

THE INFLUENCE OF GOVERNMENT POLICIES ON THE RETURN OF OVERSEAS VIETNAMESE IN THE INFORMATION AND COMMUNICATIONS TECHNOLOGY SECTOR (ICT)

BY

MISS THI HANG VU

A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF
THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF
MASTER OF ARTS (ASIA PACIFIC STUDIES)
COLLEGE OF INTERDISCIPLINARY STUDIES
THAMMASAT UNIVERSITY
ACADEMIC YEAR 2016
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THESIS

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ENTITLED

THE INFLUENCE OF GOVERNMENT POLICIES ON THE RETURN OF OVERSEAS VIETNAMESE IN THE INFORMATION AND COMMUNICATIONS TECHNOLOGY SECTOR (ICT)

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ABSTRACT

In 2000, Vietnam strategised the national goal to turn Vietnam from a developing country into a developed country and clearly determined the role of Information and Communications Technology (ICT) as a key economic sector which could help the country industrialized and modernized. Therefore, Vietnam has been focusing on developing ICT sector. At the same time, the return of overseas Vietnamese impacts on the development of the Vietnam ICT not only from manpower aspect but also capital aspect. The government also conducted policies to get more open for their return.

The aim of this research is to clarify interactions between the public policies and the return of those overseas Vietnamese. This research proves that there is a national sentiment in part of the overseas Vietnamese which can be seen as the bonding connection between them and Vietnam.

By conducting in-depth interview with the group of Information and Communications Technology individuals who already returned, the returning wave of ICT manpower to Vietnam coincidently rolled during the time the government run policies to attract them. In other words, people who returned have got the personal motivations (egearness to know and support their root, economic opportunities that they can achieve) rather than the benefits that they see from the government policies.

It is also important to address how government is aware of the connection between the returnees and Vietnam, which is the so-called 'nationalism connection' from the government's perspective. However, the policies have not impacted effectively on the decision of the returnees. The main reason is the passive engagement of the policy actors which also explains the situation of being stuck at the top level of the implementation process of those policies. The structure of policy-making itself is also problematic with a lot of issues of the bottom down way.

This study has 5 chapters. Chapter 1 is introduction including statement of problem, scope and objectives. Chapter 2 reviews the previous studies on this topic and the research methodology which focuses on explaining the determinants for returnees to decide to go to Vietnam and the way the government can attract talent through policies and public management. Chapter 3 illustrates the policies from the general background to the detail of decision- making in policy-making process. Chapter 4 reflects the results and analysis from the interviews and reviews with returnees. Finding and recommendations are presented in Chapter 5.

To sum up, this research concludes that when the local economic opportunities increase and the openness for overseas people is getting wider, the overseas Vietnamese have been returning to ICT sector and coincidently the government policies to attract those people have been running. Furthermore, it is important to see the important determination for their return is the connection between individual and Vietnam as a personal connection rather than a bond that is constructed thanks to the government policies.

Keywords: returnees, Viet Kieu, overseas Vietnamese, ICT talent, public policies.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Abbreviations Terms

ICT Information and Communications Technology

OECD Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development

ASEAN Association of Southeast Asian Nations

R&D Research and Development

GDP Gross Domestic Product

CPV Communist Party of Vietnam

CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

ICT has been playing a crucial role in the development strategy of Vietnam. 20 years after Doi Moi- the historical milestone of economic reform of Vietnam, Vietnam marked the continuously efforts in building the nation oriented with the strategy of modernizing and industrializing the country. The strategy is formed by each five year plan. Particularly, on October 17th, 2000, the Politburo of Vietnam issued the law paper 58-CT/TW about "Innovating application and developing ICT to serve the national strategy of industrializing and modernizing the country". 10 years later, in a global conference about ICT named WITFOR in 2009, Prime Minister Nguyen Tan Dung said "ICT is the priority tool and the key economics of Vietnam which can serve to achieve the development goals, for example, millennium development goals, building an ICT society, shortening the time for industrializing and modernizing the country". On October of 2010, after 10 years implementing Decree 58, the ICT national Committee illustrated the important point: "Using and developing ICT from 2011 to 2020 is the priority sector that the government will focus and invest because it will bring the strategic innovation, form the foundation and motivation for the modernization and turn the economy into a knowledge one. Thanks to these achievements, Vietnam will be an industrialized country with modern orientation in 2020"².

In detail, Vietnamese government addresses on the key roles of ICT industry in developing the country. Therefore, the government has been carrying programs, incentives, plans, and policies that are focusing on ICT development. In

¹ Directive on Promoting Applications and Development of Information and Technology to Serve the Industrialization and Modernization Career, 2000.

² http://www.techz.vn/vai-tro-cua-cntttt-trong-nen-kinh-te-tri-thuc-va-truong-hop-cua-viet-nam-ylt5758.html

2000, the Directive 58- CT/TW³ issued by the Politburo marked the first official government plan. Until 2014, Resolution 36⁴ of the Politburo, the Resolution 26 and 36a of the Government are the strides compared to the plan in 2000. The new government programs identify the goal of bringing Vietnam into a strong ICT country with the highest determination from the whole political system and business community. Following the main programs and policies, the Master Plans on ICT have been also formed with the purpose of turning Vietnam into an advanced ICT country in 2020⁵.

The period between 2008 and 2013 is the most flourish time for ICT development. The total value in 2013 was US\$39.5 billion⁶. In 2014, Vietnam ranks the 4th in the ICT Development Index among 27 Asian Pacific countries⁷. Vietnam now is one of the most attractive destinations for ICT investment. With the master plan, Vietnam focuses on investing in workforce, local industry, infrastructure, and enhancing application in ICT. It is said that ICT is still healthily developing and foreign investments pay a lot of attention to Vietnam, especially from the view of multinational enterprises in ICT (OECD, 2013). In 2009, the Prime Minister approved a comprehensive plan to develop ICT human resource and improve Vietnam software outsourcing.

To implement the plan, focusing on human capital is the crucial solution to develop ICT sector in Vietnam. This valuable intangible resource encompasses the key driver for the development of economics in particular and society in general as well.

However, ICT talent is one of the most mobile groups due to its global qualification requirement, common skill sets and languages even here are various

³ Directive on Promoting Applications and Development of Information and Technology to Serve the Industrialization and Modernization Career, 2000.

⁴ Resolution 36 on Overseas Vietnamese affairs, 2004

⁵ Decree 246/2005/OĐ-TTg, 2005

⁶ White Book on Information and Communication 2014. Ministry of Information and Communications, Oct 2014.

⁷ Vietnam Breaking News

standards to evaluate ICT knowledge. This following table describes the main skills at certain levels.

Competency Level Skill Sub-group of a skill

Competency Level Software Development Nanagement Design System System and Administration Network Security

S1 S2 S3 I1 I2 I3 E1 E2 E3 N1 N2 N3 IS1 IS2 IS3

Table 1.1 Main skills with certain levels in ICT sector

Source: ASEAN ICT Master Plan, 2015

ICT skilled people are classified in the technician talent group which belongs to the directly productive talent group. The people in this group can produce actual products and services. They are also called 'knowledge worker' or owner of 'intellectual capital' (Drucker, 1993; D'Costa, 2004; Kuhn and McAusland, 2006).

Thanks to this pattern, the Vietnamese ICT industry has been not only witnessing the trend of returning overseas Vietnamese people back home to work and invest in ICT sector, but also seeing the fleeing of domestic talent going abroad to work, invest and establish their business⁸.

Therefore, it is important to look at the talent pool as an active entity which includes inflow and outflow trends of the talent to make sure both the quantity and quality are enough for the domestic demand. Based on this, government policies, programs, plans, and incentives are expecting to play more effective roles in facilitating the movement of people to secure the domestic talent's demand for the development of the ICT industry.

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⁸ Vietnambreakingnews.com and English.vietnamnet.vn

1.2 Statement of problem

There can be myriad numbers of policies which are issued and carried on for a short time, determining on a specific group of people, with particular goals. The overseas Vietnamese going to Vietnam as part of ICT manpower is also a subject of government policies.

Therefore, to improve the quality and policy capability, it is important to have research analysis and evaluation. This is actually part of the policy research and R&D fields. However, there are some reasons to work on this topic that are analyzed in detail later.

- (1) The limitations in policy analysis and policy research as part of public policy formation in Vietnam are the obstacles to enhance the outcome.
- (2) The returnees' perspectives have been studied. Therefore, the policy influences should be approached to have more diverse policy's analysis and evaluation.
- (3) Looking at the group of returnees as subjects of government policies, there will be standards to get their feedback clearer. This would allow the government to adjust the policies to be more effective.

Furthermore, it is essential to address the mobility characteristics of ICT workers and investors who can work without geography limitation. However, there is a group of people who came to Vietnam already and doing business there. This group will be focused to see how government policies influence on them.

In other word, this group of people is called 'returnees' who are Vietnamese people overseas came to Vietnam to work in ICT sector.

Since the attention toward the Vietnamese returnees in general and those people in ICT sector in particular has been paying substantially by the government, there is a need to evaluate the effectiveness of them which is approached from the perspectives of returnees in ICT sector, who are the subject of those policies.

In short, the problem is while the government has been paying attention to the ICT overseas Vietnamese, whether those people get impacted in terms of their decision-making process to return. The interaction between the ICT people and the policies is essential to understand as a way to see the result of the public policies and how potential the manpower source of ICT overseas Vietnamese is. Interestingly, on the way to investigate the decision making of returnees, the paper is able of explain the factor that motivates them to return while they can chose the better place with the universal ICT knowledge.

1.3 Research Questions

- (1) ICT knowledge is universal, why did overseas Vietnamese choose to return to Vietnam?
- (2) Why does the government conduct policies to attract ICT overseas Vietnamese and how do they implement these policies?
- (3) Is there any interaction between ICT talent and government policies/ If yes, how? How should government adjust?

1.4 Research Objectives

The thesis aims at clarifying

- (1) The determinants to go to Vietnam of overseas Vietnamese returnees in ICT sector.
- (2) Returnee's understanding about the policies that were run to attract them back
- (3) The purpose of the government to attract ICT talent, the way they conduct and implement those policies. Basing on this, the paper will give a detail understanding on part of ICT human resource policies from both advantages and disadvantages. Analyzing the interaction between those policies and the return of ICT overseas people, the paper can bring some recommendation to enhance the quality of public policies.

1.5 Hypothesis

While ICT knowledge is universal, some overseas Vietnamese returned due to their main determinant of the sentiment for their root. This is the important determinant that can decrease the cost of opportunities which government can pay more attention. On the other hand, the government policies have some particular impact but not effective enough because of the lack of understanding about the policies' subjects and the implementation of the policies is passive.

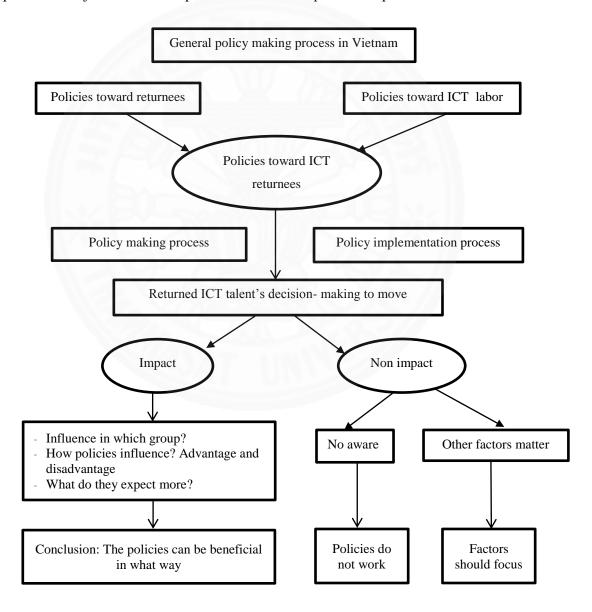


Figure 1.1 The process model for the thesis

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CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW AND RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

2.1 Literature Review

2.1.1 The Vietnamese Residing Abroad

It is necessary to address today's international migration is much different from that of the last century. While international migration was shaped within a one-way movement, the migration traits now are flexible, from one way to return, and circular migrations. However, speaking on the movement of return migration back to the origin country, it is not paid attention as much as the migration of moving out.

The case of Vietnamese returnees is also the same. George Gmelch (1980) explained 'return is the most difficult aspect of the migration cycle to quantify' because of 'most countries gathers information on incoming aliens, the same does not apply for returning citizens. However, in this century of globalization, there is an increasing focus on the return of migration. The annual report about international migration outlook from OECD countries in 2008 illustrated the difference in factual and political dimension of the return phenomenon. The report focuses much on the policy-maker's perspective.

Working on the return of overseas people back home is crucial due to their contribution back to the country of origin and to understand how states attract those people. As OECD annual report mentioned the difficulties in evaluating particularly how much the returnees contribute back home (OECD, 2008). However, it is clear to see how those people can take part in the nation-building. A large major of expatriates return home with the aim of transferring skills, capital and technology (World Economic Forum, 2010).

In 2015, Vietnam is the country which received \$12.25 billion from remittance, ranked 11th in the world. According to 'National Committee for Vietnamese Living in Foreign Countries', there are five million Vietnamese people living abroad in 103 countries and territories all over the world. From 1993 to 2014,

Vietnam had received \$96.66 billion remittance, accounted for 6.8% of the total GDP (Vu, 2015).

Due to this benefit, states have been paying attention to attract this overseas human resource. Therefore, it is essential to look at the relationship between the overseas and the state, their perception to each other to ratify how possible the returnee's return is worthy.

It is crucial to understand how the view of state on *Viet kieu* has been changing because of resulting in different policies. The late 1990s marked the changing view of the state because of the awareness of Viet kieu economic role. The government had been kept sending positive messages to overseas Vietnamese to attract them to invest in Vietnam and support the national development. State's view on overseas Vietnamese is imaged positively in the media with the purpose of encouraging highly-skilled Viet kieu to return, especially to professionals, scientists and businessmen. 'Resolution 36' is one of the most important milestones in the government policies toward overseas Vietnamese.

By considering the overseas Vietnamese an inseparable part of the community of Vietnamese nationality, the Party, the State and the Government of Vietnam have adopted open policies and measures to facilitate their return for visiting families, doing business and developing cooperation in science, technology, art and culture¹.

The Resolution also stated that this image of the overseas Vietnamese is concreted through all 'organization, political system, and Vietnamese citizen'. In the National Congress IX and XI, the Party claimed 'Vietnamese who reside overseas are inseparable part and a resource of the Vietnamese nationality; are the main factor in contributing to the foreign relation, bilateral and multilateral friendship(s)'; 'Servicing and supporting the overseas Vietnamese are the duties of the whole polity system and all the people'; 'there will be more policies to support the overseas Vietnamese to return, visit the homeland, engaging and broadening more activities in terms of culture, education, training, science and technology, production,

¹ Resolution 36, 2004

entrepreneurship, etc. that will dedicate to build the good nation'; 'focusing on developing the potential human resource of the overseas Vietnamese'².

Until now, the biggest state organization in connecting *Viet kieu* and the state is the 'National Committee for Vietnamese Living in Foreign Countries' (*Ủy ban nhà nước về ng ười Việt Nam ở nước ngoài*) which is a unit under the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. There is the official media channel for Viet kieu called *Que Huong* (Homeland). This magazine plays a communicative role between Vietnamese policymakers and overseas subjects.

To understand the changing perception of the state toward *Viet kieu*, illustrating the changing terms to call them is a way. Name evokes identity and sometimes even can embrace the political motive.

Overseas Vietnamese are officially called 'Vietnamese people living in foreign country' (Người Việt Nam ở nước ngoài). However, the most common name is Viet kieu. There are a lot of intimate terms to call overseas Vietnamese such as dong bao, Viet bao, kieu bao. Those names are the borrowed words from Chinese languages which are considered respectful and appreciative. 'Bao' means cells. While 'Dong bao' means people who have the same cells, same parents; 'Viet bao' means having the same Vietnamese cells, blood to blood, flesh to flesh. Kieu bao is more specific and used by state leaders in different social and political context. It particularly point at overseas Vietnamese and raise the nationalist sentiment of Viet kieu. Those three terms all want to unite Vietnamese and Vietnamese-rooted all over the world with the same cells and paying the patriotic feeling for the source country. Furthermore, according to Tran, those terms tend to raise the nationalist sentiment to soften the mistrust between them and the communist state in order to get the benefit for Vietnam's nation-building in the post-reform period (Tran, 2011).

The social perception of *Viet kieu* is also changing positively. Most of local Vietnamese think *Viet kieu* are more 'modern', 'educated', and develop in a more 'advanced environment' than local them (Tran, 2011). On television, *Viet kieu* are pictured as economic heroes who return to help the nation-building development.

² Statement of the National Congress IX, 2001 and Statement of the National Congress XI, 2011 from www.chinhphu.vn (e-government website)

Whereas, the documents about the perception of *Viet kieu* returning home illustrate both positive and negative sides. *Viet kieu* think that there is a gap in modern knowledge between them and local Vietnamese. This is one of the reasons why parts of them don't see them as a Vietnamese (Tran, 2011). To them, returning is a way to understand the root rather than to mingle due to the mind set of counter-identity. They do not want to destroy their own 'psyche'. However, the main contribution from *Viet kieu* to the development of the country is recognized as the dedication of the expatriates. In general, the perception from state, local Vietnamese and *Viet kieu* to overseas Vietnamese is positive.

To address again, based on the introduction part and the literature review on Vietnamese returnees, the group of Vietnamese people in this paper are those who are the native Vietnamese residing in other countries and those who have the origin of Vietnam. Using the term 'returnees' does not concern about the geographical meaning, but the attention of contributing to Vietnam and Vietnamese government appreciate them as an important people group have the tight connection with Vietnam.

In addition, it is clear to see the aim of the government how named this group is to encouraging more the connection between the people and Vietnam. This can be called the national bonding between *Viet kieu* and Vietnam.

2.1.2 The Skilled Returnee Workforce in ICT Sector

The skilled returnee workforce in ICT sector is the subject of this research. As explaining about Vietnamese returnees, the skilled Vietnamese returnees in IT sector are those who are working and investing in IT sector in Vietnam including some characteristics which define who are 'skilled' labor.

There are two types of skilled returnees in Vietnam: (1) returned skilled migrant with an overseas degree, and (2) return business migrants who had a business overseas or intending to set up a new one/had a new one in Vietnam (Dang, 2003). Dang also mentioned that there are two types of generation who are Vietnamese returnees. The old generation returned with the great national sentiment and the young generation returned with the aim of establishing businesses and finding better job opportunities (Dang, 2003).

In addition, according to the High Tech Law of Vietnam 2008, IT skilled labor is a group of people with the skill set which can satisfy the demand of research activities, development, high tech application, high tech service, management, operation appliances, production chain³.

There are two type of talent: investors/entrepreneurs and skilled workers (with at least one degree and qualified as the standard of the High Tech Law 2008, section 3, article 26, they can be scientists, researchers, technology experts, managers, technicians, engineers, technical workers)⁴.

There is only general definition about skilled labor which is stated as an important part of the workforce that can creates significant economic value through their performance. In general, they are characterized by high education or expertise levels and high wages. Each job has different standard to be qualified as skilled workers and the standard also various depending on each particular situation. However, most of them need to involve complicated tasks that require some particular skill sets, education, training, experience and abstract thinking.

ICT workers are part of technician workforce that is yet to be defined in a specific way. However, due to the circumstance of all ASEAN countries following the ICT development strategy, skilled ICT labor is defined in the ASEAN ICT Completion Report, ICT skilled labor is one of the seven skills: (1) software development, (2) ICT project management; (3) enterprise architect design; (4) network and system administration; (5) information system and network security; (6) cloud computing, and (7) mobile computing.

In short, the generalized definition for the subject of this paper is those who are Vietnamese returnees (as defined above) working in Vietnamese ICT sector satisfying the conditions of skilled workers (get training and are part of seven skills set).

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³ High Tech Law, section 10, Article 3, 2008.

⁴ High Tech Law, 2008.

2.1.3 The Determinants of Return's Decision Making

The paper of Dumont and Spielvogel (2008) also illustrates four main reasons to explain why people return.

- (i) Failure to integrate into the host country
- (ii) Individuals' preferences for their home country
- (iii) Achievement of a savings objective
- (iv) The opening of employment opportunities in the home country thanks to experience acquired abroad.

On the other hand, Castlles (1998) addresses that the migration (includes return migration) is a human flow that carrying along all the sophistication and complexities of choice and decision making, sacrifice and commitment, thoughts and emotions. It addresses on the complicated factors that influences on the decision making of return or stay.

In the different case to figure out the determinant of return migration in Kosovo, Gashi and Anett (2015) find out that the more educated migrants and those that have acquired additional education whilst abroad are more likely to return. The paper also says that family connection with individuals also determine their decision to return. In addition, it is addressed that the decision to return is strongly linked to family and lifestyle reasons, rather than to the income opportunities in different countries (Gibson and McKenzie, 2011).

With regard to the Vietnamese return migration, there is a very limited resource on this topic. The explanation for this is the lack of data. There is no unclear record on how many people leave the country or return. However, data does show that there is an increasing trend in short term visa of whom returning Vietnam (Dang, 2003).

The earliest research touches the topic of Vietnamese returnees is about early return migrants. Long (2004) figures out that the process of returning is to reconcile with the previous departures by analyzing their subjective experiences. On the other hand, Carruthers (2002) illustrates the way return migrants determine themselves to achieve practical cultural capital to define their national membership position.

Having a deeper look on the Vietnamese diaspora in terms of reconstructing the Vietnamese nationhood, Tran argue that the relationship between the home society and the returning migrants is always changing that challenges the common perception of returnees which are fluid and flexible while the homeland state and society are fixed (Tran, 2011). To adapt to the homeland society, the returnees continue to negotiate on history, identity and nationhood. The efforts from both the returnee side and the government side create the 'reconstruction of the Vietnamese past and present.

Furthermore, analyzing the process of return and embeddedness and the factors influencing on the process of Vietnamese return migration, Kuyper (2008) classifies three groups of factors: economic-, social networks- and psycho-social embeddedness in three groups which are individual characteristics, factors related to the migration cycle and factors related to assistance, the paper gives more insight into the interrelatedness of the different dimensions of embeddedness and the factors influencing this process.

In terms of the returnee contribution to the economic growth of Vietnam, Pham (2010) focuses on the economic contribution of returnee when they go back and paper finds out the emerging network among Vietnamese diaspora which is the combination of both formal and informal networks to facilitate the better investment, flow of capital, knowledge, and network expand. The network plays a very important role among who already returned and who are living abroad.

He also mentioned the recent returning trend from Vietnamese diaspora is very new in the research circle. However, these people are going to be an important force in exerting a considerable impact on Vietnam's economic growth.

All those researches and papers are addressing the emerging important role of the Vietnamese return migration back Vietnam and most of the papers focus on the economic impact of them and their initial reasons to return with the connection with the history.

Working on the oversea Vietnamese returnee, Dang (2003) analyzed there are two groups of returnees: old generation and young generation. Each group has different motivation to return. While the old people return with the national

sentiment, the young people go to Vietnam with the aims of establishing businesses and finding better job opportunities.

In short, the determinants of returning can be classified into two main groups:

- (1) Economic interest expectation. This includes the expectation of finding better job opportunities; preferences for investing the business with the relevant linkage to the local economic feature; and earning more money.
- (2) Social and cultural linkage: This include the historical resettle (for example: for the refugees), finding the citizenship position back home; the aim of maintaining relationship or network with the family and relatives.

2.1.4 The roles of the Government's Policies

The group of returnees was used to be part of diaspora which plays a very important role in terms of managing cash flow, political influences, and symbolizing nation's transfer (Rilke, 2014). Looking at this group of people, the state is the stakeholder of strengthening and creating transnational ties among diaspora people, returnee people and the home country (Rilke, 2014).

With the aim of focusing on enhancing the inflow of expatriate people (the returned diaspora), there are a lot of scholars have been working on the field of how and why states reach out to the emigrants. States conduct policies with the main aim of leveraging those people's engagement with the host country and therefore, making the room for their contribution back home in all facets to foster the development of the country (Ostergaard-Nielsen, 2003; Smith, 2003; Iskander, 2015).

In the work of Gamlen, policies should be formed basing on threefold typology to engage potential returnees with state strategies: (1) capacity building policies which to build a 'transnational national society' in which state is the center. This type of policy is carried by a particular type of discourse going along with forming the corresponding affairs. (2) Extending rights strategies that can give more benefit to the expatriates with the sense of legitimate sovereign. (3) Extracting obligation strategies are to loyalty of those people to the state (Gamlen, 2006).

To explain the government policies, Collyer offers a category of five factors to analyze: macro historical, security/stability, international, domestic, and economic (Collyer, 2013).

Focusing on how the government looks at the return migrants which is expressed in the policies, Fielding (1992) said that the migrants are seen as 'rational economic man'. This explains the return migrants are those who bring the economic value. This is especially true for developing countries that need the capital most in the development path.

Due to those literature reviews, it is clear to see the vital role of government policies to attract and engage migrants back home as a very important resource.

2.1.5 Process of Returning ICT Personals

There are two types of returning process which can apply to every type of returnees including ICT personals. ICT overseas Vietnamese is not different from other group in the process of returning.

Type 1: Process for overseas Vietnamese visa exemption⁵

This process is regulated from the Regulation on visa exemption for overseas Vietnamese. The eligible for entry visa exemption are overseas Vietnamese, foreign spouses and children of Vietnamese citizen.

The process is short and simple, applicants only need to prepare relevant documents and go to the Immigration Office or Ministry of Public Security in Hanoi/Da Nang or Ho Chi Minh if the applicants are in Vietnam; if the applicants are abroad, they can apply to the diplomatic representative office of Vietnam in the host country. According to the new Regulation, overseas Vietnamese will be exempt from visas for entering Vietnam; instead they will be granted visa-free certificates valid for five years. The certificates will be handed out by either representative agencies in foreign countries or by the Ministry of Public Security's Immigration Department.

Type 2: Process for returning to Vietnamese nationality

According to the Law of Nationality⁶, this type of returning is applying for those who want to re-immigrate; have spouse, mother, father or children are Vietnamese; have special contributions to the development and security for the

⁵ Article 1 of the Regulation on visa exemption for overseas Vietnamese promulgated together with the Prime Minister's Decision No. 135/2007/QD-TTg of August 17, 2007

⁶ Law of Nationality, Term 1, Article 23, 2014.

nation of Vietnam; be positive to the Social Republic of Vietnam; run business in Vietnam; resign Vietnamese nationality to apply for another nationality but not succeeded. There are two ways to returning to Vietnamese nationality which are

- Applying for retaining the Vietnamese nationality for those who have not lost Vietnamese nationality
- Applying for returning to the Vietnamese nationality (for those who lost the Vietnamese nationality)

The detail process is follow. However, the applicants only need to go to the Vietnamese Diplomatic or Consular Agencies in the host country.

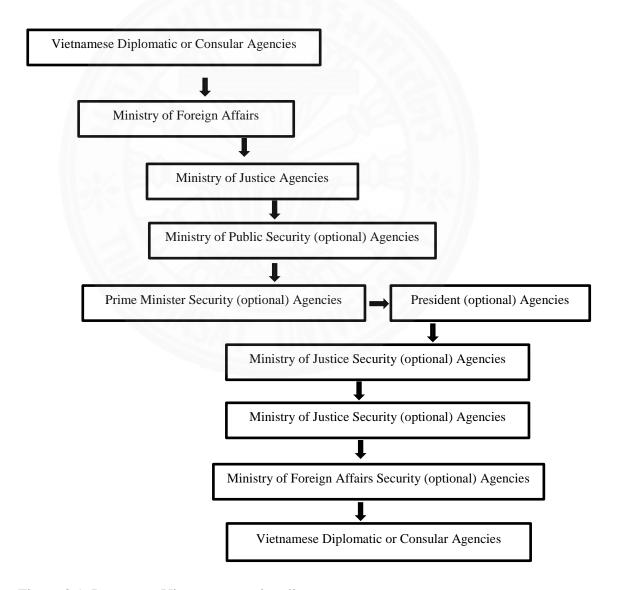


Figure 2.1 Process to Vietnamese nationality

/This Figure is based on the Law of Nationality (2014)

In short, the process to apply for the Vietnamese nationality or the lawful paper to stay in Vietnam for a long time is easy and convenient for those overseas Vietnamese.

The generalized processed is described in this following table

Table 2.1 ICT Individual process: Agencies in charge

Nationality	Visa	Immigration Office, Ministry of Public
	Nationality	Security Vietnamese Diplomatic or Consular Agencies,
	Nationality	Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ministry of
		Justice, Ministry of Justice
Working	License	Ministry of Labour, Invalids and Social
		Affairs (Molisa)
	Environment	Cooperated organizations/companies, Molisa
	Reward and	Ministry of Home affairs, Cooperated
	Recognition	organizations
11/2	Insurance	Ministry of Labour, Invalids and Social
		Affairs
Living	Land	Bureau of Land Management
	Possession	Depending on each type of possession to go to
		the different office. For example, if returnees
		want to bring car to Vietnam, they need to go
		through to General Department of Vietnam
		Customs and Ministry of Transport.

Source: The table is based on the Law of Nationality (2014), Law of Labour (2012), Visa for Overseas Vietnamese (2015), and Law of Housing (2014)

In short, those who are the ICT returnees who have got the special capabilities, the steps of returning home is only more convenient in the step of getting visa exemption for five years.

2.2 Research Methodology

Qualitative methodology is used to analyze (1) the impact of policies on returnees, and (2) the insights of returnees on their decision to return or leave the country whether or not being under the impact of those policies.

The objective of this study is to illustrate the influence of government policies on the decision making of returnees in the group of skilled ICT labor. This analysis requires two types of data: individual and contextual data.

Individual data allows getting the insights from those ICT returnees. Due to the limitation of actual number of people who return, stay and leave, and the mobile characteristic of skilled labor, in-depth interview will be conducted. Because the aim of this paper is to see how returnee acknowledge the influence of their decision to return which is a policy evaluation. Therefore, the type of depth interview will be structured interview. There will be a set of broad questions to be asked in order to set a flexible room to adjust to the respondents.

Contextual data allows seeing how constructiveness the government policies are. Because the policies are the combination of policies toward skilled labor in ICT and policies toward returnees, the paper aims at building a constructive framework for the sake of ICT skilled returnees' benefits.

2.2.1 Individual Analysis

There are a lot of theories explaining the return migration's determinants. Each theory has different approach that is used as the foundation to form the theoretical framework for this research case later.

Firstly, neoclassical theory explains the return movement of people based on the wage differentials between host countries and home countries, including personal experiences of migrants in terms of earnings in the host country and their expectations when returning home. Theo theory also discusses that the flow of people is not only due to the flow of workers from labor abundant to labor-scarce countries, but also the flow of investment capital from capital rich to capital poor countries (Douglas, 1993; Joaquin, 2006). Therefore, the returning migrations can be finding the opportunities of employment and investment in home country as well.

The theory also addresses on the individual characteristics and social conditions or technologies that can lower the migration cost. This is also the reason to increase the net return of migration.

Secondly, new economic of labor treasures to explain the decision of returning as a collective act in order to not only increasing expected income, but also decreases risks, constraints that related to the market failures (Stark, & Levhari, 1982; Taylor 1986; Start, 1991). The theory analyzes a particular type of return migration called 'calculated strategy'. Those people have got successful achievement abroad and return home. It states that 'when these migration-related goals are achieved, there is no reason for migrant to remain abroad and hence the decision to return (Stark and Levhavi, 1982; Katz and Stark, 1986; Cassarino, 2004). The migration-related goals can be the higher incomes, enhancing human capital, increasing savings. The theory also mentions another motive of return migration which is the relative deprivation. This means the purpose of migration is not only to increase their incomes but also their relative incomes. In terms of return migration, it states the relative deprivation decreases when the duration of migration getting longer. Therefore, the chance to return home is increasing (Quinn, & Michael, 2006; Taylor, 1991).

Thirdly, transnational theory defines the one of the main determinants of returning is the strength of family ties. It is also said that people who intend to return to the homeland more likely to invest in their place (Hinks, T., & Davies, 2015). In this theory, the second determinant of returning is the preparedness of the migrant. It is defined by the willingness and readiness to return. According to Porters (1999), one of the common ways to prepare for the returning is to visit the home country regularly.

Finally, social network theory approaches from the connection between migrant and his/her social and institutional network. This way of analysis explains the process of readjustment into the country of origin and this process requires a particular of time due to the difference experience of migration before (Gashi, & Adnett, 2015).

Basing on those theories, it is clear to see there are a lot of factors determining the decision to return the host country, from the economic reasons such

as enhancing income, investing capital to non-economic reasons such as national sentiments or family ties.

The government policies will be effective if can satisfy those demand of return. Due to the determinants of returnees, government policies will be evaluated due to those demands and questions in the interview will be following the structure depicted in Figure 4.

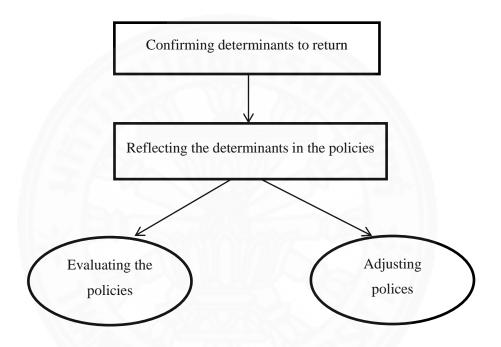


Figure 2.2 Flow of analyzing influence of policies on returnee's determinants

2.2.2 Contextual analysis

As mentioned above, there are two types of policies: policies toward IT skilled labor (Group A), and policies toward returnees (Group B).

There are some main resources to get the data of those policies:

Table 2.2 Sources for data in Group A are shown in table X

Group	Type of data	URL
A	government policies on the	http://www.chinhphu.vn/
	High Tech Law	
	Ministry of Information and	
	Communications	http://www.mic.gov.vn/Pages/trangchu.as
		<u>px</u>
	Ministry of Science and	http://www.vista.gov.vn/
	technology	
В	Committee of overseas	http://quehuongonline.vn/Uy-ban-Nha-
	Vietnamese	nuoc-ve-nguoi-Viet-Nam-o-nuoc-
		ngoai.htm
	Foreign Ministry of Vietnam-	http://dicu.gov.vn/cmspages/coquanqldc/
	International Organization for	CoQuanQLDC.aspx?IDChuyenMuc=112
	Migration	
	International Organization for	http://www.imi.ox.ac.uk/@@search?Sear
	Migration	<u>chableText=Vietnam</u>
	International Organization for	https://www.iom.int/countries/viet-nam
	Migration	

Due to the various sources, content analysis method will be applied to analyze government policies. Policies will be analyzed based on the characteristics of the subjects they aim to and the standard to be a constructive set of policies as the model of Collyer (2013) offers which was mentioned in literature review.

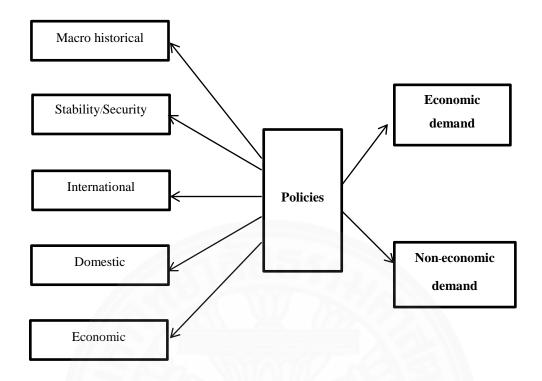


Figure 2.3 Structure of analyzing Policies

Source: Modified from Vu (2005) and Collyer (2013))

As abovementioned difficulty, the main limitation of this study is the data on return migration is very limited. The way of approaching personally in this study is a solution to get the insights from individuals. Therefore, the collected information can be fragmented and subjective.

2.2.3 Data collection

To get more insight, the field trip for this research was conducted during four weeks, from the middle of July to the middle of August 2016 in two main cities Hanoi and Ho Chi Minh. Returnees, policy makers and policy analysts were approached to view the research problem in dimensional perspectives in order to get the most objective results.

The method of qualitative was used basing on the practical considerations. Returning to Vietnam is a process that contains a lot of concepts and sensitivities. Therefore, a range of open questions were conducted in the form of indepth interviews.

The contacts were collected by personal network and by approaching them directly in the public events or their office. Due to the limited timeframe and different working schedule, there are only two returnees could attend in the two-hour interview. Besides, there are four interviewees took part in the short interview by asking and answering directly in public events. To add more insights, interviews and programs about returnees who went to Vietnam are also utilized. Those interviews are authorized by the governmental media agencies.

Contacting the group of policy makers is the most difficult. Even it is easy to meet them face to face but the way they express their responsibilities in the policy making process is vague. This issue will be explained in the next part. There are three policy makers were approached in three different organizations which are all under the government system.

In the group of analyst, there are two people agreed to express their thought. The first one is working in the National committee for Vietnamese Living in Foreign Countries and the second one is a journalist who has been working on ICT field for ten years.

All the interviews were in Vietnamese because both interviewer and interviewees be able to use Vietnamese as a native language. Therefore, there is no gap in understanding the concept linguistically.

It is important to address that while contacting the state officers, the complicated of the political system in terms of decision making or public policy responsibility division is also expressed. This will be analyzed in the following chapters.

2.2.4 Limitation of the results

The subject of this paper is Vietnamese residing abroad who returned to contribute to the development of Vietnam ICT. In detail, the interviewees are the first generation of *Viet kieu* community which will be explained further in the next chapter because each generation has different level of connection with the origin country that indicates the determinant of returning to Vietnam.

In addition, the six interviewees are entrepreneurs, skilled workers, and expert who returned from the US, England, Singapore, and Australia while *Viet kieu* are living in over sixty countries and territories and each region, the community

has different characteristics. Therefore, those six people are not able to be the representative variation for the whole community of *Viet kieu*. They only reflect part of the community by their own personal perspectives. Strictly to say, the results from interviewees during the fieldtrip are reflecting only themselves rather than the whole *Viet kieu* community. At this point, the paper respects the diversity of *Viet kieu* communities in different regions, different occupations, and different generation living in the host countries.



CHAPTER 3

UNDERSTANDING POLICIES

This chapter illustrates the way public policies are conducted in general and public policies toward ICT talent abroad conducted and implemented in particular.

3.1 The political system of Vietnam

Vietnam is the one-party system with the central power belongs to the Communist Party of Vietnam (CPV) which facilitates both the Government and the State. Understanding the political structure of Vietnam defines the determinants for the policy context.

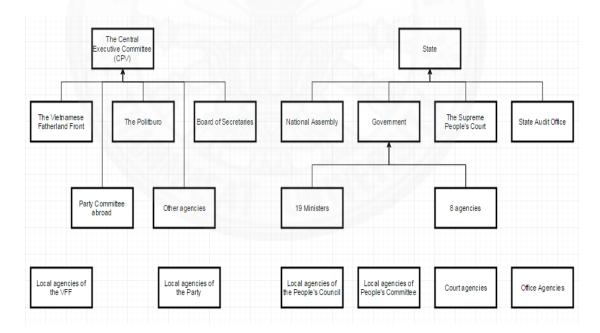


Figure 3.1 Vietnam's political structure

Source: Website of Vietnamese Government

According to the Constitution of Vietnam in 1992, amended in 2001 and 2013, the Government is an organ of the National Assembly which also known as the State legislature. Under the Government are the Prime Minister, deputy Prime

Minister, and numerous ministries and commissions. The Government is pointed to be under the State and National Assembly by the State Constitution. However, both the Prime Minister and other Government organs are in charge of the day-to-day decision making authority. It is said that 'the Government is only one branch of a larger political system, although the Government is arguably the most authoritative branch in fact' (Lucius, 2009).

Furthermore, the current political situation is such that the State President and the General Secretary of the Communist Party of Vietnam could be describe as not being direct decision-makers, but instead as leaders who indirectly influence the mechanism of governance and those political authorities who appear to make policy decisions. However, the highest ranking Party members lead the very elite Political Bureau and Secretariat which reportedly have authority over all Government agencies. Needless to say, the political structure and the current political situation in Vietnam are extremely complicated and difficult to understand. It is not an exaggeration to say that even most Vietnamese do not understand how the system operates or who makes decisions.

While the Party plays such a big role, it is important to address on the fundamental organizational principle of the Party which is the democratic centralism. Generally it means the bodies are democratically elected and raise the voice, however, when the Party makes a decision, this decision will bind upon all members of the party. This principle emphasizes the party discipline and requires the consensus of all the members.

In terms of national decision-making aspect, there are various decision making institutions that 'consult, facilitate and assist" the Party Central Committee, the Politburo, and the central government (Dang, 2013). These three central organs are in charge of designing and enforcing national policies. Those institutions are all the offices, agencies of the Party Central Committee, President, National Assembly, Prime Minister and local agencies.

The systems of policy making in Vietnam has dual levels. One is under the Party and the other is under the state. Both the Party and the state will initiate, formulate, review, adopt, and examine policies. In terms of differences, the State from the central level to the local level is responsible for 'technical feasibility' of a policy alternative (Dang, 2013). This task includes financial allocation, resource adequacy, policy tools, calculations about cost and benefit, and implementation feasibility. The Party from the central level to the local level is in charge of the political acceptability which is determined by the Party's political principle values and political priorities. In the context of Vietnam, there are three main core values which are (1) the political stability managed by the absolute leadership of the Party; (2) the legitimacy; (3) and the ideology about social equality.

Looking at the political structure of Vietnam, there is a very important thing in the power division structure which is every central organ has got its local agencies. This is also the flow of deliver the policies. While the central organs decide, the local agencies will implement following the instruction and monitoring of the central organs. This vertical power division is located in the 6 organs which are (1) The Vietnamese Fatherland Front; (2) The Party; (3) National Assembly; (4) Government; (5) The Supreme People's Court; (6) The State Audit Office.

3.2 Public policies making process in Vietnam

In the field of public policy in Vietnam, until 2015 when the Law of Promulgation on Legal Normative Documents was adopted, the roles of policy making process and policy analysis have been affirmed. This is the general cause to explain the disadvantages in the previous policies. However, it is also important to look at how the policies are made and before and after the 2015 Law on Legal Normative Documents, whether or not anything change that can result with the efficiencies or inefficiencies in the policies' impact.

At first, it is essential to see the general understanding on public policy making process and public policy analysis to see why those two factors are so vital.

3.2.1 Public policy making

Due to the difference in the political system and the way to operate the power in the government of each state, the processes of public policy making are also various. Until now, there has not been any specific standard or unification for public policy making process. However, there are still doubts in the theoretical studies of the public policy process. For example, whether the policy process is a scientific theory to be tested or just be the experience. Though, the general understanding on the logical process to make policy with each particular step still plays a critical role. This is the traditional process of making public policies:

Agenda setting: Individuals, organizations and agencies as policy actors discuss the public problems and consider for inclusion in the official program. In fact, there are a lot of problems which are open to discuss but some are not or they are delayed for a long time.

Policy formulation (including policy design): Officially proposing the plan (alternatives) in order to solve the policy problems. Alternatives or solutions can be in the form of the legislation draft of the government, court or the National Assembly.

Policy adoption: The policy is formally adopted by the majority, or be legalized. In general, policies can be passed by the National Assembly, Government and the Court within the statutory.

Policy implementation: An adopted policy will be forwarded to law enforcement agencies to mobilize both financial resources and manpower resources to implement. This is an important stage of public policy because it can impact on the society in order to achieve the goals which have been set out by the government. The impact can also lead to undesirable effects, even unexpected initial analysis.

Policy evaluation: In this stage, every unit functions such as inspection and audit to determine whether the policy enforcers meet the requirements, regulatory compliance, and achieve the objectives of the policy. Besides, policy evaluation in policy studies is also known as a method for analyzing policies, by using some specific analytical tools.

There are many factors which can be used to evaluate the policy's results, and the quality of the policy making process. In addition to common criteria such as efficiency and effectiveness, there are other criteria like legality, democracy, social justice, transparency, accountability, and other values that policies bring, and they can conflict with each other.

In addition, policy making process is an ongoing process and behind the process are the analysis activities. The 'ending' of a policy is usually the start of a new phase, with the new raised public issues which should be detected, analyzed, resolved and evaluated. Thus, the stage of policy process is usually performed in a circle which is continuous or so- called the policy cycle. In fact, policy analysis generally occurs in most, if not all, the stages of the policy making process. Therefore, the study of policy cycle should understand the role of policy analysis and apply appropriate policy analysis at each stage.

3.2.2 Public Policy Analysis

If policies are the choices, which mean: selection of the target, choice of reasons for action or inaction of the state; selection of resources for achieving these goals, the policy analysis is the process of searching, offering helpful and appropriate advices as a basis for forming decision, selecting policies. Obviously, not any advice can become policy.

Regarding the relationship between the policy-making process, the legislative process and policy analysis. In the broad sense, the policy making process contains the legislative process. Meanwhile, for the legislative process, some states recognize policy analysis as a pre-legislative stage in this process. The reason to explain this understanding is the role of policy analysis in determining public issues and proposing policy solutions. In addition, there are a lot of policies should be legalized.

Therefore, in a narrow sense, policy analysis can be seen as a phase, or one of the fundamental requirements in the policy making process and legislative process. Putting policy analysis into a stage, or a requirement for a phase of the legislative process, is to affirm the importance of policy analysis in the pre-legislation.

In general, it is essential to see the engagement of policy analysis in every phase of the policy making process. The difference between policy analysis and policy making process' analysis is the policy analysis will answer the question of what the state should do. Policy making process will answer the way to make the policy and why should we make that policy.

3.2.3 Public policy making process and public policy analysis in Vietnam

In the Vietnam political system, Government plays substantial role in analyzing and making public policy comparing to the National Assembly. Meanwhile, at both theoretical and practical, the National Assembly play a very important role, if not the most important when comparing to other actors in the policy making process because most of the policies are presented in the form of laws passed by the National Assembly. For example, in the US, the Parliament is the real center of deciding policy issues.

In the case of Vietnam, the role of the Government is essential. Some of the reasons are the public servants in the Government agencies and the public administration system has more extensive experience in operating activities, with deep expertise in analysis and enforcing policies. In addition, the Government with ministries is often the starting point to propose on the development of law draft and ordinances.

Thanks to this feature, it is hard to determine responsibilities, positions of policy analysis and policy making process in the National Assembly. This leads to the complicated situation to analyze public policies in general and policies to attract ICT returnees in particular.

In the operation of the National Assembly of Vietnam, the policy analysis has not yet been widely adopted in a professional and effective way to improve the quality of policy making process. In fact, there should has been the policy analysis in a number of activities which is taking place at different stages in the process of making laws, ordinances, such as those of designing draft, verification stages of bills, ordinances and resolutions of the National Assembly. Furthermore, information, data, and analysis results which have been used by the representatives of the National Assembly in the question and answer sessions, specialized conferences tend to be in qualitative analysis and even many situations are only the commenting on the policy rather than analyzing it based on significant and reliable information. Moreover, not many of the policy analysis report in full, complete and performed with a professional process which is compulsory or under the order of the representatives in the construction program, order, or the law draft.

Overall, the lack of regulations on the order and procedures for planning and policy analysis could lead to inconsistent actions or the misled of the whole process; efforts to implement policies without the basic preparation from the program; or even to build a program for a policy that is not enforced.

The state should not decide to pursue a policy that is not determined which is based on a prepared agenda seriously, nor should decide to put on the agenda a policy that is less likely to be informed through or difficult to implement.

To avoid these situations, policy analysis is an indispensable requirement. However, it was not until 2015 Law on Promulgation of Laws was adopted, the process of policy making and analysis of the new policy was initially specified. This feature can explain most of the problems in the policies towards ICT returning group.

There are two main characteristics in the Vietnamese decision-making process. Firstly, the policy-making process is more "behavior-led" than "rule-led" (Abonyi, 2005). It is explained that regulations or reforms are often formalized after what is happening in practice. In other words, the rules are formed after some experiments. Secondly, public policies are made will be harmonious for the regime no matter the external political or societal sanctions are (Painter, 2003).

In terms of decision making mechanism, Vietnam emphasizes on the collective leadership and consensus (Abonyi, 2005). It means the mechanism will support the objective of carrying effective implementation and monitoring by the central actors that will make sure the internal working will involve a wide range of institutional arrangements, practices, traditions, managements. Agencies from the central to the local level are able of pursuing their interests and goals (Painter, 2003).

It is essential to mention democratic centralism principle impact on the decision making process in terms of getting the involvement of the elites in the Party, National Assembly and the central government to compromise the political preferences among the key politicians in any critical policy. This mechanism serves the purpose of minimizing the interest conflict and personal responsibility. This political mechanism of collective mastery, the broad-based consensus is the key pattern in the decision making of the regime (Dang, 2013). Thanks to this, the policy process is the "consensus-based" which illustrate the sharing of benefit, political risk,

responsibility. However, this practice is lack of accountability because of this mechanism too.

3.3 The process of making policies to attract ICT overseas Vietnamese

3.3.1 The process

Policies to attract overseas Vietnamese to contribute in ICT sector are illustrated by figure 3.2

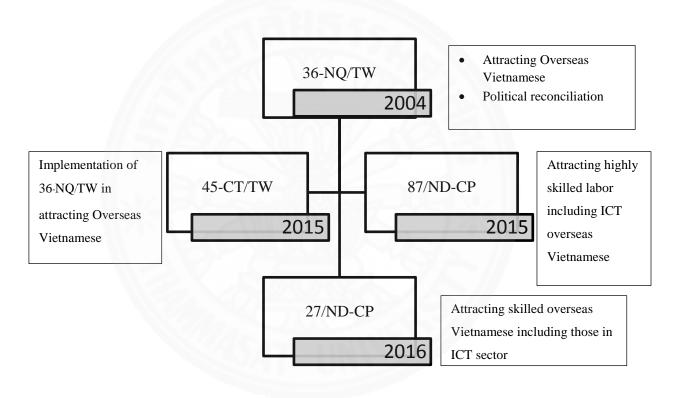


Figure 3.2 Policy package to attract overseas Vietnamese in ICT sector

While the Resolution 36 is the general policy to attract overseas Vietnamese, the 45-CT/TW is the implementation instruction of the Resolution 36 which was issued in 2015. At the same time, as part of the following-up step of Resolution 36, the 87/ND-CP focus on the talent individuals overseas which contains the ICT talent. Until 2016, the 27/ND-CP has been issued to destabilize the step to attract and retain talent overseas which includes the ICT talent. This is the policy package to attract ICT talent who are Vietnamese residing abroad.

To see the process of policy- making, basing on the above-mentioned general policy making process, the table will represent the step of making the policies for ICT overseas Vietnamese and the agencies that are in charge of particular responsibilities.

Table 2.3 Policies making responsibility division in ICT sector

Stage	Organization
Policy agenda setting	The Politburo, Ministry of Science and Technology,
	Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ministry of Education and
	Training, Ministry, etc.
Policy Formation	Policy makers from policy agenda setting, National
	Assembly, the Party, the State
Adoption	The Party Committee Affairs from central level to local
11 = 1-4	level; the Father Front Land from central level to local level
Implementation	Agencies from Provinces level and the related ministries
Evaluation	The Board of the Party Secretary, the Politburo

Source: Compiled from The Law of Legal Normative Documents, and

www.chinhsach.vn

3.3.2 Issue of Passive Approaching ICT Skilled People

It is said that the way policy makers and doers approach the ICT returnees is passive, but it can be explained by three main reasons below.

Firstly, interviewing with the expert and policy maker in the Committees of Vietnam for the Vietnamese residing abroad, the interview shows that the policies doers do not see the specific incentives toward ICT personals. Therefore, the way they offer the service for those who have demand does not distinguished between ICT talent and normal people.

Secondly, even they were acknowledged about the ICT talent, the process of returning to Vietnam still need to fulfill some basic steps which require everyone shall go through. If looking at the process of retaining Vietnamese nationality, it does not have the incentive part for those who are talent and those who

are not that talent because nationality is complex, and equal to those who have the origin in Vietnam.

Thirdly, if considering the incentives for talent as making the paperwork process shorter, it is not attractive enough for the talented or skilled people to return. What the policies should offer is the combination of policies which can create the environments for people to develop. The paper work step like the possession of land, the nationality is the basic requirements, they are not the incentives but rather facilities.

3.3.3 The Vague Responsibility Division

The table illustrates the responsibilities of each agency in implementing ICT policies.

Table 2.4 Implementation responsibilities in ICT policies

Duty	Organization
Designing detail mechanism, plans to attract talent	Local agencies of the State
Working license in Vietnam	Ministry of Labour- Invalids and Social Affairs
Propagating, PR, cooperate with hosting countries	Ministry of Foreign Affairs
Titling talent who returned to Vietnam, renting and calling for support	Ministry of Home Affairs
Designing development plan for ICT human resource	Ministry of Science and Technology

Source: Compiled from legal documents: 36-NQ/TW; 45-CT/TW; 87/ND-CP; and 27/ND-CP

However, this is very broad and lead to the complicated situation that the general public policies are facing. In detail, it is hard to clarify the each particular responsibility belongs to which agency/people.

Decree No.87 focusing on attracting and retaining ICT talent and ICT returnees are also the subject of this policy. While contacting the policy makers,

there is a complex situation occurring which is the difficulty to define which policy responsibility belongs to which organizations.

The policies toward Vietnamese residing abroad in general and the policies toward ICT returnees in particular are all vague in defining the responsibility of actors. This complicated situation is common in public policy field. As analyzed above about the policy making process in the context of Vietnam, the overlap responsibilities between the National Assembly and the Government is the main reason for this complicated situation. To understand more, looking at the political system of Vietnam to see how power is divided and policy as part of the government's performance, the complicated situation in policy responsibility division will get clear.

Vietnam is the one-party system with the central power belongs to the Communist Party of Vietnam which facilitates both the Government and the State. Therefore, look at the model of political structure Vietnam, even there is a coexistence of the Party and the State, the Party is unofficially outperformed in power.

It is not a compulsory requirement to join the political system to be a Party member, but the majority of the state leaders and staff are the Party member which explains the power of the Party.

According to the Constitution of Vietnam in 1992, amended in 2001 and 2013, the Government is an organ of the National Assembly which also known as the State legislature. Under the Government are the Prime Minister, deputy Prime Minister, and numerous ministries and commissions. The Government is pointed to be under the State and National Assembly by the State Constitution. However, both the Prime Minister and other Government organs are in charge of the day-to-day decision making authority. It is said that 'the Government is only one branch of a larger political system, although the Government is arguably the most authoritative branch in fact' (Lucius, 2009).

Furthermore, The current political situation is such that the State President and the General Secretary of the Communist Party of Vietnam could be describe as not being direct decision-makers, but instead as leaders who indirectly influence the mechanism of governance and those political authorities who appear to make policy decisions. However, the highest ranking Party members lead the very

elite Political Bureau and Secretariat which reportedly have authority over all Government agencies. Needless to say, the political structure and the current political situation in Vietnam are extremely complicated and difficult to understand. It is not an exaggeration to say that even most Vietnamese do not understand how the system operates or who makes decisions.

It can be said that, the responsibility division is overlapped that lead to the complicated situation in evaluating the policy quality. However, the system itself is not the only reason. Forming a policy requires certain conditions. In other words, the mechanism for public policy should be good enough to implement the policy in society. Law is the core part of that mechanism.

In fact, the law mechanism in Vietnam is complex and irrelevant. According to Kelly and Le (1999), in the Vietnamese society, the significance of law is not usually stressed or understood. In theory or paper, law may be well designed or planned, but law is not executed well in reality. People may violate the law without knowing the existence of the law.

One of the characteristics of the Vietnamese law system is the consistently changing and the lack of communication inside the system to update the new information, policies, or law. This pattern impacts on the policies and law towards Vietnamese returnees substantially.

As mentioned above, there are a lot of programs, policies, incentives and law which have been introduced as the incentives to attract overseas Vietnamese. However, due to the rapid change in law system and the ignorance of the people, going along with the weak implementation through the whole system, those policies become less efficient.

Kelly and Le (1999) addressed more "Law enforcer may not know about the existence of law and the official gazette is not widely available and/or read at the lower administrative levels. In addition, there are no systematic weekly communication tools within government structures to ensure the knowledge of laws and legal events".

Thus, law and the way to implement law is crucial for running the policies efficiently. I argue that the law mechanism for forming the policy in the system of Vietnam can improve the public policy (ICT returnee policy in particular)

by improving the law quality itself. By looking at the law for forming the policy, it is very clear to see that law is the key component that leads to the complicated public policy situation and by enhancing the law quality, the public policy can be improved.

It is necessary to address that public policy is another definition of legal documents in Vietnam. Law, in this case, is defined by both directions: (1) The condition to form policies; and (2) The policy as a legal document itself.

The process of forming a policy in Vietnam starts from the agenda which is proposed by ministers or agencies. Later on, the agenda will be supported with ideas and be passed by the higher organizations such as the Congress, the Government or ministers. Citizens are only can raise their voice indirectly in the meeting with the representatives from the leaders system (Dang, 2015). The paradox in Vietnamese public policy is people (citizen) play the fewer roles in the process of policy making but the most impacted actor. This is explained by the top down political structure in the Vietnam case.

In terms of law mechanism, all the public policies shall go through the law No. 17/2008/QH12 about promulgating legal documents. From this facet, the issue of managing responsibility and effectiveness of public policies in general and policies toward ICT returnees in particular are explained.

In the Article 31 regulates "The Drafting Committee consists of (1) Chairman is the head of the agency, (2) Drafting organizers and other members are representatives of agencies and organizations, experts, scientists, etc." Impacted subjects of the policy system, especially critics, civil organizations and citizen are not allowed to attend directly in the policy making process. They are only mentioned in the section 35 which is "In the process of drafting bills, ordinances, and draft resolutions, agencies and organizations of the drafting process shall consult agencies and organizations and subject who concerned and impacted directly by the text; shall mention issues which should consult appropriately to each certain audience."

However, in practice, the Drafting Committee of public policies usually takes the consultancies of people in need who are in the related ministries but not focus on other representatives of other groups yet. The law has not created the environment to welcome idea contributions from various groups such as lawyers, experts, specialists, etc.

In fact, there are some policy analysts who already pointed out the disadvantages in the policy making process in particular and the legal documents building procedures in general. It was concluded that 'the process of democratization, transparence in the policy making process, issued legal documents are still limited; the process is closed, public opinions have not play a relevant role; even the consultancies from ministers, agencies are passive (Ministers who have the influential voice will be listened); the public evaluation and analysis are very weak.

In short, policies toward ICT returnees or other policies have been limited by the law in terms of the actors involvement in the policy making process which leads to the ineffective results.

3.3.4 Perception of ICT Policies

If looking at the ultimate purpose of those policies as a means to attract and retain more skilled manpower for the ICT sector, it is necessary to see what challenges the way people want to return. Due to the limited scope of this research, the main factor which is also the important condition for the people working in ICT sector is analyzed below.

While asking the obstacles for returnees, most of them reply with the same answer

'The most challenging for them is the infrastructure in Vietnam such
as e-commerce infrastructure'
Ms. C, Hanoi, July 2016

It is obvious to see the conditions for an innovative and advanced sector like ICT is the sound infrastructure that shall be good enough to transit all the activities. E-commerce is the crucial factor for the development condition of Vietnam ICT.

Manpower will be attracted to where they see the opportunities. However, there is always a need for the basic conditions for the whole process to develop. Vietnam is still in the middle of advancing himself to get the better infrastructure condition which causes the difficulties for the returning way of manpower.

In conclusion, there are some key points which should be bear in mind. Firstly, the determinants of returnee's decision to go to Vietnam are not so new.

The main reasons to return are (1) historical reconciliation, (2) Defining the root, (3) Personal economic motivation. It is necessary to address on the role of nationalism in impacting their decision to return.

Secondly, the impact or awareness of returnees about policies towards them are vague due to their real motivations are different from the practices of what those policies mentioned.

Thirdly, explaining the inefficiency of the policies towards ICT returnees, there are two causes: (1) The first cause is from the policy making process itself which is lack of law mechanism to take the advantages of all people who want to contribute to the policy making process, especially, the participations of returnees themselves; (2) The second cause is the irrelevant infrastructure for an advanced sector like ICT to develop, particularly, e-commerce infrastructure.

By these points, the readiness of Vietnam in terms of mechanism and infrastructure is still humble. The government should improve both the policy making process itself and enhancing infrastructure conditions to attract talents from overseas to Vietnam.

CHAPTER 4

UNDERSTANDING RETURNEES

This chapter explains the motivations for overseas Vietnamese to return to work in the Vietnamese ICT sector and their perceptions on government policies which aim at attracting them. The motivations to return explains the reason why returnees chose to return to a developing country like Vietnam, instead of going to other places with better opportunities thanks to their advantage of ICT universal knowledge.

First of all, the subjects of this paper are Vietnamese residing abroad who can be skilled labor or investors in the ICT sector. However, it is important to know their background. According to previous research papers, depending on different categories, there are different types of returnees. For examples, if dividing returnees based on the historical root, there are two groups which are refugees and non-refugees. There are *Viet kieu* and *Lao Dong* based on the current nationality and purpose of going abroad. *Viet kieu* is the group of Vietnamese-rooted people who are attaining non-Vietnamese nationality and *Lao Dong* is the group of Vietnamese people going abroad to work (Ivan, 2012). Most of the latter are manual workers.

The field trip, interviews are conducted with returnees who are currently ICT experts, entrepreneurs, and skilled workers. The following content illustrates the motivations of those returnees to make the decision of going to Vietnam and figure out their perceptions on the public policies which aim at them.

4.1 Motivations to Return

Being interviewed directly, there are six interviewees and all of them are working in the ICT sector as skilled worker, entrepreneur, expert and investor. Entrepreneur (E) run a small business and takes all the risks and rewards of a given business venture, idea, or good or service offered for sale. They are commonly seen as a business leader and innovator of new ideas and business processes. Investor (I) is any person who commits capital with the expectation of financial returns. Expert is a person who has a comprehensive and authoritative knowledge or skill in ICT sector.

Skilled workers (SW) are those who achieved the ICT bachelor degree and above (Dorais, 1998).

According to the literature, there are two groups of determinants to return which are economic and non-economic determinants. From the interviews, in the group of ICT returnees, there are three main determinants which are economic interests (means setting enterprise opportunities, market, high demand in ICT services and products), non-economic determinants which is the nationalist connection (sense of belonging by the family connection, the expectation of contributing to the development of Vietnam) and the alternative factor which is defined not by their intention such as the family's demand him or her to be around. This is part of the Vietnamese culture. However, in the case the returnees are unable to negotiate, it is the forcing factor.

Table 4.1 Determinants to return

	I	Determinants to re	eturn	Le	evel of ski	ills
Personals	Economic interest	Nationalism	Other (forcing factors, etc.)	SW	Е	I
A	X		KYG.	X		
В		X		X	X	
С	X	1	X			X
D		X	X		X	
Е	X	74		X		
F		X			X	

Source: From the interviews

4.1.1 Economic determinants

As a fast develop ICT industry in Asia with young population and high rate of computer and smartphone usages, Vietnam becomes an attractive place not only for investing but also developing career in ICT sector. Overseas Vietnamese also see these opportunities and 50% of the interviewees emphasize on the economic determinant. However, all of the respondents have the optimistic expectation for the future of ICT industry in Vietnam. From the neoclassical perspective, these people do

not see specific wage differentials; however, they see the economic opportunities that can bring them benefit (Massey et al., 1993). The new economics of labor explains this determinant from the aspect of not only increasing income but also decreasing the risks. Investing in a developing ICT market, of course, expose investors and entrepreneurs to face risks but going along are a lot of opportunities and the open environment for developing market. This can be considered as the advantages over disadvantages that attract people to return.

In addition, more or less all the returnees went to Vietnam see the economic interest in ICT sector and even economic determinant is not their main motivation to return, they still find the way to engage and develop in this young and optimistic to develop like ICT industry.

In detail, all the entrepreneurs (B, D, and F) returned with the nationalist determinant. There is the interdependence between economic interest and nationalist motivation. For these entrepreneurs, returning is a way to tighten the national connection by contributing to the development of the ICT sector by setting their enterprises, creating more jobs for local Vietnamese, and delivering services to the market. Furthermore, explaining their return to setting up enterprises, young entrepreneurs have advantages comparing to the other markets like the US. One of the key reason is the competitiveness is lower.

In the group of workers (A, B, and E), part of them are young educated Vietnamese overseas (A and E). They explained that the working environment and organizational structure in Vietnam is less competitive and they have advantages and being respected to work for Vietnam agencies because of their English proficiency and foreign education background. From this, they returned because of the economic. Therefore, if the place like Vietnam ICT market gives those more benefits, they will return.

4.1.2 Nationalist determinants

On the other hand, it is clear to see 50% of the returnees return because of the nationalism determinants. In the interviews, they explained the concept of nationalism here is the sense of belonging. Explaining from the cultural and historical background, the nationalism in the community of overseas Vietnamese is the value of family connection, religion and the anti-communist sentiment.

Furthermore, I argue that nationalism associates with entrepreneurs the most comparing to other types of ICT people which determines their return even they tend to take more risks than investors who only face the capital risks. The explanation would be the entrepreneurs' advantages of having competitiveness in terms of abroad education, foreign languages, networks which are already explained in the new economic theory of labor if they return to home country rather than staying in the host country where these advantages are not functioning.

One of the most meaningful links among *Viet kieu* and between *Viet kieu* and Vietnam is the personal relations with family and friends (Dorais, 1998). It is explained as the impact of Confucianism in Vietnam which is not only important in the genealogy but also set the ties between individuals and the sites of ancestral graves (Thomas, 1997).

In the research of Dorais, the core of *Viet kieu* culture is the family that constitutes the social, moral institution. This core value differentiates between them and others. At the same time, it is clear to see the *Viet kieu* transnational community seems to consist amount of networks of relatives and friends who are not only in the host country with them but also all over the world and of course, in Vietnam. They tend to maintain more or less regular relations with their relatives. They said it is the tradition and they are so feel the sense of belonging from these networks (Dorais, 2001).

The origin of this cultural core value is the Confucianism's impact on the Vietnamese. Confucianism addresses on the tight connection between individuals and their roots because this is why each person was born and raised, inherit all the good and overcome all the worse. This foundation is also the reason why individuals are always trying to find the link between them and their ancestral graves (Thomas, 1997).

For overseas Vietnamese, this conception defines their sense of belonging with their country, as the 'nha' in Vietnamese language which means house, husband, wife, or family. "Nha" is in the link with "nuoc" which means the country, the countryside, the landscape, the family, the village, the community, and the country. Therefore, from the private relationship like husband and wife, to the

broader relationship like children and family, to the biggest relationship is the individual and the country, everything is coherent as the whole (Sutherland, 2012).

The perception of being related or close with a certain place as a so-called home makes it difficult for those who think of leaving. Even in the modern consciousness of Vietnamese people today who live in cities. Even they left their original villages for some generations; they still mention it as the origin and part of their identity. This explains the enormous sense of being separated from the 'home' in the *Viet kieu* community. Being apart from Vietnam, it is not only the geographical separation but also the separation between the individual soul and their ancestors' places.

For those who left the country because of the political reason, political regime of Vietnam is the reason for their separation. They express their distress on the communist regime. However, the political challenge is not the same as their nationalism. Nationalism and their perspective on politics are independent and together shape the *Viet kieu* identity.

In other words, explaining why there are some returnees returned as nationalist, it can see the flexibility in the acceptable room between the cultural value and the type of changing political body. The anti-communist sentiment was a reason for their history of migration, however, until now, while the government of Vietnam is getting more open and affirm the equal and welcome rooted Vietnam back home and secure their interest and freedom, it is no longer the concern in terms of political sentiment. At the same time, the sense of belonging in the family value and the religion connection stay as the core reason that construct the connection between them and Vietnam.

In short, it can be said the identity of *Viet kieu* is the family value, the religious belief and the anti-communist sentiment.

4.1.3 Forcing determinants

In the forcing group of determinants to return, there are two types of them, one is due to the family at home in Vietnam and the second one is the notenough-capacity to compete in the host country. The second is due to the economic incentive driver that the talent tends to move to the place where they can be more convenient to find a job, and get a good income¹.

In this determinant, the transnational theory explains very clearly that the nationalist connection is the strong motivation to return even there are a lot of difficulties (Massey et al., 1993). This theory seems to look at the economic determinant as the independent factor while people are the complex being. If looking at this situation through the theory of social network, there are a group of people still 'researching' and adapting to the new environment in Vietnam. This group of people takes time to examine themselves and the environment. Due to the advantage of timing, the policies can attract this group of people if the policies can show them the benefits to stay.

4.1.4 Sum up

Nationalism plays a very important role in the *Viet kieu* group. However, it is not the patriotic to serve the political form, but the cultural connection and the belief values which came before the political form. Even in the past, the form of politics is the reason for the immigration of the diasporic Vietnamese nowadays. When the political body find the way to reconcile with the overseas people, this nationalist connection still maintain and this is the critical feature in the group of *Viet kieu*.

At the same time, nationalism and economic motivation are also going together as the strong motivation for people to return. Doing business in the Vietnamese ICT market is not only potential for returnees but also beneficial for the local ICT development.

People who return also demand a good living environment and political environment is part of this. For those who used to left the country due to the political conflict, this return is a way of reconciliation.

In other words, the return of *Viet kieu* is based on three main factors which are political reconcilement, nationalism, and economic interest. The crucial point is that all returnees went back Vietnam with the interdependence between the economic interest and the nationalist connection.

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¹ Divided from the interviews' outcome.

4.2 Perceptions about ICT policies

4.2.1 The returnees' perceptions

It is not clear how the government ICT policies influenced returnees. Individuals decided to return because of their personal reasons rather than seeing the opportunities that those policies bring to them.

"I don't know about the government policies. I returned because of my personal motivation"

Mr. B, Ho Chi Minh City, August 2016

"The visa process is easier but this is not the determinant for me to

return'

Mr. E, Ho Chi Minh City, August 2016

However, in the general context, the policies do create a better environment for returnees what makes their business and lives in Vietnam easier. By looking the policy and incentive reforms, we can see how Vietnamese government is trying to create a better environment for returnees to return and working in Vietnam. For example, conducting visa exemption for *Viet kieu*, creating more open condition for the law of possession and land own. ICT skilled people who are *Viet kieu* are also considered as the resource should be contacted and cooperated.

Towards the group of Vietnamese diaspora, since 2000, the Government of Vietnam has been running a lot of programs to strengthen the connection between the state and the overseas people in order to attract the diaspora's investment²

May 2004 marked the important historical milestone with the official release of Resolution 36 because this is considered the most comprehensive policy aimed at the Vietnamese residing abroad. In the Resolution, this group is addressed as the potential economic contributors to the development of Vietnam. One of the reasons for the formation of this Resolution is the disconnection between the overseas community and the state. Therefore, the Resolution 36 will play an important

² http://www.vietnamconsulate-hongkong.org/

role in making the policies more transparent and giving more support to the *Viet kieu* community.

Resolution 36 is the vital policy which is detailed and realized by a lot of following government action plans which are carried from the local to central agencies. The Resolution also goes with the requirements for the overseas Vietnamese which are

(1) Government policies will not discriminate against any past history or current status of the overseas community as long as they share the goals of nation building and promoting the growth of Vietnam; (2) The government will adhere and respect the rights provided to Viet kieu residing abroad while encouraging them to promote Vietnamese culture and tradition and (3) Vietnamese, both domestic and abroad, need to hold uniform goals and objectives

Vietnamese government also give the way for Vietnamese overseas to secure their original nationality while adopting Vietnamese nationality which is indicated in the Law on Vietnamese Nationality in 2008. It is interesting to see how Vietnamese government trying to unify the Vietnamese nationality in this law.

The Vietnamese people have one thing in common: all of them to the power of the Vietnamese sense of nation. This power was harnessed by two competing ideologies after 1945, to the oppositional politic of international transnationalism after 1954, and to their export after the fall of Saigon. We may know, a quarter-century after reunification, be starting to witness a return to more ordinary expressions of sentiment for home." (Hardy, 2004: 234)

The sense of belonging is no longer limited in geographical territorial. Overcoming all the difficulty from the historical sentiments, Vietnamese government is clear to claim their aim at defining united nationality under the name "home" and the people have the same blood root.

In addition, visa exemption is the encourage step of Vietnamese government's policy in engaging with their diaspora (No. 135/2007/QD-Ttg). In this incentive, *Viet kieu* are allowed to enter Vietnam with the five year visa exemption. The procedure to get the visa is clear and takes a short time to complete.

It is important to address the development in the government policy with the efforts of attracting *Viet kieu*'s investments. In 2010, the rules and

regulations for Vietnamese residing abroad who want to purchase land or homes in Vietnam were passed. The decree is considered as the good step to engage *Viet kieu* in the long term.

However, do those policies satisfy the expectation of returnees? From the interviews, they give more understanding of returnees' difficulties and their expectation in the policies.

Miss D is a 29 year old entrepreneur who was educated in the U.S. and return to Vietnam to run her three businesses.

Although Vietnam has been seen as one of the most potential countries in the region for business start-up, technology and legal infrastructure are still the biggest obstacles. Wi-fi is everywhere, but the internet speed is still slow, and if I find an investor who wants to put money in my company it usually takes about six months to complete the paperwork. These factors actually hinder the economic growth of the country in general and the technology sector in particular

Seeing the same difficulties in infrastructure foundation for ICT entrepreneurs, Ms C is among a lot of other returnees who are not attracted to return by government incentives but the business opportunities. However, in these opportunities, there are a lot of obstacles that can send those talents out of the Vietnam talent pool. This characteristic aligns with the need for professional environment as a basic condition for entrepreneurs and professionals to stay.

There is a case in the Saigon Hi-Tech park which was at one time hosted heavily 30 Vietnamese experts from the US, Australia, Canada and Japan, but now only a few remain. The reason to explain this situation is

"There were many reasons for those experts quitting their jobs: mainly low salaries, lack of accommodation and inadequate infrastructure" - The head of the technology park, Dr Duong Hoa ${\rm Xo}^3$

The government has been acknowledged of this issue and trying to enhance the working environment and conditions for talents by issuing the policies. Replying to these policies, Tuan Nguyen said the new plan was "better late than

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³ Appendix 2

never" and had "some clauses that are more 'advanced' compared to previous plans". But many areas were still unclear.

Mr.E, Vietnamese German man who returned permanently to live in Ho Chi Minh City after retiring, was even more cautious. The mediator of Sci-Edu Forum, a group of hundreds of overseas Vietnamese intellectuals, he said he and others were not convinced about how well the new policy would work in practice.

"They should open the gate as wilder as possible, and as soon as possible, and as unbureaucratically as possible, without delay or hesitation. It's overdue", he said. Instead there was "rigid overemphasis" on political ideology and some mistrust of Vietnamese overseas, "which only harms the country", he said.

"The most critical point is whether top government officials still consider science and education as pivotal pillars, dynamic sources of the country's economic development, and consider attracting scientific and technological resources as imperative. If yes, they should find ways to attract the worldwide Vietnamese diaspora and through them, foreign resources. If not, they do not need the policy at all" he added.

From here, it is clear to see it is not about what incentives the returnees receive, thanks to the policies, but the suitable intention and goals from the government officials. If put the science and education in the priority list and talent as the crucial resource for this development goal, the adequate environment will be created and returnees are all willing to return to contribute their capabilities.

His reply reflects the way government see those returnees who are not only the ones who carrying knowledge, and network, but rather than the economic actor. This does not align with the expectation of the returnees.

Scientists in general and scientist in ICT sector in particular would love to have an open working environment to appropriately do their job. In order to attract well-known overseas Vietnamese scientists to come back to Viet Nam, the best way is to open the path for the domestic talents first. As long as the domestic working environment becomes open, convenient and efficient, those overseas scientists will come back on their own but not because of any policies or privileges.

4.2.2 Explanations for the low policies' awareness

First of all, it is all about irrelevance between what the returnees expect as the incentives and conditions to develop for themselves and what the policies offer. As mentioned above, while the returnees expect to have a transparent, sufficient condition for developing, the policies only can offer the more harmonized political openness.

Secondly, based on what the interviewees replies, when they want to return, they will go to the office affairs in Vietnam, but the active approach from the policies makers and actors to them is not revealed. This relationship reflects the lack of active working process in the governments. If Vietnam wants to attract talent, there should be more media, programs, and people actively approach the potential people in ICT sector.

CHAPTER 5 FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATION

5.1 Findings

There are three main factors determining the return decision of overseas Vietnamese which are sentiments for the root, economic opportunities or interests, and the political reconciliation. The critical characteristic of ICT workers is the universal knowledge that stimulates the capability of moving freely all over the world. However, the group of overseas Vietnamese in ICT sector still chose to go to Vietnam because of the nationalist connection which is based on the family values, the economic interest, and the political reconciliation. What makes the ICT returnee group different is this nationalist connection which defines the return trend recently. At the same time, the Vietnamese ICT market is flourishing and businessmen, especially entrepreneurs see lots of opportunities here to invest or set up businesses. The intention to devote for the home development also plays a very critical role for those people.

Secondly, government policies have been creating with the purpose of offering a better condition for returnees in general by forming the political reconciliation and trying to improve the ICT working ecosystem for talent to return. However, the way those policies are conducted are still fragmented in the terms of implementing from the upper level to the local level. The incentives that those policies are insufficient in terms of not providing an adequate infrastructure and professional working environment compared to the returnees' demand. Furthermore, the policies somehow coincidently align with the time people see the economic interest to go to Vietnam to invest.

Thirdly, the interaction between the returnees and the policies are mainly due to the mechanism of policies. The main issue is the overlapped and vague responsibility division and the checking system incoherently from the local level to the central level. The policies making and implementation system itself is also problematic. The impact could be better if the way the policies function gets improved.

Finally, the group of entrepreneurs has a strong nationalist connection which can be the motivation to return. This can be explained due to their family ties and their expectation of contributing to the development of Vietnam.

5.2 Recommendations

Public policies have been implemented to attract talent and resource from the *Viet Kieu* community. The determinants of returning to Vietnam point out that nationalism plays a significant role which the government should pay more attention on. However, the "nationalism" was defined by the government perspective. In fact, it is the personal sentiment of *Viet kieu* towards their place of origin and the government see this connection as the basement to set the national bonding between the country and the returnees.

The mobility of talent is not simply a geographical moving but also the reallocation of talent, possession, and even sentiment. With those who already have the connection with Vietnam, the mobility of returning back to the home country is a not difficult choice. Understand the demand of those who want to return and approach them actively is the good way to enhance their connection with Vietnam.

However, every talent needs to have the environment to develop. Public policies can create a good legislative environment and incentives package for those who willing to return to work and take part in the development of the country as well as the active government agencies to reach out and welcome potential returnees.

Political environment is important because it is not only the foundation to create the development conditions for the country, but also set up the accountability. Giving more opportunities to engage policy actors, citizen and subjects of the policies is the good way to enhance that accountability.

The government should focus more on the group of ICT entrepreneurs who have more nationalist connection compared to other groups. The characteristics should be focused because they have willing to return and the government can be easier to approach and convince them to return.

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APPENDIX A

INTERVIEW WITH RETURNEES

This study interviewed six persons. The transcription are under the Chatham House Rule.

Mr. B- Age 38
 Ho Chi Minh City, August 2016
 Head of a Faculty of Technology

Type of question	No.	English	Answer
Determinants of	1	Why did you go to Vietnam to live/work?	- The family connection is the main reason
returning return			"Mình thích môi trường nghiên cứu bên đó, phòng lab, kho học
			liệu, mối quan hệ trong công việc cực tốt. Nhưng thứ mình cần là
			đời sống xã hội, mình thích phong tục và nếp sống ở Việt Nam hơn.
			Tự nhủ chỉ ở lại làm vài năm để kiếm ít vốn rồi về, nhưng lại sợ ở
		1000	một năm thành 5 năm, 10 năm và thậm chí là có lúc sẽ không thể từ bỏ để trở về".
			⇒ I like the research environment in the UK from the infrastructure
			to very good network. However, what I really need is the living
			society. I rather love the Vietnamese customs and the Vietnamese
			tradition. At first, I intended to stay in the UK for several years to get
			more experience and capital, however, I'm afraid of when I decide to
			stay, I will stay there forever, from some years to 5 year, 10 years,
			and even never want to go back home.
	2	Is there any particular determinant impacting on	- Mình thấy nơi nào thiếu người nhất thì mình nghĩ nên đến nơi đó,
		your decision to go to Vietnam? If yes, please	đấy là lý do tại sao mình muốn về Việt Nam.
		name it.	⇒ Vietnam at that time was so lack of talent, it was better to return.
			- Đem những băn khoăn trên, Tiến trò chuyện qua điện thoại với
			thầy Dương Anh Đức, Phó Hiệu trưởng ĐH Khoa học Tự nhiên khi
			đó, được thầy Đức khuyên: Nơi nào cần mà mình về thì người ta
			quý và sẽ là cơ hội để phát huy.
			Being advised by his teacher, he said 'The place in need is the place
			you should go because of the people there need your help and that is
			the opportunity for you to develop.

Type of question	No.		English	Answer
	3		Viet Kieu/ an oversea Vietnamese, whether	Yes. The traditional bond is also one of the reasons for returning as I
			connection with Vietnam makes any	said before
			ence in the decision to stay here? Would	
		_	ind to share?	
	4		government has conducted some policies/	I have no idea about the government policies but I see a lot of
			ives toward overseas Vietnamese such as	support from people, colleagues and my faculty.
			ution 36 and Decree No. 89.	
			re you ever heard about them?	
			is conducted for the sake of your benefits,	
			ether you pay attention to it?	0.100,777
			v do you think about those policies in the	VAVA/AU
			se of impacting on your decision to go to tnam?	1011/1/ 2002/2012/2013
Dalian immant	Tonas a st			
Policy impact	Impact	5a	There are 5 categories of impact, please tick on the level of impact, level 1 is the	
			less and level 5 is the most:	
			() Macro historical () Stability	None.
			() International () Domestic	
			() Economic	
		6a	Do you have any further recommendation	
			/expectation for those policies/incentives	
			to get closer to your demand in the	
			future?	
	No	5b	Why don't those policies/incentives work	Because I have never heard about it. I listen to what I really want to
	Impact		to you?	do when I decide to go home, not base on the policies or incentives
				at the very first place.
		6b	What do you think that can make those	
			policies more efficient to attract more	None.
			overseas Vietnamese to contribute to the	TVOIIC.
			Vietnamese ICT industry?	

2. Mrs. D

Hanoi, July 2016

Head of an IT education center

She used to work in the communication sector.

Miss D is a 29 year old entrepreneur who was educated in the U.S. and return to Vietnam to run her three businesses.

Type of question	No.	English	Vietnamese
Determinants of returning return	1	Why did you go to Vietnam to live/work?	As a free woman, I always want to experience the new things. Working in the US for the last 15 years, I think it's time to move on. At the same time I see Vietnam can give me an opportunity to work in a new job that I have never tried before which is doing the consulting for students to find opportunities in the US. I see Vietnam as equal as other countries in the perspective of giving me a new opportunity to experience.
	2	Is there any particular determinant impacting on your decision to go to Vietnam? If yes, please name it.	None
	3	As a Viet Kieu/ an oversea Vietnamese, whether the connection with Vietnam makes any difference in the decision to stay here? Would you mind to share?	I see the connection with Vietnam because I used to live there until I got the bachelor degree. However, this is not the main reason for me to return.
	4	The government has conducted some policies/incentives toward overseas Vietnamese such as Resolution 36 and Decree No. 89. - Have you ever heard about them? - If it is conducted for the sake of your benefits, whether you pay attention to it? - How do you think about those policies in the sense of impacting on your decision to go to Vietnam?	No

Type of question	No.		English	Vietnamese
Policy impact	Impact	5a	There are 5 categories of impact, please tick on the level of impact, level 1 is the less and level 5 is the most: () Macro historical () Stability () International () Domestic () Economic Do you have any further recommendation /expectation for those policies/incentives to get closer to your demand in the future?	None Although Vietnam has been seen as one of the most potential countries in the region for business start-up, technology and legal infrastructure are still the biggest obstacles. Wi-fi is everywhere, but the internet speed is still slow, and if I find an investor who wants to put money in my company it usually takes about six months to complete the paperwork. These factors actually hinder the economic growth of the country in general and the technology sector in
	No	5b	Why don't those policies/incentives work	particular Entrepreneur s like me would love to invest and work in a environment that can deal with those difficulties. I decided to go back due to my demand to treasure a different
	Impact		to you?	experience. Therefore, incentives or policies from the government do not impact on my decision to return.
		6b	What do you think that can make those policies more efficient to attract more overseas Vietnamese to contribute to the Vietnamese ICT industry?	No

3. Mr. F- Age 32
Hanoi, July 2016
Manager of an IT company focusing on educating young talent

Type of question	No.	English	Answer
Determinants of	1	Why did you go to Vietnam to live/work?	I saw the potential resource of talent here. There are a
returning return			lot of young entrepreneurs or people who want to be
			entrepreneurs in Vietnam. I wanted to do something to
			help them and develop with them.
	2	Is there any particular determinant impacting on your decision	
		to go to Vietnam? If yes, please name it.	to my Vietnamese cultural background
	3	As a Viet Kieu/ an oversea Vietnamese, whether the	
		connection with Vietnam makes any difference in the decision	determinants.
		to stay here? Would you mind to share?	
	4	The government has conducted some policies/incentives	
		toward overseas Vietnamese such as Resolution 36 and Decree	
		No. 89.	
		- Have you ever heard about them?	No
		- If it is conducted for the sake of your benefits, whether you	
		pay attention to it?	D-4 1 - 9 \ 1
		- How do you think about those policies in the sense of	4//5/ 1//
Doliov impost	Immost	impacting on your decision to go to Vietnam?5a There are 5 categories of impact, please tick on the level	
Policy impact	Impact	of impact, level 1 is the less and level 5 is the most:	
		() Macro historical () Stability	None
		() International () Domestic	None
		() Economic	
		6a Do you have any further recommendation/expectation	
		for those policies/incentives to get closer to your	No
		demand in the future?	110
	No	5b Why don't those policies/incentives work to you?	I don't know these policies, so I guess the reason is the
	Impact	F	information flow is not good enough
		6b What do you think that can make those policies more	
		efficient to attract more overseas Vietnamese to	can be beneficial to the demand of the people that the
		contribute to the Vietnamese ICT industry?	policies aim at, they would be more attractive.

4. Mr. A
An ICT skilled labour, working in Hanoi for 5 years
(39 years old)

Type of question	No.		English	Answer
Determinants of	1	Why	did you go to Vietnam to live/work?	I got a job offer here, so I returned
returning return	2	Is th	ere any particular determinant impacting on your	I think the job offer is particular enough.
		decis	ion to go to Vietnam? If yes, please name it.	
	3		Viet Kieu/ an oversea Vietnamese, whether the	
			ection with Vietnam makes any difference in the	Not really
			ion to stay here? Would you mind to share?	
	4		government has conducted some policies/incentives	I don't really see the policies, but my company has got a
		l .	rd overseas Vietnamese such as Resolution 36 and	well policy to attract and retain skilled workers.
			ee No. 89.	
			ave you ever heard about them?	The state of the s
			it is conducted for the sake of your benefits,	
			nether you pay attention to it?	
			ow do you think about those policies in the sense of	
D 1' ' '	T ,		pacting on your decision to go to Vietnam?	
Policy impact	Impact	5a	There are 5 categories of impact, please tick on	1111/2/10/21 111
			the level of impact, level 1 is the less and level 5 is the most:	
			() Macro historical () Stability	None.
			() International () Domestic	
			() Economic	
		6a	Do you have any further recommendation	
		ou	/expectation for those policies/incentives to get	No
			closer to your demand in the future?	
	No	5b	Why don't those policies/incentives work to you?	Because I followed my job offer
	Impact	6b	What do you think that can make those policies	
	1		more efficient to attract more overseas	T 1 24 1
			Vietnamese to contribute to the Vietnamese ICT	I don't have any comment
			industry?	

5. Ms. C- Age 30 Hanoi, July 2016 Investor in a funding organization for ICT start-ups

Type of question	No.	English	Answer
Determinants of returning return	1	Why did you go to Vietnam to live/work?	At first, my family is still here and my parents would love to have me around. On the other hand, the demand in ICT market in Vietnam is high, it's a good condition for me to invest here.
	2	Is there any particular determinant impacting on your decision to go to Vietnam? If yes, please name it.	I think the first and foremost determinant is my parents' expectation. Even I received a lot of job offers, I still need to return.
	3	As a Viet Kieu/ an oversea Vietnamese, whether the connection with Vietnam makes any difference in the decision to stay here? Would you mind to share?	Definitely, my parents as I mentioned
	4	 The government has conducted some policies/incentives toward overseas Vietnamese such as Resolution 36 and Decree No. 89. Have you ever heard about them? If it is conducted for the sake of your benefits, whether you pay attention to it? How do you think about those policies in the sense of impacting on your decision to go to Vietnam? 	I don't really know about this
Policy impact	Impact	5a There are 5 categories of impact, please tick on the level of impact, level 1 is the less and level 5 is the most: () Macro historical () Stability () International () Domestic () Economic	None.
		6a Do you have any further recommendation /expectation for those policies/incentives to get closer to your demand in the future?	No
	No Impact	5b Why don't those policies/incentives work to you?	I think the personal reason to return pretty much explains my situation. The other factors like the incentives from the government are not the motivation for me.
		6b What do you think that can make those policies more efficient to attract more overseas Vietnamese to contribute to the Vietnamese ICT industry?	When I invest in Vietnam, I see the challenge for those who want to do business in ICT is the infrastructure in Vietnam such as e-commerce infrastructure. If policies can improve the situation, I think talent will be attracted.

6. Mr. E Skilled Worker in Ho Chi Minh City August, 2016- Age 43

A Vietnamese German man who returned permanently to live in Ho Chi Minh City and is a member of a group of hundreds of overseas Vietnamese intellectuals

Type of question	No.	English	Answer
Determinants of	1	Why did you go to Vietnam to live/work?	A friend in my network offered me a very good job here.
returning return			So I went back
	2	Is there any particular determinant impacting on your	I can't deny the advantage of having a connection with
		decision to go to Vietnam? If yes, please name it.	Vietnamese society and culture. My network with local
		11 11 - 1	Vietnamese friends and relatives is very helpful which
		***	encourage me to return.
	3	As a Viet Kieu/ an oversea Vietnamese, whether the	Yes, as I have mentioned.
		connection with Vietnam makes any difference in the	The last till
	4	decision to stay here? Would you mind to share?	I beard shout the policy violageing Viet View I think
	4	The government has conducted some policies/incentives toward overseas Vietnamese such as Resolution 36 and	I heard about the policy welcoming Viet Kieu. I think it's positive but I'm not really know about the detail of
		Decree No. 89.	this policy.
		- Have you ever heard about them?	this policy.
		- If it is conducted for the sake of your benefits, whether	12 11 11
		you pay attention to it?	(C) 4 (C) 1 (I)
		- How do you think about those policies in the sense of	1 1/2 1/1
		impacting on your decision to go to Vietnam?	A 15% //
Policy impact	Impact	5a There are 5 categories of impact, please tick on the level of	I think my decision to return is very personal.
		impact, level 1 is the less and level 5 is the most:	
		() Macro historical () Stability () International	
		() Domestic () Economic	
		6a Do you have any further recommendation	N.
		/expectation for those policies/incentives to get closer	No
-	No	to your demand in the future? 5b Why don't those policies/incentives work to you?	I think if would I have been empressed by the
	Impact	why don't those poncies/incentives work to you?	I think if would I have been approached by the government, the policies would work.
	ппраст	6b What do you think that can make those policies more	Those policies should be more active
		efficient to attract more overseas Vietnamese to	Those poneres should be more active
		contribute to the Vietnamese ICT industry?	

APPENDIX B

REVIEW FROM ARTICLES AND NEWSPAPER RESOURCE

(3 interviewees)

Interview conducted by Hiep Pham, April 06, 2013

Pham, H. (2013, April 6). Diaspora talent is lured back, but fails to stay. Retrieved December 31, 2016, from University World News, http://www.universityworldnews.com/article.php?story=2013040414214828

• There is a case in the Saigon Hi-Tech park which was at one time hosted heavily 30 Vietnamese experts from the US, Australia, Canada and Japan, but now only a few remain. The reason to explain this situation is

There were many reasons for those experts quitting their jobs: mainly low salaries, lack of accommodation and inadequate infrastructure" - The head of the technology park, Dr Duong Hoa Xo –

- The government has been acknowledged of this issue and trying to enhance the working environment and conditions for talents by issuing the policies. Replying to these policies, Tuan Nguyen said the new plan was "better late than never" and had "some clauses that are more 'advanced' compared to previous plans". But many areas were still unclear.
- Xanh Nguyen, a Vietnamese-German who returned permanently to live in Ho Chi Minh City after retiring, was even more cautious. The mediator of Sci-Edu Forum, a group of hundreds of overseas Vietnamese intellectuals, Xanh said he and others were not convinced about how well the new policy would work in practice.

"They should open the gate as wide as possible, and as soon as possible, and as unbureaucratically as possible, without delay or hesitation. It's overdue," he said. Instead there was "rigid overemphasis" on political ideology and some mistrust of Vietnamese overseas, "which only harms the country", Xanh said.

"The most critical point is whether top government officials still consider science and education as pivotal pillars, dynamic sources of the country's economic development, and consider attracting scientific and technological resources as imperative.

"If yes, they should find ways to attract the worldwide Vietnamese diaspora and through them, foreign resources. If not, they do not need the policy at all," said Xanh