

Impact of migration in economic and social of rural environments

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ABSTRACT: Migration from rural area to cities is a popular problem in many countries. There are many researches about migration but however, return migration has not been much researched, especially not research on internal remigration of the poor voluntary migrant workers. This research was implemented in rural area of Iran. We want to response two questions as well as to clarify three issues: 1) the reason why migrant workers return to their home village; 2) the social and economic impacts for the returnees and their families. The result of study shows that all processes of the migration up to remigration of the people in this village were generalized. However, two core reasons of returning to migrants to home are due to the fact that most of the short term returnees could not adapt to the living and working conditions in the destinations, and the seasonal returnees mostly returned to the home village because of rice crop season in the countryside.

Keywords: Return migration, ethnological approach, internal remigration Iran.

INTRODUCTION

Migration was considered an equilibrating mechanism that through labor transfer from the surplus labor to the labor deficit sector, finally brought about wage equality in the two sectors (Bilsborrow et al., 2001). For many developed and developing countries, migration has become a crucial issue (Thanh, 2008). On the other hand, migration played an important role in poverty reduction through remittances sent back to the original country or village in the low-income countries. In addition, in the livelihood approach, migration was considered as a livelihood strategy by livelihood diversification in rural areas (Thanh, 2009).

Low income and poor living conditions in rural areas, the scarcity of non-farm employments with high incomes has been driving rural workers to look for work in cities. Firstly, there is shortage of agricultural land areas in the rural areas and too few rural employments while high population growth. Secondly, transformation of models in agricultural production also created a surplus labor force in rural areas (Thanh, 2009). Livelihood diversification away from agriculture as well as diversification of income sources in the rural areas was considered the primary means of the household survival (Thanh, 2008, 2009). Since then the strategy for leaving the rice fields but not the countryside has been formed. People diversified their income sources by joining in non-farm sectors and migrating to other places to find jobs. Hence, more and more rural people have been moving into cities or urban areas as temporary migrants. Those were internal migration inside the country. Migration has been considered a complex sequence of moves that might include several destinations and regular contact with the origin, which might eventually comprise of return migration. Moreover, in opposition to migration, it was recognized that migration flows often tended to generate "counter flows" - mostly return migration. This was inherent to the concept of circular migration. Issues of return migration processes remain to be understood, as they are complex and multilayered. Return migration was defined as the voluntary movements of immigrants back to their original places. This was also known as circular migration. Returns broadly were described in three different ways. For instance, the return might be voluntary without compulsion, when the migrants made a decision at any time during their temporary stay to return home at their own choices and cost. The voluntary under compulsion, when people were at the end of their temporary protected status, refused asylum, or were unable to stay, and chose to return at their own choices. The involuntary, as a result of the authorities of the host State ordering deportation. Return migration to the home country whether temporary or permanent, was able to contribute to decreasing the negative effects of human capital outflows for original countries. Return migration could both enrich the human capital of original countries and contribute to the transfer of technology and of scientific, technical, and economic expertise as well as political, social, and cultural exchanges (Bourdieu, Wacquant, 2002). The return migrants from developed countries could take

advantages of the migration to be trained jobs and to approach education (for low educated migrant only) (Brau and Harigaya, 2007). Cassarino addressed the factors motivating the interviewees' departure from their country of origin; the impact of the migratory experience abroad on the interviewee's pre- and post-return conditions; and the various post-return conditions of the returnees and their prospects of reintegration (Breckner, 2000). And definition of return migrant or returnee was described by Cassarino and Gubert as any person who returned to his or her original country, in the course of the last ten years, had been an international migrant (whether short-term or long-term) in another country. Return might be permanent or temporary. It might be independently decided by the migrant or forced by unexpected circumstances.. In other word, Bilsborrow et al (2001) defined return migrant or returnee as a person returns to the home village, town or city where he or she was usually living before migration, he or she should be considered as a return migrant even if he or she did not return to the same house or household. (Bilsborrow et al., 2001).

Adda indicated that specific economic conditions were to be important to both migration decisions to emigrate from the home country and to return to it. Additionally, it was focused on the fact that many migrants today returned to their home countries in crowds after having spent a number of years in the host country (Brettell, 2000). The remigration has been due to involuntary return and/or voluntary return.

How does the return migration have economic and social impacts on the returnees and their households?

The main research question raises the substantive questions:

1. Why did migrant worker return to the original village?
2. How did the remigration affect the migrants, the household where they stay, and the village at large?
3. What strategies do the migrants use to re-adapt to the life of the home villages?
4. What strategies do the villagers that have remained use to adapt to the return migrants?

Literature review

This section will give a short description of migration process, reasons for remigration and effects of remigration on socio-economic and cultural aspects of the returnees. The focus is on migrant workers and spontaneous migrants who migrated to seek for jobs in many places in Iran far from their home village.

All documents referenced in this study were synthesized from the process of international migration and return migration, even though the process of return migration in Iran also happened at the international scale that means the remigration process of migrant returnees was taken place from the other countries to Iran. Although the process of the return migration happened in different countries and my study only focused on the regional scale within Iran, the references were very useful in finding and comparing similarities and differences in reasons for migration, working and living conditions, and influences on social, economic, and cultural aspects during the process of the migrant worker return

Reasons for migration

In terms of the motivation for migration as well as the reasons why people left their home village to the other places to live or to find jobs for improving income, there have been many various reasons for migration in many different countries. According to International Labor Organization (ILO), migration researches in many countries (Denmark, the Netherlands, Belgium, France, Austria, Switzerland, Germany, the United States, Canada, Australia, South Africa and Luxembourg), addressed many motivations behind individual decisions to migrate. It was evident that lack of satisfactory opportunities at home was the main reason driving to the contemporary growth of migration pressures and emigration might help to ease or reduce population pressures and unemployment (ILO, 2004). In the case of the Western Sudan, people decided to migrate because of severe drought and starvation (Cassarino, 2008). Moreover, the findings in the research of Cassarino (2004) showed that the migrants left their homeland for a few reasons relating to work opportunities, such as the outbreak of the war, for pursuit of their studies or for family considerations. Another idea showed that high levels of unemployment and underemployment in the poorer countries were contributing to pressures for more migration (Jones, 2008).

In terms of concerns of working conditions and the behavior of the migrant workers in destinations, there were many ideas mentioned to this issue. However, before going to the detail of this part, I would like to give a short brief description of labor regulation including the labor right, and how it was applied in Iran. It was referenced in the Labor Code of Iran. These articles below were cited in the labor law.

The labor regulation of Iran prescribed the rights of the workers and their employers, the labor standards, the principles to use and to manage the laborers. The Labor Code protects the labor rights, benefits and other rights of the laborers as well as protects the legitimate rights and interests of the employers in order to facilitate for the labor relations to be harmonious and stable.

As the migration mentioned above, many migrations nowadays were temporary (Adda et al., 2006) and the dynamics, and links between return migration and development has interested various national and international actors, comprising of intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations, migrant associations, and the private sectors. Similar to before the migrants departure stage, migrants return for

different reasons and for different lengths of time. In addition, the reasons for return were considered push and pull factors in many countries at the international level.

In the trend of the international integration and globalization, Iran was among countries having a big number of people emigrating abroad. The migrants almost stayed in every countries and territories of the world. Every year, many of them return to Iran with different purposes: permanent stay (repatriation), visiting their relatives, investment, doing their business. etc. (ILO, 2004). Some migrants failed to meet their expectation of emigration experience; others decided to return when they have saved sufficient funds. Nevertheless, often the deciding factor would be the situation in their country of origin: if the economic promise improved, then returning would be more attractive. When these migrants came back with skills or savings, this was able to make a welcome contribution to development (ILO, 2004).

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In Southeast Asia, there have been many migration studies in both scope and number, but it has not been known much in Iran. Population mobility has increased significantly in Iran not only because of the major cause of interregional variations in population growth, but also because of its influential role in social and economic change in the affected areas (Dang et al., 1997). Dang et al., (1997) pointed out that there were four major phases of migration in Iran.

Today, return migrants have increasingly characterized by transnational networks, reflecting new migration circumstances that have been developing at the beginning of the 21st century (De Souza, 2006). Most of return migrants were increasingly the young, who were exported workers in the host countries and internal return migrant workers in IZs or in farms. The return migration included both of the skilled and unskilled return migrants. The skilled return migrants were poised to become more important to local government policy. Moreover, they held the potential to help build global networks, forge further links between sending and receiving countries, and directly contribute to development efforts. According to the International Organization for Migration (ILO) in the 1990s, a program of "Migration for Development" was implemented in several countries in Africa and Eastern Europe. Country officials have instituted innovative policy strategies to reach out to this skilled migrant pool. For instance, China and the Republic of Korea persuaded the expatriate researchers back home in order to concentrate high-tech industries or science-related businesses. The governments of the countries have implemented policies to facilitate the long-term re-entry of migrants. For instance, since 1993 the government of Jamaica has been working in order to identify re-entry problems, to reduce red tape, and to propose solutions to common bureaucratic constraints, which returnees faced. Moreover, other policies targeted overseas workers. In the Philippines, for example, Overseas Workers Welfare Administration of the government supports an intergovernmental agency referral system, which was called the Replacement and Monitoring Center. This Center offered returnees job placement services, skills training, livelihood programs, and job opportunity assessments, and gave employers a database of skilled migrant workers. Return migrants have also been encouraged to spend or invest in their homelands, frequently through partnerships with the government and the private sector. In Guyana, for example, the Guyana Office for Investment was established in 1994 in order to attract and facilitate increase in investment to fuel through efficient and effective investor services.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Based on the empirical study of return migrant workers in Village, this research was conducted during two phases between June and August of 2009, and between November and January of 2010. The study investigates the socio-economic effects of re-migration to rural areas on the returnees 'households after the workers came back to their home village.

In any case study, the choice of case is one of the greatest significance for the possibility of generalizing theories and identifying general categories. Based on this assumption, I selected Village as my research site.

Data collection

This study aims to determine the social and economic effects of re-migration on the returnees after coming back the original village among voluntary return migrants. The research subject is thus voluntary re-migration of workers in the case of migrant people in Gilng province, Iran.

Sample size

This study was mostly qualified as a descriptive study. In total, three group discussions were conducted including one group of non-migration (12 participants), and two groups of migration: seasonal migrants (15 participants) and short-term migrants (10 participants). For non-migration, twelve of male and female laborers in Village were invited, these laborers were those who are poor and landless or have little land. They were the young, the middle age, and the older labor. All of them were at the working age from 18 to 60 years old for the man and from 18 to 55 for the woman. Besides that, fifteen seasonal return migrant workers were also invited. These seasonal returnees included the male and female laborers who returned from the different destinations. They were also in the poor households being landless or having little land. They were the young, the middle age, and the older labor. Moreover, all of them were at the working age. However, some of them were younger than 18 years old, about 15 years old, because all male and female who were allowed to have Identification (ID) card at the age of 15. All of the participants in group discussions and in-depth interviews were in both nuclear and extended families.

Together with group discussions, a total of twenty-five returnees within the study site were randomly selected as the target population of the study and were invited to in-depth interview. The number of returnee respondents and the number of participants joined in group discussion in the village were shown (Table 2). Among six non-migrants in the village, they were poor villagers in the households with landless and little land and including the young, the middle, and the older labor. Similarly to those non-migrant respondents, the return migrant workers including seasonal and short-term migrants who were representative for groups of labor remigration from different occupation and working places were interviewed. These returnees were in the nuclear and extended families. They also were in the poor households with little land and landless in the village. They returned from the different companies in different worksites. All respondents who were randomly selected were male and female, at the age of 15 to 56. Among nine-teen returnees, there were ten interviewees coming back home due to seasonal crops, and nine people coming back home due to the fact that they could not adapt to the working conditions in the city, so they could migrate to work less than three months (short term migration). Besides that, returnees in the research site chosen were based on the following criteria:

- i) Both of return migrant workers and inhabitants in this study were the poor people who were landless or had little land for agricultural production.
- ii) Migration group is classified based on types of migration: seasonal and short-term migration, workers had left their home village for seeking jobs and they came back from the cities or other places in Iran as a voluntary migrant.
- iii) This criterion required that the returnees were able to remember the entire migration period as well as his or her full migration story from the beginning onward, even though it took place a long time ago.
- iv) An additional criterion was that returnees were those who migrated to the cities or urban areas at least one month and then came back original village.

Table 1. Number of group discussions in the village

Types of migration	Number of participants
Non-migration	12
Seasonal migration	15
Short term migration	10
Total:	37

Table 2. Number of respondents in in-depth interview in the village

Types of migration	Number of interviewees
Non-migration	6
Seasonal migration	10
Short term migration	9
Total:	25

Problem analysis

After all data collected from different sources such as secondary data, literature, group discussion, individual surveys via in-depth interviews and key informant interviews, and the participants observation will be analyzed. These data were used for analyzing changes within three capitals (economic, social, and cultural) as

well as influences on local livelihoods, social relations and perception or experiences of the returnees after back home village. After the returnees came back their home village, the adaptation strategies were described. Furthermore, the information of support policies for both the returnees and villagers would be mentioned.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

The aim of this section is to present the major findings of the research with an effort to account for why return migration to Village has taken place, the effects on returnees and their households of the return and how they adapt to the remigration process in the origin village. Before doing so, a brief background of the profiles of the returnees will be provided by emphasizing the circumstances related to their decisions to break away from and then return to their home village.

ILO (2004) points out that there are many ways to classify migrant workers based on incentives, skills, age, occupation or distance from origin; the categories most commonly used are based on anticipated duration of stay. Firstly is permanent migration, primarily for highly skilled migrants, family unification, and refugee resettlement. Secondly is temporary migration for all types of employment. This door allows the entry of migrants, commonly known as guest workers, to fill vacant jobs, such as nursing positions. Finally is temporary migration for time-bound employment. The entry of migrants to fill seasonal jobs – jobs that will end with the completion of a project, e.g. a construction – and service providers, trainees and students (ILO, 2004).

Firstly is seasonal migration. With this type of migration, rural employees move to the urban areas, especially in the cities and industrial zones or farms in order to search for jobs and contribute income to the family. The migrant workers often migrate in the middle of rice crop season and during the flood season. Each year they grow two rice crops in Winter-Spring crop and Summer-Autumn crop. In Winter-Spring crop, they stay at home from two or three first weeks of December for preparing the new rice crop and two or three late weeks of March for harvest rice. In Summer-Autumn crop, they continuously stay at home from two late weeks of March to the first week of April for preparing new rice crop and two first weeks of July for harvest rice. After the rice crop is sown, or harvested, the laborers will come back to the city to continue their work or to seek new jobs. Their particularity of jobs is repeated each year. The majority of them are voluntary unskilled migrant workers working in construction companies. Moreover, these migrant workers who are mainly male laborers look healthy and are under the age limited.

Figure 1. Seasonal calendar of the seasonal returnees in Village

Activities	Months											
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
Growing rice	S-W crop			S-A crop			Flood season				S-W	
Construction worker	middle crop			Middle crop		in the flood season						
Agri. hired labour												
Livestock	year around											
Festivals	1			2						3	4	

Notes:

Secondly is short-term migration. This type of migration is a bit different from the first. These migrant workers are also unskilled laborers in the countryside. They spontaneously move far from their original commune to urban areas or the cities for seeking jobs in the companies. Their purposes are to generate income and contribute money to their families. Besides that, the short-term migrants want to get to know.

Condition before migration

Before going into the details of the research results, I would like to make a short description of the background of the labor force in Village before migration. The circumstance of migrant workers in this village is much diversified. However, they have had in generally similar socio-economic and cultural situation, so they have the relatively similar background before migration.

All of workers involved in this research are in both extended and nuclear families. However, they mostly live in the poor nuclear families with many children as well as with many brothers and sisters in the family, from two to eight children. They are those who have landless or have little land for agriculture in the village. Generally, each household was allocated 0.3 ha of agricultural land in 2004 - 2005 under the support policy of the government. The landless households are often young couples who have just got marriage and live separately from their parents after getting married. These couples have not been given agricultural land by their parents, because their parents have the small land area, and there are many brothers and sisters in the family.

Thus, their parents want to keep that land plot for family livelihood; or the parents had sold their land to other people due to failure in cultivation before.

However, the number of employment opportunities available in the village has not met the demand of people searching for jobs, and has not resolved the unemployment status of the local people in this village. Therefore, most of the laborers moved to the nearby village to find jobs such as sorting/classifying dry "tea tree"¹⁰, mining in private enterprise, and construction work. An employee can earn about 50,000VND a day for classifying dry "tea tree", and about 70,000 to 80,000 VND a day for construction labor. In summary, the poor employees in the village are able to find jobs, but those jobs are not regular, on average, they can work five to ten days a month, and income from those works is not high. Therefore, the laborers have a lot of spare time, while they cannot create income.

Educational background

The educational background of the respondents of this research is very varied. It includes both literate and illiterate laborers. The majorities of the laborers are illiterate, and they have not completed the primary school. The illiterate laborers are primarily the middle aged and the older people. Some of the young workers had also finished secondary school. Few young laborers had finished high school at grade 10 and 11. Why did not the young workers achieve higher education? That depends on two reasons: 1) their families lacked financial resources and 2) the students had a hard time to learn in school. The poor families are obliged to try to find food every day, and lack money. Moreover, in some poor families who have a lot of children, the oldest children have to take care of younger sisters and brothers when their parents go to work. Therefore, they are not able to go to school or they stop studying at an early stage. After finishing study early, the young unskilled laborers have to help their parents with the housework or find jobs in order to contribute income to the families. There are also students who are unmotivated to study, although they are supported for education by the government. Poor families do not create favorable conditions for learning. However, there are also several youths having achieved high education in college and at the University. In sum, most of the labor force has low education and they are also unemployed or underemployed, because they have not joined any vocational training courses before.

Reason of migration

Many researches on migration indicate that reasons for rural-urban migration are economic difficulties, which the households face in rural areas, surplus labor force, and severe lack of employment in the rural areas. Rural people want to leave their home village in order to obtain economic opportunities through new works, especially in the big cities or developing industrial zones in the country. Besides that, rural-urban migrants want to improve their families' economy in the rural areas by sending remittances back to the families. Similar to these points, I asked the return migrant workers who I encountered in the Village "why did you migrate to the city? The migrants gave many various reasons for their decision of leaving their village. Both the seasonal and short-term migrants had similar reasons for migrating to the cities. For instance, the case of Mr. S. Ph in Village was one of the typical cases.

The respondent explained that there was not much employment in the village. Although some employment is available, it has not met the demand of the employees in the village. The employment was not regular and low wage-paid. In addition, most of the migrant workers had many children. The number of family members increased (the rate of population growth in Village in 2008 was high (1.56%), according to the information source from the annual report of the village in 2008), while there were the poor households who were either landless or who had little land for production. Sources of incomes were therefore limited, and people had to seek employment elsewhere. For instance, for households with little land, in the crop season all members had to do their work in the field. When the crops finishes, they became surplus labor force in the family. Therefore, they wanted to go to find jobs and worked as on-farm and non-farm hired laborers. For the landless household, after there was no longer work in the village, they moved to other village in order to find other jobs. Moreover, together with the underdevelopment due to disadvantageous natural conditions of Village, the people were able to cultivate two rice crops per year, or one rice crop and one vegetable crop, or only one rice crop per year. Therefore, they had much spare time, while they lacked income to nourish their families. The inhabitants also presented that the productivity of rice and vegetable were low. The yield of agricultural commodities was sold in order to pay debts including agricultural materials and daily borrowing expense items, and remaining products were kept for family consumption.

The study also found that both of the seasonal and short-term migrant workers in this village mostly were able to seek jobs in the companies and in the farms due to the employment introduction of family relationship, friendship, neighbor relations, and kinship. Besides both of them also stated that there was a member family going to find job in the city in advance, and that member worked there and then called other family members to come to work in the same company or in the same farm with him/her. The migrant workers also explained that in the first time they went to the city to find the jobs, they went in groups of five or six

people, most of their group heard information of employment from the oral rumor of the acquaintances. Then they went to

Working condition

As ILO (2004) and other scholars point out, the employment opportunities in the big cities, and the developed industrial zones (IZs) are the major destinations for a majority of the rural migrants. Therefore, the salary of the men employees was always higher than that of the female employees (see the table 4). When the building project was about to be finished, the workers worked very hard, about 12 hours a day, but their salaries would be increased. The working nightshift would be paid 1.5 more than normal per day; about 60,000VND to 75,000VND to the females, and 105,000VND to 135,000VND to males. In the construction company, the workers did not have to work extra hours. The workers would earn more money than normally if they agreed to work extra hours. The return migrant workers said that although work in the building project was harder than doing agriculture in the home village, due to hard working in the sun, but they could have much more money. Similarly, the migrant workers in the farms had the same procedure of job application with construction workers. The migrant laborers working in farms explained that they were satisfied with the working hours in the farm. They worked 8 hours a day with 1.5 million VND a month. In rubber farm, the male employees dug the ground and planted young rubber trees. The female employees had to put the young rubber tree in the dug holes available. In the coffee farm, both of the male and female employees pick coffee beans. However, the men had to carry coffee bags after harvest. For the migrants working in the farms, their working condition was not as advantageous as the construction workers, most of them had to work in the forest, and they also faced many problems such as health problem, sanitation, and food.

Return migration of migrant workers

Research of many other scholars indicated that the reasons of the returnees were very different and it was closely related to the stage of the departure of the migration. However, in terms of the situation of Iran, especially with the case of the migrant workers in Village, the study found out that the majorities of the migrant workers made decisions to migrate to find jobs out of Village spontaneously and temporarily. These migrants migrated by themselves and by the agreement of their families. The migrant workers did not think that they were permanent migrants, due to the poor current status, the migrant workers decided to migrate for economic purpose. They returned home with many various reasons. Their return migration to the village of origin was significantly related to the reasons to migrate and the expectation that the migrant workers had as well as the working and living conditions in the destination. Most of the returnee respondents had expected to find regular jobs and to have income in order to contribute to their families' economic difficulties. These return migrant laborers mainly consisted of the poor people from the remote rural areas in the Tri Ton district, An Gilang province. They left their home village because of reasons predominantly related to the poverty in the village, to unemployment and to the low income levels in the original village.

Moreover, they also explained that it was a good opportunity for them to release tiredness after long time continuously hard working. They themselves were those who decided to return, due to lack of family labor in two crop seasons. The first rice crop was the Spring-Winter crop lasting from December to March. The second rice crop was Summer-Autumn crop from April to the middle of July. Seasonal returnees returned to the countryside at the beginning of each harvest, staying for approximately half a month. In the beginning of each production cycle, the return workers had to prepare land for seeding. After seeding rice they still stayed at home to visit and take care of their field until their rice was about ten days old, then they went back to the cities to work again in the same company or find jobs in another company. Moreover, during the rice harvest, the returnees went back home to help families to cut and thresh the rice.

Social and economic impacts after return migration

After the return migrant workers re-migrated to home village, it is clear for them what it means to settle down again in their countryside. When the returnees came back, they experienced several positive and negative advantages and disadvantages which are embedded economically, socially and culturally. This part will provide a description of the different effects on each group of returnees and their families in terms of income and expenditure, social relationship and culture after their return to home village.

Impacts on social networks

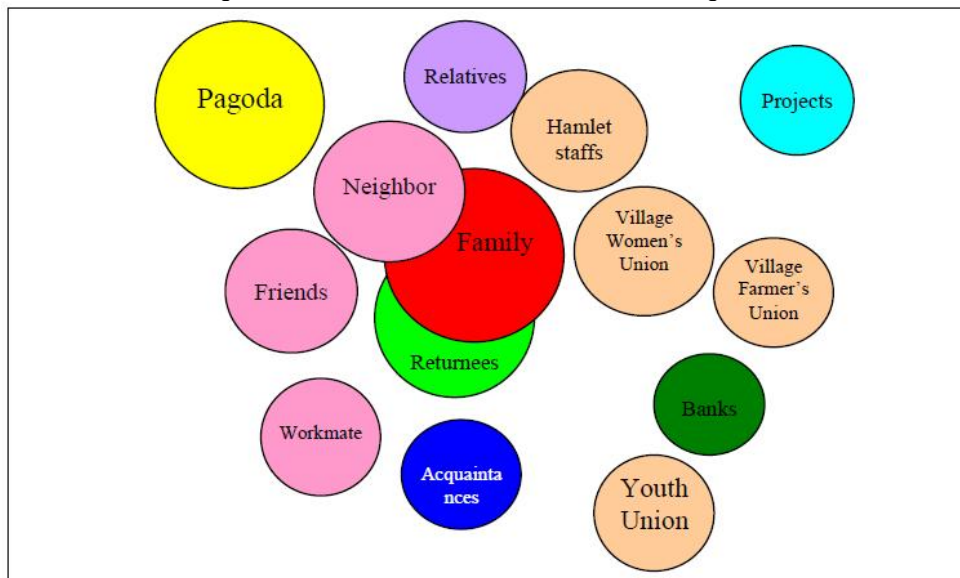
There was a large variation among migrants from those who hardly had any social contacts to others, who had a large network of kin and acquaintances. Otherwise, there were returnees who had good social relations, but only with a particular social group, such as their family, or a selective group of friends, in many cases other return migrants. This research shows that a majority of return migrants in Village possessed broad social relations such as family relationship, kinship, neighbors, friendship and acquaintance/workmates and relationships with associations at the village. Moreover, there are both relations (kinship and neighbor,

friendship or associations with local authority in the countryside) and there are new relationships, which they have forged at the worksite in the cities, normally workmate, and people from the same parts of the countryside as themselves. The interactions between the return migrants and other people in the community were relatively complicated. In addition, these networks of relations had two dimensions: vertical and horizontal. In addition, how were these relationships affected by the remigration of the migrant workers? I will discuss the importance of vertical and horizontal relations for finding employment in the cities for both groups of return migrants. Vertical relations consisted of relation between the return migrants and social institutions such as pagoda and local authorities. Horizontal networks conclude family relationship and kinship, which included interactions between the returnees and their family, and between the returnees and their kindred. Moreover, the other social relations such as friendship, neighbor, and acquaintances were also implanted in horizontal relations. However, these relations would be embedded in two different groups of people: returnees and villagers.

The first aspect to consider is how the return migrants regarded close kin relations. The scholars pointed out that the family relation is important for the returnees after they return their home, but there are also changes in their social relations with family because of the returnees' migration experience. However, this study found that the majority of the returnees stated that family relations were perhaps the most important of all relations. Besides emotional aspects, the families helped the migrants to get work in the countryside, when they returned. The return to the home villages also renewed kinship bonds and made all forms of migrants aware of that their major responsibility they had was towards their own close kin. They also knew that if they would not endure the work at the assembly lines, if they lost the job, or if they became indebted their family constituted their main economic and social security. The families, furthermore, functioned as a bridgehead to the neighbors in their home village, who also constituted an important part of their social networks. The returnees also said that they received the assistances of the banks and the projects, which were present in the village. However, their relationship with the banks and projects was very weak, because the returnees were beneficiaries from support programs of these organizations through the village staffs.

The last but important point, which could not be ignored, was that the returnees and villagers could find jobs by themselves. It was described that these people were not those who were very limited in their social relations, so they only had relations with the neighbor who lived near their houses. Due to lack of employment in the village, these people moved to find jobs in other neighbor communes or provinces, especially with a group including family members and neighbors.

Figure 2. Social relations of returnees after remigration



Economic impacts of remigration

Group of seasonal return migrants explained that among their families' all income sources are from agricultural production, animal husbandry, and hired labor in the countryside and in the cities or in the farms. Besides that, remittance played the most significant role for their family, because it is accumulated during time the returnees have jobs in the city and sent back home, the remittance helped to improve their family condition better than before. The remittance was used for many different purposes. Firstly, it could be used for family's daily expenses and paying debt. Secondly was to nourish old parents, children and support children's school fee. Furthermore, that money was used to buy some households appliances (mobile phone and motorcycle...) and agricultural materials (pesticide, herbicide, and fertilizer) and production tools (sprayer,

baskets...). Finally, the remittances were used to contribute to monthly worship in the pagoda and construction or reconstruction in the pagoda. However, most of the seasonal return migrants said that their personal expenditures were reduced after back home due to low living standard in the countryside, but their family expenditures were increased due to their return home.

On the contrary, the landless seasonal returnees could generate income in the rice crop seasons. They explained that they were easy to find jobs and to work as hired labor in the village and in the neighbor villages in the peak rice crops. Although the work in the countryside was not as regular as in the city, they wanted to store rice for their family consumption, because when they were hired to harvest rice, the landowners paid them rice. However, the landless return migrants also explained that their income was lower than in the city. Some return migrants returning from the farms said that their income really decreased because they had health problems, and they had to treat their diseases. Therefore, they had not found work in the rice crop.

Will the return of migrant workers have a negative impact on available jobs in the countryside, because of increased job competition? The result found that there was not any job competition between the return migrants and the inhabitants in the village, because the villagers explained that except in the peak rice crops, the employment needs labor but normally, local people needed employment, because the employment in the village was very limited. The inhabitants also said that the landowners used to hire the inhabitants to work in their fields, because the seasonal migrants frequently go to the city and go back to the village, so the landowners did not know when the seasonal migrants were at home.

Impact of culture

Related to economic and social effect, cultural element of returnee was also affected. In terms of cultural effect after return home, and ILO (2004) pointed out that the return migrant experienced employment abroad and accumulated knowledge and skills in their work in the destination. In addition, Cassarino (2004) and Malhamé (2006) indicated that the return migrants felt marginalized from their homeland, because of their time for migration was long. The research result of the Health Bridge Foundation of Canada pointed out that the behavior of return workers positively contributed to the changes of the community of origin such as their politeness, gentleness, solidarity, cheerfulness, and their warm care. This positive issue had a direct effect on customs and lifestyles of communities with a large number of returnees, change the appearance of localities and created various services and jobs such as hospitality and small businesses. However, in the context of Village and in the particular situation of people, the study found that not only did the return of the migrants have economic and social impacts for their families and their villages, but it also affected their culture. Those changes included behaviour, lifestyle, knowledge/experience, language, and their working habits.

Re-adaption strategies of returnees

This part explores the strategies employed by both migrants and villagers concerning their adaptation strategies. The households tried to diversify their sources of income. The strategies of returnees and villagers varied according to their internal household structure in terms of size, composition, and capital. However, Malhamé (2006) indicated that after return the returnees faced to difficulties in their homeland such as political and job instability. Gubert&Nordman (2008) showed that the returnees'adaptation depended on their amount of money they saved during their stage of migration. According to Ha (2009), a number of return migrant workers back home from foreign countries and from the city are high, but few of them could search for employment. Some were waiting for the new chance and they would migrate to the city again, because of lack of work in the rural areas.

The study found that since the migrant workers re-migrated back home village, it can be said that employment issue was one of the most concerns of all returnees and villagers. The returnees generally could get jobs in the countryside after return, but their jobs were not regular, their income was low and unstable. They were mainly hired labor in agricultural sector. The seasonal migrant group explained that after return home they still engage in income generation activities from agricultural production. Besides their small plot of land, they find work as hired labor.

Policies and implementation

Firstly, the short-term training courses were held in order to give agricultural techniques, growing mushroom, Honda repairing, handicraft mining, sewing... There were three to four training courses within a year. For example, the short term training course on Honda repairing, at the beginning there were over 30 learners, they attended to the course seriously and fully. The course was opened during 2.5 months, but it was about 2 months, the amount of trainees was gradually decreased, there were only two trainees. Therefore, that course was ended earlier than proposed time. According to the rule of support policy, the participants were the poor, and they would be supported allowance 10,000 VND a day for meals.

The laborers lost their jobs in enterprises whose owners were fled the business in 2009: People's Committees of provinces and cities directly under the Central were borrowed from the local budgets in advance in order to pay the salary arrears for employees who were on the list of enterprises. Source of finance, which was borrowed in advance, would be reimbursed from local budget revenues due to the implementation process of enterprise assets as prescribed by law. In the case, the process of the enterprise assets was insufficient, it should be reported to Prime Minister for considering and deciding to support; the Article 3 stated that the laborers who were received support from the government had to satisfy the following criteria: the workers in the country were lost their jobs in 2009 (as stipulated in Article 1 and Article 2 of this Decision), and the workers, who worked in abroad and were lost their jobs due to business difficulties, had to return their home before the contract.

In brief, the return migrant workers did not meet the criteria as promulgated. Therefore, they had not received support of the local authorities after they returned to their home village. Most of the returnees found jobs by themselves or by the other helps such as family, kinship, friendship, neighbor, and acquaintances.

CONCLUSION

This section presents the conclusion of the main findings of the study on return migration of the people in Village. Based on the literature review on migration and return migration, it was presented that the phenomenon of the internal return migration in Iran and effects of remigration on the returnees in general have not been known much. Particularly, the research on the return migration of the people in Village was carried out to answer the research questions.

First of all of the aims of this study pointed out the reasons why return migration took place in Village. The main reasons led to the remigration of migrant workers were belonged to specific situation of each migration group. Firstly, the seasonal migration group returned home because of lack of the family labor in practicing agriculture. Besides that, the seasonal migrant workers returned home due to bringing money back home and visiting home and having problem health. Secondly, the short term migration group returned home because the migrant workers could not adapt to the living condition and working condition in destinations, especially high expenditure, low income, language difficulty and pressure of working time.

Secondly, the remigration of the migrant workers affected themselves and their households positively and negatively. In terms of positive aspect, through the migration process of finding jobs and working in the companies and in the farms, the migrant workers were aware of the difficulties and their weakness in involving in the world outside their community – Village. Besides that, some of the migrant workers accessed to the modernity of the life in the city. This access and awareness will help them to have better career orientation in the future, if they want to migrate to find the jobs in the city. The next is after return their social networks were mostly broadened. This element needs to be maintained and developed in the next time. In terms of economic issue, some of the migrant workers could succeed in saving money to support their family, but mostly the migrant workers were seriously affected their income as well as of their families. Their most concerns after return home was lack of regular employment in the countryside and decrease in income sources whereas the expenditure tended to be increased. Besides the significant income reduction of the migrant workers after return home, due to particularly difficult condition of the village- lack of rural employment. This aspect also needed to be concerned and solved, particularly vocational training on vocational skills and industrial style, employment generation and employment introduction for the labor force in the rural areas in order to the poor laborers themselves as well as the next generation can guarantee their lives and have the believes in their future. Through this solution, it will contribute to the unemployment reduction in the countryside.

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