

PAKISTANI MIGRANT LABOURERS AND SOCIAL NETWORK: EMPIRICAL EVIDENCE FROM MALAYSIA

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Abstract

This study attempts to address the remarkable role of social networks in developing pre-migration expectations of Pakistani migrant labourers towards Malaysia. The literature places focus on the role of social network vaguely without relying on the network theory, along with other broad concepts of social network. However, this study examined the influences of social network on migrant labourers while developing their pre-migration expectations by relying on four propositions of network theory of migration and with a detailed qualitative analysis of a labourer group from Pakistan to Malaysia. Different viewpoints were collected through interviews with 21 Pakistani migrant labourers from various areas of Malaysia. A range of thematic and dynamic questions were designed, the snowball sampling technique was applied, and the information was gathered until it hits the saturation point. Results indicated that both formal and informal network act an influential actor in initiating migration with a development of pre migration expectation. Social network such as migrant institutions also plays an important role in structuring migration decisions of Pakistani migrant labours in Malaysia. Hence, this study adds to the knowledge of social networks of Pakistani labourers in Malaysia and contributes theoretically to the migration data, which is a concern to everyone, both individuals and public administrators. This study may guide other researchers to formulate and understand some missing links.

Key Words: Migrant labour, Social network, Network Theory, Malaysia, Pakistan

Introduction

Most of the migrant labours in Malaysia have tended to be semi-skilled and low-skilled and are doing work in labour-concentrated sectors namely manufacturing, agriculture, plantation, construction, and domestic, and living in the Selangor, Johor, and Kuala Lumpur. Data

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from MOHR show that more than half percent of the documented migrant labours live in the three states of Malaysia such as 30% are in Selangor, 18% are in Johor and 15% are in Kuala Lumpur (See Figure 1.2). These migrant labours have tended to work on elementary occupations or a machine operating job (Figure 1.3) as well as those are focused on the domestic (7 percent) agriculture (9 percent), services (14 percent), plantation (15 percent), construction (19 percent), manufacturing (36 percent) sectors and sub-sectors.

Figure 1.2: Main destinations of migrant labours in Malaysia, 2018

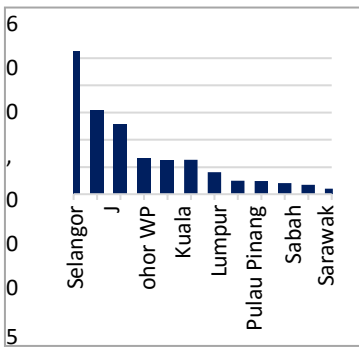
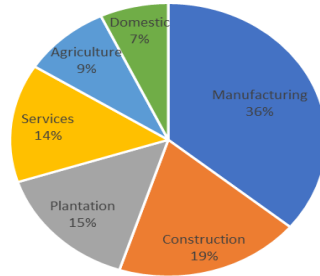


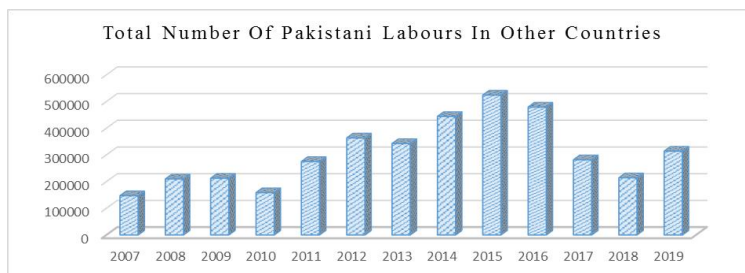
Figure 1.3: Sectoral distribution of migrant labours in Malaysia, 2018



Source: MOHR, 2018

Meanwhile, in the list of South Asian countries, Pakistan is populous nation with an increasing trend of migration of labour force to other host countries across the globe. In fact, Pakistan is among the top ten countries with the largest number of people migrating to other countries (United Nation, 2017). Since the past four years, more than 6 million Pakistani people have migrated abroad through a formal network for employment, wherein migration from Pakistan has been a new topmost after 2011 (Xing, Dumont, & Baruh, 2014). Statistics derived from the ((BEOE), 2020) revealed that the total number of Pakistani labours in other countries were 209,637 in 2008, to over 523,917 in 2015 then plummeted to less than 400,000 in 2019 (figure 1.4).

Figure 1.4: Total Number of Pakistani Labours In Other Countries



Source: Bureau of Emigration and Overseas Employment (BEOE), 2020

In the past, the most populous destinations among migrants were Iran, Oman, Spain, Greece, and Turkey, but Malaysia has emerged as a new potential destination since the past four years (Tasleem, Ajis, & Abidin, 2019a, 2019b; Tasleem, Ajis, & Abidin, 2020). The DOSM (2019) described Pakistan as the sixth-largest country of origin for almost 3.11% of migrant workers employed in Malaysia. Their ratio tends to escalate day-by-day; increment from 58,957 in 2017 to 63,358 in January 2019. Most of them dwell in Selangor, Kuala Lumpur, Kedah, and Johor. They are mostly involved in the construction, plantation, and services sector (High commission of Pakistan Kuala Lumpur, 2019). Table 1.1 shows the ratios of Pakistani migrant labours per year employed in various sectors of Malaysia.

Table 1.1 Number of Pakistani documented Migrant labours in Malaysia by sector

	Manufacturing	Construction	Plantation	Services	Agriculture	Domestic	Total
2015	3,606	31,988	8,032	6,486	22,784	35	72,931
2016	4,005	26,734	6,155	6,274	19,545	32	62,745
2017	3,893	24,761	5,897	6,340	18,027	39	58,957
2018	3,558	24,328	5,769	6,229	17,842	39	57,665
2019	3,328	27,885	5,918	9,191	17,006	30	63,358

Figure 1.1 Pakistani Migrant labours per year in various sectors of Malaysia

Source: High commission of Pakistan, Kuala Lumpur (2019)

Consequently, Malaysia and Pakistan are prominent countries within the context of labour migration. Investigating these two countries in the domain of international migration offers evidence-based knowledge pertaining to a noteworthy role of social network in a decision to migrate in the host country. Basically, social network has been emergent exponentially across a range of fields and disciplines (Conway, 2014). Unfortunately, social network has not been extensively investigated in the migration domain (Ryan, 2011). Several years back, scholars have begun assessing social networks in a systematic manner (Bilecen & Sienkiewicz, 2015).

The literature places focus on the role of social network vaguely without relying on the migration theory, along with other broad concepts of social network (Ryan & D'Angelo, 2018). Most studies have focused on the role of social networking to develop networks in business (Ryan & Mulholland, 2014a, 2014b; Sommer & Gamper, 2018), contribution in economies (Mazzucato, 2006; Wang, Zhang, & Ni, 2015) and in labour market integration (Ho & Turk-Ariss, 2018; Martín-Montaner, Serrano-Domingo, & Requena-Silvente, 2018). However, studies on the role of social networks on migrant decision to migrate and in developing pre migration expectation by relying on four propositions of network theory of migration specially in the context of Malaysia are in scarcity.

Thus, this study relies on four propositions of network theory of migration according to which one is more likely to migrate if: 1) he/she has somebody living abroad; that likelihood increases with closeness of relationship (e.g.- if person living abroad is a brother, sister or mother); 2) if he/she has already migrated before; 3) if migration is common in his community of origin and values related to migration become part of community values and; 4) there are migrant institutions (e.g., recruitment agencies, government agencies) that act as a structural component to migrant networks, suggesting that interpersonal ties are not only triggers of migration and more fully examining the role of formal (namely-recruitment agencies) and informal networks (namely- family and friends) in the decision to migration.

Network Theory of Migration

If in this study, researchers included network theory that focusing on the migrant labours than researchers may determine that social networks play a significant part on the satisfaction level of the migrant labours towards migration. Also, the network theory is

constructed on theory of social capital (Massey1993). Therefore, the existence of this sort of social capital expands the expectation to have a settle life in the country where they are migrated. Massey et al. (1993) discussed the network theory of migration and ground it in the idea of social capital. The social capital concept has first been established by Glenn Loury to delineate a set of imperceptible assets in communities and families that support to foster social development amongst youngsters. Still, it was Bourdieu to first directly articulate its broader significance to human society (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992).

The main feature of social capital is its convertibility as it can be changed into new types of capital. Individuals get social capital through social institutions and association in networks and then translate it into material resources to advance or keep their status in society. Applying this concept to migration, sociologists realized the significance of migrant networks in stimulating international migration to a host country. Migrant networks are “collections of social ties that link migrants, non-migrants and former migrants, in destination and origin regions through ties of friendship, kinship and common communal origin” (Massey et al. 1993, p.448). Relying on social ties to friends and relatives who have migrated before, non-migrants get access to support, knowledge and other means that ease migration (Bell & Bivand Erdal, 2015)

Network theory also argues that organisations act as a basic component to networks of migrant, suggesting that social ties are not only triggers of migration (Lin, 2017). Over time, migrants get to know about for-profit firms and organizations which offer a variety of facilities to migrants in conversation for fees, representing another type of social capital on which they can rely in getting access to a foreign labour market. The services offered by private entrepreneurs and for-profit organizations often include: clandestine transport to internal destinations; visas and counterfeit documents; arranged marriages among those who legally reside and migrants or are citizens in receiving countries; and providing accommodation, credit or other forms of support in home countries (Merli, Verdery, Mouw, & Li, 2016).

In light of the qualitative research approach adopted for this study, semi-structured interviews were conducted with 21 Pakistani migrant labours from various areas, mostly from Klang Valley, Malaysia. Selection of this area is because Klang Valley is the industrial and commercial hub in Malaysia and majority of migrant

labours are working here (Tey, 2017). A range of thematic and dynamic questions were designed, and the snowball sampling technique was employed to select informants via referral. Researchers got in touch with her friend whose father was working in a restaurant that employed Pakistani employees. He further referred the details of other Pakistani migrant labours (participants) working in Malaysia. They were approached by the researchers in shopping malls, restaurants, carpet shops, manufacturing companies, and construction areas; hence amounting to 21 interview sessions with Pakistani migrant labours between May 2018 and April 2019. The number of informants was determined when the information gathered hit the saturation point. It was not predetermined by the researchers. During the interview, informants were fully allowed to give details about their experiences and expand on different features they supposed to be related. Their responses uncovered the basic of research on labour experiences regarding social network during migration. For data analysis, the thematic analysis was performed.

Finding and Discussion

Social networks play a key role in the pre-migration expectations of Pakistani migrant workers in Malaysia. Whether a potential migrant thinks about migration due to their bad financial situation or just out of curiosity or desire for exploration, social networks to which he/she is connected prove to be of crucial importance in whether such a plan will become reality. In addition, there are some other ways in which social networks affect such pre-migration. In particular, all the four propositions of social network migration theory that the researchers explored in relation to the research goal of examining the role of social networks (both formal and informal) in migration decision and pre-migration expectations of Pakistani migrant labours in Malaysia have been based on the experiences shared by the informants.

Strong and Weak Ties

The interviews with participants lend support for the role of personal networks of family and friends who are already dwelling in Malaysia in structuring the pre-migration expectations of Pakistani migrant workers, in which the researcher had examined based on the first proposition of the network theory. As mentioned above, this proposition posits that the likelihood that someone will migrate is greater if he/she has somebody living abroad; that likelihood increases with the closeness of the relationship (if a person living abroad is

brother, sister or mother) (Arango, 2017; Massey et al., 1993). Thus, this theory of migration implies that both weak and strong ties play a role in one's decision to migrate. Based on this theory, the greater the strength of the relationship of potential migrants with the person living abroad, the greater possibility that he/she will decide to migrate and expect positive life outcomes in Malaysia.

Interviews with the Pakistani migrant workers revealed that most of them did have someone (relatives or friends or together to whom they have been firmly attached) who had been/ remained previously in Malaysia while they were thought about migration. In numerous cases, referred to above were very immediate family members (namely- fathers, mothers, brothers, sisters) and incredibly close by acquaintances from their native countries (people from their native towns/villages whom they knew since childhood). For certain, these have been individuals they encountered while doing job as domestic co-workers in other nations but became very good friends in short duration. The importance of being strongly connected to somebody who is already in Malaysia is illustrated by the following excerpts from the interviews:

“My friend. Very close friend. He lived in the same city as me. He told me Malaysia is a good country so I think, yeah, I should come here. He had influenced me to take a decision to come and expect positive about life after migration. Actually, before that, I hesitated to come here. It's the same country. I have no friends here. Maybe I feel lonely. But after coming here, I say that's good” (P 10).

One informant was contacted by a relative with direct job offer, while some had close or distant relatives and friends in Malaysia. The informants stated that these networks did not have any impact on their decision to move and expect about life in this country.

In some cases, those who have already migrated to Malaysia and had an impact on the pre-migration expectations of Pakistani migrant workers, which involved in the decision to migrate, were not close to the participants. This is in accordance with the above proposition of network theory that indicates that even weaker ties to people abroad can impact one's decision to migrate and influence him to create expectations about the host country. This was well-explained by an informant:

“I was influenced by my friends who migrated to Malaysia before me. Because when they talk about it, they say it is a good place to work and when I see them back home, they have a good life, so it influences me to come here. These are not really close but some of my friends used to work in the same place that I worked with, so we had some communications, but they are not really like my best friends” (P 7).

Additionally, many informants responded that they had pre-migration information from family and friends that led to positive expectations about living a better life in Malaysia. Informants also viewed that already migrated friends, agents, and family members gave pre-migration information that helped them in formulating expectations about settlement.

Many informants responded that they had pre-migration information from family and friends, thus the positive expectations about a better life in Malaysia. Fanjoy et al. (2005) noted that pre-migration information is an influential feature in forming the expectations of migrants about settlement. In this study, the informants responded that they had family members and friends in Malaysia which told them about their successful life in Malaysia after migration. This inspired them and they made their positive expectations about Malaysia.

“My friend told me about the peaceful environment of Malaysia.....the safety, security..... I was impressed and decided to migrate to Malaysia” (P 2).

“My friend was here two years before me. He told me about the peaceful life in Malaysia. He told me that there were many employment opportunities. He said he will help me in settling my life in Malaysia. We will enjoy over life here..... his words made my positive expectation about the migration” (P 6).

“Agent.... Who arranged my visa for Malaysia....? gave me pre-migration information about Malaysia” (P 15).

The responses suggested that expectations of most informants were based on discussion with friends and relatives. They suggested and gave information about migration and mostly arranged jobs, as explained by P21. The informants responded that already settled relatives gave them information about the peaceful life in Malaysia.

They also gave information about the exchange rate that is higher than Pakistan's Rupee. Hence, the following responses from informants described the pre-migration information that underpinned their expectations.

"I mostly discussed my economic situation and dream of a better life with my cousin who was living in Malaysia. One day, I was very depressed with my situation.... I told him... he suggested and give information about migration to Malaysia" (P 11).

"My cousin was lived in Malaysia. He had a restaurant at that time. He arranged my job in his restaurant. And told me about the peaceful life in Malaysia. He told me that the exchange rate is high as compare to Pakistan. If I do hard work here I can easily afford my family. This influences me to expect positive about life after migration to Malaysia" (P 18).

"One of my friends who were working with me in the construction sector informed me about the job opportunities in Malaysia" (P 13).

"My friend suggested to me that the exchange rate of Malaysia is high as compare to Pakistan. I can return my father's debt easily if I work in Malaysia" (P 1).

These findings affirmed the results reported by Rowe (2007), Mähönen et al. (2013), (Knight & Gunatilaka, 2010), and Fanjoy et al. (2005) about the significance of the information that influences the expectations of migrants before migrating to host country. The informants were expected to collect their own pre-migration information from their families and friends. It is, therefore, found that a majority of the informants had expectations for a better life overall in the perspective of better economic opportunities, security, better environment, and happiness as the most important drivers to make the decision for migration. Information from family and friends is the best indicator for them to formulate their expectations and decide on migration.

Poor exchange of information was a hurdle for informants in developing truthful expectations. Poor information created improbable expectations linked to the situation of 'shock'. The interrelated point is that when it was questioned from the informants that why and how they

had designed their expectations that had directed to a situation of shock, as these informants did not seek pre-migration information from friends and family who had already settled in Malaysia.

When the issue was further investigated, the informants could not reply as to why they had not endeavoured to gather information from their friends and families living in Malaysia, other than to reply that they did not want to disturb or burden their friends and families. A few informants who collected information from the friends and families recalled that information was ‘light’, just making my mind that Malaysia is a good place to migrate. In some cases, friends and families who were already living in Malaysia stressed the significance of employment and hard work, without a good job it is not possible to survive happily.

“One person from my neighbour was already living in Malaysia.... however, I did not attempt to gather any information about life after migration. I had in my mind that it will be easy, don’t disturb anyone to get information” (P 21).

“I do not want to burden my friend and questioned more about life in Malaysia” (P 9).

“When my agent told me about the job, I did not ask him about the accommodation and other expenses” (P 15).

“I had to get all information about my job, house, agent home, job..... the information I had was not sufficient that’s why I faced trouble in reaching my place” (P 17).

This study revealed that the poor exchange of information was based on understanding among the individuals who gathered information and those providing the information. In one case, the informant recalled that some friends and families who were already in Malaysia would not want to display the real struggling picture of their life after migration. They had their point of view that this struggling picture would get the wrong idea about migration. Those who had wanted to migrate clarified that they did not wish to disturb, and it was bad-manners to pump their friends and families for information. The informants also replied they had an idea that they had gathered sufficient information from the conversations and stories of already migrated people. However, poor exchange of information was a hurdle in developing truthful expectations.

“My friend told me about job opportunities, but he did not tell me the real struggling picture” (P 10).

“Really, I believed that it’s a bad manner to disturb your friend and gather information about life in Malaysia” (P 12).

The real picture of life was noted by informants after making their own experience in the host country. As one informant recalled, he had expected an easy life in Malaysia. His belief was similar with other migrants in Malaysia. However, he realised that life is tough as he had started his job in Malaysia. He commented that Pakistanis in Malaysia were hiding their struggling life from me. The response of that migrant is quoted below:

“I first thought that life in Malaysia will be easy.... I reach Malaysia and meet with many Pakistani. You know, even I believe that life will be easy. Pakistani in Malaysia hide their struggling life from me.....hmmm... when I experienced my job, I found that real life is tough here. I have to work hard...” (P 19).

Similarly, Fanjoy et al. (2005), Thompson (2016), and Jadhav (2018) found that poor information led to improbable expectations that are linked to the situation of ‘shock’. Thompson (2016) revealed that the settlement of migrants in New Zealand was due to poor information provided by friends and family about their expectations for the settlement in the host country, which is a similar case in this present study. As such, this study recommends that the shock and negative initial settlement experienced by informants can be reduced if the informants had been able to get accurate information prior to migration. The delivery of accurate information would have been predominantly supportive of those informants, who were pointedly deprived.

Regardless of the strength of such relationships, having somebody abroad appears to be of great importance in pre-migration expectations and the decision to migrate by Pakistani migrant workers. As the vast majority of these individuals in foreign countries were former in addition present Pakistani migrant workers, forthcoming Pakistani migrant workers would want to listen to their experiences with this immigration program and see for themselves whether and how much their lives could improve upon migration. Only a few participants did not have anybody already living in Malaysia or some other places

abroad and were the first to migrate into this country. Some informants explained that they were the first in the migration chain – they were first to come and subsequently they brought their family members and friends. Given that they did not know anybody enrolled in a program, they learned from recruitment agencies that advertised their services either in their country of origin or another transitional country in which they worked prior to migrating to Malaysia.

Previous Migration Experience

The second proposition of network theory is that one is more likely to decide to migrate if he/she has already migrated before (Curran & Rivero-Fuentes, 2003; Massey & Espinosa, 1997; Wickramasinghe & Wimalaratana, 2016). Most of the participants have worked in different countries before they had decided to come to Malaysia. They reported working in one or more of the following places: Dubai, Oman, Bahrain, Thailand, and Saudi Arabia. One Pakistani reported having worked in five countries before migrating to Malaysia. Most of the Pakistani migrant workers interviewed had worked as domestic helpers before this. By focusing on the previous migration experiences in the migration decision of a prospective migrant, the second proposition of network theory emphasises that people who have already migrated draw on social ties created in their past migration endeavours (Massey & Espinosa, 1997).

And indeed, as already mentioned above, after working abroad in these various countries as domestic helpers, many of the participants met some people (mostly coming from their countries of origin) who soon became their friends and proved to be of crucial importance in encouraging them to migrate to Malaysia. Thus, Pakistani migrant labourers' decision to come to Malaysia was not only rooted in ties that they had people already in Malaysia, but also ties that they had established elsewhere, working abroad as a migrant. While some past researches demonstrated the role of previous migration experience from the same country in structuring one's decision to move again to the same country (Atanackovic & Bourgeault, 2014), this study revealed migration experiences from other countries as significant as well in structuring one's pre-migration expectations and the decision to move to a different destination. This is an important revelation, especially in the light of today's migration patterns, wherein a great number of labour migrants have experienced working in multiple locations around the world.

Community Values towards Migration

The experiences of participants reflected the role of attitudes within the home country of potential migrants in structuring pre-migration expectations and migration decisions of Pakistani migrant workers. As already mentioned, this third postulate of network theory asserts that somebody is more likely to migrate if migration is common in his place of origin where “migration becomes deeply ingrained into the repertoire of people’s behaviours and values associated with migration become part of community’s values” (Massey et al., 1993, p.452- 453). And indeed, all the participants came from Pakistan where migration is very common, and the culture of migration is greatly developed. The participants explained that people from Pakistan tend to migrate to other countries and settle temporarily or permanently there as given the bad financial situation and lack of job opportunities in Pakistan. For example, asked whether it is common for people from their country to leave, two participants explained:

“Yes, it’s very common because of the problem in my country. it’s not easy to find a job and the salaries are low. So, if you have the chance to go abroad you can do it. They just do it and not many of them come back to Pakistan, just the people who suffer in another country and they say okay” (P 8).

“Yes, it is. It is very, very common. Like it’s like a thousand lined up for an interview. It’s different country around the world. I could say maybe it’s because we are overly populated so the opportunities for a better future are very slim and the graduates, in one course the graduates are like hundreds of thousands a year. To put the young graduates into employment that’s the problem. So, unemployment is the number one problem there too. Like an economic, you know, collapse” (P 21).

The interviewees revealed that attitude towards migrating to work abroad in their home country as very positive as they are mostly seen as courageous people. Some stated that although they endured many hardships working as labourers, often this is neglected by people from their home countries who tend to look up to them and see them as rich and happy people.

In line with the finding of this study, Castles and Miller (2017) mentioned Pakistan as a source country for international migration

mainly in the Asian Pacific region. They found that Pakistan is the second-largest country for the import of labour in Asia. Pakistan is a populous nation with an increasing trend of international migration of the labour force, as depicted in a report from the United Nations (2017), which stated that Pakistan is among the top ten countries with six million people had migrated to other countries.

Migration Institutions

Recruitment organizations are a vital source of information about migration and settlement for potential Pakistani migrant workers that do not know anyone previously residing in Malaysia or else doing job in compliance with this immigration system. Recruitment organizations provide as an alternative source of information regarding the plan as well as for some Pakistani migrant employees who have first found out about the plan from personal contacts. Explaining how he initially learned about the immigration from friends but wanted to be sure that such information is accurate, one participant recalled:

“Oh yeah, there are friends who are telling me about migration to Malaysia. For me, I am the kind of person I want everything is clear, you know. So, I went to the agency. Other Pakistani is just asking, co-Pakistani, you know, so I don’t want to rely on that. I want to go in person and ask them what kind of job we are going to work in Malaysia and stuff like that, you know” (P 13).

The role of agencies in shaping migration decisions is especially significant in the case of participants due to the high rate of labour institutionalisation in Asia. Still, recruitment agencies are a valuable source of information on migration not only for Pakistanis, but also for people from other countries. Given that the findings of this study revealed that recruitment agencies have an impact on pre-migration expectations and migration decisions of prospective Pakistani migrant workers, they reflected the role of migrant institutions in structuring their migration decision.

As already explained above, the fourth postulate highlights that informal networks are not only triggered by migration and those migrant institutions (defined as institutions that try to control the migration process for their own gain such as recruitment agencies) do play a great role in such a process as well (Cranston et al., 2018). Kern and Müller-Böker (2015) revealed that migrants have a good opinion

towards recruitment agencies. Besides some fraud cases and bad practices, recruiters play a significant role in assisting international migration and representing the essential infrastructure for the labour movement. Recruitment agencies are those who connect places and people, establish social networks, and can perform a vital part in making immigration secure and safe. They are valuable mediators in assisting alternative income approaches, as well as new living and employment opportunities. Similarly, these agencies are entrepreneurs in a risky and competitive economic area, threatened with multidimensional limitations.

Recruitment agencies for Pakistanis control the flow of information about migration to potential migrants, thus acting as another form of social capital on which they can draw in making their expectation decision. They complement their structural and individual motivations for migration, making their move more possible. Hence, the four propositions of the network theory of migration are reflected in the experiences of the participants in this study.

As has been seen, recruitment agencies for Pakistani control the flow of information about migration to potential migrant, thus acting as another form of social capital on which they can draw in making their expectation decision. In this way, they complement their structural and individual motivations for migration, making their move more possible. All four propositions of network theory of migration prove to be reflected in the experiences of respondents.

Conclusion

In sum, this chapter sheds light on the role of social networks in developing pre-migration expectations and made the decision to migrate. Social networks (formal and informal) are important in developing pre-migration expectations, so as to aid in making migration decision based on information gathered about the possibility of undertaking employment in Malaysia. Social networks (informal and formal) in Malaysia, in transitional countries in which they temporarily worked prior to Malaysia, and in their home countries, all prove to be integral factors in developing pre-migration expectations that led to migration decision. This study revealed that recruitment agencies had a more significant role in the process of decision making among participants. This is because; in Asia, labour migration is highly institutionalised and supported by governments of many countries. Additionally, this study proved that social network theory of migration has a great contribution while examining the key role of social

networks in the developing pre migration expectations. Thus, it is concluded that researchers should make a conjunction of social network theory to better analyze the migrants and their migration. By doing such new empirical understandings, this study contributes to the literature on labour migration in the international context.

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