

Review Article

Main Economic Characteristics of the People of Pakistan: Sixth Release From the 1961 Census

by

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INTRODUCTION

This review of *Census Bulletin No. 5*¹ from the 1961 Census of Pakistan is fifth in a series² of review articles on the census publications prepared by or under the auspices of the Demographic Section of the Pakistan Institute of Development Economics.

The *Bulletin* is an interim report on the economic characteristics of the population of Pakistan. It was published in the second week of March, and released in the third week of May 1963. Thus, the information became available to planners, researchers and administrators 27 months and 3 weeks after the completion of census enumeration in January 1961.

There is a two-page introduction giving the method and questions through which the data on economic characteristics were obtained. It also promises more data on economic aspects in the main census reports still to be issued. Detailed classification of the nonagricultural labour-force by industry and occupation will be given in separate volumes sometime in 1964.

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¹ Office of the Census Commissioner, Ministry of Home and Kashmir Affairs, Home Affairs Division, 1961 *Census Bulletin No. 5: Economic Characteristics*. (Karachi: Manager of Publications, date not given, pp. xxii + 125).

² The first four were:

Karol J. Krotki, "First Release from the Second Population Census of Pakistan, 1961", *Pakistan Development Review*, Vol. I, No. 2, Autumn 1961, pp. 67-77.

M. Sanaullah, "Second and Third Release from the Second Population Census of Pakistan 1961", *Pakistan Development Review*, Vol. II, No. 2, Spring 1962, pp. 106-113.

Karol J. Krotki, "Population Size, Growth and Age Distribution: Fourth Release from the 1961 Census of Pakistan", *Pakistan Development Review*, Vol. III, No. 2, Summer 1963, pp. 279-305.

Jamila Akhtar, "Literacy and Education: Fifth Release from the 1961 Census of Pakistan", *Pakistan Development Review*, Vol. III, No. 3, Autumn 1963, pp. 424-442.

The publication under review gives, in 125 pages of tabular information, details on two subjects:

- i) Economic Activity by Sex in Tables 1 and 2
- ii) Economic Status by Age Group and Sex in Tables 3 and 4.

These subjects are presented in Tables 1 and 3 for Pakistan as a whole, the two provinces of East Pakistan and West Pakistan, all the administrative divisions (four in East Pakistan and twelve in West Pakistan), all the administrative districts (17 in East Pakistan and 51 in West Pakistan) and the 59 subdivisions in East Pakistan. In Table 1, but not in Table 3, the 189 subdivisions/*tehsils/talukas* in West Pakistan are also shown.

In Tables 2 and 4, the same information is given as in Tables 1 and 3 respectively for nine cities and towns of East Pakistan, and 23 of West Pakistan. The smallest town of East Pakistan, Mymensingh, had a reported population of 53,256 and that of West Pakistan, Kohat, had a reported population of 49,854. All towns above 50,000 must have been selected for Tables 2 and 4³.

As in 1961 *Census Bulletins No. 3*⁴ and *No. 4*⁵, the whole area of West Pakistan has not been covered. Tables in *Bulletin No. 5* "exclude population of the Agencies and the Special and Added Areas under the Deputy Commissioners of Peshawar and Dera Ismail Khan Divisions of West Pakistan" (note given on Pages 1 and 39). These exclusions add upto 3.4 million persons out of a reported population of 93.7 million or 3.7 per cent for Pakistan as a whole and 8 per cent of the West-Pakistan population. This has probably no great effect on the economic characteristics of the country and the western province as revealed in the *Bulletin* and particularly on the various ratios and proportions of the people of Pakistan and those of West Pakistan⁶.

It is not unreasonable to assume that the excluded people are not different enough to have had much influence on the conclusions arrived at in this review of economic characteristics.

CENSUS COMMISSIONER'S ANALYSIS

The salient features of the economic character of the people of Pakistan, as revealed by the two decennial censuses, are highlighted in three of the nine

³ Office of the Census Commissioner, Ministry of Home and Kashmir Affairs, Home Affairs Division, 1961 *Census Bulletin No. 4: Literacy and Education*. (Karachi: Manager of Publications, September 1962), p. xiv.

⁴ Office of the Census Commissioner, Ministry of Home and Kashmir Affairs, Home Affairs Division, 1961 *Census Bulletin No. 3: Age, Sex and Marital Status*. (Karachi: Manager of Publications, May 1962), p. 1.

⁵ 1961 *Census Bulletin No. 4, op. cit.*, p. 1.

⁶ The impression is formed through the study of: Khalid Ashraf, *Tribal People of West Pakistan*. (Peshawar: Board of Economic Enquiry, Peshawar University, 1962).

"statements" in the *Bulletin*. The other six statements are confined to the 1961 Census. A few pages with statistical notes on these statements limit themselves to reproducing the figures and percentages given in the statements. The statistical notes and statements (Pages *i* to *xxii*) deal with total and percentage distribution of population by sex, population aged ten-years-and-over in civilian labour-force, not in civilian labour-force, and dependents below ten years in Statement 1, civilian labour-force by sex classified according to work status (meaning: employed and unemployed) in Statement 2. The above information is given for Pakistan and its two provinces, all areas (urban *plus* rural) as well as rural and urban areas separately. Numerical and percentage distribution of civilian labour-force by agricultural and nonagricultural occupations, called widely enough in the *Bulletin* "professions", is given for Pakistan and its two provinces only, in Statement 3. (Agricultural occupations are further divided by cultivators and other agriculturists.)

The population distribution and percentage variation in economic categories between 1951 and 1961 in Pakistan and in the two provinces are given in Statement 4. The statement shows that over the last decade the increase in civilian labour-force has been greater (31.4 per cent) than population (23.7 per cent). The reason is that, in spite of the faster rate of growth of children in dependent age-groups, there has been higher participation by the population of working age in the labour force.

While the civilian labour-forces of East Pakistan and West Pakistan increased similarly (31 and 32 per cent respectively), there were marked variations within the two labour forces. These can be best summarized in tabular form:

	1951-1961 INCREASE	
	East Pakistan (.....in per cent.....)	West Pakistan
Civilian labour-force	31	32
Agriculturists	34	20
Nonagriculturists	16	55

If the proportion of nonagriculturists is taken as an index of development, then East Pakistan experienced considerable retardation. This differential growth has affected the percentage distribution of population by economic categories in the two wings. As a proportion of the civilian labour-force, the agriculturists in West Pakistan dropped by 6 percentage points (65 per cent in 1951 to 59 per cent in 1961). They have increased by 2 percentage points in East Pakistan (from 83 per cent in 1951 to 85 per cent in 1961).

Numerical and percentage distributions of agriculturists and nonagriculturists in four big cities of East Pakistan and twelve of West Pakistan are given in Statement 6. The comparison with the proportion of agriculturists and non-agriculturists in the total population of the two provinces has also been given. The comparability would have been further increased and would have been more relevant, had similar distributions been given for all urban areas as a category.

A striking point not noticed in the statistical description of the above statement is the decrease in absolute numbers of the agricultural labour-force in all the cities except Khulna, Karachi, Lyallpur and Hyderabad between 1951 and 1961. With one exception, the proportion of agriculturists dropped in all large towns, some of the drops being quite dramatic, e.g., in Rawalpindi from 36,000 (15 per cent) to 2,000 (0.6 per cent).

Another set of notes based on Statement 7 shows the effect of inclusion in 1961 of children aged 10 and 11 years in the labour force. The notes claim that the proportions of different economic categories in the population 10-years-and-over are not significantly different from the proportions in the population 12-years-and-over (Pages xvi and xvii). In fact, the three-and-a-quarter million children aged 10 and 11 years appear to be very different from persons aged 12-years-and-over. Only half as many (24 per cent as against 53 per cent) are in the civilian labour-force and almost all of them are agriculturists. One suspects that the misleading statement in the statistical notes was motivated by the desire to play down the effect of lowering the age limit of the labour force. Apart from its substantive importance, its methodological effects and the far-reaching (and probably distorting) influence on the age distribution and consequent estimates of rates of population growth have already been discussed earlier⁷.

Civilian labour-force by agricultural and nonagricultural professions in different age groups by sex, 1961, for Pakistan and its two provinces is given in Statements 8 and 9. It shows that children, older persons and females are heavily engaged in agriculture, while the nonagricultural pursuits are followed by the productive male age-groups.

The notes say that "females do . . . show [no] pattern of distribution of the percentage of civilian labour force having agricultural profession in the different age groups, nor do they follow any regular distribution in Pakistan and provinces" (Page xvii). But the statement shows that it is only true in the

⁷ Krotki, "Population Size, Growth . . .", *op. cit.*, pp. 298 and 305.

Karol J. Krotki and Sultan S. Hashmi, "Report on a Census Enumeration", *Pakistan Development Review*, Vol. II, No. 3, Autumn 1962, pp. 390-391.

case of East Pakistan and that too only partly. In West Pakistan, there is a regular pattern: the higher the age the greater the proportion in nonagricultural occupations, except for the oldest age-groups when the proportion in agriculture increases again. There is a not dissimilar pattern in East Pakistan, but it is less pronounced than in West Pakistan.

PRESENTATION

Presentation is clear and columns and lines are easy to read and follow. The corrigenda list 150 mistakes in the publication. There are also a few other printing mistakes overlooked by the compilers of the corrigenda.

No list of areas is given by page number. It is, thus, not easy to locate the information for any particular area as it is spread over two, three or four tables. Moreover, the arrangement of areas in the tables is neither in alphabetical order nor in numerical order. In Table 2 for East Pakistan only, the arrangement is in numerical order, starting with the largest to the smallest town (according to size of population). But this has not been followed in case of West Pakistan in the same table. In other tables, the arrangement seems to be geographical, that is, by divisions from north to south-west; in West Pakistan, it starts with Peshawar and ends in Karachi; and in East Pakistan with Rajshahi in the north to Chittagong in the east. The arrangement of areas smaller than divisions is also geographical in East Pakistan but not so in West Pakistan. This lack of arrangement makes it difficult to find an area.

There are six charts, diagrams and graphs. The pictorial chart on the titlecover shows agricultural and nonagricultural labour-force, housewives, and "others with dependents". Figures have been rounded off and full symbols appear for each category. It is more usual for such a chart to show the last symbol in a category as an appropriate fraction.

The graph on the backcover shows *Economic Status by Age Groups*. It is an exact repetition of Statement 8, captioned *Distribution of Population 10 Years and Over by Economic Categories and Age Groups, Pakistan, 1961*. On the x axis are age groups and on the y axis population in millions. Varying class intervals are given equal width. This results in misleading heapings at age groups which contain more years than others. Bars drawn with a width proportionate to class intervals would give a truer representation.

Inside the *Bulletin*, as Figure 1, a pie diagram has been given for Pakistan (for which a pictorial chart already appeared on the frontcover) and two for provinces. They give percentage distribution of *Population by Economic Categories, 1961*. None of the statements with this or any similar title gives the percentages shown in Figure 1. One wonders where these percentages have been obtained; perhaps from a bulletin still to be published.

Figures 2 and 3 give in bar diagrams a comparison of *Population by Economic Status*, between the 1951 and 1961 Censuses. These diagrams are based on Statement 4, entitled *Distribution of Population by Economic Categories*. This inconsistency in the use of terms, titles and categories plagues the reader throughout the *Bulletin*.

TERMINOLOGY

In the table of contents there is confusion due to use of terms without standardized definitions behind them. The same information is given under a different title in a different statement and/or table. Different information appears under the same title. Terms like activity, activities, category, categories, work status, economic status, have been used at random without much reference to the context, while the different types of population have been ascribed with an inconsistent degree of detail. Moreover, some of the terms have been used wrongly. For instance, "Economic Activity" in Tables 1 and 2 would have been described more appropriately as "Economic Status" while the "status" in Tables 3 and 4 should have had the title of Tables 1 and 2 "Population by Economic Activity".

AGE GROUPING

The age limit for inclusion in the labour force was lowered in 1961 to 10 years from the 12 years of 1951. This is justified in two ways. The already noted statement is made that it makes no difference to the proportions of economic categories (Pages xvi-xvii). It is also stated that ages 10 and 11 have a considerable (even if lower than other age groups) percentage in the labour force (24.1) and their inclusion is, therefore, desirable. When the base of the population is broad, as it is in the case of Pakistan, even a small percentage in the labour force in the added age groups, will produce large absolute additions to the labour force. In Pakistan, the age group 10-11 has a degree of participation in the labour force which is high for this age group. There must be a lot of child labour in Pakistan. What is surprising is that the Census Commissioner does not mention the very important reason for and the consequence of lowering the age for labour-force inclusion from 12 years to 10 years, namely, the avoidance of the heaping at age 10 and 11 years⁸ experienced in 1951. It is of great analytical significance whether this heaping has been merely shifted to ages 9 and 8 years or avoided altogether.

For the sake of comparability of data between the censuses, the age grouping given in Tables 3 and 4 is 0-9, 10-11 and 12-14, so that figures for economic categories, civilian labour-force, and occupations for the two censuses can be

⁸ Krotki and Hashmi, *op. cit.*, pp. 390-391.

Krotki, "Population Size, Growth . . .", *op. cit.*, pp. 298 and 305.

readily compared. Similarly, international comparison with age group 15-years-and-over can be undertaken.

As in the 1951 Census, there is a five-year grouping for ages 15-24 and 55-59, ten years for 25-54, while 60-years-and-over are lumped together. It would have been handier if all age groups were given five-year intervals or at least extended to age 64 years, to facilitate comparability with international age groupings generally used.

The *Bulletin* provides sufficient material and a detailed discussion of the economic characteristics of both the wings. This review attempts to analyse the nature and size of the labour force. It will confine itself mainly to a comparative analysis of the interwing differences and rural-urban differentials. Overall analysis of Pakistan in general will be limited.

NATURE OF THE ECONOMY OF PAKISTAN

The predominantly agricultural nature of the economy of Pakistan is strongly brought out in the *Bulletin*. The overall numbers of those engaged in agricultural pursuits in the whole country is given as 74 per cent of the total civilian labour-force (Statement 3). A glance at the statement immediately shows that East Pakistan is markedly more agricultural than West Pakistan. Over 85 per cent of the civilian labour-force in East Pakistan is engaged in agriculture whereas the comparable figure for West Pakistan is 59 per cent. This is the most outstanding feature of the economy.

The economy of East Pakistan is more agricultural and less urbanized than that of West Pakistan. This conclusion is supported by the following data:

- a) In East Pakistan, the rural population constitutes 95 per cent of the total population whereas in West Pakistan it forms 75 per cent of the total. Urban labour-force in East Pakistan constitutes a proportion (5.2 per cent) of the total civilian labour-force which is higher than the proportion of the urban population in the total population. On the other hand only 22.5 per cent of total labour-force is concentrated in urban areas in West Pakistan⁹, although a full quarter of the population of West Pakistan lives in urban areas.
- b) There are only 9 cities and towns with a minimum of 50,000 population in East Pakistan as against 23 in West Pakistan.
- c) The numbers of other localities with an urban character and a minimum of 5,000 population is far greater in West Pakistan (225) than in East Pakistan (60).

⁹ The West-Pakistan figures indicate a low urban participation-ratio contrary to normal expectations inasmuch as west-wing cities attract quite some number of able-bodied people mainly for employment.

- d) There are only nine urban areas with less than 5,000 population in East Pakistan as against 69 in West Pakistan (selected somewhat impressionistically on urban characteristics of these localities)¹⁰.

The agricultural nature of the economy and the interprovince differences are further reflected in a comparison of the ratio of agriculturists to nonagriculturists in the cities and all areas of both wings. In the cities alone (9) of East Pakistan, the ratio is 100 : 977 as against 100 : 2218 in West-Pakistan cities (23). And, the ratio for all areas is 100 : 17 in the case of East Pakistan as against 100 : 69 for West Pakistan.

The central fact that emerges from the above comparisons is that agriculture plays quite a large role even in the largest cities of East Pakistan whereas in West Pakistan even rural areas perform more urban functions¹¹ than in East Pakistan. The high ratio of agriculturists in urban areas of East Pakistan suggests that size of population is an incomplete description of urban characteristics. An agglomeration of population might be large and formally classified as urban but will remain rural if functions rather than administrative boundaries are taken as criteria¹².

LABOUR FORCE

The labour force, according to the definitions used in 1961 Population Census of Pakistan, consists of all persons aged ten-years-or-over, who work (or are looking for work) for profits, wages or salary or help any member of the family in agriculture, trade or profession. Those not included in the labour force and grouped under dependents are students, housewives performing household duties, pensioners and rent receivers, inmates of jails, mental asylums

¹⁰ Information under c and d is taken from: Office of the Census Commissioner, Ministry of Home and Kashmir Affairs, Home Affairs Division, *Census Bulletin No. 2*. (Karachi: Manager of Publications, November 1961), pp. 67-95.

¹¹ In *Bulletin No. 5* information regarding economic status (agriculturists and non-agriculturists) has not been given separately for rural areas. This information appears for the administrative divisions, districts, subdivisions and, selected cities and towns. It is, therefore, not easy on the basis of available information to establish ratios between agriculturists and nonagriculturists in the rural areas of Pakistan. The way out is to deduct figures for the selected cities and towns from their respective divisions. But such a division falls short of those small towns for which no information has been given. However, the cities for which this information is available cover 61.8 per cent of the urban civilian labour-force of East Pakistan and 68.1 per cent urban labour-force of West Pakistan. The ratio of agriculturists to nonagriculturists for rural areas after deducting figures of cities and large towns only, in East Pakistan is 100 : 14 and in West Pakistan 100 : 23. These two ratios show that the degree of dependents on agriculture by inhabitants of rural areas is much higher in East Pakistan than in West Pakistan.

¹² A brief study of divisions and districts in the two provinces taking urban proportion given in *Bulletin No. 2* (1961) and agriculturists-to-nonagriculturists ratios given in *Bulletin No. 5* (1961), has shown that in East Pakistan there is no positive correlation between the proportion of nonagriculturists and the degree of urbanization. In West Pakistan not only within divisions are the differences clear, but also among districts a regular pattern is found. When urban-population proportion is high the proportion of nonagriculturists is also high.

and beggars. The Census Commissioner's findings show that about one-third of the population of Pakistan is in the civilian labour-force. In numerical terms, 30.2 million out of 90.3 million reported population (Page ii) is in the labour force.

The total population figure of 90.3 million must, however, be adjusted to take into account the excluded population of the Agencies and the Special Areas of West Pakistan which adds up to 3.4 million and the underenumeration of some 8.4 million¹³ in the age group below 25. The corrected total population figure for January 1961 is 102.2 million.

Though this adjustment inflates the absolute size of the population, it does not necessarily alter the labour-force proportion¹⁴. The proportion need not be revised insofar as we assume that the excluded areas of the Frontier provinces have an age structure no different from the overall age structure of the country while the age-specific ratio of participation in the labour force is the same. But the proportion must be revised because of those who were underenumerated and because a large number of them belong to the age group 10-years-and-under. Using the age-specific participation ratio¹⁵ only some 1.5 million of them enter into the labour force. Thus, the proportion in the labour force is lowered from 33.8 per cent to 31.9 per cent.

To arrive at an accurate measure of the economic potential of the country in terms of its population it is necessary to concentrate on the age structure of the population and the age-specific participation ratio. Both the size of the labour force and the proportion of the population in the labour force are functions of the above two variables.

A striking feature of the population of Pakistan is that it is very young, that is, its age pyramid has a very flat base. The high birth-rate rather than any fall in mortality is responsible for this phenomenon. The percentage of children under 15 years is higher than in most, probably all, developing countries. Consequently, the population in the productive age-groups which forms the potential labour-force is significantly lower than in both the ECAFE and developed countries. This can be seen from Table I.

Table I also shows that there has been an increase in the proportion of young people since the 1951 Census. In spite of this, the proportion in the

¹³ Krotki, "Population Size, Growth . . .", *op. cit.*, pp. 292, 396 and 304.

¹⁴ Labour-force proportion defined as the ratio of economically active population to the total population.

¹⁵ The ratio of working population to the total population computed with reference to a given sex-age group is called age-specific participation ratio.

TABLE I
AGE STRUCTURE OF THE POPULATION

Country	Year	Age			
		All ages	14-and-under	15-59	60-and-over
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
(.....in per cent.....)					
<i>ECAFE region</i>					
India ¹	1951	100	37.4	56.9	5.7
Japan ²	1950 ^B	100	35.4	56.9	7.7
Pakistan ²	1951 ^C	100	42.5	52.5	5.0
Pakistan ³	1961 ^C	100	44.5	49.5	6.0
Pakistan ⁴	1961 ^B	100	46.0	48.5	5.4
<i>Economically developed</i>					
UK ²	1950 ^B	100	22.0	62.2	15.8
USA ²	1950 ^B	100	27.6	60.7	11.7

C=Census
E=Estimated

Sources: 1) *Economic Bulletin for Asia and the Far East*, Volume X, No. 1, p. 16.

2) United Nations, *Demographic Yearbook, 1951. Third Issue*. (New York: Statistical Office of the United Nations, Department of Economic Affairs, 1951), pp. 134, 141 and 131.

3) 1961 Census Bulletin No. 5, *op. cit.*, pp. 40-41.

4) Includes the excluded people of the North-Western Frontier provinces and the underenumerated.

labour force (*see*, Table II) shows an increase. This is not only due to the increase in the female labour-force participation. There was an increase in the age-specific rates in labour-force participation in male productive age-groups as well. It should be noted that the proportion of the population which falls into the most productive age-group (potential labour-force) is determined by fertility. With high fertility, the proportion is low. But within any age distribution, the proportion which is actually engaged in productive work is governed by the level of economic activity and social *mores*.

Participation ratios can be worked out for sex and age groups. The ratio of the working population to the total population, computed with reference to a given sex-age group or other category is called the labour-force participation rate. These ratios for Pakistan reveal certain marked characteristics in comparison with other countries. The most striking aspects in Pakistan are higher ratios of child and old-age labour (*see*, Table III) and a lower ratio in the case of females.

TABLE II
ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE POPULATION

Country	Lower age limit	Year	Both sexes	Male	Female
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
(.....in per cent.....)					
<i>ECAFE region</i>					
India ¹	—	1951 ^c	39.5	54.2	23.7
Japan ¹	14	1950 ^c	43.7	54.8	33.0
Pakistan ¹	12	1951 ^c	30.7	54.6	3.8
Pakistan ²	12	1961 ^c	32.6	54.2	8.5
Pakistan ³	12	1961 ^e	32.0	54.2	8.5
Pakistan ³	10	1961 ^e	32.2	55.7	8.7
<i>Economically developed</i>					
UK ¹	15	1950	46.2	66.6	27.4
USA ¹	14	1950 ^c	39.8	58.2	21.7
USA ¹	14	1960 ^e	40.7	56.0	25.6

C=Census
E=Estimated

Sources: 1) United Nations, *Demographic Yearbook, 1960, Twelfth Issue*. (New York: Statistical Office of the United Nations), pp. 465-67 and 460.

2) 1961 *Census Bulletin No. 5, op. cit.*, pp. 40-41.

3) Includes the excluded people of the North-Western Frontier provinces and the underenumerated.

TABLE III
MALE LABOUR-FORCE PARTICIPATION-RATIOS : AGE GROUPS

Country	Year	Age group								
		All ages	10-14	15-19	20-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65-&-over
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)
(.....in per cent.....)										
India ¹	1953/54	58.4	40.6	75.6	94.5	97.8	97.3	90.4	—	53.2
Japan ¹	1950	54.7	5.2	59.0	59.5	96.2	97.2	95.6	85.4	54.5
Pakistan ²	1961	55.7	49.3	76.7	89.9	96.5	96.0	95.8	92.0	80.0
Pakistan ³	1961 ^e	55.7	49.4	76.7	89.8	96.5	96.0	95.8	92.0	80.0
UK	1951	66.7	—	83.8	94.9	97.9	98.6	97.8	91.6	31.1
USA	1950	58.1	2.5	44.6	81.9	92.1	94.5	92.0	83.6	41.5

Note: Age groups included in the labour force of each country are not the same. In Pakistan, the dividing age between the last two age groups is 60, not 65.

E=Estimated.

Sources: 1) *Economic Bulletin for Asia and the Far East*, Volume X. No. 10, p. 17.

2) Ratio calculated from: 1961 *Census Bulletin No. 3, op. cit.*, and 1961 *Census Bulletin No. 5, op. cit.*

3) Includes the excluded people of the North-Western Frontier provinces and the underenumerated.

The main differences in participation ratios between Pakistan and other countries occur at age groups 10-14, 15-19 and 65-and-over. In developed countries, labour-force participation in age group 10-14 is negligible since the compulsory school-leaving age is high and labour-force statistics below 15 years of age do not usually exist. But in Pakistan, at this young age, the participation ratio is high. Children in Pakistan constitute 9 per cent of the total labour-force.

The old-age labour force (65-years-and-over) participation ratio is extremely high in Pakistan. It is interesting to note that of the 3 million males in age group 60-and-over, two-and-half-million are in the labour force. This figure forms slightly more than 9 per cent of the total labour-force. In the total labour-force children and old people are responsible for 18 per cent. This type of labour is of much smaller numerical importance in developed countries and yet the labour-force proportion and the overall labour-participation ratio in Pakistan is low. The explanation for this lies in the adverse age structure of the population and in the lower female-participation ratio.

Significantly, the female labour-force proportion increased from 3.8 per cent in 1951 to 8.8 per cent in 1961 (*see*, Table I). Yet the fact remains that the female-participation ratio is extraordinarily low. Comparisons with both developed and the ECAFE countries confirm our findings (*see*, Table II and IV). However, one should be cautious in accepting the figures as conclusive without knowing more about the mode of collecting this information in India and Pakistan. One would think that the socio-economic structure of Pakistan is not very dissimilar from that of India. Yet, the female-participation ratio in India is much higher than Pakistan, roughly about 23.7 as against 8.8.

TABLE IV

FEMALE LABOUR-FORCE PARTICIPATION-RATIOS : AGE GROUPS

Country	Year	Age group			
		All ages	15-19	20-64	65-and-over
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(6)	(6)
(.....in per cent.....)					
Japan ¹	1960	36.2	49.7	54.7	20.9
Pakistan ²	1961	8.8	12.6	15.4	9.9
India ³	1951	23.7	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
UK ¹	1951	27.4	78.7	36.2	5.3
USA ¹	1950	21.8	26.3	33.0	7.9
USA ¹	1960	26.1	29.7	42.9	9.9

Sources: 1) ILO, *Yearbook of Labour Statistics*, 1962. (Geneva: International Labour Office, 1962), pp. 10-11.

2) 1961 *Census Bulletin No. 5*, *op. cit.*, and 1961 *Census Bulletin No. 3*, *op. cit.*

3) *Economic Bulletin for Asia and the Far East*, Vol. X, No. 1, p. 16.

One explanation for this glaring difference, if true, could be that the Muslim Pakistan is effectively more restrictive and conservative than the Hindu India. On the other hand, it is quite possible that socio-religious attitudes and the way in which definitions and procedures were formulated by the census enumeration made the women-folk shy away from registering themselves as earning members of the family. This might well have been the case. Most enumerators were men; this in itself would have made registration of active females awkward. Secondly, details of female employment were obtained indirectly through male members of the family which further strengthens our view that female labour was underenumerated. If one accepts this argument, then the figure 8.8 is rather misleading. The correct figure is probably higher.

INTERWING DIFFERENCES

Comparisons of labour-force participation ratios between East Pakistan and West Pakistan as a whole and in their cities by sex and age groups are given in Table V.

TABLE V

LABOUR-FORCE PARTICIPATION-RATIOS BY SEX AND AGE GROUPS: EAST AND WEST PAKISTAN AND IN CITIES AND TOWNS

Age group	East Pakistan				West Pakistan			
	Province		Cities & towns		Province		Cities & towns	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
(..... in per cent.....)								
10-14	58.1	8.9	36.4	7.4	38.4	4.7	18.6	1.1
15-19	81.1	16.8	73.7	4.1	72.3	7.6	57.1	2.4
20-24	91.6	17.5	83.2	6.6	87.9	9.6	80.1	3.8
25-34	96.9	19.2	92.3	7.5	93.7	10.6	90.5	4.5
35-44	96.5	19.2	90.7	9.4	94.5	11.7	91.6	5.9
45-54	97.1	20.5	91.1	12.4	94.3	11.7	91.4	6.6
55-59	94.8	17.1	78.4	9.1	91.0	10.2	83.4	5.3
60-and-over	87.3	13.6	67.0	6.2	80.1	7.9	35.6	4.6

It is apparent from Table V, that the age-and-sex specific labour-force participation ratios in East Pakistan are higher than those in West Pakistan. But the lower proportion of children and the higher masculinity ratio in West Pakistan (Statement 1) should have been favourable to a high labour-force proportion there. The overall masculinity ratio for West Pakistan is 115 against 108¹⁶ for East Pakistan. And considering the potential labour-force alone, the masculinity ratio for West Pakistan increases to 119 and that for East Pakistan to 111.

¹⁶ 1961 Census Bulletin No. 2, *op. cit.*, p. 16.

Just over 67 per cent of total population in West Pakistan is in the working age-group (10-years-and-over), whereas in East Pakistan only 63 per cent of total population is in these age groups. Yet, the labour-force proportions in East Pakistan (34.3 per cent) is higher than that in West Pakistan (33.4 per cent.)

This inconsistency between the demographic structure and the economic behaviour of the population can be attributed to the level of economic development and the psychological set-up in the two wings. East Pakistan being economically backward relative to West Pakistan, a greater proportion is typically reported in the labour force. An aspect of the economically backward nature of East Pakistan is that it is faced with a lot of unpaid family labour and, therefore, burdened with underemployment which is not reflected in the census statistics of labour force. Whereas in West Pakistan which is slightly more industrialized and less agricultural than East Pakistan, children, old people and females of families otherwise connected with industry cannot drift easily into casual (industrial) employment.

Another factor lowering the labour-force participation ratio in West Pakistan might well be the consequences of greater urbanization whereby social and economic pressures encourage a larger number of boys and girls aged 10-years-and-over to remain in school, colleges and training centres as against the rural economy of East Pakistan where they are pushed to work at an early age. East Pakistan continues to have a higher level of formal literacy but in terms of functional literacy she has a lead in literacy only at the lower levels¹⁷.

The child labour-force in East Pakistan is greater, 38.2 per cent (1,779,000) of children aged 10-14 years reported in the civilian labour-force compared with 23.3 per cent (886,000) in West Pakistan. Although the proportion of children is greater in East Pakistan than in West Pakistan and consequently the numbers even more so, this cannot explain away the more-than-twice larger child labour-force in East Pakistan. It is another indicator of the lower development-level reached by East Pakistan.

The greater female-participation ratio in East Pakistan is another factor contributing to the higher labour-proportion there. The female proportion in the East Pakistan labour-force is 11 per cent whereas in West Pakistan it is only 6 per cent.

RURAL-URBAN DIFFERENTIALS

The higher labour-force participation ratios in the provinces as a whole (Table V) at all ages and by both sexes, compared with their cities, suggest that

¹⁷ Jamila Akhtar, *op. cit.*, pp. 428-432.

rural areas in both provinces invest, at least according to the census definition, substantially more effort to lesser purpose, resulting in underemployment. This situation is more acute in rural East Pakistan than in rural West Pakistan.

It is surprising that in spite of the high proportion of children and the lower masculinity ratio, rural areas in both wings have a higher participation ratio¹⁸. At the same time, in the case of East Pakistan, the labour-force proportion in urban areas (36.8) is slightly higher than labour-force proportion (34.2) in rural areas (statement on Page *iii*). The reason for this anomaly could lie partly in the peculiarities of the urban set-up in East Pakistan which create a favourable age distribution without contributing much to the growth of towns. It appears that the urban areas are strongly characterized by "temporary migration"¹⁹. This means that a substantial proportion of the urban population in East Pakistan consists of rural dwellers who move into the cities temporarily for the sake of employment and do not bring their families with them. This is evident from the masculinity ratio for ages 10-years-and-over and the proportion of dependents under 10 years to the total population, given below in Table VI, for rural areas and urban areas in East Pakistan and West Pakistan.

TABLE VI
MASCULINITY RATIO

	<i>Urban areas</i>	<i>Rural areas</i>
	<i>(.....in per cent.....)</i>	
<i>Above 10 years of age</i>		
East Pakistan	166.2	109.0
West Pakistan	133.7	114.6
<i>Dependents under 10 years of age</i>		
East Pakistan	30.8	37.3
West Pakistan	30.6	33.5

The lower proportion of labour force in rural areas of East Pakistan is the result of a much lower proportion of productive-age male population and a much higher proportion of dependents (those under 10 years and housewives). So even with high labour-force participation by children, old and females in the rural areas (as compared to urban areas) the effect of the high proportion of dependents is not wiped out.

¹⁸ *Economic Bulletin for Asia and the Far East*, Vol. x, No. 1, pp. 5, 15-16.

¹⁹ Karol J. Krotki, "Temporariness of Urban Migration Estimated from Age Distribution in Large and Small Towns of East and West Pakistan", *Proceedings of the Pakistan Statistical Association*, Lahore, Vol. III, 1963, pp. 115-126 and 4 graphs.

The rural and urban areas of West Pakistan display less marked differences than in East Pakistan in two of their important demographic variables, namely, age structure and sex ratios²⁰. In West Pakistan, high labour-proportion in rural areas (31.1) compared to urban areas (29.9) is the function of the very much higher age-and-sex specific labour-force participation, high enough to more than counterbalance the relatively lower proportion of males of working age in rural areas. Similarly, when the rural areas and the urban areas of East Pakistan were standardized by the age distribution of the province as a whole the age-specific labour-force participation ratios in rural areas produced a higher participation ratio for *all* ages in rural areas than the age-specific labour-force participation ratios in urban areas (taking into account population 10-years-and-over).

DEPENDENCY RATIOS

The dependency ratio is defined in two ways—potential dependency and actual dependency. Potential dependency is usually measured as the ratio of children under 15 years and persons aged 60-years-and-over to the people in the working age-group (16-59). It is determined by the age structure which, in turn, is determined by the fertility rate. The higher the birth rate, the higher the proportion of children; the lower the proportion at working ages, the higher the dependency ratio. The actual dependency is the ratio of all non-working and dependents to the working population.

In Pakistan, the potential dependency ratio, thus, calculated is 102, whereas the actual dependency ratio is 199. This is indicative of the existence of a large amount of surplus labour, even though child and old-age labour forms a significant proportion of the total labour-force. The very high actual dependency ratio can be explained in terms of unfavourable age structure from the demographic point of view and lack of job opportunities and low female-participation because of socio-economic reasons.

The broader base in the age pyramid is indicative of a greater potential labour-force in absolute terms in the next decade or so. According to Bose's projected estimates the total labour force of 32.92 million²¹ in 1961 will grow by 4.18 million in 1966, by 8.71 million in 1971 and 27.92 million in 1986. Both in absolute and relative terms the increase is higher in East Pakistan than in West Pakistan, the base of the East Pakistan population-pyramid being wider than in West Pakistan both absolutely and relatively. The projected growth of the labour force is from 18.51 million to 30.04 million in 25 years for East

²⁰ *Ibid.*

²¹ Swadesh R. Bose, "Labour Force and Employment in Pakistan, 1961-1986: A Preliminary Analysis", *Pakistan Development Review*, Vol. III, Autumn 1963, pp. 371-398.

Pakistan, while in West Pakistan during the same period it is, from 14.41 million to 25.80 million. In the absence of an effective population policy, the actual dependency ratio will not improve and labour-force proportion will remain the same unless positive steps are taken to control fertility on the one hand, and productive job opportunities are created on the other to keep up high labour-force participation ratios.

EMPLOYMENT IMPLICATIONS

It is clear from the above analysis that there is an urgent need to absorb the excess labour-reserve into productive activities. The potential labour-force is not fully employed and further the proportion of the labour force actually employed but economically underemployed especially in rural areas and particularly in West Pakistan, is high. According to the census report, only 1 per cent of the labour force was found unemployed in 1961 but an estimate of 6.3 million for 1960, *i.e.*, one-fifth of the labour force is made by Mahbubul Haq²². Estimation of future trends in the growth of population and the labour force indicates that the employment situation will not improve but will probably worsen.

SUMMARY

The main points emerging from our analysis may be briefly summarized as follows:

- 1) Pakistan is predominantly agricultural, East Pakistan being more agricultural, less economically developed and less urbanized than West Pakistan. Over the last decade, a sharp increase took place in nonagricultural labour-force in West Pakistan and a smaller increase among agriculturists in East Pakistan. On balance, the proportion of nonagricultural labour-force increased in West Pakistan and decreased in East Pakistan.
- 2) If underenumeration is taken account of, the civilian labour-force constituted 32.6 per cent of total population. Labour-force proportion is low compared to most ECAFE countries. The low labour-force proportion is due to the unfavourable age structure of the population and the small participation of females in the labour force. Male age-specific participation ratios are not markedly different from elsewhere at adult ages. A comparison between the two wings shows that East Pakistan has a high labour-force proportion than West Pakistan in spite of the unfavourable age structure there. This is partly explained by higher

²² Mahbubul Haq, *Strategy of Economic Planning. A Case Study of Pakistan*. (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1963), p. 84.

female participation than in West Pakistan. The unusual urban-age distribution in East Pakistan (high proportion of immigrants, presumably temporary) is the cause of the high labour-force proportion in urban areas than in rural areas. Both the peculiarities can be viewed as aspects of the low level of development in East Pakistan.

- 3) There are two ways of increasing the labour-force participation; one is through increased female participation and the other is through lower fertility. In the first case, it will be necessary to accelerate the pace of industrial development so that better opportunities for employment could attract labour into industrial occupation away from agriculture where a state of surplus labour exists. For the second measure to be effective, a socio-cultural revolution must take place.
- 4) Strikingly high participation ratios are found in age bracket 10-14 and 60-and-over. These age groups constitute 18 per cent of the total labour-force. Despite such high proportion of child and old-age labour, an extremely high burden of dependents is indicated by the actual dependency ratio which is 199 (299 persons depending on every 100 workers).
- 5) Pakistan does not seem to be faced with widespread reported unemployment. Ninety-nine per cent of the civilian labour-force was working (Statement 2) and only 1 per cent was looking for work. In East Pakistan, the unemployed constituted only 0.49 per cent as against 1.7 per cent in West Pakistan. These figures reflect no large-scale reported unemployment in rural areas, a common fact in most agricultural underdeveloped countries. They presumably conceal large-scale *under*-employment. The higher figure of *un*employment reported from West Pakistan is a healthy sign. It should be viewed not as an indication of worse employment-situation, but as a sign of the healthier situation where *un*employment is no longer concealed as *under*employment but comes to the surface and is reported even in general-purpose enquiries like the census.