

ISSN 1756-7904

DEV
ODG

Working Paper Series

Missing Links Between Migration and
Reproduction in Vietnam and China

Catherine Locke and
Heather Xiaoquan Zhang

2009



Working Paper 14

The School of International Development, University of East Anglia
Norwich, NR4 7TJ, United Kingdom

DEV Working Paper 14

Missing Links Between Migration and Reproduction in Vietnam and China¹

Catherine Locke and Heather Xiaoquan Zhang

First published by the School of International Development in April 2009.

This publication may be reproduced by any method without fee for teaching or nonprofit purposes, but not for resale. The papers should be cited with due acknowledgment.

This publication may be cited as:

Locke, C. & Zhang, H.X., 2009, Missing Links Between Migration and Reproduction in Vietnam and China, Working Paper 14, DEV Working Paper Series, The School of International Development, University of East Anglia, UK.

About the Authors

Catherine Locke is Senior Lecturer in Development Studies at the School of International Development at the University of East Anglia, Norwich, UK.

Heather Xiaoquan Zhang is Senior Lecturer in Chinese Studies in the Department of East Asian Studies, University of Leeds.

Contact:

c.locke@uea.ac.uk

School of International Development

University of East Anglia

Norwich, NR4 7TJ

United Kingdom

Tel: +44(0)1603 593565

Fax: +44(0)1603 451999

ISSN 1756-7904

¹ A substantially revised version of this paper is forthcoming under the title 'A Better Life? Migration, Reproduction and Wellbeing in Transition' in a volume edited by Kate Hampshire and Simon Coleman entitled *Space, Movement and Health*, Berghahn, Oxford and New York.

About the DEV Working Paper Series

The Working Paper Series profiles research and policy work conducted by the School of International Development and Overseas Development Group. Launched in 2007, it provides an opportunity for staff, associated researchers and fellows to disseminate original research and policy advice on a wide range of subjects. All papers are peer reviewed within the School. Recent past work, provided it meets the standards required and has contemporary significance is also welcome.

About the DEV/ODG Reports and Policy Papers

These are reports and policy papers that reproduce consultancy, applied research findings and policy work conducted by the School of International Development or Overseas Development Group. Launched in 2007, the reports provide an opportunity for staff, associated researchers and fellows to disseminate studies and findings on a wide range of subjects. Recent past work, provided it meets the standards required and has contemporary significance is also welcome.

About the School of International Development

The School of International Development (DEV) applies economic, social and natural sciences to the study of international development, with special emphasis on social and environmental change and poverty alleviation. DEV has a strong commitment to an interdisciplinary research and teaching approach to Development Studies and the study of poverty. This has been developed over a forty year period, bringing together researchers and students from different disciplines (economists, social scientists, natural resource scientists) into research areas and teaching teams.

The Overseas Development Group (ODG)

Founded in 1967, the ODG is a charitable company wholly owned by the University of East Anglia, which handles the consultancy, research, and training undertaken by the faculty members in DEV and approximately 200 external consultants. Since its foundation ODG has provided training for professionals from more than 70 countries and completed more over 1,000 consultancy and research assignments. ODG provides DEV staff with opportunities to participate in on-going development work - real-world experience which adds a unique and valuable element to the School's teaching programmes.

For further information on DEV and ODG, please contact:

School of International Development
University of East Anglia, Norwich NR4 7TJ, United Kingdom
Tel: +44 (0)1603 592329
Fax: +44 (0)1603 451999
Email: dev.general@uea.ac.uk
Webpage: www.uea.ac.uk/dev

Abstract

We review the predominant theoretical approaches to migration and reproduction in order to demonstrate that there are important gaps and limitations to current understandings. We argue that addressing these missing links involves taking a broader approach to reproductive behaviour that factors in not only sexual relations and reproductive management but also social reproduction and gender relations. Taking the cases of Vietnam and China, we explore the secondary evidence to support our argument that 'filling in' the picture is significant for developing a better understanding of the dynamics around migration and has important implications for social policy, particularly with regards to sexual and reproductive health.

Introduction

Demographic interest in migration has tended to focus on its impact on fertility because of the consequences for population growth and associated concerns such as environmental sustainability and urban development. However, migration studies are increasingly influenced by growing interest in gender relations, household livelihood strategies, rights and wellbeing and this has opened up new kinds of concerns around migration and reproduction. Simultaneously the emergence of new forms of migration, alongside processes of transition and globalisation, and the emergence of the HIV/AIDS pandemic, have thrown up analytical and policy challenges that have clear links with reproductive health concerns. The paper reviews approaches to linking reproduction and migration to show how migration is generally perceived as being 'about the economic'. It has been increasingly recognised that gender may structure who migrates and that migration has reproductive and gender consequences but these analyses often do not link with each other. In this paper, we argue that migration studies should incorporate a broader concern with reproductive behaviour, including sexual relations and reproductive management, and the overlapping issues of social reproduction and gender relations.

Transition from state socialism to a market economy in China and Vietnam¹ has been associated with new kinds of migration outside of household registration systems

¹ The multi-dimensional changes that accompany the dismantling of centrally-planned economies in favour of market socialism have been characterised as processes of 'transition'. In the case of China and Vietnam transition there have been very limited formal political changes, but the fundamental nature of the policy shifts involved extend beyond the narrowly economic. They include the reorganisation of land ownership and inheritance, the restructuring of the social sector, important shifts in state-citizen relations, as well as increasing space for the practice of religion and traditional practices. Associated with this process are other unintentional developments, such as the growing cultural influence of globalisation, that play a significant role in transition. So, transition in these countries is led by economic policy changes but has important social, political, and cultural dynamics too.

that have rapidly gained in momentum as the tight control over population mobility has been relaxed. At the same time both states have attempted to reduce and keep a firm lid on fertility, to withdraw the state's role in social provisioning, such as health and education, and face the serious challenge of a rapidly spreading HIV/AIDS epidemic. Popular and official discourses have often depicted migrants as evading fertility regulations², as carrying infectious diseases, or as swelling the numbers of sex workers (cf. Tan 2005). Alternative perspectives argue that migrants do not want to waste their economic advantage in child-bearing, that they are particularly vulnerable to and 'at risk' of sexually transmitted infections, and that their disadvantages within urban labour markets and denial of access to basic social rights makes them particularly vulnerable to exploitation, including sexual abuse and sex work (UNDP 2002). Early policy responses to both migration, fertility and reproductive and sexual health, however, exhibit some continuities with the former set of presumptions and suggest that migrants and their reproductive behaviours are in some senses trespassing outside of official sanctions. We argue that 'filling in' the picture by examining the specific ways in which reproductive strategies and capabilities are articulated with migratory processes in China and Vietnam may have important implications for social policy, particularly with regards to sexual and reproductive health.

Migrant Livelihoods and Reproductive Consequences

It is taken-for-granted that "[r]ural populations migrate *to seek a better life*" (Dang et al.1997:322, emphasis ours) and for the most part this has been interpreted as primarily about productive livelihood. For instance, the dichotomy widely drawn between migration for survival or for accumulation (cf. Waddington 2003) betrays the underlying concern with material and economic wellbeing. Migration for economic purposes has understandably held a prominent position in research about development and migration. For example, Saith's (1999) review of migration processes and policies in Asia focuses on "migration which is more immediately related to economic factors and motivations" whilst at the same time recognising that there are other forms of migration that are immensely significant in Asia, including marriage-related migration, political migration and the illegal trafficking of women.

These forms of migration are commonly bracketed off as being *about* something different (customary kinship arrangements, war and conflict, illegality and globalisation). For example, marriage and marriage migration are downplayed in the

² For example, in China the 'above-quota birth guerrilla' was a popular comic expression adopted to ridicule rural migrant couples, who were seen as trying to take advantage of an administrative loophole by having 'above-quota' children through migration.

migration literature, because of “the general lack of attention on gender, the assumption that marriage is no more than a life event that triggers migration, and the notion that marriage is an end to migration rather than a means to an end” (Fan and Li 2002:619). Marriage-related migration is generally dealt with in separate analytical spheres from discussions about migration and strategies for economic wellbeing. Similarly, the UNDP comments that “[a]lthough trafficking is often linked with women and girls being sold into prostitution, it is now recognised that this is only one part of a much larger picture that includes trafficking for forced marriage, adoption and labour exploitation, including begging, sweatshop and domestic labour, as well as other forms of illegal employment.” (UNDP 2002). Again the demarcation of trafficking underplays its linkages with sex work and marriage markets on the one hand and globalisation and labour migration on the other. The complex links and intersections between trafficking on the one hand, and sexuality and reproduction on the other are also shown in the large numbers of ‘surplus men’ in China (Tucker et al. 2005). This emerging phenomenon is the consequence of a serious unbalanced sex ratio at birth for at least the past couple of decades associated with the stringent birth control policy and the practice of sex selection in birth as a result of son preference.

Whilst migration studies tends to bracket off migration that is immediately concerned with sex or reproduction from economic/labour migration, the large body of demographic work that deals with migration focuses on fertility. This work has shown that the fertility of rural-urban migrants is generally lower than that of non-migrants at place of origin but higher than that of urban residents (Goldstein and Goldstein 1981, 1984; Lee and Farber 1984). This is interpreted as a process of ‘adaptation’ whereby, over different time spans and to varying extents, migration can change the fertility behaviour both of permanent migrants who reorient their behaviour to the fertility norms of urban areas but also of sending areas where return migration and migration linkages can diffuse urban fertility norms. In addition, migration can have a ‘disruptive’ effect on fertility due to spousal separation or delayed marriage. Migration, as such, produces a lag in fertility that is often overcome by accelerated fertility once migrants are established (Goldstein and Goldstein 1984). For temporary migrants, the theoretical relations between migration and fertility may be considerably attenuated. However, disruption may have a particularly strong effect on the timing of childbearing if temporary migration involves separation of the spouses, as is often the case among persons going from rural to urban areas for construction work, market activities or service provision. On the other hand adaptation may play a lesser role because it is assumed that many of the migrants intend to remain in their destinations for only a limited time (Goldstein et al. 1997).

The interest of this demographic work is on fertility and is motivated mainly by concerns about population growth and demographic transition, and the

environmental sustainability of urban areas. Lately, but to a much lesser degree, the impact of these changes on gender relations has also commanded some interest. This demographic literature focuses on what Bledsoe describes as the “cumbersome biological acts of fertility” (1990b:98 cited in Greenhalgh 1995:15) and tends to obscure broader reproductive strategies and interests. It does not consider how reproductive aspirations may shape migration processes nor pay much attention to how migrants actively negotiate marriage, marital relations, the timing of childbearing and the implications of spousal separation. In doing so it neglects “people’s active efforts to achieve demographic outcomes by restructuring household compositions and influencing children’s obligations, ... [and] tinker[ing] with family structures” (ibid). Even those studies concerned with impact on gender relations often attempt to ‘read off’ from the fertility of migrants the impact on gender relations rather than directly exploring these linkages. As a result, relatively little empirical attention has been paid to the reproductive dimensions of migration, with important exceptions that include Caroline Hoy’s (1999) work on female migrants, their reproductive preferences, practices and childcare arrangements in China and Kate Hampshire’s (2001) work on seasonal male migration in Northern Burkina Faso.

However, the analysis of the gender-selectivity of migration has highlighted the importance of the linkages to sexuality and reproduction, in terms of the sexual and reproductive consequences for migrants, their immediate families, the selectivity of who migrates, and the implications for sexual and reproductive health and well-being. As migrants both men and women are often excluded from reproductive health services, whilst at the same time they are seen as adopting non-traditional behaviours that are more risky (cf. Iredale et al. 2005; Qian et al. 2005; Yang et al. 2005). Male migration has long been associated with the growth of the commercial sex industry, and the emergence of the HIV/AIDS pandemic has focused policy attention on migrant sexual behaviours and risks (cf. International Organisation for Migration and UNAIDS 2005). When men migrate, leaving behind wives and families, they may bring infection back home with them. Unprecedented levels of unmarried female migration have raised concerns about the sexual exploitation and abuse of women, particularly young girls driven into the sex industry by poverty, social exclusion and marginalisation in urban settings, including the urban labour market (cf. Skeldon 2000).

The gender selectivity of migration has been changing fast in many settings as ‘new’ kinds of migration gather momentum. Traditionally, unmarried and younger married men were the classic rural-urban migrants in South East Asia (Summerfield 1997; Chant and Radcliffe 1992:5). Migration for these men is often seen as distancing them from domestic work while women have been portrayed as being left behind. The picture of passive women stranded in stagnant rural economies is one that has been altered by work on female headship of households and poverty, which has

pointed to women's greater autonomy in terms of intra-household management and resource allocation in the absence of their husbands and the value of remittances in maintaining rural homes (Chant 1998; Toyota et al. 2007). This suggests that women with migrating husbands may enjoy a dividend in terms of gender bargaining and women's agency. This debate, though significantly contributing to our understanding of the gender selectivity of migration and its varied implications for gender relations, has paid little attention to migration's reproductive consequences (but see Resurreccion and Khanh 2007 for a rare exception). Since the 1980s, women, particularly younger women, have also been migrating to urban areas in significant and growing numbers as parts of 'new' forms of population mobility, stimulated partly by accelerating market liberalisation and globalisation in many parts of the developing world where the relocation of transnational corporations and inflows of global capital have started employing large number of female workers, particularly in the Special Economic Zones, as a source of cheap and 'obedient' labour (Pearson 1998). Feminist critiques on globalisation and its impact on gender point out that global capital, while ruthlessly pursuing even cheaper labour to maximise profits, has sought unmarried women, frequently violating women's rights, by adopting sexually discriminative practices. For example, young women risk being fired if they become pregnant, and there is substantial evidence that compulsory pregnancy testing is imposed on women prior to and during employment. Migrant women lack equal entitlements, as their urban counterparts do, to welfare benefits, including paid maternity leave, and are also are vulnerable to sexual abuse and exploitation by their male employers (Pearson and Seyfang 2001). Despite the new interests in migration and gender within a broader globalisation debate, the central string of these analyses has been around whether these new *productive* opportunities empower women or not rather than the linkages and intersections between migration and sexuality and reproduction.

Similarly, livelihoods research on migration has provided valuable insights, including much broader understandings of migrant's lives, exploration of household strategies that impact on who migrates, and what migration means for them and their family members; as well as drawing attention to the generational dimension of wellbeing improvements for migrants, as for example, remittances used for children's education. These suggest important subtleties in understanding the motivations, processes and outcomes of migration: the need for a longitudinal perspective and for an analytical approach that recognises intra-household as well as wider family, community and other social relationships. In the main, however, livelihoods approaches have been insufficiently gendered and largely remain concerned with productive aspects and have, again paid little attention to *reproductive* dynamics associated with migration. For example Kabeer and Thi Van Anh (2002) note that studies on household livelihoods in the development context of Vietnam tend to overlook gender, and that where gender issues are taken into account, the emphasis tends to be placed on the institutional constraints for women,

including, for example, cultural norms, gendered roles and division of labour, and intra- and extra-household allocation of resources, such as women's disadvantages in access to education, land and capital. This literature has at times included concern about the impact on children left behind, and the associated potential problems with respect to their physical and intellectual development, emotional and psychological health (cf. Liang 2004). Although livelihoods research has opened up many new insights, reproduction is conceptualised largely as one of a number of constraints that disadvantage women and this emphasis sits well with that found in the literature on gendered selectivity of migration.

In short, growing interest in gender relations, household livelihood strategies, rights and wellbeing has enabled conceptualisation of new kinds of concerns around migration and reproduction. These include changing reproductive behaviours, vulnerability to sexual and reproductive health hazards and risks, and concerns around managing social reproduction more broadly. But despite a number of strands of interest in migration from demographers/reproductive health researchers and some feminist scholars, the linkages between migration and reproduction have so far been rather narrowly conceived. We have drawn attention to the normal demarcation drawn between migration related to reproduction and economic migration, to the overwhelmingly *productive* interpretation of migration as a livelihood strategy, to the focus in migration studies on reproductive consequences, and to the treatment of reproduction within livelihood approaches as mainly a constraint. Against this backdrop, we now turn to examine the largely overlooked intersections between migration and reproduction, and argue for the value of looking in a more interactive way at linkages between the two.

Reproductive Relations and the Search for a Better Life

Broader understandings of livelihoods such as that offered by Whitehead (2002:577 cited Waddington 2003:5) as "the diverse ways in which people make a living and build their worlds", lend themselves to situating productive activities as key elements, but not the only elements, in a larger strategy of living a life or 'building a world'. It is well documented that for women, in particular, making a life is not merely about making a productive living but involves, amongst other things, the creation and maintenance of meaningful familial and social relationships that bring a sense of belonging, achievement and emotional satisfaction. Amongst these relationships childhood, wifehood and motherhood are central. In addition it is also well documented that access to a productive living (or the fruits of it) is at many points across the life cycle for women via their performance of reproductive roles.

Feminist scholarship has long recognised the problems of dividing spheres of production and reproduction for women. For instance, Murphy (2002), in her study of the impact of large-scale rural-urban migration on rural economy and society in China's south-eastern Anhui Province, demonstrates that young women in Anhui villages often attempt to secure a better-off life in the future through marrying well and Whitehead shows how some accumulative strategies for livelihoods in Ghana are "dependent on marrying well" (Waddington 2003:15). Moreover, "...it is important to note, especially as far as women are concerned, that migration for, or within the context of marriage, is an important factor, notwithstanding that migration *for* marriage is often associated with economic and social mobility" (Chant 1992). Ali (2000: 120) notes how the "association of reproduction and fertility with femaleness effectively perpetuates the domestic/public dichotomy and splits social analysis into female/male spheres" in ways that are problematic. It is necessary to go beyond the view that motherhood and the related caring roles of women can be dealt with analytically as a 'reproductive tax' (Kabeer and Thi Van Anh 2002). A growing literature on the social relations of reproduction draws heavily on anthropology, sociology, politics and gender studies. It engages closely with the way reproductive strategies are embedded in wider social relations and processes, exploring both the ambiguity of lived experiences and the iterative ways that reproductive outcomes are shaped and given meaning as women and men attempt to 'manage' reproductive live. (Bledsoe 1994; Greenhalgh 1995; Tremayne 2001).

For men too, livelihoods are not just about material aspects of life and that as a result their motivations around migration may too be misrepresented. However, there is, as yet, a much smaller and indeed more ambiguous evidence base from which to question this. A great deal of ethnographic and demographic work has shown the social importance of paternity for men, especially of sons, in many settings but far less has really explored how this 'cultural imperative' is linked to the everyday reality of reproductive relations or has viewed men as having 'reproductive agency' (Unnithan 2001). An important contribution to this evidence base is Bledsoe et al's (2000) volume which attempts to rethink the conceptualisation of men in demography. The volume notes that if men appear at all in discussions about fertility they do so "as shadows: as partners by implication of those engaged in childbearing" (2000:1). For instance, Ali's work on Egyptian men contrasts the construction of men as 'irresponsible adolescents' in family planning policy with ethnographic evidence of the "caring and affection that these men felt for their wives and children" (2000:130) which was "intrinsically linked... ..to her reproductive and childbearing capacities" (ibid) and involved "desire to retain control and power" (ibid: 132) over them. Many of the findings are deeply ambivalent, exploring, on the one hand, male power over reproduction and, on the other, expressing concern about the "massive male disengagement from parental responsibilities" (Bledsoe et al. 2000:3). This suggests that far from segregating or stereotyping men in discussions of

reproduction there may be much to be gained by a holistic look at the changing ways men negotiate their reproductive and productive lives.

Development discourses can risk dehumanising the lives of women and men. Material livelihood is obviously of the most fundamental importance but reproductive concerns may also be integral to 'making a life' in a number of ways. They may be the *end* for which a material livelihood is wanted, the *means* to accessing a material livelihood, and may be put at *risk* by work for material livelihood. Motherhood and wifehood can not be satisfactorily conceptualised *only* as a constraint getting in the way of earning a living. For men too engaging successfully in productive work may be centrally about, as well as in tension with, being a reliable husband and a good father. For instance, Rogaly evidences men's anxiety about children's and wife's nutrition whilst away for work in West Bengal (2003). Whilst affirming that the division of household labour is unequal and that the devaluation of reproductive work is problematic, there remains a need for more serious attention to reproduction in livelihoods research and for the conceptualisation of women and men as having 'reproductive agency'. From this perspective, migration for a 'better life' may be intrinsically about reproductive relations as well as involving distinct reproductive strategies. Certainly, reproductive aspirations and dilemmas and the way these are shaped through mobility are integral to migration and these pervade and mediate experiences of migration.

This perspective draws support from a range of findings in the developing world. These include evidence that migration can be used as a means of escaping rural controls over gender relations especially relating to sexuality, marriage and reproduction. For instance in Jarkhand, India, pregnancies conceived whilst migrating to work in brick factories are a pre-emptive strike by the younger generation in wresting control away from parents over marriage choices in the home area (Shah 2003). Other literature demonstrates the intimate relation between reproduction and migration. For example, Hampshire shows how successful reproduction is "absolutely crucial to successful seasonal migration" (2001:116) but is being directly jeopardised by increased sterility as a result of sexually transmitted diseases brought back by migrant husbands (2001:125-6). In Bangladesh and Thailand, migration may have profound reproductive consequences as "women who go to the cities may find it difficult to return to rural areas because their families may consider them 'spoiled'" (Billson and Fluehr-Lobban 2005:376). Challenging research on commercial sex work, shows how motherhood can be a route out of prostitution for young Thai women (Montgomery 2001) and shows that young women migrant's entry to commercial sex work may be connected to family roles, community and household choices (Anthias and Lazaridis 2000 for southern Europe, also Billson et al. for Thailand). Evidence from Thailand suggests that young Burmese women migrating for sex work may not be the poorest female migrants who opt for factory work (Pearson, pers.com., 2006). Below, we attempt to draw out in Vietnam and

China the importance of linking reproduction and migration for better understanding 'strategic life choices' (Santillan et al. 2004).

Migration and Reproduction in Transition

Both Vietnam and China have experienced a substantial growth of 'new' kinds of migration associated with their processes of economic transition. Both nations regard the scale of this mobility and its implications for population growth as a matter of concern and both have a history of attempting to control mobility and fertility creating quite specific pressures on migration and reproduction. This makes Vietnam and China useful and important case studies for exploring further linkages between migration and reproduction. Managing migration and reproduction is complex and changing rapidly for both states and for the men and women who are on the move. The downfalls of not appreciating fully the links between migration and reproduction may potentially be severe for social policy. It is essential to note that there are important differences between these nations, for instance in the timing of their transitions, in their historical legacies and contemporary gender and power relations, as well as within them, in the modes of migration such as between specific flows of migration to export processing zones or to urban domestic service, and we intend to acknowledge these in our account. Below we first outline very briefly key similarities and differences in the context of transition and migration between the two states. Then, we attempt to probe the linkages between migration and reproduction from the available empirical evidence on Vietnam and China³. We intend to focus on rural-urban migrants engaged in a variety of migratory processes which are often cyclical, or seasonal, and which may end in return to the village, or lead to further migration, or result in marriage/occupational success leading to settlement in the city. Our attempt is limited with respect to male reproductive experiences and motivations largely because of the lack of data. That said, we feel that trying to link female experiences of migration and reproduction has intrinsic value and can pave the way for future research that incorporates or compares with men's experiences.

In both states market transition has been initiated through economic reforms, which has been far reaching, with limited formal political change. Vietnam's Doi Moi was largely modelled on the Chinese experience of reforms (from the late 1970s), but began a decade later (in 1986). Both economies have achieved high growth rates and there was initially a positive response to new incentives from their large agricultural sectors (Summerfield 1997:204). Whilst Vietnam has substantially rolled back state employment, China, while attempting to reform state-owned enterprises by separating their production and welfare functions, has faced huge challenges of

³ The studies to which we refer in this section involve a range of methodologies which are briefly summarised in Appendix.

tackling unemployment, new forms of poverty, and maintaining social and political stability. As Summerfield argues: "[t]he social safety net in Vietnam, in contrast to China, is separate from state owned industry reducing the welfare loss of cutting state jobs, but in both countries, funding for human security has been problematic since the reforms." (1997:204). Indeed, although there is evidence from China that absolute poverty has been reduced, and similar effects are expected in Vietnam, there is also clear evidence in Vietnam and China that inequality, relative poverty and social stratification have significantly increased (Khan and Riskin 2001; Wang and Hu 1999; Zhang 2004). This includes growing differentials between regions and sectors (Wang 2004). For Vietnam "[g]eographic variation in incomes and access to opportunities have interacted with the dilution of state control to rapidly increase the number of persons moving from rural to urban areas." (Guest 1998; Summerfield 1997:5).

Transitional economies are experiencing drastic changes that are reshaping the patterns and trends of mobility in the context of peculiar institutional control mechanisms (Fan and Li 2002: 619). For Vietnam, three key factors have been identified by Dang et al (1997) as loosening up the movement of people: decollectivisation of land, abolition of subsidy system and the removal of restrictions of private trade and transport. In China, the shift from collective farming to household responsibility for agricultural production made apparent that 40% of the rural labour force were surplus to requirements (Woon 1993 in Zhan et al. 2002:47) at the same time as economic liberalisation created new opportunities and demand for an increasingly mobile rural population. During economic transition in China and Vietnam "employment strategies to improve the family's wellbeing have resulted in increased rural-urban migration by men and young women, while middle-aged, married women remain in the countryside taking care of the farms and children." (Summerfield 1997). In Vietnam, although the level of migration is relatively modest compared to surrounding countries, it is large compared to pre-1986. Migration to urban areas has accelerated during the 1990s and in contrast to earlier flows is highly differentiated, including people with little education coming for low paid work as well as those with more education coming for private sector work and those who continue to come for work in the state sector (Guest 1998). Although males outnumbered females in inter-provincial migration in 1989 (Dang et al. 1997), slightly more women than men were migrating to Ho Chi Minh City, and the reverse in Hanoi, in 1998 (Guest 1998), and by 2004 women dominated flows of migrants to both cities, the Northern Economic and Southern Industrial Zones (GSO 2005). China has experienced the large scale population movement from rural to urban areas since the early 1980s of which around a third to 41% are female (Davin 1996:25; Zhang 1999). They have become known popularly as the 'floating population' (liudong renjou) or the tide of migrant labourers (mingongchao) (Zhang 1999:5) and there are now estimated to be around 120 -200 million migrants seeking jobs in Chinese towns

and cities (State Council 2006: 3-4). The aggregate flows of 'new' migrants mask significant micro-level diversity:

"In many cases, male and female migrants go to different places, and find different types of work. Some flows are dominated by one sex or the other: for example, most migrants from Anhui to Beijing are women who go to do domestic work; migration flows from some counties in Sichuan are dominated by young women who go to work in the new export processing industries of south-east China (Wan Shanping 1993). In other areas, many men leave the rural areas to do construction work, transport work or trading, while women remain in the villages." (Davin 1996:25)

In both cases migration and its linkages for reproduction are stratified by qualifications for residency and related social entitlements: whereas state-sanctioned 'permanent' migrants transfer their registration to urban areas, 'temporary' migrants with work or business permits are eligible for residence permits, whilst 'unregistered' migrants have no social welfare rights in the city. Unregistered migrants are denied rights to urban social security on the grounds that their security is provided by their right to land in their home villages and although temporary residence permits give some protection, they need frequent renewal at police stations and involve financial costs (Davin 1996; Li 2004). Moreover, attempting to secure a residence permit involves administrative difficulty, frustration, time and substantial costs (Zhan et al. 2002) and "only the most successful migrants could consider purchasing a permanent residence permit" (Davin 1996:27). In both Vietnam and China, the social rights of female migrants have been neglected by the state as well as by academic research. Migrants' employment is often short-lived, contracts are short term and they are easily fired, most live in shanty accommodation and they are vulnerable to harassment by the authorities in their anti-migration drives. The latter extends in in China to illegal migrants being rounded up and bussed out and similar treatment has been proposed in Vietnam (Davin 1996; Guest 1998). Government and popular perceptions of migrants have been predominantly negative (Goldstein et al. 1997; Guest 1998): in China "[n]egative impacts of migrants are constantly put forward in the media, and open hostility is not infrequently shown towards them on the street." (Davin 1996:27). However, since late 2002 there has been in China official acknowledgement of the importance of migrants for economic development and some rhetorical moves towards improving their working conditions leading to more ambivalence towards migrants (Xiang 2005:3).

The media/public perception of rural migrants, both men and women, in terms of their sexual and reproductive behaviour is mixed and changing with time. For example, they have been variously depicted as possessing traditional values and norms of preferring more children, particularly sons, in comparison with urban

dwellers; as using migration as a strategy to evade the official family planning regulations at home; and more recently young female migrants have been linked to prostitution in red light districts of urban areas. In Vietnam, the government is concerned about the number of migrants as well as their “perceived lack of control of the migration process and a feeling that this has contributed to social problems such as increased crime and other social evils” (Guest 1998:6). Guest reports that there have been repeated efforts by city authorities to restrict movement, usually through tightening up the provision of residence permits but also through proposals to forcibly remove people from urban areas (Guest 1998). Kabeer and Thi Van Anh (2002:110) note that central policy responses also include encouraging the rural population to “leave the rice fields, but not the countryside” by creating off-farm livelihood opportunities and that urban congestion, “and associated problems of drugs, prostitution, and other social evils are a major concern for policy-makers” (Allen et al. 1996 cited in Kabeer and Thi Van Anh 2002:110). In China officials announced in 2001 their intention to abolish the household registration (*hukou*)⁴ system but commentators believe that there will be a relaxation of regulations rather than an outright removal (Zhan et al. 2002:48). Indeed, in China “migrants in the urban areas are perceived [by officials and the media] as having too many children, because they are ‘difficult to control’ and ‘no-one is responsible for them’” (Davin 1996:28)

These generalised negative perceptions are played out in official policy and popular perceptions relating specifically to the reproductive behaviour of migrants. Population policy in Vietnam seeks to limit childbearing but has never been as strict as China, with a two rather than a one-child policy (Summerfield 1997:203). In China regulations have been upgraded on fertility in the context of rapid economic transition (Fan and Li 2002). In China increasing incomes meant that more peasants were willing to pay the penalties for having more than one child and the government fought back by tying production perquisites to compliance with reproductive regulations (Goldstein et al. 1997:481). In China, “[p]olicymakers... reasoned that many of these migrants came to the cities to avoid family planning control and to have more than the permitted one child” (Goldstein et al. 1997: 481) and so in 1991 the government established ‘Measures for the management of family planning in the floating population’ which made it a national requirement to carry family planning certificates listing marital status, fertility history and contraceptive status. These should theoretically be shown before a residence, business or work permit can be

⁴ The household registration system is the prime means by which the state has regulated individual’s social entitlements and mobility in both Vietnam and China. It ties individuals to the commune, and the household, in to which they were born or married. It has functioned to divide urban and rural society through the unequal distribution of resources and rights. Whilst socio-economic changes associated with transition have weakened its control over individuals’ physical mobility, its restriction of access to welfare resources, particularly in urban areas, remains significant in both settings, resulting in differentiated rights and entitlements.

issued, thus enabling government personnel in destination areas to police migrants' fertility behaviour (Hoy 1999: 135).

Whilst it is obvious that there is a powerful economic content to the 'new' migration in Vietnam and China, to see migration purely in terms of seeking a more secure or lucrative productive livelihood would be a mistake. In both countries, taking advantage of the new economic opportunities of transition is not just about "crossing the poverty line" and people "seek not only survival but improved wellbeing and fuller participation in society: strategies that focus on employment, education and the social safety net that assures human security are crucial" (Summerfield 1997:205). For Tanjin in China, Zhang concluded that the 'push' for migration for young women was far from purely economic, but that "their longing for change in their material, cultural and social lives acted as a driving force behind their leaving the land to compete in the urban labour market." (1999:26). The reproductive dimensions of 'making a life' are often alluded to in accounts but are rarely seen as integral elements of strategising about migration. In Vietnam and China, generalised accounts of migration suggest that young women migrate before marriage and childbearing, when they are free of reproductive constraints, and then after marriage and childbearing are 'tied to the bamboo grove' (Kabeer and Thi Van Anh 2002) by their reproductive roles and responsibility for rural farm. Whilst some female rural-urban migrants are "also no doubt marriage migrants" (Davin 1996:25) the general understanding is that the majority move in search of work and that this represents a different sort of migration. Similarly older women who do migrate are seen as 'naturally' following partners: For example, to explain why men are more likely than women to migrate over longer distances in Vietnam, some speculate that "[m]ost likely, they migrated ahead of females and children" (Dang et al. 1997:333). Little is specifically known about which women return to the village to marry and which follow their husbands or their motivations or the reasons behind the timing of their joining husbands. However, selected and admittedly piecemeal evidence that seems to suggest that motivations and strategies that can be broadly described as reproductive may be significant.

There is broad evidence for young women at least that suggests that migration at a more fundamental level is about opening up space for different life options, crucially including escaping the life of a rural farm wife, through strategies that include increasing obligations in natal home to make a good marriage for them, searching for a desirable marriage partner themselves, and shoring up their personal financial security making them less reliant on either father or husband. The incomes they are able to command in urban areas are not incidental to these strategies. Davin reports Wan Shanping's (1993) evidence that some young women in China bring back capital to their villages in order to set up shops or even small manufacturing enterprises (Davin 1996: 29). Zhang's study in Tanjin also found that 30% of her informants kept their own wages and even when money was remitted to rural areas, some said that

their parents opened accounts in their names, and several said they would like to save enough to start their own businesses (1999:35,37). As one of Zhang's informants told her "I'm not worried about finding a satisfactory partner. Compared with other rural girls, I've got greater economic strength with years of work in the city" (1999:37). Even in the cases where Zhang's informants said that their remittances were used for household needs and production, they believed that "in return, their parents would provide a decent dowry (jiazhuang) and wedding for them in the future" (1999:37).

The opportunities that 'new' migration offer for accruing economic income for these women is integrally tied for them to enhancing their reproductive options and strategies for the future. Zhang points out that "unlike the older generation of their grandmothers and mothers, who customarily got married as teenagers, most of the female migrants intended to delay their marriages in an attempt to work for longer periods or even settle in the city" and notable amongst the advantages that young women perceived in rural-urban migration was "freedom from parental supervision" (Zhang 1999:31). Importantly "they were more likely to view their urban jobs as means than goals, and as an opportunity to obtain upward mobility geographically and socially; some of them hoped to find urban boyfriends and eventually settle in the city.... One informant says "I hope I can marry and settle in the city if possible, and have a happy, stable marriage. I want to achieve something meaningful in my life" (Zhang 1999:35). Indeed Zhang comments that for these young women "the greatest gains from working in the city were the significant differences they had made in their own lives and destiny" (1999:38).

However, there is also evidence that some young women migrants are particularly vulnerable to exploitation. These may include those who lack personal networks with relatives or other migrants from their home areas, those who took jobs in informal sectors, and those who work in export processing factories (Zhang 1999). Evidence from garment factory workers in Cambodia shows that some unmarried migrant women "engage in multi-partnered sex through direct or discretionary commercial sex occupations" (Nishigaya 2002:28). In the Cambodia study "women workers cite their low monthly wages from the factories as the main reason for their entry into sex work, although some report their abandonment by sweethearts who provided them with cash regularly" (Nishigaya 2002:33). The tendency to overlook young never-married women migrants who are not readily identifiable as commercial sex workers but may be drawn into transactional sex has serious implications for AIDS policy.

With respect to middle-aged women, there are two commonly voiced popular concerns in Vietnam and China, that of women 'left behind' in the rural areas and that of the reproductive behaviour of women in cities. Whilst the pattern of spreading the household across the city and a rural location is a common 'household

strategy' in the developing world (Xiang 2005), it is sharply in focus in China and Vietnam where the systems of registration mean that many migrants must keep their contracts in rural origins (Fan and Li 2002). The narrative of women being 'left behind' by men migrating for work sees reproduction as an inevitable sex-specific constraint but puts the real interest on the reorganisation of productive activities (see UNDP 2002:44). There has, as a result, been almost no probing of how migration histories articulate with marriage, child-bearing and child-rearing for individual women and men. In villages in the Mekong Delta in Vietnam with high male migration, Kabeer and Thi Van Anh (2002) found important differences between long term male migration, which left women with unclear entitlements with respect to the use or transfer of land, and the annual migration of men during the slack season. Here migration's impact on reproductive responsibilities were found to have intergenerational consequences including increasing girl's drop out rates from school to substitute their labour so that mother's can earn (Kabeer and Thi Van Anh 2002). Xiang (2005) argues powerfully for China that being 'left behind' by male migration does not lead to particular disadvantage but that growing rural-urban inequalities are leaving many rural communities as a whole behind in terms of socio-economic development.

Interestingly, in areas of highly feminised migration flows in China, the breakdown of the sexual division of labour can also involve men in taking on household work: "in Anhui it has been reported that men cook, clean, and even sew when the female members of their family have gone to work in the cities (Wan Shanping 1993)" (Davin 1996:25). Evidence from the Red River Delta also shows that where wives migrate, leaving husbands and children behind, conventional gender roles are disrupted (Resurreccion and Khanh 2007). Significantly in this case though, gendered notions of work were deliberately reproduced, even when men took on women's work in their absence, as a means of coping with the way changing spatial arrangements destabilised gender identities (ibid:211). Indeed, Hoang's (2008) micro-level work, in a contrasting setting in the Red River Delta where migration is predominantly male, confirms that even though female migration is increasing, rural social norms still militate strongly against the migration of married women, particularly those with young children.

There has been little attention to marriage and migration, especially in transitional economies (Fan and Li 2002). Although it is conceded that in Vietnam that "in terms of permanent migration, women are more likely to leave home when they marry and thus are traditionally more mobile than men" (UNDP 2002: 44), marriage is generally separated off from discussion about new kinds of migration. For instance Dang et al adopt the usual convention of excluding inter-provincial migration in their study because it "consists mainly of marriage migration rather than responses to socio-economic development" (1997: 322). However, Fan and Li's evidence from China suggests that changing patterns of marriage mobility may indeed be integral to

responses to socio-economic development and that new marriage strategies are developing around rural-urban migration and the need/desire to retain the family farm. Fan and Li (2002) found that spatial hypergamy (marrying up) across long distances supports the notion that “marriage is a means for peasant women to move to more favourable locations” and that economic transition, by extending the possibilities for labour migration has “enlarged peasants’ marriage market and at the same time promoted division of labour within marriage” (2002:619). They found that traditional marriage migration over short distances to better off villages was accompanied by a new trend of marriage migration over much longer distance that facilitated chain migration. Their field study of two villages in western Guangdong showed that the problems of finding a marriage partner were exacerbated in places with high female rural-urban migration. Men who had difficulty finding marriage partners were more likely to have an in-marrying wife from an inferior situation. These marriages were characterised by greater social differences between husbands and wives, suggestive of retrogressive intra-household relations, and in-marrying wives were left at home to manage the farm and the children, making their husband’s continued migration possible. In other words, women from poorer areas were migrating into rural areas with high male migration and whilst in-marrying women had specific interests in men’s migration the nature of their marriage also implied a specific character to their conjugal contracts.

At the same time as aspects of reform and cultural change are reducing control over marriage and cultural and state deterrents to conjugal intimacy, migration is putting new pressures on marriage (Fan and Li 2002:634; Davin 1996; Summerfield 1997). Family separation for labour migration involves dilemmas and hardships (Xiang 2005). In China and Vietnam, Summerfield reports that “While many of the [migrant] family members send money home and maintain their ties with the rural areas, growing numbers of men either divorce or illegally start a second family in the city. Migration, which was previously highly controlled by the state, is now contributing to a small but growing trend for families to break up; even as part of a working strategy to improve family wealth, migration creates *de facto* female-headed household of the women remaining in the countryside and introduces new strains on all family members” (1997:206). She further notes that “[m]any women prefer to tolerate affairs and abuse to the social ostracism faced by a divorced woman” and the chances of remarriage are low (1997:206). Ha Vu’s study of sexual behaviour amongst married women in two northern rural areas in Vietnam found that “mobility... is linked with the increased risk that men will have extra marital affairs and increased vulnerability to HIV/AIDS (Population Council 1997)” (2002:73). Although she also argues that suspicions of extra-marital sexual relations are tolerated because divorce and remarriage are unpalatable options and because remarriage may also compromise the welfare of her children from her first marriage, she shows how women’s silence may conceal hidden agency over sexual behaviours (ibid:74). Despite this, the implications for sexual and reproductive health are

obvious and worryingly: 63% of men who know they are HIV positive report not using a condom for intercourse with their wife in Vietnam (UNDP 2000:31). Although generalisations point to married women being 'left behind' by male migrants, the range of family strategies is in practice more varied. For example, Fan and Li's Guangdong study found some evidence of a new kind of 'dagong' marriage between migrating women and men that was formed on the basis of affection. Revealingly, in 4 of the 5 'dagong' marriages they studied men stayed back to work after marriage (2002: 632-4).

In the same way that the reproductive dimensions of being 'left behind' have been neglected, the strategising of marriage, child-bearing and child rearing by female and male migrants has also been little explored. The generalised narrative that the wives of migrants are to be found raising children in rural areas is in tension with official and popular perceptions that migrants, particular unregistered one, come to urban areas to escape restrictions on fertility. Indeed available information about the proportion of married migrants⁵ as well as studies on the fertility and maternal health of migrants⁶ information on migrant children and anecdotal evidence all point to a significant number of married women in migrant populations who are bearing and raising children in the cities. Roberts (2002:492) using survey data from Shanghai found significant differences between married and unmarried women labour migrants and suggests that the later "are probably accompanying and working with their migrant husbands" and that as many as a third of rural labour migrants may be migrating as couples. He suggest that rather than a 'floating population' these may be the "the vanguard" of potential settlers. Hoy's study (1999) in Beijing in 1994 reports on 403 ever married women of reproductive age who were registered as temporary migrants⁷: 306 (80%) had children and of these, the majority migrated after the birth of their first child (61%)⁸. The evidence questions the inevitability that married wives of migrants stay in rural areas. Hoy's (1999) findings for registered temporary migrants concur with Goldstein et al's (1997) findings for unregistered migrants in 1988 in Hubei Province that unregistered migrants "seldom... [moved] ...to circumvent the nations' family planning policies" (ibid:488) and that "temporary migrant women do not have more children than their non-migrant counterparts" (ibid:490).

⁵ Guest reports that 49% of the male and female migrants in the UNDP's Ho Chi Minh sample were currently or ever married at time of the survey and 30% of their Hanoi sample were married at the time they moved to the city (Guest 1998: 9).

⁶ Zhan et al (2002) report on 2,381 migrant mothers, of which 25 were married to urban residents.

⁷ Those who have moved since 1990.

⁸ Of the remainder, 10% had migrated before marriage, 6% migrated at the time of marriage with the remainder (14%) having married before migration and 9% migrated in the first birth interval.

In fact, the evidence suggests that managing reproductive life is particularly hard for migrant women and men. In the context of Vietnam and China, transition means that rapid economic change and related changes in labour markets and social policy entitlements are restructuring the linkages between reproduction and productive livelihood. The use of registration documents to mediate access to social security measures creates real problems. In China, access to schooling depends on the hukou status of the mother and ability to pay. Fan and Li's study of two villages in western Guangdong (2002) found that permanent migrants, who have the necessary residential requirements to access urban social security, are able to lease their land at home and to keep the domestic unit together. But as Davin points out, for most without permanent residence, "these restrictions induce many migrants to send their children back to their home areas when they reach school age, even if they have not done so earlier. Even migrant women who marry urban residents may face this problem, as the children's household registration follows that of their mother" (1996:26). Fan and Li found that 19/20 of their study households in which the husband had migrated contained children under 10 years of age (2002:634). This suggests that for some at least being 'left' is a way of resolving these contradictions at a particular stage, which may be resolved later either by return of husband or onward migration of the family.

The combination of poor entitlements for migrants and the impact of reform leave women workers with specific reproductive needs particularly exposed. In Vietnam, the UNDP notes that despite the institutional legacy of the Communist Party that under Doi Moi "women are losing some of these rights... [including]...labour laws, extensive access to maternity benefits and child-care centres, access to education and employment and legalized abortions" (UNDP 2000:9). In China the legislative framework "[d]ating from a time when rural women were not allowed to leave the land... is especially weak in protecting the large numbers of female migrants who have started working in the city in recent decades." (Zhang 1999:33)⁹. One of Zhang's informants says : "We rural girls don't enjoy such benefits [maternity leave with pay]. Only people like city residents who are often permanent workers, and managerial or professional staff with high qualification such as university or college degrees have the right to maternity leave" (ibid:34). Davin notes "the difficulties associated with giving birth to, and bringing up, children in areas where they do not have rights to health and education" (1996: 29). This is confirmed by Zhan et al's (2002) study in Shanghai which found that migrant mothers are using maternity care significantly

⁹ There are some parallels here with Tasneem Siddiqui's (2002) findings in Bangladesh in which she links the ban on international female migration with their vulnerability as illegal migrants: not only are women who do migrate internationally left entirely unprotected but this situation also renders them vulnerable to various forms of people smuggling including women trafficking.

less than mothers who are permanent urban residents¹⁰ and that their main maternal health outcomes were poor¹¹. They conclude that migrants face “a ‘package’ of obstacles” to accessing health care of which lack of insurance coverage and cost were important elements. Anecdotal evidence suggest that, as a result, around a third of migrant women may return to their villages for delivery and a further quarter to a third may use illegal birth attendants to save money (ibid:49,51). These difficulties continue for child rearing with difficulties accessing child care, education and health. For instance, Ding and Stockman (1999:127) report that few of the 70,000 school age children in the floating population are enrolled in city schools and Zhan et al. (2002) found that nearly all migrants had to pay ‘out-of-pocket’ expenses for health services in comparison to about a quarter of permanent residents.

The gendered impact of reform combined with migration has created an urban market for domestic labour to service more highly paid women in which many women migrants find employment. However, many migrant women must make difficult choices and craft complex strategies to manage rearing their own children. Grandmothers often care for small children and school age children while mother is at work locally or in the city, however, changing family structures mean that three generation households are less common than they used to be and, moreover, entitlements to grandmothers’ care are structured by gendered intergenerational obligations and entitlements. For instance, Davin reports two cases where mothers refuse to take full responsibility for their daughter’s children because of the prior claims of their son’s children. One of the mothers said: “I can do that for my son, and my daughter-in-law because we are all one family and they send money back home. My daughter is married so she belongs to another family” (Davin 1996:26). The risks of leaving children in the care of others for extended periods is well illustrated by the report that babies ‘left behind’ in Fuyang, a major migrant sending region, experienced serious malnutrition, resulting in 13 deaths, because they relied on an unacceptably poor quality manmade formula (Xiang 2005:3-4). Strategies of negotiating reproduction and residence arrangements are also shaped by cultural expectations of new wives. Hoy found a predominance of married women with one male child amongst her migrants and demonstrates that migration itself does not lead to higher sex ratios but that the birth of their first son releases newly wed women from their cultural obligations to their mother-in-laws (1999). Where women can not make suitable arrangements for childcare and schooling they may return themselves with children to rural areas, perhaps working locally during the day. The gendered impact of reform in Vietnam “for the very poor... means an inevitable

¹⁰ Of the 2,381 migrant mothers who gave birth at three hospitals in Minhang District between 1993-1996, 44% had had no prior ANC visits as compared to only 5% of permanent residents (Zhan et al. 2002:49).

¹¹ For instance, the number of still-births amongst migrants (1.5%) was twice that of the control group (0.8%) (Zhan et al. 2002:49).

decline in the quality of upbringing that their children receive and may also lead to the declining health of other family members (Beresford 1997)" (UNDP 2000:19).

There is a danger in focusing on aspirations for 'a better life' of painting an overly optimistic picture of migration as a route to social mobility. For many migration is motivated by survival needs but for both groups reproductive dimensions are more important than commonly recognised and for both migration may involve trade-offs and compromises that may be unpalatable. This is rather starkly demonstrated in Davin's report of the case of young woman who bought her way out of an unhappy marriage by forfeiting her son and raising the 7000 yuan his father demanded for child support through migration for work (1996:28). Davin notes that younger returnees may face problems of adjustment and cites Wan Shanping's (1993) report that they have difficulties accustomising themselves to "hardships which for most of their life they had taken for granted" (Davin 1996:28). One of Xiang's migrant informants who herself works away from home, tolerates the infidelity, diminishing remittances and visits from her absent husband and at the same time finds the children she has 'left behind' to be alienated and undisciplined (2005). Ding and Stockman (1999:128) refer to the large numbers of middle-aged women in the floating population who lack marketable skills, cannot find formal jobs and do not want to return home unemployed and work as scavengers. These examples speak of the need for more biographical study of the linkages between migration and reproduction and how they are negotiated over the life course in the context of rapidly changing economic and social institutions.

Conclusions

The evidence from Vietnam and China where the changing character of internal migration in transitional economies includes increased female migration and continuing male migration in the context of dramatic declines in public services, changing social institutions, and the growing impact of HIV/AIDS, suggests that there are specific and important linkages between migration and reproduction that merit further attention. Many young women migrant's aspire to a different sort of life, including a different sort of reproductive life, and may in the long run contribute to the renegotiation of gender relations in rural areas, including through frustration and conflict, or they may settle in urban areas. Some find themselves vulnerable to exploitation, including sexual exploitation, and may be drawn into or seek sex work where they are at risk of serious harm. Despite the growing momentum of 'new' migration, the structural constraints on movement and fertility that structure social entitlements remain powerful and interact with cultural expectations around marriage, child-bearing, child-rearing and inter-generational relations in ways that are strongly gendered. As Summerfield concludes for both China and Vietnam "the

family becomes more important as state welfare subsidies are withdrawn” (1997:213). There is some evidence that marriage practices are responding to migration and the related geographic inequalities between different rural areas and urban areas: women from poorer rural areas are marrying into areas of high male migration to be ‘left-behind’ wives in Guangdong. However, the ways of negotiating marriage and migration are more diverse than commonly portrayed: ‘dagong’ couples may both stay behind after marriage; couples may migrate together either leaving children behind, sending them back, returning temporarily, or keeping the family together in the city; husband and wife may separately migrate; or marriages may themselves breakdown. Little is known about which wives migrate and which stay behind, but migration may be selective of women who have born their first sons, in other words those who are reproductively successful in cultural terms. Managing reproductive life in the city is complex and has created a domestic labour market for young women but migrants themselves face a ‘package’ of obstacles in having and caring for their children. The alternatives of the wife, her husband, and/or their children staying behind involves dilemmas and hardships that may put the marriage and the health of children and parents at risk.

A deeper understanding of these dynamics is important if social policy is to contribute to improved wellbeing. Whilst in other contexts, researchers have noted the paucity of evidence about the social protection needs of internal migrants, they have often related it to the fact that internal rural-urban migrants may be inconspicuous as a separate category from the urban poor and that they primarily experience migrant-intensified, rather than migrant-specific vulnerabilities, from living in informal urban settlements and working in the informal labour market (Sabates-Wheeler and White 2003:34-35). However, in Vietnam and China migrants and their families remain, in socio-political terms, a separate category from the urban poor and as a result they experience significant migrant-specific vulnerabilities, as well as migrant-intensified vulnerabilities, that need to be addressed.

Contrary to perceptions, migrants do not have higher fertility and whilst they do appear to be at greater risk of sexual infections and some are involved in sex work, this is as a result of particular vulnerability stemming from the combined circumstances of their lack of social entitlements, declining public financing of social provisioning, and family separation. Migrants are not trespassing outside of official sanctions but have rather been socially excluded in particular ways. It follows that the remedy for this situation is not discouraging migration or greater policing of migrants and their behaviours, but instead strategies to enhance their entitlements and inclusion in urban society. Improving working conditions is of fundamental importance, especially for young migrants, and needs to be alert to concerns around accommodation, social needs, leave allowances, maternity rights, protection from sexual harassment, and sexual health needs. However, strategies also need to go beyond improving working conditions, to build entitlements for migrants and their

families, in particular to health, including maternal health, and education for their children. Broader action to counter growing rural-rural and rural-urban inequalities is an important fundamental, not to counter migration, but to ensure that whole communities are not left behind by transition. This will play a role in enhancing the resilience of rural-urban migrants and also in reducing the risks and perhaps the distances associated with family separation.

We have argued that the way in which reproductive strategies and capabilities are articulated with migratory processes has important implications for migration studies and social policy. Although it is well recognised that particular flows of migrants often tend to be structured by sex and by stage in life course, especially reproductive and marital life course where women are concerned, there has been little investigation of what this means for managing reproductive life. Rather than seeing reproductive factors as given constraints or triggers that play into who migrates and for how long, or separating out economic migration from migration 'for' marriage, we have argued that there is value to exploring how reproductive strategising articulates with migratory processes for women and men who are 'making a life'. This may be central to understanding the impact of migration on wellbeing as well as to identifying and addressing their specific social needs. The dearth of information about migrant men's reproductive agency is particularly striking, especially at a time when there is growing concern over their disengagement from the family. However, for women too the linkages between reproductive and migratory motivations, strategies and vulnerabilities are, as yet, poorly understood. Priorities for enhancing understanding must include both macro-level analysis to build a stronger reproductive and demographic picture of migration as well as detailed micro-level work investigating migrant biographies, reproductive histories and wellbeing over longer time periods so that we can begin to understand the many ways in which migration plays a role in men's and women's attempts to build a better life for themselves and their families.

Appendix: Note on Methodologies for Data Collection in Core Sources

The core studies on Vietnam and China that we have drawn on in this paper use a range of methodologies. Below we briefly summarise these:

Dang et al. 1997: Their methodology centres on an OLS regression which makes use of under-utilised tables from the 1989 census and national statistical data.

Davin 1996: This paper draws broadly on Davin's experience and specifically on her fieldwork carried out in 1994 in Sichuan, as well as on interviews and discussions with many Chinese colleagues, migrants, officials, students and chance acquaintances.

Ding and Stockman 2002: This analysis is based on a sample survey of Shanghai residents. The survey involved 503 households selected using the equal interval sampling method and focused on residents' views about the impact on in-comers and their degree of acceptance of incomers.

GSO 2005: This publication is the preliminary report of the 2004 Migration Survey is a sample survey focusing on major receiving areas of migrants in Vietnam (Hanoi, Ho Chi Minh, the Central Highlands, the NE and SE Industrial Zones). It involved 10,000 interviews of migrants and non-migrants and offers a broad picture of migrants and their demographic and socio-economic characteristics with a special emphasis on lifecourse, quality of life and health.

Goldstein et al. 1997: This paper uses a sequential logit analysis of life-history data from a 1998 survey of Hubei Province to test the possibility that unregistered rural-urban migrants in the mid-1980s were avoiding family planning surveillance in order to pursue higher fertility than non-migrants and permanent migrants. They also provide a selective analysis of the state's policies on migration and family planning using secondary data.

Guest 1998: This report summarises the findings of survey research carried out in 1996-1997 as part of a MARD-UNDP project which were designed to strengthen the evidence base for policy making with respect to internal migration. The research involved five components: survey research in (i) Hanoi, (ii) Ho Chi Minh, (iii) in Dac Lac in the Central Highlands, and (iv) in key sending and receiving rural provinces, and an analysis of administrative data on resettlement projects.

Fan and Li 2002: This paper reports the findings of a field study of two villages in western Guangdong, China, that were prominent destinations for marriage migrants as well as drawing on secondary literature. Their primary research involves the analysis of quantitative and qualitative data from the surveying of 78 respondents of which 50 were female and 25 were migrant wives.

Ha Vu 2002: This reports in-depth qualitative research. It included work in four communes in northern Vietnam in 1999-2000 on sexual practice, family planning and sexual attitudes (involving 31 male and female respondents and

33 participants in focus group discussions) and follow-up work in two communes on the sexuality of married women (with 16 married women).

Hoang 2008: This doctoral research reports in-depth analysis of primarily qualitative research using semi-structured interviewing in a sending commune in the Red River Delta. The focus was on investigating the intra-household decision-making around migration.

Hoy 1999: This analysis is based on a questionnaire survey conducted in 1994 with ever-married women between 18-49 years who had migrated to Beijing city at some point in their lives (most were temporary migrants from rural areas). 403 women were interviewed from two districts using quota sampling

Kabeer and Thi Van Anh 2002: This paper selectively reviews secondary literature and relevant statistical data but bases its main analysis around a preliminary interpretation of data on rural livelihoods from two communes in the Mekong Delta and two in the Red River Delta. Data included a quantitative survey of 600 households and qualitative interviews with key informants and 40 selected households.

Li 2004: This monograph draws on a wider range of primary and secondary sources, including, for example the PRC's 5th census conducted in 2000, a survey led by the author in Beijing in 1997 involving in-depth interviews and statistical analysis, the author's long-term research experiences and many major projects on rural-urban migration, the hukou reform, social stratification, informal employment, migration and livelihoods, and remittances in Beijing and other parts of the country

Nishigaya 2002: This analysis is based on 20 in-depth narrative interviews with unmarried female garment workers who reported that they had engaged in sex with multiple partners in the previous week. It is part of a larger doctoral study by Nishigaya that also made use of focus groups and a quantitative survey.

Roberts 2002: This analysis uses data on 54,373 migrants from the Fifth Sample Survey of the Floating Population of China administered by official statistical and research bodies. Roberts focuses on the 32,967 rural labour migrants who hold rural household registrations and particularly on the 9,124 women within that group. Roberts makes a gendered analysis of the demographic and occupational characteristics of these rural-urban migrants.

Resurreccion and Khanh 2007: Whilst also reviewing secondary data, the authors report on two communes in the Red River Delta with significant female rural-

urban migration. They use ethnographic methods including participant observation, interviews and a survey of 100 heads of households (40% of whom were female).

State Council 2006: This research was carried out under the leadership of the Research Office of the State Council of the people's Republic of China between 2005-6. The research team involved 17 ministries and departments of the State Council and the central government, as well as relevant government departments of 8 large provinces/municipalities as either the main sources or destinations of rural-urban migrants. In-depth investigations and site visits were conducted and supplemented with workshops, symposiums and research forums.

Summerfield 1997: This paper is a review of secondary literature encompassing published research and official statistical publications.

UNDP 2000 and UNDP 2002: The Gender Briefing Kits are based on the compilation and analysis of gender-disaggregated data on Vietnam. It draws on a variety of sources including official and program statistics as well as other research findings.

Xiang 2005: This paper is based on a documentary study of academic publications, news reports and public commentary which has been supplemented by in-depth interviews with 8 migrants and members of their families whom they had left behind in Liaoning Province in 2004/5 and which draws on the authors longer research experience around migration.

Zhang 1999: This paper draws on fieldwork undertaken in Tianjin, North China in 1994. The methods used included participant observation, and in-depth interviews with female migrant workers, businesswomen and employees in the labour service company affiliated to the City Women's Federation. The female migrant informants comprised two groups: those working in the city itself, either in domestic or catering services, and those contracted as workers in enterprises with sole overseas investments in Tanggu Economic Development Zone to the east of the city.

Zhang 2004: This paper is based on ethnographic fieldwork in Beijing and Tianjin, North China, in 2005. The qualitative methods used included in-depth interview, participant and non-participant observation, site visits and 'purposeful conversations'. Thirty interviews were carried out in both cities with migrant workers, academics in key think tanks and higher education institutions, representatives of multilateral and bilateral development agencies, and two NGOs.

Zhan et al. 2002: This paper reports the findings of a field study of two villages in western Guangdong, China, that were prominent destinations for marriage migrants as well as drawing on secondary literature. Their primary research involves the analysis of quantitative and qualitative data from the surveying of 78 respondents of which 50 were female and 25 were migrant wives.

References

- Ali, K.A. (2000) 'Making 'Responsible' Men: Family Planning in Egypt', in Bledsoe, C., Lerner, S. and Guyer, J.I., (eds) *Fertility and the Male Life Cycle in the Era of Fertility Decline*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, pp. 119-143.
- Anthias, F. and Laziridis, G. (2000) *Gender and Migration in Southern Europe: Women on the Move*, Berg, Oxford.
- Bledsoe, C. (1994) 'Children are like young bamboo trees': Potentiality and Reproduction in Sub-Saharan Africa', in Keissling, K.L. and Landberg, H. (eds), *Population, Economic Development and Environment: The Making of Our Common Future*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, pp.105-138.
- Bledsoe, C., Lerner, S. and Guyer, J.I. (eds) (2000) *Fertility and the Male Life Cycle in the Era of Fertility Decline*, Oxford University Press, Oxford.
- Billson, J.M. and Fluehr-Lobban, C. (eds) (2005) *Female Well-Being: Towards a Global Theory of Social Change*, Zed Books, London.
- Chant, S. (ed) (1992) *Gender and Migration in Developing Countries*, London and New York, Belhaven Press.
- Chant, S. (1998) 'Households, gender and rural-urban migration: reflections on linkages and considerations for policy', *Environment and Urbanization* 10(1):5-21.
- Chant, S. and Radcliffe, S.A. (1992) 'Migration and development: The importance of gender' in Chant, S. (ed) *Gender and Migration in Developing Countries*, London and New York, Belhaven Press, pp 1-29.
- Dang, A., Goldstein, S. and McNally, J. (1997) 'Internal migration and development in Vietnam', *International Migration Review* 31(2): 312-337.
- Davin, D. (1996) 'Gender and rural-urban migration in China' *Gender and Development*, 4 (1): 24-30.
- Ding, J. and Stockman, N. (1999) 'The floating population and the integration of the city community: A survey of attitudes of Shanghai residents to recent migrants', in *Internal and International Migration: Chinese Perspectives*, eds, F.N. Pieke and H. Mallee, Curzon Press, Richmond, pp. 119-133.

- Fan, C.C. and Li, L. (2002) 'Marriage and migration in transitional China: a field study of Gaozhou, western Guangdong', *Environment and Planning A* 34(4): 619-638.
- Goldstein, S. and Goldstein, A. (1981) 'The impact of migration on fertility – an own children analysis for Thailand', *Population Studies*, 35(2): 265-284.
- Goldstein, S. and Goldstein, A. (1984) 'Inter-relations between migration and fertility – their significance for urbanisation in Malaysia', *Habitat International* 8(1): 93-103.
- Goldstein, A., White, M. and Goldstein, S., (1997) 'Migration, fertility, and state policy in Hubei Province, China', *Demography* 34(4): 481-491.
- GSO (Government Statistical Office) (2005) The 2004 Migration Survey Findings, GSO, Hanoi.
- Guest, P. (1998) The Dynamics of Internal Migration in Viet Nam, Discussion Paper 1, United Nations Development Programme, Hanoi.
- Greenhalgh, S. (1995) 'Anthropology theorizes reproduction: Integrating practice, political economic, and feminist perspectives' in Greenhalgh, S. (ed) *Situating Fertility: Anthropology and demographic inquiry*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, pp. 3-28.
- Hampshire, K. (2001) 'The impact of male migration on fertility decisions and outcomes in northern Burkino Faso' in Tremayne, S. (ed) *Managing Reproductive Life: Cross-Cultural Themes in Fertility and Sexuality*, Berghahn Books, Oxford, pp. 107-126.
- Hoang, L. A. (2008) Social Structures and the Ability to Choose: Migration Decision-Making in Rural Vietnam. Unpublished PhD thesis, University of East Anglia, Norwich, UK.
- Hoy, C. (1999) 'Issues in the Fertility of Temporary Migrants in Beijing' in Pieke, F.N. and H. Mallee, H. (eds) *Internal and International Migration: Chinese Perspectives*, Curzon Press, Richmond, pp. 134-156.
- International Organisation for Migration (IOM) and UNAIDS (2005) HIV and Mobile Workers: A Review of Risks and Programmes among Truckers in West Africa, IOM and UNAIDS, Geneva.
- Iredale, R., Zheng, Z., Ren, Q., Ghosh, S. with Trees, D. (2005) 'An IOM Vietnam (2005) Case Study: HIV/AIDS in South and North-East Asia', in *Migration, Development and Poverty Reduction in Asia*, IOM, Geneva, pp. 205-222
- Kabeer, N. and Thi Van Anh, T. (2002) 'Leaving the Rice Fields, but Not the Countryside', in *Shifting Burdens: Gender and Agrarian Change under Neoliberalism*, ed. S. Rasavi, Kumarian Press Inc., Bloomfield, CT, pp.109-150.
- A.R. Khan and C. Riskin, (2001) *Inequality and Poverty in China in the Age of Globalization*. Oxford University Press: Oxford.
- Lee, B.S. and Farber, S.C. (1984) 'Fertility Adaptation by Rural Urban Migrants in Developing Countries – the Case of Korea' *Population Studies* 38(1): 145-155.
- Li, Q. (2004) *Urban Migrant Workers and Social Stratification in China (Nongmingong yu zhongguo shehui fenceng)*, Social Sciences Academic Press, Beijing, pp. 133-143.

- Liang, S. (2004) 'Concerns with the "left-behind symptoms"', *Rural Focus* (in Chinese), No. 8: 26.
- Montgomery, H. (2001) 'Motherhood, Fertility and Ambivalence among Young Prostitutes in Thailand' in Tremayne, S. (ed) *Managing Reproductive Life: Cross-Cultural Themes in Fertility and Sexuality*, Berghahn Books, Oxford, pp. 71-84.
- Murphy, R. (2002) *How migrant labour is changing rural China*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Nishigaya, K. (2002) 'Female Garment Factory Workers in Cambodia: Migration, Sex Work and HIV/AIDS', *Women and Health*, 35(4): 27-42.
- Pearson, R. (2006) University of Leeds, UK. Personal communication.
- Pearson, R. (1998) 'Nimble fingers' revisited: reflections on women and Third World industrialisation in the late twentieth century' in Jackson, C. and Pearson, R. (eds) *Feminist Visions of Development: Gender, Analysis and Policy*, Routledge, London and New York, p.171-188.
- Pearson, R. and Seyfang, G. (2001) 'New Hope or False Dawn? Voluntary Codes of Conduct, Labour Regulation and Social Policy in a Globalising World', *Global Social Policy* 1(1): 77-106.
- Qian, Z.H., Vermund, S.H. and Wang, N. (2005) 'Risk of HIV/AIDS in China: subpopulations of special importance', *Sexually Transmitted Infections*, 81 (6): 442-447.
- Resurreccion, B.P. and Khanh, H.T.V. (2007) 'Able to Come and Go: Reproducing Gender in Female Rural-Urban Migration in the Red River Delta', *Population, Space and Place*, 12:211-224.
- Roberts, K. (2002) 'Female Labor Migrants to Shanghai: Temporary 'Floaters' or Potential Settlers?' , *International Migration Review*, 36(2): 492-519.
- Rogaly, B. (2003) 'Who Goes? Who Stays Back? Seasonal Migration and Staying Put Among Rural Manual Workers in Eastern India', *Journal of International Development*, 15:1-10.
- Sabates-Wheeler, R. and White, M. (2003) Migration and Social Protection: A Concept Paper, Working Paper T2, Migration, Globalisation and Poverty DRC, Sussex.
- Saith, A. (1999) 'Migration Processes and Policies: Some Asian Perspectives', *Asian and Pacific Migration Journal*, 8(3): 285-311.
- Santillan, D., Schuler, S.R. et al., (2004) 'Developing Indicators to Assess Women's Empowerment in Vietnam', *Development in Practice*, 14(4): 534-549.
- Shah, A. (2003) The Love of Labour: Seasonal Migration from A Jharkhand Vilalge to Brick Kilns in West Bengal, Seminar Presentation, UEA, Norwich, 28 May.
- Siddiqui, T. (2002) 'An Anatomy of Forced and Voluntary Migration from Bangladesh' p.155-175 in Morokvasic-Muller, M., Erel, U. and Shinozaki, K. (eds) *Crossing Borders, Shifting Boundaries: Volume 1: Gender on the Move*, Leske and Budrich, Opladen.
- Skeldon, R. (2000) Population mobility and HIV vulnerability in South-East Asia: An assessment and analysis, Bangkok: UNDP.

- Summerfield, G. (1997) 'Economic transition in China and Vietnam: Crossing the poverty line is just the first step for women and their families' *Review of Social Economy*, 55(2): 201-214.
- State Council of the People's Republic of China (2006) *Research Report on the Issues Related to China's Rural Migrant Workers (Zhongguo nongmingong diaoyan baogao)*, Beijing: Zhongguo yanshi chubanshe.
- Tan, E.L. (2005) China's migrants workers a high AIDS risk., *Reuters*, <http://www.reuters.com/newsArticle.jhtml?type=topNews&storyID=8740702>, accessed 20 June 2005.
- Tucker, J.D., Henderson, G.E., Wang, T.F., Huang, Y.Y., Parish, W., Pan, S.M., Chen, X.S., and Cohen, M.S. (2005) 'Surplus men, sex work, and the spread of HIV in China', *AIDS*, 19 (6): 539-547.
- Tremayne, S. (ed) (2001) *Managing Reproductive Life: Cross-Cultural Themes in Fertility and Sexuality*, Berghahn Books, Oxford.
- Toyota, M., Yeoh, B.S.A. and Nguyen, L. (2007) 'Editorial Introduction: Bringing the 'Left-Behind' Back into View in Asia: a Framework for Understanding the 'Migration-Left Behind Nexus'', *Population, Space and Place*, 13:157-161.
- UNDP (2000) Gender Briefing Kit: Viet Nam, United Nations Development Programme, Viet Nam
- UNDP (2002) Gender Briefing Kit: Viet Nam, United Nations Development Programme, Viet Nam.
- Unnithan-Kumar, M. (2001) 'Emotion, Agency and Access to Healthcare: Women's Experiences of Reproduction in Jaipur' in Tremayne, S. (ed) *Managing Reproductive Life: Cross-Cultural Themes in Fertility and Sexuality*, Berghahn Books, Oxford, p. 27-51.
- Vu, H. (2002) 'The harmony of family and the silence of women: Sexual behaviour among married women in two northern rural areas in Vietnam', research paper, Columbia University, New York.
- Whitehead, A. (2002) 'Tracking Livelihood Change: Theoretical, Methodological and Empirical Perspectives from North-East Ghana', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 28(3): 575-598.
- Waddington, C. (2003) Livelihood Outcomes of Migration for Poor People, Working Paper T1, Development Research Centre on Migration, Globalisation and Poverty, Sussex.
- Wang, M. (2004) 'The Two Main Problems in China's Modernization Process – the Urban-Rural Gap and Regional Discrepancies', www.ccrs.org.cn, accessed 17 March 2004.
- Wang, S. and Hu, A. (1999) *The Political Economy of Uneven Development: The Case of China*. ME Sharp: New York.
- Xiang, B. (2005) How far are the left-behind left behind? A preliminary study from rural China, Working Paper No. 12, Centre on Migration, Policy and Society, Oxford.

- Yang, H., Li, X., Stanton, B., Fang, X., Lin, D., Mao, R., Liu, H., Chen, X. and Severson, R. (2005) 'Workplace and HIV-related sexual behaviours and perceptions among female migrant workers', *AIDS Care-Psychological and Socio-Medical Aspects of AIDS/HIV*, 17 (7): 819-833
- Zhan, S., Sun, Z. and Blas, E. (2002) 'Economic Transition and Maternal Health Care for Internal Migrants in Shanghai, China', *Health Policy and Planning*, 17 (Supplement 1): 47-55.
- Zhang, H.X. (1999) 'Female migration and urban labour markets in Tianjin', *Development and Change*, 30(1): 21-41.
- Zhang, H.X. (2004) Globalisation and its challenges to rural Chinese women, paper presented at the international symposium Women's Participation in Policy Implementation and Institutional Change in Rural China, 14-15 April, Institute of Contemporary Chinese Studies, the University of Nottingham, Nottingham, UK.