Uncertain Migration Impacts on Sending Households in Rural Areas in Northwest Ethiopia

Atsede Desta[1]

Abstract

The relative impact of migration on the living conditions of sending households through remittances has been much debated. This paper aims to shed light on debates on long- and short-term impacts of migration, drawing on empirical evidence from North-West Ethiopia. The study was guided by the New Economic Labour Migration theory and used some retrospective survey data from 553 households and semi-structured interviews with long-term, short-term or no migrants. The difference-in-differences method helped to assess the changes of households with migrants compared to the non-migrant-sending households in the same area and in the same period. The results illustrate the uncertainty of migration strategies in terms of actual remittances and livelihood improvements for the sending households.

Keywords: short-term migration, long-term migration, remittances, Ethiopia, 2004, 2014

1. Introduction

The impact of uncertain migration on the households or communities left behind is widely unclear (Mckenzie and Sasin 2007; Mendola 2012; Egger and Litchfield 2017). Some studies emphasize the social cost that migration imposes on families left behind, such as absence of labour and forgone household production (Nida 2006; Schmook and Radel 2008; Gray and Bilsborrow 2014). On the contrary, others show the positive role migration plays on poverty-reduction, e.g. by improving food security and household income, by increasing agricultural production through technological application, investments or the improved social capital of migrants (Taylor 1999; Qin 2010; Wouterse 2010; Afaha 2011; Adaku 2013). As a risk-sharing strategy, migration also serves to lower food demand through a reduction in household size (de Haas 2007; Karamba *et al.* 2011; Gibson *et al.* 2013).

[1]Atsede Desta, Ph.D., is an assistant professor in the Department of Population Studies, College of Social Sciences and Humanities, University of Gonder. E-mail: atsedetegegne@gmail.com.

Case studies also provided mixed evidence about migration as a coping versus an asset accumulation strategy. On the one hand, migration was observed to support investments in economic activities or assets that sustainably enhanced the future income-earning potential (Taylor and Mora 2006; Airola 2007; Chiodi *et al.* 2012). On the other hand, migration and remittances were classified as short-term coping strategies that help dependent households to achieve a basic level of consumption, which directly improves the current quality of life of the family but will not lead to any long-term ameliorations (Quartey 2006; de Haas 2007; de Brauw and Rozelle 2008; Afaha 2011; Tuladhar *et al.* 2014).

On top of the uncertain knowledge on migration effects and their sustainability, we know very little about the differences between short- and long-term migration. Whereas studies on household effects of migration usually focus on long-term and international migration, Zezza *et al.* (2011) highlighted an important difference between long-term and short-term migration strategies for households located in developing countries. While long-term migrants send remittances back to their home countries due to the relationship they maintain with their families, short-term migrants personally bring in kind or money remittances to their families. A study using panel data in Vietnam (Nguyen and Winters 2011) suggested that short-term migration has a stronger positive impact on food, in terms of both expenditure and calorie consumption, than long-term migration. Despite the disadvantages of long-term migration regarding brain drain and local development, empirical studies comparing long- and short-term migration effects on households in developing countries are scarce.

With this article, we want to contribute to the scarce knowledge on household level impacts of migration and compare associated results from 553 respondents in Northwest Ethiopia by addressing the following research questions:

1) How does migration affect households' living conditions?
2) Are there differences between short- and long-term migration effects?

In Ethiopia, there is yet very little evidence regarding the impact of migration on sending households. The positive contributions of migration

include supplementing household incomes, repaying debts and improving household livelihoods (Dejene Aredo 2005; Degefa 2005; Nida 2006; Woldie *et al.* 2010). Most of those existing studies have been subjected to lack of counterfactual information (i.e. information about the situation of migrant households if none of the family had migrated) as they rely on cross-sectional survey data (Gibson *et al.* 2011). Authors like de Brauw *et al.* (2013) and Andersson (2014) investigated the effect of long-term migration using panel data and a matching approach, respectively, and confirmed the positive impact of migration on consumption. Ethiopian households who sent international migrants spent about 22% more money on food than households without migrants (Teferi 2016).

2. Methods

2.1. Study areas, sampling and data collection

This study focused on four rural *kebeles* (the lowest formal administrative unit of local government in Ethiopia). Those were: Adisge-Miligebsa, Woken Zuria, Nara-Awdarda, and Walideba. The kebeles are situated in three different districts: Debark, Dabat, and Chilga in North Gondar zone of the Amhara region, Ethiopia. The study kebeles are part of a larger interdisciplinary TRANSACT project (Strengthening Rural Transformation Competences of Higher Education and Research Institutions in the Amhara Region), which is the reason behind the purposive selection of the study sites (Atsede and Penker 2016). The kebeles were selected to cover a broad variety of rural contexts and livelihood zones. Due to time and logistical constraints, 12 sub-kebeles, covering a variety of distances to the nearest road, were proportionally and purposively selected. Based on lists of households obtained from health posts in each kebele, the survey data come from 553 proportionally and randomly selected households of 12 sub-kebeles, with long-term, short-term or no migrants. They represent 11% of all households in each of the four kebeles. Nine deserted households, i.e. rare cases of out-migration of the entire household, were substituted by the nearest household, as no one was left to provide information. Households in the study areas dominantly rely on mixed crop-livestock production, are governed within the same Ethiopian policy framework, and members of the households speak the same language.

Furthermore, the present study documented data from explorative interviews (conducted in April and May 2014) followed by a quantitative survey. The explorative study captured the insights of 18 key informants (return migrants from long-term migration, heads of migrant-sending households, short-term migrants in each kebele, and four focus group discussions with community representatives, kebele leaders and development agents (e.g. agricultural extension and health extension workers). We mainly addressed the underlying causalities for migration decisions and benefits. The qualitative result from this explorative study helped us to understand the features of migration, to select the New Economic Labour Migration approach as useful framework, since, in the study areas, migration decisions were made by households with the hope for remittances and it supported the contextualization of the questionnaire.

The questionnaire contained close-ended questions about a set of demographic and economic variables, including marital status, family size, housing condition, education, access to land and property size, livestock assets, agricultural and non-agricultural activities, migration status, and availability and use of remittance. Each household was interviewed only once; but some data was collected for two points of time, i.e., the status of households in the time of data collection (2014), and the year in which migration occurred for migrant-sending households or ten years before (2004) for non-migrant-sending households. Of the total of 553 households, 58% had, at least, one migrant and about 46% and 37% of the households sent long-term and short-term migrants, respectively, while 17% accommodate both short-term and long-term migrants. Over 90% of the migrants first left in 2004 or later. This confirmed our choice of reference period for non-migrant sending households.

2.2. Method of data analysis

The effect of migration was operationalised by the difference in net changes of three continuous variables (namely, *number of economic activities, livestock asset,* and *cultivated land size*), which were assessed with a t-test comparing migrant and non-migrant households as well as short- and long-term migrant sending households. In a similar logic, cross tabulation was used for the categorical variables (*housing, perceived food status in*

comparison to neighbours and draught animals) to show the differences in both points of time for migrant sending and non-migrant-sending households as well as short- and long-term migrant-sending households. The findings were cross-validated with explorative qualitative interviews to understand underlying motivations and causes of migration.

3. Results and Discussion

Out of the sample households, 320 sent at least one migrant whereas 233 did not send migrants. It is evident that not all migrant-sending households received remittances. About 30% of the 149 long-term and 25% of the 118 short-term migrant-sending households were never remitted (Table 1).

Table 1. Number of respondent households receiving remittances

	Households with no migrants (NMH)	Households with long-term migrants only (LTH)	Households with short-term migrants (STH)	Households with both long- and short-term migration
Adisge-Miligebsa (N=154)	77	52	14	11
Woken-Zuria(N=177)	76	55	30	16
Nara-Awdarda(N=147)	56	38	34	19
Walideba(N=75)	24	4	40	7
Total	**233**	**149**	**118**	**53**
Share of households never remitted	n.a	28.9%	24.6%	7.5

Households that had received remittances showed slightly different patterns of spending them (Figure 1). However, both short- and long-term migrant sending households used the largest share of remittances for *consumptive purposes, i.e.* for easing their immediate needs such as food, clothing, educational materials and health-related expenses.

In the explorative study, focus group discussants (FGD) explained that:

> 'today young people have no alternatives and we have not enough land to share with them. Migration to urban areas, Metema and Humera, out of Ethiopia to Sudan and Arab countries, is the only alternative to minimize the households pressure, at least they feed themselves and send some money for family' (FGD-WZ in similar wording also FGD-AM; FGD-NA; FGD-W).

Key informants (KI) involved in seasonal migration added:

> Agricultural production is not enough even for our food consumption, I usually engage in seasonal wage labour activities to generate additional income for family consumption. (KI-AM; in similar wording KI-WZ).
>
> In our villages, youths, particularly males, went annually to Metema and Humera to earn money, usually involved in a labour wage either in kind or cash; they support households if they can or cover at least their personal expenses for clothes, educational materials. (FGD-NA; FGD-W; FGD-AM).

Both groups, households with long- and short-term migrants, used remittances to repay their loans mainly for agricultural input debts (fertilizer and improved seeds).

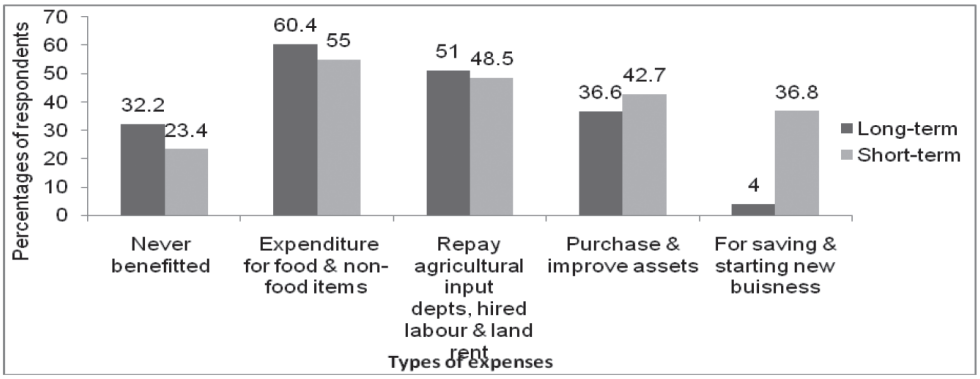

Figure 1. Households' expenditure allocation financed by remittances from short- and long-term migration

In the same vein, a household head, a short-term migrant, said:

> I went seasonally to Metema every year since 2008. I got 40–50 quintal of maize or 10–15 quintal of sesame in each of the seasons. The income from the sale of the produce varies based on the market opportunity; but is used to repay fertilizer debts, to cover the expenses for my children's cloths and educational materials, and to build my house with corrugated iron sheet.....' (2KI-NA).

However, there is one interesting difference between short- and long-term migration. A higher proportion (37%) of the households with short-term migrants used remittances for saving and investments, when compared to only 4% of households with long-term migrants. As short-term migrants live with their families most of the year, they can better control the use of remittances, increase savings rates, and improve assets for the household

and themselves. Improving or purchasing a house or buying draught animals was mentioned as major asset both for long- and short-term migrant sending households. The following quote exemplifies this: "*.... I and my brother built a house in corrugated iron sheet for our parents, and bought farm oxen" (1KI-NA)*. A key informant also illustrated:

> I have seven years experience of seasonal migration to Metema while I was a student. I took the benefit of migration than education. Currently, I bought a house in the nearby town as well as in our kebele here; it also provides me capital to start a new business. (1KI-W).

Focus group discussants considered long-term migration as a possibility to reduce household size and thus overall household consumption. Accounts:

> Migration become the only option to minimize the household pressure, at least they feed themselves at their destinations. (FGDs-WZ; in similar wording also mentioned by FGD-AM).

Note that the above descriptive analysis only focuses on remitted households. To better understand the magnitude of effect of remittance on households, we quantitative compared the 244 households who received remittances either from short-term (118) or long-term (126) migrants to those without migrants (233) at two different points in time. There is a gap between the 244 migrant households included in the difference-in-differences method and the 320 migrant-sending households listed in Table 1. We had to exclude 76 households because they never received any remittances from both long- and short-term migrants.

To understand whether migrant sending households' livelihoods improved due to remittances in the study area, we compared households with migrants (either long- or short-term) with households without migrants using double-difference estimates. Table 2 shows the net changes of household investment and assets (livestock, cultivated land, number of economic activities, draught animals) and consumption variables (household food status as perceived by interviewees and house roofing) between migrant- and non-migrant households by looking at the baseline and 2014 scores for the three continuous variables (t-test) and for the categorical variables (chi-square test).

Table 2. Net changes between migrant- sending and non-migrant sending households

	Migrant households (MH) (N=244; 51%)		Non-migrant households (NMH) (N=233; 49%)		Development (t_1-t_0)		Gap between migrant and non-migrant households		The difference-in the mean-differences
Continuous variables	Mean (MHt_0)	Mean (MHt_1)	Mean ($NMHt_0$)	Mean ($NMHt_1$)	MH development (MHt_1-MHt_0	NMH development ($NMHt_1$-$NMHt_0$	Gap t_0 (MHt_0-$NMHt_0$)	Gap t_1 (MHt_1-$NMHt_1$)	MH dev. - NMH dev. (= gap t_1 - gap t_0)
Livestock assets (TLU[1])	6.975	3.505	4.685	2.514	-3.470***	-2.171***	2.290***	0.991***	-1.300**
Cultivated land in ha	1.326	1.323	1.060	1.177	-0.003	0.117**	0.266***	0.146*	-0.120*
Number of economic activities	4.780	4.920	3.970	4.450	0.140	0.480 ***	0.810***	0.470*	-0.340**
Categorical variables (shares in %)	Share (MHt_0)	Share (MHt_1)	Share ($NMHt_0$)	Share ($NMHt_1$)	MH development (MHt_1-MHt_0	NMH development ($NMHt_1$-$NMHt_0$	Gap t_0 (MHt_0-$NMHt_0$)	Gap t_1 (MHt_1-$NMHt_1$)	MH dev. - NMH dev. (= gap t_1 - gap t_0)
One or more draught animals	82,4	80,7	73,9	79.9	-1,7	6.0	8,6*	0,9***	-7,7
Household food status (sufficient)	61.9	69.3	73.0	44.6	7.4	--28.4	-11.1*	24.7***	35.8
House roofing (iron sheet)	34.0	91.4	27.0	80.3	57.4	53,3	7.0	11.1**	4.1

t_0= before the first migration or in 2004 for non-migrant-sending households; t_1= 2014

*** ($p<0.001$), ** ($p<0.01$) * ($p<0.5$)

[1] Tropical Livestock Unit = a standardized animal unit equivalent to live-weight of 250 kg: 1 ox = 1.1 TLU, 1 cow = 0.8 TLU, 1 bull= 0.6 TLU, 1 heifer= 0.5 TLU, 1 calf= 0.2 TLU, 1 horse/donkey or mule = 0.36 TLU, 1 sheep or goat = 0.1 TLU and 1 chicken = 0.01 TLU (FAO 2003). There is an overlap between TLU and draught animal, however TLU is the most available form of physical asset, which may also compensate credit and saving imperfections in rural Ethiopia.

Land and livestock holding are essential assets for rural livelihood in Ethiopia,. In addition, if the hope for remittances from migrants holds true, we assumed a comparatively better development of migrant households compared to those without migrants. The analysis of livestock assets showed that migrant households were in a significantly better position than non-migrant households at both points of time (Table 2). However, over the analysis period, livestock assets declined for both groups. The significantly negative values of the difference-in-the mean-differences (-1.300) shows a slightly higher decline among migrant-sending households.

Access to land is the most important asset for livelihoods in rural Ethiopia. In the study sites, the size of cultivated land differs from the size of farming land held. Households relatively rich in terms of capital (labour, draught power or farm inputs) are often involved in sharecropping or renting of land. Although migrant-sending households had access to more land at both points of time, the negative double difference estimate shows that non-migrant households could increase their access to land over the years, whereas migrant-sending households suffered a tiny decline of cultivated land in the same period.

Compared to non-migrant households, the number of economic activities is greater for migrant households at both points of time. However, also for this variable, the relative change between the two points of time is significantly higher for non-migrant households; and, thus, the estimate of the double-difference for the number of economic activities is negative (-0.340).

Focusing on draught animals, another production asset, which also helps compensating credit and saving imperfections of households, we see that the proportion of migrant households having one or more draught animals is greater than that for non-migrants in both points of time (Table 2). However, the share of draught animals increased for non-migrant sending households (6.0), while it decreased for migrant-sending households (-1.7). This resulted in a significantly negative net change in the share of migrant-sending households with draught animals (-7.7). The cross-tabulation result for both consumption variables (perceived relative food status and iron sheet roof) shows that migrant-sending households developed comparatively

better positive difference in difference co-efficients). At both points in time analysed, a higher share of migrant-sending households did perceive themselves as having sufficient food and had iron roofed house.

Considering the above-mentioned results, we test the first hypothesis that "migrant-sending households' livelihood improved due to remittances". If we only look on consumptive benefits (food sufficiency and roof), we can confirm the hypothesis. However, looking at asset accumulation, non-migrant sending households performed better over the period analysed.

For testing if long-term migrants are actually benefiting more than short-term migrants did, we compared the development of household assets and consumption indicators of both short- and long-term migrant households for the period of analysis. Looking at the livestock assets of long- and short-term migrant households, we see that households with long-term migrants had relatively smaller livestock assets at both points of time (Table 3). Despite the statistically insignificant estimate of the double-difference, long-term migrant households had a sharper decline over the time period analysed (-3.966 vs -2.940). Regarding cultivated land, the comparison between long- and short-term migration showed only very small and statistically insignificant differences.

Short-term migrant-sending households on average had more economic activities at both times of point. The significantly negative double-difference estimate (-0.520) suggests that short-term migrant-sending households rather expanded the number of economic activities (0.410) than long-term migrant-sending households (-0.110) did.

Over the period, the proportion of households having one or more draught animals increased relatively faster among households with short-term migration. Thus, all figures on household investment and asset variables are in line with the answers to the direct question on the expenditure of remittances, which showed that short-term migration played a more important role for saving, asset improvement and investment than long-term migration did (Figure 2). This contradicts the previous hypothesis.

If we look at the two consumption variables (perceived food status and iron sheet roof), the two positive difference in difference estimates indicate that more households with long-term migration could improve their consumption status compared to households with short-term migrants. This result is in line with the answers to the direct question on the use of remittances (Figure 2.)

Table 3: Net changes between long- and short-term migrant households

Continuous variables	**Long-term migrant households (LTH) (N=126, 51.6%)**		**Short-term migrant households (STH) (N=118, 48.4%)**		**Development (t_1-t_0)**		**Gap between long-term and short-term migrant households**		**The difference in the mean differences**
	Mean LTHt_0)	***Mean (LTHt_1)***	***Mean (STHt_0)***	***Mean (STHt_1)***	***LTH development (LTHt_1-LTHt_0***	***STH development (STHt_1-STHt_0***	***Gap t_0 before (LTHt_0-STHt_0)***	***Gap t_1 (LTt_1-STt_1)***	***LTH dev. – STH dev. (= gap t_1 - gap t_0)***
Livestock assets (TLU[1])	6.782	2.816	7.181	4.241	-3.966***	-2.940***	-0.398	-1.425***	-1.026
Cultivated land (ha)	1.329	1.289	1.322	1.358	-0.040	0.036	0.007	-0.069	-0.076
Number of economic activities	4.610	4.500	4.960	5.360	-0.110	0.410**	-0.350	-0.860***	-0.520**
Categorical variables (shares in %)	Share (LTt_0)	Share (LTt_1)	Share (STt_0)	Share (STt_1)	LT development (LTt_1- LTt_0)	ST development (STt_1-STt_0)	Gap t_0 (LTt_0 - - STt_0)	Gap t_1 (LTt_1- STt_1)	LT dev. – ST dev. (= gap t_1 - gap t_0)
One or more draught animals	83.3	77.8	81,4	83,9	-5.5	2,5	1.9	-6.1	-8.0
Household food status (sufficient)	59.3	69.8	64.3	68.6	10.5	4.3	-5.0	1.2	6.2
House roofing (Iron sheet)	36.5	92.9	31.4	89.8	56.4	58.4	5.1	3.1	-2.0

*** (p<0.001), ** (p<0.01) * (p<0.5)

[1] Tropical Livestock Unit = a standardized animal unit equivalent to live-weight of 250 kg: 1 ox = 1.1 TLU, 1 cow = 0.8 TLU, 1 bull= 0.6 TLU, 1 heifer= 0.5 TLU, 1 calf= 0.2 TLU, 1 horse/donkey or mule = 0.36 TLU, 1 sheep or goat = 0.1 TLU and 1 chicken = 0.01 TLU (FAO 2003). There is an overlap between TLU and draught animal, however TLU is the most available form of physical asset, which may also compensate credit and saving imperfections in rural Ethiopia.

Source: Retrospective data (2014)

The analysis of migration impacts on left households is confronted with several challenges discussed above. Except for a limited number of national level empirical studies (de Brauw *et al.* 2013; Andersson 2014), these challenges have not yet been sufficiently addressed in Ethiopian local context migration studies.

In developing countries, collecting recall data is often the only reliable source since panel data on migration is very expensive (Smith and Thomas 2003). Despite recall bias, scholars like Smith and Thomas (2003) or de Brauw and Carletto (2012) emphasised the merit of retrospective data.

In our study, we combined the retrospective data with qualitative insights from explorative semi-structured interviews. Although the retrospective data analysis is intended to mitigate the effects of extraneous factors and selection bias, this method may still be subject to certain biases (e.g. reverse causality, recall bias); but it tackles endogeneity problems arising from selection bias and omitted variables. As quantitative studies cannot identify the actual causalities of the migration effects on households' living conditions (Mckenzie and Sasin 2007), findings from qualitative interviews helped to shed some additional light on underlying causalities.

Several studies on international migration question the structural, long-term impact of remittances. Focusing on Africa, studies in Ghana (Quartey 2006), Uganda (Jagger *et al.* 2011), Ethiopia (de Brauw *et al.* 2013; Teferi 2016) and Nigeria (Afaha 2011) showed that remittances played a crucial role in relaxing households from consumption constraints and satisfying immediate needs. Studies in Latin America (Bendixen and Onge 2005), in Mexico (Esquivel and Huerta-pineda 2007), in Ecuador (Calero *et al.* 2009) and in Nepal (Tuladhar *et al.* 2014) also showed that the highest proportion of remittances was spent on meeting the recipients' basic needs, including food, durable goods and clothing. Only a very small share went into savings and business investment. Our results confirm the function of long-term migration as limited to a short-term coping strategy that helps dependent households to improve their level of consumption (Van der Geest 2010; Atamanov and Van Den Berg 2012). For short-term migration, however, we

identified a significantly higher effect on household's investment expenditures and the asset accumulation.

In the analyzed households with long-term migrants, we saw comparatively better food status development than in those with short-term migrants. This result differs from a study using panel data in Vietnam (Nguyen and Winters 2011), where short-term migration (6 to 12 months; while we defined it with more than one but less than 12 months) had a stronger positive impact on food, in terms of both expenditure and calorie consumption, than long-term migration (more than one year, the same definition as in our analysis). By contrast, related with migrants' skill, Islam and Herbeck (2013) reported the positive impact of long-term migration on saving and expanding income sources of sending households in Bangladesh.

As suggested by the New Economic Labour Migration approach (Stark 1991; Stark and Bloom 1985), migration has an effect on alleviating households' financial constraints. Consequently, our hypothesis was that, through remittances, migration would diversify the number of economic activities. In support of the New Economic Labour Migration model, a study by Taylor *et al.* (2003) in China suggested the long-term effect of migration and remittances to encourage self-employment activities of sending households. On the contrary, a study in Bangladesh (Mendola 2008) found that non-migrant households were more likely to be involved in income-diversifying activities than migrant sending households. In our study, migration did not facilitate economic diversification (Table 2). Yang and Choi (2007) also suggested that remittances might reduce households' need or motivation to diversify domestic income sources. Missing diversification could also be explained by the lost labour effect of migration or by risk reasons (Wouterse and Taylor 2008). In contrast to households with long-term migrants, short-term migrant sending households were rather able to save, invest and diversify household income sources in our study.

Evidence on the link between migration and livestock assets in Ethiopia has been limited. According to the New Economic Labour Migration model, migration is a household strategy to overcome credit constraints and the lack of insurance (Stark 1991; Stark and Bloom 1985). In a context where such

constraints exist, households primarily finance the costs of migration by selling livestock or other household assets, with the hope that migration will substitute forgone assets (including labour) through remittances (Andersson 2014; Atsede and Penker 2016). Based on a kind of contractual arrangement, migration is seen as an investment and comes with the expectation of a financial return from migrants (Lucas and Stark 1985). A comparatively negative livestock asset accumulation in migrant households compared to households with no migrants, as found in our study area, could have different reasons. Either migrants were not successful to generate the expected remittances to compensate the costs associated with migration (Andersson 2014) or migrants might need some more time to start sending remittances (Gibson *et al.* 2013). Most of the long-term migrants in our study departed within the last ten years. It may be too early to give a final answer on the impacts on sending households. Another explanation (also supported by the qualitative interviews) focuses on the person who controls the use of the extra income from migration. While the heads of the sending households decide how to use remittances from long-term migration, in case of short-term migration, migrants themselves can, at least partly, control how to use the extra income.

5. Conclusions

The retrospective data results from 553 households in North-West Ethiopia show that sending a migrant did not necessarily improve the living conditions of the sending households. Of the migrant-sending households interviewed, 24% stated that they never received remittances. Taking livelihood change of neighbouring households without migrants in the same period as reference group, we see that the migration impact was positive for consumptive household variables but negative for household assets. We partly explain this result by the costs of sending a migrant, which can be considered as a long-term investment and might not have fully amortized in the period of our analysis. When we compare households sending long-term migrants with those sending short-term migrants, we see a significantly positive net change in several household assets and economic activity variables for households with short-term migrants. It seems that short-term migrants can better control the use of the additional income and, thus,

ensure asset accumulation or investments in new businesses. Thus, based on the interviews in North-West-Ethiopia, we conclude that long-term migration promises food status improvement at the expense of household assets and production means, while reducing pressure in households (as they do not share food at home) is at the centre of long-term migrant sending households. Short-term migration rather encourages investments and, thus, sustainable household livelihood improvements.

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