one of the largest socio-political organizations of the country, a member of Vietnam Fatherland Front, founded in 1930 under the initiative of the Communist Party. VWU is promoting awareness and action on gender equity. The goals of VWU include improvement of living standards and full development of women and participation in protection and development of the country.
to enter the factories. Participatory observations and visits to workers’ families or rent houses have given me useful information. In-depth interviews were carried out with 3-5 managers, 100 workers of each enterprise. Two different forms of self-completed questionnaires were distributed to managers and FWs. Questionnaire A aims to get the opinions of managers about workers’ well-being (5-7 questionnaires A per enterprise). Questionnaire B is Worker’s evaluation about labour control, social welfare and incentives... 200 questionnaires form B were distributed to FWs who are directly involved in production. I received back 12 questionnaire form A and 152 questionnaires form B (see Questionnaires from A & B, Appendix A). The data were mainly collected from one State-owned Enterprise and one Domestic Private Enterprise. I use the terms Enterprise S for the case study of SOE and Enterprise P for DPE. Although, the data were taken from two enterprises only; the findings and conclusions are confirmed through the observations from some other T&G enterprises.

IV. DEFINITION OF CONCEPTS AND ANALYTICAL DIAGRAM
1. Definition of Concepts
   - **Labour Rights:** This paper uses the concept of Labour Rights, which is considered as workers’ rights and also can be seen as human rights. LRs are also Human Rights, which aim to protect universal features of human beings from state or state-authorized form of coercion (Macklem, 2005).
   - **Organization:** Organization can be seen as a system of inputs, processes, output and outcomes. Enterprise is an organization, in which Inputs are the resources - raw materials, money, technology, human resources; Processes are the routes through which the inputs are manufactured to achieve certain goals; Outputs are tangible results produced by the processes in the system; Outcomes are benefits, jobs for workers, staffs and workers’ well-being. Organization is regulated by national legal regulations and also sets up its own institutional arrangements to run the system effectively.
   - **State-owned Enterprise (SOE)** is an organisation founded, financed and managed by the State, which take responsibility for business, social activities in order to fulfil socio-economic goals assigned by the State (2).
   - **Domestic Private Enterprise (DPE)** is founded, financed and managed by individual or groups of individuals. Private Enterprises can be defined as the main focus of New Enterprise Law of Vietnam (Taussig, 2005).

(2) Article 1, State Enterprise Law, 1995
• **Equitization**\(^{(3)}\): is the main measure used in SOE reform in Vietnam. Equitization belongs to one of 4 forms: (1) Keeping state shares and issuing new shares; (2) Selling part of the existing state shares; (3) Detaching and then selling parts of an SOE; (4) Selling off all state shares to workers & private shareholders (applied to loss-making SOEs).

• **Institutional Arrangements:** the regimes, culture, structures and strategies formed by the enterprise itself within the framework of national legislation. I seek to combine two types of governance - Human Development Governance (HDG) to refer to national legislation and Corporate Governance (CG) to refer to the business management framework at firm level. I apply Organizational Analysis of G. Morgan (1997) to discuss CG and to apply in my case studies. CG is a set of policies, customs, processes, laws and institutions affecting the way that an organization is directed or controlled. CG relates to different stakeholders, including managers and employees. G. Morgan (1997) uses different metaphors (Machines, Organisms, Brains, Cultures, Political system, Psychic prisons, Transformation, and Instruments of domination) as “the art - of reading and understanding organization life” to look at an organization. According to Morgan, metaphor is any attempt to understand one element of experience in terms of another; it helps to understand more about organizational life and its impact on the life of different stakeholders and the society.

I use Capability Approach (CA) to trace the key elements of HDG in Vietnam. Capability Approach developed by Sen and Nussbaum emphasizes capabilities as potentials and functionings as the achievement of some goals with these potentials. Sen describes individual well-being in terms of a person’s ability to achieve a given set of functionings. Capability is the possible and functioning is the actual. Sen advocates “goal-view of rights and goal rights system” approach that brings the concepts of rights and capabilities together. Sen sees development as freedom - freedom of having better choice, freedom of accessing to education or employment. Freedom can be seen through positive rights (freedom to do something) or negative rights (freedom from intervention). Nussbaum revises and extends J.Rawls theory of Justice whose main idea of citizen as free and dignified human beings within the framework of social order based on the model of nation-state. She modifies Rawls theory in two ways: internalizing justice and offering more elaborated conception of human being by shifting from an “abstract” notion of a

\(^{(3)}\) Equitization in Vietnam is not much different with Privatization; it is a means of transferring ownership and control rights from the state to private shareholders (Vu, 2005).
person to a full-fletched map of human life. Nussbaum’s 10 sets of human capabilities\(^{(4)}\) reflect the combination of skill-capabilities and opportunities. Her inclusion of affinity and emotional attachment as a valuable capability is an important entry point for the study of FWs beyond a focus on material concerns. Women’s choices and freedom are embedded in social relations such as the family and organizations to which they relate.

2. Analytical Diagram

In order to capture the links between institutional arrangements adopted by the enterprises and the well-being of FWs, following diagram will be used to guide the analysis:

![Diagram 1: Analytical Diagram](image)

\(^{(4)}\) Nussbaum 10 sets of capabilities: Life; Bodily health Integrity; Bodily integrity; Senses, imagination, thought; Emotions; Practical season; Affiliation; Other species; Play; Control over one’s environment
CHAPTER II: ENTERPRISE DEVELOPMENT AND INSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORK

According to Truong (2002), enterprise development under Doi-Moi may be phased into three periods. The first period started from the time of Agricultural Resolution 10, introduced in 1986 on agricultural production. The second period started with the reform of SOEs in 1989, aiming at restructuring and improving the competitiveness of SOEs for export-oriented activities. The third period was marked by the application of New Enterprise Law in 2000 that creates favourable conditions for private enterprises. This chapter traces the enterprises development in two periods with close link to 3 important points of time: 1986 (marked by the application of Doi-Moi), 2000 (with the application of NEL), 2005 (5 years after the application of NEL, 20 years after Doi-Moi). Enterprise development in Vietnam’s economy in general and in T&G sector in particular is addressed with the emphasis on the contribution of female workforce. The chapter then deals with the core legislative background for enterprise development as well as gender aspects of institutional arrangements in T&G enterprises.

I. ENTERPRISE DEVELOPMENT IN VIETNAM


This period was marked by the application of Doi-Moi in 1986 which has helped Vietnam to get out of economic crisis and created drastic changes in the economy. The country experienced impressive progress in every aspect of the economy; especially in manufacturing sector. Table 2 in Appendix B illustrates high growth rate of manufacturing sector, including T&G sector.

Renovation has encouraged FDI and ODA flows, releasing many trade barriers. In the first half of 1990s average export growth was 30% per year, in 1995 FDI reached over USD2billion (Martin Painter, 2000). GDP grew fast with average rate of over 8% between 1990 -1997. From 1993-1997, industrial sector was the main driver for Vietnam’s economy with GDP growth of 13-14% (Akita ‘et al.”, 2006:1).

One year after Doi-Moi, the government issued Decision 217-HDBT, dated November 14th, 1987 showing the effort to carry on a broad based SOE reform which aims to help the enterprises transform their operation in accordance with NEL; enhance more rights and responsibilities to the enterprises; reduce state intervention and subsidies. SOE reform includes three major rounds; the period of 1986-1999 closely related to the first two
rounds. Round one (1990-1993) focused on reorganising and strengthening business and production of SOEs, creating the rules for establishment, re-registration and liquidation of SOEs. Round two took place during 1994-1997, aiming at (1) Reorganizing SOEs and enterprise association to establish General Corporations to build up large economic groups; (2) Transforming SOEs into Jsc. (3) issuing the Law on SOEs (5). Consequently, the number of SOEs decreased rapidly, from 12,300 SOEs in 1991 into 5,655 in 2000 (GSO 1991, 2000).

As Table 3 reports, by 30 June of 1998, manufacturing enterprises accounted for 95.56% total amount of enterprises in the industry, of which the number of Non-state enterprises was 300 times higher than that of SOEs:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Industry</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>SOEs</th>
<th>Non-state enterprises</th>
<th>Foreign-invested enterprises</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mining</td>
<td>24,416</td>
<td>143</td>
<td>24,259</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturing</td>
<td>537,391</td>
<td>1,607</td>
<td>534,973</td>
<td>811</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Production of electricity, gas and water</td>
<td>550</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>474</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>562,357</td>
<td>1,821</td>
<td>559,706</td>
<td>830</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Source:** GSO, 1998

In 1997, Non-state enterprises in manufacturing sector gained the Industrial Production's Turnover of 31,512.5 billion VND and contributed 1,061 billion VND to the State Budget (GSO, 1997), playing important role in the development of national economy.


Enterprise development in this period most closely responds to the application of NEL in 2000 which opens up favourable conditions for all types of ownership. NEL provides more flexible procedures for registration, eliminates certain difficult requirements that hamper the development of enterprises.

Round 3 of SOE reform taking place in 1998 with strong effort of the government to push up the equitization process of SOEs, providing legal framework for SOEs to be sold,

(5) The Law on State enterprises was issued in April 1995, became the core legal framework for SOEs to operate
contracted and leased. Consequently, from 2000-2004 the number of SOEs was much lower than DPEs but still higher than that of foreign-invested enterprises (Graph 4).

**Graph 4: Enterprise development by ownership, 2000-2004**

[Graph showing enterprise development by ownership from 2000 to 2004]

*Source: GSO, 2005*

SOE reform is still continuing with a range of activities. First of all, it is the restructuring of economic sector, focusing in investment on comparative advantageous sector like T&G, food processing, leather industry. Next, the firms invested much in new technology and machinery, e-commerce, ISO quality control system in order to meet the new requirements of global changes, accountability and transparency. Thanks to the reform, many SOEs have improved their performance, increased capital and capacity, offered better well-being for the workers.

Renovation policy and NEL are really being the main facilitators for the rapid development of the private sector in Vietnam. One and a half year after the application of NEL, 14,546 new enterprises registered. At the end of 2002, there were 55,236 DPEs in comparison with 5,364 SOEs (GSO, 2002). Private T&G enterprises have contributed much to the economic growth of the country; there was a sharp growth in the Industrial output value. In 1999, T&G sector experienced the output of VND4,336.1 billion, in 2004 this figure was triple with VND11,807.1 billion, accounting for 10% of total output value of manufacturing industry (see Graph 5).
II. THE FEMALE WORKFORCE IN T&G SECTOR

Vietnamese women have historically made great contribution to national liberalization, independence and socio-economic development. By and large, they account for 48.5% and 54% of the total labour force in the State sector and the non-State sector respectively. Female labourers’ structure comprises of 5% in management position, 10% staff and officers, more than 80% workers directly relate to production activities (Nguyen, 2005: 23). FWs mainly concentrate in some industries such as: light industry (63.61%), healthcare (63%), education (67%), foodstuff industry and agriculture (61.7%).

Vietnam's T&G industry has witnessed strong development. In 2001, export value was US$1.87 billion, in 2002 - US$2,755 billion, 30-50% increase in the period of 2003-2005 and it is expected to be around US$10billion in 2010 (6). In 2003, there were more than thousand T&G enterprises, of which - SOEs (70 textile and 117 garment enterprises); 800 Co., Ltd., Jsc., DPEs (600 garment and 200 textile enterprises); more than 180 investment

projects, joint ventures, and 100% foreign equity with the total investment of around US$ 1.8 billion. The sector has created more than 1.1 million work places for the workers (Vu, 2003).

Compared to the 1980s when most of workers in T&G factories were women, in the year of 2000s female-male ratio has slightly decreased, but generally T&G is still a female-dominated sector. There are some reasons which led to the decrease in the number of FWs in this industry. Firstly, after American War, the male labour force was reduced as many men devoted themselves in the battles. Secondly, women are viewed as nimble-fingered, docile, and diligent. They entered T&G sector as “light manufacturing” work suitable to their gender. Today however, T&G is considered as Heavy Industry due to the recognition of the character of the work (tension, night shift works, long working hours) and the use of technology with impacts of occupational health (noise, dust, chemical substances). Since 1990s, with continuous investment and renovation, the firms tend to import advanced equipment, which requires more skilful and stronger labourers; the firms also try to exclude FWs from harmful, heavy works to protect FWs’ productive and reproductive health.

III. THE INSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORK OF ENTERPRISES

1. Enterprise Law

The New Enterprise Law of Vietnam was issued in 2000, reaffirming the spirit of the 1992 Constitution that all kinds of enterprises are equal under the law. NEL2000 helped spur growth, create new jobs, reduce poverty, and promote human development.

In order to adapt to the new trend of enterprise development and the requirement of globalisation, the Government ratified Unified Enterprise Law 2005. UEL2005 stipulates that all enterprises have the rights to do business and invest in all sectors that are not prohibited by law, minimizing conditions and restrictions regarding business lines and capital contribution for foreign invested enterprises. UEL2005 was affected on July 1st, 2006, simplifying procedures, reducing expenditures, providing a unified framework for common business operations of both foreign invested and DPEs in term of form and operation. The ownership of capitals is no longer determinative, and the concept of a separate form of SOEs becomes obsolete under the Unified Enterprise Law. SOEs must be privatised and converted into liability limited or Jsc. within 4 years from the effective date of UEL2005.
"We are trying to catch up Equitizing Route in 2010. We want to go step by step with clear understanding about equitization process. We have learnt much from the other enterprises. Our firm is a benefit-making enterprise; we are willing to cooperate with all enterprises and individuals who want to join capitals and knowledge to gain sustainable development" (General Director, Enterprise S).

With NEL2000 and UEL2005, the Vietnamese Government expects to create equal opportunities for different ownerships to take part in business activities and contribute all their efforts to national economic development.

2. Labour Code

The Labour Code of Vietnam was amended and supplemented in 2002 with 16 chapters, comprising of 198 articles. LCV looks promising in terms of recognition of the core labour standards; human rights and fundamental freedom of the workers. LCV protect workers' rights and interests; the whole chapter X provides significant recognition of socio-economic rights, including labour standards for FWs, dealing with related favourable conditions and benefits.

Market mechanism and globalisation have created good conditions for FWs to bring in to play their talent and intelligence. However, the rapid changes and increasing requirements of global economy has created many obstacles for workers on the way of earning for survival. It is clearly indicated in LCV that, The State ensures the right to equality of women with men and assists women in developing effectively their occupational capacity and to combine harmoniously professional life with family life (Article 109, LCV, 2002). In fact, most of the women don't have flexible timetable at work; they have to follow common working regulations of the firm. In many enterprises like Vietnam Wool, VIGATEXCO, FWs are allowed to have the leave in necessary cases, however, the salary is deducted accordingly.

Training for promotion is commonly offered to men, who are more advantageous in occupying higher positions. It is really difficult for a woman to be both a good housewife and a good worker. Eight hours at work at least, countless night shift time and overtime work in the rush season and a lot of housework makes them exhausted. Thus, legislation still cannot assure "to provide individuals with more than purely formal guarantees of market access of the kind provided by contract" (Deakin, 2005: 58).
IV. GENDER ASPECT OF INSTITUTIONAL ARRANGEMENTS IN T&G ENTERPRISES

1. Gender Relation: Differences by type of ownership

Gender is a multifaceted problem and is operating at 3 levels within a Gender Regime:
(1) Symbolic level; (2) Individual level and collective identity; (3) Individual level and collective identity. The change of gender norms and values affects social divisions of labour; one of my survey results, illustrated on Table 6 shows that women make up quite high percentage in T&G firms.

Table 6: Female workforce in some T&G enterprises in Vietnam

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Enterprise</th>
<th>Total No. workers</th>
<th>No. of FWs</th>
<th>% of FWs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Enterprise S</td>
<td>5,251</td>
<td>3,222</td>
<td>61.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hoang Thi Loan T&amp;G Jsc.</td>
<td>1,300</td>
<td>850</td>
<td>65.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vietnam Wools Jsc.</td>
<td>698</td>
<td>460</td>
<td>65.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dong Xuan Knitting Co.,</td>
<td>1,060</td>
<td>720</td>
<td>67.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thang Loi T&amp;G Co.,</td>
<td>3,400</td>
<td>2,350</td>
<td>69.11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Garment Co. No 10</td>
<td>6,980</td>
<td>4,986</td>
<td>71.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Enterprise P</td>
<td>456</td>
<td>335</td>
<td>73.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Author’s survey, September 2006

In the state T&G firms like Enterprise S, Binh Minh T&G Jsc., management style is flexible, encouraging workers' contribution. 95% FWs in Enterprise S think that labour control here is not too strict; 80% FWs satisfy with the compensation, they are willing to devote their efforts for sustainable development of the firm; 15% FWs have been working in Enterprise S for more than 20 years. Most of FWs don’t want to move to the other enterprises as here they find good income with flexible timetable and labour control.

Due to capital and operational constraints, DPEs apply different labour regime. 85% FWs in Enterprise P think that the labour control is too strict; even they are not allowed to stay home when being sick, they have to work 7 days/week to catch up with the production plan, and the payment for overtime work is just equal to normal working hour.

The Chairman of Enterprise P confessed:

"We wish to follow the Labour Code, however, with limited benefit and capital we cannot afford to hire more employees. Our workers accept overtime work and night shift - it is the natural characteristic of manufacturing jobs, we have to increase working hours to attain enough products for shipments, otherwise we will lose the orders".
65% FWs here don’t agree with the labour control and management style of the firm:

"We work 56h/week, every day we have only 30 minutes for lunch, we just try to finish our lunch without talking and then continue to stand and control the machine in a noisy, dusty atmosphere. PLS tell our boss to reduce working hours or give us adequate compensation for overtime work. We know that the firm is still poor; however, we cannot live with only 700,000-800,000VND/month... " (Ha - worker, Enterprise P).

23.5% DPEs, 37.7% foreign-invested enterprises, 9.5% Joint-ventures do not allow female workers to have 60 minutes rest for breast feeding their small children (8). After work women still have to spend much time for housework, if there is no adequate protection, their productive and reproductive health may be badly affected, increasing the risk of labour accidents.

2. Gender Well-being: From workplace to the society

2.1. Work and Family Life: Workers, Wives, Mothers and Family burden

In Vietnam family values is entrenched in the culture for century and contributes to the shaping of women’s consciousness about their social worth according to which having a happy family with stable life has become the desirable norm for many women. FWs pay much attention to both family and work.

"Work brings economic independence, family is the place we go back after long working hours. Family gives us encouragement and hope. I wish to combine harmoniously work and family life" (Worker, Enterprise S).

90% FWs in my samples, Enterprise S said that they are really tired after work, many of them have to work much at night: doing housework, taking care of children or the old parents. Luckily, only 1% among them wants to give up the job due to health problem; 60% FWs feel exhausted after work. There is a popular trend in Vietnamese families now to have an Osin (the helper), but only 2% of the workers’ families have Osin (author's survey). Some FWs don’t want Osin because they need privacy; the others want to spend more time caring for children education, having recreation activities. In fact, workers cannot afford to hire an Osin paying around VND500.000/month, excluding daily meals and bonus. Even FWs, Enterprise S, who get high salary in the sector, cannot afford. So, how a FW like Ha can hire an Osin with the salary of EUR35-40/month?

"Even I think of being an Osin at night for the other family to earn money for my children’s study. Now, I receive unfinished garment products and sew at home, but the work is not available all the time" - (Worker, Enterprise P)

(7) The amount is around 35-40EUR
(8) Survey on female workers in EPZ and industrial zones, TU Solutions, H.2000, p.45-46
One month at the factories, I have witnessed very harsh life of FWs. I keep thinking about Sen’s notion of development and freedom, freedom of having better choice. Obviously, these FWs desire to have better choice, but they cannot fulfill their desire, they don’t have "the power to choose". As noted by the Asian Development Bank, Vietnamese women are encouraged to participate in economic activities; however, “economic participation does not guarantee empowerment” (ADB 2002: 18).

2.2. Work and Personal life: Young girls and legitimate aspirations

a) Dormitory Life: Poor living conditions and Gloomy marriage future

10% FWs in my sample have time for rest or watching TV after work; only one girl spends night time for her study at University.

"She is Bao Linh, the only one in this factory who goes to In-service class at HCMC University of Polytechnic" - her colleague said

I made appointment to meet Bao Linh (BL) - worker of Jeans Factory, Enterprise S in her rent house in Thanh Da Dormitory, HCMC. It is a small room with a toilet and a kitchen inside, total area of 10m². BL shares the room with her cousin - a worker of Phuoc Long T&G Co; they have to pay VND800,000 per month. BL comes from My Tho, Tien Giang. In 1998, she had to give up her desire to go to University due to family's difficulties and went to HCMC to find a job:

"My father said - you are a daughter, 12/12 education (trinh do van hoa lop 12) is far enough to work at the factory, go to the city and get a job. I have been working here for 8 years. In 2002 I was successful in the entrance exam to HCMC university of Polytechnic. I am going to finish university this December. With University degree, computer and English skills I hope to be promoted to Technique Department. There I will not have to work at night shift, the working environment will be better - less noisy and dusty, and a lot of intelligent men there..." - BL said and smiled.

A part from 50 working hours/week, she spends time on study in university and English classes. She was chosen as Excellent Worker with high production in 2005. With average income is VND2,250,000/ month, she spends 2/3 on daily expenditures, renting, learning fees and sending back home. She also manages to save VND500,000/month for her future. I wish there would be many FWs like BL, who could overcome difficulties to achieve a better future.

I asked BL about her roommate and knew that actually she shares the room with BL but she rarely stays there as she has a boyfriend staying in the other dormitory. We went to the dormitory in Tam Phu, HCMC, where 20 workers are sharing 5 rooms, area of 10m² each. There are two bunk beds in a room, with a table and a wardrobe, a sewing machine... I have met some FWs in the factories, so it did not take much time to get acquainted to
them. They are all single, come from different provinces in Cuu Long Delta; 5 of them are above 30, the others are from 18-26. Talking about future marriages, all of them said that it is really difficult to find partners at work due to long working hours and rare chances to meet the men. Men usually work in mechanic, maintaining workshop, or in textile group. The girls really worry about their future; one told me the sad story of a Machine Operating FW coming from Soc Trang. That girl had a boyfriend, one day, he brought her to his family in HCMC, but his parents refused her, because she speaks too loudly and does not hear clearly. She has been working in the factory for 10 years, everyday she controls 8 machines in a noisy environment, so speaking too loud became her habit and she has lost her capability of hearing.

Vietnam Net (1 September, 2006) reports the hard life of FWs in the rent house, where every three workers are sharing a small room of 6m². They work in poor working environment; in the evening stay in narrow and substandard rooms. Workers have to make use of the space, clothes and kitchen wares are hung on the wall, and toilet is next to the kitchen. Some EPZs invested much money to build good dormitory, the rent is not high, but few FWs want to stay there. The reason is that, they are not allowed to cook in the dormitory, friends or relatives just can meet in the canteens, and workers have to return before 9.30pm... Most of the private rent houses in HCMC are not satisfied the rent-house standards, but this service attracts a lot of workers as they offer flexible life.

b) Co-habitation life (⁹) and Vulnerability

We came to other rent houses, where some of BL's colleagues are living with partners. It was not easy to make appointment with two of them - Nhan and Thuy, textile workers, Enterprise S.

"You may laugh at me, but many of my colleagues are living like that. I hope that he (her boyfriend) will marry me" - Thuy said

Nhan, a single mother with a two-year old daughter comes from Tay Ninh - a border province next to Cambodia disclosed about her boyfriend:

"He is also a textile worker, when I was pregnant; he left his job and went to the North. I have to raise this daughter by myself, it was very bad experience for me, but I am happy to have her. At least, I will not be lonely at my old age. My parents refused me, but a week ago my mother came, she will bring my daughter to the village that I can spend more time for work" - Nhan said

(⁹) Refers to the life of women living with their boyfriends before marriage. It is a normal problem in many countries, but in Vietnam, although the traditional thoughts are changing, Co-habitation life is still being criticized severely by the society.
Nhan introduced me to her mother - an old thin village woman. Her mother asked me not to put the name and picture of her daughter and niece on newspaper as they are too vulnerable. I tried to explain that I am not a news reporter; I am a researcher from VWU, my desire is to enhance the awareness about the equity, equality for FWs. She asked me to help Nhan get monthly subsidy for the baby. I promised to tell her aspiration to the BOM, Enterprise S.

With open-door policy, Vietnam has gained much both in economic and enterprise development, which include the growth of T&G enterprises and FWs. Although Vietnam has legislation which supports enterprises to improve workers' life; the problems of gender equality, equity and gender transformation also have been addressed in policy agendas, the well-being of workers is still undermined by global competition. Thus, “While the legal framework for promoting gender equality has been constantly improving at both national and international levels, a gap remains between the rights granted “on paper” and the actual situation” (10).

(10) ABC of women workers rights and gender equality, ILO, 2000
CHAPTER III:
ORGANISATIONS AND THE DIFFERENCES
IN INSTITUTIONAL ARRANGEMENTS

This Chapter takes the view of Morgan (1997) to look at Organizations through different metaphors to examine the idea, that an Enterprise is an Organization and to illustrate the key institutional arrangements adopted by both SOEs and DPEs. I explore the extent, to which those institutional arrangements are different from each other and the ways they reflect legal framework on labour rights and gender equality and how the firms do apply the laws related to gender well-being into their business activities.

I. ANALYZING 5 SELECTED INSTITUTIONAL ARRANGEMENTS

Recognizing the differences in the operational mechanism between SOEs and DPEs, I chose the most common institutional arrangements that are currently used in both types of ownership, comprising of Organizational Culture, Organizational Structure, Corporate Strategy, Labour Regimes, Social Rights and Welfare Benefit. These institutional arrangements can be linked with Morgan's 8 metaphors of Organization: Machines, Organisms, Brains, Cultures, Political system, Psychic prisons; Transformation system; Instruments of domination.

1. Organisational Culture (OC)

Organizational Culture is a style of management, norms and values, inter-organisational relations including the behaviour to the clients, the social interaction between the firm and society. Every firm has its own cultural practices forming by management styles, day-to-day rituals, norms, spiritual values. According to Morgan (1997:129), organizations are mini-societies that have their own distinctive patterns of culture and subculture. Nowadays, the enterprises pay much attention to OC, considering it as a crucial element for achieving success and sustainable development.

"Organizational Culture must be seen as Critical Success Factor for the enterprise. The managers need to build up a strong culture, enhancing workers' responsibility, creating harmonious relations at all levels. We keep thinking of how to build up strong human resource, preserve organizational culture parallel with raising capital, weighting state and enterprise interest" (Deputy General Director, Enterprise S).
All the managers I have discussed with have clear and critical thoughts about the importance of the OC.

"It is necessary to understand the close relation between OC and business context; how OC contributes to the success of business activities. OC should be crucial means to enhance management of change. OC is diverse and typical for each firm, but it doesn't mean that we don't need to change existing culture for the better one" - (Chairman, Enterprise P).

There is a culture network in the firm; it is the informal communication system or hidden hierarchy of power which links organizational culture and business performance. Schein (1997) and Johnson G. ‘et al.’ (2002: 228-229) determine three layers of organizational culture, consisting of Values, Beliefs, and Organizational Paradigm. Values are often written down as statement about organisation’s strategy. Beliefs are the issues which people in the organisation can surface and talk about. Organizational Paradigm is the shared assumptions that influence or constrain the way business is done and strategy is developed.

![Diagram 07: Culture in three layers](source)

**Values**

**Beliefs**

- Paradigm
  - taken-for granted assumption

2. Organisational Structure (OS)

OS can be seen through formal and informal division of labour, gender, class and race. The firm as a machine with divided hierarchical departments and divisions of labour. “A mechanical mode of organization can provide the basic for effective operation” (Morgan, 1997: 13), a firm with a dynamic structure can be easily adapted to all the changing circumstances, in which the highest organ of management will be the engine of the whole machine. In manufacturing sector, it is important to apply scientific dynamic management
which helps to analyze and standardize working activities within the firms to gain the optimum mode of performance, decentralize the implementation in a highly controlled way. In Vietnam and other Asian countries, men are considered to be powerful and strong; women usually take subordinate positions. The Government has increased the awareness of people about gender equity and equality; however gender discrimination still exists both at work place and in the household level.

3. Corporate Strategy (CS)

The firm needs good CS to compete successfully in particular markets. CS can be seen as the direction and scope of an organisation over a long term period, which achieves advantages for the organisation through its configuration or resources within a changing environment to fulfil stakeholders’ expectations (Johnson G. ‘et al.’, 2002: 10). T&G finns are put under global competition, so they must be learning and self-organizations, which are flexible, inventive to cope with emerging challenges, continuously involving in international economy and required to learn from both inside and outside environment. The fundamental role of managers in the firm is to shape and create context in which appropriate forms of self-organization can occur (Morgan, 1997: 267). CS with dynamic management must be drawn based on specific context of the firm by capable managers with good decision making ability.

4. Labour Regimes (LREs)

Organization is a rational firm which wants to pursuit its own goals for the interest of the stakeholders. The firms want to strengthen their power and control over the process of production to push up the effectiveness of the outcomes. LREs consist of labour force, recruitment, labour control, disciplines, and working conditions. Enterprise is a combination of achievement and exploitation; management and control style can determine the productivity and profit as the efficiency of time control may bring the increase of outputs. Enterprise is also an organization of interests, conflicts and power. In a firm, the staffs and workers have to follow the managers and their regulations. Morgan (1997: 157) emphasizes, “Organizations, like governments, employ some systems of ‘rule’ as a means of creating and maintaining order among their members”. The managers may use one or different rules to control over the whole mechanism. Visible or invisible conflicts may occur because people act different and have different interests; conflicts may arise from interest, which require the managers to use their power to resolve. Tight labour control is not good all the time; it should be accepted by the workers and based on business ethics.
5. Welfare Benefits and Social Protection (WBSP)

Every person desires to have good welfare benefit and social protection, but the complex reality of life in a global world has expelled many people from having fulfilled entitlement. Welfare benefits are salary, insurance, pension and the other kinds of incentives that the employees can receive through work. According to the LCV, the firm with more than 10 labourers is obliged to apply Social and Medical Insurance scheme (Article 141, 149). For the employees working in the firm with less than 10 labourers or doing the jobs lasting less than 3 months, seasonal or temporary work, 17% of his total wage fund will be included in his salary that he can join insurance scheme. The firms with high percentage of women are encouraged to apply favourable social security to compensate for unequal sharing of productive and reproductive responsibilities.

II. DOMESTIC PRIVATE ENTERPRISES (DPEs) AND STATE-OWNED ENTERPRISES (SOEs): GROWTH PROSPECTS, CONSTRAINTS AND INSTITUTIONAL ARRANGEMENTS:

1. DPEs and Enterprise P

1.1. DPEs in Vietnam: With the new trend of market mechanism and favourable Enterprise Law which much accelerate the small and medium enterprises, DPEs possess the advantages of dynamic organizations with less complicated hierarchy and flexible short-term policies. However, DPEs are facing a lot of difficulties which obstruct them from offering good welfare for FWs. Table 08 emphasizes the prospects and constraints of DPEs by using PMI method (11).

DPEs start their business by self-financing so finance is the most burning problem for the firm’s owners. It is really difficult for DPEs to access the loans without collateral assets while SOEs can borrow large amount of credit under their names. In Vietnam, most of private enterprises are small-scale and lack valuable assets that can be used as collateral for bank loans (Nguyen, 2004: 150).

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(11) The PMI method is an useful Decision Making tool for weighing the pros and cons of a problem, PMI stands for Plus/Minus/ Interesting points that can help to define or define the advantages or disadvantages of a problem.
Table 08: General assessment about DPEs in Vietnam

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Plus points (P)</th>
<th>Minus Points (M)</th>
<th>Interesting features (I)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• DPES are taken as the main focus of NEL</td>
<td>• Unequal treatment from the government</td>
<td>• DPES are small and medium enterprises (SMEs) (12)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Diversity in business and production activities</td>
<td>• Self compensation for losses;</td>
<td>• Flexible hiring and firing strategy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Learning organization with flexible, dynamic structure</td>
<td>• Lack of capital</td>
<td>• Easy procedures for setting up private enterprises</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Innovative in decision making</td>
<td>• Low awareness about legislation and workers’ rights; Poor implementation</td>
<td>• Short term strategy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Attract a lot of young workers</td>
<td>and control of legislation</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Trade Union does not play important role in protecting workers’ rights and</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>gender equality</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Have low market share, lack of information</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Unstable development, Unstable labor force</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The enforcement of Labour Code’s application is still weak in DPEs. Due to many difficulties arising in business and production activities the employers try to minimize all kind of expenditures, including workers' benefits. Many firms don't have Trade Union or Women's Committee which can protect the voice and the rights of FWs.

In 2000, non-state enterprises employed 433,147 women, this reached 964,699 at the end of 2004 and mainly employed by private enterprises, Co., Ltd and Jsc. (Table 09, Appendix B). Within the framework of Equitization Route, a lot of SOEs have been merged or dissolved; redundant FWs have to move to non-state sector, pushing up the number of women working in DPEs.

This paper takes the case study of Enterprise P - a private T&G Jsc. in Hanoi. The arguments following this case study will be made by combining the observations from Enterprise P and some other DPEs in the sector.

1.2. Background of Enterprise P:

Enterprise P was established in 2000, right after the application of NEL. The firm is headed by a group of experienced engineers and technicians who left state jobs and set up their own business. They work for themselves and challenge the market competition to improve the skills and knowledge. With nearly 500 workers, 73.4% of them are women, TT is currently being considered as a successful DPE in Vietnam. Like the other DPEs,

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(12) SMEs: the firms with less than 200 employees, legal capital of lower than VND5billion (Circular No.681/CP-KTN, 20 June, 1998)
Enterprise P has to buy their own assets, invest to build factory, accumulate profits for business activities, and compete with the other T&G firms to survive and gain the market share. Due to the limited capital raising ability, at first Enterprise P received unfinished garment products for processing and got little margin, then the firm had to find the way to access banking loans to invest in complete production lines. Now its products are sold well in many Asian and European countries.

2. SOEs and Enterprise S

2.1. SOEs in Vietnam: SOEs have been the symbol of Vietnam's economy for very long time. "In socialist countries, state enterprises are the symbol of socialism" (Nguyen, 2004: 20). Previous studies show that, although SOEs receive preferential treatment from the government like free land rents, tax holidays, easier access to capital, they also suffer from budget constraints, labour redundancy and overpaid employees (ibid, 110). Within the next 4 years from the valid date of UEL on July 1st, 2006, all the SOEs established under the Law on SOEs must be converted into the Limited Liability Co. or Shareholding Co. (Jsc.) (article 166, UEL2005). Thus, in the near future, the number of SOEs will decrease sharply; the long history of SOEs may come to an end. Table 10 emphasizes some Plus, Minus and Interesting points with regard to SOEs and their operational mechanism.

**Table 10: General assessment about SOEs in Vietnam**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Plus points (P)</th>
<th>Minus Points (M)</th>
<th>Interesting features (I)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• Preferential treatment from the government</td>
<td>• Labor redundancy</td>
<td>• Long development history</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• SOEs is the symbol of the country's economy</td>
<td>• Bureaucracy</td>
<td>• Coming near to obligatory Equitizing Route</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• SOEs have a wide system of long-term clients and business partners</td>
<td>• The trend of decreasing SOEs both in number and quality</td>
<td>• In the process of being merged or dissolved</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• The application of laws is better (than in DPEs)</td>
<td>• Dependence in State intervention</td>
<td>• Hierarchy organizational structure</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Facing with rapid competition from DPEs</td>
<td>• Long-term strategy</td>
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This research takes the case study of Enterprise S - a SOE in HCMC with more observations from Thang Loi T&G Co., Binh Minh T&G Co., and Garment No. 10 Co... in Vietnam.
2.2. Background of Enterprise S: Enterprise S is a state-owned firm, was established in 1965. The firm has more than 5,000 workers with 61.3% FWS. As a member of VINATEX, Enterprise S is one of the most successful T&G firms in the industry with annual sales turnover of nearly USD80 million. Along with Economic reform, Enterprise P has adopted market orientation, pursued new business activities and continuously improved production lines to produce highest level of service and products. Apart from T&G products like Jeans, fabrics, towels of different kinds, indigo denim..., Enterprise S trades on property business, construction, supermarket and tourism. The company’s theme of activities is “listening and meeting customers’ needs”, unceasingly improve and innovate products and services, serving the co-operation growth and social responsibilities. The Trade mark of Enterprise S’ T&G products are famous and accepted worldwide.

III. INSTITUTIONAL ARRANGEMENTS COMPARED

1. Organisational Culture compared
   
a) DPE: Dictatorial management, Unfulfilled entitlement, Romantic lunch time

   - **Strict rules, Low Wages and Despotic Punishment, Opposition means stop working:**

      85% FWs (Enterprise P) think that the labour control there is too strict. They don’t have to get permission to go to bathroom or toilet, but must sign the names on the book on the main entrance. There is a sentence on every page: "Remember to write down your name when you go to bathroom/toilet, maximum 2 times a day, 5 minutes each". A “timetable worker” (nhan vien dieu do) controls this matter. FWs do not have 30 minutes rest/day in their period as stipulated in Article 115 of Labour Code.

      "You see, we have more than 300 FWs, everyday, many of them are in monthly period. They have to follow the lines, how much time will be wasted then? You cannot find this priority even in many SOEs" - (Enterprise P leader)

      For personal leave, workers have to write a letter showing the reason and absent time required with commitment to have salary deducted and send to the line man, he will submit it to the group’s manager. However, these key persons are in charge of different works, so when the worker gets permission they may not need it anymore. Workers are obliged to go to work in time, minimum punishment of 100,000VND (around 5EUR) per 30 minutes late. Every month, a level of products (dinh muc san pham) is assigned to the groups and then - to production teams. At the end of the month, the group which does not fulfil the task will receive “Income-deducted Decision".
"Sometimes dinh muc san pham is unreasonable, and our income is deducted accordingly, so the salary is usually lower than committed on Labour Contract" - a worker said.

Some workers had been dismissed due to their opposition to dinh muc san pham or strict labour control. The firm has a large group of 100 seasonal labourers, who are ready to work at any time. So, the workers are always in danger of loosing their jobs.

- Young workers and joyful lunch:
As workers follow different shifts, some of them have lunch at 10am, the others - at 12am. The most crowded time in the Refectory, Enterprise P is 12am, 30 minutes for lunch is the most precious time for them to chat. In one corner, a group of men from Textile Group asked the girls from Garment Group to join the foods, a man tried to pair a girl with the other man for fun. The atmosphere here became more excited when they ate together; kept talking, teasing... until the bell rang - they had to finish their lunch.

"We will get fine if we get back to work late; we wish to have at least an hour for lunch and rest" - a worker said.

Gendered characteristic of labour make the lunch here becomes more meaningful. Garment workers are in green uniform (Green Workers), Textile workers - in blue uniform with white hat (Blue Workers). Although the work is very hard, young women do not forget to make up before going to work. Lunch time is the romantic time for them. Many young workers find their partners from lunch time in the factory.

The Chief accountant of Enterprise P was proud to tell about the value of lunch portion:

"In SOEs, the lunch portion is only 4,500VND, but here we pay 6,000VND/day. Most of workers are young, they need enough nutrition." - She said.

b) SOE: Flexible management, friendly employer-employee relationship
Enterprise S was belonged to former Sai Gon Government. After Liberalization, many organizations dismissed the workers and staffs, who had a relation with the former regime. The firm decided to receive back those people when they finished Ideological Re-education (Chuong trinh cai tao tu tuong). Many of them then become active marketing executives for enterprise S’ products overseas.

"We do not refuse the person who wants to turn back (Danh ke chay di, khong danh ke chay lai) - This is one side of our enterprise culture - Enterprise S leader.

The BOM tries to build up the truth, the beliefs of the workers to the firm offering them highest income based on their contribution, and creating most favourable conditions, owing to which they can contribute all their efforts to work. Regulations and policies are
discussed and set bottom-up from groups up to departments, factories and then publicized in the whole enterprise; all workers are encouraged to feed back and raise the ideas. The firm’s theme in using human resource is “Accessing right person, right work”, “Work hard then earn much”. The managers encourage the staff and the workers to live under the slogan: “Sharing and covering each other” (*La lanh dum la rach*). Last year, a FW did not have money for heart operation, after a week of campaign “Saving the life of our colleague” within the factories, organized by the Trade Union, this worker received material support of more than 50million VND. She was an operating worker, when she came back to work the firm moved her to the other position that is more suitable for her health situation with the same salary. The firm becomes second family for many staffs and workers.

2. Organizational Structure compared

a) DPE: Dynamic, Simple Structure and Learning Organisation

Due to financial difficulties, DPEs try to build light and flexible structure; one key person is in charge of different works. In Enterprise P, the highest positions of the firm belong to the Chairman and Vice Directors. One of the directors is in charge of Office Group (*Khoi van phong*), the other is in charge of Factory Group (*Khoi nha may*) (Diagram 11, Appendix B). These two vice directors are the Chief of Office Group and Factory Group respectively, even the Chief of Office Group is also the chief of Business and Sales Dept.; Chief of Factory Group is the Chief of Garment Group.

“We have our own strategy towards human resources; we pay high salary for key persons. By doing that, we can save money and time, increase the responsibilities, key persons report directly to the Chairman.” (Leader, Enterprise P)

The Chairman said that average salary of the workers is 1,050,000VND/month; however, my survey shows that workers get average income of 750,000VND/month (nearly 40EUR).

“My friends in the Office Group get 1,200,000-1,500,000VND/month while they work maximum 52 hours per week only, may be because they have a good education, but we are the ones who make the products” - (Trang, Garment Group).

The Chief Accountant confessed that, “most of office staffs have university degree, if we pay less, they will not work for us”. Thus, the discrimination in payment is not between the workers themselves but between workers and the officers. Office Group has 20 staffs, chief of Accounting Dept. is a woman, and the other key persons are men.

“Women cannot take different works at the same time, the key persons here have to work at least 10 hours a day, sometimes are required to stay in the office the whole day. It is not suitable for women to be the key persons” - (Leader, Enterprise P)
The divisions of labour in Enterprise P are clearly gendered; accounting and administrative officers, workers in Garment Group all are women; in the other departments and groups men are more. Women make up 73.4% labour force as the firm is strong in garment products. 75% of workers are young at the age from 20-32, the firm wants to bring a new generation into organizational structure as young people are more dynamic and easily to adapt to the changes. Enterprise P has built up its own organizational structure that is most suitable to specific context of the firm, encouraging the collaboration and the competition between the departments. The most powerful group here in the firm is the group of key persons who control and closely associate with both business and production activities.

b) SOE: Hierarchical structure with NPM

Enterprise S possesses a grandiose hierarchical structure of a parent-sister firm, including Offices (Administrative Dept., Business Dept., Export-Import Dept., Accounting Dept....) and Sections (12 Sections/ Health section, Textile-Sewing Thread Section, Cloth section...), Member factories (12 factories/ Textile factory, Sewing-thread factory, Garment factory ...) (Diagram 12, Appendix B). Looking at dynamic working environment there, I keep wondering how the leaders of Enterprise S operate such a big mechanism.

“How the firm should be structured? How resources should be located in setting target and reviewing performance? Which unique resources and core competences does the firm have? We try to find the answers for those questions as in order to achieve the goals, the manager needs to have both strategic management and operational management. Hierarchical structure is not bad, we have to find the way to change the disadvantage into the strength, for this we use NPM” -(General Director, Enterprise S).

NPM works quite well here, the firm has created a complex Value Adding Process of Inputs-Activities-Outputs-Outcomes and effectively combining “3E relation” Economy-Efficiency- Effectiveness to form Quality Best Value system. 61.3% workers are women, the chiefs of production lines are most women as “women have very good abilities in controlling and fulfilling the task” (Leader, Enterprise S). Women get the priority in recruitment, training and promotion. The firm tries to create favourable conditions for women to get the progress by enhancing their ability that they can get the highest income equivalent to their contribution.
3. Corporate Strategy compared

a) DPE: Short-term Strategy, Business Profits or Workers’ Benefits?

Most of DPEs in T&G sector have less than 10 years experience and follow short-term strategy, focusing on a corporate level.

"Global situation keeps changing, so we focus on short term strategy with specific objectives. We try to identify opportunities in the business environment and use unique resources and core competence to achieve the aims." (Leader, Enterprise P).

Answering my question about the most important objective in business activities, the key persons said that, they really want to offer good welfare for workers but it is really difficult for them to fulfil this desire due to financial difficulties.

b) SOE: Long-term strategy, Sustainable development and Employees’ welfare

With more than 40 years trading both in national and international market, Enterprise S pursues long-term business strategy. Enterprise S pays much attention to domestic market with more than 80 million people. Export constitutes of 40-50% annual turnover, the firm is implementing Exportization strategy (Chien luoc Xuat khau hoa) on T&G products.

"Many T&G enterprises focus on the value chain; this process requires a lot of supporting works, so the risk is higher. Our firm is specialized in producing fibre, yarn, thread, jeans, and denim. Many kinds of denims are sold to domestic firms; they use them to make jeans using their own trade marks and export then. Thus, our products are there, in many other T&G export items. Specialization in production is a way of saving human resource, we do not develop agent network but we get turnover of VND5billions per day" (Managing Director, Enterprise S)

Enterprise S is going to be operated under the model of Corporation with the network of 5 or 6 sister companies around the country in the period of 2007-2008. The firm must follow obligatory Equitization Route to be equitized not later than 2010. A group of experienced staffs and leaders was set up to prepare for a sustainable development of the firm after Equitization. Enterprise S has jointly contributed capital to several Jsc. with the strategy of pushing up finished garment products, attracting large percentage of FWs. The firm’s 2005-2010 strategy is to be a strong and multi-functional Corporation.

Workers’ material and spiritual life is being concerned adequately by the firm. In 2006, recognizing the rapid increase of price index, the firm decided to increase 10% salary for workers (around VND150,000/person) to compensate for money devaluation. 80% of managers mentioned that sustainable development and workers’ welfare are the most important objectives of the firms as workers are the ones who are directly involved in the production. No one considered benefit as the most important criteria in business activities.

"It doesn’t mean that we don’t need profit. Profit is important but we need to find the way to get profit along with ensuring business ethics" (Chief of Business Dept.).
4. Labour Regimes compared

a) DPE: Labour Code violation, Tight Labour Control, Poor Working Conditions

FWs in Enterprise P have to work 7 days a week (no day off, shift changing day only - khong co ngay nghi, chi co ngay doi ca). In order to increase productivity, many T&G firms operate production line for 24/24hrs with the slogan “People have rest, equipment works” (nguoi nghi, may khong nghi).

“We know that we are being exploited but it’d better than being unemployed, last year we were “work starving” (doi viec). We get 6,000VND (around 0.3EUR) for one hour of overtime work; I can buy 3 breads then. At least the amount can increase our income” - Thu, Enterprise P.

Labour Code violation is an obvious problem. According to LCV, the pay for off-hour must be equal at least 150% of normal hourly pay, 200% on weekly non-working day/holidays (Article 61); however, most of DPEs ignore this regulation; they set up their own salary scheme. Many DPEs pay piece work (luong khoan), forcing workers to take extra-hour work. Besides, due to poor financial situation, working environment is substandard with backward equipment, low-roofed workshop; bad labour safety regulation and hygiene... all of these directly impact on productive and reproductive health of FWs. Only 60% of workers, Enterprise P have labour contracts, even sometimes the interests are on paper only. Young workers are required to commit not to get married or to be pregnant during the first two years of contract validity. Workers claimed that the labour control of the firm is dictatorial, they have to listen and follow; opposition would be responded by unfair dismiss. The boss has his own way to defence for his strict labour control:

“Products quality and labour safety is the most important. We need to control over the workers, billions Dong of loss may occur due to substandard items. Who will compensate the loss? We have to think of the firm’s profits that mean we think about our workers. Without benefit, we both cannot survive” - Leader, Enterprise P

82% FWs claim about poor working conditions, irregular health check, 85% think that they may have occupational diseases, 98% - low income and unreasonable treatment; 97% - Labour Code violation... I keep questioning myself, what kind of freedom these workers have: Positive freedom or Negative freedom? They are willing to work, even they are happy with the compensation of 3 breads for an extra working hour; there is a lack of social conditions that facilitate workers’ ability to have the better choice of a life with good living standard, equality and development.

b) SOE: Fair labour control, workers’ health and safety are the priorities

Recognizing the importance of workers’ health and safety, the firm provides enough safety clothes, ear-protecting devices, gauze masks..., organizes health check twice a year for
workers, once a year for officers. 95% workers confirmed that they have attended 6 month periodical health check. Table 13, Appendix B provides the result of health check within the period of 2001-2005 in Enterprise S. Enterprise S has 3,807 long-term contract workers, of which 2,319 are female; 2,242 FWs are under child rearing and bearing period (18-49yrs); married female workers count 60.17% with 1,349 persons (source: Administrative Dept, Enterprise S). The firm takes good care of workers’ health and tries to offer them good working conditions. Labour control is fair, enhancing workers’ responsibility and productivity. Normally, workers have to work 48 hours/day, 30% of them have to work 50-56 hours in the rush time and receive adequate off-work compensation. However, there are still some existing problems that the BOM has to take into account. 65% FWs gets training at work, 62% thinks that the training is not enough. 90% FWs claims about short time for lunch (30 minutes). Lien - a garment worker could not hide her scaring when telling me about the risk happened one day with her and friends on the way back home from night shift.

"Two drug-addicted men stopped us and asked for money. We were so afraid that we could not say anything, just tried to take off the golden rings to give them. Luckily, they allowed us to go with our bicycles. We dare not come back home late from that time, we have to stay in our friends' place, next to the factory. We hope that the firm will offer us the rooms to stay after night shift.”

Workers have enough labour protection devices but only 35% of workers use them regularly. “It is too hot and suffocated here, you see, we need some air” - a worker said. 87% FWs report that the working environment has too much stress with a lot of dust, noise and awkward position. The managers try to confirm that there is no worker having occupational disease; however, 60% FWs think that they have problems with hearing, visioning and mental organs. This is a fact that, the employers only report the case of heavy labour accidents or death (Do, 2005: 126).

5. Welfare Benefits and Social Protection compared

a) DPE: Low compensation, unfulfilled entitlement

According to ILO, minimum standards for all workers should be established with different kinds of benefits (13). In both DPEs and SOEs in Vietnam, not all of the specified benefits are fulfilled. 30% FWs in Enterprise P have calculative labor contracts of less than 3 months; by using this trick, the firm avoids spending on social and medical insurance. 80% confirm that the firm offers 4-5 months of maternity leave; 60% - worry about the danger of loosing the job after having a baby. Some FWs received “Dismissing decision” (Quyet
90% workers don’t satisfy with the policies applied towards FWs’ well-being. The claims turn around the request to pay 70% salary when the firm cannot find the work for workers; workers have no subsidy, even noxious subsidy. Monthly income is too low and unstable, while the price index keeps increasing, health check is offered every 2 years. However, the employers still do not recognize their legal violating actions, production and benefits become the motivation for the firm.

"Workers have medical insurance, why we need to organize regular health check, we also don’t have doctor here, we save money and time for our production"
- Leader, Enterprise P

b) SOE: Good compensation, Equal payment and treatment, Unfulfilled entitlement

Most of FWs, Enterprise S have secured labour contracts after 6 months working, social and medical insurance is offered accordingly. The firm also pays 2% Trade Union fee, which is used as TU budget to organize socio-cultural activities to enhance workers’ spiritual life. Average income of workers during the first 6 month of 2006 is 2,031,000VND/month; in 2000-2005 this average figure was 1,813,000VND (14). 64.8% FWS confirm that the income is high, 50.6% - income is not enough for their lives; 96% - satisfy with the social arrangements offered by the firm, even sometimes the policies applied are more favourable than stated in the laws (15). Enterprise S takes much care of workers’ benefit (see Graphs 14a and 14b). However, the firm’s leaders confessed that they still do not take enough care of workers’ life.

14 Figure supplied by Accounting Dept, Enterprise S
15 According to the state rule, those workers receive VND2,000/person/day. However, the firm applies higher compensation at 3,000 or 5,000VND person/day, especially for the ones who works with high temperature machines like Steam oven, Sheet Dye...
The firm still has not offered workers child care service so far but already has had a plan for a well-equipped kindergarten at workplace that FWs can concentrate more on work. Besides, offering accommodation for workers is still in the 10-year plan of the firm. 70% FWs are migrant; living in rent houses, paying at least 400,000-500,000VND/month; a married worker with family has to pay around 1,000,000VND/month, half of the salary.

"At that time we still cannot pay subsidy for house renting and childcare service of their children. We have a lot of workers, we cannot afford." - Thu, Chief Accountant

Although both DPE and SOE are pursuing some common institutional arrangements, the performance of those rules and practices are greatly affected by specific context of the firm creating the gaps between laws and reality. The findings demonstrate that SOEs apply the laws related to gender well-being in favour of FWs’ benefit which much accelerates their contribution to the firm; DPEs still violate the laws to avoid offering legal compensation to the workers. In SOE, there is no difference in the wage of the workers themselves, between workers and staffs, but the wage gap still remains high between workers and staffs in DPE. Firing, hiring and promotion practices are still clearly gendered in both of the firms but in opposite direction, one is towards women (SOE) and the other is in favour of men (DPE). Workers’ position and rights are still not concerned adequately, which are variable from SOE to DPE and will be discussed in detail in the next chapter.
CHAPTER IV:

THE WELL-BEING OF FEMALE WORKERS
- A COMPARISON BETWEEN THE TWO ENTERPRISES

Chapter IV firstly attempts to reaffirm the importance of Corporate Strategy to the firm and explore how the notion of workers’ well-being is perceived by the managers, workers themselves and their family members. SOEs and DPEs receive different treatment from the government; this differentiation creates unequal position for the firms in the market. Focusing on the specific context of SOEs and DPEs, I will show the extent to which the firms have fulfilled FWs’ desires and expectations. Then I will elaborate the crucial role of CS to Enterprise’s development and discover the position of workers’ well-being among a set of different goals of the firms. This Chapter finally evaluates the well-being and quality of FWs’ lives in both types of ownership by placing their well-being achievement in a close relationship with the average living standard of the society.

I. CORPORATE STRATEGY AND THE NOTION OF WORKERS’ WELL-BEING

1. Corporate Strategy (CS) and Workers’ Well-being

CS comes from the highest hierarchy of the firm, concerning with the scope of the firm’s strategy, the relationship between different parts and the value is added to them. The firm chooses strategic priorities based on particular context in which it is operating. Thus, attaining benefit is the main objective of this firm but serving the interests and expectations of stakeholders is the core strategic management of the other firm.

“The form of ownership can have a fundamental effect on the purposes of an organisation and the strategies that are pursued” (Johnson G. ‘et al.’, 2002). In Vietnam, DPEs are usually small firms with low capital raising ability. DPEs need flexible and light structure to cope with market changes; senior managers decide all the matters, so the strategy is usually subjective and voluntarism, not covering the voices and expectations of the other stakeholders. The values and expectations of managers become the most important; decisions of strategy are strongly influenced by the experience of the ones who run the business. SOEs have hierarchical multidivisional structure with layers of subsidiary companies and factories. Moreover, the managers take into account not only enterprise’s profits but also state’s and workers’ benefits. CS is an important aspect of business management and enterprise development. All kinds of business management can be
illustrated in three words: **PEOPLE, PRODUCTS, and PROFITS** and People rank first position\(^{(16)}\).

![Diagram 15: Business Management Circle](Author's illustration)

"**PEOPLE-PRODUCTS-PROFITS**" is a triangle of triple factors. People can be seen as a facilitator for producing outputs, bringing margins to the firm; we should look at people from both sides: one is the person who executes management process and the other is whom the results of management serve. Profit originates from people's functioning (practical works, production), it should be invested back to enhance the well-being of people after balancing related interests and responsibilities of the firm. Thus, profits can be used for different purposes, but it must come to People first before starting the new journey.

2. **Workers' well-being from different perspectives**

2.1. **The Voice of Managers: Workers' well-being is a part of business ethics**

*Well-being first relates to health:* Well-being is the "good for" a person and relates to his self-interest. Recognizing the importance of workers' health, for productive and reproductive responsibilities, Enterprise S organizes periodical health check along with gynaecological treatment for FWs. The firm tends to move workers whose work relates to noxious substances to the other suitable positions.

\(^{(16)}\)http://www.1000ventures.com/products/sl_6w_business_success.html 6Ws of Corporate Growth
"We try to reduce the number of FWs whose work is heavy and noxious, firstly it was applied in Dyeing Factory, in 2005 we have moved 40% of FWs there to the other suitable works" - Managing Director, Enterprise S.

*Workers' Well-being is the main point of Corporate Strategy:* All the managers think that well-being is important and it must be included in CS. However, Enterprise P leaders defend that profit is the core of all the priorities as the firm cannot survive without margins.

*The firm must take care of workers' well-being:* Material incentives are the means for achieving certain goals of life. Salary, subsidy and bonus are all the material benefits which are considered as outside earnings. Income cannot ensure complete happiness, so the firm needs to enhance spiritual and psychological well-being of workers by organizing different kinds of sport and cultural activities…

*Well-being is a part of Business Ethics:* Business closely relates to Profit, I use a simple formula to estimate the margin: Profit = Turnover - all related Expenditure\(^{(17)}\). Some people think that business is immoral job as every businessman desires to get as much profit as possible. There are two ways to increase P: minimize E or increase T. Income is a part of E, so the interest of workers is may be affected.

"We should meditate on one thing that Well-being is really a part of Business Ethics, the firm can gain benefit from satisfying workers' well-being, as they will devote their efforts to the firm" - Vice director, Enterprise S

Enterprise P leaders disclosed that they really want to offer better well-being for workers and they are on the way to achieve this aim:

"Well-being is also a kind of values; we need these values to push up the others' beliefs and enhance organizational culture." - Enterprise P leader

*We have to do more for our workers:* Enterprise S is going to apply a vocational training programme for FWs which offers them a secondary job, ensuring the livelihood for workers in any case. Trade Union is active in improving socio-cultural activities for workers, both in quality and quantity.

"We still have to do more for our workers" - the chairman of TU, Enterprise S

Enterprise P leaders said that actually they really want to offer the workers good well-being, but the heaped up difficulties force them to violate the rights of workers. However, they do hope to fulfil workers’ expectation in the near future as business results directly relate to workers’ interests and vice versa.

\(^{(17)}\) In Vietnam, \(P = (T-E)-(T-E)*28\%\); 28\% is income tax level
2.2. The voice of Workers: “We are still vulnerable with unfulfilled entitlement”

+ **Well-being is income satisfaction:** Workers need high income that can ensure the average living standard. Income helps to enhance the voice of women workers in the household (18). Income-satisfaction is a part of well-being as it strengthens the choice and functioning of a person.

+ **Well-being is gender identity and happiness:**

  "I started working here last December, I heard from my friends that the compensation is not high, but I really want to have a waged-work and bring money back home that I don’t have to live on my husband. He loves me, but a couple of times he reproaches me about my useless position" - worker, Enterprise P

Workers choose factory work because of different reasons; mainly because of the livelihood. Some workers like T&G job as it is an indoor work that “Rain does not shower to face, Sun does not pour to head” (Mua khong den mat, nang khong den dau). Moreover, women tend to be less subordinated to husbands and parents; they really need an equal position both at the workplace and in the household.

  "We would like to thank the firm for what they have been doing for us, but they should pay more attention to our interests and expectations, when we are waiting for the increase of material well-being (salary), could they PLS decrease working hours and loosen labour control?" - Worker, Enterprise P

Workers from Enterprise S somehow satisfy with the benefits given by the firm.

  "Dreams are many; at least the firm offers us a stable life with good compensation" - Worker, Enterprise S

+ **"We are still vulnerable with unfulfilled entitlement"**: FWs are working hard, trying to earn for their own life and the life of family members. They are still facing with many difficulties.

  "We are still vulnerable with unfulfilled entitlement, but our situation is much better than of my colleagues in the other enterprises" - worker, Enterprise S.

2.3. The voice of workers’ family members

+ **Workers’ well-being is not concerned correctly**

  "Money plus health equals happiness. However, the compensation is rather low, the health care is poor. You see, my wife gets nearly VND800,000/month, she has chronic headache as she has been working in a very noisy atmosphere. She doesn’t have medical insurance so has to pay 200,000VND/month for the treatment. Workers’ well-being is not concerned correctly"
  - Husband of a worker, Enterprise P.

(18) Amartya Sen (1990:144) said “Outside earnings can give the woman in question (1) a better breakdown position (2) possibly a clearer perception of her individuality and well-being (3) a higher “perceived contribution” to the family’s economic position".

36
Workers’ well-being relate to the whole family’s happiness

I visited some workers’ families in Hanoi and HCMC. Most of family members highly appreciate women’s contribution to the family sustainability. Workers’ well-being relates to the happiness of all the members in the family as income pooling plays importance role in improving the quality of family’s life. Besides, when workers’ productive and reproductive health is good, they can contribute much to both family and the society.

Worker Mother with a rigid timetable:

"My mother works as a ready-programmed machine from morning to mid night. She gets up early, goes to the market and prepares breakfast, makes some foods and puts in the fridge. She has to be at the bus stop at 7 to reach the factory at 7.30. She comes back at 6.30pm and starts doing a lot of housework. Sometime she works in night shifts, she is busy all the time, I wish if I could help my mother more. She really wants me to go to University; she works for my future...”
- the son of a worker, Enterprise S

They do not have time to enjoy the life:

The parents of a 30 year old garment worker, Enterprise P told me that their daughter is really in a danger of being single forever (e chong). Long working hours from morning to night, stressful work and unhealthy working conditions have changed her joyful character. After work she just has dinner prepared by her mother and sleeps, ignoring all entertainment activities and social interaction, she even rarely talks to the other family members.

3. Comparison of the experiences of Female Workers in the two factories

3.1. Intra-firms differences

Higher compensation in SOE:
80% workers (Enterprise S) and 85% workers (Enterprise P) answered that there is no income differentiation between FWs and their male colleagues. The findings demonstrate that due to difficulties in capital rising and ineffective business, the income in DPE is much lower, just equal to 40% of that in SOE. Within the period of 05 years from 2000 to 2005, average income of Enterprise P workers is VND750,000 while PP workers earn VND1,813,000/month.

Better bodily health and integrity in SOE:
Enterprise S workers still have time for rest or going out, reading newspapers, even attending in-service class. According to my survey results, 85% of Enterprise P workers claim about the strict labour control of the firm, 60% of them are exhausted after work, 90% of Enterprise S workers are tired but still can do a lot of housework.
Workers need adequate compensation (DPE):  
Workers in Enterprise P claim about the low compensation offered by the firm. Some of them do not hesitate to say that the firm has so many assets like cars, land... however, the managers always claim about financial difficulties.

"We are really in difficulties; those assets are being collateral assets, without them, how can we access to the bank loans" - Enterprise P Leader

The effectiveness of Trade Union in SOE and the absence of Trade Union in DPE:  
"Trade Union, their representatives and members should ensure the respect for and promotion of equal remuneration, opportunity and treatment through their relations with management" (ILO, 2000). Enterprise S has a strong TU which is going along with the others organs of the firm to attain political aims assigned by the Board of Management, ensuring the well-being for workers. TU of the firm and “Committee for the Advancement of Women” are actively engaged in organizing training courses both inside and outside the firm for FWs to improve their professional skills. Every year all workers are required to take part in the examination for getting opportunity to increase salary, the result attained by female workers was impressive (Graph 16, Appendix B). TU also encourages FWs to take part in “Miss Worker” contest, which not only increase the awareness of women beauty but also helps them to define gender identity. This year, on the occasion of Sep. 2nd, the firm organized a Fashion Performance; all the fashion models are workers, wearing the products they have made.

“I am really happy, I am proud to wear the jeans which had been weaved and sewed by me and my friends” - a model said

TU is successful in mobilizing young workers to take part in the activities of Communist Youth Federation like “Voluntary Youth Movement” (Chien dich thanh nien tinh nguyen), or “Green Summer Campaign” (Chien dich mua he xanh), “Returning to the root” (Ve nguon) (19). Those activities create a lot of chances for workers to get acquainted, exchange ideas; understand each other more.

Only 20% of DPEs have Trade Union (Do, 2005), Enterprise P is not an exception; 60% workers have very little understanding about TU.

"Who is Mr. Trade Union (Ong Cong doan), I don’t know, it’s the job of my boss. My responsibility is work and work; receive money once a month, sometimes we have to wait until the next month... “- worker, Enterprise P

(19) "Voluntary Youth Movement", "Green Summer Campaign": Going to remote areas, teach children, build Friendship House for Vietnamese-Hero Mothers, help the villagers to protect the environment; "Returning to the root": The youth come to Revolutionary Bases, revise about the victory of the parent’s generation...
Workers in DPEs really need the presence of TU to protect them from being exploited and poorly paid when there is still “little understanding of the Trade Union’s role within the market economy” (Nghiem, 2006: 185). Enterprise P still does not have any attempt to set up TU, the leaders said that they have too many works to do to ensure the life of workers. In fact, the firm refuses to create the foundation to protect workers’ rights.

3.2. Inter-firms differences

+ Discrimination in work assignment and promotion opportunities (DPE, SOE):

Men are employed for more flexible work. In garment groups, majority of workers are women. Men get more chances to be promoted, especially in DPEs like Enterprise P - a key person has to do different tasks.

“We cannot sit at the same place; we were born with dynamic and flexible character”
- a male worker, Enterprise S

+ Men are stronger, but women and men are assigned the same amount of work (DPE, SOE):

Men are always free after work if they don’t get an extra job, while women have to do a lot of housework and take reproductive responsibility. At work, men and women usually get the same amount of work.

“We should have 30-60 minutes reduced in working hours or the men have to work 30-60 minutes more” - a FW, Enterprise P

+ Wage is still based on education (DPE):

As noted earlier, wage is paid based on the production in Enterprise S; a worker may get higher salary than an engineer as the salary of an engineer is almost fixed, while a worker can get extra bonus. In Enterprise P, the wage is still paid based on education level. Due to unstable development prospect, in order to keep well-educated staffs DPEs have to pay high salary for them, and the income of a staff is usually much higher than that of a worker.

+ Social stigmatization and gossips toward Single Mother Worker (SOE and DPE):

Single mother workers (SMW) still get a lot of stigmatization from the society as well as their colleagues in the firm. Mai - a SMW said:

“Every FW may fall in this situation, why they don’t sympathize with my sufferings?
Many workers are living with their partners, what is the different of living with partner without a kid and having a kid like me?”

In Enterprise S, although Trade Union pays much attention to the life of SMWs and their children, most of them are in very difficult situation. The firm has organized workshops providing FWs with enough knowledge about gender and reproductive health, contraceptive methods as well as how to avoid being vulnerable. TU encourages SMWs to go back to work and subsidize for their children.
4. Comparison of Female Workers' Well-being in the community

4.1. Workers' well-being in the community

Vietnam is a socialist country following the Marxist-Leninist ideology, the Party rules the society, and the people are the boss; the working class (giai cap cong nhan) plays leading role in the course of country's protection and construction. Working class have been considered as the vital source of industrialization and modernization; however, many people still think that workers belong to lower class with limited education and skills.

The desire to explore workers' well-being suggests me making a comparison between Average Monthly Income (AMI) of workers between the firms, both inside and outside the country. As Table 17 reports, the income of Enterprise P workers is lower than average income of workers in the whole country, much lower than AMI of workers in Enterprise S and many other T&G firms in the country and the region. The AMI of workers in Enterprise S ranks 2nd position in T&G sector (20), higher than the AMI of workers in Maharashtra and Madhya Pradesh States in India but still lower than the income of workers in some parts of China, Thailand and the Philippines.

Table 17: Worker's AMI comparison in the country and in the region:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category 1: AMI of workers in Case study's enterprises</th>
<th>AMI of workers in Vietnam</th>
<th>AMI of workers in Asian countries</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Enterprise S</td>
<td>2,031,000 (21)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Enterprise P</td>
<td>750,000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category 2: AMI of workers in Vietnam</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Thanh Cong T&amp;G Co.</td>
<td>2,286,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dong A T&amp;G Co.</td>
<td>1,782,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nha Be Garment Co.</td>
<td>1,765,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Garment No.10 Co.</td>
<td>1,500,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hoang Thi Loan T&amp;G Jsc.</td>
<td>850,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Workers in the whole country</td>
<td>1,000,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category 3: AMI of workers in some other Asian countries</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Workers in Shanghai</td>
<td>2,028,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Workers in Western China's coastal areas</td>
<td>3,120,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Workers in Maharashtra State, India</td>
<td>1,365,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Workers in Madhya Pradesh State, India</td>
<td>1,404,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Workers in Bangkok, Thailand</td>
<td>2,394,730</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Workers in the Philippines</td>
<td>2,314,899</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Author's survey & information from http://www.business-in-asia.com/vietnam_workers.html (22)

(20) Adapted from Textile & Garment Fashion Journal, Vol. 230, September-2006
(21) 2,031,000VND is the AMI of Enterprise S worker in the 1st 6 month of 2006
(22) Some figures were converted into VND with the Exchange Rate of 1 USD=15,933VND, 1 USD=36.73 Bath; 1 USD=49.73 Peso (http://www.exchangerate.com). AMI of workers in the region were collected with the help of ISS students (Daulat Desai, Neerja from India; Jason - the Philippines, Onoparatvibool - Thailand, ).
To support the findings, I manage to define the expenditure that a worker has to incur monthly to see whether her income is enough to cover living expenditure or not. Due to time limitation, this research only focuses on the Expenditure of two main female groups: Single Migrant Workers and Married Female Workers. Given the fact that, one married worker has a family of 4 members (23), she shares half of expenditures with her husband (electricity, child care, learning fees for children...). Some of them have to support their old parents as many of the old don’t have pension (24), in turn parents can help to do the house work and to take care of the children.

The advantage of being a woman helps me to combine both interviews and experience to build up Table 18a and 18b.

Table 18a: Average Monthly Expenditure of a single migrant FW in Vietnam

(Unit: VND)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Essential items</th>
<th>Amount</th>
<th>Exceptional items</th>
<th>Note</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Daily Food</td>
<td>300,000</td>
<td></td>
<td>Exc. Lunch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Fees for petrol/ transportation</td>
<td>150,000</td>
<td></td>
<td>Transportation to work/ not included</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(use factory’s means)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Phone Card</td>
<td>100,000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>House renting, electricity, water</td>
<td>500,000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Cosmetic, shampoo, beauty care, sanitation fees, washing powder</td>
<td>200,000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>The other small money</td>
<td>50,000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Unexpected expenditures</td>
<td>200,000</td>
<td></td>
<td>Gifts for friend’s wedding, birthday,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>medicine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Sending back home to support family</td>
<td>200,000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Saving</td>
<td>200,000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Shopping</td>
<td>200,000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>1,300,000</strong></td>
<td><strong>800,000</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Source:** Author’s survey

(23) Vietnam follows "Two-child policy", so standard family size is a family of 4 members
(24) Vietnam does not apply social security system for the citizens, only the one who has a job and contribute to social insurance will get pension when they retire.
Table 18b: Average Monthly Expenditure of a married FW in Vietnam

(Unit: VND)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Essential items</th>
<th>Amount</th>
<th>Exceptional items</th>
<th>Note</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Daily Food</td>
<td>450,000</td>
<td></td>
<td>Divided for two (1,000,000/2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Fees for petrol or transportation</td>
<td>100,000</td>
<td></td>
<td>Transportation to work/ not included</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Milk, extra foods for kids</td>
<td>150,000</td>
<td></td>
<td>Divided</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Child care and/or learning fees</td>
<td>400,000</td>
<td></td>
<td>Divided</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Phone Card</td>
<td></td>
<td>100,000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>House renting, electricity, water</td>
<td>400,000</td>
<td></td>
<td>Divided</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Cosmetic, shampoo, beauty care,</td>
<td>150,000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sanitation fees, washing powder...</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>The other small money</td>
<td>150,000</td>
<td></td>
<td>Divided</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Expenditures for old parents</td>
<td>300,000</td>
<td></td>
<td>Divided</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Osin hiring</td>
<td>250,000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Unexpected expenditures</td>
<td>250,000</td>
<td></td>
<td>Gift for friend’s wedding, birthday, health</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>check for children, parents</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Saving</td>
<td>200,000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Shopping</td>
<td>200,000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>1,800,000</td>
<td>1,300,000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Source:** Author’s survey

By comparing the income received by the worker with average expenditures spent I find out that, only Enterprise S workers have enough money to pay for their own livings with minimum items of expenditures. The numbers of SOEs which can offer high compensation for their workers are few as many SOEs are still in danger of being bankrupt or dissolved.

"It is really difficult for me to save money, but I have to as my responsibility is supporting my brother in university. I don’t want him to be a worker like me" - Worker, Enterprise S

FWs in DPEs are really living in difficulties when the income just covers a half of essential expenditures. However, it is also not easy for them to find the job as workers in big cities like Hanoi and HCMC because unemployment rate in Vietnam is still high. Many workers accept low compensation when they don’t have much education and factory job is most suitable for them. There is a triangle of coercion, compensation and commitment (Nghiem, 2006) which determines the attachment of the employees to the firm.
4.2. How can the workers survive?

My survey results show that 50.6% FWs, Enterprise S and 90% in Enterprise P think that the current income is not enough for them to live on. They have different ways of earning extra money or minimizing daily expenditures.

+ **Living with relatives:** 40% single migrant workers live with their relatives to avoid spending on the rent. It is not a big problem when a worker has relatives in the city. Workers usually have long working hours, go to work early and come back late, even they have breakfast and dinner outside, just need a place to sleep at night.

+ **Finding overtime job:** Lanh, a Textile worker, Enterprise P gets an extra job as a waiter in a big restaurant. The boss is her father’s friend, she allows Lanh to follow flexible working schedule. Dynamic and joyful - this girl takes the two contrast jobs - in the factory, she has to stand all the time, controlling series of machines; in the restaurant, she runs around to serve different clients. With both of the works, she earns more than VND2,000,000/month (around EUR100).

  "I don’t have to pay the rent, the boss allows me to stay there, I just need a place to lie down, but the restaurant close at 1 am, I sleep only 5.30 hours per day" - Lanh said

The works in different shifts much hinder workers from finding extra jobs. Some FWs become vulnerable when they work in the bar or discotheques. Unsurprisingly, 40% garment workers receive unfinished garment products to do at home, 25% - being part-time workers for the other factory. Workers are willing to sign up for overtime work to keep income up.

  "If we don’t accept them to work over time, they will find part-time work in the other factories with very low payment, while we have to pay higher fees for outside workers. It will be a waste" - Enterprise P Leader

+ **Living with boyfriends and sharing difficulties: vulnerable cases**

Vietnam News published on Feb. 16th, 2006 reports vulnerable cases of factory’s FWs. Majority of workers are young and single, long working hours obstruct them from the freedom of choosing a marriage partners and start family’s life. My survey result indicates that 62% of FWs are single, 70% - under the age of 20-29, 15% are older than 45 and hopeless to have children at this age. All single workers who live with boyfriends know that the society seriously criticizes before marriage’s co-living, but they don’t want to be lonely forever:
"Time will take away my youth and beauty. Let them criticizing, I need a baby for my own future. If my boyfriend really loves me, he will marry me, if not - I accept the destiny. You see, nowadays, even many students make friend (cap bo) with Big Men (Dai gia), why I cannot live with my male colleague?" - a worker strongly argued.

Lien - the Chairman of TU, Enterprise S said that TU is willing to support single mother workers to overcome difficulties. TU encourages SMW to declare the name of the child to receive subsidy for him or her (25). The outside-marriage children have the same rights to join all activities for children organized by the firms. Lien promised to contact Nhan (Chapter III) to support her in raising the small daughter. The situation is different in Enterprise P:

"We don’t have any subsidy for SMWs and out-married children as this point is not stated in the Labour Code. We also cannot stop before marriage co-living. We know that some young women are unlucky in love and abandoned by boyfriends after they have become pregnant. All our workers are mature; they know what they should do."
- Enterprise P leader

Workers living in co-habitation and being vulnerable become a big problem in Vietnam’s society nowadays (26).

+ Difficulties and different solutions (cai kho bo cai khon):
Some workers disclosed that they have to ignore “Communication Revolution”. Without mobile phones, workers may loose the offers for part-time work; young workers cannot communicate regularly with their boy/girlfriends. The others try to use the bus instead of motorcycles as the price of petrol is very high or have to forget shopping and travelling desires. Living in big cities with a lot of beauty saloons and clothes shops; they are trying to make up for the life by fashionable garment products, but cannot afford to buy beautiful clothes for themselves.

A married worker, Enterprise P said, she would not have a baby in the next 3 years. They are both workers, earning less than 2,000,000 VND/month, as the two-side parents are old, they cannot afford to take care of the baby. It is really hard for the young couple to manage the family life with children. Most of workers have secondary and high school education (61%, author’s survey). Some workers really want to go to in-service or English classes but they cannot afford the fees; the freedom to access to education is being obstructed.

“The officers in the society have quite luxury life with low salary as they have secret bonus (loc), many of them “put one leg inside and one leg outside the office” (chan trong chan ngoai), we have to put our legs at the same place. Our income is the real one, not hidden income’’ - worker, Enterprise S.

(25) In Enterprise S, TU members come to visit SMWs when they deliver the baby; FWs are assigned to help SMW do the washing for the first days; initial subsidy of VND300,000 and one-month milk (VND200,000) is provided by the firm.
(26) In 2004, of 2,669 abortions in Binh Duong, 1,250 were obtained by FWs. In the first 6 months of 2005, around 1,500 abortions were performed there, over half obtained by industrial workers; most of these women are unmarried (Vietnam News, Feb. 16th, 2006)
Interestingly, the notion of workers’ well-being is expressed in various ways. Generally, FWs lives are perceived as difficult livelihood with unfulfilled entitlement. Although SOEs offer FWs higher compensation, greater security and better working conditions, FWs there still do not have enough money to exercise their purchase power as the income just cover essential items for their lives. The disadvantages of T&G job as well as the differences in social arrangements have created the gap between the well-being of SOEs and DPEs’ FWs. Consequently, FWs have to find their own ways to survive. However, in the long run, there is a need to narrow the existing gap, especially when Vietnam has been accepted as 150th member of WTO on this November 7th (27).

(27) Up to 2010, the government expects to apply a unified minimum salary scheme in all types of ownership enterprises to ensure the material well-being of labourers along with different programs to enhance their spiritual life (http://www3.vietnamnet.vn/wto/2006/11/629305).
CHAPTER V: CONCLUSION

This paper uses Capability Approach of Sen and Nussbaum to assess female workers' rights and well-being in state-owned and private T&G enterprises in Vietnam. The idea of freedom, choice and the combination of capabilities and opportunities are applied to look at the systems of social arrangements in the firms. 

Doi-Moi has certainly opened up more employment opportunities for women in manufacturing jobs, particularly in T&G sector. Although women’s engagement in paid work does lead to an improvement in their daily life, the prospects for their future remain difficult to confirm. The study finds that the working and personal life of FWs in T&G sector vary in different types of ownership. These variations depend on many factors, such as marital status, age, permanent residence (migrant or city workers) and type of ownership of the firm that employs them. Under the new legal framework that seeks to provide equal treatment, firms of different sizes and ownership do have their own Corporate Strategies which are driven by different interests. As all business activities are profit-oriented, workers’ benefits are reluctant to business profits. SOEs apply quite well the policies on worker’s well-being because there Enterprise and State interests are closely related. DPEs have recognized the importance of female workforce but due to financial difficulties they have to ignore the law and violate workers' rights and freedom.

Although FWs in SOEs enjoy better social arrangements than in DPEs, T&G workers in both types of ownership are facing difficult lives with little freedom to choose or to exercise their choices. Different constraints like low skills, low educated, family's burden, and global competition in T&G production have obstructed many of them from having good and stable employment. Due to cultural norms and values, FWs’ well-being is not only an end but also the means for the welfare of the other family members; their well-being achievements are consequential to the others. Some FWs have chosen their own life style of living with co-partners or having outside-marriage children but they cannot overcome social stigmatization and gossip. The society should be more tolerant towards this social problem when every person has the rights to decide their owned happiness by using capacities and opportunities to choose.

Vietnam’s Textile and Garment is a promising industry, currently the second exchange earner after crude oil. Every year this sector contributes much to the National Budget, bringing profits to many T&G enterprises, ensuring jobs for millions of FWs. T&G industry covers the interests of different stakeholders, including the well-being of the female workforce.
FWs count for a large percentage of the workforce in T&G sector, the question of ensuring good well-being for FWs should be taken into account to ensure women’s productive and reproductive health. There is a need to build up a wide policy platform for debates about social arrangements for FWs to create constructive interaction between political organizations, enterprises and workers. Such interaction could be directed at sensitizing political institutions on gender related problems that have wider social and economic ramifications.

Vietnam has a good legislation to push ahead enterprise development and workers’ well-being. However, there is a large gap between the law and its enforcement due to conflicting interests between actors who may not necessarily share the principle of gender equality. Political institutions should be more open to gender issues, stimulate more dialogues between enterprises and workers to create favourable conditions and raise the capabilities of workers so as to improve their functionings.

As one of the largest socio-political organization in the country, VWU has paid much effort in the struggle for gender equity and equality. The draft of Gender Equity Law was issued with 34 articles, regulating gender equity in all fields. GEL resolutely rejects gender discrimination and preconception. Article 11 and 12 regulate gender equity in economic activities, addressing equal opportunities in accessing to recruitment, training, promotion, compensation between men and women. Closing the gap between GEL and the reality facing FWs in T&G would require comparative research on social arrangements for FWs with a larger sample (more types of ownership, more enterprises), over a longer time period. This would provide additional insights and broader evidences to initiate a policy dialogue between different stakeholders.
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APPENDIX A

QUESTIONNAIRE FORM A - FOR MANAGERS

Introduction:
Good (Morning/ Afternoon/ Evening), I am Duong Kim Anh, Interviewer - MA participant in Public Policy and Management from Institute of Social Studies - ISS, the Netherlands. I am doing a study on "Form of Ownership, Institutional Arrangements and the Well-being of female workers". I would be very grateful to hear your opinions and experiences (PLS circle appropriately).

Required Information:
1. Name o the Enterprise: .................................................................

2. Ownership type:
   i) State-owned
   ii) Domestic Private Enterprise (Ltd., Jsc.)
   iii) Joint-venture
   iv) 100% Foreign Invested Enterprise

3. Name of Interviewee: .................................................................

4. Position: ........................................................................

5. Education:
   What is the highest level of education you have attained?
   i) University
   ii) MBA
   iii) MA
   iv) PhD
   v) Post Doc.
   vi) Other (specify): .................................................................

6. Working status:
a/ How long have you been working here?
   i) Less than one year
   ii) 1-2 year
   iii) 3-5 years
   iv) More than 5 years, specify ..................................................
b/ In what field did you work before:
   (i) Textile an Garment sector
   (ii) Others, (specify): .............................................................

7. Enterprise Culture:
a/ Which kind of management style do you apply here?
   i) Exclusive
   ii) Critical
   iii) Flexible
   iv) Friendly
b/ What norms and values are well perceived in your enterprise?
   i) Protect and help mutually
   ii) Enterprise is the 2nd family
   iii) Sustainable development
   iv) Well treated, well dedicate
   v) Others, specify

   c/ What are the links between individual benefit an enterprise’s benefit?

8. Corporate Strategy:
   a/ How important are the objectives of your enterprise (rank from 1-5 based on level of importance)
      □ Benefit
      □ Welfare of workers
      □ Market share
      □ Reputation
      □ Sustainable development
      □ Other objectives which are not listed above

   b/ What are the ways and means for achieving the objectives of your enterprises:

9. Organizational structure:
   a/ Is the portion of male and female workers equal in all division of labour?
      i) Yes    ii) No

10. Labour regime:
   a/ In your opinion labour control and disciplines here are:
      (i) Too tight
      (ii) Fare
      (iii) No meaning
      (iv) Too loose
      Reason given for your answer:

11. Labour rights and freedom of the workers in the enterprise are:
   a/ As specified in legal documents
   b/ More preferential than specified in legal documents
   c/ Less preferential than specified in legal documents
      Give examples:
12. Labour protection and labour safety:
Which of the followings are well implemented in your enterprise?

i) Using uniform and other protection devices at work (obligatory)
ii) Regular training on labour safety
iii) Subsidize for the workers who take harmful work
iv) Compensate and support workers who get labour accidents or occupational diseases

13. Welfare benefit for workers:

a/ Which of the following are offered for female workers:

i) Production salary
ii) Basic salary
iii) i) + ii)
iv) i) + ii) + bonus
v) iv) + insurance
vi) Others

b/ Other incentives are offered for female workers:

i) Maternity leave
ii) Training
iii) Child care service
iv) Housing
v) Other (specify)

14. According to your opinion, Institutional Arrangements of the enterprise
(Enterprise culture, Organizational structure, Corporate strategy, Labour regimes, Welfare benefits) are:

a/ Different from state-owned enterprise to private enterprise:

i) Yes
ii) No

b/ If yes, what is the reason for the difference?

15. Legal framework on labour rights, gender equity and equality:
Are the policies and regulations set up by your enterprise based on the legal framework on labor rights, gender equity and equality?

i) Yes
ii) No

Give example for the chosen.

16. Gender equality an equity in the enterprise

a) Is there Gender-based wage system in your enterprises?

i) Yes
ii) No

b) If yes, what create the difference in the income generation between male and female workers?

i) Skill
ii) Gender
iii) Race, class
iv) Others (Specify)

b- Justification and explanation of wage (income) gap?

c- Which criteria of the followings do you pay attention to when you recruit a worker?

i) Gender
ii) Skill
iii) Experience
iv) i)+ii)+iii)
v) Others (specify)

Task assignment: Which criteria do you pay attention to when assign the task for your workers?

i) Gender
ii) Age
iii) Skill
iv) All
v) Others (specify)

Promotion: Which criteria do you pay attention to when assign the task for your workers?

i) Gender
   i. Age
   ii. Skill
   iii. All
   iv. Others (specify)

Do you think that workers' rights and freedom is well implemented here? Why

The most important aim in business activities of your enterprise is:

i) Benefit
ii) Enterprise culture
iii) Market share
iv) All
v) Others (specify)

How do you apply the laws related to gender well being into their business activities?

Enterprise Law: Enterprise Law is applied in this enterprise

i) Strictly
ii) Flexible, pay attention to the nature of work and gender dimension
iii) Other way

Gender Equity Law: Article 11 and 12 of Gender equity laws specifies Gender equity in labor and economic activities, which of the followings have been doing well in your enterprise?

a/ The employer must implement the principle of equality between men and women in respect of recruitment, employment and advancement in wage grades and remuneration.
b/ Enterprises and organizations are not allowed to require female laborers to commit the time for getting marriage, having babies
c/ Enterprises and organizations are not allowed to dismiss, terminate the contract with female workers for the reason of her marriage, pregnancy, maternity leave, child rearing and bearing responsibility
d/ Sign the contract in accordance with the regulation of the Law
e/ Enterprises and organizations are not allowed to discriminate men and women (who have the same ability), which lead to income differentiation and the other kind of discrimination

Labour Code: Chapter X of Labour Law defines separate provision concerning female employees. Which of the following are implemented well in your enterprise?

i) Employer must not assign female worker to heavy, dangerous work, or wok opposed to toxic substances that are harmful to their child bearing and rearing functions...
ii) A female employee performing heavy work, on reaching her 7 months of pregnancy, shall be transferred to a lighter work, or have her daily working time reduced by one hour but shall still receive her full wage.

i) Having cloakrooms, bathroom and toilets for women at the place where they work.

ii) A member of management staff is assigned to deal with female workers’ questions, taking into account the rights and interest of women and children.

22. Which of the following are not implemented well in your enterprise, specify the real solution:

i) A female employee nursing children under 12 months shall be entitled to 60 minutes off in every working day with full pay.

ii) Employer has the responsibility to assist in making arrangement for crèches and kindergarten or in covering part of the expenses incurred by female employees having children in crèches or kindergartens.

iii) All workers must have a medical examination at the time of recruitment and subsequent periodical examinations as stipulated by the relevant regulations. The expenses for medical examination of workers shall be paid by the employer.

iv) The employer tries to strengthen the material and spiritual welfare of female workers with the aim to assist them in developing effectively their occupational capacity and to combine harmoniously professional life with family life.

v) Other solution or the chosen point.

23. How do you respond to family responsibilities of female workers that may occur during their working hours?

i. Supportive

ii. Reluctant but allow necessary absence

iii. Critical

iv. Others

24. What are your enterprise’s policies with regard to:

i) Annual leave.

ii) Maternity/ Paternity leave.

iii) Childcare service.

iv) Other benefits not listed above (Specify).

25. Do you satisfy with the policies applied for women in your enterprise? What have done and what have not done?

26. Spiritual and psychological well-being:

a / Which kind of activities does your enterprise offer to the workers:

i) Cultural, sport exchange within the enterprise

ii) Cultural, sport exchange between the enterprises

iii) Others activities.

b/ What is the role of Trade Union in enhancing the well being of female workers in your enterprise?

c/ What is the role of Commission for the advancement of women in your enterprise?
d/ What are your suggestions for enhancing the well-being of female workers?

i) Material well being: ........................................................................................................

ii) Spiritual and psychological well being........................................................................

27. How do you perceive the well being of female workers?

i) It is necessary to ensure the well-being of female workers not only in material but also in spiritual, psychological aspect

ii) We just pay attention to material well-being of female workers

iii) Ensuring well-being of workers is crucial concern to gain sustainable development

iv) All above

v) Other choice..............................................................................................................

28. Do you think that the work offered by your enterprise is suitable to women? Why?

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

29. Do you think that the benefits and compensations are adequate? Why?

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

30. Do you have any special strategy for developing female labour force in your enterprise? PLS specify some main points.

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

---

Thank you for sharing your specious time to complete this Questionnaire (Interview)

Ho Chi Minh City, August......, 2006

Interviewee name and signature

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

Interviewer

Duong Kim Anh
QUESTIONNAIRE FORM B - FOR FEMALE WORKERS

Introduction:
Good (Morning/Afternoon/Evening), I am Duong Kim Anh, Interviewer - MA participant in Public Policy and Management from Institute of Social Studies - ISS, the Netherlands. I am doing a research on “Form of Ownership, Institutional Arrangements and the Well-being of female workers”. I would be very grateful to hear your opinions and experiences (PLS circle appropriately).

Required Information:
1. Name of the Enterprise ...................................................
2. Interviewee’s Age:
   i) Under 15
   ii) 15 - 19yrs
   iii) 20-29yrs
   iv) 30+ yrs
3. Native province/city:
   i) Ho Chi Minh City  ii) Hanoi  iii) Outside i)+ii), specify ..............
4. Education:
   What is the highest level of education you have attained?
   i) Never attended school
   ii) Primary
   iii) Secondary School
   iv) High school
   v) Other (specify): ..........................................................
5. Marital status:
   v) Cohabitant/ Living together
   vi) Separated/ Divorced
   vii) Widow
6. Accommodations: Where do you live?
   i) In rent house
   ii) In the factory’s dormitory
   iii) With your family
   iv) With relatives
7/ Working time and working conditions:
a/ How long have you been working here?
   i) Less than one year
   ii) 1-2 year
   iii) 3-5 years
   iv) More than 5 years, specify ............................................
b/ Every week you have to work:
   (iii) 40 hours include the shift
   (iv) 40 hours exclude the shift
   (v) More than 40 hours include the shift, specify .....................
   (vi) More than 40 hours exclude the shift, specify ..................
c/ Working hours here are:
   (i) Fix  ii) Changeable

   d/ When you work in night shift and finish in the early morning, where do you stay?
   i) Factory’s room
ii) Back home (dormitory, rent house…)

e/ Do you have to work overtime?
  i) Yes
  ii) No
  iii) If yes, how many hours per week? ..............................................

f/ In your opinion, labor control here is:
  i) Too tight
  ii) Fare
  iii) No meaning
  iv) Too loose

g/ During working hours, you have to get permission for:
  i) Bathroom
  ii) Toilet
  iii) Personal matter

h/ How much time do you have for lunch break?
  i) 1 hour
  ii) Less than 1 hour, specify ..................
  iii) More than 1 hour, specify ..................

i/ Transportation to work:
  i) Bicycle
  ii) Motorcycles
  iii) Factory’s vehicles
  iv) Public transportation

8/ Working hazards:
I think that the followings are too much
  i) Noisy
  ii) Suffocating
  iii) Dust
  iv) Tension
  v) Awkward position
  vi) Others (specify): .....................................................................

9/ Health protection:
  a/ Do you have regular health check at work?
     i) Yes ii) No
  b/ If yes, how often:
     i) Every month
     ii) Every 6 months
     iii) Once a year
     iv) Never
     vi) Other, specify the frequency ............................
  c/ Do you have health and social insurance:
     i) You buy it by your self
     ii) You get it from your enterprise
     iii) Others.................................................................

10/ Worker’s evaluation of amount of training:
  a/ Have you got any training from your enterprise?
     ii) Yes ii) No
  b/ Do you think that the amount of training given here is:
     i) Too much
     ii) Quite a lot
     iii) Just right
iv) Not much
v) Too little

11/ Occupation:
a/ What is your position at work? .................................................................
b/ What are your work terms:
  i) Long-term contract with insurance and pension-able
  ii) Temporary contract without insurance and pension-able
  iii) Seasonal contract
  iv) Others (Specify) .................................................................
c/ What are the work terms of your spouse (If you are married)
  ii) Full time work outside the home
  iii) Part time work outside the home
  iv) Does not work outside the home
  v) Others .................................................................

12/ What are your employer’s policies with regard to:
  i) Annual leave ........................................................................
  ii) Maternity/ Paternity leave .........................................................
  iii) Child care service ...................................................................
  iv) Other benefits not listed above (Specify) ...................................

13/ If you stay home from work to take care of the child or the old sick, what kind of leave do you take?
  i) Sick leave
  ii) Personal leave day
  iii) Unpaid leave
  iv) Vacation day
  v) Other
      (explain) ...........................................................................

14/ When you need to be away from work for a short time for your family’s matter, how does your supervisor manage your absence?
  i) Allows personal leave time
  ii) Allows to make up lost time
  iii) Reduce wages for missing time
  iv) Demerit or mark against work record
  v) Others (PLS specify) ................................................................

15/ Do you satisfy with the policies applied for women in your enterprise?
    ............................................................................................

16/ Are the benefit adequate, in your opinion? ................................................

17/ Are there enough care facilities at your work place?
    ............................................................................................

18/ Do you think that the worker’s rights and freedom are well implemented here?
    ............................................................................................

19/ Salary and welfare:
a) Every month I get my salary of:
  i) Less than 1,000,000VND
  ii) From 1,000VND-1,500,000VND
  iii) From 1,500,000-2,000,000VND
  iv) More than 2,000,000VND (specify) ..................................
b) Which kind of extra income do you get?
   i) Bonus
   ii) Overtime working salary
   iii) Allowance
   iv) Others, specify: .................................................

c) How much extra income do you receive, in average, per month?
   i) Less than 500,000VND, specify..............................
   ii) More than 500,000VND, specify............................

d) How do you think about your income (a+b)
   i) Quite high
   ii) Ok
   iii) Low
   iv) Too low

e) Is the income enough to ensure your life?
   i) Yes
   ii) No

20/ How large is the difference between the income of you and of your male colleagues:
   i) No difference
   ii) Your income is higher
   iii) Your income is lower

21/ Gender discrimination at work:
   a) Is there any discrimination at work, in comparison to the female colleagues?
      i) Yes
      ii) No
   b) If yes, PLS specify:
      i) Wage differentiation
      ii) Promotion opportunities
      iii) Recruitment
      iv) Task assignment
      v) Others: ................................................................... .

22/ Spiritual and psychological well-being:
   a/ Which kinds of activities are offered by your enterprises:
      iv) Cultural, sport exchange within the enterprise
      v) Cultural, sport exchange between the enterprises
      vi) Others activities...............................................
   b/ How do you feel after work?
      i) Relax
      ii) Tired
      iii) Exhausted
      iv) Want to give up this work
   c/ What do you do after work?
      i) Relax
      ii) Do the housework
      iii) Take care of children
      iv) Take care of the old parents
      v) ii) + iii) + iv) ...........................................
      vi) Other activities:...............................................
   d/ How do you deal with overburden of housework:
      i) I have Osin (assistant) to help me at home
      ii) I manage by myself
      iii) My parents help me
iv) Other solutions:............................................................................................

23/ For single workers: About your future marriage
a/ Do you think it is difficult to find a partner for future marriage:
   iii) Yes
   iv) No
b/ If yes, specify the difficulties:
   i) Long working hours
   ii) The nature of work
   iii) Lack of opportunity for meeting and exchanging relations
   iv) Others...........................................................................................................

c/ What are your suggestions for enhancing the well-being of female workers:
   i) Material well-being.......................................................................................
   ii) Spiritual and psychological well-being.....................................................

24/ I like this job because:
   (i) It is suitable with women
   (ii) The timetable is reasonable
   (iii) Salary and other welfare is OK
   (iv) Other reasons (specify).............................................................................

25/ I don’t like this job, because:
   i) Lack of promotion
   ii) I don’t have time for my family
   iii) Benefits are not adequate
   iv) Other reasons (PLS specify)......................................................................

Thank you for sharing time to complete this Questionnaire (Interview)

Ho Chi Minh City - Vietnam, August..., 2006

Interviewer: Duong Kim Anh
**APPENDIX B**

**Table 02:** The Industrial growth rate by activities years 1995-2000 (By Gross Output)

(Unit: %)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mining and Quarrying</td>
<td>114.7</td>
<td>114.7</td>
<td>115.3</td>
<td>116.4</td>
<td>105.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturing</td>
<td>113.6</td>
<td>113.6</td>
<td>112.1</td>
<td>110.8</td>
<td>117.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Textile</td>
<td>102.0</td>
<td>113.9</td>
<td>115.2</td>
<td>100.3</td>
<td>112.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Garment</td>
<td>114.9</td>
<td>127.2</td>
<td>107.9</td>
<td>111.8</td>
<td>116.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufacture of basic metals</td>
<td>60.8</td>
<td>40.0</td>
<td>129.1</td>
<td>93.2</td>
<td>105.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Electricity, Gas and Water supply</td>
<td>118.5</td>
<td>115.0</td>
<td>111.8</td>
<td>110.9</td>
<td>111.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: GSO, 2000

**Table 09:** The Number of female labourers by ownerships

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>By Ownership</th>
<th>2000</th>
<th>2001</th>
<th>2002</th>
<th>2003</th>
<th>2004</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total (person)</td>
<td>1,511,047</td>
<td>1,657,885</td>
<td>1,963,105</td>
<td>2,235,316</td>
<td>2,494,489</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>State-owned Enterprise</td>
<td>831,749</td>
<td>815,402</td>
<td>852,913</td>
<td>857,275</td>
<td>834,879</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central</td>
<td>466,285</td>
<td>468,620</td>
<td>486,610</td>
<td>496,507</td>
<td>506,383</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Local</td>
<td>365,464</td>
<td>346,782</td>
<td>366,303</td>
<td>360,768</td>
<td>328,496</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-State Enterprise</td>
<td>433,147</td>
<td>535,056</td>
<td>661,715</td>
<td>807,278</td>
<td>964,699</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Collective</td>
<td>56,207</td>
<td>40,464</td>
<td>45,629</td>
<td>47,988</td>
<td>46,775</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private</td>
<td>75,701</td>
<td>87,802</td>
<td>106,219</td>
<td>127,090</td>
<td>148,627</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Limited Liability Co., Ltd</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>114</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jsc. with State capital</td>
<td>248,588</td>
<td>311,929</td>
<td>390,767</td>
<td>476,164</td>
<td>573,160</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jsc. without State capital</td>
<td>31,183</td>
<td>55,483</td>
<td>65,858</td>
<td>75,736</td>
<td>79,738</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreign invested enterprise</td>
<td>246,151</td>
<td>307,427</td>
<td>448,477</td>
<td>570,763</td>
<td>694,911</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100% foreign invested enterprise</td>
<td>198,240</td>
<td>253,575</td>
<td>379,805</td>
<td>491,943</td>
<td>611,904</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joint-venture</td>
<td>47,911</td>
<td>53,852</td>
<td>68,672</td>
<td>78,820</td>
<td>83,007</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: GSO (2005)
Diagram 11: Organizational Structure, Enterprise P

Board of Managers:
Director and 02 Vice Directors

Office Group
- Administration & Technical Dept.
- Accounting Dept. (AC)

Factory Group
- Business & Sales Dept.
- Garment Group
- Store
- Refectory
- Textile Group

Table 13: Health check Result, Enterprise S (2001-2005)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>2001</th>
<th>2002</th>
<th>2003</th>
<th>2004</th>
<th>2005</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No. of participant</td>
<td>3,178</td>
<td>3,016</td>
<td>2,968</td>
<td>3,019</td>
<td>3,189</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% of workers participate in regular health check</td>
<td>95.3%</td>
<td>96.5%</td>
<td>97.2%</td>
<td>95.2%</td>
<td>98.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Level 1</td>
<td>441</td>
<td>481</td>
<td>574</td>
<td>692</td>
<td>782</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Level 2</td>
<td>1,475</td>
<td>1,281</td>
<td>1,299</td>
<td>1,334</td>
<td>1,436</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Level 3</td>
<td>997</td>
<td>959</td>
<td>827</td>
<td>809</td>
<td>802</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Level 4</td>
<td>257</td>
<td>260</td>
<td>196</td>
<td>158</td>
<td>134</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Level 5</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Administration Department, Enterprise S
Diagram 12: Enterprise S Organizational Structure
(Mother part)

Offices

Administrative Dep.
Business Dep.
Technique-Investment Dep.
Export Import Dep.
Financial Accounting Dep.

Groups - Sections

Safeguard & fire protection
Warehouse-Transportation
Fashion Designing
Project G.
Health G.
Mechanic G
Computer G.
Textile-Thread Technique
Electric G. (Fiber-Thread)
Tower G.
Cloth G.
Electric G. (Cloth & Tower)

Membership

Fibre Factory
EO Fibre Factory
Fiber-Thread Factory
Thread Factory
Tower Factory
Dyeing Factory
Garment Factory
Hal Van Textile Factory
Cloth Factory
Mechanic Factory
Jeans Factory
Garment Factory

(Sister Part)

Jsc. 1
Jsc. 2
Jsc. 3
Jsc. 4

Jsc. 5
Jsc. 6
Jsc. 7
Jsc. 8
Jsc. 9
Jsc. 10
Co., Ltd
Jvc1
Jvc2

(XVIII)
Graph 16: Number and % of female workers succeeded in “Salary level increasing” examination, Enterprise S

Source: Official Letter No.166/DPP/CD/BC (Enterprise S)