

Second and Third Release from the Second Population Census of Pakistan, 1961

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This brief review of the second¹ and third² census bulletins from the 1961 census of Pakistan is second in a series³ of review articles by the Demographic Section of the Institute of Development Economics on the census publications. This review is really a supplement to the first in so far as the second and third bulletins are, by and large, final confirmations of the first bulletin, though the third bulletin also provides a long series of detailed figures for small areas.

The second census bulletin gives the final results of some of the information collected during the 1961 census, the provisional summaries of which were published in the first bulletin. It, however, does not reproduce the literacy, houses and household data and some of the urban information from the first bulletin. Instead, it provides some additional information on population by rural-urban and religious classifications. Besides, the second release contains statistical notes on (a) growth of population, (b) rural and urban growth of population, and (c) religion. These differences between the two successive census bulletins are important and the additional information returned will form the subject matter of discussion in this article.

The third bulletin (published on 30th November, 1961, released in the second half of January 1962 and containing the final release of thanas in East Pakistan and tehsils in West Pakistan) represents the information of the second bulletin and extends it from districts already given in the second bulletin to thanas in East Pakistan and tehsils in West Pakistan. Thanas are the fourth administrative layer in East Pakistan, after divisions, districts and sub-divisions. Tehsils (talukas in Hyderabad and Khairpur divisions: the old Sind province) are the third administrative layer in West Pakistan, after divisions and districts. However, this does not mean that tehsils are

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1. Government of Pakistan, *Population Census of Pakistan, 1961. Final Tables of Population. Sex, Urban-Rural, Religion. Census Bulletin No. 1.* Summary release by districts. Published on 31st October, 1961. (Karachi: Office of the Census Commissioner, Ministry of Home Affairs).

2. Government of Pakistan, *Population Census of Pakistan, 1961. Final Tables of Population. Sex, Urban-Rural, Religion. Census Bulletin No. 2.* Final release by thanas in East Pakistan and tehsils in West Pakistan. (Karachi: Office of the Census Commissioner, Ministry of Home Affairs, Published on 30th November, 1961 (distributed in second half of January, 1962).

3. The first in this series was:

Karol J. Krotki, "First Release from the Second Population Census of Pakistan, 1961", *The Pakistan Development Review*, Vol. 1, No. 2, Autumn 1961, pp. 67-77.

any larger population-wise than thanas, because divisions, and consequently districts in West Pakistan, are very substantially smaller than divisions in East Pakistan.

Following the table of contents in the second and third bulletins, the points discussed in this review are:

1. growth of population during the intercensal period, 1951-61,
2. rural and urban growth of population,
3. growth and geographical distribution of religious groups in Pakistan,
4. density,
5. masculinity ratio, and
6. frontier regions.

Growth of Population

The provisional total population of 93,812,000 for Pakistan in the first bulletin was reduced by about 11,000 in the final tables of bulletin No. 2, a very minor difference. This seems to speak of a quite high efficiency with which the original enumerator's count was carried out.

However, there is apparently some confusion in the bulletin with regard to the calculation of rates of growth of population in Pakistan. For Pakistan three different rates of growth (23.8 per cent [23.85 per cent in the third bulletin], 23.7 per cent and 23.5 per cent [23.6 in the third bulletin]) are shown on pages 4, 7 (6 in the third bulletin) and 14 respectively. In fact, excluding foreign nationals and Pakistanis abroad, both in diplomatic missions and otherwise, the population in Pakistan during the last intercensal period increased reportedly by 23.8 per cent.

How the accuracy of the reported rate can be greatly affected by differential biases in the two censuses of 1951 and 1961 was critically shown in the previous review of the census bulletin No. 14. To get an estimate of the actual rate of growth in Pakistan for the last intercensal period estimates of the true population of Pakistan in 1951 and 1961 are necessary; alternatively both census totals with the assumption of equal biases could be used. As for the estimate of the true population of Pakistan in 1951⁵, the results of the 1951 census have been now available for almost ten year with only one detailed study having been undertaken to investigate the possible errors⁶. On the other hand, a full-scale study of the accuracy and reliability of the results of 1961 census cannot be undertaken until the age and sex data become available.

4. Karol J. Krotki, *op. cit.*, p. 69.

5. For purposes of estimates of future population of Pakistan several authorities tried to assume some base population figures. See, W. Parker Mauldin and S. Shah Hashmi, "Illustrative Estimates and Projections of the Population of Pakistan, 1951-91, *Population Growth and Economic Development*. (Karachi: the Institute of Development Economics, 1960. pp. 72-73).

6. M. Sanallah, "An Estimate of the Total Population of Pakistan in 1951", unpublished mimeographed paper, (Bombay: Demographic Training and Research Centre, 1961).

If it is assumed for the sake of argument that both censuses suffer from similar biases and to the same extent, the reported rate of 23.8 per cent can be treated as real rate of growth for Pakistan during the last intercensal period, 1951-61. This increase in population is much higher than anything experienced in Pakistan so far. The figures on the covers of the two bulletins illustrate the fact that the population of present-day Pakistan grew in each intercensal period since 1901 by about five million, with the possible exception of the 1941 disturbance caused by the intercommunal competition. In the last period, it grew by 18 million. This unprecedented growth, while generally surprising, was not unexpected by demographic analysts⁷.

It is difficult to say exactly what was the reason for this unusual increase. Of the three factors of population growth, namely, fertility, mortality and migration, there seem to be a consensus about the relative stability of the first during 1951-61⁸. For the last data are lacking and it cannot be said how it affected the total population. But it may be pointed out that the overall effect of migration on the total population is not likely to be significant. Even a net loss or gain by migration of one million people since 1951—and no one suggests a figure of that magnitude—would mean a decrease in the total percentage growth since 1951 to 22.5 per cent, or an increase to 25.1 per cent, in either case a high growth rate. Much of the extraordinary increase in population, therefore, will have to be explained in terms of improvements in mortality conditions in Pakistan during the last intercensal period.

East Pakistan Versus West Pakistan Population Growth

The bulletins under review exhibit similar confusion with regard to the calculation of growth rates in East and West Pakistan as they do in the case of Pakistan as a whole. They show two different rates of 21.2 per cent and 20.9 per cent for East Pakistan on pages 4 and 7 (6 in the third bulletin) respectively. Similarly growth rates of 27.0 per cent and 27.1 per cent are shown for West Pakistan on pages 4 and 7 (6 in the third bulletin) respectively. These differences in rates of growth are probably due to lack of one definite definition of total population for the two provinces as well as for the whole country.

The bulletins state that the population of West Pakistan has grown at a rate higher than that of East Pakistan during each of the last six censuses.

7. Karol J. Krotki, "A First Glance at Pakistan's Age Distribution", *The Pakistan Development Review*, Vol. I, No. 1, Summer 1961. pp. 64-75.

8. (a) U.N., *The Population of Asia and the Far East, 1950-80, Report IV*. (New York: Department of Economic and Social Affairs, 1959, p. 56).

(b) W. Parker Mauldin and S. Shah Hashmi assumed implicitly that fertility in Pakistan would remain constant at least till 1961 (*See*, Mauldin and Hashmi, *op. cit.*, p. 70).

(c) The fertility level as estimated from the proportion of children reported in 1951 census is 50 and 44 births per 1000 population in East and West Pakistan respectively (*See*, Sanaullah, *op. cit.*, p. 6).

It also states that "at this rate West Pakistan's total population is likely to catch up with East Pakistan's in a few more decades" (p. 6, [p. 7 in the third bulletin]).

During the last 60 years East Pakistan population has grown from 28.9 million to 50.8 million, an increase of about 75 per cent. During the same period West Pakistan population has grown from 16.6 million to 42.9 million, an increase of about 157 per cent. The recorded rate of increase of West Pakistan, therefore, has been a little over twice as high as in East Pakistan. Could this be due solely to higher natural increase in West Pakistan or also to some extraneous factors, such as migration? A full answer to this question would require an elaborate study. In this place it can only be pointed out that during the period under consideration West Pakistan gained substantial numbers, due to the immigration of agriculturists into West Pakistan when large areas in the Punjab and Sind were opened to agriculture through irrigation schemes. It also gained about 1.8 million refugees from India⁹ upto 1951. From now (1961) onwards, these factors of canal and refugee migrations are not likely to occur in any significant scale.

United Nations' demographic experts have estimated the fertility of East Pakistan to be of a higher level than that of West Pakistan on the basis of census data during the past 30 years prior to 1951¹⁰. The population of territories to which East Pakistan is more similar than West Pakistan (Burma, Malaya, Thailand, Indonesia, The Philippines, etc.) show similarly higher fertility. Low rates of growth in East Pakistan prior to 1941 can be explained either by very high mortality or considerable emigration to big cities like Calcutta, Rangoon, etc., or a combination of both. The lower rate of growth of East Pakistan during the last two intercensal periods is explained by the Bengal Famine of 1943 and the emigration of the Hindus following the Partition in 1947. The Hindus grew only by .15 per cent during 1951-61. However, to bring the 21 per cent increase in East Pakistan say to the 27.0 per cent increase in West Pakistan would require an explanation about the fate of over 2.5 million people. Nobody suggests that eight or nine million Hindu community in East Pakistan experienced that order of losses by migration. And even if it were migration, it was migration in continuation of about 60 years old process.

The future growth of population in East and West Pakistan will mainly be determined by fertility since factors of migration and mortality are likely to be minimized. The implication, in these circumstances, would be that considering demographic factors alone the population of East Pakistan has a potentiality to expand more rapidly in the near future than the population of West Pakistan. The above contention gets strength from the fact that during the last intercensal period, 1951-61, the Muslim population of East Pakistan increased by 26.9 per cent as against the 27.0 per cent growth of the Muslims in West Pakistan. And this in spite of the fact that East Pakistan has probably continued to experience higher mortality, and that West Pakistan

9. U.N., *op. cit.*, p. 52.

10. *Ibid.*, p. 54.

may have received considerable numbers of Muslim refugees from India during the period.

Foreign Nationals

Foreign nationals and Pakistanis abroad, both in diplomatic missions and otherwise, have received too much attention in the bulletins. The bulletins rightly devote one page at the beginning to make clear that the census was carried out on the '*de-jure*' basis and also to point out the exceptions. Since for practical purposes the inclusion or exclusion of one hundred thousand foreign nationals and about four thousand Pakistanis in Pakistan missions abroad has no significance to the total population of the country, this initial statement should have been enough. Instead the second bulletin devotes about one-fourth of its total number of pages (16 pages) to the detailed tabulation of foreign nationals by districts in Pakistan and of Pakistanis in Pakistan missions by countries of the world.

One more point in connection with the foreign nationals in Pakistan is that the 1961 census enumeration has returned 111,369 foreign nationals as against the total foreign nationals of 206,669 [p. 4 in third bulletin] in 1951 census. It may be genuine that many of the foreign nationals have been naturalized or many of them may have left Pakistan since 1951. But one common sense assumption about this striking phenomenon of reduction in the number of foreigners in Pakistan to half its 1951 level is that many foreigners may have escaped the enumeration in 1961 census.

Rural-Urban Growth of Populations

The growth rate in the rural population of Pakistan has increased from 8.8 per cent during 1901-11 to 19.7 per cent during 1951-61. On the other hand, the urban sector has grown by 8.5 per cent during 1901-11 and 56.1 per cent during 1951-61. The urban rate of growth is much higher than that in the rural sector. Even if the natural increase rate in the urban areas were the same as in the rural areas, a somewhat unusual stipulation, it would be obvious how much the urban areas drew on the rural sector. The rural sector is the place where the bulk of the growth of population takes place and the urban sector, as the tax collector, siphons off part of this growth in the form of rural-urban migration.

In spite of this very rapid growth in the urban population, the country remains predominantly rural (87 per cent). The pace of urbanization during the last intercensal period has not been any more impressive than it was during 1941-51, although the bulletins under review regard it as a big jump (p. 15). The proportion of the urban population in the total population of Pakistan increased from 7.9 per cent in 1941 to 10.4 per cent in 1951, an increase of 2.5 percentage points during 1941-51 as against its increase of 2.7 percentage points during 1951-61.

Religion

The geographical distribution of major religious groups show that out of the 10 million Hindu population of Pakistan, 9.4 million are in East Pakistan and constitute 18.4 per cent of the total population of that province.

East Pakistan has also in its population .7 per cent Budhists, and .3 per cent Christians. In West Pakistan, Christians are the second most important religious group with 1.4 per cent as against the Muslims who constitute 97.2 per cent of the total population in the province. The western wing of Pakistan, therefore, is more homogeneous than the eastern wing in respect of religious composition.

Statement 4-B (p. 18) shows that the increase in Hindu population has always been less than that of Muslims. The still lower than in earlier intercensal periods increase rates of the Hindus during 1941-51 and 1951-61 can be attributed as it has been pointed out earlier to the exchange of population between Pakistan and India following the Partition in 1947. The lower rates of growth of the Hindus prior to the 1941 census could also be explained, at least partly, by the fact that the Hindus in the areas of present day Pakistan, especially in East Pakistan, gradually migrated out to the areas presently in India¹¹.

Density

Two sets of density figures, one including and the other excluding the river areas, are presented for East Pakistan. This method clearly shows the difference the existence of rivers make in density in East Pakistan. Noakhali district has the highest proportion of river area and inclusion or exclusion of river areas makes a difference of 183 persons per sq. mile (about 71 persons per sq. km.) in its density, a difference of about 14 per cent.

The provisional total area figures of 364,373 sq. miles (943, 627 sq. km.) for Pakistan as was published in the census bulletin No. 1, is increased by 1,131 sq. miles (2,929 sq. km.) to 365,504 sq. miles (946,655 sq. km.) in the second bulletin. The effect of this revision on the overall density of Pakistan and East Pakistan is not significant. In the case of West Pakistan, however, the revision has reduced the density only by 1 from 139 to 138.

The reported relative increase of density during 1951-61 is 21 per cent and 27 per cent in East and West Pakistan respectively (Statement 2-G, p. 13). But it is interesting to see that the absolute increase in density in East Pakistan is five and a half times that in West Pakistan and about one and half times the average density in West Pakistan in 1951.

Masculinity Ratio

A two-point drop in the masculinity ratio (males per 100 females) in Pakistan from 113 in 1951 to 111 in 1961 will look as a change in the more plausible direction, because in no other country of the world with the size of Pakistan's population has a masculinity ratio of 113 or 111 ever been reported. A very high masculinity ratio still remains a unique peculiarity of Pakistan population, although it gets only partial appreciation in the bulletin. The bulletin has limited the discussion of high masculinity ratio to urban areas only. About the reason of the two-point fall in the masculinity ratio

¹¹. See, E. H. Slade, *Census of Pakistan, 1951, Vol. I, Pakistan Reports and Tables*. (Karachi: The Manager of Publications, Government of Pakistan, p. 26).

in 1961 as compared to that in 1951, the present writer feels that it was the result of partly better coverage of females in the 1961 census and partly improvements in the female mortality conditions¹² during 1951-61. The Indian masculinity ratio is much below that of Pakistan and is still higher than the average experience in the world population. The latest change in India's masculinity ratio from 105.6 in 1951 to 106.4 in 1961 would seem to be a change in a less expected and more unusual direction.

Statement 3-D in the second bulletin under review shows the sex composition as masculinity ratios (males per 100 females), while in Tables 1, 2 and 3 it is shown as femininity ratios. The use of both masculinity and femininity ratios in one publication to show the sex composition of a population is unusual and unnecessarily confusing to the reader. It may be noted that outside the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent the masculinity ratio is more frequently in use in demographic publications. Uniformity of that kind facilitates record.

Frontier Regions

The total population of 3,437,939 for the Frontier Regions of West Pakistan is the product of a combination of estimate and three different types of enumeration methods, namely, Pakistan Standard Individual Census Schedule, Tribal Individual Schedule and Special Family Schedule for Tribes. Estimate, however, provides two-thirds of the total. When adequate and reliable data are available for the application of scientific methods, estimate is more dependable than full count. But in view of the limited data relating to the population of the Frontier Regions only a guess is possible and the result will be known as 'guestimate' in standard terminology. It is always useful to add a short note about how the guess is made. The masculinity ratio for the estimated population of the Frontier Regions comes to about 106 as against the masculinity ratio of 114 for the enumerated population. There is no means to know which is correct. Any subsequent attempt at scientific analysis of data derived from such guestimates will produce more often than not unreliable results.

Thanks are due, however, to the census authorities for responding to the needs of researchers by separately presenting the relevant population characteristics of the Frontier Regions. This will prevent the researchers from barking up the wrong tree.

Miscellany

If the second bulletin No. 2 was not yet ready for final publication the reason for the early and incomplete release is not understood. The third bulletin (also No. 2) following the earlier bulletin No. 2 is likely to lead to confusion in referencing and cataloguing.

Documents such as the bulletins under review are necessarily a result of lot of hasty abstraction, compilation and proof-reading, since they have to be out of the press within a fixed and short period of time. In the second

¹² Krotki, *op. cit.*, *The Pakistan Development Review*, Autumn 1961, p. 71.

bulletin, some errors are corrected in ink. Of the remaining many errors at least one where the last intercensal increase for West Pakistan is shown as 11 million (p. 6) is very serious when compared with the true figure of 9.1 million.

The total areas for Karachi Municipal Corporation, Civil Cantonment and other Cantonments in 1951 (230 sq. miles¹³ or 596 sq. km.) and in 1961 (132 sq. miles or 342 sq. km. on page 64 of the third bulletin under review) are incomparable and need an explanatory note.

An examination of the district figures as shown in the second bulletin brings out certain peculiarities of the district populations of Pakistan in 1961. These peculiarities may have arisen mainly because the calculations are based on small populations, those of districts. Nevertheless they are presented here to indicate the need for further research to increase the understanding of these peculiarities of the population of Pakistan.

Three districts, Barisal and Dinajpur in East Pakistan and Campbellpur in West Pakistan, show negative urban rate of growth of—1.0 per cent,—.9 per cent and —1.3 per cent respectively. Besides, nine more districts of Pakistan show urban rates of growth which are less than the rate of growth of the total population of Pakistan, namely, 2.38 per cent, during 1951-61. Such low urban rate of growth may raise the possibility that the phenomenon of less-than-complete coverage of urban population in 1951 repeated itself during the 1961 census enumeration to a greater extent, which is difficult to accept in view of the general improvements in enumeration in the last census.

Caste Hindus in East Pakistan show an annual growth rates of 2.7 per cent or more during the last intercensal period in four districts (Rajshahi, Dinajpur, Bogra and Chittagong Hill Tracts) with Bogra hitting the high mark of 3.2 per cent. In the district of Kushtia they have grown by 2.5 per cent. These rates do not compare unfavourably with the 2.7 per cent growth of Muslims in East Pakistan. But in other districts their growth rates are very low, even negative in three districts of which the caste Hindus of Noakhali show the lowest (—1.5 per cent). The Schedule Caste Hindus show still lower rate of growth. They have grown by —.12 per cent in East Pakistan as against the overall growth rate of .48 per cent of the Caste Hindus in East Pakistan. Population movements that started following Partition in 1947 may have their role in distorting the growth pattern of the Hindus in East Pakistan. Lower socio-economic status of the Schedule Caste people and lack of their landed property may have facilitated their greater mobility as compared to that of the Caste Hindus. Besides, they may have experienced a higher mortality being the members of backward and lower socio-economic groups.

¹³. See, Government of Pakistan, *Census of Pakistan, 1951. Urban and Rural Population and Area (Tables 1 and 1 A). Census Bulletin No. 3.* (Karachi: Office of the Census Commissioner, Ministry of Interior, September, 1952. p. 11).