Poverty Task Force

Localizing MDGs for Poverty Reduction in Viet Nam:

Promoting Ethnic Minority Development

June 2002

Strategies for Achieving the Viet Nam Development Goals

This series of papers on the Vietnam Development Goals (VDGs) reflects a collective effort by the Poverty Task Force to propose a set of goals and intermediate indicators, which represent both the core developmental vision of Vietnam as well as the Government's efforts to meet international goals. This analytical work was carried out during 2001 and early 2002 as the Government of Vietnam drafted a Comprehensive Poverty Reduction and Growth Strategy (CPRGS) and was trying to establish a clear accountability framework for monitoring future progress. This process involved looking across the many goals and targets incorporated in key strategy documents (especially the Ten Year Socio-Economic Development Strategy and the ten-year sectoral strategies) to select a small number of goals that could reflect the strong national strategic emphasis on economic growth, poverty reduction and social equity. Although national strategies were used as a starting point, the CPRGS drafting team was also aware that international commitment to achieving important poverty and social outcomes across the globe had intensified – an effort expressed in the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). The MDGs are a set of goals embodied in the Millennium Declaration, which has been adopted by 180 countries including Vietnam. A report on progress made in Viet Nam towards achieving the goals was prepared by the UN Country Team in July 2001.

The Government wanted to ensure that the CPRGS reflected their commitment to the international targets. For a number of reasons, however, it was important to adapt the MDGs to fit local circumstances rather than adopting them in their original form. First, Vietnam has reached, or nearly reached some of the MDGs. Poverty, for example, has already halved between 1990 and 2000. It makes sense, then, for Vietnam to define a new localized version of the poverty goal in order to motivate policy formulation over the coming years. Secondly, though Vietnam performs well on some of the access targets – for example in basic education – there are urgent challenges associated with improving the quality of those services to international levels. While it is clearly still important to strive for universal primary education, for example, it is also important to make sure that the children in school are attaining standards that are similar to other countries. Thirdly, Vietnam has its own strategic planning cycle with different start and endpoints from the MDGs. It is helpful to align the 25-year cycle of the MDGs with the five and ten year cycles of the Vietnamese planning horizons so that measures and actions can be tailored to outcome targets for 2005 and 2010 which are, in turn, consistent with targets for 2015. Fourthly, there is a call for establishing subnational targets to capture, for example, issues related to ethnic minority development or inequality. Finally, there are areas which are particularly challenging for Vietnam at its current stage of development but which are not covered by the MDGs. As an example, although Vietnam has performed well in delivering basic social services, it has lagged behind in initiating necessary governance reforms which will be crucial to attaining some of the other outcome targets proposed in the national strategies.

This series of papers was prepared to contribute to the Government's thinking on target-setting and monitoring in eight thematic areas:

- Eradicating poverty and hunger;
- Reducing vulnerability and providing social protection;
- Providing quality basic education for all;
- Improving health status and reducing inequalities;
- Ensuring environmental sustainability;
- Promoting ethnic minority development;
- Enhancing access to basic infrastructure ; and,
- Ensuring good governance for poverty reduction.

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* The Government-donor-NGO Poverty Task Force has been working collaboratively on poverty analysis (World Bank et al, 1999) and strategic planning since 1999. While the CPRSG was being drafted, the PTF comprises 16 Government ministries, 6 donors, 4 international NGOs and 4 local NGOs.

No separate paper was produced on promoting gender equity for two reasons. First, it was considered important that gender issues were mainstreamed across these eight areas. Secondly important issues outside these eight areas were already being addressed as the Government formulated its Second Plan of Action for the Advancement of Women.

Early versions of these draft papers were discussed at a 3-day workshop held in September 2001 attended by nearly 100 policymakers and practitioners. Government agencies, NGOs and donors have all participated in the working groups established to oversee the production of these documents. Further consultations on the drafts took place with sectoral ministries and agencies over the early part of 2002, the most intensive drafting period of the CPRGS. The CPRGS has been approved by the Prime Minister in May 2002 and outlines a set of goals and indicators which clearly reflect the analytical work and debates that have taken place over the last year. A slightly shortened, summarized table of VDGs (as articulated in the CPRGS) is included at the end of this paper.

Now that these papers are finalized, we hope that they will serve as a useful input for the implementation of the CPRGS, including the preparation of annual action plans.

CONTENTS

In Vietnam, ethnic minority peoples comprise almost 14% of the population but account for 29% of the poor. This high incidence of poverty can be attributed to a range of inter-relating factors including: isolation and remoteness; reduced access to forest and other land; low access to credit and productive assets; limited access to quality social services; and limited participation in government structures and public life. A review of trends shows that ethnic minority populations have benefited moderately from recent economic gains but that socio-economic development is lagging behind in areas inhabited by minority peoples.

The main aim of this paper is to assist the government of Vietnam in developing targets and indicators to promote and monitor the socio-economic development of ethnic minority groups. The paper seeks to link these targets to international development goals, which do not include specific targets for groups of people according to ethnicity, and to development priorities for Vietnam, which do not systematically set or monitor targets for ethnic minority groups. Principally, this paper argues that setting targets specific to ethnic minority groups provides a useful tool to improve the effectiveness of development strategies for these groups and reduce the widening poverty gap. Within this, the diversity and variation in development needs that exists between different minority groups requires explicit recognition to ensure equity. As a guiding framework, it is recommended to intensify efforts:

• to formulate more specific targets and indicators for the socio-economic development of ethnic minority peoples, men and women;

• to prioritize those targets and indicators;

• to ensure the systematic disaggregation of socio-economic development indicators and data collection in sectoral and general monitoring systems: by different ethnic groups, for men and women and by geographical areas.

As a first step towards encouraging systematic consideration of the particular development needs of ethnic minority groups within development planning, the paper identifies seven ethnicity-focused indicators. These are proposed for incorporation within the targets and indicators of the different sectors and themes covered in this series of papers:

• Reduce malnutrition in mountainous communes faster than the national rate of reduction

• Reduce sustainably the proportion of poor among ethnic minority households

• Increase off-farm employment and skill development opportunities for ethnic minorities within the locality

• Increase access to safe drinking water to people in mountainous communes up to the average national rate

• Improve access to quality and affordable education for ethnic minority groups (indicators: completion of the primary cycle, gap in enrolment rate, repetition rate, drop out rates, etc.).

• Improve performance of grassroots democracy for ethnic minorities by providing information that is accessible for ethnic minorities and create awareness among them.

• Add special indicators on under 5 child mortality; halting/reversing malaria and other diseases; and improving maternal health care..

The paper also prioritizes three specific targets as part of the main goal to eradicate poverty and preserve the culture and diversity of ethnic minorities. These are explored in relation to existing programmes and policies and challenges to the future achievement of the targets. Some of the consistent findings for each target include: the need for more widespread dissemination of information in ethnic minority areas, especially in local languages; the need for delivery of services, from education to land use planning activities to local administration, in local languages; the need for innovative and locally-adapted capacity building initiatives; the need for additional resources to implement development strategies tailored to ethnic minority contexts.

The initial process of developing indicators for these three targets demonstrates the current difficulties in obtaining baseline data for ethnic groups. Quantitative sources of information, disaggregated for the larger ethnic groups, are set to become available under the two-year Vietnam Household Living Standards Survey. With some modification, these will make a vast

Goal 4[1]: Eradicate poverty and preserve the culture and diversity of ethnic minorities

Targets

• Preserve and develop ethnic minority languages and promote bilingual literacy in areas where there are high concentrations of minority peoples

• Ensure that individual and collective land-use rights for all land-use types have been allocated to the majority of the ethnic mountainous people.

• Increase the proportion of government personnel of ethnic origin closer to its proportion in the national population.

improvement to monitoring achievements towards the proposed targets. Ideally, they should be accompanied by qualitative surveys to assess links between trends, outcomes and interventions and contribute to policy formulation relating to ethnic minority development. Meanwhile, the targets and indicators will require substantive quantification and refinement as more detailed information becomes available.

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[1] This refers to Goal 4 of 10 Year Socio-Economic Development Strategy.

I. INTRODUCTION

This paper focuses on the ethnic minority peoples of Vietnam. It sets out to assist the government of Vietnam in localizing targets and indicators for promoting and monitoring the socio-economic development of ethnic minority groups, based on international and national goals. The paper reflects the recommendations made by the Poverty Task Force (PTF) at a review workshop in Haiphong.

The ethnic minority peoples of Vietnam comprise almost 14% of the population but account for 29% of the poor. While ethnic minority groups have shared in recent economic gains, research demonstrates that these gains have been modest and that the gap between the socio-economic development of minorities and the majority population is widening. This situation has arisen despite government efforts and programmes to support the development of its ethnic minority peoples.

The Millenium Development Goals (MDGs) do not include specific targets for groups of people according to ethnicity. Similarly, national development goals for Vietnam do not always set targets for ethnic minority groups. National strategies for further economic reform, growth, poverty reduction and social development over the coming years, do however recognize the need to support poorest peoples and areas, including ethnic minority peoples in mountainous areas[2]. Setting targets that are specific to ethnic minority groups will be a useful tool for focusing attention on the particular development needs of minority groups and ensuring that development goals are achievable by minority peoples. For example, in order to achieve the average progress towards some of the goals, above-average rates of improvement may be required amongst ethnic minority groups.

This series of papers on the Vietnam Development Goals, looks at ethnic minority issues from a mainstream, cross-cutting perspective. To encourage systematic consideration of the particular development needs of ethnic minority groups, this paper identifies ethnicity-focused indicators for the different sectors and themes.

In addition, this paper focuses on three specific targets as part of the main goal to eradicate poverty and preserve the culture and diversity of ethnic minorities. These targets were identified by the PTF as priority indicators for ethnic minority development and to complement ethnic minority targets proposed for other sectors and themes.

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Goal 4: Eradicate poverty and preserve the culture and diversity of ethnic minorities

Targets

- Preserve and develop ethnic minority languages and promote bilingual literacy in areas where there are high concentrations of minority peoples

- Ensure that individual and collective land-use rights for all land-use types have been allocated to the majority of the ethnic mountainous people.

- Increase the proportion of government personnel of ethnic origin closer to its proportion in the national population

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The paper appraises these targets in relation to on-going government policies and programmes for ethnic minority peoples. It makes suggestions for refining the ethnic minority focus of targets and improving monitoring systems to assess social economic progress amongst the mountainous and often poorest peoples of Vietnam.

This paper is divided into five parts:

- Section 1: Introduction

- Section 2 provides an overview of ethnic minorities in Vietnam and looks at recent trends in their socio-economic development.

- Section 3 makes the link between national and international development goals and ethnic minority indicators. It starts the process of developing indicators for the specific ethnic minority targets.

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[2] '*The life of a segment of the population is faced with many difficulties, especially in mountain, hinterland, and natural calamity-prone areas*' SRV (2001b), section I.1

- Section 4 relates the ethnic minority targets to existing government programmes and policies for ethnic minorities. It looks at the effectiveness of these initiatives and identifies challenges facing the achievement of ethnic minority targets.

- Section 5 reviews existing monitoring systems and provides suggestions for improving the process of quantative and qualitative data collection and analysis from an ethnic minority perspective.

II.1 Main features of ethnic minorities in Vietnam

Composition and distribution of ethnic minority groups

Ethnic minority peoples are defined as those who have Vietnamese nationality and reside in Vietnam but do not share the identity, language and other cultural characteristics of Kinh people. Ethnic minorities are often treated as a homogenous group although in reality there is a high degree of diversity among Vietnam's 53 ethnic groups with regard to language, agricultural practices, kinship systems, lifestyles and beliefs. Of Vietnams 54 ethnic groups, the majority Kinh make up approximately 86% of the population, minority groups almost 14%. This is a substantial proportion of the population. At 10 million, the ethnic minority population of Vietnam is significantly larger than the total population of Laos. Table 1 provides the breakdown of ethnic groups in Vietnam and shows that a majority are small in number – 36 groups have populations of 100,000 or under.

The bulk (approximately 75%) of the total ethnic minority population lives in mountainous areas, mainly in the northern mountains with a smaller number located in the central highlands. The remainder live in southern and a few in urban areas. Although in the minority in terms of national averages, ethnic minorities in fact constitute the majority in some mountainous districts and provinces. It is also common to have districts and communes of mixed ethnic groups. The number of Kinh people residing in mountainous areas has been rising in last 20 years, mainly as a result of government settlement programmes, and has had a destabilising effect on local livelihood systems.

II.2 The widening poverty gap

The ethnic minority peoples of Vietnam comprise almost 14% of the population but account for 29% of the poor. While ethnic minority groups have shared in recent economic gains, research demonstrates that these gains have been modest and that the gap between the socio-economic development of minorities and the majority population is widening. This situation has arisen despite government efforts and programmes to support the development of its ethnic minority peoples.

Data on social economic development in Vietnam tends not to be sufficiently disaggregated by ethnic group to allow for identification of trends for different ethnic groups. Recent analysis based on Vietnam Living Standards Surveys (VLSS) of 1992/3 and 1997/8 and the Vietnam census of 1989 and of 1999 does however offer some insight into trends for the larger ethnic groups.

Table 2 shows a comparatively small reduction in poverty rates amongst ethnic minorities in mountainous and lowland areas and a significant increase in the poverty gap between Kinh and ethnic minorities in specific areas between 1993 and 1998. The data do not differentiate between national average expenditures of the Kinh and that of the Kinh who live in the poor mountainous areas. This type of analysis might offer a more accurate picture of poverty in mountainous areas since the gap between ethnic minorities and local Kinh people is expected to be smaller than the gap with the national average.

Multiple, inter-relating factors contribute to the persisting poverty of minority groups. Constraints to ethnic minority development and well-being are well-documented and include: isolation and remoteness; reduced access to forest and other land; low access to credit and productive assets; limited access to quality social services; and limited participation in government structures and public life[3]. The high incidence of poverty contributes to heightened vulnerability.

Emerging trends from detailed analysis of the VLSS data confirm the overall socio-economic gap between minority and mainstream groups and suggest some trends by different groups:

- **Infrastructure and basic social services**: access is improving in ethnic minority areas, enhancing economic and social opportunities. Access remains lower in remote, and often poorest communes.

- **Health**: high infant and (under 5) child mortality rates correlate with high concentrations of ethnic minorities. Figures are highest for the Central Highlands and there is concern that infant mortality

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[3] Jamieson et al (1998), Jamieson (2000), CEMMA (1995), CEMMA & Museum of Ethnology (1999)

Table 1: the ethnic groups of Vietnam

	Official name	Language group	Language family	Approximate population size(1999)
1.	Kinh (Việt)	Việt-Mường	Austro-Asiatic	65,795,718
2.	Tày	Tày-Thái	Austro-Asiatic	1,477,514
3.	Thái	Tày-Thái	Austro-Asiatic	1,328,725
4.	Mường	Việt-Mường	Austro-Asiatic	1,137,515
5.	Khmer	Môn-Khmer	Austro-Asiatic	1,055,174
6.	Hoa	Sinitic/ Hán	Sino-Tibetan	862,371
7.	Nùng	Tày-Thái	Austro-Asiatic	856,412
8.	Hmông	Hmông-Dao	Austro-Asiatic	787,604
9.	Dao	Hmông-Dao	Austro-Asiatic	620,538
10.	Gia-rai	Malayo-Polynesian	Austronesian	317,557
11.	Ê-dê	Malayo-Polynesian	Austronesian	270,348
12.	Ba-na	Môn-Khmer	Austro-Asiatic	174,456
13.	Sán Chay	Tày-Thái	Austronesian	147,315
14.	Chăm	Malayo-Polynesian	Austronesian	132,873
15.	Cơ-ho	Môn-Khmer	Austro-Asiatic	128,723
16.	Xơ-đăng	Môn-Khmer	Austro-Asiatic	127,148
17.	Sán Dìu	Sinitic/ Hán	Sino-Tibetan	126,237
18.	Hrê	Môn-Khmer	Austro-Asiatic	113,111
19.	Ra-glai	Malayo-Polynesian	Austronesian	96,931
20.	Mnông	Môn-Khmer	Austro-Asiatic	92,451
21.	Thổ	Việt-Mường	Austro-Asiatic	68,394
22.	Xtiêng	Môn-Khmer	Austro-Asiatic	66,788
23.	Khơ-mú	Môn-Khmer	Austro-Asiatic	56,542
24.	Bru-Vân Kiều	Môn-Khmer	Austro-Asiatic	55,559
25.	Cơ-tu	Môn-Khmer	Austro-Asiatic	50,458
26.	Giáy	Tày-Thái	Austro-Asiatic	49,098
27.	Ta-ôi	Môn-Khmer	Austro-Asiatic	34,960
28.	Mạ	Môn-Khmer	Austro-Asiatic	33,338
29.	Gié-triêng	Môn-Khmer	Austro-Asiatic	30,243
30.	Co	Môn-Khmer	Austro-Asiatic	27,766
31.	Chơ-ro	Môn-Khmer	Austro-Asiatic	22,567
32.	Xinh-mun	Môn-Khmer	Austro-Asiatic	18,018
33.	Hà Nhì	Tibeto-Burman	Sino-Tibetan	17,535
34.	Chu-ru	Malayo-Polynesien	Austronesian	14,978
35.	Lào	Tày-Thái	Austro-Asiatic	11,611
36.	La Chí	Kađai (Cờ Lao)	Austro-Asiatic	10,765
37.	Kháng	Môn-Khmer	Austro-Asiatic	10,272
38.	Phù Lá	Tibeto-Burman	Sino-Tibetan	9,046
39.	La Hủ	Tibeto-Burman	Sino-Tibetan	6,874
40.	La Ha	Kađai (Cờ Lao)	Austro-Asiatic	5,686
41.	Pà Thẻn	Hmông-Dao	Austro-Asiatic	5,569
42.	Lự	Tày-Thái	Austro-Asiatic	4,964
43.	Ngái	Sinitic/ Hán	Sino-Tibetan	4,841
44.	Chứt	Việt-Mường	Austro-Asiatic	3,829
45.	Lô Lô	Tibeto-Burman	Sino-Tibetan	3,307
46.	Mảng	Môn-Khmer	Austro-Asiatic	2,663
47.	Cơ Lao	Kađai (Cờ Lao)	Austro-Asiatic	1,865
48.	Bố Y	Tày-Thái	Austro-Asiatic	1,864
49.	Cống	Tibeto-Burman	Sino-Tibetan	1,676
50.	Si La	Tibeto-Burman	Sino-Tibetan	840
51.	Pu Péo	Kađai (Cờ Lao)	Austro-Asiatic	705
52.	Rơ-măm	Môn-Khmer	Austro-Asiatic	352
53.	Brâu	Môn-Khmer	Austro-Asiatic	313
54.	Ơ-đu	Môn-Khmer	Austro-Asiatic	301
55.	Overseas origin			39,532
56.	Unidentified			1,333
	Total			**76,323,173**

Sources: Dang Nghiem Van *et al.* (2000); GSO, census 1/4/1999

Table 2: Key indicators for major minority groups, 1993 and 1998, based on VLSS data

	Poverty headcount (% of people)		Expenditure/capita, '000 dong, 1998 prices		Household size		Sample size (weighted)[4]		% of pop.
	1993	1998	1993	1998	1993	1998	1993	1998	
Vietnam overall	55	36	2,043	2,751	4.97	4.71	4,799	5,999	
Kinh	52	30	2,105	2,899	4.86	5.36	4,145	5,030	88.8
Hoa (Chinese)	11	8	3,843	5,119	6.55	6.12	89	121	2.0
Khmer	70	57	1,521	1,882	5.44	6.17	89	122	2.0
Central Highland Minorities	92	91	1,021	1,090	6.28	6.68	103	167	2.8
Northern Upland Minorities	84	73	1,323	1,594	5.33	5.88	373	560	9.3

Notes:
1. Central Highland minorities: Ba-Na, Co-Ho, E-De, Gie-Tieng, Hre, Ma, Ra Glai, Xo-Dang.
2. Northern Upland minorities: Dao, Hmong, Muong, Nung, Tay, Thai, San Diu, Dan Chay, Tho..
3. 132 households coded as belonging to "Other" ethnic minorities in VLSS93 and 39 households belong to the other category in VLSS98 have been sub-divided between the last two groups in this table using the regional and religion variables. Details are available from the authors on request. The categories may not be strictly comparable between 1993 and 1998.
4. Unweighted sample size: Kinh: 5,172. Hoa: 131. Khmer: 95. Central Highland minorities: 193. Northern Upland minorities: 411.

Sources: VLSS93 and VLSS98.

from: Baulch *et al.,* 2001

may actually have increased in specific localities. Ministry of Health data on maternal mortality rates suggest that these are around three times higher in the two largest mountainous regions compared to the two richest regions (see table 3).

• **Education**: enrolment rates for primary school have increased in ethnic minority areas. There is still a gap but this is substantially higher at lower secondary level suggesting that the opportunity in adult life is lower for minority groups than for Kinh. A breakdown of enrolment by ethnic group shows wide variation. Ethnic groups from the Central highlands and the Hmong have consistently low enrolment rates, especially at the lower secondary level, for some groups under half the national average. The tables also show that boys have higher overall enrolment rates than girls, although

this is reversed for some groups (see tables 4 and 5).

• **Safe drinking water**: access to safe drinking water has increased to 42% of all rural households but is considerably lower in remote communes peopled by ethnic minorities.

• **Governance and participation in public life:** low rates of participation of ethnic minority people in public life can be explained by their low competencies in Vietnamese language, low education levels, lack of accessible public information in local languages, and notably failure to consult with groups on the part of local authorities. A growing body of local evidence shows that ethnic minorities want to have a greater voice in public affairs, want to have training in project

Table 3: Infant and child mortality, by residence and region, 1984-93

Residence/ Region	Infant mortality	Child mortality	Under-five mortality
Urban	27.0	9.1	35.9
Rural	48.2	18.8	66.1
Vietnam	45.1	17.5	61.6
Northern Uplands	62.2	21.2	82.1
Red River Delta	35.3	9.5	43.7
North Central	37.7	13.7	50.8
Central Coast	37.2	8.6	46.0
Central Highlands	71.6	44.9	108.1
Southeast	31.2	17.0	47.7
Mekong River Delta	48.2	22.1	68.9

Source: GSO 1995 (from: World Bank *et al.,* 2001)

Table 4: Primary School Enrolment Rates by Ethnic Group and Sex, 1999

EthnicGroup	Gross	Net	Net (Boys)	Net (girls)	Sample Size
Kinh	113.6	93.4	93.5	93.4	229,503
Hoa	122.6	93.7	94.5	92.9	2,361
Khmer	114.5	76.3	77.3	75.3	3,879
Central Higlands:					
Gia-rai	126.3	66.4	67.6	65.1	1,695
Ba-na	108.9	57.8	55.0	60.4	1,335
Xo-dang	139.3	62.2	64.7	59.3	1,233
Northern Uplands:					
Tay	135.4	94.7	94.9	94.4	11,079
Thai	135.5	83.9	87.2	80.5	5,004
Muong	133.4	94.5	94.9	94.0	3,851
Nung	136.6	89.3	89.7	88.9	5,010
Hmong	80.5	41.5	51.5	31.5	4,090
Dao	126.4	71.4	73.7	68.8	4,091
All	**115.4**	**91.4**	**91.7**	**91.0**	**280,262**

Notes: To be consistent with Vietnamese school enrolment procedures, these enrolment rates have been computed using calendar year of birth as stated in the Census files to determine whether or not a child is of primary or lower secondary age. The net enrolment rate can fall by several percentage points if the child's actual age (e.g., 6 to 10 years old for primary school) is used.
Gross enrolment rate = total enrolments in level X / children eligible to attend level X.
Net enrolment rate = total enrolments in level X of children eligible to attend level X / children of age eligible to attend level X.

Source: Based on 3% enumeration sample of 1999 Census

From: Baulch *et al., 2001*

Table 5: Lower Secondary School Enrolment Rates by Ethnic Group and Sex, 1999

EthnicGroup	Gross	Net	Net (Boys)	Net (girls)	Sample Size
Kinh	80.6%	64.8%	65.5%	64.0%	185772
Hoa	71.0%	51.7%	50.4%	53.1%	1989
Khmer	35.9%	22.5%	23.8%	21.2%	3041
Central Higlands:					
Gia-rai	37.1%	14.9%	15.2%	14.5%	1354
Ba-na	20.0%	8.9%	9.0%	8.9%	1024
Xo-dang	35.2%	10.1%	12.7%	7.1%	1071
Northern Uplands:					
Tay	77.0%	51.0%	47.1%	55.2%	9082
Thai	55.2%	32.1%	33.6%	30.5%	4402
Muong	76.7%	52.3%	50.8%	53.9%	3265
Nung	61.8%	39.2%	37.0%	41.6%	4055
Hmong	9.8%	4.5%	7.5%	1.6%	3092
Dao	20.3%	11.8%	11.9%	11.8%	3026
All	**76.2%**	**60.0%**	**60.5%**	**59.3%**	**226649**

From: Baulch *et al., 2001*

management and control and can effectively assume more responsibility for development activities if given the opportunity and skills development[4]. Decentralisation of government structures and commitments to disseminate public information more widely should lead to greater inclusion of minority groups in public life.

This overview demonstrates the diversity of ethnic minority groups and the need to take this into account in policy formulation, programmes design and, particularly, the implementation of activities. The trend for government policies to treat ethnic minorities as a somewhat homogenous population without distinction limits the effectiveness and sustainability of development efforts[5]. A new strategy for ethnic minority development, linked to the needs, aspirations and participation of different groups is needed.

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[4] PTF (2002), World Bank & DFID (1999), PWG (1999) Attacking Poverty

[5] CEMMA (1995)

III.1 Linking development goals and ethnic minority targets

The Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) do not include specific targets for groups of people according to ethnicity. This is because they are concerned with national averages, as a basis for international comparison. In Vietnam, national strategies for socio-economic growth and poverty reduction increasingly recognise the need for a stronger poverty reduction focus and to make special provision for poorest groups, including ethnic minority peoples.

However at present, targets for ethnic minority groups are not systematically set as part of the national development goals for Vietnam. Moreover, monitoring systems seldom differentiate impact and outcomes in relation to ethnic minority peoples. The fact that socio-economic development is lagging behind in areas inhabited by minority peoples, outlined in section II, highlights the need to set targets that are specific to ethnic minority groups. Since these groups consistently score below average rates in terms of food security, access to social services and other indicators of well-being, specific strategies and targets will be critical to accelerate the development of these groups and reduce the widening poverty gap. For example, in order to achieve the average progress towards goals such as halving the proportion of people without sustainable access to safe drinking water, above average rates of improvement will be required amongst ethnic minority groups.

In addition, ethnic minority targeting should differentiate between ethnic groups and for gender in order to reflect variations in development levels for diverse groups and for women, who typically score below the average of men for most ethnic groups. Within the national development goals, no explicit references have been found for improving the position of poorest women or women within certain ethnic groups (although there is a national strategy for the advancement of women and improvement of gender equity[6]).

To promote equitable development and poverty reduction of ethnic minority groups in Vietnam, this paper recommends the need to intensity efforts:

Local perceptions of setting ethnic minority targets

The participants were asked their opinions on whether it is necessary to formulate special plans and programs to promote socio-economic development of ethnic minorities. Almost 100% of participants at all levels agree it is necessary to address the specific needs of ethnic minority groups. The participants also give useful ideas on the priorities for this, and the difficulties that would need to be overcome in implementing these measures (refer to annex tables). Two priorities rank most highly from the discussion groups. The first is in building up infrastructure in the remote upland areas. The second is in building up human capital amongst ethnic minorities. This includes creating favourable conditions for people to gain access to socio-economic information, improved provision of schooling, and training of ethnic minority cadres.

A main finding from the local consultation on the draft Comprehensive Poverty Reduction and Growth Strategy undertaken together with local people and government staff in Lao Cai Province in the Northern Mountain Region of Vietnam
Poverty Task Force (2002) *Local Consultations in Lao Cai Province*,

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- to formulate more specific targets and indicators for the socio-economic development of ethnic minority peoples, men and women;

- to prioritize those targets and indicators;

- to ensure the systematic disaggregation of socio-economic development indicators and data collection in sectoral and general monitoring systems: by different ethnic groups, for men and women and by geographical areas.

III.2 Making Vietnam's development targets more specific for ethnic minorities

The table in Appendix 1 represents an initial step to formulate ethnic minority-specific targets for selected national development goals. All targets in Appendix 1 have special relevance to ethnic minority peoples in rural areas. All are informed by the MDGs. The targets in Appendix 1 compare what needs to be achieved in terms

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[6] NCFAW (2000)

of social economic development of ethnic minorities compared to the national average, in order to realize the stated Government goals of poverty reduction and equity.

To encourage systematic consideration of the particular development needs of ethnic minority groups, the PTF prioritized seven ethnicity-focused indicators for the different sectors and themes covered under this series of papers. This paper strongly recommends that these be incorporated within the targets and indicators of the respective sector or theme.

Ethnic minority targets and indicators for incorporation in sectoral/thematic monitoring

- Reduce malnutrition in mountainous communes faster than the national rate of reduction
- Reduce sustainably the proportion of poor among ethnic minority households
- Increase off-farm employment and skill development opportunities for ethnic minorities within the locality
- Increase access to safe drinking water to people in mountainous communes up to the average national rate
- Improve access to quality and affordable education for ethnic minority groups (indicators: completion of the primary cycle, gap in enrolment rate, repetition rate, drop out rates, etc.).
- Improve performance of grassroots democracy for ethnic minorities by providing information that is accessible for ethnic minorities and create awareness among them.
- Add special indicators on under 5 child mortality; halting/reversing malaria and other diseases; and improving maternal health care.

This prioritization is based on analysis of the main issues facing the socio-economic development of minority groups and policy challenges for Government. The targets and indicators will need to be further refined and quantified pending the availability of information and statistics disaggregated for different ethnic minority groups.

In addition to the sectoral targets, the PTF prioritized three specific targets as part of the main goal to eradicate poverty and preserve the culture and diversity of ethnic minorities. These targets were identified as priority indicators for ethnic minority development in Vietnam and to complement the ethnic minority targets and indicators proposed above. The targets are analysed

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Goal 4: Eradicate poverty and preserve the culture and diversity of ethnic minorities

Targets

- Preserve and develop ethnic minority languages and promote bilingual literacy in areas where there are high concentrations of minority peoples
- Ensure that individual and collective land-use rights for all land-use types have been allocated to the majority of the ethnic mountainous people.
- Increase the proportion of government personnel of ethnic origin closer to its proportion in the national population.

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in relation to existing government programmes and policy challenges in section IV.

III.3 Developing indicators for the priority ethnic minority targets

It is difficult to develop quantifiable indicators for the three specific ethnic minority targets. This is because the current system of monitoring, data collection and analysis does not systematically disaggregate information for different ethnic minority groups, nationally or by sector. Consequently it is difficult to obtain accurate baseline information and data as well as to monitor trends over time. Improving monitoring systems will be central to assessing socio-economic development and progress amongst ethnic minority groups for this decade. Initiatives to refine the process of quantative and qualitative data collection and analysis from an ethnic minority perspective are explored in section V.

This section makes a preliminary attempt to develop indicators for measuring progress against the three priority ethnic minority targets. Emphasis is drawn to the fact that the proposed indicators are to be viewed as a work in progress, requiring additional work and consultation to make them more specific and quantifiable. The proposed indicators derive from an assessment of existing programmes and policy challenges relating to the targets covered in the next section.

Target 1: to preserve and develop literacy in ethnic minority languages and promote bilingual literacy in areas where there are high concentrations of minority peoples

In view of low levels of literacy in Kinh language and teaching literacy in ethnic minority languages, this target

Target 1	Proposed indicators	Proposed intermediary targets and activities
• Preserve and develop ethnic minority languages and promote bilingual literacy in areas where there are high concentrations of minority peoples.	• Proportion of ethnic minority boys and girls completing the primary education cycle partly in Vietnamese language and partly in their local language by 2010. • Proportion of ethnic minority girls and boys of pre-school age completing kindergarten partly in Vietnamese language and partly in their local language by 2010. • Literacy rate of 15-24 year old women and men from minority groups in main ethnic minority languages and Vietnamese language • Literacy rate of 25-44 year old women and men from minority groups in main ethnic minority languages and Vietnamese language.	• Increased access to quality and affordable bilingual education programmes in the main ethnic minority languages in primary schools in communes with large percentages of ethnic peoples. • Increased access to quality and affordable bilingual pre-school programmes in the main ethnic minority languages and Vietnamese language in communes with large percentages of ethnic peoples. • Development of ethnic minority language skills and teaching methodologies of pre-school, primary and literacy teachers. • Development of appropriate literacy programmes for men and women in the main ethnic minority languages and in Vietnamese language.

is considered in the context of bilingual education and the broader benefits of learning in the mother tongue.

Target 2: Ensure that individual and collective land-use rights for all land-use types have been allocated to the majority of the ethnic mountainous people.

Land allocation to individuals has speeded up for agricultural land but remains slower for allocation of collective land-use rights, especially over forest and other land use types. Amid growing evidence and concern that the process of allocation is not always equitable and does not always adequately reflect local land use patterns and priorities, it is proposed that indicators take into account the need to bring land titling measures more in line with the land use systems and practices of ethnic communities and to give communities a greater voice in allocation decisions[7].

Target 2	Proposed indicators	Proposed intermediary targets and activities
• Ensure that individual and collective land-use rights <u>for all land-use types</u> have been allocated to the majority of the ethnic mountainous people.	• Rates in issuance of Land Use Certificates over agricultural land on an individual and a collective basis in mountainous, ethnic minority districts. • Rates in issuance of Land Use Certificates over forest land (disaggregated for natural forest and plantation forest), including sloping land, on an individual and a collective basis in mountainous, ethnic minority districts	• Greater participation of ethnic communities in the land allocation process and development of land-use plans based on the characteristics and traditional systems of each location. • Greater equity in land allocation processes.

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[7] CEMMA & Museum of Ethnology (1999), MARD (2001)

Target 3: Increase the proportion of government personnel of ethnic origin closer to its proportion in the national population.

The target of increased representation of ethnic minority peoples is considered in relation to intended outcomes of improved participation in public life and improved delivery of basic services. The indicators therefore reflect both training and information dissemination dimensions.

Additional resources will be required to increase the participation of ethnic groups in public life, as government personnel and in the process of land allocation. Initial investment to extend quality and affordable literacy opportunities in main ethnic minority languages, to build up the capacity of teachers and government personnel and to promote local level participation in remote areas, in a range of languages, will be high. While it is beyond the scope of this paper to put a cost on these inputs, it is recommended that further analysis on resource use and needs focus on:

- A review of the impact and cost-effectiveness of existing programmes to promote ethnic minority development, including infrastructure interventions, sedentarisation programmes and agriculture extension;

- An assessment of the distribution and impact of state-provided benefits on poorest ethnic minority groups;

- An assessment of the costs of tailoring development programmes to ethnic minority needs and priorities in relation to poverty reduction, sustainability, social equity and social justice. This should include an examination of the costs of not improving programme targeting in terms of poor infrastructure, inappropriate facilities and services and a widening poverty gap.

Target 3	Proposed indicators	Proposed intermediary targets and activities
• Increase the proportion of government personnel of ethnic origin closer to its proportion in the national population.	• Proportion of relative numbers of government personnel of ethnic origin close to 13 per cent nationally by 2010. • Proportion of ethnic minority personnel in district and provincial government departments and public services relative to the proportion of ethnic groups in a given locality by 2010.	• Expansion of training and capacity building opportunities to increase the quality and quantity of the human resource pool for different ethnic groups • Expansion of delivery of local services in main minority languages. • Expansion of use of main minority languages in the mass media and dissemination of information related to public plans, budgets and laws in their respective localities.

The policy environment is relatively good for ethnic minority groups in Vietnam. Respect for ethnic and cultural diversity is enshrined in the Constitution and in legislation. Moreover, considerable investment is channelled to the provision of social services and development of infrastructure in remote, mountainous regions where the bulk of ethnic minority peoples and the poor are concentrated. Yet, despite much ambition and good intention to promote socio-economic development in these regions, they are lagging behind and the poverty gap is widening. Much needs to be done to ensure that national economic growth and social development benefits all Vietnamese peoples, and to prevent gaps from growing further.

Perhaps the overarching constraint to upland development, as pointed out by numerous observers[8], is the tendency for policy to impose models that are effective for lowland development but are less adapted and appropriate to the situation and context of highland peoples. In recognition of this constraint, the Haiphong workshop agreed to highlight a Government commitment for the period 2001-2003 in the i-PRSP: '*Each locality should prepare a specific plan, in harmony with its particular conditions, to invest in developing productive capacity and step by step to elevate cultural and spiritual conditions for ethnic minorities.*'[9] This commitment to localise planning is encouraging and provides a framework for supporting responsive and flexible planning. A discussion of key policy issues relating to the seven ethnic minority targets recommended for incorporation in sectoral strategies and other targets outlined in Appendix 1 is provided in Appendix 2. This section relates the three ethnic minority targets to existing government programmes and policies for ethnic minorities. It undertakes an analysis of each specific target, identifying challenges and proposing recommendations for achievement of the different targets.

The first sub-section discusses the concept 'social exclusion', which is difficult to translate into Vietnamese. It is undertaken because it offers a useful tool in understanding why ethnic minorities still lack social and economic opportunities, despite numerous attempts at addressing inequalities.

IV.1 Vietnamese ethnic minorities and social exclusion

The concept of social exclusion evolved to help understand processes of growing social difference between groups. Social exclusion is about the processes through which social groups are wholly or partially excluded from full participation in society[10], i.e. economic, cultural and/or social life. UNDP defines social exclusion as the opposite of human development, which is understood as 'a process of enlarging people's choices'[11]. The social exclusion concept includes aspects that are often not visible, including political, cultural and behavioural aspects. It is clearly different from, but complementary to the notion of income or consumption poverty.

Social exclusion can be rooted in economic differences, in geography and location, in religious beliefs and in beliefs about the role of women in public life. Important to the concept is that one type of social exclusion can reinforce another, and thus poverty of certain groups can be reinforced by social exclusion based in for example geography or cultural norms. For example, people living on remote islands or in rugged uplands have limited opportunity to access markets and their location may thus reinforce their economic exclusion.

The Vietnamese Constitution grants all citizens equal rights and obligations and the Government has actively sought to include ethnic minorities, the poor, people of different social and religious background, etc., in the national development process. This is consistent with Vietnam's socialist policies, and with the historic importance of many mountainous groups and individuals in the struggle for independence. However, despite these efforts, economic and social gaps are widening and ethnic minority groups are partly excluded from the process of economic growth and from representation on government and political structures. The question is which subtle types of exclusion are responsible for the comparatively slow social economic progress of Vietnamese ethnic minorities, and how these types reinforce each other's effect.

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[8] Jamieson et al (1998), Walle and Gunewardena (2001)

[9] SRV (2001c), section IV.1.7 and Appendix 1

[10] see for example: Haan (1998); Silver (1995)

[11] Grinspun (1997)

This paper can only attempt a brief response. The contribution of the international community to the Consultative Group meeting of December 2000 highlighted 'multiple disadvantages', which 'interlock': *the ethnic minority farmers are poorer, less educated, have less access to extension, health and credit services, more difficulties in accessing information and acquiring knowledge and skills, and they participate less in policy making and planning*[12]. Other more subtle forms of exclusion can be caused by donor-supported development projects whose own terms and conditions, such as financial reporting and procurement, may mitigate against forms of local involvement in development as defined by the local communities themselves. It is also important to note the contribution of customs and beliefs to social exclusion, both on the part of minority, "excluded" groups and wider society. For example, beliefs among wider society that certain ethnic groups are 'backward', unwilling to stop inferior agricultural practices[13], and incapable of managing projects themselves, although unjustified can result in a lack of respect for local knowledge and willingness to hand over responsibilities[14].

IV.2 Literacy in ethnic minority languages and bilingual education

Literacy in ethnic minority languages

Promotion of literacy in ethnic languages will support the development of minority languages and cultures. Mother tongue learning also offers broader benefits. It provides a sound basis for developing wider learning skills, for acquisition of literacy in Vietnamese and for more active participation in public life.

In Vietnam, literacy refers to the ability to read and write in Vietnamese, the national language. Literacy and command of the Vietnamese language are important determinants of employment opportunities and people's ability to play a role in wider Vietnamese society. At around 94%, Vietnam has amongst the highest levels of literacy of countries at similar levels of economic development, reflecting the national importance attached to education. However, recent gains have not been enjoyed equally by all peoples.

Ethnic minority groups continue to have lower levels of literacy and educational achievement than their Kinh peers, especially women and girls. '*Most of the 6 percent illiterates live in the remote rural and mountainous areas, and most of them are of ethnic minority background*'[15]. The reasons for this are twofold. Firstly because of the multiple disadvantages compounding ethnic minority children's ability to learn[16]: poverty, poor health, lack of a conducive and literate environment, inability to speak Vietnamese, the national language of instruction etc. Secondly, on the supply side, the low quality of educational services in remote, mountainous areas[17]: teachers tend not to speak local languages and to have qualification levels below the national average; teaching materials are not always relevant to the local culture and context; and the learning cycle in ethnic minority areas is often shorter than in other rural and urban areas.

Language is one of the most important expressions of culture and identity. Consequently the ability to speak, read and write in local languages is considered central to the preservation of Vietnam's cultural diversity[18]. Furthermore, a language that is spoken as well as written and used in communication and local media remains dynamic and can contribute to the creativity and vigour of the particular people who speak it. Vietnam has a rich diversity of languages, some spoken by only very small numbers of people. 24 of these languages are written, with their own or romanised script. Statistics are not available for the coverage and levels of literacy in ethnic minority languages. What is known is that a large proportion of ethnic minority people in mountainous areas, especially women, cannot read and write in any language, and are not fluent in spoken Vietnamese.

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[12] World Bank et al. (2000)

[13] See e.g. Oscar Samelink, Cultures are not backward, in: Highland Peoples Programme (1998)

[14] That this is not always justified was clearly stated by some ethnic minority leaders in a CEMMA conference in Hue, on 30 and 31 August 2001.

[15] UNICEF (2000)

[16] See: UNICEF (2000) and Theis (1999)

[17] UNDP National Human Development Report 2001

[18] pers. comm. Cu Hoa Van, 17/08/01

Bilingual education

International evidence demonstrates that children and adults develop cognitive and literacy skills more quickly in their mother tongue and that this provides a sound basis for second language learning[19]. Article 5 of the 1992 Constitution guarantees the right to mother tongue instruction[20]. And yet at present, primary education and adult literacy programmes for linguistic minorities are offered almost exclusively in Vietnamese language. Experience in multilingual education is largely limited to pilot programmes, with low coverage. This situation persists to the disadvantage of adult and child learners, despite national evidence that teaching exclusively in Vietnamese contributes to early drop-out and low retention of skills.

A strategy to develop literacy in ethnic minority languages should focus on pre-school, primary and adult levels, drawing on the lessons of pilot experiences. Adult literacy is critical because of the potential it offers for individuals to actively participate in public life and to break the cycle of educational disadvantage. Research shows that literate parents, especially mothers, are more likely to encourage and engage in their children's education. Some experience of literacy training in different languages is available, though limited, for example with the REFLECT methodology[21].

The aim of pilot bilingual programmes at primary level is to promote literacy in ethnic languages and facilitate learning of Vietnamese. Pilots are underway in seven languages (Hoa, Khmer, Ede, Bana, Giarai, Cham and Hmong) in the early grades of primary school, using the 15 per cent window for local activities allowed under the national curriculum. The programmes have encountered a number of difficulties that will challenge future efforts to develop literacy in ethnic minority languages. These include a shortage of teachers with minority language skills and the fact that many mountainous communes are ethnically mixed and multiple language situations prevail[22].

The value of pre-schools for ethnic minority children is gaining in recognition in educational policy. Main advantages include preparation for primary school, familiarisation with Vietnamese language and freeing up older siblings, mainly girls, from childcare responsibilities to attend formal education. However, at present, pre-school attendance rates are lowest in remote, mountainous areas on account of low service provision and relatively high user costs (pre-school education receives a much lower level of state support than primary education).

A final but important point is that the success of any literacy initiative in ethnic minority languages will be dependent on the availability of locally relevant materials (books, magazines, radio broadcasts etc) in the respective language. Adults and children need to apply skills in order to develop their language and avoid a relapse to illiteracy.

Human and financial resource issues

The task of developing literacy in ethnic minority languages will be costly. A major challenge is the acute shortage of teachers and resource pool of people who are literate in minority languages. For example at present, pre-school teachers of ethnic minority background make up just 5 percent of all 71,000 pre-school teachers. This situation is set to improve within one generation as the flow of ethnic minority students completing secondary education or preferential ethnic peoples boarding schools increases. In the short-term, targeted interventions to build up the capacity of minority peoples and Kinh teachers to teach bilingual programmes and gain minority language literacy skills will be required. An example of such interventions is an accelerated teacher course for local ethnic minority women to become pre-school and primary school teachers, developed by the Ministry of Training and Education (MOET), with support from UNICEF[23].

Other major resource requirements include the development of appropriate training methods in teaching

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[19] UNICEF (1998)

[20] Highland Peoples Programme / UNV (1997) (this refers to: CEMMA/UNDP (1995) *Framework for external assistance to ethnic minority development*.)

[21] REFLECT stands for: Regenerated Freirean Literacy through Empowering Community Techniques. In Vietnam the international NGO ActionAid and its national partners have started using REFLECT, for example in Lai Chau province.

[22] UNICEF (2000), UNICEF (1998)

[23] UNICEF (2000)

Vietnamese as a second language and adult learning and, notably, the development and publication of relevant learning materials in selected ethnic minority languages. The national budget allocation is inadequate to effectively finance current low levels of multilingual learning. Although the education and training budget is projected to increase from 15% to 20% of GDP by 2010[24], it is questionable how much additional funding can be made available to meet the heavy investment demands of the minority language literacy target in the context of competing demands to expand the system of lower secondary education nationally.

Recommendations

Since Vietnam is a multilingual society, this paper proposes an expansion of bilingual education programmes for pre-school, primary and adult levels to develop literacy in main ethnic minority languages. Ideally all children should have access to literacy in their mother tongue. However, targeting those minority languages that can draw on an available pool of resources will enable more cost-effective use of limited available resources. In mixed language communes, it will be more effective to offer literacy in the main minority language or written "lingua franca" of the area. This would have the advantage of strengthening inter-ethnic communication. Better learning outcomes of ethnic minority groups should improve social returns on investment and attract additional investment to basic education in remote areas. The paper makes four specific recommendations relating to the different levels of education and teacher development:

- Development of appropriate literacy programmes for men and women in the main ethnic minority languages and in Vietnamese languages, using bilingual, active learning methods and locally relevant materials. This should be accompanied by wide publication and distribution of practical and culturally relevant materials in the main minority languages;

- Increased access to quality and affordable bilingual education programmes in primary schools in communes with large proportions of ethnic peoples. To enhance learning outcomes, schools should promote the learning of Vietnamese as a second language, literacy in the main (maximum two) minority language within the 15% local component of the national curriculum, and provision of textbooks and libraries on a low cost or loan basis;

- Expansion of quality and affordable pre-school services in remote areas. Bilingual education programmes should be developed in communes with large percentages of ethnic peoples, offering Vietnamese as a second language and teaching in the main minority language to combine early child development with preparation for primary school;

More investment in the quality of language teaching by developing in-service and pre-service training modules in the techniques of teaching Vietnamese as a second language and minority literacy at pre-school, primary and adult learning levels. This should be supported by interventions and strategies to accelerate the available pool of teachers of ethnic origin and improved motivation of Kinh teachers to learn and teach in a main minority language.

IV.3 Land allocation

Individual and collective land-use allocation for all land-use types

The main challenge is to develop a process of land allocation that is equitable, transparent, builds on local land use systems and devolves decisions, ownership and management responsibilities to user groups. This will provide a strong basis for speeding up land allocation, accompanied by developments in the legal framework to extend rights of group and collective tenure. Developing a more flexible process is especially important for minority peoples to reflect the diversity of land use systems and practices that exist between ethnic groups.

Land allocation is a critical issue in Vietnam given the high density of population, the rural nature of the population (around 80% of people live in rural areas) and low availability of arable land: *one square kilometre of arable land in Vietnam supports more people than almost anywhere in the world*.'[25] Until the 1990s, most land was collectivized under socialist policies. The

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[24] National Education and Training Strategy 2000-2010
[25] World Bank *et al.* (2000), p. 52

legal framework changed with the Land Law of 1993 and subsequent decrees, offering individuals and groups new possibilities for tenure.

Rural land is categorized as either "agricultural land" or "forest land". "Agricultural land" is classified as low and valley land, essentially exploited for wet paddy rice cultivation. The process of allocation and certification is nearing completion and is considered successful – over 90% of agricultural land has been allocated to households with tenure secured through certification, commonly referred to as "the red book".

The allocation process for "forest land" is proving far more complex and slow. Main constraints include difficulties in classification of "forest land", conflicts of interest over land use between community users and state entities and enterprises, and a disabling legal and institutional environment. The allocation of "forest land" is of particular concern to minority groups since the majority live in mountainous areas and depend on hill agriculture and forest use for their livelihoods. While userfruct rights over "forest land" have improved since the mid-1990s, mountainous communities continue to lack security of tenure which is central to investment in land and to obtaining compensation from any externally driven use of the land, such as resettlement or road construction. Until recently most forest land allocation was done on an individual basis under a contract arrangement. Collective land titling and use arrangements would be better adapted to traditional patterns of resource management but they can only become an option as national legislation evolves to enable the granting of collective ownership rights. Recent figures from the General Department of Land Allocation give a national average of 10 percent of total "forest land" formally allocated and certified with a red book. This figure includes ownership by state forest enterprises and households. In some districts and provinces, this figure can fall as low as 1 per cent.

Measures to speed up the process of allocation may be counterproductive if they do not simultaneously address the need to adapt the process and assure greater equity.

Communities require a greater voice in allocation decisions and land titling measures need to be brought more in line with the land use systems and practices of different ethnic communities. These measures also need to address issues of equity, between communities and state enterprises as well as within and between minority groups[26]. This has resource implications which are discussed below.

Investment in upland production systems

Increasing the productivity of land systems in mountainous areas is central to sustainable growth and poverty reduction in mountainous area. Secure tenure provides a positive framework for investment in land but additional investment is required to realize the potential of land allocation. At present many ethnic minority farmers are too poor to cover the cost of certification, far less to invest enough to increase productivity. The coping strategy of poor groups is to spread risk and maximise different income opportunities through diversification, which diverges from government policies and practices that prioritize cropping patterns and concentrate efforts in a single selected commodity type.

Much government investment in agriculture and forestry is ill-adapted to the conditions of ethnic minority farmers in the uplands. Policies of state subsidisation of fertilizer and seed inputs have limited impact on ethnic minority farmers in remote districts who tend not to use fertilizer or improved seeds and have minimal irrigated rice fields. Research and extension services are under-resourced and tend to promote messages adapted to lowland farming that can be detrimental to upland systems. For research and extension to reach and benefit ethnic minorities in mountainous areas, it must be relevant to their traditional knowledge, the local agro-ecology, and give farmers the space to chose and pace their activities. An increasing number of initiatives and projects in upland areas have demonstrated the potential to intensify production and find new markets for upland products. This includes extending small scale irrigation systems to increase yields and contribute to improved food

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[26] Studies undertaken by the Mountain Rural

Development Project (MARD & SIDA) demonstrated that land available for different villages was highly variable. In all cases, the villages with the least rice land were a minority group within

a multi-ethnic commune. For example, a Dao village within a Tay commune or a Hmong village within a Dao commune.

security, home gardening, innovative agro-forestry opportunities and sustainable cultivation of cleared sloping land.[27]

Resettlement

Resettlement and sedentarization feature strongly in government policies relating to upland and ethnic minority areas. The motivation for sedentarization is to bring an end to what are perceived as environmentally damaging practices and facilitate access to basic services. Resettlement is either outward, as when communities are displaced to make way for hydropower station, dam development, etc. or to desist from swidden agricultural practices, or inward, for example the development of New Economic Zones in upland areas. Resettlement schemes to relieve population pressure in the rural lowlands have targeted the northern mountains and been most extensive in the central highlands. In both instances this has had a destabilizing impact on poor host communities, increasing land pressure and threatening traditional livelihoods. Resettlement schemes are hampered by the fact that best quality agricultural land has largely been allocated and that there is virtually no replacement land available.

New plans formulated for the Northern Mountain area and Central Highland regions include hydropower plants, mining and plantations to promote industrial development. Two major new dam schemes are proposed for Son La in the north and the Se San river in the central highlands, requiring the resettlement of up to 100,000 people from Son La alone, the majority of whom will be ethnic minority people. The potential for negative impacts on poor, mountainous peoples and their environments is considerable unless massive investment efforts are made to mitigate and compensate for losses. Studies of the experience of resettlement of other dams (Yali and Hoa Binh) shows that the process had limited success. Critically, displaced communities have not always received their allocation of cultivable land as promised. Moreover social impact assessments suggest that the risks of landlessness are high as a result of unclear land titling.[28] Extending "forest land" allocation in mountainous areas will give poor, ethnic farmers greater legal protection against displacement and inward resettlement.

Human and financial resource issues

Extending and improving the quality of land allocation processes will require additional resources and effort. Firstly to ensure that allocation reflects traditional land use systems and the needs of different and poorest groups. Secondly to ensure that appropriate extension services and investment are available to promote sustainable and profitable production systems and land use. Thirdly to make real progress in the allocation of "forest land" to poor upland farmers.

Land allocation is at present severely under-funded. Government bodies responsible for allocation lack resources, capacity and time to undertake consultative land use planning. A more participatory approach to land use planning at the commune level is key to base plans on local management systems and encourage local ownership and responsibility. This will require additional costs, in terms of training local government staff to undertake participatory land-use planning and promoting communication in local languages, which can be considered part of state's responsibility to include and respect the rights of all citizens. Multiple benefits that are anticipated to flow from a bottom up process include more efficient land use and less future conflict, increased productivity of forestry and agro-foresty contributing to reduced poverty and vulnerability. Pilot programmes offer useful lessons relating to methods and costings[29].

High investment is also needed to strengthen research and extension services in the uplands. Targeted training interventions should include a combination of developing the skills of local minority people to become future extension workers and the capacity of existing extension workers to operate in upland environments, including local language development. Tangible outcomes should be relatively rapid and include increased productivity and wellbeing of upland farming households and the adoption of more sustainable land management practices. Different options for balancing competing demands on resources need to be considered and should include: "the current focus on "sedentarising" ethnic minority groups could usefully be replaced by much more intensive research into agricultural options for upland

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[27] Jamieson *et al.*(1998); personal communication Mr Cu Hoa Van, 17/8/01; ADB (2001)

[28] ADB (2001)

[29] Mountain Rural Development Project (MARD & SIDA), Social Forestry Development in the Song Da Watershed Project (MARD & GTZ)

farming systems….titling measures that are more in line with ethnic community traditions, practices and systems of land use are also needed.[30]"

The significance of land allocation cannot be underestimated in the face of plans for mass displacement of mountainous people. Considerable upfront resources will be needed to compensate for the livelihood and land loss generated by national infrastructure projects. Government is already committed to allocating these resources from domestic sources in the case of dam displacement. However, given the slow process of "forest land" allocation, undertaking any quantification of compensation should include high social costs of "community disarticulation"[31]. Environmental and social impact assessments of the costs should follow international standards and also incorporate an assessment of alternative options.

Recommendations

This paper proposes that investment in productivity be considered an integral part of land allocation to enable poor communities to capitalize on their resource base and realise its potential to contribute to improved livelihoods and food security.

Four recommendations are proposed to cover the different aspects of land allocation:

- Promote a more participatory and flexible approach to land allocation to ensure that all land use types, especially "forest land", are allocated on an equitable basis based on the characteristics and traditional systems of each location. Priority should be given to wider involvement of ethnic minority communities, to strengthening the land use planning capacity of government officials at the commune and district levels and to use of local languages at all levels of communication and dissemination of information;

- Strengthen ethnic minority family's ability to acquire formal land title on a group or individual basis by

developing the legal framework to extend to rights of group and collective tenure;

- Increase investment opportunities for upland productivity, targeted at ethnic groups in mountainous areas, to sustainably reduce poverty and vulnerability. Strengthen the capacity of research and extension services to develop innovative, appropriate and sustainable options for upland farming systems, building on farmer's local knowledge.

- Resettlement plans should follow international standards and a transparent and consultative process with all affected peoples.

IV.4 Participation of ethnic minorities in government services and structures

An overview of general trends in participation of ethnic minorities in government services and structures

Improving the representation of ethnic minority groups in government services and structures is a major challenge. Accelerating capacity development of ethnic minorities is a majImproving the representation of ethnic minority groups in government services and structures is a major challenge.

It is difficult to obtain clear data on current levels of participation of ethnic minority groups in the government administration or on formal management and decision-making structures. This is because data is not systematically collected and collated by ethnicity for different employment and administrative levels, nor disaggregated according to different ethnic groups. An accurate picture of the representation of minority groups can only be developed by district (and possibly commune level) and ethnic group to assess proportions in relation to the ethnic composition of a given locality. Improved and disaggregated data collection would assist in identifying participation trends, monitoring the impact of efforts to improve the representation and role of

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[30] World Bank *et al.* (2000)

[31] ADB (2000)

ethnic minority groups in public life and help identify capacity building and training needs[32].

Despite data constraints, some general trends are clear. In terms of political participation, ethnic minorities enjoy a level of representation that is currently higher than the national average at the national level (17.3% for National Assembly Representatives are of ethnic origin for the current term). Ethnic minority participation is lower at the provincial level but tends to increase at the grassroots level in communes with large ethnic minority populations. However, this participation does not always mirror the ethnic composition of a locality. There is rising evidence that groups with higher literacy levels such as the Kinh, Tay and Nung, are generally well-represented in local authorities relative to their share in the population. Smaller groups or groups that are in the minority within a commune (such as Hmong in a Dao commune) tend to be under-represented in the local administration while ethnic minority women are greatly under-represented on commune people's committees[33]. This disparity can lead to inequities and limited influence of important sections of the local population on resource allocation and local development planning.

Similarly, ethnic minority peoples have low rates of participation in the civil service and public service delivery. This reduces the quality of services at the point of delivery. For example, health workers and extension workers from outside the locality are likely to face communication problems, have an inappropriate understanding of the local context and experience difficulties in developing relations of trust with the local community. Multiple factors, including low educational levels and lack of fluency in Vietnamese, have inhibited employment of minorities by public services. Moreover, it is difficult to recruit Kinh staff, such as teachers and doctors, to remote areas where working conditions are notoriously hard. Awareness of the benefits of increasing personnel from the locality is rising in government departments and rates of ethnic minority recruitment are gradually improving.

Opportunities for increasing ethnic minority participation in government services and structures

Increasing the participation of ethnic minority peoples in public life should give these groups more influence over decisions and policies that effect their socio-economic development. The centralised planning system offered limited scope for national development programmes to be tailored to the characteristics of different locations. Current changes to the government structures, notably decentralisation of administrative mechanisms and the introduction of Decree 29, the "Grassroots Democracy Decree", offer new opportunities for strengthening the participation of local people in the design and management of development initiatives. These changes have also promoted greater local transparency and accountability. It will take time for these changes to become effective and concerted efforts will be needed to strengthen the role of minority groups, especially smaller groups, in these processes.

Despite constraints discussed under section IV.3, the expansion of the education system to mountainous areas and projected increase in lower secondary attainment should substantially improve the resource pool of skilled minority peoples. Meanwhile, the promotion of special boarding schools in mountainous areas and positive weighting systems to facilitate access of minority peoples to universities, teacher training institutes etc, should further increase this pool in the short-term. To address more immediate needs, a number of targeted interventions are underway, such as the MOET programme to train ethnic minority women as pre-school and primary school teachers. In addition, capacity building initiatives to strengthen leadership and project management skills of commune and management boards are increasing under NGO, bilateral and multilateral projects. It is also necessary to acknowledge the value of indigenous knowledge and traditions in developing local-level solutions to poverty. A new approach to training that looks beyond formal qualifications to how to build on local experience, that can offer modular

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[32] However, it should be noted that sometime, data are available at a certain level of detail. For instance, the data on Kon Tum, ia Lai (where ethnic minority share of the total provincial opulation is about 53%) and Dac Lac (Lao Dong Newspaper, Monday April 29, 2002, citing the surveys carried out by provinces) show that in Gia Lai, the share of staff with ethnic minority origin in the total number province's government staff is 14.6% (14.5% in Kon Tum and 15% in Dac Lac). At the commune level, this share reaches 54% in Gia Lai (69.3% in Kon Tum). In Kontum, more than 31% and 43% of the total 3,822 commune level staff have completed only primary and secondary education, (respectively); in Dac Lac, more than 80% commune level staff completed only primary and secondary education; and this figure for district level is more than 47%. The survey in Dac Lac also shows that only 16.4% (of 140 staff members with ethnic minority origin, having position from deputy head of district offices and higher) can fulfil their job requirements, ther 40% has good 'potentials' but need more training.

[33] World Bank (1999) – Attacking Poverty

courses delivered in the locality, in local languages using active teaching methods would help to address capacity development needs for ethnic groups in the shorter term.

Human resource and financial issues

Additional and more focused resources will be needed to develop skill levels of ethnic minority groups. Further training and capacity building interventions need to be targeted specifically at minority groups so that they can be adapted to their learning levels and build on their local knowledge and experience. They should also prioritize skill development in the relevant sectors of planning and financial management, education, extension etc. Training of local people has the advantage of providing positive role models and keeping that capacity within the locality since local people are less likely to transfer elsewhere. Training on its own will not be enough and should be accompanied by follow up and support to build up the competency and confidence of new personnel. The feasibility of developing positive recruitment policies that set a minimum quota for ethnic minorities in government structures and services should be considered as part of a comprehensive strategy to encourage ethnic minority participation in government services.

Additional resources will be required for material development and language training in minority languages for non local staff. Public information on laws, local plans and budgets is a fundamental feature of devolved power and needs to be made available in local languages and regularly up-dated.

Recommendations

Recommendations for this section cover capacity building while monitoring is covered in more detail in the next section:

- Expand and target training and capacity building opportunities to increase the quality and quantity of the human resource pool for men and women of the different ethnic minorities. Training areas should focus on key skill areas for government employment including: leadership, project and financial management, health, teaching, agricultural research and extension;

- Expand the use of main minority languages in service delivery and dissemination of information related to public plans, budgets and laws in their respective localities;

- The government should develop a comprehensive strategy to promote the representation of personnel of ethnic origin in government services and structures. This should cover training support, career development and mechanisms to increase the participation of ethnic groups (large and small) in local authorities, on management boards and in service delivery.

- Review experience and lessons from countries that have developed working mechanisms for bilingual and trilingual local government systems, education, business operations etc to contribute to policy and programme formulation.

V.1 Quantitative surveys

The Vietnam Living Standards Surveys (VLSS) and Multipurpose Household Surveys (MPHS) provide valuable data on socio-economic development and monitoring of trends. To date they have not allowed for systematic monitoring of the situation for ethnic minority groups on account of a relatively small sample size or lack of ethnic minority focused data collection. A range of sectoral and poverty surveys, undertaken by different ministries and government offices, produce complementary data but seldom disaggregate information for ethnic minorities generally, or by different groups.

The Vietnam Household Living Standard Surveys (VHLSS) offers great opportunities to improve the quality of data collection and analysis on socio-economic development and poverty reduction indicators. To be introduced in 2002, the VHLSS combines the former MPHS and VLSS for a sample size of 30,000 households and will allow for disaggregation of data by main ethnic minority group and by mountainous districts. In its present form, the VHLSS collects information on two of the three ethnic minority targets prioritized in this paper, namely the proportion of households with land use rights and the proportion of government personnel of ethnic minority origin. It does not collect information on literacy in minority languages but could be easily modified to do so. To ensure that VHLSS analysis will serve to monitor all three ethnic minority targets prioritised in this paper, the following suggestions are made.

The larger VHLSS surveys can be backed up by more detailed household monitoring in the poorest communes through sectoral programmes that are coordinated under the national Hunger Eradication and Poverty Reduction Project.

V.2 Qualitative studies

A series of qualitative and longitudinal studies is proposed to build up a fuller picture of socio-economic development in ethnic minority areas over time, starting with this decade. It is recommended that these follow a similar framework and methodology as the Participatory Poverty Assessments conducted in 1999, focusing on main ethnic groups who are dispersed across administrative regions [34]. The studies should be thematic, multi-sectoral and aim to attribute change to particular policies or programmes in order to feed into policy formulation at the national level. Two issues are highlighted for special attention, using qualitative methodologies:

- What has changed in the lives and livelihoods of a given set of people or a given area during the last 3-4 years?

- Which policy or target programme has been most important in achieving change (positive and negative aspects)?

Selection of the sample locations and communities for the proposed studies should reflect the diversity of the ethnic peoples of Vietnam and local issues and concerns. Further details of the proposed methodology for the ethnic minority poverty assessments are included as Appendix 3.

V.3 Management and resourcing of monitoring

The Government will be responsible for deciding how best to co-ordinate and manage the monitoring of policy impacts on ethnic minorities. At present CEMMA has the remit to coordinate ethnic minority issues but is under-resourced for the task. A more effective approach would be to ensure that ethnic minority policy and programme development be highlighted as a responsibility for all relevant ministries. Options for setting up a structure to manage the longitudinal studies, disseminate findings and coordinate inter-ministerial learning and programme development for ethnic minorities need to be explored further. Where possible, a secretariat should be established within an existing horizontal structure, such as the national HEPR aboard, with oversight decentralized to managerial or advisory structures at the provincial level. These bodies should be broad-based, including representation of leaders of ethnic minorities, provincial officials and local members of the national assembly and council for ethnic minorities. Communicating feedback from monitoring

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[34] See: World Bank & DFID (1999); and MRDP (1999)

(to Ministries, national co-ordination bodies, districts and other provinces) will be more effective if a broad-based collaborative approach is adopted.

In terms of resourcing, the quantitative monitoring of socio-economic progress of ethnic minority peoples, discussed under section V.1, can be financed as part of national monitoring efforts. The qualitative studies will require additional financial resources. The collaborative approach and poverty focus of the studies should readily attract government and donor funding. Funding could be made as a lump sum contribution or for individual or sets of studies that complement government and donor initiatives, such as poverty reduction programmes in the central highlands or northern mountains.

Suggestions to improve the ethnic minority focus of the VHLSS

- First, it is suggested that the questionnaire be translated into the main written minority languages of Vietnam, in order to aid interviewers, interviewees and local translators, and ensure good quality data.

- Ensure that the 'ethnic group code' to classify the ethnicity of the interviewee follows the official classification of 54 ethnic groups in Vietnam (excluding resident foreigners). This means that people's self-classification, which may refer to sub-groups of those 54 groups, may have to be interpreted by the interviewer[35] (see section 1 in the draft questionnaire).

- Add the question: in which language are you *verbally* most fluent? (the codes should be the same as those of the ethnic groups) (note that the answer makes some of the following additional questions 'relevant', or not) (section 1 in the draft questionnaire).

- Add a question: did you ever attend a full course of special literacy classes? (section 2)

- Add a question: Are textbooks in the local ethnic language available to you (if relevant)?

- Modify question 7, section 2: Can you read a newspaper in Vietnamese language?

- Add a question: Can you read textbooks in your local ethnic language (if relevant)? (section 2)

- Add a question: Is your primary school teacher (was your former primary school teacher) fluent in both Vietnamese and your local ethnic language (if relevant)? (section 2)

- Add a question: if your main occupation (-code) is in agriculture, forestry and fisheries, for how much land or water surface of the different official qualities does your family have a (formal) Users Certificate? (agriculturalland, irrigated land, forest land, etc.) (section 4 or section 8).

- Add a question: is your family a member of a co-operative with a formal Land Use Certificate for collective rights to use forest or other land? (section 4 or section 8).

- Add to the introduction of section 6: Now I would like to ask you about expenses on holiday occasions such as Tet, January 15, July 15, Mid-autumn moon festival, Independence day, *or any local festival that is important to your people.*

- The questionnaire gives (asks the interviewer to fill out) province codes. In addition district codes would be of great help in understanding regional inequalities. Analysis of the data from 30,000 households could be done by for example grouping all households from mountainous districts and comparing them to others, or comparing minority peoples in all mountainous districts with Kinh people in these same districts (in terms of school enrolment, expenditure, etc.)[36] (section 1?).

- Add a marker (Yes/No) of whether the commune of the interviewee is within the group of 2,300 poorest communes, as defined by MOLISA, CEMMA and other ministries (section 1?).

- Add to section 11, participation in poverty alleviation programmes: has your family relocated in the past 10 years *as part of* a government resettlement scheme or sedentarisation programme?

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[35] see: Dang Nghiem Van *et al.* (2000)

[36] This suggestion to code districts is made even though it is understood that the sample will not be large enough for intra-single-district analysis; it is meant for intra-group-of-mountainous-districts analysis. Nghe An is an example of a province with lowland, coastal and mountainous districts. Ky Son district is one of the latter, is one of the very poorest districts of Vietnam, and largely inhabited by ethnic minorities, unlike most of the coastal districts of Nghe An. The average data for Nghe An province will hide the deep poverty in Ky Son.

Note: Where the indicators are to be made specific for districts and provinces the data can come from the new Vietnam Household Living Standard Surveys (VHLSS). Where 'the main ethnic minority groups' are specified the data can also come from the VHLSS, particularly if the planned sample of 30,000 is implemented (see section V.1 for more on monitoring). Smaller minority groups will not be sufficiently 'captured' in this sample, and therefore they are excluded from the national, mostly quantitative indicators. Their situation is to be analysed through some specific and largely qualitative studies (see V.2). Where the 2,300 poorest communes are mentioned the data can be collected through several Ministries and local authorities.

Hunger, income and employment.

Main targets	Indicators of main targets	intermediary targets and activities
a) Reduce the rate of hungry households in mountainous and poor communes to ***nil by 2010***. b) Reduce under-five child malnutrition in mountainous and poor communes ***by more than the average national reduction.*** c) Reduce the percentage of poor households in mountainous and poor communes ***at a rate close to the national average rate.*** d) Increase the percentage of non-farm employment of women and men in mountainous areas, particularly amongst minority peoples, ***at a rate close to the national average rate.***	• Prevalence of underweight under-five year old children in the mountainous districts and the 2,300 poorest communes. • Prevalence of under-nourishment measured by dietary energy supply in the population of the mountainous districts, and the 2,300 poorest communes. • Proportion of the population in the mountainous districts, and the 2,300 poorest communes and proportion of the main ethnic minority groups under the agreed poverty line. • Rate and share of women and of members of the main ethnic minority groups in wage employment in the non-agricultural sector in mountainous districts.	• To support ethnic minority men and women in especially difficult circumstances with training in agriculture and forestry, processing of agro-forestry products, business skills, crafts and various services. • To strengthen market places in mountain areas, and enable the marketing of agro-forestry and other products. • To ensure adequate supplies of essential consumer goods to mountainous areas and the poorest households. • To develop the collective economic sector in diverse forms of co-operation and self-management of various groups and communities in mountainous and poor communes. • To strengthen the ability of the poor, including ethnic minorities and especially women, to access credit and borrow at an appropriate interest rate.

Settlement and land use rights.

Main targets	indicators of main targets	intermediary targets and activities
a) Reclaim about 450,000 hectares of 'barren hills'/'wasteland', provide small scale irrigation systems and allocate 'agricultural land' *to the majority of mountainous people, by 2010*. b) Allocate individual and collective land use rights over forestland and 'barren hills'/'wasteland', including land in buffer zones of Nature Reserves, to *the majority of mountainous people* (including to hamlets and groups of ethnic minority people and 'new' co-operatives), as enabled by the Law, by 2010. c) Provide sustainable access to safe drinking water to people in poor and mountainous districts and communes *up to the average national access rate.* d) Increase investment in physical infrastructure, so that by 2010 there is sufficient essential infrastructure of all kinds *in all 2,300 communes in especially difficult circumstances*.	• Rates of land reclamation and expansion of small scale irrigation in mountainous districts. • Rates in issuance of Land Use Certificates over agricultural land, forest land (disaggregated for natural forest and plantations) and 'barren hills', on an individual and a collective basis in mountainous and poor districts. • Proportion of population in mountainous districts, and the 2,300 poorest communes with sustainable access to improved water sources. • Proportion of population in mountainous districts, and the 2,300 poorest communes with access to basic sanitation. • Investment and infrastructure project completion rates in the 2,300 poorest (and mostly mountainous) communes.	• Each locality should formulate a general plan and specific programs to stabilise and increase the living standards of ethnic minorities based on the characteristics of each location.

Note: The main targets under this heading are in fact intermediary targets towards improving livelihoods & income, health and education, and also intermediary towards social service provision (although formal Land Use Rights could be seen as a top-level aim). Just one of the targets is related directly to a target under the MDGs. They are however very central to the government's plans on sedentarisation and infrastructure development, which impact heavily on the lives of remote peoples, and thus they merit special treatment.

Education.

Main targets	indicators of main targets	intermediary targets and activities
a) Provide access to pre-school education to *all children in all mountainous and poor communes by 2010*. b) Ensure that by 2010 *all children in all mountainous and poor communes, boys and girls alike*, will be able to complete a full course of primary schooling, *partly in Vietnamese language and partly in ethnic minority languages*. c) Accomplish universal junior secondary education by 2010, *nationwide and in all mountainous and poor communes.* d) *Eliminate illiteracy* in the main minority *languages and Vietnamese* and prevent the relapse into illiteracy, particularly of ethnic minority women in all mountainous and poor communes. e) *Eliminate gender disparity in primary and secondary education* preferably by 2005, and to all levels of education by 2015.	• Net enrolment rate in primary education in the 2,300 poorest communes and for the main ethnic minority groups. • Proportion of pupils starting grade 1 who reach grade 5 in mountainous and poor districts and for the main ethnic minority groups. • Ratio of girls to boys in primary and secondary education in mountainous and poor districts and for the main ethnic minority groups. • Literacy rate of 15 to 24 year old women and men in mountainous and poor districts and for the main ethnic minority groups. • Literacy rate of 25 to 44 year old women and men in mountainous and poor districts and for the main ethnic minority groups. • The availability and use of textbooks in minority languages as part of the national primary school curriculum in communes with substantial numbers of ethnic minorities.	• To allocate sufficient teachers to mountain and island areas. • To improve the teaching quality of the primary educational system in mountainous, border and island areas, and to diversify teaching and learning methodologies. • To develop and improve performance of ethnic minority boarding schools, and to open new ones in key areas for ethnic minority children. • To organise vocational training for children of poor households, especially ethnic minority children, girls and the disabled. • To give free text books and exempt from tuition and school fees (including vocational training schools) the pupils from poor and often ethnic minority households. • To develop appropriate literacy programmes for adult women and men in the main minority languages of Vietnam and in Vietnamese.

Health.

Main targets	indicators of main targets	intermediary targets and activities
a) Reduce under-5 child mortality rates in mountainous and poor communes *by much more than the average national reduction.* b) Reduce maternal mortality ratios in mountainous and poor communes *by more than the average national reduction.* c) Halt and begin to reverse the spread of HIV/AIDS by 2015. d) Halt and begin to reverse the incidence of malaria and other major diseases in mountainous and poor communes *by much more than the average national reduction.* e) Maintain the gains in *abolishing* infant poliomyelitis and tetanus. Continue to implement extended vaccination in 10 kinds of vaccine for children in mountainous and poor communes.	• Under-5 mortality rate in mountainous districts, the 2,300 poorest communes and for the main ethnic minority groups. • Infant mortality rate in mountainous districts, the 2,300 poorest communes and for the main ethnic minority groups. • Proportion of 1 year old children immunised against measles in mountainous districts, the 2,300 poorest communes. • Maternal mortality ratio in mountainous districts, the 2,300 poorest communes • Proportion of births attended by skilled health personnel in poor and mountainous districts. • Contraceptive prevalence rate in poor and mountainous districts. • HIV prevalence of among 15-24 year old pregnant women [and other indicators from UNAIDS TBD] • [malaria: consult WHO] • [Major diseases, TB: consult WHO]	• Disseminate ideas to improve the awareness of the poor, especially of ethnic minority people, of the importance of family planning. • To enhance healthcare services for children, war-affected people, poor people, ethnic minority groups, former revolutionary bases, and mountainous and hinterlands areas. • To complete the grassroots healthcare network, and post medical doctors to dispensaries of all lowland and midland communes and most mountain communes by 2010. • To standardize and increase the training of medical staff, with attention given to ethnic minority personnel.

Note: All but one of the main health related targets and indicators given here are identical to those under the MDGs, because there is a high degree of consistency between that and the Vietnamese development targets whilst the latter are slightly less specific. The targets and indicators have only been edited for 'remote and poor peoples' in order to stress the need for dis-aggregation of national data. The subgroup on health under the PTF is expected to make them more Vietnam-specific and provide consistency with other indicators regarding the time frame.

Governance.

	Main targets	indicators of main targets	intermediary targets and activities
a) b)	Expand direct democracy at the grassroots, ensure easy access to public authority agencies, and provide conditions to monitor public officials and employees, especially those in direct contact with mountainous peoples, particularly through a total fraction of ethnic minorities on local People's Committees *close to 13 percent, nationally*. Increase relative numbers and quality of Government personnel of ethnic minorities to *close to 13 percent, nationally*.	• Proportion of ethnic minority members of all Peoples Committees of Vietnam put together (disaggregated for the larger ethnic groups). • Proportion of ethnic minority personnel in (mountainous) District and Province Government departments and public services relative to population proportions in those localities (male, female personnel disaggregated). • Rates in legal cases filed with courts and rates of cases resolved, by citizens from the mountainous districts, and the 2,300 poorest communes.	1. To publicize investment programs and projects, especially the financial resources, in Vietnamese and local vernacular languages. 2. Provide information on the legal aspects related to the daily lives of mountainous peoples. 3. Provide information on law to staff in poor communes and provide training on legal consultation to legal staff. 4. To strive for the basic popularisation of radio and television receivers to all families by 2010. 5. Expand radio and TV broadcasting in ethnic minority areas, border and island areas. 6. To use the spoken languages and scripts of ethnic minorities, if available, in the mass media in their respective localities. 7. Expand the participation and enhance the role of domestic social organisations and non-governmental organisations in the process of building the social safety net and strengthening social economic development of mountainous peoples. 8. Support development of village regulations in line with ethnic minority tradition and national laws; develop pools of ethnic minority collaborators on legal aid.

Note: Under this heading the targets are mainly intermediary targets, although the enhancement of grass roots democracy can be seen as a top-level aim. The PTF has prioritised the broad issue of governance because of the relative importance of it to Vietnam. This is in fact even more true for ethnic minorities and poor remote ethnic Kinh people, whose participation in public life and voice is relatively weak for a range of reasons. The MDGs and targets do not explicitly cover governance issues but it is thus justified to make them explicit, particularly where minority and poor people in remote areas are concerned.
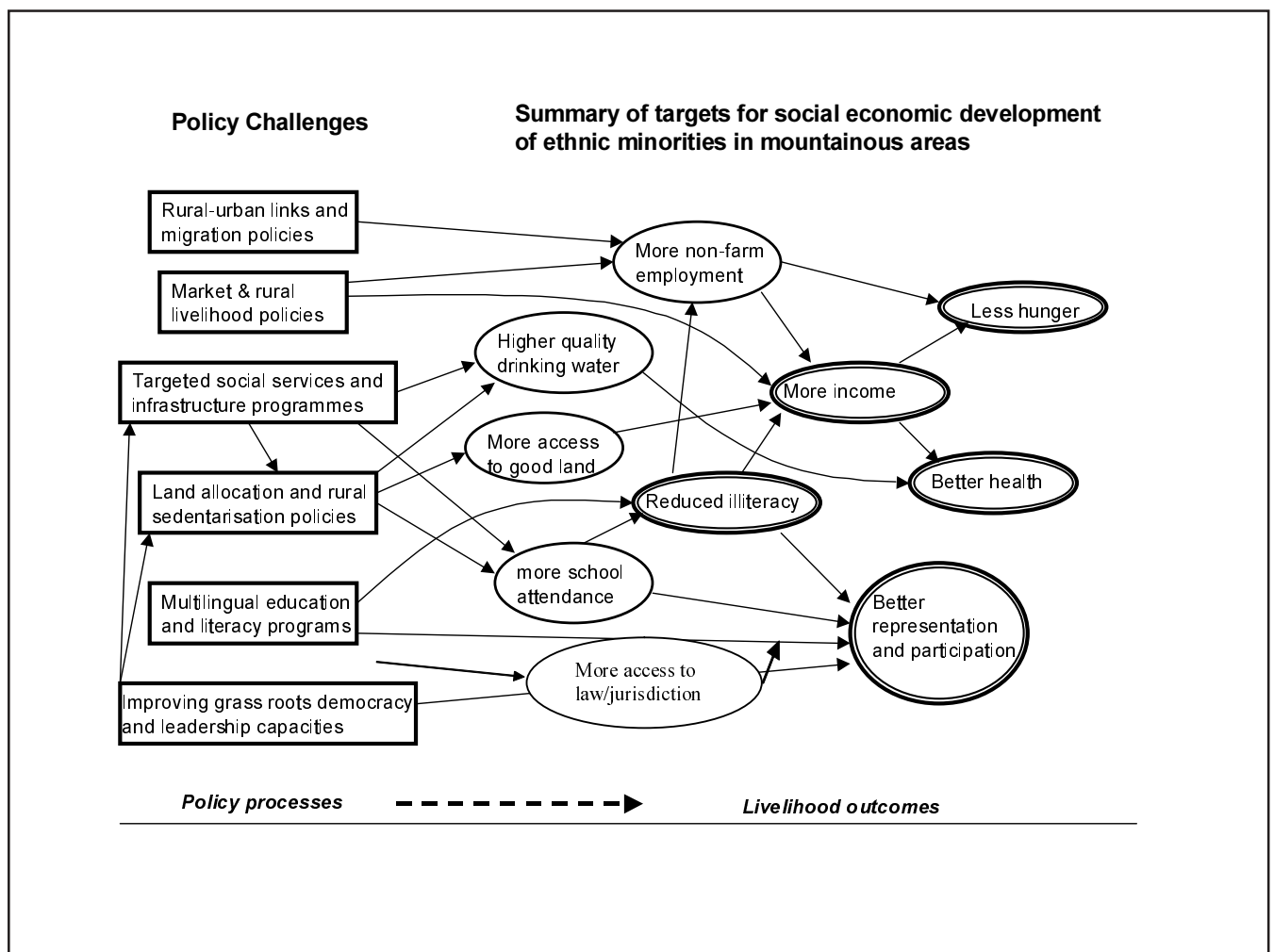
This appendix provides an overview and analysis of key policy issues relating to the sectoral ethnic minority targets outlined in the main text and the targets and indicators set out in Appendix 1.

The diagram below shows the many connections that exist between policies, assets and livelihood outcomes of ethnic minority peoples[37]. Other outcomes, for which the policies are important, include national integration, and the 'celebration' of cultural diversity.

Market and rural livelihood policies

The integration of the Vietnamese economy in global markets can offer opportunities for mountainous peoples, and threats too. The majority of ethnic minority women and men in mountainous areas have few goods to trade, few skills and services to offer, a weak bargaining position because of a relatively small number of traders and suppliers in remote markets, a relative lack of marketing experience, and they may only speak some basic Vietnamese (which hampers their interaction in markets). *Can Vietnam help ethnic minorities and other poor mountainous people take livelihood opportunities through the use of 'market based instruments' (taxation and subsidies), market interventions, market regulation, and livelihood support services (extension, credit), so that geographic and ethnic income inequality decreases? Or are the market forces so strong that the weaker will lose from the stronger despite good use of those instruments, and worse, that it remains hard to just avoid increasing inequality?* Finding the right policies is important, because apart from the wish to help ethnic

Policy Challenges

Summary of targets for social economic development of ethnic minorities in mountainous areas

Rural-urban links and migration policies

Market & rural livelihood policies

Targeted social services and infrastructure programmes

Land allocation and rural sedentarisation policies

Multilingual education and literacy programs

Improving grass roots democracy and leadership capacities

More non-farm employment

Higher quality drinking water

More access to good land

more school attendance

More access to law/jurisdiction

Less hunger

More income

Reduced illiteracy

Better health

Better representation and participation

Policy processes – – – – – – –▶ *Livelihood outcomes*

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[37] This is based on the sustainable livelihoods framework; see for example: DFID (1999) and Neefjes (2000)

minorities, there is some evidence that a reasonable degree of social economic equity is good for average and overall economic growth[38].

According to recent policy documents the Government aims to develop the collective economic sector, i.e. transform old-style co-operatives through retraining, liquidation of outstanding debts of their predecessors, development of collective capital, and promotion of new technologies. Through the Law on Co-operatives it wants to stimulate the emergence of 'new' co-operatives with a view to promoting households' autonomy, to supply services and inputs and to market outputs: 'the *individual and small owner economic sector* in rural and urban areas are entitled to State facilitation for development'[39]. Success should help strengthen the bargaining position of groups of remote rural dwellers. However, the question would still remain whether the smaller and poorer ethnic minorities in mountainous areas can take up the opportunities offered by the Law and can access the Government's support. Even in 1989, before full de-collectivisation, the Party recognised that the collective sector had not reached all parts: 'co-operatives in rural mountainous areas only exist in name, especially the agricultural co-operatives in high mountainous areas'[40]. Furthermore, there appears to exist a certain amount of scepticism in rural areas as regards the setting up and running of 'new' style co-operatives: people who are not well informed appear to think that it is about *re*-collectivisation and State-control, instead of a potentially exciting new way of working and deciding together, at the local level. Successful examples of new style marketing co-operatives are mainly reported in lowland areas. A recommendation that follows naturally from this is that the information supply about the opportunities of the Law on Co-operatives should improve and intensify considerably, and much more (special) attention must be given to awareness raising amongst ethnic minorities. This may be done best in local languages, and should be sensitive to current local sentiment.

Rice is the main crop and the main staple food of Vietnam, also amongst most mountainous ethnic groups.

Because of a slump in rice prices (and other commodity prices) in the now more or less liberalised rice market the Government recently abolished land tax for the poorest rural dwellers; an important measure, even though this tax is modest. In general terms the agricultural sector is least protected by tariffs and non-tariff barriers, compared to manufactured consumer goods and services[41]. In mountainous areas the Government operates subsidisation schemes for the provision of basic household goods (iodised salt for example) and agricultural inputs (seeds, fertilizers, pesticides), and provides some subsidies on transport of produce to the main urban centres[42]. In Nghe An the provincial authorities allocate these transport subsidies especially to peanuts, but private buyers currently find the market attractive enough and go to the mountainous districts to buy peanuts at competitive prices, in parallel to the state trading company. Per capita subsidy on inputs is not big. For example, Nghe An, with hundreds of thousands of residents in remote mountainous districts, spent in 2000 a total of 8.6 billion VND on all the special subsidies combined, of which 3.85 billion on agricultural inputs (i.e. about US$250,000)[43]. Impact of this policy on the poorest, often ethnic minorities, appears limited, because the subsidy scale is small and ethnic minority farmers in the remotest districts hardly use fertilizer and improved seeds anyway (they do not buy it despite the price subsidy), they have little produce to sell, and they have comparatively few *irrigated* rice fields.

One of the main programmes of the Government targeted at the (poor) rural areas concerns subsidised credit (see next sub-section). The Government has now requested some state owned banks and local authorities (who may guarantee loans to people without collateral) to postpone repayment and cancel debts. However, delivery of rural credit services (by the Vietnam Agricultural & Rural Development Bank, the Bank for the Poor, and special schemes of the Women's Union) to the peoples in the remotest areas is not as effective as in the lowlands, partly for reasons of management and motivation of staff[44]. There is also evidence from different locations that informal lenders need to be used

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[38] Watkins (1998)

[39] SRV (2001b), section IV.1

[40] VN Communist Party Resolution No. 22 – TQ/TW of 1989

[41] See for example: Pham Lan Huong (2001)

[42] Government Decree 20/1998/ND-CP dated 31 March 1998 on Developing Trade in Mountainous and Ethnic Minority Areas

[43] Data obtained from the provincial department of trade.

[44] Nachuk (2000)

to keep up with repayment schedules; and high informal interest rates suck people sometimes into a debt spiral. The (subsidised) credit supply by the state-owned banks could improve from large scale saving in peer groups, i.e. methodologies that were pioneered particularly by the Grameen Bank in Bangladesh. It is important to observe that the poorest households, many female headed households, and often whole villages of ethnic minorities do not access the (subsidised) credit facilities, for example because they do not have Land Use Certificates that can be important as collateral (see also section IV.4), and because obtaining credit may be cumbersome and requires some payments. Those who appear to remain outside and are not-affected by all these positive efforts of the Government are in particular the smaller and less integrated ethnic groups.

The Government is aware of under-investment in agriculture, compared to other sectors, whilst agriculture supports the employment of more than 60% of the total population[45]. Agriculture (including forestry) is relatively even more important for ethnic minorities, most of which are rural people. This under-investment is most pertinent for the mountainous areas: ensure 'that poor areas get a fair share of agricultural expenditure', writes the international community[46]. It is visible in allocations of both the private and public sector, and with regards to the latter it is agreed that especially the nation's investment in research and extension needs to increase. For research and extension to reach and benefit ethnic minorities in mountainous areas it must be relevant to their traditional knowledge, the local agro-ecology, and the problem of increasing population densities in mountainous areas (caused partly by in-migration of lowlanders). Access to wet-land rice cultivation from newly reclaimed fields and new small scale irrigation systems has proven to be a key incentive for reducing swidden agriculture; home gardening can be intensified sustainably and profitably with new technologies; agro-forestry offers many opportunities for environmentally sound and profitable mixed farming (cropping and livestock keeping combined); and 'green manuring' techniques can be applied to enrich and protect fallow fields (which suits a shortened cropping cycle in using hill slopes for various crops and protects from soil erosion)[47]. Heavily increased investments in appropriate technologies and in extension services that work <u>with</u> ethnic minority farmers to apply and refine them, can translate in strongly increased food security, reduced vulnerability, and a basic income above the poverty line of many mountainous people.

Recommendations

- More awareness raising is needed amongst ethnic minorities about the opportunities of the Law on Co-operatives for working together, independently, for example for marketing produce (in vernacular languages).

- The scale and effectiveness of input and produce-transport subsidies under Decree 20 for remote, mountainous peoples should be evaluated, and adjusted accordingly.

- Subsidised credit delivery should become more efficient and better targeted on ethnic minority people.

- Heavily increased investments are needed in research and extension on appropriate technologies for mountainous agro-forestry.

Special social services and infrastructure programmes for poor communes

A primary aim of the Government is to help achieve some degree of geographic equity: for '*midland and mountain rural regions*' to '*help narrow down the development gap with lowland rural areas*'[48], for which it has developed the Poverty Alleviation Strategy 2001-2010 and a 5 year plan. The Government (with international donors) made many efforts in the 1990s to reduce poverty, and plans more for the coming decade to improve investments and social service provision in remote areas. However, the poorest villages and communes, many with ethnic minority peoples, still lack even the most basic of services and infrastructure. Furthermore, the special efforts are almost all targeted

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[45] Pham Lan Huong (2001); see also Public Expenditure Review Working Group (2000)

[46] World Bank *et al.* (2000), p.55

[47] Jamieson *et al.* (1998); personal communication Mr Cu Hoa Van, 17/8/01; ADB (2001)

[48] SRV (2001b), section III.B

to areas, i.e. 'the especially communes in especially difficult circumstances', whilst recent analysis suggest that within those areas the opportunity-gap between ethnic minorities and the Kinh is increasing[49]. *Is the (planned) scale, reach and quality of targeted social investment and service programmes (co-ordinated under the Hunger Eradication and Poverty Reduction Programme, HEPR) sufficient, and has their combined impact in the past few years been effective in creating improved well being in the mountainous areas and amongst the poorest ethnic minority groups? Can heavily increased investment and modified policies (targets, programmes) and delivery of social services and infrastructure be effective, and are resources available? Should there be a stronger focus on minority groups, instead of a geographic approach?*

HEPR is a framework for co-ordination at central, province, district and commune levels, and the central government also channels some funding of local initiatives through the HEPR centre. Resources from several budget lines and for different purposes are co-ordinated and strategically spent with guidance from a HEPR Board at all key levels, including most of the more than 7,500 communes of Vietnam. Staff of local sectoral departments are members of those boards. Mass Organisations also participate, and help local people to get access to the targeted (sectoral) services and investments. For example, the Women's Union (WU) helps organise credit groups who can access loans from special schemes of the WU, the Vietnam Bank for the Poor (VBP) and the Vietnam Bank for Agriculture & Rural Development (VBARD). The Ministry for Agriculture & Rural Development and related province and district departments are responsible for mobilising resources for certain rural infrastructure development, extension and implementation of laws on sedentarisation and land (issuing Land Use Certificates is the responsibility of local authorities). The Ministry of Health (MOH) and local health departments play a central role in granting medicare cards (for free treatment) to the poorest households, vaccination campaigns and construction of health centres. The Ministry of Education & Training (MOET) has also

several programmes and policies that relate to HEPR, including school construction, informal education for children who did not attend school at school age, literacy programmes and vocational training. CEMMA (the State Committee for Ethnic Minorities and Mountainous Areas) runs a special programme in support of the smallest ethnic minority groups, and coordinates a large infrastructure programme.

At the central level the HEPR board includes also the Ministry of Planning & Investment (MPI) and Ministry of Finance (MOF), the State Bank of Vietnam (SVB), the WU, Farmers' Association and Fatherland Front are represented. This Board falls under the (vice) Prime Minister and has a programme office in MOLISA (the Ministry of Labour, Invalids & Social Affairs), who are the 'managing agency'. HEPR obviously offers a challenge in terms of co-ordination. Related to co-ordination and delivery of the HEPR related programmes the following weaknesses have been observed. (a) There is a lack of managerial capacity, particularly at the local level; (b) a lack of effective impact monitoring; (c) a lack of transparency in spending money (implementation of the Grass Roots Democracy Decree); (d) a dominant role of the (provincial, district) government, who may consult the people (at best), instead of decentralising decision making further and stimulating full participation and empowerment of local people; and (e) there is an unclear division of responsibilities between Ministries.

HEPR is known as 'Programme 133' and is closely related to 'Programme 135', the Programme for Socio-Economic Development in Communes faced with Extreme Difficulties in Mountainous and Remote Areas (PCED)[50]. PCED focuses on a selection of the poorest communes in remote and often mountainous areas and on infrastructure development (initially 1,000 and later 1,715). PCED is led by CEMMA, which defined a subset of poorest communes. This could be seen as an aid to Ministries, departments and local authorities in focusing on the poorest communes of Vietnam (and thus implicitly on some groups of ethnic minorities). How good this targeting is depends on how data are interpreted, on implementation practices, and on resources: '*in 1999, 82.7% of funds allocated [to]*

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[49] Particularly with regards to access to good quality education and good quality, sufficient land; see: Walle and Gunewardena (2001)

[50] See for example Nguyen The Dzung (1999) & UNDP. These programmes refer to Prime Minister's Decision 135/1998/QD-TTG of 21 July 1998 and Decision 133/1998/QD-TTG of 23 July 1998. Based on early experience with the coordination and implementation of these programmes in particular a future strategy has been developed; see: SRV (2000)

HEPR are to be disbursed under the PCED while only 8.3% and 11.8% [of the] poor households in the country live in the 1,000 communes and 1,715 communes with extreme difficulties, respectively'[51]. For 2001 and beyond the poorest communes (in '*Khu Vuc III*') were increased in number to 2,300.[52] The poorest communes are more or less decided by the following (groups of) criteria: (a) more than 20 km from urban areas (10 km in lowlands); (b) temporary or poor infrastructure (irrigation, transport, electricity, water, school, clinic); (c) low educational levels, with over 60 percent illiteracy (50 percent in lowlands), diseases, and 'backward' customs, lack of access to media; (d) difficult production conditions, slash and burn cultivation, dependency on forest gathering, and lack of production land (20 percent of households depending on wage labour in lowlands); (e) over 60 percent of households in the commune is poor (over 30 percent in lowlands), and many suffer chronic hunger[53].

These criteria appear quite suitable for deciding about infrastructure programmes, such as PCED. However, infrastructure benefits all people in the commune, and in terms of providing access to transport and markets this benefits particularly the better off in the poorest communes. Furthermore, Vietnam's poor do not only live in those particular remote and poor mountainous areas, and not all ethnic minorities live in the thus defined communes either. The different criteria used for the different programmes that are co-ordinated under HEPR are currently being harmonised between different Ministries (including CEMMA and MOLISA). How the poorest people are defined and how various special programmes target ethnic minorities depends on poverty criteria for individuals, households, and social groups, and not just communes[54].

Most of the sectoral programmes under HEPR already existed in one form or another before the formalisation of the co-ordination framework in 1998. HEPR has reached many poor households in Vietnam, in one way or another (medicards, water supply, schools, roads, tree planting, exemptions from tutorial fees, ...). However, HEPR and the related programmes have not managed to do away with poverty and income inequality, and in the remotest areas many basic services are still severely lacking. Weaknesses and limitations in the practical achievements of the programme include the following[55]. (a) Credit services do not reach the poorest households and remotest villages and communes and are not clearly targeted at for example women headed households, or ethnic minorities; (b) many poor borrowers may still be in poverty and have repayment difficulties; (c) apart from some credit services (with a key role for the WU) there is little concern for women's burdens and gender equity in the general strategies and in most special programmes under HEPR; (d) weak links between environmental goals and tree planting efforts under HEPR; (e) plantation trees are not always beneficial to the poorest and remotest, whose use 'barren hill' land for herding and once in several years for cultivation (their use pattern is sometimes confused with the idea that the land is 'unused'), and (f) there is a lack of an economic analysis and effort to achieve financial sustainability in the planning processes at all levels. There are more weaknesses, and many are being addressed for the period 2001-2005. It can nevertheless be concluded that the impact of those target programmes has been reasonable. Furthermore, many local HEPR boards also have a role in managing various projects that formally fall outside its scope, some of which are funded by international NGOs and other donors. Much learning about poverty targeting is now becoming available, which has enormous value for ongoing and new schemes for infrastructure or service provision[56].

It is very difficult to decide which investment / expenditure falls under HEPR because of the complexity in co-ordination and planning at all levels, the scale, the gradually expanding number of targeted communes and some confusion over criteria for commune selection and

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[51] Nguyen The Dzung (1999), p.26

[52] From: CEMMA (2001). This report mentions 2,325 especially difficult communes, whereas national plans such as SRV (2001a) mention 2,300 special communes.

[53] CEMMA Circular 41 of 8 January 1996 (QT 41/UB-TT), which refers to MOLISA report 13.266/TT- TBXH BT of 29/8/95

[54] see also World Bank *et al.* (2000); p.76

[55] Based on for example: Nguyen The Dzung (1999); SRV (2000); World Bank *et al.* (2000)

[56] A publication that reflects learning on participation of local people, including ethnic minorities, and that has been applauded by officials of e.g. MPI and the international community is: Oxfam Hong Kong (2000).

the fluidity of what appears to be a project or programme under HEPR and what not[57]. It remains for example unclear how much of the HEPR allocation should be called 'central government' contributions, credit supplies from different banks, and ODA. It is difficult to determine to which communes the targeted programme allocations actually went (according to Nguyen the Dzung in 1999 almost 83 percent went to the 1,000 poorest communes, under PCED). It seems that a very large part, at least over half of HEPR funds in the early years, is concessional credit. Updated but very general figures from the Government are given in table 8.

In 1999 and 2000 a total of 3,200 billion dong was allocated to the poorest communes (presumably the 1,715 poorest, but the greatest part went to the 1,000 poorest), including credit interest support and also including 2,000 billion dong for infrastructure development, but excluding grants from international donors and NGOs[58]. With a very crude estimate of 4,000 inhabitants in each of the 1,715 communes, this total suggests a per capita spending under HEPR of under 500,000 dong per capita over two years, or about US$16/capita/year. The outstanding credit (against concessional interest rates) of the Vietnam Bank for the Poor (VBP) to nearly 5 million households, i.e. nation wide, by the end of 2000 was over 5,000 billion dong, or about 1.82 million dong per household on average (i.e. about US$120 per household, nationwide)[59]. Several reports conclude that only a minor part of the loans of the VBP actually reach the poorest households in the poorest localities: just 20 percent of all VBP loans were allocated to the 40 percent poorest Vietnamese households[60]. Through credit services an estimated 60-65% of poor households had been reached by 1999[61]; in fact the very poorest do not get loans. The reach of the credit services depends on quality and motivation of its staff and local officials, on the ability of recipients to manage loans, and on access to markets and earnings to repay them. Many ethnic minority people in mountainous areas have little of all those three factors[62] (on micro-finance see also section IV.2). Furthermore, the overall spending of Vietnam on social safety nets (i.e. various social assistance schemes of which HEPR is one) 'is low and amounts provided are low as well'[63].

Recommendations

- The roles of different ministries in HEPR should be better defined, and more responsibilities should be decentralised to provinces and districts. Efforts

Table 8 – Allocations to communes with especially difficult conditions

(billion dong)	1999 & 2000	1992 - 2000
all national poverty alleviation programmes		21,000
infrastructure	2,000	
sedentarisation, migration to NEZs, support to weakest ethnic minority groups and credit interest support	700	
capital invested from local budgets	300	
support from Ministries, Mass Organisations, Corporations and localities	200	
support from multilateral, bilateral donors and international NGOs	?	

Source: SRV (2001a)

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[57] An important but now dated reference with various data is Nguyen The Dzung (1999)

[58] Somewhat confusingly the interim-PRSP reports that under programmes 133 and 135 'more than 4,000 projects have been implemented in the 1,870 especially disadvantaged communes', i.e. the number of targeted communes increased; SRV (2001c), section I.4.1. The future plans of the Government for poverty alleviation suggest a focus on the 2,300 poorest communes; SRV (2001a).

[59] SRV (2001a)

[60] Public Expenditure Review Working Group (2000); p.81

[61] Nguyen The Dzung (1999), p.11

[62] An interesting discussion of service delivery motivation and quality (credit and education) can be found in: Nachuk (2000)

[63] Public Expenditure Review Working Group (2000); p.85

to build local capacities of ethnic minorities in project management should be reinforced.

- For targeting of ethnic minorities by various programmes a wide set of criteria is needed, and targets should be specific for different groups of people, including women, children and ethnic minorities.

- Much learning about poverty targeting is available, which has enormous value for ongoing and new schemes for infrastructure or service provision. That learning should be used in all new, similar special programmes.

- With the above improvements it would be justified to invest considerably more in specially targeted programmes, and expect more impact.

Rural infrastructure

It is generally agreed that rural infrastructure was and still is 'underdeveloped' and 'in poor condition', and that public investment in basic services, markets, roads & waterways, communication facilities, and so on, needs to increase further. HEPR and PCED (programmes 133 and 135) are concerned with that, amongst others. Particularly important in livelihoods of mountainous ethnic minorities is good *quality* land, especially irrigated land. Improved access to irrigation water appears to be an important motivation for highlanders and swidden cultivators to settle permanently, reduce hill slope farming, and so on. Their motivation is partly rooted in reduced labour requirement (e.g. for travel, for preparing fields) whilst yields may be higher. Small plots of irrigated land per family reduce their 'hungry period' and tend to take them out of the severest forms of poverty[64].

Recommendations

- Increased investment in small scale and locally managed irrigation systems should target the remotest villages and especially ethnic minority farmers[65].

Rural-urban links and migration policies

Economic growth happens primarily in towns and cities, and is partly fuelled by seasonal and permanent migration of workers from rural areas. This concerns both official and unofficial migration, skilled and un-skilled workers. Workers remit money to relatives in rural areas, who consume and invest in their livelihoods. However, remittances to rural ethnic minorities from *urban* relatives remain extremely small (see also table 3 for total remittances received, i.e. including remittances from *rural* relatives), and thus they hardly benefit from the emerging two-way rural-urban links. ***Should Vietnam guide and support rural to urban migration and labour mobility of ethnic minorities, particularly to provincial and district towns, and stimulate remittances back to rural areas? This would require major shifts in registration policy and the outlook and practice of public service providers.***

The Government expects rapid urbanisation over the coming ten years, in parallel with industrialisation and economic growth. Urbanisation picked up some pace in the early 1990s, but there is only a limited amount of recent analysis about rural urban transition processes in Vietnam, and about rural-urban links[66]. No national statistics were found about the rural to urban migration of ethnic minority groups. Urbanisation (in general) appears to be partly hidden because statistics only cover official registration, and not all spontaneous migration. The available data from special studies suggest that on average the rural to urban migrants are relatively young, slightly better educated than the average urban population, and slightly more often female than male; however, the migrant population is very diverse. The primary motivation for migration into the cities is employment, which is often accessed through relatives and existing social networks. Work tends to be in the informal sector, and in the private business sector. An important disadvantage that the migrant population faces

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[64] Much experience is available with small-scale irrigation systems in mountainous areas, and participatory irrigation management, especially amongst international NGOs and their provincial, district and commune partners.

[65] See also World Bank *et al.* (2000), p.56-57

[66] This subsection is based on Mundle and Van Arkadie (1997); Population Council (199?); and Guest (1998)

in town is a lack of residence permits, which hampers them in educating their children, accessing various other services, accessing credit and for example buying land. The main urban areas around HCMC / Vung Tau and Hanoi / Haiphong grow primarily with an influx of people from the surrounding provinces and thus close rural-urban links are developing. Data are less clear about the development of a similar 'core-periphery' relationship between the urban corridor Hue-Danang-Quang Ngai in the Centre and surrounding rural areas. Even fewer data appear to be available about the urbanisation of the countryside. Nevertheless, it seems the case that a staged process of urbanisation and cascade of urban-rural links are emerging, i.e. smaller towns serve their hinterlands and link to bigger cities. Since the majority of ethnic minority peoples live in the remotest parts of Vietnam, are less well educated, and have few relatives in towns and cities, it follows that they are not taking much part in the urbanisation processes, other than between the remotest district towns and their hinterlands – this is also what casual observation confirms. (Meanwhile, large groups of ethnic minorities have migrated to other rural areas, both spontaneously and as part of government resettlement programs.) Their 'exclusion' from urbanisation and benefits from remittances appears to have started to operate as a force for further inequality.

The growth of smaller towns would reduce the pressures on big cities and is seen to be helpful for the rural hinterlands (as service centres, centres of non-farm employment, and as markets). To stimulate this the Government has been advised to particularly help small and medium enterprise and domestic private investment - this has been supported greatly by the enterprise law of 2000, but with the main effects so far only in the bigger cities. A second important way of streamlining the urbanisation process is to ensure good infrastructure in the smaller towns. Indeed, the government has declared targets and policies to stimulate non-farm employment, in the agro-processing industry, and otherwise. To this end it wants to stimulate the growth of corridors between the growth poles (i.e. the big cities and important harbours), and border areas, and it wants small towns to grow around such industry. It also wants to make a renewed and bigger effort to train

mountainous, minority peoples to acquire skills and be able to work in those industries[67]. Unless investment in vocational training targeted on the remotest peoples increases substantially there is a danger that better educated people from the lowlands migrate-in and take the employment opportunities[68]. The Government does not expect a large influx of private capital for the creation of non-farm employment in remote areas, and promotes 'craft villages' and also tourism. Experience in Vietnam (for example in Sa Pa, where several hotels have emerged and many tourists turn up) does not seem to suggest that ethnic minority people gain much from that, other than through petty trade: the main earnings from tourism go to city based investors and entrepreneurial lowlanders.

Recommendations

- The authorities of district and provincial towns should be encouraged to support ethnic minority migrants from outlying villages, for example with information about urban life and employment opportunities. They should also accept the residence of ethnic minorities through providing residence permits.

- The Government should help small and medium enterprise to benefit ethnic minority women and men, in particular through improved and targeted vocational training. Province level business councils should discuss the potential offered by the new enterprise law and private sector investment for their employment. All enterprises should be encouraged to set up training programmes to stimulate the employment of ethnic minority men and women. The state sector should ensure that appropriate processing and service industries are located within the reach of ethnic minority peoples.

Legal aid

- In order to achieve the national goals of hunger alleviation and poverty reduction, the Ministry of Justice has carried out legal aid activities in support

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[67] Personal communication Mr Cu Hoa Van, President of the Council of Ethnic Minorities of the National Assembly, 17/8/01

[68] Mr Cu Hoa Van recognises this danger, and wants to avoid this from happening; he also stresses that the idea is *not* to stimulate remote peoples to migrate to the big cities. Personal communication 17/8/01

of poverty reduction, especially for the poor in remote, mountainous and ethnic minority areas[69]. This provides the poor and those enjoying the Government's preferential treatment with opportunities to understand and exercise their rights and obligations, as enshrined in the Constitution and the State's laws, to gradually assert their democratic rights, participate in discussions, make their voices heard, monitor and examine authorities' operations and other matters related to their daily lives. The legal needs are very diverse: the issuance of land use right certificates to compensation for site clearance and resettlement; procedures for acquiring loans for poverty reduction activities; contracts for forest rehabilitation or reforestation; residence registration; preferential treatment policies for children of poor families and ethnic minority people in terms of education and employment; complaints about decisions on administrative punishment; and protection of legitimate rights before court in court cases; etc. Legal aid activities aim to equip the poor, including many ethnic minorities, with basic legal knowledge so that they can protect their lawful rights and interests, and fight law violations. That should give them more confidence to invest in their production assets, build infrastructure and apply technological innovations in order to make sustainable use of land resources.

- Since its establishment in September 1997, the National Legal Aid Agency together with 60 out of 61 provincial legal aid centres have settled over 215,000 cases for more than 220,000 people, inclduing 41,397 ethnic minority people. The activities include: direct legal assistance to poor people in remote, mountainous and ethnic minority areas; collaboration with commune authorities, village leaders, socio-political organisations to assist ethnic minority groups in establishing grassroots democracy regulations (i.e. new village rules and regulations); dissemination of legal information and provision of legal education in remote, mountainous and ethnic minority areas, and publishing legal information leaflets which are also translated into ethnic minority languages for free distribution. These are very encouraging initiatives and accomplishments.

Recommendations

- The lessons from the first years of the national legal assistance programme should be assessed, with a particular view on its impact on the lives and livelihoods of ethnic minority peoples, and shared widely, including the recommendation of indicators to assess the improving opportunities to access legal information of the poor in remote areas and of the ethnic minority people. The national and local government capacity to provide access to legal information and processes for ethnic minorities should be strengthened further.

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[69] The information in this paragraph has kindly been supplied by letter (dated .. July 2001) by Ta Thi Minh Ly, Director, National Legal Aid Agency Ministry of Justice, in her feedback to the ethnic minority subgroup of the PTF. See also Be Thuong Thanh (1998); Ta Thi Minh Ly (1998).

Two closely related types of qualitative studies are proposed, with special relevance for the social economic development of the minority peoples of Vietnam. They are to be conducted within a framework of studies over an extended period of time, in order to build up a more extensive body of knowledge of the obstacles faced by the ethnic minorities of Vietnam and the policies and programmes that best help them. The two types are:

• Longitudinal studies of (administrative) regions in mountainous areas with a high concentration and diversity of ethnic minority groups.

• Longitudinal studies of a selection of ethnic minority groups who live across a wider region (i.e. across administrative units).

It is proposed that these studies follow a similar methodological approach to the participatory poverty assessments (PPAs) conducted in Lao Cai, Ha Tinh, Tra Vinh and Ho Chi Minh City in 1999[70]. The first important difference is that studies should happen within a wider and strategic framework, give some initial substance to the idea of 'longitudinal' studies, and to the idea of relating the studies to national policies and target programmes. This means that studies should build on each other, feed into various policy making processes, and adjust their objectives for changing contexts.

The second main difference is that the research questions need to be more focused. Instead of 'who are the poor' and 'why are they poor', they should look at:

• what changed in the lives and livelihoods of [area xx or people yy] over the past 3-4 years?

• which policy or target programme was most important for achieving change (positive or negative)?

A third important difference is that the studies should choose locations and peoples to reflect the diversity of the peoples of Vietnam (e.g. language families and language groups – see table 1) and local issues and concerns. This means that the 'samples' should be chosen with reason instead of randomly selected, so that a few studies capture much. The following two tables make suggestions towards these key differences when compared to the 1999 PPAs.

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[70] See: World Bank & DFID (1999); and MRDP (1999)

Table 9: Participatory assessments of policy and programme impact on ethnic minorities

	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010
provincial PPA Lao Cai			x				x			
provincial PPA Ha Tinh			x				x			
provincial PPA Tra Vinh			x				x			
provincial PPA (Central Highlands, e.g. Gia Lai or Kon Tum)		x			x				x	
provincial PPA (Northern Uplands East, e.g. Cao Bang or Bac Can)		x			x				x	
Large, better integrated minority (Tay, Thai, Muong or Nung) I		x			x				x	
Large, better integrated minority (Tay, Thai, Muong or Nung) II				x				x		
Medium, less well integrated minority (e.g. Hmong, Dao, Gia-rai) I		x			x				x	
Medium, less well integrated minority (e.g. Hmong, Dao, Gia-rai) II				x				x		
Small, not well integrated minority I			x				x			
Small, not well integrated minority II				x				x		

Notes:
- This gives no more than a rough idea of timing and achieving 'longitudinal' analysis of the situation in geographical areas and amongst a selection of peoples.
- It is assumed that late-2005/2006 and 2010/2011 are periods with major decision making about adjustments of development targets and strategies; the studies should feed into that.
- It is understood that there are very few ethnic minorities in Ha Tinh, however it has remote upland and very poor districts, and the study would build on the 1999 PPA. Tra Vinh is obviously not mountainous and thus outside the scope of this paper, however, it is a relatively poor province, there is a large minority of Khmer people, and the studies would build on the 1999 PPA. Depending on available resources and interest of the Government, donors (including NGOs) and academia, many more studies could be done and could complement what is proposed here, and could usefully feed into the Vietnamese body of knowledge of policy impact and improvement of policies

Table 10: Key questions and issues in provincial and 'ethnic minority PPAs'

What changed in the lives and livelihoods of [area xx or people yy] over the past 3-4 years?

Specifically, what are the changes in (for example)

- food security and income
- dependency on markets, price levels of the main locally produced goods/commodities
- prevalence of sedentary agriculture & shifting cultivation
- dependency on and access to forest resources (timber and non-timber)
- land use rights / land ownership (private and collective)
- seasonal (rural-rural) migration
- remittances and rural-urban migration
- literacy of adult women and youngsters (in vernacular languages and Vietnamese)
- attendance of pre-school
- educational achievements of girls and boys
- local practices related to maternal / reproductive health
- the quality of drinking water, and the prevalence of diarrhoea and other waterborne diseases
- public hygiene in the community and hygiene practices at home
- the strength and quality of local (ethnic minority) leadership
- the existence and quality of local 'new-style' co-operatives, and of 'social capital'
- the quality of participation of ethnic minority leaders in local HEPR boards and similar initiatives
- the representation of ethnic minority groups in local government and services
- relationships with public officials at medium and higher levels (district, province)
- the availability of public information, in local vernacular and Vietnamese
- relationships with other ethnic groups

To which Government policy or target programme can changes in lives and livelihoods be attributed?

They can include general and specific policies and services, that resulted in for example:

- changes regarding agricultural and veterinary extension classes and advice
- changes regarding provision of (subsidized) agricultural inputs and household needs
- changes regarding taxes and fees
- changes regarding micro finance services
- changes regarding the process and allocation of formal Land Use Certificates for all kinds of land
- changes regarding (illegal) logging
- changes regarding availability of arable land and irrigation water
- changes regarding investments in infrastructure
- changes regarding support to transport (to reach markets)
- changes regarding availability and accessibility of non-farm employment in the vicinity (including district towns)
- changes regarding education services, for example bi-lingual teachers, more and better textbooks (free, in vernacular languages, etc.), reduction / exemption from school fees, enhanced literacy classes
- changes regarding health care services, for example medicine supply, frequency of presence of nurses and doctors in poor, mountainous communes and villages, language ability of health care personnel, infrastructure
- changes regarding legal assistance
- changes regarding information supply through different media, in various languages and on various subjects, including laws, local plans and budgets.

The timing of the studies should be phased and longitudinal so that they can build on each other. The first thematic study in a province or with an ethnic group will provide a form of baseline. Subsequent studies in the same province or with the same ethnic group should, as far as possible follow up with the same households, villages, communes, and key informants at other levels.

In addition, the table suggests that the studies aim for a 'spread' across the regions with most ethnic minorities (Central Highlands, Northern Uplands East and West), and across crude groupings of the ethnic minorities: language families, the more or less populous, and the more or less integrated in mainstream society. This prompts the issue of 'sampling' and representativeness of the findings from grass roots level dialogues and data collection exercises. The size, location and social groups of the monitoring samples should be sufficiently large and representative to allow for qualitative research findings to rise well above the anecdotal level. The following is a set of suggestions for good sampling of communities and households in these qualitative studies.

All studies should obviously be informed by each other, in terms of findings and methodology. The PPAs presented to the Government and international community as 'Voices of the Poor'[71] in 1999, were rooted in national and international experience with methodologies of participatory research, monitoring and evaluation[72]. The following are some general principles and practical suggestions about scope and approach to data collection and interaction.

- Sort locations in groups of relative social economic development: what are the better off and poorer districts, and the poorer or better off communes within selected districts, the poorer or better off villages within selected communes?

- Select two or three districts per study, two or three communes per district and three or four villages per commune. Select on the principles of spread (ethnically, wealth of communities, ecologically, geographically, and otherwise), attention to extremes (the worst off community, a relatively very well off community), and with a slight bias towards the poorer communities (e.g. two poorer communities, one better off). The total number of villages for in-depth research would thus be between 12 and 36 villages, with an aim of about 24.

- Sort the households into groups of well being in a participatory manner, i.e. the criteria should be those of local women and men themselves.

- In each village then select for interview about 10 households, from across the well being groups, including at least two of the very poorest and two of the better off. Again, introduce a slight bias towards the more vulnerable and poor households in the group of 10.

- Household interviews are to be complemented by focus group discussions at the grass roots level (young mothers of a certain ethnicity, male leaders of villages and the commune, etc.)

- Ranking of the households, the villages, and the communes by their relative well being or other properties should provide a basis for extending the conclusions from in-depth interviews to the wider population in communes. In combination with other data (for example commune information that is the basis for ranking them in different groups, by CEMMA, MOLISA and others under programmes 133 and 135) this should show how representative conclusions are for the districts and provinces concerned.

- These case studies need to be repeated (several years later) in the same locations with some of the same people ('biased samples') and research questions.

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[71] World Bank & DFID (1999)

[72] The proposed methodological outline has been informed by the experience of the PPAs and several recent publications, including Roche (1999)

- The studies could be thematic, in order to arrive at more focus, e.g. a theme that prompts particular attention would be given to set of policies (e.g. markets/ livelihoods in buffer zones of Nature Reserves; social service provision; human resources, capacities & representation; or subsidies, taxation and public expenditure).

- Multiple stakeholder-informants and social groups should be engaged with the assessment: villagers (of different ethnicity, young and old, men and women, rich and poor), informal leaders (village, commune), officials (commune, district, province), local party cadre, technical staff of government services (agricultural extension, health, education), teachers, local religious leaders, leading members of local cells of mass organisations, local business people, donors of projects in the locality, and so on.

- In engaging these groups there should be a positive bias to the more vulnerable, i.e. the groups with less voice and influence, and the grass roots.

- Data and conclusions should be informed, complemented and cross checked with conclusions from locally available statistics, other local in-depth research, and national policy analysis.

- The leading organisations in the research should have an ongoing commitment to working in the areas and with the peoples concerned. They are then likely to have a need for high quality information for their own purposes.

- These organisations and their outsider-researchers must be trusted by the local people and other stakeholders.

- For dialogues at the community level use should be made of group based participatory methodologies and diagrammatic/ visual aids, because these encourage dialogue and generate a diversity of views. They are particularly useful in drawing in women, the elderly, ethnic minorities and also the younger generatio n, who may otherwise be passive observers of a dialogue with male leaders only.

- The methodology must draw-out differences between people in the study areas per gender, wealth, ethnicity, location (altitude) and age in particular.

- Findings from open dialogues and semi-structured interviews with groups and key informants must be combined with information from structured (short) questionnaires.

- The assessments should have a reasonable scale in collecting and cross checking information from households and individuals – the 4 PPAs in 1999 engaged in-depth with over 1,000 households, or about 250 households per province (i.e. per study).

- The PPAs found that it is extremely important that findings and draft conclusions are fed back to local communities and authorities – for a final check and as a small step in further engagement in the locality (by the lead organisations).

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Millennium Development Goals (MDGs)

Goals and Targets	Indicators
Goal 1: Eradicate poverty and hunger	
Target 1: Halve, between 1990 and 2015, the proportion of people whose income is less than one dollar a day	1. Proportion of population below $1 per day 2. Poverty gap ratio [incidence x depth of poverty] 3. Share of poorest quintile in national consumption
Target 2: Halve, between 1990 and 2015, the proportion of people who suffer from hunger	4. Prevalence of underweight children (under-five years of age) 5. Proportion of population below minimum level of dietary energy consumption
Goal 2: Achieve universal primary education	
Target 3: Ensure that, by 2015, children everywhere, boys and girls alike, will be able to complete a full course of primary schooling	6. Net enrolment ratio in primary education 7. Proportion of pupils starting grade 1 who reach grade 5 8. Literacy rate of 15-24 year olds
Goal 3: Reach gender equality and empower women	
Target 4: Eliminate gender disparity in primary and secondary education preferably by 2005 and to all levels of education no later than 2015	9. Ratio of girls to boys in primary, secondary and tertiary education 10. Ratio of literate females to males of 15-24 year olds 11. Share of women in wage employment in the non-agricultural sector 12. Proportion of seats held by women in national parliament
Goal 4: Reduce child mortality	
Target 5: Reduce by two-thirds, between 1990 and 2015, the under-five mortality rate	13. Under-five mortality rate 14. Infant mortality rate 15. Proportion of 1 year old children immunised against measles
Goal 5: Improve maternal health	
Target 6: Reduce by three-quarters, between 1990 and 2015, the maternal mortality ratio	16. Maternal mortality ratio 17. Proportion of births attended by skilled health personnel
Goal 6: Combat HIV/AIDS, malaria and other diseases	
Target 7: Have halted by 2015, and begun to reverse, the spread of HIV/AIDS	18. HIV prevalence among 15-24 year old pregnant women 19. Contraceptive prevalence rate 20. Number of children orphaned by HIV/AIDS
Target 8: Have halted by 2015, and begun to reverse, the incidence of malaria and other major diseases	21. Prevalence and death rates associated with malaria 22. Proportion of population in malaria risk areas using effective malaria prevention and treatment measures 23. Prevalence and death rates associated with tuberculosis 24. Proportion of TB cases detected and cured under DOTS (Directly Observed Treatment Short Course)
Goal 7: Ensure environmental sustainability	
Target 9: Integrate the principles of sustainable development into country policies and programmes and reverse the loss of environmental resources	25. Proportion of land area covered by forest 26. Land area protected to maintain biodiversity 27. GDP per unit of energy use (as proxy for energy efficiency) 28. Carbon dioxide emissions (per capita)
Target 10: Halve, by 2015, the proportion of people without sustainable access to safe drinking water	29. Proportion of population with sustainable access to improved water sources
Target 11: By 2020, to have achieved a significant improvement in the lives of at least 100 million slum dwellers.	30. Proportion of people with access to basic sanitation 31. Proportion of people with access to secure tenure [Urban/rural disaggregation of several of the above indicators will be relevant for monitoring improvement in the lives of slum dwellers]

Vietnam Development Goals* (VDGs)

Vietnam Development Goals directly based on the MDGs

Goal 1: Reduce the percentage of poor and hungry households

Target 1: Reduce by 40% the proportion of people living below the international poverty line between 2001 and 2010

Target 2: Reduce by 75% the number of people living under the international food poverty line by 2010

Goal 2: Universalize education and improve education quality

Target 1: Increase net enrolment in primary school to 97% by 2005 and to 99% by 2010

Target 2: Increase net enrolment rate in junior secondary school to 80% by 2005 and 90% by 2010

Target 3: Eliminate the gender gap in primary and secondary education by 2005, and the gap with ethnic minorities by 2010

Target 4: Increase literacy to 95% of under-40-year-old women by 2005 and 100% by 2010

Target 5: By 2010 have improved the quality of education and increase full-day schooling at primary level (exact target depends on funding)

Goal 3: Ensure gender equality and women empowerment

Target 1: Increase the number of women in elective bodies at all levels

Target 2: Increase the participation of women in agencies and sectors [includes ministries, central agencies and enterprises] at all levels by 3-5% in the next 10 years

Target 3: Ensure that the names of both husband and wife appears on the land-use right certificates by 2005

Target 4: Reduce the vulnerability of women to domestic violence

Goal 4: Reduce child mortality, child malnutrition and reduce the birth rate

Target 1: Reduce the infant mortality rate to 30 per 1000 live births by 2005 and 25 by 2010 and at a more rapid rate in disadvantaged regions (see below)

Target 2: Reduce the under-5 mortality rate to 36 per 1000 live births by 2005 and 32 by 2010

Target 3: Reduce under five malnutrition to 25% by 2005 and 20% by 2010

Goal 5: Improve maternal health

Target 1: Reduce the maternal mortality rate to 80 per 100,000 live births by 2005 and 70 by 2010 with particular attention to disadvantaged areas

Goal 6: Reduce HIV/AIDS infection and eradicate other major diseases

Target 1: Slow the increase in the spread of HIV/AIDs by 2005 and halve the rate of increase by 2010

Goal 7: Ensure environmental sustainability

Target 1: Extend forest cover to 43% by 2010 (from 33% in 1999)

Target 2: Ensure that 60% of the rural population has access to clean and safe water by 2005 and 85% by 2010. This should be the case for 80% of urban people by 2005.

Target 3: Ensure there are no slums and temporary houses in all towns and cities by 2010

Target 4: Ensure that all waste-water in towns and cities is treated by 2010

Target 5: Ensure that all solid waste is collected and disposed of safely in all towns and cities by 2010

Target 6: Air and water pollution must attain national standards by 2005

Vietnam Development Goals and Targets *not* directly based on MDGs

Goal 8: Reducing vulnerability

Target 1: By 2005, increase the average income of the lowest expenditure quintile to 140% of that in 2000 and to 190% of that by 2010

Target 2: Reduce by half the rate of poor people falling back into poverty due to natural disasters and other risks by 2010

Goal 9: Improving governance for poverty reduction

Target 1: Effectively implement grass-roots democracy

Target 2: Ensure budget transparency

Target 3: Implement legal reform agenda

Goal 10: Reducing ethnic inequality

Target 1: Preserve and develop the reading and writing ability of ethnic languages

Target 2: Ensure entitlement of individual and collective land-use rights in ethnic minority and mountainous areas

Target 3: Increase the proportion of ethnic minority people in authority bodies at various levels

Goal 11: Ensuring pro-poor infrastructure development

Target 1: Provide basic infrastructure to 80% of poor communes by 2005 and 100% by 2010

Target 2: Expand the national transmission grid to 900 poor commune centres by 2005

*Note: This is a summary of a fuller set of VDGs outlined in the CPRGS. The VDG papers have more targets and indicators.
Source: Govt of Vietnam (2002). *Comprehensive Poverty Reduction & Growth Strategy.*