



**Gender in the Factory:
A Study of Emerging Gender Issues in the Garment
and Footwear Industries in Viet Nam**

by
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Abbreviations and Acronyms

AAV	Action Aid Viet Nam
CAD	Computer Aided Design
CAM	Computer Aided Manufacturing
CoC	Code of Conduct
CSR	Corporate Social Responsibility
EPZ	Export Processing Zones
FIC	Foreign Investment Company
GSO	General Statistical Office
HCMC	Ho Chi Minh City
HIV/AIDS	Human Immune-deficiency Virus/ Acquired Deficiency-deficiency Syndrome
ICFTU	International Confederation of Free Trade Unions
ILO	International Labour Organisation
ILSSA	Institute of Labour Science and Social Affairs
INGO	International Non-Government Organisation
IZ	Industrial Zones
JV	Joint Venture
LDC	Least Developed Country
LEFASO	Leather and Footwear Association
MFA	Multi-Fibre Agreement
MOLISA	Ministry of Labour, Invalids and Social Affairs
NCFAW	National Committee for the Advancement of Women
NGO	Non-Government Organisation
OHS	Occupational Health and Safety
OT	Over time
PAR	Public Administration Reform
RNE	Royal Netherlands Embassy
SOE	State Owned Enterprise
STI	Sexually Transmitted Infections
UNDP	United Nations Development Program
UNIDO	United Nations Industrial Development Organisation
USA	United States of America
VBLI	Viet Nam Business Link Initiatives
VCCI	Viet Nam Chamber of Commerce and Industry
VGCL	Viet Nam General Confederation of Labour Unions
VITAS	Viet Nam Textile Association
VND	Viet Nam Dong
VWU	Viet Nam Women's Union
WEIJC	Women's International Coalition for Economic Justice
WTO	World Trade Organisation

Executive Summary

Introduction

This study is a micro-research project investigating gender issues in the garment and footwear industries in Viet Nam. The purpose of the research is to highlight the gender impacts of the economic integration process in the garment and footwear industries in Viet Nam. The objectives of the empirical research project into the emerging gender issues are to:

1. Provide an in-depth understanding of the situation and differences for women and men working in garment and footwear industries using a comparative approach based on sex and gender.
2. Highlight the critical gender issues contributing to the differences between women and men.
3. Analyse the costs and benefits of employing women over men from the perspective of factory managers and ILO standards.

Methods

This report synthesises findings from empirical research with 1279 male and female workers (1018 women and 261 males) from 21 garment and footwear enterprises in Ha Noi, Hai Phong and Ha Tay in the north and Dong Nai and HCMC in the south. The report also integrates findings from interviews with factory managers and key industry stakeholders including industry associations. A team of professional researchers including a sociologist, international gender consultant and economist conducted the research. The team employed qualitative and quantitative research methods such as in-depth interviews, focus group discussions, questionnaire and case studies.

Key Findings

The study found that most female workers were young, single, and migrants. Through their employment in the garment and footwear industries young women were able to earn money, live away from their villages and in some instances study or access more information on social issues. However, moving away from the village also meant that young women were more likely to have to rent accommodation, live independently of their families and negotiate a new living environment and access to basic social and health services. Through discussions with factory managers and stakeholders the research findings highlights the debate that exists regarding the responsibility of governments, unions and factories in providing these services to workers. The research found that sub-laws related to the Viet Nam labour code and government subsidies were not reaching factories, which meant that female workers were not receiving benefits. Further, women workers also reported that their choice to work in the factory impacted negatively on their marriage options. Female (and male) workers explained that women were decreasing their marriage options by working in factories away from their villages where females comprised more than 80% of the labour.

Although women occupied all kinds of positions in the garment and footwear industries, including management and technical positions, women dominated positions on the production line. These positions, including sewing and over-locking, are at the bottom of the employment ladder and are defined by factory managers as unskilled positions. The positions attract low salaries, long working hours, few workers' rights including benefits and insurance, poor job security, minimal opportunities for training, skills development and

promotion and less access to decision making, trade unions and negotiating power within the workplace.

Conversely, jobs held by men on the production line were categorised as skilled positions because they require a degree of physical strength and some technical ability. Although male factory workers also receive limited benefits, such as non-permanent contracts, they are more likely to occupy positions, which attract a higher salary and less overtime than their female colleagues. The limited population of men in the garment and footwear industries also leads to less competition among male employees for opportunities such as attending training courses or applying for promotions.

The study found that although most workers, male and female expressed satisfaction with their rights and working conditions, the working conditions in some private and SOE factories were often poor. Workers were expected to work in uncomfortable workshops with few breaks and limited access to snacks, clean toilets and rest places. Interviews with workers found that most workers, especially women, had a limited understanding of their workplace rights and the role of trade unions in protecting these rights. This finding has particularly negative implications on women workers who are already vulnerable through their status as unskilled labourers and migrants without residency.

Most factories had taken steps to protect workers' rights through the establishment of trade unions, workplace associations and human resource departments. In particular, large foreign and joint venture factories demonstrated active measures to improve working conditions through the development of infrastructure such as sporting facilities, health clinics and counselling centres. However, many of the trade unions were inactive or played the role of "social" organisations that provided gifts to workers on their birthdays. Further, while all factories are obliged to uphold the Viet Nam labour code and ILO standards, some breaches of the labour code pertaining to working hours, leave provisions and overtime were identified by the study.

An analysis of the costs and benefits of employing women over men found that single, young women are being employed as a comparative economic advantage. However, often women are employed over men based on perceived, rather than actual or measurable advantages. For example, stereotypes of women and men are often at the root of biases for employing women over men. However, the actual benefits of employing women over men only hold true when young, single women are employed on low salaries with few benefits.

The findings project ways that Viet Nam can prepare itself for economic integration and emerging gender issues. The findings demonstrate that Viet Nam needs to support some of its disadvantaged groups in particular single, young, migrant women who comprise the majority of factory workers. In general the report suggests that factory workers also need to be better protected in the workplace during economic integration. Better protection will come from monitoring the implementation of the Viet Nam Labour Code, enterprise bargaining, stronger and more active trade unions, improved job security and workshop conditions and above all equal work place opportunities for men and women. The research advocates enhancing the skill level of female factory workers through CAD and CAM technologies, training and occupational diversification for both men and women as strategies that may be employed to curb gender and economic integration issues.

Recommendations

The recommendations below have been organised into the following sections:

- Rights and Empowerment for Women;
- Gender Awareness;

- Improving Social Services and Information.

All of the recommendations listed under each sub-heading have been listed in order of priority.

Rights and Empowerment for Women

1. Provide additional human resources within MOLISA and DOLISA to monitor the implementation of the Labour Code of Viet Nam and relevant sub-laws especially those related to subsidies for women workers.
2. During the induction of DOLISA and MOLISA human resources, provide them with guidelines or checklists on gender analysis so they can consider gender as a factor when carrying out their work.
3. Prioritise projects across government departments and donors that seek to increase the bargaining power / equal power relationships between workers and management in factories.
4. Provide additional government training and information on workers' rights through the VWU, media, workplace and industry associations and the social security system.
5. Review the requirements for obtaining residency in a place of work. Are these different for men and women? Conduct a sex-disaggregated analysis of the applicants to uncover the mobility of single Vietnamese women.
6. Promote the development of new development projects in Viet Nam which aim to strengthen workplace-based trade unions.
7. Conduct an awareness campaign of job advertisements and position descriptions that discriminate on the basis of sex, age and ethnicity.
8. Government agencies to trial the development and implementation of an equal opportunity policy in SOEs, and later in other private and FIC enterprises.
9. Assist LEFASO and VBLI in monitoring the implementation of the recently developed CoC.
10. Ensure that the CoC is a legal document and supported by government. This will increase the compliance level among factories.
11. Strengthen the role of trade unions as advocates for workers' rights. Provide unions support and training on identifying the vulnerabilities of workers, contract negotiations, enforcing the Labour Code of Viet Nam and lobbying for improved workers' rights.
12. Establish worker groups and self-monitoring in factories including workplace groups, grievance groups and management bodies.
13. Review the labour code to provide men parental leave.
14. Revise the labour code to clearly state that employers cannot recruit new staff on the basis of sex or requirements that exclude one sex. While the labour code does say this already there seems to be confusion related to the statement regarding the suitability of work to be done by women and men. Perhaps include a clause specifically targeted at the feminisation of certain industries.

15. Review the 1-year recruitment contracts in factories. Contract lengths should be increased to deter employers from not renewing contracts once the waiting period for insurance, maternity leave and other workplace benefits has passed.
16. Review the labour code to ensure that it is illegal for workers to remain unpaid during induction training and probationary periods.
17. Set training targets for women's participation in government supplied training in factories. Targets of 50% should be increased to reflect the disproportionate number of women working in factories.
18. Law enforcement and security offices at the district and commune level to investigate factory recruitment advertisements for workers that claim a host of benefits that are not provided by the factory.
19. Conduct a review of the role that trade unions play in the manufacturing sector, and in FIC, JV and private Vietnamese companies.

Gender Awareness

20. Mainstream gender into training provided by government, factories and projects like VBLI and LEFASO. It may be necessary for government to provide incentives for this to occur.
21. NCFAW to review the CoC developed by LEFASO and VBLI to ensure that it is gender responsive.
22. Strengthen the gender equality message of labour codes and industry standards.
23. NCFAW or VWU to work with the MOLISA recruitment agency to market employment in factories to both men and women.
24. Provide incentives and support through the VWU, trade unions and Youth Unions to factories to include gender in inductions or training programmes.
25. Work with VBLI and other projects to mainstream gender equity considerations and targets in their projects with factories.
26. Conduct a comprehensive analysis of the gender implications of the labour codes and standards on other feminised sectors including food production and agriculture.
27. Promote the establishment of gender equity and gender responsive policies in factories.
28. NCFAW and VWU continue to conduct awareness-training, publications etc. to break stereotypes.
29. Strengthen and prioritise existing projects on the development of gender responsive school curricula.
30. Educate more managers, trade unions and industry representatives on the relationship between gender and economics. This could be achieved using existing NCFAW resources for government officers.
31. Develop a partnership with the VWU and the Youth Union to include gender and workplace issues in their training programmes and information sheets for women.

Improving Social Services and Information

32. MOLISA to investigate the increase in seasonal labour contracts, identify ways to curb this kind of work and investigate the implications seasonal work has on the female workforce.
33. MOLISA to conduct an analysis of GSO data of provinces or districts who are sending women to work in factories. This information should then feed into the Provincial People's Committees and departments to ensure that services and targeted employment programmes can better meet people's needs.
34. Provincial People's Committees and District People's Committees to establish a program (either through the mobilisation of funds from NGOs or private businesses) whereby single women and migrant workers are provide subsidised accommodation / childcare.
35. Improve the access migrants and non-residents have to health services in the districts where they are working.
36. Design and implement information campaigns on CoCs, labour standards and the Labour Code of Viet Nam for workers.
37. Establish workplace or trade union self-monitoring workplace groups to raise the consciousness of workers on rights.
38. Build the capacity of new workplace groups (and existing groups) in the area of monitoring workplace conditions and standards.
39. At a national level, MOLISA to begin forecasting the employment needs and patterns in industrial zones and in geographical areas.
40. MOLISA recruitment agencies and other job finding agencies to increase the amount of information provided to potential employees prior to recruitment. Information on the social services, residency requirements, accommodation options and standard of living should be provided.
41. Encourage private investment in Izs and highway towns where factories are being built to establish low cost accommodation for workers and child care facilities which can be accessed by resident and non-resident workers.
42. Document the SOE and FIC with the best practises and those that are successful and include gender in the criteria for success.
43. Raise community awareness regarding private recruitment agencies that charge prospective employees a fee for information on factories, working conditions and benefits.
44. Increase technical training opportunities for unskilled and under-educated women workers employed in factories through night classes at technical school and vocational training colleges as a means of increasing their chances for promotion or future employment. Provide opportunities for non-resident workers to also attend these classes.
45. The Ministry of Culture and Information and district and commune People's Committees to promote workplace activities aimed at building relationships among workers and management and providing workers social outlets.

46. DOLISA to collect sex-disaggregated statistics on the labour force within the private sector at district level and to provide a clear profile to the People's Committee on the emerging issues pertaining to women's and men's employment in the private sector.
47. Improve health services in the home provinces of migrant workers to ensure migrants who move to the city are healthier and fit for work.
48. Associations and government to provide factory managers training on the collection and management of employee information. A key part of this will be the collection and management of sex dis-aggregated data. The next step could be analysing the implications of this for the economic viability / competitiveness of the factory.
49. DOLISA to provide support to SOEs on the management and collection of employee information. SOE managers could then work with FICs, JVs and private Vietnamese companies to collect this information.
50. Provide factory management the tools necessary to self-monitor their progress regarding their compliance with standards. This may include brief checklists.
51. Support the Youth Union and VWU at a district level to become more active and current in workplace issues and gender.
52. Investigate the increase in seasonal labour in the garment and footwear industry.
53. Provide support to associations and trade unions to provide more education to workers and management across all workplace issues.

Chapter 1: Introduction

Background

This research was produced for the NCFAW-UNDP-RNE project VIE-01-015 *Support to the National Machinery for the Advancement of Women to Mainstream Gender in National Policy and Planning*. The research contributes to Output 2.2: "Increased understanding of emerging gender issues" of the NCFAW-UNDP-RNE project. The project commissioned an International Gender Consultant and team of Vietnamese national researchers from Mekong Economics Ltd. to undertake the research.¹ The study is a micro-research project investigating gender issues in the garment and footwear industries in Viet Nam.

Significance of the Study

The findings from this research lay the foundation for further studies on issues of globalisation, economic integration, Viet Nam's accession to the WTO, trade unionism in Viet Nam, migrant labour and gender equality in Viet Nam and the region. This research also complements current and existing research on factory workers in Viet Nam including the World Bank research conducted with ILSSA focusing on corporate social responsibility and smaller research projects such as research conducted by AAV on factory workers in Northern Viet Nam. Specifically, the findings from this research will contribute towards NCFAW's recommendations to ministries and government agencies on strengthening and promoting gender equality in Viet Nam.

Literature Review

Textiles, clothing and footwear are now among Viet Nam's leading export products. In 2002, Viet Nam's textile and apparel sector and its footwear sector accounted for 18.3% and 11.2% of Viet Nam's total exports value (GSO 2003). In 2003, textiles and garment exports maintained a high growth rate with a value of 3.6 billion USD (ibid.). This is an increase by 31.9 per cent since 2002 catalysed by the implementation of the US-Viet Nam Bilateral Trade Agreement (ibid.). Internationally, Viet Nam ranks 44th among world textile and garment exporters. In Asia, it is anticipated that Viet Nam will rank third in garment and textile exports after China and India in the next few years.² In terms of footwear, Viet Nam is the fourth-largest exporter worldwide after China, Italy and Hong Kong.³

Economic integration and with it the emphasis on export-oriented production has led to what Ghosh (1999) calls the "feminisation of employment" whereby women, not men, are deemed a more "productive" labour force because they cost less and are also more flexible to hire and fire. This argument is often cited in critiques of multinational and international companies who reap the benefits of free trade and globalisation through the relocation of their factories to developing countries to take advantage of low labour costs and economic benefits that come from the Industrial Zones or Economic Processing Zones. However, the argument can also be applied to analyses of local private and state owned companies who, in an attempt to break into the international export markets, cut the costs of their products by keeping overheads to a minimum.

¹ The report was drafted by the International Team Leader.

² These figures were taken from an unpublished report on Viet Nam by the European Union Economic and Commercial Counsellors.

³ These figures were taken from an unpublished report on Viet Nam by the European Union Economic and Commercial Counsellors.

In Viet Nam, the majority of the labour force manufacturing textiles, clothing and footwear is female, with women accounting for 81 per cent of employees in the footwear industry and 82 per cent in the garment industry (GSO 2002). However, to date there have been no comprehensive studies of the gendered face of these growing industries in Viet Nam. For this reason debate abounds as to whether or not women are employed in factories as a comparative economic advantage or, as some advocates of women working in the manufacturing industry assert, that women are suited to work in the factories because they are "nimble-fingered" making them good manufacturers.

The thesis of this study breaks down the dichotomy between comparative economic advantage and "suitability". This study demonstrates that it is precisely the gender stereotypes of women as "nimble-fingered", unskilled, physically weak and less aggressive, which make them easier to employ at the bottom end of the employment ladder as cheap, more flexible and therefore a comparative advantage when compared to males. An investigation of the roles fulfilled by men and women within the garment and footwear industry demonstrates that strength or that being nimble fingered is skills necessary to carry out work. Throughout this report we refer to a comparative advantage which in this report is defined as an advantage of females when compared to males. This definition follows a feminist analysis of an economic situation, and not the purely economic concept used to show the benefits of trade between countries, that is countries should specialise in the goods they produce at the lowest opportunity cost and then trade to maximise overall welfare. However, throughout this paper the researchers argue that it is this comparative advantage (of employing women over men) which provides factories a competitive edge in the labour market, such as the ability to keep costs low while not compromising on the quality of the product. The competitive advantage brought about by employing women exists within Viet Nam, from one factory to the next, but also internationally when the industries are competing for contracts with other countries.

Following Seguino, this research considers how young single women have been 'sequestered in labour intensive industries that produce primarily for export' (2000:33). Further, the research investigates the role of the state in 'perpetuating gender norms and stereotypes that disadvantage women' through the promotion of factory work or manufacturing as "suitable" for women. (ibid: 34). This is achieved through a detailed analysis of the gender norms in Viet Nam and how they are upheld by factory managers which, may or may not, place women in "suitable" positions on the factory floor.

The significance of this debate becomes evident with consideration of the volatility that is inherent in globalisation and economic integration. While exports may increase and unskilled women continue to gain employment in large factories, the negative impacts facing female factory workers may be looming. Currently, Viet Nam's garment and footwear industries are booming, however, are the jobs occupied by the women secure? Are all women employed on long-term or permanent contracts? What will happen once the quotas on China's textiles and clothing are phased out by 2005? Will these women lose their jobs or will their benefits and insurances be reduced? The membership of China to the WTO will speed up the already strong growth of exports in that massive country and some factories may relocate to China from Viet Nam. To some extent this will "crowd out" Viet Nam, particularly while Viet Nam awaits its own WTO membership, but it also increases Chinese demand for Vietnamese products. In the garment industry, of greater importance are the ramifications of the US trade restrictions on Viet Nam and the end of the Multi-Fibre Agreement (MFA). This should lead to a temporary loss of export orders going to Viet Nam during 2004-2006, but growth is expected to resume thereafter on a level playing field. The long-term challenge will be for Vietnamese enterprises to "move up the value chain", and gain more value-added production from direct exports. These changes to the garment and footwear industries could lead to females being employed on short-term contracts with fewer benefits or as seasonal workers at the vagaries of the changing world economic market. Similarly, already low salaries could continue to drop and women who are not prepared to work for lower rates will be easily replaced a large number of unskilled workers waiting for work. This could mean that the

workforce becomes younger, disadvantaging experienced and older male and female workers. It could also mean that young female school leavers may find themselves employed in "dead end" factory jobs that offer little or no training, promotion or skills development.

To understand whether or not women in Viet Nam are being employed in manufacturing as a comparative advantage it is necessary to assess the working conditions within the factories. If women in Viet Nam are being employed in factories as a comparative advantage then working conditions are likely to be poor, and worse than or different to those conditions received by male workers. Typically, economic integration brings with it the need for developing countries to ratify and comply with international labour codes and conventions as a means of attracting foreign investment and competing in the global market. Viet Nam has ratified several core International Labour Organisation (ILO) Conventions, including C111: Discrimination – 1958 (ratified 1997), C100: Equal Remuneration - 1951 (ratified 1997), C138: Minimum Age – 1973 (ratified 2003) and C182: Worst Forms of Child Labour – 1999 (ratified in 2000). ILO Conventions not yet ratified include C87: Freedom of Association – 1948, C98: Right to Organise and Collective Bargaining - 1949, C29: Forced Labour – 1930 and C105: Abolition of Forced Labour – 1957. All of these codes seek to protect workers vulnerable to a host of work place problems and to provide optimum working conditions. This is good news for uneducated men, and especially women, who due to traditions, which uphold subservience, may not be able to assert their rights in the workplace.

The labour codes and conventions are also a good tool to compare and measure the working conditions of men and women in the industries. Economic integration therefore has the potential to create an environment in which there is greater gender equity and awareness of legal rights (UNDP China 2003:55). In Viet Nam, however, it is not clear whether factory workers, especially female workers, are aware of their workplace rights and whether or not have access to processes or recourse should these rights be violated. Frynas (2001) states that even though the labour codes of many developing countries are comprehensive, the observance and monitoring of labour rights may be less than vigorous even when there is added pressure to conform to laws and codes due to international trade agreements. Frynas also points out that workers are often excluded from the profit division structure of the company (ibid.). For example, in Viet Nam women receive a minimum salary all year round regardless of fluctuations in the company's profit (Pham 2002:16).

There is a plethora of information on the working conditions of female factory workers around the world. These reports have been used as evidence to argue that women are employed as a cheap and flexible workforce, therefore providing companies with a much-needed economic advantage (Delahanty 1999, CAW and HomeNet 2001, CARE and AusAID 2003a, 2003b, Clean Clothes Campaign 2003, ICFTU 2003, Loveband 2003, Weekley 2003, WICEJ 2003, OXFAM 2004). The findings from these reports tend to provide a litany of examples of poor working conditions, long working hours, unrealistic deadlines and production targets and repeated infringements of ILO standards. There is strong evidence from countries such as China, Bangladesh and the Philippines that women work under appalling conditions (Loveband 2003, Weekley 2003, WICEJ 2003). Comparisons between women's and men's work in the industrial sector in China demonstrate that jobs typically performed by women are more time consuming than men's work, with women having to work longer hours and more overtime (UNDP China 2003: 63). Internationally, the worst examples include women being locked in their work places, resulting in death or injury in the case of fire and restricting or banning toilet breaks, leading to kidney, bladder and urinary tract problems. Further, women may be asked to give assurances not to become pregnant for the duration of their contract, and proof of this may be demanded prior to signing a contract. If a woman should fall pregnant, she may be expected to work for the duration of her pregnancy, and then prior to the birth of her baby be laid off. In extreme cases, the consequences of working long hours in poor working conditions may include miscarriage or premature birth. For those women who are fired immediately upon becoming pregnant, the result is often sudden loss of income, coupled with crippling debt to their previous employer due to recruitment fees or illegal docking of wages for various breaches.

Although there have been no representative empirical studies of factory workers conducted in Viet Nam, some smaller studies and media reports exist (Thomas 2001, Pham 2002, Nghiem 2003, Thai Thien 2004, Nguyen 2004 and Kabeer (forthcoming)). These studies, although they are not comparative studies of men's and women's experiences, also point to poor working conditions for female workers. According to Pham (2002), workers in the footwear industry in Viet Nam work 12-14 hours per day consecutively for periods up to one month. The salaries of workers are low with some workers in SOEs having to work 50 per cent more hours for the minimum wage (ibid. 4). Often employees are expected to work overtime at short notice and cannot prepare for this, which can lead to illness or hunger at work (ibid. 16). Further, Pham's research into the footwear industry in Viet Nam also found that occupational health and safety standards in factories were low, with women in certain factories having to purchase or make their own protective clothing (ibid. 20). Although parallels may be drawn between working conditions in Vietnamese factories and the rest of the world, Viet Nam's entry to the global market coincided with a push for SOEs, private enterprises and foreign joint ventures to demonstrate corporate social responsibility (CSR). In Viet Nam, a commitment to CSR is visible in initiatives of government ministries such as MOLISA, international agencies including ILO and UNDP, and the work of INGOs such as Action Aid and Care International. These initiatives focus on adherence to labour codes, improving working conditions and the establishment of programmes and activities aimed at improving workers rights.⁴ However, these studies do not engage with the broader emerging gender issues in Viet Nam, and in particular in the garment and footwear factories. For example, the naturalisation of sexual stereotypes of women as "nimble-fingered", and therefore pre-disposed to sewing in a factory and other unskilled and poorly paid positions, has not been fully investigated in Viet Nam.

This empirical research is a gender analysis of the different experiences of men and women in the garment and footwear industry and aims to address reasons why these differences exist. There are four entry points for this study. 1) There is a need for a comparative investigation of men's and women's roles, experiences and working conditions in the garment and footwear factories in Viet Nam during economic integration. 2) An analysis should be conducted of the Labour Code of Viet Nam, industry codes of conduct and the international labour standards, such as those upheld by the ILO and ratified by Viet Nam. The analysis should also include an investigation of the significance these codes and laws place on protecting female workers and encouraging gender equity in the workplace. 3) There is a pressing need for an investigation of the awareness male and female workers have of their rights at work and workers' awareness of the processes they can follow when such rights are violated. 4) Finally, there is a need for an investigation of the understanding and awareness workers, management and other industry stakeholders have of gender issues and gender equity at work.

⁴ Thomas (2001) provides a detailed account of how Viet Nam's commitment to CSR has improved workers' rights in the Nike factory in HCMC. Nike is the largest single private employer in Viet Nam, employing more than 30 000 workers - mostly young women in their twenties (ibid. 14).

Chapter 2: About the Study

Objectives

The purpose of the research is to highlight the gender impacts of the economic integration process in the garment and footwear industries in Viet Nam.

The objectives of the empirical research project into the emerging gender issues are to:

1. Provide an in-depth understanding of the situation and differences for women and men working in garment and footwear industries using a comparative approach based on sex and gender.
2. Highlight the critical gender issues contributing to the differences between women and men.
3. Analyse the costs and benefits of employing women over men from the perspective of factory managers and ILO standards.

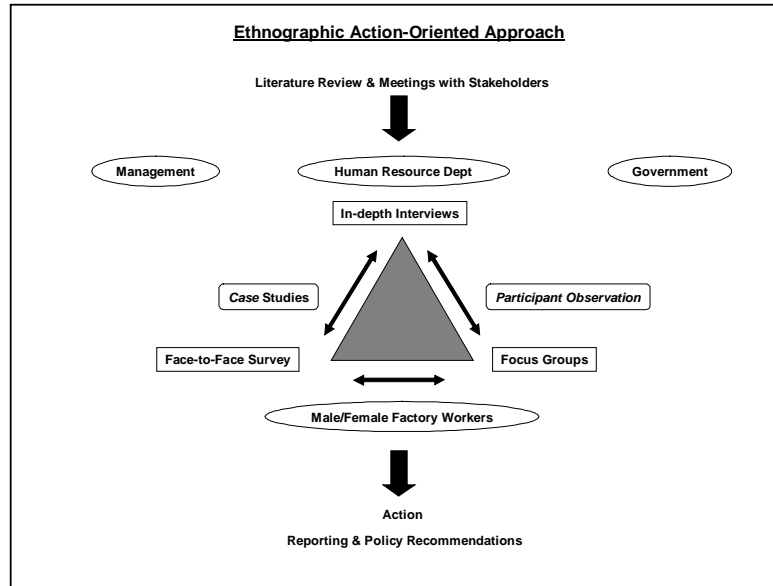
Approach

Mekong Economics Ltd. employs an ethnographic action-oriented research approach. Implicit in an ethnographic approach is the investigation of the lived experiences of participants, the meaning and understandings attributed to their lives or situation and the discourses or power relations that exist within society. Further, an ethnographic approach demands that all data is collected and analysed in a holistic way through dis-aggregation by sex, age, ethnicity, economic status, occupation and education level, among other factors. An action-oriented approach ensures that a complete analysis of policy is carried out and that the research findings have practical applications.

Employing this approach ensured that all data from the project provides a detailed and accurate perspective of the men and women working in the garment and footwear industry in Viet Nam. The approach provided both a micro and macro perspective on the experiences of male and female workers, and their place within the broader context of Viet Nam's experience of globalisation through an analysis of the International Labour Organisation's standards.

Gender analysis is widely recognised as an integral step in socio-economic analysis, and the ethnographic action oriented approach. This research identifies and measures the impact of the emerging gender issues, on men and women, in the garment and footwear industry in Viet Nam. The researchers achieve this through the deployment of a variety of field methods and gender analysis tools. Gender analysis tools, such as the Women's Empowerment Framework (Longwe's Framework) and an analysis of the Gender Division of Labour are used to analyse data collected from participants representing both workers and managers in garment and footwear factories (March, Smyth and Mukhopadhyay 1999, Tran Thi Que 1999). The gender analysis tools enabled a comprehensive analysis of the following: 1) workplace policies; 2) workplace practises including an activity profile of the different work men and women do; 3) the factory culture; 4) strategic and practical needs of men and women at work; 5) the access and control men and women have over economic, political and social resources (including services) and decision making; 6) the social and political conditions of the garment and footwear industries and Vietnamese culture; and finally, 7) the significance of women's empowerment in measuring gender equality. The gender analysis tools also assist the team to draw conclusions regarding the ability of factory employers to meet employees' needs through compliance with international standards, such as those set by the ILO. The gender analysis tools are discussed in more detail in Chapter 3: Findings.

Figure 1: A graphical summary of the ethnographic action oriented approach



Box 1: Definitions of Gender terms

Sex disaggregated data: Quantitative statistical information on the differences between men and women, boys and girls for a particular issue or in a specific area. Looking at data for individuals and breaking it down by the sex of the individuals (e.g. data of life expectancy, school enrolment, smoking prevalence divided by men and women). Sex-disaggregated data shows us if there is a difference in a given situation for women and men, girls and boys, but it doesn't tell us why the difference exists.

Gender equality: Women and men's similarities and differences are recognised and equally valued.

Men and women enjoy equal status, recognition and consideration.

Women and men enjoy: 1) Equal conditions to realise their full potential and ambitions; 2) Equal opportunities to participate in, contribute to, and benefit from society's resources and development; 3) Equal freedoms and quality of life; and 4) Equal outcomes in all aspects of life.

Gender division of labour: This concept looks at the different tasks and responsibilities undertaken by either women or men: who does what, when, how, for how long, etc. and the social recognition of labour. The allocation of activities on the basis of sex is learned and clearly understood by all members of a given community/society.

The **triple role of women:** The role of women includes the paid work that women do, and unpaid work such as the reproductive role as a mother, and the domestic roles, which are often a woman's responsibility. Productive work (production of goods and services for consumption by the household or for income), Reproductive work (bearing and rearing children, domestic work and maintenance of the household) and Community work (provision and maintenance of resources used by everyone – water, health care, education, and leadership). Men tend to be more involved in Community and Productive work.

Strategic and Practical Needs: Related to changes that are necessary in order to achieve gender equality in society and to increase women's control, both in personal life and in society at large. Changes include; those changes in existing gender relations, in roles, tasks, responsibilities and changes at the level of organisations and institutions. Linked to redressing unequal positions of women and men at all levels of society (individual, household, group, community, society). Related to daily needs and responsibilities. Does not question/change existing division of labour and responsibilities. Respond to basic needs related to traditional division of roles, responsibilities. Linked to the current conditions of women and men in society.

Access and Control Resources: Use and right of decision on disposal of the resources and use and right of decision on the benefits of the use of resources.

Methods

The research team employed the following methods during the empirical research study:

- **In-depth interviews** with stakeholders including factory managers, human resource personnel, sector representatives, workers and government officials.
- **Participant-observation** at the field site throughout the data collection period.
- **Quantitative survey** implemented through face-to-face interviews among male and female factory workers.
- **Focus group discussions** with sexually exclusive groups of men and women.
- **Case studies** collected from the perspective of male and female workers and a factory manager.
- **Cost benefit analysis** of the comparative advantage of employing women over men.

All methods used in the empirical research study are participatory and attempt to minimise unequal power relations that can exist between researcher and participant. Similarly, all methods are gender sensitive and researchers were trained in the area of gender and research.⁵ A team of twenty university graduates carried out the research tasks including interviewing and survey implementation. All researchers had prior experience in social research and survey implementation. At the inception of the data collection period, a sociologist and gender specialist trained the researchers in gender research. The balance of male to female researchers (4 males to 16 females) was appropriate to the research techniques and sample composition.

Sample and Sampling

Economic integration has resulted in a proliferation of production line jobs in foreign investment companies and joint ventures. This shift towards private rather than public enterprises is characteristic of Viet Nam's transitional economy which includes the sale of SOE factories and the increase in international trade agreements.⁶ The newly established factories are located in industrial and economic production zones, such as the sites of this research project, Ha Tay, Hai Phong and Dong Nai.

In Viet Nam today, there are approximately 1 100 textile and garment factories, including 231 SOEs (21%), 500 private or joint venture companies (46%) and 354 FICs (33%) with more than 2 million workers.⁷ This study focused on garment, rather than textile production factories. Garment factories, like footwear factories are an interesting case study when gauging the relationship between economic integration and gender because they operate as sub-contractors to large foreign companies producing clothing or footwear under international brand names with raw materials or fabrics from abroad. The footwear industry in Viet Nam

⁵ Details of each method can be found in Annex 1.

⁶ See Situation Analysis 2004 for more information on emerging trends in economic integration in Viet Nam.

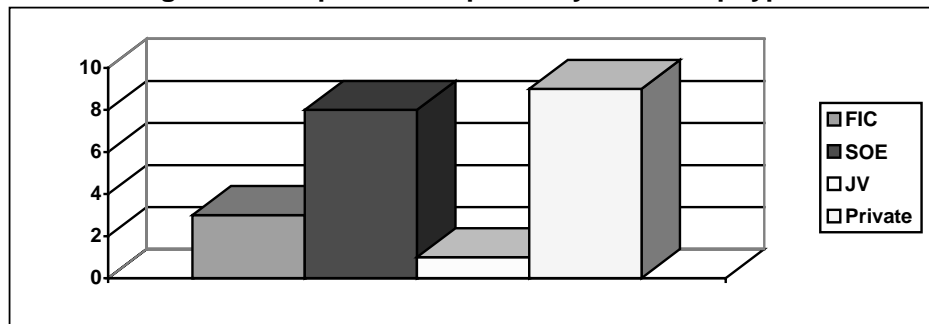
⁷ These statistics were taken from an unpublished report on Viet Nam by the European Union Economic and Commercial Counsellors (2004).

employs 400 000 workers across 240 manufacturers including, 76 SOEs (32%), 84 private or joint venture companies (35%) and 80 FICs (33%).⁸

The sample included in this empirical study of garment and footwear workers comprised 1,279 participants (1018 women and 261 males) from 21 garment and footwear enterprises in Viet Nam. The sample of workers is representative of garment and footwear factory workers in Viet Nam. In being a true reflection of the total population of workers in the garment and footwear industry, the sample includes few men and a large proportion of women. At each factory approximately 60 workers were surveyed (see table 1).

The enterprise sample included in this study comprised of 13 garment factories and 8 footwear factories. The weighting of the different types of factories was based on the numbers of footwear and garment factories in Viet Nam. Textile factories were removed from the sampling frame. Seventeen of the factories included in the sample are signatories to the international SA8000 standard and are actively engaged in the international markets through direct foreign trade agreements and as exporters of locally made products. The factories included in the sample cross all types of ownership including, SOEs, JVs, Private Vietnamese and FICs (see figure 2). Throughout the study we have identified JV and Private Vietnamese companies as two separate ownership categories because JV companies are often established with foreign partners while Private Vietnamese companies are 100% locally owned.

Figure 2: Sample of enterprises by ownership type



The factories were selected from the north and south of Viet Nam where most factories are concentrated, including Ha Noi, Hai Phong and Ha Tay in the north and Ho Chi Minh City and Dong Nai in the south. Due to a higher concentration of factories in the south of Viet Nam, there are more factories based in Dong Nai and HCMC included in the sample.

The sample of enterprises also includes large and small enterprises, in terms of the number of employees, with the smallest enterprise employing 137 staff (a private Vietnamese company) and the largest employing 17 543 staff (a FIC). Typically, the FICs (employing more than 6000 staff) and the JV companies (in excess of 3000 staff) were the largest in terms of number of employees with SOEs and private Vietnamese companies being substantially smaller employers (employing on average 1300 staff in each factory).

Consent, Access and Participants' Protection

The district People's Committees, Women's Unions and industry associations assisted the project team in gaining access to the factories. The factory management provided the research team access to staff lists. Workshop supervisors then assisted the field coordinator in briefing the participants on the project and their choice to participate. Although management were not provided information regarding which employees participated in the

⁸ These statistics were taken from an unpublished report on Viet Nam by the European Union Economic and Commercial Counsellors (2004).

study, the project team cannot guarantee that the employers were not informed by supervisors of who participated. As mentioned in the limitations of the study, some factory managers recommended several focus group participants.

Prior to fieldwork all participants were provided with a plain language statement of the purpose of the study. Participants were offered the right to refuse participation in the study at any stage during the data collection period. The anonymity of all participants and factories included in the sample was guaranteed during fieldwork, and all information or data which could result identify participants will not be released by the research team.

Limitations of the Study

This study focuses on the experiences of workers currently employed in factories in the garment and footwear industries. The study does not include workers who are home based and does not include ex-factory workers who have returned to their villages.

The research was conducted during the peak production period for the garment and footwear industries (May-August). Conducting research during this time impacted negatively on the willingness of factory managers to allow employees the chance to participate in the study, which required workers to be released from their work for extended periods. Due to time constraints facing workers, the research tools were implemented at the factory. This created an expectation among factory management that the research project would provide incentives / facilitation fees as a form of permission to conduct fieldwork on site, at the factories and during working hours.

Conducting interviews and focus groups at their workplaces may have biased some participants' responses to research questions. Although the research team felt that they gained adequate access to employee lists, which enabled the selection of a random sample, this cannot be guaranteed. Some researchers reported that particular factory managers "recommended" staff members as participants in focus group discussions. Researchers believe that the presence of these chosen "pet" employees in discussion groups may have intimidated other participants and biased their discussions.

Table 1: Research methods and sample by sex

Research Method													
Location	Number of factories	Quantitative Survey			Qualitative Open-ended Questionnaire			Focus Group Discussion			Case study		
		Total	F ^a	M ^b	Total	F	M	Total	F	M	Total	F	M
Per Factory		60	48	12	6	5	1						
North	7	430	345	85	42	35	7	4	3	1	2	1	1
Ha Noi	2	120	96	24	12	10	2		1				
Ha Tay	3	190	155	35	18	15	3		1	1		1	1
Hai Phong	2	120	94	26	12	10	2		1				
South	14	849	673	176	84	70	14	6	5	1	4	3	1
HCM	10	669	528	141	60	50	10		3	1		3	
Dong Nai	4	180	145	35	24	20	4		2				1
Total	21	1279	1018	261	126	105	21	10	8	2	6	4	2

Note: ^a F= Female; ^b M = Male

A shortcoming of having a sample, which reflects the representativeness of the number of males (20%) and females (80%) employed in the garment and footwear industries is the small sample size of males ($n=261$). The small sample of males does not provide a complete picture or in-depth understanding of men's experiences at work in the industries. The low participation of males meant that it was not possible to conduct systematic testing, such as measuring the productivity of females over males, among sex specific groups. Although measuring the productivity of males and females across jobs within the factories is not necessarily a valid or reliable indicator, such testing would have complemented economic arguments and may have assisted in proving or disproving the hypothesis that women are employed because of their comparative economic advantage over males.

Chapter 3: Findings

The research found that garment and footwear factories included in this sample are seeking to employ young migrant female labour as a comparative economic advantage over males. Female workers are typically young, single, migrants who may previously have been engaged in agricultural work or study. The preference factory managers have for employing female labour is based on existing gender stereotypes in Viet Nam which position women as unskilled employees who lack interest in climbing the career ladder and men as technical experts with physical strength. Similarly, female employees are also engaging with these gender stereotypes and choose to work in factories because they believe factory work is not only a suitable job for a woman, but often the only opportunity they have to earn cash and work in an alternative sector to agriculture.

In particular there are several findings which demonstrate the negative impact these stereotypes have on women's employment and women's lives. For example, gender roles and stereotypes impact on: the job or career choices of men and women; recruitment policies of factories; the different value placed on work performed by men and women; opportunities available to men and women for training and promotion; the restrictions placed on women to achieve at work; the negotiating power that women and men have at work; their job security; and finally, the long term choices and decisions that women and men make about their lives. The research also found that the location of the factories in newly established estates has meant that migrant workers, in particular women, have limited accommodation choices and social services.

The findings from this study have been presented in the following sections.

1. A profile of factory workers in the garment and footwear industries in Viet Nam which reveals the vulnerability of female workers who are typically single, young, unskilled, poorly educated and migrants from rural areas.
2. The second section includes an analysis of the gender division of labour in factories, focusing on the different experiences, working conditions and rights of men and women.
3. This section presents findings related to how women are being employed as a comparative advantage. The findings highlight, however, that not all women can be considered a comparative advantage.
4. Finally, why women are being employed over men in production roles is discussed. Here findings related to gender awareness, the stereotyping of males and female and the comparative advantage of employing women are presented.

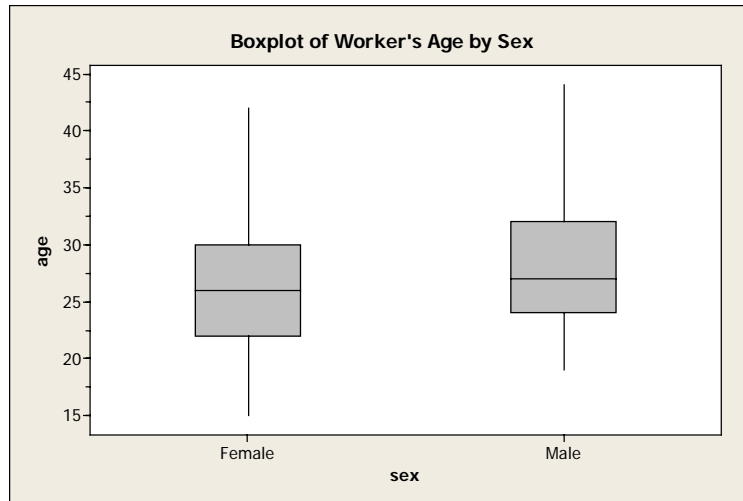
1. Profile of Workers in the Garment and Footwear Industry in Viet Nam

Evidence from this study demonstrates that although the workforce in the garment and footwear industries is predominantly female (80-90%), most of the women are also young, migrants, who are less educated than male employees, and unmarried. Male workers, who comprise less than 20% of the industry are usually better educated, slightly older, often married and less likely to be migrants. Although workers, male and female tend to work in factories for several years, male workers demonstrated a tendency to plan their careers in the factories. Females, however, possibly due to their migrant status, low skill level and status as single Vietnamese women tended to perceive factory work as an interim measure until marrying or returning to their villages.

1.1. Age

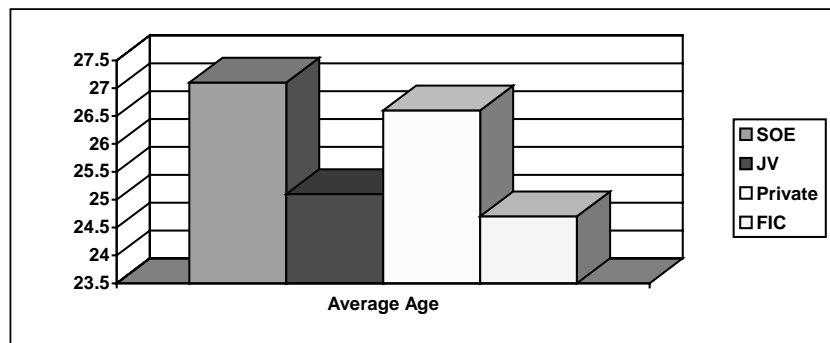
The study found that most female employees (39.3%=396) were 26 or 27 years of age while most male employees were 29 years (35.2%=92). Though there is a standard error of 13 years regarding the prediction of the age, the difference of 1.9 years between the male and female groups is significant at the 0.001 level (see figure 3).⁹

Figure 3: Age of participants by sex



While female workers were on average younger than male workers, there were also differences in the age of workers depending on the type of ownership of the factory. SOE employees tended to be older because they were often long-term employees, while workers in FICs and JV were the youngest (see figure 4). The statistical significance of the age of workers at SOEs is indicated by half of the ~2 yr difference, or about one year, is explained by age, and half is explained by working for an SOE. Therefore, a male working for an SOE is statistically likely to be 2 yrs older than a female working for a non-SOE. Both results are significant at the .001 level.

Figure 4: Age of participants by factory ownership (average age)



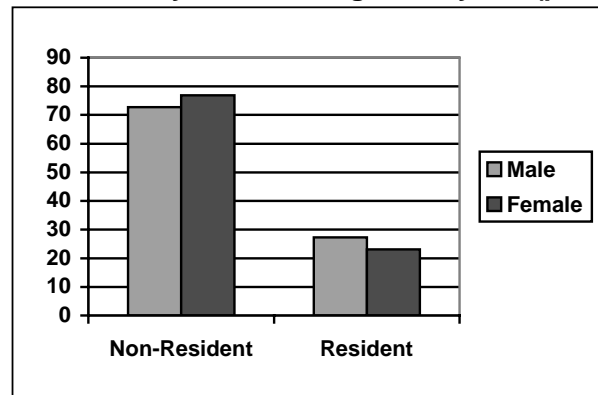
⁹ See Annex 2 for an explanation of the statistical testing.

1.2. Migrants

A high number of workers in the sample of factories were migrants. The number of female migrants 57% ($n=579$) was higher than the number of male migrants 50% ($n=132$).¹⁰ Of the total number of migrants 76.9% ($n=445$) of females and 72.7% ($n=96$) of males did not have residency in the province where they were working (see figure 5). However, there was a more marked correlation between age and residency of workers. This makes sense, in that the older a worker is, the more likely they will have settled down into a permanent residence. In order to separate the two cross-correlated factors of age and sex (remember that women were generally younger than men), we examine a logit regression. We find that age is a much more statistically significant predictor of permanent residency.¹¹ Clearly, age is a much better predictor, and accounting for age, the sex of the worker insignificantly accounts for the residency of the worker. These results can be interpreted as saying that for every added year of age, the odds (6 to 1, 3 to 2, etc.) increase by 8% that a worker will be a permanent resident.

A recent review of migration and labour in Viet Nam suggests that having or not having residency can impact on the access a worker has to health services, education for their children, accommodation, water supplies and permanent work contracts (Save the Children UK 1999 and Dang Nguyen Anh *et al*: 2003). Further, existing research on migrants and economic integration has also found that migrants are more vulnerable to health problems and require information on family planning, STIs and hygiene (see Situational Analysis: Emerging Gender Issues in Economic Integration 2004). For example, permanent residence is often a requirement to work in an SOE. In Socialist Viet Nam, SOEs are still considered stable employers who offer long term contracts and benefits to workers. These factors indicate that a high number of non-resident migrants working in factories are more vulnerable than colleagues who do have residency.

Figure 5: Residency status of migrants by sex (percentage)



The issues related to residency were particularly salient for workers in HCMC where permanent residency is extremely difficult to obtain.¹² When workers were asked whether or

¹⁰ This finding particular to the garment and footwear industry can be contrasted with general internal migration trends. The recent migration in Viet Nam review found that internal migration was determined by economic factors rather than factors such as sex, age or marital status (Dang Nguyen Anh *et al* 6: 2003).

¹¹ See Annex 2 for an explanation of the statistical testing.

¹² Media reports in Vietnamese newspapers have also highlighted the problem of housing in HCMC where more than one million factory workers are based (Source: Cao Hung – Dang Ngoc, One million

not they have applied for residency 64% said they had not applied. The two main reasons why migrants had not applied for residency were that they did not want to change their residency, however, 36% ($n=193$) of respondents said that they did not meet the requirements necessary to complete the application. These findings pose an interesting conundrum for factory workers who need to obtain permanent employment contracts to facilitate their residency application, but who are simultaneously disadvantaged in the labour market because they are migrants without residency. Further, factory managers are unlikely to endorse applications for residency from unskilled workers who can easily be replaced, leading to a question regarding the comparative advantage factories have by employing migrant women who do not command permanent contracts. This is discussed further later in the chapter.

Are migrants who stay away from their villages aware of the implications of not having residency at their place of work? Are migrants informed about the requirements and processes required to obtain residency? When several participants were asked how to obtain residency at their place of work, all said that women could marry a man from the area to assist their applications. This situation is further complicated when the future of migrants is considered. When migrants were asked if they intend to return to their home villages 58.3% ($n=505$) of females and 53.5% ($n=113$) males answered that they were indifferent. 21.1% ($n=183$) of females answered that they did not like living away from home, compared to 13.3% ($n=28$) males. Conversely, 23.2% ($n=49$) males responded that they liked living away from home, compared to only 12.8% ($n=111$) females.

The most common home provinces of migrants included Ha Tay, Dong Nai, Thanh Hoa and Thai Binh, however, migrants in the sample represented up to 58 different provinces throughout Viet Nam. This finding demonstrates that although some provinces may be exporting unskilled labour, labour migration within Viet Nam is common. Almost half of all migrants (49.4%=326) working in factories return home to their villages once per year. Male and female migrants cited a lack of free time and money as the two most significant reasons why they are unable to return to their villages more frequently. Some participants in focus group discussions mentioned the emotional insecurity of migrant women as a result of being away from their families. The short and long term impact of this needs further examination.

1.3. Education

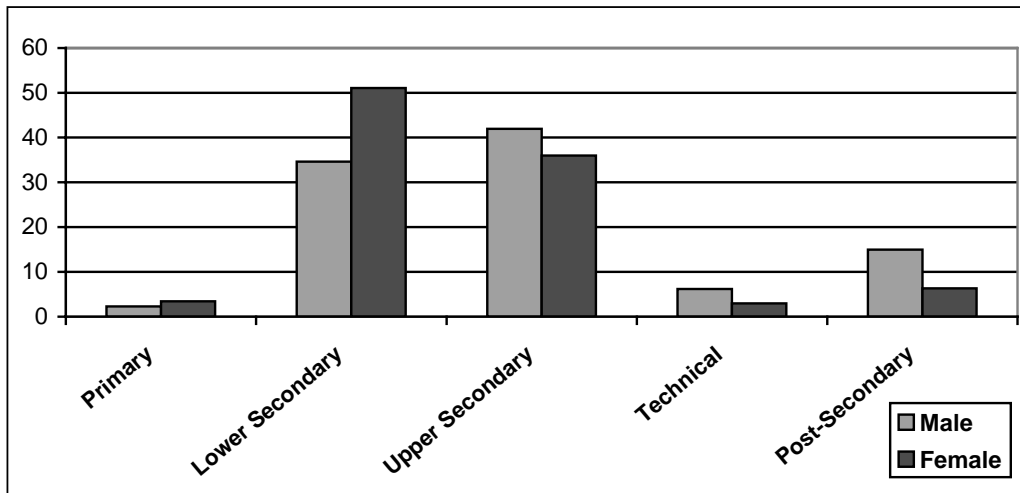
Although most of the participants in the study attended lower level secondary school, overall males were more educated than females (see figure 6). While all males had at least a primary level education, three female participants had no formal education. While more male participants (41.9%=109) had achieved upper secondary levels of education, most female participants (51%= 520) had only achieved lower secondary qualifications. More than twice as many males (15%=39) as females (6.3% = 64) had post-secondary qualifications.¹³ Although males are not formally required to have higher educational qualifications to obtain work in factories, males in Viet Nam tend to receive more formal education than women.¹⁴ An alternative explanation is that factory managers are imposing a bias towards better-educated male employees based on gender stereotypes that males are unreliable and aggressive (see section 3). By employing educated males managers may be attempting to reduce the risk of workplace conflict.

workers living in slum houses, www.laodong.com.vn, June 7, 2004). The report mentions the emergence of slum dwellings in urban areas as a result of the rapid expansion of industrial zones.

¹³ See Annex 2 for an explanation of the statistical testing.

¹⁴ See Situational Analysis: Emerging Gender Issues in Economic Integration (2004).

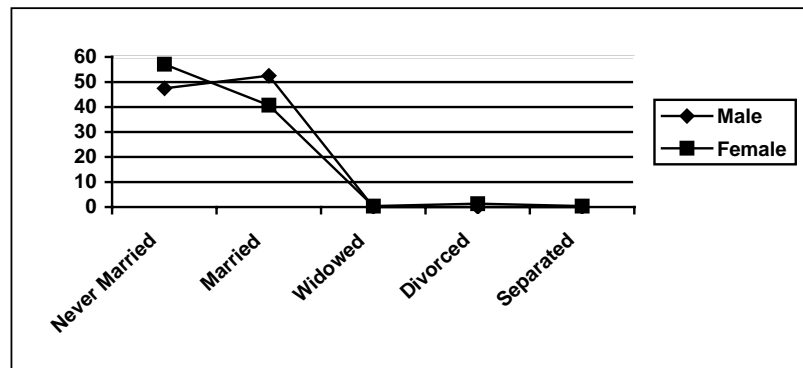
Figure 6: Education level of sample by sex (percentage)



1.4. Marital Status

There is a tendency for female workers to be unmarried, which is not emulated to the same extent among male workers. More than half of the female labour force surveyed in the factories (57.1%=581) has never been married compared to only 47.5% ($n=124$) males. In fact, 52.5% of males working in the factories are married while only 40.7% of females (see figure 7). Due to the relative youth of the sample, few workers were divorced, widowed or separated.

Figure 7: Marital status of sample by sex (percentages)



The majority of employees (64.1%=820) included in the sample, especially women (65.2%=664) are childless. 24.1% ($n=245$) women and 29.1% ($n=76$) males had one child. There were only 16 single parents included in the sample and all were women. When participants were asked if they delayed having children because of their working commitments 94.2% ($n=662$) of women and 89.1% ($n=155$) males said they had not. The low figure for males could be due to the expectation that males in Viet Nam are decision-makers and breadwinners who intend to become financially stable before starting a family.

1.5. Ethnicity

The total number of ethnic minorities working in the factories was low, considering the high populations of ethnic minorities in the home provinces of migrants and the poverty levels among ethnic minorities, and especially ethnic minority women. Only 17 participants (15 females and 2 males) out of 1275 respondents identified as being ethnic minorities while 98.7% ($n=1258$) identified as Kinh (see table 2).

Table 2: Ethnicity by sex

Ethnicity	Female		Male		All	
	Obs.	%	Obs.	%	Obs.	%
Kinh/Hoa	1000	98.52	258	99.23	1258	98.67
Ethnic minority	15	1.48	2	0.77	17	1.33
Total	1015	100.00	260	100.00	1275	100.00

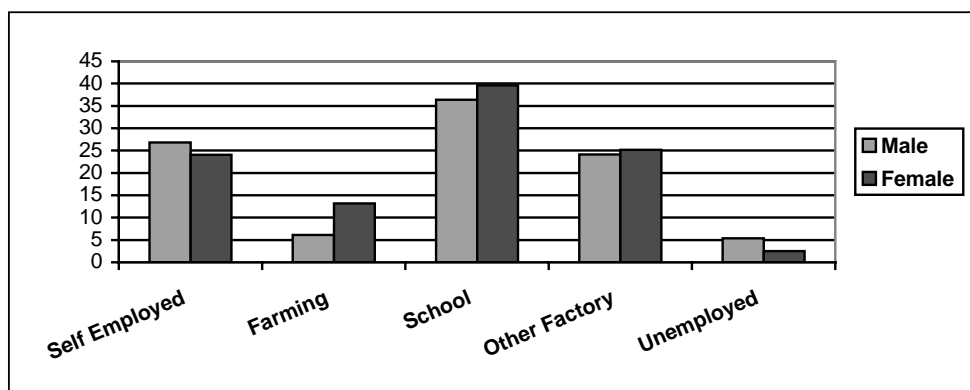
1.6. Motivation for working in the factory

Regardless of the workers' sex, 42% ($n=547$) of all workers interviewed in the quantitative survey were motivated to work in a factory because they thought it was a good opportunity. 30% ($n=391$) had a friend working in the factory who provided advice on available positions in the factory. Before working in the factory, most males and females were either students or self-employed (see figure 8). 25% ($n=256$) of females and 24% ($n=63$) had worked in a factory previously.

For migrants the decision to work in a factory required consideration of other factors such as health, accommodation and separation from families. Before working in the factory most migrants 39.8% ($n=288$) went to school compared to only 37.9% ($n=210$) of non-migrants. The biggest difference between migrants and non-migrants is that more migrants were working in farming before moving to work in factories (see figure 9). This study was not able to draw conclusions on these two hypotheses due to a lack of reliable data from managers on the retention rates of workers.

The city or industrial zone were seen by migrants as places of opportunities. 92.3% ($n=667$) of migrants compared to only 53.1% ($n=294$) of non-migrants saw the city as a place where they were more likely to find work and earn money.¹⁵ Migrants also described the city as a place where you could have more experiences and obtain more information than in rural areas. Some respondents also saw the city or industrial zone as providing the opportunity to study and work at the same time. However, few workers were working and studying at the same time.

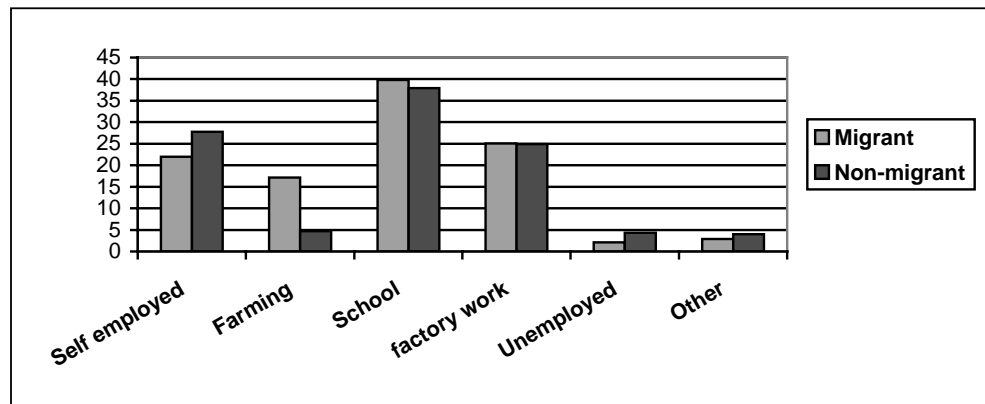
Figure 8: What did you do before working in the factory by sex? (percentage)



¹⁵ This finding supports the migration review which asserts that the garment and footwear industry have provided young women a route out of farming (Dang Nguyen Anh et al 10:2003).

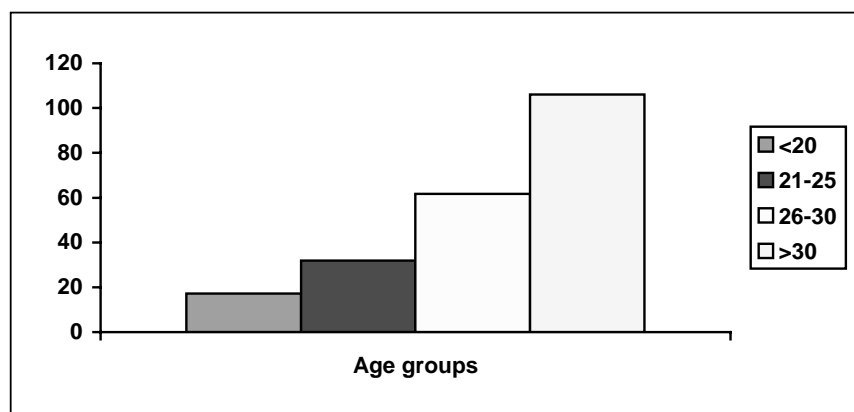
Overall, the quantitative survey found that more female workers (41%=416) than male workers (34.5%=90) rent accommodation privately as opposed to living in a family home. 65% (n=467) of migrants rent accommodation compared to only 6.4% (n=35) of non-migrants. Half of all residents (n=270) live with their families, while a further 28.3% (n=154) live in their own home. Almost as many men who rent accommodation, live with their parents, while 23.4% (n= 61) own their own homes. The statistics on the type of accommodation are not surprising considering that more women than men are migrants, and therefore live away from their families. The quantitative survey also found that more employees in SOEs lived in their own homes (28.9% compared to 17.7% of workers in private Vietnamese companies, 15% of workers in JVs and 11.3% of workers in FICs). This finding supports the hypothesis that workers in SOEs are older, longer term or permanent employees and less likely to be migrants or non-residents.

Figure 9: What did you do before working in factory by migrant status? (percentage)



1.7. Length of employment

Figure 10: Duration/Length of employment by age (months)



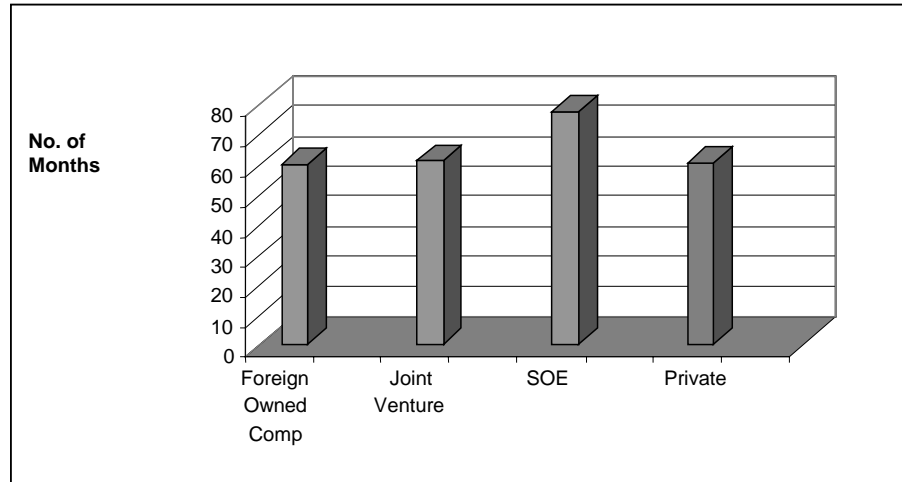
The average number of months that workers was 57 months, and was statistically insignificant when tested by the sex of the worker.¹⁶ Young workers under 20-years had worked for an average of 17.2 months while workers over 30-years had worked for an average of 106.1 months (see figure 10). Figure 11 graphically illustrates the conception that workers at SOE's generally remain there for longer periods of time.¹⁷ However, broad

¹⁶ See Annex 2 for an explanation of the statistical testing.

¹⁷ See Annex 2 for an explanation of the statistical testing.

generalisations should not be drawn simply because the age of the SOEs and their competitor companies might vary; the older SOEs might have a longer employed population simply because they have been around longer. On the other hand, the private companies are younger because they have existed for shorter periods. This type of explanation assumes that initial hiring upon the inception of a firm will generally draw on younger workers. In order to test this, we would need to date the age of each company/factory. Without such data, we are limited to solely observing the correlation between SOEs and workers who have been there longer workers in the garment factories tend to have worked for an average of 56.1 months while workers in the footwear factories average 62.9 months. The length of time workers are employed will be discussed in more detail alongside an analysis of the contract types and numbers of new recruits in the section on gender division of labour.

Figure 11: The average duration of employment in each enterprise type.



1.8. Planning for the future

In general more males than females were able to answer the questions about planning for their futures. For example, 64% ($n=83$) of unmarried males plan to have family in the future compared to only 49% ($n=291$) of unmarried women. Similarly, when migrants were asked whether or not they intend to return to their home villages after working in the factory, more males than females had already made this decision. The tendency for women to plan less or be less outspoken about their futures can be explained by cultural and gender norms in Viet Nam whereby males are considered as the head of the family or decision-makers. Males are also expected to own their own house before getting married which explains why male employees have the ability to gauge when they will be financially secure to start a family. The data demonstrates that women are not afforded such decision-making opportunities and are often reliant on their families for security. Of the 67 workers who identified as migrants during the in-depth interviews, a total of 62 replied to the question regarding whether or not they desired to return to their home village. Approximately 25% of female migrants indicated that they wanted to return to their home village, compared to only 5% of male migrants. The most commonly mentioned reason for wanting to return home was a desire to be close to parents or family. Other reasons why migrants want to return to rural areas include a lower cost of living and a better atmosphere in the village. When asked what they intended to do upon returning to their village, the range of responses included continuing to sew, opening a small business such as sewing from their homes, studying, looking for a job in the village, and assisting their family in agricultural and animal husbandry activities. A small number of workers did not have any clear intentions.

Workers were asked during in-depth interviews and the quantitative questionnaire whether or not they have a long-term plan (at least 5 years from now) for their careers. During in-depth interviews 47.6% ($n=60/126$) of the workers replied that they did have a long-term plan for their careers while 51.6% ($n=65/126$) did not. Of those workers who do have a long-term plan, many workers planned to continue working in their current factory for the long-term. The quantitative questionnaire demonstrates that 35% ($n=91$) of the respondents who intend to work at the factory as a career, or for periods of longer than 15 years were male compared to only 27.5% ($n=276$) females. Similarly, more male (42.5%=111) than females (35.8%=364) indicated the main reason that they would stop working at the factory would be retirement. This finding indicates both a desire to work in the factory long-term and the perception that factory work is stable.

During focus group discussions a small number of women expressed an interest in returning to their villages to open a micro-enterprise with money saved from working in the factory. However, it should be noted that these women intended to continue sewing from their homes and were not considering establishing a small enterprise. They explained that they may take a small amount of sewing in from people in the communes and do clothing repairs. It was apparent from the focus group discussions that for the women who return to their village, the family becomes the priority rather than earning money or establishing a profitable livelihood. Often the money saved from working in the factory was given to family members and once women were back in their villages the money could be called upon to re-establish themselves. However, due to the nuance nature of these family economics in communities, further studies of the way that money is shared and managed by families is required to gain an in-depth understanding of the access and control women factory workers have over their finances, and therefore their future decisions.

A common response provided by female employees when asked about the factors which would contribute to their stopping work at the factory was an increase in housework or getting married. 23.6% ($n=240$) of women compared to 15.3% ($n=40$) of men said they would stop work due to an increase in housework. 19% ($n=196$) of women also said that they would stop working in the factory to have and take care of a child compared to only 3.8% ($n=10$) of men. This is a further demonstration of the clearly defined gender roles for men and women in Viet Nam whereby women are relegated to the domestic sphere and males are encouraged to enter paid employment. Perhaps more interesting is the contradiction between the highly feminised workplace and responses, which reflect traditional gender roles where women do not work in paid employment. Are women only working in the factories until they find a man who can support them financially? Are women attempting to uphold traditional ideals of womanhood even though they work in factories to earn money?

The profile of workers developed from the study sample provides a background to the differences between men and women employed in different factories in Viet Nam, owned privately, by foreign companies and SOEs. Comparing indicators by sex, such as age, migrant status, education level, number of months employed, marital status, and motivation to start or stop working in a factory, this profile reveals that although female workers described their positions as stable, they are more vulnerable than their male colleagues. This vulnerability is due to their low education levels, migrant status, the high number of other unskilled female colleagues and their relative youth. This profile should be held in mind as the research findings related to working conditions, workers' rights and the gender division of labour are presented in the following sections.

2. Gender Division of Labour and Working Conditions

The gender division of labour in the garment and footwear factories was immediately obvious to the researchers upon entering the workshops. Predominantly, male employees were busy ironing and cutting fabrics while females were sewing, labelling, checking and packing garments. Although the proportion of women working as supervisors and managers was high, and comparable to men, overall each factory has few management and supervisor positions. The bulk of factory employees work on the production line and most of these positions are held by women. One researcher observed some men sewing in a factory but these men were a minority. In footwear factories women sewed the uppers of shoes while men glued or pressed the shoe soles. The main observable difference between the jobs performed by women and compared to men is that most of the duties performed by men require standing up while women are seated. The machines used by men and women in the factories are also different; machines operated by men require some degree of strength while women mostly operate sewing machines and overlockers. The observable ratio of male to female employees was 1:4, however, in some factories researchers suggest that there may be fewer than 10 per cent of males working on the factory floor. Although men and women do different work, men and women often eat lunch together and socialise in a factory "mess hall", lunch hall or canteen. Some factories further the division between men and women at work through scheduling breaks for men at different times to women.

Researchers' observations

Results from the interviews with factory managers pointed to a gender division of labour and a clear preference for employing women as unskilled production labour. The work of men and women is further divided by the age and education levels of employees, as well as by the ownership of particular factories. As a result women earn less, are more likely to pay a recruitment fee, are expected to work more overtime, have less promotion and training opportunities and are less likely to have their needs met on the factory floor and through workplace benefits.

2.1. Division of Labour / Access and Control of Resources

Conducting a gender analysis using the gender division of labour includes an analysis of men's and women's duties or activities at work, the amount of time spent on these activities and the value of this work. Implicit in this analysis is an investigation of the access and control men and women have over resources at work. This analytical tool complements the Women's Empowerment Framework (see section 4) because it defines the work of men and women but facilitates an analysis of changing social and political contexts and the positions of different stakeholders including organisations and institutions. Further, the framework investigates the trends / factors which contribute to unequal access / control over resources, such as the policies and institutions that form the foundation of, or perpetuate, gender inequalities. In the context of this research project, resources are economic, political and social resources. Economic resources include wages, promotion and secure employment contracts with benefits and leave provisions. Political resources include representation in associations or unions, training and leadership. Social resources include time and a balance between work and home, community networks, membership and representation in unions or associations and some workplace benefits including training or social services.

2.2. Men's work vs. women's work

All participants in the study were asked to describe the jobs that men do in the factory and the jobs that women do. In the quantitative survey 100% (n=1272) of respondents identified exclusive roles fulfilled by men and women. The gender division of labour was then discussed further during in-depth interviews with workers and in focus group discussions.

“Men can work under pressure better than women and don't have to spend much time on family”

Female, 25 years

In both the qualitative and quantitative surveys, men were quoted as predominantly doing heavier work, or work that they felt required more skill, including cutting, ironing, operating and maintaining machinery, or working as porters, storemen, electricians, security guards and managers (see table 3).

Table 3: Activity profile of male and female workers in the garment and footwear factory as perceived by factory workers

Factory work	Males	Females	Opportunity for promotion
Sewing		X	Low
Ironing	X		Low
Cutting	X		Medium
Administrative	X	X	Medium
Gluing	X	X	Low
Over-locking		X	Low
Packing	X	X	Medium
Cleaning / Janitor		X	Low
Human Resources	X	X	High
Technician	X		High
Manager	X	X	Low
Supervisor	X	X	High
Labelling		X	Low
Union representative	X	X	Medium
Security Guard	X		Medium
Accountant		X	Medium
Storekeeper	X		Medium

Men were also said to perform activities such as sewing, painting, gluing, buttoning, sole fixing, printing, receiving materials and delivering products. Both men and women described women, as performing light duties or work that the respondents felt required less skill. However, during in-depth interviews some respondents explained that women filled roles that required more patience and attention to detail. The most commonly cited duties performed by women include sewing and embroidery, product checking, cutting, gluing, packing, and other light work. Women were also listed as being cell or line-heads, managers and accountants.

It is interesting to note that twice as many female respondents as males described women as fulfilling hard work or physical work. Similarly, twice as many men as women described men as "sewing" in the factories. This further supports the hypothesis that gender stereotyping in the garment and footwear industry has resulted in positioning women and men into particular roles. In this case, males occupying typically female duties become invisible, just as females occupying typically male duties also become invisible or considered an anomaly.

When the responses related to the gender division of labour are analysed by type of ownership of the factories, the division between male and female work is most pronounced in SOEs with 86.6% of respondents categorising women as doing the sewing and 69.5% of males doing the hard / heavy work. However, SOE employees also described women as being employed in management more than males were. Respondents from other factories under different types of ownership also echoed the same roles of women and men but provided a wider variety of responses with women and men doing different jobs.

A statistical analysis of the work performed by men and women in the factory found that the likelihood of sewing is affected both by sex and by level of education, in our sample. The odds of a male worker sewing are approximately 60% less than the odds of a female worker sewing, regardless of their education level.¹⁸ In respect to education, nearly the same effect applies: a higher educated worker is 60% less likely to sew.

The reasons for the differences in men's and women's work were generally attributed to differences in physical strength and personal characteristics. However, it should be noted that researchers observed that great "strength" was not required to operate cutting and ironing machines. Further, because men and women have demonstrated that they can do jobs "suited" to the opposite sex (although seldom), the arguments related to physical strength and nimble-fingeredness cannot be substantiated. It is also important to note that although many factories recruit women for particular tasks in the factories, women and men are also applying for particular jobs that they find suitable for their sex. It is this double-edged sword, rooted in stereotypes of appropriate behaviour for males and females, that is impacting on the job choices and positioning of men and women into particular roles. Many respondents mentioned that men are suited to heavy work, while women are better suited to work that requires them to sit for long periods and do repetitive tasks. During in-depth interviews a number of respondents said that there was no reason for the differences in work roles, however, participants in focus group discussions clearly demarcated duties that are "suitable" for men and women both at work and in Vietnamese culture.

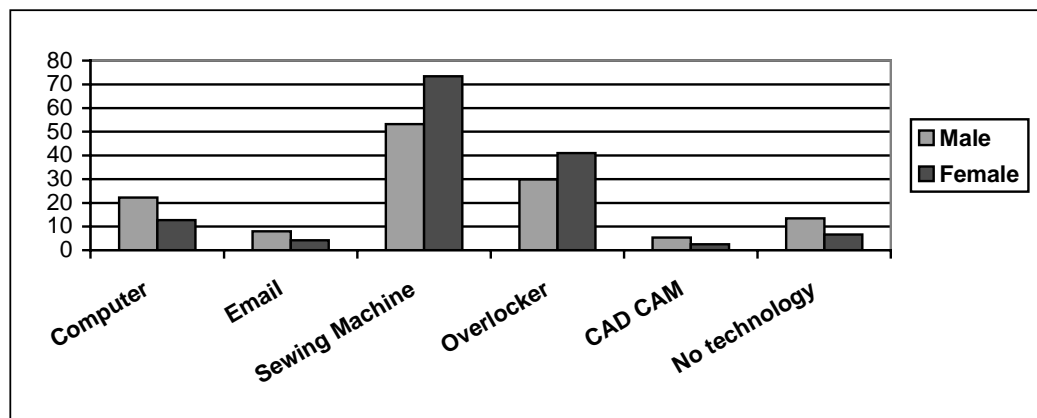
The findings from the management questionnaire demonstrate that female employees are disproportionately represented in the number of employees working on the production line in all factories. Women comprised 82.5% of all production line jobs. It is important to note that production line jobs attract the largest number of employees, approximately 630 production staff per factory. Technical positions only account for approximately 34 jobs per factory, with FICs, joint ventures or garment factories having more technical positions than SOEs, private enterprises or footwear factories. Statistics on the number and sex of technical staff gained from interviews with management are incomplete and do not provide an accurate picture of the number of women employed in this role. Of the 21 managers interviewed only 17 factory

¹⁸ See Annex 2 for an explanation of the statistical testing.

managers responded, however, most were unable to provide a detailed breakdown of the sex of technical staff. Of those factories who did, women were well represented and occupied at least half of the positions. In one FIC, women occupied more than 90% of technical positions. Women occupied an average of 58% of non-production positions, however, women only occupied 62% of management positions. SOEs had the lowest number of female managers, while FICs boasted the largest number. Table 3 clearly illustrates that the niche positions best suited to women are sewing and gluing. These positions are also the most common positions within the factories and therefore have the largest numbers of employees. Males, however, are thought suitable to work across all positions and are well represented in positions which have small numbers of employees.

In terms of technology at work, although females had more access to sewing machines and overlockers than males, males used other technologies such as computers, e-mail and CAD CAM twice as often as females (see figure 13). It is also interesting to note FICs manufacturing garments were most likely to have computers, e-mail and CAD CAM technologies.

Figure 12: Use of technologies at work by sex (percentage)



2.3. Valuing of men's and women's work

It is difficult to assess the overall value attached to male and female employees because they are said to perform very different roles in the factories, however, there are some indicators which provide a clearer picture. These indicators, including, the skill level required for particular positions, the amount of time spent on activities and the monetary value or salary attached to a position, provide some clues as to how work is valued. When these indicators are applied to an analysis of factory workers, men's work in the garment and footwear industries appears to be valued over women's.

The management questionnaires found that the largest number of males employed by the factory were production staff. According to the worker questionnaire, and supported by the interviews with factory managers, production work, when performed by women was defined as unskilled, however, production work performed by men was defined as skilled labour. When males were asked what skills were required to perform their jobs within the factory most agreed with women explaining that efficiency, the ability to work long hours, physical strength and the ability to use a machine were all relevant to fulfilling their jobs. However, males, unlike females also suggested that they required good communication and literacy skills and independence in order to perform their jobs well.

It is interesting to note that the work performed by men also provided more opportunities for skills development. While men and women highlighted several of the same skills acquired at work, men learned skills additional skills such as teamwork, communication, literacy and professionalism. Although it is possible that women may also acquire these skills in the workplace, their inability to articulate them could disadvantage them in the workplace and

lead to the valuation of work performed by men. In turn this valuation and classification of male dominated production work as "skilled" could lead to a perception that males require more training, and improve their chances for promotion. Further, a more careful investigation into whether or not women can do the same work as males is required. After all, both males and females are employed on the production line, and the additional skills that are required to perform the work typically done by men, if any, may be easily attainable by female colleagues through training or by providing them more opportunities. The reverse argument can also be made concerning men doing the production tasks typically assigned to women, however, it will be necessary to break the gender stereotypes of women as sewers, which can be achieved through the re-marketing of manufacturing jobs as suitable for both men and women.

Workers who participated in the in-depth interviews were asked several questions regarding their average monthly income and expenditure. The average income of all workers was approximately one million VND per month (USD64). This figure is considerably higher than the legal minimum wage of USD35-45 (546 000 VND-702 000) depending on the province or location of the workplace.¹⁹ The average income of participants has been dis-aggregated by gender, age, migrant status and marital status in table 4. The findings from the in-depth interviews demonstrate that women earn 200 000 VND per month less than men. This finding was also supported in the management survey, where managers supplied average wage statistics for men and women. On average migrants also earn less than residents, which also becomes a gender issue when we consider that most migrants are female and that migrants have more costs associated with living away from their families.

Table 4: Distribution of average monthly income by sex, migrant status, marital status and age group (in-depth interviews)

Variable		Obs.	Average monthly income ('000 VND)
Sex	<i>Female</i>	105	1028
	<i>Male</i>	21	1224
	<i>All workers</i>	126	1060
Migrant status	<i>Migrant</i>	67	963
	<i>Non-migrant</i>	59	1170
Marital status	<i>Never married</i>	68	1014
	<i>Married</i>	57	1110
	<i>Widowed</i>	0	0
	<i>Divorced</i>	1	1400
	<i>Separated</i>	0	0
Age group	<i>15-24</i>	46	1008
	<i>25-34</i>	62	1089
	<i>35-44</i>	10	1185
	<i>45-54</i>	4	988

¹⁹ However, this figure was derived from the worker questionnaire. Because there are a number of workers who are not paid additional rates for overtime and other workers are expected to work long shifts, the salary of the factory workers should not be considered as a "high income".

The statistics on salaries also indicate that migrants are paid less than non-migrants supporting the argument that residency at your place of work attracts more secure positions and higher salaries. The findings on salaries demonstrate that married or divorced workers earn more than singles. This could be due to married or divorced workers increasing the amount of overtime they work in an effort to meet the needs of their families. This poses the question as to whether or not women in particular are working longer hours as they get older. While women's paid income increases, it is also likely that their unpaid work in the household also increases, as they may have children.

The questions regarding salary also raise an interesting issue related to the amount earned by ownership of factory. According to the interviews with management, the private Vietnamese or private companies paid the lowest salaries, however, the amount paid was above the minimum wage set by the Labour Code of Viet Nam. SOEs paid the highest salaries, however, the shifts at SOEs were 9 hours compared to shifts at FICs and JVs, which were 7 hours long. According to the labour law of Viet Nam, employees working for FICs or joint venture companies attract a higher minimum wage, with no wage ceiling, compared to workers in SOEs or private Vietnamese companies. The absolute minimum wage paid by SOEs and private Vietnamese companies is 290 000 VND per month compared to FIC or JV companies who pay 417 000 VND per month, however, this figure only includes factories in a remote or difficult area and the salary must increase after 12-months. The average minimum wage paid by FICs and JVs is actually 487 000 VND although there are at least three different pay levels on the scale.

Table 5: Income assessment of workers (in-depth interviews)

Income assessment	Male %	Female %
More than enough for needs	0	5.7
Enough for needs	61.9	67.6
Low	33.3	23.8
Very low	4.8	2.8

The SA8000 CoC (discussed further in Section 3) requires that certified companies not only pay the minimum wage, but pay a living wage. The definition of a living wage is a wage that meets the basic needs of workers and their families and which provides some discretionary income. When we asked workers in this study if their wages were sufficient to meet their needs. The findings demonstrate that more women than men consider their income enough for their needs, while more males than females describe their incomes as being low or very low (see table 5).

The results from the in-depth interviews concluded that almost half of all migrants considered their salaries enough, or more than enough, for their needs. Non-migrants on the other hand ranked their incomes as low or very low compared to their needs.

During in-depth interviews workers were asked to estimate their average monthly expenditure in five areas: 1) spending on, or sending to, their families, 2) spending on themselves, 3) paying off debts, 4) savings and 5) other, which included responses such as school fees for children/siblings, rent, utilities, petrol, going out, weddings, funerals, birthdays and other special events, giving to charities and insurance fees. The average monthly expenditure by males was higher in all areas compared to women except for paying off debts, where men spent approximately 50% less than women (see table 6).

Table 6: Distribution of average monthly expenditure by sex (in-depth interviews)

Expenditure	Gender	Obs.	Average Monthly Expenditure ('000 dong)
Spending on or send to family	<i>Female</i>	99	418
	<i>Male</i>	21	573
	<i>All workers</i>	120	440
Spending on self	<i>Female</i>	102	382
	<i>Male</i>	19	416
	<i>All workers</i>	121	388
Paying debts	<i>Female</i>	70	12
	<i>Male</i>	15	6
	<i>All workers</i>	85	11
Savings	<i>Female</i>	89	171
	<i>Male</i>	16	219
	<i>All workers</i>	105	178
Other	<i>Female</i>	88	106
	<i>Male</i>	13	191
	<i>All workers</i>	101	117

2.4. Working conditions

The analysis of the working conditions of men and women found that while there were some differences due to the sex of employees, there were marked differences across factory types and by ownership. The category working conditions includes an analysis of the recruitment processes undergone by participants, contract types and the hours of work including overtime. The workshop conditions and the perceptions workers have of the factory management and workplace are also analysed by sex and factory ownership type.

2.4.1. Recruitment processes

Approximately, 10% ($n=134$) of participants paid a recruitment fee to work in the factories. Of private workers, only 6.5% had to pay a fee, while 16.6% of SOE workers paid a fee, probably due to the fact that those positions are more desirable, and the competition and selection for them is less transparent. Only 7% of men paid for their job, while 11.4% of women paid for their job. Whether this is driven by their relative age differences remains to be analysed in the regression. We eliminate sex, which is significant only at the 0.1 level, and without losing much statistical significance in respect to explaining the target's variance, we eliminate outlier problems.²⁰ Analysing this regression, we find that knowing that a worker was employed by an SOE increases the odds that they paid for their job by 400%; knowing that the worker is one year younger, similarly increases the odds by 16%.

The average payment for FICs was 274 000 VND and 149 364 VND for SOEs. More than half ($n=87$) of the workers who paid a recruitment fee worked in the garment industry. Fees paid by workers in the garment industry were also higher than the footwear industry, the mean for the garment industry being 317 978 VND and only 7 905 VND for the footwear. It is

²⁰ See Annex 2 for an explanation of the statistical testing.

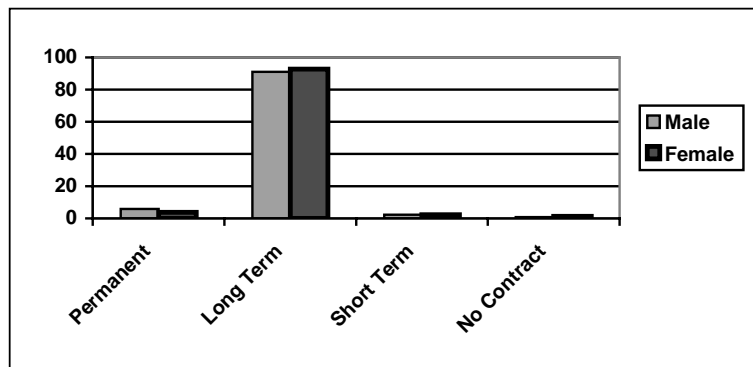
important to note, however, that most of the FICs are garment companies, which may be one explanation as to why there is such a dramatic difference between the figures for the two industries. Some anecdotal evidence collected by factory workers suggests that other workers may have also paid money before being recruited to a particular factory. One participant explained that all employees at a private Vietnamese factory had to pay a fee of 300 000 VND as a tax for the rental of the land that the factory was built on. Another worker said she had to pay money for information on working in a factory from a recruitment agency.

SOEs and JV companies were more likely to ask candidates to undergo health checks than FICs and private enterprises. Across all factories 4% ($n=54$) of women claimed that they had to undergo pregnancy tests as part of their recruitment process. Some anecdotal evidence from researchers suggests that other women were asked to sign or give verbal assurances that they would not get pregnant in the next two years. These cases were limited to the private enterprises. It is important to remember that most of the female factory workers are single women which also acts as some assurance to factory managers that employees will not get pregnant within one or two years. Workers in FICs (33.9%= 63) and SOEs (46.49%= 225) were more likely than workers in private or joint venture factories, to undergo training programmes as part of their recruitment process. While there are no statistics on whether or not participants were paid during this time, under Vietnamese law employers are not required to pay workers who must fulfil training programmes as part of their employment. The content of the training programmes was also not discussed during the data collection. Migrants (74.1%=523) required less qualifications than non-migrants (82.8%=366) when applying for a position in a factory, however, migrants were also paid less (see table 4).

2.4.2. Contracts

Almost all employees regardless of sex, ownership or factory type are employed on long-term contracts (see figure 14). The definition of long-term contracts as defined by the study is 12-months or more. What is not clear is how many workers are employed on 12-months contracts that are terminated after that time or not renewed.

Figure 13: Type of employment contract by sex (percentage)



Although managers were asked to supply statistics on the number of workers who stopped working in 2003, most did not provide these statistics. The statistics provided by the eleven factories who did answer the question regarding the number of staff who stopped work in 2003, demonstrate that both footwear and garment factories have a high turnover of staff, approximately 31% as a percentage of the total number of staff. The highest staff turnover was in FICs and private Vietnamese companies, while the lowest turnover was in SOEs. However, considering the low response rate (50%=11) from factories and the inclusion of seasonal labourers in the total figure, further investigation is required before any conclusions on staff turnover can be drawn.

The findings further indicate that 90% of the staff who stopped working in 2003 was women. However, the circumstances pertaining to why these women left the factories was unclear. The average length of time workers are employed (57 months) is a good indication that contracts are usually longer than 12-months and therefore attract benefits such as maternity leave, health insurance and social security. It is also not clear whether or not workers are employed on a succession of 12-month contracts as a way managers avoid paying for extra benefits. Data collected from workers on their entitlements and knowledge of their rights did not provide this information because as discussed later, workers, especially women, have a limited understanding of their contracts and entitlements at work. A small number of female workers were employed on short-term contracts, and an even smaller number had no contracts, however, correlations by sex cannot be made due to the disproportionate number of females included in the sample and the low number of incidences of these contract types. Similarly, no correlations between sex and the dismissal of workers can be made due to a lack of reliable data from managers. When factory managers were asked how many workers were dismissed in 2003, only five managers responded. The average number of dismissals per year was approximately 35 males and 59 females per factory. Although women account for 62% of the total number of dismissals disclosed by factory managers, this figure is not significant when the high population of female workers, and the small number of responses to the question, are considered.

2.4.3. Hours of work and overtime

Because men and women perform different tasks at work which take different periods of time, it was difficult to compare the amount of time men and women spend on particular tasks. It was possible to compare the amount of time men and women spent at work. The quantitative survey, management surveys and focus group discussions found that men and women work the same number of hours per day in the factories. The average number of hours worked in the garment and footwear industries are approximately 8.15 per day and 26 days per month. This is higher than the number of hours specified in the Labour Code of Viet Nam, which indicates a 48-hour week or 8 hour day. There is a slight difference between the two industries with workers in the garment factories working 8.17 hours compared to the footwear factories where they work 8.09. However, when the hours spent at work were contrasted by the type of ownership of the factories the survey found that workers in SOEs work an average of 8.27 hours per day while workers in FICs work only 7.98 hours. The longest working day was in one private Vietnamese company where employees worked from 7am - 11pm six days per week.

More than 99% ($n=1266$) of respondents work overtime, 88% ($n=1111$) said they did so as a requirement of their job, while 43% ($n=551$) said working overtime provided additional income. Surprisingly, only 90% ($n=1141$) of workers are paid for the overtime they work. This means that 10% of workers are expected to work up to 300 hours per year in addition to their usual 48 hour weeks for approximately one million VND. This a clear breach of the Labour Code of Viet Nam. When statistics from the quantitative survey were tested there was found to be no substantial differences between the number of hours overtime worked by men and women.²¹ However, findings from the management survey found that men work less overtime than women. For example, 15 factory managers responded to the question that females worked 3.3 hours per day compared to male employees who worked 2.3 hours. In fact, a logit regression shows that in predicting which workers work 4 hrs of overtime, age is by far a better predictor than sex. Perhaps "full" (4 hrs) overtime is a privilege, that more senior workers are afforded.²² To make sure that this effect is not being mediated by the SOE factor, we examined the SOE relation with overtime work.²³ In fact, it looks as if they have

²¹ See Annex 2 for an explanation of how the statistics were tested.

²² See Annex 2 for an explanation of how the statistics were tested.

²³ See Annex 2 for an explanation of how the statistics were tested.

opposing effects: those in an SOE seem to not have the OT only in peak season, while private company workers seem to have a little higher prevalence of working OT only in peak season. Comparing the relationship between age and SOE as predictors of working OT in peak season, we find that with every year of age added, the odds that one only works OT in peak season increases by 6% (significant at the .001 level). Additionally, if one were to work in a SOE, then their odds of working OT in peak season decreases by 22% (significant only at the .05 level).

Most factory managers reported that the average amount over overtime was in accordance with the Labour Code of Viet Nam (300 hours per year). Some factory managers claimed that workers spent up to 400 hours on overtime per year, which is also a breach of the Labour Code of Viet Nam. For example, three FICs and joint venture companies reported that male and female workers average 350 hours of over time per year. Managers from private Vietnamese companies explained that female workers may be required to work up to 400 hours per year while male employees work up to 350 hours. When asked how this overtime was allocated throughout the year, one private Vietnamese company explained that some workers may need to work up to 6 hours of overtime per day. This is also a breach of the Labour Code of Viet Nam, which clearly states that overtime should not exceed 4 hours per day. It is interesting to note that the percentage of female employees in the private Vietnamese companies was 87%, which is considerably higher than other factories. Does this mean that women are perceived by private Vietnamese companies as a comparative advantage?

The interviews with factory managers revealed that there are a disproportionate number of women, compared to men, working as seasonal labourers. Although many factory managers did not answer this question, those who did answer reported that women accounted for 92% of seasonal labour positions. Most of the seasonal labourers were described as students who in some instances work for VND 4000 per hour. When this figure is calculated on a 48-hour week it is higher than the minimum wage. However, it was not clear whether or not seasonal workers were paid at the legal overtime rates, 150% of regular rates during weekdays and 200% during weekends and holidays, as set out in the Labour Code of Viet Nam. It should be noted that workers receive from 3 500 to 4 700 dong for each hour of overtime, depending on factories.

2.4.4. Promotion and training

Although many women are employed or promoted as factory supervisors, the chances that women have of promotion relative to the total population of women is low. During interviews managers were asked to provide statistics on the number of employees who attended training courses in 2003. Training courses were only offered in half of the factories and most of the participants invited to attend were "skilled" workers. Because management attempt to have equal numbers of males and females attending training programmes for unskilled workers, more unskilled women than men miss out on training programmes. In a large factory, the chances female production line staff have of attending training programmes is further decreased. Due to the high ratio of unskilled workers to technical or managerial staff, the chances of an unskilled women worker being promoted are limited. Further, considering that almost all supervisory positions require some technical or education prerequisites, without affirmative action policies for women's promotion, unskilled women workers are disadvantaged because they must compete against male colleagues who are usually already employed as technical staff or who have higher education levels. When women do have the chance for promotion traditional biases and stereotypes of women as being submissive may impact on their chances or desire to apply (see Box 2: Phuong's story).

Box 2: Phuong

Phuong works in a garment factory in the north of Viet Nam.

I have worked in this factory for six years. During that time the factory has offered many training courses for workers and management staff to improve their knowledge in the garment industry and ISO quality management. Factory supervisors selection workers to participate in the courses. Most of the time the number of men and women who participate in the courses is equal. When I was selected I was so happy and tried to do my best to complete the courses successfully. The classes helped me to access information, which is useful to my profession as a sewer. My co-workers supported me also by helping to do my work while I was attending the courses. My husband is happy that I attend training courses. I think if he did not support me I would have a difficult time managing my work and home life and would not have time to attend courses. In general it is easier for men to participate in the social activities of the factory than women because women need to have a lot more energy to do their job well and to care for their families.

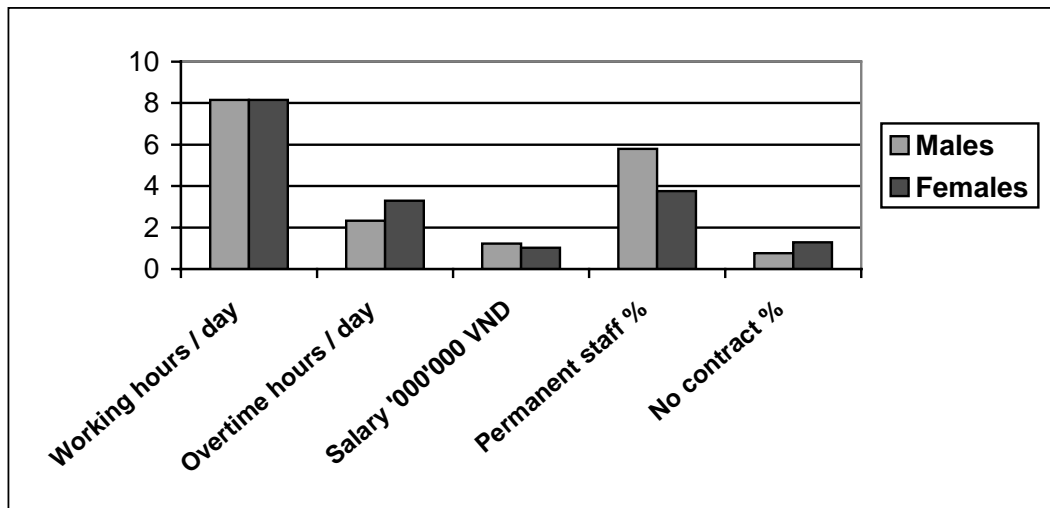
Although negative gender stereotypes of women as non-competitive are strong in Viet Nam (see section 3), there are many women who, despite the obstacles, have succeeded in building a career in the garment or footwear industry, Van is one example. Van used the opportunity while living and working in the city to study part time (see box 3).

Box 3: Van

Van is a 23 year old information technician.

I completed high school in 1999 but due to financial difficulties in the family I had to give up my wish to attend university and decided to take a vocational training course in sewing for two months. After completing the course I applied for a job in garment factory. I worked at factory but decided to enrol in an information technician class at the university. With support from the factory and my effort, I graduated in February 2003 with a good certificate. Once I graduated I had intended to leave the factory but the factory announced that they were recruiting staff for the human resource department and I applied for the position. I got the job and was really happy but also worried because I did not have any knowledge about human resources. Luckily, the head of the department is very helpful. My colleagues at the factory really helped me and my husband supported me a lot with housework without complaining. He always comforts me when my work is stressful. At present, I am pregnant and I always think about being a wife, mother and good staff member at the factory.

Figure 14: Graph comparing the working conditions of men and women



2.4.5. Workshop Conditions

The conditions in the workplace varied dramatically from one factory to the next. Factories that had good infrastructure such as separate toilets for men and women or sports / activity areas, typically had a more positive work culture with staff appearing less stressed and more talkative. These types of factories also tended to provide small kitchens or mess halls, potable drinking water and even in some instances swimming pools, accommodation and music. Other factories with poor infrastructure had unisex toilets (often without water or unclean), poor lighting and a stressful working environment. Observations from both footwear and garment factories revealed that in many factories some workers were not wearing masks or uniforms. Often these were the same factories that were described as hot or poorly ventilated. Factories that provided workers with uniforms were often also factories with good lighting and ventilation.

Researchers' observations

Overall workers surveyed in the quantitative questionnaire had a positive perception of their workplaces and management. There were few differences between the way that males and females perceived their workplaces. Most described the workplace as clean, well ventilated, crowded and often hot. More males (39.8%=104) than females (29.2%=297) described their workplace as friendly. This is consistent with the focus group discussions which found that often new recruits, and in particular migrant women, find it difficult adjusting to work in the factories because other female colleagues are not friendly. However, it is important to note that this perception often changes as workers build up a strong network of female workers who they depend on for personal and professional support, such as covering for them when they take leave or attend training programmes (as mentioned in Box 2: Phuong's Story).

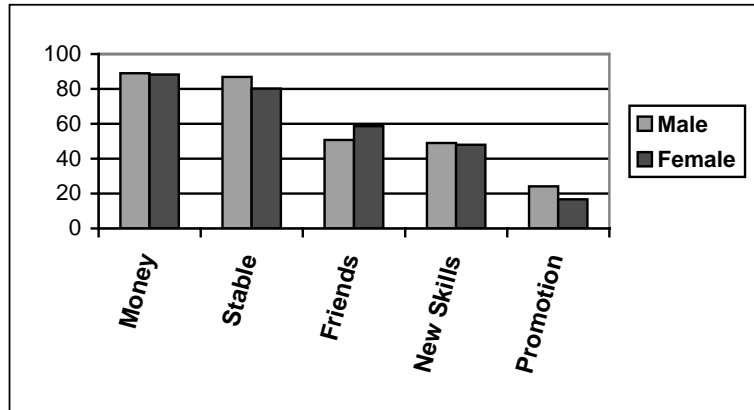
There were some differences in the perceptions that workers in the garment and footwear factories had of their respective workplaces. 87.6% ($n=695$) of workers in the garment factories described their workplaces as clean compared to only 56.8% ($n=276$) in the footwear industry. Similarly, 23.2% ($n=113$) of workers in the footwear industry described their workplaces as uncomfortable compared to only 3.15% ($n=25$) workers in the garment industry.²⁴

Most women and men said that the main benefits of working in the factory were money (88.2%=898 females and 88.9%=232 males) and stability (80.2%=816 females and 87%=227 males). More women than men said that having a friend (58.6%=597 females compared to 50.6%=132 males) and the opportunity to learn new skills (48%=489 females compared to 49%=128) were also benefits. More men (24.1%=63) than women (16.7%=170) saw promotion as a benefit of working in the factory (see figure 15).

There were no significant differences in the responses provided by workers in the garment and footwear factories or between the responses of migrant and non-migrant workers or workers according to the ownership type of factories when asked about the benefits of working in the factory.

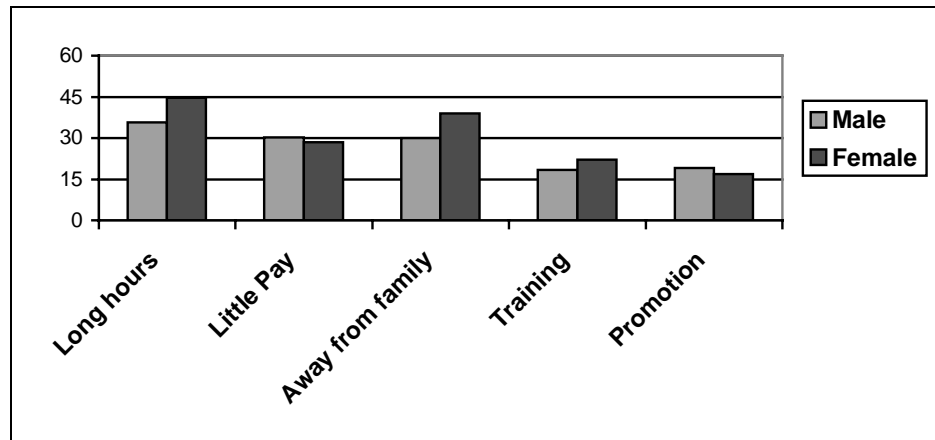
²⁴ This finding has also been echoed in media reports on the poor standard of particular factories (see Linh Anh, *Alarming the working environment*, www.vnn.vn, June 4, 2004 and Nguyen Anh Luong, "Occupational Safety and Health Issues in Transfer of Technology and Foreign Investment in Vietnam", www.osh.netnam.vn, Sept 11, 2004.

Figure 15: Benefits of working in the factory by sex (percentages)



When respondents were asked to articulate the costs of working in the factories, women expressed the strain of working long hours, being away from their families and receiving little pay. Male workers tended to focus on the little payment, training opportunities and opportunities for promotion. The responses provided by men support the notion that men are the bread winners in Viet Nam and that there is additional pressure placed on men to earn more money (see figure 16).

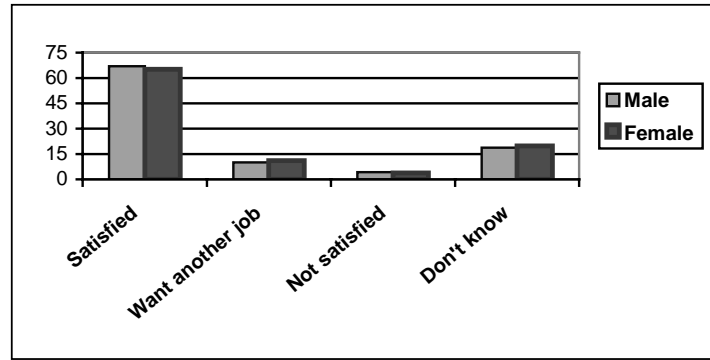
Figure 16: Costs of working in the factory by sex (percentages)



Workers, both male (47.1%=123) and female (48.3%=492) reported that their factory managers were supportive. 59% ($n=154$) of males and 52.4% ($n=534$) of females described their managers as hard working. Although very few participants described their managers as demanding or aggressive, these respondents tended to be male. There were no differences in the respondents' opinions of managers by garment or footwear factory, however, more workers at FIC companies describe their managers as demanding (23%=44) compared to responses by other factory types.

By asking workers to describe their peers' perceptions of the factories, the researchers were able to measure the overall degree of satisfaction workers have with the workshop conditions within the garment and footwear industries. 65.5% ($n=838$) of workers responded that their peers were satisfied with the workshop conditions at the factory, however, a high percentage (19.6%=251) were unsure of their colleagues' opinions. As demonstrated in figure 18 there was no difference in the level of perceived satisfaction of peers by sex.

Figure 17: Satisfaction of peers with the workshop conditions (percentage)



Most workers, male (81%) and female (79%), responded positively when asked if they would promote working in a factory to their friends and families. This is a good indication of the workers satisfaction with working in a factory. Workers belonging to older age sets were more convinced that they would promote working in the factory to friends and family (26-30 years 82.4% and >30 years 80.8%). Migrant workers were the most likely to recommend factory work to friends and family (82%).

When respondents were asked during in-depth interviews if they had experienced problems in the workplace, 32.5% ($n=41$) said they had, while 67.5% ($n=85$) had not. Of the 41 respondents who had experienced problems, females accounted for 85.4% (35/41) compared to only 14.6% (6/41) for males. The types of problems men and women tended to experience included conflicts with co-workers regarding sloppy work or damage to products as a result of technical problems or workers being assigned to difficult tasks. More women mentioned problems or misunderstandings between co-workers, while males cited problems with their supervisors as a catalyst for conflict in the workplace. These findings actually uphold the stereotype promoted by managers that male workers are more likely to fight with management (see table 8).

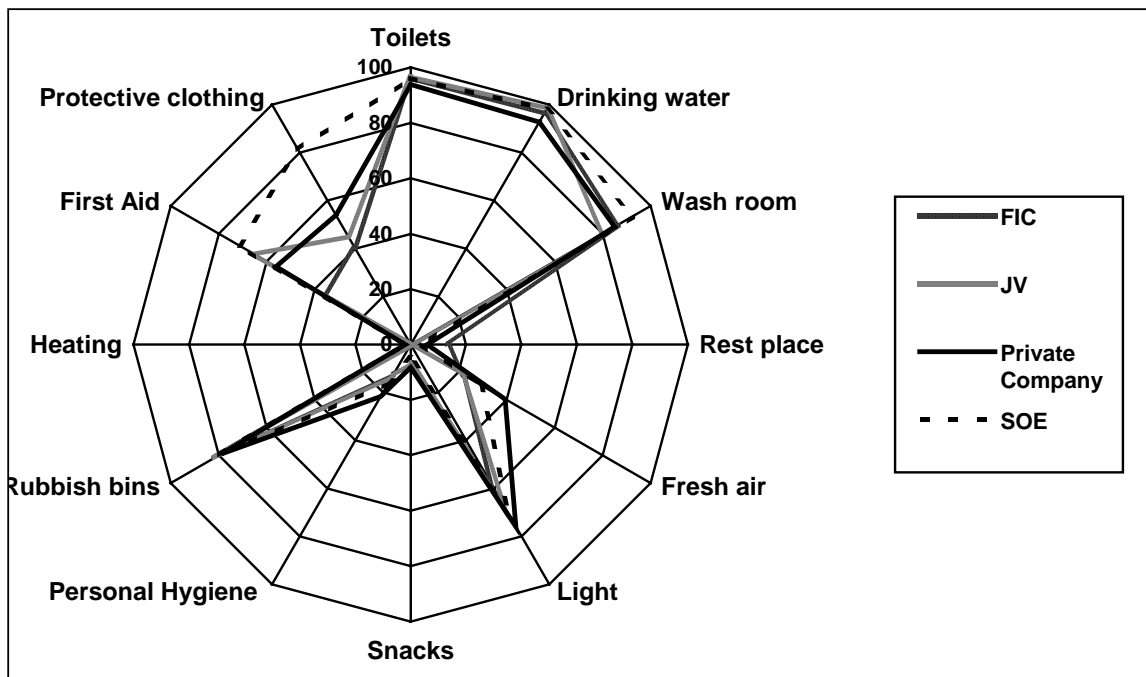
Results from the quantitative questionnaire show no apparent differences in the way male and female workers describe the facilities in their workplaces. All workers reported that they had adequate access to drinking water, toilets, rubbish bins, light, fresh air, protective clothing and first aid. Male and females also agreed that there was limited access to snacks and heating in the factories. In terms of women's practical needs, only 19.35% ($n=197$) of females responded that they had access to personal hygiene products including sanitary napkins. It is interesting to note that more males (11.9%= $n=31$) than females (4.7%= $n=48$) reported that they had access to rest places.

"I never have trouble with male workers, but have quarrels with female co-workers on same production over combination of work".
Female, 26 years

There were differences in the access workers had to facilities depending on the ownership of the factory. As demonstrated in figure 18, workers at SOEs reported more access to first aid, protective clothing, drinking water and washrooms than other factories. Workers employed by FIC companies reported the least access to first aid and protective clothing, however, it is important to note that this data (presented in figure 18) contradicts the results from the focus group discussions and the observations carried out by researchers. It is also important to note that 19.63% ($n=95$) of workers in the SOEs described their workplaces as uncomfortable, compared to only 7% ($n=13$) of workers at FICs. An analysis of the focus group discussions and researchers' observations found that infrastructure in SOEs was poor compared to FICs and that many FICs employed a nurse or doctor at the factory. Workers at FICs also reported that factories supplied protective clothing or uniforms, and, in some cases

individual water bottles were provided to workers. Figure 19 also shows that workers in all factories had limited access to rest places, snacks and fresh air.

Figure 18: Facilities available at work by type of factory (percentage)



Workers were asked in the quantitative survey to suggest ways that their workplaces could be improved. Although most workers expressed satisfaction with their workplaces, they were also able to suggest improvements. Most female and male workers suggested the following improvements, ventilation (45.7%=584), better food (42.3%=541), increased job security (38.6%=494), more training (38.2%=489) and less noise (32.8%=419).²⁵ More females than males requested cleaner toilet facilities (54.9% =559 compared to 47.1%=682), less abuse (26.4%=269 compared to 21.8%=56) and more breaks (24.2%=246 compared to 21.8%=57). These findings imply that women are potentially more vulnerable than male staff and more susceptible to abuse or fewer breaks. Females were also more likely than males to request social services such as childcare facilities and social or recreational activities. It is interesting to note that according to the Labour Code of Viet Nam (2002) Article 116 in workplaces where there are high numbers of female employees subsidies or provisions should be made by the employer for childcare. Of the factories included in the sample, only two SOEs provided support to female employees for childcare. More male participants than females focused on the need for stricter management (10.7%=28 compared to 8.9%=91) and a more organised management team (32.6%=85 compared to 29.6%=302). An insignificant number of workers requested shorter working hours. Perhaps this is due to the dependence many workers have on overtime to earn extra money to supplement their low salaries.

2.4.6. Leave provisions in the workplace

When workers were asked during the quantitative survey if they are eligible for annual leave 88.5% of women and 84.2% of men said they were eligible for up to 12 days per year. Most male (98.5%) and female (98.7%) workers explained that they were not eligible for paid sick leave but that they could take up to four days per year unpaid as part of their contracts. When workers were asked about their personal health, most women complained of suffering

²⁵ A recent media report highlights that factory workers are offered little choice and poor quality food (Doan Truc, "Meals of workers: Eating for passing the day?", www.vnn.vn, June 12, 2004).

poor health at work. This indicates that health insurance or medical services are a strategic need for workers, especially women. The survey found that this need was only being met by some employers with only 92% of workers having access to health insurance, and 3% of employees (male and female) being unaware of their rights to health insurance. There was no difference between the understanding that migrants and non-migrants had of leave provisions. Similarly, no correlations can be made between an increased understanding of leave arrangements by education level.

Box 4: Thuy

Thuy works as a workshop manager in a shoe factory in the North of Viet Nam.

I started working here in February 1997. When I started working here I had a 2-year-old boy and because there is no childcare at the factory his grandmother cares for him. After 7 years of working here I decided to have another baby. I got pregnant last summer and continued working. When I was seven months pregnant I stopped working evenings and overtime. I was conscious of the baby's health because the working environment here in the factory is noisy and there is a chemical smell. After I gave birth I took four months maternity leave with pay. I believe that women have a hard time fulfilling both tasks in the home and at work. I am a manager in the workshop and I need a lot of help and support from my husband, especially with the children and the housework. I think that men and women are equal and that women should have the chance to be promoted in their professions. This factory has a policy on gender and encourages women to work outside of the home. The factory could provide women and men more information on gender so they can understand it and recognise the differences between men and women.

Workers were asked to recall the benefits and conditions of their employment as outlined in their employment contracts. While most employers male and female could recall conditions related to salaries, working hours per day, health insurance and annual leave. Approximately 8% ($n=104$) of men and women were unsure if information related to overtime was included in their contracts and a further 21.5% ($n=268$) of workers said that information regarding overtime was not in their contracts. However, when workers were asked if any of their contract conditions had been broken only 2.7% ($n=7$) of males and 3% ($n=33$) of women said they had. Similarly, 4% ($n=10$) of male respondents and 5% ($n=46$) of female respondents were unsure whether their contracts included information related to the duration of their employment. A further 7% ($n=18$) of males and 10% ($n=96$) of females responded that their contracts did not include this vital information. These findings demonstrate a clear gap in the knowledge workers have not only of their employment contracts but considering the high incidence of breaches to the labour code found by the study, these findings also indicate workers' lack of understanding of the labour code.²⁶

Leave provisions were discussed in more detail during the focus group discussions and in-depth interviews. The focus group discussions conducted with men indicated a deeper understanding of workers' rights compared to the discussions with women's groups. One respondent from the women's group said she was not interested in workers rights. Other female workers said that all rights for men and women in the factory were equal with the exclusion of maternity rights. Unfortunately none of the respondents discussed or suggested workplace policies that could be improved or that they were dissatisfied with.

Only 70% ($n=693$) of female workers said that their workplace contracts included provision for maternity leave. Almost 20% ($n=188$) said their contracts did not include maternity leave while almost 10% ($n=73$) were not sure. These findings indicate that women's strategic needs are not being met by their employers and further, in cases where contracts are 12-months or more, these findings constitute a breach of the labour code. However, it may be that workers who are single or who already have a family, did not take any notice of

²⁶ Linh Truc reports on the lack of benefits provided to factory workers in Viet Nam in, "Under 50% of workers get social insurance", www.vnn.vn August 31, 2004.

maternity leave provisions when reviewing their contracts. During in-depth interviews many workers could not answer this question as they had never been pregnant, had grown children, were male workers, or had just started working. Those who did answer explained maternity leave policies which uphold the requirements set out in the Labour Code of Viet Nam. A small number of workers said that the factory had no policies and practices regarding pregnancy.

Interviewees were also asked what child care/child-friendly policies and practices the firm provides. Some workers said that there were no specific policies or practices in place, or that they did not know what policies were in place. Among the responses were gifts for the birth, children's day, Tet and Mid Autumn festival, and social insurance. While the child is under 12-months of age, mothers are allowed to start work later, leave work earlier and are not required to work overtime. Many workers said that they receive an allowance of an additional 100,000 VND per month for children aged 1 to 5 years. In addition, they said that they were able to take leave when their child was sick to care for their child.

Women who were familiar with maternity leave provisions cited two problems: 1) child care after 4-months is not covered, forcing women to leave the factory because there are no childcare subsidies or facilities, and 2) a 12 to 18 month waiting period for accessing benefits. Examples were cited of employers who do not renew women's contracts after 12 months, however, this hypothesis could not be tested because all employees, even those employed on one year contracts, may think they have maternity leave but will need to wait to see if their contracts are extended.

Overall, across all factories, there was little discussion of workplace rights by any participants in both the focus group discussions and in-depth interviews. This may indicate workers' limited understanding of their rights, a degree of satisfaction with workplace rights, or that workers felt uneasy about discussing their rights at work.

Box 5: Huong

Huong, 37 years old, started working in the factory in 1988. Today she works in the stitch production line. Huong is also the Chairwoman of the trade union of the factory. Huong got married in 1990 and had her first child in 1994. When she gave birth, Huong still received her salary from the social security fund and was reimbursed for other miscellaneous expenses related to the delivery. The factory provided Huong further financial support by giving her VND 50,000 from trade union, VND 300,000 from the factory management and VND 40,000 towards feeding her new baby. Huong went back to work six months later but she arranged to work in a sub-position on the production line because she had to go home early to feed the baby. This new position also gave her the freedom to have a day off in the event that the baby was ill. However, the shift in Huong's position also means that her income is less than before.

The findings from the study demonstrate a clear gender division of labour in both the garment and footwear industries in Viet Nam. Because men and women are recruited for different positions, they are required to meet different requirements, including higher skill or education levels than women. Therefore, males working in factories tend to receive slightly higher salaries and may not need to work as many hours of overtime per week. These men are also more likely to attend training programmes, which are offered to equal numbers of men and women regardless of the high number of female employees. Although both men and women are likely to be employed on 12-month contracts, marginally more men than women are employed on permanent contracts. The large number of women employed on 12-month contracts, and the disproportionate number of single young women employed by the factories begs the question whether or not managers are selecting women based on the low chance that they will take advantage of expensive benefits such as maternity leave. Statistics on the dismissal and turnover of workers collected by the management were of little value in answering this question. While most workers, male and female, report a high degree of satisfaction with their workplace, working conditions and management, the following sections of the analysis will continue to investigate whether or not women, or a sub-group of women, are employed as a comparative advantage for factory managers. This will be achieved

through a gender analysis of the different level of access and control male and female workers have and the level of protection workers enjoys a result of unions and labour standards.

3. Protecting Rights, Labour Standards and Codes

Based on the findings from the study women are being employed as a comparative advantage over men to fulfil low level positions in the garment and footwear industries. This section addressed the level of protection offered to men and women workers under trade unions, the labour code, ILO standards and CoCs. All factories must comply with both the Labour Code of Viet Nam and the ILO Standards, however, the revised labour code incorporates the spirit of the ILO standards. Factories seeking to win export contracts or to attain a competitive advantage may also choose to seek certification for CoCs such as the SA8000. CoCs represent the move towards CSR and seek to provide buyers more information on where their products are coming from and how they are being produced. They also assist in protecting workers and ensuring that companies are considering more than just the "bottom line" in manufacturing. The SA8000 is the most popular standard that companies in Viet Nam are increasingly attaining. SA8000 sets out guidelines on workshop conditions, human resource development, working conditions, union association and monitoring.

3.1. Trade Unions

All factories had trade unions in the factories, however, some were inactive and existed in name only. The SOEs had the most active trade unions, and in some cases Youth Unions were also organised at work. During in-depth interviews respondents were first asked whether or not they felt it was easy to access union membership information at their workplace. The majority 93.7% ($n=118/126$) responded that they had access to information. Workers were then asked whether or not they belonged to a union, with 81% ($n=102/126$) being union members, compared to 19% ($n=24/126$) of workers who were not members.

Box 6: Ly

The trade union of the factory provides a lot of activities for men and women working in the factory. On international women's day the factory held many events and even gave out awards to forty-five women who are facing difficulties in their personal lives. These women received VND 4,500,000. The trade union has also motivated each worker to donate VND 5000 per year to raise funds for other disadvantaged workers who may have had an accident at work and who are ill. For example, a colleague of mine Ms. Hoa has worked for the factory since it was established in 1998. She has contributed to its success. In the last few years her situation has become more difficult, in 2002 she got married and has since had a baby. Hoa and her family are living in a thatched cottage 30km away from the factory. The only property that the family has is a motorbike, which they use to drive Hoa to work each day. In this case the trade union decided to build Ms. Hoa a house closer to the factory. After a month the house (24m2) costing VND10 million was opened. Ms Hoa is very happy and grateful to the trade union as well as to the management board of the company for providing the necessary authority for the house to be built. These activities of the trade union at the factory create an incentive for workers to work hard and love their jobs.

Workers were asked how they felt being a union member benefited them. The most common responses were that the union protected worker's rights, provided encouragement, support and gifts to members in case of illness and other difficulties, and helped solve problems. However, subsequent discussions and interview questions proved that unions are social organisations, which provide social services to workers such as social events, sporting activities and field trips. Financial assistance was provided to union members in some cases, along with interest free loans. Bonuses or gifts were provided to union members on special occasions such as Tet, International Women's Day or Children's Day. A number of workers said that being a union member either offered no benefit or that they that did not know what the union did. While women were more likely to join a union, the chair of the union was shared between men and women. The most important finding related to unionism in the garment and footwear industries in Viet Nam is that workers could not cite instances where

the unions had provided advice on employment contracts, enterprise bargaining or acted as a mediator. Further, some participants described union representatives as pet employers who are affiliated with management and who could not be trusted. These findings point to a need for the role of unions to be strengthened.

3.2. Gender and labour standards

While labour standards and CoCs are not specifically about women or men, they do uphold equal treatment of all workers, equal access to promotion or training and decision-making powers and equal conditions, benefits, social security and remuneration for men and women. However, there are articles in the Labour Code of Viet Nam and ILO standards, which aim to protect women workers, especially in relation to maternity (see Box 7 and 8).

Box 7: Rights for women in the Labour Code of Viet Nam

Employers are prohibited from employing women to work underground in mines, to work in water (diving), and in jobs classified as hard or dangerous work (Article 111 [Clause 3]).

During menstruation or while breast-feeding children under 12-months of age, female workers are entitled to breaks of 30 and 60 minutes every day with full pay (Article 114 [Clause 1]).

It is prohibited to arrange for female workers who have been pregnant for seven months or who are breast-feeding a child under 12-months to work extended hours or to work night shift (Article 115 [Clause 1]). Upon reaching their seventh month of pregnancy female workers should be transferred to lighter work, or should have their working hours reduced by one hour but no wage deducted (Article 115 [Clause 2]).

Pregnant workers shall have the right to unilaterally terminate the employment contract without liability for compensation when a doctor's certificate states that continued employment would adversely affect the foetus (Article 112).

There are three ILO Conventions that cover this subject. The Equal Remuneration Convention, 1951 (No. 100) and the Discrimination (Employment and Occupation) Convention, 1958 (No. 111) are fundamental ILO conventions, and the Workers with Family Responsibilities Convention, 1981 (No. 156) (see Box 8).

3.3. Implementation of the labour code and standards

While all factories included in the sample were familiar with the Labour Code of Viet Nam less were aware of the ILO standards and even fewer had began or obtained the certification for SA8000. Unfortunately, most factory managers viewed obtaining the CoC certification as a costly process which required making infrastructure improvements to the factory. Some companies complained about having to implement up to fifteen different CoCs depending on the contracts with international buyers. One way that footwear factories are solving this problem is to develop their own CoCs through the Leather and Footwear Association (LEFASO). It is hoped that this CoC will be recognised by international companies and will make it easier for Vietnamese factories to meet one set of standards as opposed to many. The CoC developed by LEFASO should assist in addressing some of the emerging gender issues, and to synthesise some of the other salient issues in the footwear industry.

Management suggested a host of ways that information regarding workers' rights, labour codes and standards is communicated to employees. Some of the ways include, radio broadcast in the factory, newsletter, training sessions and through the television. Most factories also had trade unions and many workers were also members of mass organisations such as the Viet Nam Women's Union and the Youth Union. However, workers, regardless of their union membership, knew very little about their rights and standards. There is little or no educating of workers rights among colleagues with most women believing that their working conditions are different to their colleagues because of experience and length of time employed. Although many workers have been employed in other factories or intend to work in other factories they still are not informed about their rights. Instead of gathering information and making informed employment choices, the majority of factory workers gain employment,

experience the working conditions (good or bad) and then move to another factory if they are unhappy. At the next factory they are also not informed about their rights prior to commencing work.

Box 8 ILO Equality Conventions No. 100 and 111

In 1944, the ILO's Constitution and mandate was refreshed by the Declaration of Philadelphia. Among other things, it affirmed that "all human beings, irrespective of race, creed or sex, have the right to pursue their material well-being and their spiritual development in conditions of freedom and dignity, of economic security and equal opportunity"

Since then the 1958 Convention No 111 calls for a national policy to eliminate discrimination in access to employment, training and working conditions, on grounds of race, colour, sex, religion, political opinion, national extraction or social origin and to promote equality of opportunity and treatment. Discrimination is defined as any distinction, exclusion or preference based on race, colour, sex, religion, political opinion, national extraction or social origin (or any other motive determined by the State concerned) which has the effect of nullifying or impairing equality of opportunity or treatment in employment or occupation. The scope of the Convention covers access to vocational training, access to employment and to particular occupations, and terms and conditions of employment.

The 1951 Convention for Equal Remuneration No. 100 states that employers shall apply to basic wages or salaries and to any additional emoluments whatsoever, payable directly or indirectly, in cash or in kind, by the employer to the worker and arising out of his or her employment. The Convention defines equal remuneration for work of equal value as remuneration established without discrimination based on sex.

3.4. Informing and protecting workers

The quantitative survey asked workers what information they require to assist them in making a decision whether or not to work in the factory. Most workers, male and female requested information regarding the nature of the job or type of work required. More female workers than males requested information on the living conditions and housing options near the factories. This finding supports the strategic and practical needs that migrant women have for accommodation and social services close to work. More men than women requested information regarding the management of the factory and the skill level required to work in the factory.

Box 9: EPZ

One factory in the EPZ in Ho Chi Minh City has established a psychology consulting service within the factory. The service provides support to workers such as listening to complaints, training new workers about the labour laws and company regulations and meeting other human resource needs. In 2003 the department had 400 cases to address including annual leave, maternity leave, salary, social insurance, marriage and family, personal life and subsidies for workers who stopped working. The staff in the unit consult directly with the staff who have problems, organise activities for workers during weekends, provide information on family planning and motherhood and drug education. Each workshop has a mailbox for workers to post their ideas or comments to management and supervisors and every month these comments are collected and discussed. The company believes that the department is successful and that happy workers are more productive, work long-term and have a high level of responsibility and loyalty. Working conditions and infrastructure at this factory were also excellent and researchers reported that workers appeared more relaxed, open and confident.

For the labour code to provide further protection to women in the garment and footwear industry, and other industries, there needs to be a clause directly related to workplaces, which have become feminised. While the laws pertaining to anti-discrimination may be applicable in some cases, they do not apply in a situation like in Viet Nam where jobs are becoming so typified as female jobs that males are not even applying. The labour code or the ILO standards should incorporate specific guidelines on the feminisation of workplaces. Existing conditions set out in the labour code, and in the ILO standards and SA8000 also need to be enforced. While enforcement can come from MOLISA or international companies, factory workers and management need to establish their own monitoring and evaluation systems. One example of a factory taking extra efforts to protect staff was found in a factory

included in the sample (see Box 9). The breaches of the labour code and ILO standards are summarised in table 7. The table also includes a discussion of what is required for factories to meet these standards.

Table 7: Identified breaches to the Labour Code of Viet Nam and ILO Standards

Gender Related Issue	Labour Code of Viet Nam	ILO and SA 8000	Situation in factories included in sample	How standards can be met and the cost to factories.
<p>Maternity Leave</p> <p>Provisions for maternity leave is a practical and strategic need for women. Women should not be disadvantaged in the workforce when they fulfil their reproductive roles.</p>	<p>Article 111, 112, 114, 115.</p> <p>Workers are eligible to access maternity leave and other social security benefits after a waiting period of 12-18 months.</p>	<p>Maternity Protection Convention</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Maternity leave is available for workers on long term (longer than 1 year) or permanent contracts. ➤ Some factory managers do not renew the contracts of workers after one year employment. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ This is perhaps the most costly standard to implement for private companies. At minimum wage a total of 2.88M VND to 4.32M VND for a period of 12 to 18 months respectfully will be the cost a company will have to compensate each pregnant woman. (Minimum wage taken at 240,000 VND per Month). ➤ The benefits of enforcing maternity leave will result in secure employment for women, an increase in the number of women employed long term in the labour force and a more loyal and possibly productive workforce.
<p>Recruitment based on sex, age or ethnicity.</p>	<p>Viet Nam is a signatory to the ILO conventions 100 and 111.</p> <p>Employers are prohibited from employing women to work underground in mines, to work in water (diving), and in jobs classified as hard or dangerous work (Article 111 [Clause 3]).</p>	<p>ILO Conventions 100 and 111 (Equal remuneration for male and female workers for work of equal value, discrimination)</p> <p>SA8000 the company shall not discriminate in hiring, compensation, access to training, promotion, termination or retirement based on race, caste, gender, nationality, sexual orientation, religion, disability, union membership, or political affiliation.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Women are recruited over men. ➤ Women are not employed for positions that are considered dangerous or physically hard. Women are not employed for positions such as cutting or ironing which require standing up. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ This would cost very little, however, it would need to be implemented in conjunction with the equal pay for equal labour standard discussed below. ➤ The benefit for Viet Nam in enforcing these standards is that they develop an international reputation as an equal opportunity employer, making them more attractive trading partners. The local benefits include workplaces which are non-discriminatory and that provide increased opportunities to sub-populations who may be currently disadvantaged in the labour market such as women, ethnic minorities, old people and the disabled.

<p>Equal pay for work of equal value.</p>	<p>Viet Nam is a signatory to the ILO conventions 100 and 111.</p>	<p>ILO Conventions 100 and 111 (Equal remuneration for male and female workers for work of equal value, discrimination)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ The work of men usually carried out by men is valued more than work typically performed by women. ➤ Men and women are employed to do different jobs. ➤ Men and women receive different pay. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ There needs to be standardisation of the position descriptions for production staff. If the work that men currently perform requires more skill then this needs to be publicised and women need to be provided support to attain such skills. ➤ The cost of paying women the same as men would be high for large factories, however, based on the philosophy of equal pay for equal work, this change is necessary.
<p>Right to join a trade union / association.</p> <p>The right to join a union becomes a gender issue when we consider the needs of women in the workplace. The findings from this study demonstrate that women are often disadvantaged at work and have less negotiating and decision making power. For this reason women may require more support from unions than men.</p>		<p>ILO Convention 87 (Freedom of Association).</p> <p>SA8000 - The company shall, in those situations where the right to freedom of association and collective bargaining is restricted under law, facilitate parallel means of independent and free association and bargaining for all personnel.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Worker unions and associations are weak in some foreign investment and joint venture companies. Trade unions and associations may only exist in name in particular factories. ➤ Union representative is often a pet employee and affiliated with management not with workers. ➤ All associations and trade unions must be affiliated with the VGCL and not independent unions. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ The establishment of unions or workplace associations would incur a minimal cost to the factories and could potentially have great affects. Some of the benefits to Viet Nam include, a more informed workforce who instead of moving from one job to another remain loyal to their employees and a more productive workplace because workers' needs are being met and they are more likely to have less down time as a result of illness or dissatisfaction with their jobs.
<p>Equal access to training and promotion</p>	<p>Viet Nam is a signatory to the ILO conventions 100 and 111.</p>	<p>ILO Conventions 100 and 111 (Equal remuneration for male and female workers for work of equal value, discrimination)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Training opportunities typically exist for technicians or management - not for unskilled workers. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Training programmes offered to unskilled workers or production staff should include a representative number of women. ➤ Female technicians and managers

		<p>discrimination).</p> <p>SA8000 the company shall not discriminate in hiring, compensation, access to training, promotion, termination or retirement based on race, caste, gender, nationality, sexual orientation, religion, disability, union membership, or political affiliation.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Men usually hold the positions of technicians in the factories. ➤ Most factory workers are women and are employed on the factory floor as "unskilled" workers. Unskilled work does not require an education, however, to access promotion opportunities workers must have both technical skills and an education. Men, not women usually have these skills. 	<p>should be tapped as participants for training programmes.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ This would not pose any additional cost to the factory. ➤ The benefit for Viet Nam in enforcing these standards is that the female labour force will become more skilled, therefore having a positive impact on gender equity in Viet Nam and a larger population of skilled workers who contribute to a more productive labour force.
<p>Women's right to light duties while pregnant, breastfeeding or menstruating</p>	<p>Article 111, 112, 114, 115</p>	<p>ILO Convention 155 and Recommendation 164 (Occupational Health and Safety)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Pregnant women are able to perform lighter duties. ➤ Menstruating women would need to negotiate with their union representative or manager to be moved to lighter duties. ➤ Breastfeeding women are able to have flexible working hours but may be moved to jobs that attract less pay. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Like the maternity leave laws, this law may be costly for factories to implement. ➤ Workers should be provided clear information on maternity leave and women's rights to light duties in their labour contracts. Unions and workplace groups should be required to ensure that these conditions are being met and that women do not have to negotiate special arrangements alone. ➤ If women are provided support at work they are more likely to stay employed and have less time off to care for their children. The enforcement of these standards would also reduce the number of women who quit jobs once they have children due to an inability to manage their time accordingly. The promotion of breastfeeding will also lead to

				healthier children which in turn may lead to more productive staff who do not need to take time off to care for sick children. Considerations of women's strategic needs will lead to more women entering the workforce.
<p>Overtime</p> <p>The interviews with management conducted by this study found that women worked more overtime than men., and often the amount of overtime worked by women was above the 300 hours as specified in the labour code.</p>	<p>Maximum of 300 hours per year. The amount of overtime shall not exceed 4 hours per day.</p>	<p>ILO Conventions 100 and 111 (Equal remuneration for male and female workers for work of equal value, discrimination)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Students and seasonal workers are paid VND 4000 per hour for overtime. ➤ Sometimes workers are not forewarned about overtime and cannot prepare themselves i.e. food or child care. ➤ Sometimes workers are not paid for working overtime. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Restrictions on the amount of overtime may be costly to factories, especially private companies. ➤ Workers can be forewarned about overtime requirements in their work contracts and during peak seasons where overtime is expected to be required. ➤ Workplace monitoring groups should inform workers about restrictions placed on overtime and all workers should be asked to manage their overtime rates and hours closely. ➤ If overtime rates and hours are enforced workers may be less likely to quit their jobs and will be more productive at work.
<p>Working hours</p> <p>This study found that although men and women may work an equal number of hours in paid employment, they often work longer than the 48 hour week specified in the labour code. Further, women tend to work additional hours within the home. By enforcing the 8 hour day and 48-hour week,</p>	<p>8 hours per day / 48 hours per week.</p>	<p>ILO Conventions 100 and 111 (Equal remuneration for male and female workers for work of equal value, discrimination)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Some factories have contracts with employees to work from 7:30am - 11pm six days per week. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ This is a basic law that could easily be enforced by factories. ➤ All workplace contracts should include number of working hours. ➤ Workplace groups should encourage workers to monitor the number of hours they work. ➤ Enforcing the 8-hour working day ensures that workers have enough time to balance their work and life which may reduce the turnover of staff.

<p>women are able to manage their work and life commitments.</p>				
<p>Forced Labour</p> <p>The issue of forced labour becomes a gender issue when we consider that the garment and footwear industry has a large female population. Further, the women employed are young and often unaware of their rights making them a target for abuses such as forced labour.</p>	<p>Viet Nam is a signatory to the ILO convention 29 and 105.</p>	<p>ILO Convention 29 and 105 (Forced and Bonded labour)</p> <p>Cannot restrict breaks including toilet breaks.</p> <p>SA8000 Forced Labour: personnel should not be required to lodge deposits or identity papers upon commencing employment with the company.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Factory managers reported that restricting breaks, including toilet breaks was an effective policy to increase productivity. It is not clear whether or not factory managers were enforcing this rule. ➤ SA800 convention states that no worker should have to pay money for information or deposits upon commencement of employment in a factory. Some workers in this sample did pay for information prior to commencing work. This is also contradictory to Vietnamese requirements for the submission of ID cards and residency permits. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Workers should not have restrictions placed on the number of toilet breaks they require. ➤ This would not pose a significant cost to the factory, however workers who have their needs met at work are more likely to be loyal or long term employees. There may also be a reduction in the incidence of workers who suffer from bladder or kidney infections.
<p>Retirement age for women</p>	<p>Women retire earlier than men.</p>	<p>SA8000 the company shall not discriminate in hiring, compensation, access to training, promotion, termination or retirement based on race, caste, gender, nationality, sexual orientation, religion, disability, union membership, or political affiliation.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Men and women are aware that the retirement age is lower for women than it is for men. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ This issue needs to be dealt with at the national level and is not something that would pose a cost to factories. ➤ Enforcing this standard would demonstrate Viet Nam's commitment to gender equity and promotion of women in the workforce. Further, upholding the internationally recognised standard of equal retirement age for men and women could also have a positive impact on

				could also have a positive impact on Viet Nam's relationships with trading partners.
<p>Child Care subsidies or creches at work</p> <p>The provision of child care subsidies and creches at work ensures that women are not disadvantaged economically through fulfilling their reproductive role.</p>	<p>Workplaces which have large populations of women should provide creches or child care subsidies</p>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Few workplaces offered child care subsidies or creches for employees. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Due to the small number of workers who have children, the cost would be minimal. ➤ If women are provided with childcare facilities they are more likely to return to work earlier after giving birth and are more likely to remain with their existing jobs. This would lead to a more loyal and productive workforce.
<p>Protective masks and uniforms</p> <p>Clean Bathrooms</p> <p>While these issues may not appear to be gendered, they become gender issues when we consider the high population of women employed in the garment and footwear industries and their lack of power and decision making capacity within the workplace. Further, more female respondents described clean bathrooms as a practical need that was not being met by the factories.</p>	<p>Viet Nam is a signatory to the ILO convention 155 and 164</p>	<p>ILO Convention 155 and Recommendation 164 (Occupational Health and Safety)</p> <p>SA8000 The company shall provide access to clean bathrooms, potable waters and if appropriate sanitary facilities for food storage.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Some workers were observed by researchers not wearing protective masks and uniforms. ➤ Many of the bathrooms were described by women as unclean. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ This is a low cost requirement which will most likely reduce the incidence of work place health issues. It should be vigilantly enforced by factories. ➤ Enforcing this standard may improve the health of workers and the level of satisfaction workers have with their place of work leading to a more loyal and productive workforce.

4. Gender Stereotyping and Women as a Competitive Advantage

This section explores the different justifications of why women are employed in the garment and footwear industry. Two interrelated explanations are discussed, 1) women have been typecast into the role of worker in the footwear or garment industry through the perpetuation of gender stereotypes that uphold women as traditional, unskilled, honest, loyal and non-threatening. 2) There is a profit based argument which asserts that women are cheaper and more flexible than male workers which assists factory managers to attain a competitive economic edge in the garment and footwear industry. Both including actual and perceived gender advantages and disadvantaged in employing women over men. Drawing on evidence from workers and managers on the different working conditions and experiences of men and women in the factories, the study found that stereotypes of female workers dominate the industries and assist factory managers in selecting women over men for jobs that can be done by either sex. These stereotypes also lead to the valuation of men's work over women's which accounts for the better working conditions and more positive experiences of male workers in the factories. This section also draws on economic analyses to support the claim that women are being employed because of their comparative advantage over men.

4.1. Women's Empowerment Framework

The Women's Empowerment Framework draws a correlation between increased gender equality and increased women's empowerment. The framework can be used as a tool for women and men to analyse their own situations and to compare their different experiences of working in the factory. This was achieved through several research questions which called upon men and women to define the work of men and women and to compare and contrast the experiences of their male / female colleagues. The women's empowerment framework was developed by collecting responses from managers and workers across all field methods. The framework draws on five hierarchical areas of analysis: 1) Control; 2) Participation; 3) Conscientisation; 4) Access; and 5) Welfare.

At the bottom of the scale is welfare while control is at the top. The hierarchy of the framework means that an intervention (or in the case of this research, women's employment in a factory) that increases women's welfare (bottom of the pyramid), does not necessarily lead to women's empowerment, than an intervention which increases women's control (at the top of the pyramid). For example, providing women welfare services or material resources is not as empowering as woman participating in leadership or controlling decision-making. Therefore, each area has been analysed as having positive, neutral or negative impacts on men's and women's equality, and women's empowerment.

For this analysis of emerging gender issues in the footwear and garment industries, each of the five categories has been used to measure the impacts of women's empowerment using the following indicators.

Control as a category focusing on decision-making processes, production, distribution and the balance of control between men and women. Indicators for this category include:

- Salaries for men and women: women earn 200 000 VND less than men per month, and migrant women earn less than residents, for work on the production line. It is not always clear whether or not women have control over their income. Often money is remitted to families who "hold" the money for workers. This money may be spent or loaned out to other relatives and can be called upon when the worker needs it. It is not clear under what circumstances the money can be called upon and if it is always available.
- Women and men's participation in unions and workplace associations: Although women are often representatives in the union, union chairs are often rotated between men and women. Unions tend to be weak.

- Women in management roles: Although women represent 60% of managers, management positions are few. Most positions occupied by women are on the production line.
- Level of control women and men have over the amount of work they do, for example, overtime. According to statistics from management surveys, women work more overtime than men and are often not paid for overtime or not provided prior notice of when overtime is expected. Some women work in excess of 300 hours of overtime per year. Women in the study demonstrated a degree of control over the decision whether or not to work in a factory. For example, many women had worked in other factories previously and the large number of factory jobs available would suggest that women can pick and choose which factory they want to work in, however, one obstacle facing women is the need to pay recruitment costs to work in particular factories. Further, working in a factory was seen as an opportunity for women whose only other choice was agricultural work. Factory work enabled women the opportunity to earn an income and to do work that is less physical than agricultural work.

The category *Participation* is concerned with equal participation in decision-making processes, policy-making, planning and administration. Indicators that have assisted the analysis of participation in this research include:

- Women in management: See above.
- Trade unions and workplace associations: See above.
- Policy development (both inside and outside of the factories): There is little participation of civil society in the formulation of policies related to factory management and the garment and footwear industries.
- Human resource initiatives and training: Women are typically employed as unskilled labour and therefore have little access to training or promotion. Some workplace activities (usually social activities) are offered to women. Women and men are employed on 12-month contracts, however, the number of female seasonal workers is high. Workers may have to pay a recruitment fee to work in the factories.

The analytical category *Conscientisation* concerns the understanding of differences between sex and gender, and the awareness that gender roles are cultural and can change. Conscientisation also assumes that participants have an understanding of the gender division of labour. In the factories conscientisation was measured in the following ways:

- Understanding work of men and women: Men and women had a general awareness of the work that men and women do in the factories, however, women doing work typically performed by men was invisible to men, while work typically performed by women yet carried out by men was also invisible to women.
- The suitability (if any) of certain jobs for men or women: There was a clear division of labour based on gender biases with particular work being type-caste as men's or women's work.
- The gender relations between men and women in the factories: Gender relations in the factory were perceived as positive and equal however men and women were not aware of the different working conditions of men and women or the different rates of pay and overtime.

Access as a category of analysis focuses on equal access men and women have to the following:

- **Benefits:** Although men and women often work under the same contracts, many women do not have access to maternity leave. Women and men are often not eligible for sick leave or health insurance.
- **Services:** Services that meet the practical needs of women are not provided, for example childcare. Migrant women in particular are disadvantaged in terms of accessing accommodation, water, education and health care services.
- **Resources within the factory:** In Viet Nam, traditionally men are perceived by women and men as having more access to social and political activities within the workplace and community. Women, are more likely than men to spend financial resources on their families or paying bills than men. Women spend more time in the house and on housework than male colleagues who are more likely to be involved in community activities.

The final category of analysis is *Welfare*. This category is concerned with the services and material resources that are provided to women, often these are practical needs rather than strategic needs. In this research among factory workers it includes the following:

- **Salaries for women:** Women earn approximately 200 000 VND less than males.
- **Training courses:** Women are less likely to attend training courses than males per head of factory population due to equal opportunity policies aimed at providing training to equal numbers of females and males. Women are also more often employed as unskilled labour and therefore do not have the opportunity to attend training courses.
- **Uniforms:** Not all factories provide uniforms or protective equipment to workers.
- **Meals at work:** Most workers, male and female were provided with lunchtime meals. Some workers were provided with dinner or a meal allowance when working overtime.
- **Accommodation or travel to and from the factory:** Few employees were provided with accommodation or travel to and from work. Those workers who were provided with these services tended to be employees of SOEs.

While the indicators and categories of the women's empowerment framework are discussed throughout the analysis section of this report, table 8 summarises the results of the women's empowerment analysis.

Table 8: Women's Empowerment Framework

Level of recognition	Negative	Neutral	Positive	Level of Equality
Control	X	X		Medium
Participation		X		Medium
Conscientisation	X			Low
Access	X	X		Medium
Welfare	X	X	X	Medium

4.2. Gender awareness

One explanation of the pronounced gender division of labour in the garment and footwear industries is the existence of rigid gender roles and stereotypes in Viet Nam. These gender roles are perpetuated by the lack of gender awareness among factory managers, workers and industry stakeholders. An analysis of the gender awareness among participants in the study can provide one explanation of why women are employed over men.

Factory managers and industry stakeholders were asked a series of questions regarding the existence of gender issues in Viet Nam and the relevance of gender issues at work and in particular factories. Interviews with stakeholders and industry association representatives demonstrated a broad understanding of gender issues in Viet Nam. Most of the interviewees mentioned the roots of the gender inequalities in Viet Nam as being Confucianism and all discussed the ways that the government of Viet Nam was attempting to reduce the inequalities between men and women. However, when the interviewees were asked to talk about gender issues at work, and in the garment and footwear sector, the answers were often confused. Most responses acknowledged the high number of females working in the industries but there was limited discussion of the problems or gender issues that may emerge as a result of this disproportionate number of women. When problems or issues were defined they included, the reduced chances that women working in factories have for marriage and a lack of accommodation available for women migrants in newly established industrial areas. These issues have also been highlighted in Vietnamese media reports, for example the Lao Dong newspaper reported that female workers often live in overcrowded housing and that women may find it more difficult to find a husband.²⁷

During focus group discussions male and female workers were shown several posters illustrating traditional and non-traditional male and female gender roles. The discussion that followed indicated that women and men upheld traditional gender roles whereby women work in the home and care for children and men are engaged in paid labour. A poster illustrating a man cooking and caring for the children produced a lively discussion where most participants felt that this was a woman's responsibility. Female participants explained that women should be able to manage both paid and domestic work with occasional support from their husbands. Female participants were equally as outraged as males at the thought that a man would have to cook dinner and care for the children at the same time. One female said that this was only acceptable if the husband was unemployed. One male participant suggested that the eldest child would be more suitable to care for the child while the mother was at work.

Everyone in the household should know their own responsibilities, and women are responsible for children and household work.

Male focus group participant

The poster illustrating a female manager and a male worker lead to confusion among all focus group participants. Only a few participants recognised that the poster was depicting a workplace situation. Most participants believed that this was a husband and wife - a husband was working while the wife was taking care of her beauty. The woman was also seen as unacceptable and uncaring because the man represented in the poster was visibly sick at work. Again the portrayal of the gender roles upheld women as a care givers or objects of beauty who do not work, while men are hard working. The woman was not seen as an authoritative figure or supervisor. It would have been interesting to see if the sex of the

²⁷ Do Van – Quang Chinh, “Alarming on living conditions”, www.laodong.com.vn, June 8, 2004 and “Love story in rented houses”, www.vnexpress.net, September 9, 2004.

characters was changed if the interpretation would still be husband and wife, not a manager and worker.

One poster that illustrated sexual harassment in the workplace promoted a lively discussion among the workers who mostly agreed that verbal harassment or sexual "jokes" were acceptable at work but physical harassment was not. In all focus groups an overwhelming number of participants explained that women and men in Viet Nam are equal and that gender issues or gender inequalities seldom exist. Gender issues that were raised by women included a lack of support from their husbands in housework while focus group discussions with men revealed that they perceive women to receive more workplace benefits. The analysis of workplace conditions proved that this latter perception is incorrect.

The interviews with factory managers ($n=21$) echoed the same sentiment that gender issues did not exist in Viet Nam. In most cases the managers also demonstrated an inability to analyse and identify gender issues in the workplace, especially in their own factories. For example, two thirds (6/9) of private Vietnamese companies said they were not aware of any gender issues. The one third (3/9) of respondents who could answer the question highlighted a preference for boy children over girls and the lack of women in positions of power and management in Viet Nam. The results in the SOEs were more positive with 50% of SOE managers being aware of gender inequalities. However, these managers could only cite domestic violence and the preferences for male children over females. Half of these respondents (25%) reported that gender inequalities, such as women not having good working conditions and women working long hours as gender issues which exist in the factory. These answers are clearly confused. When asked why these gender issues should be addressed, most participants responded that gender issues impacted negatively on the health of small children and the need for workplaces to keep up with the changes that are occurring in Vietnamese society. When asked if gender issues were as important or linked to economic issues in the factories, most managers, perhaps in an attempt to be politically correct, ranked gender as being just as important as profit. The opinions cited by the managers of the FIC companies were the only group within the sample who asserted that gender issues were not important and did not impact on profit. However, the findings from the interviews demonstrate that the factory managers did not actually see a relationship between gender and economics or gender and profit.

The findings from factory managers in relation to gender awareness point to two conclusions. First, even though the garment and footwear industry has become feminised with more than 80% of female employees, factory managers have difficulty identifying gender issues and do not always view them as important. Second, the relationship between gender and profit or gender and economic competitiveness was not made by any of the factory managers. This poses the question, why are women being recruited over men?

4.3. Suitability of women as factory workers

The high number of women employed in the factories suggests a preference for the deployment of female labour. Not only was this confirmed by all managers in the sample, it was also confirmed by many of the male and female workers. This preference for female labour over male labour is evidenced in the percentage of new recruits across all factories in 2003 (93% of all new recruits were women). Factory managers cited a number of reasons why women are selected over men for employment (see table 8 for a summary).

When factory workers were asked during the quantitative survey whether men or women were better suited to factory work, 91.6% ($n=239$) of males and 78.8% ($n=801$) females responded that both males and females were equally suited to factory work. More females (20.5%=208) than males (8%=21) responded that females were more suited for factory work. When these figures are analysed by the type of ownership of the factory, 27.9% of workers employed at SOEs felt that women were more suitable to factory work. An explanation for this could be that traditionally women have worked in the garment and footwear industries in

Viet Nam and that SOEs tend to have long term and permanent employees who over the years may have come to see their workplaces as a female domain.

Table 9: Summary of the advantages of employing women over men in the garment and footwear industry as recorded in stakeholder interviews

Women	Men
➤ Not aggressive	➤ Change jobs more frequently.
➤ Do not fight	➤ Demand high salaries.
➤ Work long hours	➤ Don't work hard.
➤ Work well under pressure	➤ Argue with management.
➤ Do not complain.	➤ Argue with colleagues.
➤ Have patience.	➤ Can't do repetitive tasks.
➤ Good at repetitive tasks	➤ Don't like boring jobs.
➤ Physically more suitable to processing jobs than men.	➤ Like to use their physical strength.
➤ Hard working	➤ Men are aggressive.
➤ Work for less.	➤ Men are not patient.
➤ Do not steal.	➤ Men can't work long shifts.
➤ Loyal	➤ Men are leaders
Do not quit jobs.	➤ Men want to have more power.

4.4. Women and men in society

Evidence from the qualitative questionnaire on how men and women spend their free time also provides a clear distinction between male and female gender roles outside of the workplace. Although most workers, regardless of age, marital status, residency or sex, spend their free time at home, more females than males spend time on housework or other work such as a part time job, while more males than females spend their time watching television, playing sport or resting.

The clearly defined gender roles described by men and women in focus groups are not seen by workers or managers as having a negative impact on women. In fact most participants in focus group discussions explained that men and women in Viet Nam are equal, citing examples of equal working hours, equal salaries and equal policies in the workplace. Some male participants even felt that women were more privileged in the workplace than men because they receive maternity leave and receive gifts on March 8, International Women's Day.

The only concern regarding inequality between men and women mentioned by the factory managers and workers during focus group discussions was women's lack of opportunities to socialise and find a suitable marriage partner. Some participants in the study communicated that men often find marriage partners at work. A few factory managers also mentioned that they support socialising between male and female employees in the hope that they will find a suitable spouse at work. Of all the female participants in the sample 304 (30.7%) have found a spouse while working in the factory. Slightly more males (45.5%=117) have also found their partner while working at the factory.

There was little evidence that mass organisations or trade unions had attempted to address gender issues facing men and women working in factories. Workers explained that they did

receive some information on social issues and health from their employers. Information was also provided by the EPZ and FICs through their human resource departments. In SOEs and private Vietnamese companies information was mostly available through propaganda over the radio or trade unions. Qualitative interviews and focus group discussions demonstrated a need for additional information on gender issues, which related to HIV/AIDS, life choices and sexual harassment. For migrant workers the need for social information on social issues and support was more important but it was not clear if all migrants could access these services as migrants who were not registered at their new addresses. Because local governments are actively encouraging women to work in the garment and footwear factories through the establishment of vocational training schools, it was surprising that there were not more services available to new workers and migrants in particular. However, it is important to note that most factory managers were aware of on-going debates, publicised in the media, regarding the provision of services to migrant workers. In particular managers mentioned the debate over whether or not factories or governments should provide services.²⁸

4.5. Costs and Benefits of employing women over men in the factory

For a comprehensive economic analysis of the labour market targeting the garment and footwear industries, and numerically conceptualising the differences between male and female labour markets, further research will have to be conducted quantifying these two separate markets. From the information derived by this empirical research, conclusions can be drawn to provide insight into the demand and supply of male and female labour and thereby describing costs and benefits of female and male labour within the garment and footwear industries. However, it is also important to stipulate that there are other levels of analysis where the benefits and costs to the factory are inversed. They include the overall economic situation of Viet Nam and the economic situation of the individual for both the long term and short term.

Table 8 provides insight towards the incentives for exploiting women explaining their relative advantage over men. There is a stereotype view that women work for a lower wage, are harder working, do not quit jobs, do not complain, are willing to work longer hours, including being nimble fingered at factory work, all which makes them highly competitive over men. This explains that there is a lower opportunity cost and thereby a higher incentive for factory management to employ women. As an input to trade, women with a lower opportunity cost allow for industries to maintain their competitive advantage over others. Thus, in the short term, Viet Nam's competitive advantage over other garment and footwear producing countries is within their labour force.

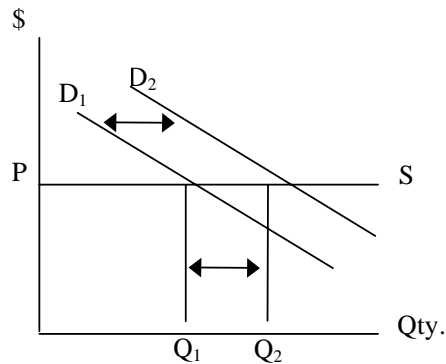
As mentioned in the profile of workers (Chapter 3 section 1), women workers in the garment and footwear industries are usually single, young, unskilled, poorly educated and migrants from rural areas. Women's opportunity cost for working at these factories, their best next alternative, must be very low but higher than their gains if living in their village. Either this, or as discussed by Seguino²⁹, the transfer of gender roles from households to the workplace by cultural instruments (norms and stereotypes) convince women of their low status. Either way their opportunity cost, compared to men in the same industry, is lower.

²⁸ See Cao Hung – Dang Ngoc "Building houses for workers: Why enterprises were reluctant?" www.laodong.com.vn, June 10, 2004. It should also be noted that the recent migration review highlighted that although most migrants are poor people, they do not have access to national target programs. In particular migrants are not beneficiaries of the Hunger Eradication and Poverty Reduction program which offers low interest loans and free health care (Dang Nguyen Anh 10:2003).

²⁹ Seguino, S. (2000) Accounting for Gender in Asian Economic Growth, *Feminist Economic* 6(3) 2000, 27-58.

Theoretically unskilled or production labour, regardless of gender, is regarded as having an elastic supply because of its excess supply in the market, is homogeneous in nature, and does not pose any barriers to enter the market (however it is reported that some workers have had to pay a job fee). Further, the incentives for women to work in such industries are quite high or there are not many other choices. Therefore, if a demand shock within this industry occurs, which causes a demand for unskilled (female) labour to shift to the left or right, the price per unit of labour will not change, only quantity demanded will change; as expressed in figure 19.

Figure 19: Demand shocks on female labour.

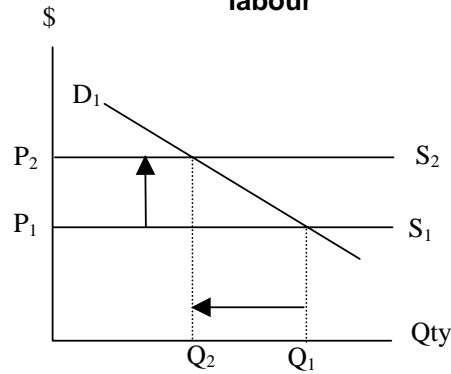


Comparing female labour to "skilled" male labour, male labour as a commodity has a limited number of workers with additional barriers to entry including education and the possible withholding of information; this would lead to assume that the supply curve is slanting and that wage levels for males are higher than their 'unskilled' female counterparts. In some cases, there have been cases where women face 'transaction costs' in the form of hiring fees to gain unskilled labour jobs.

Viet Nam is a highly agricultural based society with an incoming growth into an ever-expanding industrial sector. The supply of male workers could be drawn by the demand towards more male gender driven work (due to physical or cultural reasons) leaving a proportionally greater population of women, compared to males, to provide labour for industries with a greater demand for an unskilled labour force. Therefore, females may have a smaller pool of available jobs compared to their male counterparts and women, as opposed to men may need to compete harder for work between women. Additionally, unskilled or under-educated males may find it difficult to acquire positions in the garment and footwear industries because women, with their 'competitive advantage' occupy these jobs.

Viet Nam's application to the WTO was subject number of restructuring of both taxes and government before they will be accepted. It is believed that come 2005 membership will be granted. One reason for Viet Nam's drive to become a WTO member is its comparative advantage over cheap unskilled labour, which is driving the industrial sector. Women, and the circumstances and incentives that shape the unskilled female labour market play a central role in Viet Nam's competitiveness over other LDC's. Policing all international requirements and securing provisions granted to female staff may have a negative short-term impact on this competitive advantage. The policing and implementation of ILO standards and labour laws will not shift the supply curve up directly, however as the economy of Vietnam shifts up a gear prices should increase across the board, along with inflation (as is occurring presently) this will shift the supply for unskilled female labour upwards. Figure 20 demonstrates that an upward shift in the supply of unskilled female labour will both increase price and lower the demand for quantity of unskilled labour.

Figure 20: Supply shock and their changes to supply and demand of unskilled female labour



If this is to occur there is an urgent need for the current and future unskilled female labour to become educated in future industries in which Viet Nam believes they will have an international competitive advantage. One way that this is being done is through the use of computer-aided design (CAD) and computer-aided manufacturing (CAM) technologies.

The overview of the labour markets, provided above, sets up the Costs and Benefits of the comparative advantage of employing women over men in factories. As stated in the methodology a blurred distinction lies between actual and perceived differences of gender biases between women and men, (see table 10). Some of the costs and benefits are easier to quantify than others, for example, maternity leave is calculated on the monthly wage for 4 months. On the other hand calculating *perceived* benefits such as the 'ability of women to concentrate more on tedious task' compared to men can not be calculated. If the gender segregation created 100% female and 100% male work environments, then productivity for the two sexes could be measured, however, as each job within the industries is not totally exclusive to either sex it is impossible to calculate the actual costs and benefits of employing one sex over another.

Table 10: Perceived and actual costs and benefits of employing women over men

	Costs	Benefits
Male	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Demand better conditions • More likely to complain • Cannot do repetitive tasks • Higher salaries • Less likely to work overtime • More likely to quit work ▪ Aggressive and more likely to fight at work 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Physically strong • Able to stand for long periods • Higher education levels • Less likely to be migrants • More likely to be older and have a family • Better leaders / managers
Female	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Maternity leave • Responsible for childcare • Lacking in physical strength • Less educated • Migrants from rural areas 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • More likely to pay recruitment fee • Lower salaries • Longer working hours • More likely to work overtime • Less demanding • Able to do boring jobs and concentrate more than men • Less likely to have a family • Young and single • Congenial ▪ Nimble fingered

Chapter 4: Conclusions and Lessons Learned

While most participants upheld the notion that men and women are equal, most participants cited examples of the differences between men and women in terms of the gender division of labour and skill level of men and women. Few, if any participants acknowledged that these differences between men and women promoted at work, and in the home, were not based on sex or biology but were in fact gender issues, which often discriminate against women. Stereotypes of women as enduring, submissive and hardworking were provided alongside examples of men as less motivated, more technically minded and inefficient at repetitive tasks. In Viet Nam these stereotypes have been naturalised as biological differences between men and women. The impact of these gender roles is evidenced in the labour force through working conditions and the day-to-day experiences of men and women.

At work, women have been type-caste into jobs which render low salaries, require minimal or no education and skills, and often have less opportunities for promotion, services, benefits and training opportunities. Similarly, men are type-caste into technical roles or jobs requiring "heavy labour", which often demand higher salaries and in some cases higher levels of education. The awareness of this type-casting was low among all participants who instead saw the division of labour as placing women and men in exclusively "suitable" positions. This begs the question, are certain jobs being "marketed" by recruitment agencies, schools and society as female or male? If so these jobs and other jobs need to be re-marketed as gender neutral. This would increase the gender awareness across Vietnamese society but also reduce the discrimination of men and women in gaining employment in particular industries.

Although it can be concluded that the consciousness of men and women in terms of gender issues is low, understanding whether or not women are employed as a comparative advantage is more difficult to ascertain. Most factory managers did openly disclose their preference for employing women over men. The reasons they provided included all the familiar stereotypes of women being more hardworking and better suited to factory work and manufacturing. The research found several differences between men's and women's working conditions in the factories. This was difficult to measure because there were few instances where women and men were employed to do the same job. Jobs that men fulfil which could be considered comparable to jobs occupied by women, such as production work, did accrue higher salaries, fewer working hours and less overtime. This implies that there is a comparative advantage to employing women over men. However, because the workforce is relatively young, migrants and single factories are less likely to lose a large number of female employees to pregnancy, and further, there is an oversupply of single young women who are willing to work in the garment and footwear industry.

The conclusion from this study is whether or not factories are interested in securing a loyal workforce? New services and infrastructure provided by EPZs and FIC imply that factories do want long term, happy healthy workers. Similarly, international trends towards following labour codes and standards should not have a negative impact on the cost of labour in Viet Nam but instead may increase worldwide. Because of this international conscious raising and protection of workers' rights, there is no need for the future labour force to be dominated by women. However, as this study has demonstrated, women know very little about their employment contracts and work place rights. Although women are more likely to join trade unions they perceive unions as social organisations rather than as workplace mediators. The study found that although there are maternity leave policies available to many female workers, a large number of workers miss out on this right. Similarly, no factories have other policies, which aim to protect women such as sexual harassment policies. As demonstrated breaches to the labour code affect more women than men in the garment and footwear industries.

The study found that factories are breaching several of the labour standards and laws. For example, male and female workers are expected to work up to 400 hours of overtime per year, are not provided with safety equipment and have restrictions placed upon them in regard to toilet breaks. Women, in particular are disadvantaged because they are often paid less than male colleagues and expected by management to work longer hours and more overtime. Women also had less opportunities to attend training and due to the large population of women their chances of promotion were limited compared to male colleagues who are considered more skilled, better educated and fewer in number. While many female workers were under the impression that they were entitled to maternity leave, most workers were childless and had not tested the entitlements. Similarly, few workers were employed on permanent contracts, most were employed on 12 month contracts which made it difficult to check whether or not pregnant workers' contracts were renewed or extended once they had undergone the required waiting period for social security benefits. A large number of workers were also employed as seasonal workers without any fixed contract period excusing employers from paying any social security benefits.

The implications that the feminisation of the garment and footwear industry has on Vietnamese gender relations and society are significant and need to be addressed further. This project focused on the gender issues located in the factories but also with the understanding and view that migration and globalisation are not static issues. The study has foreseen that the increase in the number of female migrant workers in the garment and footwear industries will impact on the gender relations in Viet Nam. Women are more likely to delay marriage to earn income and to work in non-agricultural labour. However, further research is necessary to investigate the impact of women's work in factories on the village. How will village life be affected by the exodus of young women who work in factories? What happens to the women who return to their villages? Do they have more stable futures as a result of the money they made while working in the factories? These issues were beyond the scope of this research, however, they should be the focus of future research projects conducted by NGOs and institutes.

The findings presented in this report project ways that Viet Nam could prepare itself for economic integration and emerging gender issues. There is a need for Viet Nam to better support its disadvantaged groups who comprise the majority of factory workers, in particular single, young, migrant women. The report also suggests that factory workers, in general, need to be protected in the workplace during economic integration. Better protection will come from monitoring the implementation of the Viet Nam labour code, enterprise bargaining, stronger and more active trade unions, improved job security and workshop conditions and above all equal work place opportunities for men and women. The research advocates enhancing the skill level of female factory workers through CAD and CAM technologies, training and occupational diversification for both men and women as strategies that may be employed to curb gender and economic integration issues.

The research team has been able to identify several lessons learned from conducting gender and economic research in the garment and footwear industries in the current climate of Viet Nam.

- Research projects should allocate additional time and resources to include activities that aim to build the capacity of Vietnamese researchers in the area of qualitative research and analysis.
- Additional time should have been allocated for gaining access and entry into the factories.
- Factory managers or human resource departments within factories should have been invited to directly participate in the design and development of the research project. This may have promoted interest, partnership, project ownership among factory managers and "meaningful" participation not participation based on receiving a financial incentive.

- Additional time should be allocated for translation of all research tools, data, analysis and reporting.
- MOLISA or other relevant ministries and departments should have been included as active project partners from the inception of the project as their support would have increased the importance and relevance of the research.
- The timing of the research should have complemented the peaks and troughs of the export production to ensure that the research was not conducted during the peak production period.
- Research assistants suggested that the closed questionnaire implemented among workers should have included several background questions on the gender division of labour of men and women in the home as an introduction for participants to begin understanding gender as a mode of analysis. While this may be true, the research tools were designed to uncover subtler and significant gender issues in the workplace and not merely a profile of the duties that males and females attend to in the home.
- Future investigations into workplace issues should collect data from workers outside of the workplace, and if possible outside of working hours. Workers' homes or public space can be used to increase privacy and guarantee participants' anonymity.
- Some participants found it difficult to discuss negative experiences in their current employment. Future research into workers' experiences in the garment and footwear industries should ask participants to draw on work experiences from previous and current employment. Therefore, negative experiences could be described as being with a past employer, and not have negative impacts on a worker's current employment situation.

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Annex 1: Research Methods

A.1.1 In-depth interviews

The project team conducted in-depth interviews with a total of 30 sectoral representatives and stakeholders including, factory managers, human resource officers, association representatives and experts working on emerging issues in the garment and footwear industries. An additional 126 in depth interviews were conducted with workers, of this number 105 (83.3%) of respondents were female and 21 (16.7%) were male. The interviews provided information and statistics regarding emerging issues in the industry, factory employees, policies and procedures. This method also highlighted the interviewees' own perceptions of the emerging gender issues in the garment and footwear industry. The interview questions addressed, but were not limited to, the following areas:

- Working conditions of men and women in the garment and footwear industry.
- Emerging gender issues in the industry.
- Emerging economic issues in the industry.
- The relative importance of both gender and economic issues.
- Data useful in developing a profile of the workers in the industry (information on the positions held by women, socio-economic situation of the workers, salaries, length of employment etc.).
- Information on the working conditions in the industry (job security, leave provisions, policies and procedures, representation in unions and committees).
- Knowledge of and/or compliance with the ILO standards.
- Understanding of gender issues in general and ability to compare staff using gender as a means of analysis.

A.1.2 Participant - Observation

Participant-observation is a core qualitative method of the ethnographic approach. The participant-observation method provided researchers the opportunity to record qualitative data that cannot be gathered from other conservative methods. The method required researchers to keep a journal of their observations and interactions at the field site. While the information gathered from the researchers' observations was, of course, subjective, it is complementary to the other methods used in the study. The data collected from the observations supports survey and interview data, and has been used to enhance the realism of the case studies. Researchers' observations were categorised into the following areas:

- Access and Occupation of Space - Researchers noted the layout of the workplace/work stations (especially noting the spaces occupied by women and men). Researchers described the characteristics of female / male spaces and how space is shared by men and women and workers from different units (eg. the way space is shared by the sexes in the lunch room).
- Communication - Researchers observed the way staff interact with one another and interact with management.

- Working Environment - Researchers noted the working conditions and general working environment with particular attention paid to the occupational health and safety procedures.
- Gender division of labour - Estimates of the ratio of male to female staff and the activities performed by men and women.
- Workplace Culture - Researchers noted any posters, infrastructure or symbols that provide a demonstrable example of the workplace culture.

A.1.3 Quantitative Survey

The project team designed and implemented a face-to-face quantitative survey 1279 workers in the garment and footwear industry. Experienced researchers implemented all surveys on site at the factories during working hours, while workers were on breaks and following overtime shifts. The survey included but was not limited to the following areas of investigation:

Working Conditions

- Job security
- Occupational health and safety issues
- Hours of work
- Wages
- Potential for promotion or defined career paths
- Leave provisions
- Representation and participation in unions or workers' committees

Key gender issues in the garment and footwear industry

- Identification of gender issues
- Relationships between male and female staff
- Familiarity with gender issues
- Disadvantages based on gender inequity
- Suggestions for improving gender equity in the workplace
- Workplace issues and the impact they have on the personal lives of men and women workers

The implementation of the survey using a face-to-face interview was favoured due to its higher response rate as a research tool and greater reliability when compared with self-completion surveys. The method empowers the participants during the interview by allowing them the opportunity to clarify questions and provide responses in their own time. Although the survey is a quantitative method, it allowed the researchers to gather qualitative data based upon observations or additional notes taken during the interviews. The method also allowed the project team to expand several of the survey interviews to collect additional information for case studies. The method is participatory as it provided respondents the

opportunity to ask the researcher questions about the project's aims and the survey questions.

A.1.4 Focus Group Discussions

The project team conducted 10 focus group discussions with a total of 60 factory workers (12 males and 48 females) following the implementation of the survey. The team selected the focus group sample using a simple random method. The objective of the focus groups was to provide qualitative data regarding the workers' knowledge and understanding of gender issues and workplace policies and procedures. During the focus groups, the facilitators used posters to generate discussion. The data from the focus groups captured how male and female workers identify and respond to particular workplace practices or policies, and whether or not workers deem such behaviour as inappropriate or discriminatory to men or women. Further, the method provided participants the opportunity to contribute directly to the recommendations of the final report through their questions and comments relating to policies and international standards. While the data gathered in the focus groups on the working conditions in the factories and the workers' perceptions of the factories were obviously compromised as they were conducted within the factory grounds, the focus groups did provide useful data. In particular the data gleaned on the gender roles of males and females in Viet Nam was useful for an analysis of stereotypes of men's and women's roles. For this reason, the focus groups should not be considered a waste of time, and the method should not be abandoned by future research projects with a similar focus.

A.1.5 Case studies

The case study method is best described as a "participant centred method", whereby the participant is an active, conscious and intentional author of his/her own experiences. The method is participatory because it requires the participants to engage in a continual process of making sense of their lives and work, through recounting individual experiences but also by positioning themselves in relation to the workplace and society. Although the method is qualitative and therefore not representative of the sample the data can be used to supplement survey findings and to provide an in-depth analysis of a situation or issue.

The project team collected six case studies from management, workers, males and females. Each case study is short and highlights different gender and globalisation issues raised during the research. The case studies are a valuable qualitative research method and each case will act as an on-going reference for training and workshops, and advocacy and communication campaigns on gender and globalisation in this and future studies. The case studies provide a succinct demonstration of the study's findings and summarise responses from the perspective of workers, management or other stakeholders.

A.1.6 Cost Benefit Analysis

The quantification of actual costs and benefits of the comparative advantage of employing women over men is a delicate task for a number of reasons. A clear distinction has to be made between perceived and actual differences between males and females; between gender and sex. For example pregnancy is an actual gender difference between men and women, while being 'nimble fingered' is a perceived quality of women over men. Some of these differences between males and females coming from the data are hard to distinguish, for this study the distinction will be kept at a minimum as whether they are actual or perceived differences they impose costs and benefits on employment. To keep this analysis simple and straightforward, interpretation of the statistical analysis is used to create a table distinguishing the costs and benefits between men and women.

The actual quantification of costs and benefits will be hard to derive as an across the board numeric valuation as some costs and benefits will have direct and quantifiable costs, for example the cost of pregnancy to women, while others will have indirect and abstract costs

and benefits. One major impediment to quantifying and distinguishing the costs and benefits is that men and women both work in the same departments within the garments and footwear industries. Therefore, it is hard to quantify what each gender contributes to productivity.

Annex 2: Questionnaire and Research Tools

Annex 3: Statistical Testing

Age

The regression equation is: $\text{age} = 29.0 - 1.89 \text{ sex (0/1)}$.

1268 cases used, 11 cases contain missing values.

Predictor	Coef	SE Coef	T	P
Constant	0.3967	73.12		0.000
sex(0/1)	-1.8926	0.4451	-4.25	0.000

S = 6.40858 R-Sq = 1.4% R-Sq(adj) = 1.3%.

OverTime

Rows: sex Columns: overtime (hr)

	0	1	2	3	4	6	Missing	All
Female	1	23	97	248	638	1	10	1008
	0.099	2.282	9.623	24.603	63.294	0.099	*	100.000
Male	0	5	26	57	170	0	3	258
	0.000	1.938	10.078	22.093	65.891	0.000	*	100.000
All	1	28	123	305	808	1	*	1266
	0.079	2.212	9.716	24.092	63.823	0.079	*	100.000

Overtime and Age

Link Function: Logit

Predictor	Coef	SE Coef	Z	P	Ratio	Lower	Upper
Constant	-0.892417	0.317143	-2.81	0.005			
sex(0/1)	-0.0168792	0.149662	-0.11	0.910	0.98	0.73	1.32
age	0.0543689	0.0102748	5.29	0.000	1.06	1.03	1.08

Log-Likelihood = -805.108

Test that all slopes are zero: G = 31.239, DF = 2, P-Value = 0.000

Goodness-of-Fit Tests

Method	Chi-Square	DF	P
Pearson	55.1031	68	0.870
Deviance	61.7561	68	0.690
Hosmer-Lemeshow	5.1137	6	0.529

SOEs and Overtime

Rows: overtime (4) Columns: SOE

	Private	SOE	Missing	All
OT always	271	158	29	429
	34.39	37.62	*	35.51
OT in peak	517	262	29	779
	65.61	62.38	*	64.49
Missing	7	4	2	*
	*	*	*	*
All	788	420	*	1208
	100.00	100.00	*	100.00

Working period versus SOE, sex (0/1)

The regression equation is
 working period = 45.5 + 38.5 SOE + 0.70 sex(0/1)
 1195 cases used, 84 cases contain missing values

Predictor	Coef	SE Coef	T	P
Constant	45.525	3.109	14.64	0.000
SOE	38.460	2.818	13.65	0.000
sex(0/1)	0.696	3.329	0.21	0.834

S = 46.3770 R-Sq = 13.5% R-Sq(adj) = 13.4%

Analysis of Variance

Source	DF	SS	MS	F	P
Regression	2	401020	200510	93.22	0.000
Residual Error	1192	2563783	2151		
Total	1194	2964803			

Source	DF	Seq SS
SOE	1	400926
sex(0/1)	1	94

Sex and Residency

Rows: permanent resid. Columns: sex

	Female	Male	All
0	446 81.99	98 18.01	544 100.00
1	536 78.94	143 21.06	679 100.00
Missing	36 *	20 *	* *
All	982 80.29	241 19.71	1223 100.00

Cell Contents: Count
 % of Row

Binary Logistic Regression: permanent resid. versus sex(0/1), age

Logistic Regression Table

Predictor	Coef	SE Coef	Odds		P	Ratio	Lower	Upper
			Z	95% CI				
Constant	-1.73991	0.320742	-5.42		0.000			
sex(0/1)								
1	-0.0726103	0.150706	-0.48	0.630	0.93	0.69	1.25	
age	0.0740870	0.0103793	7.14	0.000	1.08	1.06	1.10	

Log-Likelihood = -805.342

Test that all slopes are zero: G = 59.513, DF = 2, P-Value = 0.000

Goodness-of-Fit Tests

Method	Chi-Square	DF	P
Pearson	77.7045	68	0.197
Deviance	66.2525	68	0.537
Hosmer-Lemeshow	2.0162	6	0.918

Binary Logistic Regression: permanent resid. versus age

Logistic Regression Table

Predictor	Coef	SE Coef	Z	P	Ratio	Lower	Upper
Constant	-1.81254	0.283460	-6.39	0.000			
age	0.0746104	0.0103239	7.23	0.000	1.08	1.06	1.10

Log-Likelihood = -805.458

Test that all slopes are zero: G = 59.280, DF = 1, P-Value = 0.000

Goodness-of-Fit Tests

Method	Chi-Square	DF	P
Pearson	55.6317	38	0.032
Deviance	44.0755	38	0.230
Hosmer-Lemeshow	1.7042	6	0.945

Binary Logistic Regression: permanent resid. versus age

Link Function: Logit

Response Information

Variable	Value	Count
permanent resid.	1	673 (Event)
	0	541
	Total	1214

Logistic Regression Table

Predictor	Coef	SE Coef	Z	P	Ratio	Lower	Upper
Constant	-1.91208	0.286930	-6.66	0.000			
age	0.0784449	0.0104727	7.49	0.000	1.08	1.06	1.10

Log-Likelihood = -802.376

Test that all slopes are zero: G = 63.829, DF = 1, P-Value = 0.000

Goodness-of-Fit Tests

Method	Chi-Square	DF	P
Pearson	37.1248	37	0.463
Deviance	37.9115	37	0.428
Hosmer-Lemeshow	1.5509	6	0.956

Tabulated statistics: cost any for job, SOE

Rows: cost any for job Columns: SOE

	Private	SOE	Missing	All
no cost	741	353	47	1094
	93.56	83.45	*	90.04
cost	51	70	13	121
	6.44	16.55	*	9.96
Missing	3	1	0	*
	*	*	*	*
All	792	423	*	1215
	100.00	100.00	*	100.00

Tabulated statistics: cost any for job, sex (0/1)

	Columns: sex (0/1)		
	male	female	All
0	243	898	1141
	93.10	88.56	89.49
1	18	116	134
	6.90	11.44	10.51
Missing	0	4	*
	*	*	*
All	261	1014	1275
	100.00	100.00	100.00

Binary Logistic Regression: cost any for job versus age, SOE

Link Function: Logit

Response Information

Variable	Value	Count
cost any for job	1	119 (Event)
	0	1085
	Total	1204

Logistic Regression Table

Predictor	Coef	SE Coef	Odds Ratio	95% CI Lower	95% CI Upper	Z	P
Constant	1.66092	0.611986				2.71	0.007
age	-0.173268	0.0252832	0.84	0.80	0.88	-6.85	0.000
SOE							
1	1.41484	0.210612	4.12	2.72	6.22	6.72	0.000

Log-Likelihood = -341.664

Test that all slopes are zero: G = 93.302, DF = 2, P-Value = 0.000

Goodness-of-Fit Tests

Method	Chi-Square	DF	P
Pearson	30.4132	66	1.000
Deviance	34.8117	66	0.999
Hosmer-Lemeshow	8.0153	7	0.331

Tabulated statistics: education level, sex

	Columns: sex		
	Female	Male	All
1	3	0	3
	0.295	0.000	0.235
2	35	6	41
	3.438	2.308	3.208
3	520	90	610
	51.081	34.615	47.731
4	366	109	475
	35.953	41.923	37.167
5	30	16	46
	2.947	6.154	3.599
6	37	19	56
	3.635	7.308	4.382
7	27	19	46
	2.652	7.308	3.599
8	0	1	1
	0.000	0.385	0.078
Missing	0	1	*

Tabulated statistics: higher ed, sex

Rows: higher ed Columns: sex

	Female	Male	All
0	924	205	1129
	90.77	78.85	88.34
1	94	55	149
	9.23	21.15	11.66
All	1018	260	1278
	100.00	100.00	100.00

Binary Logistic Regression: skill_sew versus sex, higher ed

Link Function: Logit

Response Information

Variable	Value	Count
skill_sew	1	722 (Event)
	0	556
	Total	1278

Factor Information

Factor	Levels	Values
sex	2	Female, Male
higher ed	2	0, 1

* NOTE * 1278 cases were used

* NOTE * 1 cases contained missing values

Logistic Regression Table

Predictor	Coef	SE Coef	Odds	95% CI	Z	P	Ratio	Lower	Upper
Constant	0.563305	0.0675098			8.34	0.000			
sex									
Male	-0.964473	0.146477			-6.58	0.000	0.38	0.29	0.51
higher ed									
1	-0.897815	0.187511			-4.79	0.000	0.41	0.28	0.59

Log-Likelihood = -835.715

Test that all slopes are zero: G = 78.632, DF = 2, P-Value = 0.000