

Factors that Perpetuate International Migration in Ethiopia: the case of Angacha Woreda, Southern Ethiopia, Dessalegn Shamebo¹ and Meshesha Zewde²

Abstract

Nowadays, migration is a global phenomenon as interconnectedness among nations is increasing especially among people of developing countries. Migrants are more connected to their origin than before. This opens a way for additional migration. Accordingly, this study had the objective of identifying the causes of migration by order of migrants and understanding how migration affects the conditions of sending community in migration decision-making, taking the case of Angacha Woreda of Kembata Zone. To realize these objectives, data from migrants' households was collected using questionnaires and key informant interviews. The result revealed that the causes of migration depend on the order of migrants. The result from the analysis showed that for the first migrants, the push factors like poverty, shortage of land, and unemployment were the main causes of migration. In contrast, pull factors like the expectation of better life in the destination were the main causes as the order of migrants in the household increased. The result from the qualitative analysis showed migration through remittance has resulted in the perpetuation of migration as it resulted in inequality in income, housing, education, and an increase in the land price. The result suggests interventions that are used to reduce migration, particularly irregular migration need to take into account factors that perpetuate migration. Also, the result further suggests the need for developing strategies that may use the remittance obtained into productive activities that can enhance employment opportunities in the migrant-sending community rather than perpetuating migration.

Keywords: Causes of migration; order of migrants; perpetuation of migration

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Introduction

Most migration studies in Ethiopia are concerned about internal migration and not much is done on international migration. International migration in Ethiopia is relatively a recent phenomenon that largely began in the 1970s with the Ethiopian Revolution. However, a few had migrated during the Imperial period (Bariagaber, 1997).

During the Imperial period, those who did migrate were primarily elites who went abroad for professional purposes to learn. Those who had migrated were sponsored by the government, hoping to return to their home country and contribute to the modernization of the administration system of the country. Significant migration from Ethiopia to countries beyond the Horn of Africa (HOA) began after the 1974 Revolution (Getachew & Maigenet, 1991). Most of the migrants were illegal migrants who were asylum seekers and refugees to escape from political instability, famine, and persecution (Bariagaber, 1997). International migration was legally restricted during the military government of Ethiopia. However, this changed when the FDRE government came to power in 1991. In

addition, the FDRE constitution has allowed the free movement of people. The FDRE (1995) constitution, in its Article 32(1), has stated "any Ethiopian or foreign national lawfully in Ethiopia has the right to liberty of movement and freedom to choose his residence, as well as the freedom to leave the country at any time he/she wishes to". As a result, the post-1991 period witnessed the booming of international migration from Ethiopia, particularly to the Middle East and the Republic of South Africa (RSA) (Emebet, 2002). The post-1991 period observed the beginning of Ethiopian migration to the RSA, which was liberated from the apartheid yoke at the beginning of the 1990s, in search of greater economic opportunity (Candido, Mekonen, & Asfaw, 2016). Though the magnitude of Ethiopian migration to the RSA is lesser than to the Middle East, RSA has emerged as an important destination for Ethiopian migrants. Recently, there has been an enormous amount of migrants from *Hadiya* and *Kembata-Tembaro* zones to the RSA (Abinet, 2011; Kanko, Bailey, & Teller, 2013). The vast majority of the migrants

are young and economically active. Since the start of migration, the number of migrants has been rising even if there is no official record as most of the migrants use illegal routes.

There are different factors that cause migration. Among these, poverty, unemployment, and shortage of land are the most commonly cited ones. These factors are commonly believed to be the initial causes of migration. However, over the course of time, the causes may change and become different. Migration has an effect on migrant-sending communities through remittance. Understanding its effect on the migrant-sending community is critical, but it is less understood among scholars in influencing migration decisions. Accordingly, this study provides evidence on the dynamic causes of migration by order of migrants and an understanding of the perpetuation of migration in the migrant-sending community. Specifically, the research tries to identify the causes of expanding migration using both traditional causes and the perpetuation theory of migration among rural households.

Literature Review

Introduction

Different scholars have defined migration differently, although there are some common elements in their definitions. According to Lee (1966), migration is “*a permanent or semi-permanent change of residence.*” For Hagen-Zanker (2008), migration is a permanent or temporary move of individuals or groups of people from one geographic location to another for various reasons ranging from better employment possibilities to persecution.

Theories of Migration

There are macro and micro-level theories of migration. Among the macro-level theories, the neoclassical theory is the most known. This theory argues that migration arises because of differences in economic development. The Lewis dual economy model is the most known among the neoclassical migration theories. The labor surplus in the agricultural sector is absorbed by the modern sector (Lewis, 1954). Through the accumulation of capital, the modern sector grows higher than the traditional one. This ultimately leads to wage differential, which leads to the pulling of labor to the modern sector through migration. The other is the dual labor market theory (Piore, 1979) which argues that

migration arises because of pull factors in advanced countries. There is economic dualism in the advanced economy (primary sector (high-status jobs) Vs secondary sector (low-status jobs). Wage is high in the primary sector while it is low in the secondary sector. As a result, the secondary sector may not be attractive to natives. Consequently, the secondary sector acts as a pull factor for migrants. This theory explains some of the current situations in Western countries and Arab nations, particularly in the Middle East. The other is the world system theory (Wallerstein, 1974) which argues that the expansion of colonialism and capitalism have a profound effect on migration. The expansion of capitalism enhanced communication and transportation so that migration. Globalization is a typical example of this theory. Politics can also affect migration. The laws of a nation in relation to migration have a substantial effect on migration. Countries that give due emphasis to national identity and national security restrict migration. Also, in countries where the political situation is repressive migration tends to be high.

The micro-approach to migration argues migration is the result of individuals' decision-making. Migration is the result of pull and push factors that are on the demand and supply side of migration (Lee, 1966). The human capital theory of migration argues migration results from individual investment decisions to increase the productivity of human capital (Sjaastad, 1962). Migration is the result of a cost-benefit analysis of the return of migration. Individuals migrate if the expected returns are positive. The other is the value expectancy model (Crawford, 1973). This is a behavioral model which argues that migrants make a conscious decision based on more than economic considerations (Hagen-Zanker, 2010). This model argues that non-economic factors such as security and societal influence are important factors behind migration decisions. There are a number of factors behind migration. For example, Sandell (1977) and Mincer (1978) viewed migration as a family decision. The new economics of labor migration argues that the decision on migration is made by household members together and for the well-being of the family as a whole (O. Stark & Bl om, 1985). Based on the theory of new economics of labor migration, a household maximizes joint income and status and minimizes risk through migration. If a family expects higher income in addition to relative

income, migration is more likely. Relative income can be taken as a social status in the village or a town. This may have intrinsic value for the household. Thus households that are at the lowest end of both income levels are more likely to send migrants (Hagen-Zanker, 2010). However, Stark (O Stark, 1995) suggested this prediction may not hold for poor households as they struggle to fulfill the bare minimum for survival. They cannot afford migration. Absolute and relative income move in the same direction. So it is difficult to disentangle them. There is also a difference in migration distribution depending on how income is distributed in the community. In a community where income inequality is high, migration tends to be high, especially among low-income groups (Hagen-Zanker, 2010). The new economics for labor migration also observed that migration is a means of overcoming market failure. Where there is no social protection, households are affected by risks. To reduce such risks, households may be forced to make decision about migration. So migration is one of the strategies of the poor in an area where there is high risk (Hagen-Zanker, 2010). Often migration costs are shared among household members. It is a cooperative game among household members. As a result, the migrant is expected to send remittance to home to the family members.

Factors that make migration start are different from factors that make migration perpetuate (Massey, 1990). Migration perpetuates through social capital and social networks (Hagen-Zanker, 2010). Social relationships and social capital in households, neighbors, and communities help in the migration decision and adaptation process. They act as both a resource and an integrating device. Social capital is a resource acquired through relationships (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992) and can be converted into other types of capital (eg. Borrowing money for migration from a neighbor). The pioneer provides new migrants access to the destination country easily (Hagen-Zanker, 2010). New migrants receive help from pioneer migrants, from arranging the trip to finding a job and making networks, migration becomes accessible to all levels of the population. Migration results in income inequality. This ultimately makes more migration to address income inequality (Hagen-Zanker, 2010).

To explain perpetuated migration, social

network theories are the most known and frequently used theories. According to this theory, as migratory flows are established, migrants and other actors develop networks and institutions to promote additional migration (Garni, 2010). The theory argues that the primary causes of migration that are rooted in both sending and receiving contexts are less important in explaining migration after some time. However, this theory does not consider the change in local conditions that arose because of migration in the sending community. Migration scholars are missing an important part of the story of why many are continuing migrating leaving their community of origin. Understanding the local condition of the migrant-sending community is important to why migration continues and how migration and development are continuing in the area.

Methodology

Introduction

To realize the objective of the research descriptive research design was used. The study entirely used cross-sectional data. The study used a mixed-method research approach. It used both qualitative and quantitative data. The quantitative data was collected from households that have migrants. The qualitative data was collected using key informant interviews with people that have better information on the dynamics of migration in the study area.

Sampling Method

The data was collected from one of the zones of the Southern Nations, Nationalities, and Peoples' Region (SNNPR), namely the Kembata Zone, where there is high migration to South Africa and Arab countries. From the zone again, Angacha *woreda* was randomly selected. From Angacha *woreda* three Kebeles (lowest administrative level) were selected randomly. The sampling strategy was based on a two-stage approach. First, a listing was made at each kebele to identify migrant households that have at least one family member living in South Africa, Arab countries, Europe, and America as a migrant. Once the list of migrant households was obtained from the corresponding Kebeles, households were randomly selected from the list. A migrant in this study is defined as any member of the household who has been living in another country for a minimum of one year.

Tools of Data Collection

In collecting the data required to achieve the

objective of the study, both quantitative and qualitative data were collected concurrently. Accordingly, both questionnaires and key informant interviews (KII) were used. The questionnaire was used to collect quantitative data from the sampled households. Data on migrants and household characteristics were collected. This includes demographic and socio-economic background information such as age, sex, religion, educational status, place of residence, and marital status of both the households and the migrants. As well data on migration were also collected. The questionnaire contained both close-ended and open-ended questions. The data was collected from 212 migrant households. In addition to the questionnaire, qualitative data was collected using key informant interviews with 8 key informants. The interview was conducted with individuals that have more information about the study area. The informants were from Woreda administrative (3), Kebele administrative (3), and returnees (2). This was used to comprehend information that cannot be obtained using a questionnaire.

Method of Analysis

The objective of the study was to identify the causes of expanding migration by order of migrants in the households and understand the causes of migration using migration perpetuation theory among rural households. To achieve this objective descriptive analysis was used. Also, to analyze the quantitative data obtained, thematic analysis was employed.

Results and Discussion

Characteristics of the Respondents' Households and Migrants

To realize the objective of the research, data

was collected from 212 households.

Together data using key informant interviews was collected and used. Accordingly, hereunder the characteristics of the migrant households head and the characteristics of the migrants are discussed. As can be seen in Table 1, there was a significant number of households headed by women (33%). This was higher than what is usually presumed. This high number of female-headed households may arise partly because of the migration of a high number of married males to South Africa. The result also shows households were headed by individuals with various education levels. As the level of education increases, the proportion of household head under each category declines. A significant number of households were headed (50.5%) by illiterate individuals. Also, the table shows the majority of the households' heads were followers of protestant Christians (74.5%). The majority (76.4%) of the households' livelihood depends on agriculture followed by trade (12.26%) and government work (7%). The data also shows the average family size of the households was 6.34. All the above results showed data was collected from households of various characteristics.

Recently, migration has been becoming a global phenomenon, particularly in developing countries. These migrants have their own characteristics. Of the total households, about 72% of the households had at least one international migrant, while the rest (28%) had at least one domestic and one international migrant. About 57% of the households had one international migrant, 34% had two international migrants, and 8.5% had more than two international migrants

The average age of the migrants was 26.5 years. This implies most of the migrants are

young. As Table 4.2 shows, more than two-thirds (66.67%) of the migrants were males. Most of the migrants to the RSA were males, while most of the migrants to the Middle East were females. As well most of the migrants were single (77.38%). The result obtained from key informant interviews reflected that young and single have more intention to migrate to other countries, particularly to RSA and to the Middle East. The data also showed that all the migrants had a primary and above level of education. The data further showed the vast majority of the migrants (62.46%) had a secondary level of education. About 7.16% of the migrants had above the secondary level of education. When we see the destination countries of the migrants, the data shows more than half (65.6%) of the migrants migrated to the Republic of South Africa. Still, a significant proportion of the migrants migrated to the Middle East (29.7%). About 33.43%, 38.95%, and 27.61% of the migrants had a duration of 1-3 years, 4-6 years, and above 6 years since they migrated. This implies migration has been expanding in Woreda in recent years.

Furthermore, the data showed more than 73.24% of the migrants migrated irregularly. The result from the key informant interview also showed that most of the migrants migrate irregularly. Individuals were migrating out despite a number of challenges they were facing, even up to death. Also, more than half (52.95%) of the migrants made a decision to migrate by themselves. Still, a significant number of migrants migrated through a family decisions. This was especially common among very young migrants. The data also showed more than three fourth (77.96%) of the migrants migrated temporarily with the intention of returning. As a result, migrants tend to remit part of their income either to invest, save or consume

Currently, a large number of youths are not interested in going to school, expecting migration either to the Middle East or to South Africa. Particularly it is common for male youths to migrate to RSA while it is to the Middle East for young women. The result also showed more than two-thirds (68.29%) of the households have household members that have the intention to migrate abroad.

Reasons for Migration

There is wide range of reasons that derive individuals to migrate. Broadly these reasons can be classified into push and pull

factors. Accordingly, an effort has been made to identify the causes of migration. The results are displayed in Figure 1 below. As the result shows, the expectation for a better life, poverty or shortage of land, and unemployment were suggested to be the most important factors behind migration. In addition to these, family pressure and peer pressure were found to be important factors behind migration.

As the number of migrants from the households may be greater than one, the main reasons for migration for each of the migrants were asked. The results are displayed in Figure 4.1. Accordingly, for the first migrants, the main factors identified are poverty or shortage of land (34.98%), the expectation for a better life (28.57%), and unemployment (20.20%), while for the second migrants, the expectation of better life (35.54%), unemployment (21.49%), and peer pressure (17.36%) are the leading causes. The data shows the majority of the third migrants migrated expecting a better life (58.54%). The result clearly shows the proportion of migrants who migrate because of expecting a better life, and peer pressure increases as the order of migrants increases in the household increases.

The theory of cumulative causation in migration is used to evaluate the qualitative data obtained from the Woreda using key informant interviews. The theory suggests the principal mechanisms to explain self-perpetuating migration (Garni, 2010). Migration may result in relative deprivation in the sending community; thus, it fuels further migration (De Haas, 2010; Garni, 2010; Massey, Goldring, & Durand, 1994). Nowadays, emigrants have a strong attachment to their origin. As a result, they remit part of their income to their origin. This ultimately results in inequality in well-being between migrant and non-migrant households in the sending community. If the means of improving the livelihoods of non-migrant households is low, migration becomes a means to eliminate these inequalities. Thus non-migrant households will be forced to make migration decisions (Massey et al., 1994).

As the result above shows, historically the cause of migration in this particular area is lack of land or poverty, unemployment, and expectation of better life. These causes of migration are connected to poverty and unemployment, which are the root causes of migration decisions. These causes of migration over the course of time were

Table 1: Demographic Characteristics of the Migrant Household Heads

Characteristics	Number	Frequency
Sex	Male	67
	Female	33
Education	Illiterate	50.5
	Primary	28.2
	Secondary	11.8
	Above secondary	9.4
Religion	Orthodox Christian	15
	Protestant Christian	74.5
	Catholic	9.9
	Muslim	0.47
Livelihood	Farming	76.4
	Trade	12.26
	Government work	7
	Private employee	2.36
	Others (like construction)	1.89

replaced by social network theory. Often social network theory is used as a base for an explanation of perpetuated migration. The social network theory argues migrants in the developed world maintain ties with their origin. These ties may serve as social capital for those who want to migrate (Garni, 2010). However, studies so far ignored perpetuation theory which was developed based on cumulative causation theory. According to cumulative causation theory, migration changes individual motivation and social structure opening a way for additional migration (Garni, 2010). Migration has cumulative causation through the expansion of networks, the distribution of income, and the distribution of land, and the distribution of human capital.

Migration may have a demonstration effect on non-migrant households. Remittances obtained may enable

Often households that have migrant members send their children to urban areas. Also, most of the migrants are not that educated. They want their children to be educated. Especially if they have very young children, they prefer to send them to better schools in urban centers. Recognizing how being an immigrant is a tough and risky life, often migrants want to invest much in the education of their children or household member. Consequently, non-migrant households will be motivated to send household members.

Table 2 Characteristics of the Migrants

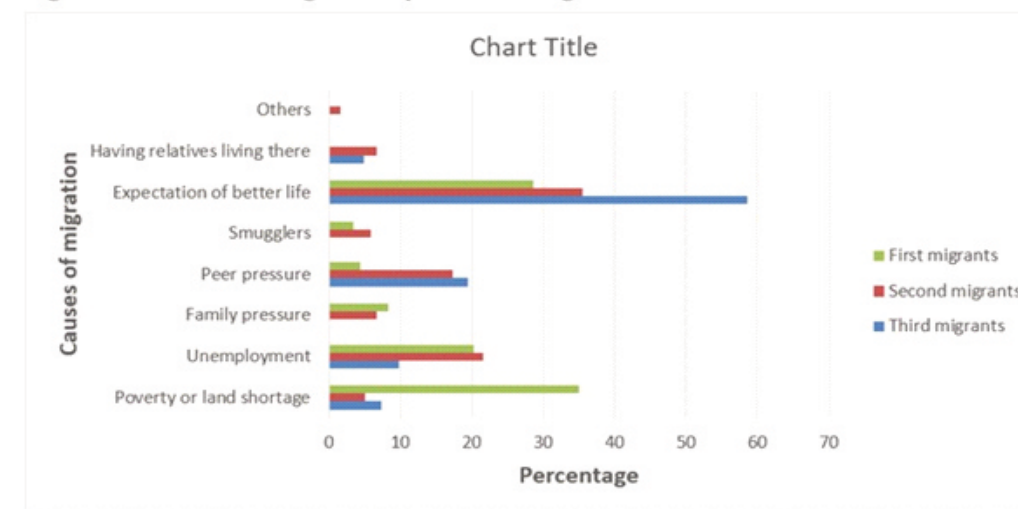
Characteristics of the migrants		Number	Percentage
Sex	Male	244	66.67
	Female	122	33.33
Marital status	Single	284	77.38
	Married	83	22.62
Education levels	Primary	106	30.37
	Secondary	218	62.46
	Above secondary	25	7.16
Destination country	South Africa	210	65.6
	Middle east	95	29.7
	USA	15	4.7
Duration since migrated	1-3	115	33.43
	4-6	134	38.95
	7-9	63	18.31
	>=10	32	9.30
How moved out	Legally	91	26.76
	Irregular	249	73.24
Decision to move	Oneself	181	52.95
	Friends	42	12.28
	Family	114	33.33
	Other	5	1.46
Type of migration	Permanent	80	22.04
	Temporary	282	77.96

households to send their children to private schools. As a result, non-migrant households think if they had migrant household members, they could have sent their children too. *"I went to South Africa to obtain something for my family, especially for my children"* (A key informant interview with the returnee). Similarly, one of the key informant interviewees from the Kebele administrator reflected on his view on why he has migrated as follows:

Income sends in the form of remittances is likely to widen income inequalities in migrant-sending communities (Rybakovsky & Ryazantsev, 2005). Most informants repeatedly reported that households that have migrants are leading a better life in the community. Income inequality is increasing in their community. Remittances may enable migrant households to invest in businesses:

Most businesses in Woreda are established by migrants.

Figure 1: Reasons for Migration by Order of Migrants in the Household



For example, my two brothers migrated to South Africa. I opened this with the money they send to the family. Had they not been there life would have been difficult for us because the cost of living is rising. (Shop owner)

Remittance is raising the cost of living. According to one of the key informants *"nowadays migration is becoming a common phenomenon in the Woreda. This is mainly because of the migration itself"*. (Woreda education officer). Looking at what those educated and employed are getting, many young children are not going to school or they lost the appetite to education. Looking at the style of wearing and shoeing of migrants households, children may not be interested in going to school. As one of the Woreda education officers stated:

The very effect of migration is its effect on education. Nowadays, many children are not interested in going to school or they often miss classes because their intention is not to continue with education. They are spending school until they get a chance to migrate. Before students in this area were hardworking. But nowadays, a lot are losing interest in education. For example, the number of students passing the national examination to join

the university is decreasing year after year.

Remittances often spend on the purchase of land in the sending community, this ultimately makes the land price to be expensive. Thus ownership of land becomes unattainable for a non-migrant member of the community (Garni, 2010). Consequently, they will be forced to migrate to compete in land ownership. Thus changing conditions in the sending community are likely to induce further migration. In developing countries, particularly in areas that are not major cities, the land is the main area of investment. In the Woreda, the flowing and growing of remittance could not stimulate investment in other areas than on land. It is resulting in a rise in land prices. According to one of the key informant interviews with Kebele administrator:

In this area, agriculture is the only means of living. There is high demographic pressure with a growing labor force. The area is densely populated. There is no investment opportunity. Often families spend the money buying land. The land is currently unattainable to the commons. The price of land is too much expensive compared to other areas of the country.

The other factor in relation to the demonstration effect of migration is housing. Often the money obtained through remittance is spent on house construction.

Looking at the houses of their neighbors households may make migration decisions. According to one of the key informants with the *kebele* level administrator:

The first thing that migrants do to their households is renew or construct a new house for their families. In the community, having a good house is considered prestigious. A household shows he has a household member if it has a good house. The community appreciates this. This ultimately forces non-migrant households to send their family member."

Also, households that have migrant members are able to feed their children better. Looking at this, non-migrant households will be motivated to send their family member even up to leasing or selling their land. According to a returnee migrant:

Before, my children do not have milk. I went to South Africa five years before leasing my land. I send them some amount of money to buy milk cow. Currently, my children are getting milk. I could not have done this had I not gone to South Africa. There is nothing to look forward except to fulfilling the basic things of my family. I took the risk of illegal migration to support my family.

All the above evidence shows migration is changing the local conditions of the migrant-sending community. It results in a rise in the land price, an increase in income inequality, a difference in education and housing, which ultimately impacts non-migrant households to send their household member as a migrant. These again are enhancing further migration in the Woreda.

Conclusion

Nowadays, migration is a global phenomenon as interconnectedness among nations is increasing. Differently from earlier days, currently, migrants are more connected

to their origin than before. This is changing the social structure, which opens the way for additional migration. Accordingly, this paper had the objective of identifying the causes of migration by order of migrants in the household and understanding factors that lead perpetuation of migration, taking the case of Angacha Woreda.

The result showed first migrants are motivated more by push factors. As the order of migrants in the household increases, the effect of pull factors outweighs push factors. Also, the result showed the current migration in Woreda is resulting in changes in the economic and social conditions of the sending community. These changes may include the rise in the land price, rise in income inequality, and expansion of social networks. The changing conditions are facilitating and encouraging perpetuation of migration.

As a result, migration is perpetuating itself. The result suggests interventions that are used to reduce migration, particularly irregular migration need to take into account factors that perpetuate migration. Also, the result further suggests the need for developing strategies that may use the remittance obtained into productive activities that can enhance employment opportunities in the migrant-sending community rather than perpetuating migration through increasing inequalities. This implies reducing migration without stabilizing the economy, and understanding the cumulative causation of migration is impossible.

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