

Social Structure Mobility towards Middle-Class Society in Period of Economic Turbulence in Vietnam

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Abstract: The process of socio-economic development since *đổi mới*, or renovation, began, has significantly improved both the material and non-material lives of most Vietnamese people. From the year 2000 through to the present, Vietnam escaped the status of a poor and underdeveloped nation to become a lower middle-income country, and during this transition process the social structure also changed. From 2007 to 2013 the Vietnamese economy experienced many macro fluctuations which, accordingly, poses the question of how these ups and downs and policy responses affected the social mobility of labour in the market place - basically, formerly poor people now had incomes and could join the ranks of the middle class. The paper analyses two sets of data from labour market and living standards surveys (referred to in more detail in the Introduction below) to describe the social mobility during this period (2007-2013) through employment opportunities and social status. Fundamentally, despite the fact that social mobility at this time showed some positive signs, the corresponding opportunities were not substantial enough to make it a real social driving force for the subsequent period.

Keywords: Social mobility, labour market, middle class, Vietnam.

Subject classification: Economics

1. Introduction

Since *đổi mới*, the process of socio-economic development has significantly improved both the material and non-material lives of most Vietnamese people. Over the past two decades, especially since the year 2000, Vietnam has made outstanding achievements in socio-economic development, escaping the

status of "poor and underdeveloped" to be ranked in the list of lower- and middle-income countries. One of the most important changes is the formation and development of the middle class, especially in urban areas, which is altering the Vietnamese social structure. Despite impressive achievements over the past few decades, the sustainability and inclusiveness of the recent patterns of

development in Vietnam have become issues of concern. These in turn bring pressures and a risk of social instability which need to be addressed by appropriate policies for the next period once Vietnam has become a middle-class society [12]. Vietnam Human Development Report 2015 (VHDR) acknowledges that Vietnam's emerging middle class has undergone important qualitative changes in population structure in recent years [8]. The “middle class” is a concept widely used in social sciences, although there is no general consensus in terms of what it means, and too much dependence on the context [11], [16, pp.445-454]. Regarding Vietnam, the middle class arose from the transition of agriculture to industry, from the traditional to the modern, and from a centrally planned economy to a market-based one. This transition process broke down the structure of the traditional economy, shifting it from an agricultural to a modern industrial-based economy. It addressed the poverty issue and thereby changed the way of life for most people. It created the foundation of a modern society which gave rise to a middle class which also became a springboard for development. Vietnam's social classes have been, and still are, in the process of developing as a complex frequently fluctuating interwoven structure. This long-standing hierarchical social order, which developed during the course of history, reflects the structural inequality of all societies. This structure shows variability through the movement of one class to another or within a particular social class, while the degree of variation differs depending on the context and historical period.

After showing extremely impressive growth with an average GDP of 7.6% from 2000 to 2007, the Vietnamese economy faced persistent problems of macroeconomic instability due to pressures of the global economic and financial crisis². From 2007 to 2013 this insecurity continued with downgraded economic forecasts and high inflation. Despite maintaining high levels of economic growth in 2007 with a rate of 8.48%, it then slowed down and showed signs of uncertainty. Yet, during this period, Vietnam's unemployment rate was relatively low and continued to fall despite “double-digit” inflation in 2007, 2008, and 2010, extending even into 2011³. After strict fiscal and monetary policies were imposed, such as Resolution No. 11/NQ-CP in 2011 and Resolution No. 02/NQ-CP in 2012⁴, Vietnam's inflation rate was brought under control, gradually decreasing from 18.53% in 2011 to single-digits in 2012 and 2013 with rates of 9.21% and 6.6% respectively. The scenario of constantly fluctuating inflation whilst the unemployment rate remained relatively low, stabilising to approximately 2-3% during this period, could be explained by the fact that in a country with a low level of development and a limited social protection system, the unemployed cannot remain unemployed for long; hence they are forced to accept jobs of lower quality [19]. Macroeconomic fluctuations are, to some extent, reflected by individuals' patterns of employment over a period of time, as social mobility is associated with changes in the social status of individuals or households, that can be reflected in changes to income levels or employment positions [14]. Seven years (2007-2013) is not long enough to conclude that the reasons for the connection

between macroeconomic fluctuations and labour mobility include a lack of macroeconomic policy combined with variations in the marketplace making it difficult to define the relationship between the labour market and macroeconomic volatility.

Consequently, this paper does not intend to give an explanation of the social cohesion between macroeconomic fluctuations in the specific period (2007-2013), but rather it mainly focuses on describing the social mobility in Vietnam at this time through two different aspects: (i) changes in the employment sector by observing mobility in the labour market, assuming workers have incomes and hence are no longer regarded as poor, and by the trend of upward mobility to the middle class⁵; and (ii) changes in the status of members within the middle class. For such purposes, the paper uses two available sets of data from the Labour Force Survey (LFS) which gives detailed information about the Vietnamese labour market, and the Vietnam Household Living Standards Survey (VHLSS) which includes details on income and expenditure of households.

2. Main flows of labour mobility during the 2007-2013 period

In the first part of the research, the author reviews the social mobility of the middle class through an assessment of employment mobility. This is viewed as changes in the occupational structure of the workforce, with a strong assumption that they are not classed as poor, given they have jobs which generate incomes. Data from the Vietnam Labour Force Survey highlights a number of movements in labour mobility. Shifts

include those: (i) from agricultural to non-agricultural work; (ii) from informal to formal employment in the non-agricultural sector, and (iii) from formal employment generating low-value to high-value processing/manufacturing industries. In addition, the data gives a clearer picture of labour mobility by industry, occupation, type of ownership and job status of workers, among which an increase in the rate of salaried employees during the period of economic turbulence (2007-2013) features most prominently.

Some movements can be evaluated to assess occupational mobility. *Firstly*, shifts in employment status from being employed⁶ to self-employed⁷ and vice versa. *Secondly*, shifts in economic activity, with changes between the following three sectors: (i) agriculture, forestry and fisheries, (ii) industry and construction, and (iii) service industries. *Thirdly*, a shift in professional skills, noting changes in professional categories in line with the International Standard Classification of Occupations (ISCO). *Fourthly*, a shift between the formal and informal economic sectors. And, *lastly*, moving from low- to high-value jobs within the formal sector.

Mobility by occupational categories

In terms of occupational categories, distribution of employment by occupation, as classified by the 2009 Vietnam Standard Classification of Occupations, was relatively stable during the period 2009-2013. Table 1 below shows that around 40% (equivalent to 20-21 million people) had unskilled jobs, 15% worked in the services and sales industries, 12% were skilled craftsmen, while 7% worked on the assembly line and as machine operators. Meanwhile, it was the agriculture, forestry and fisheries sector which experienced a rate drop from 14.7% in 2009 to 11.9% in 2013.

Table 1: Labour Mobility by Occupation, 2007-2013 (%)

	2007	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013
Unskilled labour	61.7	39.3	39.0	40.3	40.4	40.7
Leader in all fields and levels	10	0.9	0.9	1.0	1.0	1.0
High level professionals	4.2	4.6	5.0	5.3	5.5	5.7
Secondary level professionals	3.9	3.8	3.6	3.5	3.4	3.2
Basic professional, office workers	1.3	1.6	1.4	1.5	1.6	1.7
Service staff, sales, security	6.8	15.5	14.5	14.9	16.0	16.2
Skilled agricultural workers	3.7	14.7	15.4	14.0	12.6	11.9
Highly skilled craftsmen	13.5	12.5	12.6	12.0	11.7	12.0
Plant and machine operators, and assemblers	3.5	6.6	7.0	6.9	7.2	6.9
Armed forces	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2

Source: Calculated by the author from the LFS data of 2007-2013.

Table 2 describes the trend of labour mobility by employment sector during the period 2007-2013. It shows that the proportion of self-employed workers⁸ fell from 53% to 45.5% while the ratio of family workers increased from 12.9% to 17.1% during this period. Meanwhile, the proportion of those in self-employment witnessed a sharp decline from 53% in 2007 to 43.2% in 2010, then gradually raising again to 45.5% in 2013. This reflects

the underdeveloped and unsustainable nature of Vietnam's labour market since own-account workers/the self-employed and family workers, as defined by the International Labour Organisation (ILO), are considered as vulnerable workers [20]. Nonetheless, the combined total rate of these two groups is a huge number (equivalent to more than 32 million workers), although the rate decreased from 65.9% in 2007 to 62.6% in 2013.

Table 2: Labour Mobility by Employment Sector, 2007-2013 (%)

	2007	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013
Business owner with hired labour	3.3	4.7	3.4	2.8	2.7	2.5
Self-employed	53.0	44.6	43.2	43.9	45.1	45.5
Family worker	12.9	17.0	19.5	18.5	17.4	17.1
Salaried worker	30.5	33.4	33.7	34.5	34.6	34.8
Cooperative/ collective member	0.1	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0

Source: Calculated by the author from the LFS data of 2007-2013.

A very positive sign in occupational mobility is an increase in the ratio of salaried workers from 30.5% in 2007 to 34.8% in 2013 (accounting for one third of the total workforce at the time in Vietnam - equivalent to an increase in the absolute term from 14

million workers in 2007 to nearly 18 million in 2013). Employed work brings stable income as well as employment benefits such as social, health, and unemployment insurance which, in turn, provide security and support in times of economic upheaval.

Table 3: Labour Mobility by Major Economic Sector (%)

	2007	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013
Agriculture, forestry and fisheries	49.2	47.5	48.6	48.4	47.2	46.6
Industry, construction	20.3	21.8	21.6	21.2	21.1	21.1
Services	30.3	30.6	29.6	30.3	31.6	32.1

Source: Calculated by the author from the LFS data of 2007-2013.

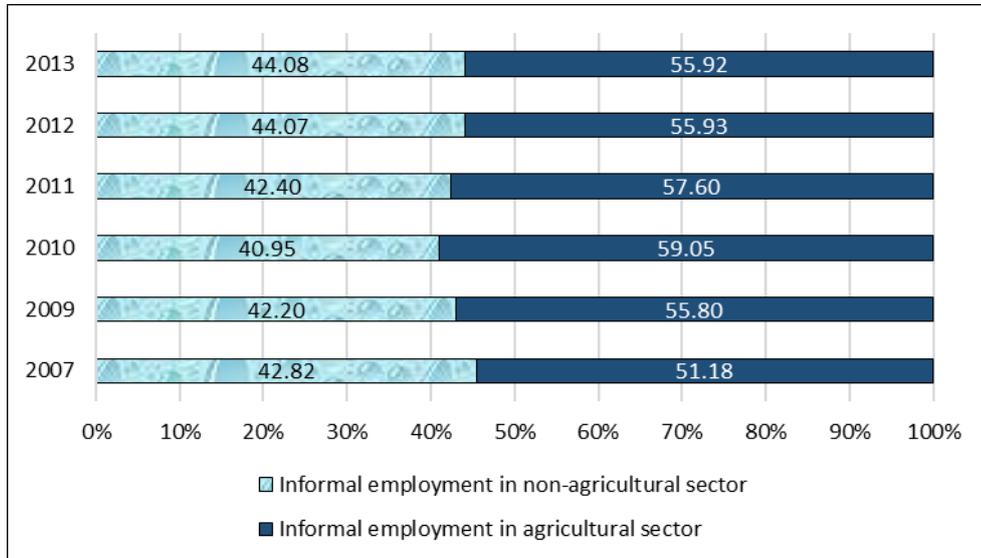
Table 3 shows labour movement by major economic sectors including agriculture, processing/manufacturing, construction, trade and services from 2007 to 2013. The percentage of workers in the agricultural forestry and fisheries industry shows an overall downward trend from 49.2% in 2007 to 46.6% in 2013. The small increase in 2010 could possibly be explained by the impact of the world economic crisis which may have forced workers back to the agricultural sector.

Despite a slight increase in the share of those working in the services and construction sectors, the ratio in the processing/manufacturing industry remained relatively stable, fluctuating between 13% and 14% (representing about 6 to 7 million workers). These statistics cast doubt in the minds of researchers about whether Vietnam's economy is, in fact, falling into a situation of "premature deindustrialization." [21]⁹.

Figure 1 illustrates the proportional change in the employment structure, from informal employment in agriculture to non-agricultural work during the 2007-2013 period of economic fluctuation. Informal employment could therefore be defined as occupations in which employees are not entitled to social insurance benefits.

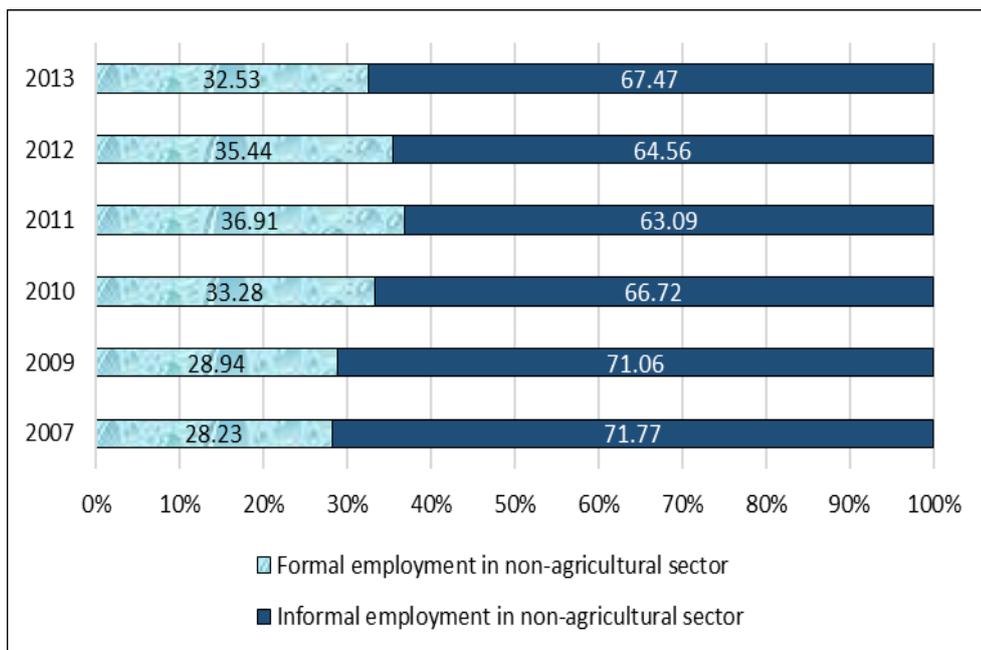
During this period, the proportion of non-agricultural informal employment tended to increase. The rate of 42.8% in 2007 rose to 44.08% in 2013, although there was a one-off dip in 2010 where the rate dropped to 40.95% - due to the world financial crisis, workers in industrial zones and/or private businesses returned to informal jobs in agriculture, as previously indicated in Table 3. The movement of labour, which saw a gradual decline in the number of workers in the agricultural industry, is entirely consistent with the pattern of those countries transitioning from a traditional to more modern economy.

Figure 1: Mobility in the Agricultural and Non-agricultural Employment Structure in the Informal Sector (%)



Source: Calculated by the author from the LFS data of 2007-2013.

Figure 2: Labour Mobility in the Non-agricultural Sector between Informal and Formal Areas (%)



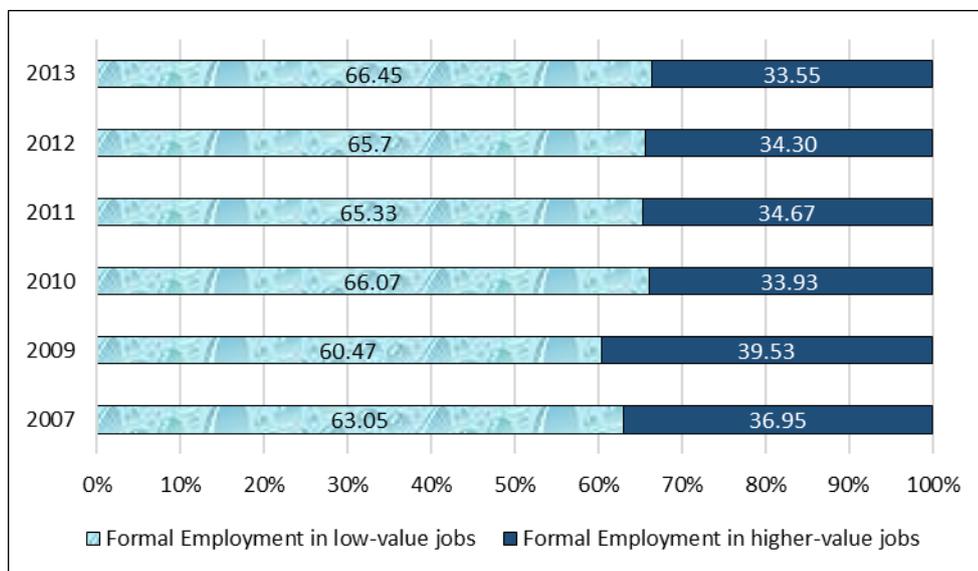
Source: Calculated by the author from the LFS data of 2007-2013.

Continuing the transition towards modernity [10, pp.1205-1217] for the characteristics of a modern economy), the period 2007-2013 witnessed the mobility from informal to formal employment in the non-agricultural sector (Figure 2). Accordingly, the first four years of this period saw a significant decrease in the ratio of informal employment in non-agricultural industries from 71.8% in 2007 to 63.1% in 2011. The rate then began rising again, reaching 67.5% in 2013. Despite the overall fall during this period, the

proportion of informal employment in non-agriculture still accounts for two-thirds of those employed during the research period.

Figure 3 shows a structural shift in the percentage of formal workers in the processing/manufacturing field between low- and higher-value jobs¹⁰. The period 2007-2013 reflects a trend that contradicts expectations in that the proportion of formal employees working in low-value industries increased from 63.05% in 2007 to 66.45% in 2013.

Figure 3: Mobility of Formal Employment Structure between Low-value and Higher-value Jobs (%)



Source: Calculated by the author from the LFS data of 2007-2013.

Thus, the proportion of employees working in the low-value industries accounted for two-thirds of the total workers in the processing and manufacturing industry in 2013 (equivalent to about 5 million workers), a trend that continues to rise. This situation will pose a big challenge for

Vietnam when the country tries to exploit production techniques on its way to becoming an industrialised country in the future. It is not a positive sign if the rise of the middle class is associated with the proportion of people working in low-value industries as this will result in a lack of

skilled labour. It also partly reflects the low quality of the middle class.

3. Social mobility of Vietnam's middle class

It could be said that “middle class” is the commonly used term in social sciences, despite a lack of general consensus regarding connotation and too much dependance on context. In respect of science, scholars often evaluate the middle class based on a number of factors such as: income, non-material life, level of education, cultural sophistication, social status, etc. Furthermore, the theory of social stratification is regularly applied or strictly followed when defining the middle class. Prevailing theories before the 1980s failed to draw any remarkable conclusions about the size of the middle-class stratum [18, pp.377-396]. Quantification in social sciences is a more demanding work due to the complexity and diversity in the social reality.

In regards to defining and measuring the middle class, two main methods are commonly used to determine the group composition, namely relative and absolute determination. The most widely applied system of measurement (which is based on economics) is to analyse income and/or personal expenditure to identify reasonable inclusion or exclusion in the middle class. However, this method is not without criticism as it is considered to be relying on income only, ignoring other factors such as employment, occupation, wealth, and labour market relations [9, pp.731-744]. The chosen approach depends mainly on the purpose/focus of each body of research. In empirical studies, the quantification of middle class

mainly applies absolute terms based on economic rationality. These use ranges of income values, with upper and lower limits, to measure the middle class or to determine this stratum through different median values of income. It may be necessary to re-emphasise the arbitrary nature, lack of consensus, and different measurements employed to determine the upper and lower levels of the middle class in the context of the total population [3, pp.37-41].

In order to study the transformation of Vietnam's middle class, the multidimensional approach is applied through the “Middle Class Index” - an inclusive and multidimensional unit of measurement, concluding both relative and absolute approaches to measure the middle class, and rationality based on a number of social factors, not just economics. The author applies the Vietnam Household Living Standards Survey (VHLSS) in analysis and evaluation. Thus, the size of the middle class is estimated by household, even though middle-class status is normally associated with an individual. For this reason, the estimated percentage in each group is by proportion of households. It also should be noted that household income is a composite indicator, similar to the definition of the gross domestic product (GDP) index when measuring the “wealth” of an economy. Income is a composite index of all production and business activities, whether intermediate or final production of commodities, in agricultural and processing industries, or the services sector. A household's income also depends on the “economic political power” of the household itself, determined by the political institutions and the “invisible hand” of the

economic market. While political institutions generate household income through salary payments, subsidies, etc., the market system, guided by unforeseen forces, brings money for the household through profiting from capital sources (such as assets, human resources, capacity, etc.) owned by the household.

The Middle Class Index comprises both the economic dimension (income) and the non-economic dimension which is the level of education and occupation of the head of the household.

The sub-index quantification for the above dimensions is calculated as follows:

i) Income Sub-index: instead of applying upper and lower limits or a certain percentage of the median income, a measure of twice the poverty level/line is favoured. This quantification supports Ravallion's hypothesis (2010) on the middle class living standard when individuals are no longer regarded as poor, which is "to ensure that the lower threshold of the middle class should be significantly above the poverty line, if it is determined by the income". Technically speaking, the income index is calculated by the income per capita at more than twice the rate of the government's poverty line standard for the respective year. Since the government's poverty threshold is announced every five years (i.e. 2006-2010, 2011-2015, and so on), those years with no available reference are adjusted to account for inflation.

Quantifying the sub-index: households twice above the poverty line = 1, households twice below the poverty line = 0.

ii) Education Sub-index: it can be assumed that educational attainment refers to the degree of education received by an individual studied to the best of their

ability, while educational level emphasises the knowledge and professional ability of an individual (e.g. could be through self-education) during his/her life. On the other hand, "educational level" also represents human capital amassed during a person's lifetime. Well/highly educated people often give priority to their career and professional development, thereby generating higher income, and they tend to invest in their children through education [17]. Today, higher education is a dominant factor determining educational attainment. Consequently, a family with at least one member holding a university or college degree, or equivalent (completed or currently enrolled), is considered member of the middle class.

Quantifying the sub-index: at least one family member with a university or college education or equivalent = 1, a household which has no member with a university or college education = 0.

iii) Occupation Sub-index: occupation, second after income, is one of the most important factors determining the social class of an individual or a household. Occupations in this index fall into two categories: manual and non-manual jobs.

Quantifying the sub-index: the occupation of the head of household or the person who generates the most income in that household through non-manual work (i.e. skilled job) = 1, otherwise = 0.

Computational technique follows a two-step estimation. The first is to create a small income-based sample of households with incomes twice the poverty level. The second step is to apply both educational and occupation criteria; hence the middle class can be determined by the three criteria of income, education, and occupation. The

definition of middle class approached from a multidimensional stance and analysing array data across periods, could make it possible to calculate the variability of groups over time. With the two statuses of middle and non-middle class at each point in time during the research period, households were divided up by four different situations: (i) non-middle class in both periods, (ii) non-middle class in the early period and middle class in the later period, (iii) middle class in the early period and non-middle class in the later period, and (iv) middle class in both periods. Refer to Tables 4 and 5 which follow. For various reasons the periods 2004-2006 and 2010-2012 are compared using the array data method. Both the 2004 and 2006 surveys are fairly similar in terms of sample size and questionnaire. While the latter two elements revealed no significant changes in 2008, their effectiveness in representing the population as of 2008 decreased remarkably

since this was the last year of the survey based on Vietnam's 1999 Population and Housing Census. The period 2004-2006 is therefore more representative, while data from 2010 and 2012 used the sample of the Vietnam 2009 Population and Housing Census, which is up-to-date and representative. The comparison at two points in time allows one to study the possible changes in volatility in general as well as the impact of factors over time. In this section the author studies the middle class just using multidimensional income approach and the two non-income dimensions of education and occupation.

Comparing the two periods shows that the proportion of non-middle class decreased notably, by approximately 30%. Meanwhile, the middle class participation rate witnessed a significant increase of 6.3 percentage points between the two periods. Such data is a good sign of the transformation of Vietnam's middle class; i.e. the rate of middle-class participation is increasing.

Table 4: Social Mobility of the Middle Class by Region, 2004-2006 and 2010-2012

	Nationwide	Rural	Urban
Non-middle class 2004 - Middle class 2006	8.6	6.96	13.59
Middle class 2004 - Non-middle class 2006	3.79	3.05	6.02
Middle class in both 2004 and 2006	14.72	7.72	35.88
Non-middle class 2010 - Middle class 2012	14.9	15.38	13.65
Middle class 2010 - Non-middle class 2012	5.34	5.24	5.6
Middle class in both 2010 and 2012	36.85	27.5	61.02

Source: Calculated by the author from the VHLSS data of (2004, 2006, 2010, and 2012).

It can be seen that the participation rate of the middle class in rural areas increased appreciably between the two periods.

However, at the same time it showed vulnerability with the dropout rate half that of the urban area middle class during the period

2004-2006, while it accounted for only 25% compared with the middle class rate in urban areas. In the period 2010-2012, the middle class dropout rate was approximately the same in both regions, while in rural areas it was less than half that of urban regions in 2010. Thus, the participation rate of the middle class in rural areas has seen significant improvement compared to urban areas but it remained more vulnerable.

Table 5: Social Mobility of the Middle Class by Geographic Region, 2004-2006 and 2010-2012

	Red River Delta	North -east	North -west	North Central	South Central	Central Highlands	South-east	Mekong Delta
Non-middle class								
2004 - Middle class 2006	10.94	7.96	6.85	6.87	9.12	10.27	10.34	5.86
Middle class								
2004 - Non-middle class 2006	4.86	3.8	2.1	2	2.7	0.94	7.38	2.64
Middle class in both 2004 and 2006	20.99	13.73	7.93	7.7	17.2	9.1	22.6	8.4
Non-middle class								
2010 - Middle class 2012	16.63	9.26	8.6	15.47	16.9	13.06	20.44	11.51
Middle class								
2010 - Non-middle class 2012	5.65	4.33	0.26	7	7.61	5.76	5.7	3.51
Middle class in both 2010 and 2012	48.19	29.38	14.3	26.13	36.44	29.76	50.96	27.01

Source: Calculated by the author from the VHLSS data of (2004, 2006, 2010, and 2012).

With regard to geographical regions for the period 2004-2006: the Southeastern region showed the highest dropout rate, whereas the South Central region recorded a middle class rate two thirds that of the Southeast but its dropout rate only accounted for one third

of the Southeast's. The Northwest and Central Highlands showed a similar middle class rate but the former experienced a much higher dropout rate. However, further verification is needed due to the small number of observations collected.

During the period 2010-2012: the South Central region showed the most robust volatility with the proportion of households joining the middle class second highest among the regions, but the dropout rate peaked at nearly 2% higher than the Central Highlands (in second position).

Although all the areas saw a rise in their middle class, the rates of increase varied between regions, with the trend appearing strongest in the period 2010-2012 compared to the 2004-2006. The Red River Delta, South Central, and Southeastern regions maintained the highest middle class participation rates in both periods, while the North Central region saw a substantial improvement between the two periods.

On the other hand, the changes in the rate of middle class dropout varied across the regions. Some areas experienced a rate drop (such as the Southeast) while the Red River Delta and Mekong Delta saw little change. At the same time, the rate increased sharply in a number of regions such as the North Central and Central Highlands, leading to the relative change in regional position between the two periods.

4. Conclusion

There has been a mobility trend in the Vietnamese labour market with a movement from low productivity areas to higher levels, in particular within the agricultural sector, and then from the latter to non-agricultural industries. However, the economic fluctuations during the 2007-2013 period did not change this trend. While the agricultural workforce was

structurally in decline, the proportion of agricultural workers increased in 2011 and 2012, which may have been due to fewer available opportunities for unskilled workers in the non-agricultural sector. In addition, the speed of labour movement has been relatively slow and unchanged in many respects and the labour market appears to be in a stable condition, and changes are almost negligible. At household level, the middle-class movement indicates a social transformation in Vietnam's rapidly growing economy. The market mechanism has helped individuals and households free their material and non-material assets, helping them escape the poverty trap and join the ranks of the middle class. It could be said that the market mechanism has liberated and increased efficiency of these resources, creating economic growth and social progress [4]. However, the move upwards to middle class still faces many challenges for the poor, and forming and shaping this class, imbuing it with a positive meaning dedicated to modern society, will be a long process. Therefore, policies should be in place to nurture the middle class - from improving medical care to upgrading infrastructure, from investing in universities, and technical/vocational education, to handling disparities between income and education.

Notes

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² See more in Nguyen Duc Thanh (chief author) (2013) and Nguyen Xuan Thang (chief author) (2015).

³ In 2009, the single-digit low inflation rate (6.88%) was due to the impact of the world financial crisis, which led to a sharp decline in the aggregate demand, leading to a decrease in general prices.

⁴ The Government, for the first time, only mentioned macroeconomic stability and inflation control, while staying silent on the growth target in these two Resolutions.

⁵ See more in Le Kim Sa (2017).

⁶ In Vietnam, a person can do a number of jobs to generate income. Therefore, this paper applies the LFS's classification as focusing on a job, in case of having more than one job, where the person devotes the most time to.

⁷ Self-employment including self-employed workers or unpaid family workers in both agricultural and non-agricultural sector.

⁸ As defined by the General Statistics Office, "Self-employment is when a person does work of a self-employed nature, that is, someone working independently or in coordination with other partners to operate a business of production, trading, services or expertise without hiring or employing any paid employee" [7].

⁹ Research by D. Rodrik points that most of the current industrialised countries experience a relatively high proportion of employees working in the processing/manufacturing industry before the number gradually decreases. This means the share of employment working in the processing/manufacturing has reached its peak, for example 45% in the UK preceding World War I, 25-27% in the US, 33% in Sweden during the 1960s, even up to 40% in Germany in the 1970s, and 28% peak in the Republic of Korea in 1989.

¹⁰ The paper applies the definition used by the research team of Bob Baulch, Vu Hoang Dat and Nguyen Thang (2012) for low-value manufacturing

industries including: food and beverage processing; tobacco production; clothes, leather and related products; processing and manufacturing products from wood and bamboo; products from rubber and plastic; furniture manufacturing; and the medium- and high-value processing/manufacturing industries including textiles; manufacturing coke and refined petroleum products, chemicals and chemical products; medicine, pharmaceutical chemistry and pharmaceutical materials; metal; computers, electronic and optical products; electrical equipment; machinery/ equipment; repair and maintenance of machines and equipment [1].

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