EDUCATION, TRAINING AND HUMAN RESOURCES

Jean-Yres MARTIN

Depending on the interlocutor, the notion of human resources (HR) oscillates between two meanings, associated with different levels of comprehensiveness in the objectives assigned to HR development. The first, also the most general, is that of the United Nations system¹, which implies that the development of human resources is concerned with education and training and utilisation of human potential in order to promote economic and social progress and the quality of life. The second is that of economists; it is more targeted to production and circumscribes the development of HR to labour skills and adjustment of labour to employment. The two meanings are similar to the extent that the development of HR is dependent on the development of education and training. Vietnamese public officials, for their part, situate the development of HR in the framework of a policy of adapting labour to industrialisation and modernisation, that is, to opening the economy up to the modern world. The education and training policy of Vietnam remains a strategic priority, with emphasis placed on the improvement of efficiency of the education system in an economy- and society- in the process of rapid transformation, and aimed at a definitive and real restructuring of HR.

In this chapter devoted to education and training and human resources, the analysis of results of the first round of the ORSTOM-MOLISA observational survey focus on the "resources" aspect, that is on the education-training potential at Vietnam's disposal. This potential will not be considered solely as a stock of knowledge and skills acquired, but also as an evolving aggregate. The central question considers the situation of educational and training acquisition: are levels simply being maintained, or are they developing (first part); how are education and training utilised (second part); and in what sense has educational and training attainment evolved across generations (third part)?

It is important to remember that this survey was implemented on nonagricultural households, thus predominantly urban residents, who are the most linked to the education and training system. We also clarify that this survey does not deal with individuals selected randomly from the population, but rather members of households who constitute the sample. This is important because these households are families composed of one or more generations, and it is through the family dynamics that the evolution of HR takes place: demography, health, education, economic and social status.

See J. Hallack, Investing in the future. Defining education priorities in the third world. UNDP, 1993.

Finally, on a methodological level, it should be noted that the homogenisation of levels of the two education systems know in Vietnam up to 1975, of which the complete integration was not realised until the end of the 1980s, was carried out by applying principles for converting the levels designed by the General Statistics Office.²

I. Education and training potential

Education and training potential includes schooling and training attainment. Schooling attainment is represented by the attendance rate of the overall population and the education levels attained by the educated population. Training attainment is characterised by all elements of apprenticeship and professional and technical training received within and outside the education system by the active population.

A. Schooling

1. School attendance of the overall population

1.1. The overall situation

Attendance rates used here take into account, at this stage, neither literacy courses for adults nor pre-school. Individuals reporting having attended at least first grade of primary school are considered to have attended school in the past, which does not presume anything about their ability to read or write. Children enrolled in an education institution at the time of the survey are considered to be currently enrolled. Finally, individuals not belonging to the two previous groups are classified in the category of those never attending school, whether active or inactive in the labour force, child or adult. The results of analysis here are therefore concerned with all individual members of households in our sample. They are presented by 5 year age groups, which permits us to grasp the chronological evolution of education. Figure 1 illustrates the overall levels of school attendance of members of nonagricultural households in Vietnam in 1996. As expected given the history of education in the country, the oldest group, those 75 and older, have the lowest rates, but nevertheless, about 70% of them had at least some schooling. The curve increases quite rapidly up to 60-64 years of age, slightly levels out at 55-59 years of age, resumes the progression upwards, but less dramatically up to a peak at 35-39, and 30-34 years of age. We then see a slight, but visible decline which is only compensated by another peak for the age group 10-14 years of age.

²See Education in Vietnam, Trends and Differentials. Vietnam Inter-censal Demographic survey 1994, Statistical Publishing House, Hanoi, May 1996.



Table 1 allows us to follow in greater detail this evolution. We thus note that by excluding children less than 10 years of age, the percent of people who have never attended school ranges from 32.3%, the highest level for the oldest group, to 0.9%, the lowest level attained by the youngest group. This reduction is the result of a sustained effort for 3 or 4 generations which are arranged into these age groups. In addition, it is rather remarkable that the lowest rate between the oldest and youngest is 1.1% for those aged 30-34, which was followed by a decline in school attendance. Twenty years later, that same low level was finally re-attained. Current school attendance, continues up to the age group 30-34 years, despite a limited number of people involved. On the other hand, regarding past schooling, we still find children of school age - of equally limited numbers- who quit school early.

		%					EFFECTIFS		
Age	Never	Past	Now		Age	Never	Past	Now	
75+	32.3	67.7	0.0	100,0	75+	53	111		164
70-74	26,0	74.2	0.0	100,0	70-74	33	94		127
65-69	16.9	83.1	0.0	100,0	65-69	31	152		183
60-64	8.6	91.4	0.0	100,0	60-64	23	245		268
55-59	7.9	92.1	0.0	100,0	55-59	21	244		265
50-54	4.4	95.6	0.0	100,0	50-54	13	285		298
45-49	3.1	96.9	0.0	100,0	45-49	14	443		457
40-44	1.6	98.4	0.0	100,0	40-44	11	672		683
35-39	1.2	98.5	0.3	100,0	35-39	9	743	2	754
30-34	1.1	98.3	0.6	100,0	30-34	8	699	4	711
25-29	2.9	93.5	3.6	100,0	25-29	20	651	25	696
20-24	2.1	75.3	22.6	100,0	20-24	17	614	184	815
15-19	1.6	28.1	70.3	100,0	15-19	15	262	656	933
10-14	0.9	2.9	96.2	100,0	10-14	9	29	950	988
5-9	22.2	0.3	77.5	100,0	5-9	170	2	594	766
0-4	100,0	0,0	0,0	100,0	0-4	607			607
									8715

Table 1. Rates of school attendance by age groups





Compared to the curve for the overall population, the profile of school attendance for the northern part of the country reveals a greater level of achievement. Only the age group 75 and older has a rate lower than the overall average rate, which makes it different from all other age groups, of which several groups approach 100%, or even reach 100% such as the groups 50-54, 35-39 and 25-29. The group 10-14 is at 99.7%.



As for the southern region, school attendance is lower than the overall average for all age groups except for those age 75 and older. The decline that follows the 30-34 year old group is more marked here, but the slope clearly increases again up to 10-14 year old age group which attains a level of ever having attended school of 99.0%. Nevertheless, this age group includes 4.3% of children who have already quit school, compared to 0.8% for the same age group in the North.





The curve of school attendance for men indicates great regularity. The gaps between age groups are weak, even with the oldest generations, and even though slight declines are visible. The peaks are with age groups 55-59 and 35-39. Of the 10-14 year age group, 99.4% have ever attended school with 2.8% having stopped their studies.



One notes the obvious lower school attendance of females compared to males for the oldest generations. Nevertheless, the catching up of females is also quite remarkable up to the age group 35-39 (the most schooled among men), and to the point of being greater than men for the age group 30-34, where it peaks for females. The 10-14 year old generation is equally promising: 99.2% have attended some school, but 3.2% have already left school.

1.4. The urban/rural relationship

Given our sample, consisting of households exercising all types of nonagricultural activities, one would think that the rural-urban differences in school attendance would be attenuated. Figures 6 and 7 indicate that this is not the case. The differences remain very clear to the benefit of urban areas.



With a relatively high starting point (75%) for the oldest, the progression in urban areas is quite regular up to age 60-64 years, followed by a plateau which precedes another increase up to the age group 30-34 years (99.1%). A slight decline follows which brings the 20-24 year old group down to 97.5% school attendance, recaptured by the 10-14 year old age group with attendance rates of 99.8%, which includes 2.6% who have already stopped school.

Rural areas (figure 7), have a low starting point (58%) for the older generation, but undergo a sustained increase up to age group 50-54 (96.9%, which is higher than the rate for urban areas). After passing through a slight fluctuation, the progression continues up to a peak for those 35-39 years of age (98.3%) which is followed by a dramatic decline, the rate for the 25-29 years old falling to 91.7%. The subsequent increase is immediate and reaches 98.6% for the 10-14 year olds, of which 3.4% have abandoned school early.



2. Child schooling

The schooling of the children deserves an analysis of the rates of enrolment reached and their diverse variations, and the respective proportions of children in the legal age groups for the different levels and of the age of starting primary school.



2.1. Comparative rates of enrolment

Figure 8 regroups data presented in earlier graphs solely concerning cutrent schooling. In comparing the North and South, one notes a quasiequality in proportions for the 20-24 year old age groups, but one also remarks in descending the age groups towards the youngest that schooling in the North lasts much longer for the 15-19 year olds (gap of 18.6), is stronger for the 10-14 year olds (gap of 4.2), and starts earlier (the majority of those age 5-9 years). The comparison between girls and boys reveals elements of

possible change taking place which will require a few more years of development to confirm: thus the proportion aged 15-19 is slightly less for girls, for those 10-14 years old, is close to equal for both, and for the 5-9 year olds, exhibits an apparent reversal to the detriment of boys. Finally the urban/rural differences situate the rural areas consistently below those of urban areas, except for those 20-24 years of age, but the gap is only really significant for those age 15-19 (gap of 13.4).

2.2. The role of legal school age at different levels

An important indicator of efficiency of functioning of an education system is its ability to gather together in different levels, the maximum number of pupils of legal school age for the particular level (this legal age is used to calculate net enrolment rates). This indicator reveals also the varying degrees to which families are closely tied to the culture of education. Recall that in Vietnam, the prescribed age for the different education levels is 3-5 years for kindergarten, 6-10 years for primary, 11-14 for lower secondary and 15-17 for upper secondary and 18-20 for the first stage of tertiary education. The following figures illustrate these basic elements.



The general appearance of the North and South curves (the national average is, of course, situated between the two) points out two important things. The first is the expected decline in the proportion of children of legal age in the various levels over the course of education. However, the parallel shape and position of the two intermediate levels, (namely the primary and lowersecondary levels) tend to indicate that they are in the process of converging to one single and same level (in the North as well as in the South), which is what should happen in the sense of a universalisation of lower secondary education. The second thing is that the curve for the North is above that of the South, with a regular growth in the gap, up till upper secondary school. The respective positions reverse themselves at the tertiary education level, but with only a weak gap, this inversion can be explained by the weight of female representation in the South. The distribution of girls and boys furnishes us with a different elucidation of the situation.



Excluding the pre-school level where girls are less present than boys at legal school age, the girls are strongly represented in all other levels, and particularly with an important gap in tertiary education, 59% compared to 50% for boys.

2.3. Age of entry into primary school

The age of entry into primary school is a reasonable indicator of the adherence of households to educational values. A different entry age (after 6 years of age) is the sign of a lack of determination in the desire for normal schooling for children. An early entry, on the other hand, is a sign not only of strong desire, but also of an ambition for scholastic success of the children concerned. Throughout the different levels. Otherwise, the average age of entry reflects the extent of the equilibrium between demand and supply of schooling.

For the whole population, the age of entry into the first grade of primary school ranges from 5 to 15 years, but 79% of pupils of all levels began school at 6 years of age, 7.4% before 6 and 13.6% after 6 years of age. We examine the diverse distributions of these three groups below.



This regional distribution indicates that the greatest level of precocious school entry is in the Central region (14.4% began at less than 6 years old), the greatest regularity is in the North (79.9% enter at 6 years of age, but also 79.1% in the South and 77.7% in the Central region) and the most numerous late entries into school are in the South (17.3% after 6 years of age).

The male-female distribution illustrates a relatively marked parallelism, thus it is desirable to emphasise the dramatic contrasts that appear by crosstabulating the three regions with the urban rural distribution:

	AGE	5	6	7	8	9	10	13	15
North	urban	10,6	74,7	14,7					
North	rural	4,8	85	9,7	0,5				
Center	urban	16,1	76,6	6,3	0,8	0,3			
Center	rural	16,5	75,3	7,6	0,7				
South	urban	2,7	85,1	10,5	1,2	0,3	0,2		
South	rural	5,0	71,9	16,1	3,6	2,1	0,8	0,2	0,2

Table 2. Age of entry into primary school by region and by urban/rural distribution

Three things are of note in this table. The first is the sharp contrast between rural and urban areas in the North and in the South, a contrast that expresses differential schooling behaviour of households within a single region. The second is the astonishing homogeneity of the Central region in this regard, including the precocity of age of entry for which the rates are very high. The third is the almost opposite nature of the patterns of schooling found in the urban North and the rural South. The urban North is characterised by a strong school discipline (the entry age for all children is concentrated around 6 years of age), with a certain ambition for success as expressed by the relatively high rate of precocity (from this point of view one could also say that the rural North is more disciplined due to its high percentage entering at 6 years, but possesses less ambition). The rural South manifests a more relaxed discipline with the lowest rate of children entering school at 6 years of age, and a large range of entry ages above 6 years.

3. Educational level of the population of working age

Up till now, the analysis of schooling has permitted us to measure the extent of past and present access to some amount of schooling for the whole population. This analysis should be rounded out with an examination of level of schooling attained. The levels are those defined by the educational institutions themselves, which ensure the transmission of knowledge and which applies criteria to verification of their acquisition for the attainment of different levels. We have retained 8 of these supposedly progressive levels in the hierarchy of general scholastic knowledge3: (1) no schooling nor access to adult education; (2) ability to read and write ("yes" response to the relevant question); (3) incomplete primary schooling (access to grades 1 through 4); (4) completed primary schooling (access to grade 5); (5) incomplete lower secondary school (access to grades 6, 7, and 8); (6) completed lower secondary school (access to grade 9); (7) incomplete upper secondary school (access to grades 10 and 11); (8) completed upper secondary school (access to grade 12 and above). From the perspective of understanding the dynamics of human resources and explaining their relationship with employment, we are interested here in the population of working age (between 15 and 65 years of age), distributed in 5-year age groups as in the preceding analysis. For each of the dimensions discussed, (total population, North/South, male/female, urban/tural), we will first take as our subject the active population of working age, and later include students of working age in order to expand the perspectives on this evolution.

3.1. Active population of working age

The following figure demonstrates clearly the current state and the stages of evolution of the education system. Level one (no schooling) is very prominent from the oldest age group to those aged 50-54. This level gradually disappears at age 30-34 then re-emerges and expands up to age 15-19. Analogously, level 2 (that of those who know only how to read and write, having taken or not taken adult education courses), is smaller but equally

³This general scholastic knowledge is acquired in all educational establishments, whether general or specialised. Levels attained in professional and technical schools and in tertiary education (the latter being associated with level 8) are therefore taken into account here.

letely at ages visible for the oldest generations, and tends to disappear c below 50. Level 3 (incomplete primary) and 4 (completed pattern), starting from a very large base for those more than 60 years of age, also follows a path that tends to shrink up to age 35-39 where it is maintained until the age group 20-24. It is important to emphasise that these two levels expand for the age 15-19, in particular level 3, the first group of school dropouts. Level 5 (incomplete lower secondary school) remains important for all age groups. It undergoes a small reduction between the 50-54 and 35-39 year age groups, but continuously expands up to the youngest groups. Note that this is the second level of school abandonment. Level 6 (completed lower secondary school) is hardly represented at all in the age group 65 and older. It gains growing importance up to ages 30-34 and remains so up to age 15-19 where it clearly declines. Level 7 (incomplete upper secondary) remains little represented till age group 50-54. After that it increases regularly, but in a limited way. This is the third level of school abandonment. Finally, level 8 (completed upper secondary) is the most important of all in terms of overall size. It is relatively modest a group 65 and above, but already the largest group for those aged 55-59 remains so up to the 20-24 year age group, but subsequently declines again to modest levels for those aged 15-19. The peak in this progression is found in the age group 35-39.



This figure gives an overall impression of a positive evolution up to age 35-39 but the decline which follows will be difficult to offset in order to recover the preceding peaks. The statistical data which were incorporated into this graph allow us to elucidate certain issues:

AGE	Complete	Uncomplete	Complete	Uncomplete	Complete	Uncomplete	Literate	Illiterate	
	Up	Up Sec	low	Low Sec	Primary	Primary			
	Second		Second						
65+	7,7	5,8	1,9	19,2	28,9	19,2	3,8	13,5	100,00
60-64	21,7	2,4	7,2	15,7	16,9	28,9	4,8	2,4	100,00
55-59	35,3	3,4	5,2	18,1	14,7	13,8	2,6	6,9	100,00
50-54	41,5	2,3	14,0	9,4	15,8	14,6	1,2	1,2	100,00
45-49	50,00	5,2	11,9	9,9	10,5	11,0		1,5	100,00
40-44	51,7	6,5	15,3	11,1	6,8	7,4	0,2	1,1	100,00
35-39	53,5	8,2	17,1	8,9	6,7	4,6	0,2	0,8	100,00
30-34	44,5	7,8	21,1	15,8	5,6	4,9		0,3	100,00
25-29	46,2	9,4	17,0	15,4	1,6	5,7	0,4	1,3	100,00
20-24	39,0	10,4	16,6	20,9	5,0	5,8	0,4	1,9	100,00
15-19	11,3	5,1	11,8	41,0	11,8	16,4		2,6	100,00
Total	1666	280	597	583	297	310	17	59	3809
pop.									
%	43,7	7,3	15,7	15,3	7,8	8,1	0,5	1,6	100,00

Table 3. Educational levels of the active population of working age.

This table indicates the share of each level as a proportion of all other levels. Clearly level 8 (completed upper secondary school) is the most important (43.7%) for the total active population, but the summit is only 53.5% attained by those aged 35-39 years. Otherwise, one should emphasise that the total share of incomplete levels (dropouts during a particular level) is 30.8%, which is equally disquieting for the functioning of the educational system and its connection to the economy as the same figures for incomplete levels which amount to 37.1% for the 20-24 year age group and 62.6% for those age 15-19. This said, we must remember that these two age groups have not yet all entered the active population because many are still of school age. We will thus now examine what the situation would be if one added in the currently enrolled in all levels of schooling to the group of working age to which they correspond.

3.2. Active and enrolled population of working age

Figure 13 reveals a more reassuring perspective. One sees, in fact, the same increase in level 8 for the group 25-29 as for those age 20-24. Since, Otherwise, this figure includes in particular individuals in the last two age groups who are still in educational establishments, the notion of incomplete level is not totally valid. Thus, the expansion of the share of 15-19 year olds in level 7 (incomplete upper secondary) includes people who are currently pursuing their schooling at this level and who will reach at least a share equivalent to that of those age 20-24 in level 8. The last level, in all probability, will continue to increase.

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3.3. Active population of working age North/South

The distribution of levels of schooling of the active population reveals a very large difference between the northern and southern parts of the country, which does not allow us to predict the comparative rates of school attendance. The two figures below illustrate these contrasts:





The two figures for the North and the South indicate considerable gaps. While in the North, level 1 (no schooling) no longer appears at age groups below 50, it remains present in the South and even increases between age groups 25-29 and 15-19. In contrast, level 8 completely dominates the chart for the North, with a progression that only slightly declines for those in the 30-34 year age group but later, with the 25-29 year age group (at 77.2%), manages to exceed the level (76.7%) achieved by the "famous" generation of 35-39 years. The curve naturally falls for the youngest group, but, one thing that was less expected, is the important share of level 3 (incomplete primary) for the 15-19 year group. In the South the level starts out modestly and progresses gradually reaching a maximum of 37% for the 35-39 year age group, and never again attaining that proportion for the younger groups. Otherwise, the share of incomplete levels, in particular for incomplete lower secondary schooling, increases strongly (reaching a total of 69.6% for the 15-19 year group). The results found by including enrolled people of working age confirms the maintenance of a high level in the North and reveals a halting of the decline in the South.

3.4. Active population of working age Male/female

As between the North and the South, the contrast in levels of education for men and women is very strong, but the changes sketched out are dissimilar. Proportionally, women start much lower than men, the highest level for women of 65 years and older does not exceed incomplete lower secondary school. Below the age of 55 years the higher educational levels begin to progress strongly and culminate in the 35-39 year age group, only falling slightly then rising agai is the 25-29 year group. For is, level 8 increases equally fast but early is the age group 55-59 is a level 8 increases equally fast but early is the age group 55-59 is a level 8 is a level 8

attained an already high propulation Progress is slower in the younger groups and the curve reaches the highest point for the 40-44 year age group then subsequently falls.





What is remarkable in the structure of these two graphs is that we observe an inversion of trends. Between the group aged 65 years and that aged 35-39 years, active men are proportionally of a higher educational level than women. The situation reverses itself starting with the 30-34 year age

group and the gap increases to the benefit of women up to the 20-24 year age group (31.6% in level 8 for men compared to 46.6% for women). If one includes those enrolled, the tendency is reconfirmed, including for those aged 15-19.

To finish our examination of education levels, now let us observe the urban rural differences.







These two graphs indicate any higher education levels in orban areas compared to rural areas, which not surprising. What is of more interest to note is the particular evolution of rural areas for which one perceives an increase in the proportion of intermediate levels (complete and incomplete lower secondary school) to the detriment of lower and higher levels. The urban areas, for their part, appear to resist to some extent the decline in levels that follows the peak for those age 35-39. These tendencies are reconfirmed when one includes enrolled individuals in the corresponding age groups; we observe a subsequent progression in urban areas when one passes from the 25-29 to 20-24 year age group, while the curve for level 8 remains flat for the same ages in rural areas.

B. Training

After examining the different (spects of education, we still need to deal with training in order to complete the balance sheet of education-training potential. Recall that training contents of all elements of apprenticeship and technical and professional training is short or long duration, received by the active population during and after general education. This means that training received in technical and professional secondary schools and all training in tertiary education are equally taken into account. The training examined in this section refers to initial training corresponding to the occupation practised at the time of the survey by the active population. This training, when it exists, which we will see is not always the case, is characterised by its type, (i.e. the type of institution, organisation or environment where it is acquired) as well as by its duration.

1. Type of initial training of the active population

The graph below and the accompanying table give a rather clear idea of the state of professional training in the active population from nonagricultural households.



	Voc/tech School (long term)	Voc. private inst. (long term)	Large enterprise	Army	Apprentice ship in a small enterprise	Family occupa tion	Public or coll. inst. (short term)	Private institution (short term)	No training
65+	5,8	1,9	5,8	3,8	5,8	9,6	3,8	3,8	59,6
60-64	9,6	2,4	9,6	4,8	3,6	13,3	7,2	4,8	44,6
55-59	24,1	2,6	6,9	6,0	4,3	8,6	5,2	2,6	39,7
50-54	26,3	1,8	5,8	7,6	4,7	8,8	4,7	1,2	39,2
45-49	33,1	1,5	7,6	4,1	1,5	5,8	4,1	2,3	40,1
40-44	26,9	1,1	8,3	4,4	3,3	8,9	7,4	2,4	37,3
35-39	26,7	1,8	10,4	5,4	2,9	6,2	7,8	2,2	36,6
30-34	18,8	2,5	7,3	4,4	3,4	7,6	6,5	4,6	44,8
25-29	16,3	4,2	5,9	0,9	6,6	11,2	4,2	5,9	44,8
20-24	11,8	5,0	6,4	1,9	5,8	14,6	6,7	6,0	41,9
15-19		3,1	5,1	0,5	8,2	17,4	1,5	4,1	6 0, 0

Table 4. Initial training of the active population by age.

What is most striking is the extremely important proportion of workers who report having had no training. Depending on the age group, this proportion never descends below 36.6% (rate for 35-39 year olds), that is one out of three people, and is around 60% for those age 65 and 15-19, or about two out of three people. Nevertheless, this proportion diminishes regularly when one passes from 65 years to 35-39 years, yet increases for the 30-34 and 25-29 year age groups then again falls for the 20-24 year olds. For the latter one can note, however, that the types of training that are on the increase include especially short-term or non-institutional training (family trade) and to a lesser extent apprenticeships in small enterprises, whereas the share of longterm professional training at public schools diminishes. Overall, since the 45-49 year old generation, the latter seem to have lost ground somewhat to private establishments providing longer term training. Otherwise, training in large enterprises remains present. Finally, training acquired in the army, relatively important for those aged 50-54, fall relatively regularly until the 25-29 year age group.

The current situation of training for the active population might therefore be seen with a certain pessimism. However, if one artificially includes in the table, pupils currently in technical schools and students in universities, who will eventually enter working life, the situation is much more optimistic. The proportion in long-term professional or technical training increases from 18.1% to 19.3% for those age 30-34 from 16.3% to 19.6% for those age 25-29, from 11.8% to 31.9% for those age 20-24 and finally from 0% to 38.1% for those age 15-19. The following graph illustrates this theoretical shift:



2. Type of initial training. The North-South situation

The examination of the situation starting with the total population has permitted us to identify certain very general trends. However, it is in distinguishing the North and the South that one is much closer to reality. The extremely different situations in the two regions permits us, in fact, to much better identify and localise the advantages and disadvantages of professional training. Here are the graphs for the North and the South which serve to illustrate the different economic history and education traditions in each region.





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The first difference that jumps to the eye when one glances at these two graphs from the oldest to the youngest groups is that in the North, things tend to evolve (positively or negatively) from one age group to the next whereas in the South, the different age groups more or less retain the same structure. The second is illustrated by the very reduced proportion of long-term training in public technical and professional schools in the South in comparison to the North, which leads to inverse proportions in the number of workers without any training. Finally, the third difference is that the structure of other types of training is not of the same nature in the two regions. In the north, training, mainly formal in nature, in large enterprises has dominated throughout several generations. In the South one sees more training on-the-job in traditional trades. Regarding other types, the army plays an important role in training in the North up to the age group 25-29. years, and in the South it is not really important except for the group 50-54. Apprenticeships in small enterprises occupy only a narrow fringe in the North (with a transitory expansion for the 25-29 year olds), while in the South, they hold a more important place than training in large enterprises. Finally, in the South, the role of long-term training in private institutions is present for all age groups. In the North there are only traces of this.

In a more global sense, one could say also that public education institutions, large enterprises (State-owned) and the army have a quasimonopoly in long-term training in the North. In the South, State institutions are much less prevalent in long-term training (which are after all less developed), and in contrast with the North, they play a significantly more important role only in short-term training.

2. Type of initial training. Male/Female

To complete our examination of training, let us now look at the respective situations of men and women. The comparison between the North and South permitted us to put in a prominent position the very large structural differences between the two regions of the country. The comparison between men and women shows us, above all, temporal differences in the evolution of these two parts of the population.

If one sets aside the overall greater proportion of women without professional training compared to that of men, the two graphs illustrate above all an inverse evolution in the situation. As much as the men have seen an almost regular decline in their overall rate of training from the age group 60-64 to the youngest group, the women have followed a reverse path to the point of attaining, for the 20-24 year olds, a greater overall proportion of trained individuals than for men. We have earlier found a similar reversal with regard to education levels. What is especially striking is that the proportion of long-term training provided by public schools tends to decline for both men and women starting from the 45-49 age group, but this decline seems to stabilise for women at age 20-24. Finally the internal structure of other training received illustrates significant differences. The share of training in family trades is more important for women to the same extent that training in the army is more important for men. The training in large enterprises clearly continues to remain present for women, while for men it tends to be less important than apprenticeships in small enterprises. Finally men have had more opportunities for short-term training, especially in public institutions, while women are favoured more by private institutions, in particular for those less than 35 years of age.



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3. Conclusion on education-training

A certain number of preliminary conclusions can be sketched out through the examination of education-training potential.

With regard to school attendance, first of all, which we have defined with relation to the minimum level of schooling, we can not help but be surprised by the extent of access to education which extends even up to the oldest generations for the whole population of non-agricultural households. However, this high overall access suffers from inequalities between the northern and southern parts of the country, by the lower general participation of women (especially older women) compared to men and by gaps between urban and rural areas.

In addition, education of children presents, on the whole, a positive picture based on the proportion in each age group who are mobilised (96.1% of 10-14 year olds), the signs that appear of the beginning of universalisation of lower secondary education and the increase in the "strength" of girls in this regard. However, participation in education appears to be earlier, more stable and more prolonged in the North than in the South and in urban areas compared to rural areas. The handling of legal school age cohorts is better in the North and for girls than in the South and for boys. Finally, the variations in age of entry into primary school indicate the existence of different, if not opposite, cultures of education between the urban North and the rural South.

Concerning the education level of working people, which is the true criteria of the penetration of education, the levels attained appear satisfactory

with 43.74% (the highest proportion for all levels) of people attaining the highest level which in our classification is completed upper secondary school. However, a drop is noted in this high level after the peak attained by the group aged 35-39 (53.5%) signalling a shortfall in the relation between education supply and demand. It appears that this shortage is being overcome and the observed strength of the cohorts of current students permits us to think that the increase will continue. On the other hand, the large proportion of people in incomplete levels, especially among young working people, signals insufficient control of education flows. Finally, one should recall the considerable gaps in education level to the detriment of the South in relation to the North, a stronger push for education in urban areas and an inversion in trends for women. Working women less than 35 years of age are now proportionally more educated than men of the same generation.

Professional training offers a great in relation to the analysis of education. Training appears to be in retreat compared to general education, and the outlook is pessimistic. The proportion of workers who report not having received any training is very large (between 36% and 60% depending on age group) and this is only with regard to non-agricultural activities. In addition, the North-South and male-female cleavages take on a particular importance because they reveal strong tendencies to diverge as for example working women less than 35 years of age who are now more or better trained than their male counterparts. What's more, the share of public professional and long-term training is facing a decline that is not compensated for by the contribution of other players in training, in particular, large enterprises. What is developing seems to be primarily short-term, institutional or family-based training.

On the whole, and to compensate somewhat for certain rather negative findings, one could summarise the analysis of education-training by saying that educational potential has stopped its decline as the increase in young scholars at universities, in particular females, permits some optimism, at least in the statistic realm. Yet the levels attained by 30-35 year olds have not yet been surpassed, nor have the large cleavages been overcome.

II. Utilisation of education-training potential

This section analyses the ways in which education-training potential is utilised in production activities, that is to say, the different types of relationships that exist between education and training of working people and the employment that they engage in. We will consider the variety and hierarchy of education-training presented in the first section, in relation to the variety and hierarchy of employed engaged in, in order to identify the type of connection that exists between the two structures. The structure of employment will be analysed with respect to institutional sector, type of

employment engaged in and socio-professional category, the latter designating both a specialisation and a qualification level.

A. Education level

1. Education level and institutional sector

Placing the education levels, presented in the preceding section but brought forth again here in seven rather than eight categories by combining the two lowest levels, in proximity with the 10 institutional sectors that we have distinguished gives us the following picture:



The education levels at the extremes indicate that their holders dispose of inverse ranges of choices. Those with the highest education level are found in all sectors, of which 34.6% are in the State sector, while 72.9% of people who have no schooling are found in the private unregistered sector and 14.3% in family enterprises. One sees that the total share of these latter two sectors diminishes proportionally as one increases in education level (from 87.2% to 41.7%), while the share of the State sector /civil service follows an inverse path (from 2.9% to 49.7%). The North-South distribution in this domain (not presented here) indicates that in the South, the distinction

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between completed and incomplete levels is less hierarchical than in the North for determining the range of choices of institutional sector. In the North, incomplete levels are in some way sanctioned in this perspective, which indicates the differential value of diplomas in the two regions.



2. Educational level and type of employment

One sees in this graph that the hierarchy of educational levels plays a very strong role in access to the status of employee, i.e. salaried employee, with 62.7% belonging to the highest education level. Otherwise, one notes a parallelism in the structure of educational levels of heads of family enterprises and self-employed individuals, as if they constitute the same group. Family workers are at an overall slightly higher education level than the first two groups. As for the unemployed, one cannot help but be surprised by the relatively high proportion (38.8%) who have higher educational levels.



3. Educational level and socio-professional category

Having noted that people who are just literate are found principally in the category of manual workers and to a lesser degree as workers in commerce, one could remark that the two groups "no education" and "incomplete primary" have a similar destiny with a majority in the category of workers in trade. While the four highest educated groups are found in almost every category, (excluding that of agricultural production), it is the most educated group that is most represented proportionally as civil servants, technicians and administrative employees. Finally the categories of manual workers, service workers and trade workers are recruited from all education levels, which permits us to understand that professional skills are very heterogeneous in all of these socio-professional categories.

B. Initial professional training



1. Initial professional training and institutional sector

Recall that here we are not dealing with the strictly hierarchical levels like those in education discussed above. Here we are discussing types of training which are distinguished first of all by their existence or nonexistence, then by their length (long-term/short-term) and the institution providing the training. It is in this manner that one can attempt to evaluate the structuring effects of the different types of training. One can see that the holders of long-term public training appear predestined to find a job in the State sector or civil service (68.6%), while those without any training find themselves (77.8%) in the private unregistered or family enterprise sector. Setting aside training acquired in the army which orients 50% of holders towards employment in the State sector or civil service, the location of training is often also the place of employment. This is true for training in large enterprises (47.2% in the State sector), in small enterprises (59.9%), in the private unregistered sector or the family enterprise sector with training in a family trade (85.7% in the two same preceding sectors). Finally, one discovers a sort of anomaly: having followed long-term private training or not having received any training at all orients people towards the same sectors in about the same proportions, with a slight difference in that the long-term private training leads 16.3% of people towards the private registered sector, while people without any training are spread out over all sectors.





What strongly distinguishes salaried employees from other categories is the overall percentage having training, acquired in particular in the form of long-term public training. It is important to note also that the unemployed, of which the educational level we have seen is relatively high, is found here to suffer from a great absence of professional training.

3. Initial professional training and socio-professional category

The absence of training is found essentially among trade workers, manual workers and service workers. Long-term training is better spread out among different categories, but the two categories of civil servants account for 46.5% of them. As for other types of training, one notes that long-term private training, training received in large enterprises, apprenticeships in small enterprises and short-term private training dominate for the manual workers who constitute therefore a very heterogeneous group from the point of view of skills. The training received in the army is dominant for service workers. Finally training received in a family setting is most prevalent for trade workers.



C. Diploma

The diploma is the certificate awarded by educational institutions to students who have successfully completed the tests of knowledge that confirm the end of a level of education. It possesses a symbolic but also legal value because it is a document that can be required for recruitment procedures, in particular in the State sector and civil service. It has the drawback of compressing the hierarchy of educational levels by ignoring years passed in incomplete levels on the one hand and not differentiating the knowledge and skills of those who have not obtained a diploma for a particular level, on the other hand. It should have a much greater effect on the structure of the training/employment relationship than the educational levels.



1. Diploma and institutional sector

The regulating effect of the hierarchy of diplomas on the structure of different institutional sectors is very striking in this graphical representation. Thus the absence of a diploma prevents to some extent access to civil service but greatly opens up the doors - one could really say by default - to the private unregistered sector. The more one rises in the scale of diplomas, the more the other sectors open up by reducing the possibilities of access for those who remain at a lower diploma level. Those with diplomas at the highest level of the hierarchy see offered to them a real "boulevard" for access to the State sector and also to public service. However, one could also remark that no sector is impenetrably closed, even for those without a diploma.

100 T	struge .	146184	- (J)	141 G 24	2	1
- 05 –	Nonc	Primary school certificate	240 Lower secondary certificate	Upper secondary certificate	Voc./Tech. certificate/di ploma	Univer degree
Unemployed	8,1	7,6	8,5	8,1	4	2,1
Family worker	7,7	9,5	9,8	8	2,5	0,5
□ Employee	16,8	24,1	30,2	44,2	66,6	-86,3
□ Self-employed	59,1	49,7	44,3	34,4	24,2	8,6
I lead of family enterprise	8,2	9	7,2	5,3	2,8	2,4

2. Diploma and type of employment

Here as well, the regulating effect of diplomas doesn't decline, but is linked tightly to the structure of production in Vietnam in the domains of non-agricultural activities. The predominance of the State in salaried employment being what it is, and the State applying its own regulations, access to salaried employment is the privilege of those with diplomas who find a position appropriate for the education level that they hold.

3. Diploma and socio-professional category



One could repeat the same commentary as above as far as the effect of hierarchy is concerned. Thus 99.5% of people without diplomas find themselves in the three categories: trade workers, service workers and manual workers, while the proportion of people with a university or college diploma in the same categories is only 13.8%. On the other hand, 60.5% of these same university degree holders are in the two categories of civil servants, these categories being closed to people without a diploma.

3. University specialisation and socio-professional category

Analysing the relationship that exists between the specialisation studied during university education (university and college) and the socio-professional category where an individual currently works permits us to evaluate more finely the degree of matching between training and employment. One must, however, keep in mind in that in making this quick presentation that we have emphasised strongly the place of the State, quasi-omnipresent in training and in employment, which signifies that the matching researched here is to a large extent a limited one. The data presented below indeed provide some examples of very close correspondences. Of those who have followed a medical specialisation at the university 82.1 % are civil servants in health services. Out of former students at pedagogical universities, 76.8% are civil servants in education. Of former students in polytechnic universities, 69.2% are technicians of heads of workshops.



The situation, however, remains open, and the matching is not absolute, however a certain logic is to a large extent respected: all former students of higher education find themselves in a majority which is never less than 50% (foreign languages) and which reaches 92.8% (health), in the three highest socio-professional categories.

4. Conclusion on the utilisation of education-training potential

This section on utilisation of education-training potential aimed to evaluate the degree of concordance between the structure of educationtraining and the structure of employment with respect to different aspects. This was mainly a question of measuring the structural effect of different levels of knowledge and skills acquired - not the content of training at this stage of the analysis - on different positions, types and categories of employment.

We have thus proceeded to systematically put into perspective the different elements of the structure of educational attainment (education levels, initial professional training, diplomas) with elements of the structure of employment (institutional sector, type of employment, socio-professional category). The partial coverage of different elements of the structure of educational or training attainment (for example level of diploma), on one hand, and a certain relationship between institutional sector, type of employment and socio-professional category (for example the direct link between public sector, salaried employment and high and medium skill categories) on the other, elucidate clear correspondences between each element of the structure of attainment and each element of the structure of employment.

The diploma which is both a summary and at the same time a distortion of the structure of attainment, comes out, as we expected, to be the strongest regulator of the structure of employment, in particular of the socio-professional hierarchy. On the subject of diplomas, the case of technical and professional secondary schools reveals an influence which is not small. According to regulations, the diplomas of these schools are equivalent to those obtained at the end of grade 12, that is, diplomas of upper secondary school, but since the acquisition of technical and professional skills are added to the attainment of general education, the diploma awarded bestows on its holders a better position in the socio-professional hierarchy.

Finally, the State, which maintains a major presence in both education and training and employment could not appear not to be the "orchestra conductor" in the training-employment link.

III. The evolution of education-training potential and the behaviour of households

We have seen in section 1 that education-training potential has begun a new evolution. Not only has the decline in education levels been interrupted, but the beginning of an increase is starting to be observed. This is particularly perceptible in the age group 15-24 which seems really to be at the locus of that evolution. The proportion of individuals in this age group who are still in the education system compared to those already working allows us to think that a solid increase of education levels is underway, with the 15-29 year olds promising still more than those aged 20-24. All of this is situated in the context of profound changes over the past 15 years which have affected not only the economic fabric, but also the dynamics of human resources and which is reflected also by a trend towards a narrowing of the base of the population pyramid and a reduction in the size of families.⁴ It is clear that the behaviour of households is in the process of transformation in the demographic sphere as well as in the education sphere. This behaviour is situated in a double context, that of changes in the short-term which produce contemporary family strategies, and that of changes in the longterm which are products of inter-generational dynamics. We will provide some simple illustrations below.

A. The context of contemporary familial education strategies.

With regard to schooling, familial strategies are analysed in terms of plans and behaviour which are consequences of the number of children a couple has, pre-school education of children, age of entry into primary school, the length of schooling and the amount spent on education. These strategies are obviously not uniform for the whole population as we have already seen in the almost opposite behaviour of urban northern households and rural southern households with regard to the control over age of entry into primary school. All these strategies merit analysis in detail. However, two illustrations are proposed. The first concerns the relationship between the level of education of parents and the number of children the couple has. The second concerns the level of education to which parents aspire for their children.

See Population structure and household composition, Inter-Censal Demographic Survey 1994, SPIL Hanoi. January 1997.



1. The number of children born to a couple



These two graphic illustrations indicate well that the higher the education level of the parents, the greater the tendency to limit the number of children. What is more important still is to note that the trend is still more clearly maintained for mothers than for fathers. Thus the proportion of fathers with completed upper secondary education that have only two children or less is 56.2%, and for those who have three or fewer children the figure rises to 80.3%. For mothers of the same level, the respective proportions are 61% and 83.9%. On the other hand, the proportion of fathers without education who have two or fewer children is 12.5% and 37.5% for three or more children. For mothers, the corresponding figures are 17.3% and 21.3%.



2. Education levels to which parents aspire for their children

The great academic ambitions of parents for their children is striking, and follows an ascending curve according to their educational level, with university aspirations already very high for parents without any schooling. The high projected levels should be put into perspective with the influx of students who have been to Vietnamese universities since 1991 (an increase of 32.8% at university and of 13.5% in colleges between 1991 and 1995). This allows us to predict continued pressure for entry into the university.



These familial ambitions, of immediate import since they will have logical consequences for the prolongation of schooling, are themselves inscribed in the longer term trends which span the generations.

B. Inter-generational dynamics

Two kinds of inter-generational comparison are presented here, on one side, the comparative education levels of grandparents and fathers, then fathers and their children, on the other side the comparative socioprofessional categories of fathers and children and mothers and children, considering only people who have already completed their schooling.



1. Inter-generational educational levels

The relationship in education level of grandfathers and fathers are very clear and particularly regular despite the slight backward shift that one observes in the curve for grandparents with incomplete upper secondary education. The higher the education level of the grandfather, the higher the level of the father. We will now examine the father-child relationship.



The father child relationship in educational level is less linear than that of the preceding generation, the discontinuities arising mainly among the descendants of the fathers who have not completed the final grade of the respective level. However, the logic of reproduction continues to produce its effect. What's more, if one connects the three generations in a direct line, one observes that 84% of children whose father or grandfather has completed upper secondary school, have also attained this same level.

Let's look now at the final example of inter-generational dynamics, the relationship between father and child and mother and child with regard to socio-professional categories.



The first impression that emerges from the relation between socioprofessional category of fathers and that of their children is that of a great social mixing from one generation to the other. This is not astonishing when one recalls the eventful history of the country for at least the past two generations. We can nevertheless identify some regularities in certain categories. Some 48.1% of children of manual workers/craftsmen find themselves in the same category. This is equally the case of 36.6% of civil servants in science, education and health. We note also inversions from civil servant to worker.



The impression of mixing of categories remains when one mothers and their children. The mixing is similar, although less radical. For example, while 28.6% of children of civil servant mothers (political, economic and industry) become workers/craftswomen, 23.8% remained in the category of their mother. The strongest regularities are still seen in worker/craftswomen children of which 47.1% remain in the occupation of their mothers.

2. Conclusion for chapter I

With regard to education, training and human resources, the balance sheet that one could write is one of dynamism in changes taking place. These changes are made in what one could assess as a positive sense with an overall catching up of education level, predictable increase in the proportion of people holding a higher qualification and especially improvements for girls. Two subtle results should be pointed out concerning this evolution. The first is that the development of high skills will be primarily a result of strong growth in the number of people in higher education, while the number in technical or professional education continues to stagnife. The second is that this evaluation requires confirmation in the long run and for all levels of education in order to have a true impact nationally. The high level of aspirations of households leads in this direction. However, it is necessary to point out that efforts should also be aimed at reducing deficits and inequalities. The deficits are those concerning professional training of the active population. The inequalities are those concerning the North-South relationship in general education as well as professional training. Ministry of Labour, Invalids and Social Affairs

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