Socio-cultural issues and development in a fishing community of southern Vietnam: a case study of Song Doc community in Tran Van Thoi district, Camau province

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SOCIO-CULTURAL ISSUES AND DEVELOPMENT IN A FISHING COMMUNITY OF SOUTHERN VIETNAM: A CASE STUDY OF SONG DOC COMMUNITY IN TRAN VAN THOI DISTRICT, CAMAU PROVINCE

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1. INTRODUCTION AND METHODOLOGY

1-1. Introduction

The notion for this study began 7 years ago when I had chances to visit some fishing communities in southern Vietnam. I have studied anthropology in universities. So far, fieldwork is one of the most important for me. I spent a lot of time in Mekong River Delta, southern Vietnam, including coastal areas to observe the people and their life. In 2008, I was invited to a research project on the socio-cultural and economic issues in fishing communities of southern Vietnam. Being a member of the project, I had opportunity to visit almost all the fishing communities there, talking with them and interviewing many fishermen. These data became an initial knowledge on the theme. In the fishing ports' areas, thousands of people are living almost entirely depend on sea. The sea is the origin of richness, poverty, happiness or disappointment. This case study is an academic result of the above project in a case study.

In 2012, I met a fisherman named is Nguyễn Văn Tỏ. He lived in Song Doc community, i.e. small fishing community in Camau province. As for him, I recognized that he was the one who had experienced in the fishing community. He came into his job as a fisherman and gained the success in his career, but he also fell down and failed in his job. When he was 16, he moved from his homeland in Go Cong, Tien Giang province to Song Doc. At that time, Vietnam was during the war and he moved from his homeland to Song Doc to avoid the condition of soldier's obligation. The distance from Go Cong to Song Doc is not very far in geography, but it took him

very long time. He came here with his brother among his relatives. Of course, they had to come in secret to avoid capturing by the authority. In this stage of history, Vietnam was in a subsidized policy. The citizens' activities were controlled by the state though the household policy. It meant that one moved in or moved out of the community (commune or ward) needed permission from the local government, especially from the police.

In the early days in Song Doc, they met a lot of difficulty. His brother escaped from Vietnam as a refugee as soon as they arrived here. At that time, many people in southern Vietnam feared the communists from northern Vietnam. The fishing ports became a place that people came to prepare for escape from Vietnam to find the new life in the free world. His brother left him without saying good-bye. For these reason, he fell very upset. He spent all his money on drinking spirits and smoking cigarettes. For anyone wanting to escape from Vietnam, he or she had to prepare for his or her journey in a secret way. They would be put in prison if their plans were let out. That was the reason why his brother did not let him know his plan. Few days later, he met a kind lady, and she gave him some money for living. After learning he had no intention of fleeing, the lady hided him to take care her fishing boat. He began his life as a fisherman. The first days on the sea were terrible with the seasick. He vomited everything he ate. Remembering it, then, he did not know how he had to overcome that difficult time.

In the following days, he felt better with his job and soon became a professional fisherman. He fell in love with the local girl and this made him deciding to settle down in Song Doc. As a fisherman, he was a main bread earner for his family. However, this job could not make him rich. He and his wife decided to convert their jobs as dealers. Fish and sea products were abundant and cheap in Song Doc, and he decided to carry local products to Hochiminh city or Cambodia and bought other goods to Song Doc. At that time, goods transportation was very

poor because of the rigorous market policies. The private transportation was illegal. Dealers would receive big benefit if they did not capture by the police.

When he saved a big money, he decided to invest to the fishing technology. Mr. Nguyễn and his wife bought a fishing boat. They received a big benefit from their business in a short time. He gradually invested in another fishing boat. When he was the owner of the 2 fishing boats, he became a manager of the company with 30 staffs. His position in the society became higher, but his life became go down when one of his boats was captured in Thai territorial sea.

By the way, Mr. Nguyễn is not on board during the journey these days. When the vessel is at sea, the captain will be the manager. Everyone must obey him. He has a most comfortable place on cabin. Some grumpy captain does not permit any fishermen to put their steps on the cabin. It is the most comfortable place in the fishing boat. He also makes the decision to deliver the products to the fishermen. There is a paradox that the owner allocates the vessel to the captain, i.e. the stranger. The captain is a stranger, because between the owner and him there is nothing to ensure in the relation. The captain has nothing on boat except his body. The boat owners know him to thank to the introduction from other boat owners or fishermen. He also receives a pressure not only from his boss, but also from himself. If they have a good yield, he will have big income after the journey. In the case of the ship's failure, his boss will not be happy. After 2 or 3 trips with low yield, the captain could be sacked. That is the reason why he has to invade other countries' sea.

Return to the story of Mr. Nguyễn, when he lost one of his fishing boats, he could not stand up after the terrible failures. His wife left him in the big debt. He had a heart attack and had to stay in hospital for weeks. This accident left him paralyzed in the right of his body. From that day, an inferior complex affected him. He would cry when he was reminded his job, his

fishing boat and even his family in the past. He had 2 children. Every day he was given some money for food. However, he spent all the money in cigarettes and spirits. He could drink without food. Sometimes he could not sleep at night, and he woke up and drunk. In addition, he burned 2 bars of cigarettes a day.

When I interviewed him, he told me in tears, "when I had money, I was respected". Many people invited him to their party. No one invited him now, and they avoided talking or meeting him. He concluded that when he was successful, he was in the heaven, whereas when he lost, he was at the bottom of the hell.

When people come to Song Doc, they will imagine that this is a rich and wealthy community. Buildings, busy fishing port, trading and even the noise make them to believe that it is a well-developed community. However, the people have to overcome a lot of difficulties and risks. They begin to develop their business from zero and become rich soon, but they can return to zero easily. For those who are lucky, their success lasts longer, even to the end of their lives and extending to the next generation. Lucky element plays an important role in much success here. They have to use their abilities and tricks to earn their living.

1-2. Research Methodology

My research began with the project entitled "Socio-cultural issues on the fishing community in southern Vietnam". I was an organized member of the project. The project conducted in 9 provinces in southern Vietnam that included Ba Ria – Vung Tau, Hochiminh, Tien Giang, Ben Tre, Tra Vinh, Soc Trang, Bac Lieu, Camau and Kien Giang provinces during the term of 2 years from 2008 to 2010. In vast areas, the research conducted in the macro aspects, but this project gave us a basic database for the future detailed research.

Anthropological approaches were used as a method to conduct the research. Anthropologists interested in "marine anthropology" have focus on the subjects such as modern fisheries, shipboard life, and prehistoric marine adaptations [Acheson 1981: 275; Douglas 1989: 93]. *The Sea Nomads: A Study of the Maritime Boat People of Southeast Asia* by D. Sopher is considered as a classic work on sea people in Southeast Asia [Sopher 1965]. This research continues the anthropological direction. Since nearly 10 years ago, we have had many occasions to be in these areas, lived with the locals and understood them. Many locals have welcomed me and considered me as a member in the community. In the beginning days when the researchers of our team came to place, we were introduced to local governments of all level. When we met the members, we presented our purposes and the reason to do this research to them, all of them had agreement that Song Doc was an important spot to meet our purpose of study.

In Camau, there are 4 important fishing ports in the 4 districts: Tran Van Thoi, Nam Can, Cai Nuoc and Ngoc Hien. Under the guidance of an officer at the Provincial Party Committee Propaganda Department, we did not take a lot of time to familiarize with the local authorities. The officer took us to Song Doc and introduced us as a study team to the local authorities. In

this country, all the people coming into the community need an authorization from the local government.

Now I must talk about the statistic figures in Vietnam. There are 2 kinds of figures: one is used to report to senior leaders and the other is for the internal understanding. The first kind of figures is used to illustrate in the reports of the social, cultural, economic issues and the direction in every quarter, 6 months or a year. When reading these figures, the researchers need to make sure the credibility of the data by observation and to check the number from the local people.

Anthropological approach gives us the ways exposed to different sources of data. Official meetings and informal communication provide sources of information for this research. Of course, the first days of the meetings are usually informal meetings, and local governments are ordering and selection. In Vietnam, there is the information as "sensitive" which is only offered to people when they have a certain confidence, but the numbers are usually sensitive to higher reliability. For example, when you want to know the percentage of poor households in the community, you have to go to the hamlet. The informant is not only the cadre, but also he or she is a neighbor with the poor. The number of the poor will be concrete and believable. This figure is related to the implementation of policies and policy decisions, so the numbers in the official report is rosy or faked under the direction of the leaders. Those figures are often strategic to highlight the role of local leaders in the advancement of people's lives, too. They are also provided to please senior leaders.

Though the meetings with the local governments, we was provided all the reports on the social, cultural and economic issues during the last 10 years in the community. These were the basis data for us to design the research. The next steps were to meet people in the lower level. In fact, these people were not called as authorities. They were the head, vice head or local police

officer in the hamlet. They lived with people in their neighborhood, so they understood almost all daily activities. In Vietnam, the local police officer is very important. He or she knows well and understood his or her community. Every police officer manages about 2-3 villages to maintain the security. They are not paid, but are subsidized a little money each month from the local budget for their work. Some of them became the informants in this research.

The primary objective of the interviews was the fisherman. They are directly involved in fishing. Hundreds of formal meetings and informal have been made in recent years to collect data for this research. Some days, we were sitting on the fishing boats for several hours to observe people and to chat with them. All the stories about careers, skills and behaviors with the natural environment, society and human beings they told us. Thanks to their openness that the information we collected was very rich and diversified.

Up to now, I do not have any opportunities to participate in a long journey at sea with the fishermen. The main reason is that they live in a small boat lack of working conditions and safety. The short journey for them last 20 days and the long one they will live in their boat for few months. On the other hand, it is noteworthy that the lives of people on the fishing boat are very temporary. For local people, they are familiar with the reality of what life was like. There are many fishermen who they do not care so much about what to wear in the routine day. Weather conditions like hot climate in southern Vietnam helps them to survive without too interested in clothes. From the point of view of aesthetics, on the other hand, makeup and beauty is not important and necessary in the world of man only.

An important source of information that we received from the survey of 200 households came from in late 2010. To obtain this document, we have to thank to the project's head and all the members of the research team. This research was carried out on the whole the situation in

southern sea. When performing the sampling questionnaire survey, however, only 3 localities were selected, in which Song Doc was one of them. As participants and program design study for this topic, we have selected for Song Doc which was one of 3 characterizes in southern Vietnam. This was in one of the provinces which was the most successful in terms of fishing in a decade in southern Vietnam, i.e. Camau province. 200 questionnaires were carried out on the basis of each household for those sampled in the village clusters of two typical types of aquaculture and fishery exploitation. Based on the source data from this survey, we could determine the level of credibility from the interviews with the authorities and local people.

2. FISHERIES IN VIETNAM AND CAMAU PROVINCE

2-1. Fisheries in Vietnam

Vietnam is a country in Southeast Asia. Nearly half of the border is covered by the sea. The long coastline of over 3,320 kilometers gives access to a claimed exclusive fishing zone of about 1 million square kilometers, including the internal water, territorial water, contiguous zone, exclusive economic zone and the continental shelf [Luru Văn Lợi 1990]. The ratio is about 1 kilometer of the coastline in every 100 square kilometers of land. This ratio is a sixth lower than the average of the world. There are three major sea areas for catching the first is gulf of Bắc Bộ; it is a small area that surround by the Tonkin and Hainan Island which belongs to China. The second is the vast area in the east of Vietnam, the water surrounding the Paracel and Spartley Islands. The third is Western Nam Bo or the West Sea in Thailand gulf.

The Vietnamese three fishing zones are subdivided into a number of important fishing areas. The sea around the Paracel and Spratley Islands and adjacent areas deserves special mention. While most of the fishing areas are within the official established straight baselines that measure the outer limits of the territorial sea and other maritime zones, these islands are not part of it [Farrell 1998: 62; Prescott 1996].

In the tropical country, these areas are the home of many kinds of fish and consumable invertebrates such as shrimp, crab, lobster, cuttlefish and squid [Shindo1973: 4-6; Kleinen 2006].

Pelagic fisheries are mainly operated along the continental shelf facing central Vietnam and Thailand gulf. Vietnam has fishing grounds containing the biggest stock of fish all over the world. Asia provides nearly 60% of global fish production [Pomeroy et al. 2008: 78-79; FAO 2004; Nguyễn Thị Ngọc Ấn 2004: 174-175; Phùng Ngọc Đĩnh 1999].

Several decades previous, sea products were somewhat strange to Vietnamese people. Researches on Vietnamese culture mentioned the element of "far from forest, dim from the sea" (xa rừng, nhạt biển) in Red River and Mekong River Deltas [Nguyễn Duy Thiệu 2002]. Champa people, who live in central Vietnam at the present, did not turn their back on the sea; they used naval power and piracy to establish its "plunder-based political economy" [Hall 1985: 178-193]. Far from the pass, fishermen in Vietnam were only hunters like many countries in the world [Brandt 1972: 2; Barnes 1996]. In the years of 1980s, it was very hard to find sea products in Red River Delta. Sea food was occupied a very small part in the Vietnamese routine meals. The coastal area usually held only poor communities. Mr. Chính Hữu, a well-known poet had these poems to mention his home land's poverty:

Your home land is in the salty water and sour plain

My village is so poor that the land is ploughed up gravel

(Quê hương anh nước mặn đồng chua

Làng tôi nghèo đất cày lên sỏi đá).

Vietnam fisheries until the mid-century still bore the clear imprint of self-sufficient economic activities which was shown by its manual and obsolete production level. Fisheries activities were only considered as secondary profession in the agricultural production among

Vietnamese. Even in other countries in Southeast Asia, fishery is secondary job behind agriculture [Fraser 1966: 32].

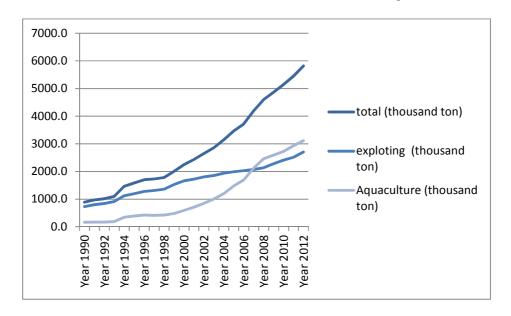
History of Vietnam mentioned to ship fleet in the wars between Vietnamese and Chinese in Ngo, Tran, Le, Nguyen dynasties. Vietnam established the ship fleet as hydraulic force military or navy, but these fleets could not become fishing fleet when the wars ended [MacNeill 1982]. In a long time in history, Vietnam was not merely the acquisition of Western arms or the borrowing of Western technology [Nguyễn Thế Anh 2003: 445].

Until the year 1993, the 5th plenum of 10th Party Central Committee defined to build fisheries sector as a key economic one. This is a milestone in the development of the fishery in Vietnam. In the trend of opening and integration of the country, exporting was regarded as driving force in promoting growth and given priority for investment. The strong points of people's fisheries were considerably developed through the economic models of non-state sector, attracting all economic sectors' investment. The fisheries sector has been received more and more investment and driven in the right direction which has paved the path for the development of fisheries, generating a powerful change in production, capacity building, production expansion, and at the same time creating jobs and increasing incomes for fishing workers nationwide as well as bringing a large revenue in the state budget.

In the sector's development strategy, the subsectors such as capture fisheries and aquaculture have been orientedly developed to serve exporting subsector, which in turn, have become a driving force for the development of the capture fisheries and aquaculture. Fisheries sector has taken the proactive steps in the international integration and enhanced the application of scientific and technological advances to production, linking raw materials production with processing, promoting trading and expanding exporting markets.

Since the mid-1990s, the sector has focused on innovating the way of management of seafood quality which gradually met the highest requirements of big markets, bringing Vietnam's seafood products a good reputation and stable position in the world's biggest seafood markets. As a result of it, fisheries sector gained greatly success in the late 20th and early 21th century.

1. The Results of Fisheries Sector's Production and Trading (1990 - 2012)



Source: General Department of Statistics

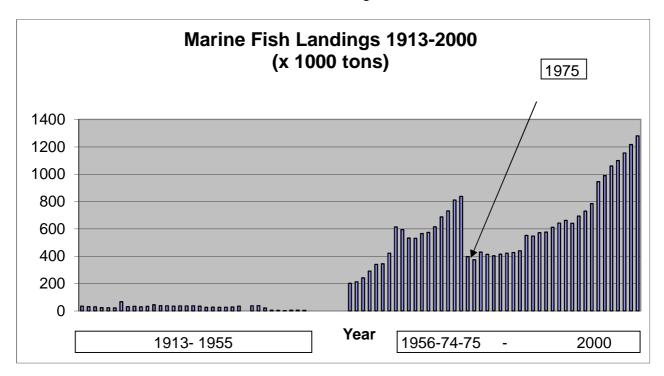
There are around 500,000 marine fishermen who sell their catches on domestic or export markets in Vietnam. Some 3 million people derive their livelihood from the fisheries sector, directly or indirectly. This is reason enough for the government to encourage the expansion of the sector, both offshore and inland fisheries plus aquaculture. Traditionally, many Vietnamese have combined fisheries with other activities, such as agriculture or salt-making for a living. This sector is therefore closely integrated with other sectors. In spite of the increase in the fish production in Vietnam, the country utilizes mostly small-scale fisheries and conducts fishing activities mostly in coastal waters. Around 1993, the number of marine fishing boats was estimated at more than 60,000. In order to reach the target of increasing offshore fishery production, a program of investing in offshore vessels has been implemented since 1997. However, the efficiency of the program is limited due to reasons such as lack of suitable technologies, unidentified fishing grounds, lack of skilled labor forces, and inadequacy of services for vessels operating in offshore areas. In a broader perspective, the increases in population, poverty of small-scale fishers, and arrival of non-resident harvesters from nearby China and Hong Kong have taken a huge toll on marine fisheries. In interviews with local fishermen in 2001 and 2002, they cited the overfishing, the decline in marine resources, and the destructive fishing as problems in several provinces of northern Vietnam, while existing literature about central and southern Vietnam confirms these trends as well. In recent years, the number of fishing boats has increased considerably in Vietnam.

Nowadays, fisheries in Vietnam are still small-scale, multi-species, multi-gear, and using traditional fishing techniques. Fishers have limited ability in terms of capital investment. The average increase in the number of fleets was 8.7 percent per year from 1983 to 1998. According to P. A. M. Zwietena, the average CV per boat also grew from 16.3 CV in 1983 to 26.2 CV in

1998 [Zwietena et al. 2002: 26-28]. In recent years, the fishermen in southern Vietnam have been built the bigger and powerful boat with the engine up to 300-400 CV. The fishing operations in Vietnam use different types of fishing gear in different areas. However, the most popular fishing gear are trawls, purse seines, coastal gillnets, hooks and lines and lift nets; the trawls and purse seines are the most effective ones.

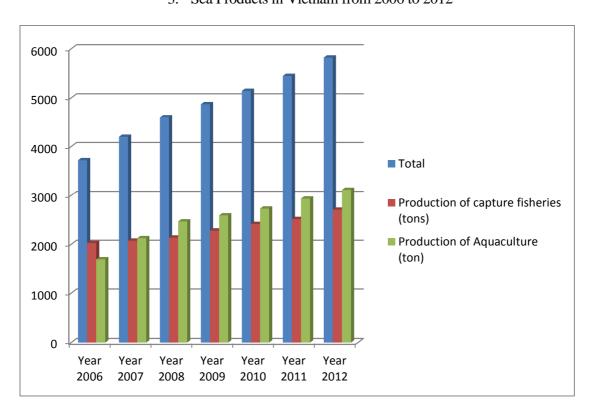
Data on quantities of fish landings are underreported in many cases or are not reported by species, which makes the assessment of aggregate stocks difficult. There is only fragmentary data on how many fish are unintentionally caught and discarded, how many boats are deployed, and how much time is spent fishing, which obscures the full impact of fishing on the ecosystem. The poor monitoring of changes is partly the result of lack of aggregate data on quantities of fish landed by smaller vessels and inadequate monitoring organizations. The available data shows a low amount of marine fish landings during the colonial period, at an average of 32, 000 tons a year, while after the First Indochina War (1946-1954) this number rose to an average 600,000 tons a year between 1956 and 2000. The majority of the catch originated in the Republic of Vietnam. In 1974, the catch plummeted due to the closing war effort. After 1975, many fishing boats in the fishing fleet became means of boat people to escape the country. Recovery came in the 1980s. In the 1990s the fishing fleet highly increased in both quantity and quality. Like other countries in Southeast Asia, the exploitation at that time usually occurred inshore and shallow water areas [Butcher 2004: 57; Nguyễn Chu Hồi 2005].

2. Marine Fish Landings 1913-2000



Sources: [Butcher 2004: Appendix 1].

3. Sea Products in Vietnam from 2006 to 2012



Sourse: General Department of Statistics

Total fisheries' production passed the threshold of 1 million tons in 1990, joining the list of the countries which had had the fishing production of over one million tons since 1997, reaching at 2 million tons in 2000, 3 million tons in 2004 and over 4 million tons in 2007.

Export turn-over exceeded 500 million USD in 1995, over 1 million USD in 2000, accounted for 2 million USD in 2002, over 3 million USD in 2006 and 4.5 million USD in 2008. In pursuit of modernization and industrialization, a fishery sector has effectively implemented programs named Program for Aquaculture Development, Program for Fisheries In-export Development and Offshore Fishing Development Program and so forth. The products structure has dramatically changed towards increasing the proportion of aquaculture and high value products, especially the products for export. Due to the steady growth of the sector in this period, Vietnam has become one of the biggest seafood producing countries in the world, ranking 12th in fishing yields, 7th in the fisheries export value and 3th in aquatic species farming in 2007.

Before 1970s, in fact, the fishery sector particularly subsectors such as capture fisheries and fish processing were inclined to approach the industrialization and modernization in terms of motorization of fishing vessels and construction of frozen processing establishments. In the process of recovery development of economy in northern Vietnam, it was necessary to develop fisheries. At this time, institutions, research stations, universities, colleges of fisheries were established and came into operation. There were a lot of fishing corporations or processing plants which provided food for people and met the demands of the struggle against the US, liberation of southern Vietnam and reunification of the country. Although industrialization and modernization process was only at early stage, its results have significantly contributed to the development of the fisheries in this stage.

Since 1981, the sector has witnessed a steady and dramatic growth, as the result of the application of "self-balanced, self-expensed" mechanism, which was actually the first step to the market mechanism, linking all stages: production; distribution and consumption towards exporting. The fisheries sector's production has occupied higher and higher proportion in agricultural area and the national economy.

The capture fisheries subsector has shifted from a manual fishery with small-scale, operating in inshore areas to a motorized one with enhancement of offshore fishing, targeting high value fishing species and export species. In addition to the development of offshore fishing, coastal capturing has been developed combining with the preservation towards sustainability and protecting ecological environment [Jentoft et al.1998; Haenn et al. 2006].

The logistic service system for offshore areas, islands, and coastal areas associated with fisheries service centers has been initially formed. Implementing the policy on "production reorganization" of the sector, a large number of strong models of team, group, co-operative were formed in order to organize the logistic services at sea to support each other in production and search and rescue activities. The presence of civil ships and fishermen at sea areas has contributed to sovereignty, and security at sea and on islands of the country.

The management of fishing activities was paid attention with respect to facilities management, career management, labor management and fishing monitoring activities to drive the fishermen to work in line with the provisions of the law when engaged in fishing activities at sea.

In 2008, there was a significant increase in prices of oil abroad and inland which severely affected fishermen, especially offshore vessel ones. Consequently, the development of capture fisheries was negatively affected which was shown by the shortage of raw materials for

processing and the difficulties in livelihood and living of coastal communities. In order to contribute to a stable life and social security and in order to maintain the development of marine capture fisheries, the government had timely policies to support certain amount of gasoline to fishermen engaging in fishing activities in 2008. As a result of this, most fishermen were so excited that they continued fishing and fishing activities gradually restored back. The number of unoperated vessels has been going down. Through this support, fisheries management agencies have had an opportunity to grasp the number of vessels, paving the way for the improvement of information management for fishing vessels in next years.

The project on "Organizing Information for the Natural Disasters Prevention at Sea" was approved by the Prime Minister of Vietnam upon 21st August 2007. Implementing this scheme, the sub-project "Building the Information System on Marine Fisheries Management" began to implement the phase 1 in 2009 which provided the management agencies, business owners with general information about weather, marine meteorology literature and oceanography. Therefore, they could receive the information about operation of fishing vessels at sea to take timely measures to ensure safety for people and vessels operating at sea. The phase 2 of the project from 2010 to 2012 was inclined to build GSP-based vessel position monitoring system and put it into use. This phase 2 was also aimed at completing two-way communication systems between ship and shore and building a database for fishing-ground forecasting, fisheries oceanographic meteorology.

Aquaculture has changed from a second and self-sufficient subsector into a concentrated commodity production one with advanced technology level, developing in all freshwater bodies, brackish water, and marine water towards a sustainability, environment protection and harmony with other economic sectors.

There has been steady increase in aquaculture areas since 1981. Farming areas are of 1 million hectares now in comparison with 230 thousand hectares in 1981. The proportion of marine and brackish water areas was increasing, especially the areas for shrimp farming which generated a significant increase in the aquaculture production, particularly the exports production and brought about incredibly economic effectiveness. Since the 1990s, shrimp farming for export has been an important breakthrough. Besides, other cultured species have also been more and more diverse in freshwater, brackish and marine waters. Since 2000 catfish has become an important species in freshwater farming and the second main product for export after shrimp. By 2008, shrimp and catfish were two main products for export with export turnover of 1.5 billion USD and 1.4 billion USD respectively.

Aquaculture has gradually become one of the key commodities production sectors, developing nationwide. It has an important position in national economy and it is inclined to build concentrated production areas. The high-valued species for exports have been focused to invest and encouraged to develop and gained good results. Promoting the potential of natural resources, capital and the initiatives in enterprises and fishermen, aquaculture has been playing a very important role in economic restructure in agriculture as well as implementation of hunger elimination and poverty reduction in different regions of the country.

This subsector has been rapidly developing and approaching the advanced technology and management in the region and the world in some fish processing. The exporting products are high quality and competitive, building a good reputation in the world market. The production establishments have been being continuously invested and upgraded.

In 1995, Vietnam officially joined the ASEAN countries and Vietnam fisheries sector became a member of Southeast Asian Fisheries Development Centre (SEAFDEC) along with the

expansion of export markets which created a good chance for the fish processing to grow well. As the processing establishments were getting more and more modern, coincided with many advanced technologies were applied to production, the quality of fisheries products was constantly improving.

By 2008, there were 544 industrial scale processing enterprises, of which 410 enterprises met the national food hygiene and safety standards, 414 enterprises have already applied GMP, SSOP, HACCP or ISO 14001, and met cleaner production standards. They had permits to export to large market such as the US, EU, Japan, Korea, Russia and so forth. There are now 269 processing enterprises which have permits to export to EU in comparison with 18 in 1999.

Besides the state-owned enterprises, the private export processing enterprises have been rapidly developing in recent years, of which several enterprises have ranked first in export value and some export processing enterprises had export turnover of approximately 100 million USD per year. The Vietnam fishing products have been exported to over 140 countries and territories, including the important markets like EU, Japan, the US, South Korea and Russia.

In the stages of development, fishery science and technology has made an important contribution to increasing labor productivity and economic effectiveness, improving the quality of products, economic restructuring and poverty reduction.

Regarding capture fisheries, there have been many survey studies, resources assessment, and oceanographic factors related to coastal fisheries and a certain part of offshore fisheries, paving the way for adjusting the capture fisheries production restructuring, delimiting prohibited and restricted fishing areas to sustain the marine resources. Capture fisheries forecasting of marine resources was initially built up to help farmers improve production effectiveness.

Combining the application researches with the results of the practical production and technology importation, some of new fishing technologies have been applied popularly and effectively to improve the fishing production such as three-layer gill net for catching shrimp or cuttlefish, advanced gill net, stick-held falling net for fishing squid, an so on. Some products used in fishing vessels and other equipments have been researched and applied to production to improve marine capture fisheries, like fish detector used in fishing with light combination, preservation technique of aquatic products by saltwater flake ice on offshore vessels, and so forth [Holbrook et al. 2000].

With respect to aquaculture, the results of scientific and technological researches have created proactivity in the technology for seed production, commercial culture of many high economic value species, creating a turning point for aquaculture in our country, especially the farming of black lobster or catfish for exporting. Aquaculture development has contributed to create a stable supply of raw materials for exporting and processing subsector, increasing the sector's export turnover, meeting the demands of domestic markets, and to hunger elimination and poverty alleviation programs.

Regarding export fish processing, science and technology have addressed many problems with respect to the postharvest preservation technology, processing technology of some fisheries products from the high quality trash fish, innovation and diversification of technology and traditional products. Not only have the export processing enterprises produced many high value products, but also they create product diversification and quality improvement as well as ensure food hygiene and safety which heighten the competitiveness of Vietnam's seafood products in international markets, as a result of technological innovation. To date, there have been 269

enterprises having permits to export to EU markets and 410 among 544 processing establishments meeting the industrial standards of food hygiene and safety.

Promoting the resources, innovating for development in the trend of opening and integration of the country, the sector has asserted and considered exporting as incentive for development and given it priority investment. Consequently, the strength of people's fisheries has been developed through the models of non-state sectors, attracting investment of all sectors. The fisheries sector has been more and more invested and in the right direction which has formed an important premise for the economic development of fisheries and made a powerful change in production and trading, capacity building, production expansion. The capture fisheries and aquaculture subsectors have orientedly developed for export which has created more jobs and increased incomes of fisheries workers nationwide, contributing to export turnover and economic growth of the country.

Not only has the sector led the way primarily in international integration, it has also enhanced the application of scientific and technological advances to production and it also has linked production of raw materials with processing, trading promotion and exporting market expansion. Since the early 1990s, in particular, it has focused on renewing the way of food quality management and food safety to meet the strictest requirements of major markets, which quickly set up and affirm a position in the world's largest seafood market. Science, technology and the fishery extension activities have been playing an important role in the development of sector's production and trading. Scientific research capacity continues to be enhanced through investment in upgrading infrastructure and equipment for research, training human resources. The management bodies have been showing signs of maturing and they have had a wealth of experience in management. Many important policies and plans have been issued to promote the

development, and then models of disease free seed production have been supported and encouraged to develop application technologies to aquaculture to ensure the requirements of food hygiene and safety and protection of ecological environment. To deploy models of aquaculture and capture fisheries towards effectiveness, linking fishing with logistics services, the models of seafood export processing have been closely combined with the organization of production areas which are capable of producing and supplying raw materials from aquaculture in adaptation to the strongly increase of fuel price, exhausting near-shore resources, or natural disasters. Fisheries sector has strengthened the management basing on value chain, quality control and food safety in all stages: capture fisheries, aquaculture to processing and distribution of products titled "from Pond to Table" in order to meet the requirements of the importing countries and to protect the health of domestic consumers. Along with the resolutions for administrative reform and production organization, the sector has applied the standards for safety farming areas, clean farming models and guided farmers to implement the product quality management. It has also strengthened control of seed quality, feeds, preventive treatments for shrimp and fish in order to improve export product quality and to heighten the prestige of Vietnam seafood products in the international seafood markets.

In parallel with the formation and development of sector's state management agencies, professional associations were born which has encouraged the workforce in all fisheries' branches and made a significant contribution to the continued growth of the sector. As a result of the integration, community linkages were formed and societies or associations were also born, which had created an incentive for promoting the sector's production reorganization. Assessing the role of marine economy in the country's development, the 4th plenum of Communist Party's Central Committee adopted a resolution of Vietnam's marine strategy until 2020, confirming the

position and role of marine economy for the cause of construction and defense of the country. The overall objective of the marine strategy was "striving to build Vietnam to be a powerful maritime nation, owing a wealthy marine economy in parallel with maintaining the national sovereignty of the sea, islands to make an important contribution to the cause of industrialization and modernization for a prosperous and powerful state, to 2020", of which the coastal and ocean economies will have contributed about 53% to 55% to the total GDP of the country. Regarding the economic and social development strategy, it emphasized that fishing and processing were the subsectors that contributed significantly to marine economy in terms of improvement of the residents' lives in the coastal regions, islands and those who engaged in fishing activities at sea and enhancement of national defense, maritime security, search and rescue and disaster prevention.

During its development, fisheries sector has not only confirmed itself as a traditional marine economic sector, but gradually developed to become a large commodities production economic sector which has made an important contribution to ensuring food security, hunger elimination and poverty reduction and to preserving national security at seas and on the islands.

2-2. Fishery and the Fishing Industry in Camau

Camau is a farthest land in south of the country; it is the only province in Vietnam with 3 sides facing to the East Sea and the West Sea. The East Sea is the private name that Vietnamese people put upon the international name of South China Sea and the sea territory in Thailand Gulf is the West Sea. The province has 307 kilometers of coastline with 6 coastal districts among 8 districts in total. With fishing grounds over 100,000 square kilometers and many fisheries' resources, Camau province is fertile land for the development of aquaculture and fishery exploitation [Trần Thanh Phương 1985; Nhiều Tác Giả 2002].

Geologically, Camau is relatively new, including alkaline soils, saline soils, peat lands and accretions create fertile fields. Camau has vast river networks, being of 7 main rivers: Ong Doc, Bay Hap, Cai Lon, Ganh Hao, Dam Doi, Trem Trem, Bạch Ngưu, forming large estuaries. In this area, besides, there are some inshore islands such as Khoai island, Chuối Island and Đá Bạc Island. Camau has large fishing area with thousand square kilometers in the East Sea and in the Gulf of Thailand that create favourable fishing grounds for fishermen and agricultural development. According to local government's reports on the socio-economic situation in recent years, despite facing economic difficulties its sea products is still developing rapidly.

Seafood is a key economic item of Camau province. This province became the national leader in farming, processing and exporting seafood for years. Aquaculture production has brought economic benefits to the province, contributing to economic restructuring, reduce poverty, and improve living standards of farmers in the rural and coastal areas. Sea extraction and aquaculture provide raw materials for seafood processing plants for export, contribute to the province each year hundreds of millions USD, putting Camau province has become seafood exports highest in the

country, bringing income of foreign currency for the country. These plants also created thousand jobs during the last 20 years.

In 2012, the province had 296,551 hectares of surface water area of aquaculture, in particular, an area of about 266,600 hectare of shrimp, and an area of freshwater aquaculture on 28,000 hectares.

The value of production per hectare of surface water for aquaculture is growing: in 1997 an estimated 8.2 million per hectare to 15 million per hectare in 2000, and an estimated 26.4 million in 2005 to 47.2 million in 2011, an increase of 4.8 times in comparison with 1997, and an average increase of 13.4% per year.

In addition, the developed movement of aquaculture has brought great results. Kind of aquaculture products varies as prawns, white shrimps, freshwater prawns, sea crabs, oyster cages, oysters, clams, cramps, snails, eels, gobies, turtles, and freshwater fish and so on.

In order to exploit effectively fishery resources, Camau province has invested more fishing boats and equipped with modern facilities. The infrastructure for marine fishery industry has been built in Song Doc and that connects Song Doc with other parts inside the province and Mekong River Delta.

To develop the fisheries sector in the direction of international integration, many seafood processing enterprises have been invested hundreds of billions VND to technological innovation, procurement of equipment and upgrade buildings. The total design capacity was over 150,000 tons per year. Currently, seafood processing industry in Camau is on a par with many countries around the world. Processing periods, species diversities, quantities and qualities are constantly improving, to meet the requirements of more demanding markets such as the US, Japan, Australia and EU. In 2012, production of fish processing product exports reached 97,500 tons, of which 88,000 tons of shrimp processing gain.

For the time being, Camau province is implementing policies to attract investors to implement projects seafood processing, material procurement, production fried fish, dried fish, fish sauce, shipbuilding, ship repair boat and providing logistics fisheries.

Economic life of the people has been changed, especially in the coastal areas, and the social and cultural life has been changed as well. The residents of the sea could be divided into 2 groups. The first group settle along Song Doc River. Most of them are fishermen. The majority of these families have their own fishing boats. The 2nd group includes those who live far away from the river. Their living is based on farming and aquaculture. Over the past 15 years, the transition to rice aquaculture, especially shrimp, crabs, clams economic life, is improved. The change from extensive farming systems to intensive one shows the appeal of the agricultural sector for coastal residents.

According to the socio-economic report of Song Doc community, Song Doc met a lot of difficulties for the last 5 years, but the community was still developing. The development in the direction of multi-cultivate; the cultivated area has increased, the new technology has been use to develop, and the household economy has been improved.

Fishermen could be categorized into 2 groups. The first group is the people who live along the river in the hamlets. Their living depends on sea exportation and its services. The second group mainly depends on aquaculture for living. They use to be a member of Song Doc farm. When the farm was in dissolution in the year of 2006, they received cultivating land from the farm. From that time, they could freely cultivate on the land. The household economy has developed since those days. Around 10 years ago, there was a big gap between those groups. This gap was levelled in the short time when people could freely cultivate in their land.

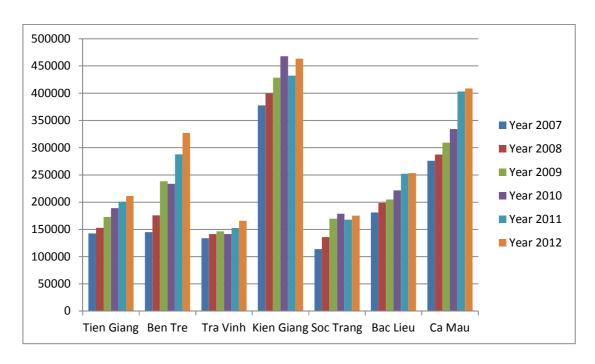
Vietnamese and Vietnamese household economy is in the tactic than the strategy. They can develop in the short of them. After that the economic models will collapse. Many households developed in the short time before bankrupt. When they are success, they can become rich in the short of time. However, everything they have earned will go away after that. These cases are usually happen in the shrimp and fish rising in Mekong Delta. In Song Doc, they are in the circle of the development now. In the near future, we do not know what will happen to them when many people are in debt. They have borrowed money from banks or loan sharks to invest their own businesses.

4. Sea Products in Camau and Other Provinces in Mekong River Delta (Unit: ton)

Provinces	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012
Tien Giang	142,711	153,134	173,106	189,101	200,910	211,374
Ben Tre	144,963	175,779	238,407	233,672	287,585	327,102
Tra Vinh	133,988	141,734	146,578	141,623	152,797	165,845
Kien Giang	377,777	399,931	428,485	467,825	432,489	463,458
Soc Trang	113,950	136,000	169,500	178,720	168,000	175,295
Bac Lieu	181,050	198,841	205,151	221,700	252,266	253,479
Camau	276,010	287,395	309,189	334,420	403,207	408,530

Source: General Department of Statistics

Sea Products in Camau and Other Provinces in Mekong River Delta on Its Bar Graph (Unit: ton)



Source: General Department of Statistics

3. THE ETHNOGAPHICAL SETTING

3-1. Geographical Setting

Song Doc is one of the busiest fishing communities in southern Vietnam. Song Doc is the name of the river in Tran Van Thoi district in the west coast of Camau province. It is also a name of community or small town (Thị trấn), being the same level of commune in Vietnamese administrative ranking.

Song Doc was founded in 1979, after the re-establishment of the district, inside Tran Van Thoi district, Camau province. When it was established, the area of the Song Doc was much smaller than the area at the present time. In the early years of the 20th century, Song Doc farm was merged to Song Doc community as the present.

In 2011, about 35,006 people were living in this community as permanent residents, most of whom are Vietnamese. There are some other minority groups such as Khmer and Chinese (Hoa). More than half of them live along Song Doc River's banks. Song Doc community has 12 administrative units including 12 clusters or hamlets with a total area of 33.49 square kilometers. An island name, Chuối island, which belongs to one hamlet being 5.69 square kilometers. Around 20,000 peoples are non-residents who came from other parts of Vietnam, and settled in Song Doc to find their jobs.

6. Population of Residents in Song Doc in 2011

No	Name of Hamlet	Area (ha)	Population (people)	Household	Density (people/km ²)
1	Hamlet 1	809.70	5,344	960	660
2	Hamlet 2	16.47	3,422	722	20,777
3	Hamlet 3	14.60	2,455	511	16,815
4	Hamlet 4	455.70	4,877	1,191	1,070
5	Hamlet 5	139.54	2,011	477	1,441
6	Hamlet 6	491.51	6,988	1,555	1,422
7	Hamlet 7	40.20	3,588	805	8,925
8	Hamlet 8	243.51	2,133	460	876
9	Hamlet 9	326.07	1,077	211	330
10	Hamlet 10	244.25	1,444	314	591
11	Hamlet 11	350.86	956	216	272
12	Hamlet 12	216.76	711	122	328
	Total	3,349.17	35,006	7,544	1,045

Source: Song Doc Community People's Committee

Although the lowest level of administrative government is a community (commune or small town). The local also divided this community into 12 hamlets or clusters. Each hamlet is led by a hamlet head and a vice head. Besides of these people, there are some other cadres who are the head of the Women Union, Veteran Association, Farmer Union, or Hochiminh Communist Youth Union, which are governmental organizations. I will mention about them in the next chapter.

Song Doc is rather far away from the center of the province. It is not very easy to arrive in the community. There are 2 ways to go there; one by boat and another by car. From Hochiminh city, it takes us 10 to 12 hours to go to Camau city by bus along the No.1 Vietnam National Road. People also could go there by plane with 1 flight a day in the early morning from Hochiminh to Camau airports. From Camau city, they could go Song Doc by bus within an hour and half in the distance of 40 kilometers or by boat within 2 hours. The bus way is an initial and unique road to Song Doc that was built 7 years ago. That was the most important to Song Doc development. Today, however, this road is too narrow for the modern traffic. In the plan to upgrade the level of the urban, another road is being built and will be open in the year of 2015. A bridge will be built to connect 2 banks of Song Doc River, it will be open in 2 years' time.

The road that connects from Camau city and Song Doc was finished being built 6 years ago. In the previous time, boat by the river was the only way this community. In order to serve people to travel, there are 2 companies which serve the boat trip from Song Doc to Can Tho with 2 boats a day. It takes us 6 hours for this journey, a little bit longer than going there by bus. The demand of travel has been higher in recent years; 2 private buses connect Song Doc to Hochiminh city. People have more choices to travel to some big cities in southern Vietnam.

The total natural area of the community is 3,349.17 hectares. In the area, the urban development or inner town is about 401.43 hectares, and approximately 2947.94 hectares is its

outskirts. There are civil land around 167.35 hectares including housing, land of urban public works, sport fields, and land for transportation and other 234.08 hectares of land for industrial land, sub-industry, warehouses, land for security and defense, yard waste land and graveyard.

The climate is as the same as in southern Vietnam and even in Southeast Asia. There are 2 seasons in a year: rainy and sunny seasons. The rainy season begins in May and finishes in November, and sunny season is from December to April of the following year. However, there are still some small rains in the sunny season. Seasons play an important role in fishing and it effects to the yield of catching. From February to April, the sea is very calm and it is a good advantage for fishing. In the community, there is a proverb, i.e. in March the old woman can go fishing (Tháng ba bà già đi biển).

In Mekong River Delta, rainfall is average from 1,400 to 2,200 mm per year. Camau has the highest statistic, over 2,300 millimetres per year; it is the highest rainfall in Mekong River Delta.

7. Rainfall in Mekong River Delta (Unit: cubic centimeter)

Month	Camau	Can	Soc	Rach	Tan	Chau	Long	Phu
Month	Camau	Tho	Trang	Gia	Chau	Doc	Xuyen	Quoc
January	18	17	9	11	9	16	12	28
February	9	3	2	7	15	2	2	24
March	32	12	14	36	55	44	13	55
April	97	45	64	99	103	108	97	138
May	290	166	224	220	166	169	211	306
Juin	306	182	247	250	154	136	162	396
July	330	226	248	304	162	150	194	438
August	343	214	264	310	112	147	197	543
September	337	278	266	294	180	153	235	522
October	332	250	289	270	286	250	287	328
November	170	169	171	160	172	137	144	179
December	88	52	40	44	64	60	57	78
Total	2,352	1,614	1,838	2,005	1,478	1,372	1,611	3,035

Source: Camau Province People's Committee

3-2. Economics

Development in rural areas where fishing is important may not be best served by intervention to increase fishing incomes, but rather to support complementary household activities [Allison et al. 2001: 388]. Song Doc community has its development in economics in the recent years; its structure shifts in the right direction, increasing the proportion of trading service and seafood industry, reducing the proportion of the agricultural sector.

Industrial production, handicrafts, trades and services have fairly developed over 1,550 existing businesses and services. The business of the strengths of the community as the supply of goods and services, logistics thriving fisheries, and better meet the needs of the people.

Sea extraction and aquaculture's yield in 2011 was 98,732 tons, in comparison with the same period increased by 33,702 tons. Shrimp extraction reached 1,530 tons (21.51%), which reduced 5,570 tons in comparison with the target year and 18,459 tons, 78,743 tons of fish, in comparison with the same period in 2010 increased by 35,333 tons [UBND 2011].

The total aquaculture area of town is 1,840 hectares, mainly prawn framings, in addition to the intercropping types of farms. In 2011, the area of shrimp aquaculture plans about 250 hectares, but only 54.7 hectares have been done. Due to unusually adverse weather, many shrimp farms have completely implanted damages because of rising tides, and then salt water intrusion into the farm.

Aquaculture production in 2011 reached 4,137 tons; 460 tons of shrimps, reaching 65.71%, fish and crab farming is 3,677 tons, an increase in comparison with the same period in 2010, 1,272 tons.

The poultry population reached about 4,618 poults, achieved 131.94% of the target year, the total herd estimated 1,300 poults (86%), down 200 compared with the target year.

Although there has been considerable investment in boat buildings, fishing gears and infrastructures, the main exploitation industry in Song Doc is still small-scaled fishing. The features of the this type could be described in some key words, such as over investment in boats and gears, too many fishermen, reduced profits, increasing conflicts of fishing in the fisheries and political strifes in the management processes [Pomeroy 2011: 75-77].

8. The Structure of the Economy in Song Doc Community over the Years (%)

Year Economic sector	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011
Fishery - Agricutture and Forestry	58	56	54	52	51	50
Industry and Construction	20	21	22	22.5	23	23.5
Services	22	23	24	25.5	26	26.5

Source: Song Doc Community People's Committee

The total value of production in 2011 reached 519.25 billion VND, up 18.49% in comparison with 2010. It is expected that in 2012 was estimated at 550.09 billion VND. Song Doc community became one of the communities that per capita income is highest in Camau province. Per capita income in Song Doc community is increasing over the years.

When the economy develops, however, it also creates the big gap between the rich and the poor [Hy V. Luong et al. 2009: 155, 160]. In Song Doc, these differences could be seen through ways of dressing, places they live and transportation means they use in every day.

9. Per Capita Income and Economic Growth Average in

Song Doc Community through the Years

Year	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011
Per capita income (million VND)	9.5	10.8	13	15.7	18.8
Economic growth medium (%)	12.85	12.72	11.55	12	12

Source: Song Doc Community People's Committee

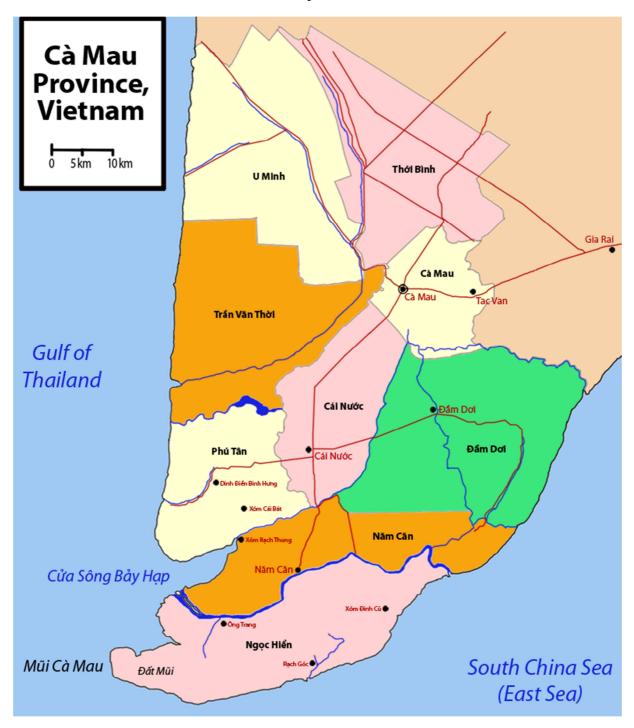
The development of industry, trade, services, agriculture and fisheries have been attracted people and created thousand jobs during the year, providing more jobs for the workforce in the region. In 2011, the population of working age in urban areas Song Doc community is 19,505, accounting for 68% urban population. In particular, the number of employees working in the economic sector in urban areas is 18,357 people.

Non-agricultural labor has approximately 12,952 employees. Industrial sectors have 1,681 employees and the trading services' one has 11,271 employees, accounting for approximately 37% of urban population and 66.4% of the total workforce inner city areas. Labor in agriculture and aquaculture has about 5,405 employees, accounting for 33.6% of total employment in urban areas.

However, the community have also 12.37% of the poor household in 2011. This was based on the standard of the poor in the community like Song Doc. The income is lower than 500,000 VND or approximately 25 USD per person per month.

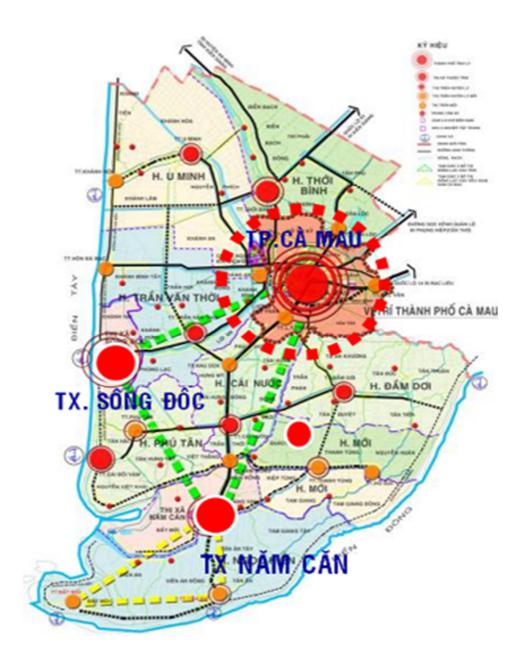
Since 2005, the local movement has cooperated with the authorities and organization to solve poverty alleviation and creating jobs for thousands of workers, helping people to develop family economy. The Red Cross has mobilized organizations, individuals, philanthropists and patrons contributed 25.2 tons, worth 279.2 million USD contract terms. Council also held in conjunction with the free medical treatment and supply 10 times with gifts total values 652.3 million USD and 24 wheelchairs for the 24 victims of Agent Orange, disability or paralysis.

10. Map of Camau



Source: Department of Survey and Mapping Vietnam

11. Urban Development in Camau



Source: Department of Economics and Infrastructures in Tran Van Thoi District.

12. Land Using in Song Doc in 2011

No	Name of land	Area (ha)	Ratio (%)
1	Housing land	90.70	22.59
2	Land for publish house or building	22.10	5.50
3	Sport fields and parks	1.0	0.37
4	Land for transportation and harbors	42.55	10.60
5	Land for industrial zone	21.82	5.44
6	Land for workshops and factories	16.42	4.07
7	Others	206.44	51.43
Total		401.43	100

Source: Tran Van Thoi District People's Committee

13. Song Doc Land for Civil Purpose in 2011

No	Name of land	Area (ha)	Ratio (%)
1	Housing land	90.70	54.20
2	Land for publish house or building	22.10	13.20
3	Sport fields and parks	1.50	0.90
4	Land for transportation and harbors	42.55	25.43
5	Others	10.50	6.27
	Total	167.35	100

Source: Tran Van Thoi District People's Committee

The population distribution is not even in the community. People concentrate in the area along the river banks. These people are also fishermen, fishing boat owners and fishing industrial suppliers and servicers.

There is the big gap between the poor and the rich in this community. According to the survey in 2010, the richest group's income per capital per person per moth is on average 4,955,700 VND, while the poorest is 212,810 VND; the former earns 23.29 times more than the latter. The permanent residents used to belong to the rich group. They have live in Song Doc for a long time. A very poor group is an ethnic minority. They are Khmer people. Most of them moved to the area about 10 years ago. At first, they had no land to live. They did hide themselves in the contemporary cottages in the wild land near the coast. Some of them had to live in the renting house in dirty area without any facilities. The cottages could collapse anytime because of the wind. Around 5 years ago, the local movement gathered them to the new residence near one hamlet. Because of the state policy for this ethnic group, they had the special priority to buy housings with a very cheap price. However, they have neither money nor land for cultivation, being still in the hunger and poor condition. Even in other parts of the country, minority peoples usually face with many difficult in economic development [Pham Thanh Duy 2006].

14. Income Per Capital Per Person in a Month

Groups	VND	Persons
Poorest	212,810	192
Second Poorest	591,150	143
Middle	941,620	236
Second Riches	1,492,360	247
Richest	4,955,780	191

4. FISHERMEN AND THEIR FAMILIES

4-1. Fishermen

In previous chapter, I mention that, Song Doc community has around 35,000 permanent residents. There are other one third of these members who are non-residents. It means that these people are migrants. Most of them came to Song Doc to find jobs. In many migrations researched, the migrants could be divided into some selected groups. The selected elements are gender, healthy, education and young ages [Nguyễn Văn Tài 1998: 17-19; Phạm Thanh Duy 2005: 825-827].

In Song Doc, the attraction for migrants is to find a job with high income. The most important factor is gender, because this kind of job is for man only. In Vietnam, especially in southern Vietnam, women cannot engage in fishing activities on fishing boats. During the long time in history, women had somewhat symbolized dirtiness and unluckiness. Women were prohibited in the holy places. During the fieldwork time, I heard many stories of failure and risk when someone saw women. The risk would be higher if they met the women in her menstruation. These taboos was usually happen in primitive and developing societies [Malinowski 1978: 198, 229-230; Astuti 1995: 61; Palmer 1989].

There was a story that a man who carried bloody clams to the market. Along the way, a woman stopped him and asked about the road direction. When he went to the market, all his

clams had been died. He could not understand why. He had never experienced this situation before.

These stories usually happened long time ago, and had no concrete address or man. They repeated the story that they had heard. They could not answer if they were asked for more detail in a concrete person, place or time.

The main economic activity has a tremendous impact to daily life in this town. One can be known about the yield of fishing through people's activities and the way of their expenditure. Observing the daily life of the people knows whether the voyage is successful or not. When you hit the beach, the number of workers in other parts of town and neighbor community will go to Song Doc to find part time jobs. The number of people would depend on the result of catching. Information about fishing would be updated every day even the fishing is on offshore. The information will help the people to decide that they would go to Song Doc to find a job in this term or not. There are many islands in the fishing grounds in Thailand Gulf. Fishermen could make a contact with their families and friends by mobile phones when the fishing boats are not very far from the islands.

In this community, the more they earn, the more they expense. A beer and soft drink dealer told me the following story. If the sea gives a good yield, fishermen order beer even the fishing boats are still far away from land. They order dozen barrels of beer at the same time; each barrel is 24 cans or 20 bottles. An agent of a Saigon Beer Company revealed that he sold 10,000 barrels of beer (approximately 200,000 bottles) every month. If he had been only a beer salesman in the community, he would have sold 7 bottles to each resident. It seems that the fishermen think their time is unlimited. When they leave the boat, many fishermen use all their time on drinking or gambling. Therefore, their household economies are not becoming better at

all. Before going to the sea, fishermen borrow money from their bosses and give it to their wives in order to expend at home. When they come back, the amount will be reduced by the amount of advance. The remaining amount that they receive is very low. This amount is only enough for them to eat in the time the boat at land. When they are on board, all foods are purchased by the boat owners. Life on board is absolutely need not any cashes. On the boat, moreover, they do not have free time. They will fall asleep when their routine works are done. Most of them are lack of sleep. On the squid fishing boats, during the day they have to cleansing quid and drying them, and during the night they have to catch squids; they have to work hard through the trip.

Catching fish is very strenuous job. For fishermen who have experiences in sailing waves are normal and winds are too familiar. For strangers or newcomers, however, it would be a horrible job. Most of fishermen said that the beginning days of fishing was the most terrible time for them. On board, they could not firmly sit to eat. They vomit everything that they have eaten. Standing firmly on board is also an impossible mission. Most of them have to bear these hardships during the first 2 weeks of their jobs. For those who began their job in the calm sea season from February to April, making familiar with the sea and boat become easier.

In Song Doc, in a humor way, fishermen are considered as marine oversea Vietnamese. In Vietnam, oversea Vietnamese is somewhat representative to the rich, and squander people. In the years of the 1980s and 1990s, Vietnam was very poor, and most people were poor, too. When Vietnam opened to the world in the years of 1990s, many oversea Vietnamese came back to their homeland. The first thing which surprised them that everything was extremely cheap. So, they spent money on the generous way. Nowadays, the young and single fishermen in Song Doc do so. After the long trip on board, they return the land with a big money for their hardship on board, and then they also spend almost what they have received after the catching. Most of

their money pays on drinking or prostitution. Some fishing boats in Song Doc catch fish in the Malaysian or Indonesian sea territories; fishermen of these boats only return home in every 6 months and then they will have 15 to 20 days off before the next trip. These people are truly the marine oversea Vietnamese.

15. What Do the Fishermen Do When They Have Free Time on Board?

No.	Free time acctivities	Count	Ratio (%)
1	Telephone call to the relatives	45	8.1
2	Watching TV	41	7.3
3	Listen to the radio	41	7.3
4	Drinking	30	5.4
5	Chating	99	17.7
6	Sleeping	265	47.4
7	Other	18	3.2
8	Have no free time	20	3.6
8	Corespondents	394	100

4-2. Families

Survey data were gathered in all for hamlets in Song Doc community in October 2010. In collabouration with us in conducting the research a group of 4th year students in the University of Social Science and Humanities in Hochiminh city worked together. They were the interviewers who went to the family to fill up the questionnaires.

There is no significant different in the generations of family between Song Doc and other areas in Vietnam. Among 200 households interviewed in 2010, there were 145 families with 2 generations in sharing the same economic unit, count for 72.5% of the total. It means that these families usually included parent and their children, i.e. nuclear family. The second group in high percentage is the family with 3 generations. It counts for 48 household with 24.0%.

When the couple marries, they will set up a new household like many other societies [Chou 2010: 35]. Even they live in the same house, but they belong to a private economic unit. If the parents of the young couple are very old, they will live together with their parents. At the time, the family will have 3 generations. It will have 4 generations in a family if the husband and wife is only son or daughter in a family. In southern Vietnam, the couple could live in the house of their husband's parents or wife's parents, but the young couple usually lives in house of their husband's parents after they marry in the Vietnam and many other societies [Iwabuchi 1994: 228; Nguyen Huu Minh 2014: 389-393].

16. Generations in the Family

	Generations in the family	Frequency	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1	6	3.0	3.0
	2	145	72.5	75.5
	3	48	24.0	99.5
	4	1	0.5	100
	Total	200	100	

In the 327 cases at the ages of 7 to 24 years old, there are 156 cases which have to stop their school with different reasons. Top reason is economical one. The family cannot afford to pay their children school fee (54%). The second is economic related reason. The second leading reason is that they simply do not want to go to schools. Most of children live together with their family, but their parents have not much schooling. Those parents think that learning at schools is not very important in their community, either. If their children quit school, they could find a job easily as fishermen. This is the way their children inherit jobs from their father. For the children who had well education, they would find jobs in the big city like Can Tho or Hochiminh.

On the other hand, going to school is not easy. A high school was only built in the area 4 years ago. Previously, pupils had to go over 15 kilometers or more for the distance from Song Doc to Tran Van Thoi high school. As a high school student, he or she cannot drive the motorbike to school by himself or by herself because of the domestic law; people are allowed to do so when they are 18 years old. Before 6 years ago, there was even no road to school. They had to ride their bicycles in the clayed narrow path. They could not go in the rain weather because of its muddy. Only one way to go to schools was by boat. Indeed, the expenditure to go by boat was much higher than by motorbike or by bicycle. If a family wanted to send their children to school, they had to hire a room or to send his son or daughter to the relatives in the district town.

Education is also a big problem among families in Song Doc, especially in fishing families. In these families, the children almost have no education from their parents, because they also have not much schooling, either. Education of their children completely depends on schools. The minimum ability which average children are expected to gain is reading or writing skills. When they reach that level, they can quit easily schools because their parents agree always.

The future jobs of these children will be fishermen. Some of them feel happy when they can earn their living at the ages of 13 or 14.

In the previous times, it was more difficult for children to receive the higher education. Before 2005, in this community, the highest school was elementary school. If the parent wanted their children having higher education, they had to send their children to Tran Van Thoi district town, Camau city or even Hochiminh city. The expenditure on that education would be very high.

This condition has been improved for the last 10 years. A new high school was built in the central cluster of the community. Many roads connected the community center with remote hamlets have been opened. The number of students in higher grades has been significantly increased. The rich families have continuously sent their children to Camau, Can Tho or Hochiminh cities for schooling.

In rich families, they do not want their children habitually to inherit the jobs from their fathers as fishermen. Parents expect their children to earn much money in order to invest schooling. Fishermen seem to be a job of the poor. They would like to avoid risk and hardship for their children. When someone earns enough money to be the owner of a fishing boat, he will not go fishing anymore.

17. Schooling (Ages: 7-24)

		Frequency	Percent		Cumulative Percent (%)
Valid	Not go to school	20	2.0	6.0	6.0
	Schooling	166	16.5	50.2	56.2
	Stop study	145	14.4	43.8	100
	Total	331	32.8	100	

18. Routine Using Water

	Kind of waters	Frequency	Valid Percent (%)	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Clean water with private pipe	146	73.0	73.0
	Sharing clean water with other household	14	7.0	80.0
	Buy water everyday	1	0.5	80.5
	Water from private well	38	19.0	99.5
	Sharing well with other household	1	0.5	100
	Total	200	100	

19. Drinking or Cooking Water

	Kind of waters	Frequency	Valid Percent (%)	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Clean water with private pipe	103	51.5	51.5
	Sharing clean water with other household	14	7.0	58.5
	Bottled water	40	20.0	78.5
	Buy water everyday	1	0.5	79.0
	Water from private well	27	13.5	92.5
	Sharing well with other household	1	0.5	93.0
	Raining water	14	7.0	100
	Total	200	100	

20. Toilet at Home

		Year 2005		Year 2010	
	Toilet at home	Frequency	Valid Percent (%)	Frequency	Valid Percent (%)
Valid	No toilet, go out the sea	26	13.0	7	3.5
	Have toilet in the house	89	44.5	127	63.5
	Simple toilet on the pool	49	24.5	37	18.5
	Use the public toilet	6	3.0	6	3.0
	Simple toilet out of the house	toilet out of the 18 9.0	9.0	15	7.5
	Other	2	1.0	2	1.0
	No toilet	10	5.0	6	3.0
	Total	200	100	200	100

21. What Do the Fishermen Do When They Are at Home?

No.	Free time acctivities	Persons	Valid Percent (%)	
1	Telephone call to the relatives	7	1.6	
2	Watching TV	192	43.3	
3	Listen to the radio	8	1.8	
4	Reading paper	6	1.4	
5	Drinking	186	42.0	
6	Chating	99	22.3	
7	Sleeping	175	39.5	
8	Other	90	20.3	
Total		443	100	

With the effort of the legislature in the recent years, we have developed the law or legislation system to strengthen the legal basis related to the issue of ownership, rights and obligations with respect to the exploitation of natural resources. However, the law enforcement issues for mining resources and facilitate poor people have more opportunities for advancement, which should also be in place. As for the case of fishermen to cooperate with foreign operators in the territorial waters of the host country, there should be a reasonable solution to help bringing benefits to all parties. In the present case, the fishing boats are operating in foreign countries and they become illegal on the coast of Vietnam. This problem does not occur in Song Doc region, but also in many other areas in the provinces of Camau and Kien Giang.

So for residents of the sea, the sea resources make people's lives improved. With the ability, qualifications and different resources, however, the gap between the rich and the poor is increasing, especially in areas with favorable fishing port. On the other hand, the changes in economic terms for the residents here are not accompanied by corresponding changes socially more positive direction. Many complex social problems arise where the authorities are not interested in them properly. A legal corridor should also be built to better suit the economic development of the marine industry today.

As previously mentioned, the job as a fisherman is selected by the gender. It is jobs for men only. In Song Doc, there are around 3,000 fishing boats including the boats from other provinces. Labor forces need around more than 30,000 men. Many of them came to Song Doc with their own families. When the husbands are working at sea, their wives have to work with a very boring job such as fishing net mending. They have to seed one place for 10 hours a day to receive a benefit for 120,000 VND or 6 USD. These jobs do not convince that the women and many of them do not continue their job.

The local fishing boat owners have to hire other labors from all the area. Sometime this job becomes hot. The boat owners have to pay higher than usual if they are in hurry to mend nets to the next trip.

At the beginning, I have mentioned to the case of Mr. Nguyễn Văn Tỏ. His wife left him when he faced the difficulty. I also met another case in one hamlet. According to a man next to his house, he was a fisherman as well. When he was off shore for catching fish, his wife sold their house and left this community with all the money. It is said that she was living with another man now. When her husband came back, he had no place to live. Some people advised him to find his wife and pursued her to be back. He refused and said, "I cannot find her, because if I meet her again I will kill her". This kind of story is not so rare in Song Doc. When husbands go out for fishing, wives could live with other men as couples. The ratio of divorces and separations is drastically increasing now.

The marriage becomes undisciplined when the husband or father is always absent from home. In Vietnam or other patriarchal societies, there is very clear of labor division along the gender lines. Men usually pay attention to politics, religion, social activities and so forth, whereas women do the house work [Ngô Văn Lệ 2007: 339-340; Ruohomäki 1999: 89-93]. In fishing families in Song Doc, the wives or women have to do everything while husbands on board. In the patriarchal societies, the oldest man, i.e. father in the family is usually recognized as the household head [Iwabuchi 1994: 94]. In our survey in 2010, however, there are, the 15% of the whole households whose family heads are women.

5. ORGANIZATIONS AND SOCIETIES

5-1. State Organizations

In Vietnam, organizations and societies play an important role in individual social networks [Kerkvliet 2005: 45-47]. Those who share the same organizations or societies will be friends or colleagues. Every individual social network will be large if he or she is a member in many societies. Recent researches show that increasing standards of living mean not only an increasing consumption of commodities, but also intensification of gift exchanges both in ritual contexts and in daily life as well as of social capital [Lurong Văn Hy 2008: 398-340]. As incomes rise, many individuals and families can and do spend more on gift exchanges to sustain and strengthen their relationships. It is widely reported in both scholarly studies and the Vietnamese media, for example, that household events such as weddings and funerals have become generally bigger and, in many cases, occasions for considerable expenses and elabourate gifts [Lurong Hồng Quang 2010: 432-434].

According to Vietnamese law, establishing organizations and societies must be asked for permission from the government. The organizations and societies could be categorized into two groups: governance or state organizations and spontaneous organizations or societies.

The state organizations are usually well organized from the central to the local levels. In each administrative level, there is a corresponded organization such as Communist Party, Hochiminh Communist Youth Union, Woman Union, Veteran Association, and so forth. These organizations similarly receive the financial support from the government.

In Vietnam, the Communist Party is the only political party and it leads the country from center to locals. At the present time, the Communist Party has over 3.6 million members which signifies around 4.0% of Vietnamese population. Each level of government or unit has the respective party organization. At the central level, the Party Central Committee is the highest, which decides all matters in the country. Head of the party is the general secretary, who is also a member of the Central Executive Committee. The Central Executive Committee has now 175 officials and 25 alternate members. These people are high-ranked leader of the state, government, ministries and heads of provinces. Among them, top leaders are 15 people in the Political Bureau.

Each local government has 3 levels: province, district and community (commune). Head of each level will be a secretary; they are provincial committee secretary, district committee secretary and community or small town committee secretary. The lowest lever of the party is a cell. A cell can be established when there are at least 3 more official members that share common work unit or residential unit. A cell could be only established with the permission of the higher leader.

In Song Doc, communist party cells were established in 12 hamlets. Each cell has around 10 members. The members are usually old or retired people, they have a meeting every month. Being a member of leading party, they are updated news and policies about the country's development. They also receive benefit from the Communist Party.

It is difficult to say the detailed information of the Communist Party itself. In Vietnam, anything about the party is a kind of taboo, but the member of the party will receive important news and information about policies and developing plans.

Among governances or state organizations, every organization is the same way with the Communist Party. However, the organization is established for the sake of helping each other and developing or strengthen their living standards.

From 2006 to 2011, for instance, the Women Union in Song Doc had some programs to maintain social activity and development, such as saving for poor women, or giving beloved rice jars to poor women. There were 798 women to join this activity. They supported 148 million VND to help 243 poor women in the community. The union became a bridge between the rich and the poor. The union also makes sure or guarantee the poor women to borrow money the rich women. Up to now, budget for that is over one billion VND. This union also opened some vocational courses for their members. Many of them find jobs after attending these courses. In addition, 7 nursing houses were built for the poor, too.

5-2. Spontaneous Organizations and Societies

Being birth, marriage and death are the most important rites of passage in human life [Iwabuchi 1994: 206]. Gift and reciprocity in communities in Vietnam usually happens in these events or new house building. The general rule is exchange in cash or gift (pork, rice, poultry, wine, and so forth) and it needs to return equivalently when the partner is in such situations [Tessier 2007: 348-349]. In business, people have to use other means to mobilize capital. The most important one is tontine (hui). The people in Song Doc used it as a spontaneous organization.

The tontine is a kind of chain-lending system. It needs a group of people to join together. One person will be the owner, and then he or she will invite other members to join. The owner is responsible to collect money from the members. Being depended on the demand of the people in the group, the amount of money will be higher or lower. When the tontine founder wants to build a group, he or she will invite others to join. The owner has to guess the feasibility of the group in every member. In theory, the group is not limit to the members. However, the owner needs to control and needs to ensure of contribute from the entire member in every term. The term is sometimes long or sometimes short depends on members' agreement.

For example, a tontine has 10 members and each member contributes 10,000 VND every day. The tontine opens every 30 days. In the opened day, for example, Mrs. A will be the first member to collect, and then she will receive the money 10,000 x 10 persons x 30 days mean 3,000,000 VND, including her contributed cash 300,000 VND. If she agrees, in addition, she could extract a certain commission for the owner. By joining this group, Mrs. A has a sum of money much higher than her saving. If 5 or all of 10 people want to collect the money at that

time, however, they have to vote with the amount lower than the value. Lowest vote will be a winner. In some cases, the winner only receives 80% of the real value. After receiving the amount of money, the winner has to contribute 100% in the following times, i.e. a dead tontine.

In Song Doc community, there are hundreds of this kind of group. Each group has around 20 to 50 members. The term and value of the tontine varies a lot. One can be a member in many different tontines. For Song Doc people, it becomes a very important money exchange system in the society. Every tontine mainly depends on the members' confidences.

In a short term of tontine, the previous withdrawals will be losers. According my observation in Song Doc, the first withdrawal person is usually poor. He or she needs money to invest his or her business or even to return another debt in time.

Capital plays an important role in fishing [Faris 1977: 238-239]. The bigger fishing boat is used, the bigger money is invested. In Song Doc, black credit is also used as a channel to mobilize capital. In order to have money to prepare for a new fishing trip, the fishing boat owner has to borrow money from professional loan sharks. The interest could be 25-30% per month. The amount of money for every trip is from 80 to 150 million VND, depending on the size and kind of vessel. Some families use their saving to invest, but some have to borrow money.

In general, Vietnamese people are afraid of being in debt according a Vietnamese proverb "Save for a rainy day (tích cốc phòng cơ)". In rural areas, usually people rarely borrow money each other. In Song Doc, on the other hand, they are not afraid of being in debt. They are willing to borrow much money from some banks to invest their own businesses. During the last several years, a lot of money had been invested for new fishing boats and gears. Up to now, many people have not had any abilities to return money to banks. There are so many bad debts

loan in banks, while people find to black credits and tontines. In the very near future, the cash flow situations will drastically be changed in Song Doc community.

22. Borrow or Lend Money during the Year 2010

				Valid	Cumulative
		Frequency	Percent	Percent	Percent
Valid	No	116	11.5	58.0	58.0
	Borrow	76	7.5	38.0	96.0
	Lend	4	0.4	2.0	98.0
	Buy on credit	2	0.2	1.0	99.0
	Borrow and lend	1	0.1	0.5	99.5
	Lend and buy on credit	1	0.1	0.5	100
	Total	200	19.8	100	

Source: Survey in 2010

The table of "Borrow or Lend Money during the Year 2010" shows that 58% of the total 200 households were lending, borrowing or buying on credit during the year 2010. It is extremely difficult to measure the total amount of lending or borrowing.

5-3. Relationship in Fishing

In southern Vietnam, there are 2 important human ties: relationship between fishing boat owners and helmsmen or captains and relationship between helmsmen and fishermen.

In the history of fishing development in Song Doc or in Vietnam generally, the fishing industry began with small-cale fishing, and then this industry has just develop in since around 20 years ago. In older times, first of all, fishermen caught fish in the canals, rivers and along the shores of the sea. This job was based on the family background. Father and his sons would work together in their small boats with the simple fishing gears [Gruvel 1925; Đoàn Nô 2003]. At that time, their products could be sold or exchanged in the local markets in small areas with low price. It was really a small-scale fishing.

In southern Vietnam in general and in Song Doc in particular, fishermen or workers on fishing boats are called as a very beautiful name: friend or mate (ban). Even he is a worker or employee, he is considered as friend. Nobody could explain the reason why each fisherman is called with that title. Many people think that, however, fish catching offshore is very dangerous and when they are on board they have to love and take care with each other. Because they have to face with a lot of risks and dangers, loving and serving each other would help them to overcome some obstacles. This job also needs collective muscles from many people. If they were not united, they could not finish doing their job. That is the reason why the word "mate" is used to refer all the fishermen on board.

As sea exploitation occurs these days, people in Song Doc have to invest to build bigger boats which are well equipped with some modern and high tech fishing tools. However, many families face a lot of difficulties. Some of them become bankruptcy because of those high investments. As everybody knows, the bigger the boat is, the more workers they need. These days, everything become so complicated. The boat owners give up their job as fishermen and become managers. When a family successes in owning fishing boats, a family company would be established. The boss or manager is the boat owner; he is also the father or husband.

At first, the boss has to hire a helmsman or a captain. Around 10 years ago, every captain had no skippers' license; he had not attended any official seaman's courses for being a captain. Nevertheless, most of helmsmen have abundant experiences, because they begin to work on board when they are 13 or 14 years old. When they are 30 years old, most of them have around 15 years of fishing experiences. It is said that each helmsman is an almighty man or "Mr. Known All" in fishing activity. After decades of experiences in fishing, he undergoes in many positions on board before he is appointed to be a captain. To become a captain, he needs to have an excellent reputation among fishermen; he must be a decisive man in decision making when his boat and fishermen are in the risk situations. He could also have an ability to use modern facilities that are equipped in his boat. Finally, he is a commander as well.

In each fishing boat, there are some people in charge of the following positions:

- 1. Helmsman (tài công). This position is known as a captain as well, who is responsible for all matters for the entire trip. In the case of catching fish with a pair of boats, the helmsman in the bigger boat would be a captain, while the helmsman in smaller one would be a vice-captain.
- 2. Mechanics (tài cãi). He has to repair the machine when it is out of order, especially when problems happen related to engines motors and generators. He also has to make it sure that the machine runs well during the trip. The word "tài cãi" is special use in this southern area and it is not used in other parts in Vietnam.

- 3. Secretary (thu kí). He has to note diary of the journey and to update the advantages of all member on board; this position could be observed only in large squid catching boats, because the yield of boats is based upon the outcome that every individual catches during the trip. In small boats or other cases, the helmsmen have to do for the secretary duty. Some experienced helmsmen have their own notebooks as well. They note everything that they think it is necessary for him, his boat and his crews in the future fishing. For most fishermen, writing is impossible mission.
- 4. Fishermen (ngư phủ bạn). They are workers on board. In each fishing boat, there are from 10 to 20 crews, but the number depends on the size of the boat. In order to avoid factionalism, crews in the same fishing boat, preferably, are not selected and recruited from the same family, brotherhood or kinship.

Nowadays, every fishing boat uses GPS machine for its journey. A GPS machine will note every spots that the boat needs to avoid next time. If it is a trawl net fishing boat, or even if it is a single or parallel fishing boat, its net will be scraping on the seabed. The net will be torn if it meets obstacle there. An experienced helmsman could avoid such obstacles during the trip. He needs to memorize any obstacles in his GPS machine and his own note. The obstacle could be a stone, coral or even a wreck. In the case he finds a new job in another fishing boat, he has to update his obstacle information with his own note.

Once a vessel owner becomes a manager, he usually does not go on board for fishing.

On board, the helmsman controls crews and manages all the fishing activities. Even in recruitment labors, sometimes the helmsman is a decision maker.

In these cases, there is an unwritten contract between a boat owner and a helmsman or fisherman as well. The helmsman has to make benefit for his boss. He will be sacked if the catch does not meet the requirement in 2 or 3 times.

The output will be divided as the ratio 6 to 4; 60% belongs to the boss, and the remaining 40% is divided among the helmsman and entire crews. The helmsman is in charge of division. Every day on board, he has to note the effectiveness of every crew. Everyone receives marks from him which are based on their hardship and effectiveness. The helmsman's mark is always 15, and mechanics' one is 12 or 13, while every crew receives from 7 to 11 which depend on his effort. The 40% is divided according as these marks.

Normal crew recruitment is based on personal trust. There is no labor contract made in the hiring process. This often makes it difficult not only for boat owners, but also for fishermen, helmsman, mechanics and secretaries. If the business goes well normally, crews will continue being hired on the long-term basis. In theory, each fisherman could only work for one boat for a single trip.

Sometimes, however, a small fluctuation occurs, when the boat is sunk or captured or when it goes to fishing grounds in other countries. In Song Doc, after crews receive money from their bosses, they frequently flee to go to work for other employers.

All the people whose works are related to the sea are euphemistically expressed as those who are doing "Lady-Uncle Jobs (nghề bà cậu)", which involves the risks and challenges. Fishermen have to study to face with the uncertainties and dangers that are caused by the weather. In addition to those natural conditions, this job also requires the courageous spirit, in particular, during long trips [Imamura et al. 1997; Kelly et al. 2001]. If they want to have a good yield for their trips, they need to develop the creative ability in order to exploit the sea more effectively.

With the effort of the legislature, Vietnam has recently developed the law or legislation in order to strengthen the legal basis related to the issue of ownerships, rights and obligations with respect to the exploitation of natural resources. However, the law enforcement issues for exploiting resources and facilitating the poor people more opportunities for advancement should also be in place. As for the case of fishermen to cooperate with foreign operators in the territorial waters of the host country, there should be a reasonable solution to help to bring benefits to all parties. In the present case, fishing boats are operating in foreign countries and they are become illegal on the coast of Vietnam. Recent researches warn the condition of overfishing nowadays [Murawski 2000: 652]. This is happening in Vietnam, including Song Doc as well. According to Song Doc Community People's Committee, there were 87 fishing boats that made illegal contracts to catch fish in Malaysian fishing ground [UBND 2011]. Although a hierarchical structure has been established for national fisheries management in Vietnam, it is constrained by several major deficiencies. Up to now, unfortunately, Vietnam cannot control the fishing grounds and fishing boat fleets when they are offshore [Ruddle 1998: 7].

So for residents of the sea, the ocean resources make people's lives improved. With the ability, qualifications and different resources, however, the gap between the rich and the poor is increasing, especially in areas with favourable fishing ports. On the other hand, the change in economic terms for the residents here is not accompanied by corresponding changes socially with more positive direction. Many complex social problems arise at the place in which the authorities are not interested in them properly. A legal corridor should also be built to suit better the economic development of the marine industry.

6. RELIGIONS AND BELIEVES

6-1. Catholicism

Religions and believes in communities or in the state are sometimes indigenous, but sometimes being imported "product". Even if some are imported products, they also undergo effected and integrated in communities. In Vietnam, there are some world religions such as Buddhism, Catholicism, Protestantism, Islam, but some indigenous religions do exist, i.e. Hoa Hao Buddhism, Caodaism, Four Debts of Gratitude (Tứ Ân Hiếu Nghĩa) or Strange Perfume from Precious Mountains (Bửu Sơn Kỳ Hương). All these religions could be observed together in the same community. It means that although there are great differences among religions or believes in term of their doctrines, organizations, the number of believers and temples, they could coexist in one community. The researchers who study about Vietnamese religions or believes agree that many religions or believes could live peacefully together in Vietnam. In the way to development, indeed, there were some conflict between those religions and inside one religion in some stages, but the problems were quickly solved.

There are not so much difficult between Catholicism in Song Doc and one in other areas of Vietnam or even in Europe. This religion is considered as a well-organized and hierarchical religion as in some doctrines and organizations. Indeed, there is not anything in differences, but it also has the uniqueness. Anyone comes to Song Doc, he or she could notice by a distance that

there is one Catholic church. That is one of the biggest buildings in the community as well. Being difference from other churches, the building looks like a boat on the sea, not only because the theme of the sea is one of the images we can read in the Bible, but also because Song Doc is a fishing community. It reflects the wealth of the community.

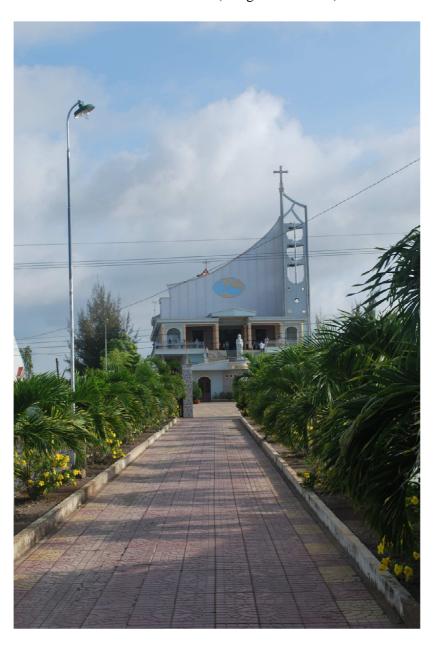
Cardinal JB. Pham Minh Man is one of the most important figures in the Vietnamese Catholic church over the last decade. He became the cardinal, and then he was called as "the Prince of the Catholic Church". He is also an archbishop of Hochiminh Archdiocese. There was no reveal what he did contribute for his homeland in general and for the Catholic community in particular, but building a church in the homeland of the cardinal was really necessary. Although this church belongs to the Can Tho diocese, but the officiating priest in the ground breaking and opening ceremony was the cardinal of Hochiminh Archdiocese. The Song Doc church is one of the biggest churches in the Can Tho diocese. It is the building to honor the cardinal in his homeland. The church is officially named after a famous Jesus' disciple, St. Paul, but people usually call it as Song Doc church (Nhà thờ Sông Đốc).

Most of fishermen in Song Doc are not Catholics believers. For the last 15 years, however, many fishing boats from Ben Tre and other provinces settled down in this community. Among them, there are some Catholics and they practice their religion in this area. Most of them came from An Thuy, Ben Tre province and they live in one hamlet. Catholicism has some effected to the religious practices in fishing and routine day. If a boat owner is a Catholics believer, he does nothing as religious ritual for fishing departure; he will have a prayer in the church or in front of the alter at his house. If a helmsman is a non-Catholic, however, he will do it in his boat. Sometimes a Catholic boat owner also gives his helmsman only money for buying offering for traditional rituals.

There is not many religious rituals held on board. According to the Bible, "You shall worship the LORD your God, and Him only you shall serve (Matthew 4:10)". Catholic believers cannot worship any gods, except the Catholic God. In the rituals of whale worship, however, Catholics and non-Catholics share the same belief. Although Catholicism is monotheistic, Vietnamese have been affected by indigenous polytheistic thought heavily [Cadierè 1997]. In some folk festivals, Vietnamese Catholics behave as Vietnamese people do.

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23. The Saint Paul Church (Song Doc Church)



24. Cardinal JB. Pham Minh Man in His Homeland Visit in 2013.



6-2. Caodaism

Caodaism (Đạo Cao Đài), which could literally be translated into "the Way of the Highest Power". This is a monotheistic religion officially established in the city of Tây Ninh in southern Vietnam in 1926. The full name of the religion is "the Great Faith Third Universal Redemption (Đai Đao Tam Kỳ Phổ Đô)".

The Cao Đài is the utmost deity, originating the universe, worshipped by Caodaists who often use the term "the Venerable High Lord (Đức Cao Đài)" as the abbreviated name for the creator of the universe, whose full name is "the Highest Power Ancient Immortal and Great Bodhisattva (Cao Đài Tiên Ông Đại Bồ Tát Ma Ha Tát)". The symbol of the faith is "the Left Eye of God", representing the yang, masculine, ordaining, positive and expansive activity of the Lord.

The adherents engage in ethical practices such as prayers, venerations of ancestors, nonviolences, and vegetarianisms with the goal of union with the God and freedom from continuous flow or eternal cycle. As for the estimates of the number of Caodaists in Vietnam, the current government figures give 3.2 million Caodaists which are affiliated to the Tây Ninh church, with numbers rising up to 4 to 6 million if other branches are added. An additional number of adherents in the tens of thousands, primarily ethnic Vietnamese, live in the US, Europe, and Australia. The design of Caodaist temples, shape and coloring is quite standard around the world and it includes the incorporation of sacred images, symbols, and colors.

Caodaists in Song Doc community are affiliated to the Tây Ninh church. According to the local holy house's board of management, there are around 600 believers that practice in the Song Doc holy house. However, half of them live in Song Doc community itself and the other

half live in the surrounding areas. The holy house of Song Doc Caodaism was built in one hamlet in 1973 with a temporary material. In 1995, a stable house was built in the same area to replace the damaged old building.

Besides of religious activities, Song Doc Caodaism has developed its charity activities. The Song Doc holy house has a coffin workshop. It donates coffins to the poor when their family members die. During 2013 there were 25 coffins that were given for nothing. When a person passes away and their family wants the support from the holy house, they have to receive an introduction document from the local government or from their hamlet. The holy house also gives rice to the poor and scholarship to excellent students from poor families.

25. Song Doc Caodaism Holy House



6-3. Traditional Believes

As for traditional believes in southern Vietnam, the whale worship belief and Lady-Uncle one should be mentioned here.

In southern Vietnam, whales are worshiped in the temple which people call as "whale mausoleum (lăng ông)". There all the traditional rituals are practiced, but it is also a place to keep whale bones. In order to respect whales, people avoid pronouncing "whale", but "mister or master (ông)".

At fishing communities in Vietnam, fishermen frequently find whale bones along the coast. They carry them back to the land and put in such temples. When they find a dead whale in shore, one whale temple is always built in the nearby village. Whales are worshiped under the title of "the South Sea Gerneral (Nam hải đại tướng quân)" [Nhiều Tác Giả 2008; Viện Nghiên Cứu Văn Hóa Dân Gian 2000].

The ritual of "nghinh ông" is the biggest folk festival in Song Doc community. This festival lasts for three days in February. On those festival days, all the fishing boats gather to Song Doc River to prepare for the feast. Those fishing fleet parks closed both sides of the river. The culmination of the celebration is the parade to welcome whales to the open sea. Each boat is decorated to bring offerings along with the priest in order welcome offshore whales.

26. The Whale Shrine



27. Nghinh Ông Festival in Song Doc



Lady – Uncle belief (Bà Cậu) is a one of the folk beliefs in Vietnam. Other folk beliefs include ancestor worship (tín ngưỡng thờ tổ tiên), worship of the village tutelary god (tín ngưỡng thờ Thành Hoàng), and the worship of the maternal divinity (Đạo Mẫu). While the worship of the maternal divinity is mainly popular in northern Vietnam, Lady – Uncle belief is worshiped mostly in southern Vietnam. It is one of the motifs in the female god belief coming from central Vietnam, especially among Cham cultures. However, not Cham, but Vietnamese people have fostered it in southern Vietnam. According to oral traditions, the goddes was drowning and her body was drifting on the sea. After that her body was turned into agar. Her statue of agar was found and the local people built a small temple for this statue to be worshiped. Lady – Uncle's inspired stories has been spread in southern Vietnam afterwards [Phan Thị Yến Tuyết 2010: 65-67].

The ideology in Lady – Uncle belief does not exist in the written form. There is no holy book, because this belief was formed inside the oral tradition. Even among believers, they do not know exactly what the belief is like; they practice it as a tradition, and they offer to the goddess what they think she likes.

The number of the temples belonging to the Lady – Uncle belief is not so many, but this belief is worshiped in families or in fishing boats. Offerings are based on their economic conditions or on the previous promises. The prayers sometimes make bargain between a human being and the goddess. For example, a man says that if he receives the good yield of 100 million VND during the trip, he will offer the goddess a roasted pig. Such offerings could be a pig, a duck or some fruits. After the prayer comes true, he has to carry out his promise.

The Lady – Uncle belief is the most important one among the people along the coast from central to southern Vietnam. When going offshore, a helmsman will have a responsibility to

worship the goddess before the departure. Sometimes, the boat owner will do it, too. Every day when the boat is offshore, the helmsman has to burn incense and to pray with the goddess for the good yield.

During the research in Song doc, however, I met a different case. The boat owner was Catholic. Of course, he did not practice of worship for the goddess, but his captain on board did it instead. Nevertheless, the boat owner was willing to pay for offerings, as I mention in the previous section. It is a custom that they must follow in the community.

In southern Vietnam, there are some fishing communities where most fishermen are Catholics. There the worship ritual before departure is replaced with Catholic ones. They ask a prayer from Catholic priests. They also pray to the God at home or pray on fishing boats, according to the Catholic religion.

7. CONCLUSION

People in the coastal area always face the risks and challenges of their jobs. When fishing boats go offshore, fishermen become so tiny in the immense sea. Being fishing is not simple. The fishing always requires all workers on board to behave themselves wisely in front of the uncertainty weather. In the necessity of courageous spirit for long trip, fishermen also have to be creative and then to develop their abilities as to exploit ocean resources effectively.

To solve the complex social situations arising from the relationship between fishing boat owners and fishermen or among fishermen, the official contracts will have to be made among them. All the conflicts among them will have to be solved at the court. Additionally, fishermen will have to have any health insurances and life insurances. This is not only beneficial to their employers, but also to the binding of certain employees for their work.

Vietnam Communist Party Central Committee has defined that the future of the country is in the sea. In Song Doc, which one of the busiest fishing communities in Camau province, the sea used to be business grounds for those who have not much schooling. These days, however, some fishermen try their best to earn living and invest schooling to their children. In this case, their children could avoid their presents' jobs, i.e. fishermen. The government's policy is sometimes far different from its people [Zhang 2002: 8-15].

So for residents along the sea, the ocean resources make people's lives improved. With different abilities, qualifications, resources and even luckinesses, however, the gap between the

rich and the poor is increasing. On the other hand, the change in economic terms for the community residents in Song Doc is not accompanied by corresponding changes socially with more positive direction. Many complex social problems arise where the authorities are not interested or not interested in them properly. A legal corridor will also have to be built in order suit the economic development of the marine industry much better.

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