

Attachment 1.
PAGE SHEET)

ETHICAL REVIEW COMMITTEE, ICDDR,B.

30/11/97

DMONO

Principal Investigator Randall S. Kuhn
Application No. 97-022 (Revised)
Title of Study Understanding the
Evolution of Rural-Urban Migration in
Bangladesh

Trainee Investigator (if any) _____
Supporting Agency (if Non-ICDDR,B) _____
Project status:
() New Study
() Continuation with change
() No change (do not fill out rest of form)

Circle the appropriate answer to each of the following (If Not Applicable write NA).

- Source of Population:**
- (a) Ill subjects Yes No
 - (b) Non-ill subjects Yes No
 - (c) Minors or persons under guardianship Yes No
- Does the study involve:**
- (a) Physical risks to the subjects Yes No
 - (b) Social Risks Yes No
 - (c) Psychological risks to subjects Yes No
 - (d) Discomfort to subjects Yes No
 - (e) Invasion of privacy Yes No
 - (f) Disclosure of information damaging to subject or others Yes No
- Does the study involve:**
- (a) Use of records, (hospital, medical, death, birth or other) Yes No
 - (b) Use of fetal tissue or abortus Yes No
 - (c) Use of organs or body fluids Yes No
- Are subjects clearly informed about:**
- (a) Nature and purposes of study Yes No
 - (b) Procedures to be followed including alternatives used Yes No N/A
 - (c) Physical risks Yes No N/A
 - (d) Sensitive questions Yes No
 - (e) Benefits to be derived Yes No
 - (f) Right to refuse to participate or to withdraw from study Yes No
 - (g) Confidential handling of data Yes No
 - (h) Compensation &/or treatment where there are risks or privacy is involved in any particular procedure Yes No

- 5. Will signed consent form be required:
 - (a) From subjects Yes No
 - (b) From parent or guardian (if subjects are minors) Yes No
 - 6. Will precautions be taken to protect anonymity of subjects Yes No
 - 7. Check documents being submitted herewith to Committee:
 - Umbrella proposal - Initially submit an overview (all other requirements will be submitted with individual studies).
 - Protocol (Required).
 - Abstract Summary (Required)
 - Statement given or read to subjects on nature of study, risks, types of questions to be asked, and right to refuse to participate or withdraw (Required)
 - Informed consent form for subjects
 - Informed consent form for parent or guardian
 - Procedure for maintaining confidentiality
 - Questionnaire or interview schedule *
- * If the final instrument is not completed prior to review, the following information should be included in the abstract summary:
1. A description of the areas to be covered in the questionnaire or interview which could be considered either sensitive or which would constitute an invasion of privacy.
 2. Examples of the type of specific questions to be asked in the sensitive areas.
 3. An indication as to when the questionnaire will be presented to the Cttee. for review.

I agree to obtain approval of the Ethical Review Committee for any changes involving the rights and welfare of subjects before making such change.

Kuhn (by Jane Guinche)
Principal Investigator

Trainee

International Centre for Diarrhoeal Disease Research, Bangladesh

FOR OFFICE USE ONLY

Protocol No: _____

Date: _____

RRC Approval: Yes/ No Date: _____

ERC Approval: Yes/No Date: _____

RESEARCH PROTOCOL

Title of Project (Do not exceed 60 characters including spaces and punctuations)
Understanding the Evolution of Rural-Urban Migration in Bangladesh

1a. Name of the Principal Investigator(s) (Last, Middle, First).
Kuhn, Steven, Randall

2b. Position / Title
Grad. Student

2c. Qualifications
M.A.

3. Name of the Division/ Branch / Programme of ICDDR,B under which the study will be carried out.
Demographic Surveillance Program -- Public Health Sciences Division

Contact Address of the Principal Investigator

4a. Office Location:

Population Studies Center/ Univ. of Penna.
3718 Locust Walk
Philadelphia, PA 19104-6298 USA

4b. Fax No: (1-215) 898-2124

4c. E-mail: kuhn@pop.upenn.edu

4d. Phone / Ext: (1-215) 898-1193

5. Use of Human Subjects

5a. Use of Live Animal

5b. If Yes, Specify Animal Species

Yes

Yes

No

No

6. Dates of Proposed Period of Support (Day, Month, Year - DD/MM/YY)

7. Cost Required for the Budget Period

7a. 1st Year (\$): \$1400

2nd Year (\$):

3rd Year:

15/11/97 - 15/7/98

7b. Direct Cost (\$) \$1400

Total Cost (\$) \$15,300

8. Approval of the Project by the Division Director of the Applicant

The above-mentioned project has been discussed and reviewed at the Division level as well by the external reviewers.

The protocol has been revised according to the reviewer's comments and is approved.

Act Dir. J. van Ginneken
Name of the Division Director

J. van Ginneken
Signature

30/11/97
Date of Approval

9. Certification by the Principal Investigator

I certify that the statements herein are true, complete and accurate to the best of my knowledge. I am aware that any false, fictitious, or fraudulent statements or claims may subject me to criminal, civil, or administrative penalties. I agree to accept responsibility for the scientific conduct of the project and to provide the required progress reports if a grant is awarded as a result of this application.

10. Signature of PI

Steven R. Kuhn

Nov 20/1997

Memorandum

To : Members, Research Review Committee (ICDDR,B)
From : Randall Kuhn
Subject : Revisions to Research Protocol

30 November, 1997

Enclosed is a revised version of my protocol entitled "Understanding the Evolution of Rural-Urban Migration in Bangladesh". In the revisions, I have carefully addressed the concerns the committee posed in its November meeting. In this memo, I will individually address the concerns listed on the memo from Prof. T.A. Choudhury of 25 November, 1997 and past concerns regarding my protocol. Most of these concerns resulted from a misunderstanding of the type of information required in the protocol and each of these problems have hopefully been addressed in the revised protocol.

- a) Qualitative work and methods on internal migration should be clearly delineated in the protocol.

It is difficult to elaborate much more explicitly on the nature of my methods. I emphasize in the revised protocol that I am taking a case study / oral history approach and I go into further detail about how these interviews will be collected (pp. 11-14). In the section on analysis plans (pp. 15-16), I go into much greater detail on the ways these data will be analyzed.

- b) The use of numerous quantitative databases need to be related to the qualitative work. Since the investigator does not seem to have adequate experience with qualitative interviewing, he needs the assistance of an expert to address these issues in the protocol.

The interaction between the quantitative analyses in my dissertation and the qualitative analyses has been discussed in far greater detail in the revised protocol in the analysis plans section (pp. 15-16). As for the issue of qualitative interviewing expertise, I would say that these comments should be tempered: I have in fact taken a semester's course at the University of Pennsylvania in qualitative field methods in which I was required to conduct qualitative interviews in collaboration with other students and a faculty member experienced in qualitative research in Kenya. I also took a course in research design at my university and participated in the Social Science Research Council International Pre-dissertation Fellowship Fellow's Conference, which included methodological symposia, intense exposure of my proposal to the critiques of other graduate students, and exposure to the research plans of other qualitatively oriented graduate students. More important, perhaps, than all of these training experiences is the fact that I did conduct a two-month pilot project in the urban setting of Islambag (in Dhaka) in which I personally conducted

interviews (with the assistance of a translator) and faced many of the issues that are relevant to qualitative research.

With these experiences in mind though, it is acknowledged that I do not have an overwhelming amount of experience in large scale qualitative studies. With this in mind, I do plan to make every effort to gain insights of Dr. Carol Jenkins of the Social and Behavioral Sciences Section and other Bangladeshi academics with experience in conducting village studies. I have already had discussions with Dr. Jenkins and we have made arrangements for her to educate me in her preferred method of large-scale qualitative data analysis. In the future, I hope to look to her and others for additional support, but I do not feel like there is an obvious need for or realistic opportunity to gain a full-time collaborator.

- c) The sample size for qualitative interviews is too large, and modes of data handling and analysis have not been described.

Considering my desire to understand migration in four distinct village contexts while speaking to members of different baris, including migrant and non-migrant households, I do not consider the number of interviews scheduled to be unreasonably high. Taking these critiques in mind, I have attempted to pare down the number of scheduled interviews by limiting those that are not essential to the core plan of working through distinct baris. As for my plans to analyze this large amount of data, this seems to be a genuine concern and the primary concern of Dr. Jenkins regarding my project. Dr. Jenkins has, as stated above, offered to assist me in this regard, and said plans are describe in the Analysis Plans section of the protocol (p. 15-16).

- d) Who will translate and transcribe the interviews has not been stated explicitly.

I felt that it was made fairly explicit that the translation would be conducted by the interviews themselves as soon as they finish conducting the interviews. This method allows for the results to be available immediately, thus allowing rapid iteration of the focus of interviews within a specific context. This has been clarified in the protocol and I have also mentioned that important interviews or those in which the translation may be of questionable quality may be re-translated by urban translators.

- e) At page 13, the phrases "normative questions" and "counterfactual situations" required to be explained.

Normative questions refer to those which do not ask for information about a specific respondent's own experiences, but rather about their opinions on norms, customs, and values relating to the topic. Counterfactual situations refer to asking the respondent to evaluate how their history would have changed had they taken a different course of action or been exposed to a different course of action by others. This is included in the protocol.

- f) How the focus group discussions will benefit the study? How will they be analyzed?

Focus groups, as discussed in the protocol, are of value for gaining interactive opinions on the overlying norms and values regarding the process in question. In this regard, focus groups tend to be much more valuable than one-on-one interviews. They will be analyzed as texts in a similar manner to the interviews.

- g) The budget of the study appeared too small -- a comprehensive budget indicating all itemized costs be prepared and attached with the protocol

The new protocol includes a budget for all costs, whether I intend for them to be paid through ICDDR,B or not. This should address any concerns about the allocation of funds. The issue of the use of ICDDR,B channels for expenditures will be discussed below.

- h) The ICDDR,B should be incorporated as an equal partner in reference to the MHSS study in Matlab.

This critique is accepted fully and the new protocol reflects the importance of the collaboration between ICDDR,B, Professor Jane Menken, and her students (myself included). I go on to further elaborate on the place of this study in the context of that collaboration (see Collaborative Arrangements section) in great detail.

Other critiques previously raised about this project:

- The project does not relate to health issues

While the project obviously involves no major health interventions, it does have a strong relationship to health, and more importantly, population issues. As a Centre for Health and Population Research, ICDDR,B should be concerned with migration, both as a population process itself and one that has major effects on the levels of family planning acceptance and fertility. ICDDR,B's past coverage of migration in its surveillance projects and analysis of these data in fact suggests a previously existing interest. Beyond the issue of population, this work should also be of interest to those providing public health services, especially urban ones. The demographic composition of those people who have newly migrated to the city and the pattern of how households move in and out of an area should be major determinants of program acceptance and retention. These issues are both discussed in greater detail in the Collaborative Arrangements section (pg 20).

- Inadequate reference to ethical concerns was made in the original protocol

This critique is well taken and I have made attempts to address it in the Ethical Assurances and Protection of Human Rights section (pg. 17) of the revised protocol. Essentially, the best approach is first to take standard precautions to prevent any respondents from being identified in publications. A more important point is that interviewers should make sure not to confront members of one side of a transaction with

information provided by someone on the other side of the transaction if that information is controversial. This could apply to within household transactions such as remittances or between household transactions such as patronage arrangements. In any case in which information may seem sensitive but of possible future interest, it is important to ask the current respondent for permission to discuss each particular issue as he mentions them.

➤ The given budget provides inadequate benefit to ICDDR,B

In the Collaborative Arrangements section, I discuss informal arrangements made between Dr. Van Ginneken and I to supplement my benefit to the Centre by offering necessary technical assistance to the Demographic and Health Surveillance Program. As a student on a student's budget, it is difficult for me to provide actual financial benefit, but I hope this arrangement will make the project more beneficial

➤ Why does the PI want to hire staff and procure equipment from outside the structure of ICDDR,B?

In the section on Budget Justifications (pg. 28), I discuss the reasons why I do not wish to procure staff and equipment through the Centre. I firmly believe that the small size, exploratory nature, and need for speed (due to lack of long-term funding) of this project necessitate that I do not use standard ICDDR,B channels, which are clearly designed with large, long-term projects in mind. Dr. Van Ginneken and I have agreed, though, that all hiring be conducted with the sensitivities of the ICDDR,B and Matlab job market in mind.

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KEY PERSONNEL (List names of all investigators including PI and their respective specialties)

| Name | Professional Discipline/ Specialty | Role in the Project |
|--------------|------------------------------------|------------------------|
| Randall Kuhn | Demography/Sociology | Principal Investigator |

DESCRIPTION OF THE RESEARCH PROJECT

Hypothesis to be tested:

Concisely list in order, in the space provided, the hypothesis to be tested and the Specific Aims of the proposed study. Provide the scientific basis of the hypothesis, critically examining the observations leading to the formulation of the hypothesis.

By the nature of qualitative field research, explicit hypotheses often emerge as the research itself is conducted. That said, there are a number of general hypotheses of interest in my research. These hypotheses center around the notion that, contrary to the common view of migration in other societies as a cure for various social and economic inequalities, rural-urban migration in Bangladesh in many ways seems to reinforce these divisions in the village while transferring them to the urban setting. Some specific hypotheses that guide this qualitative project and the quantitative analysis that it accompanies are:

- 1) Rural-urban migration from rural areas of Bangladesh to Dhaka follows a segmented pattern. While one type of migrant moves individually, taking advantage of capital advantages such as wealth, contacts, and education, another group of migrants move as entire households despite the fact that the level of capital endowments for these households' rests near the bottom of the distribution. Qualitative research will flesh out typical patterns by which rural households attempt to migrate.
- 2) Further, rural-urban migration is a process which seems, from preliminary urban qualitative research, to be primarily undertaken by landed households, particularly those whose small, but self-sufficient land holdings, require financing from migrant remittances. Landless households, prior to making a household move because of economic crisis, appear to participate in migration less than landed households. Qualitative research will test the existence of this pattern and, more importantly, attempt to attribute such a pattern to a group of potential explanations: 1) lack of information; 2) lack of access to social contacts; 3) no perceived economic returns to migration; 4) cultural constraints such as fatalism.
- 3) The disadvantages experienced by household migrants vis-a-vis individual migrants (see hypothesis one) make household migrants much less likely to succeed and advance economically in the urban areas.
- 4) The returns to individual migration, in the form of remittances, are more likely to accrue to wealthier, landed households in the rural area. The ability to invest these remittances is further

restricted to a wealthier segment of landed households. Households account for this pattern of returns when they consider the value of rural-urban migration for their own household.

5) Migration decisions are taken at the household level and most economic arrangements surrounding migration are constructed to the benefit of the household. Because of the limited opportunity for economic upward mobility for rural-urban migrants, they tend to maintain the interests of the origin household, continue to consider themselves members of this household, and maintain economic and social solidarity with the origin household.

6) Social networks and contacts, widely recognized to be important for international migration, are also essential for migration in a family oriented society such as Bangladesh. The use of social contacts for migration, however, is not necessarily a form of social assistance, but is often part of an arrangement for economic exchange between rural and urban households in the same social network.

7. As knowledge, acceptance, and utilization of the process of rural-urban migration spreads through the rural population, the value of migration becomes an important consideration in household decision making for education, family planning, etc.

Specific Aims:

Describe the specific aims of the proposed study. State the specific parameters, biological functions/ rates/ processes that will be assessed by specific methods (TYPE WITHIN LIMITS).

- 1) To understand the diffusion of the process of migration through the rural population of Matlab. To understand the constraints which households face in undertaking migration and the way in which migration fits into the locus of economic options which all rural households have at their disposal. To investigate the potential segmentation of the migration flow and what experiences household migrants go through to move despite facing the same constraints as other poor households. To understand the intricacies of the process of circular, seasonal, and rural-rural migration which may lead to the ultimate urban settlement of a migrant. Understanding the options of rural-urban migrants will be investigated through ethnographic interviews with migrant and non-migrant households in the same bari and village settings. These interviews will likely include methods of free listing and pile sorting to assess how households view their economic options. Interviews will be conducted primarily with heads of rural origin households and heads of urban households who migrated as a group. The pattern of migration that most households undertake and the changing composition of the migrant population is an issue of great importance for health care providers and public health professionals, since the age/sex composition of the migrant population affects the types of urban services necessary. Further, the educational background and social support networks of various migrant groups is likely to have a strong effect on retention rates of health intervention programs and the types of health interventions needed to target the migrant population. These issues are especially salient if there is a shift in the composition of migrants as the process diffuses within villages.
- 2) To investigate how a household and its members approach migration. Is migration a household decision taken to the benefit of the entire household or is it an individual decision that divides the household and allows migrants an escape from their household obligations? Investigate the impact of migration on other household decisions such as education, family planning, and

iculture. This will be achieved through individual ethnographic interviews, joint interviews with migrant and origin household head, and focus groups allowing experienced members of the household to assess the nature of the migration process. The relationship between migrant and intergenerational relations and, ultimately, the value of children. If migration is seen as a process which precludes the provision of old age support, then parents may reconsider the value of having children (see background).

To investigate the role of remittances in the migration process and in the household economy of the rural household. To understand how remittances are used and how their uses impact the migrant's decision to send more. To understand how migrants and their origin household heads decide on remittance value and allocation and how this decision process affects power relationships within the household. Methods to approach these questions will be similar to those in Aim #2, along with collection of schedules showing the pattern of remittances and their uses.

4) To understand the importance of rural associations and the possibility of rural return migration to rural-urban migrants. Do rural-urban migrants typically assume that they will return to the village at some point? How does the possibility of returning affect their adjustment to the city and their relationship with members of their rural household? These questions will be assessed primarily through ethnographic interviews with the urban migrants.

5) To investigate the role of networks of social contacts on the rural-urban migration process. Extensive mappings of network ties within individual baris and villages will try to understand the extent and types of ties in migrant networks. Intensive interviews will then investigate the content of these networks, particularly the types of relationships that are utilized, the type of assistance provided (information vs. actual assistance), and the types of exchange that are involved in utilizing social contacts.

Background of the Project including Preliminary Observations

Describe the relevant background of the proposed study. Discuss the previous related works on the subject by citing specific references. Describe logically how the present hypothesis is supported by the relevant background observations including any preliminary results that may be available. Critically analyze available knowledge in the field of the proposed study and discuss the questions and gaps in the knowledge that need to be fulfilled to achieve the proposed goals. Provide scientific validity of the hypothesis on the basis of background information. If there is no sufficient information on the subject, indicate the need to develop new knowledge. Also include the **significance and rationale** of the proposed work by specifically discussing how these accomplishments will bring benefit to human health in relation to biomedical, social, and environmental perspectives. (DO NOT EXCEED 6 PAGES, USE CONTINUATION SHEETS).

Migration Pattern:

Exploratory qualitative work (6/96-9/96) in an urban setting suggests that landless and marginally landless households may be less likely to migrate than either wealthy households or the poorest households. Further, the migration patterns of the richest and poorest households appear to be of disparate natures, with the former being undertaken by *individuals* in response to capital advantages and urban opportunities and the latter undertaken by *entire households* as a response to rural desperation. Many middle to lower income households in rural areas may feel restricted in their freedom to exploit innovative economic options such as migration, either because of economic, social, or cultural constraints. Further, the poorest households may attempt

choose migration despite facing similar or stronger constraints, simply because they are pushed off the land by economic difficulties. The minimal costs of physically relocating make the move self accessible to all without affecting the chances of success.

There is a fair amount of discussion in the migration literature about patterns of migration in which primarily landed households migrate. Stark, in formulating the New Economics of Labor Migration, suggests that households with small land holdings are the most likely to migrate because they want to expand their business either by buying more land or intensifying their agricultural process (1,2). These households, however, experience capital constraints that prevent them from doing so. The wealthiest households may self-finance their agricultural expansion and are more likely to gain credit and insurance from relatives or large banks. Landless households do not worry about agricultural expansion since they have no operation to expand. So small landholders are those who both need to raise capital and insure risky farming operations but have no access to capital sources. Migration, in such a situation, is a perfect means to raise capital. Taylor and Wyatt (1996) show that the economic returns to migration both in terms of remittances and long term income increases are greatest for landed households (3).

In the village studies literature on migration from the 1960's and 1970's, it became clear that, within the village, it is usually not the poorest households who migrate, despite the fact that they have the most to gain from migration, supposing constant urban returns to migration (4). In most village settings, landed households were the most likely to migrate, exposing their social contacts and greater education, while landless households did not participate in migration. In preliminary qualitative research in Dhaka, respondents often noted that households of higher social status, when faced with financial difficulties, are more likely to migrate because their social standing does not allow them to participate in the rural agricultural labor market. Members of landless households, on the other hand, were expected to participate in the daily labor market.

In some village settings, it has been suggested that the flow of migrants actually consists of the upper segment of the population as well as the very poor (5,6,7). Poor households, it is suggested, migrate in response to push factors, namely the loss of land and any other economic options. These poor households are more likely to move as an entire household, seeing no options in the village and being unable to afford separate housing in the city and the village (8). Wealthier migrants, on the other hand, are thought to migrate individually, in response to the possession of human and social capital.

In light of this scenario, it is important to know how households perceive migration in relation to other economic options; what access households have to these options; and how the importance of these options has changed as the economic and social environment has changed. Of particular interest in this regard would be the potential effects of tightening rural land and labor markets in response to a rapidly growing population and the effects of rural micro-enterprise opportunities and development banks. If migration of the poorest households is found to be responsive to rural push factors such as landlessness rather than enhanced urban opportunities, then one can expect continued and accelerating rural-urban migration to Dhaka regardless of the potential increases in the city's economic output. If the migration of many households, particularly those who would put the most strain on urban resources and labor markets while having little hope for economic success, is responsive primarily to rural factors, then a premium should be placed on policies which enhance rural economic options. Chief among these options would be the promotion of rural industry and rural private enterprise, which increase the output of the rural area, providing economic options outside of agriculture, without further straining the rural land base.

When looking at the options that rural households have at their disposal and the constraints they may face in deciding between these options, it is important also to look at the context of urban household migrants. For this segment of the population, it would seem that they face many of the constraints that seem to prevent migration. Many of the poorest households, who would seem to have the greatest constraints against migration, appear to be the very households who participate in the household migration process. These households typically seem to end up in low-cost but poorly served and poorly integrated slum housing (9). An important element of qualitative research should also be to look at how these households finally concluded that their rural options were exhausted and how these households fared once they moved to the city.

The household vs. the individual as the unit of migration decision-making

Referring primarily to the migration of individuals, there is a great deal of controversy about the nature of migration, the decision leading up to migration, and the consequences of migration on intra-household economic and social interaction. The dominant view of migration in the literature for the past 25 years has been that which was formalized by Todaro (1969), which suggests that migration is an individual decision taken in response to a sectoral differential in wages between the rural and urban areas (10,11). This model takes as the event of interest a permanent move from rural to urban and does not accommodate the possibilities of return migration or urban-rural remittances. This individual model has been extended in the past 25 years to account for micro-level differences in an individual's potential wage in the urban and rural areas (12,13). Models have accounted for the potential for education, experience, and social contacts to increase the migrants urban wage or minimize the migrant's urban risk (14,15). These micro-level models add to the complexity of the individual approach to the migration decision, but they continue to place the emphasis on the individual.

Another micro-economic approach to rural-urban migration has been developed as part of the New Economics of Labor Migration (16). Under this approach, it is the household who makes the migration decision and thus one of the most important elements of migration becomes the remittance (17,18,19). In the New Economics, as was discussed in the previous section, households send one member to the city (or to another country) either to raise capital or to insure against risk for an agricultural enterprise. Under Stark's "mutually beneficial, implicit contractual arrangement", the urban migrant and his rural origin household maintain a unified position in the marketplace in spite of their spatial separation (20). If the rural enterprise requires investment or is facing lean times, the migrant, ideally located in an area where incomes are uncorrelated or negatively correlated with origin area incomes, would send remittances to the rural household. On the other hand, if the migrant was out of work either due to job loss or in order to find better employment, the rural household would send money to him. In practice, such arrangements would likely allow the net flow of money to be from urban to rural. But the glue that keeps the agreement, and thus the household, together is the promise of mutual benefit. The migration literature and preliminary qualitative research in Dhaka have indeed recorded extensive flows of remittances from rural to urban, contributing to business investment, education, and urban startup costs (21,22).

These two conceptions of migration and the decision-makers involved in migration clearly differ in a great many ways. Beyond the differences in conceptions of return migration and

remittances, these models differ in how migration affects the social unity of the household. The individual migration decision model views migration as an escape, an opportunity for the potential migrant to be freed from the influence of his parents and free from dependence on the land which his parents must bequeath to him. According to theories of modernization, migration offers an opportunity to earn income without depending on the land and inheritance of that land and thus gives a son or daughter freedom from and leverage over a parent (23,24). Caldwell, in studying South India, suggests that migration and the urban returns to education weaken the bond between parents and children, thus leading parents to feel less secure in the hope that their children will support them in their old age. With lower benefits to children in the form of lower financial returns in old age, the motivation to have children is greatly weakened, thus lowering fertility. If migration is an individual process which detaches the migrant from the household and gives the individual power to make demands of the household or withdraw completely, then we can expect weaker family ties, few systematic remittances, less return migration, less association between the migrant and his origin household, and ultimately, lower fertility. Such changes also relate intimately to the impact of increasing education, which takes the child away from the parents and their farm in their youth, and provides them with the opportunity to increase their income in the urban setting (25). Both of these factors have been suggested to reduce the extent of ties between child and parent in adulthood (26). These changes in education and migration have been suggested as the engine behind changes in fertility, family structure, and social support during the past 50 years.

In the conception of migration which views the household as the decision making unit, however, migration is a means by which the household remains tied economically and in fact, the main purpose of migration is the maintenance of the household. Although they may be physically separated, the members of the household would still be working together and would still be likely to remain tied socially. Under this model also, the value of children in to their parents in old age would not be in danger and parents would perceive migration as a process that is beneficial to the household and to themselves. This model of migration leads to another theory of fertility decline, Becker's quality-quantity theory (27). Under this theory, if children are receiving higher income due to education (something which is likely in most urban settings), and some of this income is then transferred to the parents, then parents may see the benefit in having a small number of well educated children (quality), rather than many uneducated children who would not be able to earn high wages in an urban setting (quantity).

The question of household versus individual decision making in individual migration is thus an essential issue to investigate in understanding migration and how it influences household decisions. The questions of dependence on the land, household power, inter-generational relations, return migration, old age support, education, and fertility may hinge on the unit of migration decision making. Further, the perception of returns to migration and the returns to education for migrants may affect the way households approach migration and the way in which their other household decisions are conducted. If individuals in an agrarian society do not view permanent migration as a viable long-term substitute for agriculture, then migration is more likely to be a household oriented activity. This suggests that the motives for migration by landed households in Bangladesh may be quite different than those for landless households. These issues are one of the major focuses of the Matlab Health and Socio-economic Survey, the quantitative survey to which this study is a follow-up. This qualitative investigation will guide the quantitative investigations and provide a more detailed guide to the patterns and decisions that go into the migration process and the accumulation of human capital.

migrant social networks

During the course of exploratory qualitative work, the ubiquity of social contacts in facilitating migration became obvious. It was noted quickly that networks both placed migrants in the same districts and thanas in the same areas of the city and placed migrants from the same villages in the same urban apartment blocks and slum clusters. But the existence of networks and clustering themselves do not indicate anything about the nature of these networks and the arrangements that underlie the use of contacts. It is quite common in research on migration, as in much research that involves social networks, to view social contacts as a black box. In the case of migration, most studies have viewed the social contact as *social capital*, an asset belonging to the origin household which holds little specific meaning for social or economic interaction between the rural household and the urban contact (28,29). The impact of social networks on migration never goes beyond the well-noted idea that contacts encourage migration. In addition to this lapse, few studies have looked at the social contact from the urban perspective (where the process is actually taking place) to try to understand how urban households make decisions to provide assistance such as provision of housing and how these processes impact urban households. Clearly, the provision of housing for extended family members is a form of assistance that is not trivial to the economic situation of the urban receiving household, yet it is still a widely practiced mechanism for adjusting to urban life (30).

A major goal of this research is to understand the social network not just in terms of how it is utilized in a static sense, but also what these network ties mean, how the use of ties affects other economic and social relations, and how the use of network ties might change as access to social ties becomes more saturated throughout village populations. Of particular interest is the nature of exchange in the utilization of social contacts for migration. It is as yet unclear whether network assistance is truly assistance, or whether it is one element in a system of economic cooperation between rural and urban households. Such cooperation, which may be either explicit or implicit, has been explored in the context of marriage migration, but not in the context of labor migration (31). Understanding the meaning of migrant social networks could indeed be a key to predicting the future of migration patterns and the success that migrants may have in the city. As networks saturate through village populations, more rural households will have access to them, but at the same time, urban households and the urban economy may feel strain in trying to accommodate these migrants. Quantitative work for my dissertation, using Urban Surveillance System (USS) data, has begun to look at networks in a more complex manner (32), but quantitative research is not well suited to gaining initial and explicit understandings of the content and nature of migrant social networks. While the quantitative analyses indicated that some form of economic exchange was probably involved in chain migration, it was unclear how these exchanges are formed, how they are negotiated, and how they impact the success of rural-urban migrants. While quantitative analysis of networks and exchanges is possible, it requires the collection of primary quantitative data, which should first be guided by intensive, qualitative understandings.

Research Design and Methods

Describe in detail the methods and procedures that will be used to accomplish the objectives and specific aims of the project. Discuss the alternative methods that are available and justify the use of the method proposed in the study. Justify the scientific validity of the methodological approach (biomedical, social, or environmental) as an investigation tool to achieve the specific aims. Discuss the limitations and difficulties of the proposed procedures and sufficiently justify the use of them. Discuss the ethical issues related to biomedical and social research for employing special procedures, such as invasive procedures in sick children, use of isotopes or any other hazardous materials, or social questionnaires relating to individual privacy. Point out safety procedures to be observed for protection of individuals during any situations or materials that may be injurious to human health. The methodology section should be sufficiently descriptive to allow the reviewers to make valid and unambiguous assessment of the project. (DO NOT EXCEED TEN PAGES, USE CONTINUATION SHEETS).

This qualitative project will supplement and guide the quantitative study of rural-urban migration using the Matlab Health and Socioeconomic Survey. The MHSS stems from a collaborative research project between the RAND Corporation and ICDDR,B. The data from this project serve as a valuable source of data on household economic decision making and social interaction among a sample of 20% of the households in ICDDR,B's Matlab Thana intervention and data collection site. These data will facilitate many analyses which are ideally suited to the unique 30 year demographic surveillance effort by ICDDR,B in Matlab but which have been hitherto unfeasible due to the lack of intensive information on health utilization, aging, transfers, economic decision making, etc. Further, the sampling frame provides an ideal baseline data source for numerous intensive qualitative interview studies and small-scale interventions that could use the MHSS variables for purposive sample selection purposes. This current proposed project represents the first attempt at using the MHSS data for such sampling purposes. The sample used in this survey will be drawn jointly from the 5,000 household main sample of the MHSS and the 600 household sample of out-migrants from households in the original sample.

In the quantitative portion of my dissertation, I will analyze Matlab data within the context of these issues. I hope to employ Demographic Surveillance System (DSS) data to look at who migrates and to test for the presence of distinct flows of individual and household migrants. Using MHSS data, I will look at the returns to migration in the form of remittances, testing the returns to human, social, and financial capital in the form of money transferred from the migrant to his origin household. I will also use Urban Surveillance System (USS) data to look at the migration of households to slums in Dhaka city. Finally, the results from the rural analyses will be applied to tests of the effects of migration and remittances on income distributions in Matlab. These analyses will be conducted under the guidance of Professors Jane Menken, Andrew Foster, and Douglas Massey. The work will begin during the summer and fall of 1997 and will provide much of the direction for the qualitative work.

After preliminary analysis of the quantitative survey data, I will conduct the qualitative data collection. Qualitative investigation will cover the broad sets of research questions described earlier, and specifically address those issues that cannot be addressed by the quantitative analysis. The design of interview guides will also be driven by the findings from a small pilot project (June 96 - September 96) which looked at migrant remittances from the urban perspective only. The qualitative data collection will take place from November, 1997 to May, 1998 in Dhaka and Matlab, identifying a purposive sample from the frame of the MHSS and hopefully from the Urban Panel Survey (UPS) data of the ICDDR,B Operations Research Project. These sources will

so provide background data on the respondents, which will be quite extensive in the case of HSS respondents.

The qualitative field project will yield data from interviews with members of approximately 100 households in Matlab and 80 urban migrant households in Dhaka, perhaps three-fourths of which will consist of households on either end of the same migrant flow. The nature of the qualitative approach necessitates that the sampling process be much more complex than merely drawing a simple random sample. The full sample will include conversations with migrants to Dhaka from Matlab; the heads of urban households which have received these migrants; the heads of these migrants' origin households; other members of origin households; return migrants; household heads of return migrants; and urban members of migrant households. The rural samples will begin with randomly sampled households before using a snowball sample to investigate specific bari and village contexts. Out-migrants from other rural households to Dhaka will then be tracked in a third phase of investigation. The MHSS sample, which will not contain any entire households who migrated to Dhaka, will be supplemented with a sample of urban migrant households who will hopefully be selected from the rosters of the Urban Panel Survey.

A brief outline of the three-phase sampling and interview process will follow. Each item indicates the number of households involved and the number of interviewer days required for the effort. Rural households may require more interview time than urban households due to transportation difficulties and the greater theoretical interest in interviewing *multiple* household members in rural households, while focus will generally stay on the migrant in urban households. The number of person-days required for a household accounts for time to locate the household, interview time with various household members, informal conversations with members of the household and bari, time to translate and transcribe recordings of the interviews, and time to record field notes about these interviews.

Dhaka (one month=25 days*4 interviewers=100 interviewer days)

a. Interview 20 randomly selected migrant respondents to the MHSS out-migrant follow-up, making sure that four origin villages in Matlab, selected to be located relatively close to the thana headquarters, are represented at least three times in this sample. Households will be tracked using information from Mitra and Associates search for these migrants during the MHSS. (20 households; 50 interviewer days)

b. Interview 15 randomly selected migrants living in slums in Dhaka City, particularly in peri-urban slums. These households will be selected from Urban Panel Survey rosters. This will provide more coverage of household migrants, who will not be represented at all in the MHSS. (15 households; 35 interviewer days)

Matlab (3 months=75 days*4 interviewers=300 interviewer days)

a. Interview economic decision-makers in the origin households of the 20 households in (1a). Households will be tracked both from respondent information in (1a) and information from the Demographic Surveillance System. (20 households; 50 interviewer days)

b. In the cases of the households in (2a) who come from multiple household baris and live in one of the four village with multiple respondents, interview the economic decision makers in the matched household who will have responded to the MHSS as part of the matched bari sample. (Approx 10 households; 25 interviewer days)

- c. Choose the four villages that were represented three times in (1a) and (2a) samples, and focus more intensively on these villages. First, interview the village head in each village. (4 interviews; 8 interviewer days)
- d. Using MHSS sample, interview economic decision-makers from three randomly selected non-migrant households in each of these same four villages. (12 households; 30 interviewer days)
- e. Interview economic decision-makers in one additional household in the bari or in the close social circle of the three households in each village who participated in (2a). (12 households; 30 interviewer days)
- f. In the case of households in (2d) who come from multiple household baris, interview the economic decision-makers in the matched household who will have responded to the MHSS as part of the matched bari sample. (Approx 10 households; 25 interviewer days)
- g. Interview the economic decision-makers from three additional households in each village, selected either randomly from the MHSS or purposively based on referral from prior respondents. (12 households; 30 interviewer days)
- h. Conduct one focus group discussion in each village with landless household members, both migrant sending and non-migrant sending (12 interviewer days).
- i. Conduct one focus group discussion in each village with landed household members, both migrant sending and non-migrant sending (12 interviewer days).

Return to Dhaka (one month=25 days*4 interviewers=100 interviewer days)

- a. Conduct interviews with migrant and destination household head in any migrant destination households of migrants originating from households in (2b,2e,2f,2g). (Approx 30 households; 75 interviewer days)
- b. Conduct 10 additional interviews with economic decision-makers in slum migrant households in peripheral areas of Dhaka City (20 interviewer days).
- c. Conduct one focus group discussion with slum migrants selected in (1b,3b). (3 interviewer days).

Interviews will be mostly qualitative in nature, although the basic quantitative migration information in the MHSS may be supplemented with other quantitative data. Interviews, which will be taped in Bengali and translated into English, will probably last 1 to 1 ½ hours for primary respondents such as migrants and household heads and shorter interviews will be conducted for other members of the households. The main goal of these interviews is to gain oral histories of the migration history of the given respondents and the people in their household. The interviewers, once they have established themselves in their assigned village in Matlab, will also be expected to spend time visiting with other residents of the village informally to gain a full sense of the context. The PI will also try to spend a significant amount of time in each study village.

There will be no attempts at quantitative analysis based on this non-random sample. The reason behind the interviews is merely to 1) gain insight into the patterns and processes underlying the quantitative findings of the dissertation and 2) gain understanding of processes that cannot be studied with existing quantitative data. The interviews will be semi-structured and the interviewers will be instructed to emphasize to the respondents that they should tell their stories in a complete fashion rather than sticking closely to a set interview schedule. It is possible that some interviews will never even cover all of the given topics in a first sitting if the information regarding one of the

will never even cover all of the given topics in a first sitting if the information regarding one of the earlier topics is so rich. The interview schedules will be structured such that the most important information will hopefully come first and, in many cases, later sections of the interview will not need to be asked because they will flow naturally from the respondent's story. Interviews will be based on open form questionnaires that will consist of 6 main sections. The following will be the major headings of the interview schedules: 1) migration decision process; 2) past migration history; 3) origin village context; 4) investment in and accumulation of human and social capital; 5) economic and social ties between migrant and village; and 6) urban economic and social position (for urban interviews only). A sample of one preliminary questionnaire, which is quite similar to all the others, is attached to this proposal). Starting from these interview schedules, interviewers will be required to independently interject occasional probes to elicit information of particular relevance to the project. While these probes will not be explicitly handed to the interviewers, the types of necessary probes and the proper use of these probes will be the most important topic of discussion and practice during the extensive training period at the beginning of the project. This process will include conducting practice interviews which the entire team will then listen to as a group and discuss the best ways that probes could have been added.

Interviews will not only include open-ended questions aimed at gaining the oral migration histories of respondents, but they will also present counterfactual situations and hypothetical questions in which the respondent will be asked to evaluate the possible changes in their migration and economic history had certain key events and decisions occurred in a manner different from the actual events. Questions evaluating norms and values will be aimed at allowing the respondent to assess the migration patterns of members of their own bari and the village. Interviewers may also conduct ethnographic exercises such as pile sorting and free listing to look at the role of migration as an economic option and the extensiveness of migrant networks. For the most part, however, individual interviews will allow the respondent to tell the story of his own experiences rather than providing any opinions.

Focus groups discussions will be conducted in each setting at the end of the interview process in order to theoretically unify the results of the interviews. While individual interviews provide rich stories of the experiences of respondents, they are not an ideal setting for gaining respondents' opinions on general patterns, norms, and the experiences of others. The focus group, with its interactive synergy between the participants, allows for an environment where those who actually participate in the process can discuss more abstract and general notions of the migration process. This will provide an essential link between the concrete information in the interviews and the abstract theories and models that I intend to develop based on the data.

The project will be managed in the style of studies of fertility led by John Caldwell and his colleagues. A team of four interviewers will conduct interviews. These interviewers will personally translate and transcribe (hand written) interviews immediately after interviewing. The results of each interview will thus be available immediately for reading and discussion and for guiding future interviews. The ability to immediately receive the results of these interviews is essential to the iteration of the project in the necessary directions. Thus it is worthwhile for me to hire interviewers who are capable of translating these interviews and providing results immediately, even though this will make the hiring process more difficult and more costly. I will participate as an observer in many interviews and meetings will be held each day in which interviewers will be expected to provide their impressions on the interview they most recently conducted and to elaborate on the

mediate and more detailed synthesis of the information they gain in the interviews. For interviews that seem to be of particular importance and interviews where there is some question of the quality of the translation, translators in Dhaka will be hired to provide high quality translations to be analyzed at a later date. The process by which these data will actually be analyzed is discussed in much more detail in the analysis section of this protocol.

Facilities Available

Describe the availability of physical facilities at the place where the study will be carried out. For clinical and laboratory-based studies, indicate the provision of hospital and other types of patient's care facilities and adequate laboratory support. Point out the laboratory facilities and major equipment that will be required for the study. For field studies, describe the field area including its size, population, and means of communications. (TYPE WITHIN THE PROVIDED SPACE).

Few physical facilities should be required for the completion of this project other than tape recording equipment, which will be purchased in the United States; computer and rural electricity, which will be arranged by the investigator; and transportation within the fieldsites, which will be by boat and rickshaw. Transport between Matlab and Dhaka will be requested from ICDDR,B.

Data Analysis

Describe plans for data analysis. Indicate whether data will be analyzed by the investigators themselves or by other professionals. Specify what statistical software packages will be used and if the study is blinded, when the code will be opened. For clinical trials, indicate if interim data analysis will be required to monitor further progress of the study. (TYPE WITHIN THE PROVIDED SPACE).

The qualitative analysis of the data from these interviews will be conducted primarily by the Principal Investigator. While the writing of scientific papers will primarily take place following data collection in the United States, a great deal of the formulation of ideas will occur during the field work process. Meetings will be conducted almost daily between the PI, the Field Research Officer (FRO), and the interviewers, at which the interviewers will be asked to submit transcripts as well as personal field notes of the most recent interviews they have conducted. The field notes and the interviewer's impressions of the interviews will be discussed during these meetings and all members of the team will be allowed to speculate on the meaning of findings based on their own experiences. Field notes will supplement the notes taken by interviewers and the English transcripts of the interviews and journals written by the PI based on the team meetings, personal interview experiences, and informal conversations.

Using these texts as the primary source of data for qualitative analysis, I will proceed with a textual content analysis of the data in a manner suggested by Carol Jenkins of the Centre, a method with which I am somewhat familiar based on my much smaller sample of interviews from my 1996 pilot project. I will first produce cover sheets, or rather cover databases for each respondent, with respondents coded by field site, location, individual and household migrant experience, household structure, individual's position in the household, and demographic characteristics. These can be produced in a database manager such as Fox-Pro. With these database files available, I will begin to look at the text of the interviews using

a simple text-processing package such as Text Collector. Such a package will allow me to search all interviews with given types of respondents for any key words or phrases relating to the various topics of interest. While I will read each interview transcript repeatedly, these keyword searches will provide a manageable way to unify the transcripts and systematize the process. Using these text searches guided by my reading of the transcripts, I will generalize certain basic questions about the respondents' experiences into pseudo-quantitative form. By distilling the rich qualitative responses into categorical form, I do not expect to conduct any quantitative analyses of these data, but it will allow me and eventually my readers to get an idea of the dominant themes running through my results in a more concrete manner. With these generalizations in hand, I will then be able to conduct a guided textual analysis of the data. Using the understandings from the texts, I will produce scientific papers for publication which will primarily discuss the impressions and general patterns derived from the research as well as the thought process which led to these conclusions rather than merely present quotations from respondents which may or may not be generalizable to the entire population. Some particularly informative quotes will be included in these papers for illustration. Some of the papers that include qualitative results will also be papers that present quantitative results in tandem with the results from these interviews. These comparisons of quantitative and qualitative data will be especially useful since both come from the same study populations.

Since these qualitative results will be included in a largely quantitative dissertation, it is useful to discuss the particular quantitative analyses that I plan to conduct. The primary chapter of the dissertation will test the existence of a two-tiered pattern of rural-urban migration. I will test logistic regression models of the likelihood of a household either 1) sending one or more members of the household to the city while maintaining the core of the household in the village; or 2) moving as an entire unit to the city. The hypotheses guiding these investigations will be that household migrants, relative to non-household migrants, are likely to have much less economic wealth including land; less education; less experience with migration; and less social ties with those who have previously migrated. I will also look at the possibility that since household migrants move more as a response to failures in the land and credit markets in the village, rather than because of a simple utility calculation, they would be more likely to move in response to negative factors affecting the rural economy versus positive factors affecting the urban economy. These analyses will employ data from the Matlab Demographic Surveillance System. Records of migration will come from surveillance records from 1982-1986. Information on socio-economic status and household structure will come from 1982 Matlab census data. Additional information on previous migration experience will come from 1974-1982 surveillance data and information on the villages will come from the 1978 village survey conducted in Matlab. Finally, household incomes will be predicted from the extensive income data contained in the Matlab Health and Socioeconomic Survey (1996).

The other major quantitative analyses in the dissertation will look at the economic returns to migration for those households who do remain in the village. Using data from the Matlab Health and Socioeconomic Survey, I will first test the hypothesis that urban incomes of migrants are positively related to education, urban social contacts, and prior wealth of the origin household. Controlling for migrant income, I will also test the hypothesis that the remittances which origin households receive are positively related to urban social contacts and strongly positively related to wealth of the origin household. These tests will serve to indicate

that, to a large extent, migration serves to enhance the wealth of the wealthier rural households who stay behind. These results will fit in nicely with qualitative investigation of the feedback between village social and economic differentiation and migration.

Ethical Assurance for Protection of Human Rights

Describe in the space provided the justifications for conducting this research in human subjects. If the study needs observations on sick individuals, provide sufficient reasons for using them. Indicate how subject's rights are protected and if there is any benefit or risk to each subject of the study.

Since this research is of a social nature, it requires the use of human subjects. Much of the information collected in these interviews, however, is not of a highly sensitive nature. Still, since the interviews cover topics relating to economic decisions within households and to economic associations and patronage between households, it is possible that confronting one respondent with the views of another respondent could sow discord in the village. I view this as the biggest issue the project faces regarding the rights of the respondents. With this in mind, we will work under the assumption that all information provided in interviews is confidential (as always), even if this means keeping the views of one household member from those of another. In certain cases, it might be desirable from a research standpoint for the interviewer to confront a party on one side of a transaction with the views of a party on the other side of the transaction, whether this be a within household or between household transaction. These, in fact, would also be the likely situations in which our interviews might cause problems in the village. It will therefore be a major topic during training to stress to interviewers that they carefully gain the permission of a party whom has made a controversial statement before ever discussing it with another party in the transaction being discussed. Any information collected about household economics and about household's social relations will be kept secret. If any interview texts or field notes are released, they will be altered to protect the identity of the respondents. As always with such research, identities will also be concealed in any published results. The interviews conducted here will be unlikely to provide any direct benefit to the respondents.

Use of Animals

Describe in the space provided the type and species of animal that will be used in the study. Justify with reasons the use of particular animal species in the experiment and the compliance of the animal ethical guidelines for conducting the proposed procedures.

None.

Literature Cited

Identify all cited references to published literature in the text by number in parentheses. List all cited references sequentially as they appear in the text. For unpublished references, provide complete information in the text and do not include them in the list of Literature Cited. There is no page limit for this section, however exercise judgment in assessing the "standard" length.

- 1) Stark, Oded (1982). Research on Rural-to-Urban Migration in LDCs: The Confusion Frontier and Why We Should Pause to Rethink Afresh. *World Development* 10(1):63-70.
- 2) Stark, Oded (1991). *The Migration of Labor*. Cambridge, MA: Basil Blackwell.
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- 13) Durand, Jorge, William Kandel, Emilio A. Parrado, and Douglas S. Massey (1996, May). International Migration and Development in Mexican Communities. *Demography* 33(2):249-264.

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- (15) Taylor, J. Edward (1987, August). Undocumented Mexico-U.S. Migration and the Returns to Households in Rural Mexico. *American Journal of Agricultural Economics* 69(7):626-638.
- (16) See Note 1.
- (17) Stark, Oded (1980). On the Role of Urban-to-Rural Remittances in Rural Development. *Journal of Development Studies* 16(3):369-374.
- (18) Stark, Oded and Robert E B. Lucas (1988, April). Migration, remittances, and the family. *Economic Development and Cultural Change* 36:465-81.
- (19) Lucas, Robert E B. and Oded Stark (1985, October). Motivations to Remit: Evidence from Botswana. *Journal of Political Economy* 93:901-18.
- (20) See Note 17.
- (21) Rempel, Henry and Richard A. Lobdell (1978). The Role of Urban-to-Rural Remittances in Rural Development. *Journal of Development Studies* 14:324-341.
- (22) See Note 4.
- (23) Thornton, Arland and Hui-Sheng Ling (1994). *Social Change and the Family in Taiwan*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- (24) Caldwell, John C., P.H. Reddy, and Pat Caldwell (1988). *The Causes of Demographic Change: Experimental Research in South India*. Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press.
- (25) Oberai, A.S. and H.K. Manmohan Singh (1980). Migration, Remittances, and Rural Development: Findings of a case study in the Indian Punjab. *International Labour Review* 119(2):229-241.
- (26) Dharmalingam, A. (1994). Old Age Support : Expectations and Experiences in a South Indian Village. *Population Studies* 48(1):5-19.
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- (28) See Note 12.

9) See Note 13.

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12) Kuhn, Randall (1997). Migration, Households, and Social Networks: Urban Migrant-Receiving Households in Bangladesh. Paper presented to Population Association of America annual meeting, session on Labor Migration in Asia. March 28, 1997. Washington, D.C.

Dissemination and Use of Findings

Describe explicitly the plans for disseminating the accomplished results. Describe what type of publication is anticipated: working papers, internal (institutional) publication, international publications, international conferences and agencies, workshops, etc. Mention if the project is linked to the Government of Bangladesh through a training programme.

The primary results on the pattern of migration and returns to migration will be incorporated into the PI's doctoral dissertation. The primary qualitative chapter will be presented at the meetings of the American Sociological Association in 1999 as well as being submitted for publication to a refereed demography or sociology journal. Findings on networks and the nature of the migration decision-making unit will be submitted for conferences and publication at a later date. The findings will also be used in guiding future quantitative papers and grant proposals.

Collaborative Arrangements

Describe briefly if this study involves any scientific, administrative, fiscal, or programmatic arrangements with other national or international organizations or individuals. Indicate the nature and extent of collaboration and include a letter of agreement between the applicant or his/her organization and the collaborating organization. (DO NOT EXCEED ONE PAGE)

This small project will be conducted and administered primarily by the principal investigator. By the very nature of dissertation research, projects are self-managed because they are supposed to be demonstrations of the student's ability to conduct research independently and because they are so small that they do not require extensive collaboration. But this does not at all mean that this project exists in a vacuum. At the level of the project itself, I will be sharing my work and gaining input from other scientists at the Centre and academics and development practitioners within the Bangladeshi community. The type of research I'm conducting is relatively new for ICDDR,B, but the collection of migration data in most surveillance exercises administered by the Centre and the attention paid to migration in various in-house publications is an acknowledgement of the importance of understanding migration, not just as an issue in itself, but as a process which has clear impacts on health service provision and on fertility and family planning. So while my specific research may not lend to obvious collaborations within the Centre, I clearly hope it will be regarded as something that is important to the mission of the Centre.

Although this one small project will be managed almost entirely on my own, such a statement masks this project's place in what has been a long, fruitful history of collaboration between Jane Menken, students of Jane Menken's, and ICDDR,B. The MHSS can be viewed as the most important collaborative project in this continued association and my project can be viewed as one small piece of the whole MHSS effort. While my quantitative and qualitative work with the MHSS are important to me as my dissertation project, they should also be important to the Centre because they represent some of the first attempts to use MHSS data for two important purposes. The first of these purposes is obvious: the quantitative analysis of the data. The second of these is the use of the MHSS sampling frame and data as a starting point for intensive small-scale interview studies, either qualitative or quantitative, which sample based on responses to MHSS data and incorporate MHSS data into more detailed analyses. Professors Menken and Omar Rahman fully expect for the research staff to undertake use of MHSS data for both purposes, and hopefully the experience of my project will serve as an indicator of how fruitful these efforts can be. In terms of my own career, I fully expect to continue working at ICDDR,B on projects which will be genuinely collaborative efforts between ICDDR,B research staff, Professor Menken, and I. I also hope that my work on migration this year will merely be an exploratory process on the way to conducting intensive quantitative surveys on migration in collaboration with others in Bangladesh, both inside and outside the Centre.

Biography of the Investigators

Provide biographical data in the following table for key personnel including the Principal Investigator. Use a photocopy of this page for each investigator.

| Name | Position | Date of Birth |
|----------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------|
| Randall Steven Kuhn | Graduate Student | 06/11/1972 |

Academic Qualifications (Begin with baccalaureate or other initial professional education)

| Institution and Location | Degree | Year | Field of Study |
|------------------------------------|--------|------|----------------|
| University of California, Berkeley | A.B. | 1993 | Statistics |
| University of Pennsylvania | M.A. | 1994 | Demography |

Research and Professional Experience

Including with the present position, list, in chronological order, previous positions held, experience, and honours. Indicate present membership on any professional societies or public committees. List, in, chronological order, the titles, all authors, and complete references to all publications during the past three years and to representative earlier publications pertinent to this application. (DO NOT EXCEED TWO PAGES, USE CONTINUATION SHEETS).

- 94 - **Research Assistant/Analyst**
 Professor Jane Menken, University of Pennsylvania
 Population Studies Center
 Programming and simulation in Pascal, SAS, S, Excel, and Stata. Provided computer support for PC and Unix. Collaborated or assisted on original research and review papers regarding effects of breastfeeding on birth interval, fertility, and mortality; seasonality of fertility; and migration. Participated in questionnaire design, sampling, and field activities on large household survey in Bangladesh.
- 94 - **Research Assistant/Data Analyst**
 Professor Dennis Culhane, University of Pennsylvania
 Center for Mental Health Policy and Services Research
 Statistical Analysis of large administrative databases concerning homeless shelter utilization in New York City and Philadelphia using SAS and Excel. Analysis consists of longitudinal, panel, survival, point prevalence, and cluster analysis. Used analyses to study systemic patterns of episode length and recidivism in shelter use, as well as demographic and socio-economic determinants of individual level shelter use.

apers for Publication and Conferences:

hn, Randall (1997). Migration, Households, and Social Networks: Urban Migrant-Receiving Households in Bangladesh. Paper presented to Population Association of America annual meeting, session on Labor Migration in Asia. March 28, 1997. Washington, D.C.

ong, Irene, Dennis Culhane and Randall Kuhn (1997, in press). Predictors of exit and re-entry among family shelter users in New York City. *Social Services Review*.

hn, Randall and Dennis Culhane (in review). Applying cluster analysis to test a typology of homelessness by pattern of public shelter utilization. Submitted to *American Journal of Community Psychology*.

ilhane, Dennis and Randall Kuhn (1997, in press). Patterns and determinants of public shelter utilization among single adults in New York City and Philadelphia. *Journal of Policy Analysis and Management*

Shaner, Dennis, Erica Gollub, Randall Kuhn, and Mark Shpaner (1996). The co-occurrence of AIDS and homelessness: Results from the integration of Administrative data on AIDS surveillance and public shelter utilization in Philadelphia. Report for the Office of Housing and Community Development, Philadelphia. Submitted to *American Journal of Public Health*.

Menken, Jane and Randall Kuhn (1995). The Demographic Effects of Breastfeeding: Fertility, Mortality, and Population Growth. Paper presented to Pontifical Academy of Sciences conference on breastfeeding; Vatican City;

Kuhn, Randall and Jane Menken (1995). Fertility Seasonality: Toward The Next Generation of Modeling and Analysis. Paper presented to Population Association of America annual meeting. April 6, 1995. San Francisco, CA.

Awards:

American Institute of Bangladesh Studies, Dissertation Fellowship; provides for travel and personal support for dissertation research in Bangladesh. Awarded 3/97. Declined.

William Fulbright Student Grant; funded by United States Information Agency; administered by Institute for International Education. Awarded 6/97.

University of Pennsylvania; Mellon Grant for Research in the Demography of Less Developed Countries. Awarded 5/97..

Social Science Research Council and Council of Learned Societies; International pre-Dissertation Fellowship; provided \$20,000 funding to learn cultural context and develop a dissertation topic at International Centre for Diarrheal Disease Research, Bangladesh. Awarded 4/95.

National Institute of Aging, United States; Graduate Training Fellowship. Awarded 9/93.

Service:

1994-5/95: President, graduate student association, Department of Demography, University of Pennsylvania.

1993-5/94: Representative to Graduate Student Associations Council, University of Pennsylvania

Memberships:

Population Association of America

**International Centre for Diarrhoeal Disease Research, Bangladesh
Voluntary Consent Form**

of the Research Project: Understanding the Evolution of Rural-Urban Migration in Bangladesh

Principal Investigator: Randall Kuhn

Before recruiting into the study, the study subject must be informed about the objectives, procedures, and potential benefits and risks involved in the study. Details of all procedures must be provided including their risks, utility, duration, frequencies, and costs. All questions of the subject must be answered to his/ her satisfaction, indicating that the participation is purely voluntary. For children, consents must be obtained from their parents or legal guardians. The subject must indicate his/ her acceptance of participation by signing or thumb printing on this form.

Consent Form -- Qualitative Study of Rural-Urban Migration

Dear potential respondent:

We work at ICDDR,B (Cholera Hospital) and we are performing a behavioral study of migration and the remittances that rural-urban migrants send home to their villages. We are interested in the pattern of migration, how migrants decide how much money to send, how the money is spent, and how these remittances affect the migrant's relationship with the recipient household. We also look at the assistance provided by family and friends to newly arrived migrants. With these interviews, we hope to better understand migration and remittances and how they affect the migrants, their households, their communities, and Bangladesh as a whole. By knowing these things, we can find ways to better promote development in both rural and urban areas.

To gain this knowledge, we must gain information about migrants, and more importantly, learn the opinions of migrants. That is why we would like to spend some time with you, talking about your remittances and your relationship with those who receive your remittances. We will begin with the short answer questions about you: your background, your work, your movement, and your remittances. But unlike most surveys of this kind, we will not spend the whole time asking short answer questions. Instead, we want to let you do most of the talking. For much of the interview, we want to ask you a few open questions which you should answer with any information or opinions you are able provide from your own experiences as a rural-urban migrant. We will talk to you for as much or as little time as you are willing to give but we want to hear your honest thoughts on these important issues.

Randall Kuhn,
University of Pennsylvania
ICDDR,B

Signature of Investigator/ or agents
Date:

Signature of Subject/ Guardian
Date:

Detailed Budget for New Proposal

Project Title: Understanding the Evolution of Rural-Urban Migration in Bangladesh

Name of PI: Randall Kuhn

Protocol Number:

Name of Division: Public Health Sciences Division

Funding Source: Mellon
Overhead (%)

Amount Funded (direct): 20,300

Total: 20,300

Starting Date: 15/11/97

Closing Date: 15/7/98

Funding Sources: Mellon Grant for the Study of Population in Less-Developed Countries through University of Pennsylvania (\$15,300)
Social Science Research Council International Pre-dissertation Fellowship
Dissertation matching funds (\$5,000)

Strategic Plan Priority Code(s):

| No | Account Description | Salary-Support | | | US \$ Amount Requested | | |
|--|-------------------------------|----------------|----------|--------|------------------------|--------------------|--------------------|
| | | Position | Effort % | Salary | 1st Yr | 2 nd Yr | 3 rd Yr |
| | Personnel | | | | | | |
| | Assistance from DSS personnel | | | | 500 | | |
| | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | |
| | Sub Total | | | | 500 | 0 | 0 |
| | Consultants | | | | | | |
| | Local Travel | | | | | | |
| | International Travel | | | | | | |
| | Sub Total | | | | | | |
| Supplies and Materials (Description of Items) | | | | | | | |

As noted that as part of my presence at the Centre, I will also provide technical assistance/support for the Matlab Demographic Surveillance System project in any way possible. Considering my extensive experience with programming and database management and my extensive utilization of the DSS data myself, I can offer a great deal of help to the project, as I always have when I have visited ICDDR,B in past years. Jeroen Van Ginneken and I have discussed this arrangement in planning for this project. I will also be serving part-time as a liaison between Professor Jane Menken and Dr. Van Ginneken in planning a summary volume of MHSS results and a workshop on MHSS utilization to be given in July 1998. In this capacity, I will also provide a link between Professor Menken and ICDDR,B staff funded by her Fogarty Fellows Program.

Full Project Budget

Note: ICDDR,B budget items in italics

Salaries (Interviewers, field officers, translators)

| | |
|------------------------|-----------------|
| Interviewers | \$7,000 |
| Field Research Officer | \$2,500 |
| Typesetter | \$500 |
| Additional Translators | \$1,000 |
| Total | \$11,000 |

Transport (Within field sites and between field sites)

| | |
|---------------------------------------|----------------|
| During Training | \$300 |
| During Matlab Fieldwork | \$600 |
| During Dhaka Fieldwork | \$600 |
| Dhaka-Matlab Team moves | \$200 |
| <i>Dhaka-Matlab ICDDR,B Transport</i> | <i>\$1,000</i> |
| Total. | \$2,700 |

Field Expenses (Such as housing in rural area, supplies, refreshments)

| | |
|--|----------------|
| Housing for PI in Matlab | \$600 |
| <i>Staff time for ICDDR,B Matlab Staff</i> | <i>\$500</i> |
| Other Matlab | \$1,000 |
| Dhaka | \$500 |
| Total | \$2,600 |

Office Supplies and equipment

| | |
|--------------------------------|----------------|
| UPS | \$500 |
| Printing | \$600 |
| Shipping of records and papers | \$700 |
| Internet | \$400 |
| Other Supplies | \$700 |
| Taping Equipment | \$1,100 |
| | \$4,000 |

Grand Total **\$20,300**

Other Support

Describe sources, amount, duration, and grant number of all other research funding currently granted to PI or under consideration. (DO NOT EXCEED ONE PAGE FOR EACH INVESTIGATOR)

Fulbright Student Grant -- Personal support and travel - \$19,700 -- 11/97-8/98

Check List

After completing the protocol, please check that the following selected items have been included.

- 1. Face Sheet Included
- 2. Approval of the Division Director on Face Sheet
- 3. Certification and Signature of PI on Face Sheet, #9 and #10
- 4. Table on Contents
- 5. Project Summary
- 6. Literature Cited
- 7. Biography of Investigators
- 8. Ethical Assurance
- 9. Consent Forms
- Detailed Budget

MG. Migration Decision

These questions ask about the basic decision which led you to move away from your rural origin household. The important issues here are who made the decision, how the decision was taken, and what were the circumstances which led the household to send a migrant. More specific aspects of the decision will be addressed in later sections.

- 1) When did you move to Dhaka most recently?
- 2) With whom did you migrate to Dhaka?
- 3) How did you decide to migrate to Dhaka? Was it your decision entirely? Or was it a joint household decision? Did other members of your bari (father, brothers) help in the decision?
- 4) When did you decide to migrate? What event or series of events made you decide to move? What was the final event which caused you to migrate? Did you deliberate a long time on the decision, or did you take it quickly?
- 5) Had you been considering migration for a long time before the actual move? For how long had you considered migration as a household option?
 - 5b) (If had been considering for long time) Why did you decide to move at that time? Why had you not moved previously? What had changed in your life to make migration more possible at this time? Did you have greater access to urban opportunities which made migration more profitable? Did you have fewer economic opportunities in the village? Did your household's financial situation significantly worsen?
 - 5c) (If hadn't been considering for long time) Why had you not considered migration previously? Did it not seem profitable? Were you self-sufficient agriculturally? How were you able to take such an important decision so quickly?
- 6) Did other household members consider joining you in the city at the time of your moves? Did you consider bringing your spouse and children with you when you moved? Why did you decide to leave them behind? Is it possible that your spouse and children will move to the city in the future?
- 7) Do you feel you migrated out of choice, or because you had no other choice? Is your rural household depending on the returns to your migration? What would your household have done economically if you had not migrated?
- 8) Were there any other potential sources of income for you in the village? What changes

or opportunities in the village could have allowed you to stay there? Did you try to get loans or join any organizations to help you pursue cultivation or cottage industry? Would you like to have remained in the village?

III. History of Past Migration

These questions ask about your migration experience prior to the most recent move and the migration experience of other members of your origin household. When answering the questions, keep in mind how these past experiences relate to the current decision for (migrant) to move.

1) Had you migrated to any place outside your village prior to this move to the city? Was this migration to Dhaka, to another city, or to another rural area?

2) (If migrated before) Why did you return to your origin village after previous moves? Were the moves intended to be for short periods? Was there a set amount of money which you wished to earn before you returned? Were you needed back home to work in a family farm/business? Was there no more work available in the area to which you migrated? Was there any particular event which caused you to return home? Was your migration seasonal? Who decided that the migrants should return, you or a senior member of your household/bari?

2b) (If migrated before) Was this a permanent decision to return to the village or did you always plan to migrate away from your village again? How did your past migration experiences affect your current decision to migrate?

2c) What did you do in the village when you returned? Was there sufficient work for you? Did you have a difficult time adjusting to village life after having lived away from the village?

2d) What did you or your household do with the income from this migration episode? Did you control the spending of this income, or someone else in your household/bari? What problems did your household encounter when you stopped earning income as a migrant?

2e) Was the previous migration episode to the same destination as you are living now? Did the experience, contacts, information, and skill you gained during that migration help you in your current stay in the city? In what way?

3) (If never migrated before) Why have you not migrated up until this migration?

3b) Did you have other rural economic opportunities? Did other members of your household migrate instead of you? How has the situation of your household/bari/para/village changed to cause you to migrate now?

3c) Did members of your bari/para/village discourage you from migrating? Had you heard stories about migration in the past which discouraged/encouraged you from migrating? Is there anything about your household's way of life which prevented you from migrating? Is there anything about your family's standing/class/social position which prevented you from moving?

3d) In what way did these constraints against migration loosen in your current decision to migrate? In what way did your rural options change to allow you to migrate? In what way did your urban opportunities change to allow you to migrate?

3e) Had other members of your household migrated before you moved here? Had other members of your bari/para/village migrated before? How successful were these other migrants? How did their success or failure as migrants affect your migration decisions? Was there something about their migration experience that you feel made the difference between success and failure (REWORD)? Did past migrants from your bari/para/village usually return to the village permanently or did they settle in the city? Did these migrants send/bring money to their origin households?

- 4) Has your origin household ever resided in a different location from the one you left when you moved here? If so, from where, when, and why did they move?
- 5) Have you or any members of your origin household migrated seasonally? If you migrate seasonally, how do you decide to move in this pattern rather than living permanently in the city? What kind of work did you do in the city? During what seasons were you in the city and what seasons were you in the village? Do you think that you could have been more successful in the city if you had stayed there for a long time and gained contacts, experience, and information? If you stayed in the city for a longer time, would you be more likely to gain formal employment other than daily labor or transport? What does your household do with the income from your seasonal migration? Are there any seasonal jobs available in or near your home village?
- 6) If household members migrate frequently but not seasonally, how do they decide when to return to the village? Does this pattern relate to agricultural work? Does it relate to other economic activities in this household?

VI. Village Context

This section asks questions about the situation in the migrant's origin village. Specifically, we ask about the economic situation of his origin household both before and after migration, the social and economic structure of the origin village, and the relationships the migrant's household has with other households in the bari/para/village.

- 1) What was your occupation at the time you decided to move to Dhaka? What is the primary rural occupation of other members of your rural origin household? Does your rural origin household cultivate its own land? Do any members of your rural origin household work as laborers on other people's land? What work, if any, do female members of your rural origin household do? Do any members of your origin household perform non-agricultural work (service, business, mechanic, artisan, etc)?
- 2) Who lives in your rural origin household? How are they related to you? Is it just your spouse and children, or is it a joint household with a brother's family or with your parents?
 - 2a) (If living with brother or father's family) When the household faces an important decision, would the current head take the decision, or would you be asked? Do you and the other adult males of this household plan to partition the household in the future? How did being in a large household affect your migration decision and plans?
 - 2b) (If nuclear household) When did you stop living with your parents and/or brothers? What led to the partition of your household? How did being in a large household affect your migration decision and plans?
- 3) Who is the head of your household in your absence? Is your wife managing the household? A relative? Does a head of another household watch over the members of your household? Who does the marketing in your household?
- 4) What is the economic situation of your household? How much land do you own? Do you share this land with any other households? Have you bought or sold land in recent times? What farm implements do you own? What household assets do you possess?
- 5) Is your origin household self-sufficient economically without any money from you or other outside sources? Is your origin household (wealthier/poorer/as wealthy as) other households in your bari? Is your bari (wealthier/poorer/as wealthy as) other bars in your village?
- 6) Does your household have any debts to other households in your bari/para/village? Do you owe any debts to money lenders? Is any of your land under mortgage? Do you take rent or sharecrop in any land? Do you rent or sharecrop out any land?
- 7) Does your household hold the mortgage on anyone else's land? Do you/they participate in any agricultural cooperatives/somity/NGO?

- 8) Do you independently make all of the decisions for your household, or do you make decisions jointly with heads of other households in your bari? Does your household have a strong social or economic relationship with another household in your bari? How are you related to this household? How does this affect your migration decisions?
- 9) What is your position within your bari/samaj/village? How does this affect your migration decisions?
- 10) What is the educational background of members of your origin household? How much education do you have? Are the young members of your origin household in school?
- 11) Did all of your children receive the same education? If there were substantial differences, how did you decide who received more education?
- 12) Does your household have a strong social or economic relationship with any of the wealthier households in your origin village? Does your household depend on them for any reason? Has such a relationship affected your household's migration pattern?
- 13) Does/has your household receive/received any economic support or loans from other members of your bari/para/village?
- 14) What would you be doing in your origin village if you were still there? Were there any other economic options for you or had you exhausted them all?
- 15) How well off economically is your village? What proportion of households depend on migration for economic sustenance? What proportion of households are economically self-sufficient from their land or business? What proportion of households are economically dependent on wealthier members of the village?
- 16) Are any other members of your origin household considering migration?

(DO THESE BELONG HERE?)

- 17) Are your parents still alive but living in a household other than yours? How old are your parents? Will you inherit any more land from your parents later in your life? Will this land be sufficient for you to gain an income for you and your spouse and children?
- 18) (If parents alive) What is your relationship with your father/parents like? Do you consult with them on important decisions? Do they consult with you on decisions? Do you feel your relationship with them has improved/worsened/stayed the same since you've been living away from you?
- 19) (If parents alive and elderly) Do you support your parents financially in any way? Does your spouse provide care for them? Who takes care of your parents?

CP. Capital Accumulation

This section looks at the preparations, either long term or short term, which you made to ensure the success of your most recent move. These preparations include gaining education and job training, exploiting urban social contacts for help with housing and job search, saving money to ease the urban transition, and gaining information about the city.

- 1) Did you receive any money or assistance from anybody in your origin household/bari/para/village before you arrived? How much did you receive? Were any assets sold/mortgaged or loans taken to provide this money?
- 2) Investment of money in land, paying back...
- 3) What kind of education or specific training did you receive for living in the city? Has any of this education or training helped you in your ability to earn money in the city? Do you wish you had gained more education? What kind of other jobs could you gain with the level of education and skills that you have? Do you think your job rewards education? If not, do you think you could get a job that does reward education?
- 4) Are you actively seeking other/additional employment? What prospects do you have for more lucrative employment?
- 5) In planning for migration, did you make any contacts in the city who could help you either in advance or when you arrived? How were these people connected to you? Were they family members? Were they from the same village as you? How long had they lived in the city? How much contact did these people have with your household? Were these contacts born here or were they born in the village? Are these contacts permanently settled in the city? How much contact did they have with their origin households in your village?
- 6) What assistance did you receive from contacts in Dhaka? Information about jobs and housing? Actual introductions to potential employers or landlords? Or was the contact just social?
- 7) With whom did you stay when you first arrived in Dhaka for this stay? Did you stay with family/friends? Did you stay in a dormitory?
 - 7b) (If stayed/staying with family/friends) How did you arrange to stay with this household? Did another relative arrange this for you or did you arrange it yourself? Did members of this household provide you any other assistance such as employment information and contacts, financial assistance?
 - 7c) What sort of economic and social ties do you or anyone in your bari have with the head of this urban household? Do you share any property with the contact? Do you owe/hold any debts to/from the contact? Do you work in the contact's urban business? Has anyone else in your family (brother, father) had economic exchange with the contact's urban or rural household?

7d) (If stayed/staying with family/friends) Do you pay rent to the head of this household? Do/did you pay your own food costs or do they pay them? How long did you stay there? Do you still stay there?

7c) (If not stayed/staying with family/friends) Did you try to gain housing with a family member or friend? Why did this not happen? Did you have no urban contacts or were your contacts unwilling to provide help? Do you feel this has been a problem for you in your economic success in Dhaka? Did you consider not moving to Dhaka because you had no housing arrangement?

UR. Urban Situation and Context

These questions ask about the migrant's current circumstances in the city. Specifically, these questions relate to economic success, living arrangements, social ties, and future plans in the city.

- 1) With whom do you currently live in the city? Do you plan on staying in this living arrangement for long or will you be moving?
- 2) Do you plan to have other members of your household move to the city to be with you?
- 3) What is your current employment? What is your salary? How did you find this employment? Is your employment living up to your hopes before you moved to the city?
- 4) What are your goals for migration? How will you determine your success as a migrant? By saving a given amount of money to bring home? Is it important for you to be able to live permanently in the city? Do you think this is possible?
- 5) Do any other residents of your bari/para/village reside near you in Dhaka? Do you have regular contact with them? Do you send correspondence or money to your origin household with their assistance? Do they send correspondence or money with your assistance?
- 6) Would you consider your housing to be slum or non-slum housing? Do you feel satisfied with the type of housing you have? Is this what you expected when you moved here?
- 7) Is your housing and employment situation allowing you to save any money or send any to your origin household?
- 8) How well have you and those you live with integrated into urban social life? Do you feel that your residential location and social contacts have affected your socialization?

VT. Village Ties

This section looks at the ties that you have with your origin household and village. These ties include social contact with the origin household and village, desire to return to the village to live, and economic transfers between migrant and origin household.

- 1) Have you ever provided assistance to a newer migrant to the city since you began living here? What assistance did you give to him? How are you or your household members connected to this migrant in the village? What considerations do you think you will receive in return for this assistance? If you have provided assistance, what were the arrangements behind the assistance?
- 2) (If hasn't provided assistance) Would you help a migrant who comes to Dhaka for the first time? What assistance could you give to them? Would such assistance have been useful to you when you were a first-time migrant?
- 3) What current contact do you have with members of your origin household? How often do you visit? How often do you send letters to them or receive letters from them? Do you participate in major household decisions in your rural household?
- 4) Where do you see yourself living in one year? 5 years? 10 years? 20 years? Where would you prefer to live?
- 5) How important is owning land to you? Will you feel secure in your old age if you have no land? How would you survive? Do you feel like you will have land when you are old? Will your household's land be divided up between the children or will one member receive all of it? How much land will you pass on to your children?
- 6) Do you think you could afford to have your spouse and children live with you in the city? Would you want that? Is it a major problem having your spouse live in the village? Would you sell your rural lands and home if your spouse and children moved to be with you in the city? Would you maintain ties with your rural village if your wife were not there?
- 7) How do you think migration affects your fertility and family planning decisions? Does it make a difference for family planning whether you and your spouse will be living in the city or in the village?
- 8) Discuss the following two opposing statements: 1) Rural-urban migration provides an opportunity for children to escape the influence of their parents and free them from the land. 2) Migration provides a means for a rural household to send one or more members to the city in order to help the household economically. Add more of these...
- 9) Do you ever send money to your origin household? How much money have you sent in the last year? How do you decide how much money to send? Do you discuss the amount of money to send with your spouse? Who manages the money, your spouse or someone else?

- 10) (If remittances sent) How is the money spent? Do you ever invest the money or is it primarily used for day to day consumption?
- 11) (If money is used for investment) How do you invest these remittances? Who decides how they are invested? When was it decided to invest the money?
- 12) (If money not used for investment) Why have you been unable to invest money? Are you trying/hoping to invest your remittances? Did you originally plan to invest the remittance money? If so, why did this not happen? How would you invest money if you had enough to invest? Would you invest in the rural area or urban area?
- 13) (If no remittance sent) Did you previously send money to your origin household? Do you plan on sending money in the future? Do you not send money because you do not have enough money? Is it because your spouse does not need money? Are you saving the money for your origin household? What do you do with any extra money you earn?