



universität
wien

MASTERARBEIT / MASTER'S THESIS

Titel der Masterarbeit / Title of the Master's Thesis

„Complexity and Diversity of Labor Migration: Case study of
the Vietnamese Contract Workers (Vertragsarbeiter) in the
German Democratic Republic 1980-1989“

verfasst von / submitted by

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angestrebter akademischer Grad / in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts (MA)

Wien, März 2020

Studienkennzahl lt. Studienblatt / degree
programme code as it appears on the student
record sheet:

UA 066803

Studienrichtung lt. Studienblatt /
degree programme as it appears on
the student record sheet:

Masterstudium Geschichte / Master's degree
programme History

Betreut von / Supervisor:

Univ.-Doz. Dr. Hans Safrian

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Acknowledgement / Danksagung

An dieser Stelle möchte ich mich bei all denjenigen bedanken, die mich während der Anfertigung dieser Masterarbeit unterstützt und motiviert haben.

Zuerst gebührt mein Dank Herr Dr. Safrian, der meine Masterarbeit betreut und begutachtet hat. Für die hilfreichen Anregungen und die konstruktive Kritik bei der Erstellung meiner Arbeit bedanke ich mich herzlich.

Ebenfalls möchte ich mich bei Herr Dr. Yamada der Meiji Universität, in der ich den Bachelorstudiengang absolvierte, für die Unterstützung meiner Zulassung.

Abschließend möchte ich mich bei meiner Familie bedanken, die mir mein Studium durch ihre Unterstützung ermöglicht haben und stets ein offenes Ohr für mich haben.

Nozomi Nakadate

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ANC	African National Congress
COMECON	Council for Mutual Economic Assistance
CPV	Communist Party of Vietnam
DRV	Democratic Republic of Vietnam (North Vietnam)
DW	Deutsche Welle
EU	European Union
FRG	Federal Republic Germany
GCM	Global Compact for Safe, Orderly and Regular Migration
GDR	German Democratic Republic
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GNP	Gross National Product
GIZ	Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit
IAB	Institut für Arbeitsmarkt- und Berufsforschung (Institute for Employment Research)
NELM	New Economics of Labor Migration
NLF	South Vietnamese National Liberation Front
OECD	Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development
PLO	Palestinian Liberation Organization
PRG	Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam
SAL	The State Secretariat for Labor and Wage
SED	Sozialistische Einheitspartei Deutschlands (East German Communist Party)
SRV	Socialist Republic of Vietnam
SWAPO	South West African People's Organization
UN	United Nation
US	United States of America
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
VWP	Vietnam Workers Party

WHO	World Health Organization
WTO	World Trade Organization
ZAV	Zentrale Auslands- und Fachvermittlung

Abstract

(English)

This thesis aims to investigate the diversity and complexity of the background that encourages migrants. This study is comprehensively divided into the theoretical part and empirical part. In the theoretical part, I approach the transition of theories that have influenced the development of migration science. While economic theories highlight the economic disparity as a main reason for migration, migration system theory and migration network theory regard the social capital (social network) plays an important role in migration processes. Furthermore, the combination of the migration network theory and the migration system theory provides an important perspective: the micro-meso-macro structure.

Based on the above discussion, I observe the migration process of Vietnamese contract workers (Vertragsarbeiter) in the German Democratic Republic between 1980 and 1989 in the empirical part. The typical push-pull-theory provides also simplified structure to see the migration process, however, considering the migration process from macro-meso-micro composition may explain the diversity of social reality. This indicates also the continuity of the migration process that the employment of Vietnamese in the GDR was valued and this historical fact promoted to send Vietnamese caregivers in modern Germany.

(German)

Das Ziel meiner Masterarbeit ist, die Diversität und Komplexität des Hintergrunds zu untersuchen, der Migranten veranlasst ihr Land zu verlassen. Diese Studie ist umfassend in einen theoretischen und einen empirischen Teil unterteilt. Im theoretischen Teil untersuche ich die Transition von Theorien, die die Entwicklung der Migrationsforschung beeinflusst haben. Ökonomische Theorien betonen die wirtschaftliche Disparität als Hauptgrund zu migrieren, doch spielen das soziale Kapital (sozial Netzwerk) eine wichtige Rolle in Migrationsprozessen in der Migration System Theory und Migration Network Theory. Darüber hinaus bietet die Kombination der Migration System Theory und Migration Network Theory eine wichtige Perspektive: die Mikro-Meso-Makro Struktur.

Aufgrund der Diskussion im theoretischen Teil beobachtete ich im empirischen Teil den Migrationsprozess vietnamesischer Vertragsarbeiter in der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik zwischen 1980 und 1989. Die push-pull-Theorie bietet zwar eine vereinfachte Struktur, aber die Makro-Meso-Mikro Zusammensetzung berücksichtigt die Vielfalt der sozialen Realität. Dies zeigt auch die Kontinuität des Migrationsprozesses, dass die Beschäftigung von Vietnamesen in der DDR geschätzt wurde und diese historische Tatsache dazu beitrug, Vietnamesen als Altenpfleger in das moderne Deutschland zu schicken.

1. Introduction

The environment surrounding migrants has undergone significant changes over the past few years. In Morocco, on 19th December 2018, the United Nations (UN) General Assembly member adopted the “Global Compact for Safe, Orderly and Regular Migration” (GCM). This is the first time that the UN has firstly negotiated an agreement for international migration of all dimensions in a historically and comprehensive manner.¹ This topic, international “migration” was the only issue that remained off the agenda at the UN. Therefore, I suppose that the adoption of GCM may often be described as a “historic moment,” and indeed, it will formally become the first comprehensive framework on migration the world has ever seen.² Besides, the UN General Assembly’s resolution calling for the establishment of GCM naturally uses the term “migrant” to mean anyone who is not a citizen of the State where he or she is present. However, the most common term used before the mid-1980s on international law was “alien”, subsequently, “foreigner” was often deployed.³

In the various academic subjects, the issues of migration seem to become very topical in those decades. Indeed, recent studies on migration seem to tend to emphasize its transnationality and internationality, due to the increasing number of international migrants and their communities along with the acceleration of globalization. Research results on migration began to emerge gradually in the 1990s and increased rapidly in the 2000s.⁴

Therefore, this issue, migration seems to have been developing in the last decades.

¹ Refugees and Migrants (United Nations), “*Global Compact for Migration*”, <https://refugeesmigrants.un.org/migration-compact> (accessed September 10, 2019)

² United Nations Information Centre, “Press release: United Nations Finalizes First Ever Global Compact For migration.” (July 13, 2018) <https://www.un.org/pga/72/2018/07/13/press-release-united-nations-finalizes-first-ever-global-compact-for-migration/> (accessed August 29, 2019)

³ Elspeth Guild, Stefanie Grant and C.A. Groenedijk, *Human Rights of Migrants in the 21st Century*, (Routledge: New York, 2018) 13, 14

⁴ Kazu Takahashi, “Review of the International Migration: Studies on Free Movement and the Control of the Migration in Europe.” *Yamagata University the Journal of Law and Politics* (58/59), (2014-03-31) 44, [file:///C:/Users/nozom/AppData/Local/Packages/Microsoft.MicrosoftEdge_8wekyb3d8bbwe/Temp State/Downloads/58-00540028%20\(3\).pdf](file:///C:/Users/nozom/AppData/Local/Packages/Microsoft.MicrosoftEdge_8wekyb3d8bbwe/Temp State/Downloads/58-00540028%20(3).pdf) (accessed August 30, 2019)

However, it is important to be clear that the migratory movement is not a new phenomenon and has a very long history. Through mention above I don't want to emphasize some specifics of GCM, nor the increasing number of migrants in those decades. The points where we should pay our attention are as follows: even though the migratory movement is not a new one, there had not been such a comprehensive agreement for the international migration perspective.

Moreover, the migratory movement doesn't describe only the recent phenomenon associated with mass refugees from the Middle East or Africa or the immigrants seeking job opportunities. Here, I quote the phrase of Sylvia Hahn, one of the scientists on the field of migration issues and emphasize to insist on this argument as follows.

In der historischen Forschung besteht mittlerweile Konsens darüber, dass Migration nicht erst als Folge der Industrialisierung im 19. Jahrhundert bzw. der politischen und kriegereischen Ereignisse im 20. Jahrhundert auftrat. Migration ist so alt wie die Menschheit selbst. Insbesondere Forschungen im Bereich der Anthropologie, Archäologie, Geologie, Linguistik oder Genetik (vor allem mithilfe der DAN-Analysen) haben die den vergangenen Jahrzehnten gezeigt, dass Migration vor einer Million Jahren für die Besiedelung von Kontinenten und Regionen maßgebend war.⁵

As Hahn argues above, such an argument that “the migratory movement is not a new phenomenon” is discussed with a concrete historical fact. The following example is a phrase about the German labor migrant's history that is the subject of this paper:

It is important to be clear that the practice of employing foreign labor in Germany was by no means new. Between 1880 and 1914, the eastern agricultural regions and coal mines of the Ruhr valley relied on Poles from Russia and the Austro-Hungarian Empire to supplement the native workforce. And during both world wars, Germany exploited ten thousand of foreigners as

⁵ Sylvia Hahn, Historische Migrationsforschung. (Campus Verlag: Frankfurt, 2012) 16

*forced labor to keep industrial production going while its own men fought at the front.*⁶

Additionally, Hahn explains the concept of migration was defined in Europe in the 19th century due to the emerging nation-states and statistics involved in the migration research, primarily in terms of politics, law and statistics. In the 19th and early 20th century, the terms “migration” and “migratory movement” was used almost exclusively. From then, former scientists tried to systematize them and suggested various approaches. Current definitions of migration are predominantly political and legal and more mostly based on those of the UN. According to the UN’s definition, migration is understood as a permanent change of place of residence or going beyond a year, which extends beyond the borders of the political district.⁷

The environment surrounding the migrants has been changing constantly. As I will describe later, a migratory movement was usually considered it emerges due to the poverty and personal circumstance of migrants.⁸ However, some recent migration studies have an aspect that regards their movement between multiple locations and its continuity as transnational events. In recent years, furthermore, this theme “migration” has to deal not only with economic and political aspects but have seen a greater tendency to regard social issues, for example, such as education or welfare.⁹

To explain migratory movements, the “push-pull-theory” developed based on neoclassical economics seems to be the most influential theory in migration research until now. According to this theory, it is assumed that economic disparity, politics or social situation and personal motives should be a factor that causes migratory movement.¹⁰ The

⁶ Rita Chi, *Guest Workers Questions* (Cambridge University Press: New York, 2007) 8,9

⁷ Sylvia Hahn, *Ibid.*, 24-27

⁸ Kazu Takahashi, *op.cit.*, 45

⁹ Hideki Maruyama, “A perspective in Education Research on Transnational Muslim Immigrants” Department Bulletin paper by National Institute for Education Policy Research No. 140 (Kokuritsu Kyoiku Seisaku kenkyujo 140), 265, 266

https://nier.repo.nii.ac.jp/?action=pages_view_main&active_action=repository_view_main_item_detail&item_id=62&item_no=1&page_id=15&block_id=22 (accessed September 30, 2019)

¹⁰ Kazu Takahashi, *op.cit.*, 46

basic conditions in the regions of origin of the migrants are, for example, they are forced to leave this area due to economic crisis, unemployment, political conflict and ecological disasters (push-factor). On the other hand, other regions with a prosperous economy are attracting migrants (pull-factor).

Indeed, this theory has been applied for historical migration science in multiple ways since the 1960s. However, this neoclassical economic theory model has been questioned: of course, the perspective of “poverty” (economic disparity) can function as push-factor to promote migrants to leave their origin area, but this economical perspective is criticized on several points.

In terms of such a critical aspect of the push-pull-theory, Sylvia Hahn mentions that many more elements such as family, relatives, and occupational network of migrants could play a role in the decision to leave their origin area.¹¹ Furthermore, one of the social scientists, Akihiro Koido indicates the emigration is not necessarily only from the poor region, since the people need usually some financial backups and making the “channeling“ between the families or relatives is necessary to live in a new region¹². In other words, the push-pull model cannot explain enough about migratory movements. Such discussions also show that the researchers are required to pay attention to the various factors which function to promote the migratory movement.

Thus, I am convinced that this classical push-pull model should be reconsidered in order to explain the migratory movement. According to some former arguments, it is already clear that it should take into account the broader context in which international migration takes place, to understand the migratory mobilizations.

The research aims are to investigate the diversity and complexity of the background that encourages migrants with a reconsideration of the migration theory. In this paper, firstly I explore significant historical migration theories that were developed since the 19th century. This process concentrates to observe how the migratory processes must be seen to explain various elements of migrants. Secondly, I will observe the specific historical

¹¹ Sylvia Hahn, op.cit., 31

¹² Kazu Takahashi, op.cit., 46

event: employment of Vietnamese contract workers (*Vertragsarbeiter*) in the German Democratic Republic (GDR) in the 1980s. With this historical and empirical example, the migration theory will be discussed again.

1.1 background of the Research

My research motivation is based on personal experience and the current situation of Vietnamese workers in Germany. First, while I studied in Vienna, I was sharing the apartment with a student from Germany who has a Vietnamese migration-background. Her parents used to work in the GDR as a contract worker “*Vertragsarbeiter*” until the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989. What surprising for me was, Vietnamese people composed the largest population among the foreign contract workers in the GDR at that time. Besides this, I moved to Austria in 2016 to study migration issues in Europe. I decided thus to focus on this topic in my master thesis. Also, focusing on this issue has significance due to such a relatively large Vietnamese population in Germany.

To understand a historical overview, I read the article by Mike Dennis about the Vietnamese contract workers in the GDR. According to Dennis, the Vietnamese were recruited due to the economic necessity, and Vietnam had some advantages from the agreement with the GDR.¹³ This relationship of both countries seems like “supply and demand” of the push-pull-theory, how Hahn points out in her book. Such a context also convinced me that such a theory or simplistic perspective should be reconsidered.

Second, Providing Vietnamese labor is offered to other regions until the 21st century. Since 1991, indeed, around fifty thousand Vietnamese workers were sent to more than 40 countries¹⁴ and addressing mainly labor shortages such movement mainly looks for caregivers. Germany is also counted as one of them: in 2012, “*Ausbildung von Arbeitskräften aus Vietnam zu Pflegefachkräften*” launched. We can see thus the

¹³ Mike Dennis, “Working under Hammer and Sickle: Vietnamese Workers in the German Democratic Republic, 1980-89,” *German Politics* 16, no.3 (2017):399-341.

¹⁴ Niimi Tastsuya (2015) “Overseas Vietnamese Workers: Current Situation at their Origins and the Prospect for Sending Vietnamese Nurses and Caregivers to Japan (Vietnam jin no Kaigai Syuro),” *Asia Kenkyu*, 60(2): 69, https://www.jstage.jst.go.jp/article/asianstudies/60/2/60_69/_pdf/-char/ja (accessed October 15, 2019)

continuity of recruitment of the Vietnamese workers in Germany.

Third, while there is a global movement to recruit the Vietnamese workforce, their bad working environment and a high number of deaths which has a questionable point are concerned currently. Indeed, I see often such reports that the Vietnamese workers or students disappeared through the media. For instance, in Japan, The Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science, and Technology reported the case of around 1,600 missing foreign students including many Vietnamese nationalities at The Tokyo University of Social Welfare.¹⁵ There are several reasons behind this incident, such as a declining birth rate and the shortage of caregivers. Not only in Japan, but also in Taiwan around 68,000 Vietnamese workers went missing from 1999 to 2013. A similar problem emerged in South Korea too and both countries suspended proceeding it.¹⁶

The economic theory that foreign workers are utilized due to labor shortages is certainly acceptable, but we shouldn't forget that they have human rights, family, and are the actors who make decision to migration. In this regard, my research has significance.

1.1 Research Aims and Hypothesis

The main contentions of this study are:

- The migratory process shouldn't be observed by only simple structures. It should be understood in a broad context.
- The typical and impactful "push-pull-theory" should be reconsidered to use for research on migration.

Again, this study aims to investigate the diversity and complexity of background that encourages migrants. Therefore, the typical model push-pull-theory should be critically examined their problem. To archive those aims, firstly I concentrate on the research of

¹⁵ The Ministry of Education, Culture, Sport and Technology in Japan, "Survey results and action policy for The Tokyo University of Social Welfare (Tokyo Fukushi Daigaku heno Chosa kekka oyobi Sochi Hoshin)"

<http://www.moj.go.jp/content/001296490.pdf> (accessed March 3, 2020)

¹⁶ Niimi Tastsuya, *Ibid.*, 72, 73

the historical development of the theories which for the migration science influenced. After this research, I observe the concrete historical issue (the Vietnamese contract workers in the GDR).

1.2 Methodology and Structure

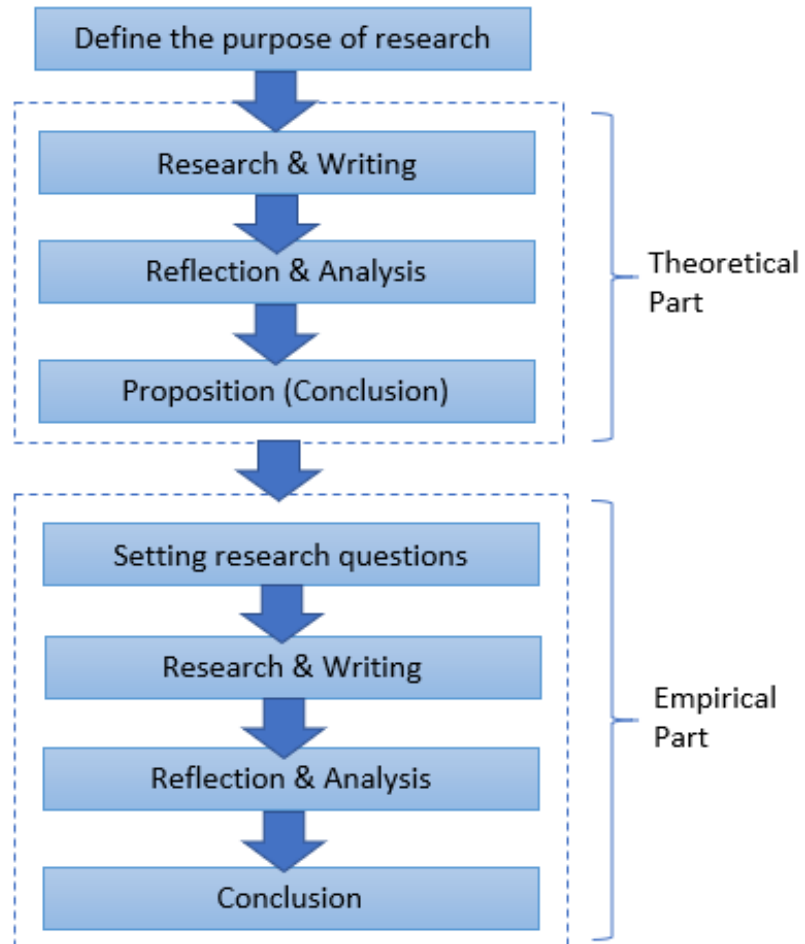
This study is comprehensively divided into two parts: (1) theoretical part and (2) empirical part (see Figure 1).

In the theoretical part, I concentrate to observe the development of migration theories generally. Focusing on the current claim about the push-pull-model, the origin of this model will be investigated.

To understand comprehensively the development of the migration theories, I refer to the work of Sylvia Hahn (“Historische Migrationsforschung”, 2016) who organized significant theories for historical migration science. Furthermore, several old primary works of literature were well documented: “Laws of Migration” (Ravenstein, 1885) and “A Theory of Migration” (Lee, 1966) are still available to refer to for this part. In order to see the theories proposed after in the second half of the 20th century, comprehensive studies are published (5th Edition, “The Age of Migration: International Population Movements in the Modern World,” 2014). Moreover, I refer to several academic papers contributed by the specific researchers who proposed its theories (for instance: Borjas, 1991). Through this, I summarize how the push-pull-model developed and what kind of criticism was raised.

From the result of the observation of migratory theories, I try to illustrate the proposition (alternative explanation) to push-pull-model, in order to consider the migration phenomenon in a broader context. Also besides, before proceeding to the part (2), I will establish the research questions supporting my research aims described above.

Figure 1. Research Process of My Master Thesis



Source: Own diagram

In order to compare my proposition with the empirical migratory event, part (2) will deal with the case of Vietnamese contract workers in the GDR in the 1980s. First, research on Vietnamese contract workers has been well developed since 2000, and statistics, historical literature and interview articles are also accessible (at the beginning of the empirical part, I will refer specifically to the literature which is available for my study). Second, due to

the relatively large population of Vietnamese in the GDR which the statistic shows,¹⁷ focusing on Vietnamese workers has itself significance. Third, the “push-pull-theory” deals primarily with migrant labor (*Arbeitsmigration*) and labor force (*Arbeitskräfte*),¹⁸ so the GDR’s employment of Vietnamese contract workers corresponds with this issue. Fourth, the existence of contract workers (*Vertragsarbeiter*) in the GDR has itself still influences the very long-term for contemporary German society. In other words, the significance of this theme “contract workers” in the GDR remains not only in the historical field, but also as a contemporary issue. Currently, the relatively high population with a migration background (*Migrationshintergrund*) exists in modern Germany and its backgrounds are various. There are currently 178,000 persons¹⁹ with a Vietnamese migrant background living in Germany.²⁰ The former employee of the contract workers by the GDR composes also one of the parts of the ethnic minority in current Germany. Additionally, although they are categorized as “Vietnamese” in current Germany, their migratory backgrounds are varied: contract workers in the GDR, the asylum seekers who arrived in the FRG, students and so on. Such ethnic diversity of Vietnamese in modern Germany is a result of the former mobilization of Vietnamese in East and West Germany. Finally, the result of both parts should be analyzed and the conclusion about the research questions should be drawn.

¹⁷ See the empirical part.

¹⁸ Sylvia Hahn, op.cit., 30

¹⁹ German Federal Statistical Office, “Vietnam: Statistical Country Profile,” (2019), 5 https://www.destatis.de/EN/Themes/Countries-Regions/International-Statistics/Country-Profiles/vietnam.pdf?__blob=publicationFile (accessed October 15, 2019)

²⁰ According to Ann-Julia Schaland, the Vietnamese migration background is determined as below: “Persons with a Vietnamese migrant background include individuals who have immigrated to Germany from Vietnam, all individuals with Vietnamese nationality born in Germany and all German nationals born in Germany with at least one parent of Vietnamese nationality who was born in Germany or who immigrated there from Vietnam.”

Theoretical Part

2. Theoretical frameworks of Migration

Since the 19th Century, migration theories were gradually formulated, and two different directions of theoretical schools can be identified. First, the theories that are highly economically focused and see migration related to the labor market, supply and demand of workers, wage differences and so on. Second, the theories that touch rather political, sociological and cultural aspects of migration.²¹

In this theoretical part, I investigate the theories which relate to the “push-pull” explanation, and how it has developed. Furthermore, observing the criticism about it and suggesting alternative ideas.

2.1 Economic Migration Theories

2.1.1 Push-Pull Models for Migration

In this section, I mention in which way the push-pull-theory used generally in migration science.

The concept “push-pull models” was often applied in the historical migration science as an explanation approach since the 1960s. It was originally invented in the 19th century by Ernst G. Ravenstein and later theorized by Everett Lee. According to their explanations, political, economic and social factors could cause migratory movements. “Push-factors” usually include the basic condition in the original region of migrants, which people are forced to leave the area by it, such as an economic crisis, joblessness, political conflicts, and ecological catastrophes and so on. In contrast, “pull-factors” usually mean the situation in other regions which are attracting migrants such as a demand for labor, economic opportunities on the job market and political freedoms so on.²²

In the following sections, I shall observe how this framework developed.

²¹ Sylvia Hahn, op. cit., 29-34.

²² Sylvia Hahn, Ibid., 30-31

2.1.2 Laws of Migration

As I mentioned above, the basic idea of the push-pull-model emerged already at the end of the 19th century. The “laws of migration” were established by a German geographer, Ernst Georg Ravenstein in the 1880s. He classified migration by the perspective of distance, time dimension, and gender, which relies primarily on the data from the census of the United Kingdom in the 1880s. What is more, he saw the call for labor in the centers of industry and commerce as the prime cause of the migration of the 19th century.²³

These migration laws (various migration patterns) are summarized as follows:

1. Most migrants usually move only short distances.
2. There is a process of absorption, whereby people immediately surrounding a rapidly growing town move into it and the gaps they leave filled by migrants from more distant areas, and so on until the attractive force is spent.
3. The process of dispersion is the inverse of that of absorption and exhibits similar features.
4. Each main current of migration produces a compensating counter-current.
5. Migrants proceeding long distances generally go by preference to one of the great centers of commerce or industry.
6. The natives of towns are less migratory than those of the rural parts of the country.
7. Females are more migratory than males (more females than males leave the country in which they were born in order to seek employment in some other country).²⁴

At the beginning of the 20th century, his migration patterns were subsequently modified and expanded by economists. Furthermore, they are still a basis for modern research on migration. In fact, Ravenstein’s articles on these migration patterns have been cited more than 350 times from 1974 till 2012. Furthermore, the complete number of citations of his work was much higher. According to the Web of Science citation index, journals

²³ Ernst Georg Ravenstein, “Laws of Migration”, *Journal of the Statistical Society of London*, Vol.48(2) (1885), 198

²⁴ Ernst Georg Ravenstein, *Ibid.*, 198, 199

containing the most citations to Ravenstein's work during the period were International Migration Review, Annals of the Association of American Geographers, Geografiska Annaler, Population and Development Review, Social History and Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers. In such a broad range of venues, Ravenstein's work has been regularly cited, it indicates that the laws of migration have still strong influences in migration studies. Those migration patterns are the most often cited works in migration studies till now.²⁵

2.1.3 Push-Pull-Theory by Lee

After the establishing of Ravenstein's migration patterns, they were criticized by some researchers that he hadn't formulated them in a categorical order. One of them, however, Everett Lee mentioned that Ravenstein's works nevertheless remained the starting point for work in migration theory. In the three-quarters of a century which have passed after Ravenstein's laws were established until Lee theorized the migration theory in the 1960s, his work had been much quoted and there had been much of migration studies in the meantime, but few additional generalizations had been advanced. Thus, Lee tried to attempt the development of a general schema into which a variety of spatial movements can be placed.²⁶

According to his work, the factors which enter the decision to migrate and the process of migration are summarized under four headings, as follows:

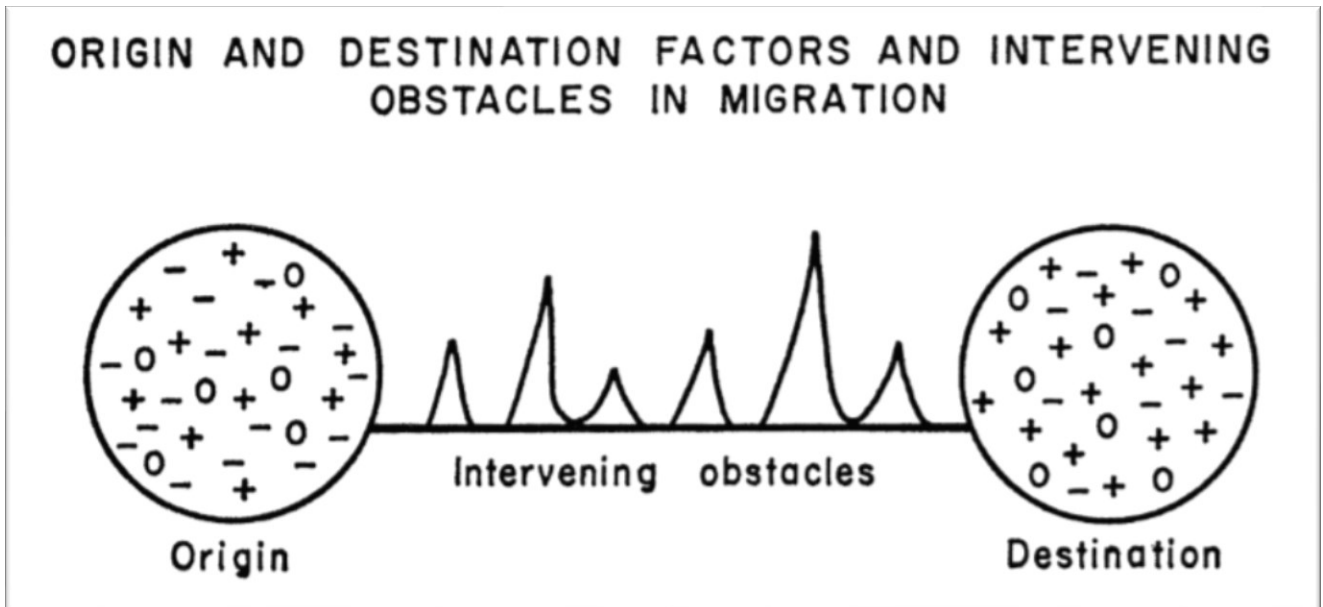
- Factors associated with the area of origin
- Factors associated with the area of destination
- Intervening obstacles
- Personal factors²⁷

²⁵ Trent Alexander, Annemarie Steidl, "Gender and the Laws of Migration. A Reconsideration of Nineteenth-Century Patterns". *Social Science History*, Vol.36 (2), (2012), 225

²⁶ Everett Lee, "A Theory of Migration" *Demography* vol. 3, No.1, (1966)

²⁷ Everett Lee, *Ibid.*, 50

Figure 2. The theory of migration by Lee



Source: Everett Lee, "A Theory of Migration". *Demography*, vol. 3, No.1, (1966), 50

The first three of them are described schematically in this figure. In every area, countless factors act to hold people within the area or attract people to it (pull-factor), and others tend to repel them (push-factor). These are shown in the diagram as + and – signs. There are others, shown as 0's, to which people are essentially indifferent. Some of those factors affect most people in much the same way, while others affect different people in different ways. Thus, a good climate is attractive, and a bad climate is repulsive to nearly everyone. Lee explains as a concrete example: a good school system may be counted as a + by a parent with young children, and a – by a house owner with no children because of the high real estate taxes engendered, while an unmarried male without taxable property is

indifferent to the situation.²⁸

The calculus of +’s and –’s at origin and destination is always inexact. And a simple calculus does not decide the act of migration. Between every origin and destination, there stands a set of intervening obstacles, which may be slight in some instances and insurmountable in others. The most studied of obstacles is the distance (physical barriers) and immigration law or migration policies may also restrict the movement.

In addition, Lee argued that many personal factors affect individuals to facilitate or retard migration. The “personal factors” were not described in the figure, however, he explained that personal factors could result in migration. Thus, the decision to migrate is never completely rational, and for some persons, the rational component is much less than the irrational.²⁹

As mentioned above, the push-pull-theory was theorized by Lee in the last of the 20th century, but the original model was already established by Ravenstein in the 19th century. Therefore, it is clear this approach “push-pull” was by no means new. For instance, in the Habsburg monarchy, statisticians found that migratory movements performed from the poorer eastern parts of the monarchy to the richer western part. They found similar results for the German area, where the attractiveness of the industrialized areas for the rural population was given as the reason for the migration from the countryside to the city. This approach is an early form of what has become known as the “push-pull theory”, which is used to the present days.³⁰

However, it should be mentioned here that there are critically Perspectives against this push-pull model: seeing economically reasons, it is considered effective for foreigners to work in wealthy areas and remit money to their home in order to correct economic disparities. Of course, poverty could function as a motor for labor migration, however, many other reasons play a role in the decision to leave, such as the family, relatives or professional network.³¹

As Hahn explains above, Akihiro Koido, one of the sociologists, indicated also migration

²⁸ Everett Lee, *Ibid.*, 50

²⁹ Everett Lee, *Ibid.*, 51

³⁰ Sylvia Hahn, *op. cit.*, 30

³¹ Sylvia Hahn, *op. cit.*, 31

movements don't necessarily occur from poor areas. Indeed, especially for the case of international migration, migrants need money to move out of the country.³² Furthermore, Castles, Haas, and Miller mentioned also like Koido, "most migration is not from the poorest to the wealthiest countries, as predicted by push-model"³³.

In the following parts, I observe the other important theories which were established since the second half of the 20th century.

2.1.4 Neoclassical Migration Theory

Neoclassical migration theory is based on the assumption that social forces tend towards equilibrium. Rooted in modernization theory, it sees migration as a constituent or intrinsic part of the whole development process, by which surplus labor in the rural sector supplies the workforce for the urban industrial economy. This theory sees migration as a function of geographical differences in the supply and demand for labor.³⁴

At the micro-level, neoclassical theory views migrants as individual, rational actors, who decided to move based on a cost-benefit calculation, maximizing their income. Migrants are expected to go where they can be the most productive and earn the highest wage.³⁵ In other words, wage disparity causes a migratory process.

One of the American economists, George Jesus Borjas developed the idea of an international immigration market, in which potential migrants base their choice of destination on individual, cost-benefit calculation. In Addition, he indicated other factors such as financial resources, age, occupation, political background or families should be included in the investigations.³⁶ According to Borjas's work, for instance, immigrants are usually part of a "chain", by suggesting the immigration case that had already the relatives who already residing in the United States.³⁷ He tried to show the role of the

³² Kazu Takahashi, op. cit., 46

³³ Stephen Castles, Hein De Haas, Mark J. Miller, *The Age of Migration: International Population Movements in the Modern World*. Fifth edition (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014) 29

³⁴ *The Age of Migration*, Ibid., 29

³⁵ *The Age of Migration*, Ibid., 29

³⁶ Sylvia Hahn, op. cit., 32-33

³⁷ George J. Borjas, Bronars, Stephen G., "Immigration and the Family". *Journal of Labor Economics*, Vol 9, No.2(1991) 123

family as the decision-making unit in the migration flows: international immigration movements depend on private matters of migrants and cost-benefit calculation.

2.1.5 Dual Labor Market Theory

Michael J. Piore, an American economist at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, postulated the “theory (or segmented) of the dual labor market”. This assumes the rational individual decision doesn’t matter. According to this theory, in modern industrial society, the structural demand for labor (the intrinsic labor demands), cannot be satisfied by the locals. Demand finally triggers international labor migration and forms its central cause. Piore argued, why this demand cannot be satisfied by the native workforce and explicates why developed countries seek to solve the problem by recruiting labor migrants.

One of those reasons lies in the structural division of the industrialized labor market into the primary and secondary labor markets, which in professional circles is referred to as the theory of the dual labor market.³⁸

In contrast to the primary labor market reserved for local workers, the secondary labor market is designed for seasonal fluctuating demands, which barely permit continuous and standardized production, so that capital-intensive technology use is hardly possible. Production is largely handled by labor-intensive procedures that require lower professional qualifications. The jobs are correspondingly more uncertain, and the wages are low. Industrialized countries have inherent problems in obtaining the necessary labor for the secondary market. The secondary labor market is therefore intended for labor migrants. They could be called “target earners”, in other words, they work for a self-imposed economic goal. Thus, they are more willing to accept work that the natives reject.³⁹

What is most important here is that the crucial strategic factors which trigger the flow of labor migration are the active recruitment of entrepreneurs and official employment

³⁸ Petrus Han, „Theorien zur internationalen Migration. Ausgewählte interdisziplinäre Migrationstheorien und deren zentralen Aussagen“. korrigierte Auflage (UVK Verlagsgesellschaft mbH: München, 2018) 175-177

³⁹ Petrus Han, *Ibid.*, 177

agencies of industrialized countries. Indeed, the recruitment of labor migrants into European countries in the 1960s was carried out by official government agencies that mediated between business and labor migrants. Moreover, the recruitment of African labor from the rural south to the industrial north in the USA during the First World War was also managed by entrepreneurs and railway companies. This recruitment determined both the “timing” and the flow of migration into the intended region.⁴⁰ This could be described that we must consider not only the structure of labor markets but the function of government as a coordinator for labor force recruiting, in order to observe the migratory process.

2.1.6 New Economics of Labor Migration

The “new economics of Labor migration” (NELM) challenges as a critical response to the neoclassical economic theory that migration is due to rational individual decisions. The pioneer of NELM, Oded Stark argued that, in the context of migration in and from the developing world, migration decisions are often not made by isolated individuals, but usually by families or households. NELM emphasizes factors other than individual income maximization as influencing migration decision-making.⁴¹

Firstly, NELM sees migration as a risk-sharing behavior of families or households. Such groups may decide that someone of their members should migrate, not primarily to get higher wages but to diversify income sources. In order to spread and minimize income risks with the money remitted by migrants providing income insurance for households of origin. In other words, the migratory process is based on the decision of a larger collective unit of a family or household.

Second, NELM regards migration as a family or household strategy to provide resources for investment in economic activities such as the family farm. NELM examines households in the context of the imperfect credit (capital) and risk (insurance) markets that prevail in most developing countries. Such markets are often not accessible for non-

⁴⁰ Petrus Han, *Ibid.*, 178-180

⁴¹ The Age of Migration, *op.cit.*, 38

elite groups. In particular, through remittance, households can overcome such market constraints by generating capital to invest in economic activities and improve their welfare.

Third, NELM also sees migration as a response to relative deprivation, rather than absolute poverty, within migrant-sending communities and societies. While the absolutely poor are often deprived of the capability to migrate over larger distances, the feeling of being less well-off than community members can be a powerful incentive to migrate in order to attain a higher socio-economic status.⁴²

In short, every family as well as households in third world countries, therefore, seeks to minimize economic risks by strategically allocating their workforce to ensure the economic well-being of the entire group. The labor migration of selected members abroad is part of this strategy of economic risk minimization. The distribution of risk is necessary for the family or the household since there are neither social security guarantees nor private insurance against risks.⁴³

This NELM seems particularly useful migration processes in developing countries and also of disadvantaged social groups in wealthy countries, where the lack of social security and high-income risks increase the importance of mutual help and risk-sharing within families. They seem less relevant to explain the migration of the high-skilled and the relatively well-off. However, this model has been criticized because they tend to obscure intra-household inequalities and conflicts of interest along the lines of gender, generation, and age. It is thus important not to lose sight of intra-household power struggles. For example, instead of a move to help the family, migration can also be an individual strategy to escape from asphyxiating social control, abuse, and oppression within families.⁴⁴

2.1.7 World System Theory

Since the 1980s, migration studies have been influenced by the “world system theory” by Immanuel Wallerstein.

⁴² The Age of Migration, Ibid., 38

⁴³ Petrus Han, op.cit., 174

⁴⁴ The Age of Migration, op.cit., 39

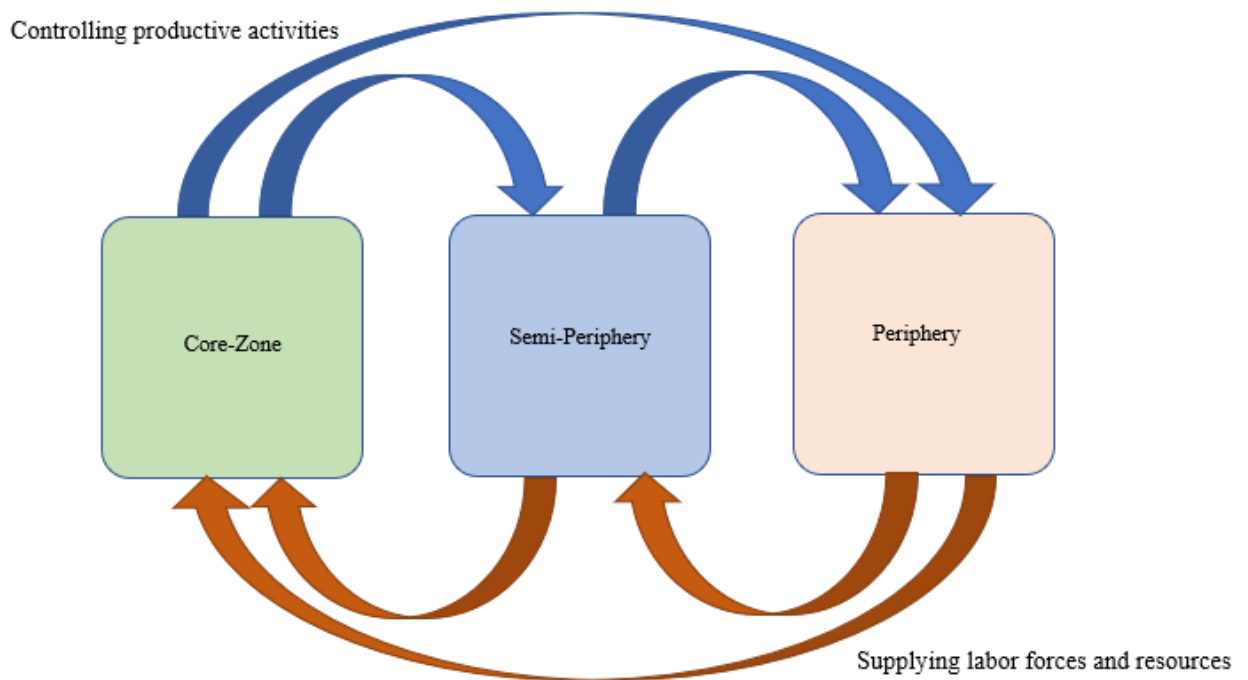
The classical push-pull theory focuses on the economic disparity between the sending country and the receiving country of migration. In contrast to this, migration science with the world systems theory tries to capture the process of immigrants throughout the whole social structures. Wallerstein proposed an analytic framework that is worldwide, with the nation-state as but one kind of organizational structure among others within the single social system. Like the neoclassical economic theory and NELM, world system theory captured also the economic disparities as a prerequisite for the migratory process. But the key to this theory is that migration is seen in the context of the global capitalist economic system, which is divided into three units: the “core-zone” comprises the economic interests and nation-states that control productive activities. They have money to invest, expect a large return on investment, involves a free-floating labor force, and exploit the resources of the periphery. The “periphery” is the opposite, for much of its history, it was neither economically nor politically independent. Its resources are controlled by the core zone, and its labor supply is controlled by the bourgeoisie of the core-zone. By trading with the core zone at a disadvantage, the peripheral ruling class contributes to regional income disparity and undermines its political position in the international system. The “semi-periphery” is the halfway position between the core-zone and periphery. It serves as a buffer between them, keeping the system from disintegrating. It is also a location to which production is transferred when costs increase in the core-zone. It has a capital of its own, however, it is nevertheless dependent on the core-zone for much of its infrastructure.⁴⁵

In this theory, “migration is seen as reinforcing the effects of military hegemony and control of world trade and investment in keeping the third world dependent on the first”.⁴⁶

⁴⁵ Bert Adams and R. A. Sydie, *Contemporary sociological theory* (Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications, 2002) 120-123

⁴⁶ *The Age of Migration*, op.cit., 33

Figure 3. World System theory



Source: Own Diagram, adapted from Bert N. Adam and Sydnie R. A. "Contemporary sociological theory", Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications, 122

There is another example of scholars, such as Wallerstein, who position international migration and labor mobility as a global system: Saskia Sassen, represents this theory that migration is not an individual decision-making process, but a labor supply system in the world labor market.⁴⁷

Sassen emphasizes the impact of direct investment from industrialized countries in

⁴⁷ Saskia Sassen, *The Mobility of Labor and Capital, A Study in International Investment and Labor Flow*. (Cambridge, 1990) 52

describing labor immigrants from developing countries. On the one hand, direct investment breaks down the sustaining economy by developing export-oriented industry and agriculture, dismantling the sustaining economy, and creating a professionalized workforce. On the other hand, the global development of multinational corporations represented by overseas investment has developed the world cities where its central management functions are concentrated. This creates new low-wage labor demand, and here labor demand and labor supply occur at the same time.⁴⁸

While Sassen's work is evaluated widely by various scholars, some problems remain in this theory: she considers only macro (overseas investment) and micro (psychological motivation) conditions in her study. But if just only those conditions are considered, the actual number of immigrants over the world must be higher.⁴⁹ Moreover, Castles, Haas, and Miller mention that the world system cannot capture the people – migrants as the actor that is important in the migratory context.⁵⁰ Thereafter, the new theories gradually emerged which stressed the need to understand migration as a broader relationship between societies.

2.2 Migration Network and Migration System Theories

Those approaches focus on the ties, network and distinct identities that are forged between sending and receiving areas through constant flows of information, ideas money, and goods.

2.2.1 Migration Network Theory

The idea of this theory was used already as “chain migration” by earlier scholars. In recent

⁴⁸ Naoto Higuchi (2002) “The Role of Mezo-Link in International Migration: Beyond the Macro-Micro Model”, *Shakaigaku hyoron*, 52(4) 559, https://www.jstage.jst.go.jp/article/jsr1950/52/4/52_4_558/_pdf/-char/ja (accessed September 21, 2019)

⁴⁹ Naoto Higuchi, “The Role of Mezo-Link in International Migration: Beyond the Macro-Micro Model” *Ibid.*, 559

⁵⁰ *The Age of Migration*, op. cit., 33

literature, the term “network migration” has gradually replaced chain migration.

This theory explains how migrants create and maintain social ties with other migrants and with family, and how this can lead to the emergence of social networks (social capital). Such networks are “meso-level” social structures that tend to facilitate further migration. Many factors play often a crucial role in the initiation of migration processes: warfare, colonialism, conquest, occupation, military service and labor recruitment, as well as shared culture, language, and geographical proximity. Migrant networks can be defined as sets of interpersonal ties that connect migrants, former migrants, and non-migrants in origin and destination areas through bonds of kinship, friendship and shared community origin. In other words, the choices made by pioneer migrants or recruiters influence the location choices of subsequent migrants. For instance, research on Mexican migrants in the 1970s showed that 90 % of those surveyed had obtained legal residence in the USA through family and employer connections.⁵¹

Migrant networks tend to decrease the economic, social and psychological costs of migration. Migration can, therefore, be conceptualized as a diffusion process, in which expanding networks cause the costs of movement to fall and the probability of migration to rise; these trends feed off one another and over time migration spreads outward to encompass all segments of society. This feedback occurs because the networks are created by the act of migration itself. Once the number of network connections in an origin area reaches a critical level, migration becomes self-perpetuating because migration itself creates the social structure to sustain it.⁵²

Therefore, besides human and financial capital, “social network” is a third resource affecting people’s capability and aspiration to migrate. Already settled migrants usually function to reduce the risks and costs of subsequent migration and settlement by providing information, organizing travel, finding work and housing and assisting in adapting to a new environment. Migrant groups develop their own social and economic infrastructure places of worship, associations, shops, professionals such as lawyers or doctors and so on. The formation of a migrant community at one destination thus increases the likelihood of more migration to the same place.⁵³

⁵¹ The Age of Migration, op. cit., 39, 40

⁵² The Age of Migration, op. cit., 40

⁵³ The Age of Migration, op. cit., 40,41

2.2.2 Migration Systems Theory

While migration network theory focuses on the role of social capital (social network), this “migration system theory” looks at how migration is intrinsically linked to other forms of exchange, notably flows of goods, ideas and money, also how this changes the initial conditions under which migration takes place, both in origin and destination societies. The migration systems theory has an alternative character to neoclassical economics with wage disparities as the main explanatory variable. It allows deepening our understanding of how migration is embedded in a broader process of social transformation and development.⁵⁴

The important point of this theory is that one form of exchange between the regions is likely to engender other forms of exchange in both directions. The migratory form is usually described by the interactions of the “macro- and micro” factors. Macro-factors include world-level political and economic situations, international relations and national-level laws so on. On the other hand, micro-factors include the individual motivations of migrants, an informal network based on local and blood ties of migrants (networks of migrants).⁵⁵

Such an approach, which focuses on social networks also, had begun with migration from Europe to North America between the 19th and 20th centuries. Based on this, its theorizing was started after the 1980s.⁵⁶

Indeed, the migration system theory is widely evaluated among scholars, to deepen their understanding of how migrants are embedded in the process of social transformation. For example, American Sociologists, Douglas Massey, and Kristin Espinosa were seeking to

⁵⁴ The Age of Migration, op. cit., 39-45

⁵⁵ Nobuaki Fujioka, “Factors behind the Increase and the Unfocused Narratives on Motivation of Japanese Working Holiday Makers in Australia”, *Australia Kenkyu*, 25(0): 29-30,

⁵⁶ Higuchi, Naoto (2002) “Organizational Basis of International Migration: Toward a Comparative Analysis of Migration Systems.” *Soshioroji*, Vol. 47 (2002-2003) No.2, p. 56
https://www.jstage.jst.go.jp/article/soshioroji/47/2/47_55/_pdf/-char/ja (accessed September 20, 2019)

evaluate contemporary theories of international migration using Mexico-U.S. migration: among the NELM, dual labor market theory (segmented labor market theory), world system theory, Neoclassical Economic theory, and social capital theory, they suggested the social capital plays a crucial role for the migration process.⁵⁷ In other words, their argument shows the migration system theory is also persuasive.

Furthermore, this migration system theory has been applied often with the network theory as a set, for example, Naoto Higuchi, one of the sociologists, an emphasis that “social network” (social capital) functions influential in this theory as “meso-factor,” like a “mediator” for migrants, which helps migrants to find employment, has a significant role. This meso-factor exists between the macro- and micro-factor in order to connect them with each other: thus, the migration structure is composed of the line “macro-meso-micro.” He argues the significance of the meso-factor by investigating the case of Brazilian labor migration to Japan and is convinced that the simplified structure with “macro-micro” cannot explain the factors that cause a large number of migrants from specific regions. The main reasons are as below: The migratory processes do not emerge as much as expected from the imbalance in labor supply and demand. In other words, if only “macro-micro” factors are considered, there must be more migrants in the world.⁵⁸

In the first place, it is neoclassical economics that explicitly measures the “macro-micro” conditions, but it is shared in the world system theory of Wallerstein that “imbalance of labor supply and demand” and “motivation” are essential conditions for the generation of immigrants. But in fact, immigrants are not randomly generated from areas where labor is excessive to areas where there is a shortage of labor. Therefore, neoclassical discussions cannot fully explain this reality. And meso-level ties as suggested by the migration system theory play a decisive role in the migratory process.⁵⁹

Figure 4. shows the mechanism of mediator for immigrants as an example of the meso-factor. In terms of the migrant worker pattern from Brazil to Japan from the 1980s, if there is a migrant who meets the conditions, a visa is obtained, and an airline ticket is issued.

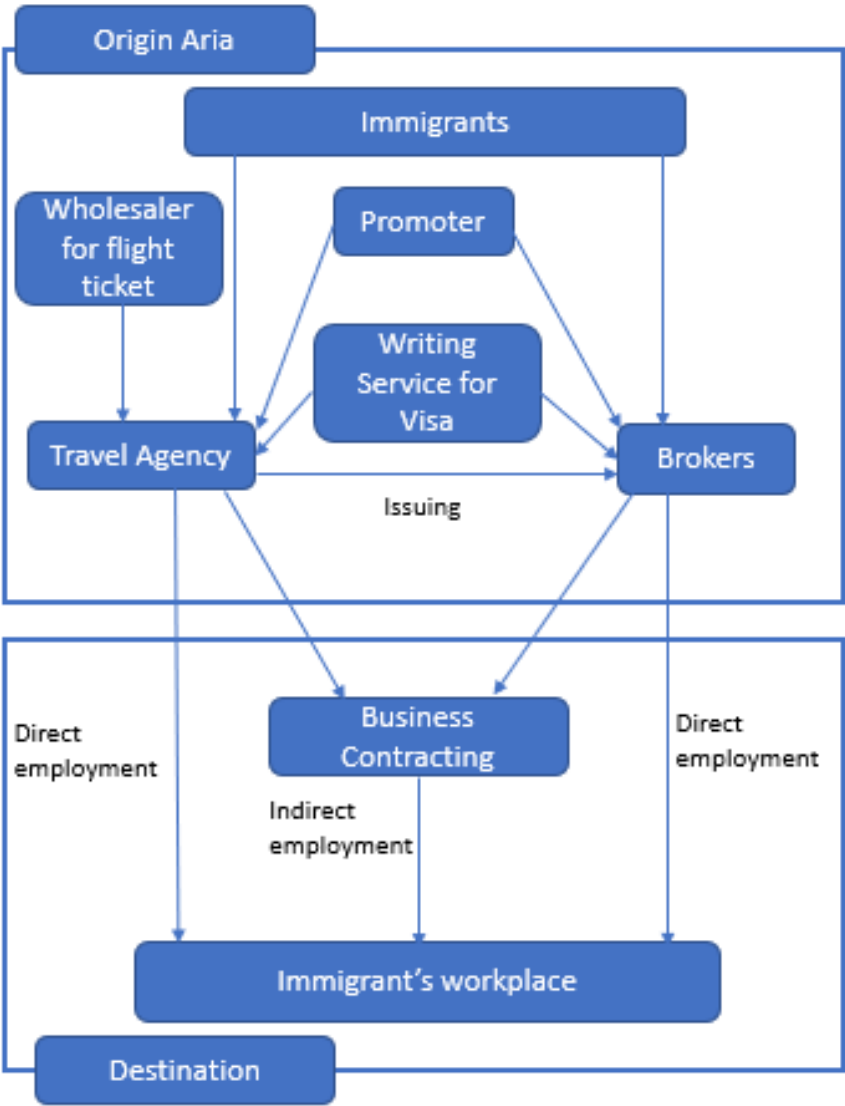
⁵⁷ Douglas S. Massey and Kristin E. Espinosa (1997) “What’s Driving Mexico-U.S. Migration? A Theoretical, Empirical, and Policy Analysis” *American Journal of Sociology*, 102(4): 939-999

⁵⁸ Naoto Higuchi, “The Role of Mezo-Link in International Migration: Beyond the Macro-Micro Model,” *op. cit.*, 559

⁵⁹ Naoto Higuchi, *Ibid.*, 558-559

In addition, companies directly request promoters who are intermediaries to search for human resources. As this figure shows, there are several actors who gain profits through mediation before migrant applicants leave the country and work.

Figure 4. Mechanism of Mediator for Immigrants



Source: Own diagram, adapted from Naoto Higuchi (2002) “The Role of Mezo-link in International Migration: Beyond the Macro-Micro Model”
 Shakaigaku Hyoron, 52(4), 561-563

Furthermore, the number of travel agencies increased rapidly in the 1980s due to the benefits of obtaining profits from migrants. Higuchi shows that there were only a few companies engaged in mediation in 1985, but in 1990 the number increased rapidly to 130. As a result, this business had expanded both quantitatively and geographically.⁶⁰ Such a developed employment management business promoted to send the migrants. As this example shows, such a meso-factor seems to function to realize the migratory mobilization directly, also promote the migratory process. Macro factors (economic disparity and historical connection between specific regions) and micro factors (migrant's motives) are just prerequisites for the migratory process. Thus, focusing on meso-factors is the key that this theory can contribute compare to other economic models.

2.3 Reflection and Conclusion

In this section, I summarize chronologically, how the theories have applied for the migration sciences.

“Laws of migration”, which defined by Ravenstein in the 19th century was the basic model for the push-pull-theory. In the 1960s, this was theorized by Lee and he described the factors as + and -, moreover, there is the intervening obstacle which like migration policy or the law. Besides, many personal factors influence the migratory process. Such ideas were used currently in various ways in order to observe the migration. However, the push-pull models are still criticized at the point that we cannot explain the migration only with such simple factors. And Ravenstein and Lee's theories see migration as the result of economic disparity.

While the economic disparity was still regarded as the major reason for migratory movements in the 1980s, some new perspectives for migration research emerged at that same period. “Dual labor market theory” shows the structures in which segmented for two types of the labor market: The primary labor market reserved for local workers and

⁶⁰ Naoto Higuchi, *Ibid.*, 562,563

in the secondary labor market intended for labor migrants. Furthermore, this theory indicates the crucial strategic factors which trigger the flow of labor migration are the active recruitment of entrepreneurs and official employment agencies of industrialized countries.

“Neoclassical economic theory” sees also the economic disparity as the main element which emerges the migratory process. In addition, this neoclassical model argues that migration is due to rational individual decisions.

In contrast, the “new economic of Labor migration” (NELM) emerged as a critical way to the neoclassical economic theory. NELM argues that migration decisions are often not made by isolated individuals, but usually by families or households.

While those economic theories (neoclassical economic theory and NELM) developed and included the aspect of family units or migrant individuals, the principal emphasis the economic disparity as the main reason for the migratory process. It regards also due to the individual or migrant’s matter. Furthermore, “The world system theory” by Wallerstein is emphasizing the structural relations between the regions of origin and destination and regards the economic disparity as a prerequisite for the migratory process as well as NELM. In his theory, however, migration is seen in the context of the global capitalist economic system, which is divided into three units: core-zone, semi-periphery, and periphery (see Figure 2). Core-zone controls the periphery and semi-periphery economically or politically, its labor supply is controlled by the bourgeoisie of the core-zone.

“Migration network theory” and “migration system theory” focusing on ties, networks and distinct identities that are forged between sending and receiving countries. Those are distinguished from other economic migration theories. Migration network theory indicates that social networks (social capitals) are resources affecting people’s capability and aspiration to migrate and such networks are meso-level social structures that tend to facilitate further migration. While migration network theory emphasizes the role of the social network, “migration system theory” allows deepening the understanding of how migration is embedded in a broader context of social transformation and development. An important point of this theory is that one form of exchange between the regions is likely to engender other forms of exchange in both directions. The migratory form is

usually described by the interactions of the “macro- and micro” factors: macro-factors include world-level political and economic situations, international relations and national-level laws so on. Micro-factors include the individual motivations of migrants, an informal network based on local and blood ties of migrants (networks of migrants). Additionally, combining the migration system theory and migration network theory seems to be effective in order to deepen the understanding of the mechanism in broader processes. In other words, this combination of those theories provides the importance attached to the macro-meso-micro-structure.

As following those are summarized:

- Push-pull models seem effective to interpret the simplified structures (micro- and macro-factors) of the migratory process, but its function is limited to observe further factors.
- Economic theories (neoclassical economic theory and NELM) emphasize the individuals or family unit (micro-factors) and economic disparity, but migration cannot be sufficiently explained by focusing on the economic differences alone.
- Dual labor migration theory shows not only two segmented labor markets, but also the government or entrepreneur may function as a coordinator for recruitments of labor migration.
- World system theory captures the migratory process as a global capitalist system and is effectively to understand the structure which involves the migrants. But this theory does not regard the people (migrants) as the actor.
- migration system theory (and migration network theory) highlights the role of the social capital (social network) provides the importance attached to macro-meso-micro-structure.

Therefore, the migration system theory combining with migration network theory seems appropriate for observation of the migratory process. Again, this theory emphasizes the function of “meso-factors” (migrant networks) and is valued in the modern world. Macro- and micro-factors are surely the requirement to emerge migratory process, but besides

meso-factors (social networks), the migration system theory sees that one form of exchange between the regions, is likely to emerge other forms of exchange in both directions. In this point, this theory can lead the directions to my research aims and here, thus I shall focus on those three factors in the next chapter and observe the empirical historical migratory example.

Empirical Part

3. Introduction

In the theoretical part, I discussed various theories, those features, and problems: those show that former scholars attempted to see the migration in broader contexts. Based on this observation, I investigate a specific historical issue in the empirical part. As mentioned at the beginning of the theoretical part, this empirical part deals with the contract workers (*Vertragsarbeiter*) from Vietnam in the GDR between 1980 and 1989. As argued in the theoretical part, the classical push-pull model seems effective to observe the simplified structure of the migratory process, however, seeing further elements of the migration with this model is hard. Additionally, such a “macro-micro” structure has been promoted in economic theories and world system theory, however, they cannot explain the migratory process sufficiently. As a recent study, therefore, it has been proposed that the “meso-factor” be incorporated into the model of migration to explain.

I summarize up those three factors and their definitions as below,

- Macro-factor: world-level political, economic situation, international relations, and national-level laws, etc.
- Micro-factor: migrant’s motivation, informal network based on local ties and blood ties.
- Meso-factor: social network (social capital) and something which connects macro and micro.

Moreover, from the discussion so far, it is obvious that I take the position of migration system theory combining with the migration network theory. Additionally, this study pays attention to the connection and function of the above three elements in this part.

3.1 Research Questions

As explained in the introduction of the empirical part, I set up the research questions in

this section. Based on the conclusion in the theoretical part, the main research questions and accompanying questions are as follows,

1. What kind of macro-, micro- and meso-factors functioned for migratory process on the issue of Vietnamese contract workers in the GDR?
2. How affect those three factors (macro, meso, and micro) and how related to each other?
3. After the German reunification, what kind of role has played former Vietnamese contract workers in the relationship between current Vietnam and Germany?

The intention of research questions 1 and 2 is clear: to examine the function of each factor in a specific migratory process and how they interact with each other. For the third question, I observe their living situation after the acceptance of Vietnamese contract workers ended in the GDR and the current acceptance of Vietnamese workers in Germany. As explained in the introduction of the theoretical part, the recruitment of Vietnamese people is still promoted in Germany currently, especially for the labor shortages of the caregiver. Since the migration system theory sees migration networks and ties as an important factor in the migratory process, I suspect there is a possibility that the former Vietnamese contract workers in the GDR are related to the current employment of the Vietnamese caregivers.

3.2 Methodology

Here, the second half of my study plan (shown in Figure 1.) will be performed.

In this part, at first, based on the contents of the above research question, the macro-, micro- and meso-factors on the case of Vietnamese contract workers should be researched. Not only the situation during the official period of the contract employment (1980-1989), but also before and after of this period should be considered: back to the 1950s, when diplomatic relation between the GDR and Vietnam was established, and, also after the German reunification.

I refer mainly to the following three types of literature: (1) Literature, specifically focused

on the Vietnamese contract workers, (2) Literature on the GDR's internal situation and (3) Literature on Vietnam's internal situation.

For all types (1) to (3), a lot of secondary literature is already available. Mike Dennis's literature recorded comprehensively the topic of the Vietnamese contract workers ("Working under Hammer and Sickle: Vietnamese Workers in the German Democratic Republic, 1980-89," 2007), and this work includes the perspective of the economic structure, political and social conditions of the GDR. His work with Norman Laporte is containing also the statistics, the living conditions of the workers, personal interviews ("State and Minorities in Communist East Germany," 2011).

For (2), the above works by Dennis include many fundamental sources about the GDR's unique economic and social characters. But furthermore, "Sailing the Shadow of the Vietnam War: The GDR Government and the "Vietnam Bonus" of the Early 1970s" provides the internal situation in the GDR related to Vietnam during the War (Horten, 2013).

For (3), I refer to the articles that argued Vietnam's economy and social situation related to the Vietnam War (Fdorde, 2009). In addition, "Vietnam's Foreign Policy under Doi Moi" (Hiep and Tsvetov, 2018) provides the aspect of the international position of Vietnam among the socialist countries.

In order to investigate the current employment of Vietnamese workers, several online sources are useful. The publication by *Bundesministerium für Wirtschaft und Energie* covers the details about the employment of Vietnamese caregivers in Germany (*Ausbildung junger Menschen aus Drittstaaten: Chance zur Gewinnung künftiger Fachkräfte für die Pflegewirtschaft*, 2014). In addition, the article "*Fachkräftemangel in der Pflege: Kritische Situationsbewertung und Skizzierung einer Handlungsalternative*" indicates considering the suitability of Vietnam as a labor supply country and perspective on the history of employment of Vietnamese workers in the GDR.

Finally, I exam macro-, micro- and meso-factors and analyze also how they relations each other. Additionally, the answers to the research questions should be organized and the comprehensive conclusion drawn.

3.3 Historical Term of Labor Migrants in Europe

Firstly, this section sees the emergence of labor migrants and their definition in history. Additionally, in order to see the modern labor migrants, the economic situation after World War II should be observed. Tony Judt, the specialist in European History, provides an overview of labor migrants across Europe.

According to Judt, in Western Europe, the three decades following Hitler's defeat showed a remarkable acceleration of economic growth: was accompanied by the onset of an era of unprecedented prosperity. The economies of continental Western Europe made good the ground lost in 40 years of the war and depression, and economic performance began to resemble those of the US.⁶¹

The post-war economic boom differed slightly in its timing from place to place, and it was experienced differently according to national variations in taxation, public expenditure or investment emphasis. Indeed, every European country saw steadily growing rates of per capita GDP (Gross Domestic Product) and GNP (Gross National Product): in the course of the 1950s, the average annual rate at which per capita national output grew in West Germany was 6.5 percent, in Italy 5.3 percent and in France 3.5 percent. When those numbers are compared with its in earlier decades, we can see the significance of such sustained growth rates: between 1913 and 1950 the German growth rate per annum was 0.4 percent, the Italian 0.6 percent, and the French 0.7 percent. Thus, it is clear the post-war economy was expanding dramatically.⁶²

Besides the dramatic expansion of the post-war economy, Judt indicates that the cross-border labor movement in Europe had begun shortly after the end of World War II. Of course, European migration was nothing new: between 1870 and 1926 the fifteen million people left Italy and had emigrated to the United States and Argentina. The same was true of the millions of Greeks, Poles, Jews and so on, or the Scandinavians, Germans and Irish of an earlier generation. After World War One, the miners and farm workers immigrated from Italy and Poland into France and political refugees escaped from Nazism and Fascism. Intra-European migration, however, especially the labor migrants remained the

⁶¹ Tony Judt, *Postwar: A History of Europe since 1945*. (2005, London: Heinemann) 324

⁶² Tony Judt, *Ibid.*, 325

exception.⁶³

In 1964, following an agreement, the tens of thousands of young Italian workers crossed in organized convoys to work in mines of Wallonia, in Belgium. As explained above, throughout Europe the economic expansion of postwar was markedly, but in the course of the 1950s, its expansion of north-west Europe was outrunning local population growth. As the West German economy, in particular, began to accelerate, the government was forced to seek out cheap labor from abroad. About providing such labor in Germany, Judt mentions as follow,

By 1956 Chancellor Adenauer was in Rome, offering free transport to any Italian labor who would make the journey to Germany and seeking official Italian cooperation to funnel unemployed southerners across the Alps. In the course of the next decade the Bonn authorities would sign a series of accords not just with Italy but also encompassing Greece and Spain (1960), Turkey (1961), Morocco (1963), Portugal (1964), Tunisia (1964) and Yugoslavia (1968). Foreign ("guest") workers were encouraged to take up employment in Germany, on the understanding that their stay was strictly temporary: they would eventually return to their country of origin. By 1973, in West Germany there were nearly half a million people from Italy, 535,000 Yugoslavia and 605,000 from Turkey.⁶⁴

According to this explanation, therefore, it is important to be clear the employment the labor migrants was promoted directly by the governments due to the labor shortages accompanied by economic expansion. Throughout this context, such labor migrants are understood as "guest workers," in German literally "*Gastarbeiter*." And unlike the guest workers in West Germany, the foreign workers in East Germany are described as "*Vertragsarbeiter*" (contract workers).

The terms of reference for these workers have been contractually agreed with the countries of origin in bilateral intergovernmental agreements. The first intergovernmental agreement was with Poland (1965-66, new regulation:1988) and Hungary (1967, new

⁶³ Tonny Judt, *Ibid.*, 333

⁶⁴ Tonny Judt, *Ibid.*, 334

regulation: 1973). Later followed Algeria (1974), Cuba (1978), Mozambique (1979), Vietnam (1980), Angola (1984) and China (1986).⁶⁵

In the following part, the attention will be paid to focuses on the contract workers in East Germany.

3.4 Employing the Contract Workers in the GDR

This section gives overall information on foreign contract workers in the GDR. Like Western Germany (FRG) as Judt mentioned, the labor shortage was also one of the reasons for recruiting foreign workers in the GDR, and other several motives also played a role in recruiting foreign workers at that time.

Firstly, it is necessary to clarify GDR's position in international society at that time. After World War Two, the GDR provided refuges for many who suffered persecution in their countries: they were Greeks, Chileans, Spaniards and members of the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO), the African National Congress (ANC) and the South West African People's Organization (SWAPO). Additionally, the GDR had the most advanced industrial power among the COMECON (Council for Mutual Economic Assistance / Rat für gegenseitige Wirtschaftshilfe"). The GDR's government was providing vocational training for several thousand foreigners, at colleges, enterprises, and institutions of higher education.⁶⁶

As the 1960s progressed, the GDR took a growing interest in recruiting foreign workers on short-term contracts, who could help the GDR's inadequate labor supply. Bilateral agreements were signed firstly between the GDR and Hungary (1967) and Poland (1971). From the mid-1970s, the GDR began to recruit non-European contract workers: Algeria (1974), Cuba (1978) and Mozambique (1979). From the 1980s, it was further expanded: Vietnam (1980), Mongolia (1982), Angola (1984) and China (1986).⁶⁷ Till the Berlin Wall fell, almost 130,000 foreign workers from non-European countries were recruited in

⁶⁵ Mike Dennis, "Working under Hammer and Sickle: Vietnamese Workers in the German Democratic Republic", op. cit., 340

⁶⁶ Mike Dennis, Norman Laporte, *State and Minorities in Communist East Germany*. (Berghahn Books: New York, 2011) 88

⁶⁷ Mike Dennis, Norman Laporte, *Ibid.*, 88

the GDR (Table 1). Including the numbers of workers from Poland and Hungary, the total amount of them is around 190,000 in 1989.⁶⁸ But this number is including not only contract workers, but also students, refugees, diplomats and other art of workers.

Obviously, the statistic shows the numbers of Vietnamese are remarkably high (see Table 1).

**Table 1. Numbers of foreign contract workers in the GDR
from non-European countries (1974-1989)**

Year	Algeria	Cuba	Mosabique	Vietnam	Mongolia	Angola	China	North Korea	Sum
1974	560								560
1975	3,260								3,260
1976	160								160
1977	-								0
1978	1,320	1,206							2,526
1979	700	3,060	447						4,207
1980	1,170	2,058	2,839	1,540					7,607
1981	890	390	2,618	2,700					6,598
1982		2,151	-	4,420	13				6,584
1983		1,598	382	150	31				2,161
1984		2,395	-	330	-				2,725
1985		4,171	1,347	-	-	312			5,830
1986		4,232	2,869	-	-	33			7,134
1987		3,174	3,203	20,446	-	206	818	350	28,197
1988		-	6,464	30,552	130	687	93	450	38,376
1989		925	1,992	8,688		418			12,023
Sum	8,060	25,360	22,161	68,826	174	1,656	911	800	127,948

Source: Zwengel, Almut (2011) Die „Gastarbeiter“ der DDR, Politischer Kontext und Lebenswelt, Münster: Lit Verlag, 4

⁶⁸ Klaus J. Bade, Jochen Oltmer, Normalfall Migration, (Bonn: Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, 2004) 93

In fact, Foreigners had formed a small proportion of all populations of the GDR: it was just 1,2 % when the Berlin Wall fall in 1989. Compared to its number in the FRG, this is significantly lower, however, the uniqueness of those foreigner's nationalities should be paid attention: while the residents employed as contract worker was well represented, the US and Great Britain had much less than 150 residents in the GDR in 1989. Furthermore, over 360,000 Soviet troops and their 200,000 families stayed in the GDR. Those composed of the nationalities seem to show that GDR was still the leader among the states of the COMECON.

Table 2. Foreigners proportion in the GDR in 1989 by nationality

Nationality	Number	Proportion (%)
Vietnam	60,100	31.4
Poland	51,700	27.1
Mozambique	15,500	8.1
Soviet Union	14,900	7.8
Hungary	13,400	7.0
Cuba	8,000	4.2
Belgium	4,900	2.6
Czechoslovakia	3,200	1.7
Yugoslavia	2,100	1.1
Angola	1,400	0.7
total	191,200	100

Source: Klaus J. Bade, Jochen Oltmer, Normalfall Migration,
(Bonn: Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, 2004) 93

Besides, there are some differences in the number of foreign contract workers in the GDR depending on the materials referenced. In comparing with Table 1. and Table 3, the

number of Vietnamese contract workers recorded higher in Table 3: seems to have increased since the research progressed.

3.5 The Current Situation of Vietnamese Immigrants in Germany

In the last section, Table 1. and 2. show the Vietnamese population is apparently higher than other nationalities of foreign workers. But if we see this ethnic category “Vietnamese immigrants” in modern Germany, they are described by various and different backgrounds: Vietnamese immigrants in reunified Germany are divided comprehensively by following two contexts: one, asylum seekers, who are called usually “boat people” (*Bootsflüchtlinge*) or “contingent refugees” (*Kontingentflüchtlinge*) have been rescued by the ship Cap Anamur from 1979. The second is the contract workers (*Vertragsarbeiter*) in the GDR.⁶⁹ But of course, they are not only backgrounds of Vietnamese immigrants in Germany: in addition, northern and southern Vietnamese students arrived in the FRG between the 1960s and 1970s. Similar to the FRG, the GDR committed to providing training programs to 10,000 Vietnamese people in 1973. Furthermore, in the GDR, around 350 Vietnamese children had educated with German-style schooling in Moritzburg in the mid-1950s. Those Vietnamese children called “Moritzburger,” and they remained in the GDR for three years.⁷⁰

The above-described means the diplomatic relation between the GDR and Vietnam already begun before many contract workers arrived. The following section deals to explain the background of the establishment of their diplomatic relation.

⁶⁹ Tran Tinh Vy, (2018) “From diaspora community to diaspora literature: the case of Vietnamese boat people in Germany”, *Diaspora Studies*, 11(2) 153

⁷⁰ Martin Spiewak, „Herr Kha erzählt.“ (1994.July.22) *Die Zeit Archive*, <https://www.zeit.de/1994/30/herr-kha-erzaehlt> (accessed October 8, 2019)

3.6 German Democratic Republic and Vietnam

3.6.1. The diplomatic relationship between the GDR and Vietnam before the 1980 Agreement

The 1980s was not the first period of beginning for diplomatic relations between GDR and Vietnam. As mentioned above, as early as the mid-1950s, the GDR government began to accept Vietnamese people as part of solidarity programs. Then, the Vietnamese students reached the GDR for vocational training.

3.6.2. Establishment of the diplomatic relationship

The links dated back to October 1949, when the Democratic Republic in Vietnam (DRV) entered diplomatic relations with the newly founded GDR. Then, the GDR began soon supporting Vietnam with economic and humanitarian aid. After World War II, Ho Chi Min announced the birth of independent the DRV in September 1945, however, at the Potsdam conference in July, Allied leaders divided Indochina at the 16th parallel with British force responsible for the south and Chinese Nationalist forces responsible from the north. French required that the Vietnamese acquiesce to the return of French colonial rule and established the Republic of Cochinchina. During the First Indochina War (Anti-French Resistance War), the French government set up the State of Vietnam in Saigon by using former Emperor Bao Dai as a Chief of this state in order to press for change in the relationship of both countries.⁷¹ At the Geneva Conference in 1954, Vietnam was to be divided at the 17th parallel, with the Vietminh regrouping to the north and the French and their supporters to the south.⁷²

⁷¹ Keith Weller Taylor, *A History of Vietnamese* (Cambridge University Press, 2013) 536-546

⁷² Kevin Ruane, *The Vietnam Wars* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000) 49

Figure 5. Divided Vietnam along the seventeenth parallel



Source: Kevin Ruane, *The Vietnam Wars*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000) 17

By 1957, the GDR was already the third-largest provider of aid among COMECON,

behind China and the Soviet Union. In the 1960s, the GDR became one of the first countries to recognize the South Vietnamese National Liberation Front (NLF) and supported the rebel group with military aid.⁷³

Focusing on the history of migration between both countries, the migratory movement from Vietnam to the GDR was seen already by the 1950s: the Vietnamese children group as “Moritzburger”. In a symbolic act to express the East German solidarity for Vietnam, those children were sent to the GDR as part of a solidarity initiative for school education and vocational training. Their parents were the cadres of the Vietnam Workers Party (VWP).

Tran Tinh Vy explains the role of those Vietnamese children as follows:

“The ‘Moritzburger’ acted as lobbyists for the education and training of Vietnamese in East Germany, which becomes a widely known network in Vietnam up to now. They were even considered as the early pioneers of educational training and contract workers programme implemented for Vietnamese in the 1980s.”⁷⁴

After the three-years education period, they had to return to North Vietnam. Furthermore, many of them completed a training program or a university degree in the GDR. In the 1980s, when many contract workers came to the GDR, the former Moritzburger helped them, especially to communicate in German. The following text shows how former Moritzburger children were involved in the employment of the Vietnamese contract workers in the 1980s.

Le Duc Duong arbeitete als Deutschlehrer, Vo Cam Trang als Dolmetscherin. Erst mehr als ein Jahrzehnt später konnten sie erneut nach Deutschland reisen. Bis 1989 warb die DDR etwa 60.000 Vietnamesen als Vertragsarbeiter an - aber viele sprachen kaum Deutsch. Plötzlich waren die ehemaligen Moritzburger, die

⁷³ Gerd Horten, (2013) “Sailing the Shadow of the Vietnam War: The GDR Government and the “Vietnam Bonus” of the Early 1970s”, *German Studies Review*, 36(3): 567

⁷⁴ Tran Tinh Vy (2018) op. cit., 153

fließend Deutsch sprachen, sehr gefragt. Le Duc Duong wurde Gruppenleiter vietnamesischer Vertragsarbeiter in einer Wäscherei, Vo Cam Trang Gruppenleiterin in einer Schuhfabrik.⁷⁵

In addition, according to the article of Tinh Vy, many former Vietnamese Moritzburger became important officials later. For instance, Le Dang Doanh, the former head of the central institute for economic management, and Tran Thi Kim Hoang is former deputy general director of Saigon tourist Company, are former Moritzburger children. They still maintained their close social network back in Vietnam through regular meetings.⁷⁶

The next section will focus on the diplomatic relations between the GDR and Vietnam during the Vietnam War. This discussion includes how both countries work within the framework of the socialist regime and the consensus of East German civils against the solidarity to Vietnam.

After the end of the second Indochina War (Vietnam War) in 1975, and the formal reunification of North and South Vietnam in the following year, the GDR continued to send solidarity contributions while switching to a policy that placed a greater emphasis on economic benefit.⁷⁷

3.6.3. GDR's Solidarity during the Vietnam War

The Vietnam War, also known as the Second Indochina War, already ended before the GDR agreed with the contract for sending Vietnamese workers. However, attention should be paid to the Vietnam War period and considering it. Some of the surrounding environment seems to the diplomatic relationship between them should be considered.

⁷⁵ Maximilian Kalkhof, „Vietnamese in der DDR. Als Onkel Ho seine Kinder schickte“ <https://www.spiegel.de/geschichte/vietnamesische-kinder-in-der-ddr-ein-paradies-bis-zur-wende-a-1060680.html> (accessed October 10, 2019)

⁷⁶ Ann-Julia Schaland, Vietnamese Diaspora Germany, (Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit GmbH, 2015) 8

⁷⁷ Mike Dennis, „Working under Hammer and Sickle: Vietnamese Workers in the German Democratic Republic, 1980-89“, op. cit., 341

Gerd Horten, a historian of America and international History, points out “the Vietnam War provided the East German government with a golden opportunity,”⁷⁸ both internationally and domestically.

By the 1960 and early 1970s, in concert with the Soviet Union and Warsaw Pact countries, the GDR government vigorously opposed this War and supported the DRV politically and economically. GDR’s political advantage of the Vietnam War was that the escalating conflict merged easily with some of the main propaganda themes of the GDR’s Cold War rhetoric. One of them was that the US was an imperialist power bent on economic exploitation as well as world conquest and committed to subduing liberation movements in the developing world.⁷⁹

The GDR blasted the United States for its aggressive actions in Vietnam with the onset of the War. In 1964, GDR’s main party newspaper “*Neues Deutschland*” accused the United States of a “war of aggression” in connection with the Gulf of Tonkin incident and argued that President Johnson and the American Congress were purposefully provoking a war in Vietnam. The GDR vigorously condemned the early bombing campaigns against DRV, highlighted the worldwide protests against the US actions and solidly placed itself on the side of the DRV in the conflict. These attacks by the media against the US due to the Vietnam War increased with heightened international criticism of the conflict and intensifying solidarity campaigns and demonstrations in the GDR.⁸⁰

By the end of the 1960s, the GDR government began to participate in antiwar conferences held in West European countries. Most significant among these were the annual Vietnam Conferences in Stockholm. This conference convened in 1966 for the first time and the GDR joined it by 1967. In 1970, the GDR Vietnam Committee was invited to the Executive Committee of the Stockholm Vietnam Conference in recognition of its contributions to the international antiwar campaigns. Furthermore, the scientific studies in the GDR that proved the use of biological and chemical warfare in the Vietnam War were seen as very influential contributions.

In addition, the GDR participated also in the consecutive conferences that focused on US War crimes in Indochina. At the conference held in Oslo of 1971, the GDR delegation

⁷⁸ Gerd Horten, op. cit., 557

⁷⁹ Gerd Horten, Ibid., 560

⁸⁰ Gerd Horten, Ibid., 560

distributed again a report on the use of the various herbicides (Agent-Orange, -Blue and -White) by the US in Vietnam. The report described the companies involved in the manufacture and distribution of those herbicides. The conference report emphasized that the GDR delegation came well prepared for the deliberations and that its contributions were widely praised by the participants.

By the early 1970s, the Vietnam Committee had established a working relationship with the British organization *Medical Aid for Vietnam*, the Dutch group *Medisch Comité Nederland* and the Austrian group *Anti-Imperialist Solidarity Committee* (*Antiimperialistisches Solidaritätskomitee*). Besides, to supply these organizations with antiwar literature and documentaries, the GDR arranged for the transport of medical and blood donations from Western Europe and included them as part of its own shipments to the DRV.⁸¹

The GDR's official solidarity with the DRV began before the American invasion. As mentioned above, the GDR soon began to support the DRV economically and on humanitarian grounds, after their diplomatic relationship was established. By the 1960s, the solidarity campaign became more active and the Vietnam Committee (*Vietnam Ausschuss*) was created. It was a part of the Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee (*Afro-Asiatisches Solidaritätskomitee*) that had been established in 1963 (this Committee would be renamed "the Solidarity Committee of the GDR" in early 1973). This Vietnam Committee coordinated the various government campaigns and functioned as the main hub for antiwar efforts in the GDR till the 1970s.⁸²

The citizens of the GDR were not cooperative or resistant to official campaigns in the early years of the war. One Stasi official Leipzig reported the broad negative sentiment in August 1996, "The missing sense of solidarity with and disinterest towards the Vietnamese people is predominant based on the unofficial reactions of all population groups, even among some comrades."⁸³ Such rejections were justified with some comments by citizens in the GDR that they didn't want to unnecessarily prolong the war or simply that Vietnam was none of their business. Some requests for blood donations

⁸¹ Gerd Horten, *Ibid.*, 567

⁸² Gerd Horten, *Ibid.*, 568

⁸³ Gerd Horten, *Ibid.*, 569

also revealed racist resentment. Furthermore, when sending military volunteers to Vietnam was decided in 1966, the response from citizens was unanimous.⁸⁴

By the mid-1970s, Stasi officials reported a far greater willingness to donate time and money to the solidarity campaigns as well as increased and more vocal opposition to the war. The monthly reports from the districts corroborated the notion that the citizens had become more involved in the solidarity campaigns by early 1970. For instance, the reports from Dresden show an ever-growing willingness to participate in the donation campaigns and referred to “thousands of new acts of solidarity and donation campaigns.”⁸⁵ The other report from 1973 also shows that “the ever-widening solidarity movement is especially evident because many workers are willing to donate between 1-5% of their yearly bonus and an ever-larger number have increased their monthly solidarity donations”.⁸⁶

Those results correspond to the increase in public donations over the decade between 1966 and 1975: the public donations amounted to around 16 million Marks in 1966, and more than doubled by 1968. In 1973 they reached a peak with more than 48 million, and almost doubled again by 1975 to 83 million Marks. These donations always made up just a small portion of the overall government aid provided to the DRV, however, those statistical results should be notable for their sizes and their increases for the decade.⁸⁷

3.6.4. Contract Agreement 1980 between the GDR and Vietnam

As mentioned above, several thousand Vietnamese had already studied or trained in the GDR, during and before the Vietnam War. Additionally, solidarity campaign movements and humanely aids were stimulated. After the end of the War in 1975, the GDR continued still to send solidarity contributions while switching to a policy that placed emphasis on mutual economic advantage.

The Vietnamese contract worker emerged by 1980 under a bilateral government agreement between the GDR State Secretariat for Labor and Wages and the Vietnamese

⁸⁴ Gerd Horten, *Ibid.*, 569

⁸⁵ Gerd Horten, *Ibid.*, 569

⁸⁶ Gerd Horten, *Ibid.*, 569

⁸⁷ Gerd Horten, *Ibid.*, 569, 570

Ministry of Labor. This Agreement (*Abkommen zwischen der DDR und Vietnam über die Einreise von ausländischen Vertragsarbeitern*) promoted also as a solidarity initiative, articles of the agreement are introduced as follows,

„Guided by the wish to deepen the brotherly cooperation between the two countries and [proceeding] on the basis of a mutual interest in the temporary employment and training of Vietnamese workers in the enterprises of the German Democratic Republic, the government of the German Democratic Republic and the government of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam have concluded this agreement...“⁸⁸

In previous studies, their recruitment duration is usually divided for the following two parts: the first period was from 1980 to 1984 (or 1986), the second was from 1987 to 1989. During the first period, around 12,000 Vietnamese contract workers were recruited, most of them came to the GDR between 1980 and 1982. In the second period, the numbers of the Vietnamese in the GDR are remarkably increased (see Table 3). The reason why such many Vietnamese workers came to the GDR and the number increased so rapidly in the second period, will be explained in the following sections.

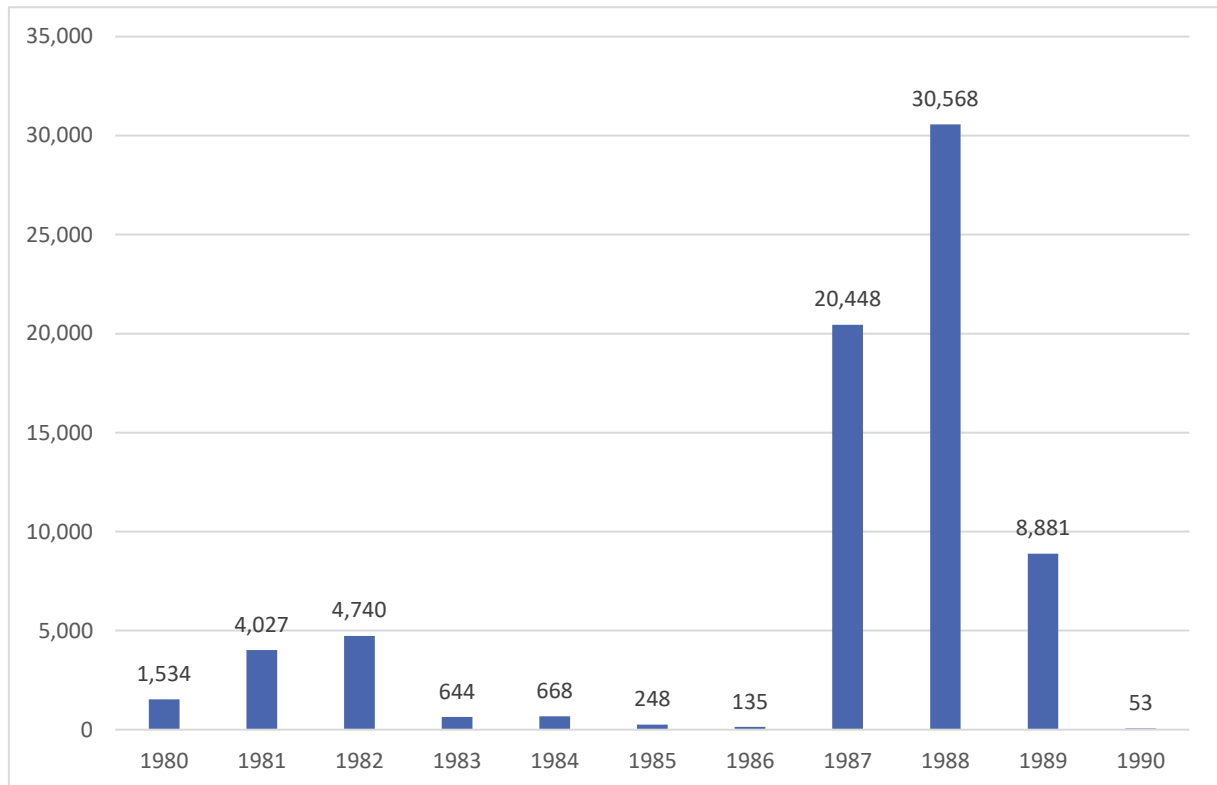
Arrangements for Vietnamese contract workers were similar to other foreign partner countries, and the basic terms governing the employment and residence of the Vietnamese contract workers were set out in the agreement concluded between the GDR and Vietnam in 1980.⁸⁹

The contract agreement for Vietnam was modified by both governments in annual protocols and revised in 1987. Then, the number of Vietnamese contract workers increased again from 1,534 in 1980 to over 59,000 in late 1989. That was far more than the GDR government originally planned.

⁸⁸ German History Documents and Images, “Agreement between the GDR and Vietnam on the importation of Contract Labor (April 11, 1980)”
http://ghdi.ghi-dc.org/sub_document.cfm?document_id=854 (accessed October 18, 2019)

⁸⁹ Mike Dennis, “Working under Hammer and Sickle: Vietnamese Workers in the German Democratic Republic, 1980-89”, op. cit., 434

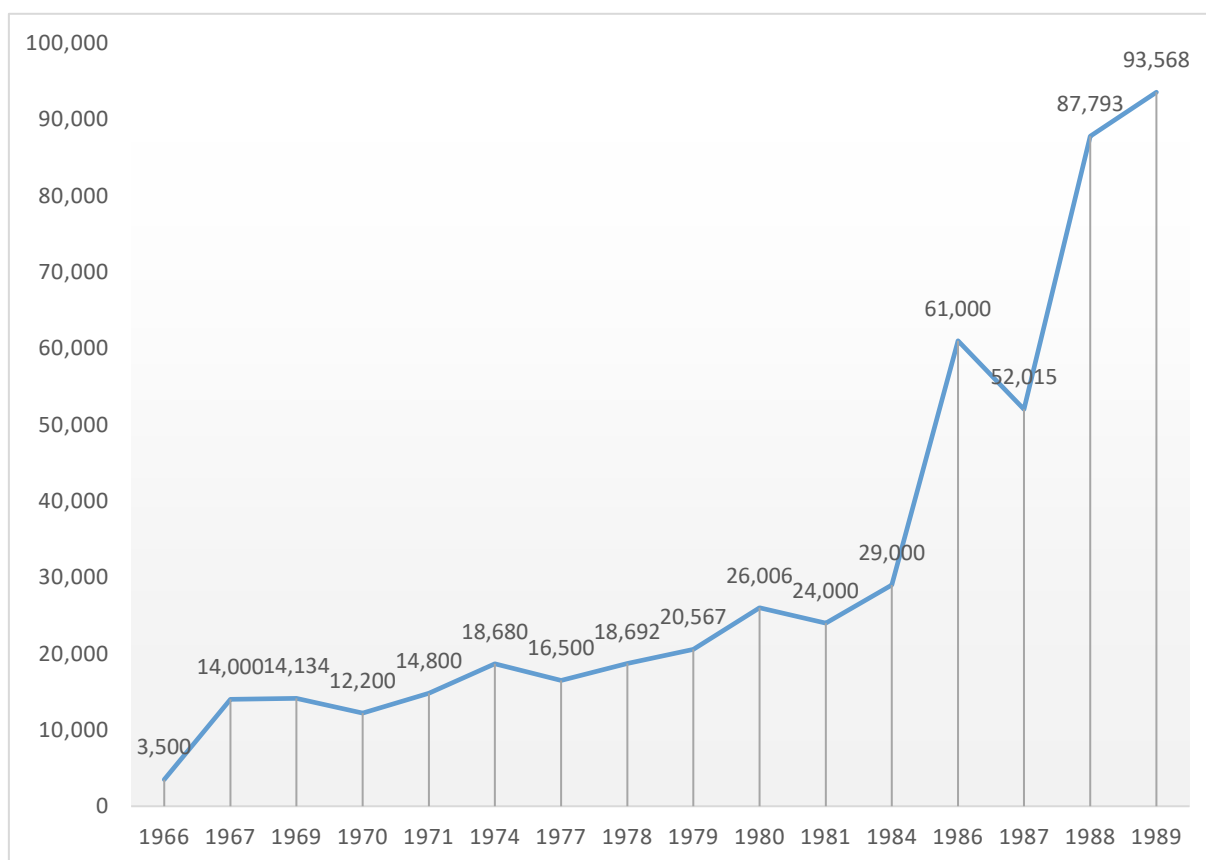
Table 3. Number of Vietnamese contract workers sent to the GDR (1980-1989)



Source: Mike Dennis, *Working under Hammer and Sickle: Vietnamese Workers in the German Democratic Republic, 1980-89*, (German Politics, 16:3, 2007) 340

Official statistics released shortly after the collapse of the Berlin Wall revealed that around 88,000 foreign contract workers formed a high proportion of the 191,000 non-Germans residing in the GDR at the end of 1989 (see Table 4). The latter figure also included diplomats, students, refugees and representatives of foreign firms. The foreigner's proportion in the GDR at that time is also shown in Table 2.

Table 4. The numbers of foreign contract workers in the GDR (1966-1989)



Source: Klaus J. Bade, Jochen Oltmer, *Normalfall Migration*, (Bonn: Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, 2004) 95

Indeed, Mike Dennis has already provided a concise conclusion to answer the question of why so many Vietnamese contract workers are employed in the GDR: firstly, economic necessity and inefficiencies inherent in the command economy drove the GDR into the large-scale mobilization of foreign labor. Moreover, it was politically more convenient to describe the 1980 agreement with Vietnam as a deepening of fraternal cooperation rather than risk drawing attention to the gravity of the GDR's own economic and supply problems at a time when the SED was claiming that the country's system of central planning was not in need of fundamental reform. Secondly, for Vietnam, sending Vietnamese workers to the GDR was an advantage due to the depression after the war.

Correspondingly to this, the following section explains the internal situation of the GDR and Vietnam as “macro-factors” that emerge immigrants.

3.6.5. Internal Situation in the GDR

The GDR solidarity activities for the Vietnam War had been already promoted in the 1960s and 1970s, after that the GDR shifted its policy with importance placed on their advantages of the economy. This section sees the GDR’s internal situation driven mass employment for Vietnamese workers.

As mentioned above, the GDR’s economic power was most advanced within the Comecon. The GDR provided vocational training for several thousand apprentices in colleges as well as enterprises or students for higher education. Of course, such training by the GDR aimed to improve specific vocational skills among the socialist countries in order to contribute to the goal of social-economic convergence which the Comecon professed. Moreover, the GDR promoted also the notions ideologically and politically: proletarian internationalism and solidarity with fraternal socialist countries.⁹⁰

Those vocational training opportunities were provided for the foreign contract workers too: not only between the GDR and Vietnam but all the agreements of GDR’s partner countries incorporated arrangements for such training to improve their skills. This aspect of providing the training, however, declined in significance as the GDR’s economic, financial and labor problems mounted in the 1980s. All subsequent arrangements for the deployment of contract workers were the intergovernmental agreement concluded between Hungary and the GDR (1967). The various bilateral agreements regulated the length of labor contracts, working conditions, vocational training, wage and bonuses, social security rights, the transfer of some goods, travel to or from the GDR, and sleeping accommodations.⁹¹

After the end of the Vietnam War in 1975, the GDR government continued to support unified Vietnam as a solidarity contribution. Again, from this time, the GDR started to place great importance on mutual economic benefit. In order to ensure to provide the labor

⁹⁰ Mike Dennis, Norman Laporte, *op. cit.*, 88

⁹¹ Mike Dennis, Norman Laporte, *Ibid.*, 88, 89

forces, the GDR was forced to see further other socialist countries beyond Eastern Europe. The main reasons for it are as follows: first, by the mid-1970s the labor forces from Hungary were drying up. Second, the GDR had an unwieldy administrative-command system and it deals inefficient with providing the labor forces.⁹²

As a result, Algeria (1974) and Cuba (1978) signed a bilateral agreement and began to send workers to the GDR. The numbers of the workers from both countries increased as Table 1. shows: those populations had increased relatively steadily every year. There were some troubles among the Algerian workers, however, the conflicts between the employers and them emerged sometimes. Among the Algerian connections, they went to strike in pursuit of higher wages and better opportunities between 1974 and 1984. Some violent incidents also occurred by the Algerian workers. Based on those situations in the GDR, the Algerian government decided later that the bilateral agreement will be terminated in 1984. Escalating those problems, the GDR government looked to Vietnam.⁹³

Vietnam didn't incur any costs from the arrangements and the GDR government made significant annual financial transfers to the Vietnamese treasury, notably a per capita contribution to pension insurance funds and child allowance. The Deployment of Vietnamese workers costs higher than other non-European workers, the GDR government aimed to dispense with most foreign contract workers by 1988 and to utilize those workers more effectively. On the other hand, the resistance against this decision emerged from the nationalized enterprises which employed foreign workers. Since they received subsidies for foreign workers and those were benefiting able.

In 1986, the GDR government reached an agreement that furthers 17,570 Vietnamese contract workers in the light industry by the middle of 1988, due to the adjustment of the plan by the GDR: the production of children's shoes, anoraks, trousers, and coats will be increased. Therefore, the remarkable increase of Vietnamese contract workers (seen in Table. 3) in the late-1980s corresponds to this government's plan adjustment.⁹⁴

Therefore, the above suggests that the economic demand of the GDR and some troubles of other foreign workers were promoted to employ so many Vietnamese workers. However, as an important fact, no one among the leaders of the SED (East German

⁹² Mike Dennis, Norman Laporte, *Ibid.*, 89

⁹³ Mike Dennis, Norman Laporte, *Ibid.*, 89, 90

⁹⁴ Mike Dennis, Norman Laporte, *Ibid.*, 92

Communist Party) could explain, why the GDR was recruiting such many foreign contract workers. The reason for this is that, as evidenced by the increasing of solidarity activities in the past, the ideological element functioned. Mike Dennis points “it was politically more convenient to portray the bilateral agreements as a deepening of fraternal cooperation in order to avoid drawing attention to the GDR’s economic plight.”⁹⁵

3.6.6. Internal Situation in Vietnam

Dennis noted that the recession after the Vietnam War was one of the reasons that promoted many Vietnamese contract workers to leave the country and emigrated to the GDR. This section aims to discuss further the internal situation in Vietnam.

After the end of the Vietnam War in 1975, Vietnam desperately needed external assistance in its struggle to overcome the ravages of war, to cement the unification of two disparate economic and political systems. Throughout most of the 1980s, also to cope with rampant inflation, a protracted war with Cambodia and soaring external debt.⁹⁶ Generally, such a post-war recession is recognized as the main reason that many Vietnamese people driven to leave the country. To support this argument, it also should be discussed that (1) the economic policy “Doi Moi” was not effective in the 1980s, and (2) Vietnamese economy was strongly dependent on socialist countries (especially the Soviet Union) until the 1980s.

The renovation policy “Doi Moi” was introduced in 1986, and this aims to create a socialist-oriented market economy. However, the policy was failing to produce immediate economic advantages. In other words, the Doi Moi policy produced effective results after 1990: indeed, Vietnam normalized diplomatic relations with the US in 1995 and signed a trade agreement in 2001, joined the World Trade Organization (WTO) in 2007.⁹⁷ The

⁹⁵ Mike Dennis, Norman Laporte, *Ibid.*, 91

⁹⁶ Mike Dennis, “Working under Hammer and Sickle: Vietnamese Workers in the German Democratic Republic, 1980-89,” *op. cit.*, 341

⁹⁷ Pham, Maitrung, Naoki Hasegawa and Hiroshi Suzuki (2016) “A Study about the Reconsideration Contents of Urban Master Plan of Hanoi City Behind Doi Moi Policy”, *Institute of Japan’s Journal of Architecture and Planning*, 22(51), 721
https://www.jstage.jst.go.jp/article/aijt/22/51/22_721/_pdf/-char/ja (accessed October 14, 2019)

Statistic also shows the highly successful performance in the Vietnamese Economy after 1990: through the 1990s the economy showed rapid growth and the gross domestic product (GDP) growth averaged 7.6% during this period.⁹⁸

Moreover, the Doi Moi policy aimed to diversify the country's external relations in order to take advantage of foreign resources, for examples, such as capital and technologies. Their heavy dependence on socialist countries for external trade not only limited Vietnam's ability to increase its total foreign trade turnover but also exposed the country to serious risks that might disrupt its economic development. In fact, however, when the Doi Moi policy launched in 1986, socialist countries accounted for 83.3% and 67.1% of Vietnam's imports and exports respectively. No major advances have seen within the first few years after the Doi Moi policy started and it is mainly due to the adverse Cold War environment and especially Vietnam's prolonged military engagement in Cambodia.⁹⁹ Therefore, the Communist Party of Vietnam (CPV) remained eager for economic and financial cooperation with the GDR in the late 1980s and its citizens looked to employment in the GDR, the Soviet Union, Bulgaria and Czechoslovakia for desperately needed outside relief for themselves and their dependents.¹⁰⁰

3.6.7. Control and Employment of the Contract Workers

The above discussed the social and economic framework that sent Vietnamese workers to the GDR. As next, this section focuses on their regulated life in the GDR by elaborate administrative control.

First, the main central agency for all matters relating to the employment of the contract workers was the State Secretariat for Labor and Wages (SAL). This was directly responsible to the Council of Ministers. Immediately below this SAL were the ministries which utilized foreign labor and the numerous groups involved in the coordination of the employment programs at the regional and local level. And the enterprises had

⁹⁸ Adam Fforde, (2009) "History, and the Origins of Vietnam's Post-War Economic Success". *Asian Survey*, 49(3) 486

⁹⁹ Le Hong Hiep and Anton Tsvetov "Vietnam's Foreign Policy under Doi Moi", (ISEAS Publishing: Singapore, 2018) 8,9

¹⁰⁰ Mike Dennis, Norman Laporte, op. cit., 91

responsibility for turning plans and regulations into concrete measures regarding wages, vocational training, accommodation, medical and cultural facilities. The basic liaison and control functions were performed by hostel wardens, minders, group leaders and interpreters. Additionally, at a higher level, it was controlled by Regional Commissioners. Minders were the local citizens of the GDR who were appointed by enterprises to maintain order, safety, and cleanliness in the hostels. Their main function was to ensure the foreign workers cope with their environment: for instance, helping them personally and daily problems like visiting the doctors. Group leaders were composed of foreign national and responsible for up to 50 workers: was regarded as the optimum size for the economic deployment of a unit of the workers. Those foreign group leaders played a significant role to organize cultural activities and in ensuring that workers fulfilled their work norms and didn't infringe labor discipline. Regional Commissioner was appointed by the foreign embassies to supervise around 2,000 contract workers each. In cooperation with foreign group leaders and the GDR's factory management, they were responsible for ensuring the ideological and political conformity of their charges.¹⁰¹

Contract worker's activities were daily observed and controlled by the units of Stasi, and a special working group for foreigners which was set up in 1976. There were two central organs of control, the Ministry of State Security and the German People's Police. Indeed, the Stasi and Vietnamese Ministry ratified the Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation in 1977 and it was also effective to enabled for controlling the worker's activities.¹⁰²

About their residence conditions, the contract agreement in 1980 was valid for 5 years and modifications were made by both governments at the formal annual review meeting. In 1987, Vietnamese were allowed to remain for 5 years usually, although earlier protocols had already extended this to 7 years for highly qualified workers who were deemed invaluable to the GDR.

Permanent residence was neither intended nor desired by the signatories. Young workers were the targets as they were expected to be the most productive grope. A ceiling of 18 to 35 years of age was imposed on skilled workers, however, up to 40 years on cadres with

¹⁰¹ Mike Dennis, Norman Laporte, *Ibid.*, 96,97

¹⁰² Mike Dennis, Norman Laporte, *Ibid.*, 97

a higher and technical college qualification.

While all contract workers were entitled to practical training and work experience, by the time of the signing of the agreement, the significance of vocational training was in decline and would become a mere adjunct to economic imperatives from 1987 onwards. Obtaining a job in the GDR was determined by the authorities of the sending countries. Close relatives of contract workers were usually debarred from working in the GDR at the same time as each other and even when exceptions were made married partners had no claim on shared accommodation.

Vietnamese contract workers were entitled to a holiday in their own country, and the costs of flights between the GDR and Vietnam were covered by the enterprises in the GDR. If workers hoped to travel to the state-socialist countries of Eastern Europe, they needed the permission of their embassy in the GDR and an entry visa for the country of their destination. Work and social insurance were equivalent to that enjoyed by East Germans and wages were paid in accordance with GDR labor law. The Vietnamese workers had the right to send home remittances amounting to 60 % of their net monthly earnings above 350 GDR Marks. However, in view of the high rate of inflation of the Vietnamese Dong and the losses incurred from charges on the compulsory exchange of the inconvertible GDR currency, the workers preferred instead to ship home items that were in short supply, such as clothing, electronic equipment, and household goods. They took advantage of their annual entitlement to send 12 packages, each worth 100 GDR Mark, and 6 parcels which were not subject to customs levies or limits on their value. Finally, the workers were entitled to take a large crate as air freight at the end of the labor contract and a smaller one when returning for a holiday. In 1989, a significant amendment was made to the system, when the GDR imposed controversial official export quotas on particular goods. No more than 2 mopeds, 5 bicycles, 2 sewing machines, 150 meters of cloth, one camera, 8 anoraks and 100 kilograms of sugar could be sent to Vietnam.

The contract workers were allocated dormitories which like accommodation in hostels for a monthly rent of 30 GDR Marks maximum. These rooms were shared by under 4 persons and each person had an average space of around 5 square meters. Among the other entitlements were one cooking ring per 3 persons, a clubroom for 50 workers, and

sanitary facilities. Such details of accommodation are described according to the official norms, but it was actually different for each accommodation.¹⁰³

Although the workers were free to spend their leisure time as they wished, stipulations regarding access to accommodations and visits outside the GDR were designed to restrict their freedom of movement and private contacts with local East Germans. In other words, the integration was not on the aspiration of the authorities. The enterprises were responsible for the appointment of caretakers to check entry into the accommodations. Visits had to be registered and wardens of accommodations, minders (*Betreuer*), grope leaders (*Gruppenleiter*) and interpreters carried out room inspections at night. The infringement of the regulations could result in deportation to Vietnam.

Their monthly wages averaged between 800 and 900 GDR Mark before taxes while the highest income could be up to 1200 GDR Mark for translators and grope leaders. Moreover, 12 % of their wages were to be deducted and transferred to the Vietnam government as the contribution by the workers to rebuild Vietnam. In other words, workers were forced to follow Communist Party very strictly. Additionally, one of the most inhumane regulation was, if women who became pregnant while working in the GDR, they should be abort or sent to Vietnam. Controlling in range and various aspects of the contract worker's lives led to their isolation from colleagues and society.

While their life in the GDR was so strictly limited, many of them look back on their experiences in the GDR in a positive light: their employment and regular earned income were guaranteed and living conditions were much better than their home country. Moreover, The SAL reported that "the Vietnamese were highly disciplined, committed to their work and, on account of their existing qualifications, attained most of their work norms after a relatively short period of adjustment."¹⁰⁴ Of course, homesickness in a different country, differences in language and climate created many problems. Nevertheless, former Vietnamese contract workers often describe their life in the GDR such as "paradise": could be understood from a result of an interview by Mike Dennis. "The most important motive for entering 'paradise' was to support the extended family in

¹⁰³ Mike Dennis, "Working under Hammer and Sickle: Vietnamese Workers in the German Democratic Republic, 1980-89," op. cit., 343, 344

¹⁰⁴ Mike Dennis, Norman Laporte, Ibid., 105

Vietnam¹⁰⁵,” and “other personal motives for seeking a work contract included improving qualifications through vocational training and, after the introduction of Doi Moi, acquiring the means to set up a small independent business in Vietnam¹⁰⁶”. And another record of young interviewees shows that he attracted by the sense of adventure and new experiences.¹⁰⁷

Indeed, this expression of “paradise” was found in several materials related to Vietnamese migrants: in a newspaper article that introduces the history of Moritzburger children from Vietnam in the 1950s as “East Germany was a paradise for us.”¹⁰⁸ Also, in the DW (Deutsche Welle) Documentary, a female former contract worker, Mai-Phuong Kollath, reveals her feelings when she arrived at the GDR,

“I couldn’t believe I was really here in the middle of Europe. I’d arrived in communist-ruled East Germany, not West Germany. And I thought it was beautiful. It looked so modern and so new. The buildings were so clean. The people are so tall. It was such a civilized country and I felt I’d made it. I’d reached in paradise.”¹⁰⁹

To generally, migrating to the GDR for Vietnamese seems like a means to ensure a better future.

3.7. After the German Reunification

On 3rd October 1990, the FRG and GDR were united. After this unification, contract

¹⁰⁵ Mike Dennis, “Working under Hammer and Sickle: Vietnamese Workers in the German Democratic Republic, 1980-89,” op. cit., 342

¹⁰⁶ Mike Dennis, “Working under Hammer and Sickle: Vietnamese Workers in the German Democratic Republic, 1980-89,” Ibid., 342

¹⁰⁷ Mike Dennis, “Working under Hammer and Sickle: Vietnamese Workers in the German Democratic Republic, 1980-89,” Ibid., 343

¹⁰⁸ Maximilian, Kalkhof „Vietnamese in der DDR. Als Onkel Ho seine Kinder geschickte“ *Spiegel Online*, (November 22, 2015) <https://www.spiegel.de/geschichte/vietnamesische-kinder-in-der-ddr-ein-paradies-bis-zur-wende-a-1060680.html> (accessed October 10, 2019)

¹⁰⁹ DW Documentary, “Litte Hanoi in Berlin, a scent of home for Vietnamese experts.” (January 13, 2017) https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ec_7SK9-zs0

workers in the GDR and boat people in the FRG were recorded together in German Government statistics: the figures for the number of Vietnamese populations to double from 46,000 in 1991 to 97,000 in 1994. An increasing number of Vietnamese arrived in unified Germany from the former GDR. However, their applications for asylum in Germany were frequently rejected.¹¹⁰ This section shows, the fact that the current “Vietnamese” category in modern Germany includes each Vietnamese with different backgrounds in former West and East Germany. Thus, the discussion here includes an explanation of how the Vietnamese arrived in West Germany.

As mentioned already above, before German reunification, the largest Vietnamese population in former GDR composed of contract workers. While the GDR gathered donations and supplies to support the DRV’s government, the FRG heard about Vietnam as part of the movement against the US involvement in the Vietnam War.¹¹¹ Similar to the GDR accepted the “Moritzburger” group and trainees from north Vietnam, the FRG’s government accepted northern and southern Vietnamese students in the period between the 1960s and 1970s. However, within the classification of immigrants to Germany, the asylum seekers (boat people) from Vietnam were the most habitual category and the still largest population in the Vietnamese community. Their community based on the time of their appearance in 1978.¹¹²

The boat which carried on those people arrived in Hannover in December 1978. The catalyst for the first wave of refugees from Vietnam could be traced from North Vietnam’s force over one million people. Often those associated with the former government of South Vietnam into “re-education camps” and “new economic zones.” The first wave of refugees began in 1975 and lasted until the mid-1980s. They were wide-ranging in social background, including members of the elite in southern Vietnam, Chinese minorities, religious groups, and non-partisan individuals and so on. In addition, they left the country for various reasons: mostly due to political repression and massive economic crisis spreading out the whole of Vietnam after the War. Since the first group of asylum seekers arrived in Hannover, the FRG took around 38,000 Vietnamese boat people in all.¹¹³

¹¹⁰ Anna-Julia Schaland (2015) op. cit., 10

¹¹¹ Tran Tinh Vy (2018) op. cit., 153

¹¹² Tran Tinh Vy (2018) Ibid., 153

¹¹³ Tran Tinh Vy (2018) Ibid., 154

The Vietnamese boat people received a mixed reception from the FRG as the first immigrants coming from outside of Europe. Also, they enjoyed social support for their integration: there were organizations that were willing to help them. In 1979 Rupert Neudeck and his fellow volunteer established a committee “A ship for Vietnam” (*Ein Schiff für Vietnam*).¹¹⁴

Against the Vietnamese contract workers in the GDR, those Vietnamese boat people and their stories of integration became an example of successful integration. Tran Tinh Vy, the researcher in Hamburg University, observes as below,

*Perhaps, the willing to the integration of the refugees is partly because of their no-way to return to Vietnam, since they were mostly political refugees. Moreover, the government’s integration policy, which offered them ‘the chance to take part in all aspects of social, political and economic life, on equal terms and as their individual conditions and willingness allow’ helped the refugees to gain a realistic hope of becoming the part of German society. In particular, their economic and social status as applicants granted political asylum meant they enjoyed an eased integration.*¹¹⁵

Therefore, it is here important that both Vietnamese characters in reunified Germany have a clear distinction. Compared with Vietnamese boat people, the former contract worker’s lives changed dramatically changed due to the collapse of the GDR: they lost their jobs and accommodation, moreover, they lost their legal residence status after their GDR contracts expired. Most of them refused to return Vietnam or asked for asylum while Vietnam refused to issue citizens who had sought asylum in other countries, many Vietnamese migrants in Germany were granted a temporary stay of deportation. In addition, there was also a flow of Vietnamese contract workers from the USSR, Czechoslovakia, and Bulgaria entering illegally to Germany during the early 1990s.¹¹⁶ The residence status of them has changed due to the decision made by the Conference of

¹¹⁴ Tran Tinh Vy (2018) Ibid., 154

¹¹⁵ Tran Tinh Vy (2018) Ibid., 155

¹¹⁶ Tran Tinh Vy (2018) Ibid., 158

Ministers of the Interior in 1993. In order to acquire this residence certificate, however, they had to withdraw their application for asylum by April 1994 and must have clean criminal records. Moreover, this regulation in 1993 has not been granted any social welfare assistance. This allowed at least the contract workers to work legally in Germany. Most of them started to organize their own business, for example, snack bars, and restaurants and selling flowers, fruits and vegetables and so on.¹¹⁷

in 1995, the Readmission Agreement signed by Germany and Vietnam. This was applied for all the former contract workers who didn't meet the requirements to gain the residence certificate, whose temporary stay of deportation had expired in April 1994 and who had a criminal record. This regulation issued and aimed to send around 40,000 Vietnamese back to their country. This caused the movement of the former workers from Germany to other European states.

Finally, the revision of the Immigration Act in July 1997 was decided and contributed to change this situation; granted an unlimited residence permit to them, who were involved in gainful employment and had clean criminal records. This revision seems to help to end the struggles for the former contract workers to gain the residence permit, moreover, to give them a chance to live continuously in Germany.¹¹⁸

3.8. Recent Vietnamese Recruitment in Germany

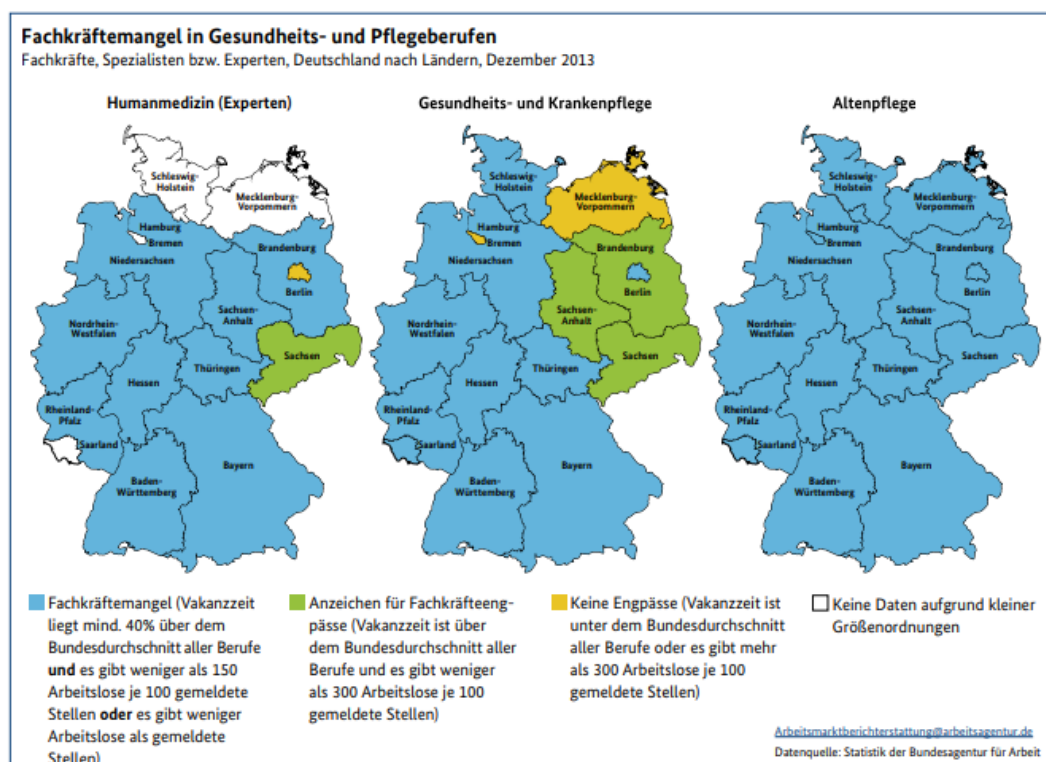
3.8.1. Recent Situation of Labor Shortages in Germany

More than 20 years have passed since the unification of Germany, even nowadays, the recruitment of foreign workers is proceeding due to the labor shortage. In particular, the labor force in medical and health care, especially the shortage of caregivers has become serious in Germany. Figure 6 shows the problem that emerges across the entire country.

¹¹⁷ Tran Tinh Vy (2018) Ibid., 158

¹¹⁸ Tran Tinh Vy (2018) Ibid., 158, 189

Figure 6. The situation of the labor shortages in health care service in Germany (2013)



Source: Bundesministerium für Wirtschaft und Energie, „Ausbildung junger Menschen aus Drittstaaten: Chance zur Gewinnung künftiger Fachkräfte für die Pflegewirtschaft“ (Berlin, 2014) 10

Such a phenomenon has seen not only in Germany, but it is a global phenomenon. According to the World Health Organization (WHO), the international migration of health workers is increasing and there has been a 60 % rise in the number of migrant doctors and nurses working in OECD (the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development) countries over the last decade. The WHO prospects to continuing acceleration in the international migration of health workers, with an escalating mismatch between the

supply of and economic demand for health workers.¹¹⁹

The following points are explained as major causes correspond to such a situation. First, Matias Wallenfels indicates the certified caregiver's salary is relatively low. According to the Institute for Employment Research (IAB, *Institut für Arbeitsmarkt- und Berufsforschung*), such caregiver's wages are on average 19% lower than hospital nurses.¹²⁰ Second, it is inevitable that the number of people in need such care will increase in the future. The gap between the number of elder people who are requiring the health care service and certificated caregivers will continue to increase considerably. As of 2018, there are not enough caregivers in Germany: it is calculated around 213,000 caregivers are required. In 2030, it is estimated that 4.1 million people will need care in Germany, as same as that approximately 479,000 certified caregivers are needed in the future.¹²¹

3.8.2 The Project of Training Vietnamese Caregivers **(Ausbildung von Arbeitskräften aus Vietnam zu Pflegefachkräften)**

Due to the serious shortage of caregivers, Germany has already accepted foreign caregivers from other countries. Indeed, as of 2018, 11% of caregivers in Germany have been recruited from non-German countries. Most of the foreign caregivers are recruited from European countries such as Poland, Romania, and Croatia. Nevertheless, the labor force is still not sufficient. The German government has thus also started a project to secure human resources from non-European countries. In 2013, the "Triple Win"¹²² pilot

¹¹⁹ World Health Organization, "Health workforce-Migration."
<https://www.who.int/hrh/migration/en/> (accessed October 30, 2019)

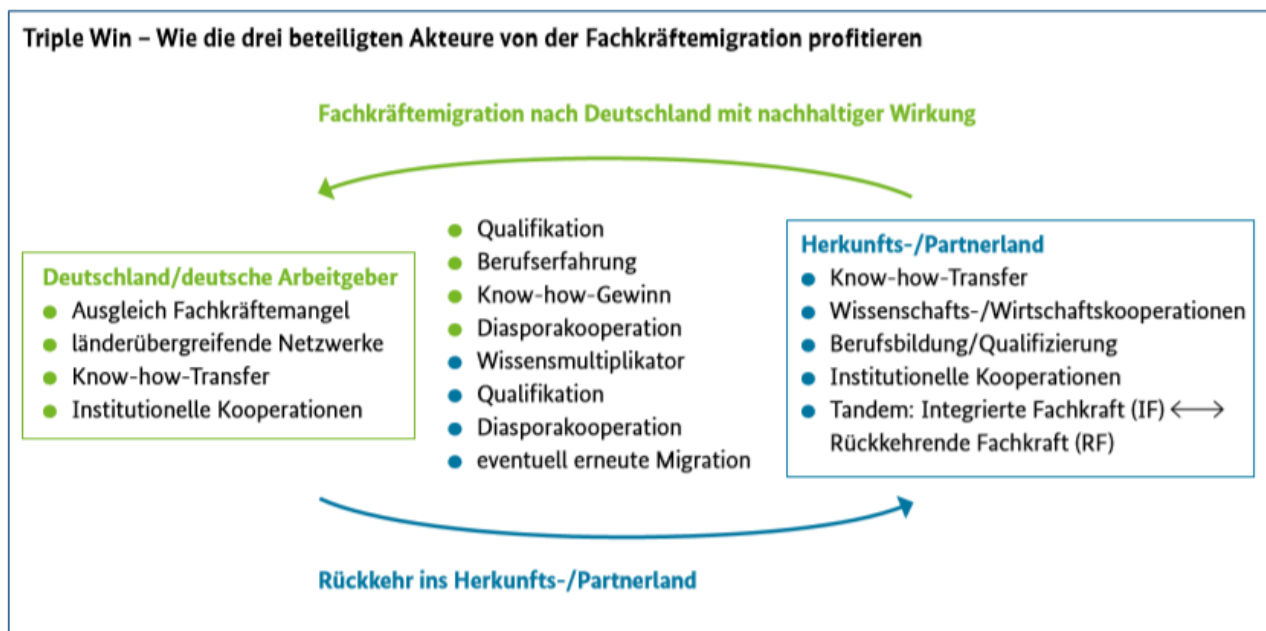
¹²⁰ Mattias Wallenfels „Ungewöhnlicher Plan: Pflegeschule in Vietnam zur Fachkräftesicherung in Deutschland?“ *Ärzt Zeitung online*, (15. August 2018)
<https://www.aerztezeitung.de/Wirtschaft/Pflegeschule-in-Vietnam-zur-Fachkraeftesicherung-in-Deutschland-225474.html> (accessed October 25, 2019)

¹²¹ Klaus Watzka, „Fachkräftemangel in der Pflege: Kritische Situationsbewertung und Skizzierung einer Handlungsalternative“ (Jenaer Beiträge zur Wirtschaftsforschung, 2018) 15
<https://idw-online.de/de/attachmentdata66298.pdf> (accessed October 29, 2019)

¹²² Triple Win means that the project will benefit for the foreign caregiver, Germany and the partner countries.

project launched: *Zentrale Ausländer- und Fachvermittlung* (ZAV) of Federal Employment Agency and *Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit* (GIZ) are developing sustainable approaches to attract foreign skilled workers to the German labor market. Around 500 caregivers have already been prepared for their work in the partner countries (Serbia, Bosnia-Herzegovina and the Philippines).¹²³

Figure 7. Triple Win Model to recruit foreign workers



Source: Bundesministerium für Wirtschaft und Energie, „Ausbildung junger Menschen aus Drittstaaten: Chance zur Gewinnung künftiger Fachkräfte für die Pflegewirtschaft“ (Berlin, 2014) 16

In this way, Germany is striving to accept the workforces from several countries. In

¹²³ Bundesministerium für Wirtschaft und Energie, „Ausbildung junger Menschen aus Drittstaaten: Chance zur Gewinnung künftiger Fachkräfte für die Pflegewirtschaft“ (Berlin, 2014) p. 15
<https://www.giz.de/de/downloads/giz2014-de-ausbildung-pflegewirtschaft-drittstaaten.pf.pdf>
 (accessed November 8, 2019)

particular, the workers from Vietnam are more expected among those partner countries of Germany.

The Triple Win pilot project between Germany and Vietnam launched in 2012. First, people with Vietnamese nursing qualifications were recruited on the internet. Vietnamese nurses were targeted because there are fundamental differences between the elderly care system in Vietnam and Germany: in Vietnam, elderly care is traditionally part of the family or relative's responsibilities. Although the capacity to care for the elderly family member in their households will decrease in Vietnam currently, the nurse's responsibility doesn't focus on elderly care. Thus, in Vietnam, there is a lack of a general training program for the profession of elderly care and Vietnamese qualified nurses who care for sick patients are eligible for this project in Germany. secondly, 100 Vietnamese were selected.¹²⁴

From 2013, those selected Vietnamese began two-year training in Bavaria, Berlin, Baden-Wuerttemberg, and Lower Saxony. They were prepared through an intensive language course and already had a previous background in a health care profession. After completing their training, they should first practice their profession for three years before making their personal decision about where they settle permanently. Moreover, during this training period, recreational events such as short trips to other cities were held; not only to get used to life in Germany but also to deepen friendship among other training members.¹²⁵

Finally, they were assigned to nursing-care facilities in each region and received on-the-job training for three years (2014-2016). As mentioned above, receiving care in a nursing home is not common in Vietnam. Therefore, this training aims to learn directly the specialized knowledge and skills necessary for the job. The language courses were still provided, and it aims to reach the required academic level (B2).

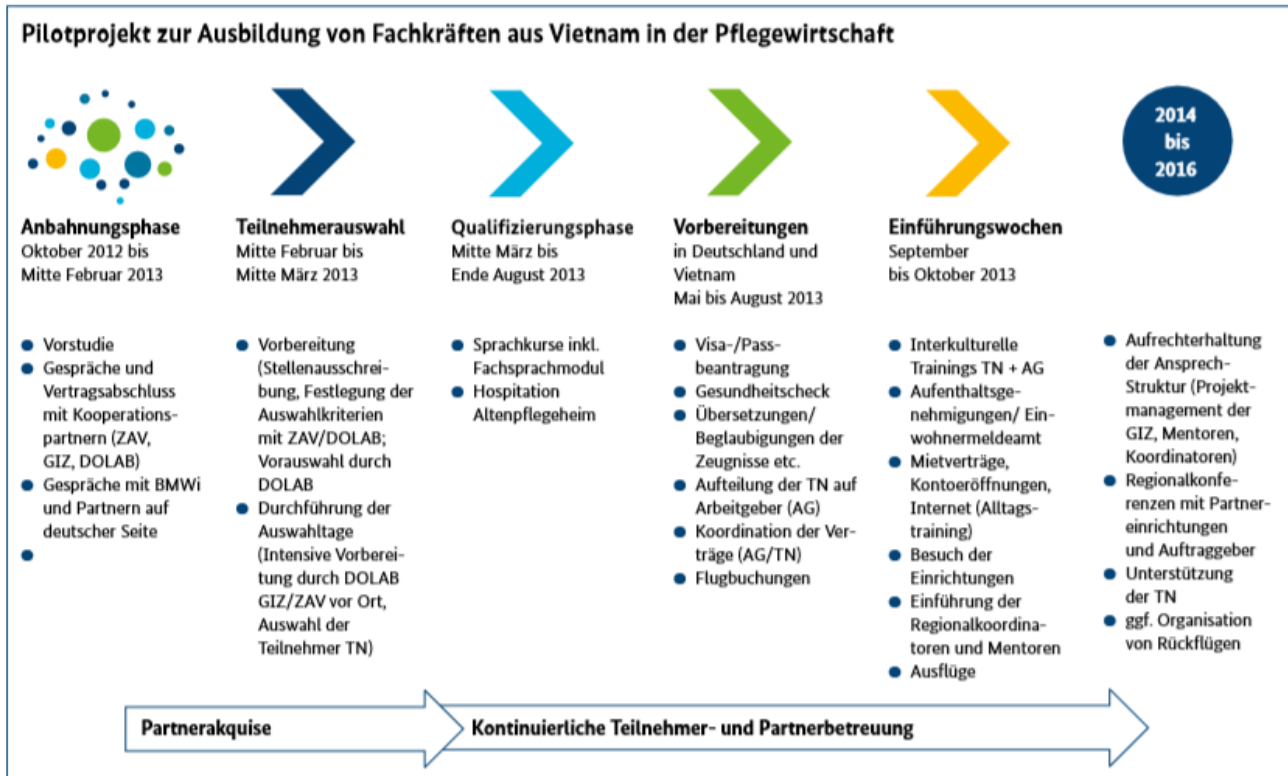
At the end of the training period, they were undergone a qualification examination to be a caregiver in Germany. Then they can work as a regular caregiver and the same wage level as the German caregiver was guaranteed.¹²⁶

¹²⁴ Bundesministerium für Wirtschaft und Energie, Ibid., 19

¹²⁵ Bundesministerium für Wirtschaft und Energie, Ibid., 19, 20

¹²⁶ Bundesministerium für Wirtschaft und Energie, Ibid., 17

Figure 8. The flow of the pilot project



Source: Bundesministerium für Wirtschaft und Energie, „Ausbildung junger Menschen aus Drittstaaten: Chance zur Gewinnung künftiger Fachkräfte für die Pflegewirtschaft“ (Berlin, 2014) 20

In 2018, Klaus Watzka, a professor in Ernst-Abbe-Hochschule Jene, suggested the plan against this labor shortage and it became a topic: he suggested establishing a German school (*Pflegefachschule*) to train caregivers in Vietnam and send 10,000 Vietnamese workers to Germany every year. Watzka raised some conditions as a country for sending caregivers and checked the suitability of Vietnam against those conditions. Here, it seems that the current general understanding of Germany about Vietnam is shown.

According to his paper, the features of “suitable partner states” (*Geeignete Partnerstaaten*) for Germany are summarized as below,

- **Population: over 20 million**, (for a sufficiently broad labor market)
- **Unemployment rate: over 8 %**, (for a sufficient availability of the people without employment and a general openness of the local government for recruiting activities of foreign actors. It would also be conceivable to have a significantly lower officially stated unemployment rate if the labor force potential consists of a high proportion of self-employed persons and employees with relatively low incomes in the care sector with subsequent activity in Germany. This could mean a significant improvement in their life situation)
- **Illiteracy rate: 25 % or less**, (to ensure a sufficient educational background of the labor force potential. It should be noted, however, the rate of illiteracy in some country may differ widely by region.)
- **Ideally only one official language exists in partner state**, (to ensure effective and efficient communication on the labor market and in education.)
- **Average age of the nation: 30 years old or less**, (younger population might have higher mobility, flexibility, educational motivation and want social or economic opportunity for their advancement.)
- **A culture with a mentality that highly appreciates the elderly people and cares for others** (because they are social qualities suitable for nursing care)
- **Tourism and international business account for a significant percentage of GDP of the country** (because the local people might be more open and experienced in

dealing with other cultures)

- **Political stability and acceptable human rights situation** (in order to ensure domestic political acceptance for cooperation with the partner state)
- **Acceptable levels of crime and corruption**
- **Stress-free diplomatic relations with the Federal Republic of Germany**
- **Existing closer foreign economic integration and development cooperation with Germany**, (both criteria should provide greater openness and a better basis of trust for the conclusion of the bilateral framework agreement.)¹²⁷

additionally, concrete data and important views about Vietnam were presented by Watzka as follows,

- **Population in Vietnam: approximately 95.5 million** and the proportion of people under the age of 15 amounts to 23.1%, that of the over 65 years old to 7.2 % (in Germany, former is 13.1% and latter is 21.5%)
- Only 2.06 % unemployment according to World Bank statistics in 2017, however, **the workers in the agricultural sector amounts 40.9 %**. (There is enough surplus labor)
- **The primary school enrollment rate is 98 %. The illiteracy rate is 5.5 % in 2015.**
- **Vietnamese are considered diligent people. And education is traditionally regarded as a high priority among Vietnamese.** These are good prerequisites for quick acquisition of German language skills.

¹²⁷ Klaus Watzka, op.cit., 24-26

- **Respect and appreciation for the elderly people are highly valued in Vietnamese culture.** Also, **service orientation is high as this sector (especially tourism) is an important pillar** of the Vietnamese economy.
- According to Transparency International's corruption index, **Vietnam ranked 107th out of 180 countries in the global ranking of political corruption in 2017 (Germany ranked 12th).** This is not quite as good, but not too bad. However, attention must be paid when making large investments.
- **The diplomatic relationship between Vietnam and Germany is considered very good.** In the former GDR, about 100,000 students from Vietnam were enrolled and around 60,000 Vietnamese as contract workers lived until 1989. As of 2009, 100,000-125,000 Vietnamese are staying in Germany. In addition, there are around 40,000 Vietnamese who have accepted German citizenship. This is a reservoir of people with experience in both cultures and with good German language skills, which could be used in this cooperation project.
- **Even currently, the diplomatic relationship between Vietnam and Germany is still close.** Especially, the cooperation of both countries for development aid is close. Germany is the most important trading partner in the EU for Vietnam.
- According to the Federal Foreign Office (*Auswärtiges Amt*), crime is mainly restricted to property crime, especially in tourist areas. **Violent crime is rare.**¹²⁸

As a result of those observations, Watzka has concluded that Vietnam is the best partner country to create and provide caregivers for Germany. Among this observation, an especially important point in connection with my paper is that the history of the employment of contract workers in the GDR is emphasized. There are other statements

¹²⁸ Klaus Watzka, *Ibid.*, 26-28

that observe the history of Vietnamese contract workers as a positive factor in the current recruitment of caregivers in Germany. As in the below describing,

Dass ausgerechnet Vietnam das Partnerland für das gemeinsame Ausbildungspilotprojekt in der Altenpflege wurde, ist kein Zufall. Schon zu DDR-Zeiten verbanden die beiden Länder enge diplomatische Beziehungen. Zahlreiche Vietnamesen arbeiteten oder studierten damals im deutschen Osten. Auch heutzutage gelten die in Deutschland lebenden Vietnamesen gesellschaftlich als gut integriert.¹²⁹

Moreover, personal counselors (*Betreuer / Mentor*) are provided for Vietnamese trainees. Those counselors all have a background in Vietnamese immigrants.¹³⁰ The sources by *Bundesministerium für Wirtschaft und Energie* don't specify the details of their origins (whether they are offspring of former contract workers in the GDR or boat people in the FRG), however, it seems that they act as a pipe to connect modern Vietnamese migratory process and Germany.

¹²⁹ Bundesministerium für Wirtschaft und Energie, op.cit., 19

¹³⁰ Bundesministerium für Wirtschaft und Energie, Ibid., 21

3.9. Reflection and Analysis

In this section, I summarize the above contains in order to lead a conclusion.

Looking back on the history of the recruitment of foreign labor forces in the GDR, several motives played an important role in recruiting foreign workers at that time.

The first intergovernmental agreements were concluded with Poland (1965-66) and Hungary (1967). Later followed Algeria (1974), Cuba (1978), Mozambique (1979), Vietnam (1980), Angola (1984) and China (1986). They came to the GDR not only because the GDR economy needed labor forces, but also the partner countries expected benefits. Till the German reunification, around 130,000 foreign workers from non-European countries were recruited in the GDR. Including the numbers of workers from Poland and Hungary, the total amount of them is around 190,000 in 1989. Among this population, the numbers of Vietnamese workers are remarkably higher than in other nationalities.

The agreement between Vietnam and GDR concluded in 1980, however, the 1980s was not the first period of beginning for diplomatic relations between GDR and Vietnam. Indeed, as early as the mid-1950s, the GDR began to adapt Vietnamese as part of solidarity programs: the GDR government entered into diplomatic relations with DRV (northern Vietnam) in 1949, and the GDR began soon to support the DRV with economic and humanitarian aid. In fact, the GDR was already the third-largest provider of aid among COMECON by 1957.

The history of Vietnamese migration to the GDR began with “Moritzburgers” group: Vietnamese children group were sent to the GDR as part of solidarity initiative for school education and vocational training. After the education period, they had to return to North Vietnam at the end of the 1950s. And many of them completed a training program or a university degree in the GDR. In the 1980s, when many contract workers came to the GDR, the former Moritzburger helped them, especially to communicate in German. They were highly demanded, some of them worked as a group leader at the factory of contract workers. Thus, their role should be discussed not only as a symbolic act of solidarity but also as the early pioneer and widely known network of contract workers in the 1980s.

The Vietnam War (the Second Indochina War) already ended before both countries agreed

to send the Vietnamese contract workers to the GDR. However, some of the surroundings which seem to support the diplomatic relationship between them should be considered. For politically, GDR's advantage of the Vietnam War was that the escalating conflict merged easily with some of the main propaganda themes of the GDR's Cold War rhetoric. The GDR vigorously condemned the early bombing campaigns against DRV, highlighted the worldwide protests against the US actions and solidly placed itself on the side of the DRV in the conflict. These attacks by the media against the US in the Vietnam War increased coinciding with heightened international criticism of the conflict and intensifying solidarity campaigns and demonstrations in the GDR.

By the 1960s, the solidarity campaign became more active and the Vietnam Committee (*Vietnam Ausschuss*) was created. This Committee coordinated the various government campaigns and functioned as the main hub for antiwar efforts in the GDR till the 1970s. In addition, the GDR participated also in consecutive conferences that focused on US War crimes in Indochina. At the conference held in Oslo of 1971, the GDR delegation distributed again a report on the use of the various herbicides by the US in Vietnam. Besides, such GDR's support system for Vietnam is also reflected in an increase in public donations until 1975. Those solidarity activities and its trends by the GDR should be considered as a public consensus before accepting Vietnamese contract workers by the 1980s.

After the end of the Vietnam War, the GDR continued still to send solidarity contributions while switching to a policy that placed emphasis on mutual economic benefit. The bilateral government agreement to send Vietnamese contract workers (*Abkommen zwischen der DDR und Vietnam über die Einreise von ausländischen Vertragsarbeitern*) promoted also as a solidarity initiative.

Their recruitment period is usually divided for the following two: the first from 1980 to 1984 (or 1986), the second from 1987 to 1989. During the first period, about 12,000 workers were recruited and it was mainly between 1980 and 1982. In the second period, Vietnamese contract worker's numbers are remarkably increased due to the adjusting central plan: the GDR government decided to dispatch further 17,570 Vietnamese in the light industry. Additionally, increasing some problems as strikes among the contract

workers from other countries eventually led to an interest in hiring further Vietnamese contract workers. On the other hand, Vietnam was still suffering from depression after the war in the 1980s. While the “Doi Moi” policy was introduced in 1986 and this aims to create a socialist-oriented market economy, its effective result didn’t appear until 1990. Therefore, those facts would be the answer to response to the question: why so many Vietnamese are employed in the GDR in the 1980s.

After the German reunification, contract workers in the GDR and boat people in the FRG were recorded together in German Government statistics. In modern Germany, they could comprehensively be divided by two contexts: former asylum seekers, who are called usually “boat people” (Bootsflüchtlinge) and settled in the FRG, and “contract workers” (Vertragsarbeiter) in the GDR. Due to those two different backgrounds, their identical characters are clearly distinguished in modern Germany.

In current Germany, the employment of Vietnamese caregivers is gaining prominences. In my paper, it should be noted how the history of former Vietnamese contract workers in the GDR is evaluated in order to implement the plan against the serious labor shortage of the caregiver in Germany.

The project (*Das Projekt “Ausbildung von Arbeitskräften aus Vietnam zu Pflegefachkräften”*) launched in 2012. Additionally, the expert of business study (Klaus Watzka) suggested establishing a German school (*Pflegefachschule*) to train caregivers in Vietnam and send 10,000 Vietnamese workers to Germany every year. Watzka raised some conditions as a country for sending caregivers and checked the suitability of Vietnam against those conditions. According to his observation, Vietnam is not only considered a suitable partner country to supply caregiver, but it is also important here that the fact of the employment history of former Vietnamese contract workers is described as one of the requirements.

The following summarizes macro-, micro- and meso-factors in the GDR’s history of Vietnamese contract workers, in order to answer my research questions.

- Macro-factors

First of all, macro-factors include **the contract agreement 1980** as a major premise that can emerge migratory movement. But as mentioned above, the **diplomatic relation and people's interaction between Vietnam and the GDR had already begun in the mid-1950s**, as represented by Moritzburger children. Additionally, not just between the GDR and Vietnam, there has already been a migratory movement among socialist countries. Since the Vietnamese contract workers were provided with the extension of solidarity activities from the 1960s, **the history of solidarity before 1980** should not be ignored. Furthermore, the following facts also should be taken into account: in the GDR, **the command economy system** functioned which includes both economic necessity and inefficiencies. On the other hand, in Vietnam, **the recession after the War and poor economic performance by the Doi Moi policy** results to send much of the contract workers to the GDR. Also, **the Vietnamese economy relies heavily on socialist countries** is also one of the reasons. Those macro-factors are not recognized by the migrants themselves directly as a motivation to migrate, however, they should be the basis in the migration structure which enables the emergence of the international migratory movement.

- Micro-factor

From the results of Mike Dennis's interview achievement, **the personal motivations of the contract workers could be described in a positive light**. Indeed, their life in the GDR was strictly limited. Nevertheless, their experiences in the GDR were often described such as the word "**paradise**," and **the usual motivation for entering this paradise is the expectation for the opportunities to improve their qualification**. And also, to support the family.

The migratory continuity due to such as their blood ties was not observed, but **the existence of Moritzburger children can be considered here as local ties**. Some of those Moritzburger children have been documented that they helped the Vietnamese contract workers with their poor German skills in the 1980s. This could be said that the life of contract workers was partially supported by former Moritzburger children.

As those macro-factors, especially the personal motivations should be recognized directly

by the migrants themselves to promote their migratory process.

- Meso-factor

While the macro factors enable the mobilization of international migration and micro factors function such as migrant's personal motivations, both factors require the meso-factor that mediates them. In order to accept numerous foreign contract workers realistically, the **elaborate employment system in the GDR** should be considered: the main central agency for all matters relating to the employment of the contract workers was the SAL and it was directly responsible to the Council of Ministers. Immediately below this SAL were the ministries which utilized foreign labor and the numerous groups involved in the coordination of the employment programs at the regional and local level. And the enterprises had responsibility for turning plans and regulations into concrete measures regarding wages, vocational training, accommodation, medical and cultural facilities so on. The basic liaison and control functions were performed by hostel wardens, minders, group leaders and interpreters. Additionally, at a higher level, it was controlled by Regional Commissioners. Minders were the local citizens of the GDR who were appointed by enterprises to maintain order, safety and cleanliness in the hostels. Group leaders were composed of foreign nationals, and responsible for up to 50 workers. Regional Commissioner was appointed by the foreign embassies to supervise around 2,000 contract workers each. In cooperation with foreign group leaders and the GDR's factory management, they were responsible for ensuring the ideological and political conformity of their charges.

Thus, such an elaborate management system functioned in order to realize their residence and employment of the contract workers. Macro-factors are determined by the legal framework, economic and social conditions that cause migratory mobilization. Migrants have their own personal motivations, such as the purpose to develop the vocational skills or support the family, however, the meso-factors connect both factors and make possible actually their mobilization.

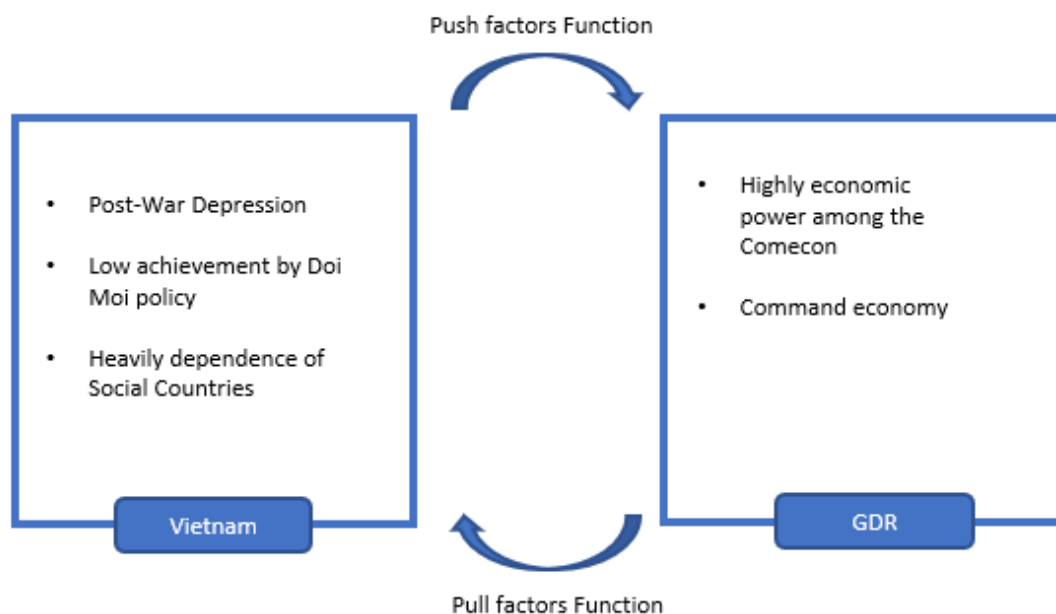
About the current large scale of employment of Vietnamese caregivers, former relationship with Vietnam and the GDR is emphasized by the scholar. Vietnam is

considered a partner country as specified by Watzka. Moreover, it is specifically expected that Vietnamese people with this migration background which include former contract workers will be used in the project to recruit Vietnamese caregivers. Thus, the above describes that the former migratory mobilization creates continuity to future migratory mobilization.

4. Conclusion

My study tries to see the migratory process in a broader context beyond the push-pull model. It also aims to observe the diversity and complexity backgrounds that encourage migratory mobilization. As Hypothesis, I suggested that this classical economic migration model “push-pull-theory” should be reconsidered. Here, I illustrate the migratory process structure of the case on the Vietnamese contract workers with this push-pull model.

Figure 9. The Push-Pull Model with the case of Vietnamese Contract Workers in the GDR



source: own diagram

Again, “Push-factors” include the basic condition in the original region of migrants, which people are forced to leave the area by it (economic crisis, joblessness, political conflicts, and ecological catastrophes and so on). In contrast, “pull-factors” means the

situation in another region which is attracting migrants (demand for labor, economic opportunities on the job market and political freedoms so on). Compared with this model, the case of the GDR's employment of Vietnamese contract workers shows the structure like Figure 9. In Vietnam, the depression after the Vietnam War could be considered to work as the main function to push the people to the GDR, and in the GDR, its position among the Comecon and the job opportunities which were created by the command economy system functioned as pull-factor.

As analyzed by the theoretical part, it seems possible to grasp the simplified structure of the migratory process. However, some further questions remain: How was concrete possible for Vietnamese contract workers to the resident in the new country? Had they any problems with German skills? How they arranged the accommodations in the GDR? Those questions include the indispensable contents for the foreign workers to realize their residence in the new country, however, the push-pull model cannot adequately answer them.

In that sense, considering the migratory process from macro-, micro- and meso-factor's composition may explain the diversity of social reality. The following summarizes again briefly summarizes the macro-, micro- and meso-factors on the case of Vietnamese contract workers in the GDR.

Macro-factors

- **The contract agreement 1980** (major premise)
- **Diplomatic relation and people's interaction between Vietnam and the GDR had already begun in the mid-1950s** (Moritzburger children)
- **The history of solidarity before 1980**
- **Command economy system** (in the GDR)
- **The recession after the Vietnam War** (in Vietnam)
- **Poor economic performance by the Doi Moi policy** (in Vietnam)
- **Heavily dependence of Vietnamese economic on socialist countries** (in Vietnam)

Micro-factor

- **the positive personal motivations of the contract workers** (the GDR is

“paradise”)

- **Personal expectation for the opportunities to improve their qualification.**
- **The tie of Moritzburger children**

Meso-factor

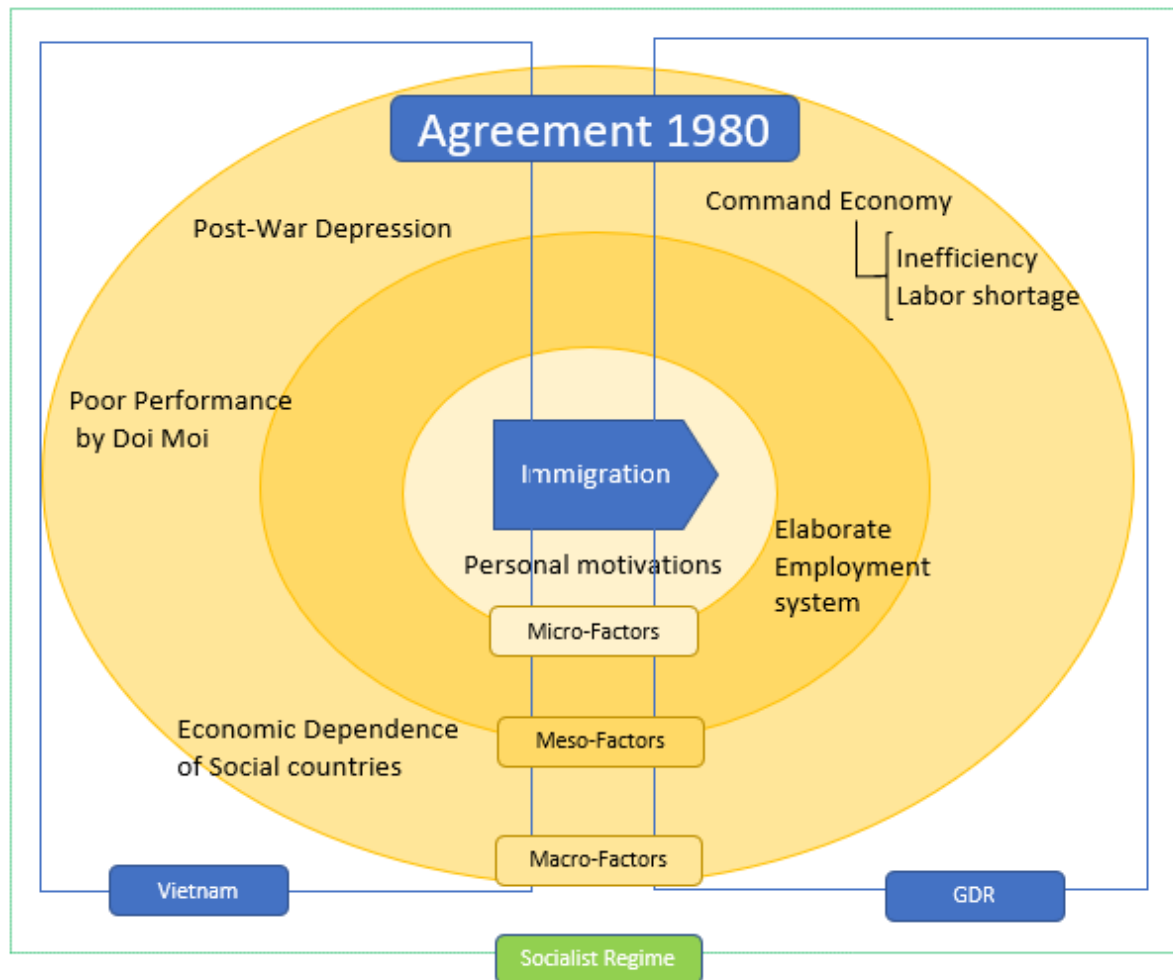
- **Elaborate employment system in the GDR**

Figure 10. is the diagram that describes the above various factors and how those factors relate to each other. Macro-factor allows people to move in accordance with world level legal and national regulations. The contract agreement 1980 is a major premise of the arrangement for dispatching Vietnamese workers: that background includes the solidarity campaign that had continued since the Vietnam War by the 1960s. The inefficiency in GDR's command economic system increased the demand for labor supply, and former solidarity campaigns for Vietnam were shifted to those that focus on economic advantages. Then, the acceptance of Vietnamese contract workers began.

On the other hand, Vietnam's circumstances include a strong dependence on the socialist economy and post-war recession as major macro factors. Another factor is that the Doi Moi policy performed not effectively before 1990, because of its strong dependence on the socialist framework.

The Vietnamese immigrants themselves had their motivations to improve their skills and support their families. This is a micro-factor: even if they want to move to “paradise”, it should not be possible without a realistic employment acceptance system in place. Therefore, there was a system for controlling their residence and work as a meso-factor. Finally, as this meso-factor, basic employment control is handled by the regional commissioner, who directs group leaders with migration backgrounds, hostel wardens and minders. Large-scale mobilization is possible with establishing such an elaborate employment system.

Figure 10. The multiple factors that enabled to employ Vietnamese contract workers in the GDR



Source: own diagram

Also besides, the current project to provide Vietnamese caregivers in modern Germany is due to a serious labor shortage in the medical and health care field. Vietnam was elected as a suitable partner country in order to provide caregivers to Germany: this takes in account Vietnam's several situations, such as surplus labor forces, current population in Vietnam and the violent crime rate so on. But it also attaches great importance to the former diplomatic connection with Vietnam and the GDR, and the history of the contract

workers in the 1980s. The persons with the Vietnamese migrant's background have incorporated into this training project and it seems the "continuity" has been created among them in which former migrants support new migrant who has similar or same ethnicity. This continuity is also seen between Moritzburger children who were educated in the GDR in the 1950s and Vietnamese contract workers. Some of former Moritzburger children were hired as group leaders to support the contract workers.

In this regard, I suspect that the determination of the migratory framework at macro-level is accompanied by such continuity of former and new migrants at the micro level.

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