

## Vietnamese Return Migrants' Prosocial Behavior in Their Rural Home Communities\*

**Huyen Thi Le** 

*School of Economics and Management  
Kochi University of Technology*

**Yoshinori Nakagawa**

*School of Economics and Management  
Kochi University of Technology*

**ABSTRACT** Rural immigrants, including return migrants, introduce new beliefs, ideas, cultures, and behavioral styles, which can serve as new blood to rural areas. The aim of the present paper is to attach an additional meaning to this metaphoric expression, demonstrating that return migrants are more prosocial than others in rural regions, thereby enhancing rural social capital in the short and long run. A questionnaire survey was conducted, and data from a total of 250 participants were collected from a rural village in Vietnam, including 107 return migrants. Their prosociality was measured using the “giving” part of the 2-Way social support scale and the social generativity scale. Consistent with the literature, the possession of migration experiences was significantly associated with both of these two scale scores. Taken together with a supplementary qualitative survey on the motivation for return migrants’ decision to migrate, the results show that migration experience makes returnees more prosocial, rather than prosocial villagers selectively out-migrating. The present study contributes to the deepening debate about whether sending people to more developed regions is beneficial for less developed regions. It concluded that the sending side can benefit from return migrants’ prosocial behavior and thus the strengthening of social capital in rural areas. The practical implications are also discussed.

### Introduction

The enhancement of social capital is crucial for rural development. According to Putnam, Leonardi, and Nanetti (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

\*This research was financially supported by a grant from Kochi University of Technology. Address correspondence to Yoshinori Nakagawa, School of Economics and Management, Kochi University of Technology, Kochi 780-8515, Japan. E-mail: nakagawa-yoshinori@kochi-tech.ac.jp

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, and Della 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 (Bertotti et al. 2011; Evans and Syrett 2007; Kay 2006; Somerville and 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 and Lauder 2000), in addition to the possibility that their remittances help to ease poverty and provide a means for investing in small- and medium-sized businesses (OECD 2008; Piracha and Vadean 2010). Earlier studies have also considered the roles of return migrants in introducing new social norms (Levitt and Lamba-Nieves 2010; Vianello 2013; Waddell and Fontenla 2015), new political attitudes (Careja and Emmenegger 2012; Chauvet and Mercier 2014; Pérez-Armendáriz and Crow 2010), an entrepreneurial spirit (Démurger and Xu 2011; Kveder and Flahaux 2013; Lianos and Pseiridis 2009; Woodruff and Zenteno 2007), and new beliefs about the investment in human capital through education (Waddell and Fontenla 2015; Zhou, Murphy, and 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 1998:128, as cited 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, Özden, and Rapoport 2014). These studies investigate the impact of

donations made by returning migrants on the local development of developing counties (Beauchemin and Schoumaker 2009; Chauvet et al. 2013; Kijima and Gonzales-Ramirez 2012). Licuanan, Mahmoud, and 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 and 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.

### 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.

#### 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 United States, Hazen and 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; Pearce and Gregersen 1991; Schwartz and Howard 1982). 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 and 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 and Alberts 2006:205).

### **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., Jones 2003; Ni Laoire 2007; Ralph 2009), possibly due to the loss of relationships with others in their home communities (Wahba and 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 1994:123). 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.

### **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 adapt to the home community.

The brief summary of logical flow of this study is as follows. Section "Research Hypotheses" 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 "Results" verifies the correlation through the questionnaire survey. Thus, the study concluded that the causality was supported. Section "Discussion" presented qualitative data studies that are consistent with the assumption of the present study on the direction of causality. Although we believe the logical flow is sufficiently sound, the addition was made to enhance the persuasiveness of the abovementioned logical flow.

## **Materials and Methods**

### **Sample**

Vietnam is a developing country located in Southeast Asia (Figure 1). It is divided into 7 main regions with 58 provinces and 5 municipalities (Figure 1). Each province is split into provincial municipalities, townships, and counties, while a municipality is divided into districts and counties.

This study collected data from the village of Phu Khe, Hoang Hoa County, Thanh Hoa Province, North Central Coast Region (Figure 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 4,000, population densities less than 1,000, more than 45 percent 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<sup>2</sup>, the population around 8600 people, and population density around 664 people/km<sup>2</sup> (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.

The author distributed 300 questionnaires in the village, and received 250 responses from village residents between 24 and 65 years old from

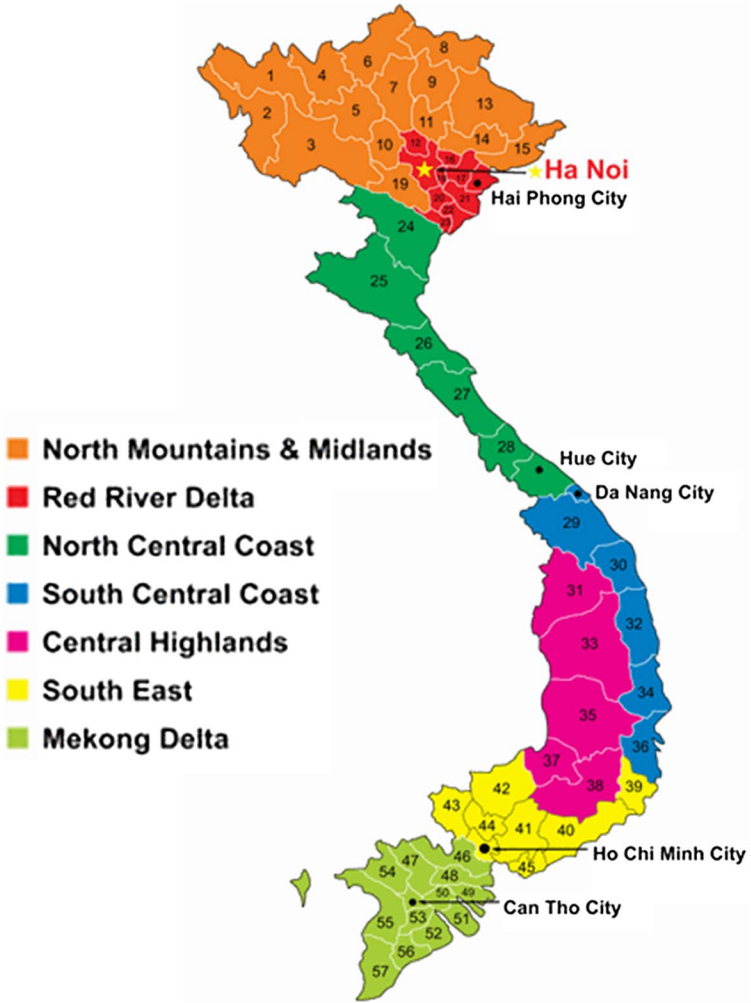


Figure 1. Map of Regions in Vietnam. (Source: <https://travel.voyagevietnam.co/map-of-regions-of-vietnam/>). [Colour figure can be viewed at [wileyonlinelibrary.com](https://www.wileyonlinelibrary.com)]

163 households, a response rate of around 83 percent. 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 (Buchori et al. 2018; Tejada and Punzalan 2012), which stated that the sample size should be calculated based on the total population in the sampling

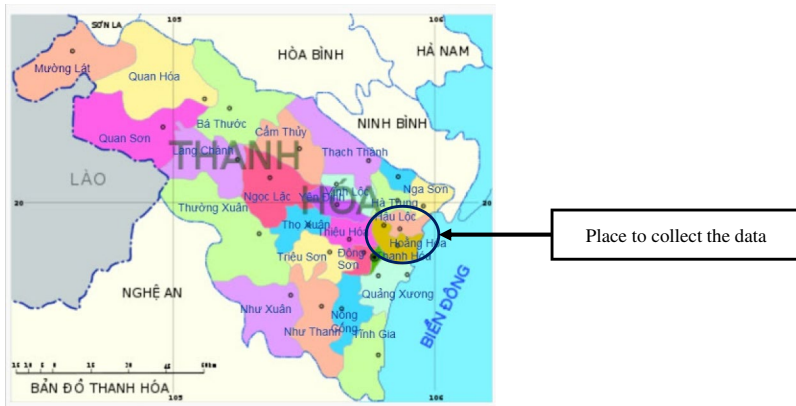


Figure 2. Map of Thanh Hoa province. (Source: <http://www.vinabeez.com/vn/info/map-thanhhoa.htm>). [Colour figure can be viewed at [wileyonlinelibrary.com](http://wileyonlinelibrary.com)]

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 6 months of working/studying experience outside the village. Among the 250 respondents, 107 (42.8 percent) were return migrants and 143 (57.2 percent) were permanent residents.

Vietnam, more than 65 percent of the population lives in rural areas, which is based on United Nation data from 2019, puts it in the top 10 most rural population countries in the world. Vietnam is also ranked in the top 10 countries in East Asia/Southeast Asia for its net emigration rate (Central Intelligence Agency 2019) 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 10 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.



**Table 1. Sample Characteristics.**

	<i>n</i>	%	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	Cronbach's Alpha
Gender					
Male	135	54%			
Female	115	46%			
Age			44.4	10.2	
Education					
Higher <sup>a</sup>	189	76%			
Others	61	24%			
Income					
High group	30	12%			
Middle group	208	83%			
Low group	12	5%			
Employment status					
Shop owner <sup>b</sup>	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 <sup>c</sup>	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) <sup>d</sup>			21.8	2.4	0.73
Giving social support (10 items) <sup>e</sup>			22.3	4.8	0.84

<sup>a</sup>High school graduation or above.

<sup>b</sup>Five villagers who worked as shop owners and as wage employees at the same time were counted as a shop owner.

<sup>c</sup>A rural area is defined as within an administrative boundary not including towns, districts, and cities.

<sup>d</sup>Theoretical range = 6–30.

<sup>e</sup>Theoretical range = 10–40.

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.

### **Measurements**

The questionnaire included items on (1) individual characteristics of respondents (i.e., gender, age, educational background, and occupation), (2) family characteristics (family income and number of family members), and (3) prosocial behavioral characteristics (the extent of giving social support to others and 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 and 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 10 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 4-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 and 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 5-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.

### **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 5 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 5 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 percent in total, chose (1), 37 (34 percent in total) chose (2), and 67 (63 percent in total) chose (3). The options were the same in category 3 as in the category 1, for which only two participants (around 2 percent in total) chose (1) and 13 (around 12 percent) 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 suggests 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.

### **Supplementary Qualitative Survey**

As detailed in section “Research Hypotheses,” 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 were 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 percent) migrated for 5 years or more. The first author conducted this questionnaire survey with these respondents face-to-face. Only 8 of the 18 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 18 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.

## Results

### Demographic and Psychological Characteristics of the Sample

The sample characteristics are presented in Table 1. Of the 250 respondents, 135 were male and 115 were female, corresponding to 54 percent and 46 percent 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 percent) 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 percent), 65 employees (26 percent), and 35 respondents (14 percent) who were engaged in other occupations; 57 percent were non-migrants (143 respondents) and 43 percent were return migrants (107 respondents). There were several notable differences between the migration ( $n = 107$ ) and non-migration ( $n = 143$ )

**Table 2. Linear Regression Result (N = 250).**

Predictor variable	Objective Variable					
	Giving Social Support			Social Generativity		
	<i>beta</i>	<i>s.e.</i>	<i>beta</i>	<i>s.e.</i>	<i>beta</i>	<i>s.e.</i>
<i>Socioeconomic &amp; Socioeconomic Characteristics</i>						
Age	-0.04	0.07	0.02	0.07	-0.15*	0.06
Male	0.08	0.06	0.07	0.06	0.15*	0.06
Education	0.00	0.06	0.00	0.06	0.04	0.06
Income						
High group	0.17†	0.10	0.16	0.10	0.07	0.09
Middle group	0.15	0.10	0.12	0.10	0.05	0.09
Low group (reference group)						
Employment status						
Shop owner <sup>a</sup>	0.23**	0.08	0.20*	0.08	0.33***	0.08
Wage employment	-0.10	0.09	-0.10	0.09	-0.14	0.09
Other (reference group)						
Migration experience						
Yes	0.44***	0.06	0.31*	0.15	0.38***	0.06
No (reference group)						
<i>Migration Characteristics</i>						
Enhancement of Human Capital as a purpose						
Yes	0.22**	0.07	0.22**	0.07	0.20**	0.07
No <sup>b</sup> (reference group)						
Duration of migration						
Five years or more	0.08	0.08	0.08	0.08	0.23**	0.07

**Table 2. Continued**

Predictor variable	Objective Variable					
	Giving Social Support			Social Generativity		
	<i>beta</i>	<i>s.e.</i>	<i>beta</i>	<i>s.e.</i>	<i>beta</i>	<i>s.e.</i>
Other <sup>b</sup> (reference group)						
Years since the return						
Five years or more			-0.05	0.12	-0.03	0.11
Other <sup>b</sup> (reference group)						
Model statistics						
R	0.54		0.57		0.60	
R square	0.29		0.32		0.37	

<sup>a</sup>Five villagers who worked both as shop owners and as wage employees were counted as shop owners.

<sup>b</sup>Those without migration experiences were classified into this group.

†  $p < .1$ ; \*  $p < .05$ ; \*\*  $p < .01$ ; \*\*\*  $p < .001$ .

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 than 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 percent) migrated to enhance human capital; 62 people chose urban areas (58 percent) as their destinations, while 45 people chose rural areas. Twenty-two 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 percent) lived outside the village for 5 years or more and 40 migrants (37 percent) lived away for less than 5 years. Finally, 92 migrants (86 percent) had stayed in the village for 5 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.

### **Regression Analysis Results**

The regression analysis results are summarized in Table 2. This presents the relationships between objective variables (giving social support and social generativity) and predictor variables based upon the socio-demographic, 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 percent 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 percent level ( $\beta = 0.31$ ). Moreover, the possession of human capital (i.e., knowledge and skills) significantly predicted the objective variable at 1 percent 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

**Table 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 "hard living conditions" in the village.
6	55	M	He left the village three times. First, 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, in order to "get 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 the 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 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"



Table 3. Continued

Participant ID	Age	Gender	The Reasons to Migrate
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 "poor infrastructural conditions" (such as no electricity, poor road quality) and "low income" in the village motivated him leave to find a job and/or do a business

enhanced social capital. There was a single socioeconomic variable, which remained consistently significant at the 5 percent level: shop ownership.

Migration experience was a significant predictor of social generativity, at the 0.1 percent 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. Moreover, migration to enhance human capital and the duration of migration were significant predictors at the 1 percent 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 and Pakenham (2000) and Schoklitsch and Baumann (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, Alessandri, and Eisenberg 2012).

### **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 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.

### 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 were 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 (Borozan and Bojanic 2012; Djafar 2012; Iqbal and Gusman 2015; Rasool, Botha, and 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 were 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 and Ye 2013); the developmental problems of left-behind children (Su et al. 2010); the labor shortage leading to changes in production toward low-risk and low-income production (Qian, Wang, and Zheng 2016); and the so called “brain drain” (Wang, Chen, and Araral 2016). Moreover, 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 and 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. Furthermore, 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 migrants 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 also 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.

### References

- Beauchemin, Cris and Bruno Schoumaker. 2009. "Are Migrant Associations Actors in Local Development? A National Event-History Analysis in Rural Burkina Faso." *World Development* 37(12):1897-913.
- Bertotti, Marcello, Angela Harden, Adrian Renton, and Kevin Sheridan. 2011. "The Contribution of the Social Enterprise to the Building of Social Capital in a Disadvantaged Urban Area in London." *Community Development Journal* 47(2):168-83.
- Borozan, Djula and Ivana Barkovic Bojanic. 2012. "Migration Motives of University Students: An Empirical Research." *International Migration* 53(1):66-82.
- Brown, Phillip and Hugh Lauder. 2000. "Human Capital, Social Capital and Collective Intelligence." Pp. 226-42 Chapter 13 in *Social Capital: Critical Perspectives*, edited by S. Baron, J. Field, and T. Schuller. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Buchori, Imam, Angrenggani Pramitasari, Agung Sugiri, Maryono Maryono, Yudi Basuki, and Anang Wahyu Sejati. 2018. "Adaptation to Coastal Flooding and Inundation: Mitigations and Migration Pattern in Semarang City, Indonesia." *Ocean & Coastal Management* 163:445-55.
- Byrnes, Francis C. 1966. "Role Shock: An Occupational Hazard of American Technical Assistants Abroad." *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences* 368:95-108.
- Caprara, Gian Vittorio, Guido Alessandri, and Nancy Eisenberg. 2012. "Prosociality: The Contribution of Traits, Values, and Self-Efficacy Beliefs." *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 102(6):1289-303.
- Careja, Romana and Patrick Emmenegger. 2012. "Making Democratic Citizens: The Effects of Migration Experience on Political Attitudes in Central and Eastern Europe." *Comparative Political Studies* 45(7):875-902.
- Central Intelligence Agency. 2019. *The World Factbook*. Retrieved July 28, 2020 (<https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/fields/347rank.html>).
- Clemens, Michael A., Çağlar Özden, and Hillel Rapoport. 2014. "Migration and Development Research is Moving Far Beyond Remittances." *World Development* 64:121-24.
- Chauvet, Lisa, Flore Gubert, Marion Mercier, and Sandrine Mesplé-Somps. 2013. *Migrants' Home Town Associations and Local Development in Mali*. Working paper DIAL 2013-11.
- Chauvet, Lisa and Marion Mercier. 2014. "Do Return Migrants Transfer Political Norms to Their Origin Country? Evidence from Mali." *Journal of Comparative Economics* 42(3):630-51.
- Démurger, Sylvie and Hui Xu. 2011. "Return Migrants: The Rise of New Entrepreneurs in Rural China." *World Development* 39(10):1847-61.

- Derounian, James Garo. 1998. *Effective Working with Rural Communities*. Chichester: Packard Publishing Limited.
- Djafar, Fariastuti. 2012. "Dynamics of Push and Pull Factors of Migrant Workers in Developing Countries: The Case of Indonesian Workers in Malaysia." *Journal of Economics and Behavioral Studies* 4(12):703–11.
- Evans, Mel and Stephen Syrett. 2007. "Generating Social Capital? The Social Economy and Local Economic Development." *European Urban and Regional Studies* 14(1):55–74.
- Fan, C. Cindy. 2000. "Migration and Gender in China." Pp. 423–454 in *China Review*, edited by Chuang-ming Lau and Jianfan Shen. Hong Kong: Chinese University of Hong Kong.
- Fesharaki, Farzad. 2019. "Entrepreneurial Passion, Self-Efficacy, and Spiritual Intelligence among Iranian SME Owner-Managers." *Psychological Studies* 64:429–35.
- Iqbal, Muhammad and Yuherina Gusman. 2015. "Pull and Push Factors of Indonesian Women Migrant Workers from Indramayu (West Java) to Work Abroad." *Mediterranean Journal of Social Sciences* 6(5 S5):167–74.
- Jones, Richard C. 2003. "Multinational Investment and Return Migration to Ireland: A Country-Level Analysis." *Irish Geography* 36(2):153–69.
- Gaw, Kevin F. 2000. "Reverse Culture Shock in Students Returning from Overseas." *International Journal of Intercultural Relations* 24:83–104.
- Go, Frank M., Mariapina Trunfio, and Maria Della Lucia. 2013. "Social Capital and Governance for Sustainable Rural Development." *Studies in Agricultural Economics* 115(2):104–10.
- Grootaert, Christiaan and Thierry van Bastelar, eds. 2002. *Understanding and Measuring Social Capital: A Multidisciplinary Tool for Practitioners*. Washington, DC: World Bank.
- International Monetary Fund. 2018. Retrieved July 28, 2020 (<https://data.imf.org/?sk=7A51304B-6426-40C0-83DD-CA473CA1FD52>).
- International Organization for Migration. 2019. *World Migration Report 2020*. Retrieved from <https://www.iom.int/wmr/>
- Kay, Alan. 2006. "Social Capital, the Social Economy and Community Development." *Community Development Journal* 41(2):160–73.
- Kijima, Yoko and Horacio Gonzalez-Ramirez. 2012. "Has the Program 3 \* 1 for Migrants Contributed to Community Development in Mexico? Evidence from Panel Data of 2000 and 2005." *Review of Development Economics* 16(2):291–304.
- Krebs, Dennis L. 1970. "Altruism—An Examination of the Concept and a Review of the Literature." *Psychological Bulletin* 73:258–302.
- Kveder, Cora Leonie Mezger and Marie-Laurence Flahaux. 2013. "Returning to Dakar: A Mixed Methods Analysis of the Role of Migration Experience for Occupational Status." *World Development* 45:223–38.
- Hazen, Helen D., and Heike C. Alberts. 2006. "Visitors or Immigrants? International Students in the United State." *Population, Space and Place* 12(3):201–16.
- He, Congzhi, and Jingzhong Ye. 2013. "Lonely Sunsets: Impact of Rural–Urban Migration on the Left-Behind Elderly in Rural China." *Population, Space and Place* 20(4):352–69.
- Levitt, Peggy and Deepak Lamba-Nieves. 2010. "Social Remittances Revisited." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 37(1):1–22.
- Lianos, Theodore and Anastasia Pseiridis. 2009. "On the Occupational Choices of Return Migrants." *Entrepreneurship and Regional Development* 21(2):155–81.
- Licuanan, Victoria, Toman Omar Mahmoud, and Andreas Steinmayr. 2014. "The Drivers of Diaspora Donations for Development: Evidence from the Philippines." *World Development* 65:94–109.
- McKeering, Helen and Kenneth I. Pakenham. 2000. "Gender and Generativity Issues in Parenting: Do Fathers Benefit More Than Mothers from Involvement in Child Care Activities?" *Sex Roles* 43:459–80.
- Morrison, Elizabeth Wolfe and Corey C. Phelps. 1999. "Taking Charge at Work: Extrarole Efforts to Initiate Workplace Change." *Academy of Management Journal* 42(4):403–19.

- Morselli, Davide and Stefano Passini. 2015. "Measuring Prosocial Attitudes for Future Generations: The Social Generativity Scale." *Journal of Adult Development* 22(3):173–82.
- Ni Laoire, Cairtriona. 2007. "The 'Green Green Grass of Home'? Return Migration to Rural Ireland." *Journal of Rural Studies* 23:332–44.
- Nugin, Raili. 2014. "'I Think They Should Go. Let Them See New Something'. The Context of Rural Youth's Out-Migration in Post-Socialist Estonia." *Journal of Rural Studies* 34:51–64.
- Oberg, Kalervo. 1954. *Culture Shock*. Indianapolis, IN: Bobbs-Merrill Series in Social Sciences.
- OECD. 2008. *International Migration Outlook*. Paris: OECD Publishing.
- Pearce, Jone L., and Hal B. Gregersen. 1991. "Task Interdependence and Extrarole Behavior: A Test of the Mediating Effects of Felt Responsibility." *Journal of Applied Psychology* 76(6):838–44.
- Pérez-Armendáriz, Clarisa and David Crow. 2010. "Do Migrants Remit Democracy? International Migration, Political Beliefs, and Behavior in Mexico." *Comparative Political Studies* 43(1):119–48.
- Piore, Michael J. 1979. *Birds of Passage: Migrant Labor in Industrial Societies*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Piracha, Matloob and Florin Vadean. 2010. "Return Migration and Occupational Choice: Evidence from Albania." *World Development* 38(8):1141–55.
- Poppe, Annelien, Silvia Wojczewski, Katherine Taylor, Ruth Kutalek, and Wim Peersman. 2016. "The Views of Migrant Health Workers Living in Austria and Belgium on Return Migration to sub-Saharan Africa." *Human Resources for Health* 14(1):125–33.
- Putnam, Robert D., Robert Leonardi, and Raffaella Y. Nanetti. 1993. *Making Democracy Work: Civic Traditions in Modern Italy*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Qian, Wenrong, Dazhe Wang, and Liyi Zheng. 2016. "The Impact of Migration on Agricultural Restructuring: Evidence from Jiangxi Province in China." *Journal of Rural Studies* 47(B):542–51.
- Ralph, David. 2009. "'Home Is Where the Heart Is'? Understandings of 'Home' among Irish-Born Return Migrants from the United States." *Irish Studies Review* 17(2):183–200.
- Rasool, Fathima, Christoff Botha, and Christo A. Bisschoff. 2012. "Push and Pull Factors in Relation to Skills Shortages in South Africa." *Journal of Social Sciences* 30(1):11–20.
- Siar, Sheila. 2014. "Highly Skilled Migrants' Strong Ties with Their Home Country: Evidence from Filipinos in New Zealand and Australia." *Journal of International Migration and Integration* 15(4):655–76.
- Schoklitsch, Angela and Urs Baumann. 2011. "Measuring Generativity in Older Adults: The Development of New Scales." *GeroPsych: The Journal of Gerontopsychology and Geriatric Psychiatry* 24:31–43.
- Schwartz, Shalom H., and Judith A. Howard. 1982. "Helping and Cooperation: A Self-Based Motivational Model." Pp. 83–98 in *Cooperation and Helping Behavior*, edited by V. Derlega and H. Grezlak. San Diego, CA: Academic Press.
- Shakespeare-Finch, Jane and Patricia L. Obst. 2011. "The Development of the 2-Way Social Support Scale: A Measure of Giving and Receiving Emotional and Instrumental Support." *Journal of Personality Assessment* 93(5):483–90.
- Somerville, Peter and Gerard McElwee. 2011. "Situating Community Enterprise: A Theoretical Exploration." *Entrepreneurship & Regional Development* 23(5–6):317–30.
- Su, Linyan, Fang Fan, Mary Kay Gill, and Boris Birmaher. 2010. "Emotional and Behavioral Problems of Chinese Left-Behind Children: A Preliminary Study." *Social Psychiatry and Psychiatry Epidemiology* 45(6):655–64.
- Stark, Oded and David E. Bloom 1985. "The New Economics of Labor Migration." *The American Economic Review* 75(2):173–78.
- Stockdale, Aileen. 2006. "Migration: Pre-requisite for Rural Economic Regeneration?" *Journal of Rural Studies* 22:354–66.
- Tejada, Jeffrey J. and Raymond B. Joyce Punzalan. 2012. "On the Misuse of Slovin's Formula." *Philippine Statistician* 61(1):129–36.



- United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Population Division. 2019. *World Urbanization Prospects: The 2018 Revision (ST/ESA/SER.A/420)*. New York: United Nations.
- Torsvik, Gaute. 2000. "Social Capital and Economic Development: A Plea for the Mechanisms." *Rationality and Society* 12(4):451–76.
- Tran Ngoc Them. 1999. *Vietnam's Cultural Basis (Co so van ho Viet Nam)*. Hanoi: Vietnam Education Publishing House Limited Company.
- United Nations Population Fund. 2016. *The 2015 National Internal Migration Survey: Major Findings*. Hanoi: Viet Nam News Agency Publishing House.
- Vianello, Francesca Alice. 2013. "Ukrainian Migrant Women's Social Remittances: Contents and Effects on Families Left Behind." *Migration Letters* 10(1):91–100.
- Waddell, Benjamin James and Matías Fontenla. 2015. "The Mexican Dream? The Effect of Return Migrants on Hometown Development." *The Social Science Journal* 52:386–96.
- Wahba, Jackline and Yves Zenou. 2012. "Out of Sight, Out of Mind: Migration, Entrepreneurship and Social Capital." *Regional Science and Urban Economics* 42:890–903.
- Wang, Yahua, Chunliang Chen, and Eduardo Araral. 2016. "The Effect of Migration on Collective Action in the Commons: Evidence from Rural China." *World Development* 88:79–93.
- Winkelman, Michael. 1994. "Cultural Shock and Adaptation." *Journal of Counseling & Development* 73:121–26.
- Woodhouse, Andrew. 2006. "Social Capital and Economic Development in Regional Australia: A Case Study." *Journal of Rural Studies* 22(1):83–94.
- Woodruff, Christopher and Rene Zenteno. 2007. "Migration Networks and Microenterprises in Mexico." *Journal of Development Economics* 82(2):509–28.
- World Bank. 2016. *Vietnam's Household Registration System*. Hanoi: Hong Duc Publishing House.
- Zhou, Minhui, Rachel Murphy, and Ran Tao. 2014. "Effects of Parents' Migration on the Education of Children Left Behind in Rural China." *Population and Development Review* 40(2):273–92.