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Faculty of Environmental and Life Sciences

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Exploring the relationship between internal migration and well-being: the case of rural Punjab, Pakistan

by

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Thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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University of Southampton

Abstract

Faculty of Environmental and Life Sciences

School of Geography and Environmental Science

Doctor of Philosophy

Exploring the relationship between internal migration and well-being:

the case of rural Punjab, Pakistan

by

Kashif Majeed Salik

This thesis aims to explore the relationship between internal migration and well-being in rural Pakistan. In doing so, I first investigate the relationships between migration and well-being at the household level among four rural household socio-economic categories i.e., large landholding, small landholding, landless farm labour, and non-farm rural households. Later, I extend my investigations into the gendered and generational dynamics of intra-household relations to understand the meanings and aspirations of well-being in relation to migration and how power hierarchy based on gender, social status and economic position shape migration and well-being outcomes. Conceptually, I draw on the three-dimensional (3-D) well-being framework which includes *objective*, *subjective* and *relational* aspects of well-being. Through questionnaire-based field survey of 331 households and 53 semi-structured interviews with individual members of the rural households, I investigate migration and well-being relationships and outcomes through a mixed method approach. Based on my study findings, I argue that the well-being meanings and aspirations of individual household members are situated within particular intersecting household hierarchies, which themselves are located in a similarly hierarchically structured rural society. To counter these challenges, I argued that three pathways stood out as the most important: education, religion, and migration. I contribute to the knowledge by exploring how people's desire for quality education for their children or their narratives about cities as

symbols of modernity for family growth and knowledge, reflect aspirations that extend beyond the *objective* and *subjective* meanings of well-being. Moreover, I argue that religious disposition in rural households shapes different meanings of well-being, providing a source of hope and peace, which in turn encourages them to work hard and have patience for future economic opportunities and earnings, particularly among landless and non-farm households. Moreover, I argue that religiosity and migration reinforce each other, i.e., religiosity among elders and migration desire in young men, led them to encourage and follow their aspirations. In this regard, I argue that rural society in Pakistan showed more social cohesion, while living within a highly polarised hierarchal rural society. Furthermore, I contribute to the knowledge that digital connectivity and remittances transfer through online platforms has shaped intra-household power relationships in rural Pakistan. This has provided some space for migrant wives and other women in the household to define their own life choices and better bargain while living in the extended families. This also brings incremental changes for rural women to contribute to household decision-making process, but also migrant wives developed digital connectivity with migrant husband for their mobility, childcare and financial requirements.

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Research Thesis: Declaration of Authorship

Print name: Kashif Majeed Salik

Title of thesis: Exploring the potential relationship between migration and well-being: the case of semi-arid regions of rural Pakistan

I declare that this thesis and the work presented in it is my own and has been generated by me as the result of my own original research.

I confirm that:

1. This work was done wholly or mainly while in candidature for a research degree at this University;
2. Where any part of this thesis has previously been submitted for a degree or any other qualification at this University or any other institution, this has been clearly stated;
3. Where I have consulted the published work of others, this is always clearly attributed;
4. Where I have quoted from the work of others, the source is always given. With the exception of such quotations, this thesis is entirely my own work;
5. I have acknowledged all main sources of help;
6. Where the thesis is based on work done by myself jointly with others, I have made clear exactly what was done by others and what I have contributed myself;
7. None of this work has been published before submission.

Signature: Date:

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Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Background to the Research

This thesis examines internal migration and its links to well-being in a rural area of Pakistan. While internal migration served as fertile ground for the development where many of the mainstream migration theories were developed, it 'lost its ground' in favour of international migration for the best part of the 1990s and 2000s (Rajan and Bhagat, 2022; King, 2020). The latter was considered as more important in terms of its impacts on development, especially with the realisation of the large sums involved in global financial remittances, which global development actors such as the World Bank (WB) and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) considered as key to development in migrants' areas of origin (World Bank, 2016). International migration is also envisaged as an important tool in the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) to deal with socio-economic inequalities within and among countries (Raghuram, 2009; Bakewell, 2007; Suliman, 2017). In this regard, the sustainable development agenda seeks to better-manage migration in order to reduce poverty and discrimination and improve economic opportunities for vulnerable population. However, the focus of SDGs agenda remains primarily on international migration (Suliman, 2017).

Nevertheless, as Deshingkar and Grimm (2005) argue, internal migration has arguably a wider impact on development (and well-being) than international migration. Besides the numerical prominence of internal migration – nearly four times as many as international migrants worldwide – internal movements are particularly important for development in less developed countries (see also Rajan and Sumeetha, 2019; King, 2020: UNDP, 2009, p21). Internal migration is often more accessible to the poor than moving abroad, due to the lower financial threshold required. In turn, it is also a key livelihood strategy for these poorer households, and given its numerical spread, it affects a wider base of households than international migration (UNDP, 2009, p51). Yet, we know little about contemporary internal migration dynamics and how it is related to development in economically poorer countries of the Global South such as Pakistan. We know even less about the links between internal migration and well-being, the latter being an academic concept developed and emerging only in more recent years in relation to (internal) migration (UNDP, 2009, p10).

In this regard, there is an abundant literature on migration and development that covers migration drivers, decision making processes, impacts of migration, skilled migration and return migration. The focus has largely been on financial and economic impacts, and to some degree social changes in society (Gurgand, et al. 2012). The concept of well-being in understanding the impact that (internal) migration has on development has been increasingly highlighted (Clemens et al. 2014). For instance, *subjective* understandings of migration outcomes in term of how an individual feels and experiences well-being have not been widely considered. Yet *subjective* well-being is crucial to actualising development as freedom through the capabilities understanding as proposed by Sen (1999).

This study explores well-being through a 3D lens, i.e., its *objective*, *subjective*, and *relational* dimensions, and considers the three interconnected (McGregor and Sumner, 2010). Several studies have shown that the impact of migration on *subjective* well-being may decline even though there may be improvement in *objective* or material well-being at destination areas (Stillman *et al.*, 2015; Knight and Gunatilaka, 2010; Bartram, 2011). In contrast, some studies have shown migrants to be better-off in terms of quality of life or *subjective* well-being in destinations as well as their families in sending areas (Bayram et al., 2007; Nguyen et al., 2015; Waidler et al., 2017). Migration can offer an opportunity to cope with changes in livelihoods. However, not all migratory movements are equally accessible to all people, and not all of them bring about benefits related to well-being. Therefore, there is a need to investigate how migration is associated with well-being, and which households are most likely to benefit from migration to enhance their well-being, and how.

In order to understand migration and well-being relationships, I chose to study selected rural areas of Pakistan. These rural areas are characterised by high population growth, high rates of poverty, and mainly a single economic sector dependency (agriculture). According to the latest population census, around 64% of the Pakistan's population resides in rural areas, which are also home to about 80% (of the total 45 million) of the country's poor (GoP, 2017; World Bank, 2018). Most of these rural poor belong to landless farm labourer or small landholding households with less than five acres of land (Memon et al. 2019).

Moreover, rural households experience socio-economic stresses such as decreased incomes, inadequate food intake or hunger, and poor health. Since these households largely

dependent on agro-based livelihoods, factors such as declining agricultural production, limited capacity to adopt modern agricultural technologies, commercialisation and value-addition significantly impact their farm profits, livelihood strategies and thus hindering employment growth in the agriculture sector (Ahmad, 2020). Furthermore, rural livelihoods are highly sensitive to environmental stresses such as the impact of erratic rainfall patterns, and unpredictable droughts and floods, posing additional challenges to rural development outcomes (Mueller et al. 2014).

Migration can offer an opportunity to cope under these challenges. The working hypothesis for this study is that these socio-economic and environmental circumstances will have a detectable association with migration. According to the 2017-18 Pakistan Demographic and Health Survey (P-DHS), 14% of the sample households across Pakistan were involved in internal migration. Of these migrants, over half (52%) moved to urban areas, 21% moved rural-to-urban; urban-to-urban migration accounted for 22% and 6% urban-to-rural movements. A third of the total sample had a migrant abroad (29%; NIPS and ICF, 2019). However, beyond these statistics are people and families, with aspirations and dreams, and unequal opportunities to access forms of migration that enhance their well-being. The ways in which specific forms of inequality shape certain migration types to produce outcomes remains under-researched in the context of Pakistan, and the wider internal migration literature more broadly.

Addressing this gap is important because internal migration in Pakistan has so far been studied mainly as an economic phenomenon, where the focus has been on economic reasons for migration, individual characteristics of migrants, and the impacts of financial remittances (Gazdar, 2003; Oda, 2009). Such studies have used human capital models and employed macro-level data to understand individual-level human capital (such as education or health), the role of remittances in asset accumulation, savings, and consumption behaviour, and impacts on poverty dynamics and income inequalities of the sending regions. Additionally, internal migration has not received much attention as a tool for development among policy makers. For instance, Pakistan Vision 2025 (2014) views migration as a challenge for development, rather than an opportunity. Similarly, the National Climate Change Policy (2012, updated in 2021) and the Framework for Implementation of Climate Change Policy (2014-2030) continue to call for 'curbing',

'checking', or 'discouraging' rural-to-urban migration, given the premise of rising urbanisation and lack of financial and institutional resources to support rural migrants with housing and employment in urban areas (Qaisrani and Salik, 2018).

In this regard, the case of Pakistan is used to highlight gaps in the migration and well-being literature more broadly, where the focus has for many decades been on international migration, and more specifically financial remittances as a key factor in development (Oda, 2007 and 2008). Moreover, the understanding of development can hardly be captured through monetary outcomes alone. Individuals' perceptions about their well-being need to be considered as well. This thesis seeks to bring these issues together, as will be elaborated in detail from here onwards.

1.2 Overview of the research

This study seeks to address this gap by focusing on households in rural areas of Pakistan. Nonetheless, households are not homogeneous units of analysis, but consist of individuals who have different access to resources, and therefore migration and its outcomes. These differences can give rise to conflicts and disagreements. As such, questions that arise include: what are the power dynamics and bargaining potential of household members? How do the combination of gender, age and social status within the household shape these impacts?

The framework developed for this research seeks to address these gaps by eventually helping to produce the two key contributions above. The analysis will be based on empirical work carried out in rural Pakistan. This involves a mixed methods approach including quantitative and qualitative data collection and analysis. Secondary data (results of a household survey) have been analysed to understand the interaction between migration decision-making and *objective* well-being. Primary qualitative data goes deeper into these processes of decision-making, power relations and other dynamics within the household, and understand *subjective* and *relational* well-being.

1.3 Research aims and objectives

The aim of this study is to investigate the relationship between internal migration and well-being in rural Pakistan.

Objectives

1. To characterise household well-being and migration in rural areas of Pakistan.
2. To explore the association between migration and well-being of rural households.
3. To explore the ways in which intra-household power dynamics – with a specific focus on age, gender and social status – shape internal migration, and in turn, rural household well-being outcomes.

Research Questions

1. Which household characteristics are strongly associated with internal migration in Pakistan?
2. How is internal migration associated with well-being of rural households in Pakistan?
3. How does current well-being status affect migration desire in rural households?
4. How do intra-household power dynamics interact to shape migration and well-being outcomes in rural areas of Pakistan?

1.4 Structure of the thesis

Chapter One introduces the study and provides the rationale for the importance of the research, thus situating the aims, objectives and research questions that follow. This section also highlights the contribution that my research seeks to make to the broader literature on migration and well-being, as well more specifically in the context of Pakistan.

Chapter Two goes on to review the relevant literature on internal migration and well-being. By bringing these two in dialogue, this chapter provides the broader conceptual context within which my own empirical findings, presented in the later chapters, can be situated, and understood. The chapter makes the case for the importance of the study and its benefits in understanding developmental and societal changes in the economically poorer parts of the world.

Chapter Three focuses on Pakistan as the context in these conceptual debates are explored. The chapter provides a socio-economic, cultural, and geographical overview of the country and migratory movements, that gives prominence to contemporary features, informed

through a historical perspective. The chapter also offers a review of well-being and migration outcomes in Pakistan in terms of remittances' role in household food security, poverty, lifestyle changes, inequality, education, and health. There is some focus in the chapter on women who remain behind in rural areas when their male relatives migrate, and how these experiences intersect with age and social status in the family.

Chapter Four provides the conceptual framework of the study with its detailed descriptions of its key components and relationship in relation to research aim, objectives, and research questions.

Chapter Five offers an account of the research methodology and research design through which the research questions have been answered. The chapter provides the rationale for a mixed methods approach, before going on to detail each method of data collection and analysis, as well as a description of the study sites in Pakistan. Moreover, the chapter presents the context of quantitative and qualitative data collection, tools for a household survey such as questionnaire and framing of semi-structured interviews, sampling techniques, size and socio-economic categories, and ethical consideration for the study.

Chapter Six is the first of three findings chapters and draws on the quantitative data collection and analysis. It reports on, and discusses, the results obtained from the secondary data analysis on migration and well-being relationships. Building on four linear logistic regression models and utilizing descriptive statistics, in this chapter, I demonstrate that both *objective* and *subjective* well-being exhibit a positive association with migrant rural households that have one or more migrant members in the research villages. However, the migration decisions or desire to migrate of rural households exhibit no association with income, but rather with *subjective* well-being of rural households. While there are limitations in drawing causal relationships between migration and well-being due to quantitative data constraints, this chapter focuses on identifying key characteristics and associations of rural households' well-being in relation to migration. Moreover, the findings of this chapter also support the development of interview schedule/guidelines for qualitative inquiries with intra-household members through semi-structured interviews.

Chapter Seven in turn, presents the analysis of qualitative data collected during my fieldwork in rural Pakistan. The findings in this and the next chapter are related to the final question and explore the more qualitative aspects of the relationship between migration and well-being, particularly with regards to gendered and multi-generational intra-household power dynamics. In this chapter, I present a qualitative analysis of rural households' own meanings and aspirations of well-being (referred to as *Khushhali* in the local language). Given the importance of land ownership in rural Pakistan, here I work with four rural household categories, namely, i) large landholding, ii) small landholding, iii) landless farm labourer, and iv) non-farm households. This enables me to highlight how *Khushhali* meanings and aspirations are influenced by the social and economic structural hierarchies prevalent in these rural areas, as well as power dynamics within households, when considering the aspirations of individuals within a household. Three key features result as significant in in shaping *Khushhali*: religion, migration, and education, all of which are explored in detail in this chapter.

Chapter Eight builds upon the previous chapter, and continues the presentation of qualitative analysis of migration and well-being outcomes for left-behind rural households. The chapter focuses on gender, social status and age or economic position of individuals within the household to understand how intra-household power relationships impact migration and well-being outcomes. I analyse migration outcomes in terms of *objective*, *subjective* and *relational* well-being and highlight how migration, in various ways, defines roles and responsibilities while shaping household power relationships, particularly for rural women. I argue that migrant households are comparatively better-off in terms of *objective* well-being. However, social mobility is constrained among household categories due to the rigid social and economic hierarchical rural structure. These rural households typically function within their predefined roles and responsibilities with little hope for upward social mobility for poor households, thus reduced *subjective* and *relational* well-being outcomes in relation to migration.

The Final Chapter presents a summary of the key findings, discusses their importance with relation to relevant literature, and draws conclusions on the relationship between migration and well-being.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

This chapter provides a review of the academic debates on the links between internal migration and well-being. The insights from this review help us situate the findings from data analysis in Pakistan in a broader context. After this introduction, I shall be exploring the different ways in which internal migration impacts the well-being of households in migrants' areas of origin, engaging with a number of aspects such as the role of remittances, climate change, poverty and inequality and food security. There will be consideration of how these impacts are shaped by gender and generations. Following this, the second section explores the literature around well-being, through unpacking the 3-D well-being concept and discussing its composite dimensions of *objective*, *subjective*, and *relational* well-being. The third section brings these bodies of literature together and focuses on the links between internal migration and well-being, and how they shape each other as part of broader development processes in migrants' areas of origin. This, in turn, leads to identifying the gaps that this thesis then goes on to address. The final section concludes.

2.2 Internal migration – drivers and impacts

While most migration studies literature has been dominated by that on international migration, there is an increasing interest on movements within countries, and for global Southern countries such as Pakistan, about the impact this migration has for development and people's well-being. Scholars working on internal migration and development have often focused on movements in the rural to urban direction, especially as they have sought to understand urbanization and related societal changes as societies undergo transformations from broadly agrarian to more urban societies (King and Skeldon, 2010; Skeldon, 2006, 2012; Ellis, 2012). But who moves, where, what the motivations for those movements are, and in turn, what the impacts on those remaining 'behind' are, are deeply contextual. This is to say that the answer to these questions depends on a number of factors. For example, rather than international, or rural-urban internal migrations, it is rural-rural migrations that are often the only avenues for income and asset poor people in global Southern countries, to access better resources and improve their livelihoods (Mishra, 2022;

Choithani, 2023, p51). Moreover, while economic reasons for migration are important, they are not the only ones, as this study will also demonstrate later on. For example, Castles (2013) argues that rural migrants are not only moving because of declining agro-based livelihoods but also in search of better income and lifestyle (Castle, 2013). Reviewing the literature on internal migration in Asia, Deshingkar (2006) found a range of factors impacting rural-urban migration there. These came under the broad umbrella of regional inequalities within countries and included uneven communication and transport development and uneven access to land and education; growth of labour-intensive industrial production in urban areas; more jobs in high-productivity agricultural zones; and high concentration of unemployed poor in rural areas. Deshingkar (2006) argued that such conditions often resulted initially in short-distance rural-to-urban and rural-to-rural migration. Zooming in on specific countries we find the attraction of specific sectors of the economy particularly important in some of these internal moves. For instance, evidence from Bangladesh shows high internal migration to urban areas, mainly for better jobs in urban-based (garment) factories or as rickshaw pullers in Dhaka city (Afsar, 2003; Hasan, 2019; Sony et al. 2020).

Additionally, the scale of migration drivers is critical in demonstrating the direction, trends, and patterns of migration. Black et al. (2011) presented conceptual framework that shows how macro drivers, such as demographic, social, economic, political, and environmental factors interact at meso scale (i.e., access to social networks, information, and finance) as well as individual and households characteristics at micro scale may shape migration typologies and trends. Van Hear et al. (2018) also classified different migration drivers that go beyond the *push and pull* theory but are quite similar to Black et al. (ibid) framework. However, Van Hear (ibid) explained that migration drivers may become more complex and overlap when observing these factors with respect to time and scale, local context, migration selectivity and duration that in turn impacts on migration decisions. However, when considering complex social and cultural aspects of human societies, migration decisions are likely to differ from the linear relationships of drivers of migration shown at different scales (i.e., macro, meso and micro). Arguably, (internal) migration decisions are not only due to economic reasons but derived on deep historical and structural inequalities

and social and economic deprivations that are based on class and ethnicity, gender, and social relationships (De Haan and Rogaly, 2002).

For example, the internal migration from Jharkhand by brick kilns workers in India took place not necessarily for economic reasons but to seek personal freedom and escape from social problems and oppression at the household and community levels (Shah, 2006). The study argues that these migrant women had better financial outcomes if they stay at home and continued selling their craft products there; working in brick kilns did not bring as much money. But migration was to seek personal freedom in order to live free from caste constraints (Shah, 2006). In a recent study by Agarwal and Levien (2020), studied the impact of land dispossession on Dalits in India and their displacement due to the development of Special Economic Zones (SEZs) in the area. The authors argued that Dalits who chose to migrate to urban areas after land dispossession experienced improved food consumption and were able to escape social discrimination that they faced in their area of origin. On the other hand, Dalits who opted to stay in their nearby places after land dispossession continued to live in poor conditions and faced ongoing social discrimination.

Moreover, internal migration has also resulted from structural shifts in policies favouring urban development, which have led to neglect of investments in the agriculture sector. For example, in Nigeria, reduced focus on agriculture sector, rural infrastructure and services, education and micro-credit facilities have contributed negatively to the households' efforts to diversify their livelihood and have resulted in increases in poverty, income inequalities, and declining farm outputs (Akpan, 2012; De Brauw et al. 2014). As a result, internal migration has increased, not only driven by the search for work and education, but also triggered by forced displacement due to a decrease in soil fertility, ethnic and communal conflicts about natural resources like rangelands and water, and mining of crude oil (Black *et al.*, 2004; Akpan, 2012; Sward, 2016; Mlambo, 2018; Dessalegn et al. 2023).

2.2.1 The role of remittances on development

Academics and policymakers have considered remittances as arguably the single most important dimension of the relationship between migration and development, making them the most academically researched area of this relationship (King et al. 2013; Feld, 2022).

However, the focus remains largely on international remittance flows. The sheer sums remitted command attention. In 2022, over US\$802 billion were sent in remittances worldwide, more than US\$630 billion of which to developing countries (World Bank, 2022). The impact is observed at national, community and household level, although there is often disagreement about the nature and extent of this impact (De Haas, 2010; Kapur, 2003; Jayaweera and Verma, 2023).

The vast majority of studies on remittances in the context of migration and development have been on international remittances. Our knowledge on contemporary internal remittances is very limited (Vullentari, 2019), with some exceptions. McKay and Deshingkar (2014) and Dey (2015) argue that internal remittances have more potential to reduce poverty on a larger scale given that the numbers of internal migrants are higher than those migrating internationally and are drawn from the poorer sections of society (see also Castaldo et al. 2012; Deshingkar, 2006). Furthermore, remittance impacts are also identified at the community level, as origin-based migrant associations or diaspora association send collective remittances to build roads, schools, health infrastructure, etc. in villages and town of origin (Toma, 2017). Several studies have demonstrated that remittances have made a significant contribution at household level in transforming the livelihoods of people into more secure livelihoods, to reducing poverty and to some degree also inequality (De Haan and Rogaly, 2002; Dey, 2015). In India, for instance, studies show that internal remittances have helped to reduce income insecurity, provide a source of new investment in land and property, and increase economic security (Deshingher, 2006; De Haan and Rogaly, 2002). Rajan and Sarkar (2020, p350) argue that internal remittances are the most visible in India and have tangible impact that migration has on the development of areas of origin.

Scholars argue that it is not simply the sums, but more importantly, the ways in which remittances are used, that are essential for development. In many contexts, remittances are mostly used for household consumption (such as food and household bills), but they are also used as a form of social insurance in paying for healthcare, as well as enabling the education of younger family members, servicing social and financial debt, forging social networks and status through financing of weddings, and so on (Mishra et al. 2022; Shair and Anwar, 2023; Bang, 2023; Akhtar et al. 2022). Given that sums sent to individual households are often rather small, less is used to invest in businesses, although there is evidence of

investing in agriculture (Deshingkar, 2006; Le De et al. 2016). For example, internal remittances have had a positive impact on development in Bangladesh. Here, migration is mainly considered as a livelihood improvement strategy. Although most remittances are used for consumption, they are also invested in advanced agricultural practices and agro-based business resulting in a boost to the local industry and growth (Afsar, 2003; Sarker et al. 2020). Remittances can also help for long-term benefits such as to invest in human capital such as education and health, and credit source for physical capital accumulation (Taylor, 1999; Weeraratne, 2022).

2.2.2 Inequality, poverty, and migration

The debate on migration and its relation to inequality is varied and inconclusive (Black *et al.*, 2006). When considering the context and selectivity of migration, the literature indicates that migration can increase inequality and to some extent reduce poverty (Skeldon, 1997; de Haan, 1999; Acosta *et al.*, 2008). Inequality of any kind (such as in income, opportunities, gender, or lifestyle) can generate migration and define migrants' work, opportunities, and benefits (Lipton, 1980; de Haan, 1999). For example, economic inequalities in rural areas have caused rural-urban migration which has in turn benefited those who were previously well-off, given that migrant selectivity, especially to better destinations, is related to their level of education and skills, as well as existing financial and social capital (Black *et al.*, 2005). Hence, such patterns can further increase inequality through remittances (Lipton, 1980). Because migration involves risks and costs, the poorest people are less likely to migrate (Black *et al.*, 2006).

However, some studies suggest that particular forms of migration are more common among the rural poor and landless farmers in some parts of the world (de Haan, 1999; McKay and Deshingkar, 2014). Such movements are often over shorter distances, and to other rural areas, which does not produce a good return of remittances, thus increasing existing inequalities. But then, over time, inequalities are thought to decrease, as through increasing out-migration from a particular village or region, the initial cost of migration is reduced due to available knowledge and networks, so even poorer people can afford to migrate - cumulative effect of migration (Castaldo et al. 2012). Furthermore, receiving regions can further increase inequality through migrants' over-exploitation, poor access to decent jobs,

limiting migrants' human rights, poor accommodation, and health facilities (Black *et al.*, 2004; Afsar, 2003).

Many scholars have argued that migration and inequality outcomes need to be looked at from a wider spectrum of political, economic and social-cultural institution perspectives, rather than only through income or wealth (Black, *et al.*, 2005; Black, *et al.*, 2007; De Haas, 2010). The role of formal and informal networks in sharing the cost and risks of migration especially for marginalised groups, the existence of social networks and initiatives by some non-governmental organizations (NGOs) for migrant health care, are critical in reducing initial level of inequalities and poverty in both migration sending and receiving regions (Black *et al.*, 2005; Black *et al.*, 2006; De Haas, 2010). At the political level, many governments of sending regions lack the experience to handle different types of migration and have insufficient and incompetent policies and institutions to support (poor) migrants' rights, etc. resulting in a decrease in overall welfare and development of migrants (Black *et al.*, 2007; Afsar, 2003).

2.2.3 Food insecurity, livelihood vulnerabilities and migration

Food insecurity is one of the important reasons that encourages poorer people in the global South to migrate, especially internally (De Haan, 1999; McKay and Deshingkar, 2014). In turn, migration – whether seasonal or permanent, whether internal or international – is a well-practised strategy to ensure food security in many parts of the world (Crush, 2013; Schraven and Rademacher-Schulz, 2016; Zaami, 2022).¹ Migration, therefore, through remittances and return, helps to improve access to, availability, and quality of food for the family staying behind in migrants' areas of origin (Schraven and Rademacher-Schulz, 2016). This is more crucial for the poor that internal migration helps them to improve food security despite the lack of social, economic, and financial assets and other safety nets (Warner and Afifi, 2014; Choithani, 2023, p30). Similarly, agro-based societies like Pakistan, rely on migration as a coping strategy to reduce income and food deficiencies, as agricultural produce is becoming unreliable under rain-fed conditions (Warner and Afifi, 2014). For

¹ Food security “is ‘the condition in which [all] people, at all times, have physical, social and economic access to sufficient safe and nutritious food that meets their dietary needs and food preferences for an active and healthy life” (FAO, 2003).

instance, according to Choithani (2017), internal remittances provide sufficient cash income for migrant households in rural Bihar, one of the poorest states of India, to secure their immediate food needs, as compared to non-migrant households. Moreover, these remittances have also helped rural households marginally increase their landholding, leading to an improvement in their own-food production.

On the other hand, when looking at the food production side, migration of young adults might cause a loss of agricultural labour potentially resulting in the loss of productivity (Zeza, *et al.*, 2011; Crush, 2013). Additionally, 'left behind' migrant's family members can also become less dependent on farm income and more on remittances for food (Crush, 2013; Black *et al.*, 2004). Although migration diversifies income sources and reduces risk of food insecurity, it also leads to reduced farm productivity and profitability due to the loss of family labour, which delinks better food production from remittances. For instance, in rural Tanzania, internal migration has exacerbated food insecurity among migrant households, mainly because of the loss of farm labour along with climate change impacts on farm production, which has not compensated by low levels of internal remittances flows (Duda *et al.* 2018). However, it is important to note that this might not always be the case. Tripathi and Singh (2017) observed that rural outmigration often involves individuals who are unemployed or underemployed, although this observation is highly contextual that may vary with regards to households' socio-economic conditions, youth aspirations and regional development levels. Additionally, productivity may increase through remittances being invested in technology, which negates the need for labour-intensive agriculture, as does a re-focusing of the farm crops from labour intensive to technology and capital intensive (Martin, 2018).

Similarly, internal migration also impacts on the nutritional status of migrant-sending families in multiple ways (Vo, 2023 Nguyen and Winters, 2011). Vo (2023) identify some indicators that have increased food security, particularly food expenditures and nutrition has diversified due to internal migration in Vietnam. Migrant's wages, education, age and landownership found significant factors for better food expenditures and calorie intake for internally migrating families. Zeza, *et al.* (2011) argued that internal and international migration, can directly improve the access to nutritional food, better health, and sanitation facilities, whereas indirectly effect on nutrition by reducing income shocks, better coping

with increasing food prices and spending on human capital. Likewise, both migrations can also provide a source to gain knowledge and experience related to healthy and nutritional food for households as well as for child nutritional growth (Carletto et al. 2011).

Nevertheless, it may reduce the quality of childcare in case of migrating women or increased workload as a female headship (Nguyen and Winters, 2011). At the same time, some studies find that female headed households tend to spend more on household food, education and health expenditure as compared to their male counterparts (Quismbing and McLafferty, 2006).

Overall, the debate on migration and development tends to focus more on the international level while food security is mainly a national issue. Similarly, the use of remittances for securing food and basic needs of any individual or family is mostly considered as a non-development and unsustainable strategy in migration and development literature (Black *et al.*, 2004; Crush, 2013). There is an urgent need to revise this given the crucial importance of migration for food security as argued in this section (Crush, 2013). In recent years, the COVID-19 pandemic and subsequent lockdowns have not only halted internal migration movements but also compelled migrants to return to their villages or towns. This led to a disruption in remittances and made migrants themselves dependent on their left-behind families (Khanna, 2020). This situation has significantly contributed to food insecurity and malnutrition among migrant households, particularly those who are poor and largely depend on internal remittances for their food consumption (Salik, 2021; Khanna, 2020).

2.2.4 Migration and climate change

With regard to climate change, a number of empirical studies note that the most common response of vulnerable people is to migrate (Piguet, 2012; Black et al., 2013; Warner and Afifi, 2014). People may move temporarily or permanently to adapt or recover from climate change events or impacts (Piguet, 2012; Black et al., 2013; Warner and Afifi, 2014). Another important issue in the migration and climate change debate is the role of human agency in climate change adaptation (McLeman and Smit, 2006). Can migration be considered as a response strategy to climate change adaptation? An adaptation is defined as the 'adjustments in natural or human systems in response to actual or expected climate stimuli or their effects, which moderates harm or exploits beneficial opportunities' (Parry et al.,

2007). There are different opinions on whether migration is an adaptation strategy or not. It is often perceived that migration-as-adaptation as a result of the failure of in-situ adaptations – actions undertaken to adapt to climate change impacts within the local settings or place (Adamo, 2008; Heine and Petersen, 2008; Scheffran et al., 2012). Contrarily, some argue that migration is an ex-situ adaptation strategy or that migration-for-adaptation from vulnerable areas is based on anticipatory or perceived risks of current and future climate change (Fankhauser et al., 1999; Renaud et al., 2007; Scheffran et al., 2012). Some studies highlight internal migration provides better options for in-situ adaptation compared to ex-situ adaptation. For instance, Thorn et al. (2023) provide evidence from Namibia, where circular (rural-urban-rural) migration has helped poor migrants to improve food security and social relationships while moving back and forth. In contrast, migrants who opted ex-situ adaptation faced multiple challenges in peri-urban settings, including health issues, urban flooding, poor sanitation, and inadequate housing (see similar findings by Chowdhury et al. 2022 in Bangladesh). However, other studies have highlighted that adopting internal migration as in-situ or ex-situ adaptation strategy depends on various factors, including the type of climate events (such as slow- and fast-onset) as well as financial and human capitals. Koubi et al. (2022), who analysed multi-country survey data, notes that in rural areas people with higher education and financial resources are more likely to migrate during fast-onset events such as floods and storms and thus, more like to opt for ex-situ adaptation (see also Rijal et al. 2022, for evidence of ex-situ adaptation strategies among well-off farmers in Nepal).

2.2.5 Migration and gender

Gender approach is key to understanding the social and economic aspects of migratory processes (Lutz, 2010; Dannecker, 2009). Historically, attention to gender was missing in mainstream migration literature, and more broadly in social and economic theories, as well as in global development agendas (Piper, 2006; Lutz, 2010; Bastia, 2014). Before the 1970s, migration scholars argued that women were not numerous as migrants, and where they were, they were often typically portrayed as ‘passive’ followers of their male partners (Lee, 1966) or as ‘involuntary migrants’ (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1996 [1918]). Nevertheless, even during the 1970s, feminist scholars showed that nearly half of migrants entering the United

States, mainly from Latin America, were women (Lutz, 2010; Curran, *et al.*, 2006; Donato, 2010). Moreover, women have always played a significant role in the broader migration process even when they have not been the primary migrant themselves. Lutz (2010) and Bastia (2014) note shortcomings in gender and migration-related research: first, the lack of integration of gender in mainstream migration studies, as a result of which the latter often remained *gender-blind*.

With the significant rise of women as independent migrants – gendered approach to migration needed to understand beyond the household level and to more about labour markets and employment (Lutz, 2010). For instance, the level of wages as compared to men; status, professional growth and conditions of working; freedom of movement in labour markets; and defining new roles and ideas of parenthood, male and female partner’s relationship in the context of culture, social and political changes in sending as well as in receiving countries are important in migration studies (Lutz, 2010; Dannecker, 2009; Curran, *et al.*, 2006; Cornwall and Rivas, 2015). As migrating women have often demonstrated to be better at contributing to family well-being, better schooling for the children, experienced expanded role in family decisions and reduction in domestic violence, despite many socio-cultural and work-place related limitations (Nyberg-Sørensen *et al.*, 2002).

2.3 Development and well-being

The concept of well-being is largely applied to understand human development at different scales such as national, local, societal, and individual levels (D’Acci, 2011). Before I delve deeper into the well-being literature, I first examine some key conceptualisations of development within debates on how well-being can be understood.

2.3.1 Development approaches

Since the 1940s, the development discourse has increased vastly within and across multiple disciplines (Kothari and Minogue, 2002). This has greatly contributed to the theoretical understanding of past and current development processes as well as development strategies that explain how development can be pursued and implemented (Nisbet, 1969;

Hettne, 1995; Apter, 1987; Sumner, 2008). However, with regards to the definition of development, there is little agreement, mainly due to changing views on development strategies and adherence to a particular type of development ideology (Chant and McIlwaine, 2008). During the 1950s and 1960s, development tended to be equated with economic growth (Chant and McIlwaine, 2008). However, Thomas (2000) indicates four key characteristics of development that can provide a basis to define development. These include: (1) the capacity to encompass broader aggregate change, (2) accommodating the continual process of change, (3) involve changes at social and individual levels, and (4) contemplate negative externalities of development.

Development theories explain how development has happened in the past and how it might shape the future. For instance, the modernisation *theory* based on the work of Max Weber and Emile Durkheim, focused on social and cultural changes in 'traditional' societies. They considered that a change in attitudes and beliefs regarding family, the local community and religion would be critical for economic growth. They urged for 'rationality' to transform societies to become 'modern'. The 'modernisation' approach is often considered by the Western countries as an 'ideal type' of development whereby all countries are expected to follow the same path to development as those in the 'West' (Apter, 1967; Sumner, 2008; Kothari and Minogue, 2002). According to this theory, the Western economies and societies have become affluent thanks to the benefits of capitalism and free-markets, themselves served by the 'rational economic man'. Industrial growth, including through the development of science and technologies, are intrinsic element of these historical changes, all of which lead these societies to enjoy higher levels of freedoms, human rights, and democracy than the rest of the world. However, this view has been heavily criticized for being Eurocentric, and blind to the deeply racialised and exploitative practices of wealth accumulation – including through the transatlantic slavery, colonialism and empire – which in turn enabled many wealthy Western countries to develop their economies (Kothari and Minogue, 2002).

An influential view of (human) development has been in particular developed by the economist Amartya Sen, with his generative work 'Development as Freedom' (1999) and whose earlier iterations provided the basis for the Human Development Reports that the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) started publishing from 1990. Sen (1999)

argues that development should be seen as the removal of different kinds of *unfreedoms* that leave people with little choice and opportunity to exercise agency. In other words, development is about the capability of a human being determined by the freedom of living a life they actually choose or value to live. Likewise, human freedom is interlinked with social and economic arrangements or expansions of choices – progress in one promotes progress in the other and vice-versa. Sen coined *instrumental freedom* – a process of integrating human agency into development processes. Thus, instrumental freedoms are those that allow an individual to contribute to development through access to the benefits of free market and market-related mechanisms, openness and transparency in governments. That also allows people to participate in the political process and enjoy freedom of speech, as well as access to public services such as health and education and be free from hunger and poverty (Sen, 1999).

2.3.2 Composites of well-being

In this regard, the concept of *well-being* is defined and explained in multiple ways as it is rooted in different disciplines such as sociology, economics, psychology and anthropology (Agarwala et al. 2014). For instance, Alkire (2002, p182) considers well-being from a development perspective as human flourishing with regards to ‘social and economic, public and private, and political and spiritual’, rather than considering only mono-dimensional poverty indicators.

Sen (1985, p185 &187) argued that well-being viewed through a well-functioning human agency, which includes concepts of ‘autonomy’ and ‘personal freedom’. Which in turn, enables individuals to achieve ‘happiness’, fulfil his or her ‘desire’ and pursue alternative ‘choices’. Sen (1993, p31) proposed a capability approach as a means to achieve human well-being. According to Sen (ibid), individuals’ way of living is based on their ‘*doing and being*’ and the quality of life can be assessed through the understanding of personal functioning and capabilities. Functioning refers to ‘*parts of the state of a person – in particular the various things that he or she manages to do or be in leading a life.*’ Whereas capability of ‘*a person reflects the alternative combinations of functioning the person can achieve, and from which he or she can choose one collection.*’ However, Naz (2016) acknowledges Sen’s contribution to understand human well-being while raising concerns

about how the capability approach can be employed for empirical analysis of human well-being.

Dolan *et al.*, (2006) identify five approaches to human well-being in academic literature. The first refers to an *eudaimonic* approach, which describes well-being as an actualisation of one's full potential or freedom in achieving various goals of human life (Ryan and Deci, 2001). A second approach relates to *hedonic* well-being that explained by 'dominant moods and feelings' (Ryan and Deci, 2001). A third, the *objective* approach, involves well-being by 'fulfilling externally defined material, social and psychological needs' (MacKerron, 2012). A fourth *preference satisfaction* well-being approach considers one's ability to fulfil their own wants. Lastly, an *evaluative* approach, which is a self-reporting of one's own well-being status and conditions (MacKerron, 2012).

The conceptualisation of well-being has emerged mainly to measure human conditions in the broader context of development. In this regard, the notion of well-being evolved from different approaches, which seek to measure the human condition in ways that are different from the traditional income or asset-based poverty estimation (Agarwala *et al.* 2014). According to Agarwala *et al.* (2014) the range of these approaches include the Human Development Index (HDI) and its indicators that rank health, education and living standards (later adjusted for inequality and gender differences); the Millennium Ecosystem Assessment (MEA) which provides links to ecosystem, human well-being and poverty; the Sustainable Livelihood Approach (SLA) which encompasses social, economic, environmental, and institutional aspects; and the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) which recognise not only (income-based) poverty but also education, health, gender, and environment as developmental indicator.

Similarly, alternative approaches to measuring poverty have also evolved, with the work of Sen (1985) and his capabilities approach at the centre. This approach considers not only financial entitlements but includes also social and emotional well-being, freedom, democracy, and gender (Schaafsma and Fisher, 2016). Presently, poverty is generally recognised as a multidimensional phenomenon, considering both *objective* and *subjective* aspects (Schaafsma and Fisher, 2016). In this context, well-being is a powerful tool to understand human development outcomes and environmental sustainability (Stiglitz *et al.*, 2010; Fisher *et al.* 2013). Well-being is broadly considered as inversely related to

multidimensional poverty i.e., as poverty increases, well-being decreases (Fisher et al. 2013; Agarwala *et al.*, 2014; Schaafsma and Fisher, 2016).

2.3.3 Well-being frameworks and approaches

Returning to human well-being, the literature highlights key insights to frameworks and approaches to understand well-being in the context of livelihood resources management, efficient, sustainable, and equitable ecosystem services provision to the society (Bennett et al. 2015). In this regard, several interdisciplinary conceptual frameworks have been developed whereby *subjective* and *objective* well-being is framed with regards to the key elements of ecosystem services which considered as a source to generate socio-economic benefits and well-being (Schaafsma and Fisher, 2016). These frameworks also focus on how environmental change can shape differentiated access to ecosystem services among socio-economic groups in communities (Agarwala et al. 2014).

McGregor and Sumner (2010) presented a 3- dimensional (3-D) well-being concept which integrates three dimensions of well-being i.e., *material* (or *objective*), *subjective* and *relational*. The notion of 3-D aspects of well-being is only understood if the conventional meaning of material deprivation is related to social exclusion and linked with experiences and feelings of the people. In other words, measuring well-being should include how people experience poverty and to what extent socio-economic and political conditions enable individuals to conceive activities or aspirations for improved well-being (McGregor and Sumner, 2010). In this regard, Sumner and Mallett (2013) proposed to analyse vulnerability under 3-D well-being framework. As it is important to know how vulnerability has been shaped through the changing 3-D well-being dimensions.

The 3-D framework refers to *objective* well-being of a person or a household, based on human capital or Sen's capability approaches, where needs are met or achieved (or being lack of it), and have a observable outcome of welfare which include but not limited to land endowment, wealth, health, skills and educations as well as access to financial resources and basic services (McGregor and Sumner, 2010; White, 2008). While *subjective* well-being is viewed as the level of happiness, perceptions, and experiences about life in terms of (likely shifts in) life satisfaction or level of happiness which people may experience based on

having a meaningful life or hopes and aspirations in their life or lack of any such feelings (McGregor, 2007; McGregor and Sumner, 2010). In the case of *relational* well-being, refers to the person's ability to act meaningfully in a given society such as through social interactions, experiencing themselves or their family, having a sense of belonging and identity, and access to social and other networks (McGregor and Sumner, 2010; Wissing, 2014).

Furthermore, the Well-being in Developing Countries (WeD) framework provide conceptual understanding that how the social and cultural construction of well-being helps to identify the person's ability to command and achieve their need and goals from the 'resources' within a society (Gough et al. 2007; McGregor, 2007). Herein 'resources' refer not only the physical asset such as land, tools, timber, or water but also the social and cultural meanings associated with the ownership in relation to individual and community level (White and Ellison, 2007). The WeD framework employs *objective* and *subjective* well-being approaches thereby incorporating human physical (such as health, education) and psychological (such as freedom or autonomy) needs, resources, and human agency (Gough et al. 2007; Mc Gregor, 2007; Agarwala et al. 2014).

The Sustainable Livelihood Framework (SLF) (Scoones, 1998; Carney, 1998) provides insights into livelihood vulnerabilities and the ability of households to cope or adapt to any external stressor such as climate change (Reed et al. 2013). It centres around five key capitals as livelihood components (i.e. natural, physical, economic/financial, social and human), to which are added livelihood improvement strategies such as agricultural intensification or extensification, livelihood diversification and migration (Scoones, 1998). Both livelihood components and livelihood strategies are analysed under institutional and organisational factors that define sustainable livelihood outcomes such as access and compositions of resources and strategies. The framework is useful for understanding different livelihood options by segregating the role of different stakeholders (such as people, institutions, organisations, etc.) that can help to understand multiple levels of adaptive capacities and well-being of households (Reed et al. 2013). However, the SLF has its own limitations. These include: i) it only considers the assessment of stock of assets or capitals rather the change in (ecosystem) services or benefits from those assets (Reed *et al.*, 2013); ii) it provides no explanation for the role of the political economy and power relations (van Dijk, 2011); and

iii) it has difficulty in assessing the complex relationships of assets, resources, stakeholders and outcomes (Morse *et al.*, 2009).

The ecosystem services framework emphasises the dependency of livelihoods and human well-being on sustainable ecosystem services provision from natural capital (Turner and Daily, 2008; Potschin and Haines-Young, 2011). The framework includes bio-physical and cultural aspects and divides ecosystem services into four categories (Potschin and Haines-Young, 2011): supporting services (e.g. soil formation, nutrient cycling); provisioning services (e.g. food, fibre, and water, etc.); regulating services (e.g. erosion, climate stabilisation, etc.); and cultural services (e.g. recreation and tourism, medicinal and spiritual benefits, etc.). The scope of the framework is limited because it does not consider other livelihoods assets (i.e., human, financial, and social) and adaptation responses essential for human well-being and sustainability of ecosystem services (Reed *et al.* 2013). In response to that, Turner and Daily (2008), provide a more inclusive ecosystem framework including the social, economic, political aspects to understand environmental change processes and responses to different stakeholders. De Groot *et al.* (2010), further propose an integrated framework by including ecosystem services, planning, management, and decision-making – a trade-off between environment and development. The framework considers people’s perceptions around the value the ecosystem services which drive through policy, planning and decision-making processes that in turns impact on ecosystem services functions and management (De Groot *et al.* 2010).

2.3.4 Aspirations and development

Extending the discussion above on Sen’s idea (1999, 2004) of removing *unfreedoms* from one’s life, which are interlinked to social and economic expansions of choices, the seminal work by Appadurai (2004) provides some key insights on how one’s ‘capacity to aspire’ within a cultural setting works for development and well-being at a micro-level. Appadurai, (2004, p61) argued there is a tendency to view *culture* as matter of the past events in terms of traditions, habits, customs and so on, which he proposed to account *culture* as ‘orientation to the future’ and bring *culture* in the development framework as *cultural fact* (Ellis, 2018). The notion of ‘capacity to aspire’ encouraged the poor to mobilise their voices and realise their wants, needs and aspirations within a given cultural regime. The capacities

of poor to raise their voices within a *culture* defines 'cultural capacity' and in turn shapes 'capacity to aspire' – for a 'good life' while living in an unequally constructed social and economic culture (ibid, 2004, p60). For instance, those with better social and economic resource endowments tend to have a higher 'capacity to aspire' and are able to consciously voice and realise their aspirations. In comparison, those with historically fewer resources, having less power and social status, represent a weaker ability and conscious to navigate their aspirations. Appadurai (2004), argues that the capacity to aspire is closely linked to 'navigational capacity' of different socio-economic groups within a cultural regime, which developed and thrive over time with cultural 'practices, repetition, exploration, conjecture, and refutation' and thus, for the poor innately lowering the capacity to aspire (ibid, 2004, p69).

Consequently, an important question arises about how can the capacity to aspire be considered for future oriented logic for development and well-being at the micro-scale? This would start from the premise that different groups, historically and structurally, function under strict social and economic hierarchical systems, with conflicting preferences and aspirations in a given cultural regime. In this regard, how can societies develop a thriving and inclusive culture of aspirations that may shape future development? For Appadurai (2004), this can be achieved by increasing the 'capacity of aspire', particularly for the poor, who lack aspirations, due to their 'terms of recognition'. These terms of recognition highlight the conditions and constraints of the poor living in excluded, disadvantaged and marginalised circumstances, under which they have to negotiate their inequalities through better self-organisation, debate and dialogue, as well as government interventions. Thus, the poor can raise and change their 'capacity to aspire' through conscious efforts (not otherwise) respective to local cultural setting (ibid, 2004 p66-67).

Ellis (2018) noted that further attention is required for Appadurai's concept of 'capacity to aspire' in order to examine global disparities in aspirations due to different cultural settings and lifestyle changes. For instance, in today's 'influencer' and 'social media' world, society shifts in aspirations. Our role models are not limited to those who live around us, or whom we have direct contact with. Whether achievable or not, many (young) people aspire to a life of glamour and fame, also because it is forcibly pushed as marketing and promotion from brands, in what is a deeply connected global society (Edwards, 2022 Gilani et al. 2020).

According to Appadurai (2019, p560-561), these digital connections through social media (Facebook, twitter, Google, and so on) develop capacity to aspire – ‘work of imagination’ – particularly among aspiring poor migrants for ‘interacting’, ‘messaging’, ‘posting’ and ‘searching’ for possibilities, which Appadurai (ibid) termed ‘*Modernity at large*’.

Building on Appadurai’s ‘capacity to aspire’, Ray (2003) presents the notion of ‘aspirational windows’, which refers to the ‘cognitive worlds’ formed among individuals based on their future goals and aspirations to improve their well-being, by associating to those living around them. According to Ray, one’s capacity to aspire can be affected by two possible reasons. First, the level of information, observations, and communication available to these individuals within their localities helps them to reshape and broaden their aspirational window. For instance, if the poor are able to observe the strategies and behaviour of the rich regarding income generation, they may develop aspirations window and thus, higher levels of aspiration. This also links to perceived opportunities for upward social mobility that may be achieved through occupational shifts or migration (Ray, 2003). Second, whether the level of aspirations perceived through aspirations window are achievable within the limits of one’s social and economic endowments, which Ray denotes ‘aspirations gap’. Ray argued that ‘gap’ is critical for understanding capacity to aspire i.e., how much individual is ready to sacrifice to invest in their livelihood improvement strategies, such as education, health, or migration to meet aspirations of good life in the future (Ray 2003; Genicot and Ray, 2017).

Important to discuss here is the generative work on conceptualising empowerment for development agenda by Kabeer (1999), who analysed power relationships among marginalised and structurally excluded sections of society, including women. Kabeer argued that empowerment as the ‘ability to make choices’ entails certain prerequisites, the first of which is to execute *choices* that necessarily require access to *alternatives resources* including both social and economic endowments. The lack of access to *resources* mainly limits authority, which restrained the ability to make, as well as to peruse, alternative choices. The second prerequisite is a *sense of agency* that involves ‘meaning, motivation and purpose’ for their choices and decisions made and actualized. Lastly, having an agency empowers individuals to make choices based on their capabilities, or lack of it to adhere a subordinate role, which Kabeer denotes ‘functioning achievements’.

Returning to Ray's (2003) arguments, the aspirations gap among individuals may widen and lead to 'aspirations failure'. Ray suggested that aspirations failure is more likely to occur due to two main reasons. Firstly, the poor may be unable to develop an aspirations window due to the high level of social, cultural, and economic polarisation in society, as a result of which they become alienated from the rich and develop a tendency to consider their disadvantaged circumstances as an act of fate or divine order. Secondly, even if the poor develop aspirations window, the high level of inequality and poverty in society limit their access to resources and ability to make choices, making it difficult for them to achieve higher levels of aspirations. This leads to a widening aspirations gap and thus results to another type of aspirations failure (Ray, 2003, p5).

Building on the argument of aspirations failure due to inequality and poverty above, Genicot and Ray (2017) explained that 'socially determined aspirations' interact with economic indicators of inequality and growth to form economic clusters based on individual's aspirations. The socially based aspirations of individuals within these clusters may inspire investments or trigger frustration, depending on the level of income generation and its distribution in comparison to their current standard of living (Ray, 2006, p414). Huber (2009) argues that an understanding of economic clusters enables exploration of how social networks within a cluster interact, emerge, and develop, as well as how they share and access information and knowledge about work.

The concepts of capacity to aspire and aspirations window have been used by several studies. For instance, Vitus (2022) studied the capacity to aspire among young refugee students in upper secondary schools in Denmark. She demonstrated that the capacity to aspire of young refugees is significantly influenced by their negative migration experiences and their parents' limited social mobility compared to their area of origin. These factors have led to the development of translational ties among their parents. The family's current social status appears to develop aspirations among young refugee students to improve social mobility and overcome the challenging circumstances faced by their parents. In this regard, Appadurai (2019, p564) proposed that it is essential to document and archive the miserable and painful migratory journeys of the migrants or refugees while focusing on the 'aspirational maps' that these migrants and their family members possess. In this way, we

can achieve better and richer cultural integration, as well as legal and political solutions for the challenges these migrants are facing (see also Müller-Funk, 2023).

In Pakistan, Naveed (2021) studied social inequalities and cultural complexities in attaining education among poor rural households. He explored *relational*, *subjective* and *material* well-being aspects, using concepts of '*capacity to aspire*' and '*aspirations window*'. He concluded that aspirations for a better life and progress among rural households can lead to developing higher aspirations for education, viewing education as the route to upward social mobility and better *objective* well-being for their families. However, Naveed (ibid) argued that these aspirations windows often contradict social power relationships within a largely hierarchical rural society, leading to different well-being outcomes or aspirations failure.

2.4 Links between migration and well-being

As highlighted earlier in section 2.2, well-being and migration are profoundly linked, which has been assessed by several studies. On the one hand, the effects of human well-being have significantly shaped different migratory movement or may lead to immobility (Nguyen et al. 2015; Lovo, 2014). On the other hand, migration, under the given circumstances, has a transformative impact on human well-being with implications in terms of *objective*, *subjective* and *relational* well-being outcomes (Nikolova and Graham, 2015; Stillman et al. 2015; Waidler et al. 2017; Cardenas et al. 2009).

Below I present a brief overview of these well-being and migration relationships, highlighting the interlinked meanings of *objective*, *subjective* and *relational* aspects of well-being. Additionally, I briefly explore the literature upon migration aspirations, desires, and intentions in relation to well-being. Lastly, I provide a review on the impact of migration and well-being for left-behind migrant families.

2.4.1 Objective well-being and migration

Land ownership and size of landholding in rural societies holds a significant structural indicator of economic and social disparities, particularly prevalent in many developing countries of the Global South (Rigg, 2006; Poertner et al. 2011). According to Ali and Penia (2003), poverty rates are notably high among landless, marginal to small farmers when compared to the large farmers (see also Chand, 2017). This disparity is further linked to the efforts aimed at modernising agriculture through technological advancement over the past few decades, which have largely favoured large landholding households (Shresth, 1990 in Bhandari, 2004). Rigg (2006) argued that the widespread poverty among landless and small farmers has led to the rise of non-farm activities and incomes as well as loss of interest in farming. He argued that rural-to-urban migration is one such non-farm activity to pursue *objective* well-being for many rural poor in the Global South (Rigg, 2006; see also Hossain, 2001; Bhandari, 2004).

In addition to the historical and structural aspects of rural areas, the location-based disparities in (income and consumption-based) *objective* well-being play a significant role in driving internal migration (Ejaz and Mallawaarachchi, 2023). Internal migration is triggered by disparities in access to education and healthcare, asset ownerships, business and job opportunities, and food security in rural areas compared to urban settlements -commonly known as the rural-urban divide (Ejaz and Mallawaarachchi, 2023). Several studies demonstrated that rural-to-urban migration generally planned to seek better access to livelihood opportunities in urban centres (Bathla, 2020, p,21). For instance, Rajan and Bhagat (2021) found that rural male migrates to major cities in India, driven by the aspirations for higher education and/or better jobs in manufacturing sector. Similarly, in a study on migration trends in Nepal, Poertner (2011) argued that rural-to-urban migration was mainly driven by the desire for a 'bright future' (also linked to *subjective* well-being) for the household, which was perceived as unattainable in rural areas due to limited opportunities to access better education facilities, healthcare, and other aspects such as security, reducing farm productivity, inadequate road network (see also Paudel Khatiwada et al. 2018; Acharya and Leon-Gonzalez, 2018).

What impact does migration have on the *objective* well-being for migrants and their left-behind family members? The existing literature on well-being and migration shows positive

though largely contextual outcomes. However, Lagakos (2020) argues that economic well-being of migrants largely depends on pre-migration skill sets and education level. As their experiences of farming or off-farm activities in rural areas were no longer comparable for urban jobs or work, which may potentially result in a decline in migration and well-being outcomes. He argues that these outcomes may vary depending on the circumstances under which migrants decide to migrate i.e., 'taking migration as an opportunity' or 'forced move of necessity' (Lagakos, *ibid*, p179). The earlier migrants may be better equipped with the necessary education, skills and social network support compared to the later who compelled to migrate with limited financial resources and lacks essential skills. Moreover, Lagakos (*ibid*) noted that well-being outcomes are also linked to adjustment period, which include time required to access suitable employment for better economic gain, which in turn reduced migration costs.

The study by Rajan and Sarkar (2020) addressed some of the issues raised by Lagakos (*ibid*) while exploring the economic gain by West Bengali migrant worker in the destination area. The findings of the study indicate there is a shift in the post-migration occupational status of these migrant workers, with a significant proportion transitioning from casual labour or unemployment to salaried or regular wages occupations. This shift has led to improved wealth quintile positioning for more than half of the rural-to-urban migrant workers from West Bengal when compared non-migrant workers in the same occupation. However, the study also highlights that migrant workers who have better education and skills prior to migration gained better economic outcomes. Furthermore, the study found that internal remittances have positive impact on the objective well-being of left-behind migrant households, which enabled them to spend better on healthcare and children education when compared to non-migrant household in the origin areas.

In Pakistan, the study by Chen et al. (2019) argued better objective well-being in terms of rising income and consumption patterns among landless and small farmer rural migrant households. Similar findings are obtained in Tanzania, Beegle et al. (2011) internal migration helped internally migrant workers to secure better income and consumption rather than staying in agriculture.

2.4.2 Subjective well-being and migration

The impact of migration on well-being outcomes may also help to explain migrant's quality of life and satisfaction at destination and migrant's households left-behind at origin areas (De Neve et al. 2013). Several studies, for example, have shown that the impact of migration on *subjective* well-being may decline even though there may be improvement in *objective* or material well-being, as I have shown above (Stillman et al. 2015; Knight and Gunatilaka, 2010; Bartram, 2011). Migrant's families left-behind in sending areas may also feel worse-off in terms of happiness despite the increase in objective well-being (Borraz, et al., 2010; King et al. 2014). However, in contrast, some studies have shown migrants to be better-off in terms of quality of life or subjective well-being in destinations as well as their families in sending areas (Ivlevs et al. 2018; Bayram et al., 2007; Nguyen et al., 2015; Waidler et al., 2017).

However, it is important here to briefly discuss what constitutes *subjective* well-being before we deep dive into how it relates to migration. In this regard, Diener and Ryan (2009) offer a comprehensive review of key variables to understand *subjective* well-being. They refer subjective well-being to describe 'the level of well-being people experiences according to their subjective evaluation of their lives (Diener and Ryan, *ibid*, p391).' Subjectivity, in this context, refers to people's personal experience and emotions, encompassing aspects such as life satisfaction, optimism, interest and aspirations and meanings they attribute to various aspects of their life such as work, health, leisure, social status and so on (see also Diener et al. 2018). Several demographic characteristics including gender, education, age, religion, income, and social relationships are associated, either positively or negatively, with *subjective* well-being (see Litwin, 2005; Bonini, 2008). Kahneman and Krueger (2006) highlighted that *subjective* well-being can be used to comprehend future outcomes, such as patterns or correlation for individual characteristics. For example, individuals who report higher life satisfaction tend to better recover from health issues or any income shocks. However, they noted that self-reported measures of *subjective* well-being are influenced by individual moods and responses at some specific moment of time, which need to assessed with traditional welfare analysis.

Returning to migration and *subjective* well-being relationships, the literature shows quantitative approaches are mainly employed to understand migration decisions, desires, and outcomes. For example, in terms of how *subjective* well-being impacts on migration

decision-making, Knight and Gunatilaka (2010) employed statistical models to test one of the four hypotheses concerning that how subjective well-being may influence internal migration decision-making. The association was explored through linking actual and expected income with individuals' current happiness. Their findings showed that individuals who are currently unhappy in rural areas are more likely to migrate, as they also found that migrants tended to report higher levels of happiness. In a separate study by Nikolova and Graham (2015), where they focused on the role of *subjective* well-being in understanding how immigrants can experience better life satisfaction and increased freedom of choices and new opportunities. This study also explored the relationship between household income (*objective* well-being) and self-reported life satisfaction and happiness, to explain higher levels of *subjective* well-being among migrants at the destination. Similarly, while understanding the impact of rural-urban migration in Vietnam on migrants' well-being, Nguyen et al. (2013) focused on income variables such as perception of better stable income, along with suitable working and living conditions as measures of *subjective* well-being. In this regard, Diener and Ryan (2009) stated that income is least correlated with happiness or life satisfaction.

There is a growing body of literature on *subjective* well-being and migration, which explores relationships in terms of migrant aspirations instead of solely linking income and happiness or life satisfaction. In a study by Stillman et al. (2013) shown that international migrants reported a decline in *subjective* well-being, measured through happiness and hedonic well-being approaches i.e., 'ladder of life' questions on respect and welfare, despite experiencing a rise in *objective* well-being (income gain). This was mainly due to their rising aspiration for a better income when they compared with those individuals in the destination areas. Chen et al. (2019) found similar results among internal migrants in Pakistan, wherein despite achieving better *objective* well-being due to migration, unmet aspirations to accumulate wealth led to decline *subjective* well-being.

Likewise, in a study by Liao et al. (2022), unmet aspirations for owning a house among internal migrants working in urban China were found to significantly decrease their *subjective* well-being. The study also found that migrant women, migrants with low level of education, and those who migrated from rural-to-urban areas experienced higher frustrations that led to negative effect on their *subjective* well-being outcomes. In Latin

America, Cardenas et al. (2009) showed unattainable objective aspirations to reduce hunger and food insecurity as key aspect in reducing *subjective* well-being outcomes among left-behind migrant household members.

Moreover, qualitative approaches are increasingly being used to better understand *subjective* well-being that enabled studies to provide deeper insights alongside quantitative findings. For instance, Amit and Riss (2014) explored the integration of migrants from North America in Israel and its impact on their *objective* and *subjective* well-being. Through quantitative findings, they demonstrate that these immigrants have lower *objective* well-being compared to North America. However, despite this, the study found that these immigrants still prefer to stay in Israel. Through qualitative semi-structured interviews, the authors demonstrated that immigrants' subjective well-being is not linked with *objective* well-being variables (such as level of income). Instead, their intention to stay in Israel is influenced by their religious disposition and their sustained connections with the social network in their country of origin, either for online business or maintaining social relationships.

In another study by Gheitarani et al. (2020) demonstrated the subjective meanings of quality of life of migrants in Hamadan, Iran, which were largely associated with variables such as place attachment and social capital. Based on mixed method approach, the authors found that migrants experience better *objective* well-being in terms of livelihood opportunities and subjective well-being such as lifestyle, in urban areas of Hamadan. The study also found that in areas with largely homogenous ethnic population, like in Hamadan, migrant rural households have developed sense of place attachments – *be like in their own village* – largely due to better social relationships with peer migrant groups in destination area, particularly observed among elder migrants.

2.4.3 Relational well-being and migration

Much of the well-being and migration literature primarily focuses on *objective* and *subjective* well-being, while giving comparatively less attention to *relational* well-being (Huovinen and Blackmore, 2016). In this regard, an important line of inquiry is that how *relational* well-being is linked to migration and in turn, how it contributes to migrant's and

their left-behind family members' well-being outcomes. This brief review mainly focusses on *relational* well-being and migration based on power hierarchies, gender roles and social status that may generate migration decisions or immobility constraints (White, 2010).

Social status and relationships have played a significant role in institutionalising internal and international migration movements among rural social groups. Migration is not merely a livelihood strategy but also an agent for change in social relationships. Two separate studies conducted in Western Nepal demonstrate these dynamics. In a study by Poertner et al. (2011) it was shown that migratory networks operate based on social structures including kinship, village affiliation and caste relationships. Through this, migratory networks become institutionalised for specific castes through constant connectivity, facilitated by organising religious functions and maintaining records of migrants' destinations. This helped to channel support for both internal and international migration, primarily favouring upper castes in Western Nepal. In contrast, Sunam (2014) demonstrates that social relationships mainly altered during Maoists 'people's war' movement, providing enough social space for lower caste Dalits to engage in international labour migration. Later, with the rise in remittances flows, left-behind family members were able to leave their traditional low-status occupations. This change helped them to improve their *relational* well-being by negotiating for better social ties with upper castes to reduce social discriminations, including the practice of '*untouchability*'.

The outmigration of men does not necessarily lead to economic and *relational* well-being for left-behind households. Reeves (2011) argues that male mobility (migration) may cause mobility constraints for women. Social and household hierarchies largely define who works outside and who stays behind based on the notions of honor, authority, respect, which Reeves (ibid) referred this phenomenon as 'relational mobility'. Domestic power relationships largely define men as the primary option for out-migration, while women face mobility constraints shaped by community norms that stigmatise women' outside work.

In a study on young people's agency and livelihoods by Petesch et al. (2022) demonstrated how mobility and economic roles are highly gendered based on strict patriarchal and social norms in rural Pakistan. The contrasting views between generations – elders in the households define largely who performs which job or work; and where – while young men tend to focus on labour migration and non-farm work to earn cash incomes. At the same

time, choice of work is highly contextual, largely based on intersecting household members and community hierarchies and power structure. Rural women, on the other hand, are assigned a 'helping' role in farming, livestock rearing but denied access to physical mobility for education and work elsewhere (Petesch et al. 2022, p273).

In the context of transnational migration, a study by Wright (2012) observed the outcomes of *relational* well-being among left-behind households in Peru. The author argued that improved education, work opportunities, access to food and a vibrant and peaceful family life, due to presence of transnational migrants, have elevated the pride and authority of these left-behinds. Wright (ibid) also highlighted potential challenges to *relational* well-being, such as racism and mistreatment faced by individuals in destination country, which can shape perceptions of migration experiences and well-being outcomes. Additionally, Wright (ibid, p480) demonstrated that some research participants counterbalance declining *relational* well-being outcomes by emphasising better objective well-being outcomes, as they narrate the situation as 'personal sacrifice for the greater good' (see also Crivello, 2011).

2.4.4 Aspirations, migration, and well-being

As highlighted in previous sections, I reviewed how aspirations are profoundly linked to the efforts of individuals to realise their wants, needs, and relationships within a given socio-economic and cultural settings. In this section, I briefly review how aspirations are linked to migration and, in turn, shape well-being outcomes.

'*Under what conditions do people decide to move?*', Carling and Schewel (2017) answered the key question in migration theory. In this regard, they discuss a two-step approach by exploring migration aspirations as a tendency to migrate compared to those who are able to realise migration or face immobility constraints. These two-steps – aspiration versus ability – are impacted through macro-scale indicator such as political, demographic, social, economic, or environmental factors, where individual-scale attributes interact at macro-scale that results in different migration outcomes i.e., '*involuntary non-migrants*' or '*actual migrant*'. Bernard et al. (2022) used this two-step approach and found significant

association of migration experiences with both formation and realization of migration aspirations in Australia.

Furthermore, it is important to understand why people aspire to migrate and, in the same vein, under what circumstance they actualise migration or become immobile. According to Carling and Schewel (ibid) exploring context is critical for understanding aspirations with regards to social norms, culture, meanings, and expectations as well as bringing time and place assessments in the analysis of aspirations and their outcomes. Additionally, migration aspirations are commonly used interchangeably with migration desire in the migration literature. However, Carling and Collins (2017) argue that although both terms are relevant to understanding human migration possibilities and transformation potential with regards to migration, they have some distinct characteristics in migration studies. Migration 'aspiration' is referred to as '*a conviction that migration is preferable to non-migration; it can vary in degree and in the balance between choice and coercion*' (Carling and Schewel, 2017, p946). On the other hand, migration desire used as a '*label for individual preference can also be more fundamentally replaced by alternative ontologies that emphasise the processual character of mobility and its intersections with imagination and subjective transformation*' (Carling and Collins, 2017, p915). Migration aspirations mainly refer to planning or setting goals based on social behaviour, obtaining information through observing and then diffusing from the achievements and failures of peer migrants, and analytically classifying migration projects (see Ray, 2006). Meanwhile, migration desire is more linked to cognitive dimensions and focused on material aspects of plans and goals that are essential for realising migration.

Czaika and Vothknecht (2014) conducted a study on migration aspirations and *subjective* well-being outcomes among individuals in Indonesia. The authors found that younger individuals with some level of education, belong to well-off families with better social positioning, and a inclination toward migration generally possess higher capacity to aspire. Furthermore, the study found that *subjective* well-being was largely unfulfilled for individuals residing in rural areas compared to those living in urban areas. The *subjective* well-being was measured by the aspiration gap, which refers to the disparity between their current and aspired future economic well-being. However, migrants show a high capacity to aspire and hence reported better *subjective* well-being compared to non-migrant

individuals. Similarly, Rashid and Sikder (2016) argued that rural young men with higher capacity to aspire for better education, government jobs, or migration are largely fulfilled their capacity to aspire belonged to those rural household in Bangladesh who received (international) remittances.

2.5 Conclusion:

The aim of this literature review has been to understand the complex relationship between internal migration and development, with a particular focus on well-being. The review paid attention to challenges of understanding related to internal migration, drivers and reasons for migration, and outcomes. The key insight from this review has been that the relationship between migration and development are complex and inconclusive. The review on migration and well-being highlights interlinked meaning and aspirations including both at individual and household levels. The option of bringing more social and cultural aspects to migration research is increasingly highlighted. It is mainly due to migration that can influence social and economic transformation in the context of livelihood improvement strategy, which is crucial for the poorest of society. In this context, understanding how migration can enhance capabilities of a human being by providing freedom in social and economic arrangements or expansions of choices is important. In addition, exploring gender relations in migration studies can help to understand different social and economic aspects of the migratory process, which has historically been ignored in the global development agenda. Well-being, which is explained in multiple ways including social, economic and psychology consider well-being in development perspective as human flourishing and freedom of achieving the goals of human life. In order to understand migration decision-making and the outcome, it is imperative to understand different dimensions of well-being, which include *objective*, *subjective* and *relational* aspects. This essentially required further investigations that illustrates how migration can impact on human well-being and how internal migration can be considered to be a survival or livelihood strategy of households including the poorest of the society.

Chapter 3: The Pakistani Context: Migration, Development and Well-being

3.1 Introduction

In this chapter I evaluate the context in which migration takes place in Pakistan by tracing the country's socio-economic development with regards to poverty and inequality. After this introduction, the next section offers a brief historical account of socio-economic relations in rural Pakistan, with specific focus on land tenure, which has been essential in the creation of the household categories characterising rural society today. These rural household categories are in turn used for my quantitative and qualitative analysis, which I turn to in Chapter 5. As part of these socio-economic relations, I also discuss gender and generational relations and the place and role of women in Pakistan's society. Next in this chapter I review historical migration events that have had a profound impact on Pakistan's society and its development. This is followed by an overview of internal migration trends and patterns, drivers of this migration and outcomes. The latter include remittances and their role in development and well-being, with a focus on rural areas. The last section concludes.

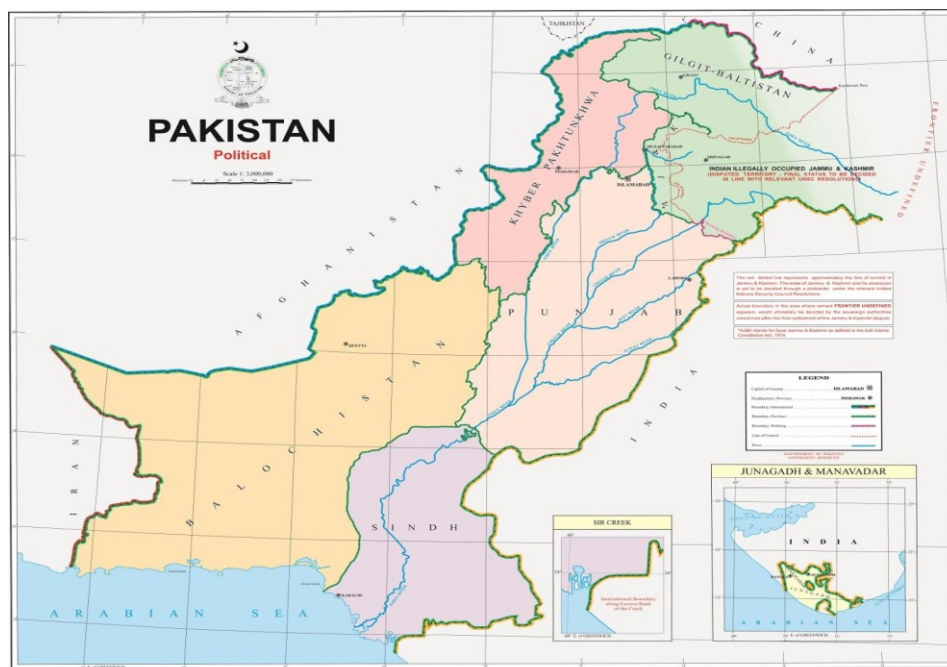


Figure 3. 1 Political Map of Pakistan

Politically, Pakistan is the federation of four provinces (i.e. Sindh, Punjab, Balochistan, and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa), and federally administrated areas (the Tribal Areas, Gilgit-Baltistan, Azad Kashmir and capital territory Islamabad). *Source:* Survey of Pakistan 2020, 5th Edition, Ministry of Defence, Pakistan.

3.2 Socio-economic relations and household structures in rural Pakistan

Pakistan is categorized by the World Bank as a low middle-income country with a population of about 224.8 million, projected to increase to 231.7 million by 2030 (GoP, 2017; GoP, 2022). Its status as a developing country was reflected in its global ranking in 2022 according to which it stood in 161 place (out of 191 countries) in the UNDP's Human Development Index (UNDP, 2022). About 38.3% of the population of Pakistan is living in severe multidimensional poverty with an additional 12.9% living close to it (UNDP, 2022). According to the UNDP (2022), the Multidimensional Poverty Index captures here the level of multiple deprivations that populations in developing countries face in their education, health and living standards. Beyond this global view, within Pakistan itself there are significant development disparities within different regions (UNDP-Pakistan, 2017). Rural areas are characterised by higher poverty rates than urban areas, higher income and gender inequalities, and lack of access to healthcare, education and other amenities. For instance, rural areas faced disparities in education attainment at about 37% compared to 19% in urban areas (UNDP-Pakistan, 2017). Increasingly, such conditions have played a significant role in rural-to-urban migration in Pakistan (UNDP-Pakistan, 2017, p128).

3.2.1 Land tenure and land ownership as key to the hierarchical structuring of Pakistan's rural society

Pakistan continues to be classified as a rural society, given that 63% of its population lives in rural areas, and agriculture is a significant sector of the economy, accounting for nearly a 22.7% of the country's GDP (GoP, 2022). These rural areas are characterised by an agrarian economic system that is reliant on labour-intensive agriculture, accompanied by conservative social relations. Very central to this entire system is *land tenure*. Pakistan, since its creation as a state in 1947, and then 1971, has been a rural society dominated by the agrarian sector, most of which is subsistence agriculture. While urban centres have expanded in the last two or three decades, these are far from dominant. Within the agrarian system of Pakistan the key source of wealth, social status and of (political) power is *land ownership* (Eglar, 2010; Ali, 2003, p62; Rahman, 2014, p119). Historically, the Punjab agrarian society that mainly developed during the mid-nineteenth century of British colonial era consisted of two main social classes: landowners and non-landed or non-farm classes (Joshi, 1974; Eglar, 2010; Rahman, 2014). This agrarian system favoured the landowner

(mainly feudal or semi-feudal class) over non-landed class (Joshi, 1974; Eglar, 2010; Talbot, 1992, p245). Overall, this traditional agrarian society was characterised by highly skewed land ownership in the hands of a few large landowners, exploitation of tenants and sharecroppers by the landowners and underutilised cultivable land resources (Aziz and Gray 1981; Joshi, 1974).

Later in the mid-twentieth century, namely in 1959 and 1970, the government of Pakistan introduced two major land reforms. These were aimed at putting a ceiling on individual's landholding and sought to improve agricultural production with the aim of reducing widespread rural income inequality, increasing landlessness, rural poverty and unemployment (Aziz and Gray 1981). Nevertheless, these reform programmes failed to achieve any of their targets and the old agrarian socio-economic structures continued to exist (Joshi, 1974). Instead, land reforms became disadvantageous for tenant farmers, landless and non-farm households in terms of how they shaped new tenancy and sharecropping arrangements. This resulted in increased rent for cultivated lands and an increased burden of farm inputs on sharecroppers (Joshi, 1974; Anwar *et al.*, 2004). This situation was further exacerbated by the initiation of the so-called 'green revolution' during the 1970s, which included among others, the rise of farm mechanisation, perennial irrigation, the increased use of artificial fertilisers and high yielding crop varieties (I elaborate on these latter in this chapter). The large farmers became the main beneficiaries due to their socio-political privileges. During this period, the large landholders reaped commercial benefits due to increased self-cultivation of their land as well as surplus farm production for the market (Aziz and Gray 1981; Joshi, 1974). Thus, a commercially oriented farm class emerged and caused structural changes in rural social and economic settings. The result was a degradation of livelihood opportunities for other groups such as small landholders, landless and non-farms households, who experienced an erosion of their livelihood sustainability and widespread unemployment and poverty (Joshi, 1974; Anwar *et al.*, 2004; Eglar, 2010).

This is the context in which four typical household categories have emerged in rural Pakistan and which characterise rural society today: large landowners, small landowners, landless households, and non-farm households. These will also be used as the key categories for the quantitative and qualitative data analysis, which I elaborate on in Chapter 5. Here, I present

a brief description of each category, and their place in rural Pakistan's socio-economic structure.

According to estimates, around 33% of rural households in Pakistan own land, with the remaining 67% being landless farm labourer and non-farm rural household (Anwar *et al.*, 2004; Aftab and Ali, 2023). Of those who own land, the vast majority are small landholder farms (over 89%) with a small minority (7% and 4%) who own medium and large farms in Pakistan, respectively. Land holdings are classified as small when they range between 0.5 to 12.5 acres; they cover around half (48%) of the total farm area in the country. In turn, medium farms are those comprising above 9.5 but below 25 acres of land, with an average of 16.7 acres. Finally, land holdings are large when they cover a minimum of or above 25 acres (Mohiuddin, et al. 2020). Generally, the large farms are in the range of between 25 to 435 acres or above; they cover around 35% of the total farm area of the country (Agricultural Census of Pakistan, 2010).

Landholding in the Punjab province is structured along similar patterns (see Table 3.1 for details). The vast majority of farms here are owned by small landholders – 91%. These farms range from 0.4 to 12.5 acres covering 60% of the total farm area of the province (GoP, 2010). The small landholders mostly cultivate their own land but also rent land from others, including the large landholders, who in turn own large farm sizes, which they partly cultivate and partly rent out. A similar situation presents itself when we zoom deeper at district level. In the case of D.G Khan, around 93% of land holdings are small farms covering 66% of the district area, while these shares in Faisalabad are 92% and 60% respectively (GoP 2010). As for the large land holding farms, these shares are around 2% covering 16% of the district in the case of D.G Khan, with respective figures for Faisalabad being 3% and 20% (GoP, 2010).

Table 3. 1 Distribution of number of farms and farm area.

Geographic region/ Land holding classification	Number of farms		Farm Area	
	No. (millions)	% of total farms	Total farm area (million acres) [million hectares]	% of total Farm area
Land holding classification				
Pakistan	8.26	100	52.91 [21.41]	100
Small (up to 12.5 acres) [up to 5 hectares]	7.40	89	25.42 [10.29]	48
Medium (12.6 -25 acres) [5.1 – 10 hectares]	0.56	7	9.36 [3.79]	18
Large (above 25 acres) [above 10 hectares]	0.30	4	18.12 [7.33]	35
Punjab	5.25	64	29.33 [11.87]	55
Small (up to 12.5 acres) [up to 5 hectares]	4.76	91	16.99 [6.88]	60
Medium (12.6 -25 acres) [5.1 – 10 hectares]	0.36	7	5.81 [2.35]	20
Large (above 25 acres) [above 10 hectares]	0.13	2	6.52 [2.64]	20
Faisalabad	0.21	4	1.09 [0.44]	4
Small (up to 12.5 acres) [up to 5 hectares]	0.20	92	0.73 [0.29]	67
Medium (12.6 -25 acres) [5.1 – 10 hectares]	0.01	5	0.18 [0.07]	17
Large (above 25 acres) [above 10 hectares]	0.004	3	0.18 [0.07]	16
Dera Ghazi Khan	0.19	4	0.94 [0.38]	3
Small (up to 12.5 acres) [up to 5 hectares]	0.18	93	0.62 [0.25]	66
Medium (12.6 -25 acres) [5.1 – 10 hectares]	0.01	5	0.17 [0.07]	18
Large (above 25 acres) [above 10 hectares]	0.004	2	0.15 [0.06]	16

Source: Agriculture Census, 2010, Government of Pakistan (GoP), Pakistan Bureau of Statistics

When it comes to the households who do not own any land, there are two key groups: those whose income derives primarily from farm work (but are not mostly tenant or sharecroppers) and those who work primarily as artisans or traders but may do a small amount of farm work on occasion. About 10% of rural households in Pakistan are landless

farm labourer households but mostly depend on farming for their livelihoods, including crop and livestock production (Anwar *et al.*, 2004). Poverty is high among these rural landless households who represent nearly half (45.1%) of the rural poor in Punjab (Anwar *et al.*, 2004). Socially, these landless farm labourer households are also regarded in society as the lowest level of agricultural classes and mostly provide labour to farms for wages. They are unable to become tenants or sharecropper mainly due to lack of financial and farm resources such as seeds and farm implements (Eglar, 2010). The migrants from these households mostly move to the cities where they do unskilled jobs in factories, serve in the military or take on other government and private sector jobs (Eglar, 2010).

The fourth category of households is the non-farm household, which represents about 57% of all rural households in Pakistan (Anwar *et al.*, 2004). In general, this class possesses no agricultural land and mainly performs artisan jobs such as blacksmith, weavers, carpenter, cobbler, and doing shop-keeping and small-scale trading and business activities. However, during the sowing and harvesting periods, the individuals from these households also work on farms (Eglar, 2010). Like the landless farmers they too are poor, but with a slightly higher level of poverty (and the highest in the country) – they constitute 47.5% of all rural poor in Punjab (Anwar *et al.*, 2004).

3.2.2. Gender relations, women's status, and role

In addition to the above rural household socio-economic categories, it is important to present a brief review about the rural family structure in Pakistan. This helped better understanding of gender roles and power relationships among household members. According to Zaman *et al.* (2006), a typical rural family in Pakistan is essentially hierarchical based on gender, social status, and age. They mainly live together in a joint family system, with three or more generations (i.e., grandparents, sons, and their families, and other siblings) residing under one roof (Zaman *et al.* 2006; Mairta and Ray, 2000;). The family roles and responsibilities are deeply framed around strong patriarchal settings (Ahmed, 2020). Rauf (1987) noted that patriarchal values and women' role in the family in rural Pakistan was mainly influenced historically by the interpretation of Islamic jurisprudence and the customs of family structure of Indian subcontinent. In rural society, women were mainly

considered socially and emotionally weak and physically vulnerable within and outside house. Thus, based on patriarchal settings, women were qualifying as 'protected persons' (Rauf, 1987). In this way, women's social and economic status and roles were defined based on narratives of protection and safeguarding. Moreover, rural women were generally denied for inheritance rights (particularly related to agricultural land property) and excluded in the household decision making process. They were expected to adhere strictly *purdah* and dress code norms, have limited preferences in terms of food consumption or serving patterns, and face restriction on working outside at farms (Rauf, 1987; Khan and Bilquees, 1976)

Around three decades ago, Alavi (1991) observed changes in the women's role and position in Pakistan society since the country's independence in 1947. With regards to rural women, he illustrated how women were viewed as 'chattels' that were possessed through strongly patriarchal arranged marriages; women were required to live under the authority of not just a single patriarch (as in the case of a nuclear family) but become subservient to elder men in the extended family, the *biradary* (lineages) in the village and beyond. He further stated that women were a 'prized chattel' among landless rural households, with daughters being sold for marriages and husbands divorcing and selling their wives. However, with male outmigration along with other socio-political transformations, Alavi (1991) noted that women who were left-behind became more restricted due to '*purdah*' norms among landholding classes, whilst landless women had experienced some autonomy for outside work in the fields and caring for livestock. While this increased their workload, they also received some financial gains.

Around the same time, Malik (1993) and Lefebvre (1999) also noticed certain shifts in the economic and household decision-making status (based on remittances) of 'left behind' women, but not enough to bring about deep and enduring social change in this patriarchal rural society or provide women any options for work or (higher) education. Sathar and Kazi (2000) showed that the autonomy, authority, and roles of rural women were mainly limited due to living in multi-generational families, rather than access to and attainment of better education and employment afterwards. However, Abrar-ul-haq et al. (2017) concur with the findings of Sather and Kazi about the influence of family structure on rural women's autonomy and status. They identified some incremental changes in terms of rising women's

consciousness about their well-being, which have improved somehow due to better education and (public-sector) employment.

3.3 Key historical migration periods

In order to comprehend Pakistan's current rural-to-urban migration, it is important to consider the historical context of this phenomenon and its impacts on agrarian as well as urban society. This is what this section of the chapter aims to do.

There are three key events that have made a profound impact on demographic and social changes in Pakistan (Ali, 2003; Khawaja, 2012; Hasan, 2010). These are: 1) the irrigation infrastructure development in Western Punjab (now in Pakistan) during the British colonial era; 2) migration due to the partition of British India into Pakistan and India in 1947; and 3) a large influx of Afghan refugees due to the Soviet invasion and civil war in Afghanistan in 1979 and aftermath impacts.

During the period between 1872 and 1929, large-scale migration into contemporary Punjab took place (Ali, 2003; Talbot and Thandi, 2004). The region was then the part of united British Punjab referred as Western Punjab (now in Pakistan), still under British colonial rule. A large-scale migration of (Sikh) farmers was instigated, particularly from the eastern part of united British Indian Punjab (Talbot and Thandi, 2004), when the British India government developed perennial irrigation in Western Punjab and colonised around 4.5 million hectares of land for agricultural purposes (Ali, 2003; Ali, 2004; Khawaja, 2012; Talbot and Thandi, 2004). Prior to this development, the area was largely barren but cultivable wasteland with a scattered local pastoral population. There was a rapid rise in rural population around 'canal colonies' that were initially developed for trading agricultural surplus (Ali, 2003; Talbot and Thandi, 2004). For instance, the population density of Lyallpur canal colony (now Faisalabad city) drastically increased from seven persons per square mile in 1891 to 301 in 1921 (Khawaja 2012). Ali (2004) termed this era of development as *ruralisation* of Punjab. However, the development outcome was not uniform and has marked regional disparities that continue in contemporary Punjab (Ali, 2004; Khawaja, 2012). The Western (or Pakistani) Punjab was classified into North, Center and the South-West regions (Khawaja, 2012). The North and Central Punjab benefited most from irrigation development, construction of

cantonments and recruitment in the military. Road and rail networks were raised in central Punjab to support military movements and agricultural transportation to the port of Karachi and from there to other parts of the British Indian Empire or more specifically to Britain itself (Khawaja, 2012). Health and education facilities were also situated near cantonments which are located mostly in North and Central Punjab. According to Khawaja (2012), this situation persists even today, as the Central Punjab region remains socio-economically more developed than South-West Punjab.

Another significant aspect of the development process of this era was the effort to modernise these new colonial settlements (villages and towns together) through social engineering (Gilmartin, 2004). As with the development of irrigation infrastructure and canal colonies, British officials realised that maximum production and associated benefits could not be achieved with state action alone. Rather, it would require transforming new migrants and settlements into modern and enterprise farming communities. Thus, a physical, social, political and legal model was developed (Gilmartin, 2004). Under this model, the village and agricultural land was designed geometrically with specific shape and size, while sanitation and the hygiene of the villages were ensured and regulated closely by the British local administration. The market towns were connected to rural areas and an agricultural college (now University of Agriculture, Faisalabad) was established to promote modern agricultural practices. The purpose was to build villages and towns with a higher standard of living, capable of raising production and state revenues, where the 'rational' producer would signify 'modernity' (Gilmartin, 2004). In addition, under this approach, agricultural land was distributed strictly based on certain social attributes such as common ancestry and genealogy. This is significant for the current landholding system. The idea was to favour the social caste that was thought to have a natural and traditional reputation of being the best cultivators (such as Jatts, Arians, Gujjars, Rajputs), had the best skills in farming, and was loyal to the British rule and were thus considered as law-abiding (Ali, 2003; Gilmartin, 2004). Furthermore, 'customary laws' were introduced in 1872 for village property (Gilmartin, 2004). This meant that farmland was no longer transferable to non-farming community members, the land was transferable to males only, and landowners were given customary rights to administer the farm (landless) labourer and other non-farm

village labourers. Thus, a strong patriarchal and kinship-based village community system emerged over time (Ali, 2003; Gilmartin, 2004; Khawaja, 2012).

However, the model came up against severe limitations with regards to introducing social change in the canal colonies. First, migrants were settled by the British officials in new settlements in a manner that would essentially replicate the social structure (such as same professions or caste) from the villages they had out-migrated. This was done to maintain the social order and stability within villages, but it contradicted with the British model of social transformation of rural communities in the new settlements. The second limitation was related to the varied policies to grant agriculture land in new colonies and villages, which was often based on political and military cooperation and support. Thus, large land grants to yeoman farmers and landed-gentry significantly impacted on colony settlements through absentee landlords and exploitative tenancy arrangements (Ali, 2004; Gilmartin, 2004).

Conflicts arose in 1906 between colony settlers and the British Indian government. There were resentments over the restriction of inheritance of land to different heirs according to one's religious laws, government fines relating to sanitation, the administrative inability of irrigation departments to provide timely water for agriculture and so on (Ali, 2003). As a consequence, the British government abandoned its programme of social transformation in 1908 and gave full land and inheritance rights to colony settlers (Ali, 2003). Soon, the agricultural land started to be split among numerous heirs, and social modernisation of village communities was over (Ali, 2003; Gilmartin, 2004). Ali (2004) argues that the modernisation efforts by the British were largely for economic and political control and less for social change. However, the imprints of the social structural base of rural Punjab constructed during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century continue to persist, especially in the form of caste system, the agrarian-elite class, a patriarchal society, and manipulative social attitudes toward landless farm-labour and other non-farming village classes (Ali, 2004; Khawaja, 2012).

The *second* major event that had transformative impacts occurred during the partition of British India and the creation of Pakistan as an independent country in 1947. The magnitude of migration was enormous based on the population size of that era. About 4.7 million Hindus and Sikhs moved from Pakistan to India and 6.5 million Muslims migrated to Pakistan from India (Hasan, 2010). The net migration into Pakistan was around 1.5 million which

constitutes 10% of the total population in 1951 (Waseem, 2004). Migrants coming to Pakistan were from different ethnic groups and most of them were poor and asset-less (Waseem, 2004; Hasan, 2002). The settlement process of migrants into different parts of the country also widely altered the ethnic, social, economic and political fabric of Pakistan. Alavi (2011) points out that migrant settlement was purposefully planned in two different directions. First, migrants coming from the east (or Indian) Punjab were made to settle only in Western Punjab. Because these migrants were interrelated ethnically or belonged to similar clan groups and professions as the existing west Punjabi population, the ethnic composition of the population of Punjab remained mostly homogeneous (Waseem, 2004; Alavi, 2011). Non-Punjabi migrants mainly from the south and the west of India were mostly settled in the urban areas of Sindh, Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa and Balochistan provinces (Waseem, 2004). Alavi (2011) describes the conflicts that arose when Urdu-speaking migrants settled in Karachi, Hyderabad and Sukkur – three main cities in the Sindh province. Before the partition, most people in Karachi were Sindhi Hindus. After the communal riots in 1948, they were forced to flee to India. The Urdu-speaking migrants overtook most of the Sindhi Hindus' trades and businesses as well as industrial sector jobs. Soon they became a majority ethnic group (54.3% of Karachi's total population) and over time dominated urban Sindh politics (Waseem, 1996). The ethnic polarisation in Sindh between rural Sindhi-speaking and urban Urdu-speaking became acute and elevated the political and ethnic rifts that blight the country today (Ahmad, 1996; Alavi, 2011). Viewing at a broader scale, the entire process of migration movements after the partition in 1947 and later settlements into different regions of Pakistan brought regionality aspects into internal migration flows; the majority of contemporary internal migration occurs within provincial and district boundaries (Waseem, 1996).

The *third* migration event relates to the influx of Afghan refugees into Pakistan due to the Soviet invasion in 1979 and following the civil war in Afghanistan (Hasan, 2010). Around 3.7 million Afghan refugees arrived in Pakistan by 1992. Initially, refugees were restricted by the government to only border areas within Pakistan, but later they spread to all major cities of the country. Some estimate that around 600,000 Afghans settled in Karachi alone (Hasan, 2010). The 1 million Afghan refugees in the Balochistan province affected the ethnic composition of Balochs, Afghani Pushtoons and Pakistani Pushtoons that have caused

political rifts in the province (Ahmad, 1996). Hasan (2010) argues that many Afghan warlords taking refuge in Pakistan supported the ongoing war in Afghanistan at that time, which posed risks in multiple ways to the already rising socio-economic and religious polarization within Pakistan society, including drug and arms trade within Pakistan to fund the civil war in Afghanistan, which deeply influencing Pakistan's politics as a strong pressure group.

3.4 Internal migration in Pakistan

Following Pakistan's independence, and the range of transformations discussed earlier here, large-scale migrations took place from Pakistan internally and abroad, including to Britain, forming there a significant and enduring Pakistani diaspora (see, eg. Anwar 1979; Bolognani 2007). However, in line with the focus of this study, the discussion in this part of the thesis will engage with internal migration only. First provide an overview of trends and patterns, before I review the impact of this migration through remittances and social change.

3.4.1 An overview of trends and patterns

Internal migration in Pakistan has occurred in many directions (i.e., rural-to-rural, rural-to-urban, urban-to-urban, and urban-to-rural). Most empirical studies suggest that the dominant form of internal migration has been rural-to-urban (Irfan, 1986; Hasan, 2010; Haq *et al.*, 2015). The 2017-18 Pakistan Demographic and Health Survey (P-DHS) estimates show that the total internal migration reported in this year was about 14% among sample households across Pakistan (NIPS and ICF, 2019). The survey report indicates that the rate of internal migration in Pakistan at the time was around 14%. Just over half of these movements were in the rural-urban direction (51.6%) during the survey year, with the remaining shares as follows: rural-to-rural (20.9%), urban-to-urban (21.6%), and urban-to-rural (5.9%).

However, in contrast to this earlier dominance of the rural-urban direction of internal migration, a declining trend is observed across Pakistan in more recent years, as suggested by the Pakistan's Labour Force Survey (P-LFS) data over several decades. The latest figures show that there has been a substantial decrease in rural-to-urban migration in Pakistan (GoP, 2021). As shown in Figure 3.1, this rate dropped from 26.2% in 2012-13 to 11.7% in

2020-21. The decline was the most pronounced in the Sindh and Balochistan provinces. In the province of Punjab, which is the focus of my research, rural-to-urban migration decreased by almost half, decreasing from 26.9% in 2012-13 to 12.5% in 2020-21. There are some contradictory findings to those offered by the P-DHS above, which suggested that over half of internal migrations were rural-urban in 2017-18. This may be due to sampling bias, as P-DHS survey was conducted in Punjab, Sindh, Balochistan, and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa provinces, as well as Azad Jammu Kashmir and Gilgit Baltistan with a total sample of 11,869 households. In contrast, P-LFS survey in 2021 was conducted only in four provinces but with a larger sample of 99,904 households.

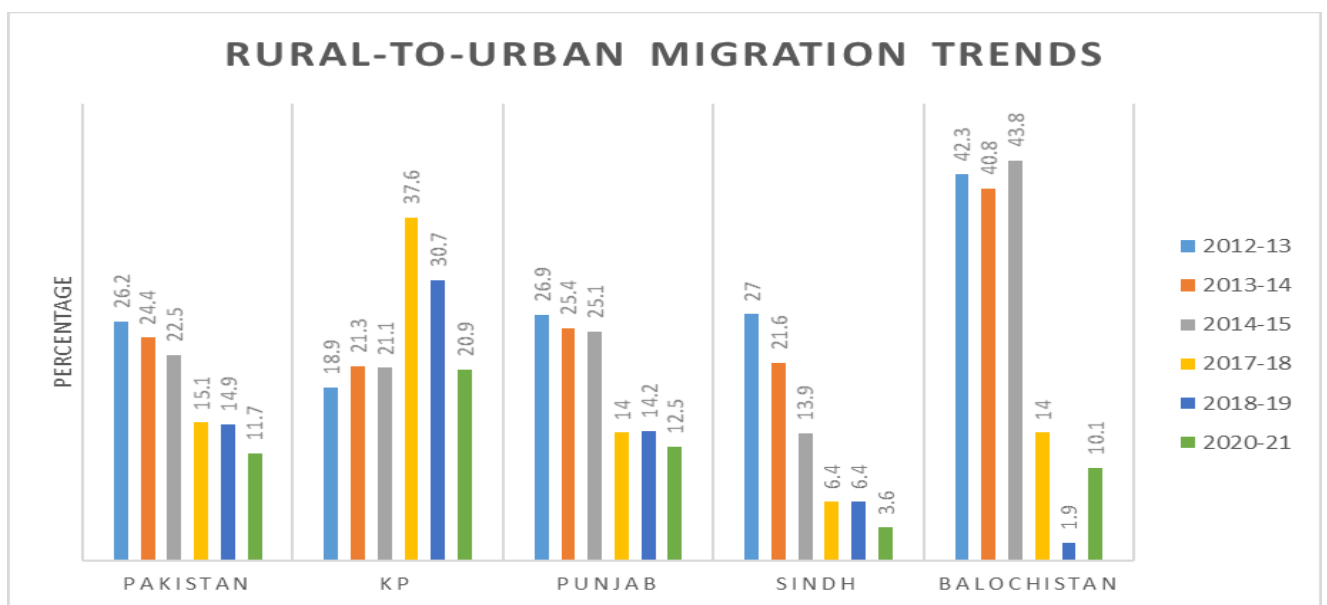


Figure 3. 2: Rural-to-Urban migration trends in Pakistan.²

Data source: Labour Force Survey (for multiple years) (GoP, 2013; 2014; 2015; 2018; 2019; 2021)

While the P-LFS and P-DHS reports list a number of reasons for rural-to-urban migration, such as employment, labour, healthcare, education, business, marriage, and family reunion, for each year, they do not provide any information on why there has been a decline in rural-to-urban migration over the years (GoP, 2021; NIPS and ICF, 2013 and 2019). There is otherwise no research that I am aware of which explains such a pattern. My interpretation is that the country's economic stagnation and the COVID-19 pandemic during 2018 -2021

² KP denotes Khyber Pakhtunkhwa province.

are significant contributing factors. Moreover, important to mention here that the major reasons of internal migration in these survey reports include family reunion and women marriage (for example 40% in P-DHS, 2019 and 67% in P-LFS, 2021). However, beyond these reasons, other factors such as search for better livelihoods and employment, aspirations of better education, health and lifestyle as well as growing climate change impacts have forced rural youth to migrate elsewhere, although not necessarily or always in urban areas (Salik et al. 2017; Qaisrani et al. 2018).

One of the key impacts of this rural-to-urban migration in Pakistan has been urban population growth (Rogers, 1990; Gazdar, 2003; Mustafa and Sawas, 2013). This rate was highest in the early years of independence, according to Hasan (2010), although it was also more impactful because Pakistan society was predominantly rural at the time. For example, internal rural-urban migration contributed 40.1% (average 4% per year) to urban population growth over the period of 1951 to 1961 (Hasan, 2010). Much of this significant increase in urbanisation has been attributed to the continued influx of migrants from India during the 1950s, as noted earlier (Waseem, 1996). High rates of migration were accompanied by high rates of natural urban growth of 44.8% (4.48% per year) during the same period (Hasan, 2010). Following this, a declining trend was observed in later decades, with rural-urban migration flows falling by 1.8% per year between 1981 and 1998 (Irfan, 1986; Hasan, 2010). Another upward trend was picked up by Mahmud (2010) in the 2000s, who noted an increase in rural-urban migration rate by 2.6% per year during 2005 and 2008. While internal rural-urban migration rates may have fallen, urban population has continued to increase in the last two decades or so. Ul Haq (2014) and Arif et al. (2022) offer some explanations about this recent urban growth as attributed to three key factors. The vast majority of this urban population growth (accounting for about 68-70% of it) is due to a high rate of fertility and natural increase in population of cities. Rural to urban migration, as the second factor, does have an impact, accounting for about 20% of this urban population growth, while a third factor is related to reclassification of rural and urban boundaries during 2017 population survey (10-12% of urban growth).

In terms of geographical/spatial distance, internal migration predominantly takes place within provinces rather than across provinces. Irfan (1986) pointed out that 42% of the migrant population in the 1980s moved within districts, while 39% migrated intra-province.

Only 19% crossed provincial boundaries. In a later study, Mahmud *et al.*, (2010) noted similar trends and estimated that the majority of internal rural-to-urban and urban-to-urban migrants moved within their respective provinces to their provincial capitals (Mahmud *et al.*, 2010). The only major inter-provincial migration has been from Punjab and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa towards Sindh and Balochistan, especially towards coastal areas, as both provinces offer labour opportunities in the port city of Karachi, while Balochistan has many orchards and shipbreaking industry, where a skilled labour is in high demand (Rogers, 1990; Chaudhry, 2006; Husain et al. 2019). Figure 3.2 shows that the inter- and intra-regional out-migration in Pakistan is mostly dominated by migrants from the Punjab province (NIPS and ICF, 2019; GoP, 2021).

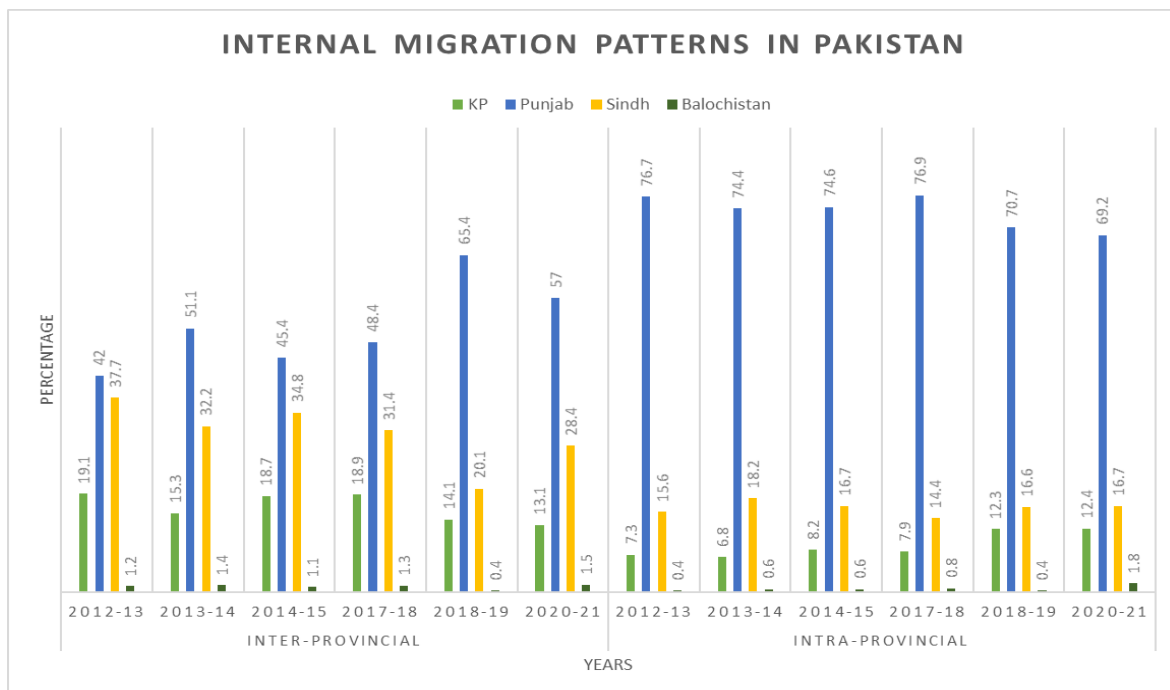


Figure 3. 3: Internal migration (inter- and intra- provincial) patterns in Pakistan.

Data source: Labour Force Survey Report- Government of Pakistan, Statistics Division, Pakistan Bureau of Statistics (for multiple years) (GoP, 2013; 2014; 2015; 2018; 2019; 2021)

3.4.2 Internal migration in the context of the ‘green’ and ‘industrial’ revolutions

Internal migration patterns described above have developed in a context of rural and urban economic development that is marked by both the ‘green’ and ‘industrial’ revolutions.

During the mid- to late-1960s, Pakistan’s economy experienced rapid agricultural and industrial growth. This era of growth was termed as the ‘green revolution’ and ‘industrial

revolution'. It transformed the social and economic outlook of rural and urban areas of Pakistan. The green revolution brought farm mechanisation such as the use of tractors, while improved seed and fertilisers became widespread (Hamid, 1972). As a result, a significant rise in agricultural production was observed. During this period, the economy grew at around 6.8% per annum (GoP, 2015). However, at the same time, rural employment decreased by almost half which was often attributed to farm mechanisation. It resulted in the unemployment of a large number of landless and non-farm (such as rural artisans, farm labourers) rural populations (Belokrenitsky, 1984). Furthermore, land tenants and small farmers could not afford to adopt the new technologies of the green revolution and became economically marginalised (Burki, 1974). Small farmers rented out their farms as rents were increasing rapidly (Burki, 1974). A surge in rural-urban migration of small farmers and landless labourers followed (Burki, 1974; Belokrenitsky, 1984; Hasan, 2010). However, Printurp-Andersen and Hazell (1985) oppose this linear conclusion and argue that such conclusions were mainly based on the early stages of the green revolution. Large farmers with high potential to adopt the new farm technologies did gain early economic benefits as compared to small farmers. However, after this initial stage, the 'multiplier effects' of the green revolution started attracting small farmers by recognising the benefits of adopting new technologies. Furthermore, the rural poor benefited from low food prices and as a result, rural income poverty went down. They also noted that the green revolution increased the farm labour demand, although the increase in farm wages was lower due to elasticity in labour supply. Nevertheless, the authors note that regions with low productivity and high farm mechanisation might cause landless farm labourers to out-migrate (Printurp-Andersen and Hazell, 1985).

In contrast, Khan (1983) argues that it was the higher urban wages and industrial jobs that attracted rural labourers to migrate during the 1970s, rather than the unemployment in rural areas. This had started much earlier, with the industrial development that kicked-off during the mid-1950s in big cities such as Karachi and Faisalabad (Burki, 1974). The highly labour-intensive textile, chemical and engineering industries that developed during this time needed labour, most of which could be found in rural areas, thus ensuring continued rural-urban migration flows. However, in the late 1960s, the industrial sector became more capital-intensive, which in turn shrunk industrial employment by one-third (Belokrenitsky,

1984). Meanwhile, in cities, the small-scale manufacturing sector, numerous trade and business, self-employment etc. continued to absorb rural migrants (Burki, 1974; Child and Kaneda, 1975). During the same period, Pakistan had a high population growth (both in urban and rural areas) and urbanisation rates (Belokrenitsky, 1984). Due to positive economic growth, a services sector emerged in Pakistan and as a result, the urban working class increased during the early 1970s (Ghani and Kharas, 2010).

3.4.3 Key drivers of contemporary migrations

According to key publications, the main economic driver of migration from rural areas of Pakistan in recent years has been the lack of employment opportunities (NIPS and ICF, 2019). According to estimates, three-fifths of the total working-age population of Pakistan lives in rural areas, around half of whom are unemployed or about to enter the labour market with limited income-generating opportunities (GoP, 2021; Ejaz and Mallawaarachchi, 2023). Unemployment and improvement in the human capital of rural youth are also significantly related (Fafchamps and Quisumbing, 1998; Petesch et al. 2022). For instance, there is a high tendency among rural youth in Pakistan to move out of farming and search for non-agricultural jobs once they acquire higher skills and education (Fafchamps and Quisumbing, 1998; Khan and Shahnaz, 2000; Petesch et al. 2022). There are other multiple factors indicating a decreasing interest in farming among rural youth in Pakistan. These factors include the nature of farming, which requires intensive manual work and experiences, the seasonal and unpredictable nature of incomes, lack of insurance markets, increasing climate change impacts (which I return to later in the section), shrinking farm areas for profitable farming, and a desire to pursue a modern urban life-style – away from dust and mud, limiting youth aspirations to remain in farming, and thus many of them wanted to leave rural areas (Ali, et al. 2020).

The urban areas having better employment opportunities, wages and income sources than rural areas can also trigger rural-urban migration (Ejaz and Mallawaarachchi, 2023). Urban employment opportunities in the services sector alone grew by 3.3% per year and urban wages increased up to 2.8% per year between 1991 and 2010 (MHHDC, 2015). Contrarily, the wages in the agricultural sector have decreased by 0.2% during the same period

(MHHDC, 2015). Estimates of the rural-urban income differentials suggest that rural incomes are one-third of urban ones (GoP, 2015).

Evidence from literature elsewhere suggests that inequality and poverty within rural areas themselves can be major factors in rural-urban migration (Lipton, 1980; Shams, 2020). The cause may be a 'pull' to economic prospects by well-off rural families or 'push' of poverty-ridden rural households (Lipton, 1980). The poor migrants are mostly landless and small farmers and agricultural labourers, which account for more than threequarters of the rural population (Nabi, 1984; Haq *et al.*, 2015). Rural poverty was at the highest level in the 1960s at about 42.3%, which declined to 25.2% in 1991 (Bhutto and Bazmi, 2007). Later estimates show a further decline in poverty in rural areas to 22.4% in 2010, as compared to 38.7% in 2003 (Bhutto and Bazmi, 2007; Arif and Farooq, 2014). Despite this improvement, a large percentage of the rural population continues to be close to poverty (transitory poor)³ accounting for 21.7% (Arif and Farooq, 2014). There are also regional differences between provinces. For example, the highly populated Punjab and Sindh provinces show higher rates of rural poverty than the national average which is 27% in 2010 (Arif and Farooq, 2014). Alongside rural poverty, high-income inequalities among landed and non-landed household groups were also observed in rural areas (Anwar *et al.* 2004; Shams, 2020). As a result, the large rural population was marginalised having unequal opportunities for developing better human capital (Anwar, 2003; Sial *et al.*, 2015) which in turn was seen as causing many people to migrate (Hasan, 2010; Shams, 2020; UNDP-Pakistan, 2017, p128).

Structural issues are certainly of importance when considering outmigration, and this is no different in the case of Pakistan. For instance, Ejaz and Mallawaarachchi (2023) argued that infrastructural imbalances, such as access to financial resources, weak farm-market linkages and institutional support for entrepreneurial capacity enhancements are exacerbating the rural-urban divide. Such limitations have increased rural-urban disparities of growth and household level well-being. Structural issues are particularly exacerbated in remote rural areas such as those of northern and western highlands, which have little or no access to healthcare and education facilities, and have lower agricultural productivity (Hasan, 2010

³ 'Transitory poverty' is described a situation of fluctuating poor (those who are poor in some periods but not in others, and have a mean poverty score around the poverty line), as well as occasionally poor (those who have experienced at least one period in poverty, although their mean poverty score is above the poverty line; see CPRC, 2005; Arif and Bilquees, 2007; McCulloch and Baulch, 2000).

and 2016; Salik et al. 2020). Consequently, a large proportion of their rural population moves down to the southern semi-arid rural and urban areas to look for better economic opportunities. Ejaz and Mallawaarachchi, (2023) further note that rural areas also hold socio-economic disparities that mostly link to strict gender roles and social exclusion limiting women to participate in economic activities. With such structural issues, many people in rural areas are trapped in absolute poverty or low income generating opportunities and capacities, which in turn compel some of them to move elsewhere for better livelihoods. Finally, I cannot discuss socio-economic conditions and livelihoods in rural areas without considering the impacts of climate change. Literature suggests that the direct and indirect impacts of a changing climate on agriculture may have a strong role to play in outmigration from rural areas of Pakistan (Hasan, 2010 and 2016; Salik et al. 2020). Hasan (2010) finds evidence of migration from the eastern deserts towards other arid and semi-arid areas of Sindh and Punjab provinces, due to the extremely arid environment in the east. Likewise, climate change, either slow onset (such as shifts in temperature and precipitation temporal and spatial patterns) or fast onset (such as droughts and floods) events are coupling with already socio-economic vulnerabilities leading to displaced rural population and ultimately migrate internally (Salik et al. 2020; Erdal et al. 2022; Mueller et al. 2014).

3.5 Well-being outcomes of migration in Pakistan

3.5.1 The role of remittances on development

The role of remittances in socio-economic development is a critical line of inquiry in migration studies in Pakistan as has been in migration-development studies across the world. This section aims to explore how migration is linked to development and well-being, developing a narrative that centers on remittances as a key driver of social and economic change, as well as a source of economic stability and sustainability in the country. Nevertheless, there is evidence that remittances may have contributed to deeper inequalities and poverty outcomes in the country. In this regard, I identify four distinct strands in the literature that has examined the impact of remittances on the country's socio-economic indicators. The first looks into the role of remittances on the country's macroeconomic growth and household consumption expenditure (Iqbal and Sattar, 2005;

Ahmed *et al.*, 2011; Shair and Anwar, 2023). The second strand focuses on the impact of remittances on investment and rural asset accumulation (Oda, 2007; Adams, 1998; Yasmeen *et al.*, 2011; Awan *et al.*, 2013; Amjad and Arif, 2014). The third strand examines the effects of remittances on inequality and poverty in rural areas, extended family, and household well-being (Arif, 2009; Ilahi and Jafarey, 1998; Khan *et al.*, 2010; Siegmann, 2010; Adams, 1992; Irfan, 2011). A growing fourth strand focuses on how remittances can support those affected by socio-economic and environment-related crises and risks as well as gender relationships (Suleri and Savage, 2006; Gioli *et al.*, 2014; Abdin and Erdal, 2016). I start with the first.

The vast majority of the literature on the impact of remittances has focused on international migration. At a macro-economic level, similar to other countries like Pakistan, here too international remittances play a significant role in the country's economy. Pakistan received around US\$31 billion of international remittances in 2022 with a growth of 6.2% compared to 2021. This accounted for 9% of Pakistan's total gross domestic production (GDP; SoP, 2022; World Bank, 2022). This contribution of international remittances to the country is much higher than Official Development Assistance (ODA) and Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) to Pakistan. For instance, Pakistan received only US\$ 4.18 billion of ODA in 2020, whereas the value of FDI was US\$1.9 billion in 2022 (SoP, 2022).⁴ Furthermore, international remittances also help to finance the country's imports bill (38%), cover about 94% of the trade deficit and contribute 6% to national income (Tahir *et al.*, 2015).

International remittances are also estimated to contribute around 0.078% per year to economic growth in Pakistan (Ahmed *et al.*, 2011). A recent study (Ellahi and Omer 2021) showed a strong correlation between international remittances and GDP per capita, according to which a 1% increase in international remittances was expected to result in a 0.15% increase in GDP per capita. Remittances are also important for the economy and well-being of people at an individual household level too, as I elaborate on later in this section.

In the case of international remittances, Ellahi and Omer (2021) observed a significant impact on the consumption patterns (such as expenditure on food, education, and health)

⁴OECD (2020)
https://public.tableau.com/views/OECDACAidatag glancebyrecipient_new/Recipients?:embed=y&:display_count=yes&:showTabs=y&:toolbar=no?&:showVizHome=no

of low-income migrant households, while looking at a macro-scale. However, they did not find evidence of remittances affecting investment, which they argued operates mainly in the informal economy. Furthermore, they argued that left-behind migrant households, particularly low-income households, lacked the necessary human capital and experience to make efficient investment decisions, thus leading to higher consumption patterns, although that may indirectly link to investment in the longer-run (Ellahi and Omer, 2021; see also Rehman et al. 2020). However, such understanding of development from narrow and short-term economic perspectives that expenditures in nutritious food and healthcare are not investments in development need to be challenged, given that a healthier and happier population are goals of development in and of themselves, and do lead to economic development through a healthier and more skilled labour force in the long run.

However, while the vast majority of this literature draws on studies from international migration, as noted earlier, there is more limited evidence and data about remittance flows from internal migration, and especially their macro-economic significance (NIPS and ICF, 2019). The picture I can draw from existing studies is as follows. According to Nenova et al. (2009), internal remittances in Pakistan make up approximately 90% of the value of international remittances. They based their estimation on the Household Income Integrated Survey (2005-06) and estimated internal remittance flows at about US\$6.95 billion, compared to US\$9 billion international remittances during the same period (Nenova et al. 2009, p155). The vast majority of these internal remittances – about 75% of total internal flows – were sent to rural areas, of which rural Punjab received 39.7% during the year 2004-05. Equivalent figures for international remittances show a similar pattern, albeit with a slightly lower share that is received by rural areas (67% of international remittances), with rural Punjab and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa provinces receiving 19.4% and 39.1% respectively (Nenova et al. 2009, p158).

In this regard, several micro-level studies have demonstrated the impact of both internal and international remittances on investment, which serves as a key source of rural development in Pakistan (Oda, 2007 and 2008; Erdal et al. 2022). Adams (1998) and Ahmed (2018) have argued that international remittances are a source of rural asset accumulation, saving and local investment in Pakistan (Mughal and Makhoulf, 2013). According to Ahmed and Mughal (2015), a proportion of international remittances was invested by recipient

families in their study in creating and enhancing human capital such as through healthcare and education. In a large-scale study of secondary data that spanned several countries across the world, Adams (1998) argued that households receiving international remittances had been able to save about 75% of the received sums, while in the case of internal remittances more than half (50%) had been spent on consumption (Adams, 1998). This may be because remittance sums sent to individual households from abroad are generally higher than those from internal migrants, thus enabling savings more in the former. This can also be linked to the already existing situation of migrant households prior to migration – those sending migrants abroad may already be better-off and have other income sources, or assets, which allow them to then save more from remittances, than would be the case for internal migrants, who generally come from poorer households.

Adam's (1998) study presented some examples of rural assets accumulation through remittances in migrant households in Pakistan. He used the accumulation of 'irrigated', 'rain-fed' land and 'livestock' assets as the determinants of rural asset accumulation. The results showed that it took five years for a rural household receiving international remittances to invest in the purchase of another piece of irrigated land, and three years to invest on rain-fed land. However, internal remittances appeared to have no effect on asset accumulation as migrant families were not able to purchase any land as in the example above (Adams, 1998). About two decades later, Ubaid et al. (2023) found similar results using the 2018-19 dataset from the Pakistan Social and Living Standard-Household Integrated Economic Survey (PSLM-HIES), which included 5,636 farming households across Pakistan. The households that received remittances, whether from within the country or abroad, lost interest in farming and experienced a decline in crop production (about 77% less compared to non-recipient households) due to reduced investment in farming activities.

Some academics argue that internal remittances contribute to reducing income inequalities and potentially reduce poverty (*objective* well-being) and food insecurity in Pakistan (Adams, 1992; Mughal and Makhlof, 2013), whereas international remittances are associated with high-income inequality and social disparities as they are received mainly by already well-off rural families (Gilani *et al.*, 1981; Adams, 1992). For example, in a recent study by Shair and Anwar (2023), similar patterns of inequality in income and consumption expenditures were demonstrated among left-behind households receiving international and

internal remittances as well as non-migrant households. The study used data from the single-year PSLM-HIES conducted in 2018-19 across Pakistan. They found that international and internal remittances contributed more than half of household income. However, households receiving monthly PKR5581 per capita as international remittances are far above the poverty threshold of monthly PKR4050 per capita, while households receiving monthly PKR3383 per capita as internal remittances only escape the poverty threshold with additional income. The study also showed that households receiving international remittances have higher per capita expenditure than those receiving internal remittances. Additionally, the study revealed that poor migrant households receiving internal remittances and non-migrant households have identical expenditure per capita patterns, nonetheless wealthiest migrant households receiving internal remittances have higher consumption expenditures. At the macro scale, this inequality situation was highlighted by the recently published Pakistan National Human Development Report (2020). The report notes that the major income sources of the wealthiest 20% of Pakistanis are international remittances, real estate, and businesses, whereas the poorest 20% mainly have income sources from internal remittances, social protection transfers, and agriculture (Pakistan-NHDR, 2020; see also Nenova et al. 2009 p.19). For instance, the income share of internal remittances for the rural poor in Punjab is 8%, compared to 0.7% for international remittances, while for the wealthiest rural households, the respective shares are 5.64% and 6.36% (Nenova et al., 2009, p. 160 and 181).

3.5.2 Remittances, development, and well-being of left-behind family members

While improved human development indicators lead to overall well-being, the concept of well-being as argued in the relevant academic literature has not been the focus of research in the Pakistani context. Therefore, the role of remittances in the *well-being* of migrants' left-behind family remains under researched. The few studies that exist also focus often on the *objective*, or material, aspects of well-being. For example, Oda (2008) studied the impact of international and internal remittances on the *objective* well-being (i.e., income poverty) of rural households in Punjab. She demonstrated that internal remittances have a limited impact on increasing household income and therefore, provide fewer opportunities for households to escape poverty. In contrast, international remittances have been shown to

improve living standards among the recipient rural households. However, Chen et al. (2019) found opposing results in rural Pakistan. They showed that households with migrant members experienced improvement in *objective* well-being. However, they also found that the increase in *objective* well-being was offset by a decline in *subjective* well-being, such as feeling of stress and relative deprivations (e.g., gaps in wealth and assets accumulation).

Moreover, Illahi and Jafarey (1998) using a life-cycle approach and theory of motivation to remit, observed a circular relationship between remittances, costs of migration and creation of kin-based migration networks among Pakistani migrants in Middle Eastern countries. The analysis focused on pre-migration borrower and non-borrower migrants and their remitting behaviour to their left-behind family in Pakistan. Pre-migration loans showed a negative association with migrant savings abroad and remittances towards extended families (Ilahi and Jafarey, 1998). Migrants who borrowed money before migration were usually from rural areas with lower levels of human capital (unskilled and uneducated) and relatively poorer before migration. Furthermore, rural migrants as compared to their urban counterparts, had a shorter contract of around four years and tended to save less and remit more to provide assistance to their families in rural areas (Ilahi and Jafarey, 1998). In such cases, stable consumption patterns of fixed-contract migrants and their extended family member in their original countries were difficult to obtain (Ilahi and Jafarey, 1998; Hasan, 2010).

In some studies, remittances are also considered to mitigate risks of financial and economic crises, disasters, conflicts, and environmental changes (Erdal et al. 2022). For instance, in Pakistan, Abidin and Erdal (2016) describe that the electricity crisis has led households to spend around one-fourth of international remittances on alternative sources such as generators, batteries, fuel, UPS (uninterrupted electricity supply unit), etc. Such additional costs to mitigate the electricity crisis substantially reduce the rate of remittance-based investments (such as on education and health). During the period when this study was conducted, Pakistan faced frequent electricity outages ranging from 10-12 hours a day, with electricity being available on every alternate hour. This situation created poor conditions for children to study and potentially lowering health outcomes, as electricity also helped in cooling the house, groundwater pumping for daily consumption, keeping food fresh in refrigerators and so on.

In addition, the situation further causes readjustment in consumption patterns among left-behind families. Moreover, migrants tend to stay longer in destination areas so as to compensate for the increasing dependence on remittances to mitigate the (electricity) crises. Suleri and Savage (2006) describe a similar pattern of increased international remittance flows after the massive earthquake in 2005 in northern Pakistan, where also both internal and international migration are highest. The study, based on focus group discussions and key informant interviews, observed higher potential for recovery of remittance-recipient households. The estimates from the State Bank of Pakistan showed an increase of 10% in international remittances in 2005-06 (Ahmed *et al.*, 2011). Similar findings were observed after the massive 2010 flood in Pakistan, where increased remittance flows provided a critical means of survival for the flood-affected communities across Pakistan (Gioli, 2017; Ghorpade, 2017).

The role of remittances has been deemed critical in other areas of human development such as education and health. For example, they have helped reduce school drop-out rates in rural Pakistan. Mansuri (2006) reports that remittances provide an opportunity for investing in child schooling, particularly among poor recipient households. They are particularly helpful in reducing the girl drop-out rates as the girls in these families are less likely to spend time in domestic as well as any other paid work (Mansuri, 2006; Gioli *et al.*, 2014). Conflicting results are found in a village-based study in north-west Pakistan, where remittances caused no change in girls' access to education as they mainly linked to strict gendered-mobility constraints. For instance, girls cannot attend higher education in neighbouring villages or towns because of gendered mobility norms in the area (Siegmann, 2010). Gioli *et al.*, (2014) found a positive relationship between migration and female attainment of higher education although this was mainly in areas associated with less or no mobility-constraints. Furthermore, under the female headship of left-behind households, women prefer boys' education over girls (Mansuri, 2006; Arif et al. 2023).⁵

⁵ Kinship system in Pakistan which transfer rights (productivity and services) of women to husband and his family leads to strong son preferences. This also leads to the allocation of (financial) resources for son's development that may be in the case of education, health, basic needs ,etc. as they provide economic potential of bread earner for the families (Khan, 2005; Lall, 2009). [this is again something that can go in the section on socio-economic and gender relations earlier on. Here the, you can refer back to that section, e.g. 'refere back to section xyz, for social norms that lead to son preferences over daughters' in Pakistan'].

3.5.2 Rural women and migration outcomes:

The links between migration and gender are neither linear nor simple (Siegmann, 2010). As noted in Chapter 2 of this thesis, exploring the impact of male out-migration on 'left-behind' women is an important line of inquiry. This involves shifting the focus away from migrants alone and considering the effects of social norms and household power dynamics on women's well-being (Ahmed, 2022). The studies on gender in the Pakistan context show that together migration may increase women's workload and health risks (Siegmann, 2010; Gioli *et al.*, 2014). Women may also hardly be heard in household decision making regardless of the day-to-day spending of money or investment purposes (Gioli *et al.*, 2014). In poor migrant households, women's workloads are often further adjusted because of higher participation in agriculture activities when the men of the household are absent due to migration (Siegmann, 2010; Gioli *et al.*, 2014). Siegmann (2010) finds that women often relate migration to the loss of personal assets as they have to sell jewellery to support international migration of their husband. Women also report a decline in personal freedom and mobility, and increased loneliness (Siegmann, 2010).

Recent studies on left-behind women's agency after male out-migration show that they still struggle to find space for mobility, work outside the home, and have a better role in household decision-making in rural Pakistan. According to study by Ahmed (2020) in rural Southern Punjab, Pakistan, left-behind rural women, particularly migrants' wives living in a *biradary* – an extended family network as described earlier – negotiate their position and role in household decision-making while adhering to patriarchal social norms so as to protect their safety and honour. For left-behind migrant's wives, patriarchal social norms mean that another dominant male, such as the father-in-law or migrant's elder brother, or higher-status women, such as the mother-in-law, control the household's economic resources and their distribution, as well as women's mobility patterns both within and outside the village (Ahmed, 2020).

Left-behind women in rural areas often face significant barriers to mobility and decision-making when seeking work outside of the home (Petesch *et al.* 2022). These include fear of abduction, rape, and verbal or physical harassment, as well as village-level gossip about women's infidelity while their migrant husbands are away for work in urban areas (Ahmed,

2020; Qaisrani and Batool, 2021). For those who choose to work in the formal public sector, such as lady health workers, the workload can be doubled as they strive to meet the expectations of their job while also fulfilling their responsibilities as mothers and caretakers of in-laws' family members. These women continue to struggle to gain the social space necessary for their own decision-making and personal autonomy. While confronting these challenges they may have to wait for higher social status and better bargaining power, which is often determined by factors such as age, economic position, and experiences regarding family norms and culture (Ahmed, 2020; Qaisrani and Batool, 2021; Sultana and Rehman, 2014; Batool et al. 2020). In a more recent piece of research, Saleemi (2020) observed that in rural Pakistan, wives left-behind gained greater bargaining power due to recipient of remittances and tend to prioritize spending on children's education and healthcare, as well as nutritious food and clothing for themselves and their family members (see also Hou, 2011 and Hou and Ma 2013).

3.6 Conclusion

This chapter provides the context for understanding migration and development in Pakistan by reviewing socio-economic, political and other factors that have helped shape the agrarian society in the country historically and spatially. Three key insights emerged during the literature review. The first related to the way landownership developed during the period of British colonial rule, particularly the making of large landholding households that hold significant power in rural areas today. The British machinations in social engineering and colonial extraction gave rise to a local rural elite and lead to land ownership becoming a key source of power, hegemony, and political influence. In turn this local elite consolidated its power benefiting as it did significantly later from the two post-independence land reforms of 1959 and 1970, and the 'green revolution' of the 1970s. Linked to this, the second insight from this review is the ways in which the rise of inequality of land endowments impacted rural society in terms of consolidating a hierarchical society around strong patriarchy and strongly gendered roles and responsibilities. I showed that land ownership has reduced structural spaces for growth as well as limiting livelihood opportunities for the vast majority of people living in rural areas, namely those who do not own land i.e., landless farm labourers and non-farm households. These structural factors and the social engineering that

had taken place much earlier from the British colonisers, shaped much of the conditions in which large-scale rural to urban migration took place in Pakistan. While not with the same intensity, some of these rural-to-urban migration patterns continue to this day. Given the historical circumstances, the review highlights how contemporary internal migration is mainly gendered i.e., mostly men migrate for economic reasons, which predominantly takes place within provinces rather than across provinces. At the same time, rural poverty, inequality, social structural issues as well as diverse physical geography and changing climate of Pakistan also contribute to inter- and intra-provincial migration patterns.

The third key insight relates to questions of how well migration works for development and the well-being of rural households in contemporary Pakistan. While providing some discussion on the quantum of international remittances flows to Pakistan and their enormous contribution to the country's economy at a macro level, the focus remains on internal migration and related remittance flows. I noted that the real-time estimation of flows and its impact on economy and well-being are largely unexplored, unplanned and unfocused, all of which limit better policy making and planning for internal migration in the country. This is particularly important, as both international and internal remittances are mostly (about three-fourths) received by rural households in Pakistan.

Nevertheless, extant literature suggests that internal remittances are critical for reducing income inequalities, the incidence of food insecurity, environmental and climate risks and they also helped rural households cover household expenditure and escape poverty at the minimum. However, the impact of internal remittances on education, housing, household asset development such as purchase of property, farmland and other business development is less inconclusive. At the same time, the impact of remittances on social structures in the areas of origin seemed to have changed little: the agency of left-behind women, in particular migrants' wives, continues to suffer, and women struggle to carve out social and economic spaces for themselves, as they negotiate to defend their honour and improve their well-being.

In this regard, it is also critical to understand the aspirations of left-behind migrant households regarding well-being and the meaning they attach to this concept within their own social and cultural settings. Additionally, it is important to explore how internal migration and remittances shape (intra) household well-being outcomes, particularly with

regard to rural women. These, and other questions, will be addressed further in the rest of this thesis.

Chapter 4: Conceptual Framework

4.1 Introduction

Migration has long been recognised as a key survival and livelihood strategy for many people in the less developed countries (Vullnetari, 2019). Most attention – both academic and policy-wise – has focused on international migration. Nevertheless, internal migration has potentially a more important role to play in the reduction of poverty (Deshingkar and Grimm, 2005). This study uses the well-being approach to understand the ways in which internal migration interacts with development.

As mentioned in Chapter 1, my aim is to analyse the relationship between migration and well-being among households in rural Pakistan. Therefore, I set three main objectives of the study are: 1) to characterise household well-being and migration in rural areas of Pakistan; 2) to explore the association between migration and well-being of rural households; 3) to explore the ways in which intra-household power dynamics – with a specific focus on age, gender, and social status – shape internal migration, and in turn, rural household well-being outcomes. In this regard, I propose a conceptual framework for my PhD study, showing the ways the objectives of study are interlinked to understand internal migration and well-being in the context of rural households in Pakistan.⁶ Figure 4.1 provides the conceptual framework for my research, which has four interlinked components:

- I. The first component relates to rural household socio-economic settings (top-most rectangular box in Fig. 4.1) The aspects, which I intend to include in this component, are demographic, human, social, income and employment, livelihood stresses, assets and basic facilities, gender, and migration status. These rural household socio-economic settings may influence (shown in downward arrows) rural household's well-being status as well as contribute to internal migration decision-making process.
- II. The second component presents the household well-being domains i.e., *objective*, *subjective* and *relational* (second rectangular box from the top). These domains are coined by White (2008) as explained in the 3-D framework by McGregor, (2007) and

⁶ Conceptual framework means here, 'a framework that covers the 'main features' of the research design and their 'presumed relationships', which 'forces you to be explicit about what you think you are doing' (Robson, 1993; 150).

Gough et al., (2007). The household 3-D well-being status may link to rural household socio-economic setting box (shown in upward arrow), while the downward arrow shows a potential link to internal migration decision-making process.

- III. The third component of my framework explains household's internal migration decision-making processes (third rectangular box from top) influenced by factors mentioned in the first and second component of the framework. The outcomes of this process may link to either actual internal migration, migration desire, or decision not migrate or 'trapped population' (shown in three sub-boxes).
- IV. The fourth and last component is associated with intra-household power dynamic (shown in the lowermost rectangular box) drawing from the works of Kabeer (1997), Chant (1998) and Vullnetari (2012). The framework intends to explore the links between actual migration, migration desire, and intra-household power dynamics, which in turn may influence household well-being outcomes as well as internal migration decision-making process (shown with the arrow feeding back into the well-being box).

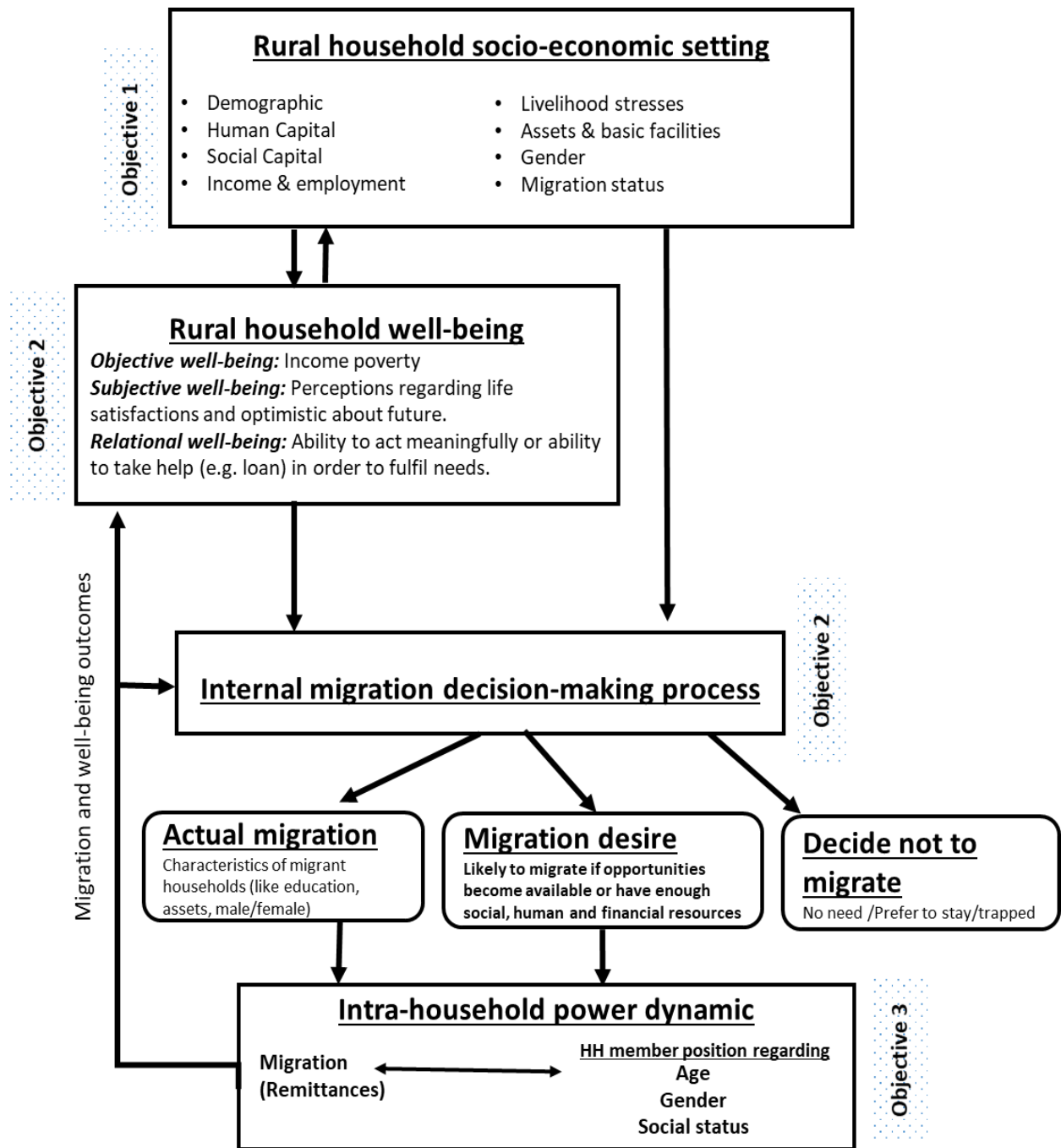


Figure 4. 1 A Conceptual framework for exploring migration and well-being relationships in rural areas of Pakistan.

Following the brief note on the unit of analysis in section 4.2, the proceeding sections provide details of each component of the conceptual framework. They further show the meaning and purpose of different factors considered in the framework and how they link together to help understand migration and well-being – all pertaining to rural households in Pakistan.

4.2 Unit of analysis

For the quantitative data analysis, I sought to understand migration and well-being at the household level. Literature on the 'household' as a unit of analysis has been particularly developed in sociology and economics. For instance, Chant (1998) considers a household a unit in which living arrangements and subsequent decision-making rest on people sharing their income, food, assets and livelihoods resources. Thorner and Ranadive (1992) provide a more economic understanding of a 'household' and define it as a 'spatial housing unit based on either kinship or economics that is characterised by shared residence and daily reproduction (primarily cooking and eating)'. With a focus on the social aspects, Masini (1991) proposed that 'the household, in all its different cultural connotations, is the primary social living unit. In it are encapsulated a cluster of activities of people who live together most of the time and provide mutual physical, socio-psychological, and development support and functions within the broader organization and environment of the community'.

For the purpose of this study, I consider both the social and economic aspects of a household. This enables me to investigate how 'households' in rural Pakistan act collectively for collective well-being ambitions in relation to internal migration. This is especially important as Pakistan society is oriented through a collective sense of community in contrast to the more individual-focused capitalist societies of Western Europe (Sasaki and Kim, 2011; Zalanga, 2012). Nevertheless, households are not always acting collectively, and neither is there always harmony within them. I want to understand these relations of diversity and conflict among household members, which in turn may produce different well-being outcomes for the household as a whole (see, for instance, Kabeer 1997; Chant 1998; Vullnetari 2012). I will further explore intra-household power relationships explained in section 4.6.

4.3 Rural household socio-economic setting

Rural households face multiple challenges to their livelihoods such as inequalities in the labour market, low income, poor basic services delivery, environmental risks, and disasters to name a few (Chambers, 2014; Flora, 2018). This demonstrates the risks that many rural households face, especially in countries such as Pakistan, to falling into economic

deprivation (Flora, 2018). The purpose of this component of the framework is to characterise rural households in term of demography, social and economic settings, in order to illustrate migration and well-being relationships.

The *demographic* properties of an area are important to establish relationships between migration and well-being. For instance, the age profile is a potentially significant feature in migration (Benard et al., 2014). A high number of young adults in a population presents a relatively higher propensity to migrate compared to older age household members, although this migration is often based on favourable conditions. The younger generations are referred to by some as 'demographically dense', i.e., dense years of migration (Rindfuss, 1991; Pandit, 1997; Benard and Bell, 2012).

Closely related to the demographic (age and migration) characteristics are the *human and social capitals* such as the level of formal education or years of schooling, access to (higher) education and (better), access to social networks, that are significant in influencing migration decision-making (Van Hear et al., 2018).⁷ Generally, migrants have higher levels of formal education than the non-migrant population, in both sending and receiving countries. They are also often better connected to social networks. In turn, those migrating internationally to developed countries have generally higher levels of education than those who move internally (Vullnetari, 2019).

Other important household attributes are *income and employment status*, which may determine the potential of a household or its members to migrate (Van Hear, 2018; Deshingkar, 2006). In this regard, I plan to analyse household income, poverty status, employment status and number of earning members, as well as primary and secondary occupations within a household. This is important because migration is considered a livelihood strategy, particularly among the rural poor. This is even more so for internal migration, as has been argued earlier. Therefore, any volatility in income or employment status of the household may trigger internal migration among rural households. Migration becomes inevitably as last resort among poor household, when other social support

⁷ *Human capital* refers to the 'attributes of individuals that contribute to their ability to earn a living, strengthen community [...] their families and self-improvement', which include education, skills, health, etc. *Social capital* involves mutual trust, reciprocity, groups, collective identity, working together, and the sense of shared future' such as interaction among social groups (Flora, 2018, p109 & 155).

mechanisms such as social safety nets are inaccessible (Wright, 2011; Nguyen, et al., 2015; Deshingkar, 2006).

In the same way, *livelihood-related stresses* which include factors such as lower income, high price volatility (such as for farm inputs or outputs), floods, droughts, ill-health, death, or loss of livestock, climate change etc., can have a detectable association with migratory decisions and well-being status (Wright, 2011).

In relation to livelihoods, stresses that negatively affect the household's *asset and basic facilities* not only shape a household's capacity to cope but also, directly, or indirectly, their migration decisions and desires (Deshingkar, 2006). Some household assets are considered vital in agriculture-dependent rural settings such as land, (number and type of) livestock ownership and domestic items including car/bike, television and – increasingly – mobile phones. Similarly, households' access to basic facilities such as electricity and drinking water are considered as contextual factors that shape migration decisions and desires to migrate (Van Hear et al., 2018).

Gender is one of the important concepts in migration and development studies (Vullnetari and King, 2011). I engage in more depth with gender through my empirical findings. Here, sex-differentiated characteristics are presented, mainly looking at migrant characteristics, demographic and educational statistics, and women involved in livelihood activities.

4.4 Rural household well-being

I draw on the well-being concept from the work of McGregor (2007) and Gough et al. (2007). The concept of well-being is defined as 'a state of being with other and the natural environment that arises where human needs are met, where individuals and groups can act meaningfully to pursue their goals, and where they are satisfied with their way of life' (McGregor, 2007). The definition considers well-being an outcome of a process, where different types of need are met (Gough et al., 2007) and therefore, can include three dimensions: *objective*, *relational*, and *subjective* well-being.

To elaborate further, *objective* well-being refers to a material aspect of well-being, where a need is met when any person or group can achieve practical welfare. These material aspects

are estimated in the literature through income, wealth, assets or physical health (McGregor and Sumner, 2010). *Relational* well-being can be described as when a 'person has the ability to act meaningfully' such as social interaction, access to network and so on (McGregor and Sumner, 2010). *Subjective* well-being is defined through life satisfaction or quality of indicators such as having a meaningful life, or hopes and aspirations (McGregor and Sumner, 2010).

I consider using these three dimensions of well-being i.e., *objective*, *subjective* and *relational* to understand migration and well-being relationships among rural households, both in the way in which well-being affects migration desire and decision making, as well as the reverse relationship, how well-being is impacted by migration (for example through remittances, or distance from family members). For the quantitative analysis, I intend to use income poverty as a proxy for *objective* well-being, while 'optimism about future' and 'overall life satisfaction' to analyse *subjective* well-being. To understand the relational aspects, I will use the 'ability to take loan' as a proxy for *relational* well-being. For the qualitative analysis of well-being and migration, I will explore intra-household power relationships, which are further explained in section 4.6.

4.5 Household internal migration decision-making process

According to Black *et al.*, (2011) the decision to migrate or stay involves a range of factors: at the macro level (social, economic, environmental, political, and demographic context), micro-level (the household characteristics as explained earlier) and meso-level (community-level factors that facilitate or inhibit migration). To these we also add aspirations to migrate (or not). This is important because even though a household may possess all resources to be able to migrate, they may not have the desire, or aspire, to do so. Conversely, a household with a low level of well-being and life satisfaction may aspire towards migration as means to improve their living conditions but may not be able to send a migrant because it lacks the necessary financial and social capital.

A caveat for my analysis is that I do not have before-and-after migration data in the survey data I use to address research questions 1, 2 and 3. Therefore, I cannot control for the potentially higher income and other aspects of the well-being of migrant households,

compared to non-migrant households, prior to migration. This is one of the reasons I focus on understanding the association, rather than a causal relationship. Nevertheless, my own empirical material drawn from these same rural areas where the questionnaire was administered, and which is analysed and presented later, allows us to have a glimpse into some of these factors through in-depth conversations with research participants.

4.6 Intra-household power dynamics

The new economics of labour migration (NELM) theory emphasises the role of the household in migration decision-making (Stark, 1978). Migration decisions are understood to be taken at the household level – a shift away from the ‘rational economic man’ maximising utility, which was the focus of the neoclassical approach. In NELM, migration is undertaken as part of the household strategy to diversify income and spread risks against market failures (such as crop failure, unemployment, etc.) (De Haan, 1999). In contrast to the neoclassical approach which regarded migration as the means through which an equilibrium is achieved in wage levels between origin and destination areas, the key outcome of migration in NELM are remittances (Stark, 1978; Taylor, 1999; de Haan and Fokkema, 2010). Nevertheless, the NELM has been criticised for considering the household as a harmonious unit where the allocation of resources and decision-making are without problems. Yet, as feminist scholars have argued, this is far from reality. The household is constituted of individuals of different *ages and gender and who are differently positioned in a social hierarchy and in relation to each other*. These characteristics, in turn, shape the power hierarchy and thus also an individual's ability to influence decision-making and in turn, benefit from migration outcomes (Kabeer, 1997; Chant, 1998). The household is thus the site of both cooperation on, and competition for, resources. In line with this feminist thinking, this study seeks to understand how the divergent preferences and bargaining power amongst household members translate into well-being.

In this regard, it is important to conceptualise the household as a social unit, innately changing with respect to contending interests, responsibilities, and capabilities of household members (Chant, 1998). The potential role of household members in decision making or allocation of resources is based on bargaining powers. The degree to which household members exercise these powers, according to Sen (1990), based on the perceived economic

contribution of each member, the relative level of well-being (who is well-equipped or not to gain benefits from household resources), and perceived interest response (accepting a subordinated role within the household). One of the things that has been argued by feminist scholars is that a traditional economic approach renders the work of mostly female members of the household invisible, because care work and overall reproductive work (washing, cleaning, cooking, raising children, looking after the ill and vulnerable) which is mainly performed by women, is unpaid (Chant 1998; Vullnetari 2012).

Although there are a number of combinations around which power dynamics revolve, this study will focus on three interconnected features, which are most relevant in the context of shaping intra-household power relations within the Pakistani society. These are gender, age, and social position within the household. I outline each of these in turn, whilst acknowledging that an individual's power within the household is a function of how all three features combine in positioning this individual differentially. For example, within societies such as in rural Pakistan, older men in the household hold the ultimate decision-making power, in contrast to the youngest daughters-in-law who are in the weakest position. Nevertheless, these power relations are not static and the 'dynamics' (i.e. how one influences the other) involved change over time. For instance, a young man who migrates and financially contributes to the household, gains more of a say in decision-making compared to pre-migration and relative to the older (male) household head, thus shifting power across generational lines (Qaisrani and Batool, 2021). It is these dynamics and power shifts I am interested to investigate in my study.

Gender, in particular, is considered a key factor in shaping power positions within the household, and by extension (and reflection), other larger institutions in society (Agarwal, 1997; Chant, 1998; Kabeer 1997). What it means to be a woman or a man (gender identities), what is expected of each in terms of behaviour, duties, and rights (norms) and what each actually does (roles), are embedded within socio-cultural and economic contexts (Agarwal, 1997; Chant, 1998). Broadly, gender inequalities exist within households around the world, with women finding themselves usually in subordinate positions, and poverty often acting to exacerbate intra-household tensions and conflict (Agarwal, 1997). My efforts are to identify any change in gender relations with regards to access to education and health, economic independence (by doing a job or working), contribution in family

decisions, and so on, when men out-migrate (Vullnetari and King, 2011; Chant, 1998; de Hass, 2010). Furthermore, I seek to understand whether intra-household settings permit (or restrain) women migration decisions and movements in rural Pakistan. Economic independence is far from reality for women in societies (such as Pakistan) where women (and men) live in a culture that puts emphasis on the collective (e.g., family) rather than the individual. Kabeer (1997, and 2004) who examined such issues in a similar context (Bangladesh) argues that the women she interviewed saw their happiness as being able to contribute to the family, and not necessarily achieve a financial position *independent of the family* (accumulating wealth for themselves). Thus, women empowerment was a gradual shift to having more say within the family, albeit again for the good of the family and not necessarily for themselves. This contrasts to the very individualistic view of society that comes from the West, which has, in turn, influenced the conceptualisation around gender and power, which often portrays women in these countries as mere victims of their male counterparts (see also Mohanty, 1984).

Age-specific issues can be distinguished through intra-household resource allocation, whether they happen intentionally or because of conservative cultural setting (Messer, 1997). For instance, Messer (1997) highlights age and gender biases about the allocation of food and health care, which are often based on complex interactions of cultural, socio-economic, as well as biological (birth order or life-stages) factors. In the case of Pakistani and Indian society, income-earning adults, as well as young males, are treated preferentially when food is served (served first, and more nutritious food) (Messer, 1997; Bhalotra and Attfield, 1998; Aurino, 2017). It sometimes becomes a fixed routine that such actions continue even when household resources increase (Messer, 1997). The issue of *age* often become more important when household resources and decisions favour (young) men to migrate, while women and children are less involved (de Hass, 2010). In case of migration outcomes, household members left-behind may be materially better-off than before migration, but may see a decline in their *subjective* well-being, for instance, by feeling lonely, missing their loved ones who have migrated, or missing the constant physical presence of a father figure (where men are the migrant) (de Hass and Fokkema, 2010).

Social status is the third feature for consideration in my study. By this I mean the ways in which an individual is positioned within the household vis-à-vis other members, for

instance, the position of a daughter-in-law, mother-in-law, older male patriarch, and so on. Social status is a multidimensional concept that depicts individual's disparities that can be defined as '*ranking in a hierarchy that is socially recognised and typically carries with it the expectation of entitlement to certain resources*' (Ball et al., 2001, p161). Social status can describe a state of differentiated or unequal access to education and healthcare, possession (or lack of it) of specific skills, achievement, privileges as well as expressed through people's attitude towards others' (un)desirable characteristics (Ball et al., 2001; Hollingshead, 1975). Furthermore, status also illustrates through competition and assertiveness where individuals rival for resources with others and obtain differentiated status (Schram et al., 2016; Louvet, et al., 2018). The understanding of intra-household power dynamics, in turn, enables me to understand the linkages with future migration and well-being patterns and outcomes.

4.7 Conclusion

This chapter presents a conceptual framework to analysing the relationship between migration and well-being among households in rural Pakistan. The framework seeks to explore the rural household socio-economic characteristics that may influence migration decisions in relation to well-being. Within this context, I use the 3-D well-being framework i.e., *objective*, *subjective* and *relational* to understand drivers of actual migration as well as desire to migrate. In this way, the framework, while showing the interlinked associations, proposes various analytical relationships for my quantitative analysis at household level.

Moreover, while acknowledging the need to shift the analytical focus from the household level to intra-household level, the framework proposes approaches to study intra-household power dynamics that may shape internal migration and well-being outcomes, considering factors such as gender, social status, and age. The next chapter will provide the methodological approach that I have adopted to explain these relationships among rural households' characteristics that are mediated through migration and well-being, leading to various relationships and outcomes based on local socio-economic and cultural settings.

Chapter 5: Methodology

5.1 Introduction

The study aims to explore the relationship between internal migration and household well-being, using a mixed methods approach i.e., including quantitative and qualitative methods of data collection and analysis. A mixed method approach is the most suitable to address my research questions as it offers both a way to characterise and explore the association between migration and well-being outcomes in these rural households, and gain in-depth insights into experiences, processes and perceptions of individuals involved in such migrations. A number of scholars working in both the migration and well-being research fields have used a mix-methods approach in their studies (Jones and Sumner, 2009; Pearce, 2002; Small, 2011). For instance, Ryan and D'Angelo (2018), used a combination of a sociogram – graphical presentation of social relationships and interview narratives – to understand migrants' social networks and human *relational* well-being. Likewise, White (2002) used quantitative data and methods to estimate poverty in rural Africa, but also collected qualitative data regarding child mortality and other factors, which in turn explained findings of the earlier quantitative data analysis.

For my PhD, I use (secondary) quantitative data drawn from a household survey, to examine key household characteristics that are strongly associated with well-being and migration. The analysis further highlights important predictors of migration on the well-being of left-behind family members as well as on rural household's desire to migrate. This is in turn combined this with (primary) in-depth interviews, through which I seek to gain deeper insights that will both explain the findings of quantitative data and provide an enhanced understanding of intra-household migration and well-being outcomes. Figure 5.1 is a visual demonstration of the workflow for this mixed-methods approach.

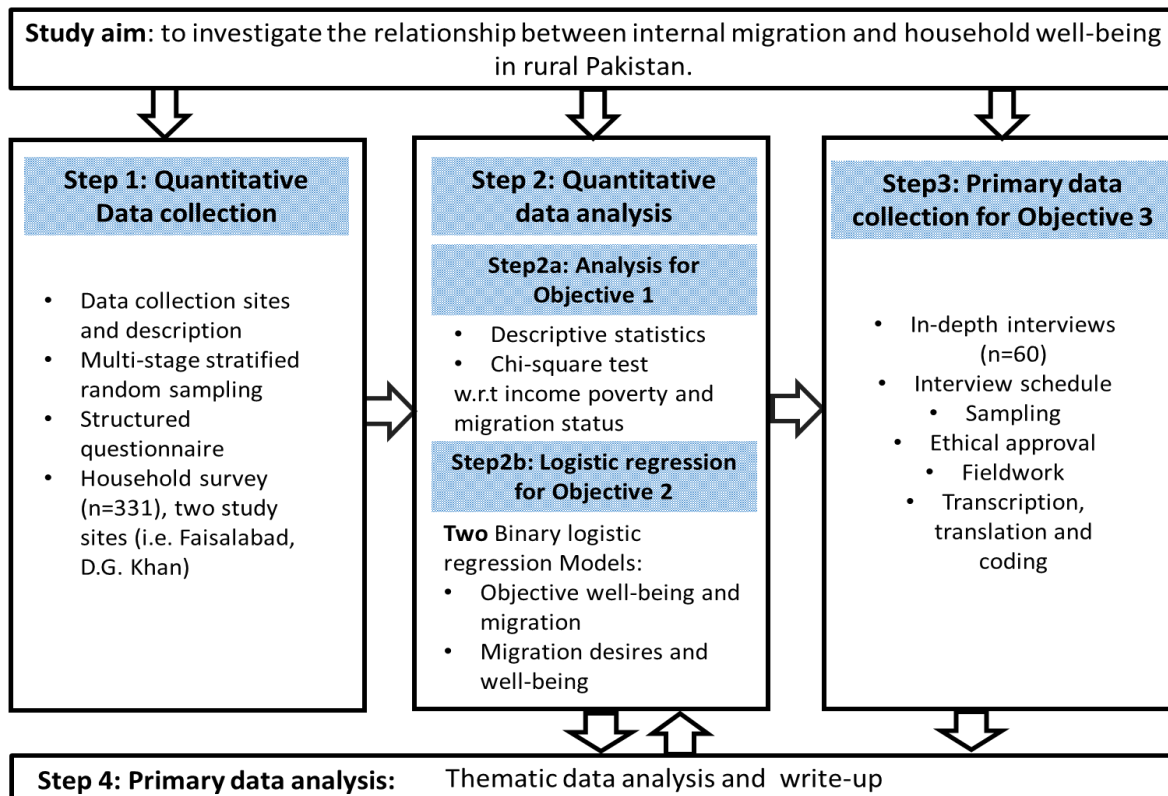


Figure: 5. 1 Workflow diagram of mixed-method research approach.

This chapter is structured as follows. First, I provide a description of the research sites in rural Pakistan, both the context and some socio-demographic and economic statistics. The second section focuses on quantitative data. Here I explain the data sampling, survey tools for collecting the data, and the statistical models used for the quantitative analysis. The final section turns our attention to the qualitative data where I describe the data collection tools, purpose, data analysis steps and methods.

5.2 Research sites

This section provides the context of the study and purpose of the data collection. This is followed by a description of the two study sites in rural Pakistan i.e., Dera Ghazi (DG) Khan and Faisalabad.

5.2.1 The context of the study

My study is situated in two districts in Pakistan, namely Dera Ghazi Khan (DG) and Faisalabad located in semi-arid regions of the country (Figure 5.2). Semi-arid lands in

Pakistan constitute 35%-40% of the country's total land mass (Khan, 2002; Salik *et al.*, 2015). They are generally characterised by high poverty rates, large-scale dependency on agriculture for livelihoods as well as weather extremes such as floods, droughts and heat waves (Salik *et al.*, 2015; Saeed *et al.*, 2016 and 2017; Salik *et al.*, 2017; Naveed and Ali, 2012; Hanif *et al.*, 2013). They suffer from low economic development with declining agricultural productivity, high poverty rates and increasing food insecurity (Hijioka, *et al.*, 2014, pp1343; Ribot *et al.*, 2005). The two districts for our study fit this profile as well in that they have largely agro-based livelihoods, exhibiting some disparities in terms of socio-economic conditions, gaps between rural and urban development, and migration patterns and trends.

The choice of these sites was linked to the Department of International Development (DFID), UK, funded PRISE (Pathways of Resilience in Semi-arid Economies) project, which also majorly funded the first three years of my PhD. Among other objectives, the PRISE project sought to understand the role of migration in economic development for improving resilience within the context of semi-arid lands. As part of this project, a set of quantitative survey questionnaires was administered at household level in the two districts, by a Pakistani-based research team from the Sustainable Development Policy Institute (SDPI), which I was working for. I was involved in the design of the survey and data collection, as part of my role in PRISE, but the data will be considered as secondary for the purposes of this PhD project. This forms the basis of the quantitative data analysed in this PhD and is explained later in section 5.3. In addition, I also collected primary data in these same villages through qualitative methods, which is further elaborated on in section 5.4.

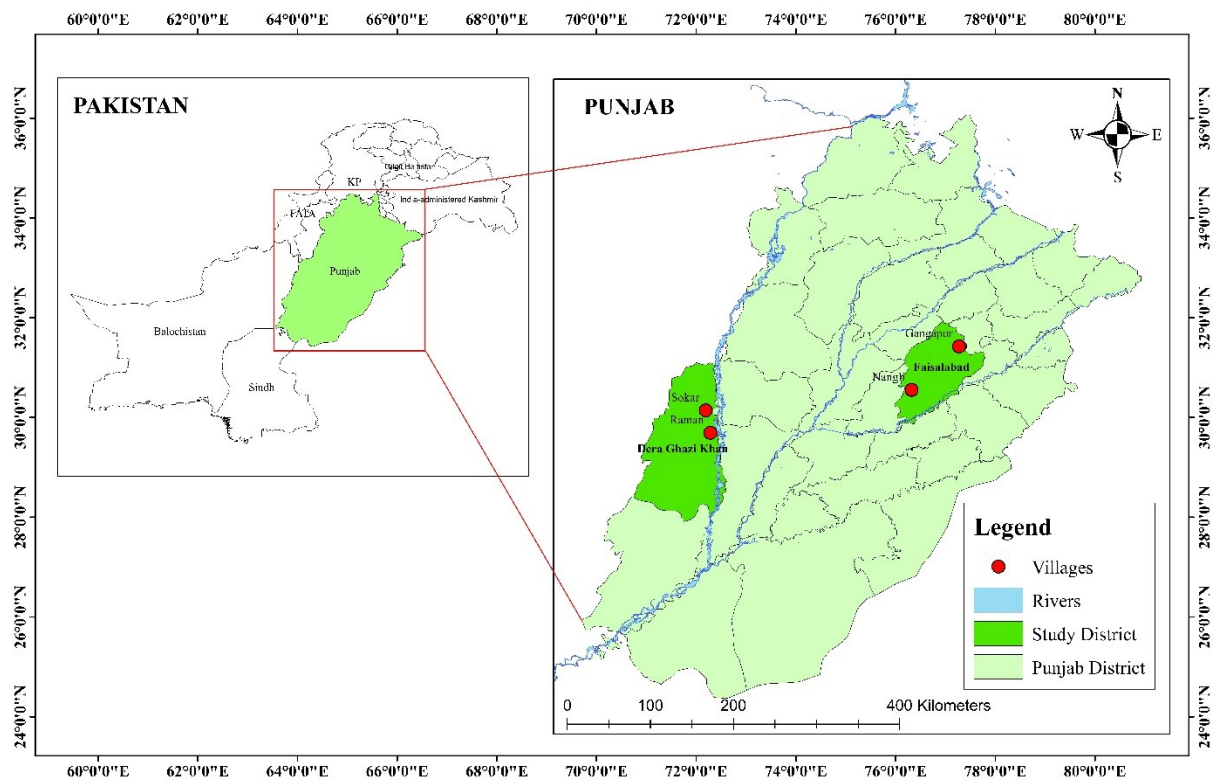


Figure: 5. 2 Study area map

Source: Map developed by Mr. Abdul Hanan, GIS and RS specialist, based in Islamabad.

5.2.2 Study sites

Dera Ghazi Khan (D.G. Khan): The Dera Ghazi Khan district is located in the Punjab province, geographically situated in the middle of Pakistan. The district is a long strip of 11,294 square kilometres of plane land delimited by the Indus River from the east and Koh-Suleman Mountain range from the west (Government of Punjab, Dera Gazi Khan, 2016). The D.G. Khan District is divided into three diverse natural areas: 1) piedmont areas that start immediately after Koh-Suleman Mountain range; 2) a canal-irrigated (intermediate) plane area, and 3) a flood or riverine plane area. Substantial water-related hazards originate during the summer monsoon season. These include the frequent inundation by the Indus River of irrigated and riverine-based agricultural fields, as well as flash floods (hill torrents – locally named ‘Rod Kohi’) to rainfed parts of the district. These floods have a significant impact on crops, infrastructure, as well as life and property. Historically, the adaptive measure to hill-torrents has included water storage or water management by constructing

small farm-level dams. However, these are only favourable for upstream farmers but destructive to downstream farmers.

In addition, the district has a dry semi-arid climate having very little rainfall, 220mm/year (GoP, 2015) and is highly vulnerable during the monsoon period to floods and inundation by the Indus River (refer to Figure 5.2), causing large-scale soil erosion and crop damages.

During the remaining part of the year, drought-like conditions persist, particularly in the rain-fed parts of the district. Forms of (temporary) migration from these drought-affected areas to the irrigated parts of Dera Ghazi Khan are observed, involving particularly the poor. Those with better resources migrate to other parts of the country in search of better livelihoods and economic opportunities (Qaisrani, 2015).

The D.G. Khan district is mostly rural, with over 80% of its total population of nearly 3 million living in rural areas (GoP, 2017). It is also the least developed area within the province with one of the highest rates of incidence of poverty (Naveed and Ali, 2012). The livelihood of the majority of its population directly relates to the agricultural sector, with major crops including wheat, cotton and rice. The industrial sector is rather limited, mainly comprising of cement and gypsum extractions and production, and some textile and tractor manufacturing units (Directorate of Investments, 2009). The labour force is mostly employed on daily wages (including basic farming) while about 36.6% of the labour force engages in skilled agriculture and fishery, services, retail trade, and the construction industry (P&D Punjab, n.d.; Government of Punjab, 2009a).

Faisalabad: Faisalabad (formerly known as Lyallpur) is a central district of the Punjab province, covering an area of 5,856 square kilometres. It is situated in 'Rachna Doab' meaning the area between two rivers i.e., River Ravi (to the east) and River Chenab (to the west of the district). The climate of Faisalabad is characterised as dry semi-arid. During the summer, average maximum temperatures rise up to 40.7°C, while in the winter they drop to an average of minimum 5.6°C (Cheema *et al.*, 2006). The mean annual rainfall in Faisalabad is 408 mm, which is mostly erratic. The climate has shown increasing trends in winter temperature to 0.55°C, while summer temperatures have been decreasing up to 1°C over the periods of 1945 to 2004 (Cheema, *et al.*, 2006; del Rio *et al.*, 2013).

The district of Faisalabad is characterised by a largely rural population which comprises over half (52%) of the district's nearly 8 million population (GoP, 2017), but it is also dominated by the city with the same name, which I turn to shortly. The district has two key limiting factors to its development. Firstly, the brackish groundwater is unsuitable not only for human consumption but also for many industrial processes such as dyeing and tanning, as well as for crops and livestock production. Fresh water is supplied by the lower Chenab canal. However, this water supply is highly vulnerable to unpredicted and declining river flows and an increasing water demand by different sectors (Irfan et al. 2014). Nevertheless, the canal water is primarily used for agricultural purposes, irrigating some 80% of the cultivated land of the district. The second limiting feature of the district development is its climate, which is dry semi-arid and characterised by erratic rainfall and increasing heat waves (Saeed et al. 2016), resulting in an increase in agricultural droughts, frequent crop failures and decline in crop (especially wheat) yields (Mueller et al. 2014). According to Farooq et al. (2005), the decline in farm income and jobs has caused an increase in rural-to-urban migration in the district (Mueller et al. 2014). Other factors such as low-paying jobs and lack of economic opportunities in these rural areas, scarcity of agricultural land and social discrimination of rural poor and landless communities by the landed class, also contribute to this rural-urban migration (Kousar et al. 2016; Zafar et al. 2013).

Faisalabad, the main city in the district with the same name, is the third largest populated city of Pakistan and a hub of industrial and agricultural activities (ASER, 2008; GoP, 2017). The textile sector in Faisalabad city started with only five textile mills in 1947 (Khan, 2013). By 2013, there were around 7600 industrial units, nearly 90% of which are related to textiles (Khan, 2013). Meanwhile, there are more than 200,000 small-scale textile power looms and cottage industries in the city (Khan, 2013), all of which makes Faisalabad contribute 25% of Pakistani's exports (Batool *et al.*, 2010). Therefore, the city attracts hundreds of migrants from adjacent rural areas and further afield, in search of better jobs and business opportunities. It is estimated that around 10 million families are involved directly or indirectly in the textile and associated industrial sectors (Batool *et al.*, 2010).

5.3 Secondary quantitative data collection and analysis

Having looked at the research site, this section now describes the first part of data collection and analysis through the quantitative approach. As mentioned earlier, the quantitative analysis for this study is based on a household survey conducted during February 2016 in the Punjab province of Pakistan. The following sections describe the context and process of data collection, including the sampling strategy and the questionnaire design, as well as the statistical models used to analyse the data that was eventually collected. The purpose is to understand how *desire* to migrate, and *actual* migration are associated with *objective* and *subjective* well-being of rural households in Pakistan. The focus is on internal migration.

5.3.1 The migration and well-being household survey

This part of the study is based on data collected by the Pakistani-based organisation 'Sustainable Development Policy Institute' (SDPI) under Pathways for Resilience In Semi-arid Economies (PRISE) migration project in Pakistan. A questionnaire survey was carried out in four villages of two districts, namely Faisalabad and D.G. Khan (2 villages for each district) of Punjab, Pakistan. The survey covered 400 rural households (n=100 for each village) representing 3,068 individuals (1599 from D.G. Khan and 1,469 from Faisalabad). For the purposes of the PRISE migration analysis, the survey contained information of rural households involved in both internal and international migration.⁸ However, the focus of my PhD project is on internal permanent migration only. As such, my analysis excludes all those households that have international migrants, as well as those who have been engaged in both internal and international migration. After removing these cases, a total of 331 households, who have either migrated internally or not migrated at all, remained for my analysis.

A multi-stage stratified random sampling technique was carried out in order to subdivide each stratum into further strata. For this, sampled households in four villages were further divided into four sub-samples of rural household categories: landless farm labourers (n=80),

⁸ The migration definition used in data collection: 'the movement of one or more household members from the household of origin during at least six months per year (or more) to a place within the country with the purpose of working, studying, or family reunification, over a distance that forces the concerned person to settle at the destination to spend the nights' (Rademacher-Schulz, 2012, pp77).

small landholders owning less than 12.5 acres of land (n=89), large landholders owning more than 25 acres of land (n=80) and non-farm/ business workers employed in sectors other than agriculture (n=82). These are also the main household categories in rural Pakistan (see section 3.2 for detail).⁹

The data was collected through a structured questionnaire with a mix of closed and open-ended questions.¹⁰ The survey was designed to explore the possible relationship between migration and well-being of household members 'left-behind' in rural Pakistan. The closed-ended questions collected information on household socio-economic characteristics, with three sets of questions. The first set included background information of rural households' demographic and socio-economic characteristics; livelihood activities and stresses; food (in)security; assets and access to basic facilities. For instance, the question used to understand livelihood stresses was asked with a one-year recall period: 'which of the following situation(s) did your household face during the last year?' The multiple option response categories provided for the question were related to income, health, family and community level conflicts, natural disasters, and others. The second set of questions focused on migration. The questions used to separate migrant and non-migrant rural households included: 'Has anyone from your household migrated away from home for more than six months?' If the response was affirmative, then follow-up questions were asked about migration status (current or returned internal migrant), reasons for migration, migrant's work before and after migration. Other questions covered decision-making, drivers of migration, social and migrant network support (at the origin and destination), sources for financing migration costs, migration desire (internal or international) of both migrant (left-behind family members) and non-migrant households. The third and final set of questions related to *objective* well-being (including income and household assets), *subjective* well-being (if life is meaningful and purposeful, overall life satisfaction, autonomy, optimism about future and freedom), and *relational* well-being (such as the ability to take loans). The two main questions related to *subjective* well-being were: 1) 'Are you optimistic about your future?' 2) 'How satisfied are you with your present standard of living?' The

⁹ However, for my study purpose, I use only use four rural household categories i.e., small landholding, large landholding households, nonfarm and landless farm labourer households. The data collected under Pathways for Resilience In Semi-arid Economies (PRISE) migration project in Pakistan, which I used as secondary data for my study, was collected based on these four rural household categories.

¹⁰ For details, see Appendix B.

response was obtained on a Likert scale from 1 to 5 where 1 indicated 'strongly agree' or 'very satisfied' and 5 'strongly disagree' or 'very dissatisfied'.

The survey interview was conducted with the household heads. These were mostly men who were representing other household members. The survey was conducted simultaneously in both districts. Two local teams of about six members from each district were hired to administer the survey. The team members mainly hold academic degrees in social and economic sciences. Both teams were given a two-day training to familiarise themselves with the survey objectives and the household level questionnaire. The questionnaire was pre-tested (n=20) after the training of enumerators and before commencing the actual survey for the purpose of flow and refinement of (possible multiple) response options based on local level observations. The enumerator training was held in the first week of February 2016. The survey was conducted in either Saraiki or Punjabi, the two main languages spoken locally. As SDPI staff at the time, I was involved in the conceptualisation and design of the survey and was one of the enumerators (following training) administering the survey in the villages, thus giving me first-hand experience of the process and the context of data collection.

5.3.2 Quantitative data analysis

5.3.2.1 *Descriptive statistics and statistical models of migration and well-being relationships*

Following my conceptual framework (Figure 4.1), here I analyse the potential relationship between the well-being of a household and their migration decisions but consider that this effect is mediated by migration drivers, aspirations, facilitating factors of, and barriers to, migration. In other words, a household with a high level of well-being may have a lower propensity to migrate, even if it may encounter fewer barriers to migration. Conversely, a household with a low level of well-being may have more incentives to migrate, but it may not be able to send a migrant because it lacks the necessary capital or other resources.

This analysis is mindful of the fact that I do not have before-and-after migration data. This is to say that migrant households may have had higher income and a higher level of well-being, *prior* to migration, compared to non-migrant households. As I cannot control this uneven level of well-being prior to migration, I phrase the research question as an

association, rather than a causal relationship. This analysis includes all households in the (internal) migrant and non-migrant categories, and their desire to migrate (but not their past decisions). A second caveat is that because the questionnaire respondent is the household head (often a man), answers to questions related to *subjective* well-being, such as ‘optimism about the future’ or ‘overall life satisfaction’ most likely reflect his views, rather than those of the household (even if such a unique view was possible). These intra-household dynamics are in turn picked up through the qualitative methods explained in section 5.4.

I employ linear logistic regression models to understand the relationship of migration to *objective* and *subjective* well-being. I investigate the association of well-being indicators (related to *objective*, *subjective* and *relational*) with *actual* internal permanent migration as well as migration desire.

Descriptive statistics and binary logistic regression are used in many studies to understand migration and well-being relationships. For example, Foroughi et al. (2001) sought to explain the relationship between migration and well-being indicators in the context of social integration of Persian immigrants in Australia. Zheng et al. (2021) used logistic regression to estimate migrants’ *objective* and *subjective* well-being using China Labour Dynamics Survey conducted in 2012. Otrachshenko and Popova (2014) estimated internal migration intentions in relation to *subjective* well-being through a logistic regression model using a nationally representative (1000 respondents per country) cross-sectional data of 27 European countries. Similarly, Chen et al. (2018) used multinomial logit regression models to understand migration and *objective* and *subjective* well-being in rural Pakistan. Chindarkar (2012) uses a probit model to estimate international migration intentions in relation to life satisfaction for 1000 respondents from 18 Latin American countries.

The logistic regression model is explained below in equation 1 (Agresti, 1996):

$$\text{Logit}(\pi) = \beta_0 + \beta_1 X_1 + \beta_2 X_2 + \dots + \beta_k X_k \quad (1)$$

where π is the probability of the outcome of dependent variable, β_0 is the intercept or constant, β_1 and β_k are the regression coefficients, X_1 X_k are the independent or explanatory variables. The value of β determines the direction of the association between the dependent and independent variables (Agresti, 1996; Peng et al. 2002).

The probabilities are calculated in logistic regression by 'odds' which show the likelihood that an event will happen in proportion to the likelihood of an event not happening. The odds are expressed in equation 2 (Agresti, 1996):

$$\text{Odds} = \pi / (1 - \pi) \quad (2)$$

Where π is the probability of an event occurring. The odds ratio indicates the odds that an event or outcome (such as income poverty or migration desire) will occur given a change in the explanatory variables. It is expressed by equation 3 (Agresti, 1996):

$$\pi = \text{Odds} / (\text{Odds} + 1) \quad (3)$$

Odds ratios larger than 1 indicate that the event is more likely to occur, whereas odds ratios smaller than 1 indicate that the event is less likely to occur.

5.3.2.2 Examining key household characteristics associated with migration and well-being

To analyse the migration and well-being relationship, it is important to identify rural household characteristics as well as other livelihood related indicators that are closely associated (objective 1, research question 1). As a first step in the analysis, I use descriptive statistics and chi-square tests of independence (Agresti, 1996), which can be used to compare two independent groups, where the null hypothesis is that there is no difference in the distribution of responses across groups (here migrant vs. non-migrant and poor vs. non-poor).

5.3.3 Binary Logistic regression models

5.3.3.1 Well-being models

Two models are developed (i.e., *objective*, and *subjective* well-being) to understand the relationships between well-being and several independent variables related to internal permanent migration, household level demographic and socio-economic characteristics, assets, access to basic services, and livelihood stresses (objective 2, research questions 2 and 3).

The dependent variable for Model 1 is income poverty,¹¹ which is used as a proxy for *objective* well-being, while for Model 2 ‘optimism about future’ and ‘overall life satisfaction’ represent *subjective* well-being. For *relational* well-being, the independent variable ‘ability to take loan’ is used. With respect to migration status, I compared households that have one or more internal migrant members (hereafter termed ‘migrant’ households) with those households which have no migrant member (hereafter termed ‘non-migrant’ households), using a dummy variable taking the value 1 if a household has one or more migrant members who have moved permanently within the country and zero otherwise.

In Model 1 the dependent variable reflecting *objective* well-being is a binary variable indicating whether the household is poor or non-poor (1=non-poor, 0= poor). The generic linear model is specified as follows:

Model 1: *Objective* well-being = f ((migration status) + (household socio-demographic characteristics) + (livelihood assets) + (basic services) + (Livelihood-related stresses) + (location))

The *subjective* well-being of households is analysed using two different *subjective* dependent variables: i.e., ‘optimistic about future’ (Model 2a) and ‘overall life satisfaction’ (Model 2b). ‘Optimistic about future’ is a binary variable referring to household’s condition to remain optimistic about the future (1 if the household head replies yes and 0 otherwise). The second indicator, i.e., ‘overall life satisfaction’, relates to household satisfaction with their present standard of living (1 if the household head says yes and 0 otherwise). The generic binary linear regression models are specified as follows (Models 2a and b):

Model 2a: Overall life Satisfaction= f ((migration status) + (household socio-demographic characteristics) + (livelihood assets) + (basic services) + (Livelihood-related stresses) + (Location))

Model 2b: Optimistic about future= f ((migration status) + (household socio-demographic characteristics) + (livelihood assets) + (basic services) + (Livelihood-related stresses) + (Location))

¹¹ Income poverty level was calculated based on the World Bank's poverty line, i.e., lower or middle-income class Poverty line at 99.5 in PKR (2011 PPP)/day/capita for Pakistan.

My hypotheses are that *objective* and *subjective* well-being are higher among migrant 'left-behind' households than among non-migrant households (Nguyen et al. 2015; Waidler et al. 2017).

5.3.3.2 Migration models

Models 3 and 4 are developed to investigate whether *migration desire* and *actual migration* are associated with household well-being and other socio-economic and demographic factors. The dependent variable for model 3 is whether a rural household desires to migrate if the opportunity was available or prefers to stay at their current location. For model 4, the dependent variable is the internal permanent migration status of households with one or more migrant members. These models may help to understand people's decisions to migrate elsewhere (Carling and Collins, 2018; Collins, 2018).

In the migration literature, the intention to migrate is mostly used to identify the number of potential future migrants (De Haas et al. 2015; Piracha and Saraogi, 2017; Speelman et al. 2017; Williams et al. 2018). Migration intention is usually defined as the *likelihood* of an individual or a household moving away from the area of origin within a specific period, for instance, during the next two years (Speelman et al. 2017). However, information regarding migration intention is unavailable in my dataset. Instead, I use 'migration desire' for understanding potential future migration trends and *subjective* well-being, as suggested by the work of Cai et al. (2014) and Polgreen and Simpson (2011). Migration desire is an expression of human thoughts or feelings regarding *actual* or potential migration based on opportunities (Carling and Collins, 2018; Collins, 2018). Thus, migration desire captures the notion of likely migration based on the preferences of an individual within a household to stay or move if an opportunity for migration becomes available. The analysis is carried out with the caveat that the literature points to a gap between 'desire', 'intention' and *actual* migration. As such, both the desire and the intention to migrate have limitations as to what they can tell us about the actual group of future migrants. Moreover, as noted earlier, these desires and intentions may be reflective of the main questionnaire respondent's views, who is often a man, which in turn may align or not with desires and intentions of other household members.

In the analysis, I relate migration desire to three different indicators of well-being, while controlling for household level characteristics and livelihood related stresses. I use *objective*, *subjective*, and *relational* well-being indicators as key independent variables for the migration models. Here, for *objective* well-being, household monthly mean income is used, where the observations are split in three quantiles (1 representing the lowest) (Ball and Chernova, 2008). For *subjective* well-being, 'optimistic-about-future' is recoded into a binary variable (1 for households that 'agree strongly' and 'agree' and 0 otherwise). The dummy variable 'optimistic-about-future' results in better model fit and a more parsimonious model compared to the categorical responses. Finally, for the effect of *relational* well-being, the variable 'ability to take loan' from any formal (banks) and informal (friends and family members) sources for a household loan is used.¹² The linear regression model is specified as follows (Model 3):

Model 3: Migration desire = f ((*subjective* well-being)+(*objective* well-being)+(*relational* well-being)+(Household socio-economic and demographic characteristics)+(Livelihood related stresses)+(Livelihood assets) + (basic services) + (Location))

The dependent variable is based on the response to the following survey question on migration desire: *If you or someone in your household had the choice, would you leave your village?* In the right-hand side of the equation, as an indicator of *subjective* well-being I use 'optimistic about future' (see Model 2b).

Model 4 is developed to understand *actual* internal permanent migration in relation to well-being and other demographic and socio-economic indicators. The binary linear model 4 is specified as follows:

Model 4: *Actual* migration = f ((*subjective* well-being)+(*objective* well-being)+(*relational* well-being)+(Household socio-economic and demographic characteristics)+(Livelihood related stresses)+(Livelihood assets) + (basic services) + (Location))

¹² The variable 'access to social network' is dropped from the model, as this question was only asked from households having a migrant member(s) during the survey and no information is recorded from non-migrant households.

Through Models 3 and 4 I test the hypothesis that household well-being (*objective, subjective and relational*) is an important indicator that may link to the desire as well as the *actual* decision to migrate (Polgreen and Simpson, 2011).

5.3.4 Variables selection

In order to understand the association between internal migration and well-being, different demographic and education variables are used in the models. These variables include 'age of household head', 'household size', and 'mean schooling years of all household members'. The other important relationship that is explored is between education and income (quantile) groups in Models 3 and 4. Extant literature has confirmed a strong link between income and education levels (Chaudry and Wimer 2016; Goldrick-Rab et al. 2016), which is reflected in the interaction variables I created. The value 1 is assigned to households who belong to income quantile 2, 3 and 4 and had an education of more than 5.23 years (the mean number of schooling years of all household members in the sample) and zero otherwise.

I also used a dummy of 'household having multiple sources of income',¹³ which included farm and non-farm income, jobs in the government and private sectors. In addition, I used 'perception of better job opportunities in the city' in Models 3 and 4. Other variables such as 'lack of education facilities', 'job opportunities', 'soil quality', 'decline in agriculture', 'lower agricultural sales' and 'lower financial resources' were seen as too close and highly correlated with the variable 'perception of better job opportunities in the city' and were thus dropped. The selection of these variables was informed by reviewing the relevant literature on the relationship between migration and well-being (Carling and Collins, 2018; Collins, 2018; Waidler, 2017; Amit and Riss, 2014; Stillman et al. 2015; Nguyen et al. 2015; Switek, 2014; Nowok, et al. 2013).

The set of variables on livelihood-related stresses included three key aspects: i) food insecurity, 2) stresses related to climate and weather hazards, and 3) other livelihood problems. I will explain each of these in turn. First, the food insecurity variable reflects

¹³ For employment and occupation effects a limitation here is that information on employment status and occupation is available at an individual level in the dataset (see Table A-3 a&b), whereas my analysis is based at household level.

whether households had (or not) 'enough food or money to buy food (in the last 3 years)'. Second, the independent variable 'households facing climate or weather hazards' indicates whether rural households are experiencing flash floods, heavy storms, or heat waves. And finally, 'households facing livelihood problems' expresses whether households are experiencing a decline in income and health, an increase in family conflicts, and an increase in animal diseases. While 'women participation in farm activities' is under category of gender.

In terms of household assets and access to basic services, I used indicators such as 'ownership of a car, motorcycle or tractor', 'number of rooms in a house', and 'access to piped water supply for drinking'.

In my models, I also include a dummy variable for different household strata taking 'Landless farm labourers' as baseline against 'large landholder', 'small landholder', and 'non-farm/business households' to represent the socio-economic strata of the sample villages. These reflect the sampling strata used in the study as noted earlier at the start of this chapter.

A number of variables were excluded from the model. The independent variables for receiving remittances, doing subsistence farming, access to electricity, the dependency ratio, land and livestock ownership, and type of occupation are not included in any of the models given the high co-linearity with other independent variables included in the models, as well as their statistically insignificant contributions to model fit. The independent variable 'access to electricity' is excluded from the model due to the insignificant difference between poor and non-poor, as well as migrant and non-migrant households.

5.4 Qualitative data collection and analysis

The quantitative survey data tell us only part of the story of what is going on in these rural areas of Pakistan. Certain questions remain unanswered, both because the data was collected with a different set of objectives in mind, and because of the limitations inherent in secondary data. Therefore, I also collected primary qualitative data which more precisely link to my third objective of the PhD study. The key aim is to deepen my understanding of migration and intra-household well-being, by examining in more depth how well-being is

perceived among rural households in the context of migration. Furthermore, I am also interested to explore further the household context in which migration is experienced, and more specifically unpack intra-household power dynamics, and how the intersection of age, gender and social status within such households shaped migration and well-being (Chant, 1998; Kabeer, 1997; Agarwal, 1997). As such, the qualitative aspect of my methodology adds depth to the findings from the quantitative data analysis (Camfield *et al.*, 2008).

5.4.1 In-depth interviews

A range of tools is available for use in qualitative data collection, which includes interviews, field observations, audio, and visual data, focus group discussion, participatory approaches to name a few (Bryman, 2012; Silverman, 2017). Among these methods, interviewing is one of the most commonly used data collection tools (Brinkmann and Kvale, 2005). Interviews can be grouped into structured, semi-structured, and unstructured depending upon the types of question asked such as closed- and open-ended questions (O'Reilly and Kiyimba, 2015; Bryman, 2012). Semi-structured in-depth interviews are a valuable tool to collect information through open-ended questions that are guided by an 'interview schedule' under different themes. Because of the open-ended nature of the questions, a semi-structured interview is able to capture participants' own diverse social and economic experiences, thoughts and perspectives (O'Reilly and Kiyimba, 2015). In addition, in-depth interviews cover a wide spectrum of feelings, gestures, actions and responses, which are difficult – if not impossible – to obtain through questionnaire surveys, observations or other data collection methods (Fontana and Frey, 2003).

As such, I used semi-structured in-depth interviews with rural households for the qualitative aspect of my research. The main focus of the qualitative data collection has been to understand the *subjective* and *relational* nature of well-being in relation to migration. To this end, the interview questions were organised around two sets of questions that relate to: 1) household's specific subjective circumstances regarding migration decisions, which may include socio-cultural and economic reasons and relationships; and 2) understand pre-, and post-migration impacts on intra-household power dynamics that shape (*subjective*) well-being among household members. I elaborate on each of these briefly as follows, whilst specific questions can be found in Appendix C 'Interview Schedule'.

The **first** set of questions asked about the well-being experiences and perceptions before and after migration. With regards to well-being, the questions focused on: access to basic services and human needs; ability to access financial, economic, social, natural resources; impact of remittances on household income after migration; volume of remittances and their uses; and respondents' perceptions of the quality of their life. Concerning migration, the questions inquired about: migrant characteristics; social and migrant support networks; migration costs; migration reasons and outcomes; and migration decision making processes.

The **second** set of questions that was explored in the semi-structured interview is related to the more challenging issues of intra-household power dynamics and the ways these both shape well-being and migration decision-making and are shaped by migration in turn. To this end, the questions inquired information under two sub-themes. The *first sub-theme* relates to understanding the positionality of an individual within a very hierarchical household setup that is typical of rural Pakistan. I was looking to obtain respondents' thoughts and perspectives regarding well-being which includes access to employment, education and health facilities, personal assets, credit and public or private (social) network support (Agrawal, 1997). Next, I tried to understand his/her ability to *actually* contribute to, or influence, household well-being based on this well-being through questions on social norms and perceptions regarding such contributions. Taken together, my efforts were to understand the division of labour/work and power within a household that enables me to understand households' members' well-being according to age, gender, and social status.

This provides the basis for my *second sub-theme* of inquiry related to migration decisions in the context of intra-household power dynamics. In this regard, I further explored which household member had migrated, where to and for how long; who had decided and what these decisions were based on (that may depend on age, gender, social status); and how household resources were diverted/collected for managing migration costs and in turn who suffered/benefited from household financial (re)allocation of resources (Chant, 1998).

Last but not least, a researcher's *positionality* in qualitative research is essential to consider, not least as it reflects power issues around the relationship between a researcher and research participants (Flewitt, 2005). In the process of exploring different facets of human life and being as a researcher, cultural context is crucial (Liamputtong, 2007; Nazneen and Sultan, 2014). Establishing a trust relationship between the researcher and the participant is

key to qualitative research, so that participants become willing to share personal information and discuss household matters, many of which can be quite sensitive (Orb *et al.*, 2001; England, 1994; Berger, 2015). In this regard, my positionality as a male researcher engaging in what is largely a conservative rural society was carefully considered, not only in enabling participation for a wide range of individuals, but also the ways in which such positionality affects participants' narratives (Mullings, 1999; Nazneen and Sultan, 2014). As an 'insider' to the Punjabi communities, I used my knowledge of the culture, society and people to prepare a strategy that addressed such concerns (see 5.4.2 for detail).

5.4.2 Sampling and fieldwork

The qualitative (considered primary for my PhD project) data was collected by myself during a stay of two months (November to December 2018) in the study areas. It consisted of semi-structured in-depth interviews conducted in the four villages of the two study areas. The villages are the same as those where the surveys were administered.

A total of 85 semi-structured in-depth interviews with individual members of the households were conducted in my study villages from 60 rural households. This number was allocated bearing in mind issues of saturation of responses within a sample area (Fossey *et al.*, 2002; Bryman, 2012). The households were sampled from the four categories previously defined in the survey, namely: large landholders, small landholders, landless households, and non-farm households. My intention was to approach households similar to those identified during the survey as in the four categories mentioned above. However, new participants were also included as not all members of the surveyed households were available for in-depth interviews or consented to such data collection. My respondents were a mix of household heads, i.e., older male, as well as other family members of different ages and social statuses, as I sought to achieve a gender balance amongst interviewees as much as possible.

Interviews were carried out by myself, with the help of a local guide who helped to introduce me to some of the local families and to the village head. Interviews were conducted in the Urdu or local Punjabi/Saraiki languages, which I am a native speaker of. Although I am familiar with local traditions, I made every effort to give due consideration to

these, particularly around gender issues and interviewing women. Therefore, I hired a female local guide to facilitate me conducting interviews with women members of the household.

5.4.2.1 Field work preparations

The field visit was part of my PhD project for primary data collection. It was conducted by myself in two districts of Punjab, Pakistan, namely D.G. Khan and Faisalabad, during November and December 2018. The objective of the field visit was to gain an in-depth understanding of the relationships between internal migration and well-being among rural households in Pakistan.

I travelled to Islamabad, Pakistan on November 1, 2018. I stayed in Islamabad for a week to prepare for my field visit to the two districts mentioned above. The preparations included translating the PIS (Participant Information Sheet) form into Urdu with the help of SDPI's Urdu unit, making financial arrangements such as money exchange, arranging accommodation and travel details for the two districts, hiring field facilitators and professionals for transcription.

Initially, the political and security situation in the country was tense due to the Supreme Court's decision on some religious matter. However, the situation later became calm and conducive so that I was able to successfully complete my field work in Pakistan.

5.4.2.2 Field work in Dera Ghazi Khan

With all the necessary preparations, I travelled to Dera Gazi Khan on November 11, 2018. I chose to visit the D.G. Khan site first to avoid potential foggy or harsh weather conditions that could hinder my mobility and reaching the sample villages. As expected, the weather conditions throughout my D.G. Khan field visit were smooth, calm, and sunny.

I completed a total of 30 in-depth semi-structured interviews in 12 days, including the days spent meeting with local officials and village heads. Gender-segregated interviews were crucial in order to understand the intra-household power dynamics from two sample villages i.e., Raman and Sokar. In this regard, I was able to conduct interviews with female

members of 10 households, totaling 19 women respondents. Among them were six migrant mothers, 11 migrant wives, and two migrant sisters from both sample villages (see Appendix D for details).

All interviews were conducted in adherence to the ethical guidelines of the University of Southampton. The PIS form was explained in the local language, and verbal consent was obtained from the interviewees for the purpose of conducting and recording the interviews. However, I provided my contact details (such as mobile and landline numbers), in case participants wanted to contact me to withdraw their interviews or omit any specific information which they considered removing or concealing. I received no such requests.

Interviews were conducted mostly in the household's own house (either inside or outside) or the village head's home (which mainly possesses a separate place for such gatherings). I observed that the landless, non-farm households mainly prefer to give interviews at the village head's place, which may give them more confidence or make them feel more secure when talking to strangers. This situation was less observed in the Faisalabad sample research villages.

The respondents in D.G. Khan were interactive, participative, and ready to discuss personal experiences, grievances, as well as general issues of the area. Women were also eager to talk about their aspirations and share problems (and even offer possible solutions).

Although I had no direct conversation with the women of the households, as I observed local customary expectations, I feel they consider the interview as a way or medium to communicate their issues both on- and off-record. For instance, off-the-record communications included mentions of physical abuse and harassment, financial and social constraints affecting their mobility, work, or education.

The village head, who is often a tribal chief (Sardar) in most rural areas of D.G. Khan District, played a crucial role in contacting rural households and conducting interviews. Meeting the village head was essential for obtaining informal approval for the interview and gaining support within the village, as well as ensuring safe travel in the area. Additionally, the village head serves as a source of security and protection for many people in rural areas. However, I observed that these bonds and connections are gradually weakening due to factors such as education, economic self-reliance, and media influence. Despite these changes, the role of

the tribal or village head continues to provide a cost-effective and efficient means of resolving day-to-day issues faced by rural households in the local community.

5.4.2.3 Field work in Faisalabad

I began my field visit to Faisalabad, which is also my hometown, on December 8, 2018.

Unlike D.G. Khan, which consists of a single ethnic group (the Baloch tribe), Faisalabad is characterised by diverse ethnicities with multiple castes and social classes that trace their roots back to ancient Hindu or subcontinent cultures. These castes or classes have coexisted for centuries, forming a unique culture distinct from monoethnic cultures such as the Baloch (as found in DG Khan) or the Pathan ethnic groups in other parts of Pakistan. This aspect presents an excellent opportunity to study how different castes or classes live in harmony while maintaining their respective identities.

Given my study's objectives, my positionality as both an insider and an outsider were challenging, yet crucial. As an insider, people frequently engaged me by inquiring about my village, caste, education, and other personal information. I was obliged to follow the local customs to respond in a friendly manner, aiming to build trust and foster a cordial environment for conducting interviews. This approach was critical because people are more inclined to engage in discussions with familiar individuals rather than with strangers. Otherwise, they tend to be reluctant, especially when it comes to detailed discussions during semi-structured interviews.

In Gangapur village, most of the respondents belonged to the same caste as mine, allowing me to quickly establish trust and rapport. However, in Nangali village, I was largely seen as an outsider due to my different caste, but at the same time as an insider for belonging to the same district. Therefore, I spent the first day of fieldwork introducing myself, explaining my PhD work, and providing details about the interview questions I planned to ask. This helped me create a cordial environment for my fieldwork. Some of these connections continued beyond the fieldwork, in that some of the men from this village who participated in the interviews remained in contact with me, occasionally asking me for advice on various matters and, sometime when they visit Islamabad, we dine together.

I started my fieldwork in Faisalabad from Gangapur village, along with my male field facilitator and women interview facilitator. We met with one of the village heads with whom we had been in contact during the previous survey. This village head also held an elected representative position in the union council. While traditionally there is typically only one village head in any village, Gangapur is a large village with a population of 11,000-12,000 people and extensive farmland, resulting in the presence of approximately three village heads. The population of Gangapur village is divided into three major castes (Gujjar, Jatt, and Rajput), all of whom migrated from India to Pakistan after the 1947 Independence. The sampling for my research encompassed all three castes within the village. In my second research village, Nangali, most landholding respondents belonged to a single caste, namely Jatt.

A total of 34 interviews were conducted in both villages.

Conversations were primarily conducted at the farmhouse or the households' own home, which, in many cases, were adjacent to each other. The interviews were conducted one-on-one with the household head. However, for interviews with poor households that lacked space to accommodate strangers like myself, I interviewed them at the village head's farmhouse (Dera).

In almost all cases, the representative of the village head accompanied us (along with the field facilitator), which significantly increased trust and acceptance among the sampled households. This was particularly important for locating and identifying the sample households, as we did not have their complete names and addresses. Most interviews lasted an average of 40 minutes, but the duration ranged from a minimum of 25 minutes to a maximum of 120 minutes. For three or four interviews only, notes were taken to respect the wish of the respondent not to be recorded. In Faisalabad, I conducted 13 interviews with women. Among them were five migrant mothers, six migrant wives, and two migrant sisters (see Appendix D for details).

I had only two direct face-to-face conversations with female household members whom we interviewed, mainly due to their age. In most cases, the female household members were sitting in separate rooms with female facilitators, where I could only hear the conversation and ask questions separately. However, I provided my contact details (including mobile and

landline numbers) to the household heads, just as I did during D.G. Khan. This was to allow them to reach out to me if they wished to withdraw their interviews or request the omission of any specific information they preferred to remove or conceal. I received no such request.

5.4.3 Qualitative data analysis

All interviews were recorded, then transcribed and translated from Urdu or Punjabi to English. As transcription is a time-consuming task (taking usually approximately 5 hours to transcribe a 1.5-hour long interview; Bird, 2006), I sought the assistance of colleagues working for the SDPI Pakistan, who, like me, had worked as enumerators during the administration of the questionnaire survey through my institution (SDPI). To ensure confidentiality and abide by anonymity, the colleagues hired for interview transcriptions were asked to sign a confidentiality agreement that they would not disclose any information from the interviews. Once the transcripts were ready, I uploaded these onto the NVivo software, which I used to facilitate the qualitative data analysis. Here, the labelling and coding process was carried out.

There are several analytical approaches in qualitative analysis, such as ethnography, discourse, narrative, interpretative phenomenological, thematic analysis, all of which provide considerable methodological opportunities regarding how to study human activities, perceptions, and processes (Thomas, 2006; O'Reilly and Kiyimba, 2015). For instance, ethnography provides a way to understand reasons behind how daily human activities can make sense, while narrative analysis can help us gain insights through human stories for understanding structural construction of cultures and societies. Likewise, conversation analysis uses languages and dialogues to understand social activities and experiences and so on (O'Reilly and Kiyimba, 2015). The following are some key steps or strategies involved during my qualitative analysis.

Frist, before initiating coding in the NVivo software, I dedicated a substantial amount of time to comparing interview recordings and transcriptions. Since all interviews were conducted by myself (except those which conducted to rural women through the help of women field facilitator), it was important for me to ensure that all information was

accurately transcribed, and nothing was lost during the translation process. Later, I spent much of my time reading all 85 transcripts and made initial notes for coding.

Second, for the purposes of this study, I conducted the qualitative analysis thematically. I found this approach useful as it allows the researcher to inductively select themes or patterns relevant to research questions (Thomas, 2006; Braun and Clarke, 2006). This was carried out by using an inductive approach that enables me to prepare themes from a large set of raw interview data. Further, I was able to link with research objectives and questions as well as to build framework based on information gathered, organized and summarised into broad themes (Thomas, 2003; King, 2012; Arar, 2017).

Third, I found it counterintuitive to include in-depth interviews that I conducted solely with male household heads and compared it with those household interviews involving intra-household members. The analysis process become overly complex and time consuming, as it involved abundant amount of information that did not directly relate to my third study objective: to explore the ways in which intra-household power dynamics – with a specific focus on social status, gender and age – shape internal migration, and in turn, rural household well-being outcomes. Therefore, I decided to include only 53 semi-structured interviews covering 25 migrant rural households for my qualitative analysis representing four household categories i.e., large landholding, small landholding, landless farm labourer and non-farm rural households (see Appendix D for details).

Fourth, I revised the coding process, focusing specifically on the 53 selected interviews. Given the diverse responses concerning well-being and migration outcomes across four socio-economic household categories, I had to revise the coding multiple times based on continuous learning and relearning the transcripts and initial codes. I found this iterative process necessary to identify overarching themes from the enormous amount of qualitative data.

Lastly, I presented my key qualitative findings as major themes in Chapters 7 and 8, and fed them through to Chapter 9.

5.5 Researching migration and well-being ethically

Ethical issues are important for any study that involves interaction with human participants, whether interacting directly or analysing data that has already been collected in other ways (secondary data). For my research, the survey data collection was covered by the ethics regulations of the SDPI Pakistan, as that was the organization that collected the data at the time. However, I applied for, and received, ERGO ethics approval for the use of this data from the University of Southampton, in line with the University's Ethics and Data Management policies and regulations. As for the primary data collection, a more detailed request was submitted to, and approved by, the University of Southampton prior to fieldwork.

One of the important aspects of ethics in all types of research is informed consent of participants to take part in the research (O'Reilly and Kiyimba, 2015; Nazneen and Sultan, 2014). An informed consent from a participant can bring autonomy in responses and create a proximity between researcher and participants, which is essential for gathering relevant individual or household level information (Barnett, 2007). For the collection of my primary data, I sought prior consent from participants by informing them in some detail about the study and my role and interest. This information was both written and verbal. As mentioned earlier, ethical approval from the University of Southampton was obtained before going into the field to collect the primary data. This application included two important documents that aimed to go some way to ensuring that participants were able to give informed consent. The first of these was a Participant Information Sheet (PIS) which explained the study as fully as possible to the participants in plain language and provided an opportunity for them to ask questions verbally during my visit. This was translated in the local language and was also verbally explained to the interviewee before the interview started. The verbal explanation was especially important considering the low literacy rates in rural Pakistan, which was also the case amongst my respondents, especially older people. The second document was the consent form, which needed to be signed, to enable me to 'prove' that participants had given explicit consent for their information to be used in this study. However, given the existing suspicion amongst the population around signing of documents in Pakistan more generally, and broader ethical concerns around asking an individual to sign a document when they cannot read it themselves, in a lot of the cases I obtained and relied

on verbal consent, often recorded on the Dictaphone. Informed consent, gained through taking a position of respect and humility towards the respondent, enabled me to create an environment in which the respondent was able to feel comfortable to talk in depth about issues such as their position in the household, thoughts on gender relations, and so on (Flewitt, 2005; Pope and Mays, 1995). It was the least I could do to reciprocate for the time they freely gave to my research, and for sharing their thoughts and experiences with me.

A key ethical issue in, especially qualitative, research, is the safeguarding of the confidentiality of information provided by, and the anonymity of, individual research participants (O'Reilly and Kiyimba, 2015; Tilley and Woodthorpe, 2011). This is because personal contact with the participant always involves a lack of anonymity. This presents a risk for the personal and private information that the respondent has provided, for instance to be identified in the write up of results, especially when parts of their interview are quoted verbatim (Orb *et al.*, 2001). In this situation, participants may be likely recognized and vulnerable to target or isolation socially, economically as well as culturally within a society (Stein, 2010). Whilst I cannot guarantee the anonymity of respondents, especially as a number of the interviews took place in their own homes, I ensured that the data they provided has been anonymized and retained safely and confidentially. This included using pseudonyms, separating general demographic identifiable data from the actual interview, and holding these in two different places, changing any identifiable information in the write up (mindful of the analytical implications) and so on (Kaiser, 2009). Moreover, to safeguard the respondents' confidentiality, the raw data or any identifiable data was not used outside the context of this research and will not be shared with third parties. Throughout the research, the data has been stored in password-protected computer space. This process of safeguarding participants' anonymity and confidentiality took place from the point of the data collection, through to the data analysis, interpretation and write up.

5.6 Conclusion

In this chapter, I provided a detailed account of methods employed in this thesis to explore the relationship between migration and well-being in rural Pakistan. I explained the rationale behind, and processes for, selecting the specific study sites in rural Pakistan, which

are characterised by high poverty rates, inequalities, limited livelihood diversification, and negative impacts of climate change and aridity on agricultural productivity and farm profitability. These and other factors have led both landholding and landless rural households to search for alternatives – migration for them is one of the viable options.

In this chapter, I explained the reasons behind choosing a mixed methods approach i.e., both quantitative and qualitative data analysis. This approach enabled me to understand migration and well-being both at household and intra-household levels. My attempt here is not to view and analyse rural household as a homogenous entity (as I considered it in a quantitative analysis due to limitations on different variables); rather to conceptualise migration and well-being outcomes at the intra-household level, taking into account gender, social status or economic position, and age. This approach allowed me to identify and explore the interlinked meanings of, and aspirations for, well-being and migration among individuals within rural households.

I paid particular attention to sampling and included various migrant's family members such as fathers, mothers, sisters, brothers, and wives. Through semi-structured interviews, I aimed to understand different perspectives, aspirations, meanings, and outcomes of well-being in relation to migration. The findings based on these methods are presented in the next three chapters: Chapter 6 presents the quantitative analysis, using field survey data, statistical models, and descriptive statistics to examine the associations between well-being and migration. In turn, Chapter 7 delves into the meanings and aspirations of *objective*, *subjective*, and *relational* well-being among individual members of the household within their own social and cultural settings. Finally, Chapter 8 explores intra-household power dynamics related to migration and well-being outcomes, based on gender, social status, and age.

Chapter 6: Migration and well-being: secondary quantitative data analysis

6.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I present a quantitative analysis that addresses research questions 1, 2 and 3. The questions include: 1) which household characteristics are strongly associated with internal migration in Pakistan? 2) How is internal migration associated with well-being of rural households in Pakistan? 3) How does current well-being status affect migration desire in rural households? After this introduction, section 6.2 offers an overview of household characteristics through descriptive statistics, which identifies the key household characteristics associated with migration and well-being. This explains the first component of my conceptual framework, i.e., the socio-economic settings of rural households which include demographic characteristics, human and social capital, income and employment, livelihood-related stresses, assets and basic facilities, gender, and migration drivers. The section describes results and offers key finding and conclusion. The third section (6.3) presents the results that address research questions 2 and 3. With regards to research question 2, which seeks to explore the association of household objective well-being and migration, the section provides estimates of binary logistic regression and its explanation. The sub-sections provide model estimates regarding household migration in relation to *subjective*, *objective*, and *relational* well-being. The results of this section offer an understanding for the second and third component of the conceptual framework of the study i.e., rural household well-being and internal migration decision-making process. The chapter closes with the conclusion section along with a presentation of research gaps and limitations.

6.2 Descriptive statistics

Table 1 presents the descriptive statistics of the surveyed sample in the study area. The average age of the household head is 51. The size of household is about 7.35 members, which is close to the national average for Pakistan (NIPS and ICF, 2013; GoP, 2016). The average of schooling years of all household members is 5.32. Education status is higher among non-poor compared to poor rural households ($\chi^2 = 34.52, p < 0.001$) (Table A-3a). No

significant difference is found in education status between migrant and non-migrant households (Table A-3b). About 30 percent of rural households has one or more internally migrant members. The desire to migrate either internally or internationally is rather high, expressed by about 57 percent of the total sample. Migrants from rural areas are mostly young (mean: 27.8 years) and male with little or no formal education. Migrants having no formal education are more common, and mainly from poor household ($\chi^2 = 8.17, p < 0.001$) compared to the non-poor (Table A-4). Of those who migrated, rural women are less likely to migrate than other family members (only 10% compared to 90% men; Table A-4). Over half (55%) of migrants are married and have migrated without their families, which remain in the village of origin.

Internal migration occurs in all socio-economic groups of sampled rural households (see Table A.1 for details). The level of remitting is high with around 73 percent of migrant households receiving financial remittances from their migrant family members. Remittances are used for similar purposes regardless of which socio-economic strata used in the sampling, the household belongs to. However, the use of remittances for debt repayment is more common among poor than non-poor migrant households ($\chi^2 = 11.43, p < 0.001$). Food and health care are critical for rural households which consume more than half of financial remittances. The remaining 15 to 20 percent of remittances are spent on either education of household members or investment in agriculture and other agro-related business (see Table A-4 for details).

Table 1 provides statistical information regarding the *objective* (income), *subjective* and *relational* well-being of rural households. About 36 percent of our sampled rural households are income poor. The mean monthly income of rural households is PKR 33,979 (GBP 220).¹⁴ Income poverty is found in both migrant and non-migrant households (Table A-3a). Migrant households have higher mean monthly income of PKR 44,686 (GBP 290) compared to PKR 29,475 (GBP 191) of non-migrant households ($\chi^2 = 174.22, p < 0.05$).¹⁵

¹⁴ Exchange rate GBP 1 = PKR 154.345 (as of 2018)

¹⁵ Given the caveat noted earlier, we cannot ascertain whether this is a result of remittance received, or whether the households which were better-off prior to migration were able to send migrants to better destinations taking higher-income jobs.

Households in our sample score quite high with regard to the *subjective* well-being variables: about 71 percent of rural household express optimism about the future, and almost 62 percent show overall life satisfaction.¹⁶ These indicators are higher amongst migrant households compared to non-migrant households (Table A-5a) and the differences are statistically significant ($\chi^2 = 11.90$ and 11.75 , $p < 0.05$, $p < 0.05$). This contrast in optimism and life satisfaction could be related to the sense of hope that migration brings for most of those who contemplate or undertake migration, as relevant literature also suggests (see, e.g., De Haas et al. 2019).

When we look at *relational* well-being, Table 1 shows that migrant households have a higher ability to access financial resources from the informal sector (about 70 percent) than non-migrants. The informal sector includes friends, extended family, neighbours, and the village head. This would seem logical as the promise of remittances can put these migrant households in a better position to offer a higher likelihood of repaying the loan, than would be the case with limited local income sources. Access to the formal sector (such as banks) was significantly higher ($\chi^2 = 7.29$, $p < 0.05$) among migrant households, whereas non-migrants relied mainly on the informal sector for such loans.

The livelihoods of rural households are predominantly farming, either as a landowner or as a labourer, which suggests low diversification of income. Women from migrant and non-migrant either poor or non-poor households are less likely to work in the field or other livelihood activities than men (see Table A-3a). This is reflective of the gender roles and norms in Pakistan rural society, whereby men are responsible for farming work or work generally outside the house, leaving women in charge of the domestic sphere. About 60 percent of rural household own assets, such as a car, motorcycle or tractor. Further, most of the houses in the sample have on average 3.05 rooms. Table A-3b shows that migrant's houses, although they tend to have fewer rooms ($\chi^2 = 15.64$, $p < 0.10$), are perceived to be in better condition ($\chi^2 = 5.57$, $p < 0.10$) compared to non-migrant houses.

Rural households are prone to non-environmental as well as climate hazards (excluding earthquakes, which is uncommon in plain areas of Punjab) related to livelihoods stresses

¹⁶ We are mindful here that these indicators may not necessarily reflect the views of all household members, but rather of only the household head as respondent to the questionnaire. This was generally a married man in his 50s.

which may cause income loss or reduction. The vast majority of households included in the analysis, (90%) reported that there were occasions in the last 3 years when they do not have enough food or money to buy food. The experience of livelihood related stresses (including both non-environmental and climate hazards) is not statistically significantly different between migrant and non-migrant households (Table A-3b).

Table 6. 1: Descriptive statistics of rural households in sample areas.

Variables (N=331)	Unit	Level	Mean	SD
Migration				
Actual internal migration	%	HH	29.60	0.46
Migration desire	%	HH	56.80	0.49
Migrant's age (n=144)	years	Ind	27.81	12.16
Gender migrant– Male (n=144)	1/0	Ind	0.90	0.31
Marital status – Unmarried (n=144)	1/0	Ind	0.45	0.58
HH received remittances (n=98)	%	HH	0.73	0.46
Demographic				
Age of household head	#	HH	50.63	12.89
Household size	#	HH	7.35	3.02
Small Landholding households	#	HH	0.27	0.44
Large Landholding households	#	HH	0.24	0.43
Non-farm households	#	HH	0.25	0.43
Average schooling years of all household members	#	HH	5.32	3.22
Employment and livelihood activities				
Household having multiple sources of income	1/0	HH	0.33	0.47
Perception of better job opportunities in the city	%	HH	0.77	0.42
Women participation in household livelihood activities	1/0	HH	0.28	0.45
Household assets & basic services				
Ownership of car, motorcycle or tractor	%	HH	59.50	0.49
Number of rooms in house	#	HH	3.05	1.60
Access to piped water supply for drinking	%	HH	27.80	0.45
Livelihood-related stresses				
Livelihood-related stresses (non-environmental / climate)	%	HH	64.00	0.48
Household facing climate or weather hazards	%	HH	61.30	0.49
Not enough food or money to buy food (in last 3 years)	%	HH	90.30	0.30
Objective well-being				
Poverty rate	%	HH	35.60	0.49
Monthly income	PKR	HH	33979	68204
Monthly income	GBP	HH	220.20	441.9
Subjective Well-being				
Optimism about the future	1/0	HH	0.71	0.45
Overall life satisfaction	1/0	HH	0.62	0.49
Relational well-being				
Ability to take loan - Access to financial resources	1/0	HH	0.76	0.43
Loan taken from formal sector	%	HH	7.90	0.27
Loan taken from informal sector	%	HH	87.40	0.33

Loan taken from formal+ informal sector	%	HH	4.70	0.21
Location: D.G Khan	1/0	HH	0.51	0.50

Notes: Migration and Well-being survey conducted in February 2016. # = indicates continuous variable; 1/0= means dummy variable. Exchange rate GBP 1 = PKR 154.345 (as of 2018). Variables expressed in % reflect the % of the respondents in the sample. **Income quantile 2** ranges from PKR 16700-29000; **Income quantile 3** ranges from PKR 30000-54000 and **income quantile 4** represents income from PKR 55000 and above.

6.3 Model results

6.3.1 The internal migration and *objective* well-being relationship (model 1)

Table 2 shows the results of Model 1 for the *objective* well-being of rural households in the study areas of Pakistan. The main finding of interest is that migrant households are significantly more likely to be non-poor in terms of income than non-migrant households, with three times higher chances of being well-off (similar to Imran et al. 2018). Furthermore, an increasing number of years in formal education is strongly associated with the higher *objective* well-being of the household. The model results suggest that the odds of being non-poor are 1.2 times with higher education compared to rural households with less education, which is in line with Imran et al. (2018).

As expected, several other variables are positively and significantly associated with *objective* well-being (being non-poor). These include the household's ability to obtain loans (formal and informal), ownership of a car, a motorcycle or tractor, and a higher number of rooms in the house (see Thapa et al. 2019; Waidler et al. 2017; Hendricks and Chidiac 2011). Likewise, the variable 'age of household head' shows a positive and (mildly) significant association with *objective* well-being. In the literature, a higher age of the household head is often associated with accumulation of wealth or receipt of remittances from migrant household members (Bigsten, et al. 2003; Nguyen et al. 2015; Waidler et al. 2017).

Household size shows a negative but highly significant association with household well-being, i.e. larger households are also poorer. A similar negative effect of household size was also found in studies by Hadley et al. (2011) in Ethiopia, Rahman (2013) and Farah (2015) in Bangladesh, and Imran et al. (2018) in Pakistan. This may reflect that large households have more dependents such as children, older fragile people, or unemployed working-age adults.

Furthermore, the results indicate that households living in the study villages in the D.G. Khan district are 0.4 times more likely to be poor compared to households in Faisalabad.

Non-farm rural households show a slightly significant but negative relationship ($p < 0.10$) with *objective* well-being (see Qureshi and Arif, 2001; Malik, 2008; Kousar and Abdulai, 2013).

The model results suggest that the odds of being poor for rural households whose incomes are generated mainly from non-farm activities are 0.48 times higher compared to landless rural households.

When it comes to the participation of women in livelihood activities (farm and non-farm) the results do not show a significant association with poverty. Similarly, livelihood-related stresses (such as ill-health, lower incomes, conflicts, etc.) and climate or weather hazards are not significantly related to the *objective* well-being of households, as measured here by the probability of being poor.

Table 6. 2: Logistic regression analysis of *objective* well-being (income poverty) of households in rural Pakistan (model 1).

Variables	Explanation	B	SE	OR
Constant		-0.129	1.183	0.879
Migration				
Migrant member in a household	1=Yes, 0=No	1.142***	0.378	3.134
Demographic				
Age of household head	In years	0.024*	0.013	1.025
Household size	In numbers	-0.317***	0.070	0.728
Small landholding Households	1=Yes, 0=No	-0.660	0.422	0.517
Large Landholding Households	1=Yes, 0=No	0.401	0.594	1.493
Non-farm Households	1=Yes, 0=No	-0.727*	0.419	0.484
Average schooling years of all household members	In years	0.202***	0.069	1.224
Employment and livelihood activities				
Household having multiple sources of income	1=Yes, 0=No	0.538	0.359	1.713
Women participation in household livelihood activities	1=Yes, 0=No	0.166	0.342	1.181
Household assets & basic services				
Ownership of car, motorcycle or tractor	1=Yes, 0=No	1.178***	0.339	3.248
Number of rooms in house	In numbers	0.494***	0.167	1.639
Access to piped water supply for drinking	1=Yes, 0=No	-0.053	0.429	0.949
Livelihood-related stresses				
Livelihood-related stresses (non-environmental/climate)	1=Yes, 0=No	-0.143	0.345	0.867
Household facing climate or weather hazards	1=Yes, 0=No	-0.294	0.326	0.745
Not enough food or money to buy food (in last 3 years)	1=Yes, 0=No	-1.163	0.860	0.484
Relational Well-being				
Ability to take loan	1=Yes, 0=No	0.764*	0.419	2.148
Location:				
Districts	1=DG Khan 0=Faisalabad	-1.017*	0.397	0.362
Model statistics				
Number of observations	331			
-2 Log-likelihood	281.635			
Classification accuracy ¹	79.8			

Note: Migration and Well-being survey conducted in February 2016. Statistical significance: *** for p<0.01; ** for p<0.05; * for p<0.10. Software: IBM© SPSS version 27 used for data analysis.

Dependent variable: The income poverty was calculated based on World Bank's poverty line i.e., lower or middle-income class (IC) Poverty line at PKR 99.5 (2011 PPP) /day/capita for Pakistan. 'Income poverty' is a dependent variable, denoting non-poor=1 and poor=0. SE=Standard error, OR=Odds Ratio.

¹**Classification accuracy** shows the percentage of accuracy of independent variables that are correctly classified in the model.

6.3.2 The internal migration and *subjective* well-being relationship (model 2)

Table 3 (a) presents the results of Model 2a with 'optimistic about the future' as the dependent variable. The main finding is that optimism about the future is higher for households with migrant members, confirming the findings of Switek (2016) in Sweden, and Ek et al. (2008) in Finland. Likewise, my results suggest that high-income households (income quantile 3 and 4) are more likely to be more optimistic about the future compared to middle or low-income households (see Ball and Chernova 2008; Ho et al. 2010; Ivlevs et al. 2019). Jorgensen et al. (2010) showed similar results where *subjective* well-being is significantly higher among higher-income households compared to lower-income households. This suggests a better ability of a wealthier household to remain optimistic about the future compared to poor rural households.

Household size shows a negative and significant association with *subjective* well-being. One possible explanation of this negative relation is that larger families are inter-generational, quite complex social structures that lead to more conflict where it is harder to manage everyone's expectations than a smaller (perhaps nuclear) family (see Gram et al. 2018; Singh and Bhandari 2012).

Furthermore, *subjective* well-being is negatively but weakly linked to women participation in household livelihood activities (other than household chores). In traditional rural communities of Pakistan, the work of women outside the house indicates a lower social and economic status of a household (Shahriar, 2021). The traditional perspective in rural Pakistan regarding women's role in family care or housework is that women are considered as less capable to deal with uncertainties of life outside of the house, as well as the issues of 'purdah' (see chapters 7 and 8) and associated family prestige (Gioli et al. 2014). My model results demonstrate that households where women participate in livelihood activities, show pessimism toward their future, but the statistical significance of the association between women's participation in livelihood activities and *subjective* well-being is low ($p < 0.10$).

Another variable that shows a negative and weakly significant relationship with optimism about the future is the level of food insecurity of households. Ramos and Salgado Pereira (2018) and Mahmood et al. (2018) showed similar results that households who experience a situation of food scarcity are more pessimistic about the future.

The results for the association between 'livelihood-related stresses' and 'optimism about the future' were somewhat different than what I anticipated. The results suggest that households appear to be more optimistic about the future when they have experienced livelihood stresses. The most likely explanation for this is that these households are striving for betterment and constantly exploring different options and opportunities for their household well-being. For instance, during difficult times, households generally look for help from friends and family or they have options to sell their household assets. Akbar and Aldrich (2018) noted a similar pattern of social relationships among 2010 flood-affected rural communities in Pakistan. Using the life recovery scale (which include variables such as life adjustment, life satisfaction, and optimism about future life prospects), they showed that people are optimistic about the future in terms of life recovery from floods due to their trust in social relationships such as family and friends, neighbours, relatives, and government and non-governmental organisations. Such social support enables rural communities to consider material loss less noteworthy (Akbar and Aldrich, 2018).

Table 3 (b) provides results of Model 2b 'overall life satisfaction', as the second *subjective* well-being variable. I find contrasting results between overall life satisfaction and migration compared to the earlier *subjective* well-being variable 'optimistic about the future'. The results of Model 2b suggest there is no significant association between *subjective* well-being (overall life satisfaction) and internal migration of one or more members of the household (see De Jong et al. 2006; Scheffel and Zhang 2018; Chen et al. 2019 for similar results). Although internal migration is expected to raise optimism about the future, our results in Model 2b suggest an insignificant association with overall life satisfaction. Moreover, the variable 'livelihood-related stresses' shows a negative relationship with overall life satisfaction which is opposite to optimism about the future (Model 2a).

Similar to Model 2a, higher income levels are also positively associated with *subjective* well-being variables i.e., overall life satisfaction. In addition, the 'overall life satisfaction' variable shows a positive but weakly significant relationship ($p < 0.10$) with households having multiple sources of income (See Ardestani et al. 2021 for similar results). The results suggest that rural households who have multiple income sources are 1.8 times more likely to express general satisfaction from life than households with single income sources.

When we look at types of households in our sample (from a socio-economic categorisation), we find some interesting results. All rural household strata, i.e., small land holding, large land holding, landless, and non-farm rural households, show a strong positive association when it comes to 'overall life satisfaction' (similar to Hoogerbrugge and Burger, 2021; Biyase and Naanwaab, 2021). This is in contrast to the results of Model 2a, where no significant relationship is found with 'optimism about the future'. The large landholding households are, unsurprisingly, more likely to express 'overall life satisfaction' compared to other households, and at the level of four times higher chances, this is quite significant.

A further contrasting point to Model 2a is the relationship between education and *subjective* well-being in Model 2b. In the latter, a higher education status of household members is associated with higher levels of *subjective* well-being as expressed by the overall life satisfaction (see also Shams, 2014; Asadullah et al. 2018). Model 2b results also suggest that households in D.G. Khan are twice more likely to be satisfied with their life than households in Faisalabad, even though households in D.G Khan are poorer than in Faisalabad (see results of Model 1). Recent migration literature provides evidence that life satisfaction is higher in communities that are close-knit, as they belong to the same ethnic or socio-cultural group (Walters and Venkatachalam, 2021; Setiadi and Hidayah, 2021; Zhao, et al. 2020).

Table 6. 3 (a&b): Logistic regression analysis of *Subjective Well-being* (Optimistic about future) of households in rural Pakistan (Model 2).

Variables	Explanation	(a) Optimistic about future			(b) Overall life satisfaction		
		B	SE	OR	B	SE	OR
Constant		1.241	1.058	3.458	1.443	1.317	4.234
Migration							
Migrant member in a household	1=Yes, 0=No	0.883**	0.356	2.417	0.119	0.360	1.126
Demographic							
Age of household head	In years	-0.005	0.011	0.995	-0.011	0.012	0.989
Household size	In numbers	-0.135**	0.054	0.874	-0.084	0.055	0.920
Small landholding Households	1=Yes, 0=No	-0.038	0.379	0.963	0.965**	0.383	2.004
Large Landholding Households	1=Yes, 0=No	-0.206	0.483	0.814	1.411***	0.523	4.102
Non-farm Households	1=Yes, 0=No	-0.026	0.483	0.814	0.849**	0.396	2.338
Average schooling years of all household members	In years	0.057	0.058	1.058	0.134**	0.062	1.144
Employment and livelihood activities							
Household having multiple sources of income	1=Yes, 0=No	0.150	0.313	1.162	0.609*	0.336	1.838
Women participation in household livelihood activities	1=Yes, 0=No	-0.495*	0.299	0.609	-0.275	0.321	0.760
Household assets & basic services							
Ownership of car, motorcycle or tractor	1=Yes, 0=No	0.207	0.322	1.230	0.306	0.324	1.358
Number of rooms in house	In numbers	0.240	0.128	1.272	0.110	0.134	1.116
Access to piped water supply	1=Yes, 0=No	-1.03	0.390	0.902	0.458	0.407	1.580
Livelihood-related stresses							
Livelihood-related stresses (non-environmental/climate)	1=Yes, 0=No	0.570*	0.301	1.769	-0.998***	0.327	0.369
Household facing climate or weather hazards	1=Yes, 0=No	-0.077	0.291	0.926	0.150	0.309	1.162
Not enough food or money to buy food (in last 3 years)	1=Yes, 0=No	-1.424*	0.815	0.241	-1.758	1.089	0.172
Objective well-being:							
Income quantile 2	1=Yes, 0=No	0.240	0.353	1.271	0.348	0.378	1.416
Income quantile 3&4	1=Yes, 0=No	0.825**	0.412	2.281	0.747*	0.431	2.111
Relational Well-being							
Ability to take loan	1=Yes, 0=No	0.207	0.374	1.224	-0.474	0.397	0.623

Location:							
Districts	1=DG Khan 0=Faisalabad	0.382	0.360	1.465	0.848*	0.374	2.004
Model statistics							
Number of observations	331				331		
-2 Log-likelihood	348.659				321.526		
Classification accuracy	73.1				74.9		

Note: Migration and Well-being survey conducted in February 2016. Statistical significance: *** for $p < 0.01$; ** for $p < 0.05$; * for $p < 0.10$. Software: IBM© SPSS version 27 used for data analysis. **Dependent variable:** (a) Optimistic about the future is taken as the dependent binary variable (1=Agree and 0=Otherwise). (b) 'Overall life satisfaction' is taken as the dependent variable, (agree =1 and otherwise=0). **Classification accuracy** shows the percentage of accuracy of independent variables that are correctly classified in the model. **Income quantile 2** ranges from PKR 16700-29000; **Income quantile 3** ranges from PKR 30000-54000 and **income quantile 4** represents income from PKR 55000 and above. SE=Standard error, OR=Odds Ratio.

6.3.3 The well-being and migration desire relationship (model 3):

In Model 3, migration desire is used as the dependent variable and linked to well-being and other variables. The results of this binary logistic regression model are displayed in Table 4. An important finding is the statistically significant and positive association of migration desire with the *subjective* well-being indicator of 'optimism about the future'. The odds of desiring to migrate are 1.6 times higher among households who are optimistic about the future. However, the association of migration desire with *relational* well-being is not significant. These findings are consistent with Mata-Codesal (2018) and Skeldon (2002). It implies that rural households who are more optimistic about the future may also express a higher desire to migrate, potentially triggered by this optimism, although they may not necessarily have a high level of *relational* well-being which is indicated here as the ability to access loans from formal and informal financial sources (see Bylander, 2014 for similar findings).

As expected, the perception that there are 'better job opportunities in the city' is strongly and positively associated with the desire to migrate. In the migration literature, this perception is found to be an important pull factor for rural households to consider migrating to urban areas (Nabi, 1984; Mukhtar et al. 2018; King, 2018; Salik et al. 2017; Caliendo et al. 2019). We excluded a few variables from Models 3 and 4, such as 'lack of education facilities' in the locality, poor 'soil quality', 'decline in agriculture' productivity, 'lower agricultural sales' and 'lower financial resources'. Although they have the potential to trigger

a desire to migrate, for the purposes of our analysis they are also highly co-linear with 'better job opportunities in the city'.

In terms of how migration desire is linked to food insecurity, 'livelihood-related stresses' and 'climate or weather hazards', we found some interesting relations. Where households are food insecure, there is a lower desire to migrate (odds of 2.7 times lower) than households which are less so, or enjoy food security (Aslany et al. 2020). For the livelihood stresses and climate/weather hazards, the relationship seems to be insignificant.

Finally, when considering the location, households in our sample from the D.G. Khan district show a greater desire to migrate compared to those in Faisalabad, although the latter is a wealthier area. Carling and Schewel (2018) suggest that migration desire may not only depend upon an individual's attributes (such as needs and aspiration) but also involve meso-level characteristics of different geographical areas such as overall socio-economic, political, demographic, and environmental context. In this vein, migration desire could also be related to what is known as the culture of migration,¹⁷ which tends to develop over time in communities that experience high levels of out-migration (Carling and Schewel, 2018).

While the desire to migrate is highly context-specific for these reasons, as also argued by Carling and Collins (2018) and Collins (2018), the *actual* act of migrating may be more dependent on individual or household-level socio-economic characteristics. This may be the explanation behind some of the other results we see in our analysis. For instance, the association between income and education with the desire to migrate is not remarkable. The coefficient of the variable 'household having multiple sources of income' has the expected sign, but it is statistically insignificant. The relationship with *actual* migration is the focus of the next and final section of results.

¹⁷ The culture of migration defined in multiple ways in Kumpikaitė-Valiūnienė et al. (2021, p19). Ali (2007, p.39) The culture of migration 'is those ideas, practices, and cultural artefacts that reinforce the celebration of migration and migrants. This includes beliefs, desire, symbols, myths, education, celebrations of migration in various media, and material good'. Horvath (2008) defines "'changes of values and cultural perceptions' determined by previous migratory experiences within a given community that has a considerable migration history".

Table 6. 4: Logistic regression analysis of migration desire in rural Pakistan (Model 3).

Variables	Explanation	B	SE	OR
Constant		-3.4924***	0.921	0.030
Demographic				
Age of household head	In years	-0.006	0.010	0.994
Household size	In numbers	0.003	0.049	1.003
Small landholding Households	1=Yes, 0=No	-0.283	0.373	0.754
Large Landholding Households	1=Yes, 0=No	0.093	0.454	1.098
Non-farm Households	1=Yes, 0=No	-0.234	0.378	0.792
Average schooling years of all household members	In years	0.107	0.069	1.113
Interacted variables: Income quantile and average Education status of HH members (above 5.32years)				
Education*income quantile2	1=Yes, 0=No	0.557	0.659	1.746
Education*income quantile 3&4	1=Yes, 0=No	-0.486	0.469	0.615
Employment and livelihood activities				
HH having multiple sources of income	1=Yes, 0=No	0.312	0.287	1.366
Perception of better job opportunities in the city	1=Yes, 0=No	1.372***	0.315	3.944
Household assets & basic services				
Number of rooms in house	In numbers	0.024	0.106	1.025
Access to piped water supply	1=Yes, 0=No	0.007	0.359	1.007
Own either car or motorcycle or tractor	1=Yes, 0=No	0.201	0.312	1.223
Livelihood-related stresses				
Household facing livelihood-related problems (non-environmental/climate)	1=Yes, 0=No	0.395	0.276	1.484
Household facing climate or weather hazards	1=Yes, 0=No	0.097	0.278	1.102
Not enough food or money to buy food (in last 3 years)	1=Yes, 0=No	0.993*	0.515	2.700
Objective well-being:				
Income quantile 2	1=Yes, 0=No	0.197	0.371	1.218
Income quantile 3&4	1=Yes, 0=No	-0.232	0.263	0.793
Subjective well-being:				
Optimism about future	1=Yes, 0=No	0.498*	0.289	1.645
Relational well-being:				
Ability to take loan	1=Yes, 0=No	0.468	0.340	1.597
Location:				
Districts	1=DG Khan 0=Faisalabad	1.020***	0.325	2.774
Model statistics				
Number of observations	331			
-2 Log-likelihood	385.135			
Classification accuracy	69.2			

Note: Migration and Well-being survey conducted in February 2016. Statistical significance: *** for p<0.01; ** for p<0.05; * for p<0.10.

Software: IBM® SPSS version 27 used for data analysis. **Dependent variable:** Migration desire is taken as dependent binary variable (0=non-migrant and 1= migrant) Migration desire captures the notion of likely migration based on the preferences of an individual within a household to stay or move if an opportunity for migration becomes available. **Income quantile 2** ranges from PKR 16700-29000; **Income quantile 3** ranges from PKR 30000-54000 and **income quantile 4** represents income from PKR 55000 and above. Three interaction dummy variables, that takes the value 1 for households who belong to respective income quantile (2, 3, and 4) and have an education above 5.23 years (average education years of all household members in the sample) and 0 otherwise. SE=Standard error, OR=Odds Ratio.

6.3.4 The well-being and *actual* internal migration relationship (model 4):

In Model 4 for *actual* internal migration, all explanatory variables are the same as in Model 3. The results of Model 4 are presented in Table 5.

A significant positive relationship is found between *subjective* well-being indicators and internal migration, but not for *objective* and *relational* well-being. The *subjective* well-being indicator 'optimism about future' shows a positive and highly significant association with *actual* migration. Ek et al. (2008) find similar results in their study of internal migration in Finland, where internal migration enhances optimism about the future for a better life and livelihood resources compared to rural non-migrants.

Migration exhibits no significant association with income levels (i.e., *objective* well-being) of rural households. However, the interaction term between income (wealthier household i.e., quantile 3&4) and education is significantly associated with *actual* migration, which is in contrast to the migration desire results (Model 3). Thomas and Dommermuth (2020) and Delazeri et al. (2021) find similar results where a member of households with higher incomes and educational status has more opportunities to migrate internally. However, an average schooling of the household members above 5.32 years has no significant relationship with either migration desire or *actual* migration (Model 3 and 4).

The relation between livelihood-related stresses and *actual* migration in Model 4 is negative and significant. The negative relationship of livelihood-related stresses highlights the lack of enabling factors for *actual* migration among the rural households. Households that are facing livelihood-related problems such as declining income, ill-health among family members, household conflicts, and death of livestock may be unable to finance migration costs or access essential network support (Morales-Muñoz et al. 2020; Delazeri et al. 2021).

The variable 'household size' has a significant and positive association with *actual* internal migration (see Jacobson, 2019; Kabir et al. 2018 for similar findings). However, the 'age of household head' is not significantly associated with *actual* migration. Chakraborty and Kuri (2017) and Winters et al. (2001) argue that the higher the age of the household head, the lower the chances that this person will migrate, whereas the possibility of migration for a young member within a household may increase.

The perception of better job opportunities in the city has a strongly significant and positive association with migration, which suggests economic reasons for migration decisions. Furthermore, the 'district' variable results suggest that the odds are 3.4 times higher for a household to have a migrated member in D.G Khan compared to Faisalabad.

The variables 'household facing climate or weather hazards', 'number of rooms in the house, 'household having multiple sources of income' and 'not enough food or money to buy food' show an insignificant relationship with *actual* internal migration. Similar to Model 3, the type of rural household socio-economic strata (i.e small landholding, large landholding, landless and non-farm households) has no bearing on *actual* internal permanent migration.

Table 6. 5: Logistic regression analysis of *actual* (internal-permanent) migration in rural Pakistan (Model 4).

Variables	Explanation	B	SE	OR
Constant		-4.609***	1.113	0.010
Demographic				
Age of household head	In years	0.007	0.012	1.007
Household size	In numbers	0.242***	0.060	1.274
Small landholding Households	1=Yes, 0=No	0.016	0.433	1.017
Large Landholding Households	1=Yes, 0=No	-0.416	0.522	0.659
Non-farm Households	1=Yes, 0=No	0.072	0.440	1.075
Average schooling years of all household members	In years	0.048	0.080	1.049
Interacted variables: Income quantile and average Education status of HH members (above 5.32years)				
Education*income quantile2	1=Yes, 0=No	0.291	0.763	1.384
Education*income quantile 3&4	1=Yes, 0=No	0.953*	0.530	2.595
Employment and livelihood activities				
HH having multiple sources of income	1=Yes, 0=No	-0.528	0.331	0.590
Perception better job opportunities in the city	1=Yes, 0=No	1.116***	0.420	3.051
Household assets & basic services				
Number of rooms in house	In numbers	-0.169	0.120	0.845
Access to piped water supply	1=Yes, 0=No	0.425	0.369	1.530
Ownership of car, motorcycle or tractor	1=Yes, 0=No	-0.327	0.369	0.721
Livelihood-related stresses				
Household facing livelihood-related problems (non-environmental/climate)	1=Yes, 0=No	-0.854***	0.324	0.426
Household facing climate or weather hazards	1=Yes, 0=No	-0.222	0.313	0.801
Not enough food or money to buy food (in last 3 years)	1=Yes, 0=No	0.367	0.543	1.443
Relational Well-being				
Ability to take loans	1=Yes, 0=No	-0.498	0.359	0.608
Objective well-being:				
Income quantile 2	1=Yes, 0=No	0.354	0.434	1.425
Income quantile 3&4	1=Yes, 0=No	0.325	0.226	1.384
Subjective well-being:				
Optimism about future	1=Yes, 0=No	0.739***	0.359	2.094
Location:				
Districts	1=DG Khan 0=Faisalabad	1.226***	0.370	3.407
Model statistics				
Number of observations		331		
-2 Log-likelihood		309.417		
Classification accuracy		77.0		

Note: Migration and Well-being survey conducted in February 2016. Statistical significance: *** for $p < 0.01$; ** for $p < 0.05$; * for $p < 0.10$. Software: IBM© SPSS version 27 used for data analysis. **Dependent variable:** *Actual* internal Migration is taken as dependent binary variable (0=non-migrant and 1= migrant). **Income quantile 2** ranges from PKR 16700-29000; **Income quantile 3** ranges from PKR 30000-54000 and **income quantile 4** represents income from PKR 55000 and above. Three interaction dummy variables, that takes the value 1 for households who belong to respective income quantile (2, 3, and 4) and have an education above 5.23 years (i.e., an above average education years of all household members in the sample) and 0 otherwise. SE=Standard error, OR=Odds Ratio

6.4 Discussion

Two hypotheses are central to the analysis in this chapter, in the context of internal outmigration from rural areas of Pakistan. First, *objective* and *subjective* well-being are higher among migrants' 'left-behind' household members than non-migrant households. Second, rural household's current well-being status may be associated with their desire to migrate and *actual* migration decisions.

My findings support the hypothesis that *objective well-being* is higher among internal migrant's 'left-behind' households compared to non-migrant households. I found that migrant households are more well-off than non-migrant households as shown by the significant relationship of income poverty and *objective* well-being (Model 1). Chen et al. (2019) have demonstrated similar results in their study on internal migration and income in rural areas of Pakistan. This outcome is also widely supported by the migration and development literature which indicates that left-behind household members are relatively better-off, mainly because they receive financial remittances when compared to non-migrant households (Deshingkar and Grim, 2005; Craven, 2015; Vullnetari, 2019; Jacobson, 2019; Thapa et al. 2019).

For *subjective well-being*, my findings suggest that migrant households are more optimistic about the future than non-migrant households. However, when it comes to satisfaction with current life circumstances there does not seem to be a significant difference between the two groups (Model 2a&b). *Subjective* well-being is related to internal migration but only in so far as being optimistic about the future is concerned (see Models 2a and 4). In contrast, the association of internal migration with 'overall life satisfaction' is not significant (see Model 2b). These findings are in line with the studies by Switek (2016), Batram (2013) and Diener et al. (1999) which noted that the increase in *objective* well-being due to internal migration is not necessarily associated with household's perception of overall life satisfaction. Moreover, the *subjective* well-being literature suggests that 'life satisfaction' (a cognitive characteristic) is mainly related to rationality and reasoning based on one's personal experiences and judgments, while 'optimism about the future' refers to emotional aspects representing feelings, illusions, beliefs, and happiness (Gasper, 2004; Diener et al. 1985). My findings would hence suggest that internal migration decisions may be likely

linked to household's enhanced feelings of optimism about better livelihood opportunities in the future rather than based on actual current life circumstances and experiences.

Contrasting results are found regarding the variable 'livelihood-related stresses' where the association is positive for 'optimistic for the future' and negative for 'overall life satisfaction' (Model 2a&b). Furthermore, the association of 'livelihood-related stresses' is non-significant for desire to migrate but negatively associated with *actual* migration decisions (Model 3 and 4). These results draw attention to the importance of the connection between satisfaction, stresses, the desire to migrate and *actual* migration. For instance, 'livelihood-related stresses' can trigger one's desire to migrate (although not significant in our model, as it may be a temporary trigger), while at the same time also act as limiting factors to actualise migration. These limiting factors include declining income (to be able to afford the cost of migration), ill-health among family members (including the ones who are designated to migrate), (intra-)household conflicts, and death of livestock, all of which may negatively impact upon the ability of the household to finance a migration journey or indeed make use of essential support networks.

On the other hand, I find a significant relationship between *actual* migration, desire to migrate and *subjective* well-being as expressed by being optimistic about the future (Models 2a, 3 and 4). This is in line with my hypothesis that household *subjective* well-being is an important indicator of *actual* migration as well as a desire to migrate. This association is supported by earlier research, which has demonstrated that internal migration may help to generate positive aspirations among rural households to achieve better well-being outcomes (Scheier and Carver, 1985; Knodel and Saengtienchai, 2007; Hadi, 1999).

Furthermore, the insignificant relationship of migration and income groups does not confirm my hypothesis that household *objective* well-being is an important indicator for *actual* internal migration as well as *desire* to migrate (Models 3 and 4). The results suggest that internal actual migration and desire to migrate is not significantly associated with income. However, income shows a weakly positive relationship with internal migration decisions when interacting with the education status of household members (Model 4). I found that higher household income and education status interactions show a positive association with *actual* migration decisions compared to low and middle-income rural

households with education status i.e., an average schooling of the household members above 5.32 years.

Moreover, the *desire* to migrate and *actual* migration (Models 3 and 4), the indicator 'education status' of the household is insignificant. The migration literature indicates mixed results for education status and internal migration relationships. Schewel and Franssen (2018) noted that local-level employment opportunities helped to reduce migration aspirations among educated young Ethiopians that they studied. Bernard and Bell (2018) reported that higher education increases the chances for internal migration. However, results should be taken with caution as association does not imply causality. As noted earlier in this chapter, we do not know if these households were already better-off and educated than non-migrant households *prior* to migration, in which case the wealth (and social context) and education may have enabled them to send migrants away in the first place.

I also find no particular unevenness in the way in which the rural socio-economic household strata (i.e. large landholder, small landholder, landless, and non-farm households) are impacted by migration, i.e. whether some of these send more migrants internally than others. For example, I do not find that large landholder households are more likely to migrate or have more *desire* to migrate than other categories of households (Models 3 and 4). Nevertheless, as mentioned above the *objective* (income) and *subjective* (optimistic about future) well-being show a positive and significant relationship with rural migrant households (Models 1, 2a&b).

Migration is a selective process that is based on the combination of individual and household attributes, and the different ways in which these are impacted by macro-level or structural societal context and geographical factors (Black et al. 2011). The results of this study in the context of internal migration in Pakistan suggest that both *actual* migration and the *desire* to migrate are higher in the less developed D.G. Khan district than in the wealthier Faisalabad district (see Models 3 and 4). Caliendo et al. (2019) noted that internal migration, as well as the *desire* to migrate, are linked to a 'job search process' which might involve high migration propensity across large geographical areas due to disparity in social and economic conditions. This can be further explained by the outcome of *objective* well-being and migration relationship of the two districts. The *objective* well-being of rural households in Faisalabad district is higher than in the D.G. Khan district (see Model 1),

whereas levels of internal migration are the inverse (Model 4). Such differences in migration and well-being outcomes with respect to geographical areas will be investigated further through my primary qualitative data analysis.

6.4.1 Limitations of the study

My analysis has four main caveats. First, the analysis is carried out on post-migration data only. The survey did not collect information about household income and other variables *before* migration. As such, my analysis can only suggest a possible association, but cannot draw conclusions on causality. The migration literature suggests that better-off households are better able to send migrants away; in turn, the literature confirms the positive impact of remittances on improving living standards and well-being. My data do not allow us to interpret our results one way or another. This is also a reason for my estimation of different models using well-being variables as dependent and migration variables as independent variables, and vice versa.

Second, the analysis of *objective*, *subjective* and *relational* well-being, as well as the *desire* to migrate and *actual* migration, is carried out at a household level, derived from replies of the household head, who is often the eldest male. As such, these replies will most likely reflect this individual's thoughts, perceptions, feelings, and views on life (including optimism for the future), which will likely differ significantly based on their gender and relationship to other family members, especially younger women (Kabeer, 1997; Chant, 1998). The household well-being outcomes may vary considerably among different household members due to their relative positioning vis-à-vis each other. Therefore, it is important to understand how members within a household are integrated (or negotiate conflict), how decisions to migrate are taken and what the social and economic processes and conditions are that shape well-being and migration outcomes (Kabeer 1997, and 2004; Vullnetari 2012).

The third limitation of my secondary data is the lack of variables regarding the household's social relationships within and across the village, which are important to understand the *objective*, *subjective* and *relational* well-being of the household (Winkelmann 2009). I use the ability to take loans as a proxy for *relational* well-being, but this is not without problems,

as it is closely related to *objective* well-being in the sense that the two often act to reinforce each other.

Lastly, the model results suggest an association between *subjective* well-being and migration. However, it is not clear whether and, if so, which processes or factors may mediate the association between optimism and migration, i.e. whether optimism increases due to an increase in migrant's household income or vice versa.

6.5 Conclusion

The analysis in this chapter focuses on three research questions related to internal migration and the well-being of rural households in Pakistan. These questions are as follows: i) 'is internal migration associated with the well-being of rural households in Pakistan?', ii) 'does current well-being relate to the *desire* to migrate and actual migration decision in rural households?', and iii) 'how does current well-being status affect migration desire in rural households?' In order to answer these questions, I analyse data collected by means of a household survey administered in four villages in the districts of Faisalabad and D.G. Khan. The analysis offers an explanation of the association between well-being and internal migration, using the 3D well-being framework (McGregor and Sumner 2010). The three key elements of this framework are *objective*, *subjective* and *relational* well-being, each of which are presented in my statistical analysis by means of specific indicators. For example, income poverty is used as a measure of *objective* well-being, while being 'optimistic about future' and expressing 'overall life satisfaction' are used as proxies for *subjective* well-being; the 'ability to take loan' as the proxy for *relational* well-being. These indicators are in turn analysed with relation to household's *desire* to migrate and *actual* occurrence of migration, while also taking into consideration other socio-economic and demographic indicators at the household level.

In relation to the first question, the study finds that internal migration is strongly and positively associated with *objective well-being*. Moreover, I find that internal *actual* migration is not associated with income levels of households including rural poor. This association suggests that the decision to migrate internally does not relate with the *objective* well-being of rural households. However, the interaction of higher income and

education status may significantly support rural household's decision to migrate internally. People are mainly migrating to urban areas due to the perception of better job opportunities in the cities compared to rural areas (Ghafoor et al. 2021; Naz and Khan, 2021). Concerning *subjective well-being*, the relationship with internal migration depends upon the chosen indicator for *subjective well-being*. The results show that 'optimism about future' among rural households has a positive association with internal migration as well as *desire* to migrate, contrary to 'overall life satisfaction'. These opposing results represent rural household's cognitive (life satisfaction) and emotional (optimism about future) viewpoints. Mostly, rural households express a lack of life satisfaction when comparing their current life experiences about livelihood stresses but are often optimistic about their future aspirations and goals for a better life and higher incomes.

For the second question, income shows an insignificant association with the *desire* to migrate. However, this *desire* to migrate tends to increase among rural households that are facing food insecurity. Nonetheless, *objective* and *subjective well-being*, *actual* migration and the *desire* to migrate are all in turn related to geographical context. The study finds a strong association of *desire* to migrate as well as *actual* migration in the less developed (D.G. Khan) villages compared to the richer areas (in Faisalabad district). This suggests that the decisions to migrate (*actual* or *desired*) are predominantly associated with economic and social reasons for migration, which include poverty, lack of life satisfaction, and better job or livelihood opportunities available in the cities.

Some caveats in the analysis are also identified. These include limitations of data to enable pre- and post-migration analysis of well-being, lack of variables to understand social, gender, and cultural relationships with *relational* and *subjective well-being*, and inability to understand intra-household power dynamic relationships for different well-being and migration outcomes. The analysis that follows in the next chapter seeks to address some of these caveats, as it discusses intra-household power dynamics as expressed by different household members, often other than the older male in the family, and which include younger and older women in the household.

Chapter 7: Well-being and Migration: Intra-household power dynamics

7.1 Introduction

This chapter explores how rural households, and their individual members perceive well-being in their own social and cultural settings, particularly in relation to migration. During my interviews with rural communities, I frequently encountered replies stating that migration had somehow improved their well-being. When I inquired about what they meant for well-being, I found interesting insights into people's perceptions and meanings of well-being in relation to migration. Therefore, in this chapter, I present qualitative analysis of household's own meaning, shaped by power relationships among household members within a family, as well as among socio-economic household categories in my sample villages of the study. In turn, the next chapter looks at how internal migration shapes intra-household power dynamics by focusing on social status, gender, and economic position that shape rural household well-being outcomes in Pakistan. In so doing, this chapter partly addresses the third objective and final research question of this thesis, i.e., to explore the ways in which intra-household power dynamics – with a specific focus on social status, gender and – shape internal migration, and in turn, rural household well-being outcomes. In this regard, the corresponding research question, which I explore is how do intra-household power dynamics interact to shape migration and well-being outcomes in rural areas of Pakistan? At the same time, the analysis in this chapter supports quantitative findings of my research objectives 1-3 presented in chapter 6, which are further elaborated in chapter 9 on discussion and conclusion.

The first part of the chapter engages with local understandings of well-being, as well as participants' aspirations and perceptions on how their well-being is related to migration. This also helps address one of the caveats identified in Chapter 6, namely the lack of variables regarding the (intrinsic value of) households' social relationships within and across the village, which are at the heart of *relational* well-being, and closely connected to *objective* and *subjective* well-being. In my analysis in Chapter 6, I used the 'ability to take loans', as a proxy for *relational* well-being providing only the instrumental values of the social relationships. Moreover, this section further illustrates the limitations and realities to achieve *objective*, *subjective* and *relational* well-being based on gender, social status and

age or economic position in relation to migration, which are mediated through different livelihood issues and stresses.

In the second part of this chapter, I demonstrate how migration aspirations, desires, intentions, and decisions (see Chapter 2 on definitions and how they defer from each other) can vary based on different levels of well-being and can lead to complex and intertwined interests among members of a household. In addition, here I also look at how intra-household power dynamics may impact on how members within a household negotiate agreements and conflict, and what the social and economic processes and conditions that shape well-being and migration outcomes might be. This is particularly important as my quantitative analysis regarding *objective*, *subjective* and *relational* well-being in Chapter 6 was carried out at the household level. However, answers to the survey questions were mainly from the household head, who is often the eldest male in the family. As such, these replies will most likely reflect this individual's thoughts, perceptions, feelings, and views on life (including optimism for the future), which will likely differ significantly based on their gender and relationship with other family members, especially younger women. The final section concludes.

The chapter is based on the analysis of primary data – qualitative, in-depth interviews – that I collected during my fieldwork in Pakistan (refer back to Chapter 5).

7.2 What is well-being for rural Pakistani households? The notion and meaning of *Khushhali*

The quantitative analysis of survey data in Chapter 6 found higher *objective* and *subjective* well-being in the research villages characterise those households that are non-poor, have multiple sources of income, are food secure, have some level of education, ability to take loans when required and have migrant members. The ways in which well-being is understood by individuals across intersecting social status, gender, and their age or economic position in the household, remained unexplored. Therefore, in this section, I start by first exploring the meaning that local people attach to the notion of well-being, based on the information provided by the research participants through in-depth interviews. As introduced above, during my interviews with rural household members, when I inquired about migration reasons or outcomes, people often referred to well-being in the local terms

such as '*Khushhali*' or '*Behtar-Zindagi*'. These are common Urdu language words, widely understood in many other local languages and used synonymously, to describe well-being (*Khushhali*) and good life (*Behtar-Zindagi*), respectively. In my follow-up questions, I asked people to describe and explain what '*Khushhali*' or '*Behtar-Zindagi*' mean to them or what they aspire to. In this way, I followed the bottom-up approach to explore the local perceptions and meanings of well-being in rural areas. At the same time, being an insider to rural Pakistani society, I understand these words to denote well-being, that also helped me to understand people responses and perspectives.

In this chapter, I use the word *Khushhali*, along with the English term well-being, so as to more closely represent local people's views from their perspective. The complex meaning that interviewees give to this concept is further unpacked in the following subsections.

7.2.1 *Objective* well-being

As a reminder, the academic literature reviewed for this study considers *objective* well-being as the material aspect of well-being, where a need is met or achieved by any person or group, and which is the observable outcome of welfare. These material aspects are estimated through indicators such as income, wealth, assets or physical health (McGregor and Sumner, 2010; refer back to Chapter 2). My empirical research shows how *objective* well-being has a multiple meaning in real life situations for the rural households who participated in the study. The hierarchal social structure of rural society in Pakistan strongly shapes different meanings for different household and members within households, for attaining this *Khushhali*.

In rural Pakistan, the key source of wealth, social status and (political) power is land ownership, which in turn structures rural society, as noted in previous chapters (Ali, 2003, p62; Rahman, 2014, p119). Owning land enables households to have agency to function according to their will and gives them a significant degree of freedom (refer back to Chapter 3). As such, the meaning of *Khushhali* differed by type of household, whether they owned land or not, and the size of landholding. For example, Rehmat, a 66-years-old head of a large landholding household from Faisalabad, who has a high social, economic, and political stake

in the village, considers agriculture as an important way through which *Khushhali* can be achieved, as expressed in the following quote from his interview: ¹⁸

If problems are solved in the village, then [rural] life can be better here. We will not have to move there [cities] if we have all the [basic] facilities available here. [And] government focus on water and agriculture [issues], and then we [farmers] can attain our *Khushhali*.

Other large landholding rural households similarly consider agriculture as having potential but are concerned that the *Khushhali* they aspire to has been severely impacted by financial constraints due to losses in agriculture. For them, better farm incomes and addressing structural factors by the government for the agriculture sector can lead to more security, therefore better *Khushhali*:

Khushhali ... [I think] ... when you are not worried about the [farm] losses. There should be a [efficient agri-marketing] system where we can sell our produce timely... so that we can cover our losses... and earn some profit... (Mehboob, 33, large landholding household in Faisalabad).

In contrast, smaller landholding families, for whom the precarity of agricultural produce is also higher, seek to gradually move away from agriculture. While their basic needs were met through their agricultural holding and they had fairly good access to formal and informal financial resources and networks, true *Khushhali* was only attained when they transitioned from the instability of farming to a more stable and 'easier' life. They expressed their intention to gradually shift away from agriculture to public or private (non-agriculture) wage jobs, which can provide them with a permanent and regular (monthly) income and less hardship. For example, Bashir who is a 51-year-old small landholder farmer having eight acres of farmland, from Faisalabad, describes *Khushhali* as follows:

I think a job is better... for future generation ... your lifestyle is defined by your work and people have better lifestyles who do jobs... agriculture has so many tensions and issues [production and marketing] ... so the job is much easier [which bring *Khushhali*].

¹⁸ All names in this chapter are pseudonyms (unless otherwise noted) in order to protect participants' identity.

In these two examples, then, *Khushhali* is both an *objective* type of well-being centred around a physical asset such as agricultural land, and a *subjective* type as its improvement or deterioration are related to the cognitive feelings of (in)security and social status in society. The difference in feelings between the two classes is, I argue, closely related to their social status (and related power) of each in the local hierarchy. As discussed earlier (Chapter 3), the large landowning classes are at the top of the local social, political, and economic hierarchy in rural areas and enjoy certain power and privileges that in turn translate into a range of tangible benefits. The small landholders, on the other hand, aspire to a more secure and 'easier' life that does not involve the hard labour in their own farms – which their large landholding counterparts may not need to do themselves, as they often have other people working in their land as farmers, sharecroppers, or rent their land out.

Khushhali, for the small landowners, is thus also about (a more modern urban) lifestyle.

What does *Khushhali* mean for those who have no land of their own, given the importance of this asset in this rural society? For landless and non-farm households in rural Pakistan *Khushhali* means other things. Landless households possess no land of their own and are mainly hired as farm wageworkers by landholding rural households. They frequently experience unemployment or poor pay and have a low social status in society (Rahman, 2014, p123). Some respondents from this group thought of *Khushhali* in terms of *peace*, which in turn is brought about by rewarding economic opportunities. This is how Rasool, a 36-year-old landless farm labourer in Faisalabad, and household head, expressed his views:

Well....it [*Khushhali*] is all about money... money makes our life good... I want *peace* in my life..., when I will have a good job, my life will be *peaceful*..., all we can do is [to just] think about it... we can do nothing... sometimes I think about having my own business... like having a shop... or any other work that can bring me more money.

Rasool's point that they can only think about this (aspire) and 'do nothing' sounds rather pessimistic in the face of their difficult position. Dreaming or aspiring about this *Khushhali* is all these household can do at the moment.

Meanwhile, as mentioned earlier, non-farm households mainly comprised of artisan worker class in the village and they work as sweepers, barbers, launderers, blacksmiths, reapers, butchers, and so on. These are generally poor and positioned the lowest in the rural social

hierarchy (Rahman, 2014, p117; Sharma, 1996, p24). For them *objective Khushhali* is primarily about food security, but aspirations are raised – arguably through migration – to also own their own land and have a house of their own in future. This is illustrated by an extract from the interview with Matloob, a 56-year-old father of two migrant sons, living in D.G. Khan:

Well... I mean... when we have enough food, and we have money to deal with health emergencies. Where food is also enough...when we do not have these things and no work also then we are not happy. [My children] say we should have land to own and should have our own home.

Then come those landless rural households, who seem trapped in a vicious cycle of poverty and social oppression that diminish their ability to access financial support or secure any job or business in the village, and for whom attaining *Khushhali* is considered as merely an illusion. Although there is hope for the younger generation. This is clearly illustrated by the case of Saleem, a 55-year-old street fruit seller in D.G. Khan, whose son has migrated to the city. Saleem finds himself trapped in a web of socially oppressive relations in the village, and considers that a:

[G]ood life is what wealthy people are living. The poor cannot become rich. He has to [only] work hard. [...] I think peaceful and comfortable life is a *Khushhali*. We want peace and a good house. [So] we will be in peace... our children will achieve *Khushhali*. Money helps [us] live a peaceful life. Otherwise, you are depressed.

While the above interview extracts give us some insights into the material (and to some extent cognitive) aspects of well-being, they also signal gendered and generational differences in the ways in which *Khushhali* is experienced and perceived. For example, although both men and women saw *Khushhali* as related to economic self-sufficiency and independence, often men spoke of having land, a business and a house (and peace) – as in the quotes presented earlier. In contrast, some women centred meeting children's basic needs as their priority, as in the words of Zainab, 33, a migrant's wife from a landless household. She thought that '... a *Khushhali* is where you are self-sufficient and when you are not dependent on anyone. [And] when you are able to provide good food and clothes for your children...'.

Intergenerational relations are also important to bring to the discussion. For example, in the quote from Matloob presented earlier, we hear how (older) parents are quite pessimistic about the current situation, where *Khushhali* for them is about the basics of securing enough food to put on the table. In contrast, there is a more optimistic tone when Matloob recounts what his (younger) migrant sons tell him, that one day they might achieve owning their own land and having their own house. Better housing and food availability are vital to perceive *Khushhali*, particularly among younger household members, which they can obtain through hard work whenever work opportunities are available. This difference in the *subjective* well-being through projecting accumulation of assets could be generational, as well as related to migration. Finally, as the quote from Saleem (above) also suggests, projecting one's (father's) hopes and aspirations for a future *Khushhali* onto the younger generation highlights not just the spatial, but also the temporal dimension – and dynamic nature – of much migration, and its impact on well-being.

7.2.2. *Subjective* well-being

In the 3-D well-being framework, *subjective* well-being is viewed as the level of life satisfaction or level of happiness which people may experience based on having a meaningful life or hopes and aspirations in their life or lack of any such feelings (McGregor and Sumner, 2010; Diener and Ryan, 2009; Appadurai, 2004). In this regard, two key dimensions of *subjective* well-being came up in conversations with my research participants. The first was the importance of happiness in the family as key to *Khushhali*. This happiness is not necessarily personal, but it is in relation to other family members, or other households in the village (thus connecting to *relational* well-being too). *Peace* and *happiness*, alongside *religion*, were the most reoccurring words amongst the interviewees, as we also saw in some of the quotes presented in the previous section. For some (women) this meant living in peace and harmony with the in-laws; for others, it was the happiness of their children, or parents that was essential to a *Khushhali*.

Khushhali as togetherness and fulfilment in the family.

It is important to note at this point that the notion of family understood in the context of Pakistani family is very different from that which is prevalent in the Western-centric literature. The former often involves multi-generational families living under one roof, or if

not under a roof, geographically close to each other within the same compound (Ahmed, 2020; Chung et al., 2020; Raghuram, 2012; Nguyen et al., 2017). An example: for Khursheda, 60, whose sons have emigrated, *Khushhali* is about being together as a family, a collective well-being of her sons as well as of the stay-behind part of the family. In her words, '...a *Khushhali* is that all grandchildren, sons, and daughters-in-law are living together. A home that is full of them and they sit together happily and laugh together...'. At times, the notion of the family is much wider and also includes married daughters (who normally move in with their husband upon marriage) and their family, as in Razia's quote further below. These points are illustrated through a set of three quotes which come from different members of the same family.

The first of these is from Narmeen, a 35-year-old wife of a migrant who lives together with her children and in-laws in a village of D.G. Khan. *Khushhali* for her is '...where [they, the family] are peaceful, when children are happy...'. The peace she refers to here is intra-family peace, avoiding conflict and living in harmony with her in-laws. These intra-household social relations are thus key to her sense of *Khushhali*.

The second quote comes from Narmeen's father-in-law Zahoor (62), who is also the head of the household. While he mentions the importance of money to his sense of *Khushhali*, he too talks about peace, but in a more general sense, that arguably encompasses relations not just in his family, but to people in the village too:

For me, when I will have enough money....and I am away from sins....and I do not fight with anyone... and pray to *Allah*...Well... for *Khushhali* one should be free of tensions....and have enough money for day-to-day expenses...

The final quote in this trio is from Razia, 55, Zahoor's wife, for whom the *Khushhali* is having the family closely together and living in harmony. Family for her includes her daughter and the daughter's husband and children. The money for her is but a means to achieve all these. As she articulates that 'money is power', she is also keen to point out the gendered expectations of intra-household duties: the husband is the one expected to make this money (for example through land and livestock), while the wife's contribution is mainly in the home by making butter from the milk, and generally managing the household affairs.

I think [*Khushhali*] in which you have [better] clothes...and then you get food on time... and then you have land and livestock so that you can have a supply

of milk at home... and make butter... like someone say that money has power. So, if we have money we'll build our home and get our daughter married.... and we can then bring our daughter home and her children... then we would have a *Khushhali* ... I just want good earning for my husband...

But not all families are happy places.

However, as elsewhere, here too not all families are happy places. For women who were subjected to domestic violence by their husbands, like Safeena, 51, who lived with her drug-addicted husband in D.G. Khan, bodily integrity and peace was what well-being was about. Although Safeena has two (married) migrant sons, they do not seem to support her. In such an abusive situation, a mother who feels abandoned by her migrant sons, thinks of *Khushhali* as having 'a caring husband':

[A life in which] the husband cares, does not beat or hit, and does not abuse and take drugs – such a life is a *Khushhali*. [A life that has] peace in it. I used to manage my living as long as my brothers kept supporting me. [...] May no one get a husband like mine, who always cares about his drugs...

As this example unfolds further, we see a more nuanced and dynamic understanding of these intra-household relationships, which unsettle the traditional view of a (older) powerful mother-in-law vis-à-vis (younger) daughters-in-law. Safeena's sons – who have migrated to Islamabad and Dubai – do not send any remittances to their mother, but only to their wife and children, who too live in the same household (and compound) as Safeena in the village. Safeena interpreted this as a complete lack of care for her and felt abandoned by them. The meaning of money is here hence, at least in part, symbolic of the care from loved ones, or the lack thereof in this case (see Singh et al., 2010; Vullnetari 2021). Safeena's lack of access to, and control over, household financial resources and the abusive treatment at the hands of her husband, subsequently decreased her economic position in the household, and arguably, her social position in the family and society. Was Safeena's status as a woman in the family connected to that of her husband, who, unable to perform his breadwinning role (who is drug addicted), loses his 'de facto' position of respect in the household, and by being violent towards his wife, also undermined her social position in society?

In contrast, Safeena's daughters-in-law spoke about the 'happy family', the harmonious relations with their husband and the fulfilment – or *Khushhali* – they found through this. This is how Safeena's eldest daughter-in-law, Benish, 36, expresses what *Khushhali* means for her – it is about being with her husband, not her in-laws: 'I have a lot of *peace* in my life, thanks to *Allah*. My husband is really nice and supportive. He cares [about me]. There is no dearth of finances as well...'. Her husband – Safeena's son – has migrated to Islamabad for work and has high influence in household decision-making due to the sending of remittances – and thus consolidating his masculine breadwinning role – and related physical presence through frequent visits to the village. The case of his brother is somewhat weaker, again linked the economic power he can exercise in the household. Safeena's youngest daughter-in-law, Parveen, 32, whose husband migrated to Dubai, is still struggling to gain a better position in the household. Her husband is doing occasional labour and remits no or very little money to contribute to the household expenses and to his wife. In addition, he has not visited Pakistan in the last two years. Therefore, his role in decision-making is low compared to his older brother. In such a situation, the meaning of *Khushhali* for Parveen is: '[A life] where there is *peace*, [where] the husband is at home, and every facility of life available and accessible'.

'Beyond worldly things': Khushhali as peace in religiosity

The second dimension of *subjective* well-being from the perspective of my research participants was the importance of religion, both in terms of being an essential part of the meaning of *Khushhali*, and instrumental to achieving it (see Ellison, 1991). My interviews revealed that religious disposition was most valued among those rural households that have a lower status in the local socio-economic structure. The ever-escalating hopelessness and impossibilities to gain economic growth and social uplift left no other options for poor rural households but to pursue hope based on religion:

Khushhali is [if] there is no inflation... and your earning is higher than your expenses... *Khushhali is* with *saabar* [patience]... We have to be patient... *Allah* help those who have patience... And then we should also pray [to *Allah*] five times... We do not wish for these [worldly] things... these things do not matter for us... We just ask for food two times... and health (Mohsin, 60, landless labourer household in DGh Khan, migrant's father and household head).

Mohsin in the above quote values being close to *Allah* and is satisfied as long as his basic needs such as two meals a day and decent health are covered; he does not aspire for great monetary riches (I return to this later in the chapter).

For some, however, like Saleem (65), a small landholding household in D.G. Khan, happiness is about a modern lifestyle, which in turn can be achieved through better incomes: 'A *Khushhali* is that a person must [...] have good fashion sense and decoration'. Saleem's quote highlights the *relational* nature of the constitutive aspects of well-being, both in how they can be achieved one through the other, and in turn have the potential to reinforce each other, as we shall see as we unpack this particular dimension of well-being next.

7.2.3 *Relational* well-being

The final dimension of the 3-D well-being framework is *relational* well-being, described in the conceptual literature as a person's ability to act meaningfully in society such as through social interactions, experiencing themselves or their family, having a sense of belonging, and access to social and other networks (McGregor and Sumner, 2010; Wissing, 2014).

In this regard, the meaning of *relational* well-being amongst rural households in my research was strongly connected to having good neighbourly relations and being respected in the community. However, for landless households this was felt to be low due to their socio-economic position in the local communities. An example comes from Akhtar, 29, who is a landless farmer in D.G. Khan. Akhtar felt that the *relational* aspects of *Khushhali* for him and his family were socially low due to his lack of formal education, and working as a labourer in other people's farms, which was not seen as decent work by other families in the village. For Akhtar, respect from the local community is a very important element of *Khushhali*, and ideally what leads to a good life is when: '[A] life of good health, education, and respect [occurs together] ... I mean respect from my community member [in the village]'

A similar sentiment is expressed by another interviewee, Maryam, who is a 60-year-old mother of a migrant son, from a landless household in Faisalabad. She describes how wealthier villagers have stronger social networks amongst themselves, which in turn allows them to access important financial resources, such as informal loans. They may show some respect to lower-positioned families like hers, but this is not always followed by giving access to resources:

Rich people meet each other [not us], and they help each other when they need to borrow money. Whoever is rich, will treat a [rich] person more respectfully only. Poor people like us are not even considered to be hired as guards [in rich people's houses] [...] The villagers respect [us] and they give extra margin to us out of dignity and respect. There is no danger to us [from them]. There is no [distress]. [But] if you reconsider, then there is some distress too. [And] there is fear too...

In the case of small landholding households engaged in subsistence farming, although they do not face any discrimination based on social status, they face a lack of economic sustainability that often leads them to poor access to basic human needs and unmet desires, thus their prospects for *Khushhali* change significantly. Moreover, the importance of local kinship care practices is also providing support to the households, though with lesser access to material things. According to Saleem (65): 'By God, the dress I am wearing is not mine. My cousins who are in D.G. Khan used to send me the dresses – all the four dresses [which I have]'

The historically low social positioning of poor households in the village increases their desire to seek respect and dignity for better *Khushhali*. For them, religion can provide a *relational* meaning to *Khushhali*:

I do not have any material thoughts or desires. I just say that *Allah* provides us with enough food and clothing. [And] may He give us respect and dignity. It is important that... our lives have been spent, we are old now. We now think what is the use of shouting, and making an outcry. We think that it is the last stage [of our lives] now. We want our time to be spent with dignity and faith. (Maryam, 60, landless labourer household in Faisalabad, migrant's mother).

Therefore, here it is important to emphasise that good living, migration included, are not just about money but also non-tangible things such as respect and dignity, inferred from the fact that *subjective* and *relational* well-being are also significant in the study area. This goes beyond a lot of the migration literature, which focuses on economic factors, while these other important social aspects of people's life have been left 'behind'.

7.2.4 Interlinked aspects of well-being

While in the previous sub-sections in this chapter I have sought to separately discuss the different elements of well-being – *objective*, *subjective*, and *relational* – in practice the three are very much interlinked. Thus, the meaning of *Khushhali* is much more complex and derives from the interlocking of a range of individual positions and other surrounding factors. All the interviewees whose quotes I have presented so far mentioned a range of elements as part of their *Khushhali* that spanned *objective*, *subjective* and *relational* well-being. For example, Samina, 25, wife of return migrant Mehboob, part of a large landholding household in Faisalabad, reinforced in her interview the interlinked meaning of economic and *subjective Khushhali*:

...now people are sending their kids to school so that they study and do work... and progress.... [For us] *Khushhali* is good food, good clothes to wear.... a car... (Laughs)... everything that one could ask for...

Moreover, as some of the examples also showed, the interlinking is also in the sense that one may enable access to the other, or in turn reinforce the other. For instance, having a strong economic position enables one to also access more financial resources (e.g., informal loans), in turn working in a vicious circle resulting in strengthening this economic well-being. In contrast, for poor people, while they were able to command respect locally, this did not always translate into access to financial resources such as (informal) loans. This has led them always to struggle for good food, clothes, education and health needs and means for securing a better level of housing and own farmland and livestock. This dynamic was observable also at the intra-household level, as I saw through the example of Safeena and her family, whereby the damage to the economic position and related financial resources by the older male head of the household, led to the undermining of the economic and social position of women in the family, who derived this position partly from them (his wife). His violent behaviour towards Safeena further reinforced this social downward spiral for Safeena, to the degree that even her sons seem to have abandoned her.

As this example further shows, the meaning of *Khushhali* is differentially shaped based on gender, economic (and social) position, and age within the household. From the quotes presented so far, I saw a tendency amongst men to emphasise the economic aspects, and relations within the community. For women, the well-being of their children took centre

stage, together with intra-family peace and harmony. Moreover, the socially structured gender roles around who owns and manages the financial resources within a household have a significant impact. This is illustrated through the next example, where members of the same family present their views. First is Karamat (65), head of the household. Karamat is a retired government employee who currently engages in farming on a 4-acre leased land, and also runs a grocery shop in the village along with his younger son. Three of his sons were recruited into the army as soldiers and posted in different parts of the country. All of his sons are married, and their spouses and children live together with their father-in-law, i.e., with Karamat in one house. Karamat owns and manages all the household income, including the income from three migrant sons who remit most of their salaries to their father's account. The household income is managed with Karamat's will and approval. Karamat explains:

We live in a joint family and there is no difference among us... their [household members] requirements are fulfilled, and I give them to keep it [when required] whatever is required to do... when a child is sick or in pain then I manage these expenses.

In this situation Karamat's meaning of *Khushhali* is: '...the life I have is *Khushhali*. [It's] peaceful'.

KMS: What is peace?

Karamat: No fear of the enemy, no worries, one should sleep peacefully.

But are all members of the household as peaceful as Karamat? Let us hear from one of Karamat's daughters-in-law, Kiannat (25). For her, more independence in her own household and a separate homestead, are important aspects of *Khushhali*:

[when] One has own home. Husband accompanies you. Children with good health. One does not have any kind of [social] hurdles and restrictions. Such a life is a *Khushhali*.

For the women that I interviewed, a well-functioning household is their utmost desire where the family has fewer issues of health, finances and enough food and other necessities. Many of the women I interviewed were not passive observers but thought deeply about the household's economic stresses and problems. A woman is able to think deeply about family

members that may start from giving birth to their child, their physical and mental growth and ultimately wanting them to gain a better place in society. In this regard, the women in my research developed a unique concept of *Khushhali*, which is primarily family oriented. The responses of rural women to *Khushhali*, initially seem more *objective* in nature, but their further statements revealed that women struggle with the lack in some of the *subjective* aspects of *Khushhali*. This is illustrated by a quote from Rani, a 50-year-old woman whose son has emigrated; she lives in a non-farm household in D.G. Khan. She desires to provide her family members with excellent health, clothing, and food while also trying to get her daughter married and pay back the household's debts. This shows that *relational* well-being is strongly interlinked with both *objective* and *subjective* well-being:

I want fewer health problems for my family..... government should help us [such as social security programmes] so that we can get our daughter married and re-pay our loan... I think *Khushhali* is when you have good food to eat, and good clothes to wear. Without any tension. We have so many tensions...

On the contrary to above quotes, while some interviewees perceive these hierarchies and lack of inter-household solidarity across the socio-economic divide to be historical, others provide nuance in emphasising the role of religion in enabling people to empathise with those less 'fortunate' than them. For example, Farzana, a 42-year-old mother of a migrant son, who is also household head of her family in Faisalabad, argued that a decline in religious practices leads to a decline in social bonding and relationships in the village, and in turn a decline in *Khushhali*. This is part and parcel of a more 'modern' way of life, which has seen a rise in the use of technology and electronic media in particular, especially among the younger generation:

Yes, everyone is concerned with his or her own needs. Although [people help] but it is gradually decreasing. Attachment of people is decreasing. Now people do not consider the problems of others as their own. People remain busy with their mobiles and TV. Earlier people used to sit together but now even in gatherings, people remain on mobile. Mobile has made man aloof. Now people have been confined to watching TV and news on TV but even then the [old] system is an [still] exit. This will remain until elder people are here. How the coming generation will pass time, only *Allah* knows...

Farzana's quote above clearly shows also that this divide is not just socio-economic, but also intergenerational that brings in another axis – that of age – in how people try to achieve higher well-being: the collective sense of *Khushhali* (brought about by religiosity) amongst older people in the village communities, versus the more individualistic and technology-oriented younger generations. Yet, it is the younger generations that other villagers have hopes in, as in Saleem's quote presented in section 7.2.1, where he hoped that his children may be able to achieve a sense of *Khushhali*, something he himself could not even dream about. This pattern of projecting one's best wishes on the younger generation is widespread around the world, including as a motivator for migration (see King and Vullnetari, 2009; King et al. 2014; Ashfaq et al. 2016).

Beyond the economic and religious aspects of *Khushhali*, access to better education can give rural households a *subjective* meaning of *Khushhali*, as it allows people to get better jobs and in turn, economic opportunities. Naveed (2021) also noted among rural households in Pakistan that education of their children could provide a means for better economic growth and livelihoods to them:

Khushhali is where... when there is education... as a son of mine dropped out of school... and now he is a burden on us. He could have done a job if he would be educated... well, all we want is to stay happy and stay away from miseries... Like illness.... and poverty.... (Shamshair, 56, non-farm household in DG Khan, migrant's father and household head).

7.3 Dreaming, aspiring and achieving *Khushhali* and the role of migration

In section 7.2, I have shown the complex and situated meaning of *Khushhali* from the perspective of various men and women of different ages in the villages under study, situated differentially within their own household and the local community. Here, I continue this discussion by moving from this 'mapping' of the situation, to understanding how these interviewees aspire to improve their *Khushhali*. What are their dreams, aspirations and what role does migration play in these? I then go on to show how gendered preferences for specific household members shape decisions around who can/should migrate and who cannot, and why, as well as what their roles are in the household decision-making process around migration. Why are women not considered as a principal candidate for labour migration and how does this limit their dreams and aspiration to achieve *Khushhali*?

7.3.1 Ways and means to achieve *Khushhali*

Most of the rural households I interviewed show their agreement of having a *Khushhali* in their life but inquiring further, they started to mention the limits and realities to their own meaning of *Khushhali*. This is an important observation as it provides an understanding of three key – but interlinked – pathways through which to achieve *Khushhali*: religion, education, and migration. I start with the first.

Religion, in both giving meaning to the state of being – *Khushhali* – as well as an instrument of achieving such state of well-being and a good life, emerged as key in my research participants stories. As such, one's *Khushhali* – whatever that status might be – is mainly understood as an *act of Allah* and based on a religious belief system, so one should have to be '*thankful to Allah*'. In turn, this acts as a way to find inner peace in distressing circumstances (even during dire poverty), while at the same time giving people hope and optimism for a better future, thus enhancing a *subjective* meaning of *Khushhali* among rural household members (see Shat et al. 2012; Wuthnow, 2002; Lim and Putnam, 2010; Levitt, 2012; Cappellen, et al. 2016).¹⁹ A second, but related point, is how reliance on *Allah* does not make people complacent; they strive for the improvement in their life circumstances whether through hard work, aspiring education, or migration. This is a constant element of comfort that accompanies people in their journey to *Khushhali* or good life:

Yes, we are thankful [to *Allah*]... We do not have enough social status even then we are thankful [...] If I say someone to give us something... I will get... [but] man is greedy, asks for everything... we have *Khushhali*, whatever we do less or more, [often] one time, we [cook] best [food] and some other time we [cook] reasonable. If my son sends, [say] Rs. 1,000 and so we manage our things in Rs. 500. Time is passing... But we are still thankful to *Allah* (Sabara, 36, non-farm household in Faisalabad, migrant's wife).

As mentioned in section 7.2.3, through the example of Maryum, a 60-year-old mother of a migrant sons, an emphasis on standing in the local community and following religious practices as important in one's *well-being*, adds qualitatively to the notion and ways to achieve *subjective* well-being. This links to the five tenets of Islam—*Tawhid* (Allah is one), *Salat* (five daily prayers), *Zakat* (annual almsgiving), *sawm* (fasting during Ramadan), and the

¹⁹ Although this 'will of Allah' position can also be used by the more powerful in society to maintain the status quo.

Hajj (pilgrimage to Mecca) (Joshnloo, 2017). Except for the *Hajj*, which requires travel to *Mecca* in Saudi Arabia, a rather expensive journey for which people save for years, one can practise all other four fundamentals of Islam while remaining in their residential area. Migration may, therefore, assist some individuals to perform *Hajj*, which is considered critical for well-being among Muslims. Maryum explains:

Also, pray that *Allah* shows us his House [in Macca] also. We do have this desire. Other than that, we do not have any such desire for money, clothes, etc. No, we do not have any [desire] for anything. Whatever *Allah* is giving us, it's rightful, we are thankful to Him. We can never repay *Allah's* favours. We have a wish that we [visit] *Allah's* house once...

The second pathway of attaining *Khushhali* found amongst these rural households was through *education*. Given the low levels of formal education amongst the adult generations in the study villages, research participants projected their dreams for a better *Khushhali* onto the younger generation – their children (see Naveed, 2021). As such, remittances from migration became a way in which to aspire to achieve better education for the younger generation (see Shafiq et al., 2022; Feld, 2022). Those landless rural households who are able to secure some level of economic sustainability through migration, were more optimistic and developed high aspirations for their children's higher education and jobs, which they considered as the attainment of *Khushhali*. In their 2020 paper, Roa et al. (2020), observed that Indian and African rural households in their study held high aspirations for their children, in the context of attaining *objective, subjective* and *relational* well-being and migration. In my study, for example, Akhtar, 29, who belongs to a landless rural household from D.G. Khan, became the head of the household after his father migrated to Karachi to work as a mason in the construction sector.²⁰ Later, the father migrated onwards to Dubai, with the financial support of friends and relatives through a recruitment agent he found in Karachi.²¹ Back in the village, Akhtar has to take care of a large family, which comprises of 15 members, including his wife and four children, one brother, four sisters, a mother,

²⁰ Karachi is around 670 kilometres away from DG Khan and the largest city in Pakistan in terms of population and economic activities.

²¹ This is a typical step-wise – internal (rural-urban) followed by an international – migration seen in many origin countries around the world (e.g. see King and Skeldon, 2010; Vullnetari, 2021), as urban areas open up more opportunities for migration to international destinations, such as financial capital, social networks, and information.

grandmother, uncle and aunt. Among household elders, Akhtar was the only one who was able to get an education (until sixth grade), and most of the women of the household have not had any formal education. The household has quite a diverse set of income sources that include regular remittances from Akhtar's migrant father (about PKR 20,000 or USD 162 each month)²² and income from local labour of Akhtar and other family members. Akhtar and his brother own a small grocery shop in the village, and they also work seasonally as labourers in the field during the wheat harvest season. Meanwhile, their mother and sisters work in other farms picking cotton, or as seamstresses in the village. And yet, the collective household income is only enough to meet the day-to-day cost of living, leaving little or no savings aside. For Akhtar, attaining a better income and livelihoods through education is critical which then brings *objective* aspects of *Khushhali* into focus:

I do not care for my life [for being less educated]. I want my children's lives to be better than mine. I want the government to provide financial support for my children, [at least] for education. I want them to study until 16th grade. [So] they will get [decent] work. And I want them to serve the nation...

The final pathway of obtaining *Khushhali* was through migration. The next section delves deeper into this, in turn also discussing how gendered and generational norms and roles shape who migrates and who does not.

7.3.2 The role of migration in achieving *Khushhali*

As we have seen so far in this thesis, internal migration is one of the important strategies for these rural household, which for many of them is critical to attaining an *objective*, *subjective* and *relational* well-being. In this regard, it is important to understand gendered preferences of which household member is preferred to migrate, why, and how these shape the household decision-making process around migration.

²² Exchange rate during fieldwork in September 2018 which was 1USD=PKR123.63

7.3.2.1 Rural-urban migration and gendered aspirations

My interviews provide a range of contexts in which households conceptualise migration strategies and decisions based on their *Khushhali* perceptions and realities. The first of these is related to the reductions in farm income, due to a variety of reasons that range from the rising cost of farming to climate change impacts. Impacts are unequal and these are more severe for small landholding farms, as well as rural households who lease land for farming. The rising cost of farm inputs such as fertiliser, pesticides, and having no access to irrigation has substantially reduced their productivity and farm incomes. Shamshair, 56, a migrant's father from D.G. Khan described his situation as follows: 'I am not getting [irrigation] water for my land.... big landholders are getting water... how we can get water to our farm. I have also complained multiple times to the irrigation department, but no one listens to us.' Furthermore, such rural households have limited access to public and private lending agencies and banks, which led to a shortage of cash to buy seeds, fertilisers, and diesel.

The rising impacts of climate change on crop production and loss of farm incomes and profitability are also making it increasingly difficult for (young) people to continue farming as their primary source of income (see Mueller et al., 2014). Usman, 42, a large landholding household in D.G. Khan, described climate change impacts on crop production as follows:

...I observe that the rainfall pattern has shifted now. Sometimes, there are long dry spells... then the land becomes dry, and it is difficult for us to maintain the quality and quantity of the crop yields. Our [farm] incomes have declined significantly [...] so I started my poultry business in Taunsa city...

I find that most of the young men in rural areas have limited work opportunities in the village and find no farm and off-farm work in the village to earn enough income to sustain their living, which leaves them in a state of inactivity or indolence. Rasool, 36, a landless farm household from Faisalabad, reported the precarity of his situation thus: '...sometimes there is work but sometimes there is no work at all... and I remain unemployed... sometimes.... she [my wife] needs money for my children.... and she sometimes asks me to go to the city... to look for a job'.

Although economic factors for migrating are prevalent among the households I interviewed, many rural households also mentioned other non-economic reasons, or a combination of both. Most migrants' father I interviewed expressed that their sons prefer to do jobs elsewhere, which may give them more freedom to diversify their income. This was mainly due to a lack of return in terms of income and value of time. However, they also mentioned that a preference for city life had been a significant factor. For example, Aslam, 55, a migrant's father from a non-farm household in D.G. Khan, said that his son was no longer willing to continue working in the family-operated grain mill in the village and wanted to look for another non-farming job instead:

No... it was my son's choice. Not mine... well we have this flour-machine on rent for Rs.10,000 per month. So, we are able to save only Rs.7000 per month. He used to help me with this but then he used to get tired, and he said I am going to look for a job in the army now... it [flour machine] is not rewarding...

Thus, urban areas are perceived as providing not only better chances for higher (and more diverse) earnings but also to secure a better, easier, more 'modern' lifestyle, with less bias towards one's social status and economic position than rural life (see Amin, 2002; Schreiber and Carius, 2016). The following brief excerpts from interviews of my research participants illustrate some of these aspects. For 36-year-old Rasool, a migrant's brother from Faisalabad the city has peace, clean air and clean streets: '... I want *peace* in my life.... In cities life is good.... everything is advanced and clean'. Similarly, 33-year-old Mehboob from Faisalabad, facing a lack of education and health facilities in the village adds: 'I think city life is better for living... people have more awareness there.... more money... and more [basic] facilities.' Finally, here 27-year-old Nazish, a migrant's wife from DG Khan, reflect: '[In cities] where we can live in *peace*... in a clean environment and [we can] pray to *Allah* for *Khushhali* ...'.

Moreover, for some rural-urban migration was both about this modern city live – depicted in the quote below as offering a good house with bathrooms and kitchen – as well as about education opportunities for their children and learning opportunities for everyone. Two quotes to illustrate these. First is Ruqiya, a 29-year-old wife of a migrant living with her children in their home village:

We [migrant wife and children] want a good house. [Right now] we do not have good bathrooms and our kitchen is so small [here in the village] ... we want to go [to join my husband] ... so that my children can go to [good] school, [but] if someone can help us get a house in the city...

The second comes from Samina, 25, the wife of Mehboob – a return migrant - whom we met above, who joins in the interview with her husband and talks about migration as ‘a source of better access to education, food, clothing, awareness and learning opportunities... you learn how to talk to people...’.

The construction of cities as places of modernity, offering people opportunities for expanding their knowledge, their horizons, which in turn are reflected in the way people speak and their behaviours, were prominent in other accounts too. These are part of major social changes that rural society in Pakistan is going through, including women’s role in seeing migration as a way to attain aspirations and achievements in these areas, not just for their children, but for themselves too (see Petesch et al. 2022).

7.3.2.2 Migrant’ selectivity and perceived women agency for migration and work

As noted in the preceding section, rural households face a myriad of challenges in earning and maintaining a livelihood. Patriarchal views continue to dominate rural household decision-making, giving (young) men more agency for decisions regarding labour, migration, or mobility. Gender-based division of work are deeply entrenched in rural patriarchal views that prevent women to think and act independently. This is clear from the case of Rubab, a 42-year-old migrant's mother from Faisalabad, who stated: ‘...I pray for my sons to get jobs... we think that men should earn and we [women] eat at home. Women have lots of work at home already’. Likewise, Rasool, 36, a migrant’s brother from Faisalabad, expresses ideas echoing local norms of the village: ‘I think that women have to get married [so no need to work outside] and go to someone's house and look-after her children.... we marry them when they turn 15 or 16 years old’. Kiannat, 25, a woman left-behind and a housewife from D.G. Khan, highlights her concerns over the dominant patriarchal view: ‘No one [in the society] thinks good about working women [who go out of their home], regardless of how needy [the women are].’

Under such circumstances, male out-migration is seen as the only viable option for achieving better *Khushhali*, and more permanent sources of income, or a business of their own. In this regard, (young) men's decisions to migrate are supported not only by family members but also by wider kinship-based social networks, and friends:

He has to earn something... somewhere. If not in Dubai, then somewhere else [...] everyone in the household participates in decision-making. If a decision is good, everyone supports it (Matloob, 56, non-farm household in DG Khan, migrant's father).

All quotes above indicate that rural women have limited agency. As local norms and customs require rural young women to follow their family elders' (including both men and women) decisions regarding education, work, marriage, migration, and other matters. In rural society, households that rely on women's earnings to cover their expenses are not regarded as noble in terms of respect and authority (Mumtaz et al. 2013; Ali and Kramar, 2015). This has led rural women to always struggle and bargain for a better social and economic position in the household. This is clear from the current discussion in Rajab's family. Rajab, 30, a migrant's brother heading a small landholding household in Faisalabad, explains:

...If women go outside for work, the villagers will say that [her] brothers do not do anything, and they send their sisters outside for work. Consuming the women's earnings ... so he is not a noble man. [For me], it is also not acceptable... I told you [KMS]... we do not even like that, women tell us to do like this [thing or that] is purchased from my salary. We do not like this... it hits our inner pride...

However, Rajab acknowledges that social acceptability is changing in favour of women due to rising household expenditures that generate discussion within his family as well: '...In my home, my sisters talk to my elder [migrant] brother usually [because he is a soft heart] that they want to do some job... and he has shown some willingness too.' Rajab's sister, Mahrukh, 24, explains her argument to work: '...It brings more income to home, obviously when we go outside and experience the things [around] then this has an [positive] impact [in our lives] ...'

In terms of women's aspiration to work outside to contribute household *Khushhali* is very much linked to social norms of the village. A considerably strong motive is linked to a

women's *purdah* norms. In rural life, the role of *purdah* continues to be heavily influenced by religion, specific social norms, and culture, which prevents households from deciding whether to allow women to work or migrate. For instance, Ali, 50, the household head of a small landholding family in Faisalabad, while showing his patriarchal authority and emotions during the interview, goes so far as to decline to further talk on this matter:

...No, if she gets an education, even then she cannot work. [She cannot work] my mind does not accept this. She never visits the market. It is my decision... Those who allow women to work outside... there are vagabonds [...] when women [even] go in veil in fields, no veil [*purdah*] (protection) remains... Stop the recording [the interview] now...

On the other hand, Rubab, 22, wife of Ali, has a more moderate view of sending her daughter to work outside the house, but prefers that sons would do so rather than the daughter.

In contrast to these very divergent views, in other households different members agreed a lot more on these issues regarding gender roles, women's work and migration. Many households in my study villages did not object to women working and migrating. It is visible in my sample villages that women are now not only migrating for work and education but also following a more urban lifestyle. For Aziz, 65, a migrant's father who heads a large landholding household in Faisalabad: '...earlier it was that women would not go outside. Now even in villages, the situation is [now] the same as in cities.' Aziz's wife, Raheeda (55), who is a housewife and a migrant's mother, shows similar views: '...my daughters are graduates... I think [women] should work... one of the daughters already manages the beauty parlour in the village and she frequently travels to the city [Faisalabad] often to learn beauty parlour techniques...'

I find that approval for women's migration in rural areas revolves around three important conditions and comparisons. First, it relates to the financial limitations of the household members that require them to make compromises on female education because they have many other expenses that are essential for the economic survival of the household. Second, it relates to the traditional approach of considering rural women mainly devoted to household chores and care. The male household head justifies his position about rural women's role in the household, by comparing it with the urban lifestyle, where women are

now actively participating in household income and expenditure as professionals or factory workers. For him, it is unacceptable that rural women get an education and migrate to work because that goes against the social norms of the house and the village. Third, male household heads assessment is that women lack capabilities to learn and get work outside the home. These three points are evidenced by three quotes. The first quote relates to the male household head's thoughts and concerns about women's migration and work:

I thought they are women, they should stay at home, and I do not think they have to work. We are not like urban people, and we think it is not necessary to educate women, and they can just sit at home... We're not like that.... and then my daughters are not that brilliant... to learn work.... (Zahoor, 62, from a non-farm household in DG Khan, a migrant's father, and household head).

The second quote below reflects the views of Razia, 55, the mother of Zahoor's wife, who argues indifferently regarding women's education and work. She showed agreement with her husband's views regarding financial limitations and social norms, but later she extended the discussion by saying that women's work is only plausible if it concerns a government job that, in her view, can bring social acceptability and pride to the household, such as teacher, doctor, or a bureaucratic job. Moreover, work is a survival strategy for women that enables them to secure their expenditure and freedom. However, social norms and the patriarchal structures of the household restrict their mobility and financial possibilities. According to Razia: '... I ask our men to work in fields and they [men] say no need to go there...They say *Allah* will provide us food... we do not have to go outside to earn...'

The third quote describes the aspirations of Zahoor's daughter, Mehwish, 18. Initially, she narrates the traditional masculine views about women's education and work. However, she later contradicts her father's views, showing aspirations to travel and work in urban areas and learn new skills, such as tailoring and fashion design. Such a situation may fulfil her dreams of better housing and clothes:

...I have never been to any other city... [But] I want to...learn new designs and sewing techniques.... [But] my father says you can do whatever you want... but at home only... [I cannot migrate] like... my brother who goes outside and does labour work... I, want to have a good home... and I want enough food and clothes...

7.4 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have focused on a qualitative analysis of households' own social and cultural well-being perceptions and meanings, particularly in relation to migration. My findings relate to two key aspects: the meaning of well-being for rural households (from their perspective), and the relationship between well-being and migration i.e., how migration aspirations, desires, and intentions can vary based on different well-being meanings, which themselves are based on interlinked interests among household members with different social status, gender and age or economic position.

In general, my analysis confirms that the meaning and realisation of well-being for rural households is strongly shaped by structural aspects of rural society in Pakistan. The social class owning large landholdings, with more power and resources, define their well-being around better accessibility to financial resources, prestigious jobs, well-structured business models, and more stable farm production and incomes. In contrast, the landless class, including farm laborers and non-farm households, defines well-being in terms of survival and strategies to secure access to necessities such as food, health care, clothing, education, housing, and social status. In between sit the small landholding class which strives for a balance between both meanings of well-being described above. This class has limited access to physical, human, and financial resources, and they see well-being as a transition from agriculture to better employment and a higher standard of living. Additionally, they also envision well-being as a life that provides secure access to good food, health care, and education for themselves and their families. As such, my findings show how these three rural classes are functioning together in the socio-economic fabric of society to realise/achieve their own meaning of well-being, interacting and contradicting, highlighting the issues of inequality, poverty, and social exclusion (Sen, 1999; Appadurai, 2004).

Building on these class-based meanings of well-being, I further show gender differences in how well-being is experienced and perceived. Rural women have developed their own unique meaning: common across all rural classes, the family care and education of their children are key to these women's well-being. Moreover, to avoid conflict and live in harmony, women aspire *peace* within intra-household social relations, which is thus a key aspect of *Khushhali* for them. However, a conundrum arises when left-behind women have

to deal with, and conform to, the gender-based roles and responsibilities set on patriarchal lines in multigenerational, and hierarchal rural households. My study found that the migration of their husband not only increased the workload for left-behind wives with regards to childcare and education, but also increased risks of abusive behaviour at home from stay-behind elderly men and women of the household, as well as limited financial freedom to meet their own personal needs.

Thus far, the meaning of well-being has translated into multiple ways of achieving it, key to which are religious disposition, education, and migration. In the rural society of Pakistan, religion and aspirations for education are structured in a way that provides instruments for achieving a given level of well-being and a good life. The religiosity of rural households not only provides inner *peace* in distressing circumstances but also a source of hope and optimism for a better future (e.g., see Cappellen et al., 2016; Ellison, 1991). This optimism generated by religion supports rural households, in particular the rural poor, to encourage them to strive for improvement in their life circumstances through hard work, education, or migration.

My findings clearly show that men are often the only option for households to migrate. This applies to all rural household socio-economic classes; men are the most likely members of households to migrate for jobs, businesses, or education. The rural youth are also seen as more connected to what is considered as the 'modern' way of life, which is thought to be found in the cities. *Khushhali*, for some, therefore, can no longer be found in rural areas, but needs to be sought for in cities.

The prospects of women's migration among rural households continues to be unwelcoming. The common denominator is patriarchal authority, which is mainly based on economic control, *pardah* norms, and the religious disposition of the household head. In this context, elder women play a critical role within a household. On one hand, they advocate and support patriarchal views (regarding men as the only option for the family to benefit from migration and women to stay at home). On other, my findings showed that they aspire for their daughter to get better education and earn a livelihood for their own and household's well-being. I argue that the elder women mostly favour the later situation. Therefore, I demonstrate that the presence of high aspirations among rural young women, supported by men (and elder women) in the household (with some exceptions), regarding migration for

work and education, to contribute to the household income and well-being, has generated a debate among intra-household members, which has the potential to reconfigure rural society in terms of women empowerment and the future of women out-migration.

Chapter 8: Migration and well-being outcomes

8.1. Introduction

In the previous chapter we saw how rural households in my research area understand and construct notions of well-being (*Khushhali*), and how this in turn, is shaped by ideas around gender, age and social position, both within the family, and the local community. Migration emerged as one of the ways that these households use to achieve *Khushhali*. Building on earlier discussions of who migrates, in this chapter I now turn my attention to explore the ways in which migration impacts well-being, as well as intra-household power dynamics. I am particularly interested in women's position in rural society, their ideas around, and in turn potential empowerment through migration, looking at intra-household distribution of financial resources, decision-making, mobility and social relationships. In so doing, this chapter too addresses the third objective and final research question of this thesis i.e., how do intra-household power dynamics interact to shape migration and well-being outcomes in rural areas of Pakistan?

Based as it is on the analysis of primary data – qualitative, in-depth interviews – that I collected during my fieldwork in Pakistan (see Chapter 4), this chapter also helps me to explore insights regarding a key caveat of Chapter 6, where analysis was carried out on post-migration data and could not draw any causal relationship. In this chapter, I illustrate which processes or factors may mediate the association between well-being and migration, i.e., whether *objective*, *subjective* and *relational* well-being increase due to an increase in migrant's household income or vice versa among household members.

Similar to the previous chapter (7), this one too is structured around the three aspects of well-being – *objective*, *subjective* and *relational* – with a dedicated section to each, followed by a section that brings these together to highlight their links. The final section concludes.

8.2 *Objective* well-being outcomes

Building on Chapter 7 I start by examining the ways in which internal migration and remittances amongst my study participants impact their well-being. The key finding here is that remittances primarily benefit households that are already (relatively) prosperous, such as landowners. This is mainly because members of these households have higher levels of education or are socially well-connected (linked to *relational* well-being), both of which

enable them to obtain higher-paying jobs or start businesses in cities. This shows how well-being and migration mutually influence each other and suggests that remittances may exacerbate existing socio-economic inequalities in rural areas, something that has been found in other country contexts too (see Black et al., 2005). The quote from Hashim, 56, below, illustrates this well. Hashim heads a large landholding household in D.G. Khan and is at the same time also the village's school headmaster. He has a large family comprising of six sons and three daughters along with his wife and mother. Hashim describes how he used his assets (land) to improve the education of his eldest sons, and thus their prospects for obtaining better-paid jobs. This in turn facilitated rural-urban migration where, due to their education, the sons were able to find good jobs, and send relatively generous remittances. These are once again used to cover the education of the remaining siblings, enhancing in turn, their prospects for a better future. Hashim tells how he does not need to rely on remittances to feed or clothe his family, as he has sufficient income from other local sources.

I sold one acre of land to meet education expenses [...] now my [three] sons have jobs in cities, and they are able to bear their own expense [also] taking care of other three younger brothers who are still getting education. I do not need their money. Because I have my job and leased farmland.

In contrast, for some of my respondents, particularly among poor migrant landless and non-farm households, remittances could hardly cover basic necessities. For example, for Khursheda, 60, a migrant mother in Faisalabad, fulfilling household expenditures from her son's limited remittances is challenging: 'What can one bring from a [migrant's] driving job?... we cook once and eat [this] for three days... we don't buy new clothes... people give us old clothes...' In other cases, the money families received from the migrant remained relatively unchanged despite rising food and non-food inflation (see Debnath and Nayak, 2021; Mukhopadhyay, 2022). The left-behind household had to take small loans to cover daily expenses which they eventually faced pressure to repay. Moreover, poor landless households needed to supplement their income through women's work in local farms or working at home as seamstresses, operating small grocery stores, which generally goes towards covering expenses for their own personal use. A statement from Mehwish, 18, the migrant's sister in a non-farm household, echoes many other poor households in the village:

...our life has not improved... we have to repay loans... [from the remitted money] We [need to] do more work [sew clothes] as household expenses have increased. We just eat as we used to. Nothing has changed...

For some families, the most pressing concerns was covering expenses for a daughter's marriage, which often requires a substantial amount of money for dowry and wedding-related expenses. A family member may have migrated to secure these but had been unable to remit enough to fulfil these obligations, as in the case of Razia, 55, a migrant's mother who expressed her anxiety about her daughter's marriage: '...I want to marry my daughter soon... but we do not have much money'.

Nevertheless, there were some positive outcomes from migration, including on the work rural women have to do. Remittances offer adequate financial assistance during difficult situations, and they help improve the family's economic well-being, thus reducing women's workloads within and outside the home. For instance, Sajidah, 44, a migrant's wife belonging to a landless farm labourer household from D.G. Khan, explains: '... I used to work more before he left. As we were poor and in need of money. Now I work less [outside in the field], as I know he will send me money. Now he sends money'.

8.3 *Subjective* well-being outcomes

Moving now to *subjective* well-being and the way this has been impacted by migration we observe some conventional findings, as well as conflicting ones. On a general level, *subjective* well-being revolves around the pursuit of happiness and the development of a religious disposition to achieve not only (inner) peace but also to seek support from *Allah* (as noted in Chapter 7).

Here I argue that migration affects *objective* well-being and through it, *subjective* well-being, in two contradictory ways. On the one hand enhanced *subjective* well-being comes in the form of optimism about the future for families who receive (a good amount of) remittances. At the same time, migration is also accompanied by feelings of stress due to separation and missing loved ones, the loss of social relationships, hence a reduced sense of *subjective* well-being (see Veenhoven, 2008; Larsen and Eid, 2008). The situation of Hashim, discussed

earlier in this chapter, who worked hard to enable his six sons to complete their professional education and able to secure employment for three of them, is an example of this dual effect. He expressed his happiness with their economic progress and the overall pride they give him. However, Hashim is now feeling their absence:

I am alone [during wheat harvesting], [and] the other children are still young. I sometimes think that those [migrated] sons may be my support, my arms. They would have worked [alongside me] and I could have rested. I do feel it [...] especially when I am ill. [They would have] taken me to a doctor, [and] given me medicine.

Under this situation, to counter the loss of social relationships and care, he is developing a strategy: '...we are considering their [migrating sons' marriage] proposals among relatives here [in the village]. So, they remain bonded with the soil and with us...'

The differentiated and unequal impacts of migration are shaped both along generational lines as above, and gender lines, as elaborated next. The focus here is on women, often wives of migrants who continue to live in the villages of origin, again often as part of their husband's multigenerational household. Similar to Hashim in the example above, here too I found that migrants' spouses often expressed their concerns and feelings regarding the long absence of their husbands. Not only did this impact their *subjective* well-being through feelings of loneliness and longing for their loved ones, it also impacted them in a more material way in their day-to-day living related to their gender role and duties. The first of these is in relation to children's education and upbringing. In the absence of their husband, the migrant's wife has to take on the role of the father for their children, in addition to her role as mother. In most rural households, the role of the father is defined by the duality of being a breadwinner and maintaining oversight of the children's education, health and overall behaviour and ethics (see de Haas and Rooij, 2010). The mother is generally involved in the day-to-day hands-on care for the children within the confines of the house by preparing the food, sorting out clothing, hygiene, and so on. Therefore, when the husband emigrates, the migrant mother or wife has to cover both the internal and external aspects of looking after the children. Not only is this an increase in the workload women have to deal with, it also changes the nature of what is expected of them in terms of gender roles, as noted above. With these extended and qualitatively different responsibilities, the

relationship of migrant wife's with other household members is critical in succeeding, and therefore, for their *subjective* well-being. A negative relationship between the two can limit the wife's *subjective* well-being. This is how Parveen, a 32-year-old migrant's wife from a small landholding household in DG Khan explains:

I felt the husband's absence very deeply, because of the way a father looks after his kids, no one else can. If one's husband is not home, then there is an autonomous change in the status of a woman, as she has to play the dual role of a mother as well as a father.

The physical absence of the husband may also result in abusive behaviour towards the wife from other family members, especially men. Some of the wives I interviewed found that their freedom and safety were compromised, and their life became insecure after their husband's migration, which in turn reduced their happiness and *subjective* well-being (see Ahmed, 2020). For example, Benish, 36, a migrant's wife in D.G. Khan expressed her thoughts on this as follows:

...my husband is in KSA for the past 12 years, the financial condition of the house is good. [But] I am sick of my father-in-law [because] he keeps the home environment very stressful or revengeful all the time... Here, we find it difficult even to get a [home] chore fulfilled...

Similarly, for Qurat, 23, daughter-in-law of Karamat, living without her husband has increased her despair. She still remembers the happy days when she lived with her husband for a short period soon after her marriage. Now, after five years of him being away, she can only meet her husband every six months or so. Their communication is also limited because she does not possess a mobile phone of her own, so all calls have to go through her in-laws:

...I lived with my husband soon after marriage for just only three months in army quarters in Quetta. After that, he was posted to some other city near border areas. We could not get any accommodation again, and I had to come back [to the village with my father-in-law]. Now it has been five years since my marriage, my husband comes back after every six months and that is when I meet him. I do not even have a mobile phone to share my grievances with him...

In such circumstances, the well-being of the woman in the family is very much linked to the composition of household members that live together in a joint family. One of the strategies used to reduce intra-household conflict in multi-generational, multi-unit households, especially when migrant men are away, is to strengthen social networks by arranging multiple marriages with the same family. For example, Karamat, from a landless labourer household in DG Khan, has married four of his sons with sisters from two other families. This strategy has helped his daughters-in-laws to emotionally support each other in times of distress and loneliness, as well as to build a joint family system for the household, with a focus on securing unified financial resources, and control over household resources such as land. Moreover, this also prevents the women from holding different and independent opinions and aspirations to live separately as a nuclear family and bargain on household resources. Finally, this strategy is not only intended to reduce conflict, but also to continue the oppression of women (see Zulfiqar, 2022; Jafree and Maryam, 2022; Ali, et al. 2022). In the words of Kiannat, 25, one of Karamat's daughters-in-law:

...in order to avoid any sour relations or undesirable situations [within household], my father-in-law has brought two sisters from each family. We are four daughters-in-law of [father-in-law] Karamat, where [we] two of us are real sisters²³, and the other two of his daughters-in-law are also real sisters. So, we both sisters take care of each other because of the other two...

8.4 *Relational* well-being outcomes

Finally then, what about *relational* well-being outcomes? As their economic outlook shifts, are migrant households able to access improved social relationships, interactions, and networks? Are families able to take advantage of additional well-being opportunities as a result of these relationships? What about individuals within these households?

The last example discussed in the previous section reveals some of the ways in which migration impacted on social relations, and therefore, *relational* well-being, amongst the researched households. On the one hand, stay-behind wives and families used social networks to strengthen their social capital, and thus address the negative impacts of long absences of their migrant male members of the households. This was both through

²³ The word 'real' emphasises the siblings not social relation. 'Sisters' is a term also used for social relations between women (sisters-in-law) in the same household, but without necessarily being siblings.

expanding and strengthening existing social networks, and cultivating other, particular types, of social networks.

Given the hierarchical social structure existing in these rural areas, being able to maintain a well-functioning household is a critical challenge mostly among landless poor households (see Naveed, 2021). For some migration has resulted in improved social status and relationships with other people in the village, as illustrated by the example of Mehwish, an 18-year-old migrant's sister from non-farm household in DG Khan:

Well, they [people in the village] help us before as they think we are poor and know my brothers are abroad... now it is good... now they treat us well... as they think our brother is so far away from home and also now we are financially better...

As in this example, other interviewees also narrated how remittances sent home by migrant family members had helped the family elevate their social standing, especially as they were not more credit worthy. Such relational uplift of the migrant household has also helped to generate *relational* well-being among them. Ayesha, 36, a migrant's wife from a small landholding household, expresses this as follows: '...I feel people's attitude has changed... to some extent.... people also help me a lot of times though... people also seek my advice and take care of me...'

The *relational* aspects of well-being are more evident in the case of Rajab, 30, a migrant's brother in Faisalabad, who thinks that migration has helped him to explore business opportunities within and outside of the village with the support of his migrant brothers. Currently he is employed as a salesperson, a job that he was able to secure with the support of his migrant brother. Now after gaining enough experience and social support from the family, he is able to start his own business:

Yes, my [social and economic] connections have increased greatly mashallah [...] If we stayed here [in the village] ... we will not progress as much. We went outside [migrated], and my elder brother joined the police [...] we have succeeded [in developing connections] to start our own business in the city now.

Contrary, Razia, a 55-year-old migrant mother who lives in a non-farm household in DG Khan, had seen no change in the behaviour of her fellow villagers towards her and her

household after her son's migration, and finds it challenging to ask the villagers for a loan since they insist on having it repaid (see Sinha et al. 2022). Such events demonstrate the connection between *relational* and *objective* well-being of the household:

... we have so many people living here in my home... so life has not changed after son's migration... No, no... no one helps us... When we ask for a loan... people [in the village], give us Rs.2000 to Rs.4000 ... and then after some time, people started asking us to return loans...

Hina, 26, a migrant wife from a landless rural migrant household in Faisalabad, narrates her feelings about the changing behaviour of village fellows and relatives as: '...It is just like that when someone has money, then everyone is yours, and when you do not have it, then even your parents do not own you...'

Similarly, I find that while *objective* well-being can be improved, *relational* well-being remains unchanged for some migrant households, as fellow villagers with higher social status continue to view them as poor and treat them with lack of respect. Karamat, 65, a father of three migrant sons, whom we have met earlier in other parts of these qualitative analysis chapters, shows his discontent and relational dissatisfaction as:

Dear [KMS] listen to me, do not get angry, we are like insects in the eyes of big (influential) people... everyone knows his limits. We are small people; we do not have any life....

In the case of left-behind wives, a critical challenge is a shortage of enough cash for day-to-day expenses. I find that the rise of household income sources through migration helped to improve migrant households' creditworthiness as left-behind women are able to purchase food and non-food items on credit even from street vendors and shopkeepers. This has also helped migrant households to better counter the challenges of food insecurity and meet other basic household necessities, which they were previously not able to access. For example, Sajidha, 44, a migrant's wife, echoes most of the other rural households: '...they easily lent out money to us. They know we are going to return them the money. Previously they were somehow reluctant...'

8.5 Interlinked gender dynamics in migration and well-being outcomes

The previous discussion underlines the complexities of migration and well-being outcomes, which vary not only between households from different socio-economic categories, but also between intra-household members. It is important to understand how migration also shapes the intra-household social relationships. In this section, a number of questions are addressed such as are these relationships changing because of migration and remittances, and if so why and how, in relation to well-being outcomes? Are migrants, although younger, having more say in the household because through their remittances they are becoming main breadwinners in the family? Are migrant's wives achieving more respect, mobility and personal security in the household, at least vis-à-vis wives of 'left-behind' brothers or sisters/sons in law, for example?

I find that patterns of remittance flow, rather than other drivers of power dynamics, define bargaining power among household members. Who receives and controls remittances, is also able to bargain for better status and authority such as in the case of household decision-making processes and women mobility patterns (see Vullnetari and King, 2011; Göbel, 2013). As such, there is a tendency amongst men to receive and control remittances. The money is generally remitted through bank transfers and or sent via migrant's friends and family members travelling back to the village or nearby towns. This is consistent with Ahmed's (2020) finding that the recipient of remittances is usually the migrant's father, implying a patriarchal control over household resources. However, in some cases, I find that new technologies such as (smart) mobile phones and related online money transfer applications, are shaping these patterns, in turn enabling a more democratic and equalising effect of remitting. As such, some migrants are now sending remittances directly to each household member. For instance, Sajidah, 44, a migrant wife in DG Khan, says that her migrant husband is sending remittances separately to a family of 15 members:

He [migrant husband] sends us money for daily expenses. He also sends money to his younger brother. He sends money for his children and also for their [brother] children separately through *Easypaisa* [an online money transfer service provider]. He also sends money to his [migrant's brother] wife separately...

Meanwhile, the rise of digital remittances transfers has changed the gender-power relationships among rural households (see Choithani, 2020). In some households, I find that

migrants' wives and male household heads jointly control and manage the remitted money and there is no apparent conflict over the use of money, based on the understanding of household hierarchy centered around social status and age. However, in many cases, conflict does arise, as shown in the following example. Zahoor, 62, a migrant's father in D.G. Khan, has two sons who have migrated and who send remittances to support the household. The son who migrated internally has provided limited financial support for the family, whereas the son who migrated abroad provides no financial support to the family but only to his wife, as Zahoor explains:

He [migrant son who is abroad] sends money to his wife. She does not spend the [remitted] money on household expenditures. I have to ask for money from my son separately... sometimes he sends, sometimes not...

Zahoor's wife, Razia, 55, expresses her concern regarding the way this son sends his remittances:

Sometimes [internally migrant son sends remittances to] his father, sometimes his wife... however it is limited... his wife is from close relatives and as such we do not have any issues [in sharing resources].... My [migrated] son who is abroad... [he is] dead to us... he does not send us money... his family [wife and children] is everything for him...

The above two quotes suggest shifting patriarchal, hierarchal as well as gender norms impacted by changing patterns and amount of sending remittances. Zahoor's daughter-in-law, whose husband has migrated abroad, commands direct control over his digitally sent remittances. While still living with her in-laws (as is customary in rural areas), she continues to bargain for more authority. However, some of this authority and bargaining power are derived from her original personal wealth in the form of gold jewellery which she sold to finance her husband's travel to Dubai (see Hadi, 2001). In contrast, the wife whose husband migrated internally and remitted little money to the household, is left with no other choice but to focus on developing cordial relationships with her in-laws, whom she lives with. The migrant's mother has received no significant remittances and considers her son (migrated abroad) as 'dead' to them (see Peter, 2010 on social death for migrants who fail to remit). Once again, a better pre-migration situation – in this case individual wealth – seems to lead to better migration outcomes, here on all aspects of well-being.

I find that migration somehow helped to reshape gender power relation among intra-household members. Initially, by presenting four quotes, I demonstrated the role of women in the decision-making process among household members, and then I illustrated how migration impacts and reshapes women's role in the household decision-making process. As described in previous chapter, rural society in Pakistan is largely patriarchal with well-defined gender roles and responsibilities. The joint-family type is predominant, where multi-generational living is the norm (see Ahmed, 2020). In these systems, household decisions such as education, marriages, migration and mobility of family members, work, or investment of remitted money on business and property and so on, are made largely along patriarchal lines (see Petesch et al. 2022).

While findings show that household decisions are carried out with mutual consultation, they are ultimately influenced by social status, gender, age, and economic position within the household. As such, the elder woman role is suggestive only in decision-making while male members justify the lack of women's involvement based on religion, tradition, and village norms. During my interview with Usman, 42, a migrant's brother from large landholding household in D.G. Khan, I was told that most of the household decisions are carried out with mutual consultation. However, household members' social status, gender, age, and economic position is critical for final decision-making. Nevertheless, the elder woman of the household is involved in the decision-making process, through suggesting solutions to issues under discussion based on her experiences and as the beholder of family history: '...my father makes all decisions for important matters. All brothers were mostly called [...] to discuss household matters. My mother also takes part in decisions, but her rule is suggestive only'. In the majority of cases, I find that male members always provide justification for the lack of role of (younger) women in decision-making based on religion, traditions, and culture of the village:

Well, even in our religion.... men sit separately and decide... my father is still alive [...] we live in joint family system [...] to avoid fight over financial matters... we do not discuss financial matters with our women... to avoid complexity... [But], we include her [mother]. I think the position comes with age. She is elder and we respect her opinion (Talib, 45, small landholding household in DG Khan, migrant's father and household head).

These examples show intersectionality among rural household members in that power relations are not just about gender, but power is structured by its intersection with age (elder) and social status (mother). This results in the migrant's mother having some power, although not as much as the eldest male in the household (see also Shrestha, et al. 2023).

With the use of three quotes, I now show the impact of migration on the role of women in the household decision-making process and how it is altering it in three distinct ways. Firstly, critical variant to household decision-making process evolves when household members' positionality completely shaped decisions around patriarchal lines (see Ahmed, 2020; Seymour, and Peterman, 2018). Left-behind women, such as migrants' wives, and mothers, typically become passive followers, when their husband or sons out-migrate, while in the majority of cases, left-behind elder men acquire hegemonic authority over household affairs. I found that younger male migrants in such cases hold little bargaining power and this in turn undermines their wife' *subjective* well-being, social status, and bargaining power. Kiannat, 25, a migrant's wife from DG Khan, explains:

For us, whatever the father-in-law provides, that is all [that we have]. My father-in-law is responsible for the purchase of medicines, food, or any other household expenditure. Only my father-in-law has a mobile phone in the house, and he allows me to talk to him every 15-30 days. Even my mother-in-law cannot do anything out of her own will. That is why; our choices/decisions have no value...

Secondly, despite the pattern outlined in the above quote, I have found that the role of migrant member in the household decision-making process is crucial for the well-being of the (left-behind) wife. Due to the economic position of the migrant husband, his wife is able to bargain some space in household decisions channelled through her husband's bargaining and power relations (see Shrestha, et al. 2023). In this way, a detached decision-making process is established in the household, allowing the migrating husband to make decisions for his wife instead of her family or father. However, such decision-making is particularly limited to the immediate needs of the migrant's wife rather than overall household decisions such as allowing women to work or mobility within or outside the village:

We consult our elders... My father-in-law... takes decisions for all of us... but he asks everyone for their point of view... However, my husband decides about his own household affairs.... I discuss this with my husband,

and he tells me what to do.... Sometimes.... my husband seeks my opinion in decision-making... but my husband takes the final decision. (Memoona, 27, from a large landholding household in DG Khan, a migrant's wife).

Thirdly, I find that even if women face resistance or lack of acceptance from male household members, they are making decisions without their consent and approval. A 36-year-old migrant wife, Sabara, from Faisalabad explains: 'Yes, my [migrant] husband does whatever he decides...Often he does not give us permission then we do things secretly. When we ask him politely for permission, he accepts but when we keep on insisting about the same matter then he never agrees'.

Given the multigenerational, hierarchal, and patriarchal nature of rural societies, the mobility of left-behind women is largely constrained (see Kaur, 2019; King et al. 2013; Qaisrani and Batool, 2021). I find that independent mobility of left-behind rural women, of any social status and age, is limited. A 50-year-old migrant mother, Rani, explains: 'Men [in the household] do not allow us to go [outside the house]. How can we go? [...] people gossip.' To avoid such issues, women move together i.e., elder women accompany younger women within the village, particularly when going to work in the fields or meeting some other relatives. However, for going outside the village, cultural norms dictate that a male household member should always accompany the women. Ruqiya, 29, a migrant wife in DG Khan, describes such a situation:

... mostly I go with a male [from my family] ... If he does not want me to go anywhere, I cannot go. Because I have to live here. I cannot afford to go against his will. Also... society is not safe [...] people know my husband is not here...

In rural areas, I find that parents of migrant members usually prefer that their daughters-in-law should live together within the joint family system, rather than join the migrant where he lives. This is one way to ensure that the migrant continues to remit money to his parents who in turn manage this money by pooling it all together in the overall household financial resources; and have, therefore, more control over it, as shown in Karamat's case in the previous chapter. Depending on what type of migration the migrant engages in, it is at times also less expensive for the son to live without his wife (for example by sharing cheaper accommodation with fellow migrants) and simply remit. However, the decision for the

migrant's wife to join her husband or stay in the origin village is not only based on the economic rationale. It is also about their safety and social life. In the following example, the migrant's sister (in Faisalabad), recounts how she advised her migrant brother to take his wife and children with him, but he feels they are safer with the other family members in the village (first quote of two below). In the second quote we hear from the wife herself (Saniya, 23), who agrees with this position, not least because of her husband's occupation, and the frequency with which he moves from one posting to the next:

...I asked him [migrant son] that you can take your wife with you, but my son did not take her... he said... my children should study here [in the village]. He [migrant son] is relaxed that here we are living together, and his children are safe and sound...

My husband is in the army and has frequent transfers from one place to another...therefore, I prefer to live with my in-laws in the village...I do not feel his [migrant husband's] absence much because when I was married here, my father was already dead, so I was doing most of the work independently without any support. So, I do not feel much whether he is with me or not...

8.6 Conclusion

Building upon the qualitative analysis in the previous chapter on meanings of, and aspirations about, *Khushhali*, among individual members of the households, this chapter explored well-being and migration outcomes based on intra-household power relations i.e., gender, social status, and age.

Focusing on migration and well-being relationships and the role of intra-household power relationships, I found that the expectations for better *objective*, *subjective*, and *relational well-being* outcomes for rural migrant households through migration are mixed based on contextual social and economic factors and interchanging gender roles and responsibilities. My study offers five insights that contribute to the migration and well-being literature, particularly concerning rural Pakistan. First, I show that, in general, migration has helped to improve their *objective well-being* by securing better food and household expenditures. However, in the case of landless farm labourers and non-farm rural households, migration has raised the expectation of a better life, household expenditure, and asset development, which in most cases go unfulfilled (see Debnath and Nayak, 2021).

Second, my findings on gender and remittances shows remitted money or *objective* well-being is not always related to bringing optimism or pessimism, or lack of it. For the migrant's wife, the absence of their husband i.e., *subjective* well-being aspects are more important for her than having better financial freedom. Her *subjective* well-being is more related to the autonomy she gains among the household members when her husband returns or is present at home (see Rao et al. 2020; Kaur, 2022).

Third, I have shown that gender roles and related gender power dynamics among household members largely limit women's *agency* after male out-migration, mainly skewed toward male household members with strong social and economic positions. However, the influence of migrant members on household decision-making varies, as remittance patterns and amounts often bargain separate choices that prioritize the mobility of their wives, childcare, and children education, among other family members in multi-generational households.

Forth, my findings suggest that the socio-economic context of rural society, i.e., landowning and landless class system, may not have changed and landless and non-farm rural households continue to face discriminatory treatment by fellow villagers, even after their sons or brothers migrate and remit. In contrast, for some landholding households, migration helps them to develop better relational well-being through better friendships and social networks to start new businesses within and outside the village. And finally, the impact of remittances on household conflicts, I observe changes in who controls remittances in the household, as a result of changes in sending and receiving patterns, enabled by digital technologies. While social status and economic position continue to be important in who controls remittances, they have also reduced intra-household conflicts (with some exceptions; see Choithani, 2020). This has provided some space mainly for rural women to define their own life choices and better bargain for day-to-day household affairs.

Chapter 9: Discussion and Conclusions

9.1 Introduction

This thesis set out to explore the relationship between internal migration and well-being in the context of rural households in Pakistan. It sought to do this by adopting the 3-D well-being approach as the key conceptual framework (chapter 4), consisting of objective, subjective and relational well-being. The study asked four interlinked Research Questions (RQs): firstly, which household characteristics are strongly linked to internal migration and well-being of rural households in Pakistan? Secondly, how is internal migration associated with the well-being of these households? Thirdly, how does the current well-being status impact migration desires in rural households? And fourthly, how do intra-household power dynamics shape migration and well-being for individuals in these rural areas of Pakistan?

The research design was a mixed-methods (quantitative and qualitative) approach. The quantitative analysis relied on secondary data drawn from Pathways for Resilience in Semi-Arid Economies (PRISE) project, and addressed RQs 1, 2 and 3, with the results presented in Chapter 6. The qualitative part of the thesis draws on primary empirical fieldwork that I conducted in Punjab, Pakistan, and addressed RQ 4, with the results presented in Chapters 7 and 8.

My thesis makes a number of key contributions to academic knowledge. First, with its focus on internal migration, it has sought to expand our understanding of the ways this unfolds in rural areas of the global South, under conditions of increasing economic precarity, environmental change, and inequality. Second, with its focus on well-being, and its relation to internal migration, the thesis develops the migration-development debates in a new direction to look beyond the conventional measures of development or well-being, such as income, or the impact of remittances, as it pays attention to subjectivities and people's perceptions about their everyday social reality. Within this, the thesis argues for a bottom-up conceptualisation of well-being, which in the rural Pakistan context under study expressed with the local notion of *Khushhali*. A third key contribution is the emphasis the thesis puts on the benefits of adopting an intersectional approach in understanding migration and well-being that goes beyond just gender (or women as a proxy for it) but highlighting the close connection to age and social position within the family, or class

position within local communities. These three key academic contributions have further policy implications for the context of Pakistan, which are elaborated further towards the end of this chapter.

First, however, I turn to each of the research questions to discuss how they were addressed with the help of quantitative and qualitative analysis.

This final chapter is structured as follows. In the next section, I present the key findings of the study based on the research questions. The next two sections follow with discussion of my contributions to, and implications for, the literature on migration and well-being or *Khushhali* in Pakistan and beyond. The policy implications of my research for the government and society in Pakistan are then explored next. The last section reflects on the study limitations in terms of methodology and others, and highlights some suggestions for future research.

9.2 Research questions revisited

Research question 1 – Which household characteristics are strongly associated with internal migration and well-being of rural households in Pakistan?

This RQ was addressed primarily through the quantitative analysis of survey data the results for which were reported in Chapter 6, supplemented where possible with insights from the qualitative data. For the purposes of my analysis, I grouped my survey sample into four household categories, based on land ownership: large landholding, small landholding, landless farm labour and non-farm rural households. Overall, rural households with one or more migrant members, better education status, access to social networks (such as for obtaining loans – a proxy for *relational* well-being), more valuable assets and better access to basic services tend to have better (income-based) *objective* well-being than non-migrant rural households. Based on my qualitative analysis, I provide more insights regarding meanings of household *objective* well-being. I showed that the *objective* well-being of the household is largely characterised by the societal structure of rural Pakistan. The historical structural distribution of agricultural land endowments (Chapters 3 and 7), persists and defines social roles and the *objective* well-being of rural households. I showed that large landholdings households in rural settings, with more power and resources, the meaning of

objective well-being by better accessibility to financial resources, prestigious jobs, business opportunities, that in turn lead to more sustainable farm production and incomes. My quantitative findings largely characterise these large landholding households with better *objective* well-being. However, my qualitative findings provide further insight into how other rural households are characterised in terms of *objective* well-being. In the case of landless class, including farm labourers and non-farm households, I showed that they define their well-being in terms of survival and strategies to secure access to necessities such as food, health care, clothing, education, housing, and better social status. Regarding small landholding class, I showed that they always strive for a balance between both two extreme meanings of *objective* well-being described above. Small landholding classes have limited access to physical, human, and financial resources on the one hand, and on the other they see well-being as a transition from agriculture to better employment and a higher standard of living. At the same time, they also strive for better *objective* well-being through securing access to good food, health care, and education for themselves and their families. In this way, I show how different rural classes (see Chapter 7), while positioned amidst two extremes, these small landholding households, migration of one or more family members helped them to achieve better *objective* well-being, although their well-being status continued to fluctuate, back and forth.

Concerning the association between *subjective* well-being and rural household's characteristics, my findings based on quantitative data analysis suggested that this association mainly depends on the indicators used for *subjective* well-being, such as 'optimism about the future' and 'overall life satisfaction'. The 'optimism about the future' indicator has a positive association with internal migration, whereas 'overall life satisfaction' shows no significant association. This contradictory result may reflect the cognitive (life satisfaction) and emotional (optimism about the future) perspectives of rural households. Rural households, in this survey, express dissatisfaction with their current life experiences, particularly in terms of livelihood stresses, but are often optimistic about their future aspirations and goals for a better life and higher incomes, which they may expect to achieve through migration.

My qualitative analysis further explains and supports the above quantitative findings about associations of *subjective* well-being with migration and household livelihood stresses. I

showed that rural households pursue *subjective* well-being or *Khushhali* – with their own meaning through different pathways. Three interlinked pathways are particularly found most important: religion, education, and migration. I found that religion and aspirations for education provide tools for achieving well-being and a good life in rural society. Under the hierarchies across the socio-economic divide in the rural society, the qualitative results provide nuance in emphasising the role of religion in enabling people to pursue or achieve higher *subjective* well-being. For instance, the optimism for future and inner *peace* (in distressing conditions) generated by religion encourages rural households, particularly the poor, to work hard, pursue education, or migrate in order to improve their circumstances.

The qualitative results on *relational* well-being provide an explanation for my quantitative results, which indicate a positive association of *relational* well-being with *objective* well-being but no relationship with *subjective* well-being among rural households. I argue that in the case of wealthiest rural household *objective*, *subjective*, and *relational* well-being are interlinked. My qualitative results shows that wealthiest rural landholding households possess better ability to act meaningfully, particularly during and after any livelihood stresses, through their better social interactions and access to public resources and thus, they able to maintain hope or better sustained optimistic views about future. For landless rural households, I show that meaning and attaining *relational* well-being that can contribute toward their *objective* and *subjective* well-being is rather complex (see Chapter 7). These rural households are able to acquire financial support either through taking loans or charity from wealthiest rural households or through the migration of one or more member within the household. However, their *subjective* well-being, concerning respect and upward social mobility within the hierarchical rural structure, is largely limited.

Consequently, they often develop a religious disposition (which I show another way of viewing *subjective* well-being) among themselves considering social oppression as a divine order.

Additionally, based on quantitative findings, women's participation in household livelihood activities (other than household chores) is negatively affect *subjective* well-being i.e., optimistic about future. Based on my qualitative analysis, I present a range of opinions that include both agreement and opposing views regarding women's participation in livelihood activities outside the home in relation to *subjective* well-being meanings among rural

households (see Chapter 7). I argue that patriarchal views continue to dominate across the socio-economic rural household categories. For many rural households, particularly among landholding families, considering women to participate in livelihood activities as source of shame, which not only dishonour for the family but also against the prevailing religious view on women's '*purdah*' as well as village norms and customs. Among landless rural households, although women are allowed to work in the field, they are still expected to follow the village norms i.e., accompanied either by men or elder women of the households. However, I show that social acceptance is also shifting in favour of women to participate in livelihood activities and migration. This is primarily due to rising household expenditures and observation of other fellow young women who already made progress through better education and working outside the village. This change is also influenced by emerging societal perceptions, particularly those shaped by (social) media, which associate urban lifestyle and education with 'modernity' and economic progress.

Research question 2 – How is actual internal migration associated with well-being of rural households in Pakistan?

Regarding the second question on the relationship between internal migration and well-being, using quantitative analysis of survey data, my results suggested that actual internal migration decisions exhibit no significant association with income levels (i.e., *objective* well-being) of rural households. This implies that the decision to migrate internally does not relate to the income status of rural households, which also confirmed qualitative findings. Interestingly, I also found no significant relationship of education with actual migration decisions. However, the combination of higher income (higher *objective* well-being) and education status (more years of formal education) significantly related to rural households' decision to migrate internally. Moreover, I found a significant positive relationship between *subjective* well-being indicators and internal migration, but not for *relational* well-being. The *subjective* well-being indicator 'optimism about future' showed a positive and highly significant association with actual migration. This further explained by my qualitative findings. I argue that with climate change impacts on crop production is leading to a loss of farm incomes, compelling rural youth, particularly for landholding households, to migrate for education, job or business to mitigate challenges of rising food and non-food household

expenditures. At the same time, rural young men from landless rural households facing limiting opportunities within the village or find it unprofitable to engage in unpaid labour within the family businesses (such as grain mill, grocery stores, etc.), where incomes are pooled for household expenditures, leaving less available for personal expenditures. Moreover, rural youth aspire to a better, more 'modern' urban lifestyle, free from discrimination based on class, caste, and social status – migration is viable option for many. Furthermore, my quantitative findings suggest that rural households facing livelihood-related problems such as declining income, ill-health among family members, household conflicts, and death of livestock may be unable to finance migration costs; these problems have a negative and significant relationship with migration decisions. In contrast, my qualitative findings show that the costs associated with migration are managed through multiple strategies that helped them to carry out migration decisions. Individuals from different socio-economic rural categories employ different approaches such as obtaining loans from friends and family, selling valuable such as ornaments and livestock, or securing employment or wage labour and accommodation through urban contractors or village fellows who have already migrated. The costs incurred during this process are later deducted from migrant wages.

Research question 3 – How does current well-being status affect migration desire in rural households?

For the third question on the relationship between migration desire and well-being, the quantitative analysis of the survey data indicates that *subjective* well-being i.e., 'optimism about future' is strongly associated with the desire to migrate, unlike *objective* and *relational* well-being. This also explained by the association that the desire to migrate declines among rural households that are facing food insecurity – linked to low *objective* well-being. Moreover, the desire to migrate is predominantly associated with a combination of economic and social reasons that differ between the geographical study areas (i.e., Dera Ghazi Khan and Faisalabad districts) such as poverty, and better job or livelihood opportunities available in the cities. My qualitative analysis confirms the findings that the desire to migrate is associated with *subjective* approaches and meanings of well-being. At the same time, it is interlinked to objective and relational well-being, particularly among

rural young men and women. I argue that rural youth have developed aspirations to pursue jobs in the cities, which can provide them with more freedom to diversify their income, expanding their knowledge by learn new skills and receive professional education as well as enabling them to move away from rigid social hierarchical of rural areas.

Research question 4 – How do intra-household power dynamics shape migration and well-being outcomes in rural areas of Pakistan?

Finally, moving to the fourth research question, in Chapter 7, I first explored how power dynamics within households, based on factors such as age, gender, and social status, shape well-being (*objective, subjective, and relational*) in their own social and cultural settings. Later in Chapter 8, I explored how intra-household power relationship shape migration and well-being outcomes. I find the following.

First, I showed that the meaning of well-being is heavily influenced by the societal structure of rural Pakistan and that it is also gendered based on intra-household power relationships. To illustrate the former: men from households with large landholdings tend to define their well-being in terms of financial resources and income diversity, while those from landless households (i.e., farm labourers and non-farm households) prioritize survival and existence strategies. The group of small landholding households strives for better access to resources and seeks to transition away from agriculture towards better jobs and lifestyles, which are often found in urban areas. In terms of the meaning of well-being being gendered, in contrast to men, rural women across all social groups tended to prioritize the care and education of their children and aspire for *peace* within their households.

The second finding related to this research question was that well-being or *Khushhali* – with its own meaning for different individuals and households – can be achieved through different pathways, three of which stood out as the most important: religion, education, and migration. I found that religion and aspirations for education and migration provide means for achieving well-being and a good life in rural society. However, I argue that these pathways are largely influenced under the hierarchies and lack of inter-household solidarity across the socio-economic household categories in the rural society. For instance, elders in households emphasise on religion in attaining inner *peace* and contentment their life (in distressing conditions), while women highlight the role of children’s education care bringing

hope and optimism for future well-being outcomes. Likewise, I also argued that the rural youth are more connected to the "modern" urban way of life due to their increased use of technology and electronic media, as well as a decline in religious practices and social relationships, see their opportunities for well-being and prosperity primarily in the cities. Therefore, for some youth, achieving well-being or *Khushhali* can no longer be found in rural areas, but must be sought in the cities.

Third, I found that migration generally improves *objective* well-being through increased access to food and household expenses, via remittances. For landless farm labourers and non-farm rural households, migration raises expectations for a better life, household expenses, and asset development that often go unfulfilled. I found that these households mainly experienced limited financial cushion as the remitted money they received from the migrant remained relatively unchanged in times of rising food and non-food inflation. I show here that socially structured gender roles around who owns and manages the financial resources within a household have a significant impact. Rural men primarily focus on consolidating household financial resources and take charge to managing and distributing these resources themselves. At the same time, they emphasise on living together in a multi-generational setting as means to controlling these resources. On the other hand, rural young women aspire to live separately with their (migrated) husband, taking care of children's education and upbringing as well as having mobility without any social restrictions. My research on gender and remittances also revealed that *objective* well-being does not always align with *subjective* well-being. For example, for the wives of migrants, the absence of their husbands can be more detrimental to their well-being than the financial freedom provided by remittances. Their *subjective* well-being is more closely tied to the autonomy they gain within the household when their husbands are present.

In terms of *relational* well-being, my findings suggest that the socio-economic context of rural society, such as the landowning and landless class systems, may not change, at least not in the short and medium term, and landless and non-farm households are likely to continue to face discrimination from fellow villagers even after their sons or brothers migrate and send remittances. My study results shows that higher remittance flows, whether from internal or international migration, or better *objective* well-being of these households, do not necessarily contribute to upward social mobility. Instead, these

households remained within the same social hierarchy to which they belong. In other words, while remittances may improve their life circumstances, they do not typically lead to higher social class within rural society. On the other hand, for some landholding households, migration can help them improve their *relational* well-being by building better friendships and social networks, which in turn can lead to new business opportunities within and outside the village. I found that this is mainly because the members of these households have higher levels of education or are already socially well-connected, both of which enable them to obtain higher-paying jobs or start businesses in cities. This shows how well-being and migration mutually influence each other and suggest that migration may exacerbate existing socio-economic inequalities in rural areas.

9.3 Contribution

9.3.1 Intersectional meaning of, and aspirations about, well-being within hierarchies of households and Pakistani rural society

One of the key contributions this thesis makes to academic knowledge is the conceptualisation of well-being. Here I argue that the meanings that individuals attach to well-being and their aspirations to achieve a higher level of well-being need to be understood as situated within particular intersecting household and community hierarchies. In the context of rural Pakistan, the notion of well-being or *Khushhali*, was differently understood and interpreted by individuals who were themselves differentially located in hierarchically structured rural society, at the intersection of age, gender and social position within the family, or social class within local communities.

My findings showed that rural households' own meaning of *well-being* was strongly shaped by a '*capacity to aspire*', particularly among the poor, women, and young members of the family (Nandi and Nedumaran, 2021). However, as Kabeer (1999) and Besley (2017) have argued, the 'capacity to aspire' or 'ability to make choices' needs to imply with the 'possibility of alternatives'. According to the Kabeer (1999, p437), choices have three-associated dimensions, i.e., *resources* that provide the precondition of choices; *agency* describing the abilities to perform certain actions; and *achievements* that display outcomes.

In this regard, my finding showed that the varying meanings and aspirations of well-being among land holding, and non-landholding rural households highlights inequalities rather than differences in their capacity to aspire. These disparities seem more like a survival strategy due to limited livelihood resources and opportunities compared to well-being. My research argues that the rural households studied here have shown their capacity to aspire by their own ideas of *objective*, *subjective* and *relational well-being* (see chapter 7). That is to say, their meanings of, and aspirations about, *objective* well-being, are expressed in terms of better accessibility to financial resources for business, jobs and better livelihood opportunities, household expenditures and living standards, which is culturally set for them. For socially and economically less advantaged rural households, such as landless and non-farm households, the ability to make choices is limited to achieving food security, better housing and clothing, which they also linked to migration decisions. Through migration, they aspire to obtain livelihood opportunities and basic facilities - the only viable option that is more accessible to them. In the case of landholding households, a relatively wealthy and privileged section of the population in rural areas, their choices for *objective well-being* led to better education, access to decent jobs (such as recruitment in the army or police, or public administrative jobs), decent work and business opportunities (farm trading and other small-scale food processing) as well as better awareness of life circumstances and opportunities elsewhere and upbringing of their children. Nevertheless, a common feature among all rural households is the importance and aspirations of education for their younger generation, considering as a vehicle to achieve their own meaning of well-being. This is in line with existing literature. For example, a recent study by Naveed (2021) in rural Punjab, Pakistan (similar to my study areas and same socio-economic groups) showed that most of the rural households aspire for education to improve their *objective* and *subjective* well-being and considered education as a way to reduce widespread social hierarchical inequalities and poverty for themselves. Nevertheless, Naveed (ibid) cautioned that better education and schooling might raise the aspirations among rural poor to gain better social status, position and well-being, but these were not always realised; poor rural households encountered rigid and deep-rooted social and class-power relationships which continued to dominate in rural areas (see also, Petesch et al. 2022).

Extending to the recent findings by Naveed (2021) and Petesch et al. (2022), I contribute to the knowledge by exploring how people's desire for quality education for their children or their narratives about cities as symbols of modernity, which provide opportunities personal growth and expanding their horizons through knowledge, reflect aspirations that extend beyond the *objective* and *subjective* meanings of well-being. However, I argued that although these are part of major social changes that rural society in Pakistan is going through, such changes remained compartmentalised and continue to follow the social and class-power relationships. Migration and aspirations for better education helped somehow to increase economic gains for the rural poor, but social upward mobility is remained a distant dream for them. In rural Pakistan, the two distinct social and economic classes are landholding and non-landholding classes (see also in Chapter 3 for more detail). The aspirations and meanings of well-being are mainly class-based depending on social relationships, which in-turn create class-based economic opportunities (see chapter 7 for more detail). In this regard, Mohmand and Gazdar (2007, p 19&36) noted skewed public investments in favour of landholding classes through subsidies in agriculture production, value-addition, and commercialisation, while ignoring landless rural households. The landholding classes possess better political influence that enable to divert resources and policy interventions largely benefiting to them, leaving non-landed class to face significant economic challenges (see also Memon et al. 2018). My findings showed that rural landless and non-farm households have to compromise on their aspirations of well-being within their own social domain and class.

Next, I showed how religious disposition of rural households shapes different meanings of well-being, providing a source of hope and peace. I argue that most of the rural households drive their meaning of *subjective* well-being through their own religious disposition, which provides better insights for the understanding of the 3-D well-being framework in terms of religiosity and social relationships (e.g., see Van Cappellen et al. 2016; Ellison, 1991; Vella-Brodrick, et al. 2022). For example, the work of Joshanloo (2017) on Islamic conceptions of well-being provides some historical insights on well-being among Muslims and its roots in Islamic Sharia (i.e., Islamic laws), philosophy and Sufism. Joshanloo (ibid) argued that under circumstances of hardship and distress, *subjective* well-being among Muslims is linked to their *permanent state of contentment* with *Allah's* will and wishes, i.e., *whatever happens in*

life. Any calamity or pleasant situation in life is only *Allah's* test for Muslims in this world, which will be rewarded in the afterlife accordingly (Joshanloo, 2017; page 119; Joshanloo and Weijers, 2019). I argue that religious disposition provides rural households with a source of optimism about the future, i.e., *subjective well-being*, which in turn encourages them to work hard and have patience for future economic opportunities and earnings, particularly among landless and non-farm households. Moreover, these households call upon their religious disposition to avoid the mental distress and disappointment caused by their current economic and social deprivations. This also helps them construct their own meaning of *subjective well-being*. Well-being for them is a life of respect and dignity (in a hierarchal village society) and a life of peace, which is pursued through religiously entrenched patience and peace. Comparatively, for landholding rural households enjoying a relatively high social and economic position in the village, religious disposition relates to pilgrimage to religious sites and unity in the family, which they relate to their meanings of *subjective well-being*.

9.3.2 Limits to rural household well-being, agency, and migration

I have shown that many rural households also expressed limitations for their own aspirations and meaning of *well-being*. My quantitative analysis suggested factors that limit their *subjective well-being* include large household size, women participation in household livelihood activities (other than household chores) as well as the level of food insecurity in the household – highlighting complex power dynamics among household members living in inter-generational complex social structures that lead to more conflict and bargaining over household resources. Moreover, loss of livelihood resources and farm incomes due to climate change and other agricultural market imperfections and less diversified incomes suggested key limitations to attain *objective* and *subjective well-being* (see Chapter 7). These limits and realities, which they encounter during their daily life, compel them to compromise on their available livelihood and financial opportunities.

In this regard, an extension to the household meaning of well-being are provided by the notions of 'aspirations gap', 'aspirations failure' and available social 'resources' (Ray, 2003 and 2006; Dalton et al. 2015; Kabeer, 1999; Genicot and Ray, 2017; see Chapter 2 on definitions). My research demonstrates that *capacity to aspire*, *aspirations window* and

social resources for households in a largely polarised hierarchal rural society are highly skewed toward landholding rural classes. Rural landless and non-farm households have a higher 'aspiration gaps' based on their level of social and economic status. As a result, rural households often develop aspirations and meanings of *well-being* that goes beyond their social and economic means, yet they perceive this disparity or gap as a divine order. These aspirations may lead to the development of a religious disposition among rural households, which transcends conventional notions of *objective, subjective and relational* well-being.

Moreover, I argue that those rural households that have fewer social and economic *resources*, may face many limitations in terms of food insecurity, joblessness, poverty, etc., which generates conditions of helplessness and tend to decline *agency* while lowering bargaining power, aspirations and meanings of well-being and a good life. As Ray (2006; p. 414) pointed out lowering or increasing aspirations window may lead to either 'violent' behaviour or social unrest or generate 'increased efforts' to overcome social and economic issues. Previously I argued that in my sample of rural households, where the aspirations window was narrow (for example related to their children's education and upbringing, health, housing, or food security), this led to the development of religious or migration 'clusters' (see Chapter 2 for more details about clusters). The religious cluster was mostly dominant among older people, whereas the migration cluster mostly contained young men. These rural young men consider they have more freedom, can diversify their income, and observe less biased towards one's social status and economic position in the cities (see also Nandi et al. 2023). I argue here, that these religious and migration 'clusters' reinforce each other, i.e., religiosity among elders and migration desire in young men, led them to encourage and follow their aspirations. Under these aspirational 'clusters', I argue that rural society in Pakistan showed more social cohesion, while living within a highly polarised hierarchal rural society. I argue that religiosity and migration may provide some social and economic space to limit frustration, i.e., migration acts like a safety valve that pent-up political and social pressure, and thus avoiding widespread social unrest and disruption in rural Pakistan. As I also showed earlier in the section 9.2, internal actual migration is prevalent across all socio-economic rural households including rural poor. The work of Agarwal and Levien (2020) on Indian agrarian social structure also showed that land dispossession of lower caste, i.e., Dalits, for the development of Special Economic Zones

(SEZs) in the area, led to decline their aspirations and *objective* well-being, but favoured upper castes who were able to resettle and establish businesses and secure higher status jobs based on their inherent social and political advantages in the rural society. Agarwal and Levien (2020) showed that social distress and frustration prevailed among rural classes in India. However, most importantly, those dispossessed Dalits households that out-migrated to urban areas, enabled themselves to support their families and uplift their well-being aspirations through better food consumption patterns and freedom from social discrimination, compared to those who did not migrate and who continued to face class and caste inequalities in the areas of origin (Agarwal and Levien, 2020; see also Kapur et al. 2010).

9.3.3 Migration and Well-being outcomes – *Left-behind women agency and intra-household power relationships*

Migration and well-being outcomes are critically important to understanding the intra-household dynamics in rural society. In recent years, there has been an increase in research on the effects of migration on household members, particularly who are left-behind including women, elders, and children (Nguyen et al. 2007; De Haas and Rooij, 2010; Ahmed, 2020; Sultana and Rehman, 2014; Vullnetari and King, 2016; Conkova et al. 2019). By exploring the complex intra-household power relationships, I have shown the changing nature of gender roles are mediated in multiple ways due to migration among left-behind household members, particularly the changing patterns of remittances distribution and utilisation, women' lowering subjective well-being as well as increasing women' role in household decision making processes.

Firstly, when it comes remittances, it is important to know who receives them, who controls and manages them, and who ultimately makes decisions about how remittances are spent. During the last decade in Pakistan, there is a growth of Digital Financial Services (DFS) which provide financial services through smart-mobile phones application or web-based money platforms amid inefficient formal banking infrastructure in the country, particularly in rural areas (Noreen et al., 2023). Several studies in Pakistan are highlighting that how digital financial services are becoming more inclusive, affordable, and reduce barriers and

constraints towards access to financial means, particularly for women in Pakistan (Ibtasam, et al. 2018; Kemal, 2019; Khan et al. 2023). My research findings in Chapter 8 suggests that remittance recipients and controls have changed over the last decade with the rise of online transactions that enable migrant members to remit money to each member of the household according to their needs and requirement so that to avoid conflicts among household members (see Choithani, 2020). This has brought some relief for women, especially the migrant's wife, in that it has provided some space for them to define their own life choices and better bargain within the extended household around day-to-day household affairs. Nevertheless, the remitted amount is very small compared to what is needed to cover household expenditures and fails to create any significant impact in terms of financial autonomy for better healthcare, children care, mobility, and education.

Secondly, for migrants' wives who live with their in-laws, 'living with husband' provides an enhanced state of *subjective* and *relational* well-being. I have shown that remitted money that increases *objective* well-being of migrants' wives is not always equate to their *subjective* well-being. In addition, I argued that for the migrant's wife, the absence of their husband is more critical for her well-being than having better financial freedom. Her *subjective well-being* is more related to the autonomy she gains among the household members when her husband returns or is present at home. 'I wish my husband comeback' was a common response from migrant wives. When their husband is away, they find themselves lonely and depressed, as there is no one in the household with whom they can share their feelings and personal needs or spend happy or sorrowful moments. Many scholars researching in the context of South Asia come to similar conclusions (e.g., see Rao et al. 2020; Kaur, 2022; Desai and Banerji, 2008; Sultana and Rehman, 2014). Most of the migrants' wives in my study showed feelings of dissatisfaction about the behaviour of other household members and relationships with them. Some of them have faced abusive treatment and insecure circumstances that increased their worries and desire for their husband to return and provide them with better emotional support and freedom (see Thapa et al. 2019 for similar findings in Nepal). However, in other cases these women approached such situations by forming intra-household female alliances with their sisters-in-law, mothers-in-law, or co-wives in order to share household chores and responsibilities (see Kaur, 2022).

Thirdly, the level of social acceptability for women's involvement in household decision-making is complex and difficult to assess due to the intricate intergenerational relationships within household and the socially constructed norms at the village level and beyond. This complexity is highlighted by Kabeer (1999, 2000) in her work on inter-generational contracts and women empowerment. My research findings also suggest that in rural areas, social norms regarding women's education, work, and migration still continue to hold on to traditional patriarchal views. However, within households, there are inevitable changes towards women's empowerment for migration for education and work, indicating ongoing wider social changes in rural society. Around three decades back, Alavi (1991), Malik (1993) and Lefebvre (1999) also noticed certain shifts in the economic and household decision-making status (based on remittances) of 'left behind' women, but not enough to bring about deep and enduring social change in this patriarchal rural society or provide women any options for work or (higher) education.

In the period 2017-19 when research for this PhD took place, some incremental changes were observed. For example, generally women are no longer considered as mere 'chattel' and they have made gains in terms of their (economic) role in the household. Although the role of the patriarch in household decision-making continues to be dominant, there is evidence of some change in gender roles in a favourable way towards women, particularly for migrants' wives and sisters, after male out-migration. My research showed three keyways in which gender roles are defined in the household decision-making process among rural households. Initially, roles are structured by the norms and cultures of rural society. These norms assign distinctive role for men and women not only in the household decision-making process but also related to education, work, and migration (see De Jong, 2010). In their study of rural Punjab, Nosheen et al. (2009) reported that women there were primarily involved in family social issues such as marriages, children's education, and maternal health care. In contrast, matters around household economics, farming and financial investment were the domain of men. The authors showed distinctly gendered one-way decision-making processes i.e., women seeking a decision from men, not the other ways round. The findings from my thesis show in further detail how this decision-making process unfolds. In the rural areas that I studied, openly involving women in household decision-making,

or acting on women's advice is often considered to bring shame to men. Therefore, most of the decisions regarding migration, investment, farming, etc., are taken outside the house, particularly in *Deras* or *baithaks* (community gathering places), where men meet to discuss and seek advice from each other on different issues. This consultation process helped to develop a collective narrative of village-level activities, which mostly results in the male dominance over financial, human, and social dimensions of resources and decision-making. After taking advice or discussion, (elder) male members of the household then discuss the issue at hand with other household members including women, based on their social status and economic position. The micro-process of decision-making seems more like an 'informing process' of other household members about decisions, rather than consultation. The man (usually the household head) has already made his decisions with his friends or other fellow male villagers. In some cases, this 'informing process' was performed for the purposes of getting access to women's valuable possessions such as gold ornaments or savings, or to seek funds from the spouse's parental family, so as to arrange finances for migration or other business investments.

Nevertheless, not all household decisions are made with consultation from outside with friends or extended family members. For instance, decisions related to marriages or matchmaking, and exchanges of gifts among relatives, are two prime examples where women have generally more say in household decision-making processes. Here too, the process is shaped by intersecting age and social status in the family: it is usually the mother (of the migrant son) who plays a central role in providing and vetting decisions (see Zafar et al. 2005). Migrant wives have mostly a passive role in the household decision-making process and are expected to follow what has been decided by household elders. Other household decisions regarding who should migrate within a household for work or education and what employment or business opportunities should be taken are still controlled and managed by men with little or no influence from women in the household. Petesch et al. (2022) recently used Kabeer's concepts of inter-generational contracts and women empowerment to examine how young men and women in rural Pakistan are challenging social norms related to household decision-making processes and negotiating for more space for their well-being and aspirations.

They argued that changing social norms may not necessarily lead to greater access to household resources and decision-making for the purpose of obtaining higher education and jobs elsewhere, especially for rural young women.

Most importantly, I have also shown that another separate decision-making process has developed between the migrant-husband and his spouse. This decision-making process is particularly related to children's education and well-being, the mobility of the migrant's wife within or outside the village to meet *her* relatives, to visit the hospital and meet immediate financial requirements (see similar findings by Anderson et al. (2016) in rural Tanzania). In these circumstances, the migrant decides in mutual consultation with his wife and the joint decision is then communicated to other household members by the man, so as to help better coordination and minimise restrictions or opposition. Additionally, I found that young women (sisters) often seek approval for their work or study in cities from their male migrant relatives, more than from other men in the households who continue to live in rural areas. They perceive a certain openness from the migrants due to their higher exposure to urban societies and therefore think they will be more supportive of their aspirations, including permitting women to work outside the house.

9.4 Implications

While my work is primarily an academic endeavour, it has potential for policy implications and wider social debates in the Pakistan policymaking and society. In this section, I briefly highlight some key findings that are relevant for policymaking and social dialogue in Pakistan.

Compared to international migration, internal migration in Pakistan has received less policy attention, and there is less empirical evidence of how this kind of migration impacts the economy and society at large. Internal (rural-urban) migration is primarily viewed by policymakers as an urbanisation issue, and often framed in discussions as a threat to urban infrastructure, services, amenities and urban dwellers (Salik et al. 2016; Sadia, 2019). A number of national policy documents such as the National Climate Change Policy (2021), Vision 2025, and the National Food Security Policy (2018), portray internal migration as a

threat and suggest for it to be 'curbed', often by proposing rural development in order to stop or reduce out-migration from rural areas. My work here has shown that migration is one of the most viable options to improve well-being across rural areas and seems to have benefits for all classes and groups of people in these rural communities. I have demonstrated that actual migration is prevalent across all socio-economic rural households including the rural poor. For migration to become a viable livelihood and income diversification strategy, rural households explore connections within local or kinship-based migrant networks that enable them to secure credible migration routes and safeguard immediate financial support for migration journeys and initial settlements periods. Although to a lesser degree, the rural poor too are able to secure migration journeys in order to pursue their own well-being aspirations and livelihoods for their families. In terms of gender, while men are the ones who usually migrate, women are actively engaged in migration processes as they provide crucial financial and moral support to migrating (husband) men in the household, without which this migration would not have been possible. The crucial role women play in migration even when they themselves do not migrate, has been shown to be the case in other migratory contexts as well, for example in Albania (see Vullnetari 2012).

The causes and reasons for migration are also multiple and complex based on the social and economic structure of rural society. For many rural households, agriculture work is not seen to match the images of 'modernity' and the lifestyle that many young people aspire to. This cultural change is a feature of at least many, if not most, rural societies through the spread of social media and digital technology. Moreover, with the impact of climate change on agriculture, migration decisions tie in with the economic and environmental aspect as well. I showed that migration is an important strategy to meet the rising costs of crop production or farming. However, the ability of many small landholding households to engage in profitable farming for supporting household expenditures is limited.

Given the circumstances, young people in rural areas have steadily lost interest in farming and are forced to migrate in order to maintain the *objective* and *subjective* well-being of their families. Likewise, I showed that such young rural migrants have found more privilege and honour in having jobs or work in the urban areas than in subsistence

farming which leaves them unable to earn enough cash to meet non-food expenditures such as better clothes, leisure, or lifestyle of their choice (see Nandi and Nedumaran, 2021). Burki et al. (2010) noted that due to structural shifts in Pakistan's economy toward the services sector during late 1970s and early 1980s, the agriculture sector fell behind in the allocation for public investments, resources, and development programmes. Overtime, this resulted in a loss of momentum in the growth of the agriculture and rural economy. At the same time, the agriculture sector employs largely under-paid or unpaid farm labour force. Qaisrani et al. (2018) noted how farm workers are mostly poorly paid in the farms and family labour of these farm workers such as wives, young men, and women are involved providing additional support which goes mostly unpaid. This situation leads to contribute to intergenerational poverty and presents challenges to food security and health in rural areas, leaving no option but to seek employment in more paid sectors in urban areas such as construction and manufacture (Qaisrani et al. 2018; Petesch et al. 2022). Additionally, my findings show that the migration of rural youth is not solely driven by low-paid or unpaid agricultural jobs but also by their aspirations for better urban lifestyle – for achieving both *objective* and *subjective* well-being. This indicates the need to invest in rural youth education and skill enhancement for better access to urban job market and gain better economic opportunities, rather than invest in trying to keep them 'fixed' in rural areas.

Likewise, my research findings relating to rural women can provide valuable insights for fulfilling national commitments within the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) framework, particularly on Goals 4 and 5 for gender-equitable opportunities for education, learning and work. My research has shown that rural women not only have the ambition to get an education and work outside the home, but also, they are eager to earn and learn new knowledge. Although rural men mainly follow the traditional patriarchal views where rural women are confined to household chores and childcare, wherever better economic opportunities are available at the local level along with better transport and security situations, these men have shown willingness to allow their female relatives to migrate for work outside the house or village. The negative impacts of some local norms, culture, or traditions, which were historically constructed to safeguard women through the notions of protection, safety, and honour, can be minimised if the local government works to improve

the local infrastructure such as transport facilities, and the enforcement of laws regarding safe mobility for women. In their research in rural Punjab, Farooq and Kayani (2014) showed that there was a change in perceptions of rural women's roles and responsibilities in society. There was an acceptance that women's role was not just about indoor household chores, childcare and cooking, but could also extend towards work outside the house, earning their own money and contributing to household financial resources. Around half of respondents in that study acknowledged this came about primarily from necessity due to the rising household economic needs. However, they also admitted there were more cultural changes at play, with media and education influencing rural life through diffusing urban lifestyles there. The change due to education of both males and females is most critical (see Farooq and Kayani, 2014; Bradley and Saigol 2012), something which I also highlighted earlier in my findings, providing meanings and aspirations of rural households to achieve higher levels of well-being.

Brewster and Padavi (2004) in the USA and Vullnetari and King (2011) in Albania argued that perceptions and changing gender roles and labour force inequalities therein have changed over time, which has created profound impacts on contemporary societies in terms of developing more egalitarian gender roles between women and men in work and employment and as a strategy to reduce poverty and underdevelopment. In Pakistan, Hou (2016) argued that with improved women's household decision-making involvement through better and direct access to financial welfare (public or private) support, the family gains more development in terms of better education, clothing, and childcare, and nutrition (see also Chaudhry and Nosheen, 2009; Hou and Ma, 2013; Saleemi and Kofol, 2022). I found that rural women are most affected by the decline in household income or assets, i.e., households limited resources for their children's adequate care and future education goals. Moreover, women's unmet personal needs, and denying them a say in household decision-making and financial resource distribution, limit their aspirations toward education and migration for work.

I argue that the rural women are now more aware of social, cultural, and economic changes occurring in their surroundings, either through the success stories of fellow women in the village or influenced by media (particularly through mass or digital media) creating a sense of have or have nots, particularly related to lifestyle changes. However, there are different

levels of preferences based on the social status and economic position of the women in the household. The elder rural women (such as a mother or mother-in-law) on the one hand, seem to support the traditional patriarchal and religious approach toward women's (mainly daughters-in-law) education and work. On the other hand, they are willing to bargain for better access to education, healthcare, clothing as well as better life-partners for their daughters and sisters. This finding emphasises the importance of social status within the family and attending to it when formulating policy, alongside gender and age. Petesch et al. (2022) found similar results in rural Pakistan, where young women are facing limitations due to village norms in terms of migration for work or employment, as well as working in agriculture and selling their produce. However, the study found that some young rural women are concealing their involvement in economic activities, in order to conform to local norms and culture. My research findings showed that women from lower social hierarchies in the village have greater mobility and access to work in the fields, while women from landholding social classes have more opportunities for jobs in the education and health sectors, such as teachers or nurses, which confirms Petesch et al.'s (2022) findings as well as provides further evidence that women's empowerment in highly patriarchal rural society is steadily on the rise.

I argue here that gender preferences for women's education, work and migration are significantly influenced by the prevalent poor economic conditions in rural areas. The economic conditions of the household are changing the social norms and preferences relationships that were historically sustained against women for education and work. Now the women in the rural household at least start to think about, or challenge the social norms or patriarchal rural settings, and bargain for their education, financial space or freedom, better childcare, modern and better lifestyle. The growing preferences of rural women are still confronted with many challenges and opposition within a household and in- and outside the village. However, better economic opportunities may trigger positive outcomes for rural women for education and migration for work.

9.5 Limitations and future research

It is important to note at this point a number of caveats related to the quantitative data available through the survey, and their analysis. First, the information collected through the survey was about the household situation after migration had taken place. In the absence of pre-migration information about variables such as household income, it is not possible to draw conclusions on causality, i.e., on whether migration positively impacted household's standard of living, or whether in fact, these were better-off households to start with.

Therefore, the thesis can only suggest possible associations between migration and well-being. The second caveat is related to some of the more subjective elements of the analysis because of who reported the information. As is often the case with such large-scale surveys, it is the household head that is asked to respond to the questions on behalf of the entire family. While this may not be a problem for some of the more 'objective' data, such as household income, it is rather biased when it comes to relaying more subjective experiences such as feelings of satisfaction with life, feelings of pessimism or optimism about the future, desire to migrate, etc. The survey is in effect capturing the feelings of one person – often the eldest man in the household – and extrapolating them to everyone in the household. These responses may differ significantly from the thoughts, perceptions, feelings, and views of other family members, particularly younger men and women, and especially when it comes to issues that are gender and age sensitive.

It was, therefore, important to gain the views of these other family members so as to inform this study through their perspectives as well. This was achieved through the use of in-depth interviews and subsequent qualitative data analysis. These insights addressed RQ 3 to help me draw conclusions around the intra-household power dynamics regarding well-being and migration outcomes. The third caveat with the quantitative data I used was that it lacked information on the household's social relationships within and across the village, which are important to understand the *relational* well-being of the migrant households. My analysis of *relational* well-being is only based on access to finance, which is a very limited proxy for this concept. The primary qualitative data again addressed this concern to some degree in that through asking different family members about their wider relationships, it helped me move away from preconceived and paternalistic notions of well-being. Instead, I explored the

meanings and aspirations of well-being in local context based on socio-economic and cultural settings.

Additionally, the findings from my research have led to the identification of several additional questions and areas of study that would help to further understand the relationship between migration and well-being. These questions can be grouped into four categories for further exploration.

Firstly, due to logistical constraints such as time and budget, my research focused on households staying behind in rural areas, rather than on the migrants themselves, or a combination of the two. This somewhat narrow approach helped a higher degree of focus and in-depth examination of the study topic. However, this approach has limitations in understanding the impact of migration on the well-being of migrants themselves, including living and working conditions, health, social integration in host urban societies, and the impact remittances have on them (King, 2018). Additionally, including the migrants in the study would have provided further insights into how migration networks are established, maintained and how they support ongoing migration flows (Bernard et al. 2022).

Secondly, migration is a multifaceted phenomenon with many factors that influence migration patterns and outcomes. Gaining a deeper understanding of internal migration can provide valuable information about societal change. However, there is still much uncertainty surrounding how internal migration interacts with different social, economic, political, and demographic factors. This uncertainty affects not just the well-being of migrants and their families, but also the society at macro scale, i.e., the political economy of internal migration within larger development framework of the country (Rajan and Bhagat, 2022). Likewise, understanding how and when internal migration may lead to international migration needs to be explored in a comprehensive and integrated manner to understand migration and well-being relationships (Vullnetari, 2020). While this study focused on internal migration, there were widespread examples in the study villages where households combined this with international migration, or indeed, where internal migration had led to migrating abroad. This is an area that requires further future investigation.

Thirdly, my research suggests the need for more inclusive research considering rural young men and women, taking into account diverse norms such as gender and inter-generational

aspects at multi-location or wider geographical scale to understand rural society and societal changes at large (Petesch et al. 2022). These models should also account for household dynamics and the interactions between agency and opportunities for effective policy and development planning support for rural youth in Pakistan.

Lastly, I show that despite expressing a desire to migrate for work or study, many rural women were denied the opportunity to do so. It is important to understand in this context how these women negotiate their migration aspirations within a given hierarchical and patriarchal rural structure. Khan (2007) noted that rural women from lower social strata have been migrating to urban cities such as Karachi, Lahore, or Faisalabad for some time, often engaged in informal domestic services sector. However, trends and patterns of this migration, and how they negotiate these movements, remain little documented. Therefore, further research is required to explore these from the perspectives of women themselves, including the understanding of what social and human capital and other resources may be required for better migration outcomes; how women can access information (about work), and make informed migration decisions essentially required to gain support within the family; how they can execute migration journeys; and importantly what well-being outcomes they expect for both themselves and their families.

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Appendix A: Descriptive statistics of key household characteristics associated with migration and well-being.

Appendix A presents the descriptive statistics, which identify the key household characteristics associated with migration and well-being. The analysis explains the first component of the conceptual framework, i.e. the socio-economic setting of rural households that include demographic characteristics, human and social capital, income and employment, livelihood-related stresses, assets and basic facilities, gender and migration drivers. The section describes results and offers key findings and conclusions.

Socio-economic settings of rural households:

The tables present key well-being and migration characteristics,²⁴ using a sampled household survey from two study sites. Assessments of variables are presented at the aggregate sample level by income poverty and migration status. This is mainly to understand which household characteristics are strongly associated with migration and well-being of rural household (research question 1). The variables are mainly measured at the household level, but individual-level cases are also examined, such as migrant characteristics, employment status, demographic information, and education.

Demographic characteristics

Table A-3 (a) presents the data on the overall gender composition of the sample. The results show that the male proportion of the sample (53%) is higher than of the female. The household head is typically an adult male aged on average 50 years or older. Female-headed households are rare. This is again a usual pattern for the Pakistani society. Comparing migrant and non-migrant households, I observe that the household head in migrant households is older than in non-migrant households (on average 54 years compared to 49 years, respectively; table A-3b). The household size in the sample tends to be large with an average of six to seven persons, which is consistent with the national average for Pakistan (NIPS and ICF, 2013; GoP, 2016a). However, poor and migrant households are larger than non-poor and non-migrant households (8 persons or above compared to 7 persons, respectively; Tables 3a and 3b).

The study sites have a very young population composition, as reflected in the proportion of the young and old in the sample. Table A-3a shows that the youngest group (0-17 years old) constitutes over 40% of the total sample, compared to those aged 56 and above, who make up only 8% of the sample. Furthermore, if we raise the age for defining 'young' people to 25 (as opposed to 17), then the share of this group goes up to 56% of the total sample. This may reflect the high fertility rates (4.2 births per women) that prevail in rural Pakistan (NIPS and ICF, 2013). Poor households on average consist of younger age compositions as compared to the non-poor (significantly, $\chi^2 = 45.55$ and 29.23, $p < 0.001$, to $p < 0.001$). For instance, nearly half of the poor households in our sample is in the young age bracket (below 17 years old), in contrast to around 36% in non-poor households. The large family size and more younger members in the poor household are possibly due to hedging against insecurity and spreading of risks which in turn are tied to precarious socio-economic conditions, as well as support during old-age difficulties (Shirazi, 1995; Bhutto and Bazmi, 2007). Table A-3(a) also demonstrates that poor households tend to have significantly ($\chi^2 = 12.47$, $p < 0.10$)

²⁴ Migration definition used in data collection: the movement of one or more household members from the household of origin during at least six months per year (or more) to a place within the country with the purpose of working, studying, or family reunification, over a distance that forces the concerned person to settle at the destination to spend the nights' (Rademacher-Schulz, 2012). Further, this definition includes both (internal and international) migration types, but for the purposes of our analysis, I will only use data about internal migration.

higher numbers of adult males within the household. However, unemployment is also significantly ($\chi^2 = 7.76, p < 0.05$) higher among poor working-age household members (Table A-3a). Furthermore, significantly higher dependency ratio among rural poor,²⁵ as compared to non-poor households. In terms of age composition and dependency ratio, a migrant is no different to non-migrant households.

Table A-1: Rural household sample categories by income poverty and permanent internal migration.

Households	Unit	Landless		Small landowners		Large landowners		Non-farm		Total	
		n	Mean (SD)	n	Mean (SD)	n	Mean (SD)	n	Mean (SD)	n	Mean (SD)
Poor	%	80	43.8 (0.49)	89	38.2 (0.49)	80	10.0 (0.30)	82	50.0 (0.50)	331	35.6 (0.48)
Non-Poor	%	80	56.3 (0.49)	89	61.8 (0.49)	80	90.0 (0.30)	82	50.0 (0.50)	331	64.4 (0.48)
Migrant (total)	%	80	27.5 (0.46)	89	28.1 (0.45)	80	30.0 (0.46)	82	32.9 (0.47)	331	29.6 (0.46)
Poor Migrant	%	22	45.5 (0.51)	25	20.0 (0.41)	24	4.2 (0.20)	27	48.1 (0.51)	98	29.6 (0.46)
Non-poor Migrant	%	22	54.5 (0.51)	25	80.0 (0.41)	24	95.8 (0.20)	27	51.9 (0.51)	98	70.4 (0.46)

Source: Migration and Well-being survey (1) conducted by PRISE in February 2016. HH=Household

Table A-2: Internal permanent migration by income quantiles

Migration status		Income quantiles			
		1 st (lowest)	2 nd	3 rd	4 th (highest)
	n=331	n=83	n=83	n=83	n=82
Migrant HH	%	14.5	26.5	33.7	43.9
Non-Migrant HH	%	85.5	73.5	66.3	56.1

Source: Migration and Well-being survey (1) conducted by PRISE in February 2016. HH=Household

Human capital

²⁵ The dependency ratio is the number of dependents relative to the total number of household members. A dependent household member in Pakistan is an individual younger than 14 and older than 65 years (Ahmad, and Asghar, 2004)

Education is one of the most neglected sectors in Pakistan, which ranked low (147 out of 188 countries) on a global scale in educational status and quality (Benz, 2012; UNDP 2016: 231–232). The survey results show a similar situation for household education attainment by income poverty and migration status.

The results indicate a very high level of illiteracy at around 35% of individuals (Table A-3a). When looking at the level of educational attainment by gender the results show that men have higher levels of formal education than women. In a sex-segregated education level, about 27% of boys and men and 44% of girls and women in the sample had never attended school. In the case of poor households, these shares are even higher, at 57% for girls and women. Similar trends in education status are also found in rural areas by other national-level surveys (NIPS and ICF, 2013; GoP, 2015). For instance, the 2013 Demographic and Health Survey (DHS) reported that over 80% of the rural population across the country had very poor levels of formal education, with 39% reporting zero years of schooling, and around 27% only primary education (NIPS and ICF, 2013).

In our results, there is a higher level of illiteracy among the poor (45% of the individuals) compared to non-poor (29%) households (Table A-3a). In addition, a statistically significant ($\chi^2 = 34.52, p < 0.001$) difference is found between poor and non-poor households when looking at the level of formal education achieved by the household head, namely lower and higher levels respectively. By contrast, no statistically significant difference is found on this aspect when comparing migrant and non-migrant households (Table A-3b).

Social capital

Migration is a highly selective process that is based on the combination of individual and household attributes, and the differential ways in which these are impacted by macro-level or structural societal factors. Table A-6 highlights the existence of migrant networks where family member and friends from the home region help migrants to settle and get work at destinations areas.

Social capital is also reflected through freedom to access or participate in socio-political networks and forums, choices, and so on. The information regarding these aspects is inadequate in our survey. As such, I will use the primary data collection as an opportunity to find out more about the social capital in relation to migration and household well-being.

Income and employment

On average, two members in each household earn cash income in the survey sample, which does not differ statistically significantly between poor and non-poor household. In contrast, there is a significant ($\chi^2 = 41.76, p < 0.001$) difference in the number of earning household members between migrant and non-migrant households – the former have on average 2.52 breadwinners compared to 1.75 members for the latter (Table A-3b).

Most of the farming households are selling at least some portion of their harvest in the market. Poor households are significantly ($\chi^2 = 24.25, p < 0.001$) engaged in subsistence farming, where all farm products are consumed within the household (Table A-3a).

Comparing the primary occupation in poor households, the data indicate that most of the poor individuals largely engaged in farming either as a farmer or as farm-labourer (table A-3a). In contrast, individuals from non-poor households are primarily engaged in non-farm activities (such as public and private sector jobs). These differences are highly significant ($\chi^2 = 20.44, p < 0.001$). Similarly, migrant households in the sample areas are less engaged in farming (34%) and working in the private and public sector (27%) compared to non-migrant households (45% and 13%, Table 3b).

Livelihood-related stresses

The majority of rural households experienced a range of livelihoods issues, which has implication for their household assets, agriculture production, and health. The section provides percentages of households that reported to be affected by different issues that potentially put their livelihood under stress in the year prior to the survey. Table A-3a indicates that the sample households face three major issues that influence their livelihood negatively: decreasing income, ill-health of household members, and natural disasters. Ill health, in particular, is a significant ($\chi^2 = 6.93$, $p < 0.001$) factor, but one which affects both poor and non-poor households.

Among the natural disasters that were reported by the respondents as impacting them, heavy storms topped the list as the single most important factor for the majority of households (around 20%). In addition, many households reported being affected by heat-stress (as expressed in 'other' options) during the summer months. This included exposure to heat-stress both in their workplaces and in their residences. However, a substantial share of households (around 38% of the total sample) reported that they had never been affected by any natural disaster. The potential reason behind this finding might be that landless and non-farm households tend to be less or not affected at all by such disasters if their livelihood are not merely dependent entirely or at all on agriculture, as compared to farming households.

There is variation within the sample in the type of impacts that households experienced due to natural disasters. Non-poor households mainly experienced a decline, or complete loss of, crops and livestock production that resulted in the loss of their livelihoods. However, poor households (25%) mainly stated the 'damage' to their houses and other properties such as shops, workshops, etc. as the main impacts of natural disasters. In addition, the affected poor households were mainly landless and farm labour-dependent, who were also affected by crop and livestock damages, even to a lesser extent, as their livelihoods were associated directly or indirectly with farming activities, albeit on someone else's land.

The survey also asked the households about any effect of climate change on their economic activities. Most of the non-poor in the sample responded positively as compared to poor households, where poor households reported being significantly ($\chi^2 = 5.85$, $p < 0.05$) less affected by climate change (Table A-3a). Among both migrant and non-migrant households, the results show no significant difference (Table A-3b).

Table A-3(a): Socio-demographic characteristics, assets, services and livelihood-related stresses by income poverty.

Socio-economic Characteristics	Unit	Level	Total	Poor	Non-Poor	χ ² test statistic (poor vs non-poor)
			Mean (SD)	Mean (SD)	Mean (SD)	
			Ind. n=2436 HH. n=331	Ind. n=963 HH. n=118	Ind. n=1473 HH. n=213	
Income and Poverty						
Poverty rate ²⁶	%	HH	36.5 (0.49)	-	-	
Monthly income in PKR	PKR	HH	33,979 (68204)	10055 (5066)	47232 (82048)	216.5** *
Monthly income in GBP ²⁷	GBP	HH	220.15 (441.9)	65.15 (32.8)	306.02 (531.6)	216.5** *
Employment						
Primary Occupation: On-Farm work	%	Ind	41.8 (3.44)	47.7 (3.63)	38.7 (3.35)	85.45** *
Primary Occupation: Private+government Job	%	Ind	17.7 (0.38)	8.3 (0.28)	22.1 (0.42)	20.44** *
HH having secondary source of income	1/0	HH	0.33 (0.47)	0.26 (0.44)	0.37 (0.48)	3.50*
Number of earning HH members	#	HH	1.98 (1.15)	1.78 (1.04)	2.08 (1.19)	7.26
Working-age population unemployed	%	Ind	56.5 (0.50)	61.1 (0.49)	54.0 (0.50)	7.76**
Farmers doing subsistence farming	%	HH	5.4 (0.57)	4.2 (0.58)	6.1 (0.53)	24.25** *
Women participation in livelihood activities	1/0	HH	0.28 (0.45)	0.28 (0.45)	0.28 (0.45)	0.00
Demographic:						
Percentage of male in sample	%	Ind	53.0 (0.50)	52.0 (0.50)	53.0 (0.50)	0.47
Number of adult male in the household	#	HH	2.32 (1.35)	2.21 (1.44)	2.39 (1.30)	12.47*
Age 17 years and below	%	Ind	41.0 (0.49)	49.0 (0.50)	36.0 (0.48)	45.55** *
Age 18-55 years	%	Ind	51.0 (0.50)	44.0 (0.50)	55.00 (0.50)	29.23** *

²⁶ Poverty rate is calculated based on World Bank's poverty line i.e. lower or middle income class (LIC) Poverty line at 99.5 in local currency (2011 PPP) / day / capita for Pakistan.

²⁷ Exchange rate GBP 1 = PKR 154.345

Age 56 years and above	%	Ind	8.0 (0.28)	7.0 (0.25)	9.0 (0.29)	5.17**
Age of household Head (years)	#	HH	50.6 (12.89)	45.5 (13.77)	52.1 (12.62)	49.29
Household size	#	HH	7.35 (3.02)	8.16 (3.22)	6.90 (2.81)	29.76**
Dependency ratio	#	HH	0.27 (0.22)	0.34 (0.21)	0.24 (0.22)	55.55**
Education status						
No Education	1/0	Ind	0.35 (0.48)	0.45 (0.50)	0.29 (0.45)	64.76** *
Number of years of education HH Head	#	HH	6.80 (5.10)	5.10 (4.65)	7.74 (5.12)	34.52** *
Number of years of education all HH members	#	HH	5.32 (3.22)	3.53 (2.15)	6.31 (3.29)	64.77** *
Any member within a HH currently enrolled	1/0	Ind	0.27 (0.45)	0.27 (0.45)	0.27 (0.45)	0.03
Assets & Basic facilities						
Ownership of livestock	%	HH	71.9 (0.45)	71.2 (0.46)	72.3 (0.45)	0.05
Access to electricity	%	HH	97.9 (0.14)	96.6 (0.18)	98.6 (0.12)	1.44
Access to piped Water Supply for drinking	%	HH	28.0 (0.45)	35.0 (0.50)	24.0 (0.43)	4.42**
Number of rooms in house	#	HH	3.05 (1.60)	2.43 (1.15)	3.40 (1.71)	40.02** *
Perception about own house condition	1-3	HH	1.83 (0.72)	2.14 (0.68)	1.67 (0.69)	32.89** *
Ownership of car, motorcycle or tractor	%	HH	59.5 (0.49)	33.1 (0.47)	74.2 (0.44)	53.31** *
Livelihood-related stresses						
Decrease in HH income	1/0	HH	0.63 (0.48)	0.81 (0.39)	0.53 (0.50)	26.92** *
Ill-health of HH members	1/0	HH	0.50 (0.50)	0.40 (0.49)	0.55 (0.50)	6.93***
Natural disasters	1/0	HH	0.21 (0.41)	0.20 (0.40)	0.21 (0.41)	0.12
Affected by natural disaster events						
Heavy storm	1/0	HH	0.21 (0.41)	0.30 (0.46)	0.17 (0.38)	7.34***
Other (heat stress)	1/0	HH	0.20 (0.40)	0.14 (0.34)	0.24 (0.43)	5.07**
Never been affected	1/0	HH	0.38 (0.49)	0.43 (0.50)	0.35 (0.48)	2.01

Damages by Natural Disasters						
HH affected (property/house) by storms	1/0	HH	0.18 (0.38)	0.25 (0.43)	0.14 (0.35)	5.71**
Crops affected/destroyed	1/0	HH	0.45 (0.50)	0.33 (0.47)	0.51 (0.50)	10.09** *
Loss of livelihood	1/0	HH	0.20 (0.40)	0.25 (0.44)	0.17 (0.38)	3.46*
Economic activities affected by climate change	1/0	HH	0.51 (21.27)	0.42 (23.12)	0.55 (20.70)	5.85**

Notes: Migration and Well-being survey conducted by PRISE in February 2016. HH=Household; Ind=Individual; #= indicates continuous variable; 1/0= means dummy variable; 1-3=Better/Same/Worse. Asterisks indicate significance of χ^2 tests: *** for $p < 0.01$; ** for $p < 0.05$; * for $p < 0.10$

Assets and basic facilities

Most of the households in the sample have livestock; the percentage is slightly higher among non-migrant households (73%) as compared to migrant households (69%, Table A-3a). No significant difference is found with regards to livestock ownership between poor and non-poor households. Almost the same percentage of the household have access to electricity. In terms of sources of drinking water, the non-poor have significantly ($\chi^2 = 4.42, p < 0.05$) more access to piped water (35%) when compared to poor households (24%). Moreover, access to drinking water sources (piped water supply) is significantly ($\chi^2 = 17.94, p < 0.001$) higher (44%) among migrant households than among non-migrant households (21%).

A highly significant ($\chi^2 = 40.02, p < 0.001$) difference is found in the total number of rooms in a house among the poor and the non-poor, while the difference is slightly significant ($\chi^2 = 15.64, p < 0.10$) among migrant and non-migrant households (Tables A-3a and A-3b). In addition, migrant and non-poor households considered their houses to be better than other houses in their village, whereas the non-migrant and the poor perceived their houses to be in the same or worse condition.

Gender

Table A-3a shows that women are participating in livelihood related activities (around 28% of the total sample). This includes both on-farm and non-farm activities. Participation is relatively higher (but statistically insignificant) among migrant households (31%), compared to the non-migrant households. As far as reasons for more women's participation among migrant household is unclear from the current (secondary) survey dataset. However, the work of Siegmann (2010) and Gioli et al., (2014) reported the increase of women's participation in agricultural related activities when men out-migrate. This aspect will be further explored when analysing the data that I collected through in-depth interviews in these same villages. Furthermore, only 15 women (10%) are migrants among 144 total migrant individuals in the sample. Most of these women are from non-poor households, while half of them being highly educated (having 10 to 16 years of formal schooling). These women are mostly unmarried (11 out of 15), with an average age of 23 years who mainly migrate for education purposes. Only 4 women migrated for work and remaining for other reasons such as to accompany a male migrant relative at the destination.

Table A-3(b): Socio-demographic characteristics, assets, services and livelihood-related stresses by migration status.

Household Characteristics	Unit	Level	Total	Migrant	Non-Migrant	χ^2 test statistic (migrant vs non-migrant)
			Mean (SD)	Mean (SD)	Mean (SD)	
			Ind. n=2436 HH. n=331	Ind. n=828 HH. n=98	Ind. n=1608 HH. n=233	
Income and Poverty						
Poverty rate ²⁸	%	HH	36.5 (0.49)	29.6 (0.46)	38.2 (0.49)	2.23
Monthly income in PKR	#	HH	33979 (68204)	44686 (108227)	29475 (40629)	174.22* *
Monthly income in GBP ²⁹	#	HH	220.15 (441.89)	289.5 (701.2)	191.0 (263.2)	174.22* *
Employment						
Primary Occupation: On-farm work	%	Ind	41.8 (3.44)	34.4 (3.35)	45.3 (3.42)	51.95** *
Primary Occupation: Private+government Job	%	Ind	17.7 (3.82)	26.9 (0.44)	12.5 (0.33)	23.77** *
HH having secondary source of income	1/0	HH	0.33 (0.47)	0.30 (0.46)	0.34 (0.48)	0.61
Number of earning members	#	HH	1.98 (1.15)	2.52 (1.20)	1.75 (1.06)	41.76** *
Working-age population unemployed	%	Ind	56.5 (0.50)	53.6 (0.50)	58.0 (0.49)	2.95*
Farmers doing subsistence farming	%	HH	5.4 (0.57)	4.1 (0.56)	6.0 (0.57)	1.68
Women participation in livelihood activities	1/0	HH	0.28 (0.45)	0.31 (0.46)	0.27 (0.44)	0.55
Demographic						
Percentage of male in sample	1/0	Ind	0.53 (0.50)	0.54 (0.50)	0.52 (0.50)	1.36
Number of adult male in the household	#	HH	2.32 (1.350)	2.86 (1.36)	2.32 (1.35)	27.53** *
Age 17 years and below	1/0	Ind	0.41 (0.49)	0.41 (0.49)	0.41 (0.49)	0.04
Age 18-55 years	1/0	Ind	0.51 (0.50)	0.51 (0.50)	0.51 (0.50)	0.00

²⁸ Poverty rate is calculated based on World Bank's poverty line i.e. lower middle income class (LIC) Poverty line at 99.5 in local currency (2011 PPP) / day / capita for Pakistan.

²⁹ Exchange rate GBP 1 = PKR 154.345

Age 56 years and above	1/0	Ind	0.08 (0.28)	0.09 (0.28)	0.08 (0.27)	0.22
Age of household Head (years)	#	HH	50.6 (12.89)	53.5 (12.26)	49.4 (12.98)	76.84**
Household size	#	HH	7.35 (3.02)	8.45 (3.20)	6.89 (2.82)	35.45** *
Dependency ratio	#	HH	0.27 (0.22)	0.27 (0.22)	0.28 (0.22)	29.48
Education status						
No Education	1/0	Ind	0.35 (0.48)	0.33 (0.47)	0.36 (0.48)	2.13
Number of years of education HH Head	#	HH	6.80 (5.10)	7.39 (5.29)	6.55 (5.01)	16.25
Number of years of education all HH members	#	HH	5.32 (3.22)	5.97 (3.38)	5.05 (3.11)	20.13
Any member within a HH currently enrolled	1/0	Ind	0.27 (0.45)	0.26 (0.44)	0.28 (0.45)	1.12
Assets & Basic facilities:						
Ownership of livestock	%	HH	71.9 (0.45)	69.4 (0.46)	73.0 (0.45)	0.44
Access to electricity	%	HH	97.9 (0.14)	98.0 (0.14)	97.9 (0.15)	0.00
Access to piped Water Supply for drinking	%	HH	28.0 (0.45)	44.0 (0.50)	21.0 (0.41)	17.94** *
Number of rooms in house	#	HH	3.05 (1.60)	3.40 (1.71)	3.00 (1.56)	15.64*
Perception about own house condition	1-3	HH	1.83 (0.72)	1.71 (0.73)	1.88 (0.71)	5.57*
Ownership of car, motorcycle or tractor	%	HH	59.5 (0.49)	61.2 (0.49)	58.8 (0.49)	0.17
Livelihood-related stresses:						
Decrease in HH income	1/0	HH	0.63 (0.48)	0.69 (0.46)	0.60 (0.49)	2.56
Ill-health of HH members	1/0	HH	0.50 (0.50)	0.46 (0.50)	0.51 (0.50)	0.73
Natural disasters	1/0	HH	0.21 (0.41)	0.19 (0.40)	0.21 (0.41)	0.11
Affected by natural disaster events:						
Heavy storm	1/0	HH	0.21 (0.41)	0.13 (0.34)	0.25 (0.43)	5.54**
Other (heat stress)	1/0	HH	0.20 (0.40)	0.23 (0.43)	0.19 (0.39)	0.90
Never been affected	1/0	HH	0.38 (0.49)	0.43 (0.50)	0.36 (0.48)	1.36
Damages by natural disasters:						
HH affected (property/house) by storms	1/0	HH	0.18 (0.38)	0.23 (0.43)	0.15 (0.36)	3.03*
Crops affected/destroyed	1/0	HH	0.45 (0.50)	0.42 (0.50)	0.46 (0.50)	0.47

Loss of livelihood	1/0	HH	0.20 (0.40)	0.20 (0.41)	0.20 (0.40)	0.12
Economic activities affected by climate change	1/0	HH	0.51(21.27)	0.48 (19.40)	0.52 (22.44)	0.89

Notes: Migration and Well-being survey conducted by PRISE in February 2016. HH=Household; Ind=Individual; #= indicates **continuous** variable; 1/0= means dummy variable; 1-3=Better/Same/Worse. Asterisks indicate significance of χ^2 tests: *** for $p < 0.01$; ** for $p < 0.05$; * for $p < 0.10$.

Migration decisions, characteristics and drivers

Migration decisions and support networks: Table A-6 shows that although some discussion within the household does take place, ultimately, the final decision-making on migration rests with the household head, who is also most often an older male. This pattern is more pronounced among poor than non-poor migrant households. This migration decision is overwhelmingly based on information from networks of extended family and friends, which showed to be the most important sources for migration-related information in both household groups (Table A-6). The significance of social networks extends to the post-migration phase, as reflected by the finding that these networks in destination areas are crucial in helping new migrants to settle. However, no significant difference is observed in these characteristics in both household groups.

Once the decision to migrate is made, the financial capital needed to cover migration costs was arranged through multiple sources, the most important of which are household's savings and loans (Table A-6). Although, we need to bear in mind that such processes are not linear, and the migration decision may not be made until after funds to finance the move have been secured. As expected, savings are particularly significant ($\chi^2 = 3.79$, $p < 0.05$) amongst non-poor households. A common strategy to raise funds for migration, among both poor and non-poor households, is the selling of livestock and property. This may be a reason why migrant households possess less livestock, as compared to non-migrant ones (Table A-3b).

Who migrates – key characteristics: In rural Pakistan, the typical migrant is young, mostly men, aged on average 28 years and has completed on average 8-10 years of schooling. Even no or modest level of education may also generate migration. This is evident from the data that migrants with no formal education are also common, mainly among poor household [highly significant ($\chi^2 = 8.17$, $p < 0.001$) with 22 %], as compared to the non-poor (Table A-4). More than half of migrants are married, with no significant difference among poor and non-poor households. Furthermore, no significant differences among poor and non-poor households can be noted in relation to other characteristics such as household size, mean monthly income and number of earning members in the household (Table A-4).

Migration literature suggests that *poorest* people are less likely to migrate, unless they are able to accumulate a certain level of financial and social resources required for managing migration costs (Skeldon, 1997). However, scholars also argue that internal migration is common among the *poorer* in society as a key livelihood strategy (Deshinger and Grimm, 2005; Vullnetari, 2019). The analysis of the survey data suggests this is the case for the poorest rural household respondents in our sample. Table A-2, shows that about 15 % of the poorer in these rural areas also migrate.

Rural women are less likely to migrate out of these rural areas (only 10% compared to men; Table A-4). The difference is not significant among poor and non-poor rural households. This may be due to

traditional perspective in rural Pakistan regarding women’s role in family care or housework, whereby they are considered as less capable of dealing with uncertainties in life outside of the house, as well as the issues of ‘purdah’ and associated family prestige (Gioli *et al.*, 2014).

Remittances: Most of the migrant households (poor and non-poor) received monetary remittances, but there was no large difference compared to current mean monthly household income between the two groups (Table A-4). Remittances made a major contribution to the household income, particularly so for poorer households. For instance, for 38% of the poor migrant households remittances contributed more than half of their monthly income. Although this share was lower in non-poor households, it was still substantial (half or less for over a third of such households). Remittances were predominately used to buy food, pay for health and education-related costs, and overall consumer goods. No difference was apparent from the data available between the two types of households in these specific uses. The differences were noted in other uses such as debt repayment and investment. For instance, poor migrant households used a higher share of remittances for debt repayment as compared to non-poor households. As expected, the non-poor households use remittances (about 23 % of the total remittances) also for investment purposes such as purchasing livestock and or paying for agricultural activities (Table A-4). However, the share of spending for such purposes is rather low for both household groups.

Table A-4: Migrant characteristics and financial remittances among migrant households by income poverty.

Migrant Households Characteristics	Unit	Level	Total		Poor		Non-poor		χ ² test statistic (poor vs. non-poor)
			Obs	Mean (SD)	Obs	Mean (SD)	Obs	Mean (SD)	
Who migrates?									
Migrant’s Age (in years)	#	Ind	144	27.81(12.16)	41	25.95 (13.15)	103	28.54 (11.73)	50.31
Gender migrant– Male	1/0	Ind	144	0.90 (0.31)	41	0.93 (0.26)	103	0.88 (0.32)	0.59
Marital status - Unmarried	1/0	Ind	144	0.45 (0.58)	41	0.46 (0.51)	103	0.45 (0.61)	0.72
No Education/illiterate	1/0	Ind	144	0.10 (0.31)	41	0.22 (0.42)	103	0.06 (0.24)	8.17***
Household size	#	HH	98	8.45	29	9.62	69	7.96	19.31
Monthly income in PKR	#	HH	98	44686 (108227)	29	9462 (4692)	69	59490 (126285)	83.60
Earning member	#	HH	98	2.52 (1.20)	29	2.28 (1.10)	69	2.62 (1.23)	2.42
Remittances:									
HH received remittances	1/0	HH	98	0.71	29	0.72 (18.16)	69	0.71 (0.46)	2.56

Size of remittances compared to current mean monthly HH income:									
Less than half	%	HH	13	13.3 (0.88)	2	6.9 (0.87)	11	15.9 (0.89)	2.10
Half	%	HH	19	19.4 (0.87)	6	20.7 (0.85)	13	18.8 (0.88)	0.25
More than Half	%	HH	31	31.6 (0.82)	11	37.9 (0.79)	20	29.0 (0.84)	0.78
Full or more	%	HH	8	8.2 (0.89)	3	10.3 (0.87)	5	7.2 (0.91)	0.42
Use of remittances									
Food consumption	%	HH	56	57.1 (0.63)	17	58.6 (0.64)	39	56.5 (0.62)	0.47
Purchase of consumer goods	%	HH	29	29.6 (0.84)	7	44.8 (0.86)	22	31.9 (0.83)	1.59
Health care	%	HH	49	50.0 (0.70)	13	57.1 (0.76)	36	52.2 (0.67)	2.34
Repayments of debits	%	HH	13	13.3 (0.91)	9	31.0 (0.83)	4	5.8 (0.94)	11.43***
Investments in livestock/agriculture/other business	%	HH	17	17.3 (0.89)	2	6.9 (0.90)	15	22.7 (0.88)	4.50
Expenses on education	%	HH	17	17.3 (0.89)	6	20.7 (0.87)	11	15.9 (0.91)	0.61
Other	%	HH	2	2.0 (0.94)	1	3.4 (0.91)	1	1.4 (0.96)	0.81

Notes: Migration and Well-being survey conducted by PRISE in February 2016. HH=Household; Ind=Individual; #= indicates continuous variable; 1/0= means dummy variable. Asterisks indicate significance of χ^2 tests: *** for $p < 0.01$; ** for $p < 0.05$; * for $p < 0.10$

Why do people migrate? The vast majority of respondents (nearly 80%) selected 'work' as the reason for migration in their household, while 24% stated 'education'. As expected, migration for education is higher amongst non-poor households, but results are not significantly different from the poor.³⁰

The intention for return migration: A slightly higher share of migrants from non-poor than poor households intends to return to their village or region of origin (73% compared to 62% respectively; Table A-6). However, this is mainly on a temporary basis. Interestingly, respondents from poor migrant households expressed their intention for their migrant member to return permanently in more cases than non-poor household (32% compared to 25% respectively).³¹

Why do people not migrate? Understanding why people do not migrate, is important. Migration studies have usually ignored this question, focusing as they do predominantly on migrants and to some degree on their left-behind households (Phongsiri et al. 2023). Table A-6 addresses this question by showing the reasons why the household is not migrating or has decided to stay at home

³⁰ These reasons do not include migration due to marriage, which according to the virilocal custom in Pakistan means almost always a change of place of residence for the woman, who joins her husband's household upon marriage.

³¹ Two remarks at this stage: i) this is only a stated intention and literature has shown how it differs significantly from the *actual* migration; ii) this is the intention as stated by the migrant's family (household head), not the migrant themselves.

in the rural areas of origin. The most important reason for not migrating is not having enough financial resources for migration, which is 44% for poor and 63% for non-poor households. In contrast, the lack of network connections in the destination areas (though insignificant for both groups) is not an important reason for non-migration. Table A-6 presents other reasons for not migrating which include feeling close to family and kin in the village/local rural area, being satisfied with their current lifestyle (highly significant, $\chi^2 = 7.02$, $p < 0.001$) and taking care of frail elderly and children.

Migration *drivers* are reported in Table A-7. The migration drivers are presented under social, economic, environmental, livelihood/food (in)security and political/conflicts factors. During the administration of the survey, the selected households (both migrant and non-migrant) were asked to choose these migration drivers, which they in general considered important or not important. The results show that households by income poverty considered two key factors motivating their migration to urban destinations, namely: i) better job opportunities (70% of poor and 81% of non-poor households selected this), and ii) achieving better living standards (56% of poor and 63% of non-poor households). Additional factors that were seen as major drivers for migration included: lack of education and health facilities in their rural areas, dissatisfaction with their current livelihoods, food insecurity and declining agriculture production (for sale and home consumption). In relation to environmental factors, lack of water (quantity and quality) is the foremost reason related to migration, even more important than floods, rainfall shifts and soil degradation (Table A-7). Those households that already had (a)migrant member(s) considered a lack of education (56%) and better job opportunities in urban areas (88%) as important reasons to migrate. This is significantly ($\chi^2 = 9.04$, $p < 0.001$) different to non-migrant households who considered the following as important (also statistically significant, $\chi^2 = 5.15$, $p < 0.05$) reasons to migrate: poor soil quality, declining agricultural (crop and livestock) production for home and sale purposes, shifts in seasonal rainfall and less financial resources to buy food.

Table A-5(a): Subjective and Relational well-being and food insecurity by income poverty and by migration status.

Household Characteristics		Total	Migrant	Non-Migrant	χ^2 test statistic (migrant vs. non-migrant)	Poor	Non-Poor	χ^2 test statistic (poor vs. non-poor)
		Mean (SD)	Mean (SD)	Mean (SD)		Mean (SD)	Mean (SD)	
	Unit	n=331	n=98	n=233		n=118	n=213	
Subjective Well-being								
Easiness to deal with major problems in life	-2 to 2 ^a	-0.81 (1.42)	-0.44 (1.49)	-0.97 (1.36)	12.99** *	-1.36 (1.16)	-0.50 (1.45)	29.83** *
Experience of learning	-2 to 2 ^b	-0.25 (0.86)	-0.16 (0.97)	-0.28 (0.81)	7.30*	-0.54 (0.69)	-0.08 (0.90)	21.85** *

Feeling meaning & purpose in life	-2 to 2 ^c	0.67 (0.95)	0.93 (0.80)	0.56 (0.99)	13.67** *	0.31 (1.07)	0.87 (0.81)	30.82** *
Autonomy and control	-2 to 2 ^c	0.49 (1.27)	0.61 (1.33)	0.44 (1.24)	8.84*	0.14 (1.31)	0.69 (1.20)	19.42** *
Chances to show competence	-2 to 2 ^c	0.31 (1.18)	0.32 (1.31)	0.31 (1.11)	9.02*	0.13 (1.16)	0.42 (1.17)	11.46**
Optimistic about future	-2 to 2 ^c	0.66 (0.96)	0.85 (0.96)	0.58 (0.96)	11.90**	0.36 (1.01)	0.83 (0.90)	25.31** *
Plan and prepare for the future	-2 to 2 ^c	0.65 (1.08)	0.74 (1.10)	0.61 (1.07)	3.35	0.43 (1.15)	0.77 (1.02)	9.14**
Current job satisfaction	-2 to 2 ^d	0.24 (1.30)	0.60 (1.22)	0.09 (1.31)	20.09** *	-0.03 (1.30)	0.39 (1.28)	18.51** *
Overall satisfaction to present life	-2 to 2 ^d	0.30 (1.29)	0.55 (1.26)	0.19 (1.29)	11.75**	-0.05 (1.27)	0.49 (1.26)	26.49** *
Relational Well-being								
Ability to take loan	1/0	0.76 (0.43)	0.66 (0.48)	0.80 (0.40)	10.75** *	0.81 (0.40)	0.74 (0.44)	1.93*
Loan taken from formal sector	%	6.0 (0.88)	9.2 (0.93)	4.7 (0.85)	7.92**	1.7 (0.82)	8.5 (0.91)	10.71** *
Loan taken from informal sector	%	66.8 (0.54)	56.1 (0.61)	71.2 (0.51)	7.29**	77.1 (0.44)	61.0 (0.59)	11.41** *
Coping with Food (in)security								
Not enough food or money to buy food (in last 3 years)	%	90.3 (0.30)	87.8 (0.33)	91.4 (0.28)	1.06	98.3 (0.13)	85.9 (0.35)	13.35** *
Coping strategies to food insecurity:								
Modify food production to increase output	%	18.7 (0.39)	21.4 (0.41)	17.6 (0.38)	0.67	7.6 (0.27)	24.9 (0.43)	14.85** *
Reduce HH food consumption	%	37.5 (0.49)	40.8 (0.49)	36.1 (0.48)	0.67	53.4 (0.50)	28.6 (0.45)	19.86** *
Diversify income activities	%	11.5 (0.32)	16.3 (0.37)	9.4 (0.29)	3.22*	7.6 (0.27)	13.6 (0.34)	2.68
Sell HH assets	%	32.6 (0.47)	33.7 (0.48)	32.2 (0.47)	0.07	41.5 (0.50)	27.7 (0.45)	6.60***

Reduce expenditure other than food	%	31.7 (0.47)	25.5 (0.44)	34.3 (0.48)	2.48	34.7 (0.48)	30.0 (0.46)	0.77
Rely on external help	%	56.7 (0.50)	52.0 (0.50)	58.4 (0.49)	1.12	60.2 (0.49)	54.5 (0.50)	1.01

Notes: Migration and Well-being survey conducted by PRISE in February 2016. HH=Household; Ind=Individual; #= indicates continuous variable; 1/0= means dummy variable; -2 to 2^a = Very difficult, difficult, neutral, easy, very easy; -2 to 2^b =neve, rarely, occasionally, a moderate amount, a great deal; -2 to 2^c = disagree strongly, disagree, neutral, agree, agree strongly; -2 to 2^d =very dissatisfied, dissatisfied, unsure, satisfied, very satisfied. Asterisks indicate significance of χ^2 tests: *** for $p < 0.01$; ** for $p < 0.05$; * for $p < 0.10$

Well-being perceptions and food (in) security strategies

Tables A-5a and A-5b show the results for different *subjective well-being* indicators, mainly perceptions among migrant and non-migrant as well as poor and non-poor households. The household's perception was estimated with a Likert scale with -2 to 2 categories i.e., extremely easy, easy, neutral, difficult and very difficult. In case of 'current job satisfaction' and 'overall satisfaction to present life' indicators on the Likert scale measure from -2 to 2 categories i.e., very satisfied, satisfied, unsure, dissatisfied and very dissatisfied.

The mean values of *subjective well-being* indicators of migrant households are at a relatively higher scale of easiness and satisfaction as compared to their non-migrant households (Table A-5a). However, the difference is statistically significant ($\chi^2 = 12.99, 7.30, 13.67, 8.84, 9.02, 11.90,$ and $20.09, p < 0.001, p < 0.10, p < 0.001, p < 0.10, p < 0.10, p < 0.05, p < 0.001, p < 0.05$) in all well-being indicators among migrant and non-migrant households, except for 'plan and prepare for future' indicator (Table A-5a). On the other hand, highly significant differences ($\chi^2 = 29.83, 21.84, 11.46, 25.31, 9.14, 18.51,$ and $26.49, p < 0.001, p < 0.001, p < 0.001, p < 0.001, p < 0.05, p < 0.001, p < 0.001, p < 0.001$) are observed in all well-being indicators among poor and non-poor households (Table A-5a). Interestingly, the difference becomes insignificant in all well-being indicators when comparing migrant and non-migrant' perceptions for poor household category (Table A-5b). For the non-poor household category, the migrant and non-migrants household perceptions of well-being are significant ($\chi^2 = 10.40, 21.52,$ and $14.20, p < 0.05, p < 0.001, p < 0.001$) only for 'easiness to deal with the problem in life', 'feeling meaning and purpose in life', 'current job satisfaction' and 'overall satisfaction to present life'.

As regards the measure of household *relational well-being*, the finding in Table A-5a indicates that during times of need all households take loans from both formal and informal sources.³² In this regard, all rural household take loans for livelihood activities such as farming, starting a business, etc. as well as to cover immediate basic needs such as food, but also for marriages, to meet migration costs and deal with health issues. For instance, migrant households take fewer loans compared to non-migrant households (66% compared to 80%, respectively) (Table A-5a). The ability to take a loan from the formal sector (such as banks) was reportedly significantly higher ($\chi^2 = 7.29, p < 0.05$) among migrant and non-poor households (Table A-5a). In contrast and unsurprisingly, non-

³² For the purpose of the study, I consider 'taking loan' as an ability to overcome financial constraints when essentially required for household well-being or migration purposes.

migrant and poor households relied much more on the informal sector for such loans (such as friends, relatives and neighbours). However, comparing migrant and non-migrants within the poor household category shows no significant difference on their ability to take out formal and informal loans, but this difference is highly significant ($\chi^2 = 10.71, p < 0.001$) within the non-poor category (Table A-5b).

Table A-5(b): Subjective and Relational well-being and food insecurity by income poverty and migration status.

Household Characteristics		Poor			Non-Poor		
		Migrant	Non-migrant	χ^2 test statistic (migrant vs. non-migrant)	Migrant	Non-migrant	χ^2 test statistic (migrant vs. non-migrant)
Total number of HH=331		n=29	n=89		n=69	n=144	
	Unit	Mean (SD)	Mean (SD)		Mean (SD)	Mean (SD)	
Well-being perceptions							
Easiness to deal major problems in life	-2 to 2 ^a	-1.34 (1.20)	-1.37 (1.15)	2.81	-0.06 (1.44)	-0.72 (1.41)	11.07**
Experience of learning	-2 to 2 ^b	-0.62 (0.73)	-0.52 (0.68)	6.11	0.03 (1.00)	-0.14 (0.85)	4.46
Feeling meaning & purpose in life	-2 to 2 ^c	0.46 (0.96)	0.24 (1.10)	2.08	1.10 (0.65)	0.76 (0.86)	10.40**
Autonomy and control	-2 to 2 ^c	0.24 (1.41)	0.10 (1.28)	4.67	0.77 (1.27)	0.65 (1.17)	5.40
Chances to show competence	-2 to 2 ^c	0.00 (1.34)	0.17 (1.10)	2.84	0.45 (1.29)	0.40 (1.12)	5.45
Optimistic about future	-2 to 2 ^c	0.48 (1.12)	0.31 (0.97)	5.65	1.00 (1.29)	0.75 (0.91)	5.94
Plan and prepare for the future	-2 to 2 ^c	0.45 (1.15)	0.43 (1.16)	1.35	0.87 (1.06)	0.72 (1.01)	3.81
Current job satisfaction	-2 to 2 ^d	-0.10 (1.15)	-0.01 (1.28)	2.62	0.90 (1.02)	0.15 (1.33)	21.54** *
Overall satisfaction to present life	-2 to 2 ^d	-0.38 (1.45)	0.06 (1.20)	6.17	0.94 (0.94)	0.28 (1.34)	14.20** *
Relational Well-being							
Ability to take loan	1/0	82.8 (0.38)	79.8 (0.40)	0.12	59.4 (0.50)	80.6 (0.40)	10.75** *

Loan taken from formal sector	%	3.4 (0.78)	1.1 (0.84)	1.00	11.6 (0.95)	6.9 (0.86)	9.87***
Loan taken from informal sector	%	79.3 (0.44)	76.4 (0.44)	1.00	46.4 (0.67)	68.1 (0.54)	9.29***
Coping with Food (in)security							
Not enough food or money to buy food (in last 3 years)	1/0	100 (0.00)	97.8 (0.15)	0.66	82.6 (0.39)	87.5 (0.33)	2.62
Coping strategies to food insecurity:							
Modify food production to increase output	%	3.4 (0.19)	9.0 (0.29)	0.95	29.0 (0.46)	22.9 (0.42)	0.92
Reduce HH food consumption	%	62.1 (0.49)	50.6 (0.50)	1.16	31.9 (0.47)	27.1 (0.45)	0.53
Diversify income activities	%	13.8 (0.35)	5.6 (0.23)	2.08	17.4 (0.38)	11.8 (0.32)	1.24
Sell HH assets	%	48.3 (0.51)	39.3 (0.49)	0.72	27.5 (0.45)	27.8 (0.45)	0.00
Reduce expenditure other than food	%	37.9 (0.49)	33.7 (0.48)	0.17	20.3 (0.41)	34.7 (0.48)	4.62**
Rely on external help	%	69.0 (0.47)	57.3 (0.50)	0.27	44.9 (0.50)	59.0 (0.49)	3.74**

Notes: Migration and Well-being survey conducted by PRISE in February 2016. HH=Household; Ind=Individual; #= indicates continuous variable; 1/0= means dummy variable. -2 to 2^a = Very difficult, difficult, neutral, easy, very easy; -2 to 2^b = neve, rarely, occasionally, a moderate amount, a great deal; -2 to 2^c = disagree strongly, disagree, neutral, agree, agree strongly; -2 to 2^d =very dissatisfied, dissatisfied, unsure, satisfied, very satisfied; Asterisks indicate significance of χ^2 tests: *** for $p < 0.01$; ** for $p < 0.05$; * for $p < 0.10$

Coping with food insecurity: Food insecurity is reported as a major issue among all types of households in the sample rural areas.³³ No significant difference appeared between migrant and non-migrant households, but the difference on reporting on having experienced food insecurity was highly significant ($\chi^2 = 13.35$, $p < 0.001$) when comparing poor and non-poor households (Table A-5a). In order to deal with the food insecurity situation, rural households used a variety of coping strategies as shown in Table A-5a. The most important of these are: i) to modify food production so as to increase output (8% by poor and 25% by non-poor households), ii) reduce food consumption (53% by poor and 29% by non-poor households) and iii) selling of assets (42% by poor and 28% by non-poor). Relying on external help is also an important (though insignificant) strategy among (60% poor and (55%) by non-poor household. The external help includes borrowing money, government

³³ Here we use (during data collection) FAO's definition of *food security* which states that 'food security exists when all people, at all times, have physical and economic access to sufficient, safe, and nutritious food that meets their dietary needs and food preferences for an active and healthy life' (World Food Summit, 1996).

or non-governmental financial and in-kind support. The coping strategies for reducing food insecurity is found as not significant difference (except for less significant 'diversify income activities') among migrant and non-migrant household members (Table A-5a). This provides an indication of the severity of food insecurity situation in rural households. Nevertheless, several other factors determine the food insecurity of a household but we need to determine what would have happened in the absence of remittances from migration.

Table A-6: Migration decisions and *desire*, network support, migration finance, and intention of return by income poverty

Households Characteristics	Unit	Total		Poor		Non-poor		χ^2 test statistic (poor vs. non-poor)
		Obs.	Mean (SD)	Obs.	Mean (SD)	Obs.	Mean (SD)	
Who decides about migration?								
HH head	%	65	66.3 (0.48)	21	72.4 (0.46)	44	63.8 (0.48)	0.68
Migrant himself/herself	%	9	9.2 (0.29)	5	17.2 (0.38)	4	5.8 (0.24)	3.21*
Consent from HH members	%	24	24.5 (0.43)	3	10.3 (0.31)	21	30.4 (0.46)	4.46**
To whom you discuss migration decisions apart from HH members:								
Friends	%	54	55.1 (0.50)	17	58.6 (0.50)	37	53.6 (0.50)	0.21
Neighbours	%	7	7.1 (0.26)	2	6.9 (0.26)	5	7.2 (0.26)	0.00
Village elders	%	3	3.1 (0.17)	1	3.4 (0.19)	2	2.9 (0.17)	0.02
Extended family members	%	37	37.8 (0.49)	9	31.0 (0.47)	28	40.6 (0.50)	0.79
Other	%	9	9.2 (0.29)	2	6.9 (0.26)	7	10.1 (0.30)	0.26
Access to Social network support:								
Family members	%	44	44.9 (0.50)	14	48.3 (0.51)	30	43.5 (0.50)	0.19
Friends from home region	%	16	16.3 (0.37)	4	13.8 (0.35)	12	17.4 (0.38)	0.19
Neighbours	%	3	3.1 (0.17)	1	3.4 (0.19)	2	2.9 (0.17)	0.02
Nobody	%	30	30.6(0.46)	8	27.6 (0.46)	22	31.9 (0.47)	0.18
How manage migration cost?								
Savings	%	52	53.1 (0.50)	11	37.9 (0.49)	41	59.4 (0.50)	3.79**

Loans	%	31	31.6 (0.47)	8	27.6 (0.46)	23	33.3 (0.48)	0.31
Selling livestock	%	13	13.3 (0.34)	4	13.8 (0.35)	9	13.0 (0.34)	0.01
Selling other property	%	12	12.2 (0.33)	3	10.3 (0.31)	9	13.0 (0.34)	0.14
Non-farm income	%	7	7.2 (0.26)	1	3.6 (0.19)	6	8.7 (0.28)	0.78
Remittances from migrant's relative	%	3	3.1 (0.17)	1	3.4 (0.19)	2	2.9 (0.17)	0.02
Other	%	3	3.1 (0.17)	2	6.9 (0.26)	1	1.4 (0.12)	2.04
Migration desire								
Likely to migrate if opportunity is available	1/0	331	0.57 (0.50)	118	0.54 (0.50)	213	0.59 (0.49)	0.72
Internal	%	145	43.9	48	41.0	97	45.5	1.21
International	%	47	13.9	15	12.8	31	14.6	
Why do people migrate?								
Work	%	79	80.6 (0.40)	25	86.2 (0.35)	54	78.3 (0.42)	0.83
Education	%	24	24.5 (0.43)	4	13.8 (0.35)	20	29.0 (0.46)	2.55
Other	%	3	3.1 (0.17)	1	3.4 (0.19)	2	2.9 (0.17)	0.02
Why do people not migrate?								
Not enough financial resources to migrate	%	92	39.5 (0.49)	39	43.8 (0.50)	53	63.2 (0.48)	1.13
No network connection at destination	%	30	12.9 (0.34)	11	12.4 (0.33)	19	13.2 (0.34)	0.03
I do not want to be separated from my HH	%	47	20.2 (0.40)	14	15.7 (0.37)	33	22.9 (0.42)	0.18
We are happy and wanted to stay at home	%	62	26.6 (0.44)	15	16.9 (0.38)	47	32.6 (0.47)	7.02***
I had to take care of my family members	%	35	15.0 (0.36)	13	14.6 (0.36)	22	15.3 (0.36)	0.02

Other HH members wanted me to stay	%	23	9.9 (0.30)	6	6.7 (0.25)	17	11.8 (0.32)	1.59
Intention for return migration								
	1/0	98	0.70 (19.26)	29	0.62 (26.55)	69	0.73 (0.45)	5.62*
If yes, how many migrants intended to return permanently	1/0	68	0.27 (16.56)	29	0.32 (30.70)	69	0.25 (0.43)	6.02**

Notes: Migration and Well-being survey conducted by PRISE in February 2016. HH=Household; Ind=Individual; #= indicates continuous variable; 1/0= means dummy variable. Asterisks indicate significance of χ^2 tests: *** for $p<0.01$; ** for $p<0.05$; * for $p<0.10$

Table A-7: Migration drivers/reasons by income poverty and migration status

Migration drivers/reasons	Unit	Level	Total	Poor	Non-Poor	χ^2 test statistic (poor vs. non-poor)	Migrant	Non-Migrant	χ^2 test statistic (migrant vs. non-migrant)
			Mean (SD) n=331	Mean (SD) n=118	Mean (SD) n=213		Mean (SD) n=98	Mean (SD) n=233	
Social									
Lack of better education facilities	%	HH	0.38 (0.49)	0.44 (0.50)	0.35 (0.48)	2.52	0.56 (0.5)	0.31 (0.46)	18.56**
Lack of better health care facilities	%	HH	0.36 (0.48)	0.39 (0.49)	0.35 (0.48)	0.59	0.39 (0.49)	0.35 (0.48)	0.38
Economic/Life style									
Better job opportunities in urban areas	%	HH	0.77 (0.42)	0.70 (0.46)	0.81 (0.40)	4.65*	0.88 (0.33)	0.73 (0.45)	9.04***
Friends and family already in urban areas	%	HH	0.26 (0.44)	0.32 (0.47)	0.23 (0.42)	3.32*	0.26 (0.44)	0.27 (0.42)	0.04
Better living quality in urban areas	%	HH	0.60 (0.49)	0.56 (0.50)	0.63 (0.48)	1.55	0.66 (0.48)	0.58 (0.50)	2.03
Dissatisfaction with current livelihood	%	HH	0.41 (0.49)	0.42 (0.50)	0.40 (49)	0.04	0.44 (0.50)	0.39 (0.49)	0.55
Environment									
Poor water quality	%	HH	0.30 (0.46)	0.31 (0.46)	0.30 (0.46)	0.01	0.24 (0.43)	0.33 (0.47)	2.16
Poor soil quality or degradation	%	HH	0.19 (0.39)	0.19 (0.40)	0.18 (0.39)	0.07	0.11 (0.32)	0.22 (0.41)	5.15**
Water shortages	%	HH	0.31 (0.46)	0.30 (0.46)	0.31 (0.47)	0.12	0.27 (0.44)	0.33 (0.47)	1.20
Shift in seasonal rainfall	%	HH	0.20 (0.40)	0.15 (0.36)	0.23 (0.42)	2.83*	0.14 (0.35)	0.23 (0.42)	3.06*
Floods/storms	%	HH	0.16 (0.36)	0.19 (0.39)	0.14 (0.35)	1.19	0.13 (0.34)	0.17 (0.37)	0.63
Livelihood/food (in)security									

Decline in agriculture for home consumption	%	HH	0.28 (0.45)	0.21 (0.41)	0.32 (0.46)	4.33* *	0.13 (0.34)	0.34 (0.48)	15.16* **
Less agricultural production for sale purposes	%	HH	0.25 (0.43)	0.23 (0.42)	0.26 (0.44)	0.35	0.14 (0.53)	0.29 (0.46)	8.22***
Less financial resources to buy food	%	HH	0.43 (0.50)	0.36 (0.48)	0.46 (0.50)	3.12* *	0.35 (0.48)	0.47 (0.50)	3.83**
Political/Conflicts									
Conflicts over natural resources (land and water)	%	HH	0.22 (0.42)	0.17 (0.38)	0.25 (0.44)	3.09* *	0.21 (0.41)	0.23 (0.42)	0.07

Notes: Migration and Well-being survey conducted by PRISE in February 2016. HH=Household; Asterisks indicate significance of χ^2 tests: *** for $p < 0.01$; ** for $p < 0.05$; * for $p < 0.10$

Appendix B: Questionnaire used in Data collection for Migration and Well-being survey conducted by PRISE in February
2016



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QUESTIONNAIRE FOR STUDIES ON

MIGRATION FUTURES IN PAKISTAN:

CLIMATE CHANGE AND CLIMATE-RESILIENT ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN SEMI-ARID REGIONS OF PAKISTAN

2016

Assalam u Alaikum,

My name is _____. I together with my colleagues are undertaking a survey on behalf of Sustainable Development Policy Institute.

We are conducting this survey on livelihoods, basic services as well as understanding of current and potential economic opportunities and resilience that will overall impact the (internal) migration patterns in Pakistan (semi-arid regions). This is to develop a baseline of information about people's feeling and experiences comparable for future risks and threats such as climate change.

This interview is not mandatory but your answers to these questions are important for SDPI to make our study successful. Your views count and it will help us generate research findings and take it up to the key stakeholder and government in the near future. The need of this research is highlighted by the government as well as other key stakeholder in Pakistan.

We selected your household randomly for the survey and would like to talk to you for about 1 hour to collect information that is set in this questionnaire.

We value confidentiality and we ensure that all the answers you provide will be kept confidential. Results of the information obtained by this survey are released in the form of averages and other statistics. Individual level information will not be revealed at any time. We will not be using any recorders to record this interview.

If there are questions I ask which you do not want to answer, please let me know and I will move to the next question

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- SECTION A: Basic pre-interview data
- SECTION B: Basic Individual information
- SECTION C: Livelihood and Economic activities

SECTION D: Wellbeing and resilience perceptions

SECTION E: Food Security

SECTION F: Migration

SECTION G: Household credit facility and assets

Province code 1 = Punjab 2 = KP		District code 1 = DGKhan 2 = Faisalabad 3 = Mardan		Union Council		Village		Household code	
---------------------------------------	--	---	--	---------------	--	---------	--	----------------	--

If a respondent does not know the response, record code 99
If a question does not apply, record code 88
If a respondent does not want to respond, record code 77

Start time	
End time	

Data cleaned by	
Data checked by	
Data entered by	
Data entry date	

A. Basic pre-interview data

A.1	Enumerator's name	
A.2	Field work supervisor's name	
A.3	Date Dd/mm/yy	
A.4	Postal Address of the Respondent (landmark)	
A.5	Urban/ rural status Urban 1 Rural 2	
A.6	Result of the interview Completed=1 Incomplete=2 Refused to participate=3 (go to A.9)	
A.8	Respondent name	
A.9	CNIC Number + (mobile no. if possible)	

Landless household = 1

Small landholder (<12.5 acres) = 2

Large landholder (> 12.5 acres) = 3

Non-farm household = 4

B. Basic individual information

B.1 ID No.	B.2 Name of household members (living with you) (Write respondent's name first)	B.3 Household Head (Mention only ONE) Put 00)	B.4 What is relationship to the household head? (Only one response) Spouse=1 Son/Daughter=2 Spouse of son/daughter=3 Grandchild=4	B.5 Gender? Male=1 Female=2	B.6 What is age in years? Put 00 if < 1 year	B.7 What is marital status? (Only one response) Unmarried=1 Married=2 Separated=3 Divorced=4 Widow/widower=5	B.8 How many years of schooling have you completed?	B.9 Currently enrolled in any educational institute? No=0 Yes=1	B.10 Since when is your family living here? No. of years	B.11 Primary Source of Income	B.12 Secondary source of income	B.13 Earning (average monthly income)
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			Father/ mother=5									
			Brother/sister=6									
			Nephew/niece=7									
			Father/ mother- in-law=8									
			Brother/ sister- in-law=9									
			Other relative=10									
			Non relative=11									
1												
2												
3												
4												
5												
6												
7												
8												
9												
10												

11												
12												

(*) Use separate sheet if more than 12 HH members

(**) Farming on own land/ livestock = 1; Casual labor (daily wage) in agriculture / farming / fruits picking & packing/forestry = 2; Casual labor (daily wage) non-agriculture including construction, transport = 3; Vender: selling goods = 4; Own business / transport /shop/food outlet = 5 Skilled labor = 6; Govt / public sector job = 7; Private sector job (non agriculture = 8; Overseas labor = 9; Domestic servant (work in somebody else’s house as paid servant, in cash or kind = 10; No paid activity = 11; Other (specify) = 12

C: Livelihood/Economic activities:

C1	Questions for those pursuing agricultural activities	
C 1.1	Do you own Land? Yes=1 No=2	
C1.2	Land cultivated (Acres)	
C1.3	Who take the decision “what to produce” within the household? (write ID from section B)	
C1.4	No. of Male adults working at farm _____ No. of Female adults working at farm _____ No. of Children (less than 14yrs) working at farm _____	
C1.5	If household females are involved in agriculture, what are main activities? (multiple options possible) 1. Livestock management 2. Weeding 3. Harvesting/picking 4. Other _____	

C1.6	How do you use your land? 1. Crops 2. Pasture 3. Forest 4. Not planted 5. Other-----	
C1.7	Type of Irrigation? Canal irrigated=1; tubewell=2; Both=3; rainfed=4; Other=5----- -----	
C1.8	Is agriculture a profitable profession? 1. Yes 2. No	
C1.9	If no, why it's not profitable? 1. High input prices 2. Low output prices 3. Water availability 4. Low Rainfall 5. High risk of calamity 4. Others _____	
C1.10	If no, why are you in agriculture? 1. Don't have any job 2. For prestige don't do other job 3. Other _____	
C1.11	Has there been any incidence of crop failure/decline in crop yield? 1=Yes 2= No	
C1.12	If yes, how frequent in last five years? (no.s)	
C1.13	If yes, what were the reasons? 1. Rain/Hail storm 2. Pest attack 3. Flood 4. Drought; 5. Heat wave 6. Others _____	

C1.14	<p>What is the main purpose of your crop production? (choose one option)</p> <p>1=household consumption; 2=sale of products; 3=feed for animals; 4=other (specify)</p>	
C1.15	<p>On an average from last 3 year how much of the total crop production is sold in the market?</p> <p>1=Everything (100%); 2=Most (75%); 3=Half of it (50%); 4=Only a small amount(25%); 5=Hardly anything; 6=Others (specify)</p>	
C2 Questions for those owning Livestock		
C2.1	<p>Do you own Livestock?</p> <p>1=Yes; 2=No</p>	
C2.2	<p>If Yes, what type? Please specify how many per type?</p> <p>1=Cow/buffalo (No.-----) 2= Goats/sheep (No.-----) 3=Donkeys/Horses (No.-----); 4=Chicken (No.-----); 5 other (No.-----)</p>	
C2.3	<p>What is the main purpose of your livestock raising? 1= household consumption; 2= sale of product; 3=Both; 4=other----- -----</p>	
C2.4	<p>How financially dependent are you and your household on livestock raising? 1= completely dependent; 2=Somehow dependent; 3=For future emergencies; 4=Not dependent; 5=DK; 6=other-----</p>	
C2.5	<p>How much income did you earn in the last month:</p>	

	1= from farming in Rs.----- 2=from Livestock in Rs. -----	
C2.6	Did you/ someone else from your household ever experience any problems in pursuing both farming and livestock activity in the past year? 0=No 1=Yes (go to C2.7)	
C2.7	If response is yes, what are the main difficulties you encountered in pursuing this activity? (Allow three most significant problems) Unable to afford buying sufficient amount of seed, fertilizer or pesticides = 1; Poor quality of / not enough land = 2; Lack of transportation to market = 3; Security (violence/ robbery) = 4;Insufficient irrigation water = 5;Nowhere to sell = 6;Intermediary buyers pay little = 7; Other = 8 -----	
C3. Questions for those pursuing nonfarm activities		
C3.1	When did your family start involving in non-farm activities? 1-This year 2- last year 3-Two years 4-Three year 5-Fouryear 6-More than five year	
C3.2	What is the nature of non-farm activities? 1- Permanent, 2-Temporary, 3-other arrangement, please specify-----	
C3.3	No. of Male adults working at non-farm _____ No. of Female adults working at nonfarm _____ No. of Children working at nonfarm _____	
C3.4	If females are involved in Non-farm activities, what are main activities?	

	<p>1. Other's Household work 2. Small business 3. Services (only agri. related e.g. weeding, Harvesting/picking) 4. Other _____</p>	
C3.5	<p>Did you or someone else from your household ever experience any problems in pursuing non-farm activities?</p> <p>No=0; Yes=1 (go to C3.6)</p>	
C3.6	<p>What are the main difficulties you encountered in pursuing this activity? (Allow three most significant problems)</p> <p>Delayed payments 1; underpaid or overwork 2; Difficulty in getting work 3; Security (violence/ robbery) 4; Discrimination 5; No access to credit 6; No time 7; Not enough skills or education 8; Other 9 (Specify)</p>	

C4. Livelihood-related issues³⁴								
C4.1 Which of the following situations did your household face in the last year? (multiple option possible)	1. Lower income	2. Inadequate food intake/hunger	3. Health issues of household members	4. Family problems	5. Conflicts within the community	6. Natural disasters	7. Animal diseases (specify)	8. Other. -- ----- specify
C4.2 Has your household ever been adversely affected by one or more of these natural events? (multiple options possible) In last five years.	1. Drought	2. Flood	3. Heavy storms	4. Landslide	5. Mudflow	6. Other. Please specify	7. Never been affected by any natural event	
C4.3 If yes, how was your household affected by C4.1 and C4.2? (multiple options)	1. House or other property damaged	2. Crops affected/destroyed	3. Death of livestock	4. Loss of livelihood	5. Other	99. DK		

³⁴ Rademacher-Schulz, C., Afifi, T., Warner, K., Rosenfeld, T., Milan, A., Etzold, B. and P. Sakdapolrak (2012). Rainfall variability, food security and human mobility. An approach for generating empirical evidence. Intersections No. 10. Bonn: UNU-EHS.

D: Wellbeing and resilience perceptions:

D1 Resilience: How difficult or easy do you find it to deal with major (socio-economic) problems that come up in your life?

Extremely easy	Easy	Neutral	Difficult	Very difficult
1	2	3	4	5

D2 Experience of learning: Please tell me to what extent do you learn new things in your life? (new technology, new methods, innovation, new learning opportunities)

Never	Rarely	Occasionally	A moderate amount	A great deal
1	2	3	4	5

D3 Meaning and purpose: Do you generally feel that what you do in your life is valuable and worthwhile.

Agree strongly	Agree	Neither agree not disagree	Disagree	Disagree strongly
1	2	3	4	5

D4 Autonomy and control: Do you feel you are free to decide for yourself how to live your life:

Agree strongly	Agree	Neither agree not disagree	Disagree	Disagree strongly
1	2	3	4	5

D5 Competence: In your daily life, do you get very little chance to show how capable you are:

Agree strongly	Agree	Neither agree not disagree	Disagree	Disagree strongly
1	2	3	4	5

D6 Optimism: You are always optimistic about your future:

Agree strongly	Agree	Neither agree not disagree	Disagree	Disagree strongly
1	2	3	4	5

D7 Do you like planning and preparing for the future?

Agree strongly	Agree	Neither agree not disagree	Disagree	Disagree strongly
1	2	3	4	5

D8 Job satisfaction: All things considered, how satisfied are you with your present (main) job?

Very satisfied	Satisfied	Unsure	Dissatisfied	Very dissatisfied
1	2	3	4	5

D9 Overall satisfaction: How satisfied are you with how your life has turned out so far/with your present standard of living?

Very satisfied	Satisfied	Unsure	Dissatisfied	Very dissatisfied
1	2	3	4	5

E: Coping with Food (In) Security³⁵

E. Coping Strategies Index		
E1. In the last 3 years, have there been times when you did not have enough food or money to buy food?	1. Yes	2. No.

³⁵ Rademacher-Schulz, C., Afifi, T., Warner, K., Rosenfeld, T., Milan, A., Etzold, B. and P. Sakdapolrak (2012). Rainfall variability, food security and human mobility. An approach for generating empirical evidence. Intersections No. 10. Bonn: UNU-EHS.

<p>E2 If yes, did you...</p> <p>(multiple options possible)</p>	<p>1. Modify food production to increase output</p> <p>(if yes, go to E2.1)</p>	<p>2. Reduce household food consumption</p> <p>(if yes, go to E2.2)</p>	<p>3. Diversify activities in order to increase alternative income</p> <p>(if yes, go to E2.3)</p>	<p>4. Sell household assets</p> <p>(if yes, go to E2.4)</p>	<p>5. Migration of household members</p> <p>(if yes, go to E2.5)</p>	<p>6. Reduce expenditure other than food</p> <p>(if yes, go to E2.6)</p>	<p>7. Rely on external help</p> <p>(if yes, go to E2.7)</p>	<p>8. Other options. Please specify.</p>
<p>E2.1 If you ever had to change your food production to manage a difficult situation, did you... (multiple options possible)</p>	<p>1. Plant other crops or varieties of same crops. Please specify</p>	<p>2. Use more fertilizer</p>	<p>3. Introduce another mode of irrigation. Please specify</p>	<p>4. Use more labour power, machines, etc.</p>	<p>5. Implement another strategy, please specify----- -----</p>			
<p>E2.2 If you ever had to reduce food consumption did you... (multiple options possible)</p>	<p>1. Change your diet (e.g., buy cheaper food items, collect wild food)</p>	<p>2. Reduce food consumption (e.g., number and/or size of meals)</p>	<p>3. Send a household member to some relatives</p>	<p>4. Other strategy, please specify----- --</p>				
<p>E2.3 If you ever had to increase alternative income sources in the village did you... (multiple options possible)</p>	<p>1. Switch to alternative sources of income (e.g., produce handicraft)</p>	<p>2. Increase number of family members contributing to household income</p>	<p>3. Expand existing livelihood activities (e.g., do more livestock breeding, trading, fishing)</p>	<p>4. Other strategy, please specify ----- -----</p>				
<p>E2.4 If you ever had to sell household assets what did you sell... (multiple options possible)</p>	<p>1. Land. Please specify</p>	<p>2. Agricultural products</p>	<p>3. Live- stock and/ or livestock products</p>	<p>4. Car/motor-bike/tractor/ bicycle. Please specify</p>	<p>5. Jewelry</p>	<p>6. Other. Please specify----- -----</p>		

E2.5 If one or more household members (including yourself) had to move to another place did you/they... (multiple options possible)	1. Move permanently	2. Move temporarily	3. Move to other rural areas	4. Move to urban areas	5. Migrate to a different country (internationally)	6. Other. Please specify----- -----
E2.6 If you ever had to reduce household expenditure did you ... (multiple options possible)	1. Take children out of school	2. Do not go to doctor, or reduce other health expenditures		3. Reduce purchase of goods that are considered non- essential (e.g., drinks, cigarettes)		4. Other strategy, please specify-----
E2.7 If you ever had to rely on external help did you... (multiple options possible)	1. Borrow money or food from other family members	2. Borrow money or food from neighbour/ friends in the village	3. Government support. Please specify (what kind)	4. From NGO (please specify what kind)	99. DK	
					88. NA	

E3. Dietary Diversity			
E.3.1 In the past 30 days, how often have you eaten:		Frequency:	
		Never - 0	
		Rarely (once or twice in the past 30 days) - 1	
		Sometimes (three to ten times in the past 30 days) - 2	
		Often (more than ten times in the past 30 days) -3	
		Always (every day) -4	
A	Any food made from grains? (wheat, rice)	f	Any meat or fish?
B	Any food made from root and tubers (i.e. foods that grow underground)?	g	Any eggs?
C	Any pulses?	h	Any dairy products?
D	Any vegetables?	i	Any sugar or honey?

E	Any fruits?		j	Any oil, ghee butter or fat?	
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F: Migration³⁶

Migration patterns of all household members (male and female). Have you or any other household members moved to a different place before, but still belonged and contributed to the household? Please note: Once a member of the household established his/her own household and does not contribute to the household income any more, he/she does not count any more as a member of the household we are talking about.

F1. Has anyone from your family migrated away from home? Yes = 1 (if yes, go to F3); No = 2 (if no, go to F2)

F. 2 Which are the reasons why you did not move away and stayed at home?				1. Not enough financial resources to migrate	2. No network connections to the city/ other places	3. I did not want to be separated from my household	4. I was happy and wanted to stay at home	5. I had to take care of my children/ parents/ parents-in-law	6. My household wanted me to stay	7. Other. Please specify
F3	F4	F5	F6	F7	F8	F9	F10	F11		
ID from Section B	First or full name of migrant	Migration Status	Main destination(s) including location	How many trips in the last 1 year (internal migration)	When did the migrant move away from home?	Main reason for moving	Main economic activity during his/her	Main economic activity before moving		

³⁶ Rademacher-Schulz, C., Afifi, T., Warner, K., Rosenfeld, T., Milan, A., Etzold, B. and P. Sakdapolrak (2012). Rainfall variability, food security and human mobility. An approach for generating empirical evidence. Intersections No. 10. Bonn: UNU-EHS.

	(optional)	1= current internal 2= current international 3= returned internal 4= returned international	1= if internal, which province/city 2= if international, which country	In last 3 years (for external migration)		1= work 2= education 3= other. Please specify on the reason	stay at destination	

Definitions: Seasonal migration can be defined as yearly recurring migration over periods less than six months a year. Temporal migration can be defined as a move from the household of origin during at least six months per year to a place within the country or abroad with the purpose of working, studying or family reunification, over a distance that forces the concerned person to settle at the destination to spend the nights. Return migration is defined as the return of a once migrated household member over a sustained period of more than a year. Current internal migration means that a person is actually migrating within the country as a seasonal or temporal migrant. Current international migration means that a person is actually migrating internationally.

Remark: If international migration, please specify which country.

F12. Migration decision				
F12.1 Who in general takes the final decision about movements?	1. Household head (male/female)	2. Migrant himself/ herself	3. Consent from household members	99. DK

F12.2 If somebody in your household migrated before, did they consult with other HH members?	1. Yes	2. No	3. If yes, please specify names or position in household		
F12.3 If somebody in the household has to migrate, who is the most likely migrant from the HH? (14-40 yrs of age) Please explain.					99. DK
F12.4 Who is the least likely person to migrate from your household? Please explain.					99. DK
F12.5 What is important for deciding on where a person moves to? Based on what does your HH decide for a specific migration destination?					99. DK
F12.6 When you think about destinations people could move to, do the decisions of your neighbors, relatives and friends about destinations affect the decision? If so, how?					99. DK
F12.7 To whom do you talk about migration decisions and strategies apart from your household members? (multiple options possible)	1. Friends	2. Neighbors	3. Village elders	4. Extended family members	5. Others. Please specify

F13. Migration and social capital	
F13.1 Talking about migration with others, what specific information is interesting for you? Please explain.	99. DK

F13.2 If you personally had the choice, would you leave your village? If yes, where to and for what reasons?						99. DK	
F13.3 When household members moved, who helped them at the destination? (multiple options possible)	1. Family members/ relatives	2. Friends	3. Neighbors	4. Nobody	5. Others. Please specify	99. DK	
F13.4 Does availability of money (e.g., loans, microcredit) affect whether household members migrate or not?	1. yes		2. No		99. DK		
F13.5 How much money do you think a potential migrant should have to move successfully to the following destination types?	1. Domestic (within province)		2. Internal (within country)		3. International (outside country)		
F13.6 How does/would your household meet the costs of migration? Please specify	1. Savings	2. Loans	3. Selling livestock	4. Selling other property	5. Non-farm income	6. Remittances from migrant's relatives	7. Other. Please specify

F14 – Reasons/factors that affect migration decisions/moving to another place temporarily or permanently				
No	Do you consider the following factors as very important/important/not important for the migration decision in your household? Tick the most appropriate	Very important	Important	Not important

	Social			
1	No school for my children available in the village			
2	Insufficient health care services in the village			
3	Family reasons (death of parent, marriage, no relatives) or friends			
4	Other (please describe)			
	Personal			
5	Better living quality in cities			
6	Better job opportunities in the city			
7	Friends already living in the city			
8	Willingness to build up own life in the city			
	Conflicts			
9	Conflict over land, water etc.			
10	Other (please describe)			
	Economic reasons (in the region/village)			
11	Not enough employment opportunities (unemployment)			
12	No land available for farming/grazing			
13	Dissatisfaction with livelihood			
14	Less agricultural (crop and animal) production for sale			

15	Other (please describe)			
	Environment			
16	Poor water quality			
17	Water shortage			
18	Poor soil quality and soil degradation			
19	Unreliable harvest			
20	Shifted seasonal rainfalls			
21	Insect /pest attacks			
22	Floods/storms			
23	Earthquake			
24	Mudflow			
25	Other (please describe)			
	Food (in)security			
26	Decline in crop and animal production for household consumption			
27	Less financial resources to buy food/staples			
28	Other (please describe)			

F.15 Migration and weather conditions

F15.1 Did observed changes in the climate affect your household's economic activities?	1. Yes. Please specify	2. No	99. DK
F15.2 Did these changes affect decisions to move to other places within your village?	1. Yes. Please specify.	2. No.	99. DK

F.16 Migration and return					
F.16.1 Do the migrated members of your household intend to return to the village? (multiple answers possible)	1. Yes	2. No	99. DK	88. N/A	
F.16.2 If yes, is this return intended to be permanent or temporary?	a. Permanent	b. Temporary	99. DK		
F.16.3 If yes, please explain the reasons why household members intend to return.					
F.16.4 If no, please explain the reasons why household members do not intend to return.					
F.16.6 How many migrants returned to your household this year?	0 persons	1 person	2 persons	3 persons	4. More. Please specify
F.16.7 If yes (1 or more persons), please explain why they returned.					99. DK;

F.17 Migration and remittances					
F.17.1 Has your household ever received money from household members who migrated ("remittances")?	1. Yes	2. No	99. DK		
F.17.2 If yes, in which way do migrants help your household? Please specify	1. Send money regularly	2. Send money occasionally	3. Material support (e.g. tools, food, gifts) (please specify)	4. Other kind of help	99. DK

F17.3 If yes, compared to your local monthly household income, what is the size of remittances?	1. Less than half	2. half	3. More than half	3. Full or more	99. DK			
F17.4 If yes, how do household members use most of the remittances? If multiple choice than please rank	1. Food consumption	2. Purchase of consumer goods	3. Health care	4. Repayment of debts	5. Investment in a) livestock/ agriculture/other business	6. Expenses on education	7. Other	99. DK

G: Household Credit facilities and Assets:

G Credit facility								
G1. Do you have loans?	1. Yes			2. No			99. DK	
G2. If you receive loans, please tell from whom do you get them: (multiple options possible)	1. Friends	2. Family	3. Neighbors	4. Other people in the village	5. Formal loans from bank	6. Micro-credit	7. Other (specify)	99. DK
G3. What are the reasons for borrowing money?	Productive (e.g. to set up business, buy fertilizer, migrate to seek work)=1 Immediate basic needs (e.g. food, clothes)=2 Health (medicines, treatment)=3 Education (fees, uniforms, books) =4 Construction of House= 5 Other (specify)=6							99. DK 98. NA

G4. House (housing conditions, property, water and electricity) and wealth						
G 4.1 What type of house does your family live in?	1. Is the house built from permanent Materials (cement, etc.?)			2. Is the house built from temporary materials (mud, thatch, etc.?)		
G 4.2 How many rooms does your house have?						
G 4.3 Compared to the other houses in your village, would you say that your house is in a better condition/same as average or worse condition than the others?	1. Better condition		2. Same as average		3. Worse condition	
G 4.4 Do you own real estate property?	1. House of residence	2. Insurance	3. Land property owned (e.g., agricultural plot, land for house construction)	4. None	5. Other (specify)	99. DK
G 4.5 Do you have access to electricity?	1. Yes		2. No			99. DK
G5. How do you get your drinking water? (multiple answers possible)	1. Water supply	2. From a nearby- water source (e.g., river)	3. hand/ motor pump	4. Other (specify)		99. DK
G 5.1 How do you get water for domestic use? (multiple answers possible)	1. water supply	2. From a nearby- water source	3. hand/motor pump			

		(e.g., river)			4. Other (specify)	99. DK	
G6. Do you own the following items? (If yes, please specify how many)	1. Car/ Pickup y/n number	2. Motorcycle y/n number	3. Bicycle y/n number	4. Tractor y/n number	5. Donkey/Horse	6. Other (specify)	99. DK
G7. Do you own the following domestic assets? (if yes, please specify how many you currently own)	1. Washing machine y/n number-----	2. Generator / UPS y/n number-----	3. TV y/n Number-----	4. Refrigerator/freezer y/n number-----	5. Plastic water tank for water storage y/n Number-----	6. Other (specify)	99. DK

Thank you for taking the time to answer these questions.

We would like to reiterate that all your answers will be kept confidential.

Appendix C: Interview Schedule

Getting started/Warming session: Discuss the purpose of my visit, share PIS form and seek consent for the interview (verbal or written), permission for audio recording, give an overview of questions that I plan to ask, and inform how much time the conversation would likely to take place.

Questions	Follow-up questions/descriptions	Respondent/type of HH
<i>opening discussion/questions</i>		
Chat about the weather, general health and welfare, how long you have been living here, etc.		
<i>Household demographic and livelihood related information:</i>		
1. Can you tell me about family members that are living together with you?	What are their relationships with you?	Household Head/ Migrant/non-migrant
	What are their age and education status of household members? (If family size is large then focus will be on household members between ages of 18-60 years).	
2. Can you tell me about the household livelihoods/resources?	How many are working/not working (jobs, labour, business)?	Household Head/ Migrant/non-migrant
	What type of livelihood assets you own (such as land, shops, commercial vehicles, livestock, etc.)	
	What do you think that these livelihood activities/assets are appropriate (or not) for sustaining family/household (size)?	
	How do you think you came to that conclusion? (Because of HH's jobs/work, housing/living condition, education, food and clothing, access to health facilities and costs, etc. conditions)	
<i>Internal migration decision-making process:</i>		
	Can you tell me about migrant's education/skills and age?	Household Head/ Migrant
	What does he/she do before migration?	

3. Is anyone in your household working and living away – perhaps in the city, or another village?	Tell me about where migrant live (e.g. alone, with friends and family, relatives), what they do for a living, how often they visit to see you.	
	What does you think they (migrants) are happy and enough career opportunity in the destination areas?	
4. Tell me a bit more about the time, it was decided that ‘migrant’ would go for work (or study) in the destination area/s?	What were the reasons behind the decision to migrate?	Household Head/ Migrant
	Can you tell me about any climate/weather/environmental extreme events (such as flood, heavy storm, heat waves) and its impacts (like declining of crop yield, soil degradation, etc.) effected on migration decision?	
	Who came up with (or initiated) the idea (migration)?	
	What type of conservation took place? Who supported (and not supported) the idea within the household?	
	How did you come to migration decisions? To whom you consult or seek advice? Means how do you choose where to go (urban/city or another village)?	
5. Could you please elaborate more on how this migration was organised?	How you secured funds for migration?	Household Head/ Migrant
	Who helped/provide information (of destination areas) for migration? How much time occurred between the migration decision-making process and actual migration departure?	
	Where did they stay at the beginning until finding a job?	
	Who helped them to find a job/business/labour, etc.?	
	How you come up with this opinion (pls explain either if the answer is yes or no)? Is it due to the difference in	

<p>6. Do you think the household members currently living with you have migration desire (both internal and international)?</p>	<p>possibilities/livelihood opportunities of different places/based on (un)successful stories of migrants/ socio-economic constraints that household member face in their lives?</p> <p>What possible household's future prospects might you think can be achieved (or avoided) through migration?</p> <p>Do you (or household member with migration desire) have a specific plan, idea or strategy to operationalise migrate decision?</p>	<p>Household Head/ Migrant/non-migrant</p>
<p>7. Can you (or member within your household) tell me about the reason/s not to migrate?</p>	<p>Discussion around lack of finances for migration and supportive social/migrant networks; perceptions regarding migration (or migrant's) miseries; social, economic, cultural, religious, familial, etc. attachments; a sense of local identity and prestige; small family size and so on.</p>	<p>Household Head/non-migrant</p>
<p>Well-being: Migrant and non-migrants:</p>		
<p>8. Can you please describe what type of assistance or support the migrant member(s) provide to the family member living with you?</p>	<p>How much (and how often) you receive financial remittances from a migrant member? In what ways it reached you.</p> <p>Can you please tell me about the use of financial remittances which you received?</p> <p>Would you think your household income/living conditions have been different (worse or better) if there is no migration (or migrants' remittances)? Means how economic (income, business, household expenditure on food, nutrition, health, etc.) dimensions of a household affected by migration?</p>	<p>Household Head/ Migrant</p>

	Is migrant member contribute or participate in (social/cultural) activities when s/he visited home/village? Such as marriage ceremonies, funeral, tourism/picnics, etc.			
9. Tell me a bit more about everyday life here in the village.	What type of (social/cultural/political/volunteering/economic) activities organised in the village? Can you or your household members be involved in such activities?	Household	Head/	Migrant/non-migrant
10. What is your opinion regarding access to support from friends, relatives, other people in the village, government, etc.?	Increasing or decreasing, useful, or DK, etc. Means you or the members of your household feel good (or uncomfortable) in asking help from friends/relatives?	Household	Head/	Migrant/non-migrant
11. Tell me a bit more about some of the things that changed after 'XXX' migrated.	So for instance, did you experience people in the village treating you differently? If so, in what way?			
12. What is your opinion about happy/ideal life, or living conditions you consider best?	Are you and your household members life is going well, according to your standard you just mentioned?	Household	Head/	Migrant/non-migrant
	Do you (or your household member) think or desire to achieve such a standard of life? If no, why; if yes; how?			
13. Do you miss the migrant's presence in the home?	Regarding for 1) work/labour; 2) emotional; 3) family care for elder parents/persons; 4) support during a natural disaster or livelihood stresses, etc.)	Household	Head +	Other family members including mother, wife, etc./ Migrant
<i>Intra-household power dynamics:</i>				
14. Could we talk about the abilities of household members to contribute in household socio-economic activities?	The discussion may surround access (to information) regarding employment, education, health facilities, personal assets, role in family decision-making. Further questions emerge from the answers, like why some members have more ability/capability and others have not. Are these due to cultural and social norms in the areas or economic reasons?	Household	Head/	Migrant/non-migrant

15. Do you think migration has changed the way of life, thinking process (means an attitude to different social issues, access to resources, education etc.) among different family members?	What is important in term of female education/work?	Household Head/ Migrant
	Why is this important/not important for the family?	
	Does aspects of female education/work has changed or remained the same (before/after) migration? If changed, what are these changes?	
	Are such changes are similar among all females (concerning age, social status) in the household? How do you see this aspect of change in the future?	
16. Many women are migrating for work and study at national as well as international. What do you think about this? What do you consider migration of women is appropriate or acceptable for you or your family members?	What do you consider, if women migrate during the time of need and distress?	Household Head + Other family members including mother, wife, etc./ Migrant/non-migrant
17. Can you explain how you divide household tasks for work and social activities inside and outside the house amongst family members, who does what?	Was this the same as before XXX migrated? If not, how have things changed?	Household Head/ Migrant
	How household decision-making occurs? Who has final say in decision-making in different household issues? Such as buying food, expenditure on children education, marriages, clothing, sale and purchase of livestock and other HH expenses.	Household head & head's wife/elder women in-house/Migrant/non-migrant

	Do you think in important and crucial family-decisions (such as migration, business or investment in land or other property) in which women members of the HH are specifically (or not) involved? What type of social norms restricts involving women in decision-making?	Household Head + Other family members including mother, wife, etc./ Migrant/non-migrant
	What do you think migrant member gain more say in HH decision-making compared to pre-migration and relative to you (HH head).	Household Head + Other family members including mother, wife, etc./ Migrant
18. Can you please reflect on your life conditions as compared to other (female) household members?	What happens in term of access to health care, mobility, leisure, travel, say in the family etc.?	Daughter-in-law(s)/non-migrant
	What happens in term of access to health care, mobility, leisure, travel, say in the family etc. <i>before and after your husband migrates?</i>	Daughter-in-law/migrant's wife/ Migrant.
19. Can you tell me about your aspiration to contribute to household well-being?	What type of opportunities is available to you, if you stay here? What do you think household resources are available (or access) to you for personal growth?	Young adult -Male (above age 18years) /Migrant/non-migrant
20. Do you have an aspiration to improve education and contribute to family well-being?	If yes, what facilities you required from the family or what action you will take to achieve the objective. Moreover, if No, why?	Young adult –Female (above age 18years) /Migrant/non-migrant
Closing session:		
In the end, I also offer the respondent to ask questions to me to clarify anything relevant to our discussion or if a respondent wants to add or delete some aspects/details of the discussion. I will also remind the respondent to contact me if they change their mind regarding deleting the information (completely) collected during the interview. I will also ensure to leave the respondent in a good state after the interview, greet him, and say Goodbye (Khuda Hafiz) according to local customs.		

Appendix D: Household members interviewed in the research villages in Dera Ghazi Khan and Faisalabad

Sr No.	Household category	Relationship with migrant	Age	Gender	Social position	Education (no. of years)	Place of Interview	Occupation	Total Interviews within a household	District
1	Landless farm labour	Migrant's son	29	Male	HH Head	6	Sardar's farmhouse	Farm labour/ Shopkeeper	2	D.G Khan
2		Migrant wife	44	Female	Mother/ Mother-in-law	0	Home	Household chores / Occasional farm labour		
3	Large Landholding	Migrant father	56	Male	HH Head	14	School	Farmer/ School Headmaster	2	D.G Khan
4		Migrant mother	41	Female	Mother	10	Home	Household chores		
5	Non-Farm	Migrant father	55	Male	HH Head	0	Home	Own business/ Grain mill	2	D.G Khan
6		Migrant mother	50	Female	Mother	0	Home	Household chores		
7	Non-Farm	Migrant father	56	Male	HH Head	0	Outside home	Occasional labourer	2	D.G Khan
8		Migrant wife	29	Female	Daughter-in-law	2	Home	Household chores/ Occasional seamstress		
9	Non-Farm	Migrant father	62	Male	HH Head/ Father-in-law	6	Home	Religious scholar	4	D.G Khan
10		Migrant mother	55	Female	Mother/Mother-in-law	0	Home	Household chores		
11		Migrant wife	35	Female	Daughter-in-law	0	Home	Household chores / Occasional seamstress		
12		Migrant sister	18	Female	Daughter	5	Home	Occasional seamstress		
13	Small Landholding	Migrant brother	23	Male	Son/ HH head	5	Outside home	Construction worker/ farmer	4	D.G Khan
14		Migrant mother	51	Female	Mother/ mother-in-law	0	Home	Nil		

Sr No.	Household category	Relationship with migrant	Age	Gender	Social position	Education (no. of years)	Place of Interview	Occupation	Total Interviews within a household	District
15		1 st Migrant's wife	36	Female	Daughter-in-law	0	Home	Household chores		
16		2 nd Migrant's wife	32	Female	Daughter-in-law	0	Home	Household chores		
17	Landless farm labour	Migrant father	65	Male	HH head	8	Outside house	Tenant farmer/ Shopkeeper/ Retired public servant	3	D.G Khan
18		1 st Migrant wife	25	Female	Daughter-in-law	5	Home	Household chores		
19		2 nd Migrant wife	23	Female	Daughter-in-law	5	Home	Household chores		
20	Landless farm labour	Migrant father	60	Male	HH Head/ Father-in-law	4	Sardar's farmhouse	Farm labourer	2	D.G Khan
21		Migrant wife	22	Female	Daughter-in-law	8	Home	Household chores		
22	Large Landholding	Migrant father	42	Male	Migrant brother	14	Outside home/ Dera	Farmer/ Business	2	D.G Khan
23		Migrant wife	27	Female	Daughter-in-law	14	Home	Childcare/ Home tuition		
24	Small Landholding	Migrant brother	45	Male	HH Head	16	Home	Farmer/	4	D.G Khan
25		Migrant mother	60	Female	Mother/ mother-in-law	5	Home	Household chores		
26		Migrant sister	32	Female	Sister	10	Home	Household chores / Seamstress		
27		Migrant wife	36	Female	Daughter-in-law	12	Home	Household chores/ Home tuition		
28	Non-Farm	Migrant father	56	Male	HH Head	10	Sardar's farmhouse	Retired Government employee/ Business	2	D.G Khan
29		Migrant Mother	50	Female	Mother	0	Home	Household chores		
30	Landless farm labour	Migrant wife	30	Female	Daughter-in-law	4	Home	Household chores	1	D.G Khan

Sr No.	Household category	Relationship with migrant	Age	Gender	Social position	Education (no. of years)	Place of Interview	Occupation	Total Interviews within a household	District
31	Small Landholding	Migrant father	50	Male	HH Head	0	Home	Farming	2	Faisalabad
32		Migrant Mother	42	Female	Mother	5	Home	Household chores		
33	Non-Farm	Migrant father	52	Male	HH Head	5	Home Bakery	Bakery business	2	Faisalabad
34		Migrant son	22	Male	Son	7	Home Bakery	Family labour in Bakery business		
35	Non-Farm	Migrant wife	36	Female	Daughter-in-law	5	Home	Household chores	1	Faisalabad
36	Landless farm labour	Migrant mother	60	Female	Mother-in-law	0	Home	Household chores	2	Faisalabad
37		Migrant wife	26	Female	Daughter-in-law	8	Home	Parlor at home		
38	Landless farm labour	Migrant mother	60	Female	HH Head/ Mother-in-law	5	Home	Household chores	1	Faisalabad
39	Small Landholding	Migrant sister	27	Female	Sister	14	Home	Household chores	1	Faisalabad
40	Non-Farm	Migrant mother	42	Female	Mother-in-law	12	Home	Government job	2	Faisalabad
41		Migrant wife	24	Female	Daughter-in-law	10	Home	Household chores		
42	Small Landholding	Migrant brother	30	Male	Brother	12	Home	Business/ Farmer	2	Faisalabad
43		Migrant sister	24	Female	Sister	14	Home	Household chores		
44	Large Landholding	Migrant son	30	Male	Son	6	Outside house	Farming	1	Faisalabad
45	Large Landholding	Migrant father	65	Male	HH Head	5	Home	Ex-farmer/ Leased-out land	4	Faisalabad
46		Migrant mother	55	Female	Mother-in-law	5	Home	Household chores		
47		Migrant sister	20	Female	Sister	12	Home	Household chores		
48		Migrant wife	23	Female	Daughter-in-law	10	Home	Household chores		
49	Landless farm labour	Migrant brother	36	Male	Brother	5	Village Head's farm	Farm Labourer	2	Faisalabad
50		Migrant wife	27	Female	Daughter-in-law	8	Home	Household chores		

Sr No.	Household category	Relationship with migrant	Age	Gender	Social position	Education (no. of years)	Place of Interview	Occupation	Total Interviews within a household	District
51	Landless farm labour	Migrant wife	25	Female	Daughter-in-law	12	Home	Household chores	1	Faisalabad
52	Large Landholding	Migrant returnee	36	Male	HH head	8	Home	Farming	2	Faisalabad
53		Migrant wife	25	Female	Wife	10	Home	Household chores		