

Non-agricultural Activities of Ethnic Minorities in Vietnam-China Borderland

Tran Hong Hanh¹

¹ Institute of Anthropology, Vietnam Academy of Social Sciences.

Email: tranhanh73@yahoo.com

Received: 10 July 2017.

Accepted: 27 July 2017.

Abstract: The Vietnam-China borderland bears a strategically important geopolitical position for Vietnam. When Vietnam and China normalised ties in 1991, their bilateral relations were shifted into a new era, more positive than before, facilitating the development of cross-border economy, contributing to the development of the household economy and improving the living standards of local ethnic minority groups, especially those of the Hmong, Dao (Yao), Tay and Nung. Therein, non-agricultural activities, especially traditional handicrafts, working as hired labour, and doing small-scale business, bear an important role and high significance. However, at present, the ethnic minority groups are still faced with many difficulties and challenges, among which the most noteworthy are the lack of financial capital, low educational level, local labour being mostly manual and untrained, and increasing social instability.

Keywords: Non-agricultural activities, ethnic minorities, Vietnam-China borderland.

Subject classification: Anthropology

1. Introduction

The Vietnam-China borderland is inhabited by many ethnic minority groups. The area's population is less dense than in other parts of Vietnam and unevenly-distributed [11]. Ethnic groups live alternately in almost all localities. On average, there are several groups in a commune and more than ten groups in a district [22]. Their livelihoods are diverse. While some ethnic minority groups (like the Tay, Nung, and Thai, etc.) live mostly on wet rice farming, others mainly live

on shifting cultivation (like the Hmong and Dao), or on both wet rice and shifting cultivation (like the Khmu, Xinh Mun, Ha Nhi, etc.). The majority of ethnic groups practise fixed cultivation and sedentarisation, others retain their nomadic life (like the Hmong, Dao, and Khmu, etc.). In addition to agricultural production, border people are engaged in off-farm jobs to improve their household economy: traditional handicrafts, working for one another as hired labour in rotation during crop intervals or the arrival of goods transported

via border gates, small-scale business, leases of inns/guest houses, being hired by some companies from the South of Vietnam (in the cases of the Tay and Nung people in Lang Son province) or from Bac Giang province (in the cases of the Tay and Dao in Lao Cai and Lai Chau provinces), or working as teachers and State employees, among others. This article focuses on introducing and analysing the diversity of notable non-agricultural activities by ethnic minorities in the Vietnam-China borderland; thus indicating the dynamism of ethnic minority groups in this area. It also points out the community's pending issues that need to be addressed to achieve more economic and social sustainable development for ethnic minority households.

2. Traditional handicrafts

Several ethnic minority groups in the Vietnam-China borderland boast their traditional handicrafts. However, some crafts, such as weaving, has fallen into oblivion or disappeared, while some others are maintained and developed: blacksmithing and carpentry of the Tay and Nung; roof tile making of the Giay; liquor distilling, mostly among the Dao community; rattan weaving, mostly among the Thai community, etc. Of these, blacksmithing products made by the Tay and Nung are very well-known and sought after in the area, particularly in Lang Son province; they also practice other jobs like fetching wood and carpentry thanks to their rich experience in the related fields [9]. The Giay and some other ethnic minority

groups who live in and near the Giay-inhabited areas still use roof tiles produced by the Giay people.

It can be said that almost all ethnic minorities in the Vietnam-China borderland used to be engaged in liquor distilling. But the liquor of the Dao (both rice and corn liquor) is the most famous and being produced now; in which, that of the Dao in Mau Son (Lang Son) is the best thanks to the favourable local topographic and weather conditions. A 2008 survey shows that 75% of the households in Nhot Nam hamlet are engaged in liquor making, and use the residues from the distillery to feed pigs. Some households earn scores of millions of VND from liquor making and pig breeding. The numbers of motorbikes and market goers in the hamlet have risen sharply as a result of liquor making [3].

According to the results of a questionnaire-based survey carried out in the Dao, Hmong, Tay, and Nung communities in Lao Cai and Lai Chau provinces (2015-16), 26.8% of the Dao respondents admitted that their families are still involved in liquor distillation; while the percentage among the Hmong community is 22.4%, the Nung - 11.8%, and the Tay - 5.3%. The Hmong, Nung, and Tay do not make liquor on a regular basis. 10.5% of the Dao respondents said they do not make liquor of a regular basis. 100% of the Tay respondents, 88.9% of the Nung, and 15.8% of the Dao said they only make liquor during leisure time (normally after harvest time). 100% of the Hmong responded that they only make liquor on special occasions, e.g. weddings or funerals, or on market days.

3. Working as hired labour

3.1. Working as hired labour in Vietnam

The work of hired labour is diverse and varies by regions and gender. The most popular is agricultural jobs provided by people in and/or outside the community. They are farmers' works: transplanting rice seedlings, chopping sugarcanes, collecting firewood. The hired labour is mainly female ethnic people. For example, in Coc Xa Duoi hamlet, Hong Tri commune, Bao Lac district, Cao Bang province, the traditional manpower exchange relationship remains, but 44.7% of the households have sought income via working as hired labour; of whom, 23.8% of the households in need of working for others have found jobs as hired labour in their own communes [6].

Working as a shop assistant is one form of hired labour practiced by the ethnic minority groups near the Vietnam-China border line, including the Tay and Nung in Van Lang district, Lang Son province. At Tan Thanh border gate market (Van Lang district), they are hired by the Chinese shop owners to work as shop assistants in big stalls. The work is less strenuous than farm work. A shop assistant may earn from VND 2 million per month and, if able to speak Chinese, can be paid higher (about VND 3.5 million per person per month). This is also an advantage of the Tay and Nung, who can speak Chinese well [2].

Working as a porter is also a popular job in the Vietnam-China borderland, when the development of the border trade started and the need for carrying, loading and unloading goods rose, particularly during peak seasons - in the lead-up to the Lunar

New Year holidays, when Chinese partners' demand increase, and during the harvest time... At Lao Cai border gate, everyday, as many as 300 local people carried goods to China's Hekou town [1]. In addition to working as hired labour in the hamlets and/or communes, locals (mostly the Hmong people) in Nam Chay commune (Muong Khuong district, Lao Cai province) have in recent years worked as porters for both Vietnamese and Chinese employers at border gates. While those engaged in the work at Muong Khuong border gate or working as masons in Lao Cai city are all men, porters in some other localities are women. Being a porter is hard and requires strength. Yet, in some areas, hired male porters do not save the income for their families, but spend all on bad habits such as alcohol drinking, gambling, or shopping in an unplanned manner. Therefore, in this case, women have to work as hired porters to save money for their families.

3.2. Working as hired labour across the border

Many ethnic minorities engage in hired labour across the border due to their proximity to the Vietnam-China border. Hired works vary by regions, including agricultural jobs, namely cutting sugarcanes, fertilising, weeding, picking pineapples, chopping, harvesting and carrying banana, etc.; or non-agricultural ones, such as working as porters or shop assistants, etc. For example, in-depth interviews of several Tay and Nung households show that after a rice harvest, part of female labour (20 women representing 117 households in Con Hang hamlet, Bao Lam commune, Cao Loc district, Lang Son province, who account for 17.09% of the total households with members

working as hired labour in agriculture in China), told one another to join in cutting sugarcanes or collecting firewood for the Chinese farm owners every five to ten days, and usually in November and December. Their earnings, which are, on average, 40RMB, or yuan, equivalent to VND 140,000 per person per day in March 2012, are higher than the earnings from working as hired labour in agriculture in Vietnam. They travel from the border to the working location in China by 10-seater vans which are carefully arranged by the Chinese owners [9].

In Lao Cai province, in addition to working as hired labour within their own hamlets or communes, locals (mainly Dao, and some Hmong people) in Nam Chay commune, Muong Khuong district, are hired by the Chinese on the other side of the border to do such the jobs as irrigation and cultivation and harvest of bananas and pines. Of these, banana harvesting is the most popular job.

Being paid RMB 2-3 per bunch of bananas, a hired worker earn RMB 40-50 (VND 120,000-150,000) per day. The work is available all year round. Workers travel to work in China in group of ten people and each trip lasts from one week to ten days. They are provided with meals and paid an average of RMB 50-60 per day per person (VND 150,000-180,000). The pay is higher, about RMB 80 per day per person (VND 240,000) for the labour-intensive jobs, like digging holes for bananas growing, or carrying pine branches [5].

Another study reveals that the cultivation of pineapples and bananas have created varied forms of hired labour and services, such as digging holes for growing bananas and pineapples; carrying nitrate and phosphate fertilisers from the bank of a

stream on the other side the border to the farm; fertilising, weeding; picking pineapples, cutting and loading bananas onto vehicles or carrying bananas to the other bank of a stream across the Chinese border. These jobs can bring about relatively high incomes, from VND 100,000 per day per person (plus lunch) to VND 300,000 per day per person (for digging holes to grow bananas in [1, p.70]. The focus group discussion with officials of Nam Chay commune, Muong Khuong district, Lao Cai province, indicates that residents of the six border hamlets of the commune, namely San Pan, Ma Phi, Gia Khau A, Gia Khau B, and Lao Chai, often work as hired labour very near and across the border (mostly in China). It is noteworthy that the hired workers are mainly the Hmong, Tay, Nung, and Giay, both men and women. Carrying goods require physical strength, so male workers are more advantageous than female ones. While working, the Hmong people have learned the experiences in growing and tendering pineapples and bananas from the Chinese and then bring them home for cultivation.

Besides the Kinh people - the ethnic majority group in Vietnam, a large part of female labour of the Giay, Hmong, Bo Y, and other ethnic groups go to China's Hekou town to work as shop assistants. The hired workers often cross the border with their clan members and, of course, have the command of Chinese to conduct transactions [1, p.81].

4. Small-scale business

Since 1989, particularly since 1991, when Vietnam-China border trade was re-established, the relations between Vietnam

and China have entered a new period, leaving tensions behind and creating stability in the border area. In addition to traditional economic activities, border trade has played an important role in socio-economic development in the Vietnam-China borderland. The activity is carried out in various forms including official and unofficial trades, border residents' businesses, and other export-import services such as cargo transshipment and temporary import and re-export, and so on. Border trade is associated with border markets, border gate markets, border gate economic zones, and border cooperation zones [1, pp.47-49].

Ethnic communities in the Vietnam-China borderland conduct cross-border exchanges and the level of exchanges depends on economic knowledge and perceptions and conditions of each ethnic group. For example, in Tan Thanh commune, Van Lang district, Lang Son province, when the State reclaimed land to build the Border Gate Economic Zone, the Tan Thanh Trade Management Board allocated a lot of land for each household, whose agricultural land was taken, to build a kiosk near the border gate, and the households have to pay nearly VND 4 million per year per kiosk. Currently, the Tay and Nung also sell goods at border gate markets in addition to working as hired labour. Major products on sales are clothes, footwear and electronic appliances, etc. Some other households do not use their kiosks to sell goods, but lease them out instead. In 2010, in Ban Thau commune, 60 households had their kiosks rented for VND 40-50 million per kiosk per year, depending on the specific location of the kiosk [1, p.54].

A contingent of small-scale traders has been gradually formed and developed within the ethnic minority communities. They do business in grocery, rice milling, billiards, transport, and home-stay services. In several hamlets of the Tay, such as Lao hamlet, Lang Son province, near the district centre, many people, most of whom are men, are often engaged in trading Chinese goods [9, p.54].

In addition to the Kinh people, many ethnic minority people also cross the border to China's Hekou market to sell goods. For example, about 100 Giay people in Long village, Quang Kim commune, Bat Xat district, Lao Cai province, sell different kinds of vegetables and fruits along the road on the left of the market. They start selling the goods in the morning and leave for home in the evening, earning about VND 100,000 per person per day. Lucky people may earn hundreds of thousands of VND. However, this source of income is unstable because they sometimes only break even, or even lose everything, having their goods confiscated by the Chinese police. Apart from the Giay, Tay and Bo Y people also cross the border to Hekou market to sell commodities [1, p.56].

Currently, among the ethnic minority groups who live close to the areas of international and national border gates, there have appeared other services such as eateries - opening small restaurants (with meals relating to rice, *phở*, or noodle soup), cafes, photo taking and developing, photocopying and printing, and car renting services, etc. However, very few ethnic minority people are involved in these services, which require large amounts of financial capital and business experience.

In Meo Vac district, Ha Giang province, and Bao Lac district, Cao Bang province, where the Lo Lo ethnic minority people account for 96.15% of Vietnam's Lo Lo population, there have emerged Lo Lo semi-professional traders of oxen. They trade cattle by forming groups, pay a deposit to order the cattle from owners, and then hire the owners to continue raising the cattle until market days or days of appointments made with the Kinh and the Chinese traders. So, oxen have become goods in the circle of "money and goods," and the Lo Lo are driven into the market relations in the form of trade and service: buying and selling, hiring for the raising of cattle and being hired to raise cattle, buying wholesale and selling wholesale to domestic and Chinese traders [6].

5. Pending issues

Non-agricultural activities of ethnic minority people in particular and livelihoods in general in the Vietnam-China borderland are not yet highly effective because of pending issues as follows:

First, lack of financial capital

Despite their economic potentials, the Vietnam-China border provinces remain poor and less developed. Their investments mainly come from the governmental budget. Foreign investment is mostly allocated to areas with hi-tech and industrial zones. In the Vietnam-China borderland, the amount of Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) licensed, as of 31 December 2015, is only higher than that of the Central Highlands. Quang Ninh province attracted the largest amount of licensed FDI with 111 projects,

worth USD 5,380.7 million; followed by Ha Giang province with 7 projects, worth USD 1,029 million, Lao Cai - 30 projects, worth USD 838.6 million, Lang Son - 36 projects, worth USD 207 million, Cao Bang - 24 projects, worth USD 51.2 million, Lai Chau - 3 projects, worth USD 4 million. In Dien Bien province, as of 31 December 2015, there had been no FDI project [12].

Studies find out that the level of capital shortage varies by ethnic groups and regions. Most of them lack financial capital for more investment in production [1], [9], [14]. The results of the questionnaire-based surveys carried out in the Hmong, Thai, and Dao communities in Lao Cai and Lai Chau provinces (2015-16) also point out that capital shortage is the primary cause of poverty, respectively to 64.3% of the respondents in Lao Cai and 61.5% of the respondents in Lai Chau.

The percentage of the Hmong, Thai, and Dao respondents, who admitted financial capital shortage as the primary cause of poverty, is 69%, 61.5% and 59.3% respectively. Obviously, although the Hmong in several hamlets and villages enjoy better household economy than other ethnic groups, they lack financial capital the most, given their investments in commodity production are targeted to not only the domestic market, but also to the market of the neighbouring China.

Second, poorly-educated locals and mostly untrained and manual workforce

Amidst the knowledge-based economy and the skilled workforce dominating, the human factor is vital for a nation. The ratio of working people aged 15 or more against the total local population is relatively high and varies from locality to locality. In 2014,

Cao Bang had this ratio of 68.3%, higher than other provinces in the Vietnam-China borderland; followed by Lang Son - 66.7%; Ha Giang - 63.9%; Dien Bien - 63.7%; Lao Cai - 61.8%; Lai Chau - 60.2%; Quang Ninh - 57.5% [12]. However, these figures include also the workers of the Kinh majority group. The ratio of ethnic workers only against the total population is very low, particularly as regards trained workers.

Currently, workers of ethnic minority groups are mainly involved in farming and unskilled work, and rarely take part in fields that require medium or high qualifications and techniques. In the mountainous and midland regions, including the Vietnam-China borderland, 78.44% of the population aged 15 or more are doing the farming and unskilled work, while only 6.26% are engaged in jobs requiring medium or high qualifications and techniques, which is higher than the figure of the Central Highlands (5.93%). People in the working age among the ethnic minority regions, who have undergone training, account for 10.5%, while the national figure is 20%, and those who have not account for 89.5%. Only 2.8% of the human resource in the ethnic and mountainous regions has undergone higher or post-graduate education. Of these, ethnic minority people account for only 1.1%, which is four times lower than the country's average figure. The ratio in the midland and Northern mountainous regions, that includes the Vietnam-China borderland, is 2.8% [20]. These figures reflect the limitations in qualification and capability of the workforce in the border area at present.

Third, increasing social instability

The development of border trade has helped increase the income of part of the

population, but it has also widened a gap between the rich and the poor, particularly in ethnic minority regions. The rich-poor gap has become widespread not only between rural and urban areas, but also among ethnic groups and households. This is reflected in the wide gap of the average monthly incomes per capita between the top earners and the bottom earners [4]. Especially, in Lao Cai province, the income of the richest is ten times higher than that of the poorest [1, p.77].

Social instability has also arisen from border trade economy. Spontaneous labour has both brought about remarkable cash earnings for part of the population and left adverse impacts. In-depth interviews and focus group discussions in several Tay and Nung communities in Lang Son province show that there have been, though not many, people, mainly women, deceived and bilked by their hirers, or were robbed on their way home, and people who suffered from family breakups. Earlier studies also pointed out these happenings in the Vietnam-China borderland [9].

Ethnic minority groups in Lao Cai and Lai Chau provinces encountered similar incidents when they were hired by the Chinese to work further in the Chinese territory. In-depth interviews and focus group discussions in the Dao, Hmong, Tay, and Nung communities show that the hired people have no entry-exit and work permits. When payment is due, the hirers call the local policemen to arrest the workers, who then ran away before getting paid, and when they came back, they were refused to be paid. This poses challenges to Vietnamese and Chinese labour management and immigration authorities and to both Chinese

employers and Vietnamese employees. The social problem is faced by border residents who cross the border to earn a living.

In addition, social vices, including drug crimes and smuggling are reported in areas inhabited by ethnic minority groups. In recent years, the Northern provinces, particularly the border areas, have been ravaged by drug crimes. Modern types of drug, including heroin, amphetamine-type-stimulants (ATS), and methamphetamine, coupled with new methods of drug use, such as inhalation and injection, are found in the ethnic communities there. The cultivation of opium, though on the decline, has re-occurred in some remote and border areas. That's why, the Vietnam-China borderland is infamous for drug "hot spots", including Dien Bien and Muong Nhe districts (Dien Bien province), Phong Tho district (Lai Chau), Mong Cai district (Quang Ninh), and Van Lang district (Lang Son). Data of the General Department of Police, the Ministry of Public Security, show that the ATS infiltrated from China into Vietnam account for 90% of the total drug consumption in the whole country. What is highly worrying is that major, interprovincial, and transnational drug rings have emerged in the Vietnam-China borderland. In the first half of 2016, anti-drug forces in the area seized 79.42kg of heroin, 11.79kg of opium, 11.33kg of cannabis, 77.6kg and 18,023 ATS pills [19]... Drug is transported in private vehicles to trails and secluded areas to be exchanged or traded with people from China. It is alarming reality that ethnic minority people are enticed into drug trafficking and then become "wholesale drug dealers."

Smugglers use some border hamlets as the places for stockpiling and transporting contrabands across the border, the most notorious of which are the trails of Hill 386, Doi Cave of Tan My commune; Doi Cao and Ro Bon areas of Tan Thanh commune, Van Lang district; the trails by the border markers No. 5 and 6, Ba Den and Thac Nuoc (Waterfall) area of Dong Dang township, Cao Loc district, Lang Son province; the cross-border trails of Yen Khoai and Tu Mich communes, Loc Binh district, Lao Cai province. Especially, the area from Dong Dang township (Cao Loc district) to Tan My commune (Van Lang district) has long been notorious for being adjacent to the "warehouses" of contrabands located in Guangxi province of China [15]. In Mong Cai city (Quang Ninh province), smugglers concentrate in Ka Long and Hai Yen wards, the area of Luc Lam (Tran Phu and Hai Hoa wards), Tra Co ward, from km No. 10 to km No. 14, Dai Vai (Luc Phu hamlet, Bac Son commune), Luc Chan (Hai Son commune) [18], and the two districts of Trung Khanh and Ha Lang of Cao Bang province [17]... Goods smuggled across the border are mainly electrical and electronic products, clothes, blankets, cosmetics, and footwear. Other goods include toys of violent character, mobile phones, foreign cigarettes, firecrackers, counterfeit money, and drug. They are carried by those who went on foot, or transported with horses and motorbikes. Smuggling activities are most hectic during the Lunar New Year holidays, the Rites of Pardoning, the Sins of the Dead, or Worshipping the Wandering Souls, that fall on the fifteenth day of the seventh lunar month, and Mid-Autumn Festivals.

6. Conclusions

Among the larger part of the ethnic minority groups, especially the Hmong, Dao, Tay, and Nung living in the Vietnam-China borderland, border trade economy has changed the people's mindset of doing business and earning living from self-sufficiency and reliance on the State's assistance to being dynamic, which is in the sense of entrepreneurship and being economically innovative. Non-agricultural activities, particularly traditional handicrafts, working as hired labour, and being engaged in small-scale businesses, play important roles. However, ethnic groups in the Vietnam-China borderland are still facing numerous difficulties and challenges. Of these, the problems that need to be addressed most are the lack of financial capital, poor general knowledge, the workforce yet to be trained, and the increasing social instability. These are important issues requiring to be solved if one is to boost the stable and long-term development in the Vietnam-China borderland in general and to ensure sustainable livelihoods for ethnic minority communities in the area in particular.

References

- [1] Bùi Xuân Đính, Nguyễn Ngọc Thanh (Đồng chủ biên) (2013), *Một số vấn đề cơ bản về kinh tế - xã hội ở các vùng biên giới Việt Nam*, Nxb Khoa học xã Hà Nội, Hà Nội. [Bui Xuan Dinh, Nguyen Ngoc Thanh (co-chief authors) (2013), *A Number of Fundamental Socio-economic Issues in Vietnam's Border Areas*, Social Sciences Publishing House, Hanoi].
- [2] Phạm Thu Hà (2012), *Luận văn thạc sĩ Dân tộc học: Biến đổi sinh kế của người Tày ở biên giới tỉnh Lạng Sơn từ đổi mới đến nay (nghiên cứu trường hợp thôn Bản Thầu, xã Tân Thanh, huyện Văn Lãng, tỉnh Lạng Sơn)*, Trường Đại học Khoa học Xã hội và Nhân văn, Hà Nội. [Pham Thu Ha (2012), *Anthropology M.A. Thesis: Changes in Livelihoods of Tay Ethnic Group in Border Area of Lang Son Province since Start of Renovation Process (A Case Study of Ban Thau Hamlet, Tan Thanh Commune, Van Lang District, Lang Son Province)*, University of Social Sciences and Humanities, Hanoi].
- [3] Trần Hồng Hạnh (2010), “Vai trò của văn hóa tộc người trong phát triển kinh tế - xã hội ở Đông Bắc Việt Nam”, Tạp chí *Dân tộc học*, số 6. [Tran Hong Hanh (2010), “Roles of the Ethnic Cultures in Socio-economic Development in the Northeast Vietnam,” *Journal of Anthropology*, No. 6].
- [4] Trần Hồng Hạnh (2015), “Chuyển đổi kinh tế ở vùng biên giới Việt-Trung: Nghiên cứu trường hợp tỉnh Lạng Sơn”, Tạp chí *Dân tộc học*, số 6. [Tran Hong Hanh (2015), “The Economic Transformation in the Sino-Vietnamese Border Area: The Case Study of Lang Son Province,” *Journal of Anthropology*, No. 6].
- [5] Trần Hồng Hạnh (chủ nhiệm) (2016), *Báo cáo tổng hợp đề tài nghiên cứu khoa học cấp Bộ: Thay đổi sinh kế của một số dân tộc thiểu số ở vùng miền núi Tây Bắc dưới tác động của biến đổi khí hậu*, Viện Dân tộc học, Hà Nội. [Tran Hong Hanh (chief author) (2016), *Comprehensive Report on Ministerial-level Scientific Research Project: Livelihood Change of A Number of Ethnic Minorities in Northwestern Mountainous Region under Impact of Climate Change*, Institute of Anthropology, Hanoi].
- [6] Phạm Đăng Hiến (2010), “Người Lô Lô trong môi trường kinh tế - xã hội vùng biên giới

- Việt-Trung”, Tạp chí *Dân tộc học*, số 1. [Pham Dang Hien (2010), “The Socioeconomic Environment of the Lo Lo Ethnic Group in the Sino-Vietnamese Border Area,” *Journal of Anthropology*, No. 1].
- [7] Bùi Thị Bích Lan (2015), “Các hoạt động phi nông nghiệp ở thôn Pò Cại - Thực trạng và những tác động”, Tạp chí *Dân tộc học*, số 4&5. [Bui Thi Bich Lan (2015), The Non-agricultural Activities in Po Cai Village - Practical Situation and Effects”, *Journal of Anthropology*, No. 4&5].
- [8] Vũ Dương Ninh (Chủ biên) (2010), *Biên giới trên đất liền Việt Nam - Trung Quốc*, Nxb Công an nhân dân, Hà Nội. [Vu Duong Ninh (Chief author) (2010), *The Sino-Vietnamese Land Borderline*, People’s Public Security Publishing House, Hanoi].
- [9] Vương Xuân Tinh - Trần Hồng Hạnh (Đồng chủ biên) (2012), *Phát triển bền vững văn hóa tộc người trong quá trình hội nhập ở vùng Đông Bắc*, Nxb Khoa học xã hội, Hà Nội. [Vuong Xuan Tinh - Tran Hong Hanh (co-chief editors) (2012), *Sustainable Development of Ethnic Cultures in Integration Process in the Northeastern Region*, Social Sciences Publishing House, Hanoi].
- [10] Vương Xuân Tinh (Chủ biên) (2014), *Văn hóa với phát triển bền vững ở vùng biên giới Việt Nam*, Nxb Khoa học xã hội, Hà Nội. [Vuong Xuan Tinh (Chief editor) (2014), *Culture with the Sustainable Development in the Border Areas of Vietnam*, Social Sciences Publishing House, Hanoi].
- [11] Tổng cục Thống kê (2015), *Niên giám thống kê 2014*, Nxb Thống kê, Hà Nội. [General Statistics Office (2015), *Statistical Yearbook of Vietnam 2014*, Statistical Publishing House, Hanoi].
- [12] Tổng cục Thống kê (2016), *Niên giám thống kê 2015*, Nxb Thống kê, Hà Nội. [General Statistics Office (2016), *Statistical Yearbook of Vietnam 2015*, Statistical Publishing House, Hanoi].
- [13] S. Pandey, N.T. Khiem, H. Waibel, and T.C. Thien (2006), *Upland Rice, Household Food Security, and Commercialization of Upland Agriculture in Vietnam*, IRRI (International Rice Research Institute).
- [14] Tran Hong Hanh (2009), *Local Knowledge and Food Security Among Red Yao Ethnic Group in Vietnam (A Case Study in Sa Pa District, Lao Cai Province, Vietnam)*, LIT VERLAG, Berlin.
- [15] <http://www.baomoi.com/nhuc-nhoi-nan-buon-lau-tai-bien-gioi-lang-son/c/21107998.epi>
- [16] <http://www.cema.gov.vn/ket-qua-dieu-tra-thuc-trang-kt-xh-53-dan-toc-thieu-so-nam-2015.htm>
- [17] <http://cand.com.vn/Phong-su-tu-lieu/Buon-lau-vung-bien-gioi-Cao-Bang-dien-bien-phuc-tap-387422/>
- [18] <http://www.nhandan.com.vn/xahoi/phapluat/item/29820502-cuoc-chien-chong-buon-lau-o-vung-bien-mong-cai.html>
- [19] <http://www.bienphong.com.vn/ngan-dong-ma-tuy-tren-vung-bien-phia-bac/>
- [20] <http://chuongtrinh135.vn/Tin-Hoat-Dong/NewsId/2613/PageView/Tiep-tuc-tap-trung-giai-quyet-nhung-van-de-buc-xuc-vung-dan-toc--mien-nui>
- [21] https://vi.wikipedia.org/wiki/Danh_s%C3%A1ch_c%C3%A1c_d%C3%A2n_t%E1%BB%99c_Vi%E1%BB%87t_Nam_theo_s%E1%BB%91_d%C3%A2n
- [22] <https://gso.gov.vn/default.aspx?tabid=387&idmid=3&ItemID=12875>