

Adaptation of Youth Workers Migrating from the Mekong Delta to the Southeast Region - The Case of An Giang Province, Vietnam

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ABSTRACT

This study examines the state of migrants' adaptation from An Giang to the Southeast region and how such an adaptation can help build the satisfaction of migrants' lives in the new destination. This study adopted a quantitative approach, with a completed survey of 500 young migrants living and working temporarily in Ho Chi Minh City, Dong Nai, Binh Duong, and other provinces in the Southeast region. The descriptive statistics show that young migrants in An Giang are well-adapted to life in the immigration area. A multiple regression analysis finds that the significant predictor contributing to the respondents' adaptation and satisfaction is "professional communication". Two other predictors, "adapt to a new environment" and "sociocultural integration", are not statistically significant. The one-way analysis of variance (ANOVA) reveals substantial differences in the respondents' life satisfaction based on demographic characteristics such as level of education and occupation. For instance, migrants with higher educational backgrounds quickly adapt to employment, leading to higher satisfaction. This study concludes that young migrants aged 16-30 years old in An Giang need to equip themselves with skills and improve their education to better respond to the labour market in the immigration area.

Keywords: Adaptation, Youth Workers, Migrating, Life Satisfaction, Mekong Delta, An Giang Province.

INTRODUCTION

The Mekong Delta is one of six socio-economic regions of Vietnam that are geopolitically, economically, and militarily crucial to the whole country. The Mekong Delta has 13 provinces and centrally run cities with a total area of 3.94 million hectares and a population of 21.49 million people (GSO, 2019), accounting for 12% of the natural area and 20% of the country's population. The 2019 national statistical census revealed an out-migration rate of up to 4.5%, indicative of the high out-migration rate in the Mekong Delta. The Southeast Region, including Ho Chi Minh City and other nearby industrial regions, is the destination of most migration flows. The in-migration rates for Ho Chi Minh City, Binh Duong Province, and Dong Nai Province were 9.1%, 21.7%, and 6.6%, respectively. (GSO, 2020) (Clara Jullien, 2022, 195).

An Giang is a province with the highest rate of migrant workers leaving the locality to work far away among the 63 provinces and cities in the country. Statistical results show that in the past ten years, An Giang province has had the highest number of people leaving, with about 200 thousand people. Next are the Ca Mau, Dong Thap, Kien Giang, and Soc Trang provinces, each with over 100,000 people. Accordingly, the average population growth rate of An Giang in the period 1999 - 2009 increased by 0.47%/year, and in the period 2009 - 2019, it decreased by 1.16%/year. Compared to 10 years ago, the population decreased by nearly 229,000 people, mostly in rural areas, working outside the province and partly due to students studying far from home. Typically, more than 29,000 people are migrating to work far away in An Phu district, An Giang province. LaMa hamlet has nearly 400 households which have labour migrants, accounting for nearly 70% of the hamlet's households. Most migrants from this locality work in industrial parks in the Southeast provinces and Ho Chi Minh City (Quach Thi Hong and Vo Thi Kim Hoang, 2022).

The source of migrant youth labour in An Giang province belongs to many different groups such as (1) groups of young people from rural areas migrating to big cities to study and then staying on to live and work; (2) groups of young people with low qualifications migrate to large industrial zones to find jobs, mainly as workers in industrial zones. It is often easy for groups of young people with high qualifications who have been trained after school to find jobs suitable to their professional qualifications and training skills. Their income source is also commensurate with their qualifications and job position, so the lives of this group of young migrants are pretty fairly stable, and their ability to adapt to life's fluctuations is also high. The young people with low qualifications and no training often work in manual labour jobs, such as company workers and factories or freelance workers, such as construction assistants and porters, so their income is not high; they often live in damp boarding houses, with poor living conditions. With difficult economic conditions, social capital, and a lack of skills, the ability to adapt to risks in life is limited (In-depth interview, 2023).

During the intense outbreak of COVID-19 in 2021, many companies and factories went bankrupt or stagnated production, causing many migrant workers to lose their jobs; reduce their income, pushing the lives of many migrant workers into a problematic situation due to many people's inability to adapt to life's fluctuations. In September and October 2021 alone, An Giang province received nearly 82,000 returning migrant workers en masse. Spontaneous and massive migration and return have led to many problems, putting pressure on localities when solving social security issues (Department of Labour-Invalids and Social Affairs of An Giang province, 2023).

As a significant force, youth workers require comprehensive knowledge, skills, professional qualifications, and techniques to adapt to their new work environment effectively. That also means improving the quality of human resources for localities with large migrant workers while contributing to sustainable socio-economic development.

The adaptation of youth workers migrating from the Mekong Delta to the Southeast region, specifically focusing on the case of An Giang province in Vietnam, is a significant study area. This research explores the ability of youth workers to adapt as they transition from the Mekong Delta to the Southeast region. Moreover, it analyses how their ability to, and level of, adaptation, factors of adaptation, and demographic characteristics, affect their satisfaction with life after migration. It also proposes solutions to help rural and urban youth workers adapt to socio-economic fluctuations.

LITERATURE REVIEW

The Concept of Adaptability

Individual adaptability is often associated with specific applications of the concept, such as career adaptability (Savickas, 2005) or managerial adaptability (Karaevli and Hall), (2006). Adaptability studies in work contexts focus on adaptive behaviour and performance, the process and outcome of adaptation or the quality of adaptability as a potential individual's basis for performing adaptive behaviour.

There are many distinct concepts of labour market adaptability. Adaptive ability is affected by internal and external factors. Typically, a worker receives basic training and then receives specialised training with flexible working hours and equips himself with several other skills. When faced with a crisis or risk, these workers will have more job opportunities and create more sources of income during a crisis than full-time workers who do not participate in training and are not equipped with additional skills. Slow and unbalanced growth in employment leads to job shortages.

Accelerated globalisation requires a highly competitive global economy, so adaptability is a prerequisite for job creation (Rodgers, 2007). The concept of adaptation (Eakin, Hallie and Luers; Amy, 2006) suggests that when individuals or communities create the ability to manage risks that occur. In addition, the concept of labour market flexibility also depends on the adaptability of the labour market if there is no combination and timely adjustment at the macro and micro levels (Raul Eamets, Tiit Paas, 2006).

Overview of Adaptability of Migrant Workers

Studies indicate that socio-economic disadvantages and job insecurity are the primary reasons for villagers leaving farms for urban work in Vietnam. Conventional migration theories focus on cost-benefit analysis, income differential expectations, or expected benefits in the new location, considering both local risks and benefits (Lee, 1966; Todaro, 1976). Lee's (1966) 'push' and 'pull' framework is applied to explain the economic motivations of people moving from disadvantaged to more developed areas.

Besides, many studies show that non-economic factors are also essential factors motivating people to migrate to cities. These factors include greater access to goods, health care services, and education. Especially for young migrant groups, some studies on youth migration out of rural areas show that besides the reasons mentioned above, young people also want to migrate to satisfy their intellectual needs to be curious, to see the world and to avoid feeling 'left behind' compared to their peers.

Moving from rural to urban areas can be a significant change for young migrants, who are expected to cope with a significantly different social, ethical, and economic environment. Young migrants may experience high levels of vulnerability and health risks (T. L. Nguyen & White, 2002; (Clatts, Giang, Goldsamt, & and Yi, 2007) Clatts, Giang, Goldsamt, & Yi, 2007; (Rubenson, B. E.; Vu, V. T.; Ngo, T. V.; Nguyen, H. N.; Johansson, E.; & Reilly, M., 2007) Johansson et al., 2007; (Thanh Thuy, B. T. & Kretchmar, J., 2008) (Van Nguyen, H., Dunne, M. P., & Debattista, J., 2013);). The problems migrants face can be explained by limited access to health care services, employment-related risks and lack of social protection (UNFPA and GSO, 2006; UN, 2010; Le et al., 2017). Therefore, migrants often need to adjust or adapt to the existing way of life, behaviour, and many other things at the destination, whether within or across national borders (Friedmann, 2005). They have to learn many new things, such as discipline, regulations, the pace of life, standards of conduct, new behaviour, new language and new skills for their work (Steve Vertovec & Robin Cohen, 1999).

Adaptation is the ability to adapt to new information and experiences. Learning is essentially adapting to our constantly changing environment. Through adaptation, we can adopt new behaviours that allow us to cope with change. In the context of the rapid pace of change, a high level of adaptability is becoming increasingly important for people to overcome increasingly diverse challenges and seize new opportunities, especially for young migrant workers. Megatrends, in the form of globalisation, technological advances, demographic shifts, migration, climate change, and unforeseen shocks, such as the COVID-19 pandemic, significantly impact people's skills to navigate a complex world. People equipped with a range of skills relevant to the demands of work and life can turn these challenges into opportunities and help shape the world for the better Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD, 2019). OECD, in a study on migration in some Southeast Asian countries (2017), mentioned some necessary skills for migrant workers in the context of globalisation, including professional and technical skills, foundational skills (literacy, numeracy and digital literacy), transversal cognitive skills and meta-cognitive skills (complex problem solving, critical thinking and creativity), and social and emotional skills (conscientiousness, responsibility, empathy, efficiency, and cooperation).

Studies on the adaptation of migrant workers to the impact of COVID-19 mainly focus on livelihood strategies to ensure the safety of their lives. For example, Le Phuong Hoa's research (Hoa, 2020) on Assessing the impact of the COVID-19 epidemic on the social security of female migrant workers in big cities, has shown some of the adaptations of workers. Migrant women facing the impact of COVID include choosing to stay or return home, choosing to change careers, choosing to cut spending, and choosing in the future when the epidemic returns. Despite facing many difficulties and the prospect of recovery should they fail is quite bleak, migrant workers are still actively looking for short-term and long-term solutions ((M.net., 2020) M.net, 2020). Survey results conducted in April 2020 by the International Labor Organisation (ILO 2020c) also showed that 36.3% of workers wanted to look for other jobs or additional sources of income when they migrated. Similarly, job diversification is also an adaptation that migrant groups in the Mekong Delta choose, as presented in the study by Tacoli and Mabala (2010). The authors describe that "men predominate in short-term migration, often moving within the same districts or neighbouring areas" (Tacoli, C., & Mabala, R., 2010, p. 391).

In contrast, women tend to move for extended periods to work in export-oriented factories in peri-urban areas or as domestic workers in urban centres. Compared to women, men's destinations and employment opportunities are more diverse. Tacoli and Mabala believe this situation also exists to a certain extent among Tanzanian migrants (Tacoli, C., & Mabala, R., 2010, p. 391).

This article aims to analyse adaptation strategies to ensure livelihoods, also based on the perspective developed by Ward (Ward, 1996) on acculturation adaptation, understood as the intersection between the cultural characteristics of the place of origin (rural) and immigration destination (urban). The first, called psychological adaptation, refers to personal happiness and good mental health. The second, socio-cultural adaptation, refers to individuals' social capacity to manage their daily lives in cross-cultural contexts (Ward 1996, Berry et al. 2006). In a similar approach, Osadchaya (2021) analyses the adaptation of young Kyrgyzstan migrants in Moscow based on the basic ideas of sociological theory about a person's adaptation to the changing social environment. The author

believes that social adaptation is a broad concept that includes a series of interactions with phenomena such as accommodation, acculturation and socio-cultural integration as a result of integration into the structure of "host societies" (immigrated societies), adapting them to the norms and ideas of the majority of the population there.

This article also statistically assessed the relationship between adaption factors with life satisfaction and demographics characteristics, particularly on the youth migration group. In addition, from a policy approach perspective, creating favourable conditions for young migrants to access the state's social security policies is also considered one of the strategies to enhance their ability to enhance their adaptation. For example, the International Labor Organization (ILO, 2008--a page number needed for your quotation) commented, "Social protection for migrant workers and their families is generally weak, partly as a result of providing weak levels in the national policy framework and legal system". It is, therefore, necessary to adopt rational and coherent responses to this problem, which also requires the coordination of legal and policy frameworks on immigration, labour and social security and other administrative procedures.

The works of previous authors serve as a valuable and necessary source of reference materials. Besides, the achievements that researchers have contributed have given specific directions for research and assessment of the adaptability of rural youth workers to urban areas, thereby providing appropriate and feasible solutions.

METHODOLOGY

The survey covered migrant respondents who departed from An Giang to ~~other~~ places such as Ho Chi Minh City, Dong Nai, and Binh Duong for work and living. The sample size was determined by Cochran's (1963) formula, which calculated 500 respondents with a 10% sampling error and a confidence interval of 95%. Below is Cochran's (1963) formula for sample size calculation.

$$n = \frac{Z^2(p * q)}{e^2}$$

where n is the sample size, Z^2 is the abscissa of the normal curve that cuts off an area α at the tails; e is the desired level of precision, p is the estimated proportion of an attribute that is present in the population, and q is 1-p; the value for Z is found in statistical tables that contain the area under the normal curve ($Z = 1.96$ for 95% level of confidence)

Due to youth workers' mobility and working hours, the study selected a convenient sample from the comprehensive list of qualified subjects proposed by the relevant District People's Committee to help approach respondents. Information is most conveniently obtained through prepared questionnaires. Items related to the content of the socio-cultural adaptation which affect ~~to~~ migrants' life satisfaction of this study are applied from Wilson's (2013) Revised Sociocultural adaptation Scale (SCAS-R scale), developed with adjustments to the situation of young workers in An Giang province ~~in~~ migrating to other provinces in the Southeast region of Vietnam.

Investigators conducted direct surveys face-to-face with youth workers present in the locality. For migrant workers working far away, investigators will ask for necessary information such as email and phone numbers for contact. The investigator met migrants face to face at their new residences or arrange to meet locally if they can visit their hometown. Investigators and supervisors checked the investigation forms, and additional information was requested as soon as deficiencies were discovered.

The Statistical Packages of Social Sciences (SPSS) version 20 was used to handle and analyse the data. A descriptive statistical analysis and an inferential statistical analysis were performed. The demographic features of the respondents were analysed using descriptive statistics. The inferential statistics analysis consists of multiple regression analysis to ascertain the factors contributing to the young migrants' adaptation and an Analysis of Variance (ANOVA) to look for correlations between the respondents' demographics and the factors influencing their adaptation.

RESULTS

Demographic Characteristics of Respondents

The number of men and women in this study did not differ much; 45.6% of the 500 respondents who finished the survey were female ($n = 228$), and 54.4% ($n = 272$) were men. Regarding education, about 35.8% of the participants stated that they had completed secondary school. The proportion of respondents who graduated from elementary and high school is approximately the same, 23.4% and 22.4%, respectively. The number of young migrants with college degrees accounts for 14%, while a small percentage (3.8%) of respondents have never attended school. The average age of respondents in this study was 25.17 years old, with a common occupation being workers (66.6%) in companies and businesses in industrial zones. Popular destinations for young immigrants

are Binh Duong (63.7%) and Dong Nai (30.9%). Table 1 below lists the general demographic characteristics of the respondents.

Table 1. Respondent Demographic Characteristics

As I suggested in paper one, this data would be more digestible for readers if it was presented in pie 4 charts: gender; education; occupation; and destination

Variable	Categories	Frequency (%)
Gender	Male	272 (54.4%)
	Female	228 (45.6%)
Education	Primary school	117 (23.4%)
	Secondary school	179 (35.8%)
	High school	112 (22.4%)
	College/University	70 (14%)
	Not finishing primary school	3 (0.6%)
	Never attend to school	19 (3.8%)
Occupation	Office staff	51 (10.2%)
	Worker	333 (66.6%)
	Manager	8 (1.6%)
	Driver	7 (1.4%)
	Housewife	17 (3.4%)
	Small business	9 (1.8%)
	Hired labour	61 (12.2%)
	Service	14 (2.8%)
Migration destination	Binh Duong	319 (63.8%)
	Dong Nai	154 (30.8%)
	Ho Chi Minh City	23 (4.6%)
	Other	4 (0.8%)

Adaptation at the New Destination and Life Satisfaction of Youth Immigrant

Most migrants (40%) quickly adapt to life in the immigrant place, while the figure of those well adapted is 25%; this figure is the same with 25% of respondents hardly adapted to new life. The number of people who cannot adapt to life in the new place accounts for only 1%.

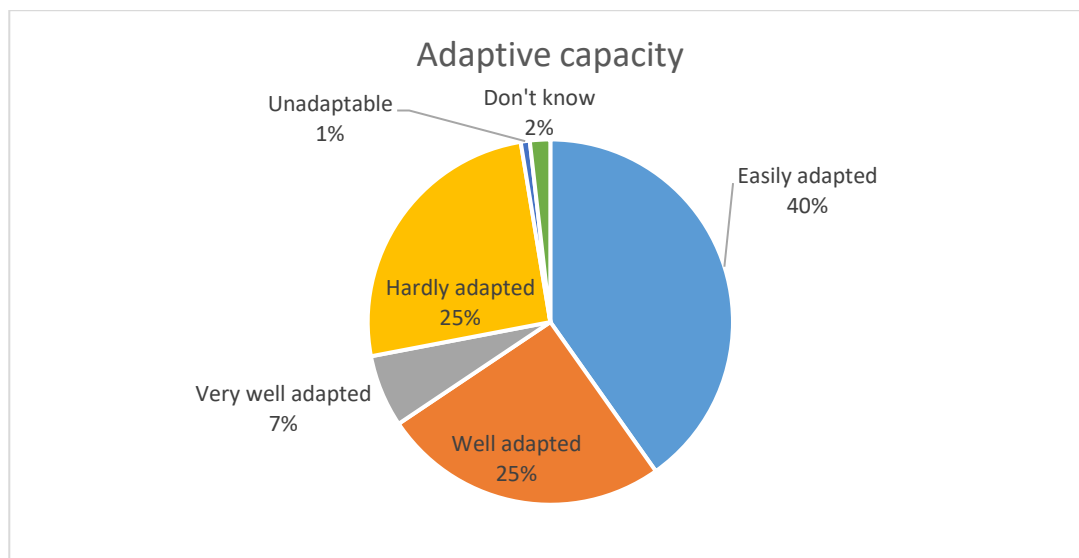


Figure 1. Adaptive capacity as assessed by young migrants

We applied Cross-Tabulation Analysis to test the relationship between qualitative variables. Table 2 tests the relationship between young immigrants' adaptation level to different occupations. Chi-square tests show that the P value in this study is $0.396 > 0.05$, so we conclude that these two variables are unrelated.

Table 2. The relationship between the level of adaptation to life and occupation

Occupation	Adaptation ability						Total	Significant test	
	Easily adapted N (%)	Well-adapted N (%)	Very well adapted N (%)	Hardly adapted N (%)	Unadaptable N (%)	Do not know N (%)		χ^2	P value
Worker	124 (37.2%)	90 (27%)	23 (6.9%)	85 (25.5%)	4 (1.2%)	7 (2.1%)	333 (100%)	36.555	0.396
Office staff	26 (51%)	10 (19.6%)	2 (3.9%)	11 (21.6%)	0 (0%)	2 (3.9%)	51 (100%)		
Manager	3 (37.5%)	2 (25%)	1 (12.5%)	2 (25%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	8 (100%)		
Driver	6 (85.7%)	1 (14.3%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	7 (100%)		
Housewife	13 (76.5%)	3 (17.6%)	0 (0%)	1 (5.9%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	17 (100%)		
Small business	4 (44.4%)	0 (0%)	2 (22.2%)	3 (33.3%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	9 (100%)		
Hired labour	20 (32.8%)	16 (26.2%)	3 (4.9%)	22 (36.1%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	61 (100%)		
Service	5 (35.7%)	5 (35.7%)	1 (7.1%)	3 (21.4%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	14 (100%)		
Total	201 (100%)	127 (100%)	32 (100%)	127 (100%)	4 (100%)	9 (100%)	500 (100%)		

The Relationship between the Adaptation Factors and Life Satisfaction of Young Immigrants

The exploratory factor analysis (EFA) was used to identify the latent factors representing the concept (life satisfaction). Then, a Pearson correlation analysis was conducted to evaluate the correlation between independent and dependent variables.

A multiple regression analysis was run to identify the negative or positive factors contributing to the respondents' satisfaction when migrating from An Giang to the Southeast region of Vietnam. The multiple regression analysis has three predictors: professional communication, adaption to the new environment, sociocultural integration- and life satisfaction as the dependent variable suggests a significant result with $R^2 = 0.355$, $F = 91.169$, $p < 0.001$. The study's results showed that professional communication was the predictor of impact on the life satisfaction of young migrants ($\beta = 0.585$, $p = 0.000$). This shows that work-related factors are a driving force behind the migration of young workers, especially young rural workers who do not want to continue their farming work or whose families have little or no agricultural land. According to micro-level research, migration is influenced by individual unemployment, job satisfaction, and future career prospects (Hoppe & Fujishiro, 2015; Zaiceva & Zimmermann, 2008). Different predictors that did not show statistical significance were the adaptation to a new environment ($\beta = -0.024$, $p = 0.531$) and sociocultural integration ($\beta = 0.033$, $p = 0.397$) to their adaptation. The overall findings of the regression analysis are shown in Table 3 below.

Table 3. Multiple regression analysis results

Variables	Unstandardised Coefficients		Standardised Coefficients	t	Sig.
	B	Std. Error	Beta		
Professional communication	0.68	.043	.585	15.808	.000
Adaptation to the new environment	.030	.048	.024	.626	.531
Sociocultural intergration	.041	.049	.033	.847	.397

Respondent's Demographic Characteristics Contribute to their Life Satisfaction.

We examined the relationship between respondents' demographic characteristics (see Table 1) and overall satisfaction (see Table 4). The analysis found that life satisfaction among migrant respondents differs by education (sig. = 0.000) and occupation (sig.= 0.020). The group with higher education levels, such as high school (M = 3.77, SD = 1.10) and college/university (M = 4.00, SD = 0.48), has greater life satisfaction than other groups that never attended school (M = 3.27, SD = 0.62) or primary school (M = 3.48, SD = 0.85). The mean difference in respondents' occupation was also statistically significant, where a significant difference was noted between office staff and workers (sig. = 0.001), small business (sig.= 0.000), hired labourer (sig. = 0.001), and service (p = 0.028). The highest mean score for the life satisfaction variable was found among office staff (M = 4.05, SD = 0.45), followed by workers (M = 3.62, SD = 0.86) and hired labourers (M = 3.53, SD = 0.82). The results suggest that immigrants who work in administrative and office jobs are more likely to have higher satisfaction than respondents from other jobs.

Table 4. Relationship between respondent's demographic characteristics and migrant's life satisfaction

Variable	Categories	df	F	P value
Gender	Male	498	.601	.585
	Female			
Education*	Primary school	5	5.097	.000
	Secondary school			
	High school			
	College/University			
	Not finishing primary school			
	Never attend to school			
Occupation*	Office staff	7	2.412	.020
	Worker			
	Manager			
	Driver			
	Housewife			
	Small business			
	Hired labour			
	Service			
Immigration place	Binh Duong	3	2.580	0.053
	Dong Nai			
	Ho Chi Minh City			
	Other			

Dependent variable: SAT

DISCUSSION

Descriptive statistical data show that most migrants quickly adapt to the new environment, which can be seen as characteristic of the young age group (16-30 years of age). The Mekong Delta can be seen as an area with a low educational level, the labour force is mainly unskilled labour, and the unemployment rate and low income lead to the out-migration rate in this area always being the highest in the country (General Statistics Office, 2022). The Mekong Delta has the lowest trained labour force aged 15 years and older in the country; this is also reflected in the results of this study, which is also why most young migrants choose to become workers in industrial parks. The results of this study also reflect this reality. This study also found no difference between occupational groups in the level of life adaptation of young migrants. Perhaps this can be explained by the fact that the subjects of this study were all in the same age group. However, further analysis is needed to provide more accurate and comprehensive assessments.

The regression analysis in the previous section indicates how professional communication contributes positively to the respondents' life satisfaction. Professional communication is key in facilitating collaboration, enhancing employee engagement and promoting conflict resolution in the workplace. This contributes to increasing the ability and level of adaptability to work of young immigrants, thereby contributing to improving their life satisfaction in their new living environment (Men, 2015; Mehra & Nickerson, 2019; Men & Yue, 2019)

Besides, the analysis of variance (ANOVA) found that factors influencing life satisfaction differ significantly according to the respondents' demographic characteristics. This suggests a complex relationship between a migrant worker's ability to adapt and his/her educational background and occupation. The higher the level of education, the easier it is for migrants to find a job with a good income and the ability to adapt to the job better (Heath et al., 2008; Alba & Foner, 2015). The results also show that young migrants in An Giang province belonging to different occupational groups have different levels of life satisfaction. Among them, office workers have the highest satisfaction with life after migration. Work environment or context and job characteristics can shape satisfaction at work and then affect their life satisfaction (Shalley et al., 2000; Lu et al., 2005).

CONCLUSION AND SUGGESTIONS

The result of this study is crucial for understanding the socio-cultural dynamics of migration within Vietnam. It can contribute to developing policies and programs to support the adaptation and integration of youth workers from the Mekong Delta to the Southeast region, ultimately fostering social cohesion and inclusivity. It offers insight into young immigrants' demographic characteristics, adaptation, and life satisfaction. The study's comprehensive analysis of these factors provides a nuanced understanding of the experiences of this population. Moreover, the article's attention to the role of professional communication in influencing life satisfaction aligns with broader research on the significance of work-related factors in individuals' migration experiences, particularly in rural-to-urban migration (Hoppe & Fujishiro, 2015).

The development of alternative employment and professional training sectors within the Mekong Delta is being promoted to provide more stable income sources and counteract long-distance migration.

Due to urbanisation, the region is also developing industrial parks and a growing local services sector, providing employment less directly dependent on natural resources. These developments are part of the efforts to address the issue of migration and provide more opportunities for the inhabitants of the Mekong Delta.

On the other hand, attracting and creating conditions for immigrants to participate in local community and social activities is necessary. Doing this not only helps immigrants integrate into the community and improve social security but also helps immigrants become aware of their role as citizens in their new places of residence. Young intellectual immigrants must know that community participation increases their ability to adapt. Participating in community activities helps improve communication skills and language abilities and helps people adapt to the environment. To "join the family", young immigrant workers must find ways to integrate and constantly learn new things to develop themselves in the destination environment. Besides the primary motives of economics, income, or education for travelling to Ho Chi Minh City, Binh Duong, Long An, or Dong Nai, young immigrant workers also have concerns about their children's future. Therefore, the governments of destination provinces and cities need to take measures to support education, creating conditions for all immigrant children to go to school right from the kindergarten level.

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