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Agricultural Restructuring In Ethnic Minority Areas In Vietnam From Doimoi Policy: A Critical Review

Nguyen Bang Nong

Abstract:

Crop restructuring has been the most critical sector in Vietnam's agricultural economic structure since 1986. This transition is even more important for ethnic minorities, as more than 70% of people live in rural areas where farming is the main economic activity. Ethnic minorities make up more than 14% of the total population in Vietnam; however, they account for 70% of the country's poverty rate. Therefore, changing the structure of crops is about changing livelihoods. Since the Party and State of Vietnam's DoiMoi policy (1986), the Party and Government of Vietnam have hundreds of policies on changing crop structure, applying scientific and technical advances, and meeting market demands.

Keywords: Ethnic minorities, policies, crop restructuring

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I. INTRODUCTION

The *DoiMoi* Policy (1986) of the Party and State of Vietnam has fundamentally changed Vietnam's rural economy for more than 30 years, regrading commodity agriculture under the market mechanism, with high productivity and output, affirms Vietnam's position in the region and worldwide.

In rural areas where nearly 90% of ethnic minorities live (PhungDuc Tung et al. 2017: 110), many recent reports have indicated dramatic changes in the region's economic structure. In the study of the Hmong people, Ly Hanh Son (2018) also indicated crop changes compared to tradition. Similarly, the works of Doan Viet (2018) and Vu DinhMuoi (2017) in the study of the Cham and Khmer also show that the conversion of crops, especially wet rice, through intensive farming, crop increase, and application of scientific and technical advances to meet family and market needs.

Our survey of some ethnic minority communities, such as the Ma, Chu-ru, and Gia-rai ethnic groups in Lam Dong and Gia Lai, Central Highlands, shows that these ethnic groups have fundamentally changed. They are completely changing the crop structure compared to the traditional model (Nong Bang Nguyen 2017a and 2017b).

In some countries, crop restructuring is a component of agricultural policy. It has significantly impacted; for example, Taiwan, a territory with 16 indigenous ethnic minorities, has adopted a modernization policy using machines to replace human labor in agriculture since the 1960s with more than 25 percent support for developing this area (LU 2009).

Cambodia has also had fundamental agricultural reforms since 2009, thereby implementing a land reform policy, accelerating the industrialization process towards commercialization of products (OECD2013). In Thailand, crop development policy focuses on improving irrigation systems, building rural transport networks to promote products to reach markets rapidly, and conducting research programs and development, particularly for rice; the Thai Government also has a policy of price support, preferential credit loans to encourage people to apply modern techniques in cultivation. The encouraging results of these policies are that Thailand has reduced the number of the food poor from more than 2.5 million in 1988 to 416.4 thousand in 2007 (Isvilanonda and Bunyasiri 2009).

In China, the agricultural reform process started in 1978. China implemented various policies and prerequisites for agricultural development, such as the household responsibility system, commercialization and self-help, agricultural product diversification, and the Fruit and Vegetable Basket Program. The results of the policy chain are diversification of products in cultivation, market liberalization, and improved cultivation techniques. Not only that, developing cultivated products also entailed the development of the processing industry, and vice versa (Li et al. 2016).

Thus, through some of the above studies, we can see that the crop restructuring policy in different countries has been going on for many years and is a part of agricultural policy. In Vietnam, this policy stems from the *DoiMoi* process (1986). In the rural economic structure and the economic system of many ethnic

minority communities, farming is the most critical area. In the context of Vietnam's socio-economic development, the policies of the Party and the State have a significant role in leading and accelerating the development of this field. In the 30 years after *DoiMoi* (1986), what policies are related to crop restructuring in rural areas in general and ethnic minority communities in particular? To answer this simple question is not easy at all; in 2011-2015 alone, the Government of Vietnam had more than 181 different ethnic work policies (Úy ban dântộc, 2015). In this article, we review policies related to crop restructuring that directly or indirectly impact ethnic minority communities in particular and rural areas in general in Vietnam for over 30 years.

II. The concept of crop structure and crop structure transformation

Crop structure concept: Crop structure is synonymous with the cropping system (Nguyen DuyTinh 1995). Plant structure is the "composition of crops and varieties arranged in space and time in a facility or an agricultural production area to make the most of the natural and economic conditions and resources - social availability (Dao The Tuan 1977). Regarding science, according to the author Dao The Tuan, we need to appropriately use crops suitable for natural environmental conditions, economic requirements, and human force to determine a reasonable crop structure. For example, industrial crops such as rubber, coffee, and pepper are reasonable crops in the Central Highlands because they meet the above requirements.

The concept of crop structural transformation: Crop restructuring is the "taking a step from the current state of the system to a desired system state, meeting the requirements of rural economic restructuring," changing crop structure is the "recombination of crop rotation formulas, reassortment of plant ingredients and cultivars to ensure that the components of the system have an interactive relationship, promoting mutually each other, in order to exploit the advantages of land conditions best, create a system with high productivity and protect the ecological environment (Nguyen DuyTinh, 1995, p. 19). Dao The Tuan (1977) calls this the "revolution in plant structure."

III. System of policies of Vietnam on crop restructuring from DoiMoi (1986) to present

The innovation process in Vietnam's agricultural economy started with Resolution 10 (also known as Securities 10 in agriculture) on "Renovation of agricultural economic management" (1988) issued by the Politburo. The most important of the 10 is to create a mechanism of autonomy and land ownership for farmers in the production process (Nguyen Van Bich, 2007, p. 293). The crop restructuring in Stock 10 re-emphasizes the arrangement and organization of agricultural production, enhances intensive farming, increases crops, and develops short-term and long-term industrial crops.

Associated with the policy of Resolution 10, a series of policies related to agriculture was born to promote the production process, most notably the Land Law (1993), the Law on Agricultural Land Tax (1993), the Law on Cooperatives (1996), and Government decrees specifying specific sectors that have a related impact on crop restructurings, such as Decree No.14-CP March 2, 1993, on "lending capital to production households to develop agricultural, forestry, fishery, salt production and rural economy"; Decree No.13-CP dated March 2, 1993, on "Agricultural extension work," program on socio-economic development of communes with extreme difficulties in ethnic minority and mountainous areas (also known as Program 135 from 1998 to now). The significant policies of the Party and State have created a relatively synchronous legal framework, systematically forming a favorable environment and encouraging and promoting the agricultural economy. The village is developing in the right direction (Nguyen Van Bich, 2007, p.299). In addition to the policies above, socio-economic development policies exist for each region and ethnic group.

Since 2001, under the leadership of the Party and State, the agriculture sector in general and farming in particular have received hundreds of different policies related to the transformation of crop structure, most notably the main ones, such as: Program to support productive land, residential land, housing and domestic water for poor ethnic minority households, difficult life (also known as Program 134), the National Target Program to erase poverty reduction; Resolution 10/NO-CP on implementation of the 2011-2020 socio-economic development strategy; Socio-economic development strategy for the year 2011-2015; Decision No.899/OD-TTg Approving the project of restructuring the agricultural sector in the direction of increasing added value and sustainable development of the Prime Minister, issued on June 10, 2013; Decision 62/2013/QD-TTg dated October 25, 2013 of the Prime Minister on policies to encourage the development of cooperation, link production associated with agricultural product consumption, and building large fields; Decision No.68/2013/QD-TTg, dated November 14, 2013 of the Prime Minister on support policies to reduce losses in agriculture; Circular 47/2013/TT-BNNPTNT of the Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development guiding the conversion from paddy land to annual crops in combination with aquaculture; Decision No.580/QD/TTg dated April 22, 2014 of the Prime Minister on the Seed Support Policy to convert from growing rice to growing crops in the Mekong Delta; Decision No.3367/QD-BNN-TT on Approval of Planning for the conversion of crop structure on rice cultivation land period 2014 - 2020 of the Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development dated July 31, 2014; Decree No. 35/2015/ND-CP on the management and use of rice land by the Government

dated April 13, 2015; Decision No. 915/QD-TTg on the Support policy to convert rice to maize in the Northern Midlands and Mountains, North Central Coast, Mekong River Delta, South Central Coast and Central Highlands Prime Minister on May 27, 2016.

These are the significant policies related to the transformation of crop structure in all regions of the country for more than 30 years. These policies focus on selecting suitable crop varieties for regions and climates, the region's competitive advantage, capital for production, and, importantly, the product meets the domestic and international market demand.

Thus, at the beginning of the reform process, the Party and State of Vietnam relied on initiatives and practices to issue policies suitable to the country's context, international integration, and people's satisfaction. Among the highlights are the allocation of land, the allocation of autonomy to the people, facilitating agricultural production, and promoting and perfecting the market economy to gradually integrate deeply into the world economy.

The policy of crop restructuring for many years has been integrated with many programs such as sedentarization, settlement, credit provision, agricultural extension, science and technology transfer, infrastructure construction, and transformation crops. In particular, the groups of policies on hunger eradication and poverty reduction, production protection policies, risk prevention, natural disasters, and climate change have created conditions for stabilizing production forming a sustainable development environment. Stable for many rural communities, especially in ethnic minority areas; reform policies of institutional institutions such as private economic development, farm economy, cooperative economy, linking farmers and businesses, rearranging state enterprises and state-owned farms contribute actively involved in the development of productive relations in agriculture and rural areas (Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development, 2009, p.10).

IV. Results from the policy chain on crop restructuring from *DoiMoi* to the present

In the early years of the *DoiMoi* period, it can be affirmed that the policy system "has not yet penetrated" many rural, remote, and mountainous areas where ethnic minority communities live. During this period, the most crucial issue was overcoming the consequences of war and reducing poverty. Consequently, the agricultural policy and crop restructuring after the *DoiMoi* were mainly concentrated in the lowlands and regions with the ability to produce large amounts of food. In terms of poverty in this period, in rural areas where the majority of ethnic minority communities live, in 1990, up to 55% of households lacked food (Tong cuc thong ke, 2001, p. 4).

According to the direction of Resolution 10 of the Politburo, in the period 1991-1995, the rice cultivated area increased from 6.3 million hectares in 1991 to 6.77 million hectares in 1995. Rice production increased by 5.34 million tons, an average annual increase of over one million tons of rice (from 19.62 million canopies in 1991 to 24.96 million tons in 1995). The new policy comes to life, strongly impacting farmers' enthusiasm and confidence in production and business and increasing technical facilities and materials for agricultural production strengthening, especially new varieties (Nguyen Van Bich, 2007).

Thanks to the impetus from the post-*DoiMoi* policies, the 1990s of the 20th century marked a significant period of Vietnam's agriculture, a sharp shift from self-sufficiency to commodity production, creating a premise for the development of agriculture in general and the cultivation sector in particular. The most critical milestone in this period was that Vietnam officially entered the world rice market. In 1989, Vietnam exported 1.42 million tons, earning 290 million USD (Dao The Tuan, 2004, p.45).

In the Northwest region of Vietnam, where many Thai communities live, about ten years after Resolution 10, intensive farming in wet rice cultivation and applying new planting techniques has reduced deforestation and increased productivity, ensuring food for the family (Sokor and Dao Minh Truong, 2001, p.44-45).

In the Central Highlands region, Program 327/HDBT signed on September 15, 1992, by the Chairman of the Council of Ministers on "Policy and Policy on the use of bare land, barren hills, forests, coastal alluvial, and surface water "has created an excellent push for this region in particular and many other regions in Vietnam in general in the transfer of scientific and technical advances, plant restructuring for people (Chairman of the Council of Ministers) 1992). At some of our survey sites in the Central Highlands, many people still mention this policy in converting upland rice to wet rice and growing short-term and long-term industrial crops (Nong Bang Nguyen 2017a.) Crop restructuring is also associated with knowledge training for the people of this region, such as courses for the Jrai and Bahnar people. This process creates many jobs for ethnic minorities associated with agricultural products when the level of general education is relatively low. The report of the Committee for Ethnic Minority Affairs (2020) shows that the proportion of the labor force who are ethnic minorities with technical training from primary or higher in our country is still low, accounting for only 10.3%. For example, in Pleiku City, Gia Lai province, where the land ownership for coffee and rubber cultivation is little, people can grant arable land in suburban districts. Therefore, for many years, the labor transition of ethnic minorities has remained mainly in agricultural jobs.

From 2001 to 2010, through Programs 134 and 135, The Party and Government of Vietnam have invested thousands of billion VND in rural areas. In these areas, ethnic minority communities are living. Program 135, Phase 2 has invested more than 10 trillion VND in communes with extreme difficulties in mountainous and remote areas. Agricultural production, in particular, and socio-economic development have been The summary report shows that, during this period, 90,000 farming households were trained in production techniques, processing techniques, and trading; 51,000 households were provided with production materials such as seed and fertilizer subsidies with an investment cost of up to 150 billion VND; Agricultural productivity increased: from 2000 to 2003, the Northeast provinces experienced an increase of 1.2 times, the Northwest provinces increased 1.3 times, the Central Highlands increased 1.52 times. Most of the provinces in these three regions already exceed 300 kg of food production per capita per year. This has increased food production per capita in Vietnam from 286 kg/person/year (in 1998) to 474 kg/person/year (in 2005). In other places, this production also increased to 500 kg/person/year (Le Quoc Ly, 2012, p. 150-151).

Projects in this period also supported production for 1.6 million farming households (including 1.3 million poor households) and built over 4,500 production models. In the period 2006 - 2009, the central budget supported 4,088 tons of new varieties of food crops, 493 million industrial trees, specialty trees and forestry trees, 113,699 tons of chemical fertilizers, 4,125 models of agricultural development - forestry - fishery, 42,632 machines for production and product processing, 264,519 turns of people trained (GiangSeoPhu, 2010).

According to recent reports, the extremely difficult communes have implemented 2,682 production development models and organized 814 training courses on agricultural extension, forestry extension, and technology transfer for over 1.3 million households. As of December 2015, 1,298 communes met 19 new rural criteria (reaching 14.5%). Particularly in disadvantaged communes, 183 communes have made efforts to rise from the starting point under three criteria and now have achieved ten criteria: machinery and equipment for processing agricultural products; support supplies, fertilizers, veterinary drugs, plant protection drugs; training support, sightseeing, and technical transfer.

The mechanisms and policies to support production development have shifted according to groups of households, gradually forming effective production models, with many products gradually meeting market demand (Ethnic Committee 2015). The locality has paid attention to directing the consolidation of production organizations through strengthening the activities of agricultural cooperatives, focusing on building an effective production model following the actual local conditions for replication. , helping people increase income and improve their lives. Some localities have boldly developed concentrated production models, forming several agricultural production models associated with rural tourism (Uy ban dantoc, 2015).

Until 2016, the Ethnic Affairs report of the Committee for Ethnic Minorities argued that Vietnam had invested nearly 1,700 billion VND to support seeds, plants, and animals and purchased machinery, equipment, and tools to develop production; supported over 6,200 ha of production land for nearly 12,000 households, residential land for nearly 3,000 households, over 1,000 households received redemption of production land, nearly 28,000 households received loans for production development (Uy ban dantoc, 2016) Program 135 phase II, state policies have supported production development more than 664 billion. Thereby, the number of beneficiaries of this project is 157,999 households, supporting seeds, plants, animals, purchasing machines, equipment, production development tools, processing, organizing classes, and training in agricultural and forestry extension (Uy ban dantoc, 2016)

The most crucial result of implementing socio-economic development policies in ethnic minority communities is that the rate of poor households in communes and villages with extreme difficulty decreased by an average of 3.5% per year. By the end of 2014, the number of poor ethnic minority households was more than 663,000, a decrease from 60% in 2010 to 46.66% of the total number of poor households nationwide. By the end of 2015, there were 80 communes with extreme difficulties (in 23 provinces) and 366 villages with extreme difficulty (in 30 provinces), completing the target of Program 135 (Uy ban dantoc, 2016).

V. Conclusion

The policy of crop restructuring can be seen as the core of the agricultural development policy in Vietnam for more than 30 years. This policy is even more critical to the vast majority of ethnic minority communities in Vietnam. Up to now, almost all ethnic minorities have considered cultivation as their main livelihood.

However, up to now, Vietnam has not had a thorough policy on the issue of crop restructuring. Instead, this policy is integrated into different policies, resulting in socio-economic development.

After more than 30 years since the *DoiMoi* policy (1986) up to now, the transformation of the crop structure has created specific crop development areas, such as Northern Midlands and Mountains (industrial crops such as tea, paper material areas, fruit tree areas such as longan, litchi, and plum); The Red River Delta region (traditionally intensive rice cultivation, and efficient conversion of winter crops); Central Coast Region (a region with several typical fruit trees such as grapes and dragon fruits); The Southeast region (the region where

perennial industrial crops are developed, such as coffee, pepper, cashew, rubber, fruit trees, and fodder crops); The Central Highlands (the region where high-value industrial crops are developed such as coffee, rubber, pepper, and cashew); The Mekong River Delta region (the largest granary in the country, and the region for growing fruit trees) (Nguyen Van Bich 2007.)

In summary, the restructuring of economic regions in our rural areas over the past 30 years has made much progress, forming medium and large-scale commodity production regions suitable to specific regions. However, the movement is not uniform and slow, even very slow in some areas with many difficulties; the planning and restructuring strategy has not been considered to the right level. In some places, there is a manifestation of spontaneity: investment in construction is destroyed, areas are planned for sugar production; coffee and tea planting is widespread in the northern midland and mountainous provinces; The use of too much paddy land to build industrial zones and urban areas in some places makes this land area shrinking. Indeed, in the long run, if there is no early effective solution, it will affect the food security problem of our country when the population reaches three digits. These are issues that need to be taken seriously now.

The above analysis shows us the general picture of the structure of farming, which has shifted towards intensive farming, increased productivity, improved quality, and increased income for farmers. That result is firstly based on the correct direction of the Party and State. As mentioned above, the system of policy documents on crop restructuring and policies, programs, and projects incorporating this content show timely, close attention and are suitable to the country's situation in each period. Those policies also show a particular coverage of the Party and State to each region and locality.

The practice of more than 30 years of successful reform has shown the effectiveness of the State and Party's development policies on agriculture in general and cultivation in particular. The highlight of those policies is to correctly define the role of agriculture and rural areas in economic development (Nguyen Van Bich, 2007, p. 306.)

The undertakings and policies are derived from practice, from correctly recognizing the necessary period of transition from self-sufficient production to a socialist-oriented market economy to the identification of diverse crop structure is suitable for topographical conditions, climate, weather, and soil conditions in each region of our country, thereby forming seven different agro-ecological regions as mentioned above.

Many different policies have been issued to facilitate the people in converting/diversifying the crop structure, such as credit provision, agricultural extension, science and technology transfer, and building infrastructure (Nguyen Van Bich, 2007, p.307.)

Reasonable policies and policies drive people to be enthusiastic about production, actively create, and quickly get used to producing goods, science, and technology, promote internal resources, and overcome difficulties, as mentioned above.

The implementation of policies is also conducted openly, transparently, and supervised by all levels from central to local levels, with straightforward plans for each stage and disseminated to the people through many channels, such as newspaper, radio, or television.

Policies are overlapping, inconsistent, and synchronous, creating inconsistencies. The same problem of restructuring crops and developing agricultural production is shown in many guiding documents. However, the presented contents are both lacking and redundant. For example, the pro-poor policies of poverty reduction programs have contents to support production and market development, but often, these are most overlooked as programs such as guiding people experiencing poverty, production of goods, and orientation are properly developed; programs to respond to climate change for people with low incomes. In direct policies on crop restructuring, the contents of production orientations to grow in regions are pretty specific, but the fuzzy part concerns consumer marketing issues.

Despite the achievements mentioned above, the policies related to crop restructuring still have some limitations, such as a lack of policies for production development, market development, and response to gas change. Cultivation is strongly influenced by natural laws and specific natural conditions of each region and each sub-region, so in addition to having a suitable crop structure and economic efficiency, cultivation is also affected by land conditions, climate, and weather. Existing policies have not created equal development among regions. For example, the North Central region, with a harsh climate situation, has yet to catch up with the rate of structural change compared to other regions.

From the perspective of some poverty reduction programs, we can see other limitations of the policies implemented, such as too many agencies involved in the policy of ethnic minorities in general. The inconsistent decentralization and decentralization reduce the effectiveness of the policy; the coordination of all levels and sectors in policy formulation and implementation is limited; assessment and monitoring work is weak; resources to implement the target are insufficient and weak; Communication, propaganda program content for the community in some localities has not paid attention. However, to determine the effect of these restrictions on the implementation of crop restructuring, we need to have specific studies on this issue to ensure objectivity. At the same time, research can also help us identify the cause of the above shortcomings and limitations.

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