

**GOVERNMENTALITY, RESETTLEMENT, AND
RESISTANCE OF ETHNIC MINORITY MIGRANTS IN
VIETNAM: A CASE STUDY IN DAK LAK PROVINCE**

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งานวิจัยนี้มีวัตถุประสงค์เพื่อศึกษารูปแบบการปกครองชีวญาณของประเทศเวียดนามที่ส่งผลต่อกลุ่มผู้อพยพซึ่งถือเป็นประชากรชนกลุ่มน้อยในประเทศ ด้วยวิธีการตรวจสอบเกี่ยวกับนโยบายการตั้งถิ่นฐานใหม่ โดยงานวิจัยดังกล่าวจะมุ่งเน้นไปที่กรณีศึกษาของชุมชน Cu Kbang อำเภอ Ea Sup จังหวัดดักลัก ประเทศเวียดนาม ผ่านมโนทัศน์ของ ทาเนีย ลี (Tania Li) เรื่องความต้องการที่จะพัฒนา (The Will To Improve)

เนื้อหาของงานวิจัยนี้กล่าวถึง กระบวนการการออกแบบนโยบายเพื่อการแก้ไขปัญหาสถานการณ์เชิงลบของกลุ่มผู้อพยพชนกลุ่มน้อย ในพื้นที่เขตภูเขาแถบกลางของประเทศเวียดนาม ซึ่งวิทยานิพนธ์ฉบับนี้ได้้นำวิธีการวิจัยเชิงคุณภาพมาใช้ร่วมกันกับการวิเคราะห์ทฤษฎีการเชิงวิพากษ์ โดยอ้างอิงจากกรอบความคิดของเอสโกบาร์ (Escobar) และ ทาเนีย ลี (Tania Li) เป็นหลัก จากการวิเคราะห์แนวคิดดังกล่าวพบว่า มีปัญหาเกิดขึ้นทั้งหมด 3 ด้านด้วยกัน อันได้แก่ 1. วาทกรรมที่กล่าวถึงการแก้ปัญหาด้วยนโยบายการตั้งถิ่นฐานใหม่ 2. ปฏิกริยาของกลุ่มผู้อพยพต่อนโยบายของรัฐบาล 3. สถานการณ์ในพื้นที่อันเกิดจากผลกระทบที่ได้รับจากข้อ 1 และ 2

งานวิจัยนี้สังเกตเห็นว่า วิธีชีวิตของกลุ่มผู้อพยพถูกหล่อหลอมจากนโยบายการปกครองของรัฐ ตั้งแต่ด้านกฎหมายที่เกี่ยวข้องกับการย้ายถิ่นฐาน ไปจนถึงวิธีการที่กลุ่มคนเหล่านี้เลือกใช้ตอบโต้เจ้าหน้าที่รัฐ ซึ่งรัฐบาลเวียดนามมองว่า กลุ่มผู้อพยพชนกลุ่มน้อยคือ กลุ่มบุคคลที่สมควรถูกควบคุมด้วยกฎหมายเพื่อความสามารถในการเข้าถึงคุณภาพชีวิตที่ดีกว่า ซึ่งก่อให้เกิดการผลัดกันนโยบายการตั้งถิ่นฐานในที่ใหม่ขึ้นเพื่อใช้ในทางปฏิบัติในเวลาต่อมา อันจะนำไปสู่ทางออกของปัญหานี้ในที่สุด แต่อย่างไรก็ตาม วิทยานิพนธ์ฉบับนี้กลับค้นพบว่า ความต้องการที่แท้จริงของชนกลุ่มน้อยมิได้เป็นไปในทิศทางเดียวกันกับวิสัยทัศน์ของรัฐบาลเท่าใดนัก แม้ว่าจะมีผู้อพยพบางส่วนตัดสินใจตั้งถิ่นฐานใหม่ตามแนวทางของรัฐบาล แต่พวกเขากลับต้องประสบกับอุปสรรคและปัญหาต่างๆ มากมาย อันส่งผลให้เกิดสภาวะเสี่ยงแตกขึ้น ทำให้ผู้อพยพอีกหลายกลุ่มปฏิเสธที่จะตั้งถิ่นฐานใหม่ตามนโยบายของรัฐบาล

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This research aimed to learn about the governmentality of the Vietnamese state toward ethnic minority migrants, through the examination of resettlement policy. This study focused on the case study in Cu Kbang commune, Ea Sup district, Dak Lak province, Vietnam.

Base on the concepts of "The will to improve" of Tania Li (T. Li, 2007), the researchers examined the resettlement policy as a solution proposed by the Government to resolve the situation of the ethnic minority migration in Central Highland Vietnam. The research used the qualitative methodology and discourse analysis regarding the conceptual framework of Escobar and Li on policy discourse analysis (Escobar, 2011; T. Li, 2007). Hence, the research examines the problems in three-layer: the discourse from above resulting at the resettlement solution; the ethnic minorities rationalize to migrating and interacting with the resettlement policy; the ground situations as the consequents of two discourse interactions.

The research found that ethnic minority behaviors have shaped by the governmentality of the state. Not only the migration act but also how they interact with the resettlement policy at the immigrant place. Also, the local authorities have pointed out the ethnic minority migrant is the group that needs to help to have a better life. Thus, the resettlement policy has been proposed to solve the problem — however, the ethnic minority's wish and the government vision not match. As a result, the resettle migrant life still dealing with a lot of challenges. Nevertheless, there a group of migrants refused to resettle and has shown a resistance act toward the policy. The research argument the resettlement is the technical solution of governmentality, representing the government discourse. Moreover, showing the control attempt toward the ethnic minorities, thus, shaping their behaviors toward the government vision.

Field of Study:	International Development Studies	Student's Signature
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Sincerely,

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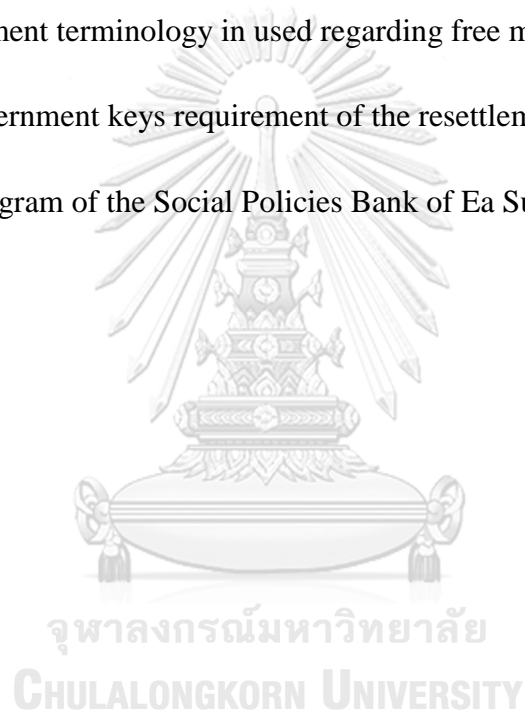
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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Research Statement

This thesis looks into the governmentality of the state, through the resettlement policy targeted for migrant's ethnic minority moving from Northern Viet Nam to the Central Highlands. This thesis uses Foucault governmentality concept as the state tendency to produce and legitimize discourses that generate state power and achieve what benefits the common good of the majority (T. M. Li, 2007). Hence, the questions raising at this point is the notions of majority? What is so called majority as they have the power or the privilege to get the government concern? Comparing to the concept of development, which was well understanding as the stage of "better off", somehow, alignment with the Government concern of wellbeing. Thus, each country's development discourse will determine a set of corresponding policies. However, what group of people receive help from the legitimized discourse and policies? Furthermore, is there an imbalance in the power relations? These questions have formed an epistemology for the thesis, as it's trying to unpack the governmentality of Viet Nam toward the ethnic minority migrants under the forms of resettlement policies.

The Northern ethnic minority migration movement to the Central Highlands, is a phenomenon that started in the late 1980s, and until now, continues to be problematic.¹ In Viet Nam, people have the freedom of movement and residence, but the state manages migration by household registrations. According to the new law, which was issued in October 2017 (Prime Minister, 2017), household registration is no longer the mechanism managing migration; instead, people will be managed by the Citizen identification card. However, the law remains in a trail status as serious issues

¹ Currently, among the community of 54 ethnic groups in the Central Highlands, there are 12 indigenous people who have lived here for a long time, the rest come from other places. In particular, ethnic minorities migrating to the Central Highlands account for the majority of people living in the Northern Uplands, such as the Tay, Nung and Hmong.

are still waiting to be addressed.² The Viet Nam state addresses migration with two common terminologies, "state-planning-migration" and "free migration." In other words, regular and irregular migration, according to the International Office of Migration (IOM) definition. "State-planning-migration" is a type of migration that takes place within the guidelines of the state, whereby migrants receive livelihood support from the state. "Free migration" or voluntary migration takes place without state oversight or intervention, which means the state is not responsible for covering costs or assisting the migrant.

This thesis uses the term migration based on the organizational management nature of the Vietnamese state, which dividing into state-planning-migration and free migration. Un-controlled migration: According to the Circular No. 05 / NN / ĐCĐC - KTM, March 26, 1996, of the Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development, "Free migration is a compatriot migration outside the annual immigration plan of the state."

Since the late 1980s, ethnic minority free migrants from the northern mountainous areas, have gradually considered the Central Highlands as an area of promising opportunities and migrated there. Through the process of natural population growth after 1975, and especially after 1990, the population in the Central Highlands has increased rapidly (about five million people). A total of forty-seven ethnic minority groups reside in the Central Highlands. The total population divide into two classifications, thirteen local ethnic/ indigenous groups, and thirty-four newcomer ethnics. The influx of migration from both state-planning-migration and free migration, with the dramatic changing from the national modernize and industrialize strategies, has put pressure on the Central Highland region on both the issues of managing the

² According to Resolution 112 /NQ-CP of Government of Viet Nam signed by Prime Minister Nguyen Xuan Phuc effective October 30, 2017 on the administrative procedure of procedures and citizen papers related to management is within the scope of state management functions of Public Security, to unify the management by personal identification numbers. At the same time, documents on household registration, proof of family relationships, birth certificates for permanent registrant children will also be abolished. In addition, the procedures such as separation of family registration books, granting of family registration books, temporary residence registration books, temporary residence extension, etc. also abolished. However, migrants still have to register as permanent residents with local police to gain legal residence and received social security policies. These procedures remain an issue for migrants who do not have enough document paper.

natural resources, livelihood ensuring for migration and social issues (Dang Nguyen Anh, 2005).

The existent problem of the newcomer ethnic migrant is driving the Government to the state of "The will to improve." Which was introduced by Tania Murray Li in the book "The Will to improve" illustrating the rationalizing process of the Central Government on resolving the problems of the community, through implementing a development project. Accordingly, in Viet Nam, the Government has attempted to mediate the movement they thought needs to be controlled by conducting a series of policies and programs to return migrants to their original place has not brought up a satisfactory result for both migration and the Government. Thus, migrants continue to return to the Central Highlands or leave to other places (Ministry Of Agriculture And Rural Development, 2018). Which became one of the reasons for the Government legitimizing the resettlement policies (Dang Nguyen Anh, 2015). (Dang Nguyen Anh, 2015). With the policy of resettlement free migration first mentioned in the Directive No. 660 / Ttg Of October 17, 1995, of the Prime Minister on The Settlement Free Migration to Central Highland and another province³, the Government expects to stabilize people's lives and contribute to provincial development.

The resettlement policy is "The will to improve" made by the Government to stabilize the life of free migrants, helping them to have access to basic social services and foundation for sustainable livelihoods. However, migrants also have their thoughts and rationalize to making decisions. Does the resettlement project is a suitable solution to improve the situation and to whom for whom? The achievement of the resettlement, therefore, depends on the process of interactive between migration itself and the Government. Whether this solution is based on the development will of the Government and legitimate attempts to help ethnic minorities, or it is underlying a

³ Policies to stabilize free migrants have no independent directives but exist as the main solution in Directive 660. Since then, resolutions, circulars and guidelines issued by the Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development to each province to set up the project.

deeper power relations structure and the dominant discourse toward the ethnic minorities. Thus, how this entire process showing the Governmentality of the State?

Therefore, in this thesis, governmentality is more a historical process than a single-stage, independent policy event. Governmentality is the art of governing ethnic minorities and how the state develops of this group of people in the process of migration. This first process has created a personal choice of migration, leading to the emergence of resettlement policies for migrant groups. Instead, looking at the phenomenon of migration interdependently with the process of state policy making. In that governance, how is the state the power group, and how do ethnic minority migrants represent the subjectivity in this governance?

In the scope of the thesis, the research has been conducting through the case study of Cu Kbang commune, Ea Sup district, Dak Lak provinces, one of the hot spots of free migrant movement in Central Highland. Cu Kbang commune is a border commune of Ea Sup district.⁴ The commune was recognized on August 24, 1998, on 8,060 hectares with 2,435 people in Ea Le. In 2017, Cu Kbang commune has more than 2,200 households with about 10,870 people, of which ethnic minorities account for 98%; most of the population are ethnic minority migrants. Most ethnic minorities are Hmong, Dao, and San Chay. Among them, the Hmong are the majority. Thus, the target of the resettlement policies are ethnic minorities (Cu Kbang commune People Committee, 2018).

According to the People's Committee of Cu Kbang commune report, the commune's economic situation has been challenging, and the number of migrants still increased. The movement has brought up many problems in which there is a situation of illegal transfer of land. At the same time, since 2007, the commune has organized resettlement planning for migrants, but with the current population still moving, the problem of life stabilization and development is left open (Cu Kbang commune

⁴ Area no 3: Zones I, II and III belong to ethnic minority and mountainous areas in the period of 2012-2015, especially difficult communes in coastal and island areas in the period of 2013-2015. Communes with special difficulties, border communes, communes in the scale of the invest of Program 135 in 2014 and 2015 according to current regulations.

People Committee, 2018). Therefore, Cur Kbang commune is a suitable case study, where despite all the effort to control and improve the situation, it remains complicated.

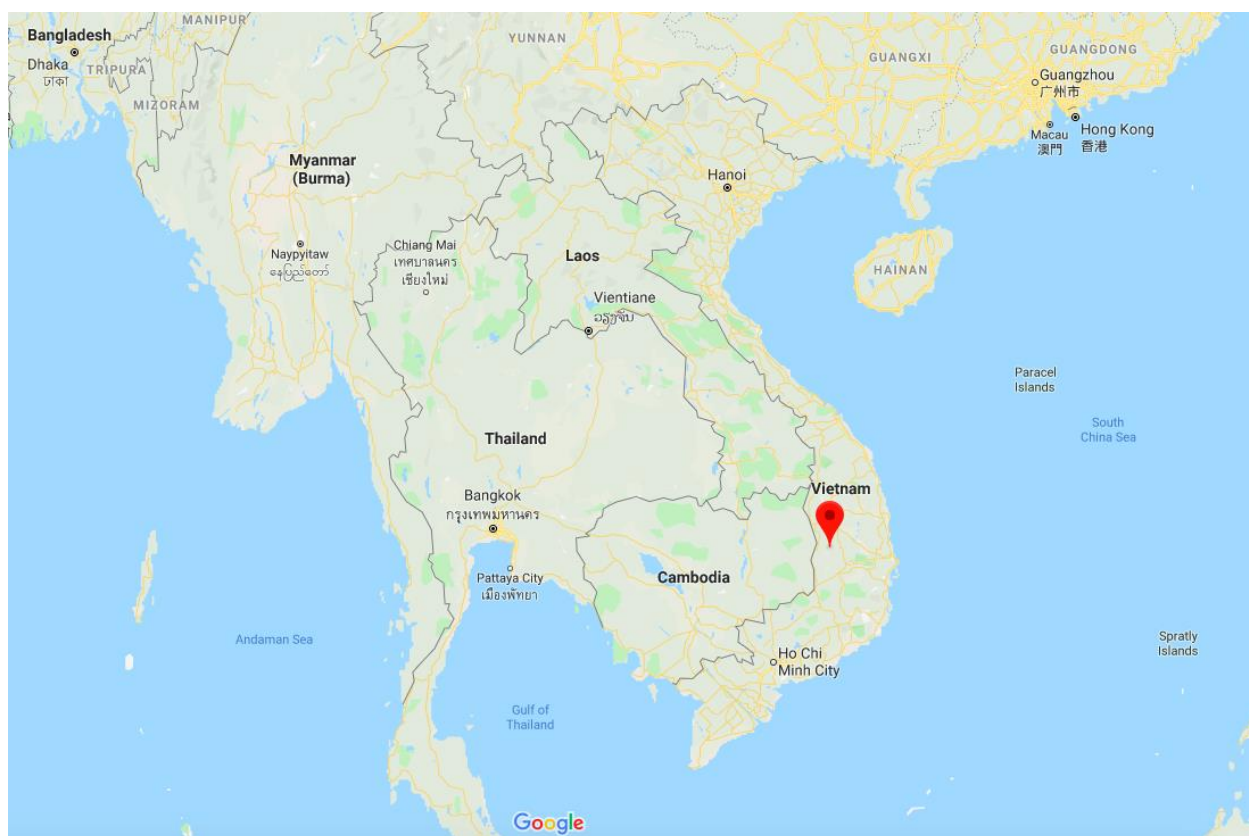


Figure 1 Dak Lak provinces position in Viet Nam

Source: Google map

1.2 Research questions

Main questions: How has the resettlement policy toward ethnic minorities migrants as a “will to improve” of the Government represent the dynamics of the discourse of Government and the ethnic minorities migrants, thus express the “Governmentality”?

Question 1: How has the ethnic minorities has rationalized the movement to Central Highland and latter interaction with the Government resettlement will?

Question 2: How has the Government has problematizing the issues of ethnic minorities migrants to construct the resettlement as a solution?

Question 3: How the outcome of the resettlement policy has become as the consequences of Government and ethnic minorities migrant interactions.

1.3 The objective of the study

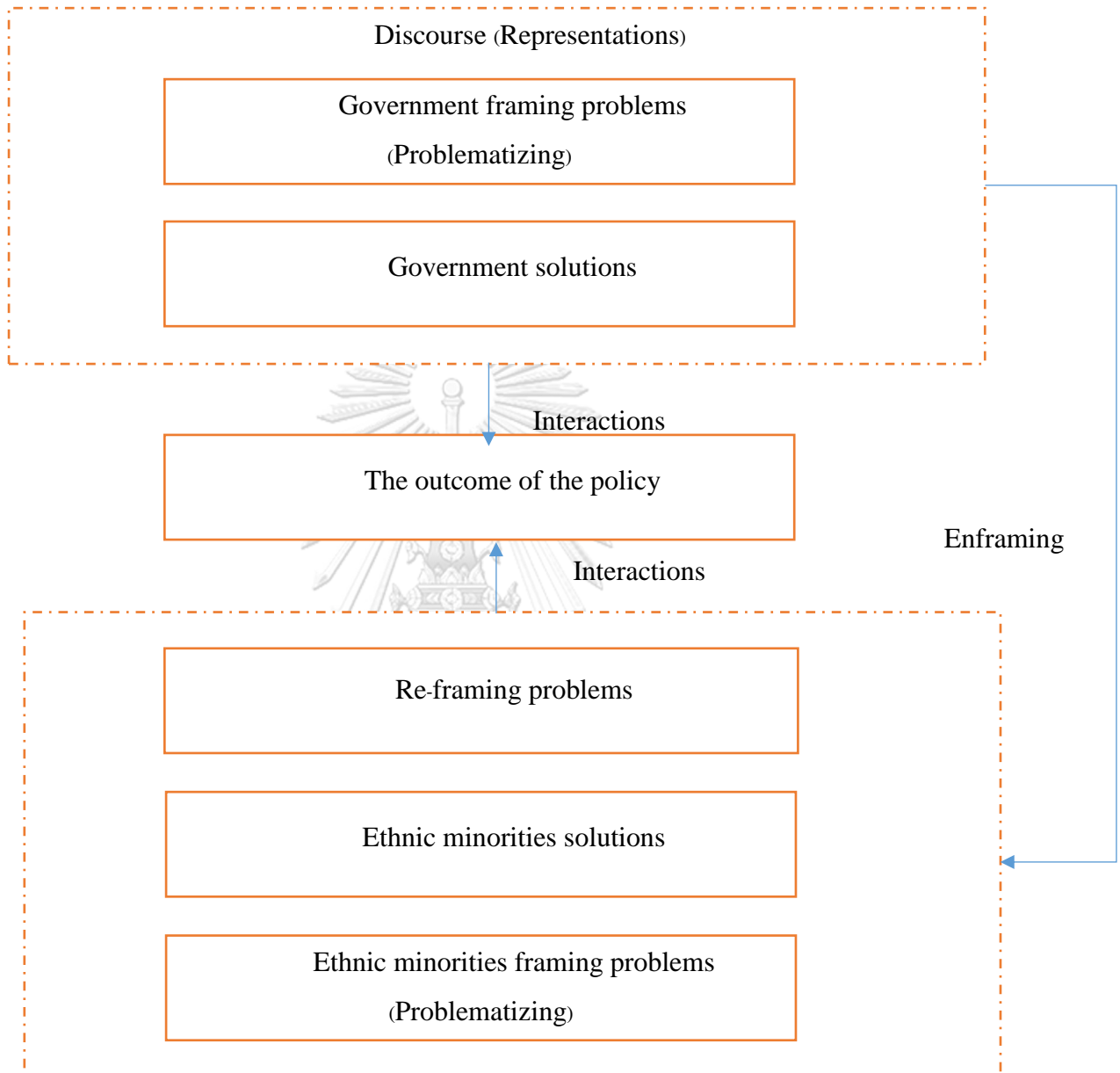
Main objective: To examine the state discourse toward ethnic minority migrant, and the latter the resettlement policy as a solution of the governmentality.

- To understand the Ethnic minorities migration, rationalize discourse on migration, development and resettlement decisions
- To analyze the Government process of problematizing the ethnic minorities migration movement and proposed solutions
- To analyze the outcome of the resettlement policy compares to the improve will, how has it has aligned with the dominant discourse and express the governmentality of the state.

1.4 Conceptual framework

In this section, I will clarify the conceptual framework used in the study. Overall, the concept of Foucauldian discourse analysis is the main concept. More specifically, the research adopts the discourse analysis from two leading academics, Escobar (2011) and Li (2007). Escobar's perspective will help broadly how the institution's power relation problem framing and solutions design the development industry. Then, using Li's concept to help understand the dynamics of development solutions on the ground and when the community perspectives are represented in identifying problems and solutions. In the end, the two concepts will help me frame the research question.

Figure 2: The conceptual framework



The key term in the conceptual framework

Representing: The Discourse (representing) was produced by the Government toward ethnic minorities and will create the enframing of them based on that discourse. Here, the Government creates and legitimizes and frames the problems of migration to solve them within their contrived technical solutions (resettlement policy). Vice versa, the ethnic minorities also absorb the enframing as their identities and have their own solutions about the mainstream discourse.

Problematizing: like Framing problems, according to Li. (The Will to improve concept).

Solutions: a policy, project, or action that can solve the problems that have been framed.

Enframing: enframing will contains the concepts of **labelling** (related to labelling theory) and **identities**. These two terms stand for the perspective of the authors of discourse and toward the object of the discourse. It is also a contemporary product and it is attached to an object that does not necessarily represent its true personality.

Rationalize: originally from rational choice theory (also called the theory of rational choice) in sociology, philosophy, economics and anthropology. Rational choice theory is based on the premise that humans always acted intentionally and think to select and use resources rationally to maximum individual utility with minimal costs. Therefore, rationalization is a cost-benefit analysis in the decision-making process.

1.4.1 Escobar and deconstruction of development

In the scopes of development studies, the discourse analysis uses and considers the approaches to help the deconstruction the development issues, and the story built up around said issues.

Escobar also focuses on the ideology of post-development using a Foucauldian discursive analysis. In his book, "Encountering development" Escobar (2011) raises

critical questions about approaches in post-development. Specifically, concepts and ideologies about development separate from the common, or scientific and positivist objectivism that are representative of underlying power relations within the common and conventional wisdom of mainstream development discourse.

Originating in the West, the concept, "development" was an organizational framework for a process of growth. Therefore, development is beholden to the imaginations of Superpower or hegemonic nations and their interests. Representation labels such as the "global south" or "underdeveloped" or "Third World" are ideological perceptions of inferiority or otherness towards what is different from originators of development discourse.

With this new identity, the representations and discourse have created their commonness through the actions of development institutions like World Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF). This discourse of development is a socially constructed product of power groups imposed to the powerless. Moreover, the legitimation of discourse is also determined by the agents and institutions in the circles of power who create discourse. Through legitimacy, solutions are proposed with the ambition to solve the problems in line with the comparative framework of the ruling group's discourse. Hence, for Escobar, discursive analysis means,

[T]o speak of development as a historically singular experience, the creation of a domain of thought and action, by analyzing the characteristics and interrelations of the three axes that define it: the forms of knowledge that refer to it and through which it comes into being and is elaborated into objects, concepts, theories, and the like; the system of power that regulates its practice; and the forms of subjectivity fostered by this discourse, those through which people come to recognize themselves as developed or underdeveloped. The ensemble of forms found along these axes constitutes development as a discursive formation, giving rise to an efficient apparatus that systematically relates forms of knowledge and techniques of power. (Escobar, 2011, p. 10)

Therefore, Escobar's paradigm is reducible to five keys elements:

- Power relation (institutions)
- Representations (discourse)
- Enframing (imaginaries and identity)
- Deployment
 - Incorporations: the identification of problems as abnormalities to be treated (field of the intervention of power);
 - Professionalization: political problems recast as neutral scientific problems for experts to solve (field of the control of knowledge)
 - Institutionalization: New power-knowledge networks bound people to certain behaviors and rationalities).
- The new socially constructed reality

1.4.2 The Will to improve

The research will focus on understanding and analyzing the Resettlement projects for free migration of ethnic minorities to Central Highland. Therefore, the conceptual framework used in the research will be "The will to improve" idea of Tania Murray Li (2007). Influenced by Michael Foucault, T. Li (2007) sees government as,

The will to improve is situated in the field of power Michel Foucault termed government, defined succinctly as the "conduct of conduct," government is the attempt to shape human conduct by calculated means.

(T. Li, 2007, p. 5)

Based on the Foucauldian notion that institutions create discourse, which shape objects and knowledge, and is then followed by a new discourse. Therefore, development institution can be the international organizations, international banks, funding agencies that aid to countries. The institutions frame the problems and to come up with the solutions that best serve their will and improve the situation by influencing the national policymaking and implementation.

Moreover, they will require communities to accept their institutional framework or development agenda. "The will to improve" normally emerges as projects with technical solutions that directly benefits for the community. According to Li (2007), the goal of development can be industrialization, and therefore, migration projects will reflect that development goal. The conduct of development knowledge will always exist in building policy or national strategies. Therefore, the ideology of development project becomes "a conduct" by a higher level of knowledge.

In addition, Li proved that in the discourse of development, the indigenous have always been seen underdeveloped. Their lifestyle and traditional practices are viewed as environmentally destructive, which justifies the government to implement new development policies. However, in implementing development policy, it seems that indigenous groups are the subject; they do not have a right to participate in the project. Forceful resettlement is common practice along with landless, or estrangement to their farming practices as a contradiction to scientific agriculture. Somehow the "will to improve" becomes a push factor to implement development projects, change agricultural methods, and justify land distribution. At the same time, it also can be the pull factors by creating "hope" and a new vision for people excluded from their homeland to migrate to find a better life.

Li has created the concept of Government with the idea of improving the "situation", the "problems" on the ground, and an attempt to develop the area based on what they perceive as normal. Moreover, some Government programs might not resolve the real problems of the region and elsewhere. They might not meet the development needs of the people and can bring up the unintended consequences. The intention was good, but the implementation and the process of constructing the discourse concerning the problem might bring tragedy to the area. The main question of the will to improve is "What it attempted and what is accomplish" (T. Li, 2007).

In "The Will to improve" Li also builds a process of how to analyze the Government's process of "improving", problem identification, and technique matrix in

which those problems can be acknowledged and tied to other problems. Based on the idea that the Government cannot intervene with everything, what you cannot intervene in must be considered separate. Hence, the government can come up with a plan (measurable and base on the core calculations) and look for solutions. Li's framework can be understood as:

Problem(s) A + Solution(s) B = Benefit C to some people

The government with an idea of improving the "situation" or "problem" that they are framing will come up with the solution to solving the issues. In the case of this thesis, the problem is unmanaged degradation of resources due to migrants and their poverty. Thus, the solution becomes migrant resettlement. For the Vietnamese Government, a highly centralized state, the idea of development is shaped by a dominant ideology, and therefore, framing problems also has a similar process. Moreover, the will to improve also attempts to redevelop the areas reflective the Government's ideologically charged vision. Thus, those attempts will be implemented through the form of Government policy or develop a program that might not solve the real problems and might not meet the need of the people and result in unexpected consequences.

For the context here, the idea of "the will to improve" will help establish a critique of the resettlement policy and to understand the rationale of the policy. Also, how the framing of the problems and solutions are constructed, as well as the implementation process. Moreover, to what extent the projects have been fulfilled. In other words, the concept allows the researcher to look from a different perspective. From the point of view of the ethnic minorities who migrate to Central Highland; what their perspective about the projects is and whether or not the projects help or create more problems.

1.5 Research methodology

1.5.1 Discourse analysis methodology

Thus, discourse in this thesis is a combination of Li (2007) and Escobar (2011). The resettlement policy proposed by the Government will be the first outcome of the discourse process. It will be the “dream achieved”. Therefore, the outcome of the projects will be “reality accomplished”. The use of discursive analysis will help the researcher understand and examine the real story behind the idea of resettlement by allowing the author to discover the power relations between actors and institutions. Moreover, to discover the interaction of the two directions of rational thinking by the power group and the target group.

We understand the issue by establishing three-layers of analysis. The first layer explores the ethnic minorities behaviors and decisions regarding migration and how they are rationalized, and the impact of the state's migration and development policies on the migrants. Second layer is concerned with learning the state's discourse, and how they have framed the issue of ethnic minority migration. Also, the government's problematizing and decision-making process that leads to a resettlement solution. The third layer analyzes the interactions between the first and second layers. By using the three-layer approach, we can recognize the concept governmentality, to unpack the will of the government, whether it is generated from the understanding of ethnic minorities' wishes, or the State vision and their attempt at cementing control.

Discourse - qualitative coding analysis:

A code in qualitative research is usually a short word or phrase that symbolically represents a synthetic, prominent attribute, capturing nature and suggesting a piece of data based on language or images (Saldana, 2009).

Data may include interview transcripts, attendance observer notes, magazines, documents, artefacts, photos, videos, websites, e-mails. In discourse analysis, coding involves searching for common points and patterns of qualitative data. In this study, data sources collected through observation, interviews, images, and document

analysis will be gathered and compressed into codes. These codes will represent factors that govern discourse, dominate the action of subjects and exist as a determinant process in their rationalization.

From the research question, the researcher will look for input data based on the data matrix. Then put the recovered data and shrink it into clean code that captures the nature of the problem. Moreover, the code can be the summarize or condense data, not simply reduce it.

The research questions and the main analysis for coding data is present in table I. Table I aligns with the three main questions, as it is undertaken the form of and conceptual framework.



Research Questions	Data Needed	Data Collection Methods	Analysis: Sample of Coding data
Result Part I: Ethnic minorities migration and resettlement			
Sub-Q 1: Why the ethnic minorities in the North decided to leave and why Central Highland?	The reason to move The reason to choose Central Highland The wish in a new land as a better life	Semi-structured interview Content analysis of key documents	* Poverty * Limited social infrastructure and social services * Lack of land
Sub -Q2: What do they think about the new life, and how this affects their decisions?	Life of migrants when arrived at a new place The needs for a stable life	Semi-structured interview Content analysis of key documents	* Still difficult * Livelihood unstable * Have more opportunities in access to land * Have more opportunities in access to social services
Result Part II: Viet Nam Government discourse on migration, development and resettlement			
Sub-Q1: How has the Government framed the ethnic minorities migrants in Central Highland as the need to have solutions?	Development and modernization Discourse on ethnic minorities migrants and the need to be helped The reason to governance the ethnic minorities migrants	Semi-structured interview Content analysis of key documents	*Ethnic minorities are “backwards” *Ethnic minorities have lower social economy style *Poverty *Difficulty in manage population *Degradation, life relied on forest *Stubborn and can be dangerous
Sub-Q2: How has the framing narrative become common knowledge in policies making?	The policies have been set up since the movement start The mainstream research concept on ethnic minorities migrants and the propose solutions	Semi-structured interview Content analysis of key documents	*National policies *Scholar research

Sub-Q3: How has the framing narrative formulate the goal and implementing the process of resettlement policies?	The visions of the resettlement The process of resettlement The support policy for ethnic minorities migrants in resettlement	Semi-structured interview Content analysis of key documents	*Land situation Infrastructure *Economic development, life *Stabilization *Economic development, life stabilization
Result Part III: Resettlement outcome from two discourse clashing			
Sub -Q1: What is the result of the Government and ethnic minorities migrant's dynamics interaction?	The current life of people in the resettlement The opinions and actions of ethnic minorities migrants toward the resettlement.	Semi-structured interview Content analysis of key documents	*Resettlement a choice *Resistance on resettlement *Resistance on land Negotiation

Table 1: Data matrix

1.5.2 Scope and units of analysis

Scope of the research:

This research case study, the Ea Sup districts in Dak Lak province, is recognized as a hot spot of free migration, especially for ethnic minorities.

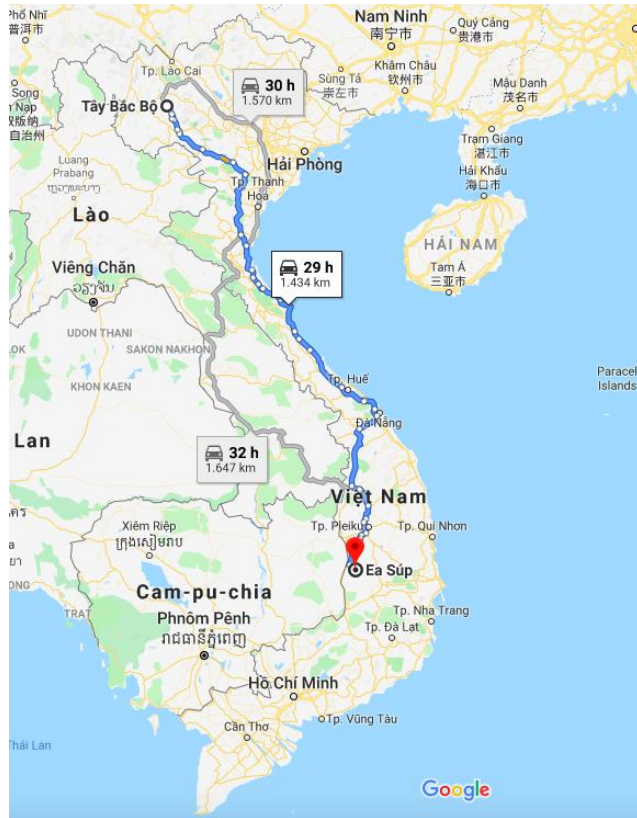
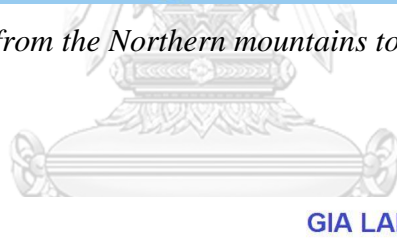


Figure 3 The distance from the Northern mountains to Ea Sup, Dak Lak



Sources: Google map

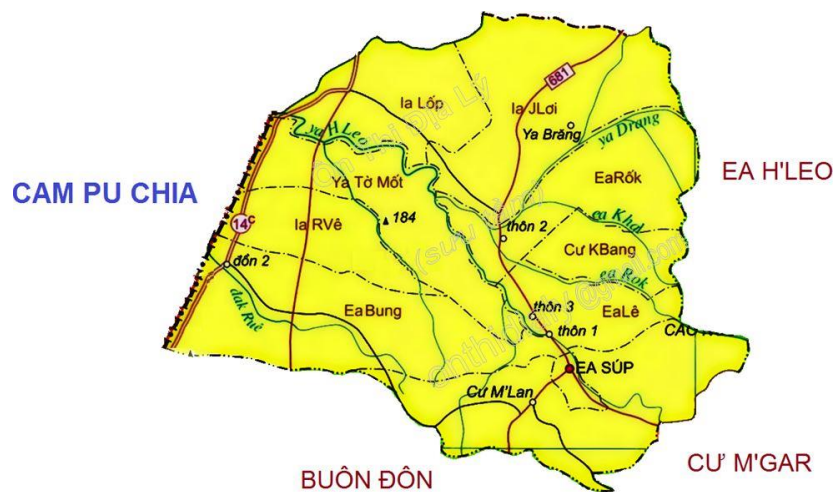


Figure 4: Administrative map of Ea Sup district, Dak Lak province⁵

⁵ <https://itgate.com.vn/ban-do-tinh-dak-lak/#prettyPhoto>

Cu Kbang is the impoverished commune of Ea Sup district, with more than 2,300 households (10,870 people), of which 97% are ethnic minority people, with a limited educational level, their lives are mainly based on agricultural production (Cu Kbang commune People Committee, 2018). Besides, the area of Cu Kbang commune is one of the first resettlement sites of the commune, now the number of people has sharply increased, in which the majority of migrants belong to the Mong, Tay and Dao ethnic groups. Also, in the past year, only in the first three months, the number of households continuing to migrate to more than twenty-three households.

Therefore, in the scope of this research, the site study will be focusing in Cu Kbang commune, more specifically three sub - communes (hamlets number 10,13 and 14) belong to the resettlement projects which already have the considerable number of ethnic minorities being settled down. At the same time, the research will also conduct the research will ethnic minorities household who still living in the forestry areas near the commune.

Units of the analysis

The governmentality toward the free ethnic minority migrants who are the targets of the resettlement policies. Also, the interaction of the two actors, ethnic minority migrants and government, involved in the resettlement policy. The interaction manifests itself in the current outcome after policy implementation.

1.5.3 Tools and sampling

In-Depth interviews

The interview is the interaction between the subject (the interviewer) and the object (the interviewee, the respondent). However, the interview in the study is not purely a question-and-answer structure, but the content of the interviews was prepared in advance and must align with the designated research questions and objectives. The objective of the in-depth interview is to not get a general understanding, but to carefully understand problem in all its aspects and forms. Therefore, the interviewer

needs to be free to lead the interview as well as freely change the structure of questions based on the evolving situation.

The in-depth interviewing technique is used in research that needs to understand the context and complexity of all relations. To understand the reality and the process of implementing the resettlement policy at the site (each site has a slightly different method). The interviews with key informants give an overview of the migration issues, how they interact with the migrants and how the policies change geographically. Also, rationale for resettlement policies from governments perspective. Interviews with ethnic minorities will provide insight into the reality of the resettlement site. Then, comparing both perspectives to examine the result of resettlement policy.

Non - Participation Observation

To investigate the context of the research without influences, observations will gather information about the living condition, infrastructure, lifestyle, livelihood activities of the target groups. The method is supplementary to help the researcher collect information previously unavailable. The technique helps to enrich the interview as well as follow up on important issues brought up during an interview that related to environmental degradation.

A note on note taking in the field

Notes in field work will include notes before each interview, recording images, and various scene indicators during observation. Notes during the interview, used in conjunction with a recording, will store information and necessary details to help code the interview. Past notes will contribute to shaping future interviews as well as field observations.

1.5.4 Sample of interviews

(1) Ethnic minorities who live in the resettlement areas; (2) Ethnic minorities who live outside of resettlement areas; (3) government officials: village chiefs of the resettlement areas and the resettlement officer; (4) the provincial official from the

population offices and people's committee, and the Department of Agriculture and Rural Development (DARD)

For (1): The interviewees were randomly selected and used the Snowball method. To overcome the language barrier, the researcher has contracted a local person of Hmong ethnicity as an interpreter. Also, an interpreter for Dao and Ede languages.

For (2): Due to the distance between interviews, the researcher has contacted the district officer to help contact the location of migrants without documents. The research will be using previous and current interviewees to suggest and help contact future potential interviewees

Table two list the number of interviews conducted for the sample and reflects the balance considerations of ages, genders, employment, and education level. The interviewees belonged equally to three sub-communes of Cu Kbang resettlement projects of hamlet 10,13,14.

Occupations	Number of Interviewees	Note
Provincial officials	3	(1) from People's Committee (1) from Population officer (1) from DARD
Commune officials	2	(1) Resettlement officers (1) Chief of villages/resettlement zone
Ethnic minorities live in the resettlement areas	15	Five people/ households each sub-commune.
Ethnic minorities live outside the resettlement areas	5	All of them is Hmong ethnic, was migrated in 2018 and early 2019.

Table 2: Interview information

1.6 Research ethics

This study analyzes the process of policy formulation and implementation by the state while studying the perspectives of the people who are the target of said policies. Therefore, it is necessary to follow two directions: top-down and bottom-up.

The two-way information collection method compares multiple to determine the signal from the noise or false and bias information.

Given the nature of the target groups, ethnic minorities, and their relation to the government, the topic under investigation is quite sensitive. Therefore, consent is of the utmost importance and each interviewee is properly informed of the research project before the start of the interview. Lastly, all the information gathered is confidential between the interviewer and interviewee, meaning nothing of the information shared in this thesis is traceable to the source of the information. Interviewees have been kept anonymous. Each interviewee information has been changed into the code as follow:

Interviewees	Code on text
Provincial officials Commune officials	(Interview OF001)-005
Ethnic minorities live in the resettlement areas	Interview EMR001-015
Ethnic minorities live outside the resettlement areas	Interview EMF001-005

Table 3: Code name for interviewees

1.7 Significance

This study will contribute to the model of policy discourse analysis when clarifying the two-way interaction between the government agenda, policy making cycle and the people. The three-layer model will explain the dynamic of mainstream influence of institutional ideas for the policy under analysis and the discourse of the people who the policies target. Ultimately, how the dynamic will influence the changing of policy or create a tense relationship between both stakeholders.

On the one hand, the thesis helps to understand the concept of governmentality regarding policies of resettlement toward ethnic minorities, the process of problematizing and proposed solutions for resettlement. On the other hand, a

Governments directive towards how they balance resource management with consideration of migrants.

1.8 Limitation

The state has always viewed free migration as a difficult problem. When researching the migration of ethnic minorities and the status of land-related disputes, it is quite challenging to access information without going through local authorities. Or granting access to said information by the local authorities. Here it is no different. The process of contacting households in the resettlement area, inside and outside, needs to go through an approval. Furthermore, when accessing the research site in the forest and outside the resettlement areas, the researcher is required to be accompanied by government official to guarantee the safety of the researcher.

On 15 of April 2019, I started my journey to the research site. The field trip taken me a week with the generous help of my professor from Viet Nam, it took a week for me to contact one of the local authorities at the research site. The first key informant I contacted gave me information on how to contact the remaining key informants I would need to interview.

When I contacted the men in charge of district rural and agriculture development, explain my research project, he was happy to join and very eager to give me all of the necessary reports and data. However, it also gave me a sense of curiosity when he was showing a strong interest in the "very problematic."

In Viet Nam, the police have a very difficult job, not only are they responsible for ensuring the safety and security of local citizens but are also tasked monitoring individuals by the national authorities. Therefore, two somewhat conflicting duties for local police personnel became apparent. On the one hand, safety and security of provincial locals. On the other hand, monitoring and governance of migrants.

During my time in the field, I was accompanied by one of the local policemen, who just happened to be a former student of my professor. This policeman offered interesting insights into the situation and proved to be a very crucial asset for the research. He is an ethnic Hmong, who migrated fifteen years ago, and his family is one

of the households that resettled in one of the first projects back in 2007. He was a student at the local school, and later qualified for police training. His main activities during my time the field was to stay in the forest where new groups of ethnic minorities just (in early 2019) migrated and are illegally resettled. He stays in the forest for one month at a time to “understand the situation, observation and closely watch the activities of the migrants.” Already, my research is off to an exciting start because of the policemen, a vessel of the government, is giving me valuable information into the mindset of the local authorities—the people in power.

Initially, I suspected the language barrier would be one of the most challenging obstacles to overcome. However, on the contrary, most migrants speak Vietnamese fluently. But they are most afraid of outsiders asking about life or resettlement issues. Most interviews must start with informal group discussions, when I will talk to a group of people about three to five people on everyday topics like crops, climate, crops, or their children's education. After that, for those with more information, or certain openness, the interview will continue as I suggest visiting their home. For ethnic minorities, they are very hospitable, so after identifying strangers without bad intentions, they are happy to invite me home and talk longer.

The field research last from 24 of April 2019 to 1st of May 2019; however, the connection and trial interview, pre-research has started since 15 of April. During data collection, I have worked with fifteen villagers, who are ethnic minorities migrants already settle down in the resettlement zone, newly establish village – five people in the forest, and five people from the local authority. Moreover, the observation and author field note also being used as a way for the researcher to examine the power relation and the relationship of each actor toward the self and their perspective toward an “outsider” – the author.

1.8 Thesis structure

The remaining chapters and sections of this thesis breakdown as follows. Chapter two reviews the literature on migration theory—specifically, analyzing migration issues from the migrant and government perspectives. This chapter also

discuss several opinions on the relationship between the concept of resettlements and the discourse of the central state.

Chapters three, four, five apply three analytical layers to the data gathered during the research process. Chapter three introduces the migrants' discourse, the process of building and generalize the discourse, and legitimizing the discourse. Chapter four discusses the questions related to problematizing ethnic minority migration by the state. The state and legitimation of migration and the development discourse. Lastly, clarify the rationalization process of the state in the proposed resettlement policy. Chapter five answers the process of interaction and cooperation between the people and the state regarding the resettlement policy. Two main points emerge, the actual resettlement and resistance to resettlement. By explaining the two possible outcomes, this chapter clarifies the power relationships.

Chapter six will address and discuss the concept of governmentality using the aggregated discourses, and how discourse shapes and creates the sets of expectations for ethnic migrant minorities. Lastly, chapter six summarizes the thesis, offers potential outcomes, and recommendations for resettlement policies moving forward.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 The definition of “Free migration”

Officials use the following criteria to classify migration. The first criterion, the length of time of residency, which divides into pendulum migration, seasonal migration, temporary migration, and permanent migration. Second the criterion of destinations divides into rural-urban migration, urban-rural migration, urban-urban migration, and rural-rural migration. The last criterion is the nature of organizational management which divides into state-planning-migration and free migration.

State-planning-migration (migration according to the State's plan) is migration carried out according to the programs and objectives established by the state or a designated representative of the state. Here, the State assume full control of the migration process. State-planning-migration is often organized migration to new economic zones, for national security or national defense, or emigration to for various State projects.

Free migration, according to the Circular No. 05 / NN / ĐCĐC - KTM, March 26, 1996, of the Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development, “is people moving outside the annual immigration plan of the state.” Researchers recognize free migration using the same criteria as outlined in the first paragraph of this section. However, from the perspective of an individual, a family, or a group of people that make the decision to migrate without State influence. Understandably, free migration is a move to a new place-based entirely on their own will, including the choice of destination. They organize, finance, and independently make the journey to their destination.

Legally, the people have a right to the freedom of residency. Although it is not organized by the authorities, people can still migrate based on their own needs. Free migration reflects the dynamism and independence of individuals and households for improving their livelihoods

Although this thesis adopts the terminology of free migration the Vietnamese State does not, which is outlined in table four below.

Government terminology in used	Meaning
Free migration	The migration wave is based on the will of the migrant subject without state-planning.
Un-controlled migration	The wave of migration is uncontrollable, implying that free migration is a type of migration that is not in line with the state's migration policy. This term concerns the will of the Government to manage and stop the movement of ethnic minorities migrant. ⁶
Spontaneous migration	Migration is unplanned, random, unpredictable, and without a destination.

Table 4: Government terminology in used regarding free migration

2.2 Reviewing Migration literature

A migrant's mindset influences knowledge and discourse about the migration process within the development context. Therefore, the primary objective of this chapter is to review existing literature that can further the understanding concerning the links between migration and development. Since the case we are investigating is internal migration, we preference studies that deal with internal migration in developing countries. More specifically, migration in the context state-led urbanization and modernization. We draw from the numerous studies that deal with migration at the macro and micro levels.

⁶ The uncontrolled migration phrase often used in documents, articles of state newspapers, embedded in the context of the threat of this migration wave brings. So, it is necessary to manage, prevent and stop this migration flow. For example: In the meeting in discussion the situation of free migration, the Prime Minister has said "By 2025, it is necessary to prevent the situation of free migration, complete the projects to stabilize free migrants. Hence, the northern provinces must be enhanced to rest assured, the Central Highlands provinces must stabilize people have already come" (Tuoi tre newspaper, 2018)

2.2.1 Micro-level – Why do people migrate?

Micro-level migration is primarily concerned with individuals and household, and their decision and motivations to migrate. Rational choice theory is widely accepted for understanding the decision-making process concerning migration at this level, and roughly translates into an economic cost-benefit analysis for the agents involved. For example, the desires to have better wages and improved well-being are push factors for the individual to migrate. The migrant's destination encompasses the pull factors—labor opportunities, higher wages, and a better livelihood—that fulfill the agents desire to migrate. Harris and Todaro (1970) emphasize labor market factors in the context of internal migration, the rural-urban pattern. Their analysis explains a migrant's decision to move based on the desire to achieve better wages or to avoid continuous unemployment. However, the Harris-Torado model does not answer the 'why people migrate' question in its entirety because not all who are stricken with unemployment or desire higher wages make the decision to migrate.

Massey et al. (1993) emphasize a cost-benefit analysis for understanding micro-level migration. Specifically, why an agent decides to move as a function of what the agent must endure or the potential risks that might arise during the move, against the potential opportunities and rewards for successfully completing the migration. In other words, a migration strategy is a livelihood consideration that deals with minimizing risks and maximizing rewards for either one individual agent or a family of agent. For example, a migrating agent might endure high risk and hardship during the migration process while the majority of benefits incurred return to the agent's place of origins. Ultimately, the cost-benefit analysis becomes worthwhile because of the aggregate benefits returning to the family. Lastly, a migrant also wants to reduce the cost of relying on their existent capital, such as social networks like relatives or kinship

For determining the migration destination, Grossman (1991) informs us of "logical destinations." For example, in the United States, black men and women

decided to leave their homes in the southern states and migrate north to avoid institutionalized racisms and locate better opportunities. For them, the "logical destinations" were cities in the north like Chicago, which did not have the forms of institutionalized racism. Grossman further differentiates his model from the traditional cost-benefit analysis, by developing the idea of "fairlyland wonders." Where a migrant chooses to believe in extraordinary stories of opportunities by peers about the destination. Grossman's framework contributes to explaining rapid changes in regional and local labor markets. Moreover, Grossman also links perceptions with changing perspectives based on migration patterns, where the migrant has the "perceptions of each other." In the case of northern migration in the United States, even those who chose to remain in the south displayed a shift in their perspective.

For the migration for ethnic minorities, assessing perceptions of hope, desire, and personal motivation contributes to the micro-level analysis and helping us to understand decisions in the context of rural-rural migration. Here, a migrant's destination choice might lead to an encounter with an unexpected situation characterized by vulnerability. However, another approach is necessary that offers a different perspective and it concerns looking at the macro-level structures.

2.2.2 Why that place? Macro-level migration

Macro-level theories of migration analyze decisions through an economical and structural lens. Individuals who migrate base their choices on the potential consequences arising from structural forces. According to Etzo (2008), migration under the macro-level approach concerns two questions, where are the migrants coming from and where are they going. From that starting point, the following can be discerned, type of destination (urban or rural), economic characteristics (industrial or farm labor or entrepreneurial). In our case it will be, "Why ethnic minorities choose to migration to Central Highland?" When determining the destination, the answer is reflective of economic and developmental factors. In this sense, classical models see

migration as an equilibrium mechanism to reduce unemployment and per capita income. Therefore, differences between destination locations play an essential role in driving people to migrate from one place to another over time.

The macro-level also emphasizes the role governments play in constructing "desirable destinations." Governments, using fiscal spending, can shift the demand and supply for migrant labor. Using the United States as an example, Rodrik (1995) analyzes immigration policy through the lens of economic development, trade policy, and which economic and political platform voters desire more. Based on a government's trade policy, the economy will develop around manufacturing or agriculture, the former requiring later amounts of labor and the latter being less labor intensive. Ultimately, the will of the voters determines which political party gets to implement their economic and trade policies, which then determines the necessary migration policy to support the former. Later, immigration policy reflects non-economic issues such as immigrant origin and culture.

Alternatively, Mayda and Patel (2006) analyze international migration from on the supply side of the political economy model, the priorities of policymakers, particularly whether politicians, also consider policies that maximize social welfare (Mayda & Patel, 2006).

In a one-party, centralized state model, political considerations reflect state discourse regarding where the migrants originate from, the destination, and the model of development attached to the migration process. Accordingly, the state has played a role in planning, building, and changing places through policies. Those policies reflect the state's desired stability, security, and economic interests. Transforming cities to improve welfare conditions in order to attract immigration flows, constituting a "Dreamland." Vice-versa, restraining migration with policies that introduce barriers on new migrants to stifle demand. Knowing the theories of migration allows the researcher to deconstruct the discourses of ethnic minorities and analyze migration decisions, to understand why they leave and move to the Central Highlands, and how these reasons interact with the state resettlement policies.

2.3 Linking Migration and Development

There has been much research done on internal migration, but these studies often reflect a rural-urban migration bias. In developing countries, migration is intricately linked to the development process and w reflective of state ideology. In other words, migration is a social product that constitutes a process of the discourse of development. In addition to providing an overview of the rural-rural migration model, it is also necessary to review migration associated with development in the Vietnamese context. In the framework of research, the author delves into the studying the migratory discourse of irregular migration. The issues that need to be clarified are the views of the state on development, the relationship between development and the subsequent migration policies, and how those developments affect migrants.

2.3.1 Development as a discourse

“In the holograms of hegemony panoramas of power subtly fade into theories of history. Evolutionism was an imperial vision, modernization theory nears witness to the American century, and development theory translated into contemporary relations of power. In the discourse of history produced by Western hegemony, knowledge and power are intricately interwoven” (Nederveen Pieterse, 2010, p. 18).

The discourse on development is a process within the scope of the relationship between the state and the people. For the context here, the state's ideology and orientation seek to the maintain power which is a fulfilled by controlling and determining the developmental discourse. Development concerns a group of people in a process of solving problems to improve the groups lot or wellbeing. This idea emerged during the Second World War, especially after the Marshall Plan, with a series of projects and grants for European countries that aimed to rebuild those nations after the war. Development ideas seem to be associated with urbanization, modernization, and civilization.

However, the idea of development appears before the nineteenth Century of Europe in response to the development of capitalism. In this context, the expansion of capital development involves both destroying the old and creating new ones. In a critique of early development discourse, M. P. Cowen (2003) remarks, "a developmental process works through the negative dimension of decay, decomposition, and destruction as well as through its positive dimension that represents an image of the new" (p. ix). The old-to-new transformation, placed in the context of migration, indicates that government policy deliberately constructs development. Furthermore,

"Whereas the idea of an imminent process of development conveys the impression of a fluidity of movement of the old to the new, the aim of an intentional development process is to renew the old, to use state policy in an attempt to confront, compensate and prevent the fluidity of the new, by locking up population in the countryside for the purposes of renewing the agrarian conditions of development" (M. Cowen, Shenton, R., & Crush, J., 1995, p. 59).

In the context of Viet Nam, it will be evident that in the early development period in the Central Highlands, the state introduced a new economic policy that brought the Kinh group - the group of people entrusted to this land, to distribute develop, and use available resources. The Kinh group movement is an example of population distribution within migration policy and is a policy solution for the state to achieve development goals. Next, we discuss the state as an agent committing actions and the people as the beneficiaries of those actions.

2.4 A review of resettlement policy

2.4.1 Resettlement Terminology

Resettlement has long been considered a tool of governance in which the definition of resettlement is the idea of individual or group relocation from their

original settlement. The purpose is to settle new areas and reconstruction the livelihoods of the people involved in the process. In most case, the resettlement will also link to spontaneous or non-spontaneous movement of people to the new place. According to Evrard and Goudineau (2004), the word 'resettlement' in this way alludes to a twofold procedure: the de-territorialization, which implies leaving a region, and perhaps for some individuals, it involves changing their entire lifestyle (natural, social, specialized). De-territorialization also suggests settling in another location and incorporating the new locations social characteristics as their own (Evrard & Goudineau, 2004). Across Southeast Asia, planned resettlement is used by the state to implement development projects or programs such as the construction of dams, the shifting around of people in highly populated areas, or the establishment of the new settlement. The case of the Central Highland is reflective of de-territorialization.

2.4.2 Resettlement and Governmentality

The reasons for resettlement are normally related to political and economy points of view. Target groups for resettlement fall into the following two categories, the trusteeship and the need to control (Evrard & Goudineau, 2004). Resettlements are supposed to facilitate the implementation of a rural development policy. For example, building new roads, schools, physical infrastructure, land reform, intensification of agriculture, and natural resource exploitation (Evrard & Goudineau, 2004). In that respect, resettlement of social groups whose culture and geographical location are separate them from the main national groups falls under category of need to control, civilization and govern. The resettlements are supposed to facilitate the implementation of a rural development policy – new roads, schools, sanitation works, the implementation of land tenure reform, intensification of agriculture, preservation and exploitation of timber resources (the primary source of income for the country) are all allegedly designed to accompany this new dynamic of population settlement. Resettlement has been acted as discourse process, inheritance the legacy from all form of actors. Therefore, resettlement as discourse reflects that process of needing to

control, which is inherit in the legacy of all state actors. In Viet Nam, it's shown in the transformation from a purely social ideology to an ideology that reflects market principles. Where Viet Nam differentiates itself from traditional capitalist or market orientated economies is who is controlling the market. In the Viet Nam, it is the government in control of the market in a state capitalist sense or "Socialist-oriented market."

2.4.3 Ethnic minority and the will to Resettlement to governance

The resettlement for ethnic minorities has not become a topic of concern for Vietnamese scholars. However, in Laos, there are numerous studies that review the issue as well as the relationship between resettlement for ethnic minorities and the governmentality. Beginning in 1968 and until the end of the 1970s, the Pathet Lao pioneers demanded the need to 'convey improvement to the sloping region,' a thought which had never been communicated in the past routine. However, after 1985, an idea emerged of relocating country towns closer to the operational hubs to improve the functioning of provincial managers. There appears to be various explanations behind this inversion. It might have viewed from the perspective of failed past strategies. For example, the failed collectivization of land or the attempt to build education and sanitation facilities in the highlands (Lestrelin, 2011).

To rationalize the rural development policy, an endeavor to improve the country, it is more efficient to relocate Lao people from the far corners of the country to areas close to central administrations. Alternatively, it might be viewed as an underdeveloped irrigated for agriculture in the upland territories. In the end, the idea of resettlement and governance are attached tightly to state political ideology (Evrard & Goudineau, 2004; Kenney-Lazar, 2010).

2.4.4 Resettlement and Development discourse

Here, the research focuses on the consequences of resettlement projects to changing social and cultural dynamics. As already stated, resettlement should be thought of as a development strategy or discourse. State planned resettlements, which

expect the government to “settle” populations by enforcing a ban on slash-and-burn agriculture or opium growing. cause increased and diversified rural mobility. In consequences, the result of the project is unpredictable and encounter unexpected problems such as further migration, complicated relation between ethnic and state.

Lestrelin (2011), in “Rethinking state-ethnic minority relations in Laos: Internal resettlement, land reform and counter-territorialization,” the author examines land reform, internal resettlement, and expands on the phenomena of “counter-territorialization” to engage with ethnic minorities in resettlement. The process of formulates the policy and implementation contingent on relationships between the state and society, political representation and associated power configurations. These state policies build on the discourse of development and might be different from the ethnic minorities, which have produced “gentle forms of resistance.” The article shows the empirical account of local responses in two minority villages in northern Laos, and the internal resettlement for the purpose of land and forest allocation. Therefore, the article contributes to understanding the relationship between state and society using Foucauldian governmentality (Lestrelin, 2011).

Resettlement moves people from their settlement area of choosing to the areas designated by state migration planning. It can consider as a government tool. Numerous studies highlight the relation of resettlement projects to outcomes of state development projects. Overall, it has pointed out the weakness and the inequality of those projects, especially projects that displace ethnics groups. People affected by development projects will be resettled in new areas to form new villages, which potentially creates problems concerning cultural differences. Common problems of resettlement exist, such as compensation for land are not transparency, accountability, or landlessness.

2.5 Knowledge gap

Written in the constitution, various rights of ethnic minorities are guaranteed and protected, “Ensuring the rights of ethnic minorities is always the duty and

responsibility of the Vietnamese Party and State" ("Constitution of the Republic of Vietnam 2013," 2013). Studies on the implementation of resettlement policies for ethnic minority people are often associated with groups of people affected by development projects, or local population groups. A number of articles describe the reality of resettlement policies for free migrants and the common difficulties in implementing policies. First, issues of documentation, administrative procedures, and management of migrants located in the resettlement projects. Furthermore, the legalization of residency and the supporting registration papers that recognize them. Second, the substandard living situation in resettlement areas. Due to the failure of implementing livable resettlements or failure to mediate ethnic group clashes, most resettlement people return to their place of origin. Consequently, the resettlement areas receive negative connotations as being wasteful uses of resources. At the same time, it also affects the process of mobilizing people into settlements because the households living in the forest do not want to go away from the opportunities of access agriculture, production lands (D. Nguyen, 2019; People Militaty, 2019).

The literature review attempts to present current views on the reasons for migration, as well as the factors that influence peoples' decisions to immigrate. It is necessary to recognize the movement as an act in the causal relationship, associated with the ideology of the subject of the migration flow on hope. Hope and imagination for a better future is also a structure imposed within society. Migrant groups are often disadvantaged groups; there are not many possibilities and conditions to access capital sources. Therefore, the consequence of this migration in the locality may have many shortcomings, substantial risk of conflict, as well as being considered a population group that has an influence on the socio-economic development of the destination. In that influence, migrants are having few opportunities with even fewer resources at their disposal to improve their situation. Furthermore, ethnic minorities are "stereotyped" as economic parasites and contribute to social unrest and environmental degradation of rural areas. The developmental discourse focuses on elements such as "trusteeship," "regulating population," "development," and "Governmentality". From

those elements, it has pointed out the relationship between development discourse, the role of the state, and the relationship between the state and the population groups in the development strategy.

However, not much research exists on the issue of resettlement for free migrants. Specifically, a knowledge gap regarding free migration and resettlements in Viet Nam. Moreover, studies that link resettlement policies and migrant ethnic minorities using the concept of governmentality. This research builds on and contributes to the above ideas. Emphasizing governmentality of migrant groups already living in the Dak Lak provinces, more specially, the migrant's group in Cu Kbang commune. The analysis focuses on the resettlement projects where the ethnic minorities are not "trusteeship" group under the view of State, which creates the solution as a framing discourse to manage or control the migrant's ethnic minorities.

CHAPTER 3: ETHNIC MINORITIES MIGRATION TO LAND OF OPPORTUNITIES

3.1 Introduction

What are the reasons ethnic minorities deciding to migrate? What do migrants look for in destination? What decisions do current immigrants take to stabilize their lives? One-way linear explanations cannot answer these questions in a satisfactory manner. Each action migrants make is the synthesis of information, rationalization, and hope.

In the context of ethnic minorities, micro-level migration theory helps us understand their decision based on hope, desire, and personal motivation. The idea of migrants making decisions to move, is partly influenced by the idea of a “better future” (Pine, 2014). Grossman, in his research on migrant destinations, emphasizes the macro-level analysis of state building. Which is known as the “logical destination” or “land of hope” (Grossman, 1991). Thus, in the context of rural-rural migration where their destination of choice can lead to unexpected situations.

In line with the conceptual framework, we look at migration decisions made by ethnic minorities through the multi-layer approach. Then, employing the concept of hope, we analyze the various influences ethnic minorities encounter during the re-framing the situation. This chapter argues that the movement of ethnic minorities into the Central Highland, is a rational decision, generated from the discourse of governmentality toward ethnic minorities. How the movement is understandable and falls in line with “hope” and “belief” similar to the analysis in Grossman (1991).

This chapter clarifies the process of receiving the states development discourse. Specifically, the policies that have been implemented towards ethnic minority migrants. Next, in section 3.2, I explain which policies drive ethnic people to the act of free migration. In sections 3.3, I define ethnic minority characteristics and the reasons

that lead them to the decision to migrate. In section 3.4, I review the discourse, Central Highland as a “land of opportunities.” In section 3.5, I overview the life of ethnic minorities in the Central Highland in comparison to their “hope” before migrating. Lastly, clarifying how they interact with other subjects and the local authorities.

3.2 Overview about ethnic minorities situation in Viet Nam

The government will to improve

After defending against imperialist aggression by the United, the Vietnamese government began a process of reforming the economy. Reforms included the implementation of market principles and opening up for trade and investment. Since the Doi Moi (usually translated as ‘renovation’), launched at the 6th National Congress in 1986, economic and social development had started to take off. In 1986 the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) was USD 33.873 million; in 2017, GDP was USD 2.343,12 million (World Development indicator 2017). However, like in all capitalist systems, economic growth is uneven and has a tendency to leave vulnerable groups behind—specifically, ethnic minorities (Thin, 2016).

Ethnic minorities are an “undeniable” part of country and the positives and negatives of national development policy has an effect on their livelihoods. The ethnic minorities that are facing such changes cannot maintain the same level of progress with the rest of the country. Since they are standing outside of the modernizing centers and cannot keep up with the ongoing development, they receive labels full of prejudice. The sin of being unable to grow.

A report in early 2019 by the national ethnic committee, reported on the sustainable poverty reduction policy according to national development goals. When referring to the causes of limiting progress in implementing poverty reduction policies, the committee wrote,

“The starting point of ethnic minority and mountainous areas is still low. The terrain is divided, the climate is harsh, the quality of human

resources is low, so it is difficult to attract investment. The percentage of people in working age is underemployed, high in poverty, natural disasters and diseases is a big challenge. Since then, a number of issues in ethnic minorities have arisen such as spontaneous migration, shortage of residential land, productive land, lack of clean water, and lack of infrastructure". (Ethnic committee, 2019).⁷

That report indicates the thought that dominates the state's discourse on ethnic minorities. This discourse legitimizes development policies in the broader goal of further modernization and industrialization. Furthermore, the Government's attempts at changing investment-related guidelines to push for new development projects in ethnic minority areas have been unsuccessful for many years.⁸ These policies attached with the idea that development equals a western sense of modernization and industrialization prevent investment guidelines from being changed. The leading international organization reinforce the state's development discourse and further prevent the necessary changes from occurring. For example, the World Bank has approved a loan of US \$ 330 million to help build Trung Son Hydropower Plant in the Northwest under the Electricity of Viet Nam (EVN) in 2011 (World Bank, 2010).

The cause behind development policies associated with modernization, infrastructure development, and changing the nature of livelihoods, originate from the Vietnamese transformation of state ideology away from traditional Marxism, Socialism, Or Communism. In 1986, the Vietnamese state opened its doors to principles of the market economy, freedom of goods, private ownership, and

⁷ Translate from the Report

⁸ In deciding the Northern mountainous economic development plan by 2020, the Prime Minister has pointed out a number of key development projects and needs to continue to invest as: Investing in modern technology and equipment to exploit the deep processing of apatite minerals (Lao Cai); copper in Sin Quyen (Lao Cai); Nickel - Ban Phuc copper (Son La); tungsten at Nui Phao (Thai Nguyen); iron in Quy Sa and Liep village (Lao Cai), Tinh Tuc tin (Cao Bang), lead, zinc, kaolin, construction materials; technological innovation of Thai Nguyen iron and steel area. Construction of the Northwest sub-region (including the provinces of Hoa Binh, Son La, Dien Bien and Lai Chau) as a key area for national hydropower.(Ethnic committee, 2019)

acceptance of new forms of economic management. This opening up removed economic sanction that had been in place for years and began developing strategic partners to develop the economy. In addition to the economic change and the normalization of relations with former adversaries, also opened up the country to receive new cultural and social ideas. Accordingly, domestic policies shifted to accommodate and meet requirements tied to further partnerships and receiving aid or Foreign Direct Investment.

A typical example is the poverty reduction program 135 that carries the influence of the Green Revolution. The ideas included in Green Revolution, which is primarily the modernization of agriculture, include the use of modern machinery and the incorporation of science and technology in agricultural process. The various policies support the transition to more modern agricultural practices has resulted in both positives and negatives. Food is more readily available, and shortages are less frequent, but new varieties of plants and animals are not suitable for the climate and soil. New varieties of rice and maize, in combination of with new fertilizers, has caused impacts on the ecosystem and future soil fertility. Most importantly, these changes impact local ecosystems and minority knowledge on agriculture (Ethnic committee, 2019).

Until recently, the poverty rate has declined. However, more than 70% of ethnic minorities still earn less than \$2 a day. Moreover, inequality indexes reveal widening gaps between the ethnic minority groups and the Kinh people and also reveal trends of poverty recidivism—people falling back into poverty once they have escaped.

According to a World Bank report and the office of the Prime Minister (2013), the proportion of people living in poverty and low income growth remain high for the following reasons(World Bank, 2018),

- Their livelihoods are attached to labor intensive agriculture.
- Rural development lags behind the urban areas. Therefore, poverty remains concentrated in those areas.

- Optimal land use and crop selection improve incomes quite a lot and make the difference between being in and out of poverty.
 - o However, crop selection improves income more than optimal land use. This is explained by education level and the presence of technical assistance.
- Other limitations consist of access to financial services and lack of formal land rights. The 2014 living standard survey by the World Bank shows that twenty-three per cent of agricultural land by cultivated households is not granted a land-use certificate, which makes it difficult to access credit (lack of legally recognizable collateral) (Hoàng Cầm, 2012).

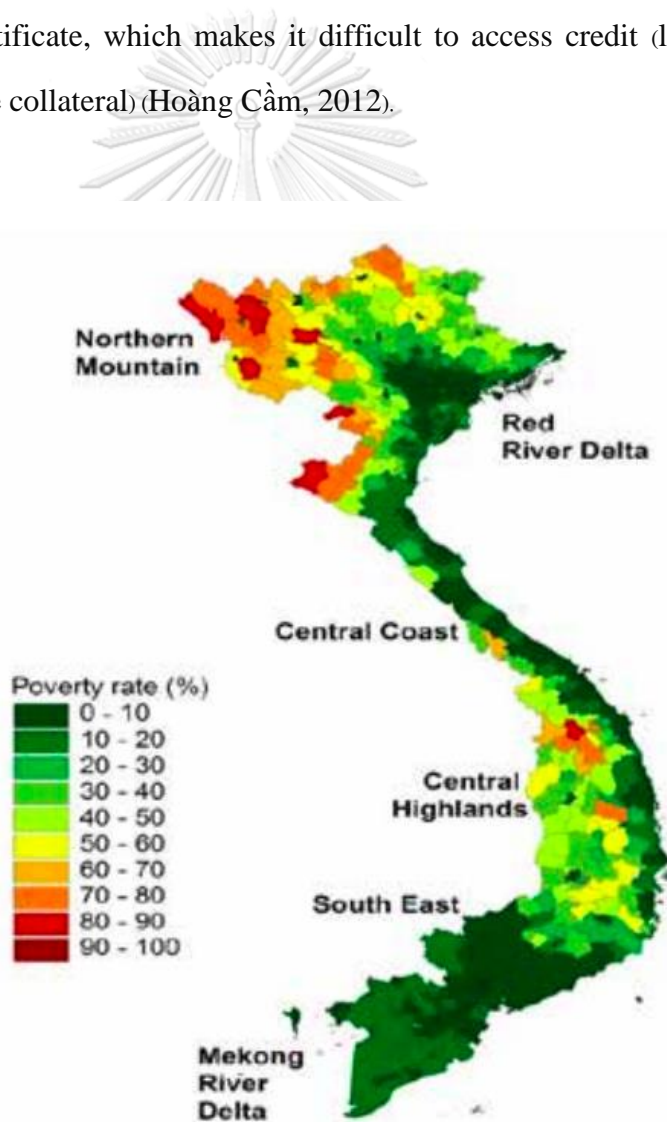


Figure 5: Poverty rate by the district in 2014

Source: World Bank estimates based on Mid-term Census, 2014 and Living Standards Survey, 2014 (World Bank, 2018)

This report links poverty to poor capabilities, low educational level, inefficient farming techniques, and lack of access to capital of ethnic minorities. However, the report ignores the core issues of the situation of ethnic minorities being left behind, which start with the government's trickle-down economic policy.

To the national solidarity legitimation

Since Viet Nam gained independence, along with the birth of the Socialist State, the government has promulgated a constitution and affirmed the fairness and solidarity of people in the country. Talking about this issue in 1978, Le Duan, the first general secretary of the Communist Party of Viet Nam states,

Thanks to the solidarity of minorities, we had achieved worthy victories over two large imperialists - France and America. Now, to construct a successful socialist society, we need to have more solidarity and unity again. (Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, 1981, p. 56)

Basically, this ideology is arguing that national unity is a prerequisite to building a steady state, contributing to the prosperity and development of Communism, and making a socialist country. These ideas were the principle of the Communist Party of Viet Nam from before the establishment of the state. Ethnic minorities, or mountainous people in Party documents, have previously stated the need to identify as one peoples under the Party's ideology. Le Duan continues,

“To build and strengthen the mountainous region into a strong base for national defense and economic strength, the most important thing is to focus on building national solidarity between the Kinh and the ethnic groups and the ethnic groups. different from each other. It is necessary to educate the people of ethnic minorities as well as the minority of solidarity, respect of customs and habits of each other, honestly helping each other to progress; It is necessary to make ethnic people understand the policies of the Party and the Government to resolutely bring the

mountainous areas to catch up with the lowland areas, make mountainous areas prosperous and prosperous and happy. and ensure true equality between peoples in economic and political terms, rights and obligations.”
(Le Duan, 2007)

The thought of bringing mountainous regions to catch up with the lowland is a discourse that has been popular throughout the currents of government policy for a long time. This idea is based on the level of development among ethnic groups in the country. Justifying this viewpoint are the Kinh people, who are considered role models in catching up ethnic minorities and building comprehensive socio-economic reform in the development process.

The 'backwardness' of ethnic minorities has been the basis for the state to develop and modernize policies for the community. For example, marriage customs of many ethnic groups in Truong Son mountainous, such as the continuation of the races and the custom of the bridegroom is considered "the original remnants" and therefore must be overcome to remove the backwards custom (Phan Huu Dat, 2004, p. 270). Similarly, cultural practices such as "keeping the thread at hand for the newborn, the need for seasons, the prosperity, the continuation of the wife [voluntarily]" are also considered backwards practices (Phan Huu Dat, 2004, p. 511)

The economic activities of ethnic minorities with shifting cultivation, have been said to be "backward technology", "low productivity", or "not environmentally friendly" (Van, Luu, & Son, 1984). From these studies, ethnic minorities have been viewed as backwards, and need to be modernized to match the agricultural practices in the lowlands. Since then, the policies for the development of ethnic minorities have been born. Including the new economic migration policy, bringing Kinh people to the highlands. This policy has significantly changed the economic, production, and cultural life of the ethnic minorities. Grant Evans mentions the phenomenon of Kinh people becoming the majority in the areas where only minority people lived previously also deepened their awareness of differences, and inferior to Kinh people

in the thinking of ethnic minorities in his research as an assimilation attempt, or "Kinh-nize" (Evans, 1992).

Besides poor economic conditions, erosion of traditional values, loss of identities, and the feeling of not being able to compete with people of Kinh ethnicity contributes to the mindset of other ethnic minorities. Speaking about this, a migrant Hmong woman in her late 30s has said,

"I don't know much. I don't have a good education background. Therefore, when I starting to search for jobs, mostly I end up working in the field as seasonal labor or doing physical things. The only things I know is how to grow crops. So, when I migrate, I mostly depend on my husband to provide money since he is stronger and has people hiring him. I will work for few days in the harvest season or raining season, and people need someone to cut the grass or watering." (Interview EMR014)

The gap between other ethnic minorities and the Kinh people starts early in educational development. A Hmong ethnic man who lives in Hamlet 10 said,

"Back in the days, it's hard and rare that an ethnic child can study up to university. Because we are slower, and not smart as the Kinh people. Our scores in the school mostly will be lower than them. That is the reason, the Government have a policy to adding score for us when we attend national test to university." (Interview EMR015)

Through national testing, the government established the first will to improve, setting expectations for ethnic minorities to change and modernize with the rest of the country. This policy is justified using the tradition of solidarity. This type of will to improve comes into practice with the growth and implementation of the various development projects. These policies are not only the product of economic discourse but also the political and ideological desires of the majority. Thus, affecting ethnic minority's livelihood decisions and pushing them to migrate.

3.3 The story of ethnic minorities migrates to Cu Kbang

This section covers how the policies affect minority people and the problematizing process to decide to migrate.

3.3.1 Reason to leave

Recalling that the drive to migrate occurs through a process of research and information synthesis. It requires weighing the current with what is possible at the new destination. The livelihood and wellbeing of migrant households at their original homes is best described as precarious, with lack of food and little opportunities. Below, four intersectional reasons are discussed that contribute to ethnic minorities migrating. First, ethnic minorities life relied on agriculture which requires new land and the ability to clear that land to establish fields. Migrants to the Cu Kbang area are predominantly Mong, Dao and Tay ethnic groups, who have a long tradition of living close to the mountains and forests, their main livelihood is usually farming and corn cultivation, rice, and other crops (World Bank, 2018).

In the past, under old socio-economic relationship, land and forests belonged to the community. Under the old socio-economic system, the ethnic minorities did short-term rotation farming where fields were close distance and old fields had time to recover. Therefore, the Northern ethnic people can move from one forest to another using slash and burn cultivation. Without any barriers the process was harmonious with nature. However, starting from the period of the new economy that recognized private ownership of land and the requirement of land to do economic development projects, limited access to new forest areas. Without the ability to rotate like before, forest degradation intensified and ethnic minorities community gradually fell into a state of acute land shortage (Nhật, 2009; Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, 1981).

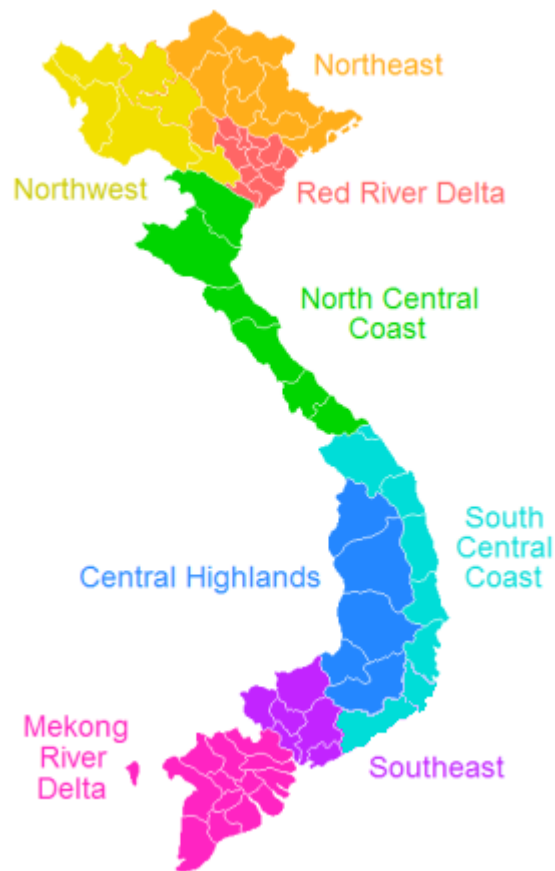


Figure 6: Map of regions in Viet Nam

Source: <https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=185025>

The lack of access to land as a cause of poverty which motivated them to migrate was a common response during interviews with Cu Kbang commune resident. Migrants leave from are Cao Bang, Yen Bai, Lang Son, and Ha Giang provinces. The geography in those areas is dangerously rocky, harsh climate, and barren land, so agricultural livelihoods has many difficulties. A man who migrated in 2010 said, “[*We does not have enough land to do agriculture*” (Interview EMR004). Also, another woman migrant in hamlet fourteen stated that “*I was only having half a hectare of mountain land to grow crops, in here I can easily have 2 or 3 hectares*” (Interview EMR007).

The livelihoods of ethnic minorities are dependent on agriculture, but the land is scarce. The lack of land means that their livelihoods are at risk. Agricultural productivity in the Northern Uplands is exceptionally low due to the terrain being

mostly mountainous small fields that are difficult to grow on and generate low yields. The problems are exacerbated by the lack of financing available to expand production by implementing capital and adopting new technologies to the farming process. Moreover, the lack of incorporating agricultural technology into the production process worsens soil nutrient depletion and soil erosion from sedentary farming (opposite of rotational farming). This has brought people into a state of food insecurity without supplementary incomes. A Hmong man, who migrated in 2007 shared, “[W]e grow rice on high mountains, with little land. The area we stayed in was rocky, lacking in nutrients, so sometimes losing crops, so there was not enough rice to eat, so there was no income” (*Interview EMR010*).

Second, government land policy and changing economic strategies narrow down opportunities to improve or even maintain livelihoods. In rapidly changing contexts, especially since the market transition, the ethnic minorities discourses have been left out in the new economic model of socialist oriented market (McElwee, 2011). This change has led to the situation of ethnic minorities struggle when their relationship with forest and land become fragile (Khánh, 2013). Which explains the continuity to ethnic minority poverty, from their original homes through to their migration to the Central Highland.⁹

Many ethnic minorities in the North cannot improve their livelihoods because they were excluded from the land reform process when formal land rights were distributed. Without land titles, minorities do not have the necessary collateral to access credit to adopt more modern farming practices. The absence of land for cultivation and market development has pushed ethnic minorities further into

⁹ See more in (Gillespie, 1998) In 1980, the new Constitution ratified claimed all land in Viet Nam was nationalized, and the term of the 1988 Land Law states that land must “owned by persons under the control of the home country.” Under the framework of the socialist ideology, the state treated land as the property of the entire people and did not permit private ownership or exchange and trade of land. However, Land Law 2003, which states that “land belongs to the entire people, the state represents the owner (i.e., the whole people of the land.” With the changing in the languages, now state allow land become the assets that people can trade and owning in a certain time.

precariousness. Capitalist investment in to manufacturing, resources extractions, national transportations projects, and hydroelectric dams further reduces the available land. Even the government's agricultural projects, which emphasize mono-cropping, contribute to narrowing down the remaining available agricultural land.

Evans (1992) analyzes hydroelectric dam construction (Kinh-nize) in the northern mountainous provinces, concluding that the disrupt ethnic minorities and for relocation. Land means home and livelihood. It is a social bond. But as the government converges towards internationally accepted economic conventions, the connections between ethnic minorities and the land they depend on, appear to be being severed.

Third, with the incorporation of a free market, capitalist competition created an unbalancing effect in the livelihoods of ethnic minorities. The economy changed from one based on centralized production where resources allocation is determined by the government to one where the allocation of resources is largely decided by the free market. The competition between agents and institutions determines whose goods and services are sold in the market. However, ethnic minorities that did not traditionally produce to sell surpluses find it difficult to compete in a free market that is alien to their customary practices (they cannot compete against other minorities like the Kinh people who transitioned to free market methods better) (N. A. Dang, Tacoli, & Hoang, 2003; World Bank, 2018). A migrant man living in one of the protected forest zones also said this is one of the reasons he needed to leave. "We cannot compete with the Kinh people in trading goods. It is also impossible to compete in modern education and skills such as computers or foreign languages" (Interview EMF002). Another migrant shared how she is takes water from a freshwater tank at her new home in the protected forest zone "I don't want to do another business, selling in market can be fun but I want to growing crops instead" (Interview EMF003). The lack of government protection and support during the transition phase of development, in combination with a lack of affinity to participating in the free market worsens the situation.

Despite the government guaranteeing universal education through to secondary, ethnic minorities are still struggling to access to education. The recognized language

in education is traditional Vietnamese and with the bilingual education system still being implemented minorities are put in a complicated situation. Not only does traditional minority language risk being lost through standardized education, individuals looking to transition away from farming or participate in the formal economy face a difficult language barrier (World Bank, 2018).

One of the options supported by the authorities at all levels is the investment and development of eco-tourism, cultural tourism. However, when changing their career, they also face the danger of modernization, and eroding traditional values. This lifestyle is not suitable for most people, so many people still want to maintain a way of life and livelihoods that are linked to nature. Speaking about this problem, a woman migrant shared:

"We are from Lao Cai, near Sapa, where the government encourages us to make tourism and handicraft industries, commercialize traditional products to make tourism goods. My village also has a few young men who want to make homestays for tourists. The tourists come more crowded, more bustling, but gradually everything changes, even the traditional market also into a tourist market. I do not fit in that lifestyle want to be a farmer." (Interview EMF003)

Fourthly, their village locates in remote areas, lack of facilities, schools, educational opportunities. The mountainous and remote areas often encounter difficulties to access social services, such as clean water, transportation, school, health. Most of the migrant agree on the difficulty of the education system in the old time, a grandmother and her grandson sharing the same thought:

"My children are still a child, and they have to walk far to get to school, in here it takes them only 15 minutes" (Interview EMR002)

"If I want to go to school, my parents must take me because of the distance; the rainy season is slippery, so sometimes I have to quit school.

Here, the school is only a few minutes away from home; I go to school with my village friends” (Off record discussion with children)

Studies on socio-economic life have also shown, one of the reasons why ethnic minorities are increasingly left behind, is the lack of facilities. Inadequate nutrition, less access to education due to lack of costs, as well as inappropriate education programs (U. V. Nam, 2017).

In conclusion, Ethnic minorities, with all the difficulty they faced, must come up with the solutions to escape the struggle. Therefore, from the perspective of many of the migrants, migration has become a good strategy for them.

3.3.2 Migration as a subjectivity of governmentality

According to Ea Sup district report on free migration issues in 2018, among the ethnic groups migrating to Cu Kbang, the largest is the Hmong (Ea Sup People Committee, 2018). Taking from the information from the interviewee, both local authorities and Hmong migrants share the opinions of moving decisions based mainly on the access to land, and the characteristics of Central Highland landscape compare to the Northern mountains. The local officer in the Ea Sup commune sharing

“The Hmong in the Northern provinces, also known as the Meo people, live in the Rocky Mountains, also known as cat ears, one has to go to each stone cavity, digging the soil, and then empty the stone hole, sow corn seeds into the holes in the cavity” (Interview OF002)

In Dak Lak, cultivation becomes much more convenient when the land is flat. Therefore, it is possible to use motorized means for agriculture. Especially in the northern mountainous provinces with unfavorable natural conditions, extreme weather climate, little agricultural land area, often affected by natural disasters, some localities do not have the proper support to help people develop agriculture production, increase income and stabilize their lives. Meanwhile, Dak Lak is a province with favorable natural conditions, fertile land, a suitable climate for developing agricultural and

forestry economy. Therefore, the people consider Dak Lak as an ideal and desirable place to live, actively attracting a free flow of migrants to reside and settle in the province.

Yearning for land, the migrant travel to reach out for the resources they need, the land becomes a reason pull people out of the hometown. Lead them to the new area, guiding them to take further actions on purchase land, both illegal and legally to settle down. The need become a curse for the ethnic minorities migrants as it's become a reason to the government cynical the existence of migration in the areas which population density are tense.

According to the local authorities has been working in the commune department of agriculture and rural developments for more than 30 years, the migration movement of ethnic minorities to Central Highland and Cu Kbang have started after 1975, but only become an issue after 1990. The very first migrant's movement to Cu Kbang, according to the story of the officer, was started in 1977. Two people original from Cao Bang province, moved to Cu Kbang and reclamation the land (khai hoang), back at that time, the land still available as a forest. Their family later was set up in the commune and slowly become a "model" for another family to leave their hometown to this area.

In migration concept of hope introduces by Pine (Pine, 2014), hope is often associated with ideal patterns of migrant stories. People who migrated before, with success stories, and escaped their poverty. Through the dissemination of information, it has formed myths and is the basis for people to become more confident in the correctness of migration. The hope also acts as a factor to pull people out of the precarious life they have. This factor is also a significant factor when the kinship relationship of ethnic communities is essential in their life.

With the strong kinship, and they bound to their hometown, each people leaving, still, keep a connection with the old town. Their life in the new place was not yet better, but the first advantage they can see is the vast land are waiting for them to reclaiming consequently, other people have heard the rumor of people who are left,

about the better life in the new land, they have decided to migrate, without turning back.

Through the interview process, the standard answer has appeared, from all perspective, the migrants have come here with a single common purpose, which is access to the land and forest resources in the Central Highlands, which all ethnic groups have understood as a way to maintain their "livelihood".

“Our ethnic minorities migrate, just because of livelihood, because of the land. In here, the land is wide and flat; it is easier to plant trees than in our hometown.” (Interview EMR004)

Another migrant who already resettle five years ago also said. “I was only having half hectare of mountain land to grow crops, in here I can easily have two or three ha” (Interview EMR007 Hamlet 14, women, 33 years old)

Speaking about this statement, the local authorities also confirm, the livelihood of migrant's people is closely with the land.

“Ethnic minorities who migrate, the most important thing is land. There must be a land for them to plant trees, to live. So, there are new people who have no land will go to the forest. Because in the forest, they can catch animals, raise a few animals, and then slowly clean the forest as a place to grow rice” (Interview OF002)

Poverty comes with a dream of changing a life; it is a human instinct to a pursued better condition, better life. That is dream and motivation also existent as a core heart of development ideology. Therefore, the dream of the ethnic minorities to have a better life never should be considered as a threatening, but an opportunity.

The land of opportunity is the phrase given by migrants to the Central Highlands. From the previous migration movement, when people went back to the people back home, the richness of the land here. Those who left have painted a picture of a land, but only if people go to reclaim and cultivate, will they have a chance to

live well. The phrase "land of opportunity" is also spoken by migrants through the following quote:

"My uncle, after five years of migration, said that the land is particularly good here, suitable for growing crops. It is good to plant anything, but especially coffee, it is known. It is a high yielding, substantial value. Not only coffee, but rice is also better harvested than in our hometown because the land is flat, easy to irrigate, and can grow with a large area. So, we all thought, this is the land that will bring the opportunity to change our life." (Interview EMR015)

Ethnic minorities in Viet Nam had always conceived as moving and migrant communities, who had moved from one forest to another, cultivated in fertile soil and left when the land was ruined. However, it is only because of that "practice" that ethnic minorities have decided to leave, travel thousands of kilometers, to a land that is unfamiliar both in terms of climate, way of life, terrain, or there another hidden motive? Since when did this discourse exist in the thinking class of anthropological or social researchers?

In summary, the reasons why migrants decide to leave are due to severe economic conditions. Farming land is the biggest concern, and the primary motivation for them to migrate. Besides, opportunities for access to social services and opportunities for children are also noted.

However, it also needs to consider that. Considering the development policies applied to ethnic minorities as a tool of governance. The expected behavioral structure is that ethnic minorities gradually cultivate and integrate into the market economy. However, in contrast to the pattern of behavior expected and created by the state, ethnic minorities under the pressure of change decided to migrate to expect them to be able to maintain a lifestyle they desire. This migration act, also known as a form of resistance, when the people have practiced the subjective nature and decided the action, they deem appropriate.

3.4 Reason for choosing a destination

3.4.1 Central highland as land of opportunities

Since 1975, for the Central Highlands, the Viet Nam government and the party have set out two strategic guidelines:(Bùi, 2011; Nguyen Ngoc, 2008)

- * Building the Central Highlands into a strong security and defense area, corresponding with the strategic position of this critical plateau.

- * Building the Central Highlands into a critical economic region of the country

The very first planned to achieve the vision is the migration planning movement was believed to bring the modernization, civilization and development to the central highland. This period will be correctly described as the Government trying to achieve the vision to develop a "*need to manageable areas*" through a set of strategies, with the believed on the group of the trusteeship – the Kinh people. Through the supportive of migrating Kinh people, the lowlander to highland, the government trying to strengthen a large workforce for the Central Highlands. According to the original plan, it is expected to bring the Central Highlands five million people (Dang Nguyen Anh, 2009).

This plan also aims to solve the population pressure for the Mekong Delta and Red River Delta due to the influx migration movement to the big city and the increasing of the population after the war. With the inflow migration to the Highland, the government also attempted to organize the entire Central Highlands into major economic units: during the first ten years, as economic units, the army troops turn into economic social units, comprising three divisions 331, 332, 333¹⁰ covering nearly the

¹⁰ Based on the merger of combat units during the liberating war years, the Vietnamese government transferred units 331, 332,333 from the army into a new economic group ... with the nature of the original task mainly reclaiming rubber, coffee, and rice. Binh Doan's territory stretches 220 km on the border line of Gia Lai and Kon Tum provinces. Later, gradually the people of the following generations developed and spread to the provinces of Dak Lak and Dak Nong.

entire Central Highlands¹¹. The development process of state-owned agricultural and forestry farms has been through many stages, associated with the tasks and objectives of the country's socio-economic development. In the period of 1955-1975, the main tasks of agricultural and forestry farms were reclamation, land restoration, afforestation and economic development according to a concentrated and collective model. In the period of 1976-1986, it was a period of strong development in both scale and quantity. Ten years later, the army handed over to the civilians. The army troops turned the economy into the Union of Agriculture, Forestry and Industry Enterprises, also covering most of the Central Highlands. After ten years, realize that this management model is ineffective, the government has disbanded state management agencies, reorganized into provincial or central state farms and forestry farms (Group of consultants for Committee for Ethnic Minorities, 2015). The land and forest in the Central Highlands were nationalized, allocated to the army units, economic unions, farms and forestry farms, and handed over to people. Indigenous people only have residential land and a little land for cultivation.

The policy of migration aligns with the reclamation policy, in the 1980s, has contributed to building the "*reputation*" of the areas, as vast land, a small number of people, fertile land, easy to cultivate. Migration in this period has a diverse composition, from new economic migration to those who stayed after the war. Ethnic minority communities also have a few in the military who have also stayed in Central Highland as they realized the change of having a stable life. Gradually, through the words of those who stay in Central Highland, as well as the news, banner, article of the state's encourage economic migration, created an image of the opportunity of migration to the Central Highlands (Dang Nguyen Anh, 2009). Those features are an invitation to the ethnic minorities for the future full of potential for life change; therefore, increasing amount of people think Central Highland is a land of opportunities. The migration of new economic zones from 1975 to 1998, land resources have been reclaimed (Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, 1981).

Along with that, Directive 100, on January 18, 1984, the Secretariat issued Directive 35 on encouraging family economic development, allowing farm households to take advantage of all land sources that agricultural and forestry cooperatives industrial are not used all to put into production. The State does not impose production and business taxes on the family business, only tax on belonging land, and land for restoration is exempted from tax for five years. In order to facilitate the promotion of agricultural development, on April 5, 1988, the Politburo of the Party Central Committee issued Resolution 10 - NQ / TW "*On the renovation of agricultural economy management*"; deciding "*assigning*" agricultural land, or more accurately, the right to use agricultural land to cooperative members' families.

The new policies mark a second important milestone in the process of reforming the land ownership regime in Viet Nam during the reform market period. Resolution 10 of the Politburo officially recognizes households as independent economic units, assigns land to households for long-term use (fifteen-twenty years for short-term cropland, one to two-cycle for long-lasting plants), stabilizing productivity, contracted output. During this time, farm households are assigned "*inheritance rights to use for their children or to transfer to other owners.*" For farmers' products, after subtracting taxes or selling them to organizations under contractual agreements, they have the right to freedom of consumption in the market.

The image of the Central Highlands is like a land of hope which Grossman has shown in his book (Grossman, 1991), the idea that originated from the government's resettlement policies for Kinh people. This image is a product of social construction, associated with the desire to manage and develop the Central Highlands in the direction that the state wants. Resettlement policies that attract migrants from poor rural areas, when they are promised a stable future, land for farming, and the opportunity to change their lives. However, this policy only focuses on the Kinh, the "trusteeship" group of government, which is close to the situation in Lao that Evrard and Goudineau has mentioned (Evrard & Goudineau, 2004). Therefore, the migration of ethnic minorities came here had surprised the government.

With those policies, from the perspective of migrants, the migration to the Central Highlands has become an appealing choice with the policies to encourage the reclamation of wasteland, economic development, food crops given by the state. The ethnic minorities in the North, notwithstanding out of the attraction rule, even though they were never a trusteeship like Kinh people, but due to the poverty and difficulty in their homeland, migration seem a good choice for them.

Speaking about the reason to move to Central Highland, a migration who now live in the forest protection zone has said

"I just came here. I don't know how many people who have been there before has received land from authorities. However, I still hope to be granted land, according to siblings and relatives they said anyone who migrates here the state will take care of it" (interview EMF003)

Local authorities working in Rural agriculture sector also affirmed,

"They migrated because they heard that there was an excellent opportunity, in the North it was difficult, the land was all rocky, trees were not harvested. I heard that I migrated here. have land, have rice to eat, of course, they will migrate " (Interview OF001)

Meanwhile, with the national resettlement, migration plan for the lowlander to reclaiming the land in Central highland, align with the changing in land law, has created the imagine opportunities for the ethnic minorities in a fertile land in Dak Lak through verbal communication. Hence, the choice of location for migration becomes an unsuspecting choice.

3.4.2 Relatives and kinship as a capital

Among the elements to decide the moving behavior, human capital is a vital factor. Especially for groups of people with limited economic and social capital. Migration as Massey has described in his theory of select places to migrate, is always linked with the calculated to minimize costs, risks, and ensure migration is beneficial.

In the research about the migration movement of ethnic minorities to Central Highland, Dang Nguyen Anh has pointed out the kinship as the capital in migration decision (Dang Nguyen Anh, 2015). In the case study, the interview of the migrant's also shown the characteristics of the social structure, living closely with village communities and relatives, having a familiar and trusted one is always a top priority of migrants. Moreover, with ethnic minorities, the lack of access to social capital like money, information, also contributed to the need for relying on the human capital or the kinship network.

Firstly, free migrants rely on information from others or their understanding of the richness of forest and land resources of the Central Highlands in both quantity and quality. Especially the red soil Bazan is favorable for the development of agriculture and forestry, so the Central Highlands has been chosen as the priority immigration area. Information from this person, often transmitted through each other through a relative kinship spoken mechanism. The examples of "*life-changing*", "*successful business*" of those who went before, has drawn a perspective for migrants, about a fertile land that can become a livelihood for them.

Talking with me is the middle age men, we was standing in the floors, where people are making homes for their mothers. From a migrant household and living here, they have been resettled as well as land for housing. They came here and lived in temporary houses, corrugated iron roofs, in the land of their previous relatives. Afterward, they registered a temporary residence with the government and bought land from relatives. And the land is the formation of an unplanned, spontaneous miniature urban area.

"I migrated in 2007. Back in the North, it was difficult. The land was not available. In my relatives, there were a few brothers who went first and told me about it, said that the land was excellent, easy to do business, so I followed. When I first came here, I stayed with my relatives and then later

registration the temporary stay with the local authorities" (Interview EMR008)

Secondly, the selection of specific immigration areas of migrants depends on the experience and practices of traditional agricultural and forestry production. These are often the areas where people live in the middle of old forests, with the main reason being forest for timber for house construction, land for cultivation, and many animals for hunting. However, even though the location after migrants can be far from the community of previous migrants, they still held a close relationship with the seniors, to get more information need for a new life.

Commenting on this issue, the local officials of Ea Sup communes said that the pattern of migrants like the oil spill, slowly expanding. *"Migration here takes the form of oil spills, initially will only cluster in a small area, gradually they were provided with land, with stable housing, then they will call home to tell their family to follow. The family relatives' members came and lived near the previous migrant population, so it spread out, like oil"* (Interview OF001)

At first, they just said they came here to visit relatives, then stayed for good. Such travel often does not inform local authorities of the place of departure and does not tell the authorities where to go. After living for a while with relatives, they started registering for temporary residence with the authorities. According to local officials, this leads to poor living conditions, slumping houses, overloading the number of people living in a locality, thereby leading to difficult population management. A 31 years old man, working as a hamlet chief in the new resettlement areas has said:

"Seeing that I can do business, I will bring in my relatives and relatives in Viet Nam. If I can do business, then I will drag my daughter, my daughter will lead my family's husband's relatives. So "relatives" come to live together, then divide the land, transfer land to each other."
 "(Interview EMR004)

In conclusion, from the local authorities, local staff working closely in the areas of migrants temporary living, to the management staff, has described the movement of migration of ethnic minorities is a movement to achieved land, maintain their old livelihood, survive by the exploitation on the forest. Moreover, they will not travel alone or decide on their independent will, but it is a process of being affected by their relatives, networking, and being attracted by the image of a "*land of opportunities*".¹²

3.5 Their life at a new place

The number of free migrants to the Central Highlands provinces has declined sharply over the years, but the development is complicated and difficult to control, especially a part of ethnic minority people in the Northern mountainous areas. The number of migrants is not as much as the previous years but moving each small group, visiting relatives, staying at home with the free migrants who came first, then setting up temporary houses and continuing to bring the whole family. Uncontrolled migrant households often live in groups of households, with ethnic groups to settle in separate areas in the forest, in valleys, along streams and less interact with the outside. The shortcomings and shortcomings in the lives of ethnic minorities migrating to Dak Lak have existed for many years. When migrants, after many years of living, remain a marginalized group; household registration is not available, life is unstable, facilities and social security conditions do not guarantee. Consequently, they are given the state to focus on migration management and stabilizing for migrant households already living in the regions.

Accordingly, the Dak Lak Provincial People's Committee has set up 17 projects, approved 15 plans with the aim of allocating 6,527 households with 32,635 spontaneous migrations, a total investment of more than VND 867.29 billion. The central budget is over 618.4 billion Dong. The rest is local budget, integrated capital, and other capital sources. Accumulated capital for 13 projects to the end of 2015 plan is over VND 189.5 billion, the amount of money in the period 2016-2020 is nearly

¹² Land of opportunities is referring to the idea "land of hopes" of Grossman, the state design the idea of attractive land to encourage people migrate there. (Grossman, 1991)

VND 421.9 billion (Dak Lak provinces People Committee, 2018b). Thus, at the end of the 2016-2020 period, the central budget support for the province is about VND 200 billion. Due to the slow and inadequate allocation of capital, the province has been implementing 13 projects so far, and no plans have completed the objectives. The newly implemented projects only arranged and stably for 2,986 households with 9,697 people, mainly the Hmong, Tay and Dao ethnic groups, the remaining more than 4,111 families with 20.102 people have not arranged (Thin, 2016).

Life in a new land – under basic living standard

When the migrant starting to enter the new land, they immediately trying to settle for the new house and a village. They build the house themselves with the help of their relatives or some acquaintances. The house they typically build by woods, straw, or in some case, the material from their old house in the Northern mountains got delivered with them when they decided to move. Therefore, life in the new land of ethnic minorities was difficult. The government and local authorities working in the communes People committees has describe the situation as "5 Zero" – no road, no school, no electric, no hospital, no household registration.



Figure 7: House of free migration near the resettlement

Sharing about this issue, the local officer in charge of population management of Cu Kbang told me: "In cu Kbang commune nowadays have eleven ethnics, 2200 households, and more than 10300 peoples. They are living based on agriculture, but the canal system is not available. The rate of poor household's accounts for 75%. Their life before the relocation is poorly acceptable, crumbling houses, backward cultivation, children not going to school, no birth certificate, no household registration, no electricity, clean water, no school. Therefore, we must do something to make the situation better" (Interview OF004)

Five-zero status is a phrase described by local authorities to refers to the situation of free migrants' life. When they come here, they will go to the forest, or live with their relatives. Then set up shacks, camps to live. Housing is so unsafe. Migrant households are also living close to the forest, where resettlement project planning is not yet available. Therefore, grid electricity is not available, with no roads and clean water. Therefore, some households have come to live in the forest, or near streams to have clean water. When emigrating, they often do not complete personal documents or have not completed the procedures to transfer household registration or permanent registration with the locality. This has led to the issues that migrants not being able to use social policies such as health insurance for ethnic minorities. If they gave birth to their children, they could not register a birth certificate. This situation is referred to as five-zero. It is one of the main reasons for the government to issue a resettlement policy to manage population by household registration, to solve administrative documents, to invest in infrastructure construction (Dak Lak provinces People Committee, 2018a; Ea Sup People Commitee, 2018; X. Nguyen, & Le, L. , 2018)

Livelihood and social services

The ethnic, when moving here, usually were unemployed in the first few months. After that, they will work at some farm for Kinh owner, and manage to buy the land from the previous migrants, or the broker for themselves. Thus, some of the

migrants can buy illegal land without notice, some will be using the forest land for agriculture. According to Vietnamese law, the land can be selling will be granted land, residential and agricultural land ownership certificates. After land certification, some households did not live in this area, but continued to migrate to other provinces or to sell land to new migrant households. Besides, the scarcity and need for arable land have led to migrant residents buying property without legal documents called "hands-on" land (đất sang tay). However, due to livelihood issues, people believed in this illegal land purchase, resulting in some households buying project land of the state, forest land and forestry land of local companies, leading to the land conflict that has caused migrants to become an issue from the government perspective. In 2018, the district experienced scuffle between the conservative gangs, illegal sales, and between people and companies when land disputes. (Ea Sup District People's Committee, 2018)

With the ethnic minorities, the life in the new land even though still have lots of shortage, but so far adequate, because compared to life before moving, it was already considered better. They have a house, land to farming and enough rice to eat. The most important things are how to have enough money for spend. The men live in resettlement areas said *"I do not worry about what to eat anymore. Now my concern is where being the money to spend"* (Interview EMR006)

Even if people have not been resettled, with temporary residence papers, they can send their children to school and enjoy local health insurance policies. When migrating, they live on relatives, who may have migrated and been resettled before, or bought land from indigenous people. The facilities here are quite good when the state has invested in upgrading electrical, road, school and station systems in preparation for construction of resettlement planning projects. Therefore, people can have easier access to services.

Land opportunities

Government also link the issues of ethnic minorities migrations with the degradations and land conflict issues in the areas. Through the analyze of Government report and newspaper article, scholar research, it is existent the discourse of linking

the degradation of the forest to the movement of ethnic minorities. Government authorities believe that it is not because of free migrants to lands that are not allowed to add to their living habits of deforestation to make garden land for garden shelters. This is one of the reasons according to the authorities to make the forest in Dak Lak most destroyed. Speaking about this issue, the local officer I spoken with has immediately as he can remember correcting the number of forest deforestation.

"In 1982, Dak Lak had 1.26 million hectares of natural forest. In 1997, only 1,187 million hectares remained. According to the report of the Provincial Statistical Office, from 1978 to 1996, Dak Lak's natural forest area was affected. The area of deforested forest is much larger, even though the provincial authorities have applied many measures to prevent deforestation. They also work in the forest or even build a temporary camp to live in the forest to harvest forest product, and they also hunt forest animals, even in the national forest area." (Interview OF004)

Indeed, the situations are quite different but also shown the migration can have better opportunities to purchase land, and product from the forest. For migrant households, if they have money, they can buy residential land and productive land from local people. The land is traded through legal forms of paperless use of handwritten paper only, and no red numbers are required. Therefore, some households can buy at least 1 hectare to plant trees after immigration.

A man lives in hamlet 14 said, *"In this village, each household owning 10 to 15 hectares of production land. At least, the minimum is 2 hectares per households"* (Interview EMR009)



Figure 8: Wood to build the house, the migrants buying from the unknown seller

Ethnic minorities migrants and relationship with the others

Most migrants to Cu Kbang are Hmong, Dao and San Chay. These ethnic groups have different customs and habits than those of the local Ede, and the Kinh. However, the relationship of people who migrate to each other is good; they seldom dispute or aggression. However, they often live with people in their families or the same ethnic and divide the imagine border with the other ethnic. A Hmong ethnic woman shared "We have no problem with the people who have lived here before, the land is large, so people from same ethnic will live together, have nothing to collide with or hate other ethnic" (Interview EMF005). She now living in the illegal protected zone, around her house is another Hmong ethnic migrant just came to Central Highland in early 2019.

The relationship of migrants with local authorities is different. A part of the people said that local authorities were incredibly good. They took care of the lives of migrants and had a gentle attitude towards migrants. Administrative procedures are also quite comfortable and nothing tricky. A Hmong resident said,

"The staff here is also straightforward, I come to live here, and they help me. I go to do paperwork, register household registration very easily, somehow, someone said officials cause difficulties" (Interview EMR004)

On the contrary, some households have not yet resettled, and the opposite is the idea that local authorities do not want to help them. As they have trying to stop them from doing agriculture in the land, they have bought from a Kinh owner. This person bought protective forest land, land that is not allowed to live or agricultural production. When sharing with the researcher, the women in her late 20s said,

"Last month the local authorities came to tell me, I had to leave this land, and go to the resettlement area. If I agree, then I can register household registration. However, I will lose my land here, lost all the money I bought land, and obviously, they did not care how difficult and how much money I had spent on this land." (Interview EMR003)

The local Ede people before the migration of Kinh people in previous periods gradually retreated further into the forest and live separately from the new population. Therefore, these ethnic communities have little interaction with each other. However, within the limits of this study, we have not been able to reach any of the indigenous peoples, Ede, because they have long been separating from new communities. So, is the relationship between indigenous people affected by the new migrant group? This research cannot give a further answer.

3.6 Summary

Migrant has problematizing their problems and come with a solution as migrate. Consequently, the reason ethnic minorities decide to migrate are factors such as poverty, lack of land, difficulty in accessing facilities have made people choose to relocate. On the other hand, the Central Highlands as "land of hopes"¹³, have the

¹³ Grossman (1991)

facility and standard of life meet the needs of the people when migrating. Especially the big chance to access to land.

From the very present life of migrants in resettlement areas or waiting for resettlement. It is still difficult. However, in general, they still want to continue to live here and settle permanently for reasons such as access to land, social security policies, opportunities for the second generation. These factors, along with the situation they are facing, will be the basis for continued migration reframing their problems and the next solutions. It is these factors that continue to guide the behavior and decisions of people after immigration.

However, also because people believe in life will be much better than the old life. The migration of ethnic minorities with increasing numbers has become a problem in the eyes of local authorities. The state, with a desire to govern ethnic minorities, has used ethnic discourse and development, to frame the problem and come up with appropriate solutions. The next chapter will analyze the government's discourse interaction with this migration flow, analyze the arguments used, as well as the process of legalizing the discourse to formulate a resettlement policy as a technical resolution.

CHAPTER 4: THE RATIONALIZATION OF GOVERNMENT

4.1 Introduction

The discourse on development is a process within the scope of the relationship between the state and the people. In the central state context, like in Viet Nam, the state's ideology and orientation hold the main power and role in determining the developmental discourse. Development ideas in Viet Nam are closely associated with urbanization, modernization (Government, 2019). Hence, the ethnic minorities in the government discourse were always being a concern and needed to be modernized. The thought has become a foundation for the Government in framing the situation of ethnic minorities free migrants to the Central Highland.

This chapter will explore the Vietnamese state's perspective on ethnic minorities based on Government ethnic discourse, development, and migration. In section 4.2, explain the narrative views of state stereotypes as a product of the discourse process. Thus, it proved that this group of migrants needs help. In section 4.3, explain the narrative of how the state perceives ethnic minorities to migrate as a management phenomenon concerning political and social security. Section 4.4 clarifies how the state rationalizes discourse through early policies to manage migration. Then suggest resettlement policy as an appropriate solution to solve this problem. Section 4.5 highlights key issues that the state wants to address through resettlement policy with the desire to "improve" the situation. At the same time, discussing the process of implementing policies in the localities studied.

It is thereby clarifying the process of problematizing the ethnic minorities, movement, and solutions regarding it. This process showed "the will to improve" of the Central state, but as it is based on the central discourse and prejudice. Thus, it has come to the solutions proposed and the implementation process of conduct the policy on the ground.

4.2 Narrative 1: Prejudices about ethnic minorities and the need to help them improve.

4.2.1 Ethnographic research in Viet Nam and affecting state views on ethnic minorities and free migrant minorities

In Viet Nam, prejudices about free migrants, or first of all ethnic minorities, have much influence from ethnographic studies from previous periods (Hoàng Cầm, 2012). Many researchers like Dang Nghiem Van, Phan Huu Dat, Khong Dien have conducted studies that confirm that ethnic minorities have lower development levels than Kinh people. One characteristic considered as the reason for this conclusion is the social form of the peoples (N. V. Dang, Son, & Hung, 2000; Diễm, 1996; Phan Huu Dat, 1998, 2004).

First, the Vietnamese state, as well as the scientists in the previous period all, has studied and believed in Marx's philosophy, especially historical materialism. In which Marx's thesis on socio-economic forms developed through stages, from low level to higher level. Inheriting and influencing from that point of view, scientists like Dang Nghiem Van and Be Viet Dang are both affected by this evolutionary point of view (Hoàng Cầm, 2012). Scientists believe that Ethnic minority societies are mostly in the pre-state stage; classification of a class has not yet formed. Economic activities also bear the original mark (Vạn, 1989).

“Socially, 54 ethnic groups of our country, until the modern period, do not belong to a unified level. At least there are three types of societies:

- o the society has not formed a class (e.g., ethnic groups in the Central Highlands)

- o Society began to form class (e.g., Muong and Thai ethnic groups)

o Development class society (e.g., Kinh people) "And corresponding to those types of society there are three types of culture: Culture of pre-class; the culture of the newly formed class; culture of the developmental period" (Phan Đăng Nhật, 2009, p. 11)

More specifically, these studies are aimed at serving revolutionary goals and national goals. Talking about this issue, Evans stated that ethnographic scientists in Viet Nam seem to be studying and creating discourse on ethnicity to the strategies of Viet Nam state (Evans, 1985, p. 142).

Vietnamese ethnography, at the beginning of its formation, defined the goal of 'taking on the mission of revolutionary service', so despite being dissatisfied with a purely descriptive or deductive role but "it is more fighting, or perhaps more pragmatic, ethnography itself has the duty to actively serve the socialist revolution in every nation in the entire country of Viet Nam" (Evans, 1985, p. 142).

"To Vietnamese communist anthropologists this existential crisis in Western anthropology no doubt looks bizarre. They self-consciously place their endeavors within the broader technical parameters of a variety of Marxism, and their theoretical and practical concerns are related to state policy. Moreover, their practice is welded together by an intense 'progressivist' nationalism, there is little space for doubt about the general correctness of what they are doing." (Evans, 1985, p. 185)

This statement has covered the objectives of applied ethnographic studies in Viet Nam since the preliminary period after 1975. In the overview study of Bui Minh Dao about "Ethnographic research in socio-economic development of the Central Highlands region after 1975 and orientation of research in the coming time", has shown the views of ethnographers in Viet Nam when linking ethnic studies as a discourse to be validated and confirmed by empirical science, thereby building a

foundation and orientation policy for the state. In this article, Bui Minh Dao pointed out

“The study of the ethnology of ethnic groups in the Central Highlands, especially on the local ethnic minorities, is particularly important, not only for socio-economic development but also for well implement the Party's ethnic policy, is a policy of strategic significance and throughout the Party and revolution in a multi-ethnic country like Viet Nam.” (Bùi Minh Đạo, p. 63)

In Escobar's conceptual framework, the discourse was given is the representing, hidden under is the power relations between the state and the peoples (Escobar, 2011). As the representing influences directly and shapes the problematizing, it also guiding the people who conduct the knowledge. In the context of researching the consequences of ethnic minorities migrate to Central Highland, many scholars focus on examining the reason for the migration and its impact on transforming the social structure at receiving society. Studies on immigration policy by Dang Nguyen Anh, have focused on assessing the unachievable aspects of the government's immigration guidelines and policies (Dang Nguyen Anh, 2009).

The migrant in the Northern provinces is mainly spontaneous, short-distance, small-scale. Meanwhile, migration to the Central Highlands takes place on a larger scale and distance, tightly organized closer and more dominated by community consciousness, religious beliefs. The authority said that immigrants to the Central Highlands affecting the lives of local people, such as polluted environment, overusing the forest resources and water resources, the living space of local ethnic people increasingly narrowed. These are studies that have high theoretical and practical significance impacts on the government policy-making process. Therefore, the government was able to build its legitimacy on the enforce of numerous development policies toward ethnic minority migrants. (Dang Nghiem Van, Son Chu Thai, & Hung

Luu, 2000; Dang Nguyen Anh, 2015; Dang Nguyen Anh, Goldstein, & McNally, 1997; Dang Nguyen Anh, Tran, Nguyen, & Dao, 2010).

4.2.2 State discourse, and Cu Kbang local authorities on the consequences of free migration

The common point of all the researches and reports produced by the state on the migration model of ethnic minorities to the Central Highlands, often associated with poverty, lack of productive land, and the issues of destroying forests to build houses. For example, in the state conference with the participation of leaders of departments, provinces with free migrants in Hanoi in late 2018, summarized the results of free migration. Which contains negative views of the state with this migration line (Viet Nam Agriculture and Rural Development, 2018). In the summary report, state:

“Free migrants have some positive impacts on the destination areas, such as: adding human resources, contributing to the efficient exploitation of available resources, expanding the area of reclaimed land for service and agricultural production. But most of them have caused significant consequences in terms of social order and security and protection of natural resources and environment for the localities where people come, that is:

- Causing deforestation, illegal encroachment of forest land for cultivation (especially in natural forests, critical watershed protection forests, special-use forests), plus cultivation skills backwardness makes the forest area narrow and the forest resources become exhausted, affecting the ecological environment and water resources.

- Generating complex social problems, including illegal trading, transfer, land disputes between free migrants and local people and companies and forestry enterprises. Several incidents have occurred, such as gathering crowds, arresting unlawful people, preventing people on duty. In particular, there are cases of using weapons that cause injury and affect national solidarity. Prevalent poverty is a burden and makes it difficult for local localities and is a potential factor that influences security, political, and defense instability in the area, especially in border areas.

- Disturbing the lives of local people, breaking development plans; create conditions for some bad elements to take advantage of ethnicity, religion, and belief to unlawfully evangelize, induce and incite people to disturb order, fight against the regime, destabilize the security situation security, political and social influence on local socio-economic development.”

(Viet Nam Agriculture and Rural Development, 2018 p. 1)

This report shows the state overview of the situation of free migrants. When I am taking the field research at Cu Kbang, through interviews with local authorities, they also reaffirmed the influence of that awareness.

Firstly, local authorities have affirmed that free migration of ethnic minorities is a burden when they are mostly poor.

“It is because of the fear of “increasing the poverty rate,” so the migrant's hometown authorities considered the migration as a solution to reduce part of the burden. They are poor, so they want to go and leave, nobody keeps them back. The immigration authorities say, they emigrated are their rights, nor can we force them to return” (Interview OF001)

The consideration of free migrants is a burden for the locality, forced them to spend limited budget for supporting policies, providing free services, is the general psychology of the provincial authorities have emigration.

Secondly, Free migrants have destroyed the forest and reduced natural resources. This is the local authorities' thoughts on the migrant's habits of economic activities.

“The Hmong people are exceptionally good at deforestation. They destroy forests to get productive land. They have very strange cutting techniques, just cut the roots of each tree one by one, cut it in half, not cut it all, and they will be guessing the wind direction. When the wind rises, the entire forest will fall.” (Interview OF001)

However, when asked for the exact data on the number of free-flowing forest populations that have been invaded, the government cannot give specific details.

Thirdly, the local authorities of Cu Kbang affirmed that the free flow of migrants had to challenge the authorities in managing the population. Free migrants often live in areas with few people, far from the commune center, the roads are not convenient. Most migrant households do not register for temporary or permanent

residence with the local authorities at the arrival time. Therefore, the commune had to set up an inspection team with the cooperation of the local police, to monitor the areas have the free migrant population and set up a migrant list for population management purpose. In the long term, local authorities have stated, it will be difficult for the provincial budget due to the limit number of officials, but the population is increasing. Therefore, it is challenging to manage all the areas where people come to live in. The person in charges of management population, social-economic of the commune shared:

"They live in the forest, rarely near the administrative village. They can stay for a few months and continue to move to another area nearby. Some people will migrate to another province. If they want to go, they go without any registration for a temporary absence. Therefore, we hardly manage the total number of migrations" (Interview OF002)

Fourthly, the free migrant population has made it challenging to design the resettlement, as well as the overall development planning of the locality. The government of Cu Kbang said that under the policy of stabilizing migrants and managing migrants, resettlement projects were established. The establishment needs to base on the overall number of migrants. However, when the project has just been approved and receiving the budget allocated from the central government, the migrant population continues to come. Therefore, projects are constantly overloaded, or there is not enough funding to implement. In the 2018 report of Cu Kbang commune recorded:

"According to the Decision No. 3075 / QDQD-UBND dated November 20, 2007, of the People's Committee of Dak Lak province to arrange life stability for 400-500 households equivalent to 2000 people, the implementation time from 2008 to 2012. Total investment: 33,717

billion VND, due to price slippage and adjusted to 70,930 billion VND, but so far the number of households arranged has increased to 900 households "(Cu Kbang commune People Committee, 2018, p. 2)

Fifth, uncontrolled migration has increased pressure on local authorities to strengthen staff training and language training for local authorities. This is even more difficult when the government wants to use migrant people to work as a grassroots staff, but these people are mostly low-educated, lack of skills like technique, computer. So, the pressure on the local authorities is increasing. Commenting on the education level of the migrants, the people closely watching on the migrant to the commune shared:

"Migrants usually have low-education, so it is challenging to assign management positions. Only a few migrant residents who used to work as local officials, or high school or college, will able to work for the local authorities." (Interview OF003)

Hence, it has become the reason for the Government's attempt to controlling the movement, and at the same time, trying to settle down their life and minimized the problems related. Numerous report also points to the precarious life of migrants living in the forest or illegal land (due to buying with no document), are facing problems such as no electricity and water; unsecured social security; insecure life incomes and difficulties with administrative issues; registration of household; or land ownership certificates, due to the lack of personal documents (Birks, Seccombe, & Sinclair, 1988; Nguyen Tran Trong, 2011; Quynh, 2017). Most of the research groups pointed out, as well as the state considers new ethnic minority groups to the Central Highlands is the reason that social problems are arising (Đâu, 2013; Đ. T. Nam, 2009; phủ, 2008; Trong, 2011).

4.2.3 Framing problem of Cu Kbang local authorities on ethnic minorities migration

Based on the comments on the harmful effects of free migrants, the national discourse of their characteristics, local authorities have also problematized ethnic minorities as groups of people in need of help. Through the narrative link, the ethnic minorities migrants as "underdevelopment," "cannot not acceptable," "destroy the forest."

Firstly, the local authorities said that the lifestyle of ethnic minority migrants is a backward lifestyle; that's the reason they stay in poverty. The commune's government pointed out that most of the ethnic groups migrating to Cu Kbang are mostly Hmong, Dao, and San Chay. Among them, the Hmong are the majority. Migrant households are extremely poor, unstable livelihood, and have many children. Interview with the authorities, he said, "In cu Kbang commune nowadays have eleven ethnics, 2200 households, and more than 10300 peoples. They are living based on agriculture, but the canal system is not available. The rate of poor households accounts for 75%." (Interview OF002)

Their life before the relocation is poorly acceptable, run-down houses, backward cultivation, children not going to school, no birth certificate, no household registration, no electricity, clean water, no school. When I discussed the life situation of ethnic migrants, the local authorities have firmly shown his point "We have to do something to make the situation better" (Interviews OF004). This difficulty, described in chapter three, shows the five - zero situation of people migrating. Besides, officials' stereotypes about the lifestyle of migrants are discriminative. A commune official told him about his visit to the area of newly migrant residents who were temporarily living.

"Last time when I visited the village, I saw two Hmong kids around 6-7 years old, cover by dirt, they not even wearing any clothes. More

shockingly, they were had their meal with a bowl of rice and saltwater. I just cannot understand how they can eat it" (Interview OF005)



Figure 9: Ethnic minorities migrants' children in Cu Kbang

Secondly, the government has said that the group of free ethnic minority migrants is the cause of deforestation in the commune. Talking about this issue, the office manages the forestry sector said

"In 1982, Dak Lak had 1.26 million hectares of natural forest. In 1997, only 1,187 million hectares remained. According to the report of the Provincial Statistical Office, from 1978 to 1996, Dak Lak's natural forest area was affected. The area of deforested forest is much larger, even though the provincial authorities have applied many measures to prevent deforestation. They also work in the forest or even build a temporary camp to live in the forest to harvest forest products, and they also hunt wild animals, even in the national protected forest area." (Interview OF004)

However, this discourse has shown a comprehensive view of the relationship between ethnic minority free migrants and deforestation. Because their cultivation custom attached to the forest, it does not mean that they are the main agents for deforestation. More specifically, in the research interviews, some local authorities' officials also frankly shared that the migration of Kinh people also causes deforestation, and Kinh people are the ones who make many profits from deforestation, and trading forest products.¹⁴ The local authorities shared his understanding of the history of migrant and land changing in the communes shared:

“It is true that in fact, ethnic minorities migrate freely with the habit of relying on nature and often go to places where there are forests to live, but these lands often have to go through the transaction. Sellers, who are usually migrants, have come here before them, or households have been allocated forest land and indigenous households” (Interview OF001)

Thirdly, Ethnic minorities in the eyes of the local authorities are stubborn people who are not cooperative and can be extremely dangerous. Some households are stealthily building illegal houses on land for resettlement areas for previous migrant households. Commune officials have told stories about immigrants encroaching on forest companies and farms, refusing to return when forced,

“Migrants are very self-sufficient, choose the land, then destroy the forest. Some area has been planned for resettlement, but the migrants secretly built illegal houses at midnight. If the authorities request dismantling, then tomorrow they will continue to rebuild again.” (Interview OF003)

¹⁴ See details of the migration history of the Kinh people to the Central Highland described in Hardy books “Red hills: Migrants and the state in the highlands of Vietnam”, to have a comprehensive view of the economic activities, the life of the Kinh people, from which there is a better assessment of who degraded forests in the Central Highland. (Hardy, 2005)

In addition, the local authorities, when talking to the researcher, said, "When you visit migrants, especially the Hmong, they will only say "chi mo" meaning not knowing." (Interview OF004)

Fourthly, one of the opinions of local authorities about migrant ethnic minorities is low education level and does not want to develop. Ethnic minorities do not like to go to school. They like to live a simple life and self-sufficient style. At the same time, they also do not want to participate in vocational training programs and learn farming techniques, which are general statements of the authorities of Cu Kbang commune.

"They do not like going to school, they like what is real, visible, that is land and money." (Interview OF004)

Another local authority working in the People Committee shared: "Even if the commune people's committee introduced people to loans to improve their livelihoods, most of them were not interested in taking the loans" (Interview OF002)

From these prejudices, policymakers are also governed by that evolutionary and decentralized ideology. Therefore, for a long time, many social and cultural practices of ethnic minorities are considered 'backward', 'less civilized'¹⁵

Northern ethnic minorities with slash-burn cultivation on sloping land are said to make the soil washed away and quickly become barren after a few years of cultivation. When they see the barren land, they will be switching the production activity to those areas, also called nomadically. However, whether this method of farming is backward or not, when it is based on the understanding of indigenous ecological knowledge. On the defense, the migrant Hmong said:

15.' The local authorities problematizing indeed got affected by the Government and central knowledge discourse. The common words to described ethnic migrants ' not only based on their observation in the field but also the previous discourse of the Government. See more of these narratives in the work of scholars like Nguyen Dinh Hoe in the book "Population - Settlement, and Environment," using for teaching purpose published by Ha Noi National University Publisher. (Hoè, 2000)

"It is true that our customs and practices will be cultivated on a rotation basis. That is, reclaiming land to cultivate, then leave and move to another land. However, this rotation will be a time for the land to rest, and to nurture itself, which is a natural recovery process. So, we do not need to use fertilizers or chemicals to exploit soil nutrients." (Interview EMR010)

The evolutionary awareness of the low level of development of ethnic minorities has become the scientific basis for many policies towards the highlands. Besides, the policymaking process take the knowledge and empirical data from research work receiving funds from Government. Depending on the historical period, the discourse on ethnic minorities has many commonly used terms, "Nomadic farming", "slash and burn cultivation" and "backward practices" seem to be the most frequently occurring words in documents of the 70s, 80s, 90s (Diễn, 1996; Vạn, 1989; Vạn et al., 1984). Government Resolution on sedentarization 38-CP, 1968, was considered the first official policy on this issue, in which burning forest for cultivation is always considered "an old and primitive lifestyle." (Prime Minister, 1968) Therefore, plans and solutions are proposed by the state to address that backward situation. Thus, resettlement or sedentarization has become an important policy.

4.3 Narrative 2: Ethnic minorities and the concern to national security, political ideology

The ethnic minorities have failed on another side of the trusteeship spectrum, as they not the Kinh and do not meet the qualification that the Government trusts. As they not only be a "lower ethnic" need to help and guiding the ways to develop. They were being the stubborn "troublemaker," that lead to conflict issues or threatening national security. Therefore, the movement of them to Central Highland much need to be watching closely. As can be seen in the conclusions in the reports on the situation of migrant population management, the above points are always given (Viet Nam Agriculture and Rural Development, 2018). It is easy to see that migrants will have

the same impoverished region, leading to a land aspiration. Therefore, it is easy to be used to create instability for the government. The state considers poverty, lack of land, migration desire is the cause of ethnic minorities to become a sheep, vulnerable to the outsider forces opposing the state, to change them become the weapon against the government.

The Cu Kbang area has borders close to Cambodia, the fact that migrant people live without state management and administrative unit's management, residing in deep forests has made the Government paid special attention. In the past, the Central Highlands had many unstable issues regarding ethnic relations such as Degar State, or Front Unifié pour la Libération des Races Opprimées (FULRO),¹⁶ So the state was overly concerned about managing migrants.

4.3.1 Religious concern

The increase in the number of religious people of ethnic minorities has been considered a need for research for many years when, according to cultural values, the Hmong and Dao groups are groups of people without religion. Traditional religious beliefs of the Hmong and the Dao are spiritual beings, worshipping nature and animism such as trees, forests, rivers, not a supreme deity. Although in the French colonial period, some peoples followed Christian, now the conversion or new membership is increasing. Some scholars also argue that through secret and open missionaries, ethnic minorities received different religious documents and financial support, especially in the border areas of Viet Nam - China and Viet Nam - Laos. (Lý

¹⁶ FULRO is the abbreviation for the way of combining the letters that lead the French words: the Unified de Lutte des Races Opprimées (the united Front fighting of oppressed peoples). "Degar state" was established to struggle to claim the Central Highlands land, establishing "Degar State" of the Central Highlands people. Some people in the FULRO organization, the old FULRO facility, and some Central Highlands compatriots have joined the "Degar State" with the belief in reclaiming the Central Highlands' autonomy for indigenous people. This view originated in the French colonial period in Viet Nam, when France gave autonomy to the Central Highlands, to prevent the Kinh's intervention into this area. Demonstration in the Central Highlands 2004 was a large-scale disruption of the Montagnard's occurred on April 10 and 11, 2004 in the Central Highlands to demand the establishment of the State of Degar to self-rule, claim land and claim religious freedom by the Fund. The Montagnard of Ksor Kok directs. With a total of nearly 10,000 participants, simultaneously in the provinces of Dak Lak, Gia Lai, and Dak Nong. This demonstration has led to violence and violence between people and authorities, police, and armed forces. Since then, the issue of ethnic minority migration to the Central Highlands has been increasingly strictly controlled by the state. When Degar state relates not only to autonomy but also to the Protestant religion activity.

Hành Sơn, 2008: 128-138; Vương Xuân Tình, 2012: 121-122 taken from (Vuong Xuan Tinh).

Local authorities share that, "the Protestant issue is especially important. Tomorrow when you come to those areas, you will see most migrants will follow the Protestant, Hmong people, more specifically, free migrants here are mostly Hmong people" (Interview OF001)

Based on actual research information, some migrant households said they converted about five years ago, they converted because they listened to missionaries from the Philippine radio, those can speak Hmong. They also were guided to visiting churches in Hanoi. So, is it true that religious change has a significant impact on people's migration decisions when there are many ethnic minorities in Christianity and Protestantism in the Central Highlands? Or it is just a theory of the Government? This study does not go into the analysis of this problem, also due to the political sensitivity, the questions related to the reasons for ethnic minorities in the Protestant faith cannot be made.

4.3.2 Hmong ethnic and autonomy claims

Migrants are mostly Hmong, along with concerns about border issues such as the Hmong and the violence in Dien Bien in 2012, regarding the concern of the Protestant faith, and other worries about the Hmong kingdom.

Muong Nhe phenomenon, referring to the situation of riots, demonstrations, and self-rule of the Mong people in the North. This phenomenon only accounts for a small part of the participants. The state believes that this is the result of anti-state forces inciting Hmong people to participate. October 15, 2012. Some Hmong people attacked the shack of the border and the provincial police. In this gun attack at the landmark ten areas of Sen Thuong commune, Muong Nhe district, Dien Bien province, two people were killed, and four other police officers were injured. In addition, thousands of Hmong people were also gathering many days at the end of April and early May, in Huoi Khon village, Nam Ke commune, to protest, the military officials must enforce

disbanded the protest. The Dien Bien government explained that these people gathered to wait for the supernatural to take them to the Promised Land.

Along with the unstable events in the Northwest related to the establishment of the Hmong kingdom, ethnic migrants have become the major concern from Government and local authority's perspectives. The government is concerned that the migration of the Hmong group is related to the anti-state activities of religious organization, or groups of cross-border ethnic unions. Therefore, the migration groups living in deep forests, separated from center resettlement areas, is thought to be extremely dangerous. These people are believed they are able and intend to do things that causing harm to the security of the regions and the nation. The local authorities give his statement about the worries of the state toward the migrant movement of ethnic minorities:

“Muong Nhe phenomenon, in Dien Bien, has pushed some Hmong migrants who are living in the locality to return to Muong Nhe district and not come here anymore. Nevertheless, there still lots of people move to Ea Sup in the first quarter of 2019, so we have to understand the reason.”

(Interview OF004)

Several research reports and articles on stabilizing free migrants, or discussing the issue of national harmony, ethnic relations in Viet Nam by scholars such as Pham Quang Hoan, have mentioned much about the necessity of managing ethnic issues in the Central Highlands, managing free migrants, especially the Hmong group. This management is claimed necessary to “managing ethnic relations, ensuring order and security, social stability” due to the religious and security concern, through resettlement, land allocation, production support policies (Phạm, 2014; Pham Quang Hoan, 2014). In particular, the proposed solutions also mention the crucial issues of the development of grassroots political groups. These grassroots political organizations, will replace the administration of the people, as well as propagate,

maintain the situation of security, order, and political ideology of migrants (Khanh Vinh, 2015).

" Generally speaking, the process of building and renovating grassroots political systems in the Central Highlands has attached to the policies of the communist party and the government towards completion of personnel positioning and enhancement of top to toe political systems."(Khanh Vinh, 2015, p. 3).

4.3.3 Land conflict can become race conflict

Moreover, with the local authority, the management of land relations among groups of people is also focused. The migrants will buy land from indigenous people, or Kinh people who have lived for a long time in Cu Kbang (Cu Kbang commune People Committee, 2018). This sale may be illegal, resulting in many incidents of violence that occurred when land disputes (Tran Hong Hanh, 2015). Regarding this issue, the local authorities confirmed "In the resettlement zone, the dispute between people coming before and after can also lead to conflicts. More serious is the issue of ethnic conflict." (Interview OF 001)

In conclusion, the Vietnamese state is based on the discourse on ethnicity, development, has a prejudiced view of ethnic minorities and migrant minorities. State and local authorities, based on two narrative issues of development, poverty of migrant ethnic minorities, and a concern about political security to prove migration issues need to be addressed and solve. For these reasons, the state has legalized the problems and resettlement is offered as a solution.

4.4 The solutions proposed

4.4.1 Policy toward the situation

Decision 190/2003 / QD-TTG on policies to relocate people to implement the population allocation plan in 2003 and 2010, clearly defining the target by 2010 to arrange, and stabilize the migrant population in a new land. Significantly, it is the

resettlement policy for newcomers, when other solutions such as returning the migrants to the origin have not been effective (Directive on addressing free migration to the Central Highlands and some other provinces, 1995). To stabilize and promote development for this area, the Government developed a plan to end free migration to the Central Highlands by 2025. Moreover, the state also continues to settle down the existent migration household already move to Central Highlands, concerning the resettlement projects, land distribution. Therefore, one of the measures proposed by the Government is to categorize areas that are too difficult, and people who wish to reside, arrange them and implement resettlement according to Decision 193/2006 / QD- Prime Minister's TTg.

The orientation of the Party and the State of Viet Nam is to mobilize and propagate people who migrate freely and self-reliant. As well as cooperating with the authorities in implementing support policies. Therefore, through communication, images of a state, and the government determined to help the migrant ethnic minorities have been pay attention as the form of legitimation and widespread the goodwill of the Government.

The articles on the necessity of resettlement, as well as depicting the lives of migrant people, are unstable and necessary. The need for government's support policies to solving the problems existing are also written and propagated quite a lot on state newspaper such as: "Báo dân tộc", (Ethnic newspaper), "Tạp chí dân tộc" (Ethnic magazine), "Tin Tây Nguyên" (Central Highland news) (Central Highland news, 2019; Ethnic Newspaper, 2019 ; "Free migration in the Central Highlands: Good land, birds ... stay," 01/10/2017; People News, 2017; "The situation of free migrants in the Central Highlands," 2017)

Compare the pictures of newspapers when describing the lives of free migrants before and after settling under state policies that can see a clear difference. Thereby, it is shown that the intention to spread the Government policies as an effort to help ethnic minorities migrate better.



Ngôi nhà tạm của một gia đình vừa "nhảy dù" vào sinh sống ở thôn 14, xã Cư K'Bang (huyện Ea Súp, tỉnh Đắk Lắk) (Ảnh: tuoitre.vn)

Figure 10: A temporary house of a free migrant ethnic family to Cu Kbang commune

Sources: Photo from Tuổi trẻ News



Một khu định cư của dân di cư tự do ở xã Ea K'bang, huyện Ea Súp, tỉnh Đắk Lắk.

Figure 11: The image depicts life in the resettlement area of free migrants in Ea Sup

Extract from Nhân Dân newspaper (People News, 2017)

4.4.2 Resettlement as a solution

The resettlement ideology always being the governmentality strategies of the government to manageable the countries and design the development strategies as the state leading.

At the beginning, the settlement for ethnic minorities in Viet Nam was linked with the idea of Swidden cultivation. A Scholar like Dang Nghiem Van has produced an everyday discourse about ethnic minorities that later play a vital role in the drafting rule and regulation for them. He has claimed the causation of ethnic minorities in the North are "traditional backward cultivation" with the degradation, uncivilized and poverty (Extract from (Hoàng Cẩm, 2012). Hence, the swidden cultivation for the backward groups is needed, resulting in the booming era of bringing the lowland to the highland to resettlement. In 1984 in a national conference of sedentarization held in Hà Nội, his perspective was accepted and widely adopted.

Besides, the government also practice the resettlement regimes for lowlander in Highlander'. The Kinh was the trusteeship with the ability to develop the region as the ways the government wishing to. For example, in early 1990, Kinh people were encouraged to move to Ea Sup, in the border with Cambodia commune-like Cu Mlan. The move belongs to the part of the projects name "'Làng thanh niên, lập thân, lập nghiệp" (Villages of youth, establish youth careers), with many young people in the Southeast provinces being encouraged to emigrate to border forest areas, working for farms and forestry farms, setting up hamlets in the 1970s. This migration was coiled and brought to civilization, encouraging ethnic minority people to study the lifestyle and culture of Kinh people. Moreover, it was believed to help the Government ensure the sensitive conflict border at that time (Hardy, 2005).

Socio-economic reports from the People's Committees at all levels and the researchers on these issues talk a lot about the impact of the increased population on the ecological environment (Dak Lak provinces People Committee, 2018b). In which the discourse was explained in sub section 4.2.3 of emigration to destroy forests causes

major consequences always present. The report of the People's Committee of Dak Lak province in 1998 said that free migrants reside in nearly 200 locations in all eighteen city districts in the province. The distribution of free migrants is remarkably diverse, wherever there are planned migrants (Kinh people), there are free migrants. Furthermore, free migrants also "freely" go to areas where planned migrants not allowed to come to such as the watershed forest.

However, this discourse has shown a comprehensive view of the relationship between ethnic minority free migrants and deforestation. Because their custom is to do forest cultivation, it does not mean that they are the primary agents for deforestation. More specifically, during the study, the local authority's officials also frankly shared that deforestation is also due to the migration movement of Kinh people before. Moreover, the Kinh people are the most profitable people from deforestation, and trade in forest products.

The logging activities in the early years after the renovation, plus the forest clearance for construction of coffee cashew rubber trees, reduced the forest area. It is true that in fact, free migrants often go to forest places to live, but this forestland often undergoes transactions. Sellers usually are the migrants who have come here first, or households have been allocated in forest land, indigenous families, especially, the staff or people in power in the local authority or individual forest enterprise. The next section will clarify the structure of this policy and the implementing of the policy at the ground.

4.5 The solution to improve – resettlement

In this section, we will focus on clarifying the issues (1) Analyzing the key points that this policy is implemented in the research area (2) Analyzing the implementation process and the main steps of implementing the policies in the localities studied.

4.5.1 What to improve?

The problems have been framing, according, a solution must be made. In 1995, Directive 660-TTg addresses the situation of free migration to the Central Highlands and another province being issues by the Prime minister. Which emphasized the need to redistribute, relocate the migrants living scattered in the forest, the protected forest areas, the area outside the residential planning of the locality to the concentrated residential areas, thereby establishing administrative units.

In 2004, the Prime Minister issued a decision to stabilize free migrants, whereby Cu Kbang commune organized the establishment of resettlement committees, which began to review migrant households. Cu Kbang Residential Resettlement Area of sub-project 204, 20,7 was carried out in 2007 under Decision No. 3075 / QDQD-UBND dated November 20, 2007, to stabilize population for 400-500 households. This resettlement project considered a part of the "socio-economic development project".

- Create conditions for living for free migrants who have come to the province and wish to establish a long-term caring; not discriminating, not forcing people to return to their old hometowns and consider this an essential resource of their locality.

- Arrange compatriots in programs, projects 327, 773, sedentary cultivation, industrial trees, fruit trees, livestock and poultry breeding, new planting and forest protection and programs, other socio-economic development projects of localities and central localities in their localities.

- For mixed residential areas where compatriots' lives are relatively stable, the State can assist in the construction of essential socio-economic infrastructures such as drinking water and schools, rural clinics and roads according to local socio-economic development plans.

- For residential areas that are still too complicated, unable to arrange compatriots into the programs -mentioned above's and projects, it is possible to build new projects on population arrangement and the State's capital support according to policies, the regime of building new economic zones.

Extract from (Prime Minister, 1995)

Table 5: The Government keys requirement of the resettlement

Extract from (Prime Minister, 1995)

With that decision, the People's Committee of Dak Lak province has recovered 3,400 ha of land to receive and stabilize life for 400 households with about 2000 people. The project implementation period will last from 2008 - 2012, yet so far, 866 households have been arranged with 3,694 people (Cur Kbang commune People Committee, 2018).

Along with arranging the distribution of migrants into resettlement areas, the related issues to be addressed are (1) five - zero status, including land and household

issues security, welfare policies, infrastructure construction support. (2) Stabilizing life, encouraging agricultural development, economic development for resettled households.

The project is designed to ensure the settlement of the five - zero status for the people. Which is no road, no school, no electricity, no water, no household registration, according to the resettlement project in Cu Kbang include these following objects:

Settlement of land situation:

For migrants, having land is vitally important. The causes and aspirations of migration, and the action of arriving at immigration revolve around this problem. In Cu Kbang commune, migrants have lived with their relatives in temporary houses or used forest land, and established shelters in the forest. They also have no land for agriculture, thus leading to illegal encroachment, or buying and selling land. Therefore, with the resettlement project, the state and the People's Committee of Cu Kbang commune proposed to solve the land situation. Thus, the policy of divide land allocation for housing and the distribution of land for production has been introduced. The Local authorities affirmed:

"The most important thing about implementing resettlement is to ensure people have land. Land for building houses and land for cultivation. From there, it is possible to erase temporary, ugly, dangerous and unsecured houses (Interview OF002)



Figure 12: Picture of a temporary house of new ethnic minorities migrants

Addressing infrastructure issues:

In addition to land planning and residential area planning, synchronous investment in infrastructure will contribute to stabilizing the lives of migrants at a new place. The development of infrastructure also claimed to create conditions for the district to circulate goods easily, contributing to socio-economic development. Essential infrastructure must include transportation, irrigation, electricity, roads, schools, health stations, clean water. Infrastructure will be directly invested and managed by the state. The local authorities discussed the purpose of resettlement as follows:

“The implementation of the resettlement project is for people to have a better life. In the past, they could live in temporary houses, without electricity and clean water. Now we must provide that. Therefore, the resettlement plan will include refurbishment of the entire landscape, road

construction, electric grid construction, school construction” (Interview OF002)

Solving the problem of economic development, life stabilization:

This issue is intricately linked to the new rural construction plan; economic and social development is necessary according to the local authorities. Each household, after resettlement, will be introduced to loan support funds, economic development programs, and career transition. The local authorities said, while leading me to the information board about the social loans hung on the People's Committee wall:

“At present, Cu Kbang commune cooperates with the commune policy bank, providing preferential loans for agriculture, buying agricultural tools. We also continuously advocate and introduce people to borrow capital to have investment costs for economic development” (Interview OF002)

TT	Tên chương trình cho vay	Đối tượng khách hàng thụ hưởng	Thời hạn cho vay tối đa	Lãi suất %/năm	Mức cho vay tối đa (đồng)
1	Hỗ trợ vốn NPLC (NPLC-CF)	Hộ nghèo	12 tháng	6,00	10 triệu đồng/hộ
2	Hỗ trợ vốn QĐ (NQĐ-TT)	Hộ nghèo	12 tháng	6,00	10 triệu đồng/hộ
3	Hỗ trợ vốn QĐ (NQĐ-TT)	Hộ nghèo	12 tháng	6,00	10 triệu đồng/hộ
4	Hỗ trợ vốn QĐ (NQĐ-TT)	Hộ nghèo	12 tháng	6,00	10 triệu đồng/hộ
5	Hỗ trợ vốn QĐ (NQĐ-TT)	Hộ nghèo	12 tháng	6,00	10 triệu đồng/hộ
6	Hỗ trợ vốn QĐ (NQĐ-TT)	Hộ nghèo	12 tháng	6,00	10 triệu đồng/hộ
7	Hỗ trợ vốn QĐ (NQĐ-TT)	Hộ nghèo	12 tháng	6,00	10 triệu đồng/hộ
8	Hỗ trợ vốn QĐ (NQĐ-TT)	Hộ nghèo	12 tháng	6,00	10 triệu đồng/hộ
9	Hỗ trợ vốn QĐ (NQĐ-TT)	Hộ nghèo	12 tháng	6,00	10 triệu đồng/hộ
10	Hỗ trợ vốn QĐ (NQĐ-TT)	Hộ nghèo	12 tháng	6,00	10 triệu đồng/hộ
11	Hỗ trợ vốn QĐ (NQĐ-TT)	Hộ nghèo	12 tháng	6,00	10 triệu đồng/hộ
12	Hỗ trợ vốn QĐ (NQĐ-TT)	Hộ nghèo	12 tháng	6,00	10 triệu đồng/hộ
13	Hỗ trợ vốn QĐ (NQĐ-TT)	Hộ nghèo	12 tháng	6,00	10 triệu đồng/hộ
14	Hỗ trợ vốn QĐ (NQĐ-TT)	Hộ nghèo	12 tháng	6,00	10 triệu đồng/hộ

Figure 13: Notice board of loans for local people, ethnic minority people and poor households at Cu Kbang Commune People's Committee

Household registration, welfare policy and community management:

One of the main characteristics of the migrant group is that they do not have a household registration. After the resettlement, the People's Committee will coordinate with specialized police units to register household registration. Since then, people will enjoy social policies such as inadequate household monthly subsidies, tuition exemptions.

“Free immigrant compatriots who come to the localities if they follow the population arrangement of the government are considered for household registration; enjoy benefits and fulfill civic obligations according to law; be entitled to social and economic incentives according to the State's policies.” (Prime Minister, 1995)

With the issues raised to improve people's lives, the commune authorities have established specialized committees to manage and encourage ethnic minority people to migrate freely to resettlement. At the local level, the policy will be implemented into a separate project according to each period of migrants. The process of implementing this policy will be explained in the next section.

4.5.2 Resettlement process

To implement the resettlement policy for free migrants, commune authorities will have to perform the following procedures. Through understanding this process, the interaction between the government and the free migrant ethnic minority will be demonstrated. Thereby understand the management will of the local authorities.

The researcher summarizes the table below through the process of interviewing local authorities. More specifically, during the interview process, when asked about the steps in policy implementation, the local authorities have shown the inconsistency in addressing the step in the projects. The reason was explained by the local official in charge of the population "Because each of us working in different tasks. Therefore, we must have different process base on the specialty of our jobs" (Interview OF004)

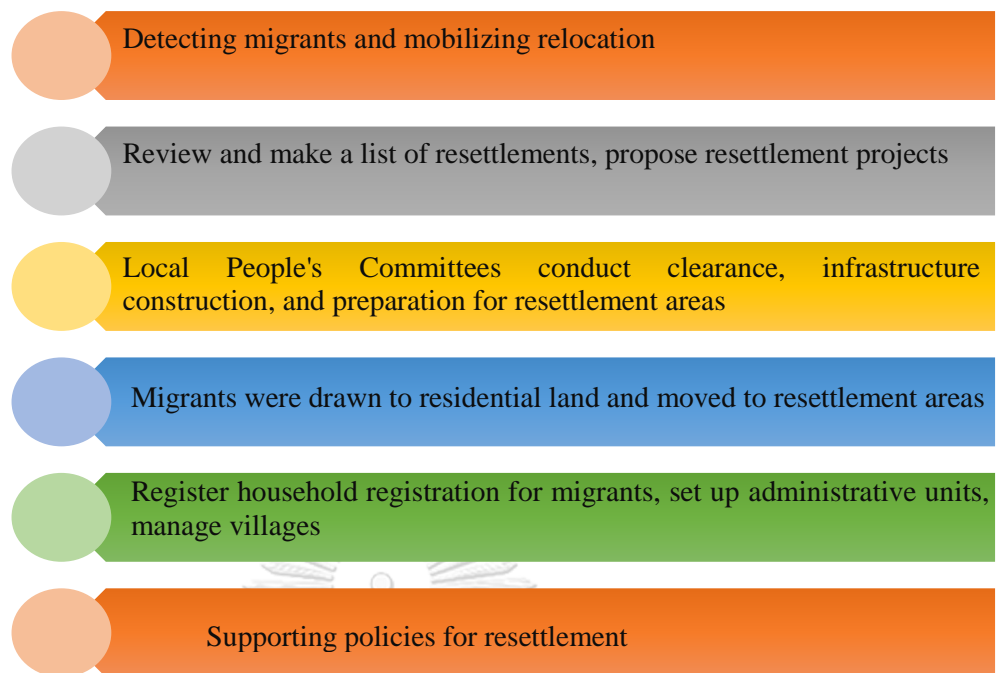


Figure 14: Major step of the resettlement project,

Synthesize from interview information

Detecting migrants and mobilizing relocation:

The police, the district committee, will set up an inspection team of staff from the district committee department, commune committee; district police. Commune police, from there conducting field surveys, will checking new residents, checking personal papers. Then, polices will send working groups to the field, get information, make a working record so that migrants can promise that people will not destroy the forest. Then transfer the information to the district police.

Review and make a list of resettlements, propose resettlement projects:

After the commune knows the total number of households, and where they lived. The authorities will be based on the commune's land fund to draft a report and send it to the district level. After get advising from the district committee, they will develop the master plan. The commune people's committee proposed which areas are still empty and high terrain to arrange residential land. Any land that can be used for agriculture will be sent to the district committee, from which the district committee makes a report to the central government. Primarily, it should be based on the existent amount

of land in the area to develop the resettlement program or appropriate population arrangement. There will be three types of living arrangements:

- + Arrange concentrated settlement: All new migrants living in new establish area
- + Arrangement of an integrated settlement: The migrants will living with the old resettle migrant in the previous project area
- + Arrange stability in place: In case the migrant do not want to leave, the area they currently located will be proposing to changing land used purpose to become a resettlement land. (Mostly it is changing from forest land to residential land)

For Cu Kbang commune, most of the migrant's people are arranged in a concentrated model. The lands of resettlement were previously protected forested, but the migrants are refused to relocate to another area, therefore, the committee must propose converting the land to residential land.

Local People's Committees conduct clearance, infrastructure construction, and preparation for resettlement areas: The Commune People's Committee will set up a project working group, build a list of resettled people. They are then conducting ground leveling, road construction, division of residential plots, building essential infrastructure for resettlement. This process usually takes much time and is the key to completing a resettlement project.

Migrants were moved to resettlement areas: Resettlement, in the case of these projects, the state only allocates migrants into the designed areas, give them housing land. Resettlement areas are built according to urban planning standards, roads in residential areas are made in the form of chess tables; residential land is provided close to the road surface. All households will be living in the same resident areas. They do not divide and separate ethnic groups.

The state supported each household with ten million (VND) to build houses after they finished building, the agricultural department of the commune committee coordinated to go to that area to test the construction of the house. If it is completed,

the committee will give migrants a stable support amount. After being all process, people will have certified as residential land.

Register household registration for migrants, set up administrative units, manage villages: Migrants will be allowed to register the household-registration. The resettlement areas then will be set up to a "small hamlet.". The process of household registration is managed by the local police, in coordination with the people's committee to conduct the necessary paper review or contact the local authorities where people go to complete the procedure.

Supporting policies for resettlement: Migrants will enjoy social security policies according to household registration. Children will go to school, schools locate near resettlement sites, according to national school standards. People can use electricity from the national grid to serve production and life; medical work, such as Health care, medical examination, and treatment are entitled to health insurance. In some places, cultural and sports activities are organized regularly.

According to the Prime Minister's Decision No. 1776 / QD-TTg dated November 21, 2012, 134 Programs, 1592, 755, 167 are integrated. Direct support policies for people in poor households in disadvantaged areas according to Decision No. 102/2009 / QD-TTg; Policy on forest allocation, annual forest protection contract, policy households, ethnic minority households have difficulties in being supported with preferential loans from the State to develop production. Households resettled in the extremely difficult communes that are poor households are supported to implement several policies of Program 135. Also, the policies for household registration; tax reduction policies, preferential credit policies, infrastructure investment support to attract investment in product development are concentrated

Name of the loan program	Ethnic minority migrants may apply	Maximum loan amount
Poor Households (Decree 78 / ND-CP)	The Prime Minister defines poor household	VND 100 million / household

Poor households (Decree 15 / QD-TTg) The Prime Minister defines	Pro-poor household	VND 100 million / household
Job creation (Decree 61 / ND-CP)	Labor is an ethnic minority people i, especially difficult areas.	VND 50 million / worker
Labor export according to Decree 61 / ND-CP	Labor belongs to the poor, near-poor households, families with merits, ethnic minorities	Up to 100% of the contract cost
The margin for workers working in Korea (Decision 1465 / QD-TTg)	Poor households	VND 100 million / labor
Rural clean water and environmental sanitation (Decision 62-TTg)	Households residing in rural areas do not have clean water and sanitation facilities for rural areas or already exist but have not yet reached the national standards for clean water and have not ensured environmental sanitation.	Six million VND / project
Poor households on housing (Decision No. 33 / QD-TTg)	Poor households follow the national poverty line (2011-2015)	VND 25 million / household
Loans for socio-economic development in ethnic minority and mountainous areas under Decision No. 2085 / QD-TTg	Loans to create productive land: They are poor ethnic minority people living in villages and communes in ethnic minority and mountainous areas. Poor households live in communes in region III and villages are particularly difficult.	VND 100 million / household

Table 6: Loan program of the Social Policies Bank of Ea Sup District

Sources: Bank of Social Policy Ea Sup District

The implementation of migration policies for ethnic minorities is integrated with the implementation of programs and projects such as programs 135, 32a. On July 31, 1998, the Prime Minister issued Decision No. 135/1998 / QD-TTG, approving the

"Program on socio-economic development of extremely difficult communes in ethnic minority and mountainous area.". (referred to as Program 135). According to the original plan, the program will last seven years and divided into two phases; Phase I from 1998 to 2000, Phase II from 2001 to 2005. However, in 2006, the State of Viet Nam decided to extend this program for another five years and call the 1997-2006 phase 1. Next is phase II (2006-2010). Content of the program includes:

a. Support production development and economic restructuring improve the production level of ethnic minorities.

b. Developing essential infrastructure in extremely difficult communes and villages.

c. Training and fostering grassroots officials, knowledge on social management skills, improving community capacity. Vocational training for young people aged sixteen to twenty-five is working in farms, construction sites, and labor export.

d. Support services enhance the quality of education, hygienic residential life, minimizes environmental harsh to people's health.

4.6 Summary

This chapter, through the understanding of the state's discourse on two significant narratives of free migrant minorities, clarified the process of discourse throughout the state. National discourse and development discourses associated with state development, and political security has guided the government and local authorities in the problematizing the issues. Moreover, from those framing, the resettlement solutions have been set out as the suitable and meet the hidden wish of the state is governance and manage the ethnic minorities, migrants. The process of using this discourse hides governance, as well as the suppression of power. The state resettlement policies prove the will to improve. However, in the hope of solving problems that they believed occurred by the free migrants, they have fallen into the trend of imposing and enforcing solutions. This process has demonstrated the governmentality from the discourse of the state, as described by Li's.

The government is based on the framing and prejudice issues in the general discourse on ethnic minorities, which have been legitimation through ethnographic studies, to divide progress and have a broad view of ethnic minorities. However, these studies are the product of the epistemological system associated with political thought, ensuring the development of the socialist Vietnamese state. Therefore, this discourse impact excluded the possibility of multidimensional discussion, allowing ethnic minorities to speak up their problems.

As a result, resettlement policies are in place to address issues that concern the state. However, once again, the resettlement policy is based on the evolutionary discourse of peoples, to assume that settlement is a proper solution to develop and solve poverty.

The policy enforcement is influenced by the state and builds a policy cycle based on their one-way understanding. In the implementation cycle, migrant ethnic minorities are considered as passive beneficiaries. Therefore, their participation in the resettlement process only carries passively taking and cooperation. Consequently, this resettlement policy has revealed the inadequacies. The next chapter will analyze the results of the resettlement policy at the study site, thereby clarifying the unexpected results that occurred when the government imposed the resettlement based on their powerful discourse.

CHAPTER 5: OUTCOME ON THE GROUND – RESETTLEMENT OR RESISTANCE

5.1 Introduction

After more than ten years of implementation, the resettlement project has partly achieved its purpose. However, when looking at reality, there are still many issues to consider and further examine. Up to now, Cu Kbang commune has 10,000 migrant people living, mostly of Hmong and Dao ethnicity. More than 1000 households have not solved their residential land and production land, nearly 5,000 people, have been settled in a land without production land. In 2013, the project arranged more than 400 households. Eight hundred sixty-nine households need resettlement, but only resettled for 372 households. Total approved capital is VND 70,930 billion, but only VND 39,815 billion has been granted by the end of 2017 (Cu Kbang commune People Committee, 2018).

Through the process of researching and synthesizing documents, this chapter will evaluate the results the Government wishes to accomplish through the policies. The results of the policy have created two options for migrants, resettled according to state arrangements and the resistance toward the policies. Each possibility represents the relationship and way of cooperation and interaction of migrants with the Government and vice versa. In section 5.2, how the results toward the people have chosen to resettlement will be clarified. In section 5.3 reveal the act of resistance of ethnic minority migrants toward the policies include denied resettling, land issues, the demanding and negotiate with the local authorities. In sections 5.4, the local authority's perspective and opinions on the policies also will be discussed. This chapter aims to conclude, one-way policies designed based on the strong will of a power group, when interacting with the community, may lead to unexpected results. Moreover, the one-way policy will be deepening prejudice and straining the relationship between the two

groups. Thus, it further explored the downside of governmentality with unsuitable solutions.

5.2 Outcome on the ground – Resettlement

The resettlement policy gives migrants a clear benefit, such as owning land with land use rights. Migrants who have residential land will have legal residence rights with household registration and permanent residence registration in the locality. Accordingly, migrants and their children will be entitled to support policies depending on their family situation. With such benefits, most migrants choose to be relocated. Alternatively, some new migrant households will register temporary residence and hope to be included in the resettlement plan.

Through interviews with local authorities, the relevant departments affirmed that

"Migrants are eager to be relocated for the accompanying benefits" (Interview OF 001), or "new migrant's households when coming here will temporarily live with relatives who have houses in the resettlement area, then register for temporary residence with local authorities. Based on that list, we will continue to plan their projects and resettlement areas." (Interview OF002)

Qualitative interviews with newly migrant households also confirm this in early 2018. Currently, their families are living with relatives in the land allocated under the resettlement project in 2007. Sharing with the researcher, the wife of a migrant family said.

"When I migrated, my family came here to live with relatives. Soon after, I registered for temporary residence with the village head of this resettlement area. The village head told me; temporary residence registration will be named in the list of migrants managed by the commune to build the resettlement project." (Interview EMR009)

Thereby, it can be seen that the decision of migrants when agreeing to relocate is based on the awareness of the benefits they will gain from the resettlement project. The decisions based on the reframing process and weighing risk and benefits they get from the resettlement. It also contains migrants' confidence in the Government that will support them to stabilize their lives. Therefore, most migrant households choose to settle according to the commune's plan.

To better understand the lives of relocated migrants, this section will clarify three crucial issues: (1) Settle down, (2) Livelihood, (3) Culture - spiritual activities, and social management. These three categorized was based on the information the migrants concerning. It also aligned with the vision of the resettlement policies aiming to fix.

5.2.1 Settle down

The project in 2007 was approved with a total investment of 33,717 billion VND, which was later adjusted to 70,930 billion VND. The total capital used for population allocation so far only accounts for VND 31,508 billion. The added money needed is VND 39,422 billion. The arrangement of migrants is concentrated, the relocation is due to free migrant households arriving in the area scattered in the forest, so it should be brought to the planning area. In 2008, 334 households received land for 500m² / household and granted a production land of 2,500m² / household (according to regulations, each household must be given 5,000m²) (Cu Kbang commune People Committee, 2018).

In 2014, Ea Sup District People's Committee continued to receive and stabilize migrants 532 households, with 2,568 people in sub-regions 204, 207. Up to now, the total number of households has been distributed residential land is 380 households. Each household is granted 500m² of residential land. The remaining 152 households, according to the approval decision, are living in the hamlets, combination with already settled households. A part of the reason for this living is because the land fund has run out. Production land cannot be handed over to people. Therefore, most of the

households still struggle to stabilize their livelihood due to the lack of land for cultivation, the illegal trading of land or farming in the forest still occurs (Ea Sup People Committee, 2018).

The local authorities, who took responsibility to manage and proposed the resettlement projects have said:

“People do not have production land; they will naturally have to produce on an illegal forest clearance area; some will buy or transfer land. Ethnic minorities, arbitrarily encroaching, destroying forests for cultivation, buying and selling, illegally transferring from ethnic minority households (Ede), or entering forest areas of wood product processing companies, and forest area managed by People's Committees of communes to destroy forests for production land” (Interview OF003)

For resettled households, being granted land for house construction is what makes them pleased. Each household will be allocated based on the list of resettled households established before the project planning. After receiving the land, the households will build their own houses, and receive ten million VND from the Government after it is completed. At the same time, it also reduces the budget costs needed to pay for life stabilization. People also do not complain about the issue of self-construction, because according to them, it helps them to have a suitable house and calculate the cost.

However, on the issue of receiving support costs after building houses, some migrant households have reflected, they have never received support. They said that, depending on the different resettlement, the first groups of relocated people do not have this money. A man who has resettled in 2007 said, “I did not receive this money, probably because I resettled in 2007. I asked some relocated relatives in 2013; they said they were supported.” (Interview EMR012)



Figure 15: A worship corner in the house of a Hmong ethnic in the resettlement areas, this house has been built since 2010.

The resettlement area is planned according to the urban road, with inter-village roads. The residential land of resettled people is arranged closely to inter-village and parallel roads.



Figure 16: Images from satellites. A resettlement area is planned along the roads; houses are arranged along the path.

Sources: Google Map 2019

The infrastructure of the resettlement areas is still unfinished. The central budget, when provided to local authorities to building infrastructure and preparing for resettlement was divided into a small budget. Therefore, the local authorities cannot comprehensively complete the infrastructure items but subdivide into components and make turns according to the allocated budget. Regarding this issue, the resettled people reflect while pointed out to the road in front of her house:

"The inter-commune road is not paved yet, in the rainy season, it is easy to flood, subsidence, sometimes dangerous. Fortunately, there are better road works that are funded by rural poverty reduction projects¹⁷," (Interview EMR013)

However, for most people, even though the roads are not convenient, it has also helped them a lot in transportation. A woman in the resettlement area shared, "The road here is not complete yet, but it is still flat and easier to move than in the old village. Normally when I go to the market, or to the commune people's committee, I can go by motorbike, not walk " (Interview EMR003)

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17. In addition to the budget from the central to build a resettlement project, the commune will receive support from the Central Highlands Poverty Reduction Project to complete facilities. This budget breakdown makes project implementation difficult and impossible to complete the infrastructure of the projects at the same time.



Figure 17: The main road connects all the hamlets to the commune center



Figure 18: Picture of stone pillars on the road under the Central Highlands Poverty Reduction Project in Dak Lak province-

In addition to houses, roads, and electricity provided to households under the national power grid, the Government has built them before conducting land

subdivision. Water pipes have been installed. Households will finance themselves in connecting the water supply system to their homes. Households in need can be able to carry out a "clean water loan" to install the system.

However, some planning areas lack funds, and people still face many difficulties in accessing water. In some places, people will catch rainwater, or dig a well to get groundwater. During the interview process, local authorities were also proud to talk about local achievements when helping people in accessing water. "Just a week ago, we carried out the installation of water tanks and got clean water for people in the new resettlement area" (Interview OF003)



Figure 19: The water tank got install for the resettlement areas



Figure 20: Migrants build their houses in the resettlement areas; all the houses mostly made from wood.

The results achieved by people after resettlement have partly met the basic needs to stabilize their lives. Building a project with the purpose of settle down residents in the community reflected the state discourse and the wish to manage the people according to the administrative plan. Considering this result, it reflects the state's view of "stability." In the traditional conception of Vietnamese people or Kinh people, promote the stability of residence as the common thought "An cư lạc nghiệp" (Settle down bring a fortune life). Therefore, resettlement is most needed to bring migrants who are living freely, without a permanent residence, to a place where they can have a house and stay for a long time.

The stability of the people in the long-term residence is guiding toward urban management like Kinh people, reflect the will of the Government to modernize and Kinh-nize the living style of ethnic minorities. So, they can merge into the

management system according to the national administrative framework.¹⁸ When resettlement areas are arranged in small urban areas, they are named and managed according to population hamlets. This way of management and resettlement does not adequately consider how to build villages of ethnic minorities. In the resettlement areas, there is no appearance of the community house, also known as the Ruong house. It is also due to the absence of the title of the village patriarch. The issues of resettlement landscape and how it related to culture, religious activities, and social management will be more clearly said in latter sub-sections.

5.2.2 Livelihood

The livelihoods of people living in settlements are mostly agricultural. According to the interviews, most people living in resettlement areas are working for landowners who are Kinh people, or the earlier migrants already have land with the owner certificate¹⁹. For some people who have enough money, they can rent the land or buy it. Cultivated land is often bought from households within ten to fifteen km from the resettlement area. Households often grow short-term food crops such as rice, wheat, and beans. However, unlike what people thought about Central Highland, Cu Kbang communes locate in the high areas compare to another commune. Therefore, the land is dry, the raining season only last for a few summer months. There is no irrigation canal, so the productivity is low. Consequently, people's life is still not better. Speaking about cultivation, a middle-aged man who has resettled in the areas for ten years said:

¹⁸ Administrative units are entities with the local authorities following the provisions of the current Constitution (such as provinces, cities directly under the central, district, commune, ward, village, and hamlet). Self-governing communities such as villages (làng) and bản (terminology of the village in most ethnic minority languages) are collections that make up a territorial unit within a certain administrative level. Administrative units will be established together with management titles corresponding to the national administrative management system. For example, in each village, there will be a village head. See Khanh Vinh's work to understand the political grassroots roles and the government intentions in building those organizations in migrants areas (Khanh Vinh, 2015).

¹⁹ Resettlement land is land allocated by the state to support people to stabilize their lives. So legally, the people who are granted resettlement land are residential land with enough ownership rights. Therefore, the resettlement land has been issued with a land use right certificate, then the sale of this legal land use right has completely the same rights as the ordinary land.

“When I first arrived, my family rented land from Kinh owners to grow beans and grow rice. Later, I gathered enough money to buy 1 ha of cultivated land in the nearby commune. In this commune, the land is considered fertile, but only in the rainy season. In the months without rain, most plants cannot grow. The water ditch system is not enough to irrigate. So now I am sitting at home like this because there is nothing to do in the field.” (Interview EMR006)



Figure 21: Rice fields are drying up due to lack of water

The local authorities said resettled people still have difficulties in their livelihoods, because they are only attached to agriculture, and do not intend to invest in agricultural development. Through interviews, most of the thoughts about people and their farming methods are at simple levels, based on natural weather, not knowing how to apply science and technology. The situation also related to the lack of education and working skills; when migrants mostly from the northern provinces located in the side of the rocky mountain, there is rugged terrain with difficulties in

using machines compared to a flat field. Therefore, most of the ethnic minority migrants do not know how to use the machine for cultivation. However, after a while, they have learned how to use the machine and happy with the productivity and the amount of time they must spend on farming work.

This view of the Government is also discriminatory and prejudiced when it is intended to compare ethnic minorities who do not know how to use scientific techniques. Unlike Kinh people, with the same land they know to use fertilizer, irrigation for a better harvest. Talking about this issue, local staff said,

“Strangely, migrants say they cannot grow plans because of lack of water. However, in the commune, many Kinh people still know to buy pumps, store water, and then install an irrigation system. Even me, I also have a small farm, I still can grow trees and raising chickens, raising cows.” (Interview OF003)

Besides the agriculture, migrants are mostly working as daily labor, or seasonal labors for the Kinh peoples in the field. Most of the migrants do not invest in livestock. Speaking about this, the local authorities said that

“Even if the commune people's committee introduced people to loans to improve their livelihoods, most of them were not interested in taking the loans” (Interview OF002)

Contrary to the view that ethnic minority migrants do not know how to do business, some households have tried to invest in raising livestock and poultry, but they do not achieve high results, and epidemics are also a worry for people. In the meantime, migrants said that they have never been able to take part in breeding skills or crop techniques. Government support is still at the level of introducing preferential loans from policy banks. However, these loans have created many shortcomings, when the condition for a household to access loans is always closely related to household

registration, as well as other necessary documents. A migrant in resettlement areas told the reason his family does not want to invest in livestock:

“We do not want to raise cows, or raise cattle, for fear of diseases, and our cattle breeding techniques are not good either. Here in the dry season, it is more difficult to find water for cattle.” (Interview EMR01)

There have also been many articles, news sources about lending are ineffective, and there are many signs of wrongdoing. In 2016, there were many reflections on the issue of loans to buy cows for livestock, but the people in the commune refused to accept this loan because the authorities thought that the Government had "forced" people to buy cows with higher prices than the market. This loan project is the solution proposed by the commune people's committee according to the implementation of Program 755. The whole commune has 100 poor households on the list of supported cows (Nguyen Tuan Anh, 2016).

When the municipality informed families to receive cows, many villagers protested and decided not to accept cows because the value of cows that the commune gave them was not equal with the amount of money the people must borrow to buy. People said that the commune had committed itself to farm owners to distribute cows at twenty million VND each, but on the market price, these cows were distributed only at prices ranging from seven to eight million VND. Responding to this issue, the commune People's Committee said that:

“We do not let people buy cows by themselves, but the commune presents them to the owner to buy. Regarding the communal leaders forced poor households to receive support cattle to pay higher than the market price, it because the district instructed so, the district was afraid if they grant money to the people, they will use it for gambled and bought motorcycles without buying cows”. Extract quote of the Local administrative from (Nguyen Tuan Anh, 2016).

When conducting the field surveys at Cu Kbang People Committee, I was lucky it was right at the time the commune People's Committee is hosting the opening ceremony of "vocational training classes, livelihood transformation" for people in the resettlement. However, I was told that no migrants were involved, because according to the commune authorities, "they do not like going to school, they like what is real, visible, that is the land and money." (Interview OF004)

That judgment, is it correct? The age range of most of the households living around twenty-five to forty-five. For households that have lived for a long time, their children have mostly gone to big cities to work. Asking about the intention to change livelihoods or attend vocational training, thirty - one year old migrant sharing "After finish learning, they do not have the capital to open their shops, they can only work for another boss at the labor" (Interview EMR004).

The migrants, who said this was referring to his son, who already twenty years old, has graduated from high school and does not want to study more. His son is now working in the electronic factory in Binh Duong. As he said, he smiled and look at the new motorbike his son just bought a month ago after two years working as a worker. The motorbike costs fifty-five million VND, a large amount of money with them.

In culture and the mindset of ethnic minorities, self-reliance and self-control are normal and show the understanding of knowledge with nature. Some reports have shown that for ethnic minority people, their lifestyle is self-reliance based on natural resources, less dependent on money-product relations. However, that does not mean their society is not familiar with the purchase and sale of market goods. Ethnic minorities have a market as a platform of exchange of goods based on the law of supply and demand. Their traditional market also is a place to exchange information, enhance social relations, and a form of cultural practices. In the history of ethnic minorities, the goods exchange with Kinh people have been recorded with specific products based on indigenous knowledge and nature knowledge such as herb medicine of Dao ethnic (Hoàng Cẩm, 2012, p. 56).

The difference makes their market model evaluated as ineffective because it attaches to the idea of "enough." A migrant resident said,

"We are used to living in harmony with nature, being happy to have enough food, enough clothes, children can go to school, and money is sufficient. Because of that reason, some households have settled down but still build temporary houses in the forest. They do not need to spend much money, grow vegetables, raise chickens, grow rice enough to eat. Those self-sufficient products can be sold to have enough money when needed. That is enough to live" (Interview, EMR015).

It was this thought that became a prejudice for local authorities, arguing that migrants are "lazy, pragmatic, and not eager to learn." (See section 4.2) The development of livelihoods for migrants is still a big problem for the locality with resettlement projects when prejudice is still a barrier, hindering the exchange and cooperation between people and authorities.

Ethnic minorities in different villages are encouraged and arranged to live together in a resettlement site. Those resettlement areas built and designed following the model of urbanization and modernization of the Kinh. How will migrants feel, when they have to give up the way they used to live if they live in those resettlement areas?

Are this exchange and trade-off easy to accept?

To answer the question, there were stories of people who have been resettled and abandoned their homes. These people left their houses in the resettlement village, they went to the forest, built sheds, and worked on the forest fields. Local officials only shook their heads, saying that "it is their long tradition; they like to live like that; we cannot do anything to convinces them to stay at the resettlement." (Interview OF005). Meanwhile, a migrant in the resettlement said

"I also do not know what kind of personality they are. Perhaps living in it is quieter, food is more self-sufficient and cleaner than the food in the market, they do not live on electricity, they do not need a TV, they just need to have enough food." (Interview EMR011)

The definition of livelihood and lifestyle of each ethnic group is hugely different, so for ethnic minorities who migrate, being able to live in a house in a stable land, it has not necessarily brought them a better life. When in the resettlement life, the market economy puts on their shoulders the worries about money to take care of food and other expenses to survive. In contrast, living in the forest, living in harmony with nature guarantees them the basic needs without owning much money.

5.2.3 Culture - spiritual activities - social management

Social management

This is partly due to the planning of resettled villages according to the administrative system of the Kinh people. Households live on nuclear family units. Every 200 households are combined into one hamlet. Each hamlet will have a hamlet head to manage according to the state administrative system. The people relationship, in their traditional social structure, is associated with the position of a village patriarch (già làng), who is trusted and respected by the people thus disappears. The planning areas also do not have community houses for people to carry out village meetings, discuss, and cultural activities. This is also because resettled hamlets have different ethnic groups living together. Many resettled households in Cu Kbang are Hmong and Dao. They all live together, so traditional social management practices and institutions cannot be present. A migrant is around 40 years shared about the current life compare to the old life said:

"We live in the resettlement area; we have determined that we live together with different nations. There is also nothing difficult because they are determined to leave; the customs must change accordingly. Here, there

have been cases of the Dao marrying Hmong people, also new, but showing that the relationship is quite good.” (Interview EMR010)

Talking about this issue, most migrant households share, they have no problem with the other ethnic groups. However, the lack of village patriarchs has also made it difficult to solve village problems. Because the people selected for village schools are often based on academic qualifications, political thought, and can be much younger than them.

A resettled complained about the position of the hamlet head saying: “In the past, each place had an elder, everyone listened to that person. Now there is a hamlet head, he plays a role as a spokesperson for the authorities, managing and do the jobs authorities said, but if he is speaking to the people, people do not listen” (Interview EMR015)

This mechanism has revealed many shortcomings, when the role of the village head is attached more expectations from the state regulatory mechanism, and political ideology. Talking to the head of the village, who also is a migrant, Hmong ethnic, he said,

“Being a village head is very tiring, I only work because no one is doing it, and because I have a higher education than them. Doing this job is even more exhausting than the chairman of the commune when everything comes to me, including reconciling other people's family problems, collecting money for the committee, or managing the population. But the most miserable is that no one hears me, no one respects me, sometimes they get angry, each one has a point of view, they even hit me” (Interview OF005)

However, local authorities believe that managing the community according to this mechanism will help them a lot. They can easily encourage and mobilize people to follow the law. Capture the situation of the people, as well as their life and

difficulties. Moreover, if there is a conflicting dispute, it should be handled according to the law. Local authorities share, "Having a village leader with a good education, understanding the law, having a strong political mindset will help the population management better. People migrate in one place at a time. There will be many problems that we cannot know." (Interview OF004).

Culture – spiritual practices

For households living in resettlement areas, leaving the homeland means being far from their cultural values and customs. Older people who hold cultural and spiritual values here rarely moving, which means there is no one to keep and share the values. Even with the person who now lives in the resettlement, they cannot afford to keep traditional festivals or traditional dishes. The living areas change, so does the customs and habits. For example, the "mèn mén" (a traditional dish of the Hmong people) is no longer present in the life of the people, because the corn to make dishes cannot grow in this area. Then, children are born without inheriting many cultures of the ethnic group.

Local authorities have also tried to organize "great national unity"²⁰ Most of the migrant's people join the festival and practice their traditional games. However, in the new context, those Hmong festivals are almost transformed and congratulated with oppressors of "joy," "big," or "modernized." Furthermore, the current festival strongly associated with the values of the age of consumerism. Stage banners, loudspeakers, music players, and large banquets are thought to be a form of adaption and association with Kinh peoples living near the resettlement areas.

²⁰ See more in (Phạm Quỳnh Phương, 2013) to see the erosion of ethnic minority identity due to the practices ò culture, and the majority on the modern lens on minority culture practices. In these cases, the policy of the state on national unity policy has been implemented through the national unity festival. Local authorities have passed this festival to organize Hmong festivals. Local authorities regard this as a move to preserve and encourage ethnic minorities to practice culture. At the same time, it expresses the will of the state on respect of ethnic cultures.



Figure 22: Festival of Mong village, Cu Kbang commune, in 2019. Festival of competition for dancing, singing folk songs, play "cù quay," catching a duck with a blindfold.

Sources: Facebook of Cu Kbang Youth Union

Local authorities said that they have well implemented the policy of the state to preserve and encourage people to practice indigenous culture, at the same time building a strong relationship between diverse ethnic groups. With migrants, they partly accept and cooperate with the Government, even if it means that they will gradually lose traditional festivals and culture. Twenty-Nine years old women migrants shared,

"It is incredibly happy to live in the resettlement area because the local authorities still organize festivals and traditional games for us. However, there are still many things that cannot be done, in our old hometown we have many festivals. Ceremony to celebrate new rice, New Year of the Hmong, many more, every month there are holidays. It is impossible to be here, so it is acceptable. Sometimes I still miss my hometown and want to come back and have fun in our traditional festival."

(Interview EMR013)

Besides, religious issues are also mainly focused on resettlement areas under state management. Under the law, the Vietnamese state allows freedom to practice religion, but with many immigrants who follow Protestantism is considered a threat. There are no churches or temples in the planning area for relocation. Instead, resettled people will set up small meeting houses in people's houses and listen to lectures on Sundays. Bible preacher is a volunteer sent from the big churches in the commune. Protestant people are not banned, but unsupported. With local authorities, the migration of Protestant people needs to be careful and watch closely. Because they may be victims of forces against the state, taking advantage of religious beliefs to instigate people against the Government. An officer has said, "Is it strange when people migrate also follow Protestantism? But it was so crowded that it became a phenomenon, the Government must observe and be more careful." (Interview OF004)

Children and education opportunities

In resettlement areas, schools are built by the state and the Government according to national schools, each resettlement area will have preschools, primary and secondary schools. The population area is concentrated, plus the school is convenient to travel, so the children go to school entirely, the number of dropouts decreases. For parents, children's learning is entrusted to the school. Children will learn Vietnamese, and the curriculum follows national standards. The native language is only used within the family. Meanwhile, the ethnic minority has long shown some difficulty and hard to catch up with the Kinh children in school due to the bilingual using. Right after they get into primary school, ethnic minority kids must use Vietnamese. Slowly it has given them an uneasy feeling and inferiority complex. (See in section 3.2,3.3) (Khang, 2015; Kosonen, 2004)



Figure 23: Children in resettlement areas walking to school nearby

Although life is still precarious, with people living in resettlement areas, the new life has been better when they have access to electricity, clean water, schools. For children, the second generation of migrant households, the life they have in the resettlement area, has brought joy when they can go to school.

In conclusion, the situation of migrants in Cu Kbang commune is still complicated. When migrant households choose to resettlement, life is more stable but cannot be developed. For that reason, besides some achievements, the resettlement project cannot really solve the problem of free migration as well as ensure a more stable life for them. In particular, the issue is particularly feared by the state, which is the resistance and refusal of the resettlement of many migrants. This resistance, considered by the state as emerging conflicts, needs to be addressed and intervened. The next section will talk more about the unexpected results of the resettlement policy – the act of resistance.

5.3 Outcome on the ground – Resistance

The notion of resistance has been long discussed between the scholar studies on political power. In which, the sharing understanding is a form of oppositional act,

which "like all acts, resistance is situated in a certain time, space and relations, and engages with different (types of) actors, techniques and discourses" (Vinthagen & Johansson, 2013, p. 1). Mentions about discourse, the relationship between the powerholder and the oppression always tense, as Michel Foucault claims that "Where there is power, there is resistance"(Foucault, 1978, pp. 95-96). However, even though the idea of exploring power in the form of social structure is well known, yet, it remains unfulfilled if there is no analysis on the action of the oppressed.

"Every day of resistance" is an idea presented by James Scott in 1985 to spread another sort of obstruction, one that is not as sensational and noticeable as uprisings, riots, exhibits, upsets, common war, or other such sorted out, aggregate or angry denunciations of obstruction. Scott demonstrates how certain regular conduct of subaltern gatherings (for example, foot-dragging, escape, sarcasm, passivity, laziness, misunderstandings, disloyalty, slander, avoidance, or theft) is not generally what it is by all accounts, yet rather opposition. Scott contends these exercises are strategies that abused individuals use to both endure and undermine abusive mastery, particularly in settings when defiance is excessively unsafe (Scott, 1985).

However, daily resistance is spoken by Scott as a product of people who are aware of the position and oppressive actions of others on themselves. If, in another dimension, the people under the oppressed, but instead of realizing the oppress and denied, they listen to those discourses and self-transforming that knowledge into a reason for their action. Those actions are beneficial to them but can break the laws, resulting in their actions exists as a form of resistance under the eyes of the powerholder. In this case study, the oppose act of the people demonstrated the variety and unpredictable of "everyday form of resistance."

This section will clarify two forms of resistance of ethnic minorities who migrate freely with local authorities and resettlement policies. (1) Resistance by refusing to participate in resettlement. This section will clarify the factors that govern people in the decision-making process to resettle, such as resettlement location,

allocated land quality, policies to support people. (2) Clarify the form of resistance through demanding and negotiation with authorities. Ethnic minorities migrants have asked for support, refusing to give back the land they have encroached and illegally traded, and finally negotiated with the authorities to reach their needs.

5.3.1 Resistance to resettlement

The main cause of concerns and actions against the Government's beliefs and wills lies in the disparity between the parties' hope in implementing the project. Opportunities and benefits that resettlement offered relate to the social welfare system, the legality of residence through the legal residence, and land ownership. However, issues related to livelihoods, land opportunities, and agricultural development have yet to satisfy the needs of free migrants. Therefore, there are still many households migrating, refusing to resettle, and continuing to live illegally in restricted areas and protected forests.

Households who have not yet resettled often fall into two groups, new migrants, and people not yet agree to resettle. However, the common reason for people refusing to settle is associated with their intention to migrate. Accordingly, opportunities for access to land and livelihoods are two factors that govern this decision.

Resettlement policy, with the process of construction and implementation, is closing, making migrants cannot take part in deciding or drafting the projects. Hence, the location of resettlement, the implementing process, the policy of supporting migrants to move into resettlement areas are not meet the need of migrants.

Firstly, the location of resettlement is not meet the expectation of the migrants. The choice of the settlement will be decided by the Government, based on the aggregate land fund. The resettlement site, therefore, is often chosen in areas where there is no population or forest land is converted into residential land. In the project, currently underway to implementing, Ea Sup commune has selected a resettlement site in the Ia Jloi, a border commune for new migrants (Cur Kbang commune People Committee, 2018). However, for migrants who are too far away

from the land they currently have, facilities are not yet available but are being implemented under the new resettlement plan. In this regard, a Hmong migrant now living in the buffer zone said.

"A few months ago, after we came here to live, the authorities sent officials to come and talk to us. They mobilized us into the resettlement area. However, if you go, the land you have here will have to be returned to the state. Our house has also been removed. That new residence is near the border, but far from the center. Currently, the distance is quite far from the service and the school. If settling there, it much further. Currently, my child is being sent to relatives in Cu Kbang, to go to school easier. Therefore, I still have not agreed to relocate." (Interview EMF005)

Secondly, the quality of land planning to distributed to resettled people does not meet the demand. Even though land in the Central Highlands, known to be fertile and favorable for crops, the area of Ea Sup commune is in a higher area than other regions. Drought happens in the dry season. Land, after many years of cultivation, has become eroded and lacks nutrients. The place the local authority chosen to settlers were often bad, hard to growing crops. The irrigation system is also inadequate. So, when people consider the resettlement decision, they do not agree with the land that will be given. A migrant who currently resistance to resettle said: "The land for the project to be cultivated is not much; it is terrible; it cannot grow anything. So why do we have to relocate?" (EMF003)

Comment on this issue, most of the migrants addressed the necessity of quality land for them to consider resettling or not. This corresponds to their orientation when migrating, which is the hope of good land, favorable for agricultural production. Therefore, when faced with reality, the state proposes resettlement, but cannot meet the demand that makes migrants decide to continue to live on the land they have chosen to do the farming.

In the area where new migrants migrated in early 2019, it was easy to see; they accepted to live without electricity, clean water, and quite far from services. However, in return, they can cultivate and live on the land they buy. The picture below was taken in the buffer forest of Yok Don National Forest. Migrants have been building houses and cultivating right on their surrounding land.



Figure 24: A house of migrants and the land around the house are used for growing beans.



Figure 25: Soil condition of a rubber forest in Ea Sup commune, this area was distributed to resettled households.

The picture above was taken in April, the dry season of Central Highland. This rubber tree has been planting for three years. Due to the soil condition, it cannot sustain growth as the normal speed.

Thirdly, the policy to support resettlement has not satisfied migrants. There is a paradox currently occurring in areas that are waiting for resettlement. The migrants have bought and sell land illegally, encroach on forest land, live in restricted areas. However, they are not afraid of Government to enforce land or punishment. The migrant answered the reason for this "stubbornness":

"We buy land here, have agreement papers with sellers, and money has been paid enough, so why can the state force us to leave? If they want us to move, then the state must pay back the money we spent to buy the land, support the money and effort we have us to our plant.", an immigrant at the end of 2018, said so. (Interview EMF002)

It is an act of resistance to requiring compensation and support from migrants with the state. However, their arguments are based on beliefs about state fairness. The legitimacy of land purchase and ownership relations is through consensus. Some households are aware of the local authorities' problems in handling their illegal land sale because some local officer is the ones behind the trading land for migrants.

A migrant who used to work as the government officer before migrants, he moved to this forest in early 2019 shared:

"We know everything. The land belongs to who, the state or the private, the Kinh, or the Ede ethnicity when buying things. It is imperative to know. Even if we buy through intermediaries, this land is protective forest land, so it is not that easy to sell it to us. Who can do it if you are not a man who has power?" (Interview EMF004)

In this regard, the government authorities also acknowledged that the shortcomings in handling land violations by migrants are also because they know the gap in the current system. “If we solve the situation, by punishment the seller, we must handle all the people involved, so we cannot do it. Without doing it, we must be ignored and agreed to support the migrants” (Interview OF001).

Refusing to resettle is a form of resistance of people when policies and solutions do not meet demand. That is understandable. However, reality shows that this resistance is associated with land relations. Currently, there are still many migrant households residing in the buffer zone and project land (Ea Sup District People's Committee, 2018). They are selling by introducing one person to the other. The land in the buffer zone was purchased first by the Kinh, the Ede people, and especially by the local officials, then will be sold to the migrants. So even though there is no valid paperwork, just a handwritten paper migrant still buys much land for a low price of thirty million VND (approximate 1300USD) per hectare. Therefore, after the authorities demanded the recovery and resettlement in the planning area, these households did not agree, because production land is given less than the existing land. Although, if they do not agree to the registration area, these households will only be granted temporary residence registration without household registration and will not enjoy corresponding social policies. Thus, they still in the process of negotiating with authorities on resettlement.

Since the migration of people to Cu Kbang, a series of land encroachment, illegal land trading and buying and selling in forbidden areas have occurred. Local authorities have also collaborated with functional units to inspect, handle and dismantle 100 illegal construction camps on forestry land in forest sub-areas 172, 182, 192, 196 of The Forest Green Company, and Cu Kbang Commune with a total area of hundreds of square meters. A migrant in the resettlement told the number of lands each household has bought after moved here:

“In this village, each household owning 10 to 15 hectares of production land. At least, the minimum is 2 hectares per households”
(Interview EMR009)

Although functional forces repeatedly dismantled people and organized migrants to return their homeland. However, the people just come back and clung to this land. After months of refusing to pay the illegal land they have bought, the local authorities finally had to "agree" to give the land to the people.

Land disputes also take place between local people and local authorities, when some households have secretly built houses that are currently being cleared for the allocation of land to the next projects. Alternatively, in the buffer zone of the national forest, migrant households are living and cultivating illegally, leading to the authorities forcing to relocate, issuing cultivation bans, so the issue of migration has become an enormous pressure for local authorities (Ea Sup People Committee, 2018)

In summary, for migrants, their choice of non-resettlement is based on a comparison and careful consideration. Within expectations of land ownership and livelihood ability on the land, they are divided. The process they make is also influenced by the perception of the relationship between related actors such as local authorities, landowners, and migrants.

5.3.2 Resistance - demanding and negotiation act

"The free migrants come here mostly from Ede, Gia Rai, or Hmong. When we are detecting people coming to live illegally in these areas, our police will send teams to grasp the situation. Since then, they will be starting to advocacy and told them that state policies are currently issued. To stop them from exploiting more untapped places. Nevertheless, they do not listen!"(Interview OF003)

The statement above was made by the local officer, who is working with the migrants in the resettlement process and administrative work. The so-called disobedient, according to local authorities, is due to the behavior of ethnic minorities, stubborn and opposing. However, when looking back on this resistance process, the problems facing the Government come from their discourse of prejudice. The result of the process of believing in these temptations is a series of unintentional protests. However, under the eyes of local authorities, that is the behavior, the reality of the characteristics of ethnic.

They believe that they are poor, have a miserable life, and because of their poor reasons, the state, always caring for people and loving people as children, will help and protect them. So, they decided to migrate and live without registering papers and farming on forest land. When the state conducts a recall, the migrant's argument is:

"I am poor, have invested in this field with many capitals, so there is a need to support the number of trees we already planted or to give the forests to us to manage, we will plant forests, and pay fees" that's is the story of the women now living in the forest protection zone. (Interview EMR002)

When they arrived at their new residence, they also believed that the Government would soon allow the registered for permanent residence, and they would be included in the resettlement area and distributed with residential land. They believe in the story of the previous people, about policies to help the migrant ethnic minorities of the state, they think that the Government will continue to support those who come later. (See section 3.2)

However, only households have agreed to resettlement in the areas where the Government decided, or have legal document is allowing to registration for permanent resident. There have been cases where the migrants have refused to participate in the elections voting and negotiated with the authorities to give them the household registration. The movement was violating the rights and obligations of citizens in

elections that are stipulated in the constitution. Compelling Vietnamese citizens over the age of eighteen to take part in the election. Hence, this refusal has caused many problems for the locals, and the result of negotiation has occurred to meet the needs of migrant households. (Ea Sup District People's Committee, 2018).

When meeting strangers who ask for their opinions, they will always say, "do not know," "do not understand anything." The refusal to participate, even more so, makes them isolated, and inadvertently opposes opportunities to give ideas or contribute to the process of implementing policies.

Migrants also believe in the idea that they are "backward" miserable as this discourse has been producing for a long time by the Government. The old lady walked to me, and right away, she said: "We Hmong people are very miserable, very poor." (Interview EMR004).

This mindset is not existing at that blunt sentence but hidden in the back of their mind as normality as the concept of labeling in Sociology was first become famous by Howard Becker (Becker, 2008). The labeling theory was linked to the symbolic interactionism, which has explained the deviance act or criminal act. In this case, the ethnic minorities were not committing a crime, but their actions were a result of the labeling process. The oppression power produced the stigma about their "backward lifestyle," and the member of their dominant groups and the policy-making process has treated the ethnic minorities as the label they construct. Hence, ethnic minorities start to accept the label themselves and absorb it. Resulting in the framing of the ethnic minority migrants in their positions as a vulnerable group, need support from the Government. Therefore, they have demanding and negotiate with the local authorities to fulfill their needs.

That resistance also reflected in the bargaining power of migrant groups. With the discourse about as "backward" and "stubborn," it seems like the local authority has left the big space for them to negotiate in execution and land distribution. Migrants are

aware of their position. They know that they are a group of people supported by the state.

From that awareness, they are quite confident in the negotiation and resettling resistance process from the state. Typically, in the spontaneous settlement of the Hmong group in the national forest buffer forest area, the households here refused to pay forest land, and moved to the resettlement area. They are utilizing protests, use force, or report to the public media about the authorities sending the group to coerce land acquisition. In an interview with immigrants who are currently living in the protection forest, they talked about the Government sending a delegation of officials to coerce land acquisition and banning people from continuing to cultivate on protective forest land.

"We saw officials coming down with some police officers, and soldiers. We were protesting; by come as a group and standing as the road, there were also a few people carrying out agricultural tools to stop the officer. The officer saw it; they do not do anything and leave". (Interview EMF002)

This resistance is completely spontaneous when they disagree with the amount of land, and the state's land position for resettlement. However, it must be frankly acknowledged, confidence in the resistance of these population groups. Since they believe in their position before the local authorities. A migrant has responding to the Government on the issue of banning farming on his land, "It is fine we no more practice cultivation, but every month the authorities need to give us 20kg of rice per person". (Interview EMR004)

Migrant people currently living in protective forests have a noticeably clear view on this issue. They said that they were not wrong, because they only bought land, not deforestation. The wrong person is the Ea Sup and Cu Kbang government when it is impossible to manage land, buy and sell land. They are also the contributors to deforestation, when they give the land to forestry companies to use, without knowing

who the main actors are destroy the forest to earn a profit. A migrant told the story she knew about the changing and land trading in the forest area shared,

"I have lived here for ten years. I used to work as a security guard for a forest company in this land. They then planted acacia, which cannot be grown in this land. So, they reported bankrupt then left. At that time, the original forest and valuable timber were cut off and sold for profit. They left without pay a salary for the worker, so some people stay, some return to the city. I stayed here, then build houses and selling groceries things. From there began to see Hmong migrants go to buy land, then set up a house to grow. Whose land do they buy, we know. The migrants did not destroy the forest. The forest has been destroyed. So, the Government also cannot handle them, because the wrong person is the local official"
(Interview EMF005)

In fact, the resistance of the people is the result of their knowledge and awareness of the problem where they live. Therefore, they are aware of their position and their relationship with the Government. However, on the contrary, when the Government receives this resistance, it becomes even more deeply stereotypical than the migrant population, making the relationship tenser.

5.3 The local authority's relation with the ethnic minority's migrants

The resistance of migrants, along with pressure from the Government, requires good management of the situation of free migrants has created a tense relationship of local authorities with the migrants.

Ethnic minority migration is seen as a problem of social instability and disorder for managers. However, is this a linear process, when "development" was considered as a causation of migration. More specifically, the Vietnamese state is now promoting the "settlement the situation of free migrants." Accordingly, the state requires localities with migrant people to quickly stabilize, sedentarize, and migrate for migrants, and

resolve current conflict situations. Hence, the authorities in Cu Kbang commune in the November 2018 report had to propose solutions to relocate 400 households living in the commune to the project land in Ia Jlay commune (Ea Sup People Committee, 2018) (the areas next to the border). However, when sharing with the researcher, the local authorities have frankly said that if the resettlement can happen, it can only supply residential land, and land for cultivation will not be enough. Hence, the local authorities also have conflicting opinions on resettlement issues, saying that

"This policy, it is to give fish to migrant people, pamper migrants, support too much. The policy of solving seasonal problems, invisible pushing the burden on local authorities, forest degradation, decreasing local land development fund" (Interview OF001).

Besides, the policy also pushed pressure on the Government to change the purpose of using forest land when people lived and refused to relocate to resettlement areas, so that land was required to be converted for use and put into the settlement plan. Implementing the Resolution No. 134/2016 / QH13 of April 9, 2016, of the National Assembly, the People's Committees of provinces have implemented the adjustment of land use planning to 2020, periodic land-use plan end (2016-2020) and approved by the Government. Accordingly, the area of forest land to 2020 of 5 provinces is allocated by the Government is 2,868,014ha, of which Dak Lak is 596,412 ha; Forest land planned to be converted to other purposes is 31,639 ha (Ea Sup People Committee, 2018). Policies and directives from the central Government force the local authorities to continue to promote and stabilize free migrants. Talking about this issue, local authorities shared about the downside of the resettlement project:

"Resettlement policy carries too much damage to the locality. Without talking about the funding that the central government supplies to build infrastructure, every year, we spend much money to carry out the work related to resettlement and social welfare. Most migrants are poor, so

we must have monthly support for them. The local land fund, instead of saving for projects, economic investment companies bring in tax revenue, now must distribute and tear down the level for the project. Up to now, the local land fund has almost gone. We are not sure how to deal with new arrivals. (Interview OF002)

During the implementation of the resettlement project, when faced with the refusal to cooperate with migrants. Local authorities are also concerned about taking coercive measures or handling violations because, in recent years, Hmong ethnic minority violence has become more serious. In 2018, there were also protests and disturbances of a group of free migrants from Hmong. Cu Kbang commune is close to the Cambodian border, so the local authorities also fear that the migrant population will become a tool for the anti-state groups to take advantage. Therefore, although resettlement brings many difficulties for local authorities, the local authorities still think it is necessary to manage the free migrants through resettlement, he shared:

“If authorities do not arrange resettlement, we cannot manage the economic, political security, social order, and safety. Especially wherever people live, there must be order and discipline. If you let people live in each hill by themselves, the state cannot manage it. Since then, other forces will take advantage of and propagate against the state. If they can enter the project area, they will be able to solve social security, under the state spirit, for them to develop their economy. Managing household registration and people, then when an outsider enters the areas, the Government can have information to know the situation. If the hamlet is established, people will become an essential source of information in the protection and provide information on the area for the police.” (Interview OF001)

Besides, judging the resettlement policy, the local authorities also frankly pointed out the disadvantage and inconsistency of the policy as the strategies of the state are trying to limit and blocking this flow of free migration. However, the

resettlement policy has many benefits, as well as advantages for migrants. Because of this, according to them, people will continue to migrate, to receive support from the state, the local staff in the People's Committee said “A project that grants each household resettlement of 500m² of residential land, 1ha of productive land, who does not want to migrate? (Interview OF002)

In conclusion, the resettlement policy of the state, when interacting with the discourse system of migrants, has resulted in unexpected and unforeseen results. The main difference in problematizing and proposed solutions also affected the local authorities, put them under pressure as the mediate actors in implementing and dealing with the situations. This pressure has put the local authorities on the tense relationship with the ethnic minority migrants. Moreover, it creates further prejudice, stereotypes on the ethnic minority migrants. It is resulting in the resistances of the migrants, and conflict on the ground.

5.4 Summary

Free migrant ethnic minorities under the discourse of Government is a group of people who need governance, discipline, and manage their behaviors. Therefore, resettlement has been carried out based on the will of the state, which demonstrates the governmentality and the limitations of the policy when narrowing the public space in policy implementation.

The interaction between the governor and the subject of the policies has shown conflicts, as well as an unexpected result. The resettlement policy has not brought a better life for the people as it was initially set out. At the same time, it is making the migration flow continue to grow. Issues such as land division that's were unfair; settlements, arable land that does not match the wishes and way of life of the people, are also the reasons why the policy cannot achieve the desired goals.

The resettlement policy also brings negative points, when people have expressed resistance by illegally living, farming on forest land, opposing the Government, and conflicting tensions in land disputes.

Hence, the next chapter will clarify the governmentality of the resettlement policy. Thus, propose new research proposals to further refine the governmentality relationship between government and ethnic minorities free migration.



CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSION

6.1 Introduction

This chapter will connect and explain the relationship between the Government's policy on resettlement for ethnic minority migrants to answer the main question:

How has the resettlement policy toward ethnic minority migrants as a "will to improve" of the Government represent the dynamics of the discourse of Government and the ethnic minority migrants, thus express the "Governmentality"

To do so, this chapter will draw together chapters three, four, five using the conceptual framework in section 1.4. In section 6.2 pointed out the government side of how they come to the choice of implementing resettlement toward ethnic minorities migrant. In section 6.3, the process of ethnic minorities changing their behavior due to the enframing of the Government will be shown. In section 6.4, merging the two side dynamics between government and ethnic minorities in the interact toward resettlement policies, resulting in the possible outcome is resettlement and resistance. In section 6.5, from the above augment, link the resettlement with Li's concept "The will to improve" to further explained the governmentality. In section 6.6 further suggested the next research direction on this issue.

6.2 Government discourse - framing - solution

6.2.1 Government discourse:

Firstly, the Government creates the discourse on the classification of migration types as discourse is created based on the social stratification of the power to create knowledge. The state legitimizes migration definition, has at once pushed migrants and their choices into the system of normalization and the unordinary. Ethnic minorities, with the migration act, that not followed state plan was now viewed as exceptional rather than a normal lens. Therefore, the state would continue to shape their behaviors afterward as wrong, and unconventional. Therefore, it needed to be

adjusted and help. According to Foucault, the distinction between the normal and the differentiation has excluded peoples, suppress them under the popularized by the majority, putting them in the situation of disciplinary control of governmentality (Foucault, 1982).

The creation of a defining definition of properties, predicting trends of change, the characteristics of a phenomenon like free migration has created a tacit understanding in the system of state management institution, and policymakers. Free migration is therefore propagated as a wrong action, contrary to the policy of the state, so it inevitably entails adverse impacts to the destination of immigration (See section 4.2,4.3). In the state common way of thinking, ethnic minorities in that unplanned movement combined with their backward lifestyle have been automatically considered as groups who need help and managing governmentality. Therefore, has been legitimized, generated at the origin of the migration behavior definition.

Secondly, the government discourse on the ethnic minority characteristics must enframing the ethnic minorities. Thus, latter shaping their re-framing process. The state policies for ethnic minorities have been greatly influenced by the viewpoint of evolution and differentiation of ethnic groups according to their social and economic development levels (Hoàng Cầm, 2012).

Governmentality, in this case, also stems from the discourse on biases about the characteristics of ethnic minority groups. Gradually, these characteristics were popularized among the community of scientists, lawmakers, and state policies to become their ethnic migrant identities (See section 4.2.1). This discourse activity has affected the minority community, changing and shaking the subconscious of their identity (Hoàng Cầm, 2012). Gradually, they lost their self-esteem and pride in identity, as a Hmong migrant must share after a prolonged process of living in harmony with the Kinh (See section 3.2.1). Therefore, minority people acceptance the labeled "backward," "inferior," "uncompetitive," and regaining themselves a humble position in the social relationship between the Kinh people. Thus, reaffirmed and reinforced that oppressive discourse.

6.2.2 Problematizing

Firstly, ethnic minority migrant has unstable life in the immigrant place. They stuck in poverty, lack of access to social services, do not have adequate living conditions, lack of education, and knowledge of living a Kinh modern life. That is the main government narrative in problematizing the issues in Central Highland, which was mainly based on the construction discourse. Therefore, the problematizing has come to empirical reliable data and sciences knowledge throughout the local authorities report each year (Ea Sup People Committee, 2018). The newspaper news also was using at the channel to create the legitimacy of the need to help ethnic migrants (See section 4.4.1). The portrait of the migration and their life has created the need to give help. Thus, the Government should guide them in the proper ways of living.

Secondly, the ethnic minority can bring an unstable political-social situation. The fear that ethnic minorities migrant is linking with the autonomy claiming groups are overwhelming the Government. Moreover, the worries of growing land conflict due to illegal land trading also affected to the urging for a solution. Therefore, the local authorities want to control not only the flow of ethnic minorities migration but also migrant behaviors.

6.2.3 Resettlement as a technical solution

Resettlement comes to reality by identifying a migrant group as a group that needs livelihood support, settling in, and framing their problems in the civilization and modernization frame of the majority.

By identifying problematic characteristics, the tools and techniques are governed by civilized behaviors and beliefs consistent with the dominant discourse, thereby justifying development projects on the benefits they bring (Gordon, 1991; Agrawal, 2005; Ferguson, 1994). The Government has established resettlement areas and encouraged migrants to relocate and live in these areas.

- **Resettlement showed the goodwill of the Government as they solve the unstable life situation.**

With the state resettlement project, it would like to solve the situation five - zero. Households will be supported to have a better life. They are provided with land for housing, are connected to electricity, built schools, equipped with clean water loans, and registered the necessary documents to enjoy social security. These modernized packages will be given to residents when they agree to resettlement. Which means, live in state-planned planning areas that are designed, built by the state opinion, and plan solely.

- **Resettlement can tie people to the registration system.**

To legally live in the place of immigration, households are required to register temporary residence, permanent residence with the local authorities. However, they are only allowed to facilitate and solve these household registration requirements when people live in planned state areas, as well as have an administrative management system. Therefore, free migrants will be managed for resettlement, as well as forcibly displaced if they live in illegal lands. The resettlement policy is supposed to manage migration, immigration, as well as seasonal migration to stabilize the population situation.

- **Resettlement will ease the potential conflict.**

One of the reasons the Government developed a resettlement policy for ethnic minority migrants rather than forcing them to return to their country of origin was because of political security concerns. Many migrants are Northern Hmong, while in recent years, there have been many groups of Hmong people who have been protesting for autonomy. Ethnic minorities also have dedicated support from minority organizations and international ethnic communities. Moreover, cases of land disputes or illegal purchases of migrants are also responsible for the local Government, and their irregularities. The lack of responsibility resulting in growing land conflict, but the local authority cannot bring the guilty to the light. Thus, the resettlement was

implemented so they can legally force the migration to move out of the illegal land they have bought and relocated in resettlement areas. The migrant also will be received cultivation land in return to ease the situation. On the other hand, the Government's banning migration is a violation of freedom of residence and freedom of travel, so the Government had to use resettlement as a flexible governance solution to solve the problems.

The resettlements are supposed to facilitate the implementation of a rural development policy, under the form of building new roads, schools, sanitation works, the-implementation of land tenure reform, intensification of agriculture, preservation, and exploitation of timber resources (the primary source of income for the country) are all allegedly designed to accompany this new dynamic of population settlement (Evrard & Goudineau, 2004).

- **Resettlement shaping migrant behavior**

Resettlement is exclusively designed and managed by the state, from land planning to production land allocation. Migrants can only build houses by themselves to suit their intended use. Resettlement areas are designed in the form of the urban administrative zone of the Kinh. Each resettlement team will have a village head that has to fit the requirement of the local authority.

Within the purpose of urban design, the managers included the intention to classify the population, as well as set the ideology of the governance system in it. With the resettlement policy for groups of free migrants, the state has full authority to design, prepare, select, and fully control the resettlement planning process. As a result, they can use their full power as well as impose their views and speeches on the management product. According to Foucault, the power of governance takes place in daily activities, including urban design, creating an environment that will determine the behavior of the people living in it. Foucault (2007, 2009) described urbanization techniques to increase the circulation of ideas, wills, and orders to increase government oversight and govern the behavioral standards of the population.

Therefore, gradually, their customs, ways of life, and ways of thinking were strongly influenced by the Kinh ethnic group, and the state management system.

6.3 Ethnic migrant discourse

6.3.1 Reframing the problems

The ethnic minorities first framing the problem in their hometown as they interact with Government development first will improve. After a several Kinh migration movement to the North, ethnic minorities, slowly exposed their life to the lowlander. As their lives become increasingly difficult, and the gap between Kinh people and ethnic minorities become wider than before. Ethnic minorities fall into the situation that they either must adapt to the new ways of living, catch up with the Kinh, or moving away and remain their lifestyle. (Section 3.2)

However, the act of moving-related to the act of choosing a destination. The Northern mountainous areas were no longer suitable for the ethnic minority, when they are facing the situation of lacking lands, for both housing and production.

The ethnic minority also under the unbalance competitions with the Kinh when they must learn the Kinh language, a study in the national education system, and trying to learn new skills to work for the new markets society. Gradually, the Kinh people have taken over the game, and the ethnic minority is left behind. Taking the quote of the ethnic migrant in the case study again, the migrant women shared, "I do not know much. I do not have a good education background. Therefore, when I was starting to search for jobs, mostly I end up working in the field as seasonal labor or doing physical things. The only thing I know is how to grow crops". Thus, it showed the mindset of the migrant when identified themselves. Therefore, they have looking for an option where they can work with the only ability, they have confident about, which is agriculture.

6.3.2 Problematizing

The ethnic migrant shared the common in the dream image of Central Highland; they have heard about the successful migrants' story can be the door to new life. Thus, the choice of migration becomes a family strategy. The movement of ethnic minority migration is the result of the rationalization of action. The ethnic minority migrants had separate discourse from the Government as they were problematizing problems they were facing and come to a decision's migration solutions as an inevitable option. Their problematizing process also got influences and shaping by the Government discourse, in which the Government has created the image "land of opportunities" in Central Highland (Grossman, 1991). Moreover, with the resettlement policy, latter migration has more evidence to believe in their movement as the policies have given them a chance to pursue their hope as land assessment, social services, and education for the second generation. The idea of Central Highland also links with the hope and belief in Pines conceptual (Pine, 2014). The ethnic minority has bind into the imagine benefits to generate their hope and thus guiding their act of migration.

Moreover, the consideration of the strong kinship has given them the courage to migrate. Migration attached to their relatives. All the information, tips, method of migrating are all taking from their relatives and their acquaintances. Moreover, the relatives are the safety insurance for them because of they willing to let migrant people stay in their land when they just arrived in Central Highland. The strong kinship has created ties to draw people to come to the new place.

6.3.3 Solution

Migration becomes an attractive choice for ethnic minorities because it allowed them to maintain their lifestyle, agriculture productivity. Central Highland famous with its land natural resources characteristics, such as flat land, rich nutrition, pleasant weather conditions have provided the ethnic minority what they want for the moving destination. Moreover, Central Highland also offers the ethnic minority the chance of

accessing social services, education for children, and other benefits they can have when living in the old land.

6.4. The discourse interaction – the outcome of governmentality

The local authorities and the implementation of the policy have interacted with ethnic minority migrants, resulting in two potential outcomes.

6.4.1 Resettlement

The challenging situation now they are facing in new lands such as basic needs and the urging for land-owning guided them toward the solutions of resettlement or not. It must be admitted migrant life before the resettlement is under the basic needs. They do not have access to a proper house, do not have clean water, electric, the children cannot go to school due to the missing of residence documentation, the hospital also located quite far from the areas they choose to live. On the other hand, living as a migrant puts them to the struggle of the register for legal residence, which needs lots of documents they do not prepare or do not even ask the home authorities to provide.

Meanwhile, the resettlement will give them the following benefits (See section 4.5.1, 5.2)

- Legally residence registration
- Land for housing and agriculture
- Social services access: social security, medical insurance, free school tuition

However, the implemented of the resettlement policy not suit their wish, thus still problems existed. Such as, inappropriate land divisions, the new lifestyle that they need to adapt with, unstable livelihood. The changing of social structure, cultural practices. Therefore, there will be a group of people who decided to show their needs through an act of resistance. (See section 5.2)

6.4.2 Resistance

In this case study, ethnic minorities have had two subjectivity processes and tried to loosen the box wall that is restricting their choices. In different contexts, the subject of calculation also brings different results, based on the existing impact factors. In the case of the resettlement policy, they interacted with this policy in two directions.

Firstly, it is to negotiate and request conditions to approve resettlement.

Secondly, agree to resettlement, but continue living as you want. This process of negotiation and exchange is what Scott calls an Everyday form of resistance (Scott, 1985).

In the first case, when resettlement is associated with receiving social benefits, as well as modernity packages such as housing, aid, loan packages. Those package help people gain awareness of their position in this negotiation. Instead of agreeing with what is proposed by the state, they realize that they can go from consensus to negotiation, or to claim more benefits. They require these benefits with the idea of fair exchange and co-value. However, this resistance does not stem from hatred or anti-state rhetoric that is propagated by foreign organizations like the Vietnamese state. On the contrary, it comes from the thought of those who believe in the discourse of justice, opportunity, and development that the Government preached about the relationship between ethnic in the country. The form of everyday resistance of the ethnic minority migrants in this case study, indeed, it is a series of individual actions. Instead of organizing groups with its own agenda of claiming for their need.

In the second form of resistance, the migrants agreed on the proper behavior proposed by the state to receive benefits as well as build a harmonious relationship with the state. However, their resistance took place in this consensus, when they had accepted to live as a gentle citizen, to abide by the guidelines, but still committed illegal acts such as continued living in the forest, continue cultivating on illegal land. This protest is an implicit protest when people do not openly confront the authorities

but still perform acts that are not allowed following the law because the resettlement policy cannot guarantee and meet them the life they want.

The result of the subjective process with this governance is the failure of the policy. The fault lies in the impossible to solve the problems that have been pointed out, but instead puts the state and local governments on the burden of budget, human resources, management, as well as create tense relations between the state and migrants. The fall of the policy, rooted in the impose policies, the Government thinks it would be the best solution, which out the concerning community discussion and consultancy. In addition to the lack of public consultation, the state one-way discourse has been propagated for many years has become a stigma label. Hence, create a tense relationship without an opening platform for community people peacefully and legally negotiate. The state has refused to interact, learn, and accept the values, thoughts, and lifestyles of minority people. Instead, oppressing the perspective of a majority ethnic, to assess the relationship and social structure, how to govern peoples should be, to serve the central state ideology and development strategies.

Since then, the policy has been trickling down to the local authorities. Thus, the implementing also ignored the facts and the situation on the ground. Hence, creating pressures on local authorities, when they must be intermediaries to resolve policies under the direction of the central Government. When, in fact, local officials had realized the inadequacy of the policy when it was too reliant on supporting and distributing land to people to solve the problems. As a result, the land fund to invest in economic development projects to increase local budget revenues also become limited. Moreover, it also narrowed down the opportunities of local authorities to create jobs, increase income for the population, and develop the local economy.

6.5 Resettlement and will to improve

This section aims to comment on the resettlement policies as the form of expressed governmentality. In section 6.5.1, comment on the similar of resettlement policies, with the concept of will to improve. The Viet Nam government does prove

the “will to improve” migrant life and conditions based on the concern of basic needs and human security. However, resettlement is a solution only improve the situation under the discourse of the Government. Though, it showed the governmentality toward the national citizens. Section 6.5.2 shown the Government's concern in building the state image to the international. Notably, in the situation of diverse ethnic relations like Viet Nam. Therefore, resettlement considers a coping solution regarding the complexity of the issues.

6.5.1 Resettlement and improving will

This study applies a Foucauldian discourse analysis model, inherited from Li's perspective on the relationship between developmental and sustainable development related to Government ideology on race, class, and ethnicity. At the national level, this discourse is built and practiced by the dominance of the ethnic policymaker's perspective.

Through the combination of the concept of "The will to improve" of Li's on how the central Government determines the issue of ethnic minorities to make policies, along with Escobar's policy discourse model; this research has built a conceptual framework to analyze a development problems base on the two-way discourse research. Through it, affirm the inner strength of minority communities in produced knowledge and practice it through their rationalization act and solution decision. At the same time, in the context of ethnic interaction is an inevitable trend; the discourse of ethnic minorities is being overlooked as an issue to consider.

Like Li's idea, the resettlement in Viet Nam must try to solve the problem they have framing based on their one ways discourse. Though the technical solution comes from good intentions, indeed, the migrant is unhappy with their life and faced lots of trouble in terms of both economic, social, and well being. Like Li's example of Central Sulawesi, the Government has missing or intended to miss the entire process of the situation as the migrant comes to Central Highland not just because they want to

move but get affected by the government discourse and development policy, which is the previous technical solution base on government narratives on ethnic minority.

Thus, the resettlement was built upon the central state framing problems and enframing on ethnic minority migrants. It is hidden governmentality to shaping the behaviors of the subject. Therefore, the resettlement policy represented the wish to achieve the government agenda of a stable, develop socio-economic. It also shown that the idea of improvement in development is hardly affected by the ideology of the majority. The people of the ethnic must catch up with the Kinh. Therefore, the resettlement will be a suitable plan to grouping the different ethnic people to live together under the model of the majority ethnic.

6.5.2 Resettlement and government image

Migrants in Viet Nam has more power in negotiation; thus, they are aware of their position. The ethnic minority in Viet Nam, under the enframing, has normalized the relation of giving and receiving, which the Government is the one who has responded to give, and they will take the supportive. For example, the act of charity and giving a gift for ethnic migrants of the communes must give migrants the idea they poor and miserable. (See section 5.3.2) Therefore, the migrant is not felt satisfied with what the Government will give to them in terms of the amount of land and quality. They instead buy land illegally, live far from the center, confront the local authorities, rather than mediate, and agree with the condition.

In the context of Vietnam's development policy is being driven by the majority's discourse. This study has proven that even in the state trying to orient and impose their enframing on minority communities, the community will have options for interacting and transforming discourse in practice. The result of policy suppression based on the idea of governance of the state with minority communities is resistance and minority reverse labeling on Government. This interaction without open dialogue and advocacy of balancing discourse will create relationship tension and may gradually lead to a breakdown of ethnic relations in Vietnam and deepen social oppression.

Moreover, civil society, public space, and international opinions have affected the Government's implemented solutions. For example, the ongoing movement of the fight for human rights and indigenous rights gives the Government the reason not to force the migrant back to their hometown or take legal action toward them. The local authorities aware of the freedom of movement, freedom of residence, therefore they do not want to violate the migrant rights. Thus, the resettlement policy not only proposed to achieve the Government's wish, but it is the coping solution. In this sense, resettlement also is a solution to building the image of the state to gain trust not only within the country but also in international relations.

6.6 What next

The reality of resettlement policy has created many uncertainties in the research area. The situation of land disputes became widespread. Migrants still have not been able to stabilize their lives and economic development; the relationship of the authorities and migrants has become more serious when the forms of resistance are distance takes place. Most importantly, the resettlement policy is creating too much pressure on local authorities, and at the same time, becoming a driving force for people to continue to migrate here. With this situation, the study also tries to set a policy direction for the future and recommends the actors are present in the problem.

My research has focused on a small sample, so it is not possible to generalize these arguments to a larger sample. Moreover, the study period is not long, so it is impossible to assess the overall management of resettlement impact on people living in resettlement areas, especially in terms of social relationships. Accordingly, a key suggestion for further research are:

- Study on the change of discourse of ethnic minority migrants under the influence of economic and social changes at emigration and immigration to identify the identity values that can empowerment ethnic minority people.
- Evaluating the resettlement policies toward the people has resettled, and how has it affected the pull of migration, and people have not resettlement.

- The study on the object and subject of governmentality, whether a national governance policy in internal affairs like ethnic minority migration, can influence the international country image. Thus, consider as seeing the national issues as the trans-border issues, and examine the possibility of transnational actors in solving the development issues.

APPENDIX 1: Ethnic minorities in Viet Nam and their political status

In 1992, the United Nations adopted this term to refer to groups of people, which is: (i) Residing in the territory of a sovereign state that they were citizens of the country; (ii) Maintain a long-term relationship with the country in which they live; (iii) Show their own identity about their race, culture, religion and language; (iv) Qualify as a representative of their ethnic group, although less in this country or an area of this country; (v) Concerned with the preservation of their common identity, including cultural factors, customs, religion and language. ([Booklet on] the Declaration on the Rights of Persons Belonging to National or Ethnic, Religious and Linguistic Minorities)

In Viet Nam, "ethnic minorities" are widely used in legal documents, although there are still many opinions recognizing the "indigenous" phrase instead of the current term.

Clause 2, Article 4 of Decree No. 05/2011/ND - CP on ethnic minorities defines ethnic minorities as follows: Ethnic minorities are those with a population lower than the majority in the territory of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam. With the set-in law, ethnic minorities people in Viet Nam usually have these four following characteristics: "(i) a language different from the national language; (ii) long traditional residence on, or relationship with land, and long traditional social institutional system; (iii) a production system closely identified with the group; and (iv) 'self-identification'

as a distinct cultural group that is accepted by neighboring ethnic groups". (Fujii, 2017)

Viet Nam has also failed to ratify the ILO Convention 169 and does not recognize the ethnic minorities as an Indigenous People in the country. The definitions therefore directly affect the orientation and implementation of the policies towards the ethnic. It is mean that the "ethnic minorities" should develop in the unity ways under the Government will and national development strategies.



APPENDIX 2: Resettlement policy for ethnic minorities migrants in Central Highland: the policy, law framework, the related policy

With both resettlement groups, the policy is ensured on the general principle stipulated in the constitution "Ensuring the rights of ethnic minorities is always the duty and responsibility of the Vietnamese Party and State". The rights groups considered in the formulation and implementation of that policy are the following four groups of rights: (Viet Nam: Constitution 1992)

- Residence rights stabilize life
- Equal rights and non-discrimination
- The right to preserve cultural identity
- The right of the state to support development in all aspects

Accordingly, resettlement policy for ethnic minorities is based on the following legal frameworks:

Decision No. 132 / QĐ-TTГ dated 08/10/2002 of the Prime Minister on the allocation of production land and residential land to ethnic minorities in the Central Highlands of Viet Nam;

Program 134 or Decision No. 134/2004 / QĐ-TTГ dated July 20, 2004, of the Prime Minister on policies for supplying land for production, residential land, dwelling houses and daily-life water for ethnic minority people whose have poor living standards;

Decision No. 153/2004 / QĐ-TTГ dated 17 August 2004 of the Prime Minister on Strategic Orientation for Sustainable Development in Viet Nam (Viet Nam Agenda 21) No. 432/2012 / QĐ-TTГ dated 12 April 2012 of the Prime Minister regarding the improvement of the sustainable development strategy in Viet Nam, 2011-2020.

Decision No. 2085/QĐ-TTg dated 31 October 2016 of the Prime Minister on Specific policies to support socio-economic development in ethnic minority and mountainous areas in the 2017-2020 period

However, the current legal framework does not specify the participation and monitoring mechanism of ethnic minorities in the formulation and implementation of resettlement projects. Even though the ideology of the Government is to ensuring equality in development.



APPENDIX 3: Guideline Questions for In Depth Interview

For ethnic minorities, free migrants

Part 1: Personal information

Name

Age

Gender

Interviewee code

Part 2: Questions guideline

1. How is your life before migration?
2. Why did you decide to migrate? Are there any factors that directly affect your decision?
3. What factors do you consider when deciding to migrate?
4. Why did you choose the Central Highlands?
5. Your goal when migrating?
6. What factors do you decide to settle in the Central Highlands?
7. What things do you identify as necessary for stability?
8. Why did you decide to participate in resettlement?
9. What are your experiences about life after relocation?
 - Settle down and stabilizing life
 - Living environment
 - Livelihoods
 - Culture
 - Policy approach
10. Interact with other ethnic groups living together in the resettlement area
11. What are your experiences of interacting with authorities participating in resettlement?
12. What do you want to enjoy when participating in resettlement?
13. Please share anything you want to.

For local authorities

Part 1: Personal information

Name

Age

Gender

Interviewee code

Part 2: Questions guideline

1. What reason do you make ethnic minorities emigrate?
2. Why did they choose to go to the Central Highlands, better than Ea Sup, Cu Kbang?
3. What are your views on migrant ethnic minority groups?
4. What are the state's views on migrant ethnic groups?
5. What do you think this migration brings to the locality?
 - Benefit
 - Disadvantage
6. What have you changed since the ethnic minorities migrated here?
7. How do the lives of ethnic minorities migrate locally?
 - Before the resettlement project
 - After the resettlement project?
8. Why was the resettlement project built and implemented?
9. What is the resettlement project hoping to solve?
10. What are the results of the resettlement project implementation with ethnic minority migrants?
11. In your opinion, why does the state want to implement a resettlement project for ethnic minorities to migrate freely?
12. What are your experiences with the local liberal ethnic minority groups?
13. Can you share any memorable stories about the resettlement project for ethnic minorities and how do people interact with people?
14. Please share anything you want to.

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