Return migrants' prosocial behaviors in rural areas – Case study in Vietnam

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Abstract

RETURN MIGRANTS' PROSOCIAL BEHAVIORS IN RURAL AREAS – CASE STUDY IN VIETNAM

Migration is a global trend. The number of migrants moving within and between countries for a new life is increasing every year for a variety of reasons, including climate change and personal goals. There are usually three stages in the migration cycle: before migration (stage 1), during migration (stage 2), and after returning home (stage 3). Some migrants decide to stay in the destination country and stop at the second stage, while others complete all three stages. Also, some migrants experience only one cycle, while others experience two or more cycles.

Like many developing countries, Vietnam is experiencing an increase in the number of migrants. For several reasons, including age restrictions and preparation costs, the number of domestic migrants far exceeds the number of international migrants. Whether domestic or international, migration has a variety of negative impacts, including loss of population in many areas, especially in vulnerable areas such as rural areas. In rural areas, reasons for migration include strengthening human capital (going to college, attending training schools, etc.), earning money, and the desire for new life experiences. When looking at the negative impacts of rural-to-urban migration flows, the benefits of return migration flows need to be considered. As the number of outgoing migrants increases, the number of returning migrants is likely to increase. These return migrants bring back knowledge, skills, and other valuable experiences that contribute to the development of rural areas. Given the important role of return migrants, my

research motivation is to explore their contributions to rural communities in greater depth. This thesis aims to answer the following questions:

"Does the migration experience influence the prosocial behavior of returnees, and what concepts mediate this correlation?"

To clarify the answers to these questions, the thesis is divided into five chapters as follows.

Chapter 1 presents general information about migration in the world and Vietnam, showing the impact of migrants and the contribution of returnees to the development of their home communities, especially in rural areas. Chapter 2 presents a quantitative study that reveals the impact of the migrant experience on the prosocial behavior of returnees. Migration to rural areas, including return migrants, introduces new beliefs, ideologies, cultures, and behavioral styles, providing new blood to rural areas. This chapter aims to give further meaning to this metaphorical expression by showing that return migrants are more prosocial than others in rural areas and strengthen rural social capital in the short and long term. This chapter contributes to the deepening debate on whether sending people to developed regions is beneficial for underdeveloped regions. It concludes that senders can benefit from the prosocial behavior of returning migrants, which in turn strengthens the social capital of rural areas.

Chapter 3 presents the qualitative research that supports the findings in Chapter 2. Following previous studies, this qualitative study focuses on the perspective of social capital and aims to confirm and deeply understand the hypothesized influence of the possession of migrant experience on the returnees' prosociality. The results show that returnees attribute their prosocial behavior to their own experiences of exodus, suggesting the validity of the hypothesis regarding the direction of influence. In addition, it was possible to confirm the validity of theoretical speculations in the literature regarding the mediating effect of adaptation motives

and the sense of responsibility held by return migrants. Based on these results, we propose a hypothetical conceptual framework of prosocially behaving return migrants.

Chapter 4 presents the quantitative research. This chapter aims to provide quantitative evidence to support the theoretical argument that (i) rural-urban migrants are willing to contribute to the sustainability of the sending community, and (ii) upon return, they are more likely to behave prosocially as returning migrants because they acquired knowledge and skills during migration and feel a responsibility to use them for the benefit of the people in the sending community. It concludes that rural-urban migrants can be expected to contribute more to the social and economic sustainability of their rural hometown communities as they spend more time and accumulate more skills and knowledge in their destinations, and their experiences provide opportunities for them to develop a sense of responsibility towards their hometown communities.

In conclusion, the thesis aims to identify the influence of migration experiences on the prosocial behavior of migrants, especially returnees, toward their home communities through the theoretical concepts of the sense of responsibility and adaptive motivation. It investigates the differences in prosocial behavior between return migrants and locals (non-migration) and identifies the influencing factors. In addition, there is a tendency to investigate the conditions in the destination that may influence the psychosocial behavior of (rural-urban) migrants. These studies allow us to conclude the influential relationship of experiences during the migration period on the migrants' prosociality from the former to the latter.

Key words: rural-to-urban migration, return migration, sense of responsibility, adaptation motive, prosocial behaviors, social capital, development of the home community.

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Chapter 1. Introduction

Migration is simply understood as the movement of people from one place, such as one country or an original place of residence, to settle temporarily or permanently at another place. Migration flows can be categorized into several groups based on geographic location, such as internal migration and international migration. In general, internal migration is non-transnational migration, whereas international migration is transnational. Internal migration is classified into four types based on movement between rural and urban areas: rural-rural migration, rural-urban migration, urban-urban migration, and urban-rural migration. Among four types, rural-urban migration is usually the most common.

1.1. Overview of migration

Migration is one of the elements which impact the change of the world through the people (e.g. left-behind members), and various characteristics in areas (e.g. economy, politics, culture), both in the origin (or sending area) and in the destination (or receiving area). For example, in Europe, Ireland has changed from a traditional emigration country to an immigration country since the early years of the 21st century[1] and thus driven positive economic effects as well as enhanced human capital. In contrast, Germany has changed from a non-immigration country to an immigration country since 2005[1], and this thing impacted Germany's society, such as the change of welfare system or the changes of political parties.

In 2019, there were around 272 million international migrants, who living in a country rather than their countries of birth[2]. The international migrants were accounted for 3,5% of the

[1] IOM, 2006

[2] UN DESA, 2019a

general population of the world and they have sent 689 billion USD to their home countries3. In the total of remittances, more than 75% (around 529 billion USD) was sent to developing countries[3]. Due to that, it is natural to consider migration as a common livelihood strategy of developing countries (Cohen, 2004; Gray, 2009). Besides international migrants, there were 740 million internal migrants who did not cross the border in 2009[3]. Regularly, the numbers of internal migrants are much larger than the ones of international migrants. It may be because of the barriers which impact the cross-border ability, such as financial requirements, migration policies of the destination countries.

Like other developing countries, Vietnam has been affected by migration. Since 1960, Vietnamese people were encouraged and supported to migrate to rural areas under the strict control of the government. After the economic reforms in 1986, a large amount of labor in rural areas was happy to migrate to urban areas in search of increased job opportunities in the process of industrialization and modernization. Although no data was available to show the exact number of internal migrants, one study in 2015 found that 13.6 percent of the total population were internal migrants [4]. In addition to the large number of migrants who have not crossed the border, a significant amount of migrants have migrated outside Vietnam either legally or illegally. In 2020, more than 3 million Vietnamese migrants crossed the border legally and they remitted about 17 billion USD (according to the Migration and Development Brief released in 2021 by the World Bank and the Global Knowledge Partnership on Migration and Development (KNOMAD)). The remittance behavior of Vietnamese migrants, both outside or

[3] UNDP, 2009; as cited in World Migration Report, 2020

[4] National Internal Migration Survey, 2015

inside the country, contributes to poverty reduction, improvement of the welfare system, education, and living condition of left-behind members of sending areas, particularly rural areas.

In general, migration not only affects population change but also influences the economic and social development of the sending region. Recognizing the important role of migrants in sending regions, especially in developing countries, many researchers have turned their attention to investigate the issues and impacts of migration The detail is showed in the next part which mainly focuses on developing countries, especially rural areas.

1.2. The influence of migration on developing sending areas

1.2.1. The influence of out-migration on developing sending areas

In developing countries, migration is considered one of the major ways of mitigating poverty. Migration and remittances may exercise a positive effect on asset accumulation, which in turn can lift families out of poverty (typically rural areas) (Richard et al., 2005; Vera, 2012). More specifically, Lucas and Stark (1985) have confirmed that migration may alleviate the influence of income shocks from agriculture. Also, Rapoport and Docquier (2005) have found the key role of remittances on the strategic survival and livelihood of poor households. Furthermore, remittances have a positive impact on invested capital (Woodruff and Zenteno, 2007) and promote growth in financially undeveloped countries (Glytsos, 1993; Giuliano and Ruiz-Arranz, 2009). Besides the impact of asset accumulation, remittances also affect human capital accumulation. They increase the cost of education for children left behind in the sending areas (Yang, 2008; Hanson and Woodruff, 2003).

In addition to positive influences, out-migration also has negative influences on sending areas. Losing population could be seen as the most common influence either in the short-term

or long-term (Corcoran, 2010; Rothwell et al. 2002). Depopulation also led to various negative effects such as brain drain or changing production structure because the migrant group mainly focused on the important labor segment including young or highly educated people (Glaeser and Maré, 2001; Gould, 2007; Qian et. al., 2016; Whistler et al., 2008). Furthermore, when one or both parents leave home, the remaining children are negatively affected by the lack of guidance and supervision in their studies and increased workload (Jingzhong and Lu, 2011). Moreover, Su et al. (2012) have investigated the relationship between the absence of parent(s) and the unhappiness as well as the life and school dissatisfaction of the children.

1.2.2. The influence of return migration on developing sending areas

The previous part has mentioned both positive and negative impacts of out-migration on sending areas, particularly rural areas. The negative impacts could be fulfilled through the return of out-migrants. Besides immigrants, the number of returnees also improves the situation of losing population because of emigrants. In addition, the return of parent(s) impacts the development of left-behind children (e.g. increase the schooling time) through enhancing the supervision role of the family.

Returnees not only play an important role in mitigating the negative impacts mentioned above but also in strengthening the social capital of rural areas through their knowledge, experience, and skills during migration. Usually, there are gaps between the destination and the original place, irrespective of the geographical distance, such as economic, political, and social conditions. Based on their experiences in the destination country, returnees try to improve their hometown in various ways. They could contribute to economic development by fostering the establishment of small enterprises and businesses (Fajnzylber and Lopez, 2008; Demurger and Xu, 2011; Durand et al., 1996a; Ma, 2002; Sheehan and Riosmena, 2013). Along

with economic contribution, returnees also influence political and socio-cultural aspects (Levitt & Lamba-Nieves, 2011; Vianello, 2013; Waddell & Fontenla, 2015; Careja & Emmenegger, 2012; Chauvet & Mercier, 2014; Pérez-Armendáriz & Crow, 2010). In general, returnees introduce new beliefs, ideas, and cultures, which can serve as new blood to rural areas.

While many studies have confirmed the important role of returnees, none have focused on the prosocial behaviors of returnees that enhance the social capital of their former communities. In this paper, I would like to focus on this point and explore various subjects such as returnees and out-migrants.

1.3. Research objective

The thesis aimed to answer the question: "Does migration experience influence the returnees' prosocial behavior and which concepts could mediate this correlation?" and three studies, which used Vietnam as a case study, have been done to identify the answer.

The first study combined quantitative and qualitative methods and used two different theoretical concepts, including the sense of responsibility and adaptation, to identify the influence of migration experience on return migrants' prosocial behavior. In this study, the qualitative method confirmed that the prosociality was very unlikely to cause the possession of an experience of out-migration. This study is presented in Chapter 2.

While it seems intuitive when applying two theoretical concepts (e.g., sense of responsibility and adaptation) in understanding returnees' prosocial behavior, more direct evidence seems to be needed to clarify the perceptions of returnees and to conclude that the causal inference behind the correlation observed by the first study is indeed valid. Due to that, the second study has been conducted. This study is presented in Chapter 3.

The first and the second studies chose returnees as research subjects and observed that return migrants behaved more prosocially than non-migrants in the rural community in Vietnam and thus contributed to the social capital, speculating that this observation might be theoretically explained in terms of the sense of responsibility. If so, out-migration must foster a willingness to contribute to the development of sending communities and thus encourage migrants who return to behave prosocially toward others through their sense of responsibility. A study that chooses migrants in urban areas as a research subject is necessary to verify this point. Due to that, the third quantitative study has been conducted. In this study, the data is collected from rural-to-urban migrants in Hanoi, the capital as well as one of the most attractive destinations for migrants in Vietnam. This study is presented in Chapter 4.

In conclusion, the thesis aimed to identify that migration experience influences returnees' prosocial behavior in the home communities based on the sense of responsibility and adaptation motive.

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Chapter 2. Identification of the correlation between migration experience and returnees' prosocial behaviors

2.1. Introduction

The enhancement of social capital is crucial for rural development. According to Putnam (1993), this concept can be defined by features of social organization, such as individual or household networks and the associated norms and values, which create externalities for the community as a whole. Grootaert and van Bastelaer (2002) demonstrates that social capital improves the efficiency of rural development programs by increasing agricultural productivity, improving the management of common resources, making rural trading more profitable, and energizing farmer federations. Torsvik (2000) argues that social capital (measured by the density, inclusiveness, strength, and vitality of horizontal associations in a community) strengthens trust, which in turn leads to enhanced productivity and decreased transaction costs. Go, Trunfio, & Lucia (2013) argued the role played by social capital in the networking of stakeholders and knowledge-sharing, which is required to innovate sustainable rural development strategies. Woodhouse (2006) also supported the link between social capital and regional economic development. The economic importance of social capital for the local development of social and community enterprises has also been widely recognized (Kay, 2006; Evans & Syrett, 2007; Bertotti et al., 2011; Somerville & McElwee, 2011).

This paper adds to the existing literature by analyzing whether return migrants (i.e., defined here as those who out-migrate from rural areas and then return to their original areas) behave prosocially and thus contribute to the social capital of their home communities. The literature assumes that return migrants bring additional human capital with them (i.e., knowledge and skill; Brown & Lauder, 2000), in addition to the possibility that their

remittances help ease poverty and provide a means for investing in small- and medium-sized businesses (OECD, 2008; Piracha & Vadean, 2010). Earlier studies have also considered the roles of return migrants in introducing new social norms (Levitt & Lamba-Nieves, 2011; Vianello, 2013; Waddell & Fontenla, 2015), new political attitudes (Careja & Emmenegger, 2012; Chauvet & Mercier, 2014; Pérez-Armendáriz & Crow, 2010), an entrepreneurial spirit (Démurger & Xu, 2011; Kveder & Flahaux, 2013; Lianos & Pseiridis, 2009; Woodruff & Zenteno, 2007), and new beliefs about the investment in human capital through education (Waddell & Fontenla, 2015; Zhou, Murphy, & Tao, 2014). In this sense, return migrants (and rural in-migrants in general) are "potentially constituting something of a transfusion in the form of new blood, new ideas, and fresh enthusiasm for locally biased action" (Derounian, 1998, p. 128, as sited by Stockdale, 2006). The present paper, therefore, focuses on the returned migrants' prosocial aims to elaborate on this metaphoric expression in a way that few studies have done, to the best of the authors' knowledge.

Although a few earlier studies explicitly hypothesized about return migrants' prosocial behaviors in their home communities and their concern for others and the entire community, the present study's assumption on the prosocial desires they exhibit is considered a natural extension of an increasing number of studies on the monetary transfers migrants make to their home countries or regions: donations (Clemens, Ozden, & Rapoport, 2014). These studies investigate the impact of donations made by returning migrants on the local development of developing counties (Beauchemin & Schoumaker, 2009; Kijima & Gonzales-Ramirez, 2012; Chauvet, Gubert, Mercier, & Mesple´-Somps, 2013). Licuanan, Mahmoud, & Steinmayr (2014) argue that migrants' altruism (i.e., the migrants' care for the welfare of those in the home country) is the potential mechanism behind their donating behavior. If it is the case, it

seems natural to assume that the altruism fostered by migration experiences leads to prosocial behavior once they return to their home country /region /community, regardless of whether they decide to return because staying in the host location is no longer the best strategy to maximize their wages (e.g., Piore, 1979), or because their migration goals have been achieved (e.g., Stark & Bloom, 1985). This said, there is no widely recognized theoretical foundation for the emergence of prosocial attitudes and altruism in migrants. Therefore, drawing on several disciplines such as organizational studies and anthropology, the next section provides a theoretical framework and hypotheses, which were tested as described in the subsequent section.

2.2 Research Hypotheses

With reference to the literature on migration, two strategies could explain the mechanisms behind return migrants' greater prosocial behavior, which leads them to contribute to strengthening social capital more than local residents in their home communities.

2.2.1 Responsibility

The first strategy refers to the concept of *responsibility*. In a qualitative study of sub-Saharan African health workers in Belgium and Austria, Poppe et al. (2016) identified circular migrants who regularly returned to their source country due to emotional attachments and a sense of responsibility, believing that their skills and knowledge were needed there, and they were therefore eager to contribute to the development and reinforcement of healthcare services in their source country. Similarly, in a study of temporary migrants as international students in the US, Hazen & Alberts (2006) found that some migrants return to their home countries due to a feeling of responsibility to invest their skills.

These arguments about migrants' feelings of responsibility can be combined with organizational studies literature, where a sense of responsibility motivates greater prosocial behavior in one's organization due to a sense of belonging, which leads to the hypothesis that return migrants are more likely to behave prosocially at their location of origin. Specifically, this literature argues that a subjective feeling of responsibility toward the organization, fellow workers, or clients is supportive of extra-role behaviors (i.e., those which go beyond the role expectations in a way that is organizationally functional) (e.g., Krebs, 1970; Schwartz & Howard, 1982; Pearce & Gregersen, 1991). Morrison and Phelps (1999) further argue that the link between one's feeling of responsibility and prosocial behavior is mediated by judgments about the likely outcomes (encountered by the organization with and without possible prosocial behavior).

While the organizational studies literature provides a rigid theoretical foundation for return migrants' prosocial behavior, which is induced by their feeling of responsibility, present studies have not yet explained why migrants have a sense of responsibility for their location of origin. This is the point where we need to depart from organizational studies, because this research suggests that this feeling can be ascribed to the interdependence of tasks required by the organization (Morrison & Phelps, 1999). However, this argument does not seem to apply to the context of the present study. Instead, the present study refers to Siar (2014), who argues that highly skilled international migrants' feelings toward their home country might be evoked by their consciousness of their home country's problems and needs. It might be that return migrants perceive the current status of their home country by comparing it with their host location and thus acquire a greater sensitivity to their home location than local residents without migration experiences, which evokes the feeling of responsibility to improve the place of origin.

This sensitivity might be even greater for those who have experienced migration due to the "(d)esire to experience a new culture" (Hazen & Alberts, 2006, p. 205).

2.2.2 Adaptation

The second strategy refers to the concept of *adaptation*. The literature on return migration has consistently stressed the significant obstacles to reintegration encountered by return migrants (e.g., Ni Laoire, 2007; Jones, 2003; Ralph, 2009), possibly due to the loss of relationships with others in their home communities (Wahba & Zenou, 2012). This phenomenon can be better understood through the theoretical lens of immigrants' culture shock, which can also affect return migrants. Basically, previous studies have tended to focus on the return of international migrants. Although there is a logical gap, it is a natural extension to assume that both international and domestic migrants are faced with a degree of culture shock because of the urban-rural gap found in previous migration studies. To adapt to their new destination, all migrants would have to recognize the differences and change themselves. Therefore, when returning to their origins, regardless of whether they are returning from international or domestic locations, it is expected that the migrants would have to deal with culture shock to adapt again. For example, both Gaw (2000) and Fan (2000) examined this concept for both international and domestic returnees. Culture shock was initially conceptualized as the consequence of the strain and anxiety resulting from contact with a new culture and feelings of loss, confusion, and impotence resulting from the loss of accustomed cultural cues and social rules (Oberg, 1954). Winkelman's (1994) model identifies four basic phases of culture shock: (i) the honeymoon or tourist phase, (ii) the crisis or cultural shock phase, (iii) the adjustment phase, and (iv) the adaptation phase. Phases (iii) and (iv) are distinct.

In fact, an adjustment without adaptation is possible, such as isolating oneself from the host society. Winkelman (1994) also lists the causes of culture shock occurring in phase (ii), one of which is role shock, which is defined as the loss of roles central to one's identity in the new culture (Byrnes, 1966). This results from "an ambiguity about one's social position, the loss of normal social relations and roles, and new roles inconsistent with previous self-concept" (Winkelman, 1994, p. 123). It seems reasonable to assume that return migrants interact with others prosocially to determine which role is consistent with their new self-concept they are creating as return migrants. Thus, adopting prosocial behavior is a promising adaptation strategy for return migrants facing obstacles to reintegration in their home region.

2.2.3 Hypotheses

To summarize, the present study posits the following hypotheses, which will be verified in the later sections.

Hypothesis 1: Return migrants behave more prosocially than local residents in a rural community.

Hypothesis 2: Return migrants who migrated to enhance their human capital (knowledge and skills) behave more prosocially than the other return migrants in a rural community.

Hypothesis 3: Return migrants who migrated long-term behave more prosocially than other return migrants in rural communities.

Several things should be noted. First, hypothesis 2 is drawn from the argument made in the subsection entitled "Responsibility". If responsibility mediates return migrants' prosocial behavior, those who enhanced their human capital (knowledge and skill) during their migration

should have a stronger motivation to behave prosocially by utilizing their enhanced human capital. It is difficult to measure how human capital has been enhanced by migration, therefore the present study adopts a proxy for measurement purposes; the reason for their decision to migrate serves as the baseline for estimating enhanced social capital. Second, hypothesis 3 is drawn from the argument made in the subsection entitled "Adaptation". It is natural to assume that those who have been absent from their home region for a longer period have greater difficulties during the process of reintegration and thus pay greater attention to adapting to the home community.

The brief summary of logical flow of this study is as follows. Section 2 argues that two independent theoretical frameworks consistently suggested that rural-to-urban migration experience causes prosociality in rural areas. Thus, the study hypothesized that the two variables are correlated with each other. Section 4 verifies the correlation through the questionnaire survey. Thus, the study concluded that the influence relationship was supported. Section 5 presented qualitative data studies that are consistent with the assumption of the present study on the direction of the influence. Although we believe the logical flow is sufficiently sound, the addition was made to enhance the persuasiveness of the abovementioned logical flow.

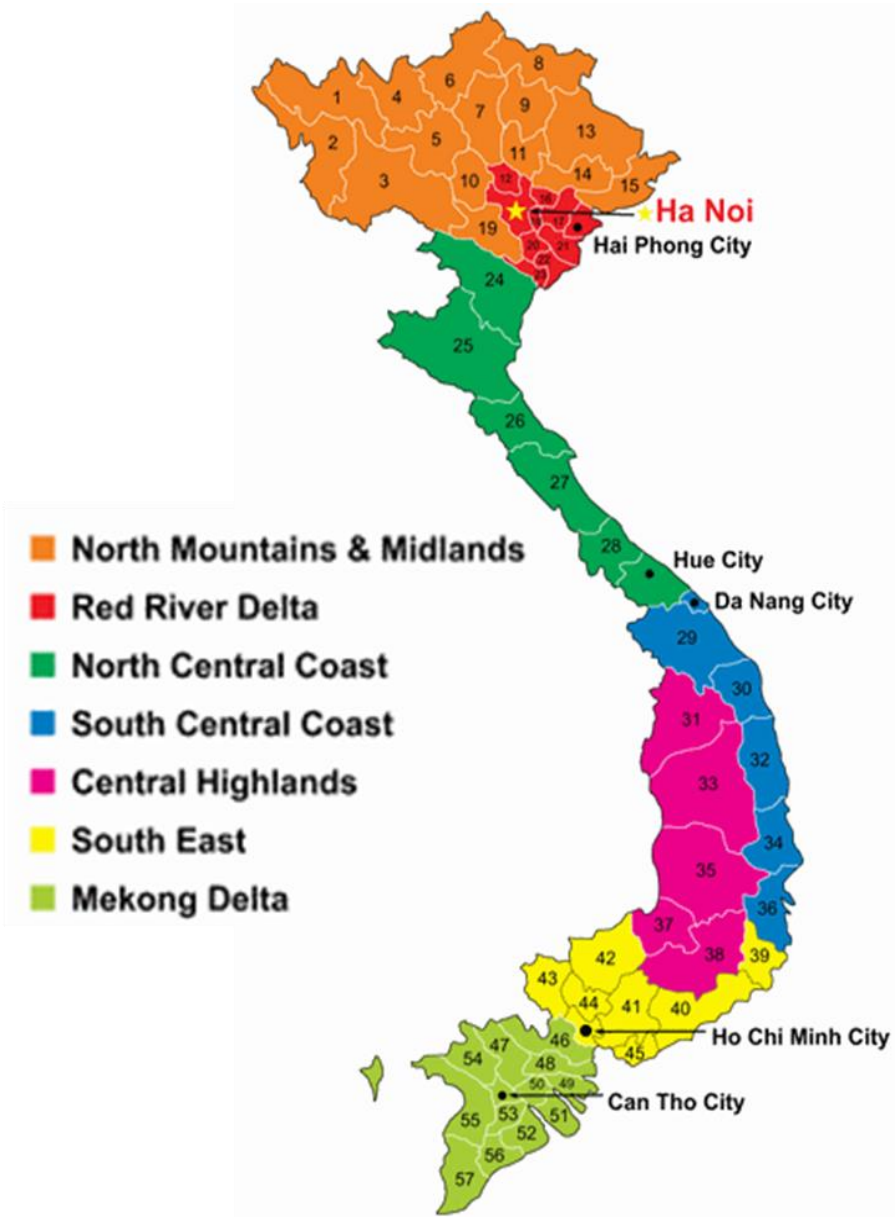
2.3 Methods

2.3.1 Sample

Vietnam is a developing country located in Southeast Asia. It is divided into seven main regions with fifty-eight provinces and five municipalities (Figure 2.1). Each province is split

into provincial municipalities, townships, and counties, while a municipality is divided into districts and counties.

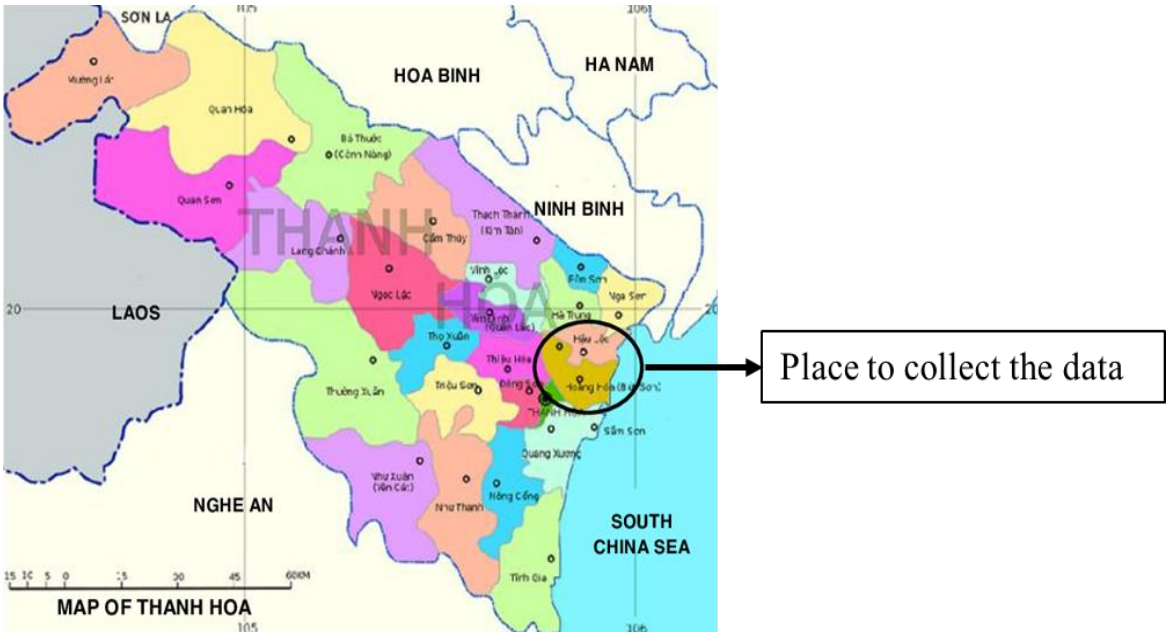
Figure 2.1. Map of Regions in Vietnam. (Source: https://travel.voyagevietnam.co/map-of-regions-of-vietnam/)



This study collected data from the village of Phu Khe, Hoang Hoa County, Thanh Hoa Province, North Central Coast Region (Figure 2.2). In Vietnam, rural areas have administrative

boundaries that exclude the town, district and city wards and are primarily focused on agricultural development. Based on the government urban division laws, the rural areas are determined based on specific criteria: management by People's Committee communes, population sizes less than 4000, population densities less than 1000, more than 45% of agricultural labor, and underdeveloped infrastructure development. This village has two communes governed by People's Committee communes. The village area is around 12.95 km^2, the population around 8600 people, and population density around 664 people/km^2 (2018). In this village, people mainly depend on agricultural activities. The distance from the two main cities, Ha Noi and Ho Chi Minh, is around 160 km and 1,570 km, respectively.

Figure 2.2. Map of Thanh Hoa province (Source: http://www.vinabeez.com/vn/info/map-thanhhoa.htm)



The author distributed 300 questionnaires in the village, and received 250 responses from village residents between 24 and 65 years old from 163 households, a response rate of around 83%. The households were randomly selected from a list supplied by the local authority. In this

study, the sample size was first determined for practical reasons and then it was confirmed that the obtained sample size was sufficient, using Slovin's formula for calculating required sample sizes (Tejada and Punzalan, 2012; Buchori et.al., 2018), which stated that the sample size should be calculated based on the total population in the sampling area N and an acceptable error value e with $n = N/(1 + Ne^2)$. The conventional range for the value e in other studies was from 0.05 to 0.1; therefore, our sample size was considered to be sufficiently large. In fact, the total population (N) of 8,600 in the studied village and our sample size of 250 (n) suggest that we have adopted the e value of 0.06, according to the formula, which is within the above mentioned range. The questionnaire survey was conducted face-to-face by the first author and a hired staff member. We defined return migrants as those who were born and grew up in the village and returned to the village after at least six months of working/studying experience outside the village. Among the 250 respondents, 107 (42.8%) were return migrants and 143 (57.2%) were permanent residents.

Vietnam, more than 65% of the population lives in rural areas, which based on United Nation data from 2018, puts it in the top ten most rural population countries in the world. Vietnam is also ranked in the top ten countries in East Asia/Southeast Asia for its net emigration rate (Central Intelligence Agency, 2018) and in the world for the remittances it receives (based on International Monetary Fund, 2018). Migration has been a key strategy in Vietnam to overcome poverty, especially in the rural areas. International and internal migration in Vietnam also rank high in Asia; for example, the number of internal migrants due to disaster in Vietnam ranks in the top ten in Asia (International Organization for Migration, 2019). In Vietnam, internal migration became popular after the "Doi Moi" reforms of the late 1980s. In those days, the government devised some settlement programs to motivate people to move to rural areas

(mainly highland areas) to contribute to their development. However, this trend did not last long, and the number of migrants in this direction decreased after 1990. Nowadays, an increasing number of people migrate from rural (and thus less developed) areas to urban areas to seek economic opportunities. Some of them decide to become a permanent citizen at their urban destinations while others decide to return sooner or later. Government studies and research by international organizations such as United Nations Population Fund, International Labour Organization, and International Organization for Migration highlight such internal migrants, but the implications of migrants returning to their origins has not been the focus of these studies.

2.3.2 Measurements

The questionnaire included items on (1) individual characteristics of respondents (i.e., gender, age, educational background, & occupation), (2) family characteristics (family income & number of family members), and (3) prosocial behavioral characteristics (the extent of giving social support to others & social generativity). Return migrants responded to additional items on (i) the duration of migration, (ii) whether their migration enhanced their human capital (i.e., knowledge and skills), and (iii) years since they returned.

The social giving part of the 2-Way Social Support scale developed by Shakespeare-Finch & Obst (2011) was utilized to measure the community and social support offered by respondents. This original scale includes items on the emotional and instrumental factors involved in the giving and receiving of social support. The present study utilized only ten items from the giving part of this scale. The items included “I am there to listen to others’ problems” (in the emotional factor) and “I help others when they are too busy to get everything done” (in

the instrumental factor). The response format was a four-point rating scale from 1 (never) to 4 (always). Thus the rating score ranged from 10 to 40.

Meanwhile the social generativity scale developed by Morselli & Passini (2015) was utilized to measure social generativity. This measures individuals' social responsibility that motivate them to behave to benefit future generations. It includes six items such as "I favor activities that ensure a better world for future generations" and "I have a personal responsibility to improve the area in which I live." A five-point rating scale was used as a response format from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree) and thus the rating score ranged from 6 to 30.

2.3.3 Analysis

To test the three hypotheses, a multivariate linear regression analysis was applied to explain the objective variables (i.e., the giving part of the 2-Way Social Support scale score and the social generativity scale score) in terms of the sociodemographic and socioeconomic factors, as well as the dummy variables characterizing return migrants. The first dummy variable was defined which took 1 value if he/she experienced return migration and 0 value otherwise. For those who took 1 value, three additional dummy variables were defined that corresponded to the following three conditions, respectively:

1) Whether he/she stayed outside at least five years or not,

2) Whether the purposes of the migration include the enhancement of human capital (i.e., knowledge and skills) or not, and

3) Whether he/she stayed at least five years or not in the village since their return.

Three options were given to participants in category 1: (1) "up to 1 year"; (2) "more than one year and less than 5 years"; and (3) "5 years or more". Only three participants, or 3%

in total, chose (1), 37 (34% in total) chose (2), and 67 (63% in total) chose (3). The options were the same in category 3 as in the category 1, for which only two participants (around 2% in total) chose (1) and 13 (around 12%) chose (2). As the number of participants that chose (1) was too small in both subcategories, the participants that chose (1) and (2) were combined; therefore, "five years" was chosen as the threshold.

A dummy variable stipulating the migration destination (urban or rural area) was not included in this analysis because it was extremely highly correlated with migration to enhance human capital. In fact, it will be shown later that 45 out of the 107 return migrants in our sample migrated to enhance human capital, and 43 among the 45 chose urban areas as their destinations. This suggest that migrants had to migrate to urban areas in order to enhance human capital. Note that all objective and predictive variables, including the dummy ones, were standardized before input to the regression models.

2.3.4. Supplementary qualitative survey

As detailed in section 2, consistent with the literature, the present study hypothesizes that out-migration experiences encourages people to behave prosocially, rather than proposing that prosocial people are more likely to out-migrate. In other words, Due to difficulties verifying this assumption using a cross-sectional survey, the present study conducted a supplementary qualitative survey. The qualitative data was added as a supplementation to enhance the persuasiveness of the theoretical framework. Specifically, the present study randomly collected data from 18 return migrants aged between 24 and 65 years old. In this sample, the minimum and the maximum of migration duration were 1 year and 20 years, respectively, and the average of migration duration was 13 years. Among the 18 participants,

15 participants (83%) migrated for 5 years or more. The first author conducted this questionnaire survey with these respondents face-to-face. Only eight of the eighteen participants participated in the main quantitative survey, partly because this qualitative survey was conducted half a year before the main quantitative survey, and some of the eighteen participants had out-migrated between the two surveys. The qualitative survey was semi-structured, and the following three questions were asked of participants: (i) what motivated you to decide to out-migrate? (ii) how was life during the migration? and (iii) what motivated you to decide to return to the village? The survey lasted an hour and a half on average, and the vocal responses of the interviewer and interviewees were transcribed. The present study utilized the interviewees' answers to question (i). The aim was to confirm that they did not decide to migrate for prosocial purposes.

Besides the impact of the left-behind family members, in the third question, the "ho khau" system (registration system) could also be a reason to return. In Vietnam, this system discriminates against those with an immigration status in urban areas. Under the "ho khau" system, migrants have limited access to many types of job and the healthcare system and their children may have limited access to the urban education system. The "ho khau" system impact on migration has been studied by international organizations in Vietnam such as the World Bank (2016) and the United Nations Population Fund (2016). However, as this study only focused on question (1), any discussion on this system is out of the scope of this study.

2.4 Results

2.4.1 Demographic and Psychological Characteristics of the Sample

The sample characteristics are presented in Table 2.1. Of the 250 respondents, 135 were male and 115 were female, corresponding to 54% and 46% of the sample, respectively. Respondents' ages ranged from 24 to 65 years old, with a mean age of 44.4 years and SD of 10.2 years.

One hundred and eighty-nine respondents (76%) had a higher educational background (i.e., high school graduation or above). Respondents' occupations were classified into three groups: shop owner, wage employee, and others. Five respondents who were shop owners and employees at the same time were counted as shop owners. There were 150 shop owners (60%), 65 employees (26%), and 35 respondents (14%) who were engaged in other occupations; 57% were non-migrants (143 respondents) and 43% were return migrants (107 respondents). There were several notable differences between the migration (n = 107) and non-migration (n = 143) sample groups. First, most participants in the migration group were male but most in the non-migration group were female, possibly because of the family gender roles in Vietnam as taking care of other family members is normally the responsibility of female members. Second, many participants in the return migration group had higher incomes that those in the non-migration group, possibly because the migration experience improved the life of the returnees. Third, although most participants in both groups had reasonably high education, the percentage of people with high education was higher in the migration group than in the non-migration group.

Return migrants' characteristics were recorded as follows: 45 people out of 107 (42%) migrated to enhance human capital; 62 people chose urban areas (58%) as their destinations, while 45 people chose rural areas. 22 people had experiences of migration to both urban and rural areas and they were counted in 'urban area' group. The duration of migration indicated

that 67 migrants (63%) lived outside the village for five years or more and 40 migrants (37%) lived away for less than five years. Finally, 92 migrants (86%) had stayed in the village for five years or longer following their (final) return. The Cronbach's alpha of social generativity and giving social support scales were 0.73 and 0.84, respectively, indicating that these scales had acceptable levels of internal consistency.

Table 2.1: Sample Characteristics

	n	%	*M*	*SD*	Cronbach's alpha
Gender					
Male	135	54%			
Female	115	46%			
Age			44.4	10.2	
Education					
Higher[1]	189	76%			
Others	61	24%			
Income					
High group	30	12%			
Middle group	208	83%			
Low group	12	5%			
Employment status					
Shop owner[2]	150	60%			
Wage employment	65	26%			
Others	35	14%			
Migration experience					
Yes	107	43%			
No	143	57%			
Enhancement of human capital as a migration purpose					
Yes	45	42%			
No	62	58%			
Destination of migration					
Urban area	62	58%			
Rural area[3]	45	42%			
Migration of duration					
Long-term (5 years or more)	67	63%			
Short-term	40	37%			
Years since returning					
Long-term (5 years or more)	92	86%			
Short-term	15	14%			
Social generativity (6 items)[4]			21.8	2.4	0.73
Giving social support (10 items)[5]			22.3	4.8	0.84

Notes. 1: High school graduation or above. 2: Five villagers who worked as shop owners and as wage employees at the same time were counted as a shop owner. 3: A rural area is defined as within an administrative boundary not including towns, districts, and cities. 4: Theoretical range = 6 - 30. 5: Theoretical range = 10 - 40.

2.4.2 Regression Analysis Results

The regression analysis results are summarized in Table 2.2. This presents the relationships between objective variables (giving social support and social generativity) and predictor variables based upon the sociodemographic, socioeconomic, and characteristics of migration (possession of human capital as a purpose, migration duration, and years since returning).

When migration characteristics were not included as predictors, migration experience was a significant predictor of giving social support at the 0.1% level (beta = 0.44), as theoretically predicted. After adding the three migration characteristics as well as the dummy variable on the possession of migration experiences, the influence of migration experience on giving social support decreased, although it remained significant at the 5% level (beta = 0.31). On the other hand, the possession of human capital (i.e., knowledge and skills) significantly predicted the objective variable at 1% level (beta = 0.22), while the duration of migration and years since return were not significant predictors. This result suggests that the significant association of migration experience with giving social support was due to return migrants' experiences with enhanced social capital. There was a single socioeconomic variable, which remained consistently significant at the 5% level: shop ownership.

Table 2.2: Linear Regression Result (N = 250)

	Objective variable							
	Giving social support				Social generativity			
Predictor variable	*beta*	*s.e.*	*beta*	*s.e.*	*beta*	*s.e.*	*beta*	*s.e.*
Sociodemographic & Socioeconomic Characteristics								
Age	-0.04	0.07	0.02	0.07	-0.15 *	0.06	-0.11	0.07
Male Gender	0.08	0.06	0.07	0.06	0.15 *	0.06	0.14 *	0.06
Education	0.00	0.06	0.00	0.06	0.04	0.06	0.04	0.06
Income								
High group	0.17 †	0.10	0.16	0.10	0.07	0.09	0.05	0.09
Middle group	0.15	0.10	0.12	0.10	0.05	0.09	0.04	0.09
Low group (reference group)								
Employment status								
Shop owner[1]	0.23 **	0.08	0.20 *	0.08	0.33 ***	0.08	0.30 ***	0.08
Wage employment	-0.10	0.09	-0.10	0.09	-0.14	0.09	-0.14 †	0.08
Other (reference group)								
Migration experience								
Yes	0.44 ***	0.06	0.31 *	0.15	0.38 ***	0.06	0.14	0.14
No (reference group)								
Migration Characteristics								
Enhancement of Human Capital as a purpose								
Yes			0.22 **	0.07			0.20 **	0.07
No[2] (reference group)								
Duration of migration								
Five years or more			0.08	0.08			0.23 **	0.07
Other[2] (reference group)								
Years since the return								
Five years or more			-0.05	0.12			-0.03	0.11
Other[2] (reference group)								
Model statistics								
R	0.54		0.57		0.60		0.64	
R square	0.29		0.32		0.37		0.41	

Notes. †: $p < 0.1$. *: $p < 0.05$. **: $p < 0.01$. ***: $p < 0.001$. 1: Five villagers who worked both as shop owners and as wage employees were counted as shop owners. 2: Those without migration experiences were classified into this group.

Migration experience was a significant predictor of social generativity, at the 0.1% level (beta = 0.38), when migration characteristics were not included, as theoretically predicted. After including migration characteristics as predictors, the migration experience was no longer a significant predictor. On the other hand, migration to enhance human capital and the duration of migration were significant predictors at the 1% level (beta = 0.20 and 0.23, respectively). This result suggests that the significant association of migration experience with social generativity is due to returning migrants satisfying these two conditions. Two sociodemographic and socioeconomic variables were consistently significant predictors: male gender and shop ownership.

The results illustrated the influence of gender differences on social generativity. The social generativity awareness in the males seemed stronger than in the females, which was consistent with the findings in McKeering et.al. (2000) and Schoklitsch et.al. (2011). The examination of the employment status variable found that shop owners were more prosocial than wage employees, possibly due to self-efficacy, that is, as shop owners in rural areas have important roles, as commented on in Fesharaki (2019), to establish their own businesses, they need to have self-efficacy, which is a personality factor that contributes to prosocial behavior (Caprara et.al., 2012).

2.4.3 Supplementary qualitative survey results

Transcriptions of the voices of the 18 participants revealed their motivation to out-migrate, which were extracted and are summarized in Table 2.3. In most cases, the “hard living conditions” (participant 05) of the village and the poor family situation motivated participants to leave and improve their economic situation. Different participants referred to this type of

motivation in different ways, such as “income was very low” (participant 01), “hard to earn money” (participant 07), “the salary was not good” (participant 09), “unstable jobs” (participant 10), “difficult life” (participant 11), “the income from working in the village was too low” (participant 16), “poor condition” in infrastructure (participant 18), “family condition and the poverty” (participant 12), and “the first child” in a big family (participant 15). Other participants expressed their expectations of the destination, which can be considered the other side of the same coin. This expression was referred to in a varied ways, such as “improve life” (participant 04), “get a higher income” (participant 06), “was attracted by money” (participant 13), “earn more money” (participant 14), and “earn money to prepare for her son’s studies” (participant 17).

There were still other motivations to out-migrate: preparation for one’s long-term career development (participants 02 and 17), “set up a career” (participant 03), overcoming the sense of inferiority to others (participant 08), and inquisitiveness (participant 07). In conclusion, the qualitative result shows that private needs motivated participants to migrate, and thus, they were not prosocially motivated to migrate.

Table 2.3: Supplementary qualitative survey result

Participant ID	Age	Gender	The reasons to migrate
1	44	M	After graduating high school, he moved to an urban area to study at Maritime college. He migrated because “the income was very low” in the village.
2	35	M	After graduating from school, he moved to an urban area to enter a vocational school. His uncle from the area “introduced” him to this school, encouraging him to acquire a skill to find a job.
3	36	M	As he was not good at studying and did not want to receive a higher education, he “had to go outside of the village to set up a career.”
4	47	M	He expected to go abroad to work to “improve life” as soon as possible, so he chose to study at a vocational school for a short period of time in an urban area.
5	51	M	He left the village twice. The first time, he migrated to join the army, following the "Vietnamese law.” The second time, he migrated to another urban area due to the “hard living conditions” in the village.
6	55	M	He left the village three times. Firstly, he migrated to join the army. While working in the village after his return, he expected to “improve his income,” and he migrated again. After returning to the village, he was motivated once again to migrate, to “get a higher income to raise the children.”
7	44	M	He left the village three times. The first time because “it was hard to earn money” and “life was boring” in the village. The second time, he migrated to a city nearby to find a job, expecting a “higher income.” The final time, he just wanted to try new things, such as a new culture and a new working environment.
8	38	M	He migrated to an urban area due to “the poverty” in his family. In addition, his friends from the village migrated to study or to work and he “did not want to feel inferior to them.”
9	36	M	Due to the bad economic situation in the village, he left to find work. "Working in the village was very hard, the salary was not good.”
10	48	M	He left the village twice. "Unstable jobs” in the village motivated him to leave. Moreover, he “heard that the salary was high” at the destination.
11	55	M	Due to “difficult life in the village,” he had to migrate to “seek a job.”
12	41	M	Due to “family condition and poverty,” he decided to migrate.
13	36	M	The first time, he moved to join the army. The second time, he “was attracted by money.” He saw his friends who were return migrants had earned money from their jobs. This motivated him to migrate.
14	35	M	The first time, he moved to an urban area to study at a vocational school, as suggested by his uncle. The second time, he expected to “earn more money” at the destination.
15	42	F	Her parents had six children and she “was the first child,” so she was responsible for supporting her parents and taking care of the whole family. This motivated her to migrate to an urban area to find a job, after graduating from high school.
16	42	F	As ”the income from working in the village was too low,” she and her husband “decided to migrate to find a job and to earn money”
17	50	F	She migrated thrice. First, she went out to receive a higher education for her future career. Second, she had the “strong expectation” she would become rich. Third, she “migrated to earn money to prepare for her son’s studies.”
18	46	M	The “low income” and “poor conditions” (such as no electricity, poor road quality) in the village motivated him to leave to find work and do business.

2.5 Discussion

This research investigated whether return migrants’ prosocial behavior contributed to social capital in their home communities. Quantitative and qualitative surveys were conducted to verify the theoretical framework stating that return migrants feel a responsibility to improve

their home regions or a need to be reintegrated to the community, thereby demonstrate prosocial behavior as return migrants. The two theoretical frameworks consistently suggested that the possession of an experience of out-migration (hereafter called *variable 1*) causes prosociality (hereafter called *variable 2*). In the questionnaire survey, the study observed a statistically correlation between *variable 1* and *variable 2*. Although the combination of the theoretical frameworks and empirical results is deemed sufficient for drawing a conclusion, the qualitative data was added to confirm that *variable 2* was very unlikely to cause *variable 1*. There were three major findings.

First, consistent with our central hypothesis (i.e., H1), results indicated that return migrants behave more prosocially than other local residents in their home communities, both in terms of giving social support and social generativity. The adjusted correlation coefficient of migration experience with these two indexes were 0.44 and 0.38, suggesting a strong influence. Taken together with the qualitative findings investigating research participants' dominant motivation to migrate, results indicated that the experience of migration caused return migrants' prosocial behavior, rather than prosocial individuals selectively migrating and returning. One thing should be noticed regarding this interpretation. While qualitative results show that migrants were not prosocial before the migration, this does not guarantee that the migrants and non-migrants have the same level of prosociality at the baseline. Considering the push and pull economic factors (Bonrozan & Bojanic, 2012; Djafar, 2012; Iqbal & Gusman, 2015; Rasool, Botha, & Bisschoff, 2012), it is possible that people who out-migrate should be more economically motivated (and thus less prosocial) than those who do not out-migrate at the baseline (perhaps in their teens). It should be noticed that this possibility does not weaken but strengthen our argument. In fact, our statistical finding was that possession of migration

experience was positively correlated with prosociality. The only way to interpret these conflicting statements is that those who out-migrate catch up then overtake those who stay in the village after they out-migrated. This scenario is consistent with our conclusion. This said, the qualitative data was collected from participants who were not necessary in the sample of the quantitative survey, and thus future longitudinal surveys will be important for verifying the validity of this study.

Second, after including the three variables for migration characteristics, enhanced human capital was significantly associated with these indexes, and the significance of migration experience decreased. This suggests that return migrants' tendency to behave prosocially was mainly, or at least partly due to their enhanced human capital. This supports hypothesis H2.

Third, while a longer experience of migration was significantly associated with giving social support, social generativity was not, and thus hypothesis H3 was only partly supported. This difference could be explained by the time it takes for the effects of helping others to become visible. The actions included in the giving social support scale were likely to be appreciated immediately by receivers of support, while those on the social generativity scale aim to foster younger generations in the long run (e.g., decades). Thus, engagement with the former might be regarded by return migrants as essential for their reintegration and is so widely adopted by them that they are not associated with the duration of migration.

Besides, there is another finding. Among sociodemographic and socioeconomic variables, only shop ownership was significant in all the models following the statistical analysis. It means that shop ownership is a big factor which influences prosociality. However,

this finding does not diminish the value of this study. According to our analysis, migration experience was a significant predictor of prosociality even after controlling for shop ownership, suggesting that the migration experience equally enhances the prosociality of shop owners and non-shop owners. Furthermore, by comparing the standardized regression coefficients of shop ownership and migration experience, we find that the effect of migration experience is comparable to that of shop ownership, even if not greater, and thus not negligible.

Whether sending people to more developed regions is beneficial for less developed regions has attracted a great deal of academic attention for decades. While the present study did not try to answer this question, it could make a significant contribution to the deepening debate. In Vietnam, as well as all over the world, the main disadvantages for the sending side include the debased welfare of elders who are left behind (He & Ye, 2013); the developmental problems of left-behind children (Su et al., 2010); the labor shortage leading to changes in production towards low-risk and low-income production (Qian et al., 2016); and the so called 'brain drain' (Wang et al., 2016). On the other hand, migrants provide remittances, which can improve the living standards of the sending side. Additionally, Stockdale (2006) argues that leaving the home community seems a natural process for younger people to achieve a higher education. In line with this, Nugin (2014) encourages rural youth to move out and see new things. On the basis of the empirical evidence, the present study adds an original argument to this debate: the sending side can benefit from return migrants' prosocial behavior that leads to the strengthening of social capital in rural areas. This contribution has an important practical implication as well. It is important for the sending side to motivate their young people wishing to migrate to acquire knowledge and skills. This effort of the sending side should benefit the community with their enhanced human capital on return. Our results suggest that returners are

likely to be prosocial return migrants who think about others and their entire home community/region/country in the short and long run. However, their motivation to enhance their own human capital is not necessarily prosocial.

This study has an important limitation. The research design established two different theoretical frameworks using the present literature (i.e., reintegration and sense of responsibility). While the study fully or partly verified the hypotheses drawn from both of these frameworks, it could not determine which mechanism was dominant. In the future, it will be important to measure perceived difficulties with reintegration and the sense of responsibility directly, thereby answering this question. Additionally, the small sample seems another limitation of this study. Findings from a small sample with only 250 participants in a village near an urban area are not representative of all rural areas, particularly the highland areas. Findings will vary due to the different cultural and geographical characteristics of the region. However, these results could be generalized to other villages in Vietnam and in many developing countries that have similar sociocultural and community characteristics. As villages have existed for a long time in Vietnam, each village is based on various rules (Tran Ngoc Them, 1999), such as bloodline, occupation, household and neighborhood connections, and administration units (e.g. sometimes a village is called a commune, sometimes a village includes several communes). These strong autonomous community characteristics in Vietnamese villages means that there are often strict resident relationships, with the residents in the same village tending to support each other. Further, each village tends to have its own conventions that exist in parallel with government law. Future studies with a larger sample and unlimited scope could contribute a clearer picture of return migrants' prosocial behavior.

The migration experience of returned migrants contributes to the villages if the migrant choose to return; however, if the migrants decide not to return, there is less benefit. Therefore, the combination of the attempts to let people go out and return is important. Unfortunately, this study only encouraged people to migrate but not to return as it failed to elucidate a concrete strategy to encourage people not only to migrate but also to return; therefore, further research is needed.

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Chapter 3. Development of a Conceptual Framework of Returning Migrants Behaving Prosocially in Their Home Communities

3.1 Introduction

It has become recognized over time that the impact of rural-to-urban migration on the development of the rural areas is positive, particularly in reference to certain migration theories (de Haas, 2010). Specifically, instead of concentrating upon the negative consequences of out-migration, such as losing human capital and reducing the population of the sending communities, the focus of attention is shifting toward the pivotal role of migrant remittances in promoting the welfare of their home communities. Indeed, migrant remittances and savings are considered not only a way of ensuring household livelihood, but also a source of crucial capital for fostering the establishment of small enterprises or businesses. This, in turn, contributes to the economic development of these sending communities (Fajnzylber & Lopez, 2008; Demurger & Xu, 2011; Durand et al., 1996a; Ma, 2002; Sheehan & Riosmena, 2013).

In contrast to the abovementioned studies on out-migrants' contribution to their home communities during the migration period, migrants' contribution to the sending communities *after* their return is also important. This view is shared by earlier studies that regard return migration as an opportunity to apply knowledge and experiences acquired in the urban areas to the local labor markets of the sending areas (Cuecuecha et al., 2012; Gitter et al., 2008; as cited by Parrado & Gutierrrez, 2016). According to this view, the impacts of returning migrants are not restricted to the economic sphere. Indeed, political and socio-cultural influences have been investigated by earlier studies such as that of Chauvet and Mercier (2014) and Thomas-Hope

(1999). In this sense, return migrants (and rural in-migrants in general) are "potentially constituting something of a transfusion in the form of new blood, new ideas, and fresh enthusiasm for locally based action" (Derounian, 1998, p. 128, as cited by Stockdale, 2006).

Recently, in a questionnaire survey, Le and Nakagawa (2020) elaborated on this metaphor in a new way by arguing that return migrants enhance the social capital of their home communities by behaving prosocially. Drawing on two different theories namely, the sense of responsibility and adaptation (see the next section for details), they suggested that the observed correlation between being a return migrant and prosociality represented an influence (i.e., the experience of out-migration and return enhances individuals' prosociality, rather than already prosocial individuals who out-migrate and then return). The sense of responsibility is exerted by return migrants when motivated to utilize the human capital acquired outside for the sake of their home communities. Adaptation is a process of return migrants looking to be reintegrated where behaving prosocially can be a promising strategy.

That said, there is room for further research. While applications of these theoretical concepts in understanding the prosocial behaviors of return migrants seem intuitive, more direct evidence seems to be needed to clarify the perceptions of returning migrants and to conclude that the influential inference behind the correlation observed by Le and Nakagawa (2020) is indeed valid. Thus, the present qualitative study aimed to answer the following three questions:

Question 1. Will returning migrants be identified who ascribe their prosocial behavior to their out-migration experiences?

Question 2. If the answer to question 1 is positive, is the influence mediated either by a sense of responsibility or an adaptation motive, as suggested by Le and Nakagawa (2020)?

Question 3. If the answer to question 2 is negative, what other theoretical constructs mediate the influence?

By answering these questions, the present study finally aims to propose a hypothetical conceptual framework explaining returning migrants' prosocial behavior in their home communities.

3.2 Revisiting the Theoretical Frameworks of Le and Nakagawa (2020)

First, with regard to responsibility, earlier studies have observed that highly skilled migrants (e.g., health workers and international students) who are absent from the sending communities are likely to be motivated to feed back their skills to their sending communities (Hazan & Alberts, 2006; Poppe et al., 2016; Siar, 2014). In another line of studies, organizational studies have linked the sense of responsibility with the sense of belongingness to their organizations and the motivation toward extra-role behaviors, i.e. those which go beyond the role expectations in a way that is organizationally functional) (e.g., Krebs, 1970; Morrison & Phelps, 1999; Schwartz & Howard, 1982; Pearce & Gregersen, 1991), which are necessarily prosocial. By connecting these two lines of studies, Le and Nakagawa (2020) concluded that the correlation they observed between out-migration experiences and prosociality in their home communities represents an influence relationship linking the former to the latter.

Second, regarding the concept of adaptation, earlier studies have considered cultural shock as an important hurdle for migrants entering and being integrated into the migration

destination communities (Gaw, 2000; Fan, 2000; Winkleman, 1994). It seems natural to apply this argument to returning migrants who struggle to be reintegrated into their home communities. Indeed, the literature on return migration has consistently stressed significant obstacles to reintegration encountered by returning migrants (e.g., Ni Laoire, 2007; Jones, 2003; Ralph, 2009), possibly due to the loss of relationships with others in their home communities (Wahba & Zenou, 2012). Le and Nakagawa (2020) demonstrated that returning migrants interact with others prosocially to determine which role is consistent with the new self-concept they are creating as returning migrants and that adopting prosocial behavior is a promising adaptation strategy for returning migrants facing obstacles to reintegration in their home region. The present study aims to validate these theoretical arguments.

3.3 Method

3.3.1 Data Collection

This study conducted interviews with 18 participants who satisfied all the following requirements:

1) Aged between 20 and 60.

2) Having lived outside their village to work/study or for both.

3) Having lived outside the village for at least one year.

4) Living in the village at the time of the interview.

The authors collected data from a village (namely, Phu Khe village) in Thanh Hoa province, which is located in central Vietnam. This province is approximately 164 km and 1,568 km distant from the two biggest cities, Hanoi and Ho Chi Minh City, respectively. The population and population density were 8600 and 664 people/km^2 (2018), respectively. Due to

geographic and climatic conditions, it is challenging to make a living only by agriculture in this area as in many rural areas in central Vietnam. Agriculture, however, is still the primary occupation of this village, as with other villages in Vietnam. Consequently, the income of the village is relatively less than many other Vietnamese villages, especially villages in the south or near big cities such as Hanoi or Ho Chi Minh City. In general, geographical, climatic, and economic conditions motivated local people to migrate to urban areas to pursue various life goals.

The participants in this research were recruited in the following manner. The first participant was selected at the suggestion of a local person who served as a gatekeeper to the authors (i.e., a relative of the first author). With the help of the gatekeeper, the first author contacted returnees by phone to introduce herself and explain the research objectives. The author then asked whether the returnee would agree to an interview. If the returnee answered yes, the author confirmed the date and time of the interview with the participant. On the day of the interview, the author went to the returnee's house with the local person. After finishing the first interview, the first author used the snowball sampling method to approach other participants (i.e., the second participant was introduced by the first participant, and so on). The village involved two communes, with the same collecting method being used in each commune. The author interviewed each participant at least twice or three times. The interviews in the first round were conducted face to face at the participants' houses, while those in the second round were conducted either face to face or by phone. The total interviewing time of each participant ranged from 2 to over 3 hours. All interviews were recorded, transcribed in the local language, and translated into English. The number of transcription pages and the translation amounted to

274 and 270, respectively. The author employed semi-structured interviews. Basic information was gathered in the following manner:

1) Demographic information

2) The purpose of the migration. Examples of migration purpose included enhancing human capital and earning money. Following Schultz (1961) and Nafukho et al. (2004), human capital is understood here as skills and the knowledge that people received through training and education.

3) The date of migration, name(s) of the destination(s), and the total duration of the stay outside the village

4) Life and career outside the village

5) Reason for returning to the village

6) Life and career after the return.

3.3.2 Qualitative Data Analysis

The present study utilized item questions on two psychometric scales to analyze the narratives of the research participants: the question on social giving from the 2-Way Social Support Scale and Social Generativity Scale. The Social Support Scale was developed by Shakespeare-Finch and Obst (2011) and includes items to measure the amount of giving and receiving emotional and instrumental social support from others. The present study utilized all of the ten items in the giving part of this scale. The Social Generativity Scale was developed by Morselli and Passini (2015) with six items in total to measure prosocial attitudes toward younger and future generations. See Table 1 for the 16 (=10+6) question items of these scales. Note that both of these scales were adopted by Le and Nakagawa (2020) and it was found that

rural village people with out-migration experiences had higher scale scores than those without the experiences.

Table 3.1: Combining Giving Social Support and Social Generativity scales

No.	Scale	Prosocial behaviors
1	GSS.1	I am there to listen to other's problems
2	GSS.2	I look for ways to cheer people up when they are feeling down
3	GSS.3	People close to me tell me their fears and worries
4	GSS.4	I give others a sense of comfort in times of need
5	GSS.5	People confide in me when they have problems
6	GSS.6	I help others when they are too busy to get everything done
7	GSS.7	I have helped someone with their responsibilities when they were unable to fulfil them
8	GSS.8	When someone I lived with was sick I helped them
9	GSS.9	I am a person others turn to for help with tasks
10	GSS.10	I give financial assistance to people in my life
11	SG.1	I carry out activities in order to ensure a better world for future generations
12	SG.2	I have a personal responsibility to improve the area in which I live
13	SG.3	I give up part of my daily comforts to foster the development of next generations
14	SG.4	I think that I am responsible for ensuring a state of well-being for future generations
15	SG.5	I commit myself to do things that will survive even after I die
16	SG.6	I help people to improve themselves

Note. 1. GSS stands for Giving Social Support; 2. SG stands for Social Generativity

The following steps are applied to answer the research questions:

Step 1: It was checked one by one whether each sentence of the transcribed narrative included a statement representing prosociality as a returning migrant in the home community. A sentence was marked as such only when it was consistent with any of the 16 prosocial behaviors in the two psychometric scales.

Step 2: Considering the context surrounding the identified sentence in Step 1, the identified prosociality was classified into one of the three categories: (i) prosociality as a consequence of the out-migration experience, (ii) prosociality as a consequence of other than the out-migration experience, and (iii) others (i.e., the cause of the represented prosociality cannot be identified in the narrative). This step intends to confirm the influence of the out-migration experience on prosocial behaviors of returning migrants which was assumed in Le and Nakagawa (2020), and thus, to answer the first question.

Step 3: The prosociality classified into group (i) were further classified into subgroups, with the expectation that the subgroups explain what mediates the influential relationships between the out-migration experience and the exhibited behavior by the returning migrants. This step intends to answer the second and the third questions.

3.4 Results

This study collected data from 18 participants (hereafter referred to as participant A to participant R). Each participant has experienced migration outside the village to work and to study at least once in the past. The basic information of participants is illustrated in Table 1. The average age of 18 participants is 42.5 and their age standard deviation is 7.8. Over half of the participants are circular migrants. Concerning the total time spent outside the village, the standard deviation and the mean of the 18 participants are 6.0 and 13.1 years, respectively. The breakdown of the destinations of 18 participants is as follows (for participants who experienced two or more migrations, the most recent destinations are considered here): four destinations were international (22%) and the remaining 14 destinations were domestic (78%). Among the domestic destinations, eight (57%) were urban and the remaining six were other rural locations (43%). Regarding the migration purpose, 11 participants from A to K migrated to enhance

human capital and became skilled workers and self-employed, while the remaining 7 participants migrated to earn money and became unskilled workers or employee after their return.

Table 3.2: List of participants

Name	Age[1]	Gender	Number of migration times[2]	Total migration time	Total time in the village from the last return[3]	Current job	Migration purpose
A	44	M	1	14	12	Self-employed	Enhancing human capital [4]
B	35	M	2	6	11	Skilled worker	Enhancing human capital
C	36	M	1	18	1	Self-employed	Enhancing human capital
D	47	M	1	25	4	Skilled worker, team leader	Enhancing human capital
E	51	M	2	18	14	Self-employed	Enhancing human capital
F	44	M	3	16	2	Self-employed	Enhancing human capital
G	38	M	1	14	3	Self-employed	Enhancing human capital
H	55	M	3	13	7	Self-employed	Enhancing human capital
J	41	M	2	19	5	Self-employed	Enhancing human capital
J	50	F	2	15	9	Self-employed	Earning money
K	46	M	3	14	8	Self-employed	Earning money
L	55	M	3	11	3	Unskilled worker	Earning money
M	36	M	1	7	1	Employee	Earning money
N	48	M	4	17	6	Unskilled worker, farmer	Earning money
O	36	M	2	15	1	Employee	Earning money
P	35	M	1	8	1	Employee	Earning money
Q	26	F	1	1	6	Employee	Earning money
R	42	F	1	4	14	Employee, farmer	Earning money

Notes. 1: Age of participants in the first round of the interviews (2018). 2: Only counting the times that participants migrated from the village to other places, residence time in the village was more than six months. 3: The last return as the time of the interview (2018). 4: Enhancing human capital includes joining training schools, colleges and developing their career.

In **Step 1**, with reference to the 16 items of two psychometric scales, a total of 19 statements describing prosocial behavior were identified. These statements were made by 13 participants (A, C, E, F, G, H, I, J, K, N, P, Q, R).

In **Step 2**, considering the context surrounding the identified statements in the narratives, the identified 19 prosocial statements were classified into one of the three categories. The numbers of statements considered as a consequence of out-migration (category (i)), consequences other than of out-migration (category (ii)), and the others (category (iii)) were 16, 1, and 2, respectively. Identification of the statement in the category (i) confirms the influence of migration experience on their prosocial behaviors, which has been assumed by Le and Nakagawa (2020). These statements (in category (i)) were made by 11 participants (A, C, E, F, G, H, I, J, K, N, R). One thing should be noted that in the 4 statements out of the 16 in category (i), the referred prosociality was toward the respondents' household members (i.e., spouses and children), rather than toward those outside the households, and thus the behavior was pro-self in a sense.

Table 3.3: Classifying based on the appearance of the prosocial statement

No	Participant	Scale	Prosocial statement	Motivation
1	A	SG.6	Based on my own experience, I try my best to motivate my friends to focus on career development instead of gambling. I do not have time to stay with them every day to manage their activities but I usually use my story to advise them whenever we meet.	(During migration) I took up gambling and illegal lottery so I lost all my money. I had a tough time when participating in these social evils.
2	A	GSS.10	Of course, I also consider the educational achievement of children and young people outside my family such as children in my neighbors' families or my brothers/cousins' families	Migration made me understand the importance of becoming skilled workers.
3	C	SG.6	I know that I have not enough teaching skills and equipment/tools for practice to train others as in training schools. Even so, I am willing to share my experience with everyone in need in the village	During the migration period, I had a successful career thanks to my technical skills. I believed that I could live anywhere with those skills.
4	E	GSS.10	I recruited people from the same village as me, I knew their circumstances so I could take care of them easily.	Starting a business in Binh Phuoc was not easy. I had a lot of troubles (for example living alone, different climate, and different culture). Many local people lived in poor conditions (low income, no fixed job) so I recruited them. My business thrived thanks to their support. I recognized their value.

5	F	GSS.10	I ran a business in the village. I kept the same management method as in Gia Lai Province. I recruited only locals to work for me even when I had contracts outside the village. When someone who has worked for me wants to work independently, I am happy to support them if needed.	When starting a business in Gia Lai Province, I hired disadvantaged migrants (migrants who came from the same village as the participant) and the locals. I supported their life (e.g., making jobs or lending money to invest in a business there). Hiring locals helped to run the business smoothly (the locals know many things related to the destination)
6	G	SG.6	I teach the necessary working skills to people who come to work for me so that they will have a better life even when they no longer work for me.	I learned many things (knowledge and skills related to the job) during the migration period and I wanted to apply the knowledge to contribute to the development of the village.
7	G	GSS.4	I am happy to encourage and try to support the employees to be confident when working with partners and customers.	When working at M company in Ho Chi Minh City, I usually went out with co-workers to find material suppliers and I learned negotiation skills. I also learned communication skills with customers when working there.
8	G	GSS.5	I was happy to help them if needed.	(During the migration period) I usually went to the sidewalk iced tea where the neighbors usually were to be found. We talked freely and our relationship became closer. I also usually helped them if needed.

9	H	SG.4	I motivate my children to focus on studying.	During the migration period, I came to know some young people who had a difficult life because they did not acquire knowledge from school.
10	I	SG.6	At present, I have no time to start a class to train young people in the village but in the future, I hope I can train them to find a job and to have a stable life in the village	Until the day I left, my working skills were among the highest in the company. I was confident in my working skills.
11	I	GSS.4 SG.2	(Now in the home village) I have become self-employed and I recruit only people in the village to work for me (rather than recruiting people from other villages). I know their families and understand their circumstances. I am happy to help them to complete their work when they are busy. […] Unlike some bosses in the village, I provide a full range of protective equipment and materials to ensure the safety of employees when working.	[…] I have been trained in quality management processes. […] I attended a class for managers every year and thanks to those classes, I knew how to be a good manager. […] As a team leader, I was responsible for managing my team members to complete their work on time and safely. […] I am proud to have been working in X company and I apply what I have learned there when doing business here (the village).
12	J	GSS.5	(In Binh Phuong Province) I was happy to help them if needed. […] (in the village) I just did the same as when I was in Binh Phuoc Province.	I had troubles with the lifestyles and culture in the destination. “Better a neighbor near than a brother far off,” I usually talked with my new neighbors so I gradually adapted and enjoyed the life there. […] I was happy to help them if needed. […] (After returning) I had the same feeling as the one I had when I first moved to the destination.

13	K	SG.4	I hope that I can promote the business to secure the income to support the study of my children from now till the day they graduate training school or college.	It was very difficult for me to maintain my life in big cities like Hanoi and Nha Trang as an unskilled worker.
14	N	GSS.5	I usually talk about my stories of Malaysia and Saudi Arabia whenever I meet other people such as my friends and relatives. [...]. I also have shared vital information based on my experience related to cultural differences in Malaysia and Saudi Arabia with some worried young people so that they could carefully prepare for their migration decision outside of Vietnam, both emotionally and instrumentally.	I lived in Malaysia, an Islamic country, so I could adapt to the life in Saudi Arabia (which is also an Islamic country) better than others. […] The lifestyle and the culture of Saudi Arabia were different from Malaysia in the sense that the former had stricter rules. [...] These are interesting stories related to a new culture and a new lifestyle, which have never been experienced (by people in the village people)
15	N	SG.4	I am responsible for taking care of my children. I motivate them to pursue schooling to ensure a better future than mine.	I recognized many disadvantages when working as an unskilled worker.
16	R	SG.4	I encouraged my children to learn a job to have a better future than me. My oldest son was not good at studying so I encouraged him to join a training school instead of becoming an unskilled worker or entering a university or a college.	Our salary was lower and our jobs were more dangerous than skilled workers.

In **Step 3**, the 16 statements were investigated to create a typology regarding the content of the prosocial behaviors and their antecedent. Consequently, four different themes emerged. They are described one by one as below.

Theme 1: Sharing migration experience

During the migration period, Participants C, G, and I recognized the gap of living conditions and working conditions between the destination and the hometown. They learned varied techniques so that they could improve their working skills and achieve a successful career during the migration period. On their return, they were eager to share their knowledge and their working skills with other people in need and expected those people could have a stable life with the skills they received. Their behaviors could be seen as the contribution to developing the home community. In terms of participant C, he realized that living conditions in the destination was "much better than" in the village. He could easily "earn money to live comfortably in the destination" with his working skills. He was confident that "he could live anywhere with those skills", and after returning to the village he was "willing to share the experience with everyone in need in the village."

> **(C1)** The life (e.g., living conditions) in Ho Chi Minh City is much better than here (the village). I run a business and I can easily earn money. Many people run the same business as me but I can still survive with my working skills. Of course, it is impossible to become rich but I can earn money to live comfortably in the destination (Ho Chi Minh City). […] During the migration period, I had a successful career due to my technical skills. I believed that I could live anywhere with those skills. (Now in the home community) […] I know that I have not enough teaching skills and

equipment/tools for practice to train others as in the training schools[5]. Even so, I am willing to share the experience with everyone in need in the village.

(Participant C, Male, 36 years old)

Similarly to participant C, participant G also made a comparison between the destination and the village. He recognized that he had "a lot of jobs to do" when working in the urban area because his company signed "many contracts." The situation was different when he worked in the village. There, it was "not easy to find a contract" and he had "to utilize the connection" made during the migration period to run his business. In the urban area, he "accumulated skills" to become a leader and to have a "comfortable" life. This development motivated him to "apply the knowledge the knowledge to contribute to the development of the village." He taught "necessary working skills" to others in need so that they would have "a better life."

(G1) M company[6] sign many contracts so I have a lot of jobs to do. Meanwhile, it is not easy to find a contract here (the village). Sometimes, I have to use my connections with previous companies to find a contract for my store. […] With the skills I gained, I became a leader in that company. The boss and my colleagues believed in my working skills. My life was quite comfortable at that time. I was not rich but I could earn enough money to live comfortably during the migration period. […] I learned many things during that time and I wanted to apply my knowledge to contribute to the development of the village. […] (Now in the home community) I teach the necessary working skills

[5] At training school, students have hands-on classes where they have full of machines to apply theories learned. For example, the school has lathes, drilling machines and welding machines for students to learn about mechanics.

[6] The company where he worked during the migration period

to people who come to work for me so that they will have a better life even when they no longer work for me.

(Participant G, Male, 38 years old)

Notably, even this participant's personality changed during migration and brought this to his community. He "was shy" before migrating but he "changed during the migration time." Now he "is confident to negotiate with suppliers as well as communicate with customers" and he is "happy to encourage and try to support the employees to be confident when working with the partners and customers."

(G2) In the past, I was shy but I changed during the migration period. When working at M company in Ho Chi Minh City, I usually went out with co-workers to find material suppliers and I learned negotiation skills. I also learned communication skills to be used with customers when working there. After returning, I simply applied these skills when running my own business (in the village). I am confident negotiating with suppliers as well as communicating with customers to satisfy them with my products. I am happy to encourage and try to support the employees to be confident when working with partners and customers.

(Participant G, Male, 38 years old)

Along with participants C and G, participant I made a comparison between the destination and the village. He had the same feeling as participant C that life in an urban area was better than in the village, and he was also "confident" of his working skills which he developed during the migration period. He expected to "train young people in the village" so that they could "have a stable life in the village."

(I1) The life in the urban area (Ho Chi Minh city) is more comfortable than here (the village). Our salaries[7] are higher than here (the village). […] I migrated to Ho Chi Minh City. […] When I joined X company, it was a small company. […] Later, it became a big company. […] Until the day I left, my working skills were among the highest in the company. I was confident in my working skills. […] At present, I have no time to start a class to train young people in the village but in the future, I hope I can train them to find a job and to have a stable life in the village.

(Participant I, Male, 41 years old)

While the above participants tended to share working skills which were accumulated during their migration time, participants N and A wanted to share their life experience with others in the village. Participant N experienced "new culture" and "new lifestyle" in two Islamic countries (Malaysia and Saudi Arabia). According to him, his life experience was new to many people who "have never experienced" this in the village. He also thought that his life stories were essential to "some worried young people" preparing "for their migration decision outside of Vietnam."

(N1) I lived in Malaysia, an Islamic country, so I could adapt to the life in Saudi Arabia (which is also an Islamic country) better than others. […] The lifestyle and the culture of Saudi Arabia were different from Malaysia in the sense that the former had stricter rules. […] (Now in the home village) I usually talk about my stories of Malaysia and Saudi Arabia whenever I meet other people such as my friends and relatives. These are interesting stories related to a new culture and a new lifestyle, which have never been

[7] The salary of the participant and his wife

experienced (by people in the village). I also have shared vital information based on my experience related to cultural differences in Malaysia and Saudi Arabia with some worried young people so that they could carefully prepare for their migration decision outside of Vietnam, both emotionally and instrumentally.

(Participant N, Male, 48 years old)

Rather than sharing "interesting stories" like participant N, participant A shared negative experiences with the locals after returning. During the migration period, he "took up gambling and illegal lottery" and he "lost all his money." He "had a tough time when participating in these social evils" so he tried his best "to motivate" his friends to stay away from these social evils after returning.

(A1) (While I migrated,) I had a good job in Hai Phong City with a high salary. Unfortunately, I took up gambling and illegal lottery so I lost all my money. I had a tough time when participating in these social evils. To stay away from these social evils, I moved to Ho Chi Minh City but I did not find a good job there. I usually had to work overtime with a low salary. Sometimes, I had no money to return to the village to visit my family in the New Year holidays. […] My friends (who have worked with me during the migration period and have not participated in social evils) are very rich. Now they are in high positions in their company. They own a big house and a beautiful car. I would be the same if I did not participate in social evils. […] (Now in the home village) There are many social evils in the village such as gambling and illegal lottery and many villagers, including my friends, are participating. Based on my own experience, I try my best to motivate my friends to focus on career development instead of gambling. I

do not have time to stay with them every day to manage their activities but I usually use my story to advise them whenever we meet.

(Participant A, Male, 44 years old)

Participants in this theme are willing to share their out-migration experiences, including working skills and other life experiences, with the locals after returning and expect the sharing will support their life.

Theme 2: Bringing in the habit of being close to neighbors

Participant G realized that there was "a gap in the relationship" between him and "other people in the village" because he "was away from the village for a long time". "It was simple" to overcome the situation because he dealt with it at the beginning of the migration period. Now, his strategy was to adopt what he "have done" during the migration period, including having an "open mind," "talked freely" and "usually helped them[8] if needed."

(G3) I was away from the village for a long time so when I got back, there was a gap in the relationship between me and other people in the village, particularly my neighbors. […]. During the time in Ho Chi Minh City, I had to try hard to open my mind and to develop relationships with new neighbors so I could integrate into life there. I usually went to the sidewalk iced tea[9] where the neighbors were usually to be found. We talked freely and our relationship became closer. I also usually helped them if needed. My neighbor was the person who helped me to find a job. This communication

[8] The neighbors

[9] It could be seen as a small stall on the sidewalk where the owner serving tea with some plastic chairs to the customers. It is a culture of Vietnam.

skill helped me when returning to the village. I was away from the village for a long time so everything became new after returning. I have integrated into the life of a big city (where he has no family and relatives) so there is no reason to fail here (the village). In the beginning, I did not know the neighbors but the situation gradually became better. It was simple. I have done it before[10]. Sometimes, I visited neighbors' houses. I also went to the sidewalk iced tea where the neighbors usually were. I was happy to help them if needed.

(Participant G, Male, 38 years old)

In the same situation as Participant G, after returning, Participant J also "had the same feeling" as the one he had when he first moved to his destination, including "trouble with the lifestyles and culture." To overcome this situation, in the destination, she usually "talked with new neighbors" and "was happy to help them if needed." By doing so, she "gradually adapted and enjoyed the life" in the destination. After returning, she just "did the same" as when she was in the destination so "it was simple" to solve similar situation.

(J1) (After migrating to Binh Phuoc Province), I had trouble with the lifestyles and culture in the destination. "Better a neighbor near than a brother far off," I usually talked with my new neighbors so I gradually adapted and enjoyed the life there. After that, there were no difficulties when living there. The neighbors were nice. I was happy to help them if needed. […] On my return, I sold the old house before migrating so I bought new land to build a house instead of staying at the house of my parents-in-law. I had to prepare and start a new life in my home village. At that time, I had the same

[10] i.e., during the migration period

> feeling as the one I had when I first moved to the destination. When building the new house, I spent time to build contact with my new neighbors. “Better a neighbor near than a brother far off,” I have lived in a new place so I know how important it is to develop the relationship with neighbors. It was not difficult to make an acquaintance and to be close with new neighbors. I just did the same as when I was in Binh Phuoc Province. It was simple.
>
> (Participant J, Female, 50 years old)

Because of leaving the village for a long time, it is natural when the participants felt that “there is a gap” in the relationship with other people in the village (Participant G) or felt “the same” as the first move to the destination (Participant J). Based on migration experiences, they knew how to reduce and then remove the gap to integrate themselves into one place.

Theme 3: Bringing in the habit of treating the co-workers

According to Participant E, “starting a business is very difficult, either in a new place or in the hometown.” In the destination, he had to face up “a lot of troubles (for example living alone, different climate, and different culture).” To cope with this, he recruited locals who “lived in poor conditions (low income, no fixed job)” and this strategy “helped” him “to adapt (to the life and business activities) there more easily.” After returning, he also realized the difficulties of running a business in the village because of “no connections (to find partners, customers).” To solve this issue, he simply “followed the same steps (when running the business outside the village).” In other words, he recruited locals based on the experience during his migration period. This decision has stabilized his business as he mentioned “the business gradually became stable.”

(E1) Starting a business is very difficult, either in a new place or in the hometown. You need to face up many troubles such as different culture or requirements (related to products). Luckily, I overcame these problems and the business is stable. […] Starting a business in Binh Phuoc Province was not easy. I had a lot of troubles (for example living alone, different climate, and different culture). Many local people lived in poor conditions (low income, no fixed job) so I recruited them. My business was good thanks to their support. I recognized their values and they helped me to adapt (to the life and business activities) there more easily. They sometimes drank at night and then they were unable to work the next day but they had physical strength (to do work such as digging or carrying heavy things by hand). They could work twice as hard as others (compared with people from the same village as me). I understood their habits and I never thought about firing them. […] (After returning,) I became self-employed, although running a business in my hometown was not easy at first. I had been away from the village for a long time so I had no connections (to find partners, customers). […] I started a new business and I followed the same steps when recruiting employees as before (when running the business outside the village). I recruited people from the same village as me. I knew their circumstances so I could take care of them easily. For example, I could easily make a working schedule to suit each employee. Additionally, the income from the store supported their life. The business gradually became stable. […] We (the participants and his co-workers) work hard so the business is good now.

(Participant E, Male, 51 years old)

Along with Participant E, Participant F also recognized the benefit of hiring locals. With him, "it was win–win situation" when he ran a business in the destination where he "did not have

the necessary information or relationships." His business outside was successful so he wanted "to become self-employed after returning." To do this, he had to face challenges due to leaving the village "for a long time." As in the situation when starting a business at the destination, he "lacked necessary information (customers' requirements of) and had no connections (e.g., with partners)." In this case, he "kept the same management method as in" the destination and it made his business "more comfortable."

> **(F1)** I did not have the necessary information or relationships there (the destination) so everything was very tough at first (not easy understanding the requirement of customers or find partners). […] I ran a business successfully away from the village so I also want to become self-employed after returning. When doing business here (the village), I have to consider the requirements of locals. I combined my experiences with the customers' needs to give advice to satisfy the customers in the village. […] The customers believe in my skills. Many customers come to make a reservation because I am very busy. […] When starting a business in Gia Lai Province, I hired disadvantaged migrants (migrants who came from the same village as the participant) and the locals. I supported their life (e.g., making jobs or lending money to invest in a business there). Hiring locals helped to run the business smoothly (the locals know many things related to the destination). Their life was not good (no fixed job, low income). I helped them to improve their daily life through the salary at my farm and they helped me to run the business smoothly in the destination. It was a win–win situation. […] Starting a business here (the village) was also not easy. I had been away for a long time so I lacked necessary information (requirements of customers) and had no connections (with partners) to support running a business. […] After returning, I ran a business in the village. I kept the same

management method as in Gia Lai Province. I recruited only locals to work for me even when I had contracts outside the village. When someone who has worked for me wants to work independently, I am happy to support them if needed. Hiring them made my business more comfortable.

(Participant F, Male, 44 years old)

Not only supporting the financial aid like Participants E and F (e.g., "improve their daily life through the salary"), Participant I recognized the difference in working environment between an urban area and his hometown. Recognizing his responsibility of ensuring "the safety of employees when working," "unlike many bosses in the village," he provided "a full range of protective equipment and materials" to his employees.

(I2) I migrated to Ho Chi Minh City to work to earn money to study at a training school. […] I worked in various companies before joining X company. To find a good company (company X), I worked for around 6 or 7 companies for around 2–3 months per company. […] (In company X), I have been trained in quality management processes. […]. I attended a class for managers every year and thanks to those classes, I knew how to be a good manager. […] As a team leader, I was responsible for managing my team members to complete their work on time and safely. I helped my team members to complete their work when they were unable to do so. I also freely adjusted their working time according to their private circumstances. I usually reminded them to use protective equipment at work. […] (Now in the home village) I have become self-employed and I recruit only people in the village to work for me (rather than recruiting people from other villages). I know their families and understand their circumstances. I am happy to

help them to complete their work when they are busy. […] Unlike many bosses in the village, I provide a full range of protective equipment and materials to ensure the safety of employees when working. […] I am proud to have been working in X company and I apply what I have learned there when doing business here.

(Participant I, Male, 41 years old)

Treatment behaviors towards co-workers after returning was established based on participants' migration experience. Some maintained that behavior to adapt the business environment in the village (e.g., Participants E and F) while others did it because they want to improve the working environment in the village (e.g., Participant I).

Theme 4: Recommending schooling to enhance human capital

Participants H, K, N, and R had personal experience or observed a tough life in urban areas as unskilled workers. By comparison with skilled workers in their workplaces, they found that those people had a better life with a higher income. Therefore, after returning to the village, they strongly recommend and motivate their children "to focus on studying" (Participants H and K), "to pursue schooling to ensure a better future" (Participant N) or "to join a training school instead of becoming an unskilled worker" (Participant R).

(H1) During the migration period**,** I came to know some young people who had a difficult life because they did not acquire knowledge from school. […] (Now in the village) I motivate my children to focus on studying. In my family, I am responsible for raising my children. […] I expect they (his children) will have a better life as skilled workers.

(Participant H, Male, 55 years old)

(K1) I moved to many places to work. It was very difficult for me to maintain my life in big cities like Hanoi and Nha Trang as an unskilled worker. […] (Currently) I usually encourage my children to focus on studying. I hope that I can promote the business to secure the income to support the study of my children from now till the day they graduate training school or college.

(Participant K, Male, 44 years old)

(N2) I worked as an unskilled worker during the migration period. I migrated to outside Vietnam so I saved quite a large amount of money compared to those who worked inside Vietnam but that amount could not guarantee a stable future for my family. I recognized many disadvantages when working as an unskilled worker. […] Now (in the home community), I am responsible for taking care of my children. I motivate them to pursue schooling to ensure a better future than mine.

(Participant N, Male, 48 years old)

(R1) My husband and I migrated to Binh Duong Province following other neighbors in the village. We worked as unskilled workers at a wood processing factory. Our salary was lower and our jobs were more dangerous than skilled workers'**.** My husband had an accident working there. […] (After returning to the village) I encouraged my children to learn a job to have a better future than me. My oldest son was not good at studying so I encouraged him to join a training school instead of becoming an unskilled worker or entering a university or a college.

(Participant R, Female, 42 years old)

Seemingly, the abovementioned cases represented pro-self behaviors of participants rather than prosocial behaviors because these behaviors were directed toward their own children. In other words, the picture of the influence of migration experience on participants' behaviors was not clear. With the case below (Participant A), the picture about the influence of migration experience on prosocial behaviors of participants would be clearer. This participant not only encouraged his children to "focus on studying" but also shown concern beyond his family. He was "happy to support them[11] if needed."

> **(A2)** Migration made me understand the importance of becoming skilled workers. When migrating, although I couldn't find a job that I was interested in, I was able to find a job as a skilled worker that paid better than unskilled workers. […] (Until now) I have recognized that it is impossible to become self-employed without knowledge and skills accumulated during the migration period. I usually encourage my children to focus on studying and I try my best to earn money to serve their studying. […] Of course, I also consider the educational achievement of children and young people outside my family such as children in my neighbors' families or my brothers/cousins' families. I usually encourage and motivate them to migrate to attend a training school or a university. I am happy to support them if needed. I have lent money to a friend when his son passed the university exam so that his son could continue studying at the university.
>
> (Participant A, Male, 44 years old)

[11] Children in his neighbors' families or his brothers/cousins' families.

To summarize, this theme showed that the experiences in the migration period enhanced awareness about the importance of schooling for future generations.

It should be noted that not all of the 18 returning migrants exhibited these four types of prosocial attitudes. Those who gained working skills outside to become self-employed after returning and/or had a successful career during the migration period tended to behave prosocially in the sense considered in the present study. In fact, among the 13 participants who were identified as those mentioning their prosocial behaviors as returning migrants, 9 participants had out-migrated to gain work skills. In contrast, among the other five participants, nobody had this purpose. They were engaged with various jobs as unskilled workers during the migration period, such as waiters, porters, or workers in the factories or construction sites with a training time of less than one week. (There was one exceptional case (Participant N) who had out-migrated without this purpose but exhibited prosociality as a return migrant.)

3.5 Discussion

The present qualitative study aimed to confirm the influence behind the correlation between the possession of out-migration experiences by a rural village people and their prosociality. Three research questions raised in the Introduction will be answered one by one below.

With regard to Question 1 (will returning migrants be identified who ascribe their prosocial behavior to their out-migration experiences?), the answer is positive. The voices of the 18 participants were carefully transcribed and assessed, and it was confirmed that a total of 16 statements by 11 participants were identified where the participants believed their behavior were the consequences of their out-migration experiences.

With regard to Question 2 (if the answer to question 1 is positive, is the influence mediated either by a sense of responsibility or adaptation motive, as suggested by Le and Nakagawa (2020)?), the answer is partly positive. Among the abovementioned 16 statements, 3 statements were confirmed to be explained in terms of sense of responsibility. Specifically, in theme 1 (sharing migration experience), Participant G stated "I learned many things during that time (the migration period) and I wanted to apply my knowledge to contribute to the development of the village" (G1). The participant acquired skills and experiences during the migration period, which they could not achieve in the village, to make their life "quite comfortable." This motivated him to "apply the knowledge" and to "teach the necessary working skills" to other people "so that they will have a better life" in the village. Similarly, in theme 3 (bringing in the habit of treating the co-workers), Participant I stated "I am proud to have been working in X company (in the destination) and I apply what I have learned there when doing business here (in the village)" (I2). This participant became a team leader during the migration period and he was taught to manage the "team members to complete their work on time and safely." This experience motivated him to "provide a full range of protective equipment and materials to ensure the safety of employees when working" although his behavior was "unlike many bosses in the village." In other words, the participant compared the working environment in the destination and in the village and decided to apply what they had learned during migration when now working in the village and it could be seen as a contribution of the participant to developing the home community. In theme 4 (recommending schooling to enhance human capital), Participant A stated "migration made me understand the importance of becoming skilled workers" (in A2). He realized that skilled workers would be "paid better" when working in the destination and could "become self-employed" after returning. Compared

with the life of people in the village where many people worked as unskilled workers like him before migrating, it is natural that he would like to encourage his "children to focus on studying" to become skilled workers. At the same time, he also thought about "the educational achievement of children and young people outside" his family. In all of these three cases, based on the comparison between the status of the out-migration destinations and the home community, the participants felt the necessity and willingness to utilize their working skills to improve the living conditions of people in the home village. The behavior is consistent with previous research which found a sense of responsibility on the part of migrants to their home community with skills and knowledge accumulated during migration (Hazen & Alberts, 2006; Poppe et al., 2016).

Also, among the 16 statements identified in Question 1, there were 2 that were confirmed to be explained in terms of adaptation motive. According to earlier studies, the adaptation motive is established by returning migrants who feel the loss of relationship to the home community due to the migration period and aim to complement this (Ni Laoire, 2007, 2008; Jones, 2003; Ralph, 2009; Wahba & Zenou, 2009). Consistent with this, Participant G said "I was away from the village for a long time so when I got back, there was a gap in the relationship between me and other people in the village" and "I was away from the village for a long time so everything became new after returning" (in G3). This motivated him to behave prosocially in ways such as "helping them (new neighbors) if needed" to reintegrate the home community because he had "done it before (i.e., during the migration period)." Participant J had the same feeling after returning. She said, "I had the same feeling as the one I had when I first moved to the destination" (J1). This motivated her to "adapt and enjoy the life there" and "helping them (new neighbors) if needed", as she used to do in her out-migration destination.

With regard to Question 3 (if the answer to question 2 is negative, what other theoretical constructs mediate the influence?), the present study failed to identify mediators other than a sense of responsibility and the adaptation motive. Instead, drawing on the theoretical literature of the openness motive, we demonstrate that that adaptation motive has two distinct types. According to Barbara (1984), openness is the process by which people disclose information about themselves and it influences others' images of themselves. It is seen as the hallmark of a close relationship and considered to be the process of decreasing the privacy zone around a person to allow others to see that person (even in a humiliating situation). This makes one closer to others (Ben-Ze'ev, 2000, 2003; Miller, 1997; Sykes, 1999). In some cases, this human trait helps people to gain public fame, reduce negative effects and improve health (Fitzpatrick, 1987; Sykes, 1999; Vittengl & Holt, 2000). Thus, openness could be seen as a strategy for returning migrants to adapt to the home community by improving the relationship among people and gain recognition from the community. We argue that the openness motive is a subset of the adaptation motive because both of these theoretical concepts are associated with one's attempt to improve the relationship with others by creating a new self-concept (as returning migrants, in the context of the present study), and because only the openness motive assumes that the new self-concept is created by "decreasing the privacy zone" (Ben-Ze'ev, 2003, p.454). Based on this understanding, we demonstrate that there were two statements in theme 1 (sharing migration experiences) clearly showing the mediating role of the openness motive. Participant A, who experienced social evils during the migration period, shared his stories "to advise" others, particularly his friends, "to focus on career development instead of gambling." This is interpreted as representing his openness motive because he dared to share his previously humiliating situation. He jumped from a "good job" with "high salary" to negative effects due

to facing social evils such as having “lost all money”, “had a tough time” or “no money to return to the village” “in the New Year holidays.” He felt regretful when comparing himself with successful “friends (who have worked with me during the migration period and have not participated in social evils).” He “would be the same if” he “did not participate in social evils.” These things motivated him to share negative experiences so that other people including his friends could avoid or escape social evils’ temptation. Participant N also shared his migration stories. He had “interesting stories related to a new culture and a new lifestyle that they (other people in the village, particularly his friends and relatives) have never experienced.” Both Participants A and N disclosed their privacy zones because they believed their own stories deserved the attention of the villagers and thus possessed “tellability” (being worth telling, e.g., Labov, 1972; Baroni, 2009; Schmid, 2010).

The abovementioned finding on the openness motive poses an important theoretical issue. In a life narrative study conducted in Ireland, Ni Laoire (2008) observed that returning migrants to Irish society refrained from speaking about experiences outside Ireland so that they would be accepted by the society. They conclude that “(v)oicing one’s experiences of life beyond Ireland, voicing one’s criticisms of Irish society, or simply using one’s voice, can all mark one out as being different and not fully Irish. Being accepted may involve, at times, simply being silent” (Ni Laoire, 2008; p.10). In other words, while the participants in the present study adopted openness as an adaptation strategy, the participants, who returned to Galway region in Ireland, of Ni Laoire (2008) adopted silence. Following that research, Ralph (2012) found the similar thing that returnees often behave “the same as the mainstream Irish population” so that they could be included into the community. Markowitz and Stefansson (2004; as cited by Ralph, 2012) has concluded in their book that the ability of return migrants

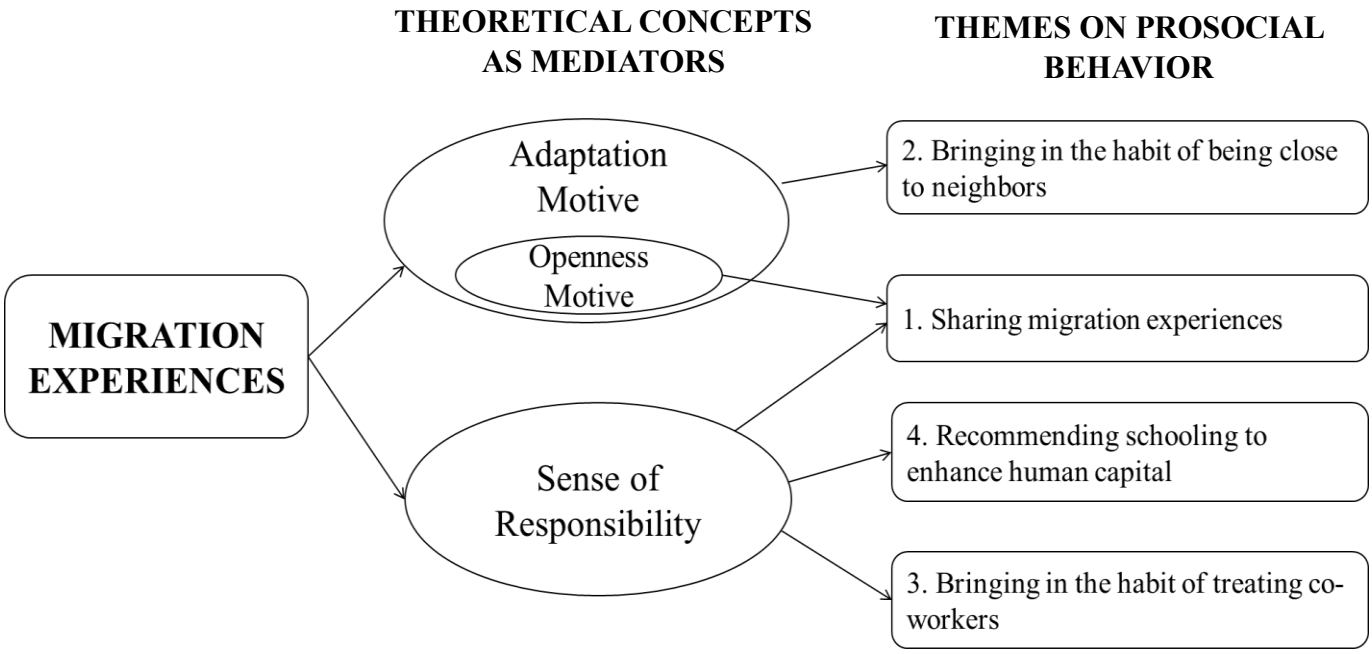
to belong to the home community might be adversely affected by the differences (i.e., accent, accumulation of social and financial capital) of returnees in comparison with the locals. Consistent to these authors, when examining the ways that prevent immigrants to be part of a community/ a group in the destination, showing/sharing differences such as habits or experiences has been explored by many studies. Getrich (2008) has confirmed that by sharing the difference (i.e., experiences, feelings, habits) with other members in a group/a community in San Diego, America, the participants (i.e., second-generation Mexican youth) were excluded from in-group/in-community members. Similarly, Pred (2000, as cited by Ralph & Staeheli, 2011) has received similar results when studying about immigrants in Sweden. Having similar thought but behave in different way, Turkish immigrants created their own local place, Turkish place, when facing the rejection of receiving society (Ehrkamp, 2005). The situation is the same with Latino immigrants in America (Nelson & Hiemstra, 2008). They are constructed as not belonging to the receiving society whenever showing the difference (i.e., living habit, working habit) from mainstream members in the community. In conclusion, it is an important future task to investigate the mechanism behind the choice of their adaptation strategies from such contrasting alternatives.

To summarize, this qualitative research has shown that there are cases indeed where out-migrants ascribe their prosocial behavior in their rural home community to their own out-migration experiences earlier in their lives. Additionally, it confirmed that Le and Nakagawa (2020) were valid in applying the two theoretical concepts (i.e., responsibility, adaptation, and openness) to understand this influence. The present study deepened their theoretical argument by connecting some of the prosocial behaviors backed by the adaptation motive with the literature of openness motive. These findings are summarized into a conceptual framework and

are presented in Figure 3.1. Due to the addition of the present study, the influence assumed by them was rigidly confirmed. That said, the proposed conceptual framework remains hypothetical because neither of these studies measured the mediating variables in psychometrically sound scales and confirmed their mediating roles statistically. This is an important future task.

Like many qualitative studies, this study has an important limitation: a small sample and its limited geographical breadth might lead to doubts about assessing the generalizability of our findings. That said, the present study establishes a linkage with previous studies related to returnees' context (e.g., Ni Laoire, 2007; Ni Laoire, 2008; Ralph, 2009), and this attempt may have gone some way to dispelling these doubts.

Figure 3-1: The linkage between themes and two theoretical concepts



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Chapter 4. Conditions under which rural-to-urban migration enhances social and economic sustainability of home communities: A case study in Vietnam

4.1. Introduction

Migrants from rural (especially in developing countries) to urban areas have attracted a great deal of attention in sustainability research (Haller et al., 2018; Simelton et al., 2021; Zoomers, 2018; Simoes et al., 2021; Tianming et al., 2018), partly because such migrants are considered to have strong impacts on the economic and social sustainability of rural areas. Sustainability is a complex concept having neither a unified definition nor a common metric to quantify it (Colantonio, 2009; Eizenberg et al., 2017). According to Allen (1980), sustainable development is development that improves the quality of human life and that satisfies everlasting human needs. Other economists and environmental scientists have defined sustainability in several ways, for instance, as a requirement related to maintaining or increasing real incomes in the future when using resources today; essential conditions for approaching the resource base equally for each generation; or a model of social transformation and the structural economy to maximize present societal and economic benefits without imperiling similar benefits in the future (Barbier, 1987; Goodland et al., 1987; Howe, 1979; Markandya et al., 1988; Pearce, 1976; Pearce et al., 1988). Given sustainability's polymorphic nature, describing the precise definition used here is important. With the 1987 Brundtland Report in mind by the United Nation World Commission on Environment and Development, we define economic and social sustainability as the state in which present-day economic and human relational needs are secured without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs. All definitions note that sustainable development improves current

human life without reducing its future quality. Thus, migration impacts rural areas' socioeconomic sustainability when its influences are not only current but ongoing. Through urban-to-rural flows (e.g., remittances, return migration), migrants contribute to present rural development through remittance investment (e.g., improving household welfare, educating children, donating to improve infrastructure, Arguillas et al., 2010; Gould, 2007; Jingzhong et al., 2011; Maharjan et al., 2020; Musah-Surugu et al., 2018). Additionally, returning migrants' knowledge and skills accumulated during the migration period can be utilized (e.g., to transform rural areas by improving the contractural relationship between rural areas and businesses and thus creating solid social capital, Zhang et al., 2020) to contribute to the home community's development. When migrants' behavior reflects their notice of both society's and the future generation's benefit, their current investments and behaviors can influence future rural development (Simelton et al., 2021; Maharjan et al., 2020; Muhah-Surugu et al., 2018; Zhang et al., 2020; Le et al., 2020).

Despite these possibilities, migration may negatively impact both sending and receiving areas. For example, previous migration studies have mentioned social, economic, demographic, and environmental problems caused by rural-to-urban drift. The most common was depopulation, including reduction of the physical labor force and loss of educated people (Simelton et al., 2021; Corcoran et al., 2010; Glaseser et al., 2001; Oteiza, 1965; Qian et al., 2016; Rothwell et al., 2002; Whistler et al., 2008). Migration has also led to land management problems in sending areas (Jaquet et al., 2015; Thapa et al., 1995). Parents' departure has negatively impacted family members left-behind, especially children who experienced negative emotion (e.g., unhappiness) and lack of study supervision (Su et al., 2013; Ma, 2001). At the same time, migration's positive effects have been argued to enhance rural areas'

development. Urban-to-rural flows, including remittances and return migration, are driven by rural-to-urban emigration (Fajnzylber, 2008) and enhance rural areas' development (Demerger et al., 2011; Durand et al., 1996; Ma, 2002; Sapkota, 2013; Sheehan et al., 2013; Cuecuecha et al., 2012; Gitter et al., 2008; Parrado et al., 2016; Levit et al., 2011; Vianello, 2013; Waddell et al., 2015; Careja et al., 2012; Chavet et al., 2014; Perez-Armendariz et al., 2010). In economic literature, in fact, migrant remittances and savings are consistently considered not only a way of ensuring household livelihoods but also a source of crucial capital contributing to sending communities' sustainable development (Tianming et al., 2018; Sheehan et al., 2013). Such contributions include, for example, promoting establishment of on- and off-farm businesses, increasing agriculture output value, and diversifying agricultural systems (Fajnzylber, 2008; Demerger et al., 2011; Durand et al., 1996; Ma, 2002; Sapkota, 2013; Sheehan et al., 2013; Cuecuecha et al., 2012). In some cases, remittances support home communities in recovering from past disasters and in managing and/or escaping future disaster risks by investing in adaptation strategies (e.g., improvement of infrastructure) (Simelton et al., 2021; Maharjan et al., 2020; Musah-Surugu et al., 2018). Importantly, return migration also provides an opportunity to apply knowledge and experience acquired in urban areas to sending areas' labor markets (Cuecuecha et al., 2012; Gitter et al., 2008; as cited by Parrado et al., 2016). As earlier researchers have argued, return migrants contribute to rural areas' development by introducing novel concepts, including social norms (Vevitt et al., 2011; Vianello et al., 2016; Waddell et al., 2015), political attitudes (Careja et al., 2012; Chauvet et al., 2014; Perez-Armendariz et al., 2010), entrepreneurial spirit (Demurger et al., 2011; Kveder et al., 2013; Lianos et al., 2009; Woodruff et al., 2007), and beliefs about investment in human

capital (Waddell et al., 2015; Careja et al., 2012; Chauvet et al., 2014; Perez-Armendariz et al., 2010; Kveder et al., 2013; Lianos et al., 2009; Woodruff et al., 2007; Zhou et al., 2014).

Among a number of pathways through which rural-to-urban migration contributes to the economic and social sustainability of sending communities, not fully investigated is return migrants' contributions to the enhancement of social capital (i.e., features of social organization, such as individual or household networks and the associated norms and values that create externalities for the community as a whole; Putnam et al., 1993) of rural communities and are known to contribute to rural development (Torsvik, 2000; Go et al., 2013; Woodhouse et al., 2006). Le & Nakagawa (2020) recently observed that return migrants behaved more prosocially than did individuals who had never out-migrated in a Vietnamese rural community and thus contributed to the social capital, speculating that this observation might be theoretically explained in terms of sense of responsibility. Specifically, they generalized the qualitative findings of earlier studies on highly skilled migrants (e.g., health workers and international students (Basford et al., 2015; Hazan et al., 2006; Mothatlhedi et al., 2018; Poppe et al., 2016; Siar, 2014; Thomas, 2017; Wang, 2016)) and argued that out-migrants in general who acquired skills and knowledge in their destination communities might feel a sense of responsibility to contribute to their sending communities.

If this is the case, out-migration must foster willingness to contribute to the sustainability of sending communities and thus encourage migrants who return to behave prosocially toward others. However, most research that referred to a sense of responsibility were qualitative investigations of out-migrants' decisions to return to the sending communities,

but no earlier researchers have ever quantitatively investigated whether and under what conditions this theoretical argument holds.

With this background, we conducted the present study as a cross-sectional survey in Hanoi, Vietnam, a typical destination city of domestic rural-to-urban migrants, aiming to obtain quantitative evidence supporting the theoretical argument that (i) rural-to-urban migrants become willing to contribute to the sustainability of their sending communities and, (ii) once they return, are likely to behave prosocially as return migrants because they have acquired knowledge and skills during migration and they feel responsible to apply them for the sake of others in the sending communities. While it would be difficult for cross-sectional survey findings to directly prove (i) and (ii) simultaneously, it was still possible for a study proving (i) to obtain indirect evidence of (ii) by means of investigating whether indices representing the accumulation of skills and knowledge in the migration destination predicted migrants' attitudes toward sending communities, which are known from earlier studies to correlate with prosocial behavior. In the next section, we identify these correlates based on the literature survey.

4.2. Conceptual Framework and Hypotheses

4.2.1 Revisiting the theoretical frameworks of Le and Nakagawa (2020)

As mentioned above, earlier researchers observed that highly skilled migrants (e.g., health workers and international students) who are absent from their sending communities are likely to feel a sense of responsibility to feed back their skills to those sending communities (Hazan et al., 2016; Poppe et al., 2016; Siar, 2014; Thomas, 2017). In interview surveys with Indian university students in America, Thomas (2017) found participants who felt sorry for "the state of people over there" (i.e., India) and felt a sense of responsibility to give back

something to their home country, such as the valuable human capital they brought on their returns. Hazan and Alberts (2016) also studied international students in America, and in response to the question about their incentive to return home, a number cited "a feeling of responsibility to return skills to the home country."

Along with international students, researchers have been attracted to the sense of responsibility in other migrants (e.g., highly skilled migrants). Poppe et al. (2016) focused on sub-Saharan Africa health workers in Belgium and Austria; in semi-structured interviews, the authors found several health workers who felt senses of obligation and responsibility to help their source countries through accumulated knowledge and skills. A participant referred to their responsibility to contribute to the source country, which "offered them the opportunity to study." Siar (2014) conducted a qualitative study with highly skilled Filipino migrants in Australia and New Zealand and found that they sought information about their home country through various sources such as the Internet, friends, and family members and through these means acquired awareness of problems and needs in their sending country; this in turn created a feeling of responsibility.

Le and Nakagawa (2020) connected their findings with another line of studies arguing that the sense of organizational responsibility correlates with a sense of belongingness to an organization and with motivation toward extra-role behaviors (i.e., those that go beyond role expectations in a way that is organizationally functional; (Krebs, 1970; Morrison et al., 1999; Shwartz et al., 1982; Pearce et al., 1991), which are necessarily prosocial. Along with that study, various others that focused on similar subjects (e.g., educated and uneducated migrants from rural-to-urban) have found that migrants accumulated managerial and technical know-how,

learned skills at the destination, and then invested at home (e.g., developing nonfarm businesses, applying technology to farming activities) (Ma, 2001; Ma, 2002; Jabeen et al., 2017; Mahuteau et al., 2010). Their behavior likely contributed to rural areas' development through technological transformation or business diversification. Combining these findings, we posited that acquiring skills and knowledge as rural-to-urban migrants fosters willingness to contribute to the sustainability of sending communities. We derived four hypotheses from this proposition and tested them for the present study.

4.2.2 Hypotheses

The aim of the present cross-sectional research was to obtain evidence supporting the above-mentioned theoretical argument in a typical destination city of domestic rural-to-urban migrants. If this argument was valid, we should have observed that those who accumulate more skills and knowledge have stronger supportive attitude toward their sending communities (and are thus more likely to behave prosocially after they return to the sending community).

We considered the following as candidate indicators of the accumulation of migrants' skills and knowledge: (A) being students (of universities, colleges, and vocational training schools) compared with being unemployed, (B) graduation from university or above (i.e., in the migration destination city) as the educational background, (C) regular professional training, (D) number of migration destination cities experienced throughout life, and (E) years since the first out-migration.

Two things should be noted regarding the list of variables (A) to (E), first the relationships among them. Variables (A) and (B) represent accumulation of knowledge and skills as students. In contrast, variable (C) represents the frequency of occupational

opportunities to acquire the knowledge and skills. This variable (C) would not affect variable (A)-being students. Variable (D) represents the variety of such occupational opportunities, because migrants are likely to encounter new environments to acquire knowledge and skills in new migration destinations. Finally, the total number of such opportunities throughout life is represented by variable (E).

Second, regarding (C), professional training refers to courses to improve working skills and knowledge. In Vietnam, such courses include language skills training courses and a course on "Specialist on Internal Assessment of ISO 9001:2008 Compliant Quality Management Systems" and are often organized by organizations to enhance the working skills of their internal staff members. Regarding (E), in Vietnam, universities are located outside the rural areas, as defined by the government (see Method section), and thus graduation from university means graduation in an urban area as a rural-to-urban migrant. We considered the following as candidate variables to represent migrants' attitudes toward their sending communities.

Sense of Community toward Home Communities

Sense of community is a feeling that members of a group have of belonging, a feeling that members matter to one another and to the group, and a shared faith that members' needs will be met through their commitment to be together (Mc Millan et al., 1986). While communities can be defined in various contexts, neighborhood communities are one of the most frequently investigated (Brodsky et al., 2002, Colombo et al., 2001, Kingston et al., 1999, Perkins et al., 1990, Chavis et al., 1990; as cited by Peterson et al., 2008). This conception is also referred to as the feeling of community cohesion, and earlier studies have demonstrated that this feeling promotes prosociality in the community. Okun and Michel (2006) showed that

people aged 60–74 with a strong sense of community cohesion are often more generative and more likely to volunteer. Wenner and Randall (2016) demonstrated that this finding is valid despite age. While these researchers consistently considered situations in which individuals live in the communities toward which they feel cohesion to, it is a natural extension to assume that rural-to-urban migrants who are remote from their rural home communities and are feeling cohesion to them are motivated to behave prosocially and that they will indeed do so once they return to the communities.

Place Attachment toward Home Communities

Place attachment refers to bonds that people develop with places (Giuliani, 2003; Hidalgo, 2001; Low et al., 1992; Manzo, 2003; Pretty et al., 2003; Williams et al., 1992; as cited by Lewicka, 2008). Drawing Brown et al. (2003), Lenzi et al. (2012) posited that higher levels of place attachment and cohesion to one's community are associated directly with higher levels of prosocial behavior through a process in which a strong emotional bond motivates people to act in a prosocial way and that helping behaviors are learned from people whom one meets daily in the local community (Jencks et al., 1990). While Brown et al. (2003) failed to observe a direct significant link between attachment and prosociality, for the present study we followed the proposition of Lenzi et al. (2012) because their study was based on data collected from individuals with limited characteristics (i.e., Italian early adolescents from 6th through 8th grade), and it is possible that the expected link would be observed in samples with different characteristics. While these researchers consistently considered situations in which individuals live in the communities they feel attachment toward, it is again a natural extension to assume that rural-to-urban migrants who are remote from their rural home communities and are feeling

attachment to them are motivated to behave prosocially and that they will indeed do so once they return to the communities.

Philanthropy Sub-Construct of Personal Social Responsibility toward Home Communities

In the field of consumer research, a great deal of effort has been made to address tendencies of individuals toward responsible consumption. Among others, Roberts (1993) defined that a socially responsible consumer is the one who purchases products and services perceived to have a positive influence on the environment or who makes purchases in attempts to effect related positive social change. Recently, Davis et al. (2020) continued the line of these studies by generalizing the concept to include human behavior as a whole, beyond consumption, and developed a new scale of social responsibility that can be applied in various contexts such as tax payments, children's education, and recycling. While Davis et al. proposed five sub-concepts, namely, economic, philanthropic, legal, environmental, and ethical, we focused with the present study on philanthropy alone (e.g., supporting social and cultural activities, making donations to charities, helping others), which seems to be thematically close to prosociality (toward their home communities, in the case of the present study). In the present study's context, we interpret this sub-concept as encompassing migrants' willingness to contribute to the economic sustainability of their sending communities by means of what economic literature calls "collective remittances," or out-migrants' donations to bettering the local public good in their home communities (Goldring, 2004; Licuanan et al., 2015).

Remittances Toward Home Communities

Earlier studies of development economics have consistently regarded that remittances by international migrants to left-behind family members are important drivers of economic

development in developing countries (Fajnzylber et al., 2008; Demurger et al., 2011; Durand et al., 1996; Ma, 2002; Sapkota, 2013; Sheehan et al., 2013). Global Development Finance (2003) is considered to be the first observation of the value of remittances by demonstrating that transfer of finances achieved through remittances exceeded that through foreign aid (Raghuram, 2009). Likewise, domestic rural-to-urban migrants sending remittances to the left-behind family members are regarded as contributing to the economic development of the rural home communities (Dewind et al., 2005; de Haas, 2006; Lu, 2012; Quisumbing et al., 2010). Thus, for the present study, we hypothesized that some rural-to-urban migrants who acquire skills and knowledge are motivated to contribute to their rural home communities by means of sending remittance. However, it should be noted here that there is no guarantee that all migrants sending remittance to the home communities are doing so with this motivation. Some migrants may be sending remittances only for the sake of the economic welfare of the family members left behind in the home communities (e.g., Muruthi et al., 2017), even if it consequently contribute to the entire community.

In reference to these earlier studies (including various samples such as international students, highly skilled international migrants, and educated or uneducated rural-to-urban migrants), we sets the following hypotheses H1-H4 for the present study regarding the relationships among the above-mentioned variables and aimed to verify them: Among a sample of rural-to-urban migrants who currently live in the migration destination,

H1 place attachment to the sending community,

H2 sense of community of the sending community,

H3 philanthropy to the sending community

are positively correlated with indexes (A) to (E) that represent migrants' accumulation of knowledge and skills after leaving sending communities. Among participants who are not students,

H4 remittance to the sending community

and indexes (B) to (E) must be correlated. These hypotheses will be tested in the remaining part of this paper.

One important thing should be noted. While support for **H3** and **H4** indicates that rural-to-urban migrants in the destination cities with opportunities for acquiring knowledge and skills are already contributing to the home communities, support for **H1** and **H2** does not. The reason is that rural-to-urban migrants with stronger place attachment or sense of community only have potential to contribute to the home communities and the potential becomes reality only when the migrants return to the home communities. Thus, in addition to testing **H1** to **H4**, we confirmed with the present study whether the four variables referred to in the hypotheses (especially those in **H1** and **H2**, i.e., place attachment and sense of responsibility) are associated with rural-to-urban migrants' intention to return to their home communities.

4.2.3 Direction of Influence

So far, we have considered that migration experiences and the subsequent accumulation of knowledge and skills cause migrants' supportive attitudes toward their home communities rather than the latter causing the former and from this, we hypothesized **H1** to **H4**. As mentioned earlier, we did so based on earlier arguments arguing that accumulated skills and knowledge strengthens the sense of responsibility toward home communities (Basford et

al., 2015; Hazan et al., 2006; Mothatlhedi et al., 2018; Poppe et al., 2016; Siar, 2014; Thomas, 2017; Wang, 2016).

However, it is also possible that the strengthened supportive attitude in turn motivates migrants to accumulate knowledge and skills so that they can more effectively support their home communities and that the two factors comprise a positive loop. Thus, even if we succeed in identifying the correlations mentioned in **H1** to **H4**, the hypotheses may represent more complex reality than we assume here.

In the present study, we argue that even if this is the case, it is still meaningful to identify the correlations mentioned in the four hypotheses because the importance of the accumulation of skills and knowledge in the migration destinations stills holds. In fact, with this positive loop, the accumulation of skills and knowledge is expected to more efficiently foster the supportive attitude toward the home communities.

4.3. Method

4.3.1 Data collection

A marketing research company collected data in Hanoi, Vietnam. The company utilized their own database to randomly select participants who satisfied the following conditions:

1) aged 18 years or more,

2) born in a rural area and lived there for at least 14 years (no need to be consecutive), and

3) working or studying in Hanoi and having come to Hanoi for at least one month.

The company shared the questionnaire (in Vietnamese) with the hired interviewers, who received training to avoid misunderstandings of the questions and then conducted face-to-face interviews with 300 rural-to-urban migrants in Hanoi.

As the capital of Vietnam, Hanoi is the cultural and political center, one of the biggest economics centers, and the second largest city in Vietnam. It comprises 12 urban districts, 1 district-level town and 17 suburban districts. The population of Hanoi is more than 8 million people, and the density is 2.398 people/km2 (2019). Along with Ho Chi Minh City, Hanoi is one of the most attractive destinations for migrants, with 80,000 – 100,000 immigrants every year. In many districts, immigrants account for around 30% of the districts' population.

One thing should be noted regarding the definition of rurality as referred to in eligibility criterion number 3. In Vietnam, according to Resolution No. 1210/2016/UBTVQH13, the levels of urbanity of areas are classified in to five (from I to V; level I is associated with the most developed areas). The level of an area is defined according to criteria such as the extent of socioeconomic development, population size, population density, ratio of nonfarm labor, level of development of infrastructure, landscape and architecture. The government defines that rural areas are those that do not belong to the level V. Areas in level V are characterized by the population 4000 above, population density above 1000 people/km2, and the ratio of nonfarm labors above 55%, among others. Following the government's definition, the author created a list of 7,608 communes. The company chose participants of Hanoi who were from these communes.

4.3.2. Measurements

The questionnaire included (1) demographic characteristics, (2) indexes representing accumulation of knowledge and skills, (3) supportive attitude toward home communities, and (4) intention to return.

Items in (1) included age, gender, married status, ownership of houses in the home communities, and individual monthly income. Regarding marital status, respondents had three choices including single, married and others. In terms of monthly individual income, the respondents had seven choices organized into four groups: (a) less than five million VND12 ("0" and "less than 5 million VND"), (b) 5 to less than 7 million VND13, (c) 7 to less than 10 million VND14, (d) 10 million VND or above ("10 to less than 15 million VND15," "15 to less than 20 million VND16," "20 million VND or above"). In Vietnam, the average salary was around 4 million VND/person/month 17 , in 2020, it was nearly 6 million VND/person/month18 in Hanoi (GSO, 2020)[19]. As partially mentioned above, items in (2) included occupation, number of migration destinations experienced, length of migration (i.e., the total years that migrants stayed outside their home community), educational background,

[12] 1 VND = 0.000043 USD

5 million VND = 217 USD

[13] 7 million VND = 304 USD

[14] 10 million VND = 434 USD

[15] 15 million VND = 651 USD

[16] 20 million VND = 868 USD

[17] 4 million VND = 173 USD

[18] 6 million VND = 260 USD

[19] General Statistic Office of Vietnam in 2020

and reception of regular training course to enhance their skills and knowledge. With regard to occupation, the participants had eight choices classified into four groups: (a) wage employee ("wage employee in a company," "wage employee in a public sector agency"), (b) self-employed ("self-employed," "freelancer (skilled labor)"), (c) student, and (d) others ("unemployed, housewives, part-time job (unskilled job, e.g., seller in super market)," "retired," and "workers inside or outside factories (unskilled labor)"). In terms of education background, the respondents had four choices divided into two groups: (a) graduation from high school or less ("graduated secondary school or less (up to 9 years)", "graduated from high school or less (from 10-12 years)" and "studying at a university/a college/a vocational school") or (b) graduation from university or above. Concerning the reception of regular training courses, the participants had four choices: (a) No, (b) Yes (usually), (c) Yes (sometimes), and (d) Yes (rarely). As mentioned earlier, category (3) included four items, and the measurement methods are detailed below

Place attachment

For the study, we used the place attachment scale by Lewicka (2008), which was developed to measure the bonds of people with places; for this study, the place is the migrants' hometowns. Respondents answered 12 items such as "I know this place very well (note: answering when considering "this place" is your hometown)" and "I defend it when somebody criticizes it (note: answering when considering that "it" is your hometown)" to demonstrate the participants' feelings about their hometown; on the scale, items 4, 8 and 10 are reverse-coded. Following the original article, items were rated on 5-point Likert scales from 1 to 5 (1 = definitely disagree, 5 = definitely) for a possible score ranging from 12 to 60. For each items,

the interviewers explicitly asked the respondents to answer considering their home communities rather than Hanoi, where they lived. In this sample, the Cronbach's alpha for the scale was 0.66.

Sense of community

We measured sense of community with the Brief Sense of Community Scale (BSCS) (Peterson et al., 2008), the shortest sense of community scale with eight items. These items represent four components of sense of community: (1) fulfillment of needs (an awareness that the needs of members will be satisfied by the community; sample item: "I can get what I need in this neighborhood"); (2) mutual influence (a feeling that one is important or can make a difference in a community, and conversely, the community is important to the members; two items: "I have a say about what goes on in my neighborhood" and "People in this neighborhood are good at influencing others"; note: answering when considering that "this neighborhood" is your home community; (3) membership; and (4) shared emotional connection, and are answered on 4-point Likert scales ranging from 1 to 4 (1 = not at all, 4 = completely), for a score range of 8-32. For each of these items as well, the interviewers explicitly asked the respondents to answer considering their home communities (rather than Hanoi, where they lived). In this case, migrants' needs to their home communities could be listed as the need to remain the identification at the place where migrants could be permanently settled in the future, and the need to capture information (e.g. left-behind family members situation [76]). In this sample, the Cronbach's alpha for the scale was 0.82.

Philanthropy Subscale of Personal social responsibility

For the present study, we used 4 of 19 items from Davis et al.'s (2020) personal social responsibility scale, and participants answered these considering these hometowns as well (sample item: "I support social and cultural activities with money or time"). Items were answered on 5-point Likert scales from 1 to 5 (1 = never, 5 = very often), for a score range of 4-20. On this scale, the Cronbach's alpha for the current sample was 0.85.

Remittances

We investigated remittance behavior by asking how frequently respondents sent home remittances and the average amount per remittance in the previous year. The response options for frequency were 0 = no, 1 = yes (less than 4 times), 2 = yes (from 4 to 8 times), 3 = yes (from 9 to 12 times), and 4 = yes (more than 12 times).

For the fourth category variable for this study, we asked two questions to measure participants' intention to return. The first was a yes-no question, "Do you intend to return to your home town?" (Tezcan, 2018), and participants who answered yes were asked to rate their likelihood of returning home on a scale from 1 to 10 (0 = not likely at all, 10 = absolutely likely) in one year, in three years, in five years, or eventually (Piotrowski et al., 2013).

4.3.3 Statistical Analysis

We used multivariate linear regression analysis to test two hypotheses by explaining the objective variables (i.e., social responsibility, place attachment, sense of community, and remittances) in terms of sociodemographic and socioeconomic factors as well as the indicators of accumulation of migration experience (i.e., studentship, educational background, regular

training courses, number of migration destinations, and length of migration). All objective and predictive variables were standardized before the calculation.

4.4. Result

4.4.1 Characteristics of the Sample

Table 4.1 indicates the characteristics of the sample. The ages of the 300 participants ranged from 19 to 41 years with a mean age of 28.7 years; by gender, 46.3% were men, and by marital status, 51.3% were married. For monthly individual income, which included bonuses and allowance (e.g., toxic allowances) and excluded taxes and welfare costs, 25.3% of the group earned less than 5 million VND20; 19.3% of total were in the highest income group (10 million21 or above). With regard to home ownership, 40.7% of respondents owned homes in their home communities.

Regarding occupation, there were, respectively, 72, 79, 64, and 85 students, wage employees, self-employed, and other. About 44% of participants (133) had received regular training that had enhanced their skills and knowledge related to their job. Their average number of migration destinations was 1.3. By educational background, most participants, 72%, had "entered or graduated from university." The average number of years participants had been away from their hometown was 9.2.

The findings for the respondents' supportive attitudes toward their home communities were as follows. In the previous year, 168 participants had sent money to their hometowns,

[20] 5 million VND = 217 USD

[21] 10 million VND = 434 USD

with 31% having sent money less than 4 times; the average amount per remittance was nearly 2 million VND[22].

Table 4.1: Characteristics of the sample.

	n	%	M	SD	Cronbach's Alpha
Age			28.7	6.5	
Gender					
Male	139	46.3			
Female	161	53.7			
Marital status					
Single	146	48.7			
Married	154	51.3			
Monthly individual income (VND)[1]					
< 5 Million	76	25.3			
≥ 5 Million and < 7 Million	56	18.7			
≥ 7 and < 10 Million	110	36.7			
≥ 10 Million	58	19.3			
Marital status					
Yes	122	40.7			
No	178	59.3			
Occupation					
Wage employee	79	26.3			
Self-employed	64	21.3			
Student	72	24.0			
Others[2]	85	28.3			
Education					
Graduation from high school or less	156	52			
Graduation from university or above	144	48			
Reception of regular training courses					
Yes	133	44.3			
No	167	55.7			
Number of destinations experienced			1.3	0.6	
Length of migration[3]			9.2	5.9	
Place attachment[4]			43.7	3.1	0.66
Sense of community[5]			18.6	3.2	0.82
Philanthrophy[6]			9.9	2.3	0.85
Frequency of remittances[7]					
Yes (less than 4 times)	93	31			
Yes (from 4 to 8 times)	57	19			
Yes (9 times or above)	18	6			
No	132	44			
Remittances amount/time (Million VND)[8]			1.8	1.9	

Notes. 1: Including bonuses and excluding taxes and welfare costs. 2: Including manual workers, housewives, unemployment and unskilled part-time worker, retired. 3:Total years the participants lived outside the home community. 4: Theoretical range = 12 - 60. 5: Theoretical range = 8 - 32. 6: Theoretical range = 4 - 20. 7: Frequency of remittances in last one year. 8: Average remittances amount per time in last one year.

[22] 2 million VND = 86 USD

4.4.2 Regression Analysis Results

The regression analysis results are presented in Table 4.2. With regard to place attachment, ownership of houses in the home community (beta = 0.26) was significant at 1%. Another demographic variable that influenced the migrants' place attachment was monthly individual income. Specifically, incomes of 7 to less than 10 million[23] (beta = -0.48) and 10 million or above (beta = -0.4) were negatively significant at 5% and 1%, respectively. The result supports H1 testing correlation among the five indexes (A) to (E) of accumulating knowledge and skills during migration and place attachment to the sending community. For sense of community, ownership of houses in the home community (beta= 0.42) was significant at 1%, and studentship (A) (beta = 0.35) was significant at 5%. The result supports H2 testing correlation among the five indexes (A) to (E) and the sense of community of the sending community.

With regard to philanthropy toward the participants' home community, ownership of houses in the home community was significant at 5% (beta = 0.14). In addition to the demographic variable, several indicators of knowledge and skills acquired during migration also influenced philanthropy. Having regularly attended training courses (C) (beta = 0.13) and having experienced more migration destinations (D) (beta = 0.12) were significant at 5%. Meanwhile, higher educational background (B) (beta = 0.24) was significant at 1%. This result

[23] 7 million VND = 304 USD

10 million VND = 434 USD

supports H3 testing correlation among the five indexes (A) to (E) and philanthropy to the sending community.

With regard to remittances, ownership of houses in the home community (beta = 0.22) was significant at 0.1%. Another demographic variable that influenced migrants' remittances was marital status (beta = 0.14), which was significant at 10%. Two variables related to accumulating knowledge and skills, regular training courses (C) (beta= 0.15) and length of migration (E) (beta= 0.24), were significant at 5%. This result supports H4 testing correlation among the four indexes (A) to (E) and remittances to the sending community among non-student participants.

Notably, immigrants' participation in training course (C) correlates with philanthropy and remittances to the sending community. Such participation increased immigrants' knowledge and skills and aided their positive attitudes (e.g., philanthropy, remittances) toward their home communities. Previous studies have mentioned that participation in training courses supports enhancement of workers' knowledge, skills, and personal traits (e.g., self-esteem), and thus helps them approach better jobs/positions and achieve higher incomes (Hojjati et al., 2013; Gjefsen, 2020; Budria et al., 2007; Pavlopoulos et al., 2010; Sanders et al., 2004). Such achievements' effect on immigrants' positive attitudes, particularly concerning financial contributions to their home communities, is understandable. (See the Discussion for more on this.)

In general, these results clarify the relationship between accumulating skills and knowledge in rural-to-urban migrants' destination cities and their supportive attitudes toward their home communities.

Table 4.2: Multivariate regression analysis results explaining attitude toward home communities.

	Objective variable							
	Place attachment		Sense of community		Philanthropy		Remittances[1]	
Predictor variable	*beta*	*s.e.*	*beta*	*s.e.*	*beta*	*s.e.*	*beta*	*s.e.*
Demographic Variables								
Age	0.14	0.16	0.16	0.15	-0.10	0.16	-0.19	0.15
Male Gender	0.07	0.06	-0.01	0.06	-0.02	0.06	0.02	0.05
Married	0.10	0.09	-0.04	0.09	0.05	0.09	0.14	0.08
Monthly individual income (VND)[2]								
< 5 Million (Reference Group)								
≥ 5 Million and < 7 Million	-0.21	0.16	0.02	0.16	0.02	0.16	0.10	0.15
≥ 7 and < 10 Million	-0.48 *	0.20	0.03	0.19	-0.03	0.20	0.14	0.19
≥ 10 Million	-0.54 **	0.18	-0.15	0.17	-0.07	0.17	0.18	0.16
Ownership of houses in the home community	0.26 **	0.06	0.42 **	0.06	0.14 *	0.06	0.22 **	0.06
Indexes representing accumulation of knowledge & skills during migration								
Occupation[3]								
Others (reference group)								
Wage employee	0.08	0.08	0.02	0.08	0.08	0.08	0.06	0.08
Self-employed	0.01	0.07	-0.01	0.07	-0.07	0.07	0.04	0.07
Student (A)	-0.14	0.18	0.35 *	0.17	0.15	0.18	-0.07	0.17
Education								
Graduation from university or above (B)	0.01	0.08	0.00	0.08	0.24 **	0.08	-0.09	0.08
Otherwise (reference group)								
Reception of regular training courses (C)	-0.06	0.07	-0.04	0.06	0.13 *	0.07	0.15 *	0.06
Number of migration destinations experienced (D)	0.02	0.06	-0.04	0.06	0.12 *	0.06	-0.07	0.05
Length of migration[4] (E)	-0.09	0.13	-0.03	0.12	0.20	0.13	0.24 *	0.12
Model statistics								
R	0.38		0.47		0.41		0.53	
R square	0.14		0.22		0.17		0.28	
Adjusted *R* square	0.10		0.18		0.13		0.24	

Notes. *: $p < 0.05$. **: $p < 0.01$. 1: Remittances: Frequency multiplied by amount of remittance. 2: Including bonuses and allowance, excluding taxes and welfare costs. 3: Among the four categories, being in the student category is assumed to represent the accumulation of knowledge and skills. 4: Total years since the participants left their home communities.

4.4.3 Return Migration Intention

Spearman's correlation coefficients of the four objective variables and the intention to return are summarized in Table 4.3. Two of the four variables were revealed to be associated with indexes of return migration intention, place attachment (correlation coefficients ranged

between 0.22 and 0.39; $p < 0.01$) and sense of community (coefficients between 0.32 and 0.41; $p<0.01$). The other two variables were not associated with the intention to return.

Table 4.3: Spearman's correlation coefficients of the four objective variables and the intention to return.

	Intention to return[1]	Intends to return in 1 year[2]	Intends to return in 3 years[2]	Intends to return in 5 years[2]	Intends to return eventually[2]
Place attachment	0.35 **	0.22 **	0.35 **	0.39 **	0.28 **
Sense of community	0.41 **	0.34 **	0.32 **	0.37 **	0.39 **
Philanthopy	-0.01	-0.05	-0.06	-0.02	0.01
Remittances	0.05	-0.01	-0.07	-0.01	0.15 **

Notes. *: $p < 0.05$. **: $p < 0.01$. 1: "Yes - No question" related to the intention to return of the participants (Tezcan, 2018). 2: Participants who answered "Yes" in previous question were requested to choose a number among 0 - not likely at all and 10 - absolutely likely to indicate their intention to return in 1, 3, 5 year and eventually (Piotrowski et al., 2012)

4.5. Discussion

This is the first quantitative investigation of the relationship between indicators of rural-to-urban migrants' accumulated skills and knowledge in their destination cities and their supportive attitudes toward their home communities. This investigation seemed important because it was expected to clarify the conditions under which rural-to-urban migration stimulates migrants' sense of responsibility and thus contributes to their communities' social and economic sustainability. We proposed four hypotheses on the correlations between the knowledge and skills indicators and the four objective variables for supportive attitude toward the home communities and tested them by multivariate linear regression analyses. The results are summarized as follows. At the 5% level of significance,

H1 on place attachment to the sending community was rejected;

H2 on the sense of community with the sending community was partially supported;

H3 on philanthropy to the sending community was partially supported; and

H4 on remittances to the sending community was partially supported.

None of the five indicators (A) to (E) of accumulating knowledge and skills correlated to place attachment to the sending community, so **H1** was rejected. Hypotheses **H2**, **H3**, and **H4** were partially supported, in that the objective variable in each hypothesis was significantly associated with one or more but not all indicators—five indicators (A) to (E) in **H2** and **H3**; four indicators (B) to (E) in **H4 -** of the accumulation of knowledge and skills. Correlation between variable (A) being a student and sense of community to the home community partly supported **H2**. The other three variables—(B) being a university graduate or above, (C) pariticipation in a training course, and (D) number of migration destinations experienced—correlated with philanthropy to the sending community; this correlation partly supported **H3**. Among non-student participants, two variables—(C) participation in training course and (E) length of migration—correlated with remittance behavior, partly supporting **H4**.

There were three major findings. First, with regard to **H2** (sense of community), being a student (of universities, collages, or vocational schools) was a positive predictor of a sense of community toward the community of origin. This was consistent with the qualitative findings of Thomas (2017) and Hazan and Alberts (2006) regarding the sense of responsibility of international students in the United States toward their home countries. Taken together with the finding on **H3** (philanthropy) that being a university graduate or above was the strongest predictor of philanthropic behavior, we interpret that the sense of responsibility fostered as a university student leads to actual behavior to benefit the home community not while the migrant is a student but after he or she has graduated, which might be because almost migrants can only send remittances after they acquire occupations and are economically independent.

(Here we remind that for the present study, we measured participants' actual behavior rather than their subjective feelings.) Furthermore, these findings on **H2** (sense of community) and **H3** (philanthropy) are also consistent with community studies (i.e., not migration studies). For example, Okun and Michel (2006) found that a higher education background positively predicted sense of community. Considering these studies, as well as the present study, it could be that while it is a universal phenomenon that individuals with higher educational backgrounds tend to have a stronger sense of community, rural communities without higher education facilities benefit from this phenomenon only insofar as they send individuals to urban areas who eventually return to the community of origin.

A question arises here as to why a higher education background (university graduation or above) was not a significant predictor in **H2** (sense of community). It might be that as years pass after university graduation, migrants tend to feel stronger belongingness in the migration destinations and weaker belonging to the home communities. Then, as urban citizens enjoying relatively high standards of living, they acquire stronger sense of responsibility and are motivated to behave philanthropically.

Second, with regard to **H4** (remittances), after we controlled for income, regular training courses and length of migration (years) were the significant predictors. Considering that the simple correlation coefficient between remittances and income was very high ($r = 0.43$, $p < 0.01$; results not shown) but income was not a significant predictor in the regression model, it is probable that income influences remittance mediated by regular training courses and length of migration. This argument provides a new insight into the influence of income on remittance,

which has been repeatedly confirmed in earlier studies (Mahuteau et al., 2010; Menjivar et al., 1998; Agarwal et al., 2002; Garip, 2012; Heo et al., 2019; Ecer et al., 2010).

Along with **H4** (remittances), the regular training course was also a significant predictor of **H3**. Out-migrants enhance their knowledge and skills when participating in training courses at the destination, to achieve better careers and/or higher income (Hojjati et al., 2013; Gjefsen, 2020; Budria et al., 2007; Pavlopoulos et al., 2010; Sanders et al., 2004). This achievement might influence their philanthropic behaviors. In terms of economic type (e.g., donation), this correlation could be intepreted similarly to **H4**, that is, income influences donation mediated by regular training course. Concerning noneconomic types (e.g., socio-cultural activities, charitable activities), the finding is consistent with Siar (2011) who investigated the relationship between highly skilled migrants and promoting welfare through "knowledge transfers" (e.g., ideas, knowledge) to sending communities. Possibly, enhancing skills and knowledge by participating in a training course at the destination influences migrants' philanthropic behaviors toward their home communities.

Specifically, out-migrants do not simply decide the amounts of remittances based on their incomes. Rather, they send more when they are earning larger incomes as the result of their regular effort to accumulate skills and knowledge by receiving regular training or their accumulated years of experience in their urban destinations. In the terminology of statistics, we argue that income mediates the association between indicators of accumulated knowledge and skills and the amounts of remittances. This argument is further supported by the significant correlations of remittances with regular training courses and length of migration ($r = 0.34$ and 0.66, respectively, $p < 0.01$). It could be that these accumulated experiences foster sense of

responsibility and motivate migrants to send more to their home communities. In the introduction, we noted that it is unclear whether out-migrants' sending remittances to their home communities because of a sense of responsibility actually contributes to the sustainability of the home communities. Our statistical analyses suggest some positive contribution, but we cannot exclude the possibility that some migrants receive regular training courses or spend years in the destinations without developing a sense of responsibility toward their home communities.

Our third primary finding is regarding return migration intention. As noted in the introduction, out-migrants in their destinations with strong place attachment and sense of responsibility have only the potential to contribute to the home communities but this potential becomes reality only after returning to the home communities. The present study's findings seem to suggest that the potential for a sense of responsibility is likely to indeed become reality for the following reason. Regarding place attachment, correlation coefficients with return migration intention indexes ranged between 0.22 and 0.35 ($p < 0.01$) and were consistent with results from Zaldy (2019) and Harrison (2017). Regarding the sense of community, the coefficients ranged between 0.32 and 0.41 ($p < 0.01$) and were consistent with findings by Theodori et al. (2015), Simoes et al. (2020), and Cicognani et al. (2011). Taken together with the verification of **H3**, we expect that accumulation of knowledge and skills in the migration destination eventually leads to migrants' prosocial behavior as return migrants in their home communities.

The present study has several important limitations. First, as mentioned earlier, we could not determine with a cross-sectional study whether the association between out-migrants'

accumulation of knowledge and skills and their sense of responsibility toward their home communities is one way (i.e., the former influences the latter) or the former and the latter comprise a positive loop. To answer this, we need a longitudinal survey with out-migrants who stay in their destinations. This is an important future task.

Second, we failed to identify the influence of out-migrants' accumulation of knowledge and skills on place attachment, which is known in the literature as a predictor of prosocial behavior in communities. This result was even more unexpected because the accumulation predicted another variable with an overlapping concept: the sense of community. We do not have evidence to give interpretations to these contradictory results, and it is also an important future task to investigate this.

Third, this study used BSCS items to assess connections between migrants and their home communities. This assessment could be considered the first step in exploring migrants' direct attitudes toward home communities, in order to verify our hypotheses' validity. However, these items could also measure the relation between migrants and the destination community (i.e., in this study, the Hanoi community). This measurement would even be relevant to understanding how migrants' attitudes toward their home communities are shaped during their urban lives. Thus, exploring the relationship between migrants and destination communities will be a promising direction for refining our theory—a project we aim to tackle in future work.

Fourth, it should be noted that out-migrants' philanthropy toward their home communities, induced by the sense of responsibility, does not necessarily imply their lack of philanthropy toward the migration destination (i.e., Hanoi in this study). Although for the present study we did not measure participants' philanthropy toward their destination, it is an

important question whether philanthropy toward these two different places can be compatible, and thus future researchers must investigate this.

Fifth, concerning remittances, the study assumed that the possession of knowledge and skills at the destination fostered a sense of responsibility of migrants to contribute to the home community through remittances. However, it is also possible that some people migrate for the sake of sending remittances. Based on the author's knowledge, there is no evidence to convince the former assumption meanwhile the latter one may be true. This is a possible methodological disadvantage of this study and thus future research is needed to avoid it.

Finally, with regard to the variables selected in the regression models, we cannot deny the possibility that some unobserved variables influenced both our predictors and the objective variables. If this is the case, the correlations identified by the present study between the objective and predictive variables are the consequences of spurious correlations. Such unobserved variables may include educational background, occupation, and psychological characteristics of the parents of the out-migrants, which could well influence the children's choice of career paths and their prosocial attitudes toward their home communities. Workplace environment of the migrants may also be another relevant unobserved variable because the environment could well influence the motivation to accumulate skills and knowledge and at the same time influence psychological stress; psychological stress can in turn decrease (increase) the sense of belongingness to the migration destination (home community). Future researchers must consciously explore such variables.

4.6. Conclusion

This study contributes to the literature on migration by investigating rural-to-urban migration's positive impacts on sustainable rural development. These findings suggest that rural-to-urban migrants will contribute more to their rural home communities' socioeconomic sustainability, either during the migration period or after they return—when they have spent enough migration time to accumulate skills and knowledge—because their experiences foster a sense of responsibility toward their home communities.

By clarifying conditions that encourage migrants' sense of responsibility during their time in urban areas and thus enhancing their rural home communities' socioeconomic sustainability, this study proves the importance of out-migration, especially in accumulating knowledge and skills to develop rural areas, particularly in developing countries. The study also supports similar studies' interpretation: Returning migrants' urban accumulation of managerial and technical know-how helps develop and transform rural areas.

4.7. References (Chapter 4)

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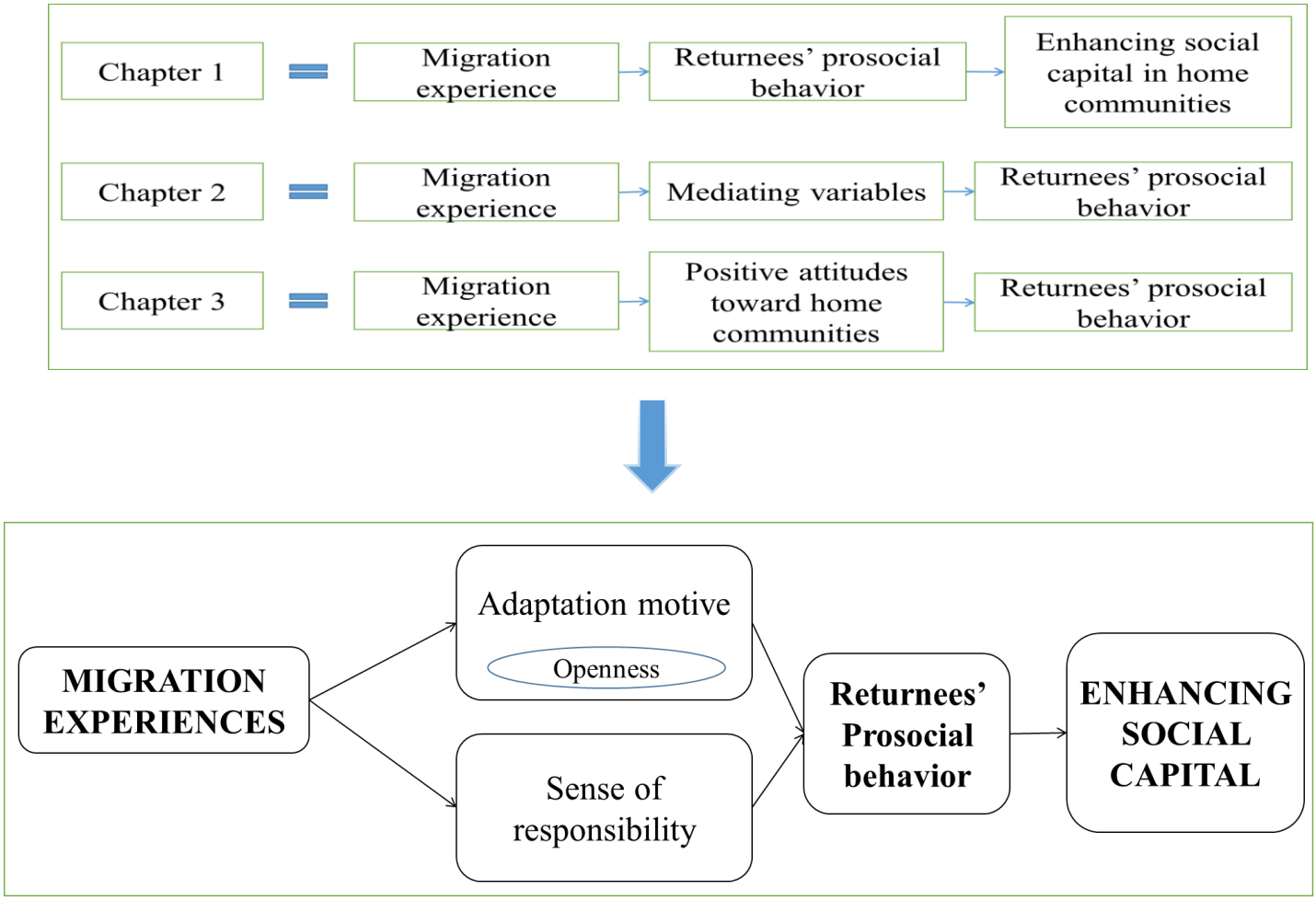
Chapter 5. Conclusion

The main finding in this dissertation is that migration experience influences returnees' prosocial behavior and this influential correlation could be mediated by two main concepts including adaptation motive and sense of responsibility. These findings are summarized in Figure 5.1.

Figure 5.1: Summarized findings of the dissertation



Putnam (1996) defines social capital as "networks, norms, and trust that enable participants to act together more effectively to pursue shared objectives". Also, according to Torsvik (2000), social capital can be measured by the density, inclusiveness, strength, and vitality of horizontal associations in a community. In light of this, it is natural to assume that

social capital is strengthened when returnees engage in prosocial behavior that emphasizes trust and connections with people in the sending community, as shown in part in Figure 5.1. In this thesis, we have found that the sense of responsibility and motivation to adapt cultivated through the migration experience lead to returnees' prosocial behavior. For example, as shown in Chapter 3, returnees tend to share their migration experiences, such as work experiences and positive/negative experiences in daily life, with people in their home communities. In doing so, they strengthen their relationships with others, promote business activities, and consequently strengthen the social capital of the sending community. This seems to be in line with previous studies that pointed out the role of social capital in knowledge sharing and trust (Torsvik, 2000; Go et.al., 2013).

Some say rural communities benefit from out-migration, such as investment and reducing poverty through remittances, particularly when migrants returned and transferred accumulated skills (Bertoli et al., 2015; Reinhold et al., 2013; Demurger et al., 2011; Wahba et al., 2012). In contrast, others say the opposite when have investigated severally negative impacts which led by out-migration, such as depopulation and waste brains of returnees (Corcoran, 2010; Rothwell et al., 2002; Wahba, 2015a). This thesis supports the positive argument of out-migration by exploring the contribution of migrants, especially returnees towards their home communities. Although there are costs when returning such as a chance to get a higher income, stable business activities in urban areas, and less chance to get the higher education in rural areas, the sense of responsibility motivated returnees to contribute to the development of their home communities.

This thesis makes the following contributions to the migration literature. First, it contributes to the debate related to migrants' sense of responsibility to feedback their accumulated knowledge and skills to their home communities, which has received only marginal attention in some qualitative migration studies (Hazan et al., 2009; Poppe et al., 2016; Siar, 2014; Thomas, 2017). The findings of this thesis strongly support previous studies by providing clear and strong evidence through either qualitative or quantitative methods. Second, this paper is consistent with previous migration studies that have examined the positive impacts of rural-urban migration on sending areas. In addition to the positive effects of migration, such as poverty reduction in the sending area (Richard et al., 2005; Lucas et al., 1985; Woodruff et al., 2007), rural-to-urban migrants have been shown to have supportive attitudes toward their home communities. Finally, this study contributes to the existing literature related to exploring the role of return migrants in sending regions. In addition to the various roles found in previous migration studies, such as their role in economic development (Fajnzylber & Lopez, 2008; Demurger & Xu, 2011; Durand et al., 1996a; Ma, 2002; Sheehan & Riosmena, 2013), this study demonstrates the important role of return migrants in strengthening social capital through prosocial behavior.

The thesis proposed two different theoretical concepts, including adaptation motive and sense of responsibility, to verify the major finding. These concepts are mediating variables in the conceptual framework presenting in Figure 5.1. However, there is no psychometric scale to measure them as well as using a statistic to confirm the mediating roles in the scope of this thesis so the conceptual framework stays as hypothetical. This is necessary to explore in the future.

While this thesis has clarified the direction of influence between migration experience and migrants' prosocial behavior, we can explore that relationship in more depth by comparing those who returned to their home country with those who decided to stay in their destination. In this way, the causal relationship between migration experiences and prosocial behavior may be explored. It could be considered as a future task.

This paper focuses mainly on internal migrants and examines their important role in contributing to rural development through their prosocial behavior. In addition to internal migrants, international migrants also play an important role, and they may make similar contributions to their sending areas. Further research on international migrants is needed, which may enhance the value of this study.

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