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**Livelihoods and access to services:
An analysis of peri-urban areas
of Lahore, Pakistan**

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Acronyms

DFID	Department for International Development
DHA	Defence Housing Authority
DPSIR	Driver-Pressure-State-Impact-Response
EEA	European Environmental Agency
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organization
GOPb	Government of the Punjab
GT Road	Grand Trunk Road
LDA	Lahore Development Authority
LIT	Lahore Improvement Trust
NESPAK	National Engineering Services Pakistan
ODI	Overseas Development Institute
OECD	Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNEP	United Nations Environment Programme
UN-HABITAT	United Nations Human Settlement Programme
WAP	Water Aid Pakistan
WASA	Water and Sanitation Agency

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Abstract

Peri-urban development is a complex phenomenon, which refers to varied forms of settlements on the fringes of cities. This study examines the emerging peri-urbanization in the Punjab (Pakistan) in the context of Lahore. Our findings posit that people flee from rural areas in desperation after their dreams and hopes for a better future in suburbs fade. So, an enduring livelihood and better service delivery in the urban settlements is a major attraction. The study further examines the key dynamics, drivers, and outcomes of peri-urbanization based on Driver-Pressure-State-Impact-Response (DPSIR) framework besides analysing the change of livelihood and access to capital assets. Moreover, it explains how the regional inequality occurs in rural, urban and peri-urban areas.

In peri-urban Lahore, a notable decrease in farm-related livelihoods was observed, which indicates a declining trend in the economic significance of agriculture. In many cases, it was observed that the peri-urban transition did not tend to any livelihood improvement because people from rural background usually lack the capacity to synchronize their livelihood-related skills with the urban ones. Moreover, it was learnt that access to public service delivery depended upon their proximity to urban fringes. Households, who live closer to the urban centres, have a better access to public goods and services. Policy intervention is needed to increase positive interaction between urban and rural areas and to take advantage of livelihood, service delivery, and governance opportunities arising out as an aftermath of the interaction. Peri-urban region can be managed by ensuring equal opportunities of accessing livelihood and public service delivery for the urban and rural side.

Keywords: *Peri-urban, Livelihoods, Service delivery, DPSIR*

Introduction

Rapid urbanization in Pakistan has created a new problem of haphazard development on the fringes of cities. Furthermore, mismanagement and bungling incompetence in developing effective and timely master plans for cities is like adding fuel to flames. Like other developing countries, Pakistan has witnessed an intense structural change in its urban peripheries (Kiyani & Siyal 1991). The country has experienced massive inflow of people from rural to urban areas, as a result of which population growth and density of urban areas has increased simultaneously. This resulted in severe pressure on the land and infrastructure of bigger cities.

Pakistan is one of the most urbanized countries in South Asia, and by 2015, almost half of the country's residents will be living in urban settlements (WAP 2009). The case of Lahore is a step ahead, as 84 per cent of the Lahore population resides in the metropolitan city area (Zaman & Baloch 2011). Urban expansion of Lahore has happened over hundreds of years travelling through various regimes, where most of the urban development initiatives took place during the British and post partition period. This expansion continued during the 50s and 60s with newly-initiated Lahore Improvement Trust (LIT). M.M. Abdullah, the Director WASA, Lahore, (personal communication, 30 April 2012) said that the trust besides expanding the city boundaries reshuffled and redistributed land uses and socio-economic characteristics by constructing residential and commercial buildings on agricultural lands.

In current scenario, Lahore is a region characterized by rich agricultural land, rapid population growth and economic transformation. The region though has got increased its economic growth, it failed to surface improvements in income generation of the people. This condition becomes worse when agricultural land, as the critical resource for rural people, is converted into urban uses to support economic activities. These trends put severe strain on countries' ability to increase food production

parallel with population growth. The issue of developing unplanned residential and commercial settlements on agricultural lands in the surroundings of big cities, like Lahore, is not being taken up properly whereas the city planners have no proper roadmap and planning to follow, and manage farmlands on sustainable basis.

This highly chaotic pattern of population growth on the fringes of Lahore calls for a serious attention on the part of city administrators as well as policy makers. While macroeconomic and market-driven strategies seek to increase investment to help urban areas, rural areas are often left behind.

In sum, the prime objectives of this working paper are as follow:

- To identify the drivers and dynamics, which influenced/forced people to migrate to Lahore and its urban periphery?
- To steer out socio-economic and demographic characteristics of the migrants and their place of origin.

In pursuing the above objectives, it was decided to collect the relevant information about the socio-economic conditions of individual migrant as well as public infrastructure/services in the rural areas and their adjoining villages.

The method employed to produce this study is the Driver-Pressure-State-Impact-Response (DPSIR) model commonly used in various studies. This suggests the driving path for the study.

Literature Review

Peri-urban areas are evolving spaces that assimilate characteristics of both urban and rural world and review the implications of these spaces for livelihoods and service delivery. As economic adversity among urban households' increases and survival in the rural areas becomes more precarious, peri-urban land in the rapidly growing cities will assume greater importance as the target settlement areas of the poor.

The literature on the peri-urban interface is available in different works having subject matter on urban and rural links and relationships, rapid urban growth on the fringes of big cities, etc. Over the years, peri-urban zone has not only been distinguished as the sector of socio-economic change but also as a mean of spatial restructuring in both the pre and post industrial countries. Peri-urban can be seen as not just a fringe in-between a city and countryside, a zone of transition, rather it is a new kind of multi-functional territory (Ravetz et al. 2013a). There are common features where such areas are found such as relatively low population density by urban standards, scattered settlements, poor service delivery, and high dependence on transport for commuting, fragmented communities and lack of spatial governance.

Following Zasada et al. (2011), it may be underlined that peri-urbanization is a process of physical expansion of settled areas, and the socio-economic transformation may take place as a major spatial development beyond the urban fringes.

In the context of urban sprawl, the peri-urban territory may have evolved as the most general sort of living and source of income in the twenty-first century (Ravetz et al. 2013b). Usually, it is regarded as a most convenient yet unusual intake. On the other hand, it causes social chaos between the urban and rural area in the poverty stricken areas in the underdeveloped countries.

Analysis of land market is fundamental to understanding the dynamics of peri-urban areas that are faced with number of issues related to land development, public infrastructure and housing. Buxton et al. (2008) analysed the land development trends to establish the current trends in rural housing

development occurring in Melbourne's peri-urban region and concluded that the amount and spatial distribution of new housing and new population also influences infrastructure needs, future land use potential, and levels of resource use and risk.

The explosive growth of unplanned urban settlements impacts, in a variety of ways, on livelihoods, access to public services, and overall governance structure of adjacent urban settlements. Between 2011 and 2050, the world population is projected to increase by 2.3 billion transitory from 7.0 billion to 9.3 billion (United Nations 2011a). At the same time, urban population is projected to gain 2.6 billion, passing from 3.6 billion in 2011 to 6.3 billion in 2050 (United Nations 2011b). Furthermore, most of the population growth expected in urban areas will be concentrated in the cities and towns of less developed regions. Asia in particular is projected to see its urban population increase by 1.4 billion, Africa by 0.9 billion, and Latin America and the Caribbean by 0.2 billion (United Nations 2011c). Population growth is, therefore, largely an urban phenomenon concentrated in the developing world.

In most of the developing countries, economic and social hardships compel migrants from outside the urban areas to look for a location where they can have their basic needs, i.e. shelter, and livelihood opportunities. Most of the rural residents commute towards cities to find their livelihoods. Commuting to obtain higher wages and lower housing cost can change the social and demographic composition of places (Aldrich et al. 1997).

Driving forces of peri-urbanization are influential socio-economic and environmental factors, which compel societies to migrate towards urban centres. People and poverty are located a spatial spectrum with sporadically populated rural areas (Global Monitoring Report 2013), from where the poor people are willing to migrate and pay to gain access to livelihoods and basic services.

Enlargement of urban population will be more conspicuous in developing countries because of high birth rates and migration from rural areas, as people migrate to cities in search of employment, food and better service delivery (UN-HABITAT 2013). Expansion in population will lead to an increase in urban slum areas. Consequently, unemployment, lack of public utilities, food insecurity and undernourishment will transpire in these areas.

Migration from rural to urban areas for a better livelihood and lifestyle is a common phenomenon in developing and underdeveloped countries. Internal migration is almost about four times greater than international migration (UNDP 2009). Numerous factors, including land grabbing, over population, reduced agricultural productivity and less earning opportunities are the driving forces of rural-urban migration. Most newcomers from within and outside the cities chose to settle in the peri-urban areas because land or rented accommodation is relatively affordable and easily accessible there. Growth in urban population on the fringes of cities necessitates the conversion of farmlands, forests, open spaces and other natural resources into residential, industrial and commercial establishments, and urban roads (Thuo 2013).

Since the globalization tends towards industrial restructuring and zoning of land use, it has brought with it several consequences both adverse and beneficial in Asian cities (FAO 2007). From the viewpoint of rural areas, urban growth makes negative impact on natural environment and social structure, i.e. rural resources and ecological environment are compromised due to urbanization and industrialization that leads to inequalities between urban and rural area. Torres (2007), while discussing some of the conceptual issues regarding urban phenomena, argued that most peri-urban growth in Latin America takes place due to massive rural-urban migration. Such areas are not only

typically ill-governed and away from key employment hubs but also present appalling sanitation conditions and significant environmental problems.

The peri-urban interface not only provides land and often a source of livelihood on the fringes of cities but also essential public services to the residents. In order to investigate the rural-urban divide vis-à-vis water and sanitation needs of the peri-urban poor, Allen (2010) explores the multiple practices and arrangements through which the peri-urban poor actually access water and sanitation facilities.

The large-scale migration from villages to urban areas leads to the encroachment of agricultural lands. Simultaneously, public service structures come under pressure due to an increase in unplanned residential development. Maxwell et al. (1998) assessed the impact of urban expansion on land use, property rights and livelihoods in an area immediately surrounding the Greater Accra, the capital and largest city of Ghana; and concluded that fate of any community in the process of urbanization depends heavily on the land management body. If the manager is well informed, and willing to act in the best interest of the community, the increase in urban population can be managed accordingly (Cammack 2012).

Empirically, many studies show that peri-urban migrants follow opportunities and make choices, which reflect their socio-economic status and affordability. Nelson (2007) examined the changing nature of agriculture, land use, and livelihoods within the city's peri-urban zone of Dar es Salaam, Tanzania and argued that structural adjustment policies and changing land tenure regimes are impacting the presence and practice of agriculture in peri-urban Dar es Salaam.

As per the historic perspective, employment opportunities, investment, and the better provision of public goods trigger the phenomenon of peri-urbanization in developing countries. The studies reviewed indicate that major bottlenecks in the provision of public goods are more likely to be addressed when the relevant governance arrangements are made according to existing institutional resources. One of the reasons behind public goods deficit is that arrangements are adopted according to international best practices, but are not adapted to the context that prevails in each country.

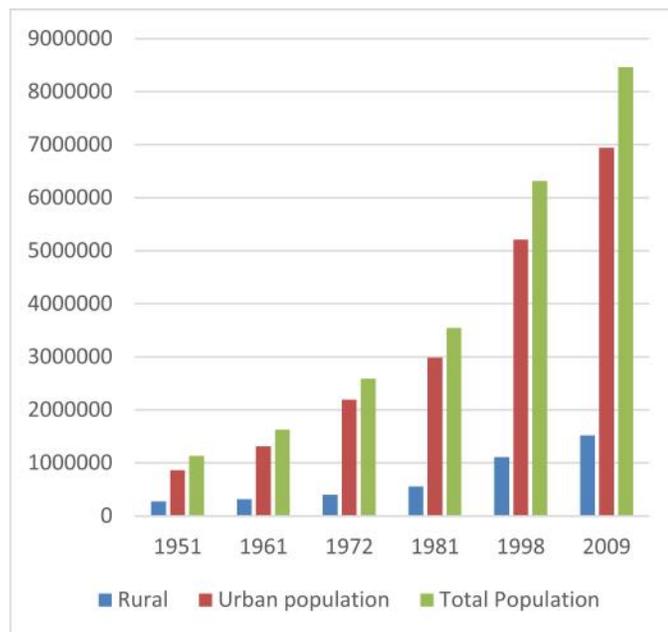
Lahore Pakistan and its peri-urban expansion:

Lahore, as the metropolitan city and the cultural nucleus of the Punjab, is the second largest city of Pakistan in terms of its share in total population of the country. With a recorded history of about 1,000 years (Shirazi and Kazmi, 2014), it has been described as the most enduring and fascinating city of Pakistan as well as South Asia.

The peri-urbanization in Lahore has taken place due to in-migration from neighbouring towns, and out-migration from the city's centre. Other factors included the lack of uniformity in the distribution of various land uses, land values, densities and socio-economic characteristics. At some places, distribution has been made to segregate a land use from the others or vice versa. Owing to weak governance and regulations in the peri-urban areas, the pockets and gaps between planned developments have either been encroached or occupied for some unwanted or inappropriate land use (Gulag 1976). The rural in-migrants led residential development in peri-urban areas along Ferozpur Road and Multan Road due to availability of housing areas like Ichhra, Mozang and Model Town in close vicinity. Moreover, new housing colonies like GOR II & III, Shadman, Fazalia Colony, Rehmanpura, Wahdat Colony, Gulberg, and Kot Lakhpat Township filled in the vacant areas between Ichhra, Mozang and Model Town (Gulag 1976).

Most of the rural in-migrants, who required low-income residences, gave rise to slums and squatters (Shah et al. 2013). All this happened due to weak regulations. The huge backlog of low income housing could not be addressed even by the interventions of Lahore Improvement Trust (LIT) or House Building Finance Corporation. The housing projects of LIT only provided 43% of the housing units to middle and lower middle income groups, and 7% to lower income groups. Another challenge for lower income groups remained that of financing, which could not be taken up by the House Building Finance Corporation for housing units out of the LIT's schemes (Gulag 1976). In 1975, keeping in view the importance of Lahore amongst the neighbouring districts, the Government of the Punjab, vide Housing & Physical Planning Department's notification dated May 19, 1975, declared the most parts of Lahore district, part of Kasur district, and Ferozewala Tehsil of Sheikhpura district as the jurisdiction of Lahore Metropolitan (Shah et al. 2013). It covers about 1772 sq. km, which includes 250.61 sq.km Ex-Municipal Committee Limits, 92.67 sq. km Lahore Cantonment Board). In 1988, additional area from South of Lahore was included in it by the Director-General, Lahore Development Authority (LDA). By the year 1998, Lahore was turned metropolis with a population of about 6.32 million, which in 2001 was estimated around 7.71 million (Urban Unit 2008). By the year 2001, i.e. during first 50 years after the emergence of Pakistan, urban Lahore has physically grown rather sprawled along major corridors from the area of 68 sq. km to 397 sq. km (NESPAK & Urban Unit 2010). This development is not only for housing the in-migrants but also for the development of industrial estates, small-scale enterprises, universities, professional colleges and vocational institutes. After independence, first 50-year development of Lahore is illustrated from Figure 1 above (prepared by authors on the basis of data provided by district census report, Lahore). From the year 2000 to date, development has further occurred along major corridors and towards South & South-West side. Owing to advancement in technology, the built up area along with newly-planned schemes are overlaid onto satellite imagery to view the urban extent. The approximate area as shown in green colour in Figure 2, about 566 sq. km of Lahore has been urbanized (Jamal et al. 2012).

Figure 1: Population of Lahore District (1951-2009)



Source: Prepared by authors on the basis of data provided by District Census report, Lahore

Currently, the built up area is being densified through infill development (Urban Unit 2008). The peripheral growth continues haphazardly along Ferozpur Road, Shahadra, Bund Road, and River Ravi. Some large-scale private sector development projects include: Bahria Town, DHA (future phases), Lake City. Work on new university campuses along Raiwind Road and Kala Shah Kaku Lahore Motorway Bypass is also about to complete. According to an estimate in 2012, the total area of

Lahore district is 1,772 sq. km (NESPAK & Urban Unit 2010) with a population of approximately 09 million of which approximately 82% of the population is urban (PBoS 2012). Lahore has 150 union councils out of which 122 are urban sprawling over 367 square kilometres and 28 are rural which covers 1405 square kilometres (NESPAK & Urban Unit 2010). The growth of city is affected by certain characteristics. Ravi river towards the north and north-west acts as a natural boundary to the expansion of Lahore city. Expansion towards the eastern side is limited because of the proximity of border with India. Another limitation to the city's expansion is the presence of 'Notified Areas and other Restricted Areas' delineated under the LDA Act 1975 amended in 2014, which also include among others all the area located within 1,143 meters of an arms depot (one such depot exist at Thokar Niaz Baig).

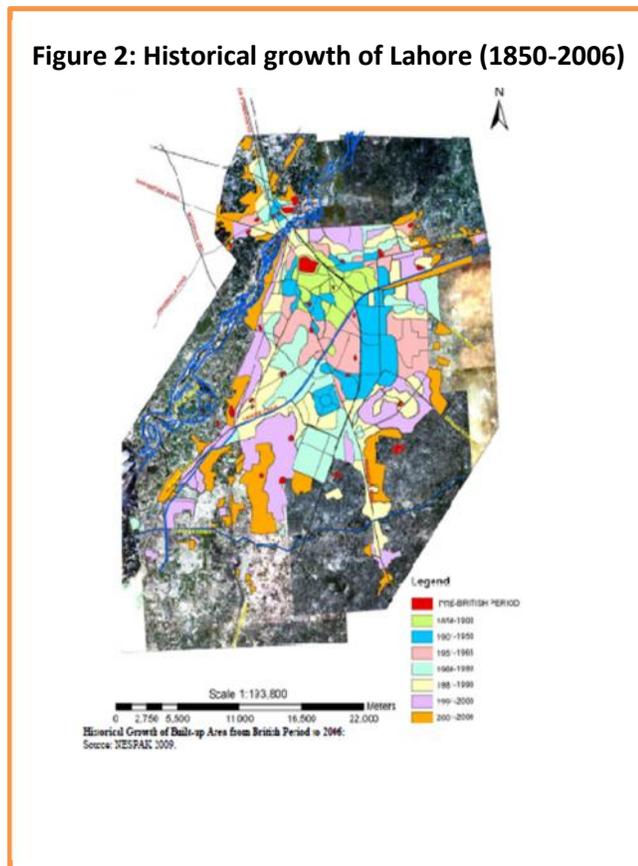
Furthermore, main highways, which pass through the city including G.T Road, Multan Road, Sheikhpura Road, and Ferozepur Road, disrupt the urban sprawl, as they require a separate road grade.

This haphazard/unplanned development also applies to all the railway tracks that pass through the city. Most of the land within the jurisdiction of Lahore Municipal Authority is privately owned and is now being developed into private housing schemes W.A. Khan, the Chief Metropolitan Planner of Lahore Development Authority (personal interview, 30 April 2012) said this development required Lahore Development Authority (LDA) to provide city-level services in areas where the population density was relatively low as compared to the urban centres. To be able to provide these services, LDA also has to acquire land at market rates, which was a strain on its already limited budget thus causing further problems in expanding the city boundaries, he added.

Operating under the above-mentioned circumstances, Lahore has experienced growth within the parameters discussed ahead. The first of these parameters is densification, which is most prominent in the city centres. Low income groups lack resources to procure land in these areas, so building activities are being practiced through the 'sub division of existing plots, in-filling of empty plots and addition of stories'. But this can only continue up to a point where the basic services will be too congested to support future growth after which it will have to be taken elsewhere.

S.S.Z. Naqvi, the Urban Planner of Urban Unit, Lahore (personal communication April 30, 2012) said the growth of Lahore along the city borders has been haphazard and unplanned and such a pattern is observed most readily in Harbanspura, some areas in the south of Khairee Distributary along both the sides of Ferozepur Road, Shahdara Road, River bed across the Bund Road, areas along the G.T Road

Figure 2: Historical growth of Lahore (1850-2006)



north of Ferozwala. Owing to land unavailability in other directions, Lahore city has expanded towards the south and south-west where you find most of the private housing schemes, which means an increase in overall number of commuters to work. This surge has led to an increase in the already burdened roads seeking comprehensive investment in the trunk infrastructure. If business, trade and commercial centres are moved to these newly-developed centres, it will not only prevent the extra burden on road infrastructure but also prevent un-planned ‘ribbon development’.

Research methods: Driver-Pressure-State-Impact-Response (DPSIR) Framework

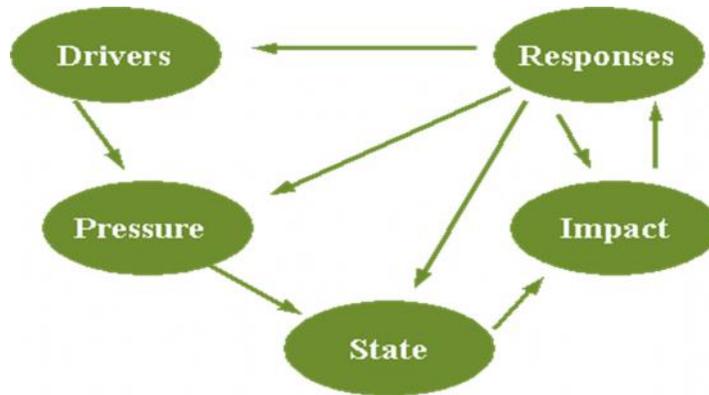
DPSIR is a casual framework for describing interaction between the society and environment. In the context of our study, components of this model are:

Driving forces	This component describes the drivers, which force individuals/households to migrate from their native villages.
Pressures	This component describes the pressures, which lead to the formation of informal settlements on urban fringes of Lahore.
States	Location and condition of informal settlements looks at the state of informal settlements in Lahore.
Impacts	This discusses the impact of unplanned settlements on state apparatus of urban area
Responses	This discusses responses to informal settlements by urban development agencies.

Recently, many studies concerning livelihood changes, sustainable development, agro-environments, water resource management, climate change, and biodiversity have been conducted by using Driver-Pressure-State-Impact-Response (DPSIR) framework. DPSIR is an extension of Pressure-State-Response (PSR) model developed by Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) and has been used by the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP) and European Environmental Agency (EEA) to relate human activities to the state of environment (Giupponi 2000). Later, it was used by Andrew (2010) to show the driving forces of employment, economic prosperity, and policy response. Qing et al. (2010) used DPSIR model to assess pressure and influential factors of urban land use in Tianjin city of China.

Based on the DPSIR, in this study, the change in access to livelihood opportunities (as internal factors) are influenced by peri-urban development as a vulnerability context, and also influenced by other external factors, i.e. policies, institutions and its processes. Land conversion from rural to urban is used as a factor to explain the peri-urban development (see Figure 1). The changes in access to livelihood assets then explain the regional inequality and how it changes the previous rural livelihoods.

Figure 3: Graphical presentation of DPSIR framework



In this study, Lahore, the research area, has been classified into three types of settlement: urban core, peri-urban, and rural areas. The data was collected through a combination of methods; including survey questionnaires, direct observation, and in-depth interviews. The characteristics identified for the classification of the area as rural, urban and peri-urban include: size of population, population density, access to infrastructure, time and cost of accessing larger urban areas, type of houses, land use, availability of education, and health facilities, sources of water supply, sources of income (employment pattern), sources of finance in development and tenure regularity and permanency.

On the basis of aforementioned criteria, three distinct strata/regions were chosen for the conduction of the household survey: urban, rural and peri-urban. The principal objective of the study is to carry out a situational analysis of a broad range of various aspects related to rural, urban, and peri-urban areas, including the socio-economic dynamics of basic services delivery, governance, livelihoods and migrations. Furthermore, the study compared and contrasted the trends of the aforementioned aspects of peri-urban areas in particular with those of rural and urban areas in general to determine the extent of variation between the three chosen strata. The three chosen localities in Lahore district were:

1. Thokar Niaz Baig
2. Gajju Matta
3. Mehmood Booti

As described before, in each locality three strata were developed:

1. Rural
2. Urban
3. Peri-urban

Area	Rural	Urban	Peri-urban	Total
Thokar Niaz Baig	30	30	30	90
Gajju Matta	30	30	30	90
Mehmood Booti	30	30	30	90
Total				270

According to our survey demand, we have done stratification to ensure proper representation of important population groups without biasing the selection operation. In order to achieve this goal, we applied the method of systematic sampling. To meet the criterion of systematic sampling, we divided the households in each stratum, after which we selected first household randomly, while the rest had been selected according to predetermined pattern.

Questionnaires were distributed among 270 households of three rural, three urban, and three peri-urban areas in Lahore district. In-depth interviews involving several groups of expert respondents, including government officials, planners, and city developers, were conducted.

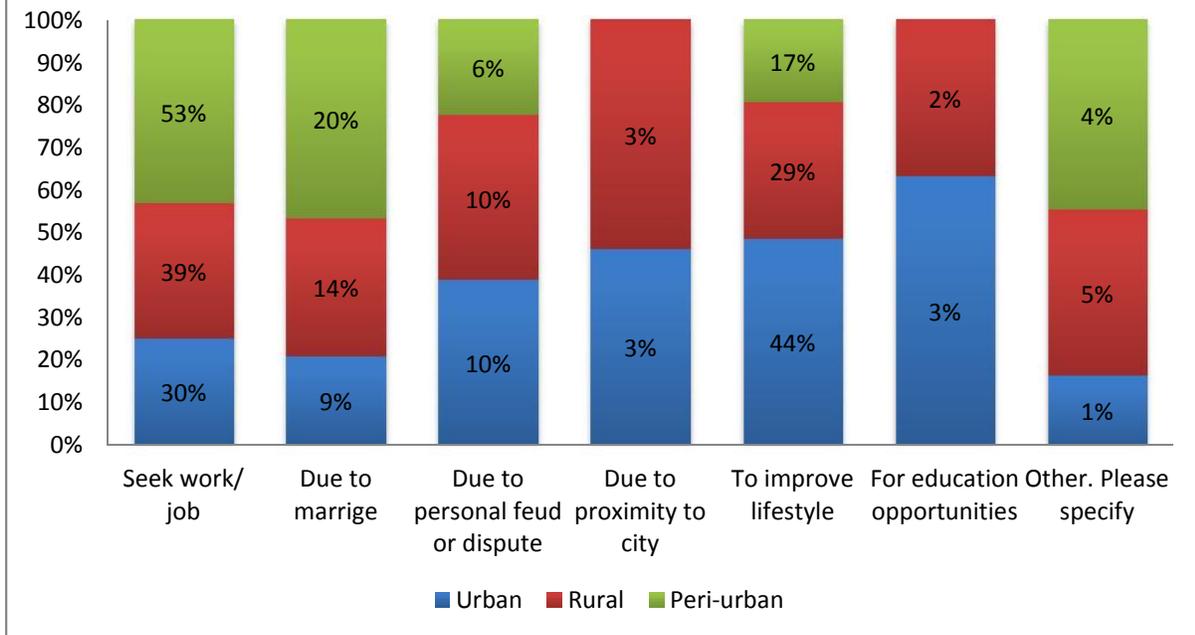
Research findings: impact of peri-urban development on rural-urban inequality and rural livelihoods

As social and economic vulnerabilities increase, people from rural areas rush towards urban centres to improve their wellbeing. According to the research findings, major driving forces of rural-urban migration in Lahore is the lack of basic livelihood opportunities and reliable infrastructure assets in rural areas, which lead to the lack of access to markets, job opportunities, and basic public services.

Like other cities of developing countries, Lahore is one of the reckless developing cities of Pakistan. In its rapidly growing peri-urban fringe, poor migrants from distant rural areas settle down on plots that provide access to urban markets of Lahore. They practice agriculture on the small plots for establishing sustainable livelihoods and improving their access to basic services. The formal sector offers only insufficient employment, as a result of which a majority of urban residents remain engaged in informal activities to maintain their livelihoods.

Generally, trends indicate that people migrate for a certain period, and mostly to the areas close to their native places (DFID 2007). In case of Lahore, people migrated on permanent basis from nearby and far off areas of the country to find the livelihoods opportunities. The reasons for permanent migration vary greatly between rural, urban and peri-urban localities. Priority was given to livelihoods, particularly employment, as a key dimension of economic wellbeing. However, there are other important dimensions, such as health, education, and other public services. In fact, research conducted in Lahore indicates that employment and public service delivery are the most relevant factors in rural-urban, intra-rural and peri-urban migration.

Figure.4: Driving Forces of Rural, Urban and Peri-urban Migration in Lahore, Pakistan.



Source: Prepared by authors from primary data collected from three rural, three urban, and three peri-urban areas of Lahore, Pakistan.

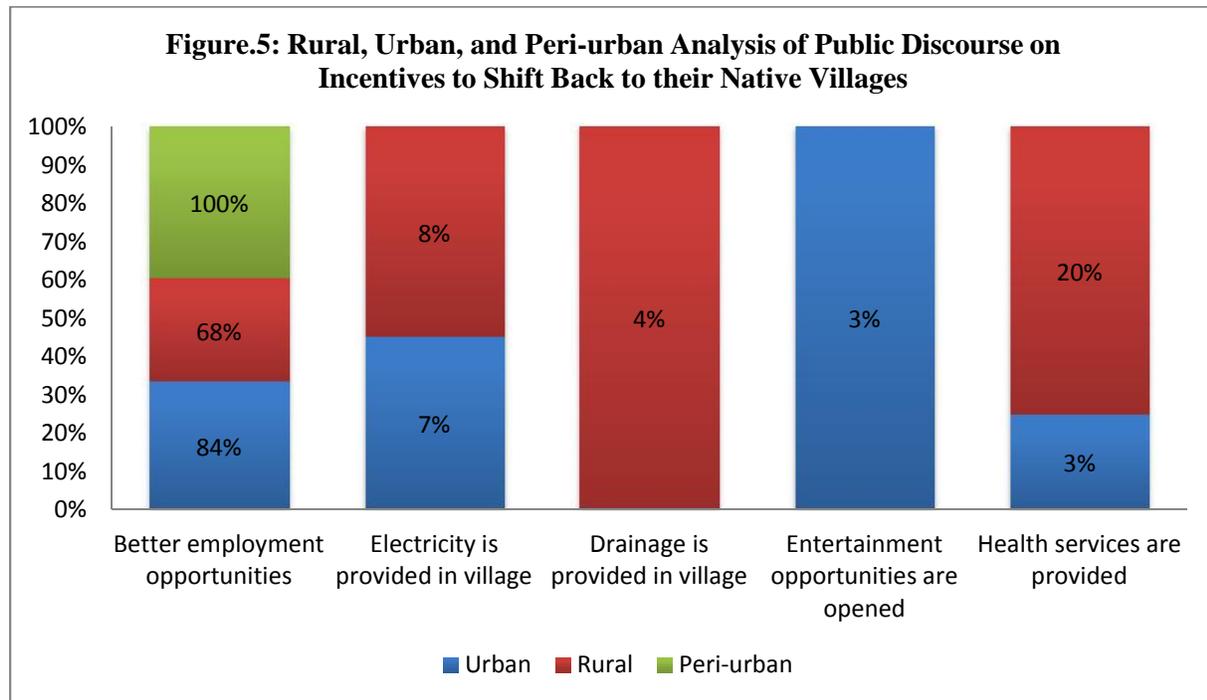
Based on DPSIR methodology, Figure.4 shows the situation analysis of a survey conducted in rural, urban, and peri-urban areas of Lahore. According to the survey results, 53 per cent migrants in peri-urban areas were those, who migrate to Lahore to seek employment or livelihood opportunities. These are mainly low income migrants from rural areas of the country, who lacked secured livelihoods and employment opportunities in their native villages. As compared to peri-urban areas, only 39 per cent and 30 per cent of the respondents in rural and urban areas respectively are migrated to gain access to employment opportunities.

In addition, people also migrate to improve their lifestyle by gaining access to all the basic necessities. Poor people in far-flung and marginalized areas leave their native villages in search of a better life elsewhere. According to our survey results, 44 per cent respondents in urban areas are migrated from their native villages to improve their lifestyle by gaining access to health and other social services. While 29 per cent and 17 per cent of the respondents in rural and peri urban areas respectively are migrated in search of improving their lifestyle by gaining access to basic social and humanitarian facilities. This difference shows lack of public services as a driving force of mass migration and urbanization.

Traditionally geographers recognize that frequency of migration decreases with an increase in distance but according to our data results almost majority of the respondents did not consider distance as a barrier in their way of migration. According to Figure.4, the “proximity to the city” column suggests that none of the rural migrants chose migration to peri-urban areas because it was closer to their home towns. It is interesting to note that 70 per cent of migrants to peri-urban areas migrated for economic reasons (employment opportunities and better lifestyle). This suggest that the

economic situation of rural areas has reached to such a pressing level that even the distance from hometowns ceases to be a consideration. However, it should be noted that a negligible percentage (i.e. 3 per cent each) actually did consider the proximity when migrate to the urban or other rural areas.

These findings are reinforced in Figure.5 below in which (100 per cent) migrants of peri-urban areas are willing to move back to their homelands if equal employment opportunities are made available. Similarly, 80 per cent and 63 per cent of urban and rural migrants respectively expressed their willingness to go back to their rural homes, if jobs are made possible there.



Source: Prepared by authors from primary data collected from three rural, three urban, and three peri-urban areas of Lahore, Pakistan.

Moreover, health services emerge as the second most priority of the migrants after the employment opportunities where 20 per cent of rural migrants and 3 per cent of urban migrants consider health services as important factors, which could make them consider shifting back to their native villages. However, the lifestyle factors, including provision of electricity and better sanitation, failed to be the effective incentives for the migrants for shifting back to their native villages. Less than 10 per cent of the respondents gave these factors some importance. Similarly, entertainment opportunities have the least motivational force as only 3 per cent of the urban migrants and none from rural and peri-urban areas considered it.

Hence, if the employment opportunities and public service delivery is improved considerably in rural areas, the migration towards peri-urban as well as urban areas will decrease and consequently the potential pressure on these areas can be managed appropriately.

Discussion and Analysis:

The study highlights some of the driving forces of peri-urbanization in Lahore. Besides, it highlights that in-migrants as well as out-migrants move to the peri-urban areas for a quality living, cleaner environment and improved health.

Aside from the reason listed in Figure 4 and 5, most of the rural and peri-urban respondents also pointed to lack of necessary capabilities and entitlements to satisfy their basic needs and aspirations. Rural population of Lahore is growing rapidly while resources and opportunities are limited. Poor people do not own productive assets such as land. They lack access to the health and education facilities. In some villages, students have to walk one to two hours each way to reach the nearest primary school. Because of high illiteracy and lack of training opportunities, rural people have few opportunities for employment other than agriculture sector. Farmers have little or no access to credit and other financial services.

Owing to various push and pull factors, the unplanned growth in agriculture area beyond the urbanized/city area has occurred. In case of Lahore, reasons for peri-urbanization not only lie in in-migration from rural areas for changing economic and employment structure, but also due to out-migration or shifting of people from busy parts of the city to low cost housing on the peripheries.. People choose to live in large, low density residential areas to enjoy better standard of living. Lack of urban services in rural areas, including water supply, waste and water disposal, further degrades the quality of life.

However, the growth of Lahore along the city borders has been haphazard and unplanned. Such pattern is observed most readily in Thokar Niaz Baig, Shahdara Road, and river bed across the Bund Road, areas along the G.T. Road north of Ferozwala. Compounding unplanned urbanization may threaten access to basic necessities, like water, sanitation, health, and other public services.

Conclusion

The reasons for building haphazard settlements on the fringes of Lahore city are numerous as well as complex. Most common are those made by the lower classes to solve their livelihoods and access to public service problems. Regrettably, the price of this kind of unplanned settlements is very high for the whole city. The repercussions are non-rational. The unplanned settlements have distorted the identity and quality of social, economic, and cultural environment of Lahore.

Considering the current status of Lahore, growing economic and social dependence of rural areas on their urban centres is creating new and powerful drivers for rural-urban migration. Majority of migrants are forced to leave their native villages because of social and economic vulnerabilities.

Hence, if the employment opportunities are enhanced and public service delivery is improved considerably in rural areas, the migration towards peri-urban as well as urban areas will decrease. Consequently, the potential pressure on these areas can be managed appropriately.

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