



Universiteit Utrecht

Journeys to Adulthood

*Interdependent household relations and transitions to adulthood in the
context of rural-urban youth migration to Hanoi*

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Executive Summary

This research set out to examine the influence of household relations and responsibilities, and transitions to adulthood on rural-urban youth migration to Hanoi. Rural-urban youth migration was placed and studied within the context of (rural) households, and conceptualized as a household livelihood strategy. Particularly, aspirations and incentives for migration, and influence of household roles and responsibilities, on shaping rural-urban youth migration were examined. Alongside these objectives, potential associations between the concept of transition to adulthood, and rural-urban youth migration were considered. Both labour migration and migration for education were involved.

Perceptions of young migrants in Hanoi and left-behind parents in rural areas, regarding these research topics and concepts were gathered and analysed. The qualitative research intended to stay close to the stories of respondents, and examined their perceptions, behaviours, and feelings, within the context of their daily lives and activities.

Several research methods were employed. Individual in-depth interviews (semi-structured) with migrants and parents was the dominant method. The other methods included a focus group discussion, and questionnaire-survey to gather personal and familial background information. In total 28 migrants and 12 parents were included.

Familial influences on lives and decisions of young migrants are strong. Financial support for households appeared as a general key incentive for rural-urban migration. However, personal aspirations were often also involved. Generally young migrants balanced household obligations and personal ambitions. In this regard migration was also perceived as a pathway towards better futures. Migration delayed entries into marriage and parenthood. While the autonomy of migrants increased, they simultaneously stayed connected to their household through financial transfers and household obligations. Overall, rural-urban migration functioned as a bridge between migrants' new households and natal households in rural hometowns.

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Finally, I would like to thank all respondents and families that I have visited and talked to. For inviting me into their homes and lives, for all the warm welcomes, words and acts of kindness and appreciation. Your stories have enlightened, and inspired me. You have introduced me to a world that would have otherwise stayed concealed from me, and you have touched my soul.

Preface

“In July 2011, I asked my mother for 200.000 VND (\pm 8 Euro) and decided to come to Hanoi to find a job. I made a goal that in three days I would find a job. The first day I used the bus to come to Hanoi and go around Hanoi. I walked around the streets to find a job. Every restaurant or coffee or any shop that had a paper for recruitment announcement I would ask. At the end of the first day I had not found a job. At night I slept at my friend’s house, so I did not have to pay for this night. The second day I kept looking for a job, but did not find one either. This night I could not sleep with my friend, so I had to sleep outside in a building that was still in construction. The third day I found a job in a café, they paid me 2.5 million VND (\pm 100 Euro), and also offered me food and a place to live. I had to do everything, like washing the dishes, be a waiter, mixing drinks, cooking, cleaning, security, taking care of the motorbikes of customers. I worked there for a year...”

- Male, 20, moved to Hanoi at the age of 18

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Introduction

In 1986, the Vietnamese government introduced Doi Moi ('renovation'), which changed the economic system from a centralised planned system to a market-oriented economy (Agergaard & Thao, 2011). Due to these reforms Vietnam experienced, besides a swift economic growth, several dynamic and rapid internal changes over the past decades (Resurreccion & Khanh, 2007). The economic changes, led to a large increase in foreign investments which stimulated the growth of industries in urban areas (Agergaard & Thao, 2011). Simultaneously, the government adapted migration policies and eased restrictions on mobility (Anh, et al., 2012; Resurreccion & Khanh, 2007). Furthermore, the link between state subsidies and a strict registration system that was in place before Doi Moi, ceased to exist (Anh, et al. 2012). New employment opportunities in growing cities, combined with these political changes, facilitated migration to large urban areas, such as Hanoi (Agergaard & Thao, 2011; Anh, et al., 2012; Resurreccion & Kahn, 2007). As a result, disparities in income levels between rural and urban areas increased, providing further incentives for migration (Niimi et al., 2009; Resurreccion & Khanh, 2007). In the past decade, rural-urban migration flows have changed considerable. In 2009, the population group aged 15-24 accounted for the largest proportion of rural-urban migrants (GSO & UNFPA, 2011). This process is also influenced by the demographic situation of Vietnam, which is experiencing a period of a demographic bonus, where the largest age group are those aged 15-24 (GSO & UNPFA, 2011; UN Vietnam, 2010a). Considering Vietnam's demographic situation, and the predominance of youths (15-24 age group) in rural-urban migration flows, this research focusses on rural-urban youth migration, in the context of Hanoi.

In theoretical debates, rural-urban migration has been conceptualized as a household livelihood strategy to diversify incomes, and spread risks (Stark, 1978; Stark & Bloom, 1985). In this regard, scholars have recognized the increasing importance of migratory non-farm activities for rural households in Vietnam (Li Tana, 1996; Pham & Hill, 2008; Tacoli & Mabala, 2010). Similarly, livelihood diversification has also been linked to the increasing youth migration processes (e.g. Pham & Hill, 2008; Punch, 2002; Utomo et al., 2013). Within the literature on rural-urban migration, others have emphasized the importance of social household relations and responsibilities in shaping rural-urban mobility (e.g. Chant & Radcliffe 1992; Radcliffe, 1986). In Vietnam, like many other developing countries, obligations between generations are often of vital importance for households. Young people are often expected to play an important role in supporting their parents (in old age), and other household members (Hoang, 2011; Mondain, et al., 2013; Porter et al., 2010; Punch, 2002).

In line with the above notions and findings, this study conceptualizes rural-urban youth migration as a household livelihood strategy. Young migrants are placed and studied within the context of their rural households. Particularly, the incentives for migration, and the influence of social household roles and

responsibilities, on shaping rural-urban youth migration are examined. In this regard both labour migration and migration for education are considered, as scholars have increasingly recognized that besides labour migration, education is increasingly perceived as a means to mitigate family poverty (Boyden, 2013; Crivello, 2011; Nguyen et al., 2013; Punch, 2002; Punch & Sugden, 2013).

Furthermore, regarding the particular phenomenon of youth migration, it is argued that, additional complications and consequences are involved compared to adult migration, due to the particularity of the adolescent life stage. For many young people in developing countries, migration is an integral part of their transition to adulthood (Crivello 2011; Hertrich & Lesclingand, 2013; Juarez, et al., 2013; National Research Council 2005; UNFPA, 2006). Since migration often overlaps with several important youth transitions, the nature and consequences for youths are different compared to other age groups (Juárez et al, 2013; Lloyd et al., 2005; Punch, 2002). Moreover, while there is an abundant quantity of migration research and literature, there has been a predominant focus on adult migration, while children and youths have been reasonably overshadowed. Furthermore, youth migration in the context of other transitions to adulthood has also been little researched (Crivello et al., 2011; Juárez et al., 2013; National Research Council, 2005; Punch, 2002; Utomo et al., 2013).

Therefore, the topic of transition to adulthood is incorporated and examined alongside the previously mentioned concepts. Youth transitions are connected to these previous notions, in the sense that they influence the roles and related responsibilities of youths within their households. Besides this, associations between transitions to adulthood and the process of rural-urban youth migration are also examined. Perceptions of young migrants in Hanoi and parents in rural areas, regarding these research topics and concepts are gathered and analysed. This qualitative research intends to stay close to the stories of respondents, and examines their perceptions, behaviours and feelings, within the context of their daily lives and activities.

The succeeding chapters include a brief analysis of the research context: general background information of Vietnam, statistics, trends and debates on rural-urban migration (particularly in the context of Hanoi) are considered. Additionally, since there is a strong focus on the influence of intra-household roles and responsibilities, a short overview of Vietnamese family relations is provided. The theoretical chapters particularly involve theoretical household approaches towards the topic of rural-urban (youth) migration. In this regard, attention is given to both labour migration and migration for education. Additionally, debates and findings regarding the concept of transition to adulthood, and associations between this concept and the process of rural-urban migration are considered. Theoretical views and concepts from this chapter are used to formulate and clarify the conceptual framework, aims/objectives, and research questions. Additionally, the research philosophy, operationalization of concepts, and research methods are further discussed in the methodological chapter. The final chapters include the research analysis, discussions, and conclusions and recommendations.

Contextual Analysis

Vietnam - national context

The Socialist Republic of Vietnam is located on the Indochina Peninsula in Southeast Asia, and is bordered by China (North), Laos (Northwest), Cambodia (Southwest) and the South China Sea (West) (see map 1). Regarding its organizational structure, Vietnam is currently divided into 6 regions; under the regional level are 63 provinces; under the provincial level are 690 districts, and under the district level are 11,066 rural communes or urban wards (GSO & UNFPA, 2011, p. 19). The capital of Vietnam, Hanoi, is located in the Red River Delta region in Northern Vietnam (see map 1). This region contains 9 provinces (including Hanoi) and has a population of 19.5 million, which makes it the most populous region in Vietnam (UNDP, 2011). The country's formal institutions and central planning systems are based in this area. Hanoi is one of the 5 city-provinces in Vietnam, municipalities that are administratively equivalent to provinces (GSO & UNFPA, 2011). In 2009, the population of Hanoi was estimated at 6.45 million, making it the second largest city of Vietnam after Ho Chi Minh City (another city-province) (GSO, 2012).



Map 1. Vietnam. (University of Texas Library, 2014)

Since the early 1990s, Vietnam has been very successful at integrating in the global economy. In 1986 the Vietnamese government launched *Doi Moi* ('renovation'), through which the Vietnamese economic system changed significantly, from a centralised planned system to a market-oriented economy (Agergaard & Thao, 2011; Nguyen et al., 2013; Resurreccion & Khanh, 2007). Due to these market reforms, Vietnam experienced several dynamic and rapid changes over the last two decades. Economic growth was a significant outcome of these reforms, and Vietnam reached the status of middle-income country, with an annual GNI per capita of US\$1,020 in 2009 (UNDP, 2011). One of the measures taken by the government was the abandonment of restrictions on household contracts, which meant that (rural, agricultural) households were free to organize their production for markets. Agricultural productivity increased tremendously, exports rose more than 30% annually after 1988,

and in 1989 Vietnam became one of the largest rice exporters globally (Resurreccion & Khanh, 2007). In the past decade, Vietnam experienced several other internal changes. Since 2000, Vietnam's labour market has become increasingly industrialized and urbanised, a process largely focussed on Ho Chi Minh City and Hanoi. While the proportion of the Vietnamese workforce employed in agriculture dropped in 2009 compared to 2002, the proportion employed in industry and construction has increased markedly (UNDP, 2011).

The rapid economic growth over the past two decades has also led to a substantial fall in overall poverty levels in Vietnam. However, as a middle income country Vietnam faces new challenges. The 'middle-income trap' includes obstacles such as, a less-developed infrastructure, low level of specialization, and an unskilled labour force (UNDP, 2011). Furthermore, national economic growth has occurred simultaneously with rising income inequalities, and social and economic disparities between regions and provinces (Niimi et al., 2009; Nguyen et al., 2013; Resurreccion & Khanh, 2007; UNDP 2011; Zhang, et al., 2006). Besides, in contrast to overall poverty levels, progress in non-income indicators of development (such as life expectancy and education indicators) has been much lower (UNDP, 2011). On a demographic level, Vietnam is entering a period of the so-called demographic bonus. Currently, the largest age group is the 15-24 years old (ILO, 2011; UNDP, 2011). They made up 19 percent of the labour force in 2009, and each year a large number of young workers enter the workforce (ILO, 2011). This provides challenges, as skills and capabilities of these young people need to be developed and sufficient jobs need to be generated. This demographic change, combined with increased population mobility, is putting pressure on labour markets, and drives the growing rates of migration and urbanization (ILO, 2011; UNDP, 2011).

Doi Moi effects: Urbanization and Rural-Urban Migration

As mentioned above, one of the measures taken by the government under Doi Moi concerned de-collectivization in the agricultural sector, which meant that state-run cooperatives were abolished, and rural households were released from their obligations to the state (e.g. producing for state-owned enterprises) (Resurreccion & Khanh, 2007). Simultaneously, services formerly provided by the state, such as covering healthcare and educational costs, and agricultural taxes, were also withdrawn. Thus, on one hand, 'de-collectivization in the agricultural sector rendered farmers less tied to the land' (Niimi, et al., 2009, p.20), while it also increased the cash requirements for rural households, forcing them to look for alternative opportunities (Nguyen, et al., 2013; Punch & Sugden, 2013; Resurreccion & Khanh, 2007). The shift in the agricultural sector led to the modernisation of agriculture and improved agricultural productivity, which made a large section of the rural labour force redundant. (Hoang, 2011; Zhang, et al., 2006). Partly driven by increased economic pressures, 'the growing rural surplus labour began to interact with the emerging non-state market, and increased market opportunities away from home villages' (Zhang, et al., 2006 p.1074). This search for alternative

opportunities was also encouraged by the revised migration policies that were introduced under Doi Moi (Anh et al., 2012; Resurreccion & Khanh, 2007). Before Doi Moi, migration was strictly organised by the government. No other form of migration was permitted, and population mobility was monitored through the household registration system (Agergaard & Thao, 2011; Zhang, et al., 2006). After the reforms, restrictions on migration were reduced and migration flows altered, becoming mostly voluntary (spontaneous) in nature (Agergaard & Thao, 2011; Anh et al., 2012; Resurreccion & Khanh, 2007; Zhang, et al., 2006). The economic reforms also led to significant changes in urban areas, where an increase in foreign investment stimulated the growth of industries, particularly export-oriented manufacturing industries. This growth provided new employment opportunities, predominantly for young, single women, and facilitated migration to large urban areas (mainly Hanoi and Ho Chi Minh City) (Agergaard & Thao, 2011; Anh, et al., 2012; Hoang, 2011; Resurreccion & Khanh, 2007; Zhang, et al., 2006). Additionally, migrants also benefitted from the development of the informal sector and related employment opportunities (Hoang et al., 2011; Thao & Agergaard, 2011; Zhang, et al., 2006). As mentioned earlier, as a result of these processes, regional disparities in labour market earnings became larger. This growing inequality in urban-rural welfare provided further incentives for rural-urban migration flows (Hoang, et al., 2011; Niimi, et al., 2009; Nguyen et al., 2013; Resurreccion & Kahn, 2007). Thus, over the past decades both rural and urban areas in Vietnam have changed significantly. Together, these changes, combined with the erosion of the registration-state subsidy link, and the relaxation of mobility restrictions, have facilitated migration flows to urban areas (Agergaard & Thao, 2011; Anh, et al., 2012; Resurreccion & Kahn, 2007; Zhang, et al., 2006). Besides these reform-related factors, rural households in Vietnam also face increased economic pressure due to climate change. In this context, migration has become an important strategy for rural households to reduce income fluctuations due to environmental decline (Nguyen, et al., 2013; Punch & Sugden, 2013).

Migration Statistics and Trends

The General Statistics Office (GSO) of Vietnam, in collaboration with the United Nations Populations Fund (UNFPA) have analysed migration and urbanization levels in Vietnam. Data from national censuses (1989, 1999, and 2009) were used as a basis for the analysis. An important limitation of these national censuses is that migrants are defined as a person whose place of residence five years prior to the time of the census differs from their current place of residence (GSO & UNFPA, 2011). This definition excludes several migrant categories, such as circular or temporary migrants, and migrants that have moved to urban areas within the 5 years prior to census. Migration data provided by these (national) sources must be treated with caution, as migration rates are significantly underestimated (Agergaard & Thao, 2011; UNDP, 2011). General outcomes of the report were that migration had increased in both absolute and relative terms, with a strong growth of migration to urban areas. Rural-urban migration doubled between 1999 and 2009, with 2,062,171 million rural-urban migrants in 2009

(UNDP, 2011). The three largest cities in Vietnam, Hanoi, Da Nang and Ho Chi Minh City, were the main destinations for migrants (GSO & UNFPA, 2011). By 2009, 29.6 percent of the Vietnamese population was living in urban areas, with an increase of 7.3 million people over one decade (compared to a rural population increase of 2.17 million). Since these figures are likely to significantly underestimate urban population growth, according to UNDP (2011), it is likely that in 2009, 33 to 40 percent of the population was living in urban areas. Estimated population projections suggest that for urban areas population growth rates will be 2.91 percent each year, from 2015 to 2050 (compared to 0.13 percent for the rural population) (UNDP, 2011). In Hanoi, the number of registered migrants doubled from 1995 to 2005, when migrants accounted for more than 8% of Hanoi’s total population. However, since migration rates are usually underestimated (due to the large number of temporary migrants), actual figures are thought to be much higher (Agergaard & Thao, 2011; Resurreccion & Khanh, 2007).

Furthermore, data from the 2009 census showed that that the population group aged 15-24 accounted for the highest proportion of the total rural-urban migrant population in Vietnam. Females were predominantly represented (see figure 1, population pyramid R-U) (GSO & UNFPA, 2011). These figures have been estimated to increase even further in the future. Projections indicate that urban populations will continue to grow, fuelled by internal migration. Considering the demographic situation in Vietnam, youths (aged 15-24) are expected to continue to be the most dominant group within these rural-urban flows (UN Vietnam, 2010a; UNDP, 2011).

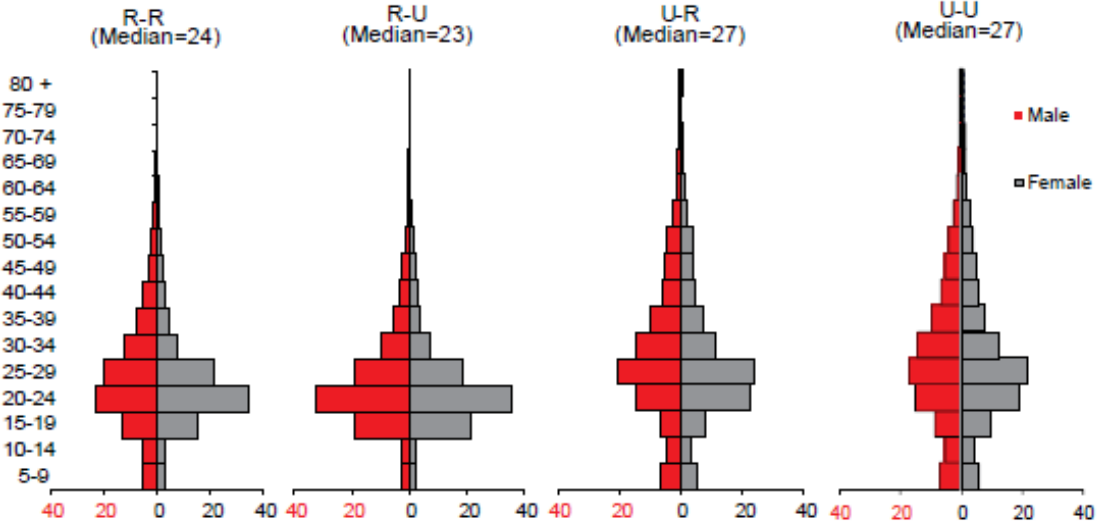


Figure 1: Population pyramids for migrants by type of migration flow between urban and rural areas, 2009 source: GSO & UNFPA (2011)

Migration to Hanoi

As discussed above, the market reforms introduced by the central government changed the Red River Delta region and Hanoi in particular. Hanoi became an attractive destination for many foreign investors, and by 2005 three large industrial zones (Sai Dong, Thang Long, and Noi Bai), and 18 medium and small industrial areas were established (Agergaard & Thao, 2011). Besides, rural landholding sizes in the Red River Delta region are mostly just big enough to provide for household subsistence. Since labour requirements are generally rather low, this means that there is a considerable surplus labour in these areas. Many rural households are able to send out household members for migration (Resurreccion & Khanh, 2007). The establishment of the industrial zones in Hanoi, and related increase in employment opportunities, contributed to the swift rise in migration flows to the city (Agergaard & Thao, 2011; Resurreccion & Khanh, 2007). As mentioned, the economic growth and industrialization in Hanoi has led to an increased demand for young female workers in particular. Women form the majority of the labour force in light manufacturing (particularly textile and garment industries), as well as the social work, and health care sectors (Hoang, 2011; Thao & Agergaard, 2012). Furthermore, employment opportunities have also increased in Hanoi's informal sector, where migrants are often self-employed in petty trade and service. Again, females tend to dominate in this sector (Hoang, 2011; Resurreccion & Khanh, 2007; Thao & Agergaard, 2012). Once in Hanoi migrants generally tend to live and work in clusters by district, village or commune of origin. In this sense, Hanoi is connected to the surrounding rural areas through network of village and kin relations (Resurreccion & Khanh, 2007). This network facilitates migration to the city, which is often temporary or circular, and plays an important role in sustaining agricultural production (Hoang, 2011; Resurreccion & Khanh, 2007). In a related manner, as mentioned, regional inequalities also influenced migration flows in Vietnam. In this specific context, per capita income in rural areas of the Red River Delta is one-fifth of that in Hanoi city (Hoang, 2011).

Migrating to Hanoi involves challenges. Especially temporary, seasonal and circular migrants tend to be among the poor and vulnerable compared to permanent migrants (UNDP, 2011). Partly, this is a result of their involvement in the informal sector, which is beyond the reach of protections laws (Hoang, 2011). However, it is also influenced by the Vietnamese household registration system (*'ho khau'*). Within this system, the basic characteristics of members from each household are documented and tied to their place of residence. If a person moves, their *ho khau* should follow (CSP, 2011). This system contains four categories in registrations status, K1: residents with permanent registration in place of residence, K2: intra-district migrants with permanent registration in province of residence, K3: migrant with temporary registration for 6-12 months, K4: migrants with temporary registration for 1-6 months (CSP, 2011, p.6). Even though the previously tight link between registration status and access to state services has been removed, spontaneous migrants (K3, K4) still face a number of risks. The most critical problems include, lack of access to employment, legal housing, medical services, and education for migrant's children. Additionally, K4 migrants also face lack of access to social services

(Anh et al., 2012; CSP, 2011). Furthermore, besides these problems, social stigma and differential treatment in the labour market also contribute to migrants' increased vulnerability. Especially many young migrants are vulnerable to economic and sexual exploitation, and are considered to be more involved in sex work and drug abuse (UN Vietnam, 2010b; UNFPA, 2011).

Current debates on rural-urban migration

In the past decade, various organizations (both national and international) have studied and debated the phenomenon of rural-urban migration in Vietnam (e.g. trends and impacts), and its relation to the countries' development. The following section discusses the recent policy debates on rural-urban migration in Vietnam. Regarding the organizational structure of migration policy, the International Labour Organization, based on a study on internal migration in collaboration with the Vietnamese Ministry of Labour, Invalids and Social Affairs (MOLISA), argues that Vietnam needs to implement a coherent internal migration policy that includes multi-stakeholder inputs (ILO, 2011). Presently, MOLISA is in charge of internal migration policy, as it concerns labour mobility, however internal migration implicates various areas, including policies and programmes of other national authorities, or stakeholders (ILO, 2011). Likewise, UN Vietnam (2010b) argues that in order to fully capture the potential benefits of migration, the central government, local authorities, and the private sector, need to cooperate. Migration policy should be integrated into socio-economic development planning and national poverty reduction strategies (UN Vietnam, 2010b, p.9). Moreover, as mentioned, information from national censuses has important limitations, as some types of migration or not (fully) captured. Therefore, in order to inform evidence based policy making, accurate data, enhanced understanding of internal migration processes, and filling specific research gaps, are urgently needed (UN Vietnam, 2010b, p.9).

Safe housing and social security

Regarding the vulnerable state of rural-urban migrants in their destination areas, research from the Centre of Social Protection (CSP, 2011), argues that 'the lack of adequate policies and institutional programmes providing social protection for migrants in general, and the residence-based nature of current social policies are largely responsible' (p.3). The authors state that the government's social protection policies, and underlying practices and approaches, need to alter significantly in order to improve the lives of many migrants (CSP, 2011). The General Statistics Office (GSO) of Vietnam, supported by the UNFPA, based on findings from the 2004 migration survey, also acknowledged that problems related to (safe) housing, and labour market segregation, often result from a lack of registration. It is recognized that better understanding of temporarily and circular migration, and the relaxation of registration systems and controls on accessing basic services should be on the policy agenda (GSO & UNFPA, 2006). Issues regarding safe housing, and access to basic and specialized government services, are also of primary concern in UN Vietnam (2010a; 2010b) reports. Authors

called for disassociating registration status from citizens' access to housing and social services, to ensure equitable access regardless of residence status (permanent or temporarily). Considering the recent rapid urbanization (fuelled by internal migration) and indications this trend will continue, it is vital that all residents, including un-registered temporary migrants, are considered in urban planning and budgeting (UN Vietnam, 2010a; 2010b).

Regional gaps, remittances and gender

Taking into account its limitations, data of the 2009 population and housing census provide evidence that although migrants and their families have gained from migrations processes, migration and urbanization have also contributed to widening gaps between areas of origin and destination (migrants vs. non-migrants), and consequently greater regional (Central Coast and Mekong river Delta are disadvantages) and rural-urban disparities (GSO & UNFPA, 2011, p.13). In order to reduce these inequalities and concentration of migrants flowing to Hanoi and Ho Chi Minh City, policies on population and urbanization should be important components of the general development strategy, and implemented in accordance with other (socioeconomic) development, and social welfare policies in rural areas (GSO & UNFPA, 2011, p.103). Another important policy area relevant to internal migration is the cost of domestic remittances, and attention for left-behind households (ILO, 2011; UN Vietnam, 2010a;2010b). In order to enhance the potential benefits of internal migration for sending areas, 'accessible and flexible remittance-sending mechanisms need to be developed and implemented' (UN Vietnam, 2010a, p.15). Migrants need to be supported in sharing newly acquired knowledge and skills when they return (UN Vietnam, 2010a; 2010b). Lastly, limited evidence from studies on female migration suggest that female migrants are more vulnerable compared to males. However, more research on gendered aspects of migration is needed, and migration policies should be responsive to these aspects (GSO & UNFPA, 2011). Likewise, efforts are needed to enhance the trafficking prevention framework through the development of the Law on Human Trafficking, and related national programmes (UN Vietnam, 2010a, p.10).

Considering the central importance of intra-household relations in this research, the last section of this first chapter introduces the topic of Vietnamese family relations and practices, and its relation to (alterations in) the political and economic background of Vietnam (as discussed in preceding sections).

Vietnamese family relations

"In Vietnam, the family institution and the guiding ideals of what is a 'good' family have been modified considerably during the past 50 years, although patriarchal family ideals and practices may not have disappeared" – (Thao & Agergaard, 2012, p.104)

In the Vietnamese society the importance of family is a historic aspect (Hoang, 2011). Traditionally, the Vietnamese family structure has been organized by the Confucian model of family hierarchy. This

organization is strongly based on gender, generation and age. Under Confucianist values, men are considered ‘the pillar of the household’, and are expected to be the main breadwinners in the household, as well as the major decision maker (Hoang & Yeoh, 2011; Paris et al., 2009; Resurreccion & Khanh, 2007; Thao & Agergaard, 2012). Fathers, husbands and sons, have the authority over women, whose identities are mainly associated with reproductive and domestic duties (Hoang, 2011; Thao & Agergaard, 2012). However, without undermining the patriarchal family model, historically women have played a significant role in economically supporting their households through off-farm income activities (e.g. small trade), and they have been responsible for managing household properties and income (Hoang, & Yeoh, 2011; Thao & Agergaard, 2012). Another important value concerns filial piety, indicating children’s duty to respect, obey and care for their parents. Honouring ones parents is highly valued, and supplementing to the household income is considered important (Rushing, 2011; Thao & Agergaard, 2012).

Overall, ‘these strong ideals of hierarchical gender relations have always co-existed with more pragmatic practices’ (Thao & Agergaard, 2012, p.105). Besides, they have also been influenced by the political and economic changes that have taken place in Vietnam over the past decades. As mentioned, the reforms under Doi Moi resulted in a collapse of the state welfare system, which meant that families became responsible for services that were formerly provided by the state (Thao & Agergaard, 2012). Besides, over the past years, the Vietnamese government has issued several economic and social policies, with the intend to provide social security for rural populations, ethnic minorities and other vulnerable groups. However, in general the social security system remains biased and fragmented (CSP, 2011, p.15). In general, rural households mainly rely on household and other family members in terms of their social security, which accentuates the importance of family relations and responsibilities in supporting household livelihoods (CSP, 2011; Thao & Agergaard, 2012). Another political change that influenced Vietnamese family relations, gender relations in particular, occurred during the 1960s, when the socialist government strongly promoted gender equality and women’s emancipation (Thao & Agergaard, 2012). These factors, amongst others, have led to an increase in women’s labour participation, while expectations regarding their domestic responsibilities also remained (Hoang & Yeoh, 2011; Thao & Agergaard, 2012). In the specific context of internal migration, UN Vietnam (2010b) suggests that this affects the structure of responsibilities within households, both in terms of the gender distribution of responsibilities, as the distribution across generations (p.8). Furthermore, it is argued that because of Vietnam’s rapid development, young people are more likely to acknowledge and adopt Western values, particularly in urban areas (Pham & Hill, 2008). Nevertheless, it appears that the fundamental characteristics of the traditional Vietnamese family still persist today. Women’s reproductive responsibilities, men’s roles as heads of household and main providers, children’s filial debts and duties, and the central role of the family in general, are argued to be enduring features of the Vietnamese society (Hoang, 2011; Hoang & Yeoh, 2011; Pham & Hill, 2008; Resurreccion & Khanh, 2007; Rushing, 2008; Thao & Agergaard, 2012).

Theoretical Approaches and Literature Debate

Household Approaches to Rural-Urban Migration

NELM approach

Where classical migration theory considered migrants as individual decisions makers, this view was contested late 1970s and 1980s. It was particularly Stark (1978) who altered thinking on migration from and within developing countries, by positioning individual migration in a wider social context and considering the migrant's family or household, not the individual migrant, as the most suitable decision-making entity. Besides Stark, critics from various disciplines, including anthropologists, economists, and sociologists, argued that households are the principle decision-making agents concerning migration (Massey, 1990).

“Much of the present author’s uneasiness is due to the current disregard of the fact that migration is generated by families, which cannot be studied as if they were individuals. The migrating agent and the decision-making unit are best seen as different entities” (Stark, 1978, p.2,3)

The new economics of labour migration (NELM), emerged as a critical response to the neo-classical migration theory, which considered migrants as utility maximizing individuals while neglecting other migration motives, or migrant's belonging to social groups (e.g. households, communities) (de Haas, 2010; Massey et al., 1993). The NELM approach acknowledged that other factors besides individual income maximization can influence migration decision-making (de Haas, 2010). While some studies considered decision-making and determinants of migration of entire families (Mincer, 1978; Sandell, 1977), under NELM, certain family members move to a different environment in order to diversify the entire household income (Stark & Bloom, 1985). By sending out particular family members, households not only act to maximize their household income, but also to minimize and spread risks. Migrant family members work in a separate environment from the hometown, where expected returns from labour are non-correlated or negatively correlated. Costs and returns of migration are shared by the whole family, and due to commitments to share income, migration provides coinsurance for both parties, as households support migrants in times of hardship, and remittances provide income insurance for the household (Stark, 1978; Stark & Bloom, 1985). In this sense migration is viewed as risk-sharing behaviour of families, since households rather than individuals, diversify their resources in order to minimize income risks (Stark & Bloom, 1985; Stark & Levhari, 1982).

“It shifts migration theory from individual independence to mutual interdependence, that is, it views migration as a ‘calculated strategy’, not an act of desperation or boundless optimism”
(Stark & Bloom, 1985, p.174,175)

In the NELM approach, migration, besides being modelled as a risk spreading strategy, is also perceived as a strategy to overcome market failures in migrant sending areas (Hagen-Zanker, 2008). Households are placed in an environment with missing or incomplete credit and insurance markets, as is evident in most developing countries (Stark, 1978; Stark & Bloom, 1985). These markets are often underdeveloped or only available to elite groups, leaving no means for households to smooth consumption or make investment in times of hardship (Stark, 1978, Stark & Levhari, 1982). Households can solve this problem internally, by using remittances as a strategy to overcome market constraints, possibly enable productive investments, and secure or even improve livelihoods (Stark, 1987; Stark & Bloom, 1985; Stark & Levhari, 1982).

Livelihood approaches

NELM has conceptual similarities with livelihood approaches, which evolved as of the late 1970s among geographers, anthropologist and sociologists conducting research in developing countries (de Haas, 2010, p.244). Carney (1998, as mentioned in de Haas, 2010) defines a livelihood as the capabilities, assets (social and material resources), and activities that are needed for a means of living. A livelihood comprises not only of activities related to income generation, but also of social institutions, intra-household relations, and tools that enable access to resources throughout the lifecycle (Ellis, 1998, p.13). A livelihood strategy can be defined as “a strategic or deliberate choice of combination of activities by households and their individual members to maintain, secure, and improve their livelihoods” (de Haas, 2010, p.244). In this sense, migration can be viewed as an important element of strategies that households use to diversify, secure, and potentially improve their livelihoods (de Haas, 2010; McDowell & de Haan, 1997).

Literature review: Migration and household income diversification

Although rural-urban migration has been viewed as a mere survival strategy, it has been increasingly recognized among scholars that migration is often used to improve livelihoods, as part of an ‘accumulation strategy’ to enable investments (Bebbington, 1999, p.2027), or to reduce household income fluctuations (de Haas, 2010; McDowell & de Haan, 1997). For instance, in his account on changes in rural-urban interactions in Southeast Asia, Rigg (1998), refers to the diversification of rural livelihoods and related increase of people moving from rural to urban areas. He argues that the nature of household diversification has changed as people increasingly move away from rural communities. This often involves crossing spatial boundaries, and income generation from urban employment (Rigg, 1998). The increasing importance of migratory non-farm activities for rural households has been recognized in studies across Southeast Asia, e.g., Indonesia (Firman, 1994), Philippines (Lauby & Stark, 1988), and Vietnam (Li Tana, 1996; Pham & Hill, 2008; Tacoli & Mabala, 2010). This phenomenon of livelihood diversification is also linked to (increasing) youth migration in studies from Africa (Sauvain-Dugerdil, 2010; Tacoli & Mabala, 2010), Asia (Utomo et al., 2013; Pham & Hill, 2008), and Latin-America (Punch, 2002). In line with the concepts related to NELM and livelihood

approaches as explained above, several studies in Asia have recognized that rural-urban migration is increasingly used by rural households as a livelihood strategy to diversify and enhance incomes (Anh, et al., 2012; Lauby & Stark, 1988; Pham & Hill, 2008; Resurreccion & Khanh, 2007). In the specific context of Vietnam, studies showed that migration was used as an effective household economic strategy to diversify and secure incomes (Niimi et al., 2009; Pham & Hill, 2008), to compensate income losses due to agricultural or economic shocks (Nguyen et al., 2013), and sustain agricultural production (Resurreccion & Khanh, 2007). In their research on the impact of rural-urban migration on household vulnerability and welfare in Vietnam, Nguyen et al. (2013) found that rural households benefitted directly from migration through positive income growth.

Household Strategies Approach

Similar to the NELM and Livelihood Approaches, the Household Strategies Approach also conceptualizes rural-urban migration in the context of households as opposed to the individual migrant. However, this latter approach particularly focusses on how social roles and (power) relations within households shape migratory decisions and movements.

“One of the main concerns of the “household strategies” approach is the problematization of divisions of labour and power within households, and how these affect the propensity and freedom of different individuals, according to gender, age, and their relationships to other household members, to engage in city-ward migration” (Chant, 1998, p.9)

The Household Strategies Approach emerged within the literature on gendered migration, articulated first by Radcliffe (1986), and further developed by Chant and Radcliffe (1992). As a reaction to neo-classical migration theories, and associated disregard for social relations within households, this approach relied on insights from behavioural analyses that focussed on the influence of cultural and ideological constructs on the behaviour of men and women (Chant, 1998). Similar to Stark (1978) and colleagues (Stark & Bloom, 1985; Stark & Levhari, 1982), Radcliffe (1986) argues that instead of focussing on the individual migrant, a focus on the entire household is necessary in theorizing on migration, and particularly on migrants’ social roles within their households. In the context of migration, she argues, “it is helpful to consider the dynamics of household livelihood strategies, and the construction of gender ideologies and practice” (Radcliffe, 1986, p.30).

Within this line of thinking, household organizations are considered to be an important influential factor in shaping migratory movements. The concept of household organizations entails that responsibilities of different members within the household are allocated according to several social constructs, such as age, gender and marital status (Chant & Radcliffe, 1992; Radcliffe, 1986). Together, this division of responsibilities within households, creates conditions that directly, and indirectly, influence the mobility of different household members (Chant, 1998; Chant & Radcliffe, 1992; McDowell & de Haan, 1997; Radcliffe, 1986). Thus, for instance, Radcliffe (1986) argues that

gender is an important influential factor in migratory decisions because it is a basic organizing principle within households.

Intergenerational Relationships and Migration

While the Household Strategies Approach emerged within the literature on gendered migration, and Chant (1998) and Radcliffe (1986) particularly focussed on the concept of gender, and gender ideologies, the concept of age (generation) has also been researched in the context of household responsibilities and migration (Hertrich & Lesclingland, 2013; Mondain et al., 2013; Porter et al., 2010, Punch, 2002). Age, like gender, is a basic organizing principle within households, and an important determinant of social roles, status, and power (Ezra & Kiros, 2001; Radcliffe, 1986). Regarding the related notion of generation, Hopkins and Pain (2007) refer to ‘intergenerationality’, to indicate the ‘relations and interactions between generational groups’ (p.288). In developing countries, obligations between generations are often a key element of household relationships, and of vital importance to the endurance of households (Mondain et al., 2013; Porter et al., 2010; Punch, 2002). In many societies, young people are expected to play an important role in the construction and support of their household’s livelihood, both through labour efforts and additional domestic tasks (Porter et al., 2010). Young generations often bear the responsibility to take care of parents in old age, in terms of financial support and physical care (Hoang, 2011; Punch, 2002). As mentioned in the introductory chapter, this is often influenced by the absence, or selectively accessibility of state welfare and social security systems (Punch, 2002). When conceptualizing youth migration in terms of family relations, remittances and physical care towards parents can be conceived as intergenerational transfers or responsibilities. In this sense, migration can be viewed as a means for individuals to fulfil family obligations towards parents and other household members, by supporting the livelihood of left-behind households (Hoang, 2011; Mondain et al., 2013; Utomo et al., 2013).

**Important note: interrelation between social constructs*

When researching the association between household roles/responsibilities, and rural-urban migration, it is important to emphasize the *combined influence* of multiple social constructs. For instance, in many societies in developing countries, intergenerational expectations differ for males and females. As said, in Vietnam these obligations are stronger for sons, particularly first born sons (Hoang, 2011; Mondain et al., 2013). Similarly, responsibilities are also shaped by marital status, which often also has different repercussions for men and women (Chant, 1998; Hoang, 2011). Thus, roles and responsibilities of household members are shaped by *a combination* of social constructs, regarding the individual (e.g. age, gender, marital status), and their relation to other household members (e.g. generation, birth-order). The influence of one construct also depends on the other constructs.

Literature Review: Migration and household organizations, roles and responsibilities

Within the literature on rural-urban migration it has been recognized among scholars that social and familial structures are (strongly) influential (Chant, 1998; Chant & Radcliffe, 1992; McDowell & de Haan, 1997). Specific identities, or household roles (e.g. mothers or fathers, daughters or sons) may influence, who can migrate, for what kind of work (Hoang, 2011). The sections below provide a short overview of literature findings on associations between rural-urban migration processes and household organizations (roles, responsibilities) and related social constructs as explained above.

Migration and gender

Regarding the concept of gender, the influence of gender roles on migratory movements has been recognized among scholars. For instance, Chant (1998) found in research in Asia and Latin America that sons and fathers migrate more easily, due to patriarchal norms and related authority. Similarly, others studies also showed that females have to invest more effort compared to their male counterparts, in obtaining household consent for their migratory journeys (Hoang, 2011; Punch, 2002; Tacoli & Mabala, 2010; Thao & Agergaard, 2012). In the context of Vietnam, it is suggested that migratory patterns are shaped by prevailing gender roles; men as breadwinners, and women in reproductive roles. For instance, Agergaard and Thao (2011) argue that men aim for the best economic opportunities when migrating, while women favour short-distance migration to enable visits family visits. Likewise, research in Vietnam and Bangladesh showed that female labour migration was perceived in communities as a result of men's poor capacity to fulfil their roles as breadwinners (Hoang, 2011). A related observation, concerns the potential preference for households to send daughters to urban areas, due to their tendency to send remittances (Chant, 1998). Studies in Southeast Asia have shown that women generally remit relatively higher percentage of their incomes compared to men (Agergaard & Thao, 2011; Chant, 1998; Lauby & Stark; 1998; Tacoli & Mabala, 2010).

Besides these intra-household dynamics, the gendered nature of labour markets in urban areas may also influence rural-urban mobility. Generally, the demand for female labour in urban areas is higher for domestic work, personal service and often manufacturing. (Chant, 1991, Lawson, 1998; Punch, 2002; Tacoli & Mabala, 2010). Several studies have shown that in Vietnam, urban employment opportunities were more favourable for women, and thus influenced migration patterns (Anh, et al., 2012; Resurreccion & Khanh, 2007; Thao & Agergaard, 2012).

Migration and intergenerational responsibilities

In terms of intergenerationality and related responsibilities in the context of rural-urban migration, Mondain et al. (2013) found that aspirations of young male migrants in Senegal, were influenced by the obligations they felt towards families, especially in terms of supporting parents in their old age. The support migrants received to enable migration made them feel in debt to their families, which reinforced these obligations (Mondain et al., 2013). The importance of contributing to household incomes, and strong sense of family responsibilities in migration decisions, were also found among

young migrants, both males and females, in Mali, (Hertrich & Lesclingand, 2013; Sauvain-Dugerdil, 2013), Vietnam (Pham & Hill, 2008), and Bolivia (Punch, 2002). Moreover, in the specific context of Vietnam, Rushing (2006), found that strong feelings of family obligations encouraged young females to migrate and work in the sex industry in urban areas, demonstrating that migration may expose youths, particularly females, to vulnerable situations. These findings also exemplify the strength of family solidarity in migration decisions, which has been recognized in other research in Vietnam (Hoang, 2011; Punch & Sugden, 2013; Thao & Agergaard, 2012).

Lastly, besides gender and generation (and related roles/responsibilities) which have been mainly discussed in above examples, scholars have also acknowledged the importance of other social constructs in rural-urban migration processes. In this regard, Boyden (2013) in a research across four different countries (Ethiopia, India, Peru and Vietnam), emphasizes the importance of birth order in shaping rural-urban mobility. This was also found in the context of Bolivia (Punch, 2002). Likewise, in Vietnam, research showed the importance of marital status (alongside gender) in shaping migratory decisions (Hoang, 2011; Thao & Agergaard, 2012).

Similarities between Household Approaches

In the preceding sections several theoretical approaches to rural-urban migration have been discussed. Although these approaches may conceptualize rural-urban migration (slightly) different, or focus on different concepts or issues, similarities can also be observed. First, all approaches regard the household as the appropriate level of analysis in theorizing on migration. The NELM approach views migration as a household strategy to diversify income and spread risks, and mainly explains household relations in economic terms. The Household Strategies Approach also acknowledges the economic incentive for household to engage in rural-urban migration. However, the approach particularly focusses on the influence of social roles (divisions of responsibility and power) within households, on shaping rural-urban migration decisions and movements. This latter approach may complement the (economic) notion of household strategies, as described in NELM. In this sense, in addition to economic incentives (diversify income, secure livelihood) for rural-urban migration, the influence of underlying social roles and constructs (e.g. gender, marital status, age/generation, and birth-order) within households are also acknowledged.

Livelihood approaches have conceptual similarities with both NELM and Household Strategies Approach. As mentioned, 'a livelihood comprises of *activities related to income generation, social institutions, intra-household relations*, and tools that enable access to resources' (Ellis, 1998, p.13). In this manner, both the economic importance (income generation), and the influence of household roles and responsibilities (intra-household relations, social institutions), can be incorporated if rural-urban migration is conceptualized as a *household livelihood strategy*. This conceptualization is adopted in this study, and explained in more detail in succeeding chapters (conceptual framework, methodology).

In the previous sections, discussions on theoretical approaches and related literature reviews mainly involved rural-urban migration for labour purposes. However, since this study also examines youth migration for educational purposes, the section below attends to this topic in particular. The next section that follows contains a short overview of literature findings, and other views on rural-urban migration, that may challenge the (household) approaches and conceptualizations from preceding sections. Lastly, in final sections of this chapter, the concept of transitions to adulthood is discussed.

Rural-Urban Migration for Education

In many rural areas of developing countries, educational aspirations often combine with (independent) youth migration towards city areas, because of absent educational opportunities, or other structural inequalities (Boyden, 2013; Crivello 2011, Punch, 2002). In their theoretical approach, Stark and colleagues (Lucas & Stark, 1985) already referred to the concept of education. In this regard, migration, a part from being viewed a risk strategy (Stark & Bloom, 1985), was also conceptualized as a means to secure access to higher earnings stream, by investing in the education of children. In this view, the family makes an initial sacrifice (investment), which leads to future gains for the migrant (increased earnings), and concurrently also for the family (remittances) (Stark & Lucas, 1988).

Literature review

In the context of developing countries, several scholars found that parents invested in their child's education because they expected to receive future financial returns, from high incomes of educated children (Boyden, 2013; Crivello, 2011; Punch & Sugden, 2013). Based on research in four countries (Ethiopia, India, Peru and Vietnam), Boyden (2013) argues that 'schooling has acquired symbolic value as the prime means of escaping household poverty' (p.580). Education is increasingly perceived as a path to different opportunities and 'societal transformation' (Boyden, 2013, p.583). The perception of education as a means to mitigate family poverty, and the related role children and young people have in their families, has also been recognized by others (Crivello, 2011; Nguyen et al., 2013; Punch, 2002; Punch & Sugden, 2013). These changes in perceptions on education may coincide with transformations in labour contributions of young people. Punch and Sugden (2013) found that children's work roles were decreasing in some of their research areas, as parents encouraged them to focus on their education. However, it is also important to note that these changes appear selective in their extent. In Vietnam, Punch and Sugden (2013), and Nguyen et al. (2013), found that the focus on education was biased towards better-off households. Households coping with economic and agricultural shocks often used labour migration as a strategy to increase incomes. Moreover, the success of educational investments is not guaranteed. In addition to earlier findings, the research of Punch & Sugden (2013) showed that educational aspirations were often not met by reality. Youth migration often failed to provide the expected economic returns to households, due to a lack of well-paid employment opportunities for younger generations after graduating (Punch & Sugden, 2013).

Individual incentives and alternative views

As mentioned before, a commonality between the theoretical approaches that have been discussed is that they view rural-urban migration as a strategy employed by households, which they regard as the appropriate level of analysis. However, regarding the specific topic of rural-urban youth migration, research suggests that migration aspirations are often complex. Although incentives for migration often concern the household (related to gaining income/fulfilling responsibilities), they are not necessarily always (solely) in line with household strategies. For instance, Mondain et al (2013), found that young men in Senegal viewed migration as a means to fulfil family obligations, as well as a shortcut to personal enrichment (e.g. wealth, material goods). In Bolivia, Punch (2002) also found that young migrants balanced family obligations and personal ambitions or needs. Similarly, regarding migration for education, research suggests that this is viewed as a strategy to overcome household poverty, as well as a means towards individual progress, and self-improvement (becoming someone in life) (Crivello; 2011; Leinaweaver, 2008). Moreover, studies in Mali found strong economic incentives linked to family obligations among young males, while female migration was much more a personal project. Rather than meeting financial needs, they moved for personal education, or to discover the world (Hertrich & Lescligand, 2013; Sauvain-Dugerdil, 2013). Often, these females even moved without informing their parents (Sauvain-Dugerdil, 2013). A study in Java also found that migration was not necessarily in line with household strategies. In this community, young women increasingly became more independent in decision making, sometimes refusing to comply with parents' wishes (Wolf, 1992).

Alternative view: 'Culture of migration'

While the above findings suggest that there may be additional, or even different incentives, mostly rural-urban migration can still be conceptualized as part of a household strategy (and related economic incentives). In contrast, other scholars have alternative views on migration. In this regard, Massey and colleagues (1993) refer to the notion of a 'culture of migration' (p.452), in conceptualizing international migration flows. They argue that as migratory movements increase in a community, values and cultural perceptions are altered in such ways that the likelihood of future migration rises. Migration becomes an integral part of people's behaviours, and values related to migration are integrated into the communal values (Massey et al., 1993). For many youths, migration becomes 'a rite of passage' (Massey et al., 1993, p.453). In this sense, migration expectations may arise even without the necessity to escape unemployment prospects, or low standards of living (Mondain et al., 2013). In a study on migration from Mexico to the U.S., Kandel and Massey (2002) found that, in addition to a means to economic mobility, especially males considered migration as 'a normal part of the life course, representing a marker of the transition to manhood' (p.981). Similarly, Azaola (2012), found in a community in Mexico that youths were influenced by returning migrants, and their increased wealth and status. Migration motives involved pursuing individual goals, and financial

independence (Azaola, 2012). The association between communal values and youth migration has also been found among young men in Nigeria. In this community, rural-urban migration was viewed as a rite of passage, those who did not migrate were often labelled as idle, and refusing hard labour (Tacoli & Mabala, 2010).

Overall the above section shows that, besides aspirations related to the household (economic incentives), individual aspirations may also play an influential role in migration decisions. Moreover, in the second part, it is argued that youth migration can be associated with (changing) communal values and expectations, in addition to, or instead of economic (household) incentives. Although some of these studies concerned international migration, it is important to consider these views. As mentioned, in this current study, the conceptualization of migration as a household livelihood strategy is adopted. However, simultaneously it is recognized that it is important to keep an open mind when examining rural-urban youth migration. To stay open to additional, or contrasting views and explanations, as discussed in the above section.

In the final section, youth migration was conceptualized as ‘a rite of passage’. This notion refers to the particularity of youth as a life stage, and associated transitions young people go through. The concept of transition to adulthood, and its association with migration, is considered next.

Transition to Adulthood

“Adolescence is a critical period of human development that sets young people on trajectories that shape their future as adults” (Lloyd et al., 2005, p.1)

Concepts and explanations

During the transition to adulthood, young people leave childhood and move towards new roles and responsibilities. In this period youths are confronted with multiple transitions, as they experience physical maturation, and simultaneously encounter cognitive, emotional and interpersonal changes (Juárez et al., 2013; National Research Council, 2005). During adolescence important decisions are made regarding transitions out of school, into work, and into sexual relations, marriage and parenting. Generally, decisions related to assuming adult roles (Juárez et al., 2013; Lloyd et al., 2005; McDonald et al., 2013). It is widely acknowledged that the manner in which young people navigate and negotiate through this important period has a profound influence on their future lives (Juárez, 2013; Lloyd et al., 2005; National Research Council, 2005; Zenteno et al., 2013). The boundaries of childhood, youth and adulthood can be somewhat ill-defined, depending on the criteria that are acknowledged. When considering biological age, children are assumed to share a commonality that distinguishes them from adults, with an interval period of youth. The age boundaries that are used to define youth can vary,

mostly ranges of 15 – 24 years, or 16 – 25 years are used (Juárez et al., 2013; United Nations Population Division, 2013; Valentine 2003). However, these time frames bear no relation to the diverse legal classifications that are often used to define responsibilities of adults (e.g. legal age to drink alcohol, or vote). Moreover, when considering childhood in terms of competence and responsibility (performative identity) instead of biological age, where children are assumed to be less competent, responsible and mature than adults, boundaries become even more elusive. Under this performative understanding of age, the perceived age of children can rise or fall depending on their behaviour, acting mature or childish (Valentine, 1997; 2003). In socio-demographic literature, the process of entering adulthood has typically been studied by focussing on several key transitions (e.g. school-to-work transitions, leaving the family home). These transitions are influenced by variables at household, communal and (inter)national levels, and are often interrelated; may be or may not be connected, may occur simultaneously, successively, or not at all (Juárez, et al., 2013; Crivello, 2011; McDonald, et al., 2013; National Research Council, 2005; Punch, 2002; Valentine, 2003). One problem with measuring transitions to adulthood in this manner, is that these conceptualisations are implicitly normative, which leaves little room for subjective understandings, or differences in experiences (Punch, 2002; Valentine, 2003). In terms of progression, the transition to adulthood has been assumed, by some, to be a linear process. However, recent studies in both developing and developed countries, suggest that ‘many young people do not move neatly from a state of dependence to independence’ (Valentine 2003; p.38). Boundaries between dependence and independence and between youth and adulthood become increasingly blurred (Punch, 2002, p.132) Furthermore, it is argued that in the developing world, parent-child relations are more interdependent, due to the younger age at which children actively contribute to household maintenance (Boyden et al., 1998). Punch (2002) argues that, in this context, youths negotiate their interdependence with parents and siblings, therefore ‘the notion of negotiated interdependence is a more appropriate way to understand youth transitions and relations between young people and adults in rural areas in the developing world’ (p.123).

Youth Transitions in Today’s World; statistics and trends

Since the International Conference on Population and Development in Cairo in 1994, the importance of targeting young people for better social policies and programs has been recognized. Many national, international, and non-government organizations have focussed their attention on the situations and problems of young people (Lloyd et al., 2005). This growing emphasis also revealed existing knowledge gaps concerning the general situation of youths in developing countries. Besides, many developing countries have only recently begun to pay focused attention to the adolescent life stage. This suggests that much can still be learned (Lloyd et al., 2005; National Research Council, 2005). Considering the demographic profile of many developing countries, understanding these transitions and how they are evolving, seems of significant importance. The past decades have witnessed an

unprecedented growth in youth population size, especially in developing countries. The total number of persons aged under 25 is estimated at an all-time high, with 1.9 billion children and 1.2 billion young people living in the world, of which the majority are from developing countries (United Nations Population Division, 2013). Thus, in developing countries, more young people than ever enter and experience the transition to adulthood (Lloyd et al., 2005; United Nations Population Division, 2013). Besides, the progression of adulthood transitions in the developing world has also changed. In most countries the adolescent life stage is gaining in significance. Where previously, young people tended to move rather swiftly from childhood to adult roles, this transition period has lengthened. Youths are entering adolescence earlier, and are more likely to postpone labour force entry, marriage, and childbearing. These statements concern average tendencies in developing countries, and tend to be dominated by trends in Asia, which hosts 70 percent of the total youth population (National Research Council, 2005). Keeping this in mind, it is argued that current situations of youths have changed significantly compared to previous generations. Young people depend more on markets than family enterprises for labour opportunities, are more involved in formal schooling than learning by working with relatives, are more aware of broader world views and lifestyles, and are much more mobile in several dimensions (Behrman & Sengupta, 2005; National Research Council, 2005). Again, these are general trends, important deviations have been documented for some regions, and several indicators (Behrman & Sengupta, 2005). This last topic of youth mobility in developing countries, is considered next.

Transition to Adulthood and Migration

“One of the important transitions that many young people make in all parts of the world is leaving their place of birth to migrate to a different village, city, or country”

(National Research Council, 2005, p.311)

General Notions and Associations

Research on migration has recognized that individuals in the 15-30 age range are more likely to migrate compared to individuals in other age groups, which has been documented on an almost universal scale (National Research Council, 2005). Based on her research on migration in the United States and Europe, Thomas (1938) concluded that a general trend concerns the excess of adolescents and young adults among migrants, particularly those moving from rural areas to towns, in comparison to the general population. These age patterns have also been recognized in developing countries in early research (Caldwell, 1969; Schultz, 1971) and are still evident today, where migration from rural to urban areas remains the most dominant form of migration (National Research Council, 2005). For many young people in developing countries, migration is an integral part of their transition to adulthood. It occurs for multiple reasons that are often interrelated (Crivello 2011; Hertrich, &

Lesclingand, 2013; Juarez, et al., 2013; National Research Council 2005; UNFPA, 2006). While there is an abundant quantity of migration research and literature, including many theories and extensive substantive findings (e.g. Arango 2000; de Haas, 2010; Massey et al. 1993), there has been a dominant focus on adult economic migration, overshadowing children and youth in migration research (Crivello et al., 2011). Similarly, youth migration in the context of other transitions to adulthood has also been little researched (Crivello et al., 2011; Juárez et al., 2013; National Research Council, 2005; Punch, 2002; Utomo et al., 2013). Youth migration involves additional complications and consequences due to the particularity of the adolescent life stage (Juárez et al., 2013; Lloyd et al., 2005; National Research Council, 2005; Punch, 2002). Since youth migration often overlaps with multiple other transitions, the nature and consequences of youth migration are different compared to other age groups (Juárez et al, 2013; Lloyd et al., 2005; Punch, 2002). Migration complicates the conditions of entry into adulthood, as migrants undergo a change in physical and social environment, while often guidance and support from families is simultaneously reduced. However, it is difficult to generalize the effects of migration on this transition, due to the large variety of situations in which they occur (Juárez, et al., 2013). The recent International Union for the Scientific Study of Population (IUSSP) seminar on migration concluded that migration, both national and international, offers enabling potentials, as well as novel risks for the lives of young people, and can therefore lead to empowerment as well as increased vulnerability (IUSSP, 2010, p.2). Overall migration has a profound effect on youths, as it ‘adds complexity and alters the life course by reducing or expanding the choices available to young people during their transition to adulthood’ (IUSSP, 2010, p.5).

Literature review: key transitions

The association between migration and key adulthood transitions have also been researched. In a study on Mexico – US migration, Zenteno et al., (2013), found that adolescents (both males and females) who already started working were more likely to migrate before the age of 19. Transitions into marriage and childbearing did not influence women’s migration decisions, while men were less likely to migrate if already married (Zenteno, et al., 2013). Similarly, Utomo et al (2013) stated about their research on female rural-urban migration in Jakarta, that ‘the timing of migration over the life course is associated with differentiated patterns of entry into several transitions to adulthood’ (p.82). Females migrating at ages 10 to 17, left school at an earlier age, started employment sooner, and entered earlier into marriage and motherhood (Utomo et al., 2013). Likewise, young migrants in Kenya underwent school-to-work, marriage, and childbearing transitions, at younger ages compared to non-migrants living in destination cities, and often also compared to rural (non-migrant) youth (Clark, & Cotton, 2013). In this regard, Sauvain-Dugerdil (2013) described migration in a community in Mali as a new phenomenon (particularly for young women who mostly migrated for marriage), which had become ‘a new kind of threshold along the path of the transition to adulthood’ (p.171). In contrast, migration may also postpone marriage entries. For instance, in Bangladesh, migration for employed delayed the

otherwise rather direct female transitions from childhood to adulthood through early marriage and childbearing (Amin et al., 1998). The delay of marriage and parenthood has also been found for young men in Senegal, while the effect of migration on school-to-work transitions was contrary. Many young men abandoned their schooling in order to migrate, as this was increasingly seen and utilized as a means to fulfil family obligations (Mondain et al., 2013). Regarding the association between migration and school-to-work transitions, Boyden (2013), found a two-sided picture in research across four countries (Ethiopia, India, Peru and Vietnam). In some cases family obligations forced young people to quit education in favour of migration (and employment), while others migrated in search for (better) educational opportunities, thus prolonging their schooling. This complex picture emerges from the literature in general; the association between migration and school departures was also found in Kenya (Clark & Cotton, 2013), while youth mobility prolonged educational careers in Mexico (Azaola, 2012), Bolivia (Punch, 2002), and Peru (Crivello, 2011). However, although migration may coincide with school departures, it does not necessarily initiate this transition. For instance, Utomo et al. (2013) found that migration in Jakarta was not disruptive to schooling, but a consequence of early exits from school due to financial hardship. Overall, associations between migration and key transitions seem complex and diverse, as migration may initiate, delay, or occur as a consequence of certain transitions.

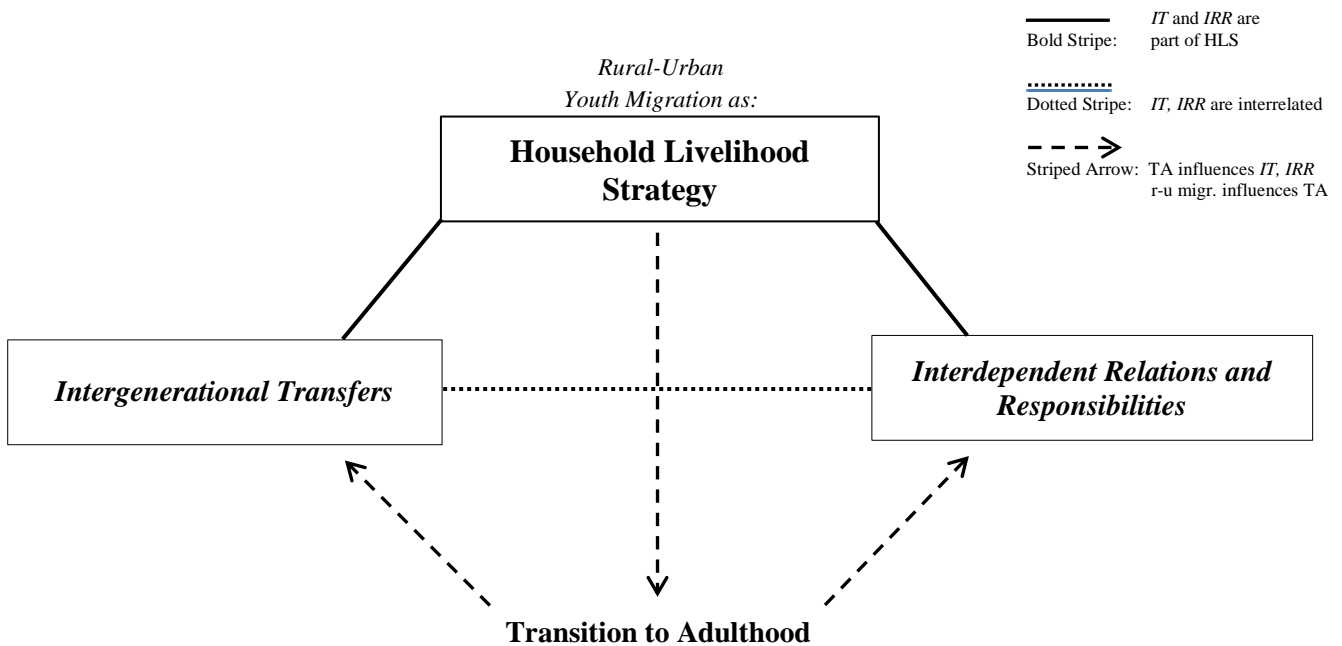
Literature review: autonomy and interdependent relationships

Besides these key transitions, the transition to adulthood has also been explained as a progression from dependence to independence. In this regard Boyden (2013) argues that independent migration can increase the autonomy of children and young people, and open up their social and economic horizons. Findings on perceived increased autonomy for young migrants, have also been documented among youths in Senegal (Sauvain-Dugerdil (2013), and females in Jakarta (Utomo et al., 2013). However, in the specific context of migration for education, Boyden (2013) also argues that migratory arrangements can break down, causing a disruption in the progression towards independence. The kind of adulthood parents and youths aspire to is not guaranteed, particularly considering the difficulties young migrants often experience in finding good employment in city areas (Boyden, 2013). Moreover, as discussed in the previous section, it is argued that youths do not necessarily move from dependence to independence in a gradual process (Punch, 2002; Valentine, 2003). In the context of independent youth migration, although their autonomy may increase as a result of migrating, young migrants often also stay connected to rural families. In this sense, scholars argue that youth migration sustains family relations, and interdependence, both across generations (Boyden, 2013, Crivello, 2011; Mondain et al., 2013; Punch, 2002), and between siblings (Crivello, 2011; Punch, 2002).

Connections to other research concepts

When considering these notions and explanations concerning the general concept of transition to adulthood, similarities or overlaps with the previously discussed concepts can be discerned, particularly regarding intra-household relations, roles and responsibilities. For instance, the key transitions youths go through also impact on the roles and responsibilities they are expected to perform within their households. In this regard, the transition of entering into marriage, is equivalent to the social construct of marital status. Furthermore, youths that have entered the labour force, can be expected to have different roles (responsibilities) compared to those that are still in school. Similarly, transition to adulthood is also explained as a progression from dependence to independence, which implicates the relationship between youths and their parents (intra-household relation). Thus, in this sense the concept of transition to adulthood can be related to the other research concepts that have been discussed in preceding sections. In addition to this, rural-urban migration may also influence the transition to adulthood, as explained above (e.g. delaying or prolonging key transitions). A full overview and discussion of the main concepts that are adopted in this research is provided next.

Conceptual Framework



A visual representation of the main concepts that are adopted in this research is portrayed above. As mentioned, rural-urban youth migration is placed and examined within the context of households and conceptualized as a household livelihood strategy. The definition of livelihood that is accepted states that a livelihood comprises of; activities related to *income generation*, but also *social institutions*, *intra-household relations*, and tools that enable access to resources throughout the lifecycle (Ellis, 1998). In this research the focus lies specifically on the terms printed in italics, as they relate to the theoretical concepts that are acknowledged.

The economic importance of rural-urban migration, and related income generating activities correspond with the NELM approach. The pooling of incomes, and mutual support between young migrants and families, are formulated as *intergenerational transfers*. The influence of social household relations (divisions of responsibility) on shaping migration, as argued by the Household Strategies Approach, are formulated as *interdependent relations and responsibilities*, to include both migrant-parent, and migrant-sibling relations within households. Following the definition of livelihood (income generation, intra-household relations), both *intergenerational transfers* and *interdependent rel./resp.* are inherent to *Household Livelihood Strategies*, which is depicted by the bold lines from *Household Livelihood Strategy* to the two concepts. These latter concepts are understood as being interrelated, depicted by the dotted line between them. Lastly, the concept transition to adulthood is incorporated. As discussed in the preceding section, youth transitions can shape roles, and responsibilities of youths, as well as their ability contribute to their households economically (students vs. employed youths). This is depicted by the striped arrows from the concept *Transition to Adulthood*. The striped arrow towards this concept, represents the potential influence of rural-urban migration (moving process) on youths transitions, as explained before (delaying or prolonging transitions).

Research Objectives and Questions

Aims and Objectives

This research particularly focusses on the concepts of household relations and responsibilities, and transitions to adulthood in the context of rural-urban youth migration. Decisions and activities of young migrants are placed and examined within the context of their households. Rural-urban youth migration is understood as a household livelihood strategy, which involves economic activities, and is also shaped by intra-household relations and responsibilities. Perspectives of young migrants in Hanoi, and (left-behind) parents in rural hometowns, are explored.

The literature review has shown that in many developing countries (including Vietnam), rural households increasingly use rural-urban migration as a strategy to diversify and secure incomes. In this context, family plays an important role in the lives and decisions of young migrants. However, it is also argued that besides family considerations, youth migration may be driven by additional or alternative incentives. Therefore, one of the research aims is to examine the aspirations and underlying incentives regarding rural-urban youth migration, and the extent to which migration decisions are shaped by household considerations or expectations. Furthermore, the influence of intra-household relations and divisions of responsibility, on shaping rural-urban youth migration is also examined. In addition, associations between household relations and responsibilities, and the (economic) activities of young migrants are also considered. Perceptions of young migrants and (left-behind) parents, regarding these notions and concepts (and their relation to migration) are explored. Additionally, as explained, the concept of transition to adulthood is incorporated in these discussions. This involves the (potential) influence of youth transitions in shaping intra-household responsibilities, and activities of young migrants.

Lastly, the association between rural-urban youth migration and the process of transition to adulthood is examined alongside the other research aims. In terms of key transitions, the influence of migration on school-to-work, and marriage transitions is explored. However, following the critique on the implicit normative nature of these key transitions (e.g. Punch, 2002; Valentine, 2003), the perceptions and experiences of young migrants and (left-behind) parents regarding the concept of transitions to adulthood, and the influence of migration on this process are also considered.

Research Questions

The research aims and objectives outlined above are guided by several research questions. The main research question, stated below, is relatively broad. The three sub questions have been formulated to specify the intentions behind the main questions. These questions are inherent to the research aims and objectives, and associated topics and concepts, which have been defined in the conceptual framework.

Main Question

To what extent do migrant-household relations and transitions to adulthood relate to the process of rural-urban youth migration to Hanoi?

Sub questions

- What are the migration aspirations and underlying incentives of young migrants and (left-behind) parents?
- To what extent are household relations and responsibilities associated with rural-urban migratory movements of youths?
- How do young migrants and (left-behind) parents perceive the concept transition to adulthood and the influence of migration on this process?

Methodology

Research philosophy

“Ethnography involves telling credible, rigorous and authentic stories from the perspective of local people, and interpreting these stories in the context of people’s daily lives and culture” –
(Fetterman, 2010, p.1)

Before the concepts, methods, and their implementation are considered and discussed, some attention is given to the philosophical background that influenced the courses of action that were taken. This qualitative study is inspired by ethnographical thinking and manner of conducting research, as illustrated by the quote above. Regarding ethnography, Savage (2000, as cited in O’Reilly, 2012) recognizes that there is no standard definition, however, participant observation conducted in prolonged fieldwork, is often the defining feature. She argues that ‘the term ethnography can be applied to any small scale research that is carried out in everyday settings; uses several methods; evolves in design throughout the study; and focusses on the meaning of individuals’ actions and explanations rather than their quantification’ (Savage, 2000, as cited in O’Reilly, 2012, p.3). In terms of conducting research, O’Reilly (2012), emphasises the importance of being informed by a theory of practice (theoretical perspective). In various social theories of practice, the influence and interaction of structure and agency in shaping social life, and importance of local context (culture), are essential components (O’Reilly, 2012). In order to comprehend the interaction between structure and agency in a particular social context, the concept of practice, as explained by Wenger (1998) can be adopted. He argues that ‘practice connotes doing, but not just doing in and of itself. It is doing in a historical and social context that gives structure and meaning to what we do’ (p.47). Individuals have their own habits and desires, but their actions are also formed by expectations, rules and norms that are learned in communities (Wenger, 1998). In this regard, O’Reilly (2012) argues that it is important to both learn about and conceptualize wider structures that shape the practice of a given community, however, this should always be clearly linked to the analysis of daily life behaviours. Furthermore, individuals are perceived as knowledgeable, research should pay attention to their thoughts, perceptions and opinions. Overall, she argues that an ideal approach to research the practice of social life is; ‘ethnography that pays attention to wider structures and to the thoughts and feelings of agents, within the context of daily life and individual action’ (p.10).

This qualitative study is not ethnographic in nature, in the sense that it does not involve participant observation as a research method, nor sustained contact with respondents from a specific community, over a prolonged period of time. However, it is inspired by ethnographical thinking as described above, particularly by O’Reilly (2012), in the sense that social life is perceived as an outcome of the interaction between structure and agency. The analytical focus lies on perceptions and behaviours (explanation of actions), of migrants and (their) parents. These individuals are conceptualised within

their households, and related social and cultural structures (Vietnamese household relations). Thus, the interrelation between migrants and their households is an essential research component. Although the analysis concentrates on the individual/household level, the importance of higher-level structures, e.g. (historic) political and economic influences, on behaviour (migration flows) is also recognized, as discussed in the contextual analysis. Moreover, the aim of the research is to stay close to the perceptions and perspectives of respondents, particularly regarding the concepts of household responsibilities and transitions to adulthood in the context of migration. Since the research sample is relatively small, the research relies on in-depth analysis of the stories of respondents in their daily lives. This is in line with the arguments by Fetterman (2010) and O'Reilly (2012), as stated above.

The design of this research is inductive in nature. As opposed to a pure inductive approach, where theory is primarily the outcome of research, O'Reilly (2012) refers to a 'sophisticated inductive approach', which she defines as 'to be informed on existing literature and theoretical thinking, but stay open to additional, or alternative explanations' (p.30). This (informed) inductive approach is adopted, in the sense that theory was used as a precursor, and medium for study and writing, however there was no intention to develop new theory. Additionally, the research process was iterative, defined by O'Reilly (2012) as 'data collection, analysis and writing are no discrete phases but inextricable linked' (p.30). In this research, data-collection was somewhat informed by preliminary analysis, however only minor adjustments were made, partly due to time and resource constraints. Particularly the analysis and writing phases were overlapping in conduct. Overall the design remained flexible and open to changes. More detailed information on methods and implementation is provided later.

Operationalization of concepts

Rural-urban migrants – The definition that was used in the 2004 Vietnamese Migration Survey is adopted in this study. Thus, someone is considered a migrant if 'they have moved from one district to another in the 5-year period immediately prior to the interview but not more recently than a month before the interview date' (Niimi, et al., 2009, p.25). The focus on the district-level is suitable for this research, since it is aimed at rural-urban migration. Because Hanoi is a city-province, an administrative unit including territory outside of the city centre (GSO & UNFPA, 2011), it has to be clarified that only individuals who moved from a rural district to the city centre of Hanoi were included. Regarding the duration of migration, during the interviews it occurred that certain interview topics required a longer residential period in order to acquire valuable information. Therefore, the criterion was altered to migrants that moved in a 1–5 year period prior to the interview.

Youths – The inconsistency in definitions of the term youth in research has already been mentioned. For instance, the World Health Organization (WHO) refers to the age group of 15-24 as youth, whereas the revised Vietnam Youth Law from 2005 defines youth as citizens aged 16-30 (UNFPA,

2011). Since this research aims to explore the migration process of young individuals that are undergoing transitions to adulthood, the WHO definition is adopted. Furthermore, this research intends to focus on youths that solely bear responsibilities within their natal households. Therefore, migrants included in the research sample are unmarried, and non-parents.

Household livelihood strategies – In the conceptual framework it has already been mentioned that household livelihood strategies are conceptualized in economic and social terms. The economic incentive of migration is incorporated as ***intergenerational transfers*** between migrants and parents. Basic information on financial transfers was included in the survey. Additionally, descriptions and perceptions on these transfers and their value, were also used to examine this concept. Furthermore, the concept of ***household organizations*** is incorporated, and formulated as the ***interdependent relationships*** and ***responsibilities*** within households. These notions are also placed within household livelihood strategies. Both parent-child and sibling relations are examined. Basic information on household composition was included in the survey. However, as emphasised, these concepts are mainly measured in terms of the opinions and perceptions of respondents, recorded in the individual interviews, and focus group discussion.

Transition to adulthood – When planning and organizing for the fieldwork, this theme was not included in the literature research or research design. However, during the interviews the topic emerged as an important feature in the stories of respondents. Therefore, literature research was conducted and somewhat more emphasis was placed on the topic in succeeding interviews. Particularly in the focus group discussion more information was gathered. Considering migrants' age, ***school-to-work*** and ***marriage transitions*** were included. Based on findings from the interviews and focus group discussion, the influence of migration on these key transitions was explored. Moreover, the same data were used to examine respondents' perceptions and experiences regarding the process of transition to adulthood, and the influence of migration.

Methods and Implementation

This research was conducted as part of an internship for two Non-Government Organizations based in Hanoi; PLAN Vietnam, and one of their partners REACH, a local NGO providing vocational education for disadvantaged youth (migrants amongst others). Research design and implementation were supported and facilitated by the staff members of both organizations. Several methods were employed during this research, with individual in-depth interviews with parents and migrants being the dominant method. A survey was included to gather personal and familial (background) information, and some statistical data on remittances. This information was mainly used to contextualise findings from the interviews and focus group discussion. Thus, to place the stories of the respondents in their personal context (personal and familial circumstances), and relate them to stories of other respondents.

Regarding the research sample, in order to obtain a rich picture of youth migration process, both migrants (living in Hanoi) and left-behind parents were included. Four migrant respondents agreed and arranged to interview their parents. In all these cases respondents took initiative in arranging hometown meetings, both migrants and their parents agreed to an interview. Additionally, the host organisation (PLAN Vietnam) arranged to interview eight parents of migrant children (who met the adopted research criteria), in the area of one of their rural field offices.

In-depth Interviews

Interviews were semi-structured. In cooperation with the host organization (REACH) an interview guide for migrants was produced and used to conduct four initial interviews. Topics and questions were based on literature research and conversations/informal interviews with key informants (host organization staff and older migrants). Four respondents were interviewed as a pre-test. These interviews were evaluated (recorded and transcribed) and necessary adaptations to the interview guide were made. The four respondents were asked to participate in a second interview, in order to clarify earlier findings and gather missing information. The interview guide for parents was created after the majority of the interviews with migrants were completed. The information gathered in these interviews was used to outline this interview guide.

Operation: In total 28 migrants and 12 parents were interviewed. The length of the interviews varied between 45 minutes – 1 hour and 45 minutes. Four migrants spoke sufficiently English to conduct the interview alone. During all other interviews a translator was present, who was thoroughly briefed on the research aims, and expectations regarding conducting the interviews (phrasing etc.). All respondents were informed on the research purposes and ensured of confidentiality. In the interviews they were encouraged to express their views freely and include additional information they considered important. All interviews were recorded and the English translations were later transcribed. The general attitude of the respondents was very positive. The majority of respondents seemed open to the interview and were willing to share information. Some even explicitly stated that everything they had said was true and that their stories could be relied upon. The aim of the research was to closely examine the perceptions and thoughts of the respondents, which are perceived as knowledgeable. Most respondents freely spoke their minds on the research topics, and provided rich stories, not necessarily strictly in line with the questions asked, which is considered positive.

Limitations: The language barrier and presence of a translator were a limitation to the research. Information from respondents could have been lost, or missed during translation. Research questions and stories might have been interpreted or translated slightly different. Furthermore, due to unavailability, a second translator had to be arranged for four interviews. This translator has a personal (distinct) manner of phrasing and interpreting, thus the potential influence on the data differed compared to other interviews. Due to time and resource constraints English translations were transcribed instead of Vietnamese recordings, which contain the full, authentic stories of respondents.

Questionnaire-survey

The questionnaire-survey was used to acquire basic demographic information, and quantitative information on mutual financial transfers. Additionally, six statements about interview topics were included with a 5-level Likert-scale. The primary aim was to examine the explanations of respondents regarding their choices, which were provided during the interviews. The survey was created in English and translated to Vietnamese, both in cooperation with the host organization (REACH). Again, information from key informants and literature research was used for the design of the survey.

Operation: After a pre-test on four respondents, adaptations were made to clarify certain questions and issues. All migrant respondents were asked to fill in the survey beforehand, which was discussed and elaborated on (clarified/cross-checked) briefly at the start of each interview. No survey was used for parents that were interviewed.

Limitations: Since the aim of the survey was to gather necessary background information to contextualise the findings from the interviews, without much statistical analysis, the quality of the survey seemed sufficient. Some basic information was missed during interview with parents due to the absence of a survey, however this was mostly covered at the start of each interviews.

Observation and field notes

During the visits to the rural areas and families' homes, field notes were made concerning household circumstances; background information and activities of household members, and general impressions of surroundings. Since there was no survey information available, these notes could be used to obtain a general picture of household conditions. However, this information was less thorough compared to the survey that was used for migrant respondents.

Focus Group Discussion

The focus group discussion was conducted as a final data collection method, to disseminate and crosscheck findings, and gather additional information on the topic of transition to adulthood. The five participants were selected based on their personal characteristics, to ensure an acceptable variety, and encourage discussion amongst them. Three participants were migrants whose hometowns and families were also visited. This was deliberate as more information on these migrants had been gathered.

Operation: Participants were informed of the session's purpose, and ensured confidentiality. During the discussion (circa 2 hours) five topics were covered. However participants also changed the topic of discussion to express other concerns. One girl spoke sufficiently English, a translator was present for the other participants. The session was recorded and English translations were later transcribed.

Limitations: The limitations are similar to those that were mentioned for the individual interviews, with the conditions that translating was more complex due to the presence of multiple respondents. In general the organization of the session, and attitudes of participants were satisfying, however discussions sometimes had to be interrupted in order to translate previous passages.

Sampling

Information on rural-urban migration to Hanoi gathered in conversations and informal interviews with key informants, presented a twofold picture. They stated that rural-urban migration flows consist of two basic groups: young university and college students, and labour migrants. This latter group could be divided in migrants who did not pass university entrance exams and thus started looking for employment, and (regular) labour migrants. It was decided to include both migrant groups in the research sample, students and labour migrants. The reasoning behind this decision was to acquire a complete picture of potential migration motivations and aspirations, and examine contrasts and similarities between the stories of different migrants. With respect to the sampling procedure, the network of one host organization (REACH) was used first to target migrants satisfying the research criteria. Both current students and alumni were included in the sample. In order to target migrants that were not directly related to the vocational centre, the network of both host-organizations, as well as independently established contacts were used. Additionally, snowball sampling also provided connections to other migrants that satisfied the research criteria. Overall, throughout the sampling procedure, an important consideration was to ensure a sufficient variety; in terms of labour migrants, and migrants that moved for education. Besides, concerning the sector of employment, both formally and informally employed migrants were targeted. Regarding the sampling procedure of parent respondents, as mentioned four parents could be included due to migrant's initiative to arrange family meetings. The other parents were selected by staff members of the host organization (PLAN Vietnam). The sampling criteria (migrant definition) were clear to the host organization. Additionally, they aimed to achieve a variety in the sample; parents of migrant sons and daughters were included, and poor as well as less poor families were approached.

Limitations: Since the networks of the host organizations were used to initially get into contact with migrant respondents, who were partly selected based on certain personal characteristics (e.g. labour migration vs. educational education) this introduced a sampling bias to the research. Additionally, staff of one of the host organizations selected eight parents that were interviewed. There was no overview on this process and it may be assumed that this also introduced a sampling bias. Since the research does not intent to generalize findings this is less problematic, however it is important to emphasize as this could have influenced data collection, and research findings and conclusions.

Analysis

Data collected with the complementary survey was transferred to SPSS, where minor descriptive statistical analysis was conducted. This information was primarily used to introduce the research population in terms of general demographics and relevant statistics, e.g. age, employment status (discussed in succeeding chapter). During the data-collection phase, some preliminary analysis was performed on the individual interviews, mainly to examine if important themes or topics emerged that

were not included in the interview guide. However, as said, no major adjustments were made. Regarding the process of coding, the focus group discussion, field notes, and interviews were all coded *a posteriori* by the researcher. NVivo software for qualitative data analysis was used to facilitate this process and was helpful in revising the coding schemes, and managing the data. The coding process that was adopted was flexible, with the intend to allow the data to talk for themselves, as the aim was to stay close to the perspectives and perceptions of respondents (sophisticated inductive approach).

First coding cycle

During the first coding cycle, several coding methods were adopted, including attribute coding, implemented as ‘the notation of basic descriptive information on respondents characteristics or demographics’ (Saldaña, 2009, p.55). Furthermore, descriptive coding, ‘the basic topic of a passage of qualitative data’ (Saldaña, 2009, p.70), was used to analyse the basic topics that initially emerged from the data (to clarify a *topic* is what is talked or written about, while the *content* is the substance of the message, Saldana, 2009, p.70). Lastly, the method of values coding, ‘the application of codes that reflect participants’ values, attitudes, and beliefs, representing their perspective or worldview’ (Saldaña, 2009, p.89), was used to organize the perspectives of respondents regarding several concepts that emerged from their stories. These included the concepts of education, family (members), responsibility (divisions), financial transfers, and rural-urban differences. Important values and beliefs that emerged from the data (interviews/FGD) were coded. Values were understood as; ‘the importance we attribute to oneself, another person, thing or idea’ (Saldaña, 2009, p.89), and beliefs as; ‘part of a system that includes values and attitudes, plus our personal knowledge, experiences, opinions, prejudices, morals, and other interpretive perceptions of the social world. Beliefs are embedded in the values attached to them’ (Saldaña, 2009, p.90). The codes that were developed by these methods, were reorganized and recoded until there was a satisfying (initial) organization of the data.

Second coding cycle

The list of basic topics, important values, and beliefs that emerged from the first coding cycle was reanalysed, with the intend to create a (more select) list of broader themes and concepts. The method pattern coding was used, which was understood as; ‘explanatory or inferential codes, ones that identify an emerging theme, configuration, or explanation. They are a sort of meta-code’ (Miles & Huberman, 1994, p.69). The main purpose of the second coding cycle was to develop major themes from the data, and search for rules, causes, and explanations in the data, as suggested by Miles and Huberman (1994). In the discussion chapter, the themes and concepts that emerged from the data are linked and compared to literature concepts and findings that have been discussed in the theory chapter.

Limitations: A limitation of the analysis process is that although during the data collection phase some preliminary analysis was performed, this mainly involved the documentation of topics that emerged from the data. The actual coding process occurred after the fieldwork was completed. More thorough analysis during the fieldwork might have had enhanced the quality of succeeding data collection.

Other Research Limitations

Previous sections already included some of the research limitations. However, several other limitations are important to mention, as they may have influenced the collected data, and conclusions of the study.

Time and resource constraints

Due to the limited time that was available for conducting this research the majority of the respondents could only be interviewed once. The focus group discussion could be used to discuss and elucidate some of the findings (emerged topics) from the interviews. However in several cases a follow-up interview with respondents could have been valuable to clarify issues or enrich their stories. This could have enabled an even more in-depth analysis of the research topics. Particularly since the topic of transition to adulthood was included during the fieldwork, this could have been beneficial. Time constraints were especially present during the fieldwork in Bắc Giang province; two days to interview eight parents.

Research sample

The research sample is relatively small, which does not allow for generalizing research findings. However, there was no intention to generalize findings. Analysis was performed on the individual/household level, with an in-depth focus (attention to personal situations). It is important to emphasise that due to the small sample, and research set up, findings must be understood with the personal (familial) contexts of respondents (no generalization). Furthermore, regarding the sample's composition it was decided to include both labour migrants, and migrants that moved for education, in order to provide a broader overview of perceptions and aspirations of young migrants. However, this complicated the analysis procedures, and discussions. The collected data was rather diverse, which made it more difficult to find commonalities and patterns. This is also amplified by the small research sample, and thus even smaller number of respondents in each 'migrant group' (labour vs. education). A related observation concerns potential (external) influential factors. Since the sampling criteria of the research were relatively broad (various 'types' of migrants), the potential influence of these (external) factors also increased. Similarly, the sampling procedure allowed for migrants from various communities and backgrounds to be included, without the use of random sampling. Besides the earlier mentioned sampling bias, this further complicated analysis procedures (potential influential factors).

Positionality and inexperience

The relative inexperience of the researcher is important to accentuate, as this enhanced the possibility of certain research errors, particularly interviewer bias. Furthermore, as said, cultural differences may have influenced interpretations and findings. Overall, respondents seemed open and comfortable during the interviews. However, since the interviews in Bắc Giang were arranged by the host organization (PLAN Vietnam), expectations differed somewhat from other respondents. In some cases, it had to be clarified that the researcher was not directly associated with the NGO (their activities), and that the research purpose was mainly to be informative.

Research Sample – background characteristics

Migrant respondents

In total 28 migrants were interviewed for this research. Their average age was 21 years old (min.: 17, max.: 24, see figure 2). Regarding the age criterion that was adopted, it can be noticed that nine respondents fall in the lower half (15-19 years), and nineteen in the upper half (20-24 years). Generally, while gathering data, it seemed more difficult to get in contact with younger migrants. The majority of the migrants that were interviewed left their hometowns after finished high school at 18 years old (see figure 3), which could explain this. However, it is also as result of the sampling procedure that was adopted, since university students and graduates were deliberately targeted. Besides, the vocational centre was used as a starting point to target respondents; four students and five graduates from the centre were included in the research. In this sense, the sampling procedure also influenced the educational levels of the respondents (see figure 3). In Vietnam, compulsory education lasts from age 9 to age 14, which is reflected in the net enrolment rates for primary education; 98.1% in 2005 (UNESCO Institute for Statistics, 2014), and secondary education; 88.2% in 2005 (UNESCO Bangkok, 2007). For high school, these rates were somewhat lower in 2005 (58.9%) (UNESCO Bangkok, 2007). This could indicate that educational levels of this research sample are relatively high compared to general levels in Vietnam. This is not necessarily problematic for the aims for this research, however it seems worth noting.

Regarding the respondents' employment status at the time of interview (figure 5), the aim was to include a variety of migrants in the research, including both

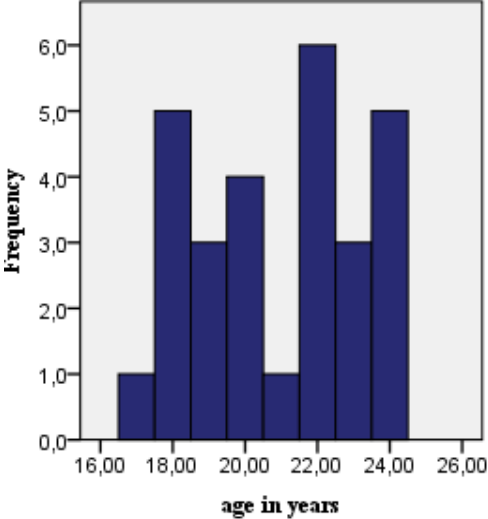


Figure 2.: Age distribution

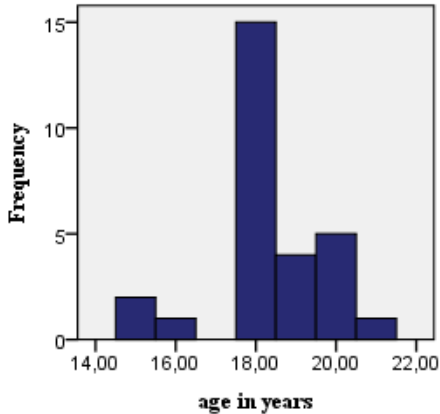


Figure 3.: Age at first migration to Hanoi

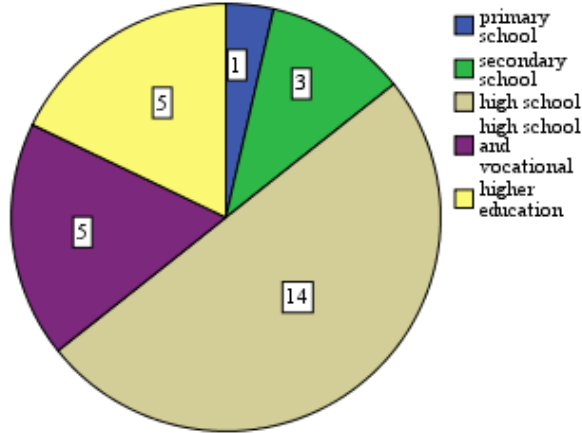


Figure 4.: Educational Levels (highest completed)

labour migrants and students. As mentioned earlier, initially four students (2 males, 2 females) of the vocational centre were interviewed. Two of them had part-time jobs besides their education, as a web designer and masseuse. Additionally, out of the five graduates from the centre that were also included in the research, three were formally employed at the time of interview (graphic designer, bartender, and cashier), one was unemployed (recently graduated), and one male graduate was working as a street

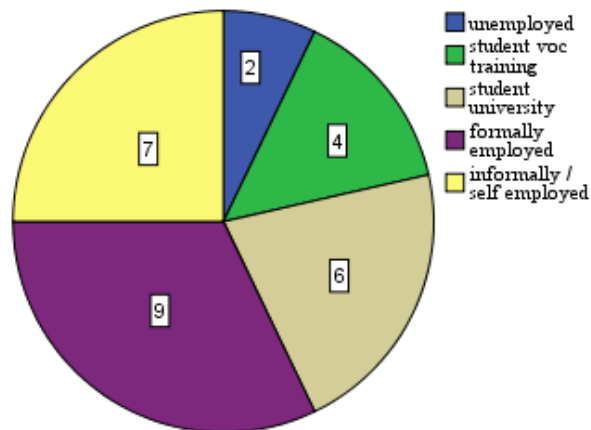


Figure 5. Employment Status

Vendor, and English tutor (both informally). In addition, he had started a language centre with his younger brother and friends, where students could follow English and Japanese classes for a small fee. Through this respondent, several other contacts were established; three university students that followed (additional) language courses at the centre volunteered to participate in the research. Furthermore, this respondent had close connections to a network of migrants from his hometown (Hoàng Hóa district, Thanh Hóa province). The majority of these migrants worked as street vendors in Hanoi and lived together in groups, in several areas in Hanoi. Out of this network three migrants, also street vendors, volunteered to participate. As mentioned, the remainder of the respondents were approached through the vocational centre's network (professional and personal contacts), the researchers personal established network, and through snowball sampling. This included, three university students, one of which worked part-time as a waitress in a café. Additionally, three other full-time (formal) employees of this café (bartenders and a waitress) agreed to participate as well. The other formally employed respondents that were interviewed were active in translating and interpretation, administration and assistance, and a private company (farming products). Lastly, two of the remaining four respondents, worked as street vendors. (Since there were other street vendors that participated, it will be made clear in discussions in following sections whether the respondent is from Thanh Hóa province or not). Two females worked in the sex industry, one of which had recently quit and was unemployed at the time of interview. It is interesting to note five out of six university students had part-time jobs besides their education.

Regarding the income levels of the respondents, it can be noticed that all but five respondents earned an income the month prior to the interview. This included employed (formal/informal) respondents, as well as students with part-time jobs. Their incomes ranged from 300.000 VND (± 12 Euro) – 14.000.000 VND (± 570 Euro), with an average of circa 3.550.000 VND (± 145 Euro). Overall, the sample was sufficiently varied in terms of gender (14:14), and birth order (mix of first born, last born, and middle child), which is appropriate for the research aims to examine perceptions on household roles and responsibilities.

Parent respondents

As mentioned earlier, four migrant respondents offered to arrange visits to their hometowns, to show their homes and meet their families, and agreed to conduct interviews with their parents. This included one male graduate from the vocational centre. He was 23 years old, formally employed as cook/bartender, and had 1 younger brother who worked in a restaurant and lived with his parents in his hometown. His home was located in Sóc Sơn, a rural district in Hanoi province (circa 25 kilometres from Hanoi city centre). Likewise the hometown of a female university student, Thạch Thất is also a rural district in Hanoi province (circa 45 kilometres from Hanoi city). She was a second-year finance students, and part-time tutor, 19 years old at the time of interview, and had 3 younger siblings who were still in secondary/high school in her hometown. Furthermore, the hometown of another male graduate from the vocational centre, Tam Đảo district, Vĩnh Phúc province (circa 50 kilometres from Hanoi city), was also visited. He was 20 years old and unemployed at the time of interview. As a baby he was adopted (only child), and his (adoptive) mother, who was considerably older compared to the other parents, lived alone in his hometown, close to other family members. Lastly, a two-day visit was made to the hometown of several street vendors that participated in the research, Hoàng Hóa district in Thanh Hóa province (circa 170 kilometres from Hanoi city), where the parents of one female respondent were interviewed. She was 18 years old, and lived together with her older (married) brother in Hanoi, where they worked as a street vendors. Their younger brother, who was still in high school, lived with their parents in the hometown. The familial conditions varied among these families, particularly the university student's family seemed to have better (financial) conditions compared to the other families. In addition to this, the host organization established contact with families from Yên Thế district in Bắc Giang Province (circa 90 kilometres from Hanoi city), where eight parents of child(ren) that had migrated to Hanoi were interviewed during a three-day visit. Although the familial conditions of these families also varied, the host organization stated that generally the conditions of families in this district are rather poor.

Analysis – Migration Motivations and Expectations

Since the research sample consisted of various types of migrants (e.g. labour migrants, students) it could have been expected that the reasons and motivations for migration varied among respondents. However, from the interview data it is possible to identify patterns in the discourse on migration motivations and expectations. These patterns involve structural factors, enabling or constraining, that influence migration. These structural factors often combine together to influence the available possibilities and decisions of migrants, making it difficult to determine the most influential factor (if there is one). The following sections discuss these interlinked, structural factors and examine ways in which they influence migrants' motivations, expectations, and decisions.

In the first section, perceptions on influential external factors, related to urban and/or rural environments, are discussed. During analysis, initially a broad division was made, between external factors associated with learning, and employment. The concept of learning refers to institutional education, as well as other learning opportunities (personal experience) that are perceived to be present in Hanoi, and/or absent in rural hometowns. The concept of employment includes perceptions on employment opportunities (e.g. types of jobs), and available income rates. In both cases, perceived differences between the city, and rural hometowns, were important components of migration decisions. The second part of this chapter examines the underlying incentives for migration (perceived value of migration) in more detail.

Influential external factors

Education and Experience

Young people who wish to continue studying beyond high school, are most often forced to migrate to larger cities for education purposes, due to the absence of educational opportunities in rural areas. Hanoi is perceived as a good destination, not only because of the large amount of available options to continue education, at college or university level. Respondents also referred to the quality of universities in Hanoi, which they labelled as 'prestigious', 'good' or 'famous' universities.

“Maybe it is different in here from your country, because in Vietnam only in big cities you can find good universities but in the rural areas there are very little, maybe one or two universities or there are no universities, or just some college” – (Male, 22; University student and part-time bartender)

Besides the university students, a few respondents migrated specifically to attend courses at vocational centres. However, the majority of the respondents that (had) followed vocational education initially migrated for employment purposes, and found out about the possibility to study at a vocational centre once they were living in Hanoi. A part from offering educational opportunities, Hanoi is also perceived as an environment where young people can experience things, open their minds, develop

themselves, or mature. Rural hometowns were described by some as a small area, with few people, or things to do, and little opportunity to develop. In contrast, Hanoi is perceived as a developed, crowded environment, with many different people from other districts, or foreign countries. Therefore, there is more chance to gain experience, broaden relationships, and learn from others:

“Hanoi is much more developed than my hometown or even the city in my province. In Hanoi I can experience a lot of things, like meeting foreigners like you” – (Female, 22; street vendor)

Job variety and income levels

Regarding the topic of employment, several observations stood out in the discourse of respondents. Firstly, they emphasised that there are little employment opportunities in hometowns, besides doing agricultural activities, or in some cases, working in a company near their district. In contrast, Hanoi is perceived as an environment with many jobs, and many different kind of job, making it easier to find employment. The variety in jobs is also perceived as important because it offers the opportunity to find ‘higher level’, or ‘better’ jobs, described by one respondent as: *‘In my hometown the jobs focus on the power of hands and in Hanoi the job is mental oriented’*. Particularly students (both university and vocational education) deemed this important, in terms of their future employment opportunities. Hanoi offers jobs related to their major or course, where they can use the knowledge, skills and experience they have gained. Something that is absent in their hometowns. A related factor, concerns the difference in income rates. Earnings from farming activities are low and often insufficient to support the whole family. Since in Hanoi, job opportunities are more abundant, and more varied (including ‘higher level jobs’), it is expected that migrants can earn larger incomes. In this sense, jobs in Hanoi were described as being more stable compared to farming activities, where incomes fluctuate depending on the season.

Interrelation between factors: two example cases

Although these influential external factors can be derived from respondents’ discourse, it is important to note that they are often interrelated, making it difficult to separate one influence from another. As said, combined together they shape the expectations, and decisions of young migrants, and (left-behind) parents. Two examples are given to illustrate this. One female migrant, did not pass the university entrance exam, and therefore started looking for employment in Hanoi. She had worked in a warehouse for a year and a half. At the time of interview she was attending both vocational, and college education (graphic design, and accounting respectively).

“There are many reason to decide to move to Hanoi. The first one is that if I would have stayed in my hometown I can only do farming activities, but that job does not create great earnings for living. If I move to Hanoi there are many jobs, and there are many opportunities, and you can have a larger earning” – (Female, 22)

Her reasons for migrating appear to be a combination of absent opportunities in her hometown, and the expectation of more job opportunities, and higher incomes in Hanoi. Another migrant was 16 when he moved to Hanoi for the first time, to follow a computer course at a vocational centre. Since then he had completed a second course, and moved back home for a while. At the time of interview he was enrolled in a web design course (host organization), and was living together with his older brother. Besides the lack of opportunity to study in his hometown, he also mentioned the following:

“The first reason is that for disabled men like me, it’s better for me to find a job in Hanoi, it’s easier. Secondly, the job related to IT and technology, there are many jobs like this in Hanoi. I thought there would be more chances for me to find a job, because there are many types of jobs here. I hope to find a job to earn a living” – (Male, 18)

Beyond the influence of these external factors, there is often (a lot) more meaning to be found in the motivations and decisions for migration. The following section examines the perceived importance of migration, for migrants, and their families. In the interviews several perceptions and beliefs stood out. These were shaped by the external factors, and also often interrelated. The perceived importance, and underlying incentives for labour migration and migration for education, are discussed separately.

Value of Migration for Education; underlying incentives

Key to a better future

Fundamental to the respondents’ discourse on education, is the belief that progressing through (higher) education will lead to more and better job opportunities in the future, and therefore also promises pathways to a better future. This is particularly anticipated for education at university level, because certificates from university are deemed necessary for acquiring good jobs with a high income. With a high school certificate alone, it is difficult to find employment with good income and conditions. Nevertheless, other forms of (further) education are considered valuable for similar reasons. For instance, the female migrant from the example above (studying at a vocational centre), believes that she can find a (more) stable job once she finishes learning, and with a stable job, she will have a better future. This belief was shared by other respondents who also studied on a level below university.

However, although it is deemed valuable, university education is not an option for all. The limited access to this level of education was a central feature that emerged from the interviews. Respondents referred to their own situation, and the notion that getting into university is generally difficult for migrant youth. The two main obstacles that were mentioned concerned the lack of ability, and lack of financial resources. As in the above example (female student), the inability to pass university exams, often hinders access to university education. This forces youths to either enrol in lower level education, or to start looking for employment. One third year university student stated;

“In my hometown only a few people can pass the exam to learn in university. There have only been 10 – 20 people that moved to Hanoi to go study. The other people go to work” – (Male, 20)

Besides this, financial costs; e.g. tuition fees, books, living expenses, are often a second barrier to university education. For families that can afford to send their child(ren) to school, these expenses are often a great burden. This was also expressed by a migrant respondent (24), formally employed as an interpreter. In his hometown, he was the second person ever to pass the university exam.

“My parents were happy and worried at the same time. Proud of the fact that I passed the exam and the chance, a key to a future, a brighter future. Any place in the university is considered a key to the future for any student. Worried because of the financial difficulties that lay ahead for my family”

These obstacles, combined with the perceived value (certificates), makes that university education conceived as, in the words of a first year student, *‘like a dream for students and their families’*. Therefore, parents that were able to support their children, in some cases by loaning money from the bank, or others, considered this very important, and were willing to accept the resultant difficulties. The statement below illustrates the value of education, from a parental point of view. The mother of one of the four migrant respondents whose hometowns were visited, a second-year female university student (19), oldest of four children, mentioned the following:

“The condition in Vietnam is very different from foreign countries. Here if you don’t graduate in university it’s really hard to find a job in the future. Based on their abilities, if they can pass the entrance exam, we are ready and willing to pay any financial costs, to do any legal thing possible”

Future family support

However, another important value stood from the interviews of university students and graduates. They considered a degree from university as a means to a better future, not only for themselves but also for their families. For instance, the female student from the above example (quote mother) moved away from her hometown, to study finance at Hanoi University. For her, entering university and opportunities for self-development, were important reasons to migrate. However, when asked what she considered the most important reason, she stated;

“That is to help my family in the near future, after I graduate Hanoi University. I really want to get the good opportunity, find a good job with high salary and help my parents. I don’t want to them work on the farm, it’s very hard. Also my younger siblings can have a better chance to come to Hanoi” the first target in my life is to support my family” – (Female, 19; university student)

Like her, all university students mentioned the aim to support their families once they had graduated. This also relates back to the particular value of university education. Education at vocational centres or other (lower level) institutions, is also deemed valuable, especially in terms of future job opportunities. However, university certificates enable access to higher job levels, and income streams. Therefore, this level of education in particular, is perceived as a means to a better future, not only for students, but

also for their family members. On a related note, the aim of supporting parents or other family members, was not restricted to university students alone. In the interviews with migrants, this emerged as a general important value, as will be discussed later in more detail.

Value of Labour Migration; underlying incentives

In the above section it has become clear that besides external factors (rural and/or urban environment), personal and familial conditions (e.g. abilities, financial resources) also influence available choices, and thus migration decisions. The group of labour migrants partly consisted of respondents that initially aimed to enter university, for them employment was a second option. Others did not mention any educational aspirations, they solely moved for employment purposes. This corresponds with the picture that emerged from the conversations and informal interviews with key informants. However, irrespective of their educational aspirations, respondents' perceptions on the value of labour migration, revealed two main underlying incentives; supporting household members, and living independently.

Supporting household members

Similar to the university student above, earning money to support (left-behind) household members, was also considered as the most important, or only reason, by several labour migrants. In these cases, there seemed to be a strong need for financial support, due to deprived familial conditions. Migrants referred to the poorness of their family, often combined with a lack of employment (income) opportunities in their hometowns, as incentives for migration. One of the street vendors from Thanh Hóa, province was 12 years old when she moved with her father and brother to work as a street vendor in another province, before she moved to Hanoi at the age of 17. She mentioned the following;

“We don't have a choice. If we stay in my hometown we would die, there is no job. We know in our hometown we can stay close, and care for each other, but we don't have money. It depends on the situation, now the situation is very difficult so we choose Hanoi to work” – (Female, 18)

From the interviews with the migrants and parents from Thanh Hóa province, it became clear that labour migration to Hanoi is very common among all families from their district. They described that besides the young children who are still in school, and parents or grandparents who stay to take care of them, the majority of villagers move away for employment. The female migrant (example above) stated that in Hanoi there are many street vendors from her hometown, and that all the people she knew in Hanoi were street vendors. This appeared to be similar to the situation in Yên Thế district, Bắc Giang Province, which was visited to interview eight parents. Labour migration was common among youths in this district, which sometimes coincided with early exits from (high) school. Earning money for family support was often mentioned by these parents as an important reason for migration.

Independent lives

However, although family support was highly valued, it was often not the only or most important incentive for labour migrants. Even among those for whom supporting family was a priority, opportunities to develop, or live independently, were also considered important aspects of migration. Others referred to the opportunity of having an independent life and income, as the main reason to migrate to Hanoi. For them the initial goal was to find employment so that they were able to take care of themselves, and not be dependent on their parents anymore. However, even though family support was not leading in their motivations, for some, family considerations were still part of the decision to migrate. A female street vendor, who moved to Hanoi at the age of 19, described her decision as;

“I told them that I am unemployed at my hometown, I was a burden on them. I told them that I would go to Hanoi to work and reduce the burden on them” – (Female, 20; street vendor selling water)

Thus, similar to the stories of the migrants that moved for educational purposes, financially supporting families was generally considered important. The main difference between respondents seemed to be the urgency to send money. Some accentuated the primary need to send money, while others initially focussed on their own lives and incomes. They would support their families, if they were able to earn enough money. For instance, a mother from Yên Thế district, describes her son’s reason for migration. These parents agreed for their son to migrate, because he had dropped out of school due to a lack of interest, and hoped he could find a job in Hanoi.

“He shared with us that he wanted a good career, so that he can provide enough for himself and his wife. It’s just a part of him that also wanted to support he family. But first he wanted a stable job, so that he can live by himself” – (Mother; 2 sons, oldest moved at age 17, to work in construction)

To sum up...

The discussions above show that migration motivations and decisions are influenced by external factors (rural-urban differences), as well as, personal and familial conditions of migrants (e.g. abilities, financial conditions). Together these structural factors determine available opportunities, and shape motivations and expectations. Further examination of the perceived importance of migration, found several underlying incentives. Although these incentives have been discussed separately, it is important to note, that respondents often mentioned a combination of aspirations, and reasons for migration, involving their own lives, as well as their families. Besides the anticipated individual benefits, an important theme that emerged from the interviews involved family considerations, and (future) family support. Overall, this seemed to be a common value among migrants. In general, the act of being (financially) supportive was something they aspired to, either now or in the future. However, this was not necessarily a (leading) factor of consideration, in their migration decisions. For some it was the primary reason for migration, while for others, family support was perceived as a desired possibility, or future prospect, instead of a priority.

Analysis - Migration and Family Responsibilities activities & expectations

The previous chapter provided a short overview of influential factors that shape rural-urban youth migration (decisions), and the different expectations, aspirations, and underlying incentives young migrants expressed regarding their migration to Hanoi. As noticed, supporting family members emerged as a common value among migrants. However, it was also shown that carrying out this responsibility was not equally important for migrants, in terms of their migration motivations and reasons. This chapter will examine the activities of young migrants in Hanoi in more detail, particularly by placing them within the context of their households and related family responsibilities. This includes the concept of intergenerational transfers, which will be examined both in terms parent-child support, and child-parent (household) support. Besides this, other family responsibilities, and individual activities (not necessarily related to the household) are also analysed. Perceptions and expectations of young migrants and left-behind parents regarding these activities and responsibilities are discussed.

General importance of family – collective community

Before the concept of intergenerational transfers and its relation to family responsibilities is considered, a short introduction is given to portray the general importance of family, and household relations in the lives of young migrants. In the introductory chapter it has been argued that fundamental characteristics of the traditional Vietnamese family, such as, filial debts and duties, patriarchal hierarchy, and collective community, continue to be present in the Vietnamese society (Hoang, 2011; Resurreccion & Khanh, 2007; Rushing, 2008; Thao & Agergaard, 2012). This general importance of family, could also be discerned in the interviews of the migrants. Family members are valued because of the care and support they provide, in financial as well as emotional perspective:

“I need my parents for finance, but also everything else, everything in life. My family cares for me wherever I go. No matter what happens, they still care about me. The love that my family gives me is irreplaceable” – (Male, 18; student web design at vocational centre)

In this sense, family members are often perceived as the most important source of support in the lives of migrants. Even though contact with parents and other left-behind family members decreased with migration, whereas other social contacts increased, this perceived value of family persisted:

“Family is more important than friendship, because without family you cannot live and without friendship you still can live” – (Female, 20; street vendor selling bottled water)

Therefore, as mentioned in the previous chapter, young migrants generally seem to take their families into account when making decisions concerning their own lives. Some, like the university student (finance) who mentioned that her first target was to take care of her family, even consider family related values, or ambitions to be more important than their individual values or ambitions:

“My family is very important to me, for some other people maybe their career is more important than family. But for me my family is the most important, without family there is nothing” – (Female, 23; vocational centre graduate, formally employed as cashier in a supermarket)

These examples provided a short introduction, similar references to the Vietnamese values and beliefs on the concept of family (family responsibilities), will also be made in the discussions in the sections below. In the first section, the concept of intergenerational transfers is examined, where a distinction is made between migration for employment, and migration for education. The focus lies primarily on perceptions and expectations on child-parent/household support. The last section examines views and expectations on the repayment of parent-child support, and other (non-financial) responsibilities.

Intergenerational Transfers

From the stories of respondents it could be discerned that the vast majority of migrants needed financial support in order to migrate. Only a few respondents had enough resources themselves, to undertake the migration journey and pay for daily expenses upon, and shortly after arrival. This financial need was either short-term; the initial period before finding employment, or covered a longer period; in case migrants' incomes were insufficient to cover all expenses, or regarding the support for students (tuition fees, and other school/daily expenses). Most of this financial support came from parents, however occasionally other family members were involved (e.g. uncles, cousins, siblings). Perceptions on repaying this received support are discussed later. First, the topic of supporting left-behind households is considered, both regarding migration for employment, and education.

Migration for employment – supporting left-behind households

Regarding the subject of labour migration, we first go back to the street vendors from Thanh Hóa province. As mentioned, these four migrants had similar reasons for migrating to Hanoi; supporting their families was their main concern. The majority of their siblings (a part from younger siblings, in secondary or high school), had also moved from their hometown (various destinations) for similar reasons. Three of the street vendors lived together with their sibling(s) in Hanoi. In general, the familial conditions of these migrants were rather poor. One male respondent was the only one with a sibling (younger sister) who was able to attend university education. In terms of finance, three street vendors earned enough money to send some of it to their parents. This money was considered necessary to pay for food, or school fees of younger siblings. Sending money was considered very important, and respondents also thought their parents expected to receive this, as is shown in the below example.

“If I don't send money back, my parents will have to borrow from a bank. It is very important for me to send back money. My parents expect the money that I send back” – (Male, 17; street vendor, 8 siblings; youngest sister only one living at home)

Another observation that stood out from their interviews concerned the care and support for (younger) siblings, both currently and in future years. One of the street vendors could not attend university due to the financial conditions of her family. Instead, she moved to work in Hanoi, where she lived with her older brother. She said about their younger brother, who attended high school in her hometown:

“Me and my two oldest brothers did not continue our education, so I think that when he graduates high school we will invest money, for him to study in university. Together we support him, so that he does not have to be a street vendor” – (Female, 18; street vendor)

A similar situation was found in one of the families from Bắc Giang Province. As said, general situations, and reasons for migrations were similar to those in Thanh Hóa province. Among the respondents was a father of four daughters. His second daughter dropped out of high school and moved to Hanoi at the age of 17. She wanted to work in order to help the family. Her parents allowed this because of their poor (financial) conditions. Due to the remittances that this daughter send back, the third daughter of the family was able to study in university in Hanoi. The father considered his working daughter to be very important for the family. He became very emotional because she had not been able to finish high school, which reduced her future (employment) opportunities.

“We pay the tuition fee and living expenses based on my second daughter’s earnings. That is why she did not accept to get married, last year about three families asked this. But she did not accept because if she gets married she cannot continue working. Somehow, she has sacrificed her life for her younger sisters” – (Father of four daughters, Bắc Giang Province)

The notion that migrants may be deprived of certain opportunities, as a consequence of familial (financial) conditions, has been mentioned. However, like the example above, some migrants deliberately chose particular paths to support their families, despite potential negative consequences for their own lives. They, for instance, prioritized working over following some form of education, even if family members encouraged them to do the latter. Moreover, one of the migrants that worked in the sex industry also mentioned the need to support her family. She comes from a poor family, her father died when she was nine, and her mother lives in the hometown with her older sisters’ daughter, whose husband had also died. This sister, and her two older brothers (one was disabled) also worked in Hanoi, but did not earn enough to fully support themselves, and their mother (and niece). In her hometown, a friend introduced her to a job in the sex industry when she was nineteen.

“When my friend told me that this job will earn a lot of money I could imagine what job it would be. I needed to earn money to improve my mother’s life and help her raise my niece.” – (Female, 22)

The high earnings from the job combined with her families’ situation, persuaded her to initially accept the job in Hanoi, and to continue working, despite the negative consequences:

“On the second day I started feeling afraid, and also ashamed, I did not want to work that kind of job. My friend said that it would be ok, she encouraged me to stay here and earn money to help my family. I do this type of job, because I want to give my family a chance to change their lives.”

In general it could be observed from the stories of these migrants, that incentives to take care of (left-behind) family members were strong. In some cases it was even valued over personal aspirations (education), or pursued despite negative consequences, like the above example. However, as said in the previous chapter, often supporting households was not the only expected benefit. Opportunities for personal development, or to live independently, were also valued aspects of migration.

However, not all migrants that were interviewed were able to send money. Out of the 28 respondents, twelve had financially supported their family, the month previous to the interview. This ranged from 500.000 VND (± 20 Euro) – 5.000.000 VND (± 200 Euro), with an average of circa 2.500.000 VND (± 100 Euro). Among the employed migrants that were not able to send money, the majority stated they were currently able to support their own lives only, but they would support their families if they were able to earn more. Similar to the above examples, some referred to the poor conditions of their families, and hoped they could earn more in the future. However, they also valued their income as this already reduced their financial burden. In contrast, others stated that their families’ financial conditions were sufficient to provide for their household. This was also reflected in the perceptions on the use of potential future remittances. Mostly, they thought this money would be spend on furniture, household appliances, repairs, or saved for the children, or in case of future medical needs. A few respondents specifically mentioned that sending money was not really necessary at the time.

“The income of my parents is enough to provide for themselves, so right now I am more concerned about myself. I want to save an amount of money so I can work abroad in Japan” – (Male, 22; vocational centre graduate, formally employed as graphic designer)

Influence of cultural values: filial debts and duties

When looking into the underlying thoughts and emotions of migrant respondents, the concept of filial piety appears to be an important driver behind the perceptions of supporting their parents. They referred to the fact that their parents gave birth to them, and took care of them when they were young. Therefore, they felt responsible to do something in return for their parents, or to honour them.

“Because as a child in the family my parents have sacrificed a lot to take care of me. I think that I have to do something to pay back to them. I am aware to be responsible for my family. This is not pressure or something, it is just the relationship between the daughter and the parents” – (Female, 22; formally employed as waitress in a coffee shop, has an older sister and younger brother)

As mentioned, being financially supportive is one way of showing your responsibility towards your parents. Those migrants that were able to send remittances, besides emphasizing its importance for the family, often mentioned they were happy, or proud to be able to do something back for their parents.

For example, one graduate from the vocational centre, who now worked as a cook/bartender in a restaurant described his emotions as follows:

“I feel proud of sending money back to my parents, because now I can take care of my parents, not like in the past when my parents had to take care of me. I am very proud that I can do something for my parents” – (Male, 23; one younger brother)

The discussion above primarily involves the migrant point of view. The next section focusses on the views, and opinions of parents that were interviewed. Perceptions and expectations regarding the concept of child-family support are examined. To clarify, this concerns parents of labour migrants, the topic of migration for education is discussed in the succeeding section.

Migration for employment – parent views and expectations

As mentioned in the previous chapter, most parents from Yên Thế district, Bắc Giang Province, referred to employment opportunities and higher incomes, as reasons for their child’s migration. Nevertheless, perceptions, and expectations regarding (potential) remittances, varied among them. Several parents stated that they expected their child to send money, and would not have allowed them to migrate otherwise. The reasoning behind this view differed among respondents. For some families, this money was a necessity, a significant part of their daily financial budget. One mother of three, had lost her husband when their children were young. They had all dropped out of secondary school due to financial difficulties, and the family currently faced financial debts, she said:

“They move out to work, first to support the family and after supporting the family you can have the motivation for your own future” – (Mother from Bắc Giang; two sons had migrated to work)

Others did not necessarily refer to financial needs. They perceived familial support as an expected norm, something that is inherent to generally accepted (cultural) beliefs and values:

“In the general way of Vietnam, when a child gets a salary they have to give some money to their parents, so they can manage their income, and know what they earn and how they spend it. Say, 3 million, they can spend 1.5 million and send the other half back. If they don’t send anything it’s ridiculous” – (Father from Bắc Giang, 3 children; youngest daughter migrated to work at age 18)

Similar to this, several parents stated to be concerned if their child would be unable to send money. They would be afraid that their child would spend money on ‘bad things’ like gambling, or drugs. Others mentioned to consider the job (income), to be inadequate. From this, it can be understood that these parents also expected to receive remittances, and viewed this as a general custom.

In contrast, several parents agreed for their child to migrate, work, and earn an income for themselves. Sending money back was desired, however not perceived as a necessary requirement for migration. Overall, it seemed that, besides the influence of general accepted norms, the financial conditions of families had significant influence on the perceptions and expectations of parents. This is illustrated by

one father from Bắc Giang province, who describes the (family) decision regarding his son's migration, to work in a Samsung factory in Hanoi as follows:

"We knew that the salary was not quite high, so we decided that he did not have to send any money. We just wanted him to earn a salary for himself. The economic condition of our family is normal, somehow better compared to other families. We are still ok, but if he can send some money back it would be better" – (Father of two children; one married daughter, and a son who migrated)

However, although remittances were generally valued, it was often not the only, or most important concern of parents. Overall, from the parents' interviews it could be discerned that, while they expected, or wished to receive remittances, they often considered their child's conditions (e.g. financial state, health) to be more important. For instance, in Thanh Hóa province, the mother of one of the street vendors was interviewed. Her daughter (18) lived and worked in Hanoi, together with her older brother and sister in law. Although the family could use the extra income, during the interview the mother stated:

"Sometimes I tell her, don't try to work hard, work normally. And if you don't have enough rice, we will give it to you. If you need money, keep it, don't send it to us" – (Mother from Thanh Hóa)

Non-financial benefits from labour migration

A related observation concerns the alternative benefits from labour migration. Similar to the migrants, most parents believed that their child could, besides earning money, benefit from migration in several (non-financial) ways. They referred to opportunities for migrants to experience things, develop themselves, or become more mature. Often they considered these opportunities as equally, or in some cases, even as more important than the financial benefits of migration. For instance, let's return to the father of four daughters, from Bắc Giang province. His second daughter migrated to earn money for the family, and he expected to receive remittances from her because their family was poor. However, besides receiving this support, he also valued his daughter's migration for another reason:

"I told my daughter, now you are not able to get a university degree, so you have to get a life degree. In order to get this, you have to experience a lot of things, a lot of problems in life. So you can have a degree of life. If you do not experience you cannot get this life degree"

Other parents referred to similar opportunities or benefits for their child as important aspects of migration alongside financial benefits. Thus, also from a parental point of view, migration motives are often multifaceted. Their perceptions of, and expectations for labour migration, were informed by various considerations and values.

Migration for education

In previous sections of this chapter it has already been shown that migrants are often important in their families, in terms of enabling certain opportunities for their siblings. Like the example of the daughter in Bắc Giang province, whose income covered her younger sister's university tuition fees, several university students that were interviewed were also able to attend university because of the financial support they received from older siblings. These older siblings often did not have this opportunity because their parents could not afford it. As stated in the first analytical chapter, financing university education is difficult, however also expected to bring substantial future returns. As just described, these returns are deemed important for the entire household (supporting parents and siblings).

Let's return to the story of the second-year finance student (19), who earlier stated that the most important reason for migration, was being able to support her family after graduation. During their interview, her parents described the value of financially supporting their daughter. Their statements illustrate not only the personal (supporting own life) and household benefits (future support) from university education, but also the significant role students have in their families.

“My idea is that when we invest in our daughter's education, it's not only an investment in our daughter, it's also a good investment to support our family in the future. After our daughter graduates she can help us to support our younger children, and their education” – (Father)

“If she studies at the university of Hanoi, she has a good chance not only to support herself in the future, she can also push our younger children to study harder, to follow her direction, the right direction. To have a good job and opportunities for the future, to support their own lives” – (Mother)

In these examples, the father explains the value of future financial gains for the family, particularly in terms of support for their other children. In addition, the mother accentuates another positive role of her daughter; being a role model for their younger children who are still in secondary or high school. This example also shows that the financial support for students can be understood as an investment of parents in the lives and future of their child, and other household members. However, as said, this investments is costly and often a great burden for parents. One university graduate, formally employed as interpreter, expressed this in his interview as follows:

“I think at the time I was in university and I looked at my parents and family situation, it was always hard. Especially when you had to make a phone call and ask them, I need to buy something I just don't have the money, can you send me some. I always looked forward to the future, when at some point I could help them and myself” – (Male, 24)

Therefore, most university students started a part-time job alongside their coursework. Despite the fact that this led to more stress and extra pressure, it was considered necessary, because this income would reduce the financial burden on their families. Overall, this shows that students and parents share mutual responsibilities that are important for the benefit of the entire household.

Repayment, Parental concerns & non-financial Responsibilities

As mentioned in the beginning of this chapter, the majority of the migrants received financial support from their parents to enable their migratory journey, or in some cases to finance their living costs in Hanoi. Most migrants felt it was their responsibility to repay their parents. Particularly university students and graduates considered this important, since they have often received a substantial amount of financial support. For instance the interpreter from the above example said:

“Because they have been working so hard for me, to help me and to afford my study. Now it’s time to pay back, you can never pay everything back your parents have done for you, but you should offer something back to them” – (Male, 24; university graduate, formally employed as interpreter)

However, the notion of repayment does not necessarily entail returning money. Several migrants believed that being successful would be a reward for their families, and the best way of repaying them. For instance, one vocational student who was introduced in the first analytical chapter: migrated when he was 16, studied various computer/IT courses, lives with his older brother in Hanoi, stated:

“Getting a job and being successful would be a way to repay them. It is not true that giving them the money I have earned is a repayment. I think it would be better if I come back to my hometown to visit my parents with a present that I bought with my own money” – (Male, 18; student web design)

Thus, even though both migrants and parents acknowledge that in general, children carry responsibilities for their parents, this does not necessarily just entail being financially supportive towards them. For instance, the parents of the second-year finance student, stated earlier that their daughters’ future income would be important to cover tuition fees for their younger children. When asked if they also expected her to pay them back in the future, they mentioned:

“Of course we expect her to support us, but it’s not so much the money, not related to money. If we see that she can have a stable life and stable job and future, this is already support for us. Her success is also our success”

Parental concerns

This also related back to the general concerns among parents that were found in the section on expectations regarding remittances. As discussed, although their child’s migration can be an important means to improve familial conditions, the prospect of financial returns was often not the only incentive for migration. Overall, from the interviews with parents it could be recognized that, although family responsibilities are generally expected and highly valued, the future of their children (both migrants and other siblings), was often a primary concern for parents. This is illustrated by one father from Bắc Giang province. His son dropped out of high school at the age of 17, and migrated to earn money for his family. His daughter had graduated from college, was married and lived near the hometown.

“Children have to be responsible for their parents, high income or not. However, at first we will be very happy if our children can live by themselves. Because parents can take care of them when they are young, but when we get old we cannot take care of them anymore. They have to take care of themselves. If they can support us it would be good” – (Father, two children, Bắc Giang province)

Thus, rural-urban youth migration is also perceived as a desired path to a better future for their children. In this regard, parents referred to notions such as; being able to live independently, having a stable job (income), and generally a stable future. Overall, these (strong) concerns were a common feature among parents, and in some cases even considered more important than their own lives:

“We worry a lot about our sons, that they cannot find a job in the future, I worry about that a lot. The unemployment rate in the rural area is high, it does not provide a good income. In the future if they do not have a job, their lives will be very difficult. At first I worry about their future, when their future is ok, I can focus on our own life, me and my wife” – (Father, 2 sons; Bắc Giang province)

Other family responsibilities

Lastly, besides being financially supportive, another duty that is expected from children concerns taking care of parents, especially when they grow older. The majority of the parents involved in the research were young, healthy, and physically strong enough to support their own lives. Most parents accepted to work harder, or re-arrange tasks and activities between left-behind household members. Their physical conditions also allowed them to do so. Mostly, direct (physical) care for parents was recognized as a future need. Both migrants and parents referred to the future responsibility of (certain) children to move back and take care of their parents, as will be discussed in the next chapter. Nevertheless, some migrants had temporarily moved back in the past, to take care of parents or grandparents. One respondent was adopted, his adoptive mother was considerably older than the other parents. He was unemployed at the first meeting, but by the second interview (FGD) he was working at PepsiCo. He had moved back and forth a lot, and expressed the need to take care of his mother as:

“Although she is not my biological mother, for me she is my real mother, because she took care of me from when I was very small and young. Without her maybe I would not have lived until this year. She is very important in my life. I want to fulfil the philosophy of son and mother”

Q: What is this philosophy, how can you fulfil this?

“By taking care of parents, doing a daily job like washing clothes, cook the meal, cleaning the house, and make them happy” – (Male, 20; graduate vocational centre)

Overall, above examples can also be related to household responsibility divisions, in terms of parents' responsibilities towards children and vice versa. Moreover, expectations regarding responsibilities also seem to change over time, when children and parents get older, and situations change. These issues will be discussed in more detail in the final two analytical chapters.

To Summarize

The examples, observations, and discussions in this chapter show that the concept of family, and family relations are generally important in the lives of migrants. As was already briefly noted in the first analytical chapter, financially supporting household members was a common value among migrant respondents. In this chapter, it was shown that perceptions and expectations on household responsibilities are shaped by generally accepted cultural values and norms (e.g. filial debts and duties). Besides this, financial situations and general conditions of households are also influential in this regard. In some cases, strong family needs encouraged young migrants to make personal sacrifices (e.g. quit school, or work in the sex industry), in order to migrate and support their households, while other migrants were able to focus on their own lives first. From the parents viewpoint it was observed that financial support from their migrant children often was an important incentive for migration. However, although this responsibility is generally expected and highly valued, the living conditions and future of their children, was often an important concern for parents, which moderated the expectations regarding remittances. Rural-urban migration was also perceived as a desired path to a better future for their children. Another interesting observations concerns the support from migrant youths towards their siblings. Migrants often play an important role in enabling certain opportunities for their siblings through their financial support. Furthermore, the received financial support from parents reinforced feelings of family obligations, however it was also recognized that being successful could be (a better) way to repay their parents, as opposed to financial returns. Lastly, it could be noticed that expectations regarding household responsibilities can change over time, when situations change (migrants grow older, or graduate). This is examined in more detail in the following chapter, alongside the concept of household divisions of responsibility.

Analysis – Household Divisions of Responsibility

The preceding chapter already discussed the role migrant youths can play within their households in terms of supporting their siblings. Furthermore, some introductory examples and observations concerning the responsibilities between parents and children have also been provided. This chapter will focus on the division of responsibilities within households, and examine this within the context of rural-urban youth migration. The first section discusses the roles and relations between siblings, and while the second section focusses on the relations and responsibilities between parents and children.

Siblings relations

As mentioned in the introductory chapter, in line with traditional values and beliefs, patriarchal hierarchy and patrilineal continuity are important characteristics of Vietnamese families relations (Hoang, 2011; Thao & Agergaard, 2012). This indicates that within households, responsibilities of children may depend on their gender and/or birth order. Therefore males and females may have different roles within their households, and expectations regarding their responsibilities may also differ between them. One of the statements in the survey was used to acquire more information on perceptions regarding the divisions of responsibilities between siblings. By means of a Likert-scale, respondents were asked whether they felt more, less, or equally responsible to take care of their families, compared to their siblings* (results depicted in table 1). During the interviews respondents elaborated on the answer they had chosen in the survey.

	Str. Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Str. Disagree	Total
Total	4	9	8	6	--	27
Male	2	5	4	2	--	13
Female	2	4	4	4	--	14
First Born	3	4	1	1	--	9
Other	1	5	7	5	--	18

Table 1. Statement Responsibility **I feel more responsible to take care of my family than my brothers or sisters*

Since according to Vietnamese traditions, sons, and particularly first born sons, are expected to carry the most responsibility for the family, differences in the answers of male and female respondents could have been expected. At first glance, results from the statement show small differences between males and females (*males*: 7 (2+5) agree vs. 2 disagree, *females*: 6 (2+4) agree vs. 4 disagree). In contrast, birth order seems to be more influential. The majority of the first born children indicated to feel more responsible than their siblings, whereas among the remaining respondents a substantial amount said to feel equally or less responsible. This relates to the earlier discussed notions of sibling relations and support, particularly from older to younger siblings. On their own these results are of little value. Much more meaning can be discerned when looking into the explanations of respondents.

Responsibility Divisions: equality vs. differences

Regarding the division of responsibilities, respondents either considered that siblings carry different responsibilities, or that this is equally divided. Among those that considered responsibilities to differ between siblings, several explanations were given. First, some referred to the financial conditions of all siblings in the family. These conditions were shaped by factors such as, employment conditions (income), performed activities (working vs. studying), age, and marriage status. Depending on whether conditions were better, or worse compared to their siblings, migrants either indicated to feel more or less responsible. For instance, the girl who migrated and worked in the sex industry in order to help her family, felt more responsible than her siblings due to their incomes:

“My mother is a common mother for me and my siblings. I think that the responsibility to take care of her is the responsibility of the whole family. But right now, my sister and brother cannot earn much, I send the most money to our mother. I think that the person who has the ability to earn a lot of money, is the one who can and should help her” – (Female, 22; 2 older brothers, 1 older sister)

It is important to remember that here she specifically refers to supporting their mother, earlier it was noticed that this was also important because her niece lived with her mother. This also illustrates the unity of families and range of familial responsibilities, which do not confine to parents alone, but also involve other household members, particularly siblings. A second explanation that could be observed, concerned differences in personal characteristics and actions of siblings. Respondents stated to think, or act less/more mature than their siblings, and therefore considered the responsibilities between them to be different. This is illustrated by a vocational student (18) whom we have encountered before; he is disabled, has studied several IT courses, and lives with his brother:

“I don’t think in the Vietnamese culture ways, it is my own thinking that my older brother shows more responsibility. He is older, has more experience, more knowledge, so he is more mature and can handle things better than me. That is why right now he is the most important son in the family, but in the future I don’t know what it will be” – (Male, 18; 1 younger and 1 older brother)

A similarity between these views is that in both cases siblings’ personal situations (conditions, characteristics) determine perceptions on responsibility divisions. In contrast, others referred to traditional values and beliefs when explaining their views on responsibility divisions, regardless of any (potential) differences in personal situations. For instance, one respondent (cashier) stated:

“Because I am the oldest daughter, I have more responsibility. It’s not because I am the one who has a job, but because I am the oldest. I cannot explain why, it’s just culture. In Vietnam people think that the older you are the more responsibility you have” – (Female, 23; has one younger sister)

In some cases the actions and/or situations of siblings coincided with traditional beliefs (e.g. oldest daughter’s financial conditions are also better). However, perceptions on responsibility divisions were not necessarily in line with performed acts. For instance, one street vendor from Thanh Hóa province,

was currently the only child sending money to her parents. Her older brother could not earn enough, and their younger brother still lived at home. However, in her perception she was less responsible for taking care of her family, compared to her brothers:

“I am a women, the responsibility does not belong to me, but to my brothers. Now, I am the main person to support my family, and I think that everyone has responsibility to support our parents, but I have less responsibility than my brothers because they are men” – (Female, 18)

In contrast to the above examples, others stated that siblings have equal responsibilities. The second-year university student (finance) from previous examples is one of these respondents. She explained why she had chosen the ‘neutral’ answer option:

“In the traditional thinking the son is always more responsible than the girl. However, in my own opinion, there is no difference, because a boy or girls is always a child of the parents, so everyone is responsible for taking care of the parents” – (Female, 19; 2 younger sisters and 1 younger brother)

Parent views

A similar picture emerged from the stories of parents that were interviewed. All parents agreed that every member of a family carries certain responsibilities, however, they did not all have the same idea on how this responsibility was divided among their children. Some agreed with the perception of the university student (above), and considered their children to be equally responsible for taking care of the family, as one father from in Bắc Giang Province in the example below:

“There is equal responsibility between them. In the past maybe this was different, now they are equal to each other. Our son has equal responsibilities compared to our daughter. In the past, in the traditional thinking, the son had to be more responsible” – (Father; 1 daughter, 1 son who migrated)

However, not all parents shared this view. Similar to the migrants, some considered that responsibilities between siblings differ. In this regard, several parents acknowledged and followed traditional beliefs on the division of responsibilities, while others referred to differences in personality, (financial) circumstances, or age, when describing their views on responsibility divisions.

Importance of marriage status

In addition to these different views on responsibility divisions, another interesting observation emerged from the interviews. This is illustrated by the example below. This migrant states that her and her brother are equally responsible in their family. However, in her explanation she also refers to the potential influence of marriage, something that emerged as a common belief among respondents.

“I know other families that differentiate between their children. In general people think that older child must be more responsible than the younger, or the son more responsible than the daughter. In my family I don’t know what will happen if me or my brother get married. But right now we are not married so we are equally responsible” (Female, 24; unemployed, has one younger brother)

The migrant above mentions that the division of responsibilities may change when her or her brother get married. The notion that marriage status is an important factor in determining responsibilities was fundamental to the discourse on this topic. Older siblings that had married and moved out, were perceived to be less able to show responsibility for their natal households, because they also have to care for their own (new) household. Moreover, the implications of getting married are more pressing for women than men. Married women have to ‘follow their husbands’, which makes it more difficult to take care of their natal households, as described by a university student (part-time bartender):

“In general I think me and my sisters are equally responsible to take care of my family, but in the future I will be the main person to take care of my parents. In Vietnamese culture, after getting married, the girl will move to the husbands’ house and live with his family. She has to responsible for both families, her own and her husband’s family” – (Male, 22; has two older sisters)

Thus, it appears that perceptions on responsibility divisions may alter when personal circumstances change (e.g. graduation, higher incomes), or once marriage is involved. This variability in perceptions on responsibility divisions is illustrated by a statement from a university graduate.

“Currently I think that I am more responsible, more than my brother. I think that after my brother graduates, we will be equally responsible. But when I get married maybe I will be less responsible than my brother” – (Female, 24; waitress, one younger brother who studies at university)

Overall, respondents’ discourse shows that traditional notions, such as patriarchal hierarchy, and patrilineal continuity, are important in shaping family structures and divisions of responsibilities. However, these traditional beliefs are particularly associated with the status of being married. Before marriage, responsibilities of children are more variable, and may also depend on personal or familial situations. Additionally, before marriage is involved, responsibilities seem more equally divided among children, in terms of gender, and birth order, though there is a common sense of responsibility for younger siblings.

Parent-Child relations

In the previous chapter the concerns of parent regarding their children’s future have been discussed. In this regard they also viewed migration as a means for their children to become more independent, and care for themselves. This can also be connected to the influence of children’s age on the expectations on household responsibilities. For example, the mother of the finance student from previous examples described the difference between the role of her oldest daughter compared to her younger siblings:

“She is over 18 years old, she is growing up and has her own responsibilities and ideas. Usually we ask her to do some family activities. But our younger children are still small, so we can’t ask the same from them. However when they grow up like our daughter, their role is more clear”

This mother refers to the concept of growing up, and how this affects the role of children in their household. In this example two interesting observations can be made. When children grow older, parents can expect more from them in terms of household responsibilities. However, at a certain point children will also become more independent (start to from their own lives), described by the mother as *she has her own responsibilities and ideas*. In the previous chapter, regarding the expectations for receiving remittances, one father said that his children first needed to take care of themselves. He explained his reasoning behind this view as follows:

“When our children were young, it was our responsibility to take care of them. Now they are old enough, they have to take care of themselves. They have to find a stable job for their future. It’s our responsibility to allow this” – (Father Bắc Giang, 2 children)

In this regard, rural-urban migration seems to play an important role, as it offers young people (new) opportunities, and the possibility to become more independent. However, at the same time it also influences the division of responsibilities within households. Relations between parents and children change, as children start to live independently. In the case of labour migration, most migrants could support themselves (financially), and several migrants were able to support their households. One migrant stated earlier that this made him proud: *‘now I can take care of my parents, not like in the past when my parents had to take care of me’*, which illustrates the change of direction in support. In contrast, university students require a longer period of financial support. However, university also prepares them to become financially independent, enabling them to support their household in future years (directional change in support). Thus, in this sense rural-urban migration seems to alter the roles and responsibilities of young migrants in their households. In Hanoi, they start to support their own lives, and, if possible/needed, also support their (left-behind) household members. Besides this, youth migration also affects the responsibilities and activities of household members that stay in the hometowns (loss of labour force), as illustrated by one mother from Bắc Giang province:

“Everybody in the family has to adapt a little. We have to work a little bit harder here, so he can move out and work in Hanoi. He has to work hard and try not to get into trouble or do bad things, so he can find a good and stable job” – (Mother; two sons, oldest worked in construction in Hanoi)

I final notion concerns the potential changes in expectations on household responsibility divisions in future years. As argued before, responsibilities may change over time. The example of physical care and aging parents has already been mentioned, as illustrated by the example below.

“Because we are still young and healthy we don’t expect our son to take care of us. But when we are older we expect him to come back and take of us” – (Father, 2 sons, oldest worked in Hanoi)

Similarly, marriage also alters parents expectations regarding household responsibilities. Generally, parents agree that responsibilities towards natal household will be reduced once their children marry. However, they still expect some support from them in future years, particularly from (first-born) sons.

Analysis – Migration & Transitions to Adulthood

This last analytical chapter discusses the relation between migration and transitions to adulthood. First, the effect of migration on school-to-work and marriage transitions is examined. The main focus lies on how migration relates to the timing of entry into these two transitions. Additionally, the impact of migration on the personal development, and maturing process of migrants is examined. This is done by focussing on how respondents perceive the concept of maturing, and the influence of migration.

School-to-work and marriage transitions

School exits and labour force entries

From the stories of respondents, and partly as a result of the sampling procedure, it can be understood that the association between migration and school-to-work transitions differed among migrants. Migration coincided with entry into the labour force, for those that moved to find employment, whereas migration prolonged the exit from school (and labour force entry) for migrants that continued their education in Hanoi. It is important to remember that some migrants of the former group found (new) educational opportunities after they had arrived in Hanoi, in vocational centres or colleges. In this sense, even though they entered the labour force upon or shortly after arrival, migration also enhanced the education levels of these migrants. It remains to be seen whether migration decisions and education/employment outcomes are a joint process, a methodological question mentioned by Utomo et al. (2013, p. 82). In terms of education this seems rather straightforward, due to the lack of (higher) educational opportunities, individuals are forced to migrate in order to continue their education. However, in terms of labour force entry this is somewhat more complex. The majority of the respondents that moved for employment reasons, were either unwilling to continue (further) education, or they were unable to as a result of financial difficulties. In these cases migration was a consequence of (early) exits from school. In contrast, some respondents stated to have dropped out of school deliberately, in order to start working in Hanoi and support their households. In these cases, migration was disruptive to schooling, as decisions to migrate caused (early) exits from school.

Delaying marriage

The concept of marriage is something that has already emerged in preceding chapters. A prominent theme that emerged from the interviews, concerned the association between migration and the delay of entry into marriage. For instance, the example of the father with four daughters, from Bắc Giang province, showed that his daughter declined several marriage proposals because this would mean she had quit working in Hanoi. In this example, staying in Hanoi delayed her (potential) entry into marriage. Similar remarks were found in the stories of other respondents. For instance, during the focus group discussion, one of the street vendors from Thanh Hóa province (graduate from the

vocational centre), described his decision making process for migrating. He indicated that (most likely) he would have married sooner if he would have stayed in his hometown:

“Before I came to Hanoi I had two choices, stay at home to get married or I go to Hanoi to work. I choose Hanoi, because it the centre of culture and economics, a good place for me to develop myself, and to help my family” – (Male, 24; street vendor/English tutor/volunteer at language centre)

Similarly, the female respondent who worked as a cashier in a supermarket, talked about how she perceived the impact of migration on her life. She also considered the likelihood of getting married to have been a lot stronger in case she had not moved to Hanoi.

“If I would have stayed in my hometown, I would have just worked in farming, and one or two years later I would have been married, just lived a normal life. In Hanoi I can have a stable job, even without entering university” – (Female, 23; graduate vocational centre, one younger sister)

Although there is no statistical data on differences in marriage transitions between migrants and non-migrants, from the interviews the general consensus emerged that staying in the hometown is associated with earlier marriage transitions. This is (partly) influenced by the differences in opportunities, and activities in these areas. The girl above refers to a life in her hometown as ‘a normal life’, in which she would have ‘just worked in farming’, whereas Hanoi had offered her a stable job.

This potential effect of migration in terms of delaying marriage transitions, can also be related to the earlier discussion on household responsibility divisions and the influence of marriage status on this. The daughter of the family from Bắc Giang in the above example, declined marriage proposals because, as a women, she would have to follow and live with her husband (in her hometown). Thus, entry into marriage can be an important factor in determining migratory movements. According to traditional beliefs, women appear to have less control over choosing their location of residence. This could also be observed in the interviews. One respondent (youngest of four children), worked as a bartender. In his interview he referred to the influence marriage had on his sister’s life:

“My eldest sister wanted to continue studying but had to be with her children and husband, so she could not go to university in the past. After they divorced, she had the opportunity to go to university, and she moved to Hanoi alone to study” – (Male, 23; university graduate, 3 older sisters)

In this case being married was a barrier for migration, however marriage can also lead to the decision to migrate (or move back). Two of the street vendors from Thanh Hóa province had followed their married siblings (older sister and brother respectively), who had moved to Hanoi because they believed there to be more opportunities to support their lives. These examples illustrate that marriage transitions, and associated responsibilities, may constrain, or coincide with migratory movements.

Perceptions on the process of maturing

As mentioned, transition to adulthood was included in the research because it emerged as an important topic in the interviews. The previous section focussed on key transitions in the context of migration. However, following the critique on measuring transition to adulthood in this way; conceptualisations are implicitly normative, leaving little room for subjective understandings, or differences in experiences (Punch, 2002; Valentine, 2003), the section below examines the concept of maturing, and influence of migration on this process, from the perspective of respondents. From the interviews, several themes emerged. Although they were often interlinked, they represent different ways in which respondents understood and explained the concept of maturing, and its association with migration.

Knowledge and experience

One way in which being, or becoming more mature was explained, concerned the notions of being knowledgeable, or experienced. Respondents felt that they, or their children, had become more mature, because they had gained knowledge and/or experience in Hanoi. One of the mothers from Bắc Giang province, described this is as follows:

“In Hanoi there are many people, and he can experience a lot. So he can become more mature. It is true that when people have to experience, they will become more mature. Maybe not everyone, but our son has become more mature after moving to Hanoi” – (Mother; 2 sons, oldest moved to Hanoi)

In this regard, work experience, (university) education, meeting and learning from other people, facing difficulties or challenges, and generally experiencing life, are all considered means to enhancing these attributes and thus becoming more mature. Since the life in Hanoi is much more complex compared to the hometown, it is considered easier to become more mature in the former environment. During the focus group discussion the topic of maturing was also debated. The view of one of the participants, the street vendor from Thanh Hóa province who had started a language centre, is described below.

“In my opinion, going to work, meeting people and getting experience, this can make you become more mature. If you stay in the hometown you become older but your thoughts can only change a little bit, you may become good at taking care of your baby. However, the life in Hanoi is much more difficult, you have to face many things, so you can become more mature” – (Male, 24)

Another, related way in which respondents felt more mature, concerned the ability to offer family members advice or counsel (due to enhanced knowledge and experience). This attribute, or skill was often considered valuable, particularly in terms of supporting younger siblings. For instance, the father of four daughters from Bắc Giang province, referred to his working daughter (in Hanoi), as:

“She offers assistance about the way of doing business and the way of living. She gives me much advice in many areas. She has brought living skills and the way of thinking, not only for me but also for her younger sisters. They now have a better foundation to get into the university”

Communication and attitudes

A second perception that stood out from the interviews concerns the topic of communication and attitudes. Especially migrants referred to communicative skills in social relations, and interactions. In this sense maturity was explained as knowing how to behave socially in different situations (communicate properly), being open to others, or understanding people's thoughts or feelings, and knowing how to respond to this. A significant group of migrants stated that their communicative skills had improved, or that they felt more confident in social interactions. They attributed this to the fact that in Hanoi there are a lot more people, and 'different types' of persons and social interactions, compared to the environment in their hometown. This view is illustrated by two statements.

"In the past in my hometown I used to have a very close mind, I only communicated with a few people, when I would come back from school I would just stay at home and talk with my parents. Now I communicate more, talk with more people" – (Female, 22; waitress in a coffee shop)

"I feel more mature because I've learned how to communicate with others, how to understand their feelings. I think that if I live in my hometown, there are few kind of people that I can communicate with. In Hanoi there are so many types of people" – (Male, 20; university student, in Focus Group)

Parents that were interviewed also acknowledged that children can develop themselves, by meeting other (different) people, making new relationships, or taking part in social activities. In terms of becoming mature, they mostly referred to changes in attitudes or behaviours towards others. For example, in Thanh Hóa province, two parents said about their migrant daughter (18, street vendor)

"Before she worked in Hanoi, she was like a child. Now after one year she has become more mature in communication, she talks more polite with everyone, knows how to behave with everyone, respect everyone. We are very proud of her, she changed so much" (Daughter lives with older brother)

Similarly, the mother from Bắc Giang province who earlier explained her view on becoming more experienced, also noticed these changes in her son's behaviour:

"He is still a good person and very honest, but he has become more mature. Acts like a man, a real man. His way of communication, way of working, and his behaviour show that he is more mature than in the past. When he comes back he talks with us, he chooses the appropriate words, or he shares his life and career with us" – (Mother; 2 sons, oldest moved to Hanoi)

Being Independent

The ability to 'take care of oneself', 'support your own life', or 'live independently', is another way in which maturity was understood. In Hanoi young migrants have adapted to a new environment, without the direct support and care from parents. They have to arrange many affairs that were previously taken care of by others. In this regard, respondents referred to matters such as, managing financial budgets, organizing meals, and time-planning. Generally, making independent decisions in the everyday life, as illustrated below:

“I have to live far from my family and have to make decisions by myself. Maybe if I wake up late and go to school late, it’s my own responsibility. I cannot blame this on anyone. I don’t have my mother standing by me to remind me of these things” – (Female, 19; university student, finance)

Although the ability to make decisions independently was related to the concept of maturing, it was not necessarily also associated with the act of migrating, as can be noticed in the following statement:

“I feel that I can make decisions by myself. In the past whenever I had a problem, I often asked advice from my family members. Now I can make my own decisions. I don’t know if this is because of living in Hanoi, or because I am more mature than I was in the past” – (Female, 24; administrative assistant, formally employed)

However, it is important to emphasise that, while young migrant can become more independent by living alone in a city environment, it also involves potential dangers and risks, particularly for young females. One of the female respondents who had been active in the sex industry mentioned:

“I had to take care of a lot of things by myself, I had to become more aggressive and more determined, because there are a lot of bad things that will abuse you. Because you live far from your family so it’s very difficult to avoid those thing” – (Female, 24; unemployed, former sex worker)

Mental awareness and capabilities

A final observation that can be related to the concept of maturing, concerns changes in migrants’ awareness on certain aspects in life. This often resulted from newly gained experience, e.g. related to performed activities, or faced difficulties. Generally, it was influenced by the practices young migrants went through in their new environment. Several themes (topics) stood out in the discourse on changes in migrants’ ‘thinking’ or ‘awareness’, including: (1) awareness on efforts in life, and value of family, (2) awareness on household responsibilities, and (3) the mental capability to think ahead (plan).

-1- The first issue that emerged from the interviews, is the realization that ‘earning money is difficult’. Migrants that had started working in Hanoi, became more aware of the effort that is required for earning an income. Therefore, they seemed to know the value of money better than before. Respondents stated to appreciate, value, or honour their incomes. The experience of maintaining a living (and related difficulties), also influenced perceptions regarding the ‘efforts’ parents face, and ‘sacrifices’ they make, or had made in the past. For instance, the female migrant who worked as a cashier in a supermarket stated:

“In the past I did not know how hard my mother had to work and pay for our family. In Hanoi I have to earn money for myself, so I can understand how hard it is. Now I can understand my mother better, and I feel I need to care more for her” – (Female, 23; cashier, vocational centre graduate)

A related notion concerns migrants' perspective on the importance of family (relations). Partly as a result of the above experiences and insights, and because they lived without the direct care and support from parents, migrants often stated to have become more aware of the value of family relations. Particularly parent-child relations, and the importance of parents were mentioned. To illustrate:

"You learn to appreciate, to love your parents more. Without them I wouldn't be here today, enjoying this opportunity, working here like this. You only know how much its worth, or how important your parents are to you, when you have moved out of the area that you were living in and look back" – (Male, 24; university graduate, employed as English interpreter)

Similar to the above, others also referred to changes in appreciation, or love towards family members. For instance, the female cashier (above example), stated she had not always listened to her mother in the past. She regrets this now, because in Hanoi her 'mind changed', and she realized the love for her mother. This was also mentioned by several parents. One of the mothers from Bắc Giang province (introduced in preceding sections), stated about her migrant son:

"He loves us more. The further you live from your parents, the more emotion you have. Our relationship became closer. He respects us a lot, more than in the past. In general he is a very good son, but when he moved out he realised that family is very important in his life" – (Mother, 2 sons)

-2- The second theme relates to these above notions, as the awareness of life efforts and family value, in some cases influenced perspectives on household responsibilities. Earlier, the female cashier stated that for her, the perceived need to take care of her mother had become stronger. Similar notions were found in other stories. For instance, one of the bartenders in the coffee shop, expressed the following:

"In the beginning when I studied in university I did not care much about my parents. However, in the fourth year of university I started a part-time job, and I realized that earning money is very difficult. I understood the situation better, the efforts of my parents, and I felt more responsible to take care of my parents" – (Male, 23; university graduate)

Likewise, several parents had also observed changes in their child's behaviour, which indicated a change in their sense of household responsibilities. One father from Bắc Giang province stated:

"He has better ideas of helping us when he is home. Before he went to Hanoi my son did not help us much. Now he appreciates the family more. When he comes back in his free time, he is aware that he can do housework, or work on the farm, to help his parents" – (Son worked in a Samsung factory)

The above examples suggest that perceptions, or behaviours regarding family responsibilities, may be influenced by experiences, or insights that are gained in Hanoi. However, this could also be inherent to becoming more mature in general. This connection is made by the respondent below; *'Now I am mature, I understand the word responsibility'*. (another interesting observation concerns the change in motivation to live in Hanoi, as a result of his altered perspective on responsibilities).

“At first I did not know what my responsibility was, but now I am more mature, I understand the word ‘responsibility’. Before, I just thought to study, learn and find a job for no special reason. Now I understand. Being responsible for family encourages me to study so that I can find a good job and earn money to help my parents”

Q: Was this responsibility for your family also a reason for you to move to Hanoi?

“No, it wasn’t at first. Now it is the most important reason for me to live and work in Hanoi, it is my end now” – (Male, 18; vocational student, web design)

-3- A final observation that emerged in several stories concerns the ability to think ahead, or plan for the future. In this regard, respondents mentioned that they had learned to ‘think for their future’, they had become more aware of future opportunities, and the requirements for a stable life. In this sense, maturity can be understood as being conscious about the future, or being able to plan. Two examples are given to illustrate this, involving two graduates; vocational centre (upper), and university (lower)

“The reason to live here is the same; to have a job, and income. But my objective changed. It’s hard to explain, I mean that the objective of an educated person is different. In the past I just thought about earning money. Now, I know that I need to have a long term objective, and how to achieve this goal. I think about the stability of my job, and that I need to improve myself.” – (Female, 23; cashier)

“Before I moved to Hanoi my parents planned for me to move back and work in my Hometown after graduation. But when I studied in university I created my own network, and I learned more about life, so I developed my own view about my career. I talked with my parents, told them there are many opportunities in Hanoi, and they accepted my own thinking” – (Male, 23; bartender in coffee shop)

Like these migrants, mainly those that had been involved with education referred to this capability. However, life experience was also mentioned as being influential in this process. Moreover, direct connections to the process of becoming mature were also made: *‘it’s because I got older, when I was young I did not think much about the future’* (Male, 20; university student)

Links to previous chapters – reinforcement through rural-urban migration

Findings from the section above can also be related to previous discussions. As argued, family relations and responsibilities emerged as important factors in the lives of young migrants, and decisions regarding migratory journeys. Supporting family members is highly valued. However, these examples show that rural-urban migration may reinforce or strengthen perceptions on family values and responsibilities. Experiences and insights from living in Hanoi, may influence, or enhance perspectives and understandings of household responsibilities. It is important to note that this was also described as being inherent to becoming more mature in general. In several cases, these insights and developments not only reinforced, but even changed motives for living in Hanoi. For several migrants household responsibilities (support) had become a stronger motive than when they initially migrated.

To summarize and reflect: migration influence on maturing process

The above discussions show that respondents explain the process of becoming mature in several ways. Being knowledgeable or experienced, knowing how to communicate and behave in social situations, and being able to take care of oneself, were mentioned as expressions of maturity, or mature behaviour. A second manner in which maturity could be understood, which is closely related to these attributes and skills, concerns 'maturity' in terms of awareness (perspective). In this regard, references were made to understanding/being aware of the value of money, or family relations and associated responsibilities. Lastly, planning for future years, and the ability to set realistic objectives, could also be observed as expressions of mature behaviour.

Overall, it can be discerned that migration may influence, or even initiate certain maturing processes, however it is not always a necessary condition. For example, maturity in terms of taking care of oneself, or being independent, may also occur within the context of the hometown. In this regard, respondents described that the development of certain skills or abilities, e.g. making decisions independently, perceiving responsibilities, and planning for the future, are also inherent to the process of becoming more mature. Independent rural-urban migration may influence, or enhance these developments, however they could also occur without migration. Nevertheless, rural-urban migration is believed to enhance maturing processes, as the city provides opportunities and general conditions that are absent in rural hometowns. Respondents referred to Hanoi as a more complex environment, where individuals can do, learn, and experience more than in their hometowns.

Migrating to a city environment offers new opportunities, and different activities compared to the rural life. In this sense, migrants may deviate from the progression through adulthood transitions that is customary in rural environments. In this latter context, general practices (agricultural activities), and progressions through the stages of adulthood, seem more predictable, and youths are more likely to get married, and become parents at younger ages. Similarly, differences between rural and urban environments also influence the maturing process in terms of personal development (e.g. taking care of oneself, mental capabilities). These different notions are illustrated by a passage from an interview with a university graduate (24), who was employed as interpreter. He described how he thought his life would have been, if he would not have migrated to Hanoi. In this statement, associations between rural-urban migration and the process of maturing can be observed, both in terms of key youth transitions, and personal development (e.g. mental capabilities).

"I would be a married man. I would not be able to speak English with you, we would need an interpreter. I think I would have two children. I would be a farmer, and worry about money every day, trying to provide for my children. My mind would be stuck at the daily ordinary things, I would not be able to look further into future, not have a clear orientation of my life. Because, if you are in a difficult position, the only thing you can focus on is anything immediate, anything surrounding you"

Discussion

Influential Internal Factors

In the first analytical chapter, the influence of external structural factors (rural-urban differences) in shaping youth migration was discussed. Findings showed that the lack of educational opportunities, and often limited economic opportunities in rural hometowns, force rural youths to migrate to Hanoi, in search for work, or to continue higher education. Further findings suggest that in addition to this, factors inherent to the individual migrant, or their households, also influence the options that are available to youths, including their personal skills or abilities, and economic resources of households. The influence of household organizations, and related social and power relations, as described by Chant and Radcliffe (1992), can also be placed within this context.

Influence of social roles; freedom to engage in mobility

The argument that a focus on the entire household, as opposed to the individual migrant, is required in theorizing on migration (e.g. Chant & Radcliff 1992; Stark; 1986), can be supported based on findings from this research. Collaboration between parents and migrants was an important characteristic of the decision-making process in almost all cases. Although collaboration was customary, youths also seemed to have reasonable autonomy in their decision to migrate. Potential gender effects that have been recognized by others, e.g. females are less likely to migrate due to patriarchal norms (Chant, 1998), or have to invest more effort in obtaining household consent (Hoang, 2001; Punch, 2002; Thao & Agergaard, 2012), were not directly observed among respondents. However, the influence of gender roles on mobility was recognized, and anticipated by respondents, but this was closely related to individuals' marital status. Since migrants in this research were all unmarried, and particularly young females enjoy more freedom compared to the situation once marriage was involved. Unlike other research findings from Vietnam (e.g. Agergaard & Thao, 2012; Resurreccion & Khanh, 2007), the influence of gender (roles) on shaping migration was modest. However, this can be partly attributed to the unmarried status of migrant respondents. Conversely, the influence of birth-order on shaping migration was much more evident, especially regarding migrants' opportunities upon arrival, and reasons for migration. If it was possible for only one or two children from a family to migrate for education, it was more likely to be the younger siblings, as older siblings are able to financially support their families (often by engaging in labour migration themselves). Regarding the overall influence of social roles, it is important to emphasize that they combine with personal, or household characteristics (e.g. personal abilities, economic resources). Together these 'internal factors' influence the available choices, and decisions of migrants. On a related note, social roles within households also involve specific responsibilities. The above discussion focussed on how social roles shape the available options for migrants; their *freedom* to engage in rural-urban migration. Next, the influence of the *perceived* household responsibilities on shaping the decisions and motives, is discussed.

Interdependent household responsibilities

Arguments of scholars who conducted research in Vietnam, regarding the continuing importance of fundamental characteristics of the traditional Vietnamese family, e.g. children's filial debts and duties, patriarchal hierarchy, and collective community (Hoang, 2011; Resurreccion & Khanh, 2007; Rushing, 2008; Thao & Agergaard, 2012), are supported by findings from this research. Generally, among respondents there was a strong belief that all children carry responsibility towards parents and other household members. Although this can be attributed to traditional values and norms, it is also shaped by limitations (or absence) of the Vietnamese state welfare system, which sustains intergenerational obligations in particular (Hoang, 2011; Thao & Agergaard, 2012). However, similar to the influence of gender roles in shaping migration, the patriarchal hierarchy in filial duties, is also particularly associated with marital status. After marriage, traditional gender roles become more prevalent, including the perception that sons, particularly first born sons, are most responsible to take care of parents. Although there were some exceptions, this view was generally found. Within their current life stage (unmarried), it seemed that pragmatic practices (differences in siblings' personal situations) often tempered strong ideals, as has also been argued by Thao and Agergaard (2012). Moreover, another (more pressing) feature that emerged, concerned the value of sibling support. Sibling relations were often defined by mutual responsibilities, particularly from older to younger siblings. Thus, besides influencing available options, birth-order also shaped perceptions of young migrants regarding household responsibilities. Overall, household responsibilities included both intergenerational obligations (filial duties), and mutual support between siblings (intra-generational). Nevertheless, although the perceived importance of these responsibilities was a common feature (shared norm), the impact on migration decisions, aspirations, and actions, varied among migrants.

Household responsibilities in the context of migration

At a first glance, research findings seem to support the notion of rural-urban migration as household strategy, as described by Stark (1978) and colleagues (Stark & Bloom, 1985; Stark & Levhari, 1982). Especially the stories of the street vendors from Thanh Hóa province, and the majority of the households (parents) in Bắc Giang Province, reveal pictures involving strong motives to financially support families, and the pooling of incomes by household members, which coincide with perspectives and reasoning of the NELM-approach. Additionally, the perceived values of university education, and common aspiration among university students/graduates to support their families, correspond with the view of migration for education as an investment, and means to secure access to higher earning streams, as argued by Lucas and Stark (1985). However, these 'templates' were not applicable to all stories. Among labour migrants, incentives for migration varied, and opportunities to become more independent, or earn an own income, were often equally, or more important, in migration aspirations. The act of being financially supportive towards left-behind family members, was not always a necessary requirement for migration. Further examination of the data showed that this variety in

migration decisions, aspirations, and activities, was strongly influenced by the familial conditions of migrants. Mostly, migrants for whom family support was the primary reason for migration, referred to the poorness of their family, or difficult conditions their families faced, when explaining their motives. Besides the observation that household obligations were not always a (main) priority in migration decisions, the stories of respondents also revealed that migration aspirations were often manifold. The NELM approach primarily views migration as a strategy to increase (household) incomes. Findings of this research show that rural-urban migration is often initiated and valued for reasons (benefits), other than, or in addition to, financial gains for households. This is discussed in more detail below.

Balancing individual needs with household responsibilities

In the literature review it has been discussed that family obligations or responsibilities are often not the only incentive for youth migration. Regarding labour migration, it is argued that youths may pursue personal goals, or ambitions alongside family obligations (Hertrich & Lescligand, 2013; Mondain et al., 2013; Punch, 2002), or they may prioritize individual goals, or financial independence (Azaola, 2012; Tacoli & Mabala, 2012; Sauvain-Dugerdil, 2013). This is also reflected in the findings of this research. In some cases, the familial conditions of migrants allowed them to focus on their own ambitions, or aspirations (e.g. financial independence) first, before carrying out family obligations. However, those that primarily moved to financially support their families, often also referred to personal aspirations (e.g. having an independent life/income, gaining experience) in addition to this main goal. Furthermore, migration for education was perceived (and highly valued) as a means to mitigate family poverty, but also as a vehicle for individual progress, and self-improvement, which is in line with previous research findings (Crivello, 2011; Leinaweaver, 2008; Nguyen et al., 2013; Punch, 2002; Punch & Sugden, 2013). Overall, stories of young migrants reveal that they generally find ways to fulfil (some of) their personal needs, whilst also contributing to their households (as far as possible). While living, working, and/or studying in Hanoi, they balance personal ambitions and family obligations. As said, household characteristics (composition, financial conditions) are influential, e.g., in shaping possibilities, or household demands. However, it is important to note that personal attitudes of migrants are also important in this regard. In some cases, youths deliberately chose to sacrifice (some of) their personal ambitions in order to support their households. Migrants dropped out of school early, or decided not to continue higher education, and instead started working to earn money for their families. This corresponds with findings from previous research (e.g. Boyden, 2013; Clark & Cotton, 2013; Mondain et al., 2012). Moreover, these sacrifices may have more severe consequences. Similar to previous research in Vietnam (Rushing, 2006), findings showed that in some cases, strong feelings of family obligations encouraged young female migrants to engage in sexual labour. Overall, it can be argued that while young migrants are generally able to combine personal ambitions with family obligations, a strong focus on the latter may deprive them of certain opportunities or ambitions, or even expose them to vulnerable situations.

'Flexible' expectations regarding financial transfers

A similar picture was found among parent respondents. Their stories revealed that anticipated financial gains for the household were often an important component of migration incentives. The act of remitting was associated with cultural values and related household responsibilities, and often explained as a social norm, something that can be expected. This value of migration was recognized for both labour migration (increase household income), and migration for education (anticipated financial returns from investment). In this sense, expectations regarding financial transfers are in line with the concept of migration as a household strategy. However, financial gains were not always a necessary requirement for migration. Some parents agreed for their child to migrate without expecting financial returns. Furthermore, expectations were often tempered due to parental concerns for their children. Parents expressed to be worried about their living conditions (e.g. health, food, finance), the stability of their job, and future prospects. Although, financial returns from migration were generally anticipated, or desired, children's stable living conditions were often considered as the first priority. A related observation concerns the perceived value of financial transfers (remittances). Besides being used for household expenses (daily needs, farming, or domestic investments), other children in the family often were important beneficiaries. In this regard, remittances were spent on sibling's tuition fees, or saved for all children in the family (e.g. future marriage). It is important to emphasise, that considering their age, and general health conditions, most parents were still able to provide for a large part the household income. However, they recognized that in future years, expectations for financial support from children, (first born) sons in particular, would increase. Lastly, similar to migrants, the majority of parents recognized that in addition to financial transfers, migration could offer their children personal benefits (e.g. gaining experience, becoming independent). Thus, overall migration was perceived not only as a means to increase household incomes, but also as a pathway towards a better (more stable) future for their children.

Regarding the conceptual model that was adopted in this research, it can be argued that rural-urban youth migration could be conceptualized as a household livelihood strategy, in the sense that financial support for households is often a key incentive for migration. Financial support from households is also important, as migrants often need this to undertake journeys, or pay for school fees, or other expenses in case of lack of income. Thus, intergenerational transfers appear to be a central feature of rural-urban youth migration. The value of incorporating household relations, is also recognized. Household roles and responsibilities shape available options, and often influence aspirations, decisions, and activities of young migrants. Besides, intergenerational transfers appear to be interlinked with household responsibilities (divisions). However, the influence of familial situations (e.g. finance), and important social institutions are not sufficiently incorporated in these concepts. Moreover, financial gains are not always a necessary requirement for migration. There is room for personal aspirations, and migrating is also considered as path towards a better future. This individual component is missing when migration is strictly conceptualized as a *household* livelihood strategy.

Migration as a bridge between natal and ‘new’ household

“Migration is often used by young people as a bridge between being part of their parents’ household and forming a new household of their own. It allows them to accumulate savings whilst also maintaining links with their parents and siblings by sending remittances home” (Punch, 2002, p.131)

The above argument is based on findings from research on youth migration in Bolivia. In some ways this reasoning can be supported by evidence from this study. In the preceding sections it was shown that both migrants and parents considered the opportunity for migrants to have an independent life, or income, as an important aspect of migration. Parents described that their children were old enough to start their ‘own life’, and needed to learn to take care of themselves (prepare for future). In this sense, labour migration offers young people a path towards independent income (stable jobs), and the (early) formation of their own household. Considering the above ‘link’ between labour migrants and households, remittances were sent by some respondents, however not all of them. Nevertheless, other connections could also be observed. The majority of the labour migrants in Hanoi received financial support to enable their journey, until they were able to provide for themselves. Even after this initial period, some migrants received money from parents (or other family members) in case their incomes were reduced, e.g. as a result of starting vocational education, or unemployment. Besides, although it was not always possible, the intention to send remittances was common among most respondents.

In the context of university education, connections between natal and ‘new’ households were apparent in the sense that students need continued financial support from their parents during the years they study at university. However, at the same time university education prepares them to be financially independent in the future, which can also enable them to contribute to their households. In this research, all but one of the university graduates financially supported their households. Thus, these students stayed connected to their natal households after graduation, with an important change of direction in financial transfers. While their parents supported them during university, after graduation this reversed, youths became financially independent and financially supported their households.

When considering the stories of all migrants, links between new and natal households in the form of remittances (as argued by Punch, 2002), were present in circa half of the cases. Considering this link alone, some migrants seemed to be more independent. However, the desire, or future prospect (e.g. university students) of sending remittances was often also present. Overall, it is recognized that young migrants start to develop their ‘own lives’ by moving to Hanoi. However, households and related social relations, continue to be important in their lives (e.g. financial transfers). This corresponds with evidence from previous studies. It has been argued that while rural-urban migration may increase the autonomy of young migrants, they often also stay connected to their rural families. In this sense, youth migration sustains family relations, and interdependence, both across generations (Boyden, 2013, Crivello, 2011; Mondain et al., 2013; Punch, 2002), and between siblings (Crivello, 2011; Punch, 2002). These arguments can be supported by findings from this research.

Associations between migration and transition to adulthood

The influence of migration on key youth transitions has already been discussed in the analytical chapter. Similar to findings from Bangladesh (Amin et al., 1998), and Senegal (Mondain, et al., 2013), generally, migration to Hanoi seemed to delay entries into marriage and parenthood. Conversely associations with school-to-work transitions were more varied. Migration either coincided with, or prolonged, this transition. This two-sided picture was also found by Boyden et al (2013) in research across four different countries. However, it must be accentuated that these findings are also influenced by the sampling criteria that were adopted. As discussed in preceding sections, in some cases these (delayed) entries into key transitions were initiated by strong feelings of family obligations. However, regarding school exits, migration mainly occurred as a consequence, instead of causing this transition.

Subjective experiences

In the preceding section it was argued that migration may sustain family relations, while also increasing migrants' autonomy. This also relates to the concept of transitioning to adulthood. The notions of taking care of oneself, and becoming independent were important features in respondents' discourse on the topic of maturing. Migrating to Hanoi appeared as an important vehicle for migrants' increase in autonomy, which corresponds with earlier findings, (Boyden 2013; Sauvain-Dugerdil, 2013; Utomo et al., 2013). Similarly, other understandings of maturity; being knowledgeable and experienced, communicating and behaving properly in social situations, were also perceived to be enhanced by rural-urban migration, due to the developed conditions in urban areas.

Reinforcement of perceived responsibilities and family relations

Another related, and interesting finding concerns the changes in mental awareness or capabilities, respondents referred to in the discourse on becoming mature (personal development). The capability to think ahead, or plan for future years, can be related to becoming more autonomous (forming a new household), since this mainly involved migrants' individual lives, and future (careers). However, the experiences and insights migrants gained in Hanoi, also enhanced their awareness on certain (interrelated) aspects in life: the efforts that are needed maintain a living, the sacrifices parents make/made, and the value of family relations (particularly parent-child relations). These insights and developments might reinforce, or even (re)construct, perceptions and feelings regarding household responsibilities, and related practices. The example of one vocational student was provided. He explained that, in Hanoi, he had learned what his responsibilities were. When asked whether this had been a reason for migrating he said; *"No, it wasn't at first. Now it is the most important reason for me to live and work in Hanoi, it is my end now"*. Overall, these finding and observations on the subjective experiences of 'becoming mature', also support the argument that rural-urban youth migration may sustain family relations, and interdependence across generations, while the autonomy of young migrants may also increase (Boyden, 2013, Crivello, 2011; Mondain et al., 2013; Punch, 2002).

Conclusions and Recommendations

This research set out to examine the influence of household relations and transitions to adulthood on rural-urban youth migration to Hanoi. Rural-urban youth migration was placed, and studied within the context of (rural) households, and conceptualized as a household livelihood strategy. In this regard, both economic activities (income generation), and the influence social household relations, were acknowledged. Perceptions of young migrants and (left-behind) parents on the research topics were gathered and analysed.

Findings of this research suggest that rural-urban youth migration is shaped by several interrelated external factors, inherent to rural and urban environments. The often absence of educational opportunities, and limited economic opportunities in rural hometowns, force rural youths to migrate to Hanoi, in search for work, or to continue higher education. Additionally, both individual and household characteristics and conditions are also influential in this process. These include for instance, personal skills and abilities, financial resources, and birth order (household composition). Regarding the influence of social household roles, the influence of gender on shaping migration appeared to be modest, however this can partly be attributed to the unmarried status of migrants that were included. The influence of birth-order on shaping the possibilities upon arrival was much stronger, particularly regarding opportunities to enter higher education.

Regarding the conceptualization of migration as a household livelihood strategy, it appeared that migration decisions were often made in collaboration with household members. Financial support was often required to enable migration journeys, to cover tuitions fees and related expenses for students, or in times of hardship. In general, feelings of household obligations, were strong among migrants, particularly from older siblings towards younger siblings, however these were not necessarily the most important migration incentive. Financial gains for households were often anticipated or desired, both regarding labour migration, and migration for education (investment for future returns). Nevertheless, there was often room for personal aspirations, and ambitions. In some cases, these were the primary incentives for migration. This might be overlooked if rural-urban youth migration is strictly conceptualized as a household livelihood strategy. Overall, young migrants seem to balance personal ambitions and perceived household obligations. In this regard, general household conditions and situations, and personal attitudes are important in shaping the decisions migrants make. It is important to accentuate that migrants may sacrifice their own ambitions in favour of household obligations. This may involve early exits from school, however in the context of female sexual labour, this may have more severe, or detrimental consequences.

These findings also relate to the concept of transitions to adulthood. With regards to key transitions, school-to-work transitions coincided with migration for some, however mostly migration was a consequence of (early) school exits rather than causing it. Others prolonged their entry into the labour

force by migrating to Hanoi. Besides, rural-urban migration seemed to delay entries into marriage and parenthood. It is important to note however, that these findings are also influenced by the sampling criteria that were adopted. In terms of the subjective experiences of transitioning into adulthood, rural-urban migration appeared to enhance this process. The opportunity to live independently and become more experienced were often important aspects of migration. In Hanoi, youths might also develop their communicative and social skills. In this regard, rural-urban migration appeared as an important vehicle for migrants' increase in autonomy, however it is important to note that this may also involve exposure to risks and vulnerable situations, particularly for young females. At the same time, enhancement of mental awareness and capabilities might also (re)construct, or reinforce perceptions and feelings of household relations and responsibilities. Overall, it appeared that rural-urban migration often functions as a bridge between new households migrants start to form in Hanoi, and their natal households in their hometowns. Youths can become more independent in Hanoi, however are often still connected to their rural households, in terms of financial transfers, and perceived obligations towards household members. Therefore, it can be argued that while rural-urban youth migration may increase the autonomy of youths, it also sustains family relations across generations and between siblings.

Regarding the concepts and conceptual model that were adopted in this study, it has been stated that rural-urban youth migration can be conceptualized as household livelihood strategy. Both intergenerational transfers and household roles and responsibilities, appeared as important components of rural-urban youth migration. Before the study was conducted, based on literature research, it was expected that diversifying household income would be the main incentive for migration. Financial support for households appeared as a general key incentive for migration. However, stories of respondents also showed additional, or alternative incentives, which were considered equally, or more important. This individual component within migration strategies, might not be captured when strictly looking at rural-urban youth migration in terms of household livelihood strategies. Overall, the examples and stories of respondents indicate that it is difficult to fully incorporate rural-urban migratory journeys and experiences of youths within a conceptual model. Within their stories, patterns, commonalities, and connections to theoretical approaches can be observed. However, there is also an important human aspect, in terms of the aspirations, emotions, and concerns of young migrants and their parents. Thus, it is recognized that theorizing on rural-urban youth migration is important to get a better understanding the phenomenon itself, and its consequences for development. This will also enhance the advice, and guidance regarding policy making (decisions). In the context of Vietnam this is particularly valuable, considering the demographic situation of the country, and the predominance of youths in rural-urban migration flows. Nevertheless, it is also argued that it is important not to lose sight of this human aspect of rural-urban youth migration. The importance of family, strength of family bonds in the lives of young migrants, and their personal ideas, visions, and aspirations, result in rich, and diverse stories that could otherwise be overlooked, or not entirely captured.

Recommendations for further research

This research has shed some light on associations between rural-urban youth migration and household relations, and the concept of transition to adulthood. However, the research sample was rather small, meaning that it is difficult to generalize findings that have been observed. Furthermore, the discussions and conclusions involved general trends and patterns, however exceptions could also be observed. Considering the small research sample, and other limitations, further research would be beneficial to verify whether similar trends can be observed, and to what extent conclusions and observations were influenced by the research criteria that were adopted, or limitations of the study (e.g. sampling or interviewer bias). More specifically, regarding the concept of transitions to adulthood, this research explored some characteristics, and associated notions, which enabled preliminary analysis and discussion. Considering the observed knowledge gaps in the literature debate on this topic in the context of migration, further research would be highly valuable. Particularly, additional quantitative data would enhance the understanding of associations between rural-urban migration and important youth transitions in the context of Vietnam. Involving non-migrants, and returned migrants in rural areas in future research would be beneficial, as this allows for comparisons to be made between rural and urban areas.

Regarding the observation that migrant youths are able to balance individual ambitions and household obligations, further research could look into how this is resolved when migrants and their parents become older. Compared to earlier generations, youths seem to enjoy relatively more freedom, and different opportunities, e.g. in terms of employment, or (higher) education. This is also influenced by the general conditions of their parents (age, health). In this research some migrants intended to return to their hometowns in future years, however this was not applicable to all cases. Therefore, further research could examine the potential obstacles, or conflicts older migrants encounter, in terms of balancing their own aspirations and ambitions, and obligations towards natal household members.

Furthermore, given the increase in rural-urban mobility in Vietnam over the past decades, the estimated projections suggesting that urban populations will continue to grow, and the dominance of the group aged 15-24 in general/urban populations, as well as rural-urban migration flows, further research should look into how this affects urban labour markets and the position of (migrant) youths in this context. Both labour migrants, and youths that moved for education indicated that it is hard to find employment, especially without higher education certificates. However, even university graduates mentioned that finding employment is difficult, particularly without in-side connections to companies or organizations. Further research could focus on the obstacles and barriers young migrants encounter in terms of finding employment, and whether better cooperation between the private sector and educational institutions, e.g. higher education and vocational centres, might be beneficial in this regard.

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Appendices

- **Vietnamese survey** **pg. 85**
- **English Survey** **pg. 89**

Xin vui lòng đọc kĩ phần giới thiệu và phần hướng dẫn và điền vào phần thông tin liên lạc dưới đây!!

Thưa các anh/chị,

Tôi tên là Félicienne, Tôi là sinh viên cao học tại Hà Lan về ngành Nghiên cứu Phát triển Quốc tế tại Đại học Utrecht. Tôi đang tiến hành một nghiên cứu về quá trình di cư của người trẻ tuổi từ các khu vực nông thôn ra thành phố Hà Nội. Tôi muốn tìm hiểu nhiều hơn về động lực thúc đẩy các bạn trẻ ra Hà Nội và vai trò của gia đình các bạn trong quá trình này. Với nghiên cứu này, tôi đã được hợp tác với trung tâm REACH (một NGO địa phương) và Plan (một NGO quốc tế), cả hai trung tâm đều có trụ sở tại Hà Nội và tập trung vào phát triển thanh niên và trẻ em.

Nếu muốn tham gia nghiên cứu này, anh/chị sẽ được yêu cầu điền vào một bảng hỏi và thực hiện một cuộc phỏng vấn với tôi và người phiên dịch cho tôi vào một khoảng thời gian khác. Xin vui lòng chỉ điền vào bảng hỏi này nếu anh/chị sẵn lòng tham gia phỏng vấn. Tôi sẽ yêu cầu anh/chị cung cấp thông tin liên lạc để tiện sắp xếp buổi phỏng vấn vào tuần tới. Buổi phỏng vấn sẽ tiến hành trong khoảng từ 1-2 tiếng.

Trong bảng hỏi này, một vài câu hỏi sẽ yêu cầu thông tin cá nhân (như tuổi, trình độ học vấn và tình trạng việc làm). Các câu hỏi khác liên quan tới gia đình và tình trạng sinh sống của anh/chị (ví dụ, như quê hương anh/chị, nơi anh/chị sống hiện nay, anh/chị có về thăm gia đình không). Trang cuối của bản khảo sát là 6 nhận xét về cùng chủ đề này. Toàn bộ bản khảo sát bao gồm 22 câu hỏi và 6 nhận xét (**3 trang!**) Xin vui lòng đọc hướng dẫn trả lời cho mỗi câu hỏi thật kĩ lưỡng và điền vào tất cả các câu trả lời. Thông tin từ bảng hỏi cho cuộc khảo sát hoàn toàn được bảo mật. Không ai có quyền tiếp cận các thông tin này ngoài tôi và người phiên dịch của tôi. Không có thông tin nào được sử dụng trong bản nghiên cứu được sử dụng để liên hệ trở lại với anh/chị. Nếu có bất kì câu hỏi nào về nghiên cứu này hay các câu hỏi khác, xin vui lòng liên hệ với tôi.

Félicienne. **Email:** fceminnaar@gmail.com, **Facebook:** Felicienne Minnaar, **Điện thoại:** +841659112410

Xin vui lòng điền phần thông tin dưới đây:

Ngày hôm nay:

Ngày tháng năm sinh: Ngày: Tháng: Năm:

Thông tin liên lạc (Xin vui lòng điền ít nhất 1 thông tin!)

- Địa chỉ E-mail:
- Số điện thoại:
- Facebook:

Chân thành cảm ơn sự giúp đỡ của anh/chị!!

Thông tin cá nhân

1. Giới tính. Nam

Nữ *Chỉ chọn 1

2. Tuổi.

3. Dân tộc:

4. **Bậc giáo dục cao nhất đã hoàn thành?:** *Chỉ chọn 1

Không qua trường lớp

Bậc tiểu học

Trung học cơ sở

Trung học phổ thông

Bậc học cao hơn → Nếu chọn bậc học cao hơn. Chương trình nào anh/ chị đã hoàn thành, và anh/chị học chương trình đó tại đâu?

Chương trình:

Cao đẳng/ Trường học/ Đại học:

5. Anh/chị có đang là học viên tại REACH không?: *Chỉ chọn 1

Không

Có → Nếu có, chương trình học của anh/chị là gì?:.....

6. Tình trạng việc làm của anh/chị hiện nay là gì? *Chọn tất cả những lựa chọn phù hợp, anh/chị có thể lựa chọn nhiều hơn 1

Sinh viên

Thất nghiệp

Đang đi làm (Có hợp đồng lao động)

Lao động tự do (Không có hợp đồng lao động)

Tự kinh doanh

Khác: :

7. *Nếu là sinh viên: Anh/chị đang theo học khóa học nào?:

Anh/chị học tại đâu?:

8. Hiện tại anh/chị đang làm một (hay những) công việc nào?

*Nếu anh/chị chưa có việc làm: Anh/chị muốn làm việc gì trong tương lai?:

.....

9. Thu nhập ước tính của anh/chị tháng vừa qua?: Đồng

10. Thu nhập ước tính hàng tháng của anh/chị trong trong năm vừa qua? *Điền vào ô trống, theo Đồng

Tối thiểu: (mùa tối thấp điểm)

Tối đa (mùa cao điểm)

Hàng tháng:

Thông tin gia đình và Tình trạng cuộc sống

11. Anh/chị vui lòng cho biết anh/chị có bao nhiêu anh chị em và hiện nay họ bao nhiêu tuổi?:

Anh em trai (Mấy người): Tuổi (Tuổi mỗi người):

Chị em gái (Mấy người): Tuổi (Tuổi mỗi người):

12. Có anh/chị em nào của anh/chị không sống cùng gia đình không? *Chỉ chọn 1

Không

Có → Nếu có, Bao nhiêu người hiện không sống cùng gia đình? Anh em trai: Chị em gái:

Họ chuyển đi đâu?:

13. Anh/chị hiện đang sống tại quận nào ở Hà Nội?:

14. Anh/chị hiện nay đang sống cùng ai? * Xin vui lòng nêu rõ mối quan hệ của anh/chị với họ, ví dụ như anh em, chú bác hay bạn bè:

.....

15. Anh/Chị tới Hà Nội lần đầu khi nào? Năm: Tháng:

16. Trong năm vừa qua, Anh/Chị sống tại Hà Nội trong mấy tháng?: Tháng

*Nếu anh/chị không sống suốt năm tại Hà Nội,

anh/chị sống tại đâu trong khoảng thời gian còn lại?:

17. Địa chỉ thường trú tại địa phương (Nơi anh/chị sinh ra)?:

Huyện: Quận/ Thị xã:

18. Anh/Chị vui lòng cho biết các thành viên gia đình hiện đang cư trú tại địa phương nơi anh/chị sinh ra?:

* Xin vui lòng nêu rõ mối quan hệ của anh/chị với họ, ví dụ như bố, chị em gái, bà

.....

.....

19. Bố mẹ anh/chị có đang hay đã hỗ trợ anh/chị về tài chính không? *Chỉ chọn 1

Không

Có → Nếu có: Mỗi tháng anh/chị được chu cấp bao nhiêu tiền?: Đồng

20. Anh/chị có gửi hay mang tiền về cho gia đình trong năm vừa qua không? *Chỉ chọn 1

Không

Có → Nếu có: Anh/chị đã gửi hay mang về bao nhiêu tiền vào tháng trước?: Đồng

Trung bình mỗi tháng anh/chị gửi hay mang về bao nhiêu?: Đồng

21. Anh chị em của anh/chị có từng gửi hay mang tiền về gia đình trong năm qua không? *Chỉ chọn 1

Không

Có

Tôi không biết

22. Năm vừa qua anh/chị có về thăm nhà không? *Chỉ chọn 1

Không

Có → Nếu có: Trung bình một năm anh/chị về thăm nhà mấy lần?: Lần

Mỗi lần anh/chị về thăm nhà bao lâu?: Ngày

23. Phương thức liên lạc với gia đình anh/chị là gì? (Ví dụ điện thoại/Facebook).

*Xin vui lòng liệt kê tất cả các cách anh/chị dùng để liên hệ với gia đình ước tính độ thường xuyên mà anh/chị sử dụng phương tiện đó theo mức trung bình mỗi tháng: Ví dụ: gọi điện, 4 lần 1 tháng

.....

.....

Nhận xét

Phần dưới đây bao gồm sáu nhận xét về tình trạng gia đình và quá trình chuyển từ địa phương ra Hà Nội của anh/chị và cuộc sống của anh/chị hiện tại tại Hà Nội. Xin vui lòng đọc các câu hỏi kỹ lưỡng và lựa chọn anh/chị nghĩ gì về nhận xét đó và anh/chị đồng ý hay không về nhận xét đó. Anh/chị có 5 phương án lựa chọn như dưới đây:

1. Tôi rất đồng ý
2. Tôi đồng ý
3. Trung lập: Tôi có thể đồng ý hoặc không đồng ý
4. Tôi không đồng ý
5. Tôi rất không đồng ý

Với mỗi nhận xét, anh/chị có thể chọn 1 trong những phương án được cung cấp bên dưới nhận xét đó. Anh/chị chỉ có thể lựa chọn 1 phương án! Xin vui lòng lựa chọn phương án anh/chị cho là phù hợp nhất. Xin vui lòng chỉ chọn 1 ô. Xin trả lời những nhận xét dưới đây:

1. Nếu không có sự hỗ trợ từ gia đình tôi đã không thể chuyển ra Hà Nội:

- | | | | | |
|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Tôi rất đồng ý | Tôi đồng ý | Trung lập | Tôi không đồng ý | Tôi rất không đồng ý |

2. Tôi hoàn toàn tự mình quyết định việc chuyển ra Hà Nội:

- | | | | | |
|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Tôi rất đồng ý | Tôi đồng ý | Trung lập | Tôi không đồng ý | Tôi rất không đồng ý |

3. Trong số tất cả các anh chị em trong gia đình, tôi thấy mình có trách nhiệm nhất trong việc lo cho gia đình

- | | | | | |
|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Tôi rất đồng ý | Tôi đồng ý | Trung lập | Tôi không đồng ý | Tôi rất không đồng ý |

4. Tôi cảm thấy cuộc sống ở Hà Nội hoàn toàn tách biệt với cuộc sống của gia đình tôi tại quê hương:

- | | | | | |
|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Tôi rất đồng ý | Tôi đồng ý | Trung lập | Tôi không đồng ý | Tôi rất không đồng ý |

5. Tôi thấy rất cần thường xuyên liên lạc với gia đình càng nhiều càng tốt:

- | | | | | |
|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Tôi rất đồng ý | Tôi đồng ý | Trung lập | Tôi không đồng ý | Tôi rất không đồng ý |

6. Trong tương lai tôi muốn sống ổn định và quay trở lại sống tại quê hương:

- | | | | | |
|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Tôi rất đồng ý | Tôi đồng ý | Trung lập | Tôi không đồng ý | Tôi rất không đồng ý |

Please read the introduction and instruction carefully and fill in the contact information below!!

Dear participant,

My name is Félicienne, I am a master student from Holland and study International Development Studies at Utrecht University. I am doing a research on the migration process of young people from rural areas to the city of Hanoi. I am curious to learn more about your motivations to move to Hanoi and the role of your family in this process. For this research I am also linked to the organizations REACH (local NGO) and Plan (international NGO), both based in Hanoi, they focus on youth and child development.

If you want to participate in this research you will be asked to fill in this questionnaire and also to conduct an interview with me and a translator another time. Please only fill in this questionnaire if you are willing to participate in an interview as well. I will ask you to give me your contact information, so we can arrange a meeting for the interview in the next weeks. This interview will last for 1 – 2 hours.

In this questionnaire, some questions concern some personal information (such as your age, education and employment status). Other questions concern your family and living situation (for instance, your home town, where you live now, if you visit your family). The final page contains 6 statements also on the same topics. The total questionnaire consists of 22 questions and 6 statements (**3 pages!**) Please read the instructions for each question carefully and fill in all the answers. The information gathered with this questionnaire is completely confidential. No one has access to the information besides me and the translator that helps me. No information will be mentioned in the research that can lead back to you. If you have any questions about the research or other questions, feel free to contact me.

Félicienne. **Email:** fceminnaar@hotmail.com, **Facebook:** Felicienne Minnaar, **Phone Nr:** +841659112410

Please fill in the following:

Today's date:

Your date of birth: Day: Month: Year:

Your Contact Information (please fill in at least one option!)

- E-mail address:
- Phone nr.:
- Facebook:

Thank you very much for cooperating!!

Personal Information

1. Gender? Male
Female *tick one box

2. Age?

3. What is your ethnic background?

4. What is your highest level of completed education?: *tick one box

No formal education

Primary school

Secondary school

High School

Higher education → If higher education. What program did you complete, and where did you study this?:

Program:

College/School/University:

5. Are you a currently a REACH student?: *tick one box

No

Yes → If yes, what is your program?:

6. What is your current employment status? *please tick all boxes that apply, you can tick more than one box

Student

Unemployed

Formally employed (with official contract)

Informally employed (without official contract)

Self-employed

Other: :

7. *Only if student: What course are you studying?:

At what institution (school/university/college) do you study?:

8. What job (or jobs) do you have currently? *If you have no job: What job do you want to do in the future?:
.....

9. How much money did you earn the past Month, approximately?: (Dong)

10. How much money did you earn approximately, each month the past year? *fill in the boxes, in Dong

Minimum (low season)

Maximum (high season)

Monthly:

Family Information and Living situation

11. Can you please tell how many brothers and sisters you have, and how old they are?:

Brothers (how many): Age (how old are they):

Sisters (how many): Age (how old are they):

12. Have any of your brothers or sisters moved away from home?:

No

Yes → If yes, How many have moved away. Brothers: Sisters:

Where did they move to:

13. In what district do you currently live in Hanoi?:

14. Who do you live with in your current home?: *please tell what your relationship is with them, for example brother, uncle, friend:

.....

15. When did you first move to Hanoi?: Year: Month:

16. In the past year, how many months did you live in Hanoi?: Months

* If you did not live the whole year in Hanoi,

where did you live the other months?:

17. What is your home town (origin place of residence)?:

Province: District:

18. Can you please tell which family members currently live in the house, at your home town?

*please tell what your relationship is with them, for example: father, sister, grandmother

.....

.....

19. Do your parents support you, or did they support you in the past, by giving you money? *tick one box

No

Yes → If Yes: How much money do or did they give you on average each month: Dong

20. Did you send or bring money back to your family members back home, the past year: *tick one box

No

Yes → If yes: How much money did you send/bring back last month: Dong

How much money did you send/bring back on average per month: Dong

21. Did any of you brothers or sisters send or bring money back to your family, the past year?

No

Yes

I don't know

22. Did you visit your family back home, the past year? *tick one box

No

Yes → If yes: How many times did you visit them, in the whole year: Times

How long do you stay at home during the visits: Days

23. Do you have any other ways of contacting your family? (e.g. phone/internet).

*Please mention them all and tell how often you use these to contact your family, on average per month:

example: phone contact, 4 times a month

.....

.....

Statements

The following section consists of six statements about your family situation and the process of moving from your home town to Hanoi, and your living situation in Hanoi. Read each statement carefully and decide what you think of the statement and whether you agree or disagree with the statement. You have 5 possible options to choose from:

1. I strongly agree
2. I agree
3. Neutral: I do not agree or disagree
4. I disagree
5. I strongly disagree

For each statement, you have to pick one of these options that are provided below the statements. You are allowed to pick only 1 option! Please pick the option that you think best fits your opinion. Please tick only one box. Answer the statements below:

1. Without the support of my family I would not have been able to move to Hanoi:

<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I Strongly Agree	I Agree	Neutral	I disagree	I Strongly Disagree

2. I made the decision to migrate completely by myself:

<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I Strongly Agree	I Agree	Neutral	I disagree	I Strongly Disagree

3. I feel more responsible to take care of my family than my brother and sisters:

<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I Strongly Agree	I Agree	Neutral	I disagree	I Strongly Disagree

4. I feel that my life here in Hanoi is completely separated from my family's life back home:

<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I Strongly Agree	I Agree	Neutral	I disagree	I Strongly Disagree

5. I feel that it is very important to contact my family back home as much as possible:

<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I Strongly Agree	I Agree	Neutral	I disagree	I Strongly Disagree

6. In future years I want to get settled and live back in my home town:

<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I Strongly Agree	I Agree	Neutral	I disagree	I Strongly Disagree