

**GENDER AND ENTERPRISE DEVELOPMENT IN
VIETNAM UNDER *DOI-MOI*:
ISSUES FOR POLICY, RESEARCH, AND TRAINING***

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1. INTRODUCTION

Female entrepreneurship is not a new phenomenon in Vietnam. In feudal time, under a class structure formed according to a four-tiered system of economic activities, i.e. scholarship, farming, crafts, and trade, women were mainly involved in the activities of the three lower tiers. They were barred from scholarship and government administration. Their involvement in crafts making and trading as off-farm activities was often part of an income generating strategy to support their men who might spend long years as scholars competing in centrally arranged examinations to get access to positions in government administration. The first European travellers to Vietnam in the 16th century had observed diverse activities undertaken by women in trade and off-farm production. For example, they noted the following: *'money changing is a great profession here, and managed by women, who are very dextrous at it, and will raise and fall the price of their cash as carefully as our stock-jobbers do their stocks'* (Salmon, 1725: 211). They also observed that the country produced great quantity of silk that was chiefly bought by the English and the Dutch. *'The Dutch who trade hither, frequently contract a fort of temporary marriage with the women of this country, and made them factors to buy up silk and materials at the dead time of the year, and employ the poor people when the work is cheapest, and by this means have their goods ready when the ships arrive. Many of the Dutch have raised good estates, it is said, by these female factors, who are faithful to them; and the women have also enriched themselves, and been matches afterwards for the greatest Lords, when their Dutch husbands have left trading thither'*(Salmon, 1725: 207).

To some extent, the patterns of women's involvement in today's export-oriented economy may be seen as a revival of the past. There are of course differences arising from new trade links, new forms of organisation of production and competition, new rules, and new actors in the field. Nevertheless, it is important to keep in mind that entrepreneurial capability has been an important feature of women's human capability in Vietnam, suppressed perhaps for reasons of history, changing gender norms and regimes of production. The experience of contemporary reform programs in Vietnam seeking to restructure a 40-year old two-tier centrally planned economy into a multiple-tiers market-oriented economy is an interesting case to investigate changes and continuity in women's entrepreneurial capability, the consequences to their social position and to the society as a whole.

In the current context of Vietnam's integration in the regional and global economy, the promotion of women's entrepreneurship has been articulated along two main lines of argumentation, namely gender equality and economic efficiency. The equality argument suggests that the state should pay particular attention to women's entrepreneurial capability in the same way as men's as a matter of constitutional rights. The efficiency argument extends itself from the equality argument. It suggests that by equalising entry barriers in the areas of credit, technology and training, state policy would help boost the dynamic role of micro and small enterprises (MSEs) further. As the argument goes, a removal of gender-based barriers and greater investment in women could directly unleash women's untapped potentials, increase productivity and income. Indirectly, an increase in productivity and household income could generate more demands for goods and services and create more employment (VWU, 2000; 2001).

This paper seeks to contribute to the ongoing policy discussions on women and MSEs in Vietnam by providing a gender analysis of enterprise development under *Doi-Moi* in the light of the equality and efficiency arguments mentioned above. Using the recent census data, including the 1999 Industrial Census and the 1999 Population and Housing Census, the paper will highlight some dimensions of the structural imbalances in the process of privatisation and enterprise development through the lens of ownership and gender. Structural constraints facing women-owned and/or led enterprises (WSMEs) will be highlighted using survey data in three regional urban centres. These constraints will be discerned according to those that are generic to MSE, and those that are specific to gender relations. Objective dimensions of women's entrepreneurial capability in comparison to men's will be assessed based on differences in levels of education and work experiences. Finally, the paper identifies areas of research, policy action and training that can contribute to: (a) the creation of a gender balance in the playing field, and (b) an assessment of alternatives and options for WMSEs that are coherent to local contexts.

2 ENTERPRISE DEVELOPMENT UNDER *DOI-MOI*: THE MISSING MIDDLE AND WOMEN

Enterprise development under *Doi-Moi* may be phased into three periods. The first period was marked by the Agricultural Resolution 10, introduced in 1986 on agricultural production, which allowed peasants to directly invest and produce on state-owned land, leased to individual peasant households. This Resolution broke up the

collective as an enterprise into households as smaller units of production, turning individual farms into the first form of private enterprises. The second period was marked by the reforms of state-owned enterprises (SOEs), beginning in 1989 and continuing until today¹. Enterprise development in the second period consisted of two features, restructuring and improving the competitiveness of SOEs for export-oriented activities, and assisting retrenched workers to set up their own micro-enterprises through credit and training activities under schemes designed to help state former employees alleviate adjustment burdens. This created a basis for the emergence of an urban-based private sector. The third period began with by the New Enterprise Law effective in January 2000. This Law permits non-discretionary registration of private firms by the Chamber of Commerce instead of Government approval. The objective of a simplified system of registration is to reduce government control and to ease entry barriers for SMEs.

The evolving legal framework on enterprise development in Vietnam reflects a certain level of uncertainty in the leadership's vision of industrialisation and private sector development in the last 15 years, and a tendency towards pragmatism, i.e. learning by doing step by step. Some analysts (Truong and Gates, 1996) suggested that in the mid-1990s the leadership had placed hope on transforming SOEs into modern corporations styled along the lines of the *chaebols* of South Korea. However, after the 1997 Asian crisis, this view no longer prevails. It appears that today the leadership is more concerned with the issue of competitiveness from the standpoint of the national economy as a whole and its regional and global integration. Micro and small enterprises (MSEs) once considered mainly as tools for employment and income generation to ensure political stability have emerged as dynamic entities in private sector development. However, due to state neglect, its unplanned expansion is rather erratic, inefficient and without sufficient capacity to graduate into the middle-size firms.

Current debates on the deepening of have included the following: (a) privatising the small SOEs, (b) streamlining foreign investment laws and regulations to attract greater FDI inflows, and (c) encouraging the development of townships and village enterprises (TVEs) to promote more regional balance. Currently, only about 20 to 25

¹Data on SOEs are not uniformed. Once source states that in the first round of SOEs reforms (1989-1993) the number of SOEs was halved from 12, 000 to 5, 800 (Vietnam Economic Monitor, 2001). Another source states that the number of industrial state enterprises has declined from more than 3000 in 1988 to about 2, 000 in 1996 (UNIDO, 1999). The difference may lie in the fact that the former sources include all SOEs, including import-export companies, where as the later source included only industrial production.

per cent of gross industrial output originate from rural areas, most mainly from the traditional 'occupational' communes and villages (OCV), or *lang nghe*. There are some 800 OCVs in the country with 320 households and 500, 000 permanent jobs. Policy analysts have suggested that the promotion of TVEs should be based on the development of infrastructure in the hinterland of the three Triangle Zones of growth² to create small industrial growth hubs (UNIDO, 1998). In addition, the importance of learning from the traditional occupational communes and villages, how they organise themselves into cluster of industrial activities, should also be recognised.

On the whole, beyond and above legal measures, there is an awareness of the need for new and effective economic and social measures tailored to needs of MSEs in urban and rural areas. There is a clear need for a carefully considered policy on MSEs to help promote and sustain their growth so as to alter current distortions and achieve more balance. These distortions are visible in several areas such as structure of ownership, structural composition of GDP, structural composition of industries and human resources. Gender imbalance cuts across all these distortions.

In spite of these internal difficulties, on the whole *Doi-Moi* has clearly produced impressive macro performance in the 1990s, as presented in Table 1. As the table shows, Vietnam has seen unprecedented results in terms of GDP growth, saving and investment. Vietnam's latest Human Development Report (National Centre for Social Sciences and Humanities, 2001: 6) shows estimates based on an internationally-comparable poverty line, suggesting that poverty incidence fell from well over 70 per cent in the mid-1980s to 58 per cent in 1993, and 37 per cent in 1998. Nevertheless, the country's future performance is also facing a series of external and internal threats. Externally the country has been witnessing a fall of FDI inflows as well as fall in export earnings, since the eruption of the Asian crisis. Internally, trends in unbalanced development have become more transparent. The key areas of growth and high human development index (HDI) and gender development index (GDI) are coastal areas of the red Rive Delta in the North, the Mekong delta in the South and the province of Khanh Hoa and Da Nang in the Central Region. Poverty and low HDI and GDI are concentrated in the highland areas of the Northwest provinces and Central provinces and two provinces in the Mekong Delta (National Centre for Social Sciences and Humanities,

² These Zones are: (a) Hanoi-Hai Phong-Hai Duong-Quang Ninh, (b) Da Nang-Quang Nam-Quang Ngai, (c) Ho Chi Minh City-Binh Duong-Dong Nai- Ba Ria Vung Tau.

2001: 50, 51, 52). Highland areas are occupied by some 50 different ethnic minorities, whereas the main ethnic minority group in the Mekong Delta are Khmer (GSOa, 2001).

Since 1996, domestic non-state enterprises are emerging as significant economic actors, as manifested in their number, share of investment, share in contribution to GDP and employment generation. As shown in Table 2, Vietnam's multiple-tiers economy is nearly entirely dominated by the household sector. The number of establishments in the domestic private sector constitutes 99.56 per cent of the total number of all establishments (of which 98.40 are household-based establishments). Companies with private and mixed capital constitute less than one per cent of firms' population. Collectively owned enterprises make up some 0.18 per cent, FDI 0.16 per cent, and SOEs 0.29 per cent. From the perspective of investment outlays Table 3 shows that the domestic private sector, which is the most dominant in number of establishments, generated less than 20 per cent of total investment outlays in 2000. The state sector has the largest share of capital outlays, i.e. about 0.30 a per cent of the total number of firms controlled over 60 per cent of total investment outlays in 2000. Investment outlays in the state sector have been growing rapidly, from 38.3 in 1995 to 61.9 per cent of total in 2000, in spite of downsizing. This may be attributed to the fact that land is included in the calculation of SOEs investment outlays. Hence, increasing land value might have contributed to the increased total value of SOEs. Credit to SOEs constituted 4.5 per cent of total investment in 1995 and 20.5 per cent in 2000. The proportion of credit given to SOEs in 2000 was almost equal to total domestic investment of the non-state sector (19.5 per cent) and the FDI sector (18.6 per cent) in the same year.

From the perspective of employment, Table 4 shows that in 1999 households and farms contributed to the largest share of employment generation (89 per cent) while private companies and FDI companies generated only 1.4 and 0.6 respectively. SOEs and collective enterprises accounted for 9.0 per cent of total employment generated. Yet, between 1996 and 1999 employment growth rate generated by private companies was 12.1 per cent, and by FDI companies 38.5 per cent. Employment growth rate of households and farms was 3.3 per cent and by SOEs and collective enterprises 1.5 per cent in the same period.

Contrasting this with GDP growth rate by sector of ownership, Table 5 shows how the non-state sector has been more resilient than the state sector, in spite of their unequal position regarding land and credit. The contribution to GDP by SOEs and collectives has declined between 1995-2000, be it marginally. In the private sector, private

enterprises and FDI have performed well, despite a drastic fall in FDI after 1997 (see Table 3). However, as has been pointed out (National Centre for Social Sciences and Humanities, 2001: 33), a major weakness in the private sector is the absence of diversification: 78 per cent of enterprises are concentrated in four industries (food processing, wood products, garments, ceramics and glass). In addition, the contribution of households and mixed firms is showing signs of steady decline. The overwhelming predominance of MSEs in the private sector indicates an imbalance from the standpoint of capital, technology and labour. Low technology and labour-intensive activities in Vietnam are too widespread while high technology capital-intensive activities are concentrated in less than half a percent of the total number of firms.

The contribution of FDI firms to GDP is considerable and growing. With a population of firms that represented less than 1 per cent of the total number of firms, FDI contribution to GDP grew from 6.30 per cent in 1995 to 13.25 per cent in 2000. This has occurred despite a step decline in foreign investment since 1997. Companies with private capital and mixed capital (less than 1 per cent of the total number of establishments) contributed on average about 6 per cent to total GDP in 2000. Collectively owned establishments, which accounted for 0.18 per cent of the total number of establishments, contributed about 8.50 per cent to total GDP in the same year. FDI firms clearly enjoy a higher level of fixed assets (technology and infrastructure).

Table 6 shows the structural composition of firms based on an industrial survey conducted in 1999 covering 17 provinces (GSO, 2001b). This survey covers firms of four different sizes, defined by the number of employees, notably 1-10 people, 10-99 people, 100-500 people, and 500 people and above. In general firms in the state sector are by far the largest, on an average, when measured according to number of employees, as compared to the collective sector, domestic private sector and FDI sector. However, when measured according to fixed assets, FDI-firms dominate, and firms in the collective sector and domestic private are at the lowest extreme. This indicates that the capital-labour ratio is highest in the FDI sector and lowest in the collective and domestic private sectors. In other words, activities in the domestic private sector are concentrated at the labour-intensive end of the range of production activities, i.e. sweatshop activities. Noteworthy, when measured according to capital efficiency, as indicated by the fixed asset- value added ratio; capital-intensive firms show the highest ratio and SOEs the lowest. This suggests that the later type of firm is more efficient in term of

capital use per unit of value added than FDI and domestic private firms are. It is not a priori clear what has determined this outcome.

Gender inequality constitutes an important feature in the successful performance of the private sector. On average, in 1999 female labour constituted 55.1 per cent of total industrial labour whereas their costs was only 45.2 per cent of total, and the total contribution made by firms for the social security of female labour was only 29.7 per cent of total. More specifically, in the manufacturing sector, including SOEs, FDI, and domestic private firms, female labour reached 58.3 per cent while its costs was nearly equal to male labour. Furthermore, the total contribution of firms to the social security of female labour was only 31.4 per cent of total (GSO, 2000b: 61). Wages and social security benefits enjoyed by female workers in the manufacturing sector are indeed higher than the average in the industrial sector, but still significantly lower than the level enjoyed by men. Hence, in praising the performance of the private sector, it is important to keep in mind the role of female labour and how gender inequality has served the logic of efficiency of firms.

Data on trade suggests that SMEs have done well during and after the Asian financial crisis. According a World Bank Report (2000) on Vietnam's export performance, between 1997-1999, non-oil export by domestic SMEs grew by 72.5 per cent. Non-oil export by foreign-invested firms grew by 44.7 per cent, while non-oil export by SOEs rose only by 4.6 per cent. Light industry (textile, garments and footwear) dominated by SMEs accounted for 37 per cent of total exports in 1997, growing from 13 per cent in 1992. Agriculture accounts for 35 per cent of total export in 1999 (export-based subcontracting), declining from 50 per cent in 1992. Heavy industry and minerals dominated by SOEs account for 28 per cent of total export in 1999, declining from 37 per cent in 1992. The World Bank Report (2000) points to an emerging export-oriented light manufacture sector dominated by SMEs, and a shift away from subcontracting arrangements towards more direct exports with substantially higher value-added.

Turning to the household sector, while accounting for more than 98 per cent of the total number of firms and about 90 per cent of employment, its contribution to GDP is 33 per cent. It is quite clear that with lower fixed assets, the household sector is a sector of 'perspiration', i.e. labour-intensive, low-value added and low productivity, that can only expand horizontally (in number) and not vertically (through increased efficiency of capital use). Its capacity for employment generation may also reach saturation. A detailed perspective on the growth of GDP of the household sector by selected

economic activities in the period 1995-1999 at 1994 prices is presented in Table 7. On average, the household sector grew by 5.8 per cent in 5 years. Among the domestic-oriented activities, education and training scores highest with an average growth rate of 37 per cent followed by culture and sports (17.9 per cent), transport and communication (13.5 per cent), mining and quarrying (10.2). Among the export-oriented activities (agriculture, manufacture and fishing), manufacture has been growing at an average of 10.5 per cent, followed by fishing (4.8 per cent) and agriculture (4.7 per cent). Growth potentials of manufacture in the household sector had been undermined by the Asian crisis, most notable in 1998 and 1999, when growth rate fell from 15.6 per cent in 1997 to 3.7 per cent in 1998 and 2.2 per cent in 1999. Clearly, household enterprises (MSEs) in manufacture are vulnerable to market contraction and require specific support measures to adapt themselves to the new market competition.

From the perspective of survival and growth, a study by Vijverberg and Haughton (2001) on non-farm household enterprises (NFHE) based on the results of the Living Standards Surveys of 1992-1993 and 1998 reveals some useful findings. First, rural poor households were less likely to become NFHE in 1993 as well as 1998. Only those households that have move up the income ladder were likely to become NFHE, showing the need for start up capital among poor households. Adults with a moderate education (6-12 years of schooling) or at prime age (26-55) are likely to start up NFHE. Location (proximity to markets and roads), family history and education³ are found to be important determinants of entry to NFHE.⁴ NFHE in retail sale, hotels and restaurant business appear to survive longer while those in textile, manufacturing, services and other category are more likely to be terminated. This suggests that NFHE may have limited capability to respond to complex market relations beyond the locality in which they are situated.

In so far as gender is concerned, Vijverberg and Haughton's analysis (2001) finds that between 1993-1998 there was a sharp drop of the number of NFHE run by women. This could be the result of different technical procedures used in the survey of 1992-93 and 1998. It could also mean that men have taken over successful NFHE, or have taken on a more prominent role in representation. Vijverberg and Haughton en-

³ Only up to high school diploma. University graduates tend to opt for wage work.

⁴ The identity of the entrepreneur in the household is indicated by the response to the following question: 'who among the household members is most knowledgeable about the activities of the enterprises?' (Vijverberg and Haughton, 2001)

dorse the hypothesis that men have taken a more prominent role of representation, based on data in another research that showed women's higher contribution in time to non-farm self-employment in comparison to men. Although women may be indeed more knowledgeable about enterprise operation through practice, they may encounter intra-household barriers on representation. Vijverberg and Haughton analysis (2001) also found that the estimated survival rate of NFHE run by women rises by nine percentage points between 1993-1998. These findings suggest that women do possess entrepreneurial potential in the household sector. However, those who do not succeed in overcoming intra-household barriers may lose their power of representation, which disqualify them for support. Those who succeed in managing their enterprises autonomously do survive. In sum, formal representation may be a major constraint for women's entrepreneurial capability in NFHE due to their gender-ascribed role as wife and dependent.

Specific data on women-owned enterprises provided by Vietnam Women Union tend to confirm the above findings (VWU, 1998). Women own 16 per cent of the total number of private enterprises that have received permit to operate under Enterprise Law, showing a high degree of success in overcoming gender-specific constraints. In reality this percentage could be higher if we take into account household enterprises that are owned by women but are not registered, or enterprises run by women but registered as jointly-owned or owned by men. Of the registered women-owned enterprises, above 70.19 per cent are companies with private capital, 20.41 per cent are companies with limited liability, 7.57 per cent are household enterprises, 1.48 per cent are collective owned, 0.2 per cent are shareholding companies, and 0.15 per cent are joint-venture companies. Their main economic activities are trade, manufacturing, and services. Trade accounts for almost half of total activities of women-owned enterprises, mainly in retail. Manufacturing and services account for the other half. Service activities are limited to restaurants and recreation (VWU, 1998).

This picture shows that women as owners are weakly represented in the household sector, where as company with private capital is clearly a form of ownership and management preferred by women. This may reflect on the one hand the effects of intra-

household barriers⁵ as discussed above, and on the other hand it also reflects the successful action of some women in breaking these barriers to pursue an entrepreneurial career independently. The picture also shows that the involvement of women entrepreneurs in shareholding and joint venture companies remains limited. Beyond the issue of lack of capital, the specific reasons underlying this trend require investigation. These might include lack of experience, lack of knowledge of foreign languages, insufficient familiarity with legal regulations and other factors.

A survey of 600 women-owned enterprises conducted by VWU in three cities, Ha Noi, Hue, and Ho Chi Minh City in a number of categories of activities⁶ reveals some insights on their specific characteristics (VWU, 1998). It must be noted the survey did not probe into the production process of sub-sectors and of firms. Therefore, it is not possible to gauge the key problems related to production and distribution other than the problems that are generic to MSEs as a whole, i.e. lack of credit, intensive time use and low level of skills. Nevertheless, findings on the characteristics of female entrepreneurs and their firms are useful to assess the potential of women's entrepreneurial capability in the country.

The majority of women-owned enterprises included in the survey (over 87 per cent) employ up to 30 people, and over one per cent of the total number of firms employ between 301-500 people, and 501-1000 people (or 0.5 per cent and 0.8 per cent respectively). The average capital size of women-owned household enterprises is about 10 000 US dollars. Using the average capital size of household enterprises as the unit of measurement, we come to the following comparative picture: collectively-owned enterprises are 3.5 times larger than household enterprises, private enterprises 4.6 times, companies with limited liability 9.2 times, and joint venture companies 176.7 times.

From the perspective of finance, 33 per cent of the number of enterprises surveyed have borrowed capital for their activities. Companies with limited liability and joint venture companies borrow over above 85 per cent of their capital, collectively owned companies borrow over 56 percent, household enterprises and private companies borrow 37.7 and 34.8 per cent respectively. Of the seven different sources of fi-

⁵ these barriers may include land and asset registration in the husband's name rather than joint-ownership which disqualify women for access to credit, gender division of labor in which women's work is without recognition, pressure to use business capital to cover household expenses etc.

⁶ textiles and garments, food processing, ceramics, construction materials, plastic materials, rubber, computer, printing and wood products, restaurant and recreation.

nance⁷, banks provided financial support to 15.6 per cent of enterprises that borrow capital for production, informal financial market 10 per cent and international organisations 5.12 per cent. Joint venture companies and companies with limited liability benefit the most. Loans from banks are 19 times smaller than from international organisations, reflecting the poor accessibility of financial institutions to women and a reliance on external sources. Financial institutions have yet to develop a long-term vision on women's entrepreneurial capability so as revise lending procedures to respond to the needs of women-owned enterprises.

The survey also shows that women between 36 to 45 years old constitute the majority (40.78 per cent) of entrepreneurs interviewed, followed by women in the age group of 55 years and above (14.71 per cent) and women in the age group of 25 years and below (3.17 per cent). Most women entrepreneurs are married, and only a small percentage are divorced or widowed. Their level of education is low (third grade or *Cap III*), particularly among the 36-45 group. Some have self-taught skills, skills obtained from apprenticeship in traditional professions, and previous jobs in the state sector. Younger women entrepreneurs tend to have higher level of education (vocational school, college and university). Women's average length of entrepreneurial experience is about 8 years. Most of them see entrepreneurship as a secure option, only a small percentage (above 6 per cent) sees it as a temporary option. They work from 25 to 28 days per month and from 9.5 hours to 11 hours per day. The reasons behind their choice of entry into entrepreneurship were very diverse. Women who chose entrepreneurship because of previous experience constitute the largest group (26.38 per cent). Next come those who have their own means, such as finance and other means that ease entry to entrepreneurship (16.54 per cent). Those with skills learned from traditional means such as family and village constitute 16 per cent. The rest includes those who have secured access to market (10.38 per cent), and those who desire to have their own autonomy (13.19 per cent).

Insofar as the determinants of income levels are concerned, the survey shows that income level of women-owned enterprises in ceramics is highest due to export links. The lowest income level is found in food processing activities, attributed to poor distribution facilities. It is also interesting to note that the income level of women en-

⁷ Banks, international organisations, mass organisations (e.g. women, labour, youth), informal financial market, family and friends, people's credit, and others.

trepreneurs at 25 years old and below is one third of those between 36-45 years of age, showing the importance of entrepreneurial experience over formal education. Finally, despite the diverse characteristics of female entrepreneurs and women-owned enterprises, several common features that are generic to MSEs may also be noted. These are: (a) long-working hours which have implications on time for additional training; (b) caution and limited ability to take high risks, due to an absence of a long-term vision of their business; (c) respect for gender equal labour law only in so far as child-birth and maternity leave are concerned.

To recapitulate, structural imbalances in the process of privatisation in Vietnam reflects the classical 'missing middle' syndrome, i.e. the quantitative overrepresentation of micro and small firms with low capital and technology on the one hand, and the qualitative overrepresentation of a small number of large SOEs. Middle size and privately owned companies are weakly represented. From a gender perspective, although women's workers in the private sector seem to be 'squeezed' to maintain profit margins, women's entrepreneurial capability has been also clearly demonstrated in the process of privatisation. In this regard, the arguments advanced by VWU to promote female entrepreneurship based on the logic of equality and efficiency needs to be re-examined in the light the different experiences of women as workers and entrepreneurs.

First, from the perspective of gender equality standards, the sector of non-farm household enterprises requires specific attention. Gender-based intra-household barriers (e.g. cultural norms, gender division of labour and time use, literacy and education) to women's representative role that qualifies them for support need to be addressed. Issues of gender co-operation and conflict at the household level and how they may affect the performance of NFHE should be investigated. Second, the promotion of gender equal labour standards at enterprise level would ensure the protection of the human resources embodied in female workers and reduce the burdens of industrial efficiency now placed heavily on female labour. Third, women entrepreneurs who have demonstrated their ability as private entrepreneurs in their own rights may require support to arrive at a different logic of efficiency, i.e. one which places less emphasis on labour time and more on organisation to release time for self-development. As has been pointed out (UNIFEM, 2001), women face a sectoral invisibility, i.e. they are concentrated in the service sector that receives less policy attention than the male-dominated manufacturing sector. Support to women-owned enterprise would need more empirical insights on the production and marketing process, as financial and non-financial intervention

would need to be tailored to specific sub-sectors and their needs. Fourth, MSEs policy in the future calls for a multi-tier approach, capable of incorporating issues of poverty alleviation with those of business development. Recent findings suggest that poverty alleviation strategies through the development of township and village enterprises (TVEs) should direct themselves at raising household income and enhancing women's capability to become entrepreneurs autonomously or jointly with partners. For business development strategies, it is important that a policy to promote women-owned enterprises is embedded in broader strategies for local and regional development, as well as export-promotion. This may help to guide qualified female entrepreneurs and their firms to strengthen their base for competition in the domestic and export markets.

3. GENDER AND HUMAN RESOURCES: WOMEN'S ENTREPRENEURIAL POTENTIALS

Mapping out the gender dimension of human resources in order to assess the objective base of women's entrepreneurial capability is a challenging task. Human resources encompass broadly skills obtained through formal and informal means, education, work experience, on-the-job-training and organisational structures that nurture functional abilities. Data on skills obtained from informal channels (traditional professions or *nghe truyen thong*), on the-job-training and organisational nurturing of skills are not available. Using data on employment, occupational levels and levels of education, this section illustrates some gender dimensions of human resources in Vietnam in 1999 (GSO, 2000a). Although data on school enrolment is available, within the scope of this paper, our analysis is limited to the stock of skills obtained through formal qualification possessed by the currently employed population. We note, however, that gender gap in education at the national level has been narrowed at the primary and secondary level, as more women are entering schools. This gap however remains significant at the higher level. Furthermore, this gap differs according to regions and ethnic groups (National Centre for Social Sciences and Humanities, 2001). In this regard, a socially equal human resources development policy entails specific attention not only to the difference based on gender, but also to differences based on other factors such as income level, ethnicity, and region.

As indicated in the survey results on women entrepreneurs discussed in the previous section, in Vietnam, women's work experience is an important determinant of successful entrepreneurship. This section discerns women's position in the structure of

employment as compared to men's, and explores the possible implications of these positions on the enhancement of their capability to respond to new entrepreneurial opportunities. Using data from the Population Census (2000), we try to find the patterns of similarities and differences between men and women among the employed population as recorded in 1999. From a numerical perspective, Figure 1 shows the deployment of the employed population 20 different economic activities. Figure 2 enlarges the picture of employment in non-agricultural activities in order to make more visible the gender-differentiated occupational structure. The two figures show clearly that there is a marginal gender-based difference in agriculture and manufacture. Gender-based differences may be observed across a number of other economic activities. Women are dominant in trade, education, hotels and restaurants, health, domestic services and finances. Men dominate the sectors of construction, public administration, transportation and communication, fishery, mining, real estates, energy, culture and sports. The employment data for the period 1975-1989 (Center for Women's Studies, 1989: 55) showed a rigid pattern of concentration of women in particular sub-sectors of manufacturing, (textile, garments and food processing). Comparing the two periods, it is definite that *Doi-Moi* has diversified the labour market for women and has opened up new opportunities in the private sector.

From the perspective of working conditions and entitlements, Figure 3 and Table 8 show the distribution of the employed population by sectors of ownership. In view of the larger female population (51.26 per cent of total, and 50.5 per cent of population at working age) a lower number of employed women would suggest a higher rate of female participation in informal work and non-market work, or in education. Of the formally employed people per sector of ownership, more women than men are concentrated in the collective sector (54.6 per cent), mixed sector (56.1 per cent) and FDI sector (64.1 per cent). Men over-represent women in private domestic companies (60.5 per cent), in households (54.0) and the state sector (56.6 per cent).

Employment conditions in the state and collective sector tend to guarantee more social rights. More specifically, in the state sector there are more opportunities for on-the-job-training and skill enhancement than the collective sector. Even with social rights, evidence shows that there is a gender-based entitlement system at the work place. According to the results of the Living Standards Survey 1997-1998, on average a male employee receives support for on-the-job training that is 8 times higher than a female employee. A female employee receives larger support for activities related to

family affairs, such as lunch break, *Tet* or Vietnamese New Year's which is a major family event, and other festivals (Phan, 2001: 101). As shown earlier, practices in the private sector tend to bypass legislation on social rights, particularly as far as women are concerned. Thus, although *Doi-Moi* has brought more employment options for women, more opportunities for diverse work experience and potentials for skill enhancement, gender bias practices at the work place may undermine this potential, if not properly rectified. To protect women's social rights and to promote an enhancement of their skill accumulation, alternative cost-sharing frameworks must be found. The current state-sponsored universal approach to gender equality at the work place appears difficult to put in practice and maintain unless costs are shared, and more flexible arrangements can be made⁸. The current tax incentives schemes applicable to firms that employ a large number of women workers may help promote women's employment but may not necessary ensure their social rights as workers. More active community-based social provisioning in childcare, health and vocational training may help to reduce women's double burden and release more time for study and self- enhancement.

From the perspective of the distribution of the employed population across different occupations, Figure 4 reveals interesting patterns. First, the proportion of employed people without formal qualifications is strikingly large, considering previous claims about the quality of human resources in the country. They are concentrated in the following occupations: crafts and trade, agriculture and fishing, service, clerical work, armed forced, and leadership. Second, there are only two types of occupations in which all employed people have formal qualifications: professionals and technicians, suggesting that quality control in these two occupations are more rigorous than in others. Among the technicians, women outnumbered men at the level of secondary vocational school and college. Among professionals men outnumber women, particularly at B.A level. Third, gender difference favouring men in terms of level of education may be found in crafts occupations, agricultural and fishing occupations, plant operation, armed force and leadership.

A close-up picture on gender discrepancy within each occupation is shown in figures 5 (a-j). In elementary occupations, there is no visible gender difference. In agri-

⁸ For example, in China in some localities maternity leave is now defined as parental leave, the costs of which are to be shared by the employer of the father and the employer of the mother (Truong, field notes 1994).

cultural and fishing occupation, this discrepancy widens in favour of men. There are more men in skilled agricultural and fishing occupations, but without formal qualification. The number of men with formal qualifications in these occupations is small, but is above the number of women with qualifications. At the level plant operator, male workers with formal qualification (technical, secondary/vocational, and high education) outnumbered women, particularly at the level of technical school and college. In clerical occupations, men without qualification outnumber women, but gender discrepancy ease out with a visible female predominance at the level of technical school, secondary vocational school and college. In service, shop and market occupations, women dominate at nearly all level of formal qualification, although the majority (nearly twice as many as men) has no formal qualification. In craft and related trade function, men outnumber women by nearly half at all levels of qualification. This may reflect that more women are active in retailing, and few women control specific lines of crafts at a higher level of the commodity chains.

Women with formal qualifications outnumber men by about one-fifth in technical occupations, particularly those with college education and secondary vocational. In the category of professionals, the male and female discrepancy is about one-fourth, in favour of men. At the managerial level (leaders of branches, and administrative units, men clearly outnumbered women at all levels of qualification, from no qualification to university undergraduate. At the graduate and post-graduate levels gender discrepancy is less visible, suggesting that there is a glass ceiling for female managers, unless they pursue higher education.

From the features distilled above, it is possible to draw some tentative conclusions on women's entrepreneurial capability and human resources development, as follows:

- Employees with formal qualifications are not spread evenly. There is a clear need for human resource development in sectors that provides the most employment, i.e. crafts, agriculture and fishing, service, and the lower end of manufacture. These are areas where self-employment is mostly found. Training programmes targetting at these sectors may help to enhance the sustainability of micro enterprises and to upgrade productivity.
- In so far as gender is concerned, there is clear demand for training to enhance the performance of women in sectors which they dominated but lack formal qualifica-

tion, particularly in trade and services. Although lack of formal education does not necessary means lack of skills, training in the form of apprenticeship, on-the-job training and learning-by-doing may help enhance their skills to specialise in lucrative lines of trade. In this regard, enterprise management training by itself may not be sufficient. Additional technical training specific to particular sectors is also needed to help diversify their product lines, identify and build partnerships and to upgrade products.

- The service sector will become diversified as the economy grows. So far, women are concentrated in specific activities in the service sectors such as trade, restaurants and retailing. More training attention could be is given to the range of new services commercial business development that combine clerical skills with business skills, and that help support a smooth functioning of MSEs as a sector. A more forward-looking approach, which identifies new growth areas services, is needed to open up new opportunities for women. In an age where production relies more and more on information, information processing will become a growth area where women with clerical skills can compete.
- Since women show a clear capacity in the technical field, as demonstrated by their dominance in technical occupations, more attention should be given to the area of gender and technology, to upgrade their knowledge and technical capacity for intra-firm upward mobility. Or alternatively, if they were to separate from their formal jobs and become self-employed, professional guidance would be useful to set up their own firms in the technical fields which they have work experience.

4 ISSUES FOR RESEARCH, POLICY AND TRAINING

Drawing from the observations on research findings, this section identifies key areas of concern to research, policy and training. Since gender relations and WMSEs development is a new area of research and policy interests in Vietnam as elsewhere, we can only make tentative suggestions for reflection on policy implications. Successful policy intervention would require quality information that must be gathered along the lines of the policy objectives set by the governments. Currently, it appears that in the next few years priority will be given to Township and Village Enterprises development (TVEs) to help balance regional disparity and urban bias. In this regard, policy-oriented

research on WMSEs in townships and villages is much needed to guide policy decisions and modalities of intervention.

Learning from past research experience, it seems that future research attention to WMSEs would fall broadly into three key areas. The first area consists of sector specific information on the production process and the place of WMSEs in this process, including intra-firm and inter-firm relations. Information on commodity chains and how existing gender division of labour may help or impede women's control over specific lines of trade is needed to help women's entrepreneurs organise themselves efficiently. The second area concerns the service sector. Women's contribution to this sector is most significant and therefore ways must be found to upgrade this contribution in a forward-looking vision, e.g. the role of services in private sector development. The third area concerns intra-household barriers (gender division of labour, time use, education, and cultural perception on women as entrepreneurs) in rural areas that may be playing an important role in impeding women's entrepreneurial capability. The nature of gender co-operation and conflict in Non-Farm Household enterprises needs to be understood and resolved through innovative mechanisms of intervention, such as community-based dialogues, awareness raising on women's work and recognition, the importance of registration of land and assets in both husband and wives names, etc.

From the perspective of policy, it is important to note that since March 2000, VWU has defined five specific areas of action to promote women-owned micro and enterprises (VWU Governing Board, Memorandum 271/cv-dct, Hanoi 30/3/2000). These include:

- Enabling environment: to contribute to the creation of an enabling environment (policy and legal framework) for the development of women-owned MSEs. Activities include observation and research on the reality of WMSEs and their needs, and on the business lines suitable to women. Based on findings, lobbying efforts will be directed at reforming the legal and policy frameworks to enhance their sensitivity to gender issues and the needs of WMSEs.
- Credit and Finance: to encourage women's organisation at different levels to provide guarantee for loans up to 10 million VND for women-owned micro enterprises, to mobilise technical and financial support from state budget and banking institutions to strengthen credit and savings programs managed by VWU.

- Knowledge and technology: to enhance the knowledge base and technical know-how of women-owned enterprises through training and education, advisory services through a diversity of modules and differentiated cost structure.
- Networking among women entrepreneurs and women business associations at the national, regional and international.
- Strengthening social provisioning schemes in health, childcare and other forms of family support to ease women's double burden.

The choice of these areas of action reflects a much welcome comprehensive vision on WMSEs development, and the concern to bridge welfare issues with issues of economic efficiency. A comprehensive policy vision inevitably requires a mixed policy package and partners. A pro-active policy for women in MSEs must also take into consideration gender-based structural distortions at different levels.

At the most immediate level, our analysis suggests that competition among MSEs tends to undermine rather than protect human resources, particularly among women and children. Legislation to prohibit child labour and to protect the girl child, and to provide tax incentives for firms to employ women in themselves will not be sufficient. In the case of child labour, experience show that in addition to legislation, incentives need to be introduced simultaneously to encourage families to see the benefits of combining child education and work with recognition (Wazir, 2000). Similarly, legal regulations that protect women's labour and employment at firm level are often ignored for reasons of efficiency. With state reduction on social expenditures (childcare, education, and health), women in MSEs are more likely affected in an adverse manner. This in turn may affect their ability to compete or co-operate on an equal footing with men in new opportunities offered by trade liberalisation. In this regard, social and economic measures are needed to create alternative forms of locally based and financed social provisioning. The current labour codes and family codes that ensure gender equality provide the norms and standards around which support can be mobilised to achieve this end.

At the level of access to institutional resources, finding shows that women have poor access to financial institutions and state-sponsored programs. Finance is an area where women meet with both state failure and market failure. Mobilisation for greater access needs to be more specifically targeted. Reliance on externally financed program for employment generation only solves immediate short-term welfare issues. In the

long-run, mobilisation for greater access to finance to develop WMSEs requires more scientifically based methods of persuasion, i.e. a systematic review of the sources of gender bias in Vietnam banking system and state-sponsored programs for enterprise development. A partnership between VWU, university and research institutions for a joint analysis of gender and financial systems in order to come up with proposals on how to make the emerging financial institutions more responsive to the needs of WMSEs is important to consider. Addressing gender bias in financial systems would have the objective to provide long-term support to WMSEs, as recognised actors in systems of production in the country as a whole. This does not necessarily mean that lending to women in MSEs should become a policy, or to put it differently that banks should be encouraged to lend to women by virtue of their gender. It does mean that where banks discriminate against women in an irrational way (e.g. marital status and age, irrational standards in assessing business profiles), proposals could be made for banks to change perceptions about women-owned enterprises for fair treatment in order to make access for easy to women. Modules for gender training of staff of financial institutions could be designed from the analysis of experiences in the country. Lessons from other countries in finding innovative financial tools for women could be used as a basis for reflection and adaptation of current financial rules and procedures.

In the area of technology and know how, the current situation is such that MSEs are left to fend for themselves. Universities and research institutes have not yet directed their activities to MSEs. A gender and technology policy is needed to help the diffusion of technical knowledge and knowhow in ways that are accessible to women in MSEs. Currently, the channels of this diffusion are the training centres operated by VWU at municipality and provincial levels. Co-operation with universities and research institutes to upgrade such courses into more technologically advanced modules in sectors dominated by women is important to consider. Furthermore, evidence shows that women entrepreneurs have entered male dominated fields, and therefore the gender-based definition of specific fields and products 'suitable' to women needs to be revisited. The point is not to pre-define fields and product lines are suitable to women, but to support women to overcome the gender-based constraints in their chosen field, in order to become effective in a competitive market.

To promote an enabling environment for WMSEs in the comprehensive vision outlined by VWU is indeed ambitious, and requires partnership with other institutions engaged in MSEs development. From the perspective of training, i.e. how training can

contribute to the fostering of such an environment, a multi-tiers model directed at various levels of participants in the MSEs and SMEs development would appear attractive. Spearheaded by Japan in the 1950s, the aim of this model of intervention is to develop the quality of human resources in organisations that support SMEs (Kantor, 2001). The first tier of training is directed at government officials in charge of guiding SMEs for relevant policies, covering mainly industrial, trade and technical information and emphasising practical application of knowledge. The second-tier is directed at support agency personnel in charge of SMEs, including personnel from the Chamber of Commerce and societies of commerce and industries. Areas covered are skills related to SMEs management and management consultation skills. The third-tier is directed at SME managers, covering general business skills and skills to develop technical capacities such as automation of production process or industrial design. The crucial issue is how to build in a gender perspective in training programs at these levels in order to promote a policy environment that is responsive to the potentials and needs of women entrepreneurs, and that helps nurture WMSEs as embryonic SMEs in the long-term.

Visualised in the context of Vietnam, the contents of training programs based on this multi-tier model may be defined as follows. Training at the level of the first tier directed at government officials in charge of guiding MSEs, could include the following themes:

- Gender bias in macro-economic policies and their implications on women's capability as producers and reproducers
- Effects of trade reforms and pricing on women in MSEs
- Vietnam's industrialisation policy and the role of WMSEs

At the level of the second tier directed at the personnel of supporting agencies (Chamber of Commerce, business associations and private societies), training could focus on:

- Marketing and gender constraints
- Comparative experiences of women-friendly marketing organisations and trading in Asia (mail order catalogue, websites, fair trade shops, trade exhibition, bazaars sponsored by civic groups).

In the last tier directed at WMSEs training can include business management combined with sector-specific technical skills in production and marketing.

It goes without saying that the leadership of VWU is very significant in taking initiatives. Two main fronts appear important. The first front concerns the main-

streaming of gender issues in enterprise development policy in key areas such as finance and access to capital, technology, know-how and logistics, human resources at firm level (education, training and safety) and in society at large (community-based social provisioning). The second front deals with women-specific intervention targeted at WMSEs irrespective of size. Gender mainstreaming of enterprise policy is a long-term approach that seeks to enhance the support system for WMSEs as actors in the private sector. Women-specific enterprise policy is a time-bound and target-based approach that seeks to enhance the performance of women-owned firms. The former would seek to transform procedures in decision-making to make them more responsive to the needs of WMSEs. The later would seek to strengthen the internal capability of WMSEs in management, resource use, market links, upgrading and so forth. The two approaches are not mutually exclusive. The challenge of is to find a rational basis from which to formulate a training policy based on needs assessment, partner institutions and modality of participation that are suitable the needs of WMSEs and broader policy goals in private sector development.

5. CONCLUSION

Building a policy environment to enhance women's entrepreneurial capability is crucial to Vietnam due to its current integration in the regional and global economies and women's contributions in this regard. This process requires major structural changes in production and trade regimes, and inevitably will alter gender relations at various levels of production. Vietnam's future depends on how it can creatively build a base of competitiveness that allows its industrialisation strategy to be successful in terms of export-growth with social equity and political stability.

In this regard, there are two possible complementary directions to promote of women-owned enterprises. One is to closely weave their activities into the country's broader export-oriented industrial strategy and its vision on regional and global competitiveness. Two is to strengthen the space for the improvement of existing activities

that are internally relevant and coherent with local socio-economic contexts ⁹. A thoughtful management of Vietnam's process of economic integration in the regional and world economy would require further reflection on internal and external possibilities for more sustainable and competitive roles for MSEs in the broader chains of production and services. Adequate considerations for labour standards and sustainable options at the level of enterprises would be an important area that requires creative solution to help MSEs enhance their capability to cope with economic shocks and contraction.

Working women in Vietnam are concentrated in two poles, either FDI export-processing or MSEs, the later serving as a catcher of 'rejects' from internal rationalisation processes among large firms. Crafting more balance gender regimes at different levels of the society through a more even spread of burdens, risks and benefits constitutes an area worthwhile for policy reflection and learning. Training needs to achieve this objective would require a multi-pronged approach directing not only at business development for women at enterprise level, but also at policy-makers and those in charge of MSEs development. Equally important is to strengthen the capacity of the Vietnamese Women's Union, in partnership with others, in the policy making field with an agenda that could incorporate gender equality as an issue of efficiency in the long-term for society as a whole, and not just for enterprise development.

⁹ For example, particular product lines could be promoted such as affordable herbal medicine for specific types of illness versus unaffordable imports. Safe, affordable and hygienic street foods versus expensive 'fast food' in urban areas is another case to help small producers compete with foreign food chains. Commercial business development service for MSEs is another case in point.

6. ANNEX: TABLES AND FIGURES

Table 1 The Major Economic Indicators 1990-1997								
	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997
GDP Growth rates (% in 1989 constant prices)	5.1	6.0	8.6	8.1	8.8	9.5	9.3	9.0
Agriculture	1.6	2.2	7.1	3.8	3.9	5.1	4.4	4.8
Industry	2.9	9.0	14.0	13.1	14.0	13.9	14.4	13.2
Services	10.8	8.3	7.0	9.2	10.2	10.6	10.0	9.5
Savings and Investment (current values, % of GDP)								
Total Saving	7.4	13.1	16.3	17.3	16.9	17.0	16.7	16.5
Total Investment	11.7	15.1	17.0	24.9	25.5	27.1	27.9	27.0
Consumer Price Index	67.5	67.6	17.6	5.2	14.4	12.7	4.5	4.0
Trade Balance (% of GDP)								
Current Balance	-4.2	-1.9	-0.7	-7.5	-8.6	-10.1	-11.2	-5.5
Exports (million USD)	2404	2087	2580	2985	4054	5448	7255	9360
(annual rate)	23.5	-13.2	23.7	15.7	35.8	34.4	33.2	22.0
Imports (in million USD)	2752	2338	2540	3924	5825	8155	11143	11200
(annual rate)	7.3	-15.1	8.7	54.4	48.5	40.0	36.6	0.5

Source: General Statistical Office (compiled by UNIDOa, 1999: 35)

Table 2 Number of Industrial Establishments by Sectors of Ownership, 1995-1999

Sector	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999
TOTAL	615389	626129	617805	592948	618198
State	1973	1879	1843	1821	1786
Non-State	612977	623710	615296	590246	615453
Collective	1093	1023	973	967	1090
Private	4007	4323	4469	4347	4181
Household	606557	616855	608250	583352	608314
Mixed	1320	1509	1604	1580	1868
FDI	439	540	666	881	959
<i>Structure (%)</i>					
TOTAL	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00
State	0.32	0.30	0.30	0.31	0.29
Non-State	99.61	99.61	99.59	99.54	99.56
Collective	0.18	0.16	0.16	0.16	0.18
Private	0.65	0.69	0.72	0.73	0.68
Household	98.56	98.52	98.45	98.38	98.40
mixed	0.21	0.24	0.26	0.27	0.30
FDI	0.07	0.09	0.11	0.15	0.16

Source: GSO, Statistical Year Book 2000

Table 3 Total Investment Outlays of Society by Sectors of Ownership 1995-2000
(billions of VND at current prices)

Sector	1995	1997	1998	1999	2000
TOTAL	68047.8	96870.4	97336.1	103771.9	120600.0
State	26047.8	46570.4	52536.1	63871.9	74700.0
State budget	13575.0	20570.4	22208.9	26197.2	28000.0
Credit	3064.0	12700.0	10214.8	14782.2	24700.0
Own outlay by state enterprises	9408.8	13300.0	20112.4	22892.5	22000.0
Non State	20000.0	20000.0	20500.0	21000.0	23500.0
FDI	22000.0	30300.0	24300.0	18900.0	22400.0
<i>Structure (%)</i>					
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
State	38.3	48.1	54.0	61.6	61.9
State budget	19.9	21.2	22.8	25.2	23.2
Credit	4.5	13.1	10.5	14.2	20.5
Own outlay by state enterprises	13.8	13.7	20.7	22.1	18.2
Non State	29.4	20.6	21.1	20.2	19.5
FDI	32.3	31.3	25.0	18.2	18.6

Source: Statistical Year Book 2000 (GSO)

Table 4 GDP and Employment by Ownership (percentages)

	GDP by ownership		Employment by Ownership	
	Share in 1999	Growth 1996-99	Share in 1999	Growth 1996-99
Total GDP	100.0	7.0	100.0	3.4
Public (state & collective)	49.4	6.9	9.0	1.5
Non-state (total)	40.5	5.1	90.4	3.4
Households/ farms	33.2	4.9	89.0	3.3
Private companies	7.3	9.7	1.4	12.1
FDI companies	10.2	18.1	0.6	38.5

Source: National Human Development Report 2001 (National Political Publishing House, Hanoi)

Table 5 Gross Domestic Product by Sector of Ownership 1995-2000
(billion of VNDs at current prices)

Sector	1995	1997	1998	1999	2000 (Pre.)
TOTAL	228892	303623	361016	399942	444139
State	91977	126970	144406	154927	173118
Collective	23020	17946	32131	35347	37907
Private	7139	10590	12325	13461	14638
Household	82447	107632	122138	131706	142279
Mixed	9881	12035	13802	15543	17335
FDI	14428	28450	36214	48958	58862
<i>Structure (%)</i>					
TOTAL	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00
State	40.18	41.82	40.00	38.74	38.98
Collective	10.06	5.91	8.90	8.84	8.53
Private	3.12	3.49	3.41	3.37	3.30
Household	36.02	35.45	33.83	32.93	32.03
Mixed	4.32	3.96	3.82	3.89	3.90
FDI	6.30	9.37	10.03	12.24	13.25

Source:GSO Statistical Year Book 2000

Table 6. Structural composition of firms in 17 provinces in 1999
(in percentages of total)

	Persons engaged	Fixed assets	Gross output (current prices)	Value added
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
State sector	52.7	22.6	41.7	41.5
Collective and domestic private sector	24.5	6.7	9.4	7.4
FDI	22.8	70.7	48.9	51.1

Sources: GSO (2000b: 51)

Table 7 GDP of Household Sector by Selected Economic Activities, 1995-1999
(%, 1994 prices)

Economic Activities	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	Average
Total	9.8	6.6	5.6	3.4	3.6	5.8
Agriculture	4.8	4.4	4.7	3.3	6.4	4.7
Trade & Repair of Motor Vehicles	18.0	5.3	4.2	3.8	1.7	6.5
Real Estate & Consultancy	3.8	0.5	2.5	4.6	1.3	2.5
Manufacture	21.0	11.4	15.6	3.7	2.2	10.5
Construction	10.9	19.7	6.7	-1.6	2.5	7.4
Fishing	8.9	5.7	5.1	4.1	0.5	4.8
Social & Personal Service	7.6	8.8	15.8	4.1	6.7	8.5
Forestry	7.1	2.9	0.9	-1.3	0.9	2.0
Hotels & Restaurants	2.0	0.9	0.5	6.8	4.2	2.9
Transport & Communication	47.3	17.4	0.4	3.0	5.4	13.5
Mining & Quarrying	11.0	27.5	-3.4	13.1	5.2	10.2
Domestic Services	6.2	9.4	5.1	10.4	1.5	6.5
Health & Social Relief	5.3	11.5	15.2	10.5	3.8	9.2
Education & Training	157.4	68.3	26.1	6.1	-16.6	37.0
Culture & Sport	1.9	48.1	29.4	11.6	4.3	17.9

Source: General Statistical Office (2000), *Kinh Te Viet Nam Trong Nhung Nam Doi Moi Qua Cac Chi Tieu Tong Hop Cua He Thong Tai Khoan Quoc Gia* [Vietnam's Economy in the Years of Reform, Based on the Indicators of System of National Account], Hanoi: Statistical Publishing House, pp: 58-64

Table 8 Share of Employment by Gender and Sectors of Ownership, 1999 (in %)

Sectors of Ownership	Male	Female
State	56.6	43.4
Collective	45.4	54.6
Private domestic Capital	60.5	39.5
Household	54.0	46.0
Mixed	43.9	56.1
FDI	35.9	64.1
Total	51.9	48.1

Source: Statistical Year Book 2000 (GSO)

Figure 1. Employed Population by Gender and All Economic Activities, number of persons

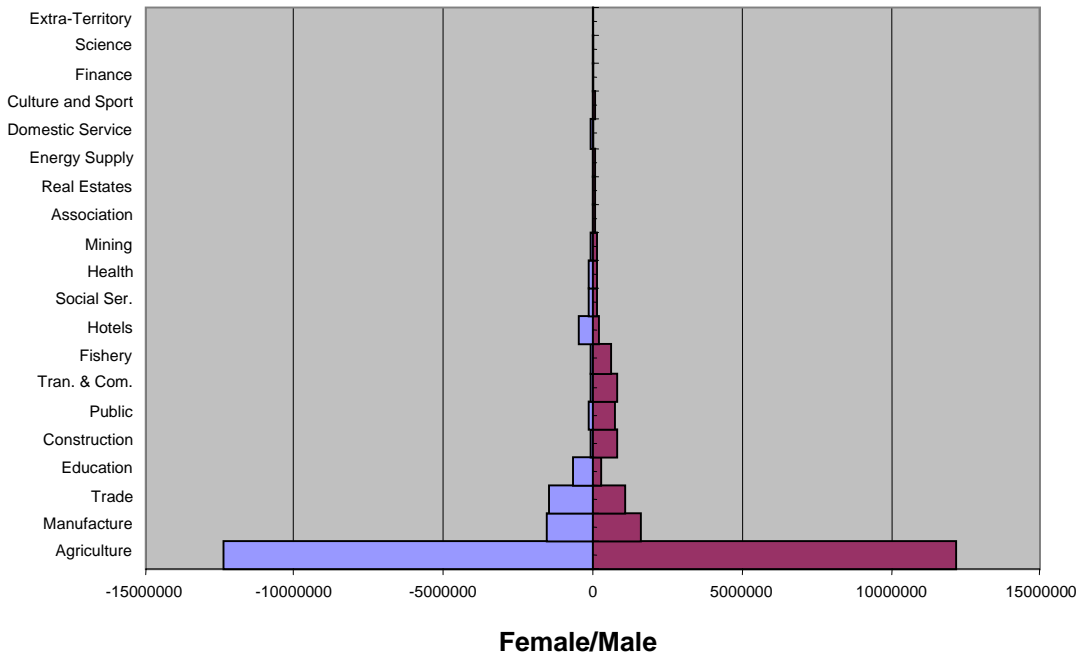


Figure 2 Employed Population by Gender and Non-Agricultural Economic Activities, number of persons

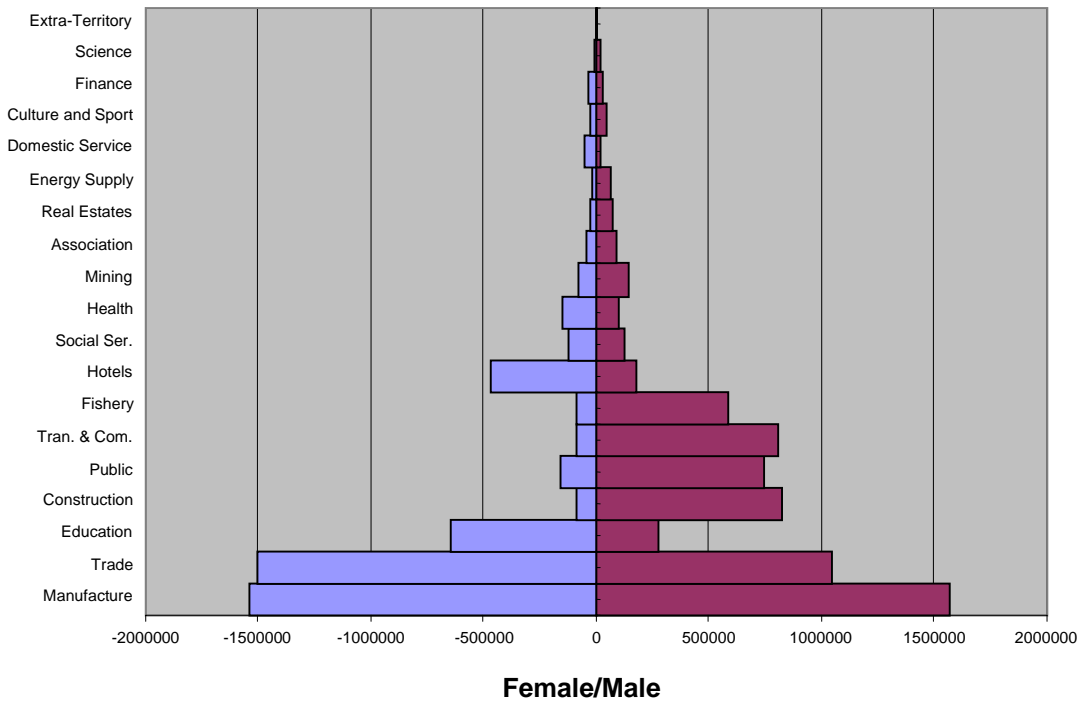


Figure 3. Employed Population by Economic Activities and Sectors of Ownership, number of persons

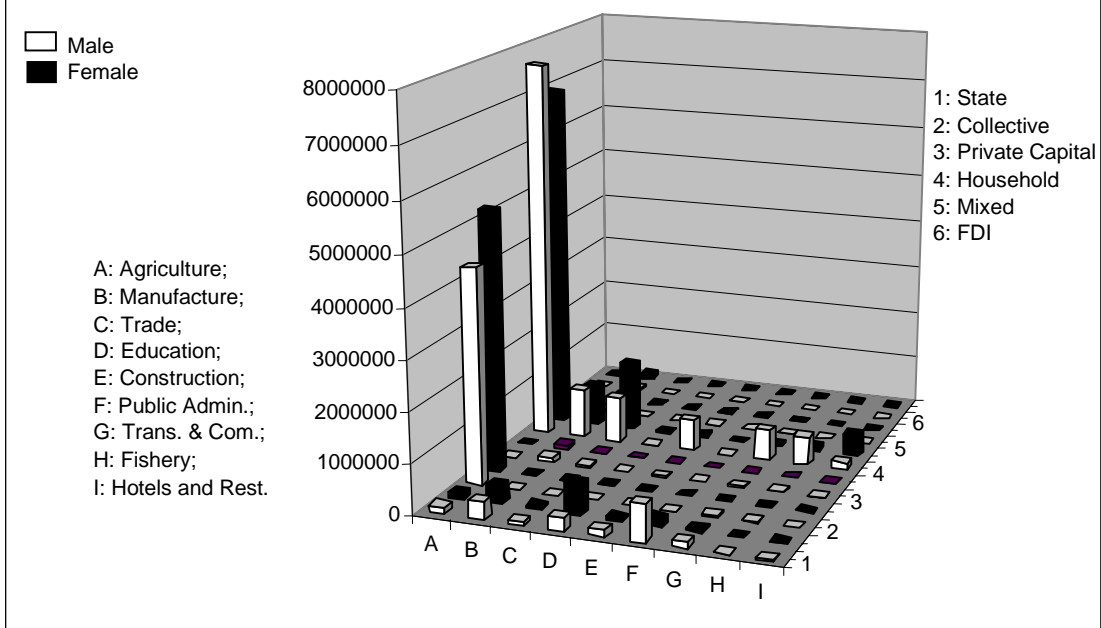


Figure 4. Employment by Gender, Occupation Levels and Levels of Education, number of persons

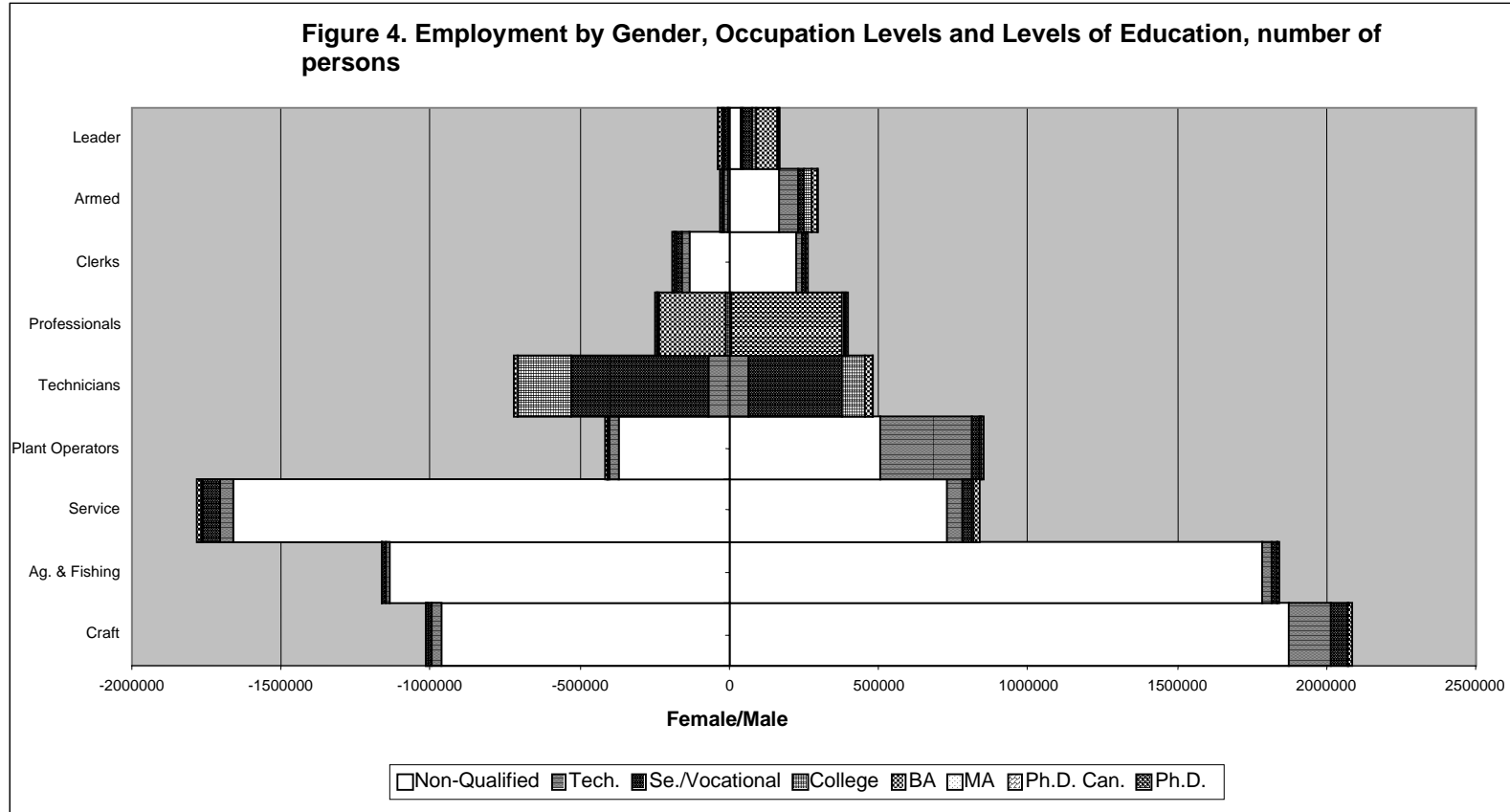


Figure 5 (a-j) Employment by Gender, Occupations and Level of Education, number of persons

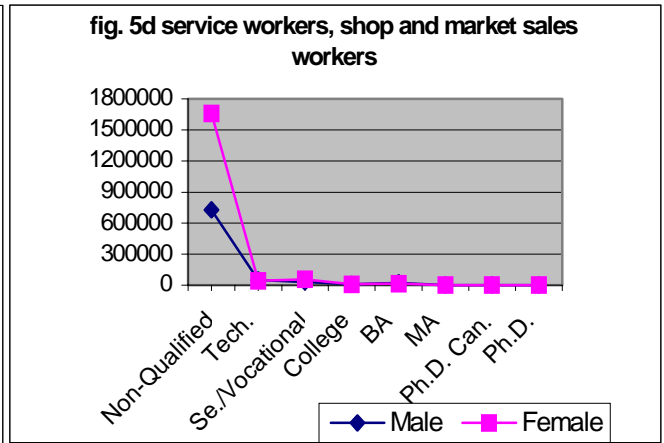
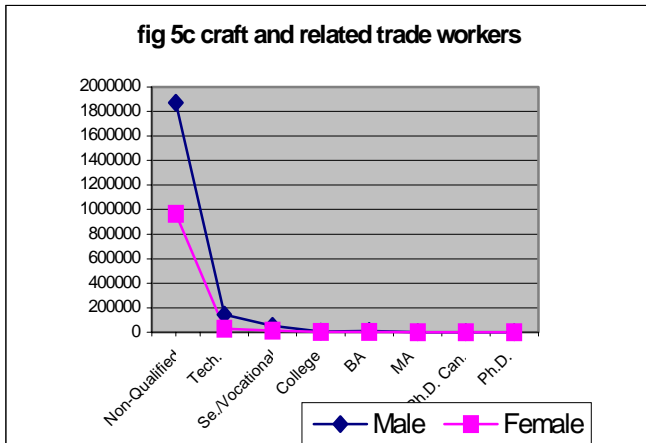
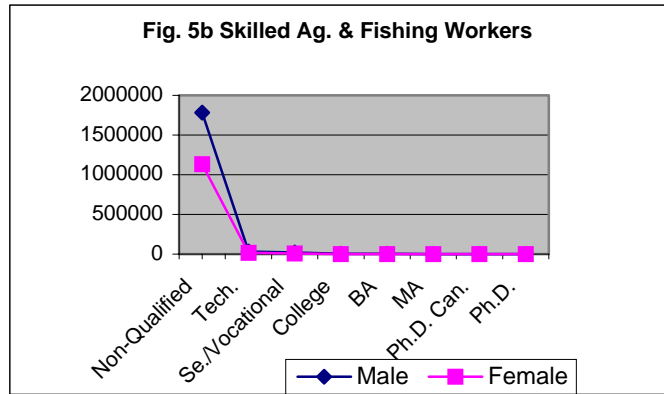
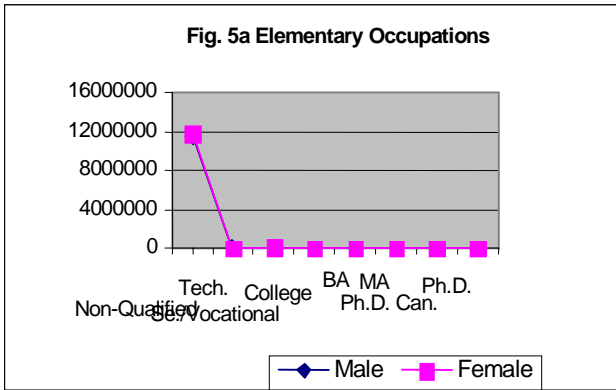


Fig. 5e Plant and Machine Operators, Assemblers

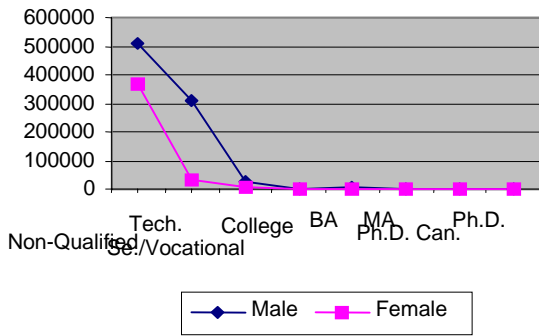


Fig. 5f Clerks

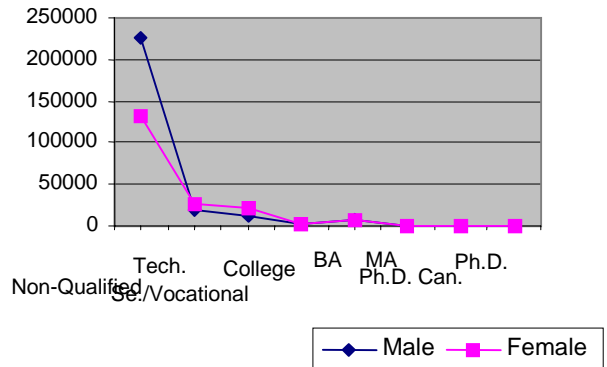


fig.5g technicians, associate professionals

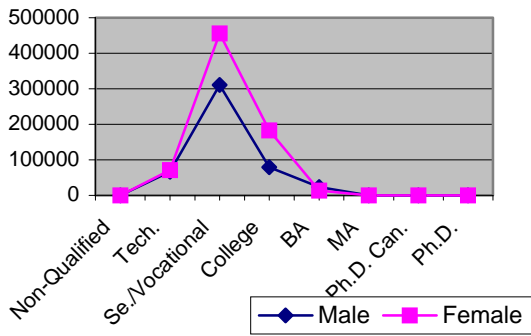


fig.5h professionals

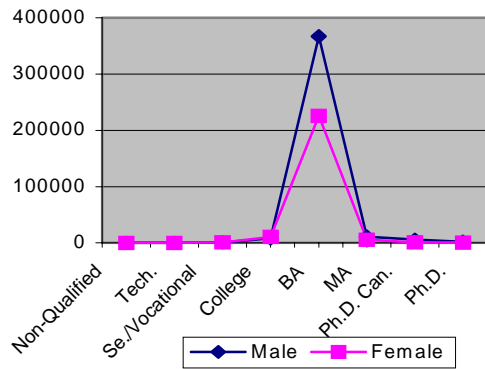


fig.5i leaders of branches, administrative levels and units

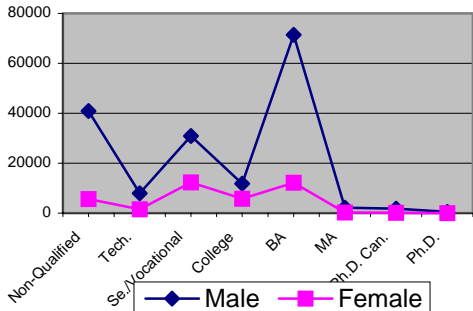
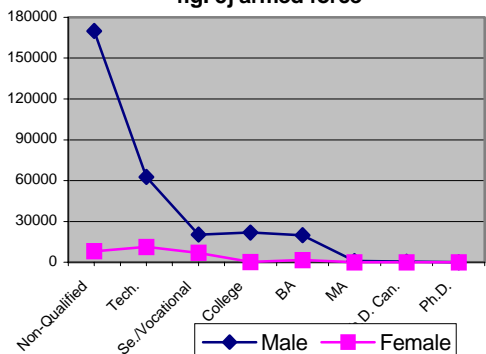


fig. 5j armed force



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