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**Rural to Urban Migration in Pakistan:
The Gender Perspective**

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ABSTRACT

This paper analyses gender dimensions in rural to urban migration (age 10 years and above) in Pakistan. The study is based on Labour Force Surveys 1996-2006. The findings of the study show that overtime internal migration (age 10 years and above) remained unchanged. Female migrants dominate in internal migration (age 10 years and above). In case of female migration, marriage plays a vital role.

Further the direction of migration reveals that over time in internal migration the share of rural to urban migration has increased while urban to urban migration declined, however, the share of urban to urban migration remains highest in internal migration. Females are dominating in recent rural to urban move compared to long term and total rural to urban migration. Gender composition of intra-provincial move of rural to urban migration reveals that in all provinces female migrants are dominated. Further, the trend of intra and inter provincial move indicates that in all provinces long distance movement of females has increased. Not only the share of female migrant in rural to urban migration increased but there seems to be an increasing trend in family migration to cities. This seems to be due to the changes in agrarian structure and rural economy particularly increased in landless households, declined in share cropping and rise in small land holding.

In addition to this, the trend in intra and inter-provincial move reveals that except in province of NWFP in all three provinces migration to long distance has an upward trend. Gender composition reveals that in all these three provinces the proportion of both male and female migrants increased over time.

JEL classification: R23, Q00

Keywords: Rural to Urban Migration, Agrarian Structure

1. INTRODUCTION

Various studies on migration from Asian countries reveal changing trends in direction of internal migration. The process of migration especially internal migration in Pakistan is an old phenomena [Praveen (1993)]. It not only provides opportunities for employment but also improves the socio-economic condition of migrant households [Arif (2005)]. In Pakistan both the volume and nature of internal migration have varied overtime and so their impact on migrant households Arif (2005) and on economy [Naseem (1981)]. Helbock (1975) for example analysed the 1961 population census data to examine the flows of life time migrants in the 12 largest cities of Pakistan, and found that about 15 percent of the total population of these cities had the status of migrants, who moved into these cities from other districts of Pakistan. Based on the 1979 Migration and Labour Force Survey data Irfan, *et al.* (1983) concluded that internal migration is becoming increasingly long distance and in rural-urban direction. Lack of employment opportunities coupled with inadequate income from farming are considered the leading cause for rural to urban migration.

In Pakistan many researchers have made valuable contribution to the literature on migration.¹ The population censuses, labour force surveys and special surveys such as population surveys, migration and labour force surveys, have been the major data sources for migration studies [Memon (2005)], which have covered a wide range of issues including the impact of human capital on migration decision, impact of migration on well-being of migrant households the patterns of migration and inter and intra-provincial² migration. However, a close look at them reveals that they have largely focused on the rate of migration, direction of migration flows, factors related to decision to move and earning of migrants and non-migrants. However, with few exceptions [Afzal and Abbasi (1979); Shah (1985); Arif and Hamid (2007) and Khan (2000)], the gender dimension of internal migration is largely missing in the studies.

Irfan, *et al.* (1983) shows from the 1974 HED survey data that rural to rural move was the dominated form of migration. Based on 1979 PLM survey he

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¹See for example, Afzal (1967), Maujahid (1975), Afzal and Abbasi (1979), Irfan, Demery, and Arif (1983), Shah (1985), Selier and Karim (1986), Ahmed and Sirageldin (1994), Khan and Shahnaz (2000), Akram, *et al.* (2002).

²Pervine (1993), Shah (1986), Karim and Abu (2003), Mamoon (2005).

shows that internal migration in Pakistan is increasingly becoming long distance and rural to urban in direction. Khan and Shahnaz (2000) based on Labour Force Survey 1996-97 reached to the conclusion that rural to urban direction reverse to urban-urban direction. Presently Arif (2007) based on PSES (2001) indicates the dominance of rural to urban migration in internal migration. Although, the studies come to different conclusion, they indicate a modest increase in rural to urban migration.

A few studies [Afzal and Abbasi (1979); Shah (1985); Arif and Hamid (2007)] reveal the tendency in family migration. To fill this gap, an in depth analysis of gender dimensions of rural to urban migration is needed.

Evidence from Southeast Asia as well as from South Asia reveals that the pattern of internal migration is changing and it appears to be more urban oriented and female oriented [Eviota and Smith (1984); Arnold and Pranpiti (1984); Ariffin (1984); Skeldon (1986)]. Overall the female migration is on rise; like migration of single males, single females are also moving out in search of employment. Male selective migration, which was dominated in the past in India, is changing and most recent movement is that of the families including women and children [Krishnaraj (2005)]. Women in Pakistan migrate either to join spouse or their parents. Although, recent qualitative research has shown the increasing trends in some districts of central Punjab in independent move of women to cities for education as well as to avail employment opportunities.

The present study aims to examine the gender dimensions of rural to urban migration, and looks into the phenomenon of family migration in rural to urban migration. The study departs from traditional approach to gender based approach. The traditional approach is based on aggregated data, which assume that the causes and consequences of women and men migration are the same. In reality the case is not so; the experience of migration needs to examine separately for men and women because they hold different socio-economic role in family and in society. This study will enhance our knowledge in gender dimensions of internal migration. The study particularly aims to explore the two questions:

- Has the pattern of internal migration changed over time?
- Is the traditional pattern of male selective migration shifting towards family migration?

This study is organised as following: Section 2 of the study will discuss the data sources, its limitations and methodology. Section 3 will analyse gender dimensions in internal migration in population (age 10 years and above) particularly in rural to urban migration since 1996–2006. Trend in family migration will be presented in Section 4. Finally Section 5 will conclude the whole scenario.

2. DATA SOURCE AND METHODOLOGY

2.1. Data Source and its Limitations

The main data source for this paper is the micro household level data of seven Labour Force Surveys (LFS) carried out between 1996 and 2006. The LFS is a nationally representative survey covering both rural and urban population. It provides the required information based on the consistent data collection methodology and consistent definition of migration over the years. It also provides information about the duration of residence at the place of enumeration and reason for migration.

However, the labour force survey is not flawless; some of its limitations are as follows. It does not consider intra-district movement, which is in general the dominant form. Thus the survey underestimates the volume of internal migration. Labour Force Survey covers the adult population, 10 years and above. Because of the excluded young age group (below 10 years), the labour force survey data may not reflect the real situation of internal migration. Finally, the time of migration is not recorded in the labour force survey. However from the duration of residence information year of migration can be calculated; it refer to only last move. Despite these weaknesses labour force surveys provide the reliable data to achieve the objectives of this study.

Labour Force Survey (LFS) has been, more or less a regular activity of the Federal Bureau of Statistics (FBS) since 1963, the FBS revised the questionnaire in 1995 to know the size and composition of migration. In labour force survey “migrant population” is comprised of those who have moved from one administrative district to another administrative district. As noted earlier it excludes population moved within a district.

The universe of the labour force survey consists of all urban and rural areas of four provinces of Pakistan defined as such by population census, excluding Azad Jammu and Kashmir, Northern Areas of NWFP, Federally Administrated Tribble Areas (FATA) and military restricted areas and protected areas of NWFP. The population of excluded areas constitutes about 3 percent of the total population. Labour force sample design is based on stratified two-stage sample technique. Labour force survey selects a specific number of households from each urban and rural Primary Sampling unit (PSU). The sampled households covered in labour force surveys increased from 20400 in 1996-97 to 32864 in 2006-2007. The sample is quite satisfactory to see the trends in migration (Table 1).

Table 1

*Sample Size of Labour Force Surveys by Rural and Urban Areas
(Number of the Sample Households 1996–2006)*

	Total	Urban	Rural
1996-97	20400	9648	10752
1997-98	18464	8544	9920
1999-2000	17443	7816	9627
2001-2002	18928	7920	11008
2003-2004	18912	7920	10992
2005-2006	32744	13080	19664
2006-2007	32864	13104	19760

Source: Labour Force Surveys 1996 to 2006.

2.2. Methodology

A sub-sample of migrant population at the place of distinction is drawn from the selected labour force surveys; these individuals who have stayed at destination or current place of residence for a continuous period³ of one year or more are included in the analysis. The migrants whose stay is less than a year are dropped from the analysis. Individuals are taken as the unit of analysis. Since this study is mainly focusing on gender dimensions of rural to urban migration, migrants have been grouped into four mutually exclusive streams: rural to urban, rural to rural, urban to urban and urban to rural. These migratory streams are controlled by the gender of migrants. To explore further the gender dimension of migration, households are grouped into three mutually exclusive categories: households having only male migrants, households having only female migrants and households having both male and female migrants. This will help us to understand the trend in family migration.

3. GENDER DIMENSIONS IN INTERNAL MIGRATION (AGE 10 YEARS AND ABOVE)

3.1. Patterns of Internal Migration (Age 10 Years and Above)

The studies from Pakistan as well as from India indicate that female share in rural to urban migration stream has increased over time, and migration rates are fairly closed for the two sexes. In this section the gender composition of internal migrants (age 10 years and above) is examined by direction of move, and rural to urban migration is further controlled by intra-provincial and inter-provincial moves.

Table 2 Presents the trends in incidence of internal migration (age 10 years and above) by sex. Several points are noteworthy here. The overall

Table 2

*Percentage Distribution of Internal Migrants
(Age 10 Years and Above) by Gender*

Year	% of Migrant (Age 10 Years and Above) in Their Respective Population			% of Female Migrants: Excluding Migration for Marriage
	Total	Male	Female	
1996-97	14.80	13.14	16.6	8.5
1997-98	13.50	11.9	15.3	8.1
1999-00	13.60	12.1	15.3	7.4
2001-02	13.1	11.7	14.6	7.2
2003-04	14.4	13.0	15.7	8.3
2005-06	14.3	13.1	15.6	7.9
2006-07	12.5	11.0	14.1	6.8

Source: Author's tabulation from LFS (1996-2006).

³Seasonal migrants and migrants from other countries are not included.

incidence of migration during the 1996-2007 periods remained unchanged; around 14 percent of the total population aged 10 year and above was counted as migrants at their current place of residence. These levels of internal migration are under reported for two reasons; First intra district-movements are excluded while defining the migrant population. Second young migrant population, below 10 years, is not covered in the labour force surveys.

The gender differences are clearer, in 1996-97, 13.14 percent of male and 16.6 percent of female population have the status of migrants. Female migrants dominate the internal migration. However, the gender gap has declined from 3.5 percent in 1996-97 to 2.5 percent in 2005-2006. The gap has again widened in 2006-07. Female migration after marriage is very common in Pakistan. [Irfan (1986) and Shah (1986)].

Table 2 also shows the incidence of female migration while excluding migration for marriage. The evidence supports the argument given by earlier studies [Irfan (1983) and Shah (1986)]; that in case of female migration, marriage plays a vital role for migration. The evidence reveals that after excluding the migration of females due to marriage, the incidence of female migration (age 10 years and above) is quite low than the respective share of males. Approximately, 40 percent of female migrants change their place of residence due to marriage.

Table 3 presents the percentage distribution of migrants by the direction of move: rural to urban, rural to rural, urban to urban and urban to rural migration. There is a dominance of urban to urban migration; about one third of the migrant population move between the two cities. Table 3 shows an equal importance of moves from rural to urban areas and between the rural areas. However, the LFS data do not show any considerable change in the direction of move. While examining the pattern of internal migration by direction of move, Shah (1986) indicates from the 1973 HED survey, that the share of urban to

Table 3

Distribution of Migrants by Direction of Move and Sex Ratios

Year	Rural to Urban	Rural to Rural	Urban to Urban	Urban to Rural
1996-97	23.4 (91.6)	27.8 (51.7)	39.2 (89.2)	96 (82.2)
1997-98	25.0 (90.26)	28.9 (57.7)	33.4 (85.0)	12.7 (90.1)
1999-00	24.7 (100.0)	30.8 (59.3)	32.0 (96.1)	12.4 (97.7)
2001-02	31.1 (105.0)	28.2 (47.0)	29.3 (85.7)	11.4 (89.7)
2003-04	27.2 (94.20)	30.5 (52.2)	30.7 (82.1)	11.5 (97.0)
2005-06	28.9 (96.5)	26.9 (49.3)	31.1 (85.2)	13.1 (100.0)
2006-07	28.0 (91.3)	27.9 (42.4)	32.4 (83.5)	11.8 (97.4)

Source: Author's tabulation from LFS (1996-2006).

Sex Ratios are given in parenthesis.

urban migration was largest. The second largest move was rural to rural. About one fifth of the migrant population moved from rural to urban areas, according to 1973 HED survey. This comparison of the findings of the present study, which covers the 1996-2007 period, with the result of Shah's work shows no real change in the direction of move. However, a close look at the data does reveal a gradual increase in rural-urban migration at the cost of urban to urban migration.

Helbock (1975) and Shah (1986) show a higher level of urban to urban migration, this gives support to our findings, Helbock suggest that the level of urbanisation of a district influences the tendency for urban to urban migration.

To analyse the gender composition for each of the four migration streams, sex ratios (male/female*100) of migrants population, during 1996-2007, are also presented in Table 3. It indicates heavy dominance of female migrants in rural to rural stream, as for every 100 female migrants, there has been only 42-59 males. The sex ratios for urban to urban stream are lower than ratios shown for rural-urban or urban to rural moves. In case of rural to urban move although the picture is not very clear, the sex ratios are closed to 100, suggest that the proportion of male and female migrants are equal. This seems to be a deviation from gender composition of rural-urban migration in the 1960s and 1970s when male dominated in this move [Shah (1986)].

Since the focus of the study is to analyse gender dimensions of rural to urban migration, in Table 4 this stream has been divided into two categories short-term and long-term migrants; on the basis of their duration of continues residence "short-term migrants" are those, whose duration of residence is in between 1-9 years, while the other category "long-term migrants" includes those whose duration is more than 9 years.

Table 4

Sex Ratios of Rural to Urban Migrants by Their Status of Migration

Year	Rural to Urban		Total
	Recent Migrants	Long-term Migrants	
1996	89.58	92.53	91.56
1997	85.00	92.65	90.26
1999	92.02	97.61	95.94
2001	106.9	108.79	108.18
2003	97.73	106.81	104.23
2005	91.36	98.94	96.50
2006	83.51	94.71	91.28

Source: Author's tabulation from LFS (1996- 2006).

The disaggregated data by length of stay support the view that female migration has gradually been increased. The sex ratios of short-term rural to urban migrants are lower than those of the long-term migrants. It indicates that in each year female outnumbered males. Sex ratio by duration of residence further reveals that female domination seems to be lesser in long-term move and in total move than in short-term move. The pattern emerges from Table 4 is somewhat different from earlier studies [Shah (1986) and Irfan (1986)]. Shah using 1973 HED survey, did the same exercise and revealed higher sex ratio for recent migrants than for long-term migrants. And quite higher sex ratio for rural to urban recent migrants, indicating that among rural to urban recent migrants male migrants were dominated. Irfan (1983) while using the 1979 PLM survey also revealed the domination of males in rural to urban migration. The findings of present study support Khan's (2000) work who showed the dominance of females in rural to urban migration. In the following section, in order to study the pattern of intra- and inter-provincial move of rural to urban migration, the province-wise breakdown of the rural to urban migrants by sex is examined.

3.2. Gender Composition of Rural to Urban Migrants in Intra- and Inter-Provincial Moves

Table 5 presents the sex disaggregated data to examine gender composition of rural to urban migrants by intra- and inter-provincial moves. It reveals that in each province the distribution of rural to urban migrations are relatively different. For example in NWFP more than 90 percent of the rural to urban migrants are migrated within the province, whereas in province of Punjab more than 80 percent of the rural to urban migrants belong to the same category. Contrary to these two provinces, in province of Sindh and Balochistan the proportion of rural to urban migrants who migrated within the same province is lower. Karim and Abu (2003) while analysing intra- and inter-provincial move of all internal migrants based on 1998 population census indicated the same trend that we have observed for rural to urban migrants. The findings indicate that quite large percentage of rural to urban migrants in provinces of NWFP and Punjab are short distance (intra-provincial), while in provinces of Sindh and Balochistan they are from long distance. (inter-province). Gender composition of intra-provincial move of rural to urban migration reveals that in all provinces female migrants are dominating, however, the dominance in province of NWFP is not very profound. Adding together inter-provincial move depicts that in province of Punjab and Sindh, in each year the proportion of male migrants were higher than that of female migrants, whereas in province of NWFP, except for years, 1996, 1997, 2001, 2005, surprisingly females are dominated in inter-provincial migration. As compared to NWFP in Balochistan a different trend emerges that is, except for year 2006-07, in all other years male migrants are dominating in inter-provincial move. The finding from Punjab,

Table 5

Gender Composition of Rural to Urban Migrations by Intra- and Inter-Province Move

Year	Punjab						Sindh						NWFP						Balochistan					
	Intra-province			Inter-province			Intra-province			Inter-province			Intra-province			Inter-province			Intra-province			Inter-province		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
1996-97	83.6	88.8	86.5	16.4	11.2	13.5	35.5	44.6	39.6	64.5	55.4	60.4	89.6	91.3	90.3	8.4	6.8	9.7	43.4	63.9	54.4	56.6	36.1	45.6
		(40.0)			(5.11)			(22.21)			(13.7)			(44.3)			(5.9)		(22.2)			(24.0)		
1997-98	82.5	88.0	85.5	17.5	12.0	14.5	38.4	40.7	39.6	61.6	59.3	60.4	90.9	92.8	91.8	9.1	7.2	8.2	42.3	54.9	47.9	57.7	45.1	52.1
		(39.2)			(6.51)			(25.6)			(24.7)			(35.0)			(4.3)		(9.9)			(16.6)		
1999-00	80.9	86.5	83.8	19.1	13.5	16.2	20.9	23.1	21.9	79.1	76.9	78.1	92.2	91.0	91.6	7.8	6.8	8.4	58.3	59.2	58.7	41.7	40.8	41.3
		(35.3)			(5.6)			(11.1)			(34.3)			(47.7)			(5.1)		(35.8)			(28.9)		
2001-02	80.4	86.7	83.6	19.6	13.3	16.4	25.1	33.5	28.8	74.9	66.5	71.2	89.8	91.4	90.6	10.2	8.6	9.4	67.1	72.2	69.6	32.9	27.8	69.6
		(46.1)			(8.01)			(22.4)			(55.6)			(56.8)			(5.9)		(52.4)			(11.4)		
2003-04	84.0	88.2	85.1	16.0	11.8	14.9	31.0	40.9	35.4	69.0	59.1	64.6	94.9	94.8	94.9	5.1	5.2	5.1	37.1	53.6	43.9	62.9	46.4	13.5
		(47.2)			(8.5)			(25.2)			(36.5)			(59.5)			(3.3)		(44.5)			(34.7)		
2005-06	79.8	85.2	82.6	20.2	14.8	17.4	33.8	44.2	38.4	66.2	55.8	61.6	88.2	90.7	89.6	11.8	9.3	10.4	51.2	54.5	52.9	48.8	45.5	47.1
		(47.11)			(9.5)			(23.3)			(35.10)			(52.2)			(6.6)		(34.9)			(28.0)		
2006-07	81.1	84.5	83.0	18.9	15.5	17.4	28.1	33.6	30.8	71.9	66.4	69.2	91.7	91.3	91.5	8.3	8.7	8.5	45.0	39.3	42.2	55.0	60.7	57.8
		(37.1)			(10.2)			(21.5)			(42.4)			(58.7)			(3.7)		(24.7)			(30.0)		

Source: Author's tabulation from LFS (1996-2006).

Percentage in the parentheses is percentage of female migrants, excluding migration for marriage.

Sindh and NWFP suggest that in rural to urban migration male migrants move to longer distance, whereas females moved to shorter distance. In addition to these, the trends in intra- and inter-provincial move between 1996 and 2006-07 indicates that except in NWFP, in other three provinces intra-provincial move has declined, and inter-provincial migration has increased, it suggest that migration to long distance has an upward trend in Punjab, Sindh, and Balochistan while in NWFP it has a declining trend. It may be due to disturbance in NWFP. Gender composition of inter-provincial move reveals that except in NWFP where the proportion of male migrant shows a small decline and proportion of female reveals an increase, in other provinces, the proportion of both male and female migrants has increased overtime. However, the proportional increases in female migrants are larger than in male migrants. The largest increase in inter-provincial move has been observed in Balochistan. One reason of this increase may be the development of Gwadar port that created job opportunities.

The incidence of female migration while excluding migration for marriage is given in parenthesis in Table 5. In case of female migration, marriage plays a significant role. The evidence shows that after excluding the migration of female due to marriage, the share of female migrants in both intra- and inter-provincial migration drops. More than 50 percent of female migrants change their place of residence due to marriage.

Table 6 present the sex ratios of rural to urban migrants at provincial level. It seems that in overall rural to urban migration, except for the years 2001-02 and 2003-04, female migrants are prominent. However, the provincial break down of these migrants at provincial level indicates quite surprising results; in Punjab females migrants are higher in numbers than male migrants. In Sindh it seems to be the reverse, male dominates in rural to urban migration. In NWFP except for the year 1999-00, 2005-06 and 2006-07, in all other years males dominate in rural to urban migration. Balochistan reveals the same pattern as observed in NWFP, except for two years 1996-97 and 2005-06. The domination

Table 6

Sex Ratios of Rural to Urban Migrants at Provincial Level

Year	Punjab	Sindh	NWFP	Balochistan	Total
1996-97	82.89	118.08	118.26	85.58	91.56
1997-98	85.32	102.20	105.34	125.74	90.25
1999-00	90.58	112.72	89.71	118.85	95.94
2001-02	85.99	126.62	103.30	104.88	104.99
2003-04	95.40	127.13	103.22	141.21	104.20
2005-06	90.10	113.49	87.93	92.77	96.49
2006-07	85.47	107.23	99.14	103.85	91.28

Source: Author's tabulation from LFS (1996-2006).

of male migrants indicate that males move on their own leaving behind their families in rural areas. Over time the sex ratio in Punjab has increased and the percentage of male migrant has increased by 2.58 point between 1996-97 to 2006-07. Sex ratios in Sindh and NWFP have declined, indicating that in rural to urban migration proportion of females has increased. In Balochistan the share of male migrants rural to urban migrants has increased over time.

4. PATTERN OF FAMILY MIGRATION

In this section the study examines the phenomena of family migration. It seems difficult to verify it from the LFS data. It is generally argued when a family does not enjoy the minimum acceptable standard of living, the “male member” of the household move into city to support the family left behind. Table 7 shows the percentage distribution of rural to urban migrant households having at least one migrant in the household at place of destination. As mentioned in Section 1 of this paper the study is concerned with family migration therefore individual level information is aggregated at household level showing that households having only male migrant, having only female migrants and households having both male and female migrants. The assumption in place is that households with both male and female migrants represents family migration.

Table 7 reveals that among all categories of migrant households, the percentage of households having only male migrant remain lowest over time. As compared to 18.09 percent 1996-1997 their proportion dropped to 16.64 percent in 2006-2007. In the same time-frame the corresponding percentage for two other categories—households with only female migrants and households with both male and female migrant were more than 30 percent and 50 percent respectively.

Table 7

Percentage Distribution of Migrant Household having at least One Migrant

Year	All Households' with at least One Migrant	Households having only Male Migrants % of HHold	Household having only Female Migrants % of HHold	Household having both Male and Female Migrants
				% of HHold
1996-97	100.0	18.09	31.90	50.0
1997-98	100.0	19.52	33.47	47.01
1999-00	100.0	15.67	33.13	51.20
2001-02	100.0	21.11	30.58	48.31
2003-04	100.0	18.98	30.73	50.29
2005-06	100.0	24.88	30.59	51.26
2006-07	100.0	16.64	30.56	52.80

Source: Author's calculation from various Labour Force Surveys.

Interestingly, the proportion of household having only female migrants reveals an increasing trend till the year 1997-98. After that the proportion gradually declined and it reached to 30.6 percent in 2006-2007. The percentage of households having only female migrant is lower than that presented by Arif and Hamid (2007). They observed a higher (46.2 percent) percentage of such households analysing 2001 PSES data, the difference in result may be due to different data sets. Their study is based on PSES Survey 2001 that covers both intra-district and inter-district migration.

The evidence of declining trends in migrant households having only male or only female indicates that over time family migration is on rise. Further moving to the households category where percentage of households having both male and female migrants are quite higher, more than 50 percent of the migrant's households falls into this category. The evidence reveals that over time, the proportion of such households has slightly increased. It reached to 52.80 percent in 2006-2007 from 50.0 percent in 1996-97. The finding indicates a gradual upward trend in family migration.

Does the above figure show a slow upward trend in family migration. Appendix Table 1 also confirms the increasing trend of family migration in rural to urban migration. Disaggregated information by type of family, reveals that the share of households that constitute nuclear families are dominating, and more than one third of the total households fall in to this category. However their proportion overtime declined (see Appendix Table 1). The reason for their decline seems to be that other relatives such as married son, brother and sister or father and mother join nuclear households as migrant and the composition of the household change from nuclear to joint/extended family but in slow process. And the proportion of joint/extended family migrant households has increased over time. This indicates that as a survival strategy, besides head, spouse and children are also moving to cities. It seems that male earner migrates to a city and not only his family spouse and children join him but also the other member of the left behind sooner or later join him. On the other hand the other category of migrant whom we can call temporary rural urban migrants, who move to cities primarily to support the family income through remittances is slowly declining. This changing trend indicates that over time due to increase in inflation and poverty it becomes difficult for the migrant to support those left behind so whole family prefers to move to city. The phenomena of family migration need to be further analysed. From policy point of view it is important to explore reasons of above mentioned argument.

The trend in family migration indicates that people are moving to cities on a permanent basis. Literature on determinants of rural to urban migration, with the exception of few, suggest that individual or household characteristics are the motivated factors for migration. [Khan and Shahnaz (2000); Kalim and Samina (2003); Ahmed and Sirageldin (1994); Irfan (1986); Stark (1991); Oda (2005); Memon (2005)]. Personal or household characteristics do in some cases

generate migration. However, assigning sole responsibility to them is likely to be one-dimensional as it ignores the importance of changing agrarian structure in mediating the decision made by individual or family whether or not to migrate.

Some time, people migrate to achieve the capital necessary for startup and obtain operational costs of production [Nabi, *et al.* (1986)]. Furthermore lack of availability of sufficient productive land is also one of the most common cause of rural to urban migration [Arif and Hamid (2007) and Nabi, *et al.* (1986)]. Arif and Hamid (2007) showing the causes of family migration state that:

“The major factor in the family migration decision is the non-availability of opportunities in rural areas to earn sufficient livelihood. These opportunities for a segment of population, particularly landless households, have increasingly been shrunk in rural Pakistan. Changes in both agrarian structure and rural economy have contributed in limiting these opportunities.”

Land is not only a factor of production and source of livelihood, other than this its ownership also reflects the socioeconomic status within society. Ownership of land guarantees access to important inputs [MHC (2000)]. In agricultural sector, the structure of production and resource utilisation have changed [Sharif, and Muhammad (2006)]. The changes affected the lives of small landholders as well as of the landless in rural Pakistan during 1980-2000. The proportion of small landholding increased and the proportion of share cropping declined other than this higher level of landlessness is observed [Khan (2006)]. (For detail see Appendix Figures 2 and 3). Also the average size of the farm declined from 5.3 ha to 3.1 ha during this period. Due to small farm size farmer suffers from low productivity and just produce at the subsistence level [Sharif, and Muhammad (2006)]. There are also other factors that are responsible for the changing situation of rural economy. For example, change in the use of labour not only affects male members but it also have its impacts on female job opportunities, because women from landless households work as casual labour to supplement the household income. [Malik (2005)]. Facts reveals a declining trend in land to labour ratio [MHC (2000) and Malik (2005)] the indication of an decline in the use of casual labour.

5. CONCLUSION AND POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS

The main objective of the study is to analyse gender dimension in rural to urban migration in Pakistan by using labour force survey 1996–2006. First I have analysed the changing pattern of internal migration (age 10 years and above), direction of migration in different stream, and changing pattern of rural to urban migration. Secondly, analysed the trend in family migration, then I tried to analyse whether the changes in rural to urban migration and family migration is related with the changes in agrarian structure and rural economy.

The findings of the study show that overtime internal migration (age 10 years and above) remained unchanged. Female migrants dominate in internal migration (age 10 years and above). In case of female migration marriage plays a vital role.

Further the finding reveals that over time in internal migration the share of rural to urban migration has increased while urban to urban migration declined however the share of urban to urban migration remains highest in internal migration. Females are dominating in recent rural to urban move compared to long-term and total rural to urban migration. In addition to this the trend in intra- and inter-provincial move reveals that except in province of NWFP in all three provinces migration to long distance has an upward trend. Gender composition reveals that in all these three provinces the proportion of both male and female migrants increased over time. Not only the share of female migrant in rural to urban migration increased but there seems to be an increasing trend in family migration to cities and the proportion of households that represents family migration is quite higher. This seems to be due to changes in agrarian structure and rural economy particularly increased in landless households, declined in share cropping and rise in small land holding.

During this study, I found that with minor improvement in the questionnaire of labour force survey we can compute several useful information on migration. I suggest that the following questions of LFS “duration of migration” may be dragged as: single year of migration. In addition it is suggested that a question on working status and occupation before migration may be included and all individuals below the age of 10 years may be included. In addition intra-district migration may be considered as migration. Which is in general the dominant form. Ignoring this the labour force underestimates the volume of internal migration.

Furthermore, increasing proportion of female migration in all provinces and quite higher proportion of family migration need attention from policy-makers and NGOs. To improve the quality of life of the migrant families and especially female migrants, policy-makers and NGOs must consider the following.

Young migrants both male and female must be encouraged to complete their education at least up to secondary level. Further short-term skill development training must be given to them so that they can get better employment. Other than these women must be given training in small scale trade and retail business coupled with micro credit that would facilitate women to establish their own small enterprises at home or very close to home. In addition, government with the help of NGOs must establish low-cost educational and health facilities in areas where large number of rural to urban migrants are crowded.

In addition, government must pay attention to rural development and give importance to agriculture, infrastructure, skill development training coupled with easy borrowing, so that the rural population specially the landless class can get employment opportunities in rural areas.

Appendix Table 1

Percentage Distribution of Households by Type of Family

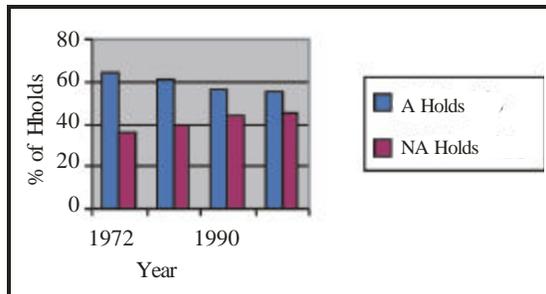
Household Type	Single Migrant Household	Family Migration		
		Total	% of Household Constitute Nuclear Family	% of Household Constitute Joint/ Extended Families
1996-97	41.18	58.81	43.34	15.47
1997-98	43.13	56.36	40.12	16.24
1999-2000	40.02	59.82	43.24	16.58
2001-2002	41.1	58.89	39.56	19.33
2003-2004	38.91	61.99	37.4	23.69
2005-2006	38.74	61.26	39.92	21.34
2006-2007	39.88	60.12	37.61	22.51

Source: Author's tabulation from LFS (1996- 2006).

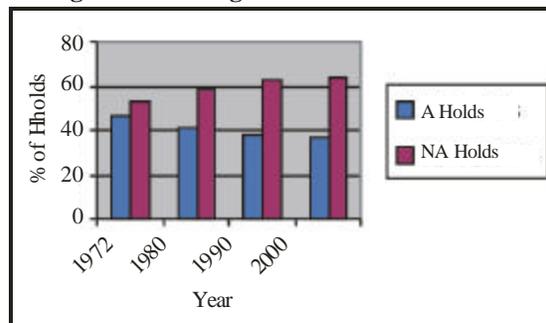
Note: Single migrant HH=where only one person either head or spouse is migrant Nuclear family = Where head, spouse and children are living.

Joint / extended families = where head, spouse, children and other family member such as married sons/daughter. father/mother and married brother/sister are living.

Appendix Fig. 1. Percentage Distribution of Households



Appendix Fig. 2. Percentage Distribution of Rural Households



Appendix Table 2

Trends in Land to Labour Ratio

Year	Land to Labour Ratio
1980	1.06
1985	1.0
1990	0.95
1995	0.88
1999	0.81

Source: MHC (2002).

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