

SOCIO-ECONOMIC CONSEQUENCES OF VIETNAMESE RETURN MIGRATION FROM JAPAN

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Abstract. *This paper starts with building a theoretical framework related to the determinants of migration and the phenomenon of return migration. The dynamic process of development and global economic integration are considered the main driver of migration. Return migration is understood as eminent expertise abroad wherever the migrant accomplished the goals of gaining higher financial gain, upper level of education, new skills, foreign work experience, acquaintance with new values and attitudes. Then the article proceeds to reviewing migration links between Japan and Vietnam. Japan is the country that receives the most Vietnamese workers after Taiwan. Also, the number of Vietnamese studying in Japan has sharply risen recently, making Viet Nam the second largest exporter of students to Japan behind China. The results of a survey conducted by the authors revealed that return migrants from Japan have obtained additional degrees and qualifications abroad. In addition, there is a significant improvement in wages and income depending on their employment sector. The highest income group is people working for Japanese companies, followed by a group of those working for private companies and non-governmental organizations, the lowest increase in incomes is observed in the state sector. Furthermore, the returnees believe that their economic conditions have improved, as they have got a better salary and job position than before going abroad, so their lives become wealthier than before.*

Keywords: *international migration, return migration, economics opportunity, Vietnam, Japan.*

Introduction

Migration has become an essentially social phenomenon in a globalizing world. Its importance refers not only to the number of people involved but also to the implications for societies and economies in the countries concerned. Notably, the role of migration in developing countries is becoming a major issue of policy in terms of economic development. More nationals of more countries are on the move, and more countries are affected by migration than ever before.

The movement of labor from low-wage to high-wage countries stems from differences in income and employment opportunities among economies. In Vietnam, international migration has expanded at a fast pace recently with various means of migration, becoming one of the important determinants to the change of economic and social context in the country. Sending laborers to more developed countries to work is an important strategy for human resources quality development and income generation in Vietnam. According to a report by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Vietnam [cit. ex 1], in 2017, about 800 thousand Vietnamese workers were working in 30 different occupational categories in 40 countries and territories. Korea, Japan, Taiwan, and Malaysia are the main countries that outsource laborers from Vietnam. Exported workers' income increases quickly, and as a result, these workers send back to Vietnam 1.8 to 2.0 billion USD annually, contributing to improving their families' well-being and the country's development.

In recent years, Vietnam's rapid economic growth has been accompanied, as in many other parts of the developing world, by increasingly macro levels of geographical labor mobility. Vietnam is shifting its objectives much towards building long-term impacts rather than just focusing on immediate goals, which are creating jobs and generating income. These more long-term objectives include improving labor quality and labor productivity as well as enhancing human resources development through overseas human resources supply and exchange programs. The Government of Vietnam is prioritizing labor exchange programs in which through work, workers can develop their technical knowledge, occupational skills, and basic skills for future career building, besides traditional factors including jobs and higher incomes¹. Japan appears to be the ideal market, which can help Vietnam to achieve almost all of these objectives with many overseas workforce supply programs assisting laborers to improve their technical skills through working.

There is now a standard understanding that the economic, social, and cultural benefits of international migration should be more effectively realized, in which the policy issues of labor migration might be better addressed [2]. Although there have been many studies on the impact of return migration under different approaches [3; 4; 5], however, while proper deal attention is given to the needs and well-being of Vietnamese migrants, inclusive of raising their cognizance of migration, before their departure and at some point of their time overseas, less attention is given to their reintegration upon their coming back to Vietnam, especially, migrant workers returning from Japan to the rural areas when Japan is tending to become a potential labor export market for Vietnamese people. Up to now, the current data sources or statistics regarding migrants returning from Japan are very limited or unavailable, which makes it difficult for researchers to conduct related studies and makes it more challenging for the government to have adequate and efficient policies regarding migration. Meanwhile, the need to develop a thorough understanding of the migration – development linkage is very essential, particularly in an era characterized by increasing human mobility. In particular, developing a sound policy on return migrants, will require a good knowledge of return migration including a deeper understanding of their socio-economic implications after the return.

To bridge that knowledge gap, the purpose of this study is to investigate the socio-economic situation of Vietnamese migrants after returning from Japan, focusing on the two most common types of migration: through work and study – based on online questionnaire survey data. This paper starts with building a theoretical framework related to the determinants of migration and return migration. Then, the article proceeds to reviewing the context of migration between Japan and Vietnam. Finally, the authors investigate the socio-economic situation of Vietnamese migrants before and after migration.

Theoretical framework

Migration may be defined as a temporary or permanent change in the usual place of residence across space in a given period [6]. It has temporal and spatial dimensions which are often used to classify migrants. For example, in terms of time, migration can be classified as seasonal, or permanent, and spatially, it could be designated as internal, or

¹ Vietnam and Japan signed a Memorandum of Understanding on technical intern training [Việt Nam-Nhật Bản ký kết Bản ghi nhớ hợp tác về chế độ thực tập sinh kỹ năng] // Ministry of Labor, War Invalids and Social Affairs of Vietnam [Bộ Lao động - Thương binh và Xã hội Việt Nam] [site]. 14.06.2017. URL: http://www.dolab.gov.vn/New/TongQuanTTLD.aspx?&LIST_ID=1268&MENU_ID=248&Key=3083 (accessed on 15.02.2019). (In Viet.)

international while internal migration is further classified into four components: namely, rural-urban, rural-rural, urban-rural, and urban-urban, etc. [6]. International return migration, which is the focus of this paper, refers to the act of a person returning to his/her country of citizenship after having been an international migrant in another country and who is intending to stay in his/her own country for at least one year [7].

Determinants of migration

The traditional model of migration is a neo-classical/labor flow approach, in which migration is seen as a response to regional labor market imbalances [e. g., 8; 9]. The neo-classical theory emphasizes individual migration decisions, based on a reasonable comparison of the relative costs and benefits of staying at home or moving. The neo-classical theory holds that potential migrants have excellent knowledge of salaries and employment opportunities in the target areas, and their migration decisions are based entirely on these economic factors. Under the neoclassical model, the existence of economic disparities between different regions is sufficient to create migrants' flow. In the long run, such flows will help to balance wages and conditions in underdeveloped and developed areas, leading to economic equilibrium [10; 11; 12, etc.].

Alternative explanations are needed for the international migration of labor. Such an approach emphasizes the so-called push and pull factors and examines obstacles to explain why people move. Major migrations are a response to some major events in the country of origin where the domestic market cannot respond quickly enough. Income disparities may be less relevant than security considerations in situations of civil unrest, armed conflict, political repression, and natural disasters. Natural disasters, wars, political oppression, or a sufficiently asymmetric shock in one country will lead to a significant push to encourage people to leave. When mobile, people will search for the location that offers the best reward. This model, introduced by L. A. Sjaastad (1962) [5], has been generalized in K. F. Zimmermann's (1996) [13] identification of push and pull factors [14; 15; 16].

According to W. Zelinsky (1971) [17], at the beginning of the process of modernization and industrialization, there is often an increase in emigration, due to population growth, reduced rural employment, and low wages. As the process of industrialization takes place, labor supply decreases, and domestic wages increase; as a result, emigration falls, and labor migration rises. The new approaches have been characterized as transitional theories by H. de Haas (2010) [18]. These approaches set out to link mobility to processes of development and economic integration. The new approaches include the new economics of labor migration (NELM), which is still in a neoclassical model of income maximization and equilibrium trends. However, it still questions the individualism of the neo-classical theory by emphasizing the role of families and communities in migration decisions. NELM uses methods such as qualitative interviews and household surveys similar to those used by anthropologists and sociologists. Dual or segmented labor market theory analyzes the differential labor demand of employers as a significant factor in the cause and structure of migration. Migration network theory shows the collective authority of migrants and their communities in organizing migration processes and integrations. The transnational approach is the result of new transport and communication technologies, making it increasingly easy for migrants to maintain long-term economic, social, cultural and political links across borders, which makes transnational communities (or diasporas) increasingly important as social actors [18].

In scientific literature, there are also several other explanations for international labor migration. These theories explain why migration sometimes does not occur even when significant expected income disparities exist, or vice versa, why migration sometimes occurs even when there is no income difference. For example, in J. Conley and H. Konishi's view (2002) [19], there may be external influences on migration, such as differences within the scope of regional facilities. These include public goods or merit goods, such as educational opportunities, health care systems, and living conditions or external consumption through the variety and types of market goods available.

Besides, based on O. Stark's research (1991) [20], with the imperfect credit market, migration may generate cash income and alleviate the credit constraint, and therefore migration may occur even if the income gap is expected to be negative. Similarly, migration decisions should be viewed as joint household decisions rather than an individual's choice, and therefore may depend not only on personal characteristics and preferences but also on the characteristics and preferences of other household members.

Return migration

In migration studies, migration has long been considered a one-way process with a starting point (country of origin) and an ending point (destination country). Therefore, migration research mainly focuses on factors that cause migrants to leave the country and their integration process in the destination country [21], resulting in little attention to the topic of return migration.

Based on J. P. Cassarino's point of view, in the 1970s, the theory of return migration viewed the returnee as a migrant who returned home because of a failed migration experience that did not achieve the desired results. For example, the neoclassical migration model considered migrant return decisions as a result of a failed migration experience that does not have the expected benefits. In other words, from a neoclassical point of view, returning migration involves only migrant workers who miscalculate migration costs due to imperfect information before departure and those who do not reap the benefit from higher income. So, the return happens as a result of their failed experience abroad or because their human capital was not rewarded as expected [9].

However, the focus of migration studies changed in the 1990s. Returning started to be understood as a successful experience abroad when migrants fulfill their goals of earning higher incomes and accumulating the savings while transferring a portion of their income to their households, acquiring higher education, new skills, and foreign work experience, as well as accumulating social capital in the form of networks, values, and attitudes [9]. From the perspective of the new economic model, international migration and return are considered as a calculated strategy to minimize credit market imperfections at the place of origin, in which migration serves to accumulate sufficient savings to provide the capital or at least the collateral needed to obtain credit for home investment, especially in business operations. When migrants achieve their target savings, they return home [20; 22].

One of the most debated issues has been that of human capital gains for emigration countries through the return of migrants [23; 24]. "The human capital model of socio-economic achievements views migration as a form of investment whereby the individual initiates a geographical move with the expectation of drawing net cumulative gains over his or her working life" [25]. "Brain gain generally indicates that foreigners are returning from abroad with highly skilled technical or intellectual expertise, which creates a positive outcome because they often bring back skills and/or norms" [26]. Brain gain usually has a

positive meaning in the literature because migrants can potentially bring back skills and/or norms and implement them in their home society. G. Gmelch (1980) [27] has distinguished two perspectives from which this question could be measured or approached. On the one hand, the actual social and economic status of returnees can be examined, looking at employment and housing, participation in associations, their earnings and savings, and ownership of capital assets. On the other hand, the return migrants' perceptions can be measured based on their degree of "satisfaction" or "dissatisfaction" after the migration experience [27].

This research follows the new approaches that have been characterized as transitional theories, which have been discussed above by H. de Haas [18] with the main driver of migration is the dynamic process of development and global economic integration. Besides, this study pursues the theory of return migration as the viewpoint of J. P. Cassarino [9]; return then was understood as eminent expertise abroad wherever the migrant accomplished the goals of higher financial gain and also the upper level of education, skills, foreign work experience, values, and attitudes.

Overall trends in international migration between Vietnam and Japan

Vietnam migration profile

Labor and employment

Sending Vietnamese to work abroad is a major policy of the Government of Vietnam. This policy contributes to international integration and promotes Vietnam's relationships and cultural exchanges with other countries worldwide. It is based on the principles of equality and mutual benefit.

International departures for livelihood purposes are the most popular form of migration for Vietnamese, including those who work abroad under fixed-term contracts and self-funded migration of workers to neighboring countries. Table 1 shows the top 5 destinations of Vietnamese laborers in 2012–2016 with Taiwan topping the table. During this period, the number of Vietnamese workers who arrived in Taiwan doubled, while Japan ranked second with an annual increase of about 10,000 workers over the last three years. South Korea, Malaysia, and Saudi Arabia were also among the top destinations. Note that Vietnam's labor figures in the countries/territories referred to in Table 1 show the number of migrants that started to work during the year. If we include those who had already been working in each country, the number of Vietnamese workers in the country is much larger.

Table 1.

Top 5 destinations for Vietnamese workers, 2012–2016

No.	Destination	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	Total
1	Taiwan	30,533	46,368	62,124	67,621	68,244	274,890
2	Japan	8,775	9,686	19,766	29,810	39,938	107,975
3	South Korea	9,228	5,446	7,242	6,019	8,482	36,417
4	Malaysia	9,298	7,564	5,139	7,454	2,079	31,534
5	Saudi Arabia	2,360	1,703	4,191	4,125	4,033	16,412

Source: [1]

Table 2 shows the number of Vietnamese workers working abroad. It could be seen that wages and other income levels of Vietnamese working abroad are much higher than the average wage in Vietnam, especially in countries like Japan and South Korea (according to

the World Bank's statistics, Vietnam's per capita income in 2018 was 2360 USD per person a year, or approximately 200 USD per person a month).

Table 2.

Vietnamese migrants working abroad and their average monthly incomes, 2014

No.	Destination	Number of Vietnamese workers	Average wages (USD/month)	Average other income (USD/month)
1	Taiwan	138,926	650	200
2	Japan	26,164	1,400	200
3	South Korea	54,392	1,000	250
4	Malaysia	20,108	300	111
5	Saudi Arabia	16,251	320	100

Source: [1]

Based on the data presented in “Vietnam Migration Profile 2016” [1], Table 3 shows the 25 provinces/cities that sent the majority (over 90%) of migrant workers abroad between 2012 and 2016. This table further shows that the northern provinces dominated the fixed-term contract labor migration marketplace. Of these, 15 provinces have the highest number of migrants working abroad; beside Ho Chi Minh City, the other 14 leading provinces are all northern and have sent over 74% of total migrant workers abroad during 2012–2016. These provinces are in the Red River Delta, the North Central and Central Coast regions where unemployment rates were the highest among economic regions classified by the General Statistics Office of Vietnam².

Table 3.

Top 25 labor-sending provinces of Vietnam, 2012–2016

No.	Province/City	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	Total
1	Nghe An	11,000	11,671	10,900	12,811	16,457	62,839
2	Thanh Hoa	11,000	8,092	10,596	9,925	8,119	47,732
3	Ha Tinh	6,000	5,361	5,759	6,150	11,194	34,464
4	Hai Duong	N.A.	3,205	3,476	6,716	14,389	27,786
5	Bac Giang	5,000	4,068	4,860	4,374	6,963	25,265
6	Phu Tho	2,500	2,500	2,705	2,535	5,389	15,629
7	Ho Chi Minh City	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	13,599	1,886	15,485
8	Quang Binh	2,790	2,869	2,876	N.A.	6,029	14,564
9	Ha Noi	4,400	1,500	1,850	N.A.	6,286	14,036
10	Thai Binh	2,100	2,500	2,700	N.A.	5,923	13,223
11	Nam Dinh	2,910	1,944	1,950	1,950	3,910	12,664
12	Hung Yen	2,700	2,700	2,900	N.A.	4,190	12,490
13	Hai Phong	3,200	540	1,671	1,500	3,520	10,431
14	Bac Ninh	2,500	1,200	1,652	1,579	3,402	10,333
15	Vinh Phuc	2,000	2,030	2,247	2,148	1,682	10,107
16	Thai Nguyen	2,000	700	1,597	412	2,007	6,716
17	Ha Nam	1,000	947	848	1,029	1,912	5,736
18	Gia Lai	1,300	1,270	1,315	1,315	265	5,465

² Employment // General Statistics Office of Vietnam [site]. URL: <https://www.gso.gov.vn/en/employment/> (accessed on 10.09.2021).

No.	Province/City	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	Total
19	Quang Ngai	1,400	1,395	1,402	N.A.	575	4,772
20	Ninh Binh	700	615	640	976	1,740	4,671
21	Quang Tri	N.A.	N.A.	750	1,497	1,275	3,522
22	Yen Bai	800	775	790	800	316	3,481
23	Dak Lak	650	778	650	580	706	3,364
24	Vinh Long	450	505	500	626	978	3,059
25	Ben Tre	377	339	516	504	1,188	2,924

Source: [1]

Figure 1 shows us the number of migrant workers working abroad in 2016 – this is the year when the data were most fully recorded; and three provinces (Nghe An, Hai Duong, and Ha Tinh) have the largest number of migrant workers.

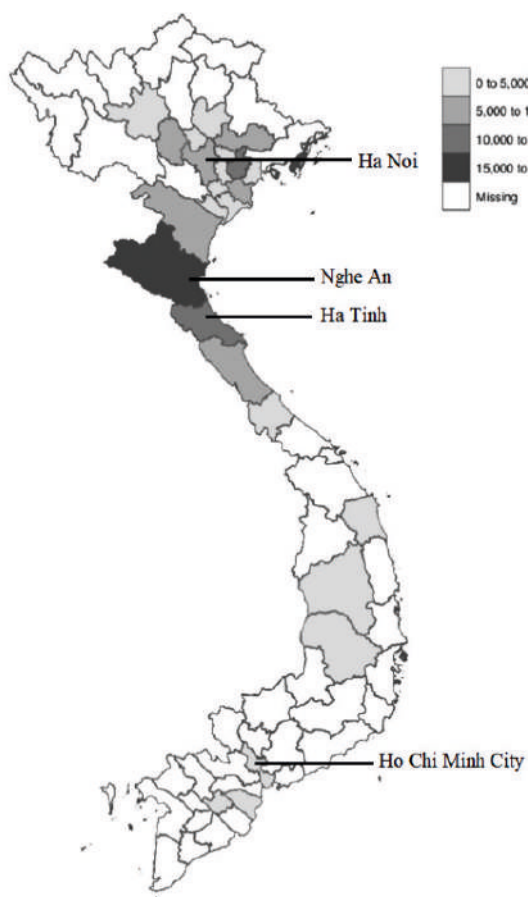


Fig. 1. Top 25 labor-sending provinces of Vietnam in 2016

Migration for study

Migration to study is becoming a popular trend among school and university students in Vietnam. Most migrant students are self-funded by the family budget and are not

included in the statistics collected by the Ministry of Education and Training (MoET)³. The number of students studying abroad on a scholarship from the state budget or an agreement between the Government of Vietnam and the foreign government managed by the MoET makes up only a small percentage of educational migrants. Overall, it is estimated that more than 100,000 Vietnamese were studying abroad in 2016, and this figure, as forecasted, will continue to increase as the country further integrates into the global community. Migration for study includes not only international students, those attending higher education programs (MA or PhD courses) or colleges, but also contains trainees and interns who are international migrants for vocational training and internship.

According to the Japan Student Services Organization (JASSO) statistics (Table 4), the number of Vietnamese studying in Japan has sharply risen, from 26,439 in 2014 to 38,882 in 2015 and a record peak of 72,354 in 2018, making Vietnam the second biggest exporter of students to Japan behind China⁴. Besides students, numerous Vietnamese undertake training courses in Japan. According to the data from Japan's Ministry of Justice, there were more than 123,000 Vietnamese trainees in Japan by November 2018⁵. It is apparent that international students are among the major categories of migrants from Vietnam to Japan and their migration experience also has important implications in migration research. That is why international students are also considered as one of the subjects of this research.

Table 4.

Top 10 countries of origin of international students in Japan

Country	Number of students				
	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018
China	94,399	94,111	98,483	107,260	114,950
Vietnam	26,439	38,882	53,807	61,671	72,354
Nepal	10,448	16,250	19,471	21,500	24,331
South Korea	15,777	15,279	15,457	15,740	17,012
Taiwan	6,231	7,314	8,330	8,947	9,524
Sri Lanka	N.A.	2,312	3,976	6,607	8,329
Indonesia	3,188	3,600	4,630	5,495	6,277
Myanmar	1,935	2,755	3,851	4,816	5,928
Thailand	3,250	3,526	3,842	3,985	3,962
Malaysia	2,475	2,594	2,734	2,945	3,094
Others	17,861	21,756	24,706	28,076	33,219
Total	184,155	208,379	239,287	267,042	298,980

Source: JASSO⁶

³ Reports and statistics // Ministry of Education and Training of Vietnam [site]. URL: <https://en.moet.gov.vn/reports-and-statistics/Pages/index.aspx> (accessed on 20.09.2021).

⁴ Statistics // Japan Student Services Organization [site]. URL: <https://www.jasso.go.jp/en/statistics/index.html> (accessed on 20.09.2021).

⁵ 2018 Immigration Control / Immigration Bureau, Ministry of Justice of Japan. Electronic publication. URL: <https://www.moj.go.jp/isa/content/930003769.pdf> (accessed on 20.09.2021).

⁶ The Summary of Result on an Annual Survey of International Students in Japan // Study in JAPAN. Site ran by Japan Student Services Organization. URL: <https://studyinjapan.go.jp/en/statistics/zaiseki/index.html> (accessed on 20.09.2021).

Features of Japan as a major destination country

Japan has been receiving Vietnamese workers since 1992, mainly under the Japanese Industrial Training Program (ITP) and the Technical Internship Program (TIP) that aim at human resource development and contribute to industrial development in migrant sending countries through the transfer of Japanese industrial and professional knowledge, skills, and technical expertise by accepting many young and middle-aged workers from other countries in Japan⁷.

The total number of Vietnamese workers sent to Japan between 1992 and 2010 was relatively small (about 52,000), but the annual intake has increased to about 5,000 or more in recent years. Regarding trainees/technical interns (hereinafter, trainees) supported by the Japan International Training Cooperation Organization (JITCO), the number of Vietnamese trainees in the 1990s was fewer than Chinese, Indonesian, Philippine, or Thai trainees [1].

In recent years, the Vietnam-Japan partnership was growing steadily, especially in labor cooperation, which has created great chances for Vietnamese laborers to seek jobs or study opportunities in Japan. According to Japan's Ministry of Health, Labor and Welfare, by the end of October 2018, over 310,000 Vietnamese laborers were working in Japan, accounting for 22% of foreign workers in the country and making the Vietnamese community the second largest foreign group in Japan after China with 390,000 people⁸. The data from Table 5 show us a significant increase in the number of Vietnamese migrants in Japan over the past few years.

Table 5.

**The number of Vietnamese nationals residing in Japan
by employment status (people)**

Year Status	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017
Total	072,256	099,865	146,956	199,990	262,405
Professor	150	159	152	151	151
Religious Activities	177	190	217	210	232
Journalist	9	8	9	10	9
Highly-Skilled Professional			20	55	168
Business Manager	28	44	78	160	265
Medical Services	21	11	8	9	12
Researcher	39	46	38	48	48
Engineer/Specialist in Humanities/ International Services	4,588	5,875	8,784	13,570	22,045
Intra-company Transferee	497	515	656	841	909
Skilled Labor	182	212	238	307	403
Technical Intern Training	21,632	34,039	57,580	88,211	123,555
Cultural Activities	39	43	44	49	49
Student	21,231	32,804	49,809	62,422	72,268
Trainee	196	217	197	197	247
Dependent	3,054	3,913	5,365	7,623	11,112
Designated Activities	78	432	1,254	2,428	5,627
Permanent Resident	12,060	12,813	13,539	14,271	14,913

⁷ Technical Intern Training Program // Japan International Training Cooperation Organization [site]. URL: <https://www.jitco.or.jp/en/regulation/> (accessed on 10.10.2021).

⁸ Sato H. Foreign workers in Japan double in 5 years, hitting record // Nikkei Asia. Business media. 25.01.2019. URL: <https://asia.nikkei.com/Spotlight/Japan-immigration/Foreign-workers-in-Japan-double-in-5-years-hitting-record> (accessed on 10.09.2021).

Year Status	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017
Spouse or Child of Japanese National	1,703	1,880	2,182	2,587	3,164
Spouse or Child of Permanent Resident	1,053	1,208	1,429	1,571	1,752
Long-Term Resident	5,513	5,450	5,346	5,258	5,448

Source: 2018 Immigration Control

Based on Table 5, Japan is a choice not only for Vietnamese workers but also an ideal place for studying. Students are more than just learners, they are also a rich source of workforce supplementation, their skills and qualifications can make an important contribution to promoting the country's development. Therefore, in this study, their role is considered similar to those of workers. However, when doing the survey, we were confronted with the difficulty of getting access to technical trainees after their return. They have very few social connections; there is hardly any public information about them, and communication was difficult due to the geographical dispersion. This is also a limitation of the study, as the number of technical workers among the respondents of the survey is low compared to other groups.

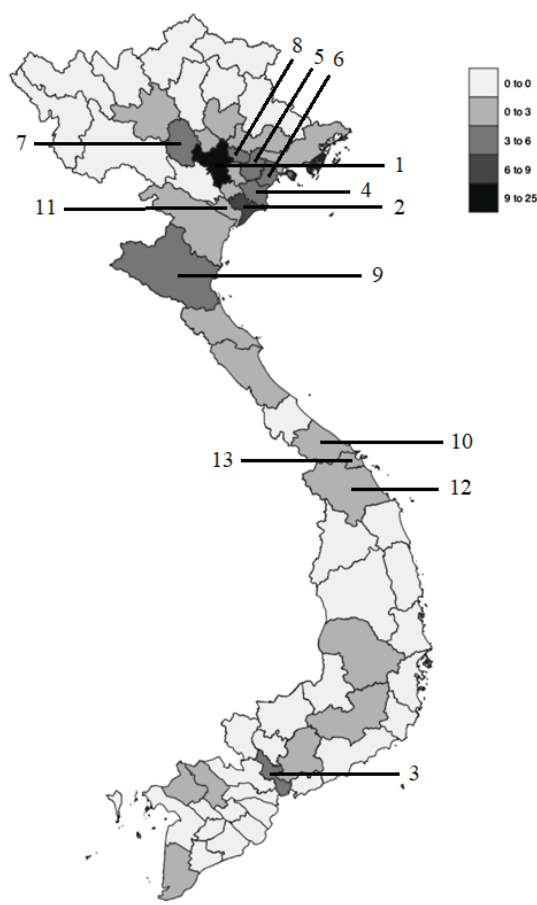
Methods and data

The data of this study are based mainly on an online questionnaire survey that was conducted from 09.08.2018 to 11.11.2018 and administered to 113 Vietnamese migrants returning from Japan, including those who went abroad for study and those who travelled for work. We received 101 eligible responses, giving a response rate of 89% (see Figure 2 for the place of birth of respondents). The main category of respondents is international students followed by labor migrants. The respondents were selected through personal channels and networks. The steps for conducting the survey are described in detail as follows:

Step 1. The authors prepared the questionnaire and created an online link on Google Docs. This is to ensure that the link is sharable, and the respondents can answer via their personal computer or telephone with an internet connection instead of having to fill out a printout.

Step 2. Finding the interviewees. Because one of the authors used to be an international student in Japan between 2011 and 2013 in Ibaraki, during that time, the author has established a social network with Vietnamese students and working employees in Japan; this social network is maintained after those people returned to the home country. At the time prior to the survey, the author contacted friends in this social network (via phone calls, messages, Facebook, email, etc.) to present the purpose of the study and request consent to participate in the interview, as well as having people continue to introduce other acquaintances to participate in the interview based on their social network ("snowball" sampling method had been taken into account).

Step 3. After receiving the consent to participate in the survey, the authors proceeded to send the questionnaire link to the participants via email, text message on Facebook, etc. This is to ensure consistency in the investigation, so that participants can respond at the time most appropriate to them and ensure confidentiality of information.



No.	Province/city	N of respondents
1	Ha Noi	25
2	Nam Dinh	9
3	Ho Chi Minh City	6
4	Thai Binh	5
5	Hai Duong	5
6	Hai Phong	5
7	Phu Tho	4
8	Bac Ninh	4
9	Nghe An	3
10	Hue	3
11	Ninh Binh	3
12	Quang Nam	3
13	Da Nang	2
14	Bac Giang	2
15	Ha Nam	2
16	Ha Tinh	2
17	Thai Nguyen	1
18	Dong Nai	1
19	Ca Mau	1
20	Hung Yen	1
21	Lam Dong	1
22	Quang Binh	1
23	Quang Ninh	1
24	Thanh Hoa	1
25	Vinh Phuc	1
26	Yen Bai	1
27	Dak Lak	1
28	Dong Thap	1

Fig. 2. Place of birth of the respondents

Based on the questionnaire survey analysis, this chapter provides a general view of the socio-economic conditions of Vietnamese migrants before and after migration. In some cases, when the data need further analysis, we divided the respondents into four groups (Table 6).

Table 6.

Categories of respondents

No	Name	Characteristics of the Group	N of Respondents
1	Group I	People who had a job before going to Japan to study. (These people are currently working in Vietnam and go to Japan to obtain a higher education).	51
2	Group II	People who did not have a job before going to Japan to study. (These people are mostly students who are studying or just graduated).	29
3	Group III	People who go to Japan for work only. (Including trainees and interns).	16
4	Group IV	People who come to Japan for family reunion	5

In the goal of the survey was to collect the data about migrants who go to Japan for work and for study, but the proportion of the respondents who go to study is larger – a total of 80 people from Groups I and II stayed in Japan for study. The cause of this situation lies mainly in the author’s social network. It means at least this sample is biased towards those who have come to Japan for study purposes and is not representative of migrants from Vietnam to Japan.

The socio-economic impact of international migration to Vietnamese migrants after returning from Japan

Socio-demographic characteristics of the respondents

The respondents were mostly females (60 respondents, or 59.4%), young or middle aged (28.7% are below 30 years old, and 65.3% are between 31 and 40 years old), married (67.3%). This is consistent with the fact that most return migrants to Vietnam are young and in active working ages, which is beneficial for the socio-economic development of the country. The fact that more than half of the respondents are married is predictable in view of the observation that a large proportion (28.7% + 65.3% = 94%) of them are aged 20–40 years old (Table 7).

Table 7.

Socio-demographic characteristics of return migrants

Background Characteristics	Group I		Group II		Group III		Group IV		Total	
	Freq.	Percent	Freq.	Percent	Freq.	Percent	Freq.	Percent	Freq.	Percent
Gender										
Female	34	33.3	16	55.2	5	31.3	5	100.0	60	59.4
Male	17	66.7	13	44.8	11	68.7	0	0	41	40.6
Total	51	100.0	29	100.0	16	100.0	5	100.0	101	100.0
Age										
Under 30	5	9.8	15	51.7	9	56.2	0	0	29	28.7
31-40	42	82.4	13	44.8	5	31.3	5	100.0	66	65.3
Above 40	4	7.8	1	3.5	2	12.5	0	0	7	6.0
Total	51	100.0	29	100.0	16	100.0	5	100.0	101	100.0
Marital Status										
Single	15	29.4	12	41.4	6	37.5	0	0	33	32.7
Married	36	70.6	17	58.6	10	62.5	5	100.0	68	67.3
Total	51	100.0	29	100.0	16	100.0	5	100.0	101	100.0
Language Ability										
Japanese	5	9.8	15	51.8	12	75.0	2	40.0	34	33.7
English	38	74.5	3	10.3	2	12.5	0	0	43	42.6
English, Japanese	8	15.7	11	37.9	2	12.5	3	60.0	24	23.7
Total	51	100.0	29	100.0	16	100.0	5	100.0	101	100.0
Duration of stayed in Japan										
Less than 1 year	3	5.9	2	6.9	1	6.3	0	0	6	6.0
From 1 to 3 years	29	56.9	9	31.0	9	56.2	1	20.0	48	47.5
Over 3 years	19	37.2	18	62.1	6	37.5	4	80.0	47	46.5
Total	51	100.0	29	100.0	16	100.0	5	100.0	101	100.0

The results showed that a high proportion (47.5%) of the returnees stayed at their destination for 1–3 years, while 46.5% said they stayed abroad for 3 years or more. Only 6% reported staying for less than a year.

Another point worth noting is that while most of the respondents in Group I went to Japan for study and fluently spoke English (up to 74.5%); the remaining Groups had proficiency in Japanese (51.8% in Group II and 75.0% in Group III), excluding those fluent in both languages.

Educational level and the benefits achieved

In this context, because Groups I and II come to Japan mainly to study, Groups III and IV come to work, the benefits from education will mainly fall to Groups I and II. That is why we do not classify them and analyze only the general statistic. The data in Table 8 indicate that before departure, about 84.1% of the respondents had university education followed by those with junior college diploma (6.9%). The results revealed that after their return, some of the migrants acquired additional degrees and qualifications. For instance, whereas only one of the respondents had master’s degree and one other hold PhD degree before their departure, after the return, 29.7% acquired master’s degrees and 23.8% achieved PhD degrees abroad. This is due to the fact that 79.2% of the respondents came to Japan to study. Thus, it is clear that the educational level of the returnees improved significantly. Over 50% got academic degrees (MA or PhD) abroad. Especially, the number of people with a certificate of Japanese proficiency increased significantly (13.8%).

Table 8.

Educational level

Educational level	Before departure		After return	
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
Short-term technical worker	N.A.	N.A.	5	5.0
Long-term technical worker	2	2.0	1	1.0
Professional secondary school	5	5.0	N.A.	N.A.
Junior college diploma	7	6.9	7	6.9
Bachelor’s	85	84.1	20	19.8
Master	1	1.0	30	29.7
PhD	1	1.0	24	23.8
Other (Japanese language proficiency)	N.A.	N.A.	14	13.8
Total	101	100.0	101	100.0

The cohort of college students has the highest percentage of respondents who have acquired higher education levels (master’s or doctor’s degrees, language skills). This can be considered the biggest opportunity for them because higher qualifications mean better chances of finding a job getting a promotion.

Migration optimists [9; 26; 27] are of the view that migrants through international migration bring back critical skills and experiences which are useful for the developing world. Within the context of this study, skills refer to any formal or informal capacity-enhancing endeavor that is specifically geared toward the acquisition of expertise in a particular vocation or profession. Such skills acquisition could cover broad areas including specialized technical skills, skills in social work, as well as entrepreneurial and managerial skills. Most of these skills are often acquired through job training.

The following question in the survey questionnaire is “What are the beneficial gains when you were living in Japan besides your education and work qualifications attainment?” The results of the survey (Table 9) show that after their return, a higher proportion said they had acquired some benefits. The most benefits achieved is making new friends or extending

social networks such as meeting new collaborators, partners, neighbors, etc. (Group I, Group II, Group III are 82.4%, 65.5%, 81.3% respectively, and 77.2% in total), followed by improving life skills (76.2%) (life skills are abilities for adaptive and positive behavior that enable humans to deal effectively with the demands and challenges of life), then ability to work under pressure (60.4%) (working under pressure means being able to continue doing your job effectively despite demands and stresses like having not enough help, time, money or expertise), and improving Japanese language proficiency (55.4% in total with the highest rate in Group III – 81.3%, and Group II – 72.4%). Improved Japanese language proficiency will be a huge advantage and an open door to welcome return migrants to work for Japanese companies in Vietnam. One of the notable benefits is that everyone has more self-motivation after they return home (60.4%) (self-motivation is accomplishing what needs to be done without the need for prompting, supervision, influence, or push from others). With those benefits achieved, return migrants can be an important source of growth for the home country through their accumulated knowledge and skills.

Table 9.

Beneficial gains

Beneficial gains	Group I		Group II		Group III		Group IV		Total	
	Freq.	Percent	Freq.	Percent	Freq.	Percent	Freq.	Percent	Freq.	Percent
Getting more income	21	41.2	9	31.0	10	62.5	2	40.0	42	41.6
Making new friends or extending networks	42	82.4	19	65.5	13	81.3	4	80.0	78	77.2
Improving Japanese language skills	18	35.3	21	72.4	13	81.3	4	80.0	56	55.4
Improving life skills	41	80.4	21	72.4	12	75.0	3	60.0	77	76.2
Ability to work under pressure	36	70.6	13	44.8	11	68.8	1	20.0	61	60.4
Self-motivation	33	64.7	15	51.7	11	68.8	2	40.0	61	60.4
Number of respondents	51	100.0	29	100.0	16	100.0	5	100.0	101	100.0

Key reasons for migration and return

From the statistics (Table 10), it can be seen that income is not the main factor that makes people migrate to Japan, but knowledge (57.3%) and skills (51.0%) are considered as two main determinants because most of the respondents in this survey are people who come to Japan to study, so that the experiences and knowledge gained are valuable for them. The reason for return is that the employment contract finished, or the course has ended (72.8%), followed by family reasons (53.3%).

Table 10.

The key reasons for migration and return

The key reasons	Group I		Group II		Group III		Group IV		Total	
	Freq.	Percent	Freq.	Percent	Freq.	Percent	Freq.	Percent	Freq.	Percent
Migration										
I intended to study and get qualifications	44	86.3	11	37.9	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	55	57.3
I thought I would learn other useful new skills	29	56.9	12	41.4	8	50.0	N.A.	N.A.	49	51.0

The key reasons	Group I		Group II		Group III		Group IV		Total	
	Freq.	Percent	Freq.	Percent	Freq.	Percent	Freq.	Percent	Freq.	Percent
I hoped to find a better job after coming back to my country	16	31.4	13	44.8	10	62.5	N.A.	N.A.	39	40.6
I hoped to learn to speak Japanese that would be useful to me	7	13.7	16	55.2	8	50.0	N.A.	N.A.	31	32.3
I thought I would be able to earn more money	5	9.8	4	13.8	7	43.8	N.A.	N.A.	16	16.7
Number of respondents	51	100.0	29	100.0	16	100.0	N.A.	N.A.	96	100.0
Return										
The course finished / job contract terminated	43	89.6	13	50.0	10	71.4	1	25.0	67	72.8
Family reasons	23	47.9	14	53.8	9	64.3	3	75.0	49	53.3
Others (I went to earn a certain amount of money and I managed to; because my life was not as I hoped it would be in Japan; I came back to set up a new business or to start a new job; because of government schemes that made it attractive to come back)	11	22.9	8	30.8	6	42.9	1	25.0	26	28.3
Number of respondents	48	100.0	26	100.0	14	100.0	4	100.0	92	100.0

Occupational status and income effect

Another aspect of the skill enhancement of migrants (such as working skills, life skills, professional skills, or language skills) is measured through the occupational mobility of returnees. The impact of skill acquisition on occupational mobility seems to depend on the migrants' education level, with highly educated returnees likely to benefit more from the skills they acquired abroad than unskilled returnees.

Respondents were asked to indicate the type of occupations they were engaged in Vietnam before their migration and after their return. In this section, we eliminated Group II because this group consisted of people who had no job before coming to Japan. The results from Table 11 revealed that migrants tend to move out of previous occupations after the return (42.9%) as a result of their experience abroad. This phenomenon mainly occurs in Group III (87.5%) while only 28.0% in Group I did so. The reason is that Group I consists of public sector employees who are bound by regulations (88.9% of the respondents said that they committed to come back to their previous job), while Group III are people working in the private sector where there are no constraints and they can easily change jobs after the return. 60% of those returnees who moved out of their previous work said that the skills and knowledge acquired abroad were not suitable for their previous job, while others thought that the new opportunities acquired abroad would help them to get a new job with a higher salary (60%) and a higher position (26.7%).

Table 11.

Occupational status after the return

Occupational status after the return	Group I		Group III		Group IV		Total	
	Freq.	Percent	Freq.	Percent	Freq.	Percent	Freq.	Percent
After you came back to Vietnam, did you do a different job from the one you held before you left for Japan?								
Yes	14	28.0	14	87.5	2	50.0	30	42.9
No	36	72.0	2	12.5	2	50.0	40	57.1
Total	50	100.0	16	100.0	4	100.0	70	100.0
What are the reasons for holding the same job? (Multiple choice)								
I committed to come back to my old job	32	88.9	2	100.0	N.A.	N.A.	34	85.0
I have a higher salary at this job	4	11.1	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	4	10.0
I have a higher position at this job	4	11.1	1	50.0	N.A.	N.A.	5	12.5
I could not find a better job	2	5.6	N.A.	N.A.	1	50.0	3	7.5
I keep this old job while looking for a better one	5	13.9	1	50.0	1	50.0	7	17.5
Other	2	5.6	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	2	5.0
Number of respondents	36	100.0	2	100.0	2	100.0	40	100.0
Why did you change your job? (Multiple choice)								
The skills and knowledge acquired abroad are not suitable for my previous job	8	57.1	9	64.3	1	50.0	18	60.0
I have a higher salary at my new job	10	71.4	8	57.1	N.A.	N.A.	18	60.0
I have a higher position at my new job	2	14.3	6	42.9	N.A.	N.A.	8	26.7
I moved to the new job for family reasons	1	7.1	1	7.1	1	50.0	3	10.0
Other	2	14.3					2	6.7
Number of respondents	14	100.0	14	100.0	2	100.0	30	100.0

There is an obvious trend that returnees tend to leave their previous jobs in the state sector and move to work for private, foreign, or joint venture companies of Japan in Vietnam (Figure 3). The most significant change that can be observed is that many return migrants turn to working in private companies, Japanese joint venture enterprises or Japanese companies in Vietnam. It seems like the knowledge and skills acquired during studying and working in Japan help immigrants to find a job in Japanese companies, which can be seen as an important step towards promoting development and economic links between Vietnam and Japan.

We conduct further analysis by looking at the respondent's income and classifying them into 4 groups (some respondents refused to provide any information about their incomes). According to the data from Table 12, the income of Vietnamese return migrants varied significantly depending on the enterprise's type of ownership (state, private, NGO, or Japanese company). In this analysis, we calculated both average income and median income. For a more accurate view, median income was chosen for analysis and comparison.

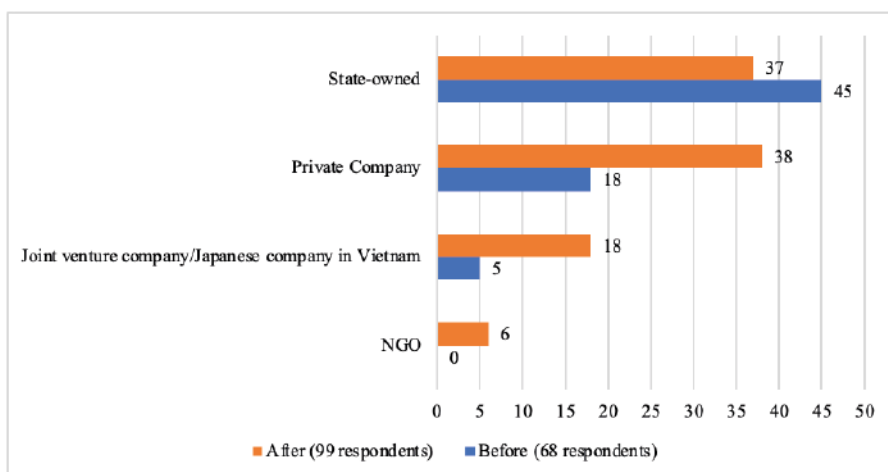


Fig. 3. Employment by types of ownership

Table 12.

Income Effect

Indicator	Group I		Group II		Group III		Group IV		
	Before	After	Before	After	Before	After	Before	After	
Total Income	283.1	645.1	N.A.	718	55.5	242	40	20	
Average Income	6	16.1	N.A.	32.6	5.6	20.2	8	6.7	
Median Income	5	12	N.A.	18	5.8	15	10	8	
Number of respondents	47	40	N.A.	22	10	12	5	3	
Career transition and corresponding income	1. State-owned		2. Private company		3. NGO		4. Japanese joint venture company in Vietnam		
	Total Income	40	24	N.A.	2	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.
	Total Income	222.6	218.1	N.A.	67	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.
	Average Income	5.6	9.1	N.A.	33.5	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.
	Median Income	5	6.3	N.A.	33.5	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.
	Total Income	6	7	N.A.	14	7	9	4	3
	Total Income	48.5	226	N.A.	364	40.5	192	30	20
	Average Income	8.1	32.3	N.A.	26	5.8	21.3	7.5	6.7
	Median Income	8.5	15	N.A.	17	5	10	7.5	8
	Total Income	N.A.	5	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.
	Total Income	N.A.	96	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.
	Average Income	N.A.	19.2	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.
	Median Income	N.A.	17	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.
	Total Income	1	4	N.A.	6	3	3	1	N.A.
	Total Income	12	105	N.A.	287	15	50	10	N.A.
	Average Income	12	26.3	N.A.	47.8	5	16.7	10	N.A.
Median Income	12	21	N.A.	45	6	17	10	N.A.	
Number of Respondents	47	40	N.A.	22	10	12	5	3	

Note: Unit of income – Vietnam Dong, million

The median income of return migrants in the state sector for Group I was the lowest, at approximately 5 million Vietnam Dong (VND) before migration and 6.3 million VND after the return. This slight increase in salary reflects the nature of the state sector where the wage increase depends largely on the position and seniority. This may explain the reason why many return migrants leave their current state-owned jobs and move to work for private companies, NGOs, or Japanese companies in Vietnam with many attractive opportunities,

remuneration, and commensurate salary. For example, from the table above, it can be seen that out of 40 people (before migration) working for the state sector (Group I) only 24 respondents continued to work at state-owned enterprises after the return (excluding some respondents who did not provide any information). The number of people working for private companies, NGOs, and Japanese companies increased accordingly. This explanation is similar for the other groups.

Group II includes people who did not have a job before going to Japan for study (these people are mostly students who are studying or just graduated). After returning, they demonstrate the most obvious tendency to work for private companies or Japanese companies in Vietnam. Their salary is also higher than the salary of other groups in all three sectors (state, private, and Japanese companies) with median incomes of 33.5 million VND, 17 million VND, and 45 million VND, respectively.

Thus, it is clear that migration has brought great opportunities for returnees, especially those who go to study – after gaining a certain degree they returned and found a better job with higher income. Many return migrants with skills and qualifications gained in Japan also tend to change their jobs, moving from the state sector to the other sectors.

Migration experience and attitudes toward migrants

In this study, the respondents were asked to think about is it easy to find a better job after coming back to Vietnam. Generally, their opinion was acquired after their return. The opinion of returnees regarding their wealth after the return and benefits received from migration is also interesting (Table 13).

Table 13.

Migration experience and attitudes toward migrants

Migration experience and attitudes toward migrants	Group I		Group II		Group III		Group IV		Total	
	Freq.	Percent	Freq.	Percent	Freq.	Percent	Freq.	Percent	Freq.	Percent
Do you think that it was easy for you to find a better job after coming back?										
Yes	39	88.6	23	82.1	14	93.3	2	50.0	78	85.7
No	5	11.4	5	17.9	1	6.7	2	50.0	13	14.3
Number of respondents	44	100.0	28	100.0	15	100.0	4	100.0	91	100.0
Overall, do you have a better salary and job position than before going abroad?										
Yes	37	82.2	24	88.9	15	93.8	2	50.0	78	84.8
No	8	17.8	3	11.1	1	6.2	2	50.0	14	15.2
Number of respondents	45	100.0	27	100.0	16	100.0	4	100.0	92	100.0
Would you say that overall, you were wealthier when living abroad than before you left Vietnam?										
Yes, I am much wealthier	5	10.0	6	22.2	4	25.0	N.A.	N.A.	15	15.3
Yes, I am slightly wealthier	26	52.0	15	55.6	10	62.5	3	60.0	54	55.1
My standard of living is about the same	15	30.0	6	22.2	2	12.5	2	40.0	25	25.5
No, I am somewhat poorer	4	5.0	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	4	4.1
Number of respondents	50	100.0	27	100.0	16	100.0	5	100.0	98	100.0
Has living abroad changed any of your views?										
Strongly agree	29	58.0	17	60.7	10	62.5	2	40.0	58	58.6
Somewhat agree	21	42.0	11	39.3	6	37.5	2	40.0	40	40.4
Neither agree nor disagree	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	1	20.0	1	1.0
Number of respondents	50	100.0	28	100.0	16	100.0	5	100.0	99	100.0

In this survey, we took one step further and asked not about life (dis)satisfaction in general but specifically for (dis)satisfaction with the respondents' financial situation to understand the role of opportunities obtained abroad. As apparent from Table 12, more than 82% of respondents in Group I, II, III believe that they have a better salary and job position than before going abroad, and also more than 60% believe that their lives became wealthier than before (when we combine both answers "Yes, I am much wealthier" and "Yes, I am slightly wealthier"); this percentage is above 70% when considering all groups. They returned home with new skills, and for some of the respondents their current activity is greatly aided by their overseas experience.

However, there are still 15 respondents (Group I) who answered that their living standards have not changed, and 4 people (Group I) who answered that their lives became poorer. They are all employees working in the state sector. As mentioned above, state enterprises' wage mechanism depends largely on position and seniority. Although their salary after the return has slightly increased as the economy is growing, they may feel that their standard of living has not changed or they became poorer because others are well-off.

Satisfaction or dissatisfaction about life after returning home is considered an important factor in assessing the results that migration brings. From the survey data, 99% of respondents agreed that living abroad has changed their views, and this is a positive impact that migration brings to migrants.

Conclusions and recommendations

This study presents an attempt to contribute to the research on return migration by framing the discussion in the context of the general socio-economic impact of returning migrants' employment outcomes. This is important because an analysis of the dynamics of the association between returning migrants' educational attainment, economic conditions, job opportunities, and their satisfaction with life is a crucial step towards enhancing our understanding of the processes associated with their socioeconomic reintegration after arrival in their home countries. Beyond the story, the need for developing social policies to better support and simultaneously take advantage of the returning migrants' experiences to the country's socio-economic development.

Based upon the information collected from individuals involved in the survey, the results revealed that return migrants has obtained additional degrees and qualifications abroad, the number of people with a certificate of Japanese proficiency also increased. In addition, return migrants also gain certain benefits, the most benefits achieved are making new friends or extending social networks, followed by improving life skills, the ability to work under pressure, and self-motivation after they return home. With those advantages accomplished, return migrants can be a significant wellspring of development for the nation of origin thanks to the new information and abilities that they acquired.

Also, income is not the primary factor that causes individuals to migrate to Japan, but knowledge and skills are considered as two fundamental determinants in light of the fact that the greater part of the respondents in this survey are people who came to Japan to study. With the skills and experience accumulated abroad, return migrants are normally able to move out of previous occupations, especially, the shift from the public sector to the private sector, non-governmental organizations, and Japanese companies in Vietnam. Some returnees who moved out of their previous jobs said that the skills and knowledge acquired abroad are not suitable for their previous job, while others thought that new

opportunities brought back from overseas could help them to get a new job with a higher salary and a higher position.

Moreover, there is a significant improvement in wages and incomes, depending on the enterprise's form of ownership (state, private, NGO, or Japanese company). Furthermore, the socio-economic conditions of the returnees have improved, as they believe that they have a better salary and a higher job position than before going abroad, so their lives became wealthier than before.

Finally, satisfaction or dissatisfaction about life after the return is considered as a significant factor in surveying the outcomes of migration, and up to 99% of respondents concurred that living abroad has changed their perspectives. This is a positive effect that migration brings to migrants.

The economic literature on migration is an evolving research tradition with strong relevance to policy choices. This study presents recent findings on the socio-economic impacts of return migration with a particular emphasis on Vietnamese migrants returning from Japan. In research terms, this study has revealed a number of important and interesting issues that call for more in-depth investigation.

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СОЦИАЛЬНО-ЭКОНОМИЧЕСКИЕ ПОСЛЕДСТВИЯ ВОЗВРАТНОЙ МИГРАЦИИ ВЬЕТНАМЦЕВ ИЗ ЯПОНИИ

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Аннотация. В настоящей статье проанализированы и обобщены основные теоретические подходы к изучению факторов миграции и феномена возвратной миграции. В качестве основной движущей силы миграции рассматриваются ускорение социально-экономического развития и глобальная экономическая интеграция. Возвратная миграция рассматривается как возвращение мигранта на родину после получения за границей ценного опыта: финансовой выгоды, более высокого уровня образования, новых навыков, опыта работы в зарубежной компании, знакомства с новой

системой ценностей и норм и т. д. Далее в статье анализируются миграционные связи между Японией и Вьетнамом. По числу принимаемых ежегодно вьетнамских трудовых мигрантов Япония находится на втором месте в мире после Тайваня. Кроме того, в последние годы резко возросло число вьетнамцев, обучающихся в Японии, в результате чего Вьетнам стал вторым после Китая крупнейшим экспортером иностранных студентов в Японию. Результаты проведенного авторами социологического исследования показали, что большинство вернувшихся на родину из Японии вьетнамских мигрантов получили там дополнительное образование и новые навыки, повысив свою квалификацию. Также среди них наблюдается значительное повышение заработной платы и доходов, величина которых зависит от сектора экономики. Самые высокие доходы после возвращения получают вьетнамцы, работающие в японских компаниях, за ними следуют занятые в частных компаниях и неправительственных организациях, менее всего возрастают доходы лиц, занятых в государственном секторе. Сами респонденты отмечают, что их уровень жизни повысился, так как возросла их заработная плата и улучшилось положение на работе, таким образом, их экономическое положение стало более выгодным, чем до отъезда за границу.

Ключевые слова: международная миграция, возвратная миграция, экономические возможности; Вьетнам, Япония.

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