

SMALL LANDLORDS' DEPENDENCE ON RENT INCOME
IN VIETNAM

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by

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ABSTRACT

The Ministry of Land Reform, Agriculture and Fisheries Development and USAID are concerned that there might be a large percentage of small landlords entirely or largely dependent on rent from farm land for income on which to live. This research was done to ascertain: (1) what percentage of landlords are small landlords, (2) what most landlords do for a living other than renting out farm land, and (3) how dependent most landlords are on income from rural land rent. It also attempts to discover whether many military personnel are dependent on income from rural land rent.

The research: Rural landlords were interviewed and data on landlords' holdings rented were extracted from village lease contract books in 18 provinces: 8 in coastal Central Vietnam, 10 in the delta. Nine villages were sampled in each province. Data was found on 1,288 rural landlords: 594 in the coastal rice plain of Central Vietnam, 694 in the delta. One can be 95% confident that the findings are within $\pm 5\%$ of the true population of rural landlord families in the provinces sampled, and the provinces sampled are the whole of the rice growing region in Central Vietnam and are representative of the whole of the delta.

Of landlords who farm fulltime incomes were estimated thus: the landlord farmer's hectareage, times the yield as given by village officials, times the current province price for medium grade paddy, plus a 20% addition in the delta and a 5-10% addition in CVN for others in the family working, second rice crops, miracle rice, increased local commerce and secondary crops. Of landlords who are not farmers incomes were estimated from current wage and salary studies, current pay rates by companies in the provinces and regions involved, and small samples of Vietnamese working in the same occupations. Rent income was assumed to be 30% of the tenant's main crop. The study sought data on rural landlords. No attempt was made to find absentee landlords in cities and large towns because other research indicates that they are exlandlords and not dependent on rent nor in most cases any longer receiving rent. Village lease contract books, however, did yield data on a few.

Findings: In the delta a small landlord is one who rents out eight hectares or less. A large landlord is one who rents out twenty hectares or more. Almost all landlords (85% of all, 87% of all small landlords) work fulltime, aside from rent income. A large minority work fulltime and also farm part-time, aside from rent income. Forty-six percent are farmers, 20% businessmen, shop owners or vendors, 7% professionals, 4% skilled workers or craftsmen, 3% civil servants, 3% military personnel, 2%

housewives, and 13% have no known occupation and may be 100% dependent on rent to live. About 25% of this 13% are absentees living in Saigon. About 15% of this 13% are retired elderly persons. This is less than 2% of all rural landlords in the delta.

Dependence on rent in the delta (rent as a percentage of total income): (1) Landlords who are farmers: 25%; (2) landlords who are businessmen, shop owners or vendors: negligible (2-5%) for large and medium-sized businessmen and shop owners; 14-19% for small vendors; (3) landlords who are professionals: 10-11%; (4) those who are skilled workers or craftsmen: 10-11%; (5) those who are civil servants or clerical equivalents in private companies: 15-20%; (6) those who are in the military services: 7-13%.

Findings: In Central Vietnam a small landlord is one who rents out two hectares or less. Almost all (94% of all and 94% of all small landlords) work fulltime, aside from rent income. Very few work fulltime and also farm part-time, aside from rent income. Sixty percent of all landlords and 62% of all small landlords are fulltime farmers. Eleven percent are businessmen, shop owners, or vendors. Seven percent are skilled workers or craftsmen. Six percent are civil servants. Five percent are professionals. Three percent are military personnel. Two percent are laborers. One percent are housewives. Five percent have no known occupation and may be 100% dependent on rent to live. Of this 5%, 85% live in Thua Thien, presumably in or near Hue and are absentee landlords. Seventy-five percent are elderly persons. This 75% of 5% is only 4% of all landlords in Central Vietnam.

Dependence on rent in Central Vietnam (rent as a percentage of total income): (1) small landlords who are farmers: 10%; (2) small landlords who are businessmen, shop owners or vendors: 1-8%; (3) those who are skilled workers or craftsmen: 8%; (4) those who are civil servants: 11-14%; (5) those who are professionals: 11%; (6) those who are military personnel: 5-10%; (7) those who are laborers: 10%.

ARVN personnel as landlords: Service in the Army of Vietnam (ARVN) and other regular military services, as distinct from service in the Regional or Popular Forces (RF and PF) usually separates a person from his native village, district and province. Because of this, data obtained by interviews was separated out and then data obtained only from village lease contracts was examined. Among 449 landlords (in the delta and CVN) on whom data was obtained from these records, only 12 are military personnel. This is less than 3%, and it may include some landlords serving in the RF and PF. Members of ARVN have little reason to think as or identify with landlords.

The delta compared to Central Vietnam: (1) Holdings rented out in CVN are tiny compared to the delta. (2) Very few landlords in CVN work full-time and also farm part-time, aside from renting out land, unlike the delta. (3) CVN is less commercial, less economically developed, less capitalized than the delta. More landlords in CVN are farmers than in the delta. Fewer are businessmen; there is less business. Fewer practice professions; there are fewer professionals and fewer professions. Among landlords who are professionals, more are priests, fewer are school teachers and none are pharmacists or medical practitioners, unlike the delta. Among landlords who are skilled workers, fewer work in the service trades than in the delta. More than in the delta work at manual trades and handicrafts. (4) There are fewer resident rural landlords who are only landlords in CVN today than in the delta. Before the war the reverse was true.

REASONS FOR THE INQUIRY

The Government of Vietnam has made it clear that from the date of the Land to the Tiller law, March 26, 1970, landowners no longer have authority to collect rent on rural farm land. Such is the law.¹

The Ministry of Land Reform, Agriculture and Fisheries Development (MLRAF) and the Office of the Associate Director of USAID for Land Reform (AD/LR, USAID) are concerned that there might be a petit rentier class of considerable size entirely or largely dependent on income from rent to live.

The purposes of this research are:

1. To ascertain how many hectares of riceland most landlords rent out;
2. To learn what percentage of most landlords are small landlords and what small means in terms of hectares rented out;
3. To learn what most landlords do for a living other than renting out land;

¹ Decree No. 072 SL/CCDDNN/PTNNN dated June 5, 1970, Circular No. 7043 CCDDNN/HCTC/3 dated July 8, 1970, and Circular No. 7843 CCDD/HCTC/3 dated July 27, 1970 [available in English as attachments to Land Reform Memos No. 17, July 14, 1970, No. 19, July 15, 1970, and No. 23, October 4, 1970 (AD/LR, USAID)]

4. To derive, from landlords' occupations, their dependence on income from rural land rent;
5. To get an indication of the dimensions of the problem, if there is a problem, of military personnel's dependence on income from rural land rent.

THE RESEARCH DESIGN

Methods used were two: interviews and records search. Interviewers were sent into 18 provinces (8 in the coastal plain of Central Vietnam, 10 in the delta and delta provinces of MR 3). They found landlords, and ascertained what they and their family do for a living and how much land they rent out. Interviewers also asked village officials to estimate rice yield in each village. From this and occupational data, landlord families' incomes from work and from rent were calculated. Interviewers also sought out village lease contract books, where they exist, and from them extracted a sample of landlords and their rented holdings. Where village officials knew the landlord family whose name and holdings were found in a lease contract book they were usually able to give his occupation. Therefrom family incomes and rent incomes were calculated.

Pretest and field work: The field work design was pretested in two delta provinces, Sadec and Vinh Long, and it was ascertained that landlords could be found, would respond, and that lease contract books could be found in some villages and current data could be extracted. Field research was done during September 1970. Instructions to interviewers and the questions they put to landlord respondents and village officials are given in Appendix A.

Incomes were estimated thus:

Re landlord family income other than rent:

1. Of landlords who are farmers.

The hectarage they farm, times the yield per hectare as estimated by village officials, times the province price for medium grade paddy², plus a 20% markup in the delta and a 5 - 10% markup in Central Vietnam for income from others in the family working part-time, double-cropping, "miracle rice," secondary crops and increased local commerce.³ This was taken as total farm income.

2. Of landlords who are not farmers:

Their occupation and where relevant their level of skill

² "Prices of Selected Commodities," semi-monthly report, Agricultural Statistics Branch, Office of the Associate Director of USAID for Domestic Production (ADDP, USAID)

³ Hectarage in "miracle rice" is now 20% of all hectarage in rice. Increased local commerce made possible by increased security and the LOC program of MACV is everywhere visible and widely reported.

in their occupation were ascertained by interview. Income estimates were derived from the following: (a) V. L. Elliott's study, Vietnamese Compensation Structures⁴, as updated to current wages by Mr. Elliott; (b) wages and salaries paid by a number of large and small firms operating in various cities and sites in the delta and towns of coastal Central Vietnam; (c) scattered reportage on incomes in various "Pacification Research Reports;"⁵ and then (d) checked against estimates by small samples of Vietnamese working in the same occupations. Income estimates of occupations other than farming used herein assume a 48 hour work week and apply to a married worker having four or five children--the average-sized family of six or seven.

Re landlord family income from rent: The hectarage rented out, times the yield per hectare as estimated by village officials, times the province price for medium grade paddy, was taken as value of the tenant's main crop. Rent was assumed to be 30%.

⁴ V. L. Elliott, Vietnamese Compensation Structures: Inter- and Intra-sectoral Analyses of Compensation Structures in the Basic Employment Sectors of the Republic of Vietnam: January 1, 1965 through January 1, 1968 [Joint Economics Office, Office of the Associate Director of USAID for Economic Planning and Policy (ECON/ADEPP, USAID)].

⁵ "Pacification Research Reports," (PSG, CORDS)

Rice growing regions: Two regions concern us: the coastal plain of central Vietnam and the delta. The plateau of MR 2 and all of MR 3 except the provinces of Long An and Hau Nghia (which are delta, agriculturally) were excluded.

Landlords: According to 1964 countrywide and 1967 delta-wide surveys⁶, about 30% of all landlords are absentees. They live in big towns such as Long Xuyen, Cantho, Mytho, and Saigon and Cholon. Among these absentee landlords only 15% say they collect their rents regularly. Sixty percent say they seldom or never can collect rents. This pertains to secure cultivated farm land. On lands under enemy control in 1967, 75% say they cannot collect anything. Their median age is 59. All say their children have gone into work unrelated to land ownership or are in school preparing to do so. They are exlandlords and in no sense dependent on rent for money to live.⁷ They were excluded from this study.

Fifty percent of all landlords live in the village in which they rent out land. Another 18% or so live somewhere in the same district, probably

⁶ Questionnaire by United States Information Services (USIS) Vietnam, January and February 1964, and Hamlet Resident Survey (Ss=886), and Village Administrative Chiefs Survey (Ss=16 delta villages), 1967, by Stanford Research Institute, in Land Reform in Vietnam, 4 vols., report to the Republic of Vietnam (RVN) and USAID, 1968.

⁷ Absentee Landlords Survey (Ss=187), ibid.

in the semiurban hamlets which make up district and province towns.⁸

It is these rural landlords that the sample sought to locate.

The sample: The following provinces were taken as representative of the delta: Hau Nghia and Long An of MR 3, Bac Lieu, Chau Doc, Kien Giang, Kien Hoa, Phong Dinh, Sadec, Vinh Binh and Vinh Long of MR 4. An Giang was excluded as atypically secure, atypically developed, atypically Hoa Hao, and atypically subsidized. Provinces including sizeable cities were excluded, Phong Dinh alone excepted. Interviewers were cautioned not to seek out landlords in urban Cantho in Phong Dinh, and to work in rural areas and district towns in all provinces.

In the coastal plain of Central Vietnam, field work was done in all rice-producing provinces: Quang Tri, Thua Thien, Quang Nam, Quang Tin, Quang Ngai, Binh Dinh, Phu Yen, and Khanh Hoa, but no small landlords were located in Quang Nam and only two in Khanh Hoa.

In each province approximately nine villages were sampled. In each village approximately five landlords were interviewed. From each village lease contract book located, data on the holdings of approximately five landlords were extracted.

⁸ Hamlet Resident Survey, ibid.

Data was found on 594 landlord families in the provinces representative of the coastal rice plain of Central Vietnam and on 694 landlord families in the provinces representative of the delta--a total of 1,288.

The use of village lease contract books as well as interviews provided cross-validation which indicates that respondents did not distort their responses. A comparison of data from interviews with that from village lease contract records indicates no difference in occupations of landlords nor in size of average holdings, except that lease contract books yielded some data on absentee landlords.

Landlords are scarce in rural areas and especially scarce in insecure rural areas. According to the only recent rural survey other than this one, the Hamlet Resident Survey by the Stanford Research Institute in late 1967, in the delta landlords are about 4% of the rural population. Interviewers in this study worked in villages of A, B, and C security ratings and where possible in those rated D. Given these field conditions and the scarcity of landlords it was impossible to sample truly randomly; it had to be done on a find-as-one-can basis.

Data was found on 594 landlord families in the provinces representative of the coastal rice plain of Central Vietnam and on 694 landlord families in the provinces representative of the delta--a total of 1,288. Assuming (as per the only reasonably recent large field study just cited)

that landlord families in rural areas are about 4% of the rural population, the sample is 3.1% of all rural landlord families in the coastal provinces sampled and 3.9% of all rural landlord families in the delta provinces sampled. The provinces sampled in each of the two rice growing regions are typical of the whole of each rice growing region. One can be 95% confident that the results are within $\pm 5\%$ of the whole rural landlord population in each of the two rice growing regions.

RESULTS: THE DELTA

The reader is reminded (reference: pages 6 and 7) that this survey reports on rural landlords. All references to landlords under "Results" refer to landlords residing in rural areas unless absentee landlords are specified.

How many hectares of farm land most delta landlords rent out is shown in Graph 1.

What is a small landlord in the delta?

- 24% of all delta landlords rent out three hectares or less
- 36% rent out four hectares or less.
- 48% rent out five hectares or less
- 66% rent out eight hectares or less.
- 10% of all delta landlords rent out more than twenty hectares and are large landlords.

~~Almost~~ All delta landlords are small landlords who were receiving rent until recently.⁹ Any decision by the Government of Vietnam (GVN) to pay all landlords 100% of the value for the first 3, or 4, or 5, or 8 hectares would be a large "front load" of compensation costs on the Land to the Tiller program.

What delta landlords do for a living is shown in Table 1. Table 2 shows what delta landlords who rent out eight hectares or less do for a living. Table 3 shows what percentage of delta landlords' income is derived from rent.

⁹ In the few cases in which landlords reported some of their land occupied by squatters, these lands used rent-free were not considered as data.

GRAPH 1

DELTA LANDLORDS: HOW MUCH RICE LAND THEY RENT OUT

<u>Hectares</u>		<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>
0.01-1.00		31	4
1.01-2.00		57	8
2.01-3.00		79	11
3.01-4.00		88	13
4.01-5.00		81	11
5.01-6.00		59	8
6.01-7.00		42	6
7.01-8.00		25	3
8.01-9.00		30	4
9.01-10.00		29	4
10.01-11.00		25	3
11.01-12.00		21	3
12.01-13.00		14	2
13.01-14.00		7	1
14.01-15.00		11	2
15.01-16.00		8	1
16.01-17.00		3	1
17.01-18.00		6	1
18.01-19.00		6	1
19.01-20.00		10	2
20.01-30.00		28	4
30.01-50.00		15	2
50.01-100.00		18	3
100.01 & up		7	1
Total		700	

TABLE 1

WHAT DELTA LANDLORDS DO FOR A LIVING

Occupation	Ss	%	Distribution
Farmers	321	46	
Civil servants or equivalents working for private firms	24	3	60% work at middle management levels; 30% at low clerical levels
Military personnel	18	3	55% are noncommissioned officers (nco's); 40% are privates
Businessmen and shop-owners	138	20	15% own large firms; 70% own medium-sized shops or firms; 15% are small vendors
Professionals	46	7	45% are village school teachers; 10% are Chinese medical healers; 10% are pharmacists; 10% are priests; and several are doctors
Skilled workers and craftsmen	29	4	25% are drivers; others are butchers, watch repairmen, barbers, jewelers, seamstresses, etc.
Laborers	15	2	
No Known Occupation			
Housewives	15	2	
Landlords	88	13	Incomplete data indicates that about 25% are absentee landlords, in Saigon, and that about 15% are retired elderly persons
TOTALS	694	100	

TABLE 2

DELTA LANDLORDS WHO RENT OUT 8 HECTARES OR LESS:

WHAT THEY DO FOR A LIVING

Occupation	No	%
Farmers	234	53
Civil servants or equivalents working for private firms	17	4
Military personnel	17	4
Businessmen and shop-owners	75	16
Professionals	29	6
Skilled workers and craftsmen	10	2
Laborers	11	2
No Known-Occupation		
Housewives	9	2
Landlords	49	11
TOTALS	451	100

TABLE 3

DELTA LANDLORDS' RENT INCOME AS PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL INCOME ***

Occupation	Income per Year from Occupation (VN\$)	Income per Year from Rent (VN\$)	Dependence on Rent (%)
Farmers in:			
Long An	45,600	15,200	25
Hau Nghia	61,800	14,000	18
Bac Lieu	92,600	20,900	18
Chau Doc	60,000	17,200	22
Kien Giang	101,500	35,300	24
Kien Hoa	42,600	20,500	48
Phong Dinh	54,300	19,400	26
Sadec	43,400	18,700	30
Vinh Binh	78,400	22,900	22
Vinh Long	45,300	32,400	41
Average for all landlords who are farmers**	57,000	19,700	25
Civil servants or equivalents working for private firms			
Upper-middle management	137-221,000	22,300	9-14
Middle management	95-119,000	21,900	15-19
Low level (clerks, typists, etc.)	89-113,000	21,700	16-20:

(Table continues next page.)

TABLE 3 (cont'd.)

Occupation	Income per Year from Occupation (VN\$)	Income per Year from Rent (VN\$)	Dependence on Rent (%)
Military personnel: (of whom about 30% farm part-time)			
Field grade officers	185-257,000	25,700	9-12
Noncommissioned officers (nco's)	107-137,000	9,100	6- 8
Privates	95-107,000	14,700	12-13
Businessmen and shop owners: (of whom about 15% farm part- time, mostly vendors)			
Owners of large firms	1,800,000	33,400	2- 3
Owners of medium-sized firms or shops	360-480,000	18,900	4- 5
Small vendors	120-180,000	27,500	14-19
Professionals: (of whom about 15% farm part-time)			
Village teachers	60,000		
Pharmacists & Chinese medicine men	480,000		

(Table continues next page.)

Table 3 (cont'd.)

Occupation	Income per Year from Occupation (VN\$)	Income per Year from Rent (VN\$)	Dependence on Rent (%)
Professionals: (cont'd.)			
Priests, nuns, nurses, etc.	120,000		
Doctors	840,000		
Weighted average for all professionals	198,000*	23,600*	10-11*
Skilled workers and craftsmen: (of whom about 10% farm part-time)			
Drivers	180,000		
Barbers	84,000		
All others	108,000		
Weighted average for all skilled craftsmen	131,200*	15,700*	10-11*
Laborers: (of whom about 25% farm part-time)			
	68,400	10,900	14

(Table continues next page.)

TABLE 3 (cont'd.)

Occupation	Income per Year from Occupation (VN\$)	Income per Year from Rent (VN\$)	Dependence on Rent (%)
<u>No Known Occupation</u>			
Housewives	0	22,000	100
Landlords	0	28,500	100

*** Large landlords (those renting out more than twenty hectares) excluded.

** Calculated by using the current price for medium grain paddy at Cantho, the Delta hub for rice marketing.

* Weighted average for all landlords in that occupational group.

Conclusions: In the delta a small landlord is one who rents out eight hectares or less. Most landlords are small landlords.

~~Almost~~ all landlords (85% of all, 87% of all small landlords) are working and earning a fulltime living aside from land rent income. A sizeable minority work fulltime at an occupation and also farm part-time, and receive rent income.

Landlords who are farmers (46% of all, 53% of all small landlords) average only 25% of their total income from rent. Businessmen and shop owners (20% of all, 16% of all small landlords) derive only a very small percentage of their income from rent.

Landlords who do nothing else and housewives, presumably 100% dependent on rent for income, are only 15% of all landlords and only 13% of all small landlords. Some of these are absentee landlords and may have incomes not known to village officials who were our informants. About 15% of this 15% are retired or aged. But 15% of 15% is only 2-3% of all landlords. These and only these are completely dependent on rents. The only persons really dependent on rent income are negligible in number.

Military personnel constitute only 3% of all landlords and only 4% of all small landlords in the delta. Most of them are nco's and privates.

About 30% of them in addition to serving in the military fulltime also farm part-time, aside from income from rent. Rent is a small part of their income (9-13%). Members of the armed forces have little reason to think as or identify with landlords.

RESULTS: THE COASTAL PLAIN OF CENTRAL VIETNAM

How many hectares of farmland most landlords in Central Vietnam rent out is shown in Graph 2.

A small landlord in Central Vietnam is one who rents out two hectares or less. Fifty-nine percent of all landlords rent out one hectare or less. Eleven percent rent twenty or more hectares and obviously are great landowners in the crowded coastal plain of Central Vietnam.

What landlords do for a living in Central Vietnam is shown in Table 4. Table 5 shows what landlords in Central Vietnam who rent out two hectares or less do for a living. Table 6 shows what percentage of Central Vietnam landlords' and small landlords' income is derived from rent.

Conclusions: In Central Vietnam a small landlord is anyone who rents out two hectares or less.

As in the delta, almost all landlords (94% of all landlords and 94% of small landlords) are working and earning a fulltime living, aside from income from land rent. Unlike delta landlords, in Central Vietnam only a tiny percentage also farm part-time. The probable explanation is that there is not any spare arable land on which to do it.

GRAPH 2

LANDLORDS IN CENTRAL VIETNAM: HOW MUCH RICE LAND THEY RENT OUT

<u>Hectares</u>		<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>
0.01- 1.00		350	59
1.01- 2.00		68	11
2.01- 3.00		32	5
3.01- 4.00		22	4
4.01- 5.00		11	2
5.01- 6.00		6	1
6.01- 7.00		7	1
7.01- 8.00		4	1
8.01- 9.00		3	
9.01-10.00		9	2
10.01-11.00		3	
11.01-12.00		1	
12.01-13.00		1	
13.01-14.00		1	
14.01-15.00		6	1
15.01-16.00		0	
16.01-17.00		7	1
17.01-18.00		2	
18.01-19.00		2	
19.01-20.00		0	
20.01-30.00		29	5
30.01-50.00		27	5
50.01-100.00		3	
Total		594	

TABLE 4

WHAT LANDLORDS IN CENTRAL VIETNAM DO FOR A LIVING

Occupation	Ss	%	Distribution
Farmers	353	60	
Civil servants or equivalents working for private firms	38	6	65% work at middle management levels; 30% at low clerical levels
Military personnel	15	3	40% are officers; 45% nco's; 10% privates
Businessmen and shop owners	63	11	15% own large firms; 55% own medium-sized shops or firms; 30% are small vendors
Professionals	31	5	30-40% are priests; 25% village school teachers
Skilled workers and craftsmen	41	7	30% are fishermen, 60% craftsmen (blacksmiths, tailors, carpenters, masons, etc.); 5% drivers
Laborers	12	2	
<u>No Known Occupation</u>			
Housewives	7	1	
Landlords	34	5	75% are elderly persons. 85% live in Thua Thien probably in or near Hue (i. e. absentee landlords)
Totals	594	100	

TABLE 5
LANDLORDS IN CENTRAL VIETNAM
WHO RENT OUT TWO HECTARES OR LESS:
WHAT THEY DO FOR A LIVING

Occupation	Ss	%
Farmers	336	62
Civil servants or equivalents working for private firms	31	6
Military personnel	12	2
Businessmen and shop owners	49	9
Professionals	27	5
Skilled workers and craftsmen	40	8
Laborers	12	2
<u>No Known Occupation</u>		
Housewives	7	1
Landlords	22	5
Totals	536	100

TABLE 6

CENTRAL VIETNAM LANDLORDS' RENT INCOME AS PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL INCOME

Occupation	Income per Year from Occupation (VN\$)	Income per Year from Rent: All Landlords (VN\$)	Dependence on Rent: All Landlords (%)	Income per Year from Rent: Small Landlords**(VN\$)	Dependence on Rent: Small Landlords (%)
Farmers	49,000	19,600	28	5,800	10
Civil servants or equivalents working for private firms (of whom about 3% farm part-time)					
Middle management level	113-125,000	21,000*	15	14,800*	11
Low level (clerks, typists, etc.)	89-113,000	21,000*	15-19	14,800*	12-14
Military personnel					
Field grade officers	185-257,000	13,200*	5-6	11,600*	4-6
Noncommissioned officers	105-137,000	13,200*	10-11	11,600*	8-9
Privates	95-107,000	13,200*	11-12	11,600*	10-11
Business men and shop owners (of whom 5% farm part-time)					
Owners of large firms	1,200,000	23,800*	2	10,300*	1
Owners of medium-sized shops or firms	360,000	23,800*	6	10,300*	2
Small vendors	120,000	23,800*	16	10,300*	8
Professionals (of whom about 5% farm part-time)					
Village teachers	66,000	25,500*	27	13,600*	17
Priests, nurses, etc.	120,000	25,500*	17	13,600*	10
Weighted average for all professionals			19		11

(Table continues next page.)

TABLE 6 (cont'd.)

Occupation	Income per Year from Occupation (VN\$)	Income per Year from Rent: All Landlords (VN\$)	Dependence on Rent: All Landlords (%)	Income per Year from Rent: Small Landlords**(VN\$)	Dependence on Rent: Small Landlords (%)
Skilled workers & craftsmen (of whom 10% farm part-time)					
Fishermen	90,000				
Construction work (masons, carpenters, etc.)	108,000				
Drivers	192,000				
Other less skilled crafts	60-72,000				
Weighted average for all skilled crafts	105,000	12,500*	10*	9,800*	8*
Laborers (of whom about 10% farm part-time)	66,000	6,200	10	6,200	10
<u>No Known Occupation</u>					
Housewives	0	5,000	100	5,000	100
Landlords	0	18,900	100	9,400	100

** Small landlords are those who rent out two hectares or less.

* Weighted average for all landlords in that occupational group.

As in the delta, most landlords are also farmers (60% of all landlords, 62% of all small landlords). Most of them are dependent on rent for only 10% of their total income. Holdings rented out by landlords who are farmers are extremely small. The probable explanation is the high price of farm land in the coastal plain of Central Vietnam.¹⁰

Businessmen and shopkeepers, the next largest group of landlords (11% of all, 9% of small landlords) as in the delta, derive only a very small percentage of their income from rent.

Landlords who do nothing else and housewives are only 6% of all landlords and 6% of all small landlords. Of this 6%, most all are found in Thua Thien, probably in or near the city of Hue. Seventy-five percent are elderly. These are the persons who will suffer when rent income diminishes or stops. But they are 75% of only 6%, or only 4 to 5% of all landlords.

Military personnel are only 3% of all landlords and only 2% of all small landlords in Central Vietnam. Close to half are officers, unlike the delta. Close to half of them are nco's. Few are privates. As in the delta, rent is a small part of their income (5 to 11%).

¹⁰ "Land Value Survey," ADLR, USAID, 31 October 1969

A note on ARVN military personnel and land rent: Service in the regular army or equivalent sister services of the Republic of Vietnam (ARVN), as distinct from service in the Regional Forces (RF) or Popular Forces (PF) normally separates one from his native village and district. RF serve in their native province. PF serve in their native district and usually in their native village. It follows that interviews yielded data on RF and PF landlord families but few on ARVN landlord families. It also follows that data extracted from village lease contract books yielded representative data on landlords who are in ARVN as well as those in the RF and PF. To find what percentage of the landlords are members of ARVN, all data from village lease contract books, countrywide, was examined. Of 449 landlords (in the delta and in Central Vietnam) identified from village lease contract books only 12 are military persons. This is less than 3%, and this includes some landlords serving in the RF and PF. Members of ARVN have little reason to think as or identify with landlords.

RURAL LANDLORDS:

THE DELTA COMPARED TO CENTRAL VIETNAM

When one compares the data on landlords in the delta to that on landlords in Central Vietnam one sees the characteristics of the two very different rice growing regions illustrated. This adds validity to the study but adds little to what we know.

1. Holdings farmed and holdings rented out to others to farm in Central Vietnam are miniscule compared to those of the delta.
2. Very few landlords in Central Vietnam "moonlight"; that is, work at a fulltime occupation and also farm, as well as renting out land. In the delta sizeable percentages do. There is little land available to be farmed part-time in CVN.
3. Central Vietnam is less commercial, less capitalized than the delta. More landlords are farmers in CVN than in the delta. More are civil servants than in the delta. Fewer are businessmen. There is less business. Fewer landlords are persons practicing a profession. There are fewer who practice professions and less professions practiced. Among landlords who are professionals, a higher percentage are priests than in the delta. Fewer are village school teachers.
4. The war, to a greater degree in CVN than in the delta, has denuded the countryside of local resident landlords who before the war were

owners of large farms (before the war, 2-1/2 to 10 hectares in CVN¹¹) and who often did nothing other than live off rents. There are few of them.¹² More than in the delta, they have fled or moved to the central city of the region (in CVN, Hue). Before the war the reverse was true: there were many more local resident well-to-do "gentry" landlords per square kilometer or per village in Central Vietnam than in the delta. In Central Vietnam before the war they were the village.¹³

¹¹ Nguyen huu Khanh, La Communité Annamite (Paris, 1946), particularly pp. 168-174.

¹² A recent survey of hoi chanh who were village agricultural cadre in Quang Tin also shows the disappearance of this type from the countryside (available from J. M. Burr, CORDS, MR 1, Danang).

¹³ Pierre Gourou, Les Paysans du delta Tonkinois (Paris, 1936); Charles Robequain, The Economic Development of French Indochina (N. Y., Oxford University Press, 1944); Khanh, op. cit.; and John T. McAlister, Jr. and Paul Mus, The Vietnamese and Their Revolution (N. Y., Harper & Row, 1970) particularly pp. 79-84.

APPENDIX A

Instructions to Interviewers:

Fill out the following:

Province _____

District _____

Village _____

Go to the village. Ask the village officials to direct you to any landowners who rent out farm land to tenants, or to sharecroppers. Find about 5 per village. Interview each of them. Interview the head of the family if possible. If not possible, interview any member of his family who will speak for the family. Do not interview landowners who rent out land who are village officials or hamlet chiefs.

Ask each landowner who rents out land these questions:

1. What do you do for a living?

a. if he is a farmer, ask:

(1) Do you own the land you and your family farm?

Yes _____

No _____

(2) How many hectares do you and your family farm?

Write down the number of hectares.

b. if he is a civil servant or office worker, ask:

(1) What kind of work do you do? (If necessary, also ask: How many years have you been working as a civil servant?)

Then use your judgment and check one of the following:

High rank _____ (examples are chief or deputy chief of service)

Medium rank _____ (examples are anyone who works in a section or service and who has assistants or access to clerks as assistants)

Low rank _____ (examples are clerk, typist, messengers, driver)

c. if he is military, check one of the following:

Officer _____

Non-commissioned officer (sergeant or corporal) _____

Soldier _____

d. if he is a businessman, shopkeeper, or vendor, you will almost certainly find him at his place of business. Observe, then use your judgment and check one of the following:

Large _____ (examples are a large restaurant, or garage with several cars or trucks and workers, or filling station with several gas pumps)

Medium _____ (examples are a one-person or 2-person small shop, or a small portable restaurant with stools set up in the street)

Small _____ (examples are a vendor whose shop is what she carries with her, or a vendor who sells her goods on the sidewalk, or a small motorcycle repair service set up at the edge of the street, or a seller of soup, or one person in one tiny corner of a marketplace).

BEST AVAILABLE DOCUMENT

- e. if he is a professional man, write down what he does.
(examples are teacher, bookkeeper, pharmacist,
chinese medicine specialist, etc.)
- f. if he is a craftman or skilled worker, write down what
he does. (examples are carpenter, mechanic, mason,
truck driver, seamstress, etc.)
- g. other: if he or she does anything else, write down
what he or she does (examples are housewife, waitress,
bar girl, unemployed, laborer, etc.)
2. Do you rent out farm land to others?
- Yes _____ (Each person should answer yes. If not,
ask the question a second time.)
- No _____ (If "No", end the interview. He is not a
landowner who rents out land.)
3. How many hectares of farm land do you rent out to others?
- Write down the number of hectares rented out.
4. Is there anything else that you do now, either part-time
or full-time, to earn a living?
- Yes _____ (If "Yes", write down what it is.)

After you have interviewed about five landowners who rent out land in the village, go back to the village officials, and ask any one or several of them:

1. Approximately how many gia of paddy does one get per hectare in this village? Write down the number of gia per hectare.
2. Ask for the Secretary to the Village Administrative Committee (Hoi Tong thu Ky) or his assistant. If you find him, ask whether the Village has a Lease Contract Book (Khe uoc ta dien). About 20% of the villages, perhaps only 10%, will have them. Ask permission to use it.
3. With the Lease Contract Book, if there is one, do the following:
 - a. Find two items on the contract form on each page:
 - (1) the landlord's name,
 - (2) the number of hectares rented out to the tenant.
 - b. Then note the names of the landlords. Just list them. Any five or so per village Lease Contract Book will do.
An example:

Names
N. van Hieu
Cao van Ty
Ta van Tai
Ng. duy Xuan
etc.

- c. Then note, after the name of each landlord, the hectares rented out in each contract. Just list them after each name.
An example:

<u>Names</u>	<u>Hectares</u>
Ng. van Hieu	2.1---0.76---1.74---
Cao van Ty	3.6---4.00---2.00---0.71
Ta van Tai	4.1---0.50---1.05---1.73
Ng. duy Xuan	0.1---0.60---0.521---.6
etc.	

- d. Then ask the Secretary to the Village Administrative Committee or his assistant or any other village official or member of village staff, whether they know any of these landlords. Probably some of them will know some of them. If so, ask: "Can you tell me what he does for a living?" And write down any information they give you. Thus, what will be recorded will look something like this

<u>Names</u>	<u>Hectares</u>	<u>Occupation</u>
Ng. van Hieu	2.1--- .76---1.74---	Farmer
Cao van Ty	3.6---4.00---2.00--- .71	Farmer
Ta van Tai	4.1--- .5 ---1.20---1.63	?
Ng. duy Xuan	.1--- .61--- .52--- .6	Makes bricks

APPENDIX B

PROVINCES, DISTRICTS, AND VILLAGES SAMPLED

<u>Provinces</u>	<u>Districts</u>	<u>Villages</u>
Quang Tri	Cam Lo	Cam Xuan
	Hai Lang	Hai Ba Hai Son Hai Thien
	Mai Linh	Hai Le Hai Thuong
	Trieu Phong	Trieu Dai Trieu Thanh Trieu Thuan
Thua Thien	Huong Thuy	Thuy An Thuy Chau Thuy Phuong
	Huong Tra	Huong Long Huong So Huong Vinh
	Phu Vang	Phu An Phu Hung Phu My
Quang Nam	Dien Ban	Vinh Hoa Vinh Phuoc
	Duy Xuyen	Xuyen My
	Hoa Vang	Hoa Da Hoa Khanh Hoa Phuoc
	Que Son	Phu Chanh Phu Huong Phu Phong

<u>Provinces</u>	<u>Districts</u>	<u>Villages</u>
Quang Tin	Ly Tin	Ky Khuong
	Tam Ky	Ky Bich Ky Binh Ky Hung Ky Huong Ky Ly
Quang Ngai	Son Tinh	Son Huong Son Long Son Thanh
	Tu Nggia	Tu An Tu Chanh Tu Duy Tu Hoa Tu Luong Tu Quang
Binh Dinh	An Nhon	Dap Da Nhon An Nhon Hoa Nhon Loc Nhon Thanh Nhon Tho
	Tuy Phuoc	Phuoc Hiep Phuoc Han Phuong Hoa Phuoc Loc Phuoc Long Phuoc Son Phuoc Thanh Phuoc Thuan
Phu Yen	Hieu Xuong	Hoa Binh Hoa Hiep Hoa Thanh Hoa Vinh Hoa Xuan

<u>Provinces</u>	<u>Districts</u>	<u>Villages</u>
	Tuy Hoa	Hoa Kien Hoa Quang Hoa Thang Hoa Tri
Khanh Hoa	Vinh Xuong	Vinh Ich Vinh Ngoc Vinh Phuong Vinh Thai Vinh Thanh Vinh Trung
Hau Nghia	Cu Chi	Tan Phu Trung Trung Lap
	Duc Hoa	Duc Hoa My Hanh Tan Phu Thuong
	Duc Hue	Hiep Hoa Tan My
	Trang Bang	An Hoa Loc Giang
Long An	Ben Luc	Binh Duc Long Hiep Phuoc Loi
	Binh Phuoc	Binh Quoi Binh Tam
	Thu Thua	Binh Phong Thanh Huong Tho Phu My An Phu Nhi Binh
Bac Lieu	Gia Rai	An Trach Phong Thanh Vinh My
	Vinh Loi	Hoa Binh Hung Hoi Long Thanh Vinh Trach

<u>Provinces</u>	<u>Districts</u>	<u>Villages</u>
	Vinh Chau	Lai Hoa Vinh Phuoc
Chau Doc	Chau Phu	Vinh Long Binh My Vinh Thanh Trung
	Tinh Bien	An Nong An Phu Chau Phong My Duc Thoi Son Vinh Te
Kien Giang	Kien Tan	Giuc Tuong Mong Tho
	Kien Thanh	Binh An Minh Hoa My Lam Vinh Hoa Hiep
Kien Hoa	Ba Tri	An Ngai Trung
	Giong Trom	Binh Hoa Binh Thanh Luong Quoi My Thanh
	Ham Long	An Hiep
Phong Dinh	Cai Rang	Thuan Duc Thuong Thanh
	Phong Dien	Nhon Ai
	Phong Phu	Phuoc Thoi Thoi An Thoi Long
	Thuan Trung	Thoi Lai

<u>Provinces</u>	<u>Districts</u>	<u>Villages</u>
Sa Dec	Duc Thanh	Hoa Long Tam Thanh Tan Hoa Binh
	Duc Thinh	Binh Tien Tan Phu Chung Tan Vinh Hoa
Vinh Binh	Cang Long	Binh Phu Phuong Thanh
	Cau Ngang	Hiep Hoa Vinh Kim
	Chau Thanh	Da Loc Hoa Thuan Luong Hoa Nguyet Hoa Song Loc
Vinh Long	Binh Minh	Dong Thanh My Hoa Song Phu Tan Quoi Thanh Loi
	Chau Thanh	An Duc Long Ho Phu Quoi Tan Hanh Tan Hoa Tan Ngai
	Minh Duc	Binh Phuoc
	Vinh Liem	Tan An Luong

HỈ DẪN DÀNH CHO VẤN VIÊN

Bạn cần ghi rõ câu trả lời và nhớ điền vào những chỗ trống sau đây:
tên tỉnh, quận, và xã nơi bạn phỏng vấn:

Tỉnh: _____

Quận: _____

Xã : _____

Bạn tới xã và nhờ viên chức xã dẫn đến các chủ điền có ruộng cho tá điền hoặc người làm rẽ mướn. Mỗi xã, bạn tìm gặp 5 chủ điền và phỏng vấn từng người một. Nếu có thể được, bạn phỏng vấn chủ gia-đình. Nếu không hỏi được chủ gia đình, bạn phỏng vấn bất cứ người nào trong gia đình có thể sẽ trả lời thay cho gia-đình. Đừng phỏng vấn các chủ-điền cho mướn đất khi họ là viên chức xã hoặc trưởng ấp.

Mỗi chủ điền cho mướn ruộng, bạn đặt các câu hỏi sau đây:

1- Bạn làm gì để sống ?

a. Nếu đáp viên là nông dân, bạn hỏi:

(1) Bạn có ruộng để bạn và gia đình bạn làm không ?

Có _____

Không _____

(2) Bạn và gia đình bạn làm được mấy mẫu ruộng ?

_____ mẫu _____ sào

b. Nếu đáp viên là một công chức hoặc một nhân-viên văn phòng, bạn hỏi:

(1) Bạn làm việc gì? (nếu cần, hỏi thêm: Bạn làm công chức được bao nhiêu năm rồi ?)

Sau đó, bạn nhận định và đánh dấu vào một trong những chỗ trống sau đây:

Công chức cao cấp _____ (thí dụ như Trưởng Ấy hay Phó Trưởng Ấy)

Công chức trung cấp _____ (thí dụ như nhân viên trong một phòng hay một ty có phụ tá, hay nhờ thư ký làm phụ tá)

Công chức thường _____ (thí dụ như thư ký, đả-tự-viên, tùy phái, tài xế).

c. Nếu đáp viên là quân-nhân, bạn đánh dấu vào một trong những chỗ trống sau đây:

Sĩ quan _____

Hạ-sĩ quan (Trung-sĩ hay hạ-sĩ) _____

Binh-sĩ _____

d. Nếu đáp viên là thương gia, chủ tiệm, hay người bán hàng, bạn sẽ phải tìm cách nào chắc chắn để biết rõ nơi buôn bán của họ. Bạn quan-sát rồi nhận định và đánh dấu vào một trong các chỗ trống sau đây:

Lớn _____ (thí dụ như tiệm ăn lớn, hoặc xưởng chữa xe hơi có nhiều xe lớn nhỏ và đông thợ, hoặc trạm xăng có nhiều cột xăng)

Vừa phải _____ (thí dụ như một tiệm nhỏ có 1 hoặc 2 người trông nom, hoặc một quán nhỏ bên đường có ghế đờ ngoài phố)

Nhỏ _____ (thí dụ như một nữ chủ nhân trông tiệm của mình, hoặc một người bán hàng trên lề đường, hoặc một chỗ sửa xe gắn máy dựng lên tại góc phố, hay một người bán phở trong một góc nhỏ ở chợ).

e. Nếu đáp viên là một người hành nghề tự do, ban ghi họ làm gì. (thí dụ như giáo viên, kế toán viên, dược sĩ, người bán thuốc bắc v.v.)

f. Nếu đáp viên là một thợ thủ công hay một thợ chuyên môn, ban ghi họ làm gì (thí dụ như thợ mộc, thợ máy, tài-xê xe hạng nặng, thợ may đàn bà, v..v...).

g. Nghề-nghiệp khác: Nếu đáp viên làm việc khác, ban ghi họ làm gì. (thí dụ như nội trợ, nữ bồi bàn, gái bán ba, thất nghiệp, lao công, v..v..).

2- Bạn có cho người khác mượn ruộng không ?

_____ Có (Mỗi người cần trả lời "CÓ". Nếu trả lời "KHÔNG" hỏi lại câu này một lần thứ hai nữa)

_____ Không (Nếu trả lời "KHÔNG" chấm dứt cuộc phỏng vấn vì đáp viên không phải là chủ điền cho mượn ruộng)

3- Bạn cho người khác mượn mấy mẫu ruộng ?

Ghi rõ số mẫu cho mượn.

4- Hiện giờ bạn có làm việc gì khác trọn ngày hoặc bán thời gian để sinh sống không ?

_____ Có (Nếu "CÓ" ghi rõ đó là việc gì. Nếu đáp viên canh tác bán thời gian, hỏi tiếp: "Hiện bạn đang cày mấy mẫu ruộng?" và ghi rõ số mẫu hiện canh)

_____ Không

Sau khi phỏng vấn khoảng 5 chủ điền cho mượn ruộng trong xã, vấn viên trở lại hỏi các viên chức xã, và hỏi một hoặc nhiều người trong số các viên chức đó:

1. Một mẫu tây ruộng tại xã này người ta có thể làm được độ bao nhiêu gia lúa?

Ghi rõ năng xuất (tính theo gia) của mỗi mẫu tây.

2. Tìm gặp viên Thư ký Ủy Ban hành Chánh Xã hoặc viên Phụ Tá. Nếu tìm được, hỏi viên chức này xem Xã có Sổ Khế Ước Tá Điền không. Khoảng 20 phần trăm hoặc có thể chỉ 10 phần trăm các xã sẽ có Sổ Khế Ước Tá Điền. Xin phép được sử dụng sổ này.

3. Với sổ Khế Ước Tá Điền, nếu có, hãy làm các việc dưới đây:

a) Tìm hai mục sau đây trên mỗi trang trong khế ước:

(1) Tên chủ điền

(2) Diện tích (tính theo mẫu tây) cho tá điền mượn.

b) Sau đó, chỉ cần ghi tên các chủ điền vào một bản kê.

Mỗi xã chỉ lấy chừng 5 tên trong sổ Khế Ước Tá Điền thôi.

Ví dụ: Tên Chủ Điền
 Nguyễn Văn Hiếu
 Cao Văn Ty
 Tạ Văn Tài
 Nguyễn Duy Xuân
 v.v....

c) Kế tiếp, chỉ ghi sau tên mỗi chủ điền số diện tích (tính theo mẫu Tây) đã cho mượn trong mỗi kế ước.

Ví dụ: <u>Tên Chủ Điền</u>	<u>Diện tích Tính theo Mẫu Tây</u>
Nguyễn Văn Hiếu	2,1____,76____1,74____
Cao Văn Ty	3,6____4,00____2,00____,71
Tạ Văn Tài	4,1____,5____1,20____1,673
Nguyễn Duy Xuân	,1____,6____,521____,6
v.v....	

d) Sau hết hỏi viên Thư Ký Ủy Ban Hành Chánh Xã hay viên Phụ Tá, hoặc bất luận viên chức xã nào hay Ủy Viên trong Hội Đồng Xã để xem họ có biết ai trong số các chủ điền này không. Có thể sẽ có người biết một chủ điền nào đó. Nếu có người biết, hỏi tiếp: "Ông có thể cho biết chủ điền này hiện đang làm gì để sinh sống không?" và ghi rõ những điều họ cho biết. Do đó mà những tin tức ghi chép được trông dễ giống như sau:

<u>Tên Chủ Điền</u>	<u>Diện Tích Theo Mẫu Tây</u>	<u>Nghề Nghiệp</u>
Nguyễn Văn Hiếu	2,1____,76____1,74____	Nông dân
Cao Văn Ty	3,6____4,00____2,00____,71	Nông dân
Tạ Văn Tài	4,1____,5____1,20____1,673	???
Nguyễn Duy Xuân	,1____,6____,521____,6	Làm gạch, ngói.