MONOGRAPHS IN THE ECONOMICS OF DEVELOPMENT

No. 15

The People of Karachi Economic Characteristics

GHAZI MUMTAZ FAROOQ

JULY 1966

PAKISTAN INSTITUTE OF DEVELOPMENT ECONOMICS
Old Sind Assembly Building
Bunder Road, Karachi
(Pakistan)

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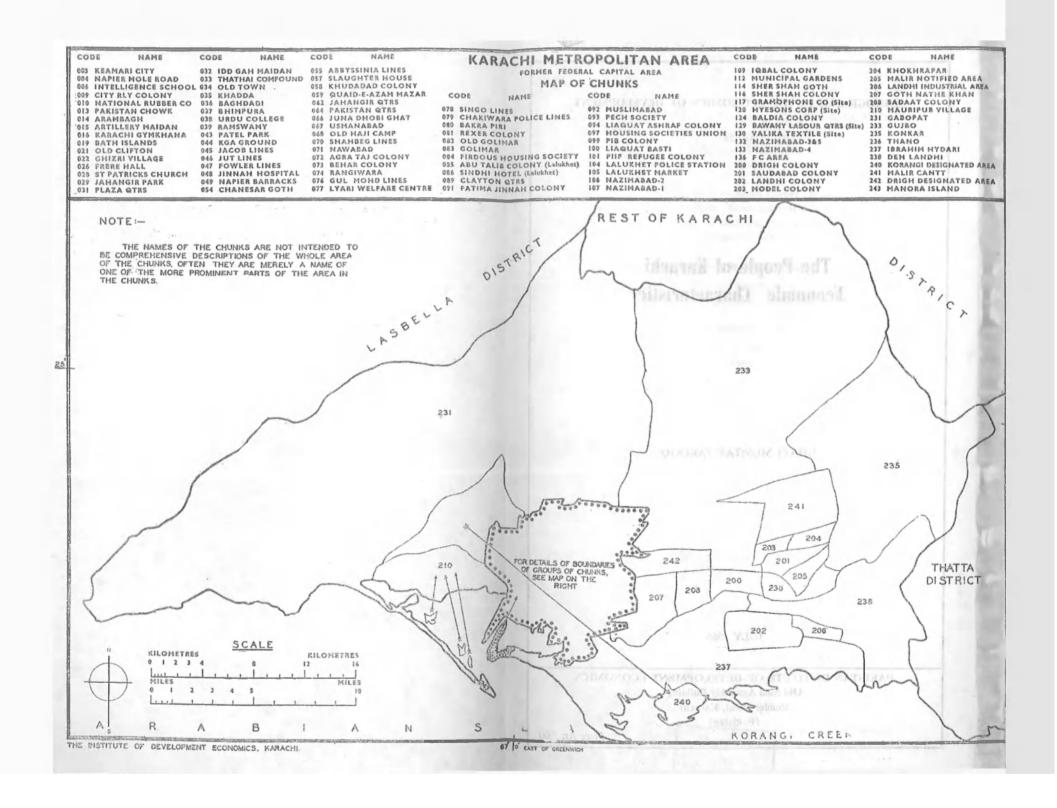
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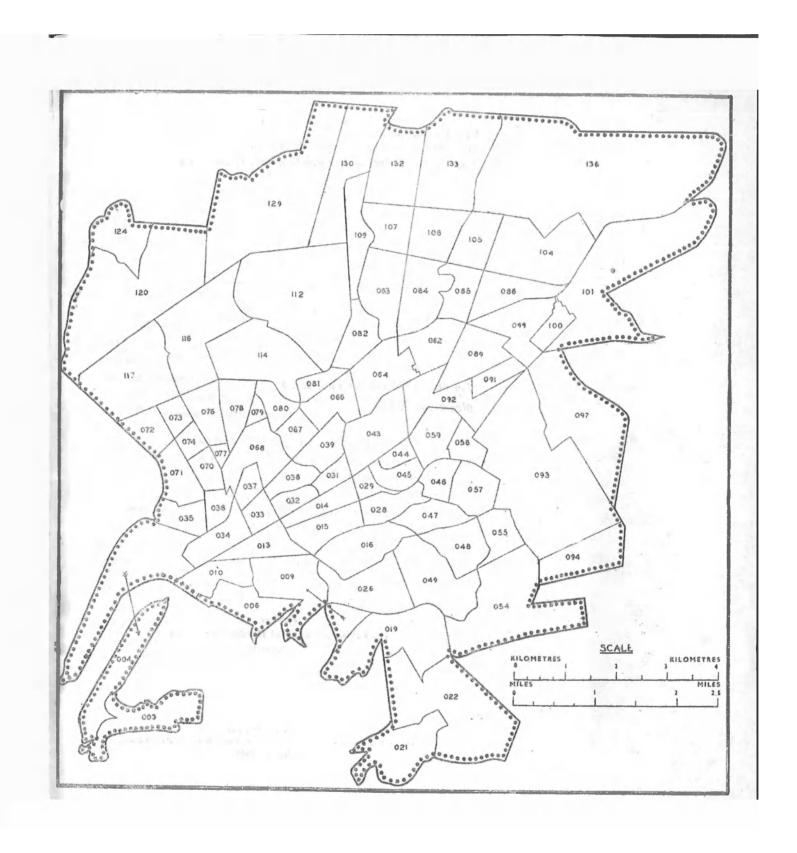
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FOREWORD

This monograph completes the series of studies based on the "People of Karachi" survey conducted by the Pakistan Institute of Development Economics in 1959 and 1960. For a variety of reasons the completion of these studies has been long-delayed. They have, as a result, lost some of their timeliness and perhaps some of their usefulness for policy purposes as well. Nonetheless, taken altogether, these "People of Karachi" monographs provide us with a comprehensive picture of the social, economic and demographic characteristics of the largest metropolitan area in Pakistan at a fairly recent point in time. They also cast light on the evolutionary processes which shaped Karachi in the first decade after the creation of Pakistan and, by inference, on the processes which continue to shape the city today. The value and importance of the studies is, therefore, clear.

Mr. Ghazi Mumtaz Farooq, the author of the present study, was responsible for this monograph from beginning to the end. He received help and guidance from a number of the senior staff members of this Institute, most notably Dr. Sultan S. Hashmi and Drs. Martin Sanders, but the basic outline developed, the analytical approach to the data and the final writing of the text represent his own efforts. The limitations of the study are chiefly ones inherent in the data. Mr. Farooq has done, in my judgement, the best that could reasonably be expected, given these limitations.

July 4, 1966

Warren C. Robinson Research Advisor

PREFACE

The present study on economic characteristics is the last in the series of three monographs based on the data published as *Statistical Papers*: No. 2. The People of Karachi: Data from a Survey. Chapter 4 of this monograph contains a special study made by Matlub Hussain, revised and condensed by this author.

The author wishes to express his deep sense of gratitude to Dr. Warren C. Robinson, Research Advisor at the Institute for his suggestions on the approach followed, for his guidance at each stage of the study, for his comments on earlier drafts and most of all for his encouragement—the most important factor behind the completion of this study. The author also owes sincere thanks to Dr. Sultan S. Hashmi and Drs. Martin Sanders, Senior Research Demographer and Research Advisor, respectively at the Institute, for their critical reading of an earlier version of this monograph. He also appreciates the earlier work done on this study by Amir Mohammad Siddiqui and Mrs. Yasmin Azra Jan and the computational assistance rendered by A.D. Bhatti and D.M. Farooq. A.D. Bhatti also helped by drawing the illustrations.

Acknowledgement would be incomplete without reference to the laudable efforts of Mr. M. Zaman, Publication Officer of the Institute, who technically edited the monograph and brought it into the present shape.

GHAZI MUMTAZ FAROOQ
Staff Economist

June 28, 1966

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CHAPTER 1

SCOPE AND LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

1.0 Introduction

The present volume completes the series of studies on the "People of Karachi" undertaken by the Pakistan Institute of Development Economics. Earlier numbers in the series included one statistical paper [3] and two monographs, one dealing with demographic characteristics [2] and the other with the social characteristics [4]. The present one deals with the economic characteristics of the people of Karachi and is primarily based on the sample survey data, collected in 1959 and 1960, tabulated and published in a compact form by the Institute in its statistical series [3].

The complexities of the modern urban living and the newly emerging socio-economic patterns resulting from the rapid growth of Karachi put the social scientists face to face with innumerable demographic, social and economic problems which this process of urbanism brought in its wake. It was, in part, to bring to limelight these problems and to discuss and analyse their consequences that the Institute embarked upon this major project. A comprehensive study of city life had never been attempted before in Pakistan. The few surveys previously undertaken [1; 5; 6], though providing invaluable information, were very much deficient in analytical content.

The universe of the survey consisted of a 3½ per cent random sample of the population of the former Federal Capital Area of Karachi stretching over an area of 2,102 square kilometres with 1803.2 thousand man household population (i.e., population living in institutions

¹ This area, as shown on map on pages (ii) and (iii) is approximately the metropolitan area or Greater Karachi, different from the concepts of Karachi used in the 1961 Census and the present district of Karachi. For simplicity, the word Karachi is used throughout this study to refer to the area surveyed.

The "Karachi District" comprises the 1959 Federal Capital Area (the area covered in the survey) plus the 37 villages of Thatta District with an area of 3,515 square kilometres. It includes the Municipal Corporation, Cantonment Board and rural talukas, which is the third-layer administrative unit, after divisions and districts in former Sind province.

and open places were excluded from the survey, For more details, see [3, pp. 1-20; 2, pp. 1-10].

1.1 Scope of the Study

Karachi is the most important industrial and commercial centre of the country, but for the most part it is a new city. Partition of Indo-Pakistan subcontinent which enforced inter-country migration, absolutely unparalleled in the world history [9, p. 110] resulted in a great influx of refugees into Karachi. The rate of migration from the other parts of Pakistan itself to Karachi was also greater than that to any other city. This huge migration into the city turned it from a medium-sized port and administrative centre into a commercial and industrial metropolis², giving birth to a host of economic and social problems.

The present study has four broad objectives:

- i) to make contributions to the existing knowledge about the economic conditions of this largest urban agglomeration of the country; and to set a model for future studies of this nature;
- ii) to provide material and workable estimates to the planners to plan for the satisfaction of future needs in different spheres of human activity;
- iii) to analyse the past course and on this basis to foretell about the future trends (conditioned by the availability of sufficient data);
- iv) to develop some hypotheses about the economic structure of the city, which may be tested in the settings of other urban population agglomerations.

1.2 Limitations of the Data

In the process of collecting statistics of any kind (whether pertaining to a decennial census or vital registration records or a sample survey)

² According to the 1941 Census, Karachi had a population of 436 thousand and the 1951 Census estimated a figure of 1.126 million. From the survey data it is estimated that as of April 1959, Karachi had a population of 1.840 million and as of February 1, 1961 (census data), it had increased to 2.044 million [2, pp. 18-19].

various errors occur and biases arise ³. Sample surveys (e.g., the present Karachi survey) are furthermore subject to sampling errors and response problem. Any analysis of data which fails to take account of such limitations cannot give a true picture of the activities actually carried out by a population.

Of the important limitations, non-availability of comparable data over time ranks first. Our survey was restricted to one year of activity (1959). The census reports of 1951 and 1961 were often found to be lacking in relevent details particularly needed for this study. For instance, census report of 1951 did not mention exclusively the figure of unemployed persons for Karachi, nor did any of the censuses mention labour force participation by marital status. There was no information about migration, which had been mainly responsible for population growth of 158.4 per cent during the decade 1941-51 [2, pp. 18-19] nor about migrant groups (i.e., in-migrants and immigrants) and natives which as the present study shows have diverse economic characteristics. Finally, the two censuses were inconsistent with our sample survey. There were differences of definition. Most basically, the definition of the labour force was different (as discussed in Chapter 2). The coding systems and classifications of industrial and occupational distributions were also different, making the comparison difficult even by broad industrial and/ or occupational categories. Due to these considerations, we have to be content with the reporting of sample survey as the comparison with 1951 and 1961 Census information was only very occasionally possible.

Comments regarding the quality of the census data for Karachi have been made in an earlier study by Hashmi [2, pp. 8-9]. Here we will only refer to some important errors in the survey data. In particular, the reporting of income is questionable. There is an apparent underestimation of incomes. An inherent mistake in the survey was overlooking of the imputed rent of owner-occupied non-farm dwellings (such as houses, shops, etc.,) which has to be included in income estimation. The imputed rent (according to one typical usage) is the "gross returns which the owner-occupants of non-farm dwellings could theoretically have realized, had they offered their houses for rent, less their expenses" [8, p. 168]. A right method would have been to ascertain the

³ For a detailed discussion of the nature of biases and errors, see [7, Chapter XII].

number of owner-occupied houses and shops in the survey sample with instructions to the enumerators to base the estimates on rents actually being charged for similar dwellings in the neighbourhood.

Income reporting also seems to suffer from response problem. There is apparent underreporting of persons in the higher income groups, particularly in that of Rs. 1000-or-more per month. The survey cites only 5,300 earners in this income category which appears to be gross underestimation. In 1959 more than 23 thousand private cars were registered in Karachi Police Head Office 4. It can be argued that a car can only be owned and maintained by a person earning not less than Rs. 1000. It is rare that persons having income of less than Rs. 1000 can own a car. Even accounting for this, it appears that in view of it being the most industrialized and developed city of the country the number of persons earning Rs. 1000 or more in Karachi may be much larger than stated by the survey. Furthermore, this income group of "Rs. 1000 or more" by itself is too broad an income category. Whereas there are as many as nine income groups below Rs. 1000 (including a no-income group) no classification of incomes above Rs. 1000 has been made. There should have been at least three or four groups of earners having incomes of Rs. 1000 or more to get a clear idea of large income earners. Such specific classification of higher incomes becomes very important for a city characterized by a large number of big commercial and industrial concerns. Persons whose personal income comes to Rs. 25,000 or more (number of such earners may not be less) cannot be grouped together with those who are earning only Rs. 1000 or even Rs. 2000. On interpretation, such data will give a distorted picture of the situation.

Finally, the survey data were collected at two different periods with a time lapse of about 21 months inbetween [3, Section 0.3]. "Although adjustments have been made to compensate for the growth of population which had occurred in the area covered by the second phase, some bias may have crept in due to change in the demographic, economic and social characteristics during the period" [2, p. 8].

⁴ Source: Karachi Police Head Office.

There are again problems of data, particular to specific topics, e.g., child labour, occupational and industrial distribution, earning status, etc. These are discussed in relevant chapters.

However, despite all these limitations, the scientific base of the survey cannot be questioned. The result of our study are important and meaningful.

1.3 Outline of the Study

The study is cast into eight chapters. Chapter 2 explores the problems of measurement of manpower. It examines the influence of age and marital status on participation in economic activity. Certain population groups—the women, aged and children, whose labour force activity is of special interest and importance are also studied and a comparison with other principal cities and/or rural areas is attempted in order to arrive at certain generalizations about labour force participation of these special population groups in a developing country.

Chapter 3 is devoted to the study of industrial and occupational distributions of labour force by migrant status and it highlights the relative economic positions of the migrant groups and natives in the society.

Chapter 4 contains a special study on "Industrial Entrepreneurship in Karachi" done originally by Matlub Hussain. The present author is responsible for presenting this study in a summarized and concise form with appropriate amendments and improvements. The study is based on a completely different sample from that used in the "People of Karachi" study. It deals primarily with the measurement of relative shares of different migrant groups and natives in the present stock of entrepreneurs in Karachi, the occupational mobility and the factors responsible for it.

Chapter 5 is devoted to the measurement of vertical occupational mobility and the causal factors at work here.

Chapter 6 explores the impact of income distribution on economic life of the city, revealing some of the important socio-economic characteristics of the people. It investigates the relationship between family income and family size, and an attempt is made to test this relationship statistically. Relationships are also formulated between income

and age of worker, income by industry and sex, and income and distance to the workplace.

Chapter 7 measures dependent population. The influence of migration status, sex and age factor on dependency ratio is also examined.

Implications emerging from the analysis and summary of the arguments appears in Chapter 8.

The study also contains three appendices. Glossary is treated in Appendix C. Appendix B presents selected tables, which provide important data to support the main study and Appendix A gives the enumeration chart, used in the original survey.

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CHAPTER 2

MANPOWER RESOURCES, AND LABOUR FORCE PARTICIPATION RATES

2.0 Manpower Resources

Manpower has long been recognised in the literature on economic development as an important determinant of economic growth; more so in a developing economy where manpower is usually an abundant factor relative to other resources. Hence it deserves a careful, critical and objective consideration along with physical resources. A separate study of manpower is even more urgent as it appears to be different in nature from other resources for i) its adaptability to a vast variety of operations and techniques, ii) capability of shifting from one task to another 1, iii) the complexity of the human personalities, iv) its perishability 2.

2.0.1 Terminology: To avoid any ambiguity later on of terminology we must clearly state what we mean by manpower. The term "manpower" is generally used in a sense seemingly identical to working force, but technically it referes to the potential or maximum working force available to an economy [11, p. 16]. The "working force" is generally conceived as that portion of the population which is economically active. The term "economically active population is generally understood to comprise all those persons who contribute to the supply of labour for the production of economic goods and services including those unemployed but available for work" [19, p. 1].

Hence, manpower refers to the totality of human resources available to an economy and so corresponds closely to the economic definition of 'labour' [22, p. 2] 3. Quantitatively it refers to the number of actual or

¹ For example, in the United States during World War II, approximately one-third of the nation's manpower changed occupation [22, p. 4].

² For a detailed discussion of the nature of manpower, see [22, pp. 3-5].

³ For convenience, terms such as "economically active population" and "persons participating in economic activity" are sometimes used as equivalent of "labour force" and "labourers" in this monograph.

potential workers in a population and is measured in units of persons and not units of work [3, p. 262].

2.1 Measurement of Manpower

There are two main standards of approximating manpower. One is the "gainful-worker" measure. It is not restricted to a specific period of time, but covers all persons with an occupation or "gainful work" regardless of when the work was exactly done. The other standard, generally known as labour force, represents all those who are able to work and are actually at work or seeking work at a particular time.

Both in the 1959 Survey [5] and 1961 Census [14], labour force was taken as measure of manpower. But the different definitions of labour force used necessitates a comparison of the two.

2.1.1 Comparison of Definitions: In the survey, "all persons who were gainfully employed or were actively seeking job at the time of enquiry are included in the labour force. Unpaid family workers are also included in this category" [5, p. 18].

In the 1961 Census, a person 10 years-and-over was included in the labour force if he or she:

- 1) was working for profit or earning wages or salary;
- ii) was helping any member of his family on the farm, etc.;
- iii) was not working but looking for work (during the last week if a person was non-agricultural worker, and no reference period if a person was an agricultural worker) [14].

The 1961 Census definition differs from that of the survey in that the former did not take into account children below 10 years of age who were actually working. This resulted in a deliberate understatement of age group 10-14 in favour of age group 5-9 [7, p-56] as it saved the enumerators time which otherwise would have been spent in filling out lengthy and complicated forms. The survey, by including children under 10 years of age in the definition, not only avoids the above difficulty, but provides better coverage of manpower.

It would seem that the survey definition, though better than that used in the 1961 Census, is by itself crude as it neglects the potential

workers. However in the absence of any other measure, labour force seems to be the only appropriate standard of manpower.

2.2 Relationship between Manpower and Population

Figure 2.1 depicts clearly the intimate relationship between population and manpower. About 32 per cent of Karachi's total population in 1959 was classified as labour force, the proportion being larger in the central age group of 15 to 65 years than in the very young or very old age groups. The declining participation rate of the aged persons becomes evident from Figure 2.1 while almost all the persons between 20-59 (males) are in the labour force 4.

An important observation that emerges from our study is that while the male participation ratio is purely and technically a function of age, the magnitude of female labour force is mainly determined by social customs and conventions in vogue.

2.3 Labour Force Participation Rates by Sex and Marital Status

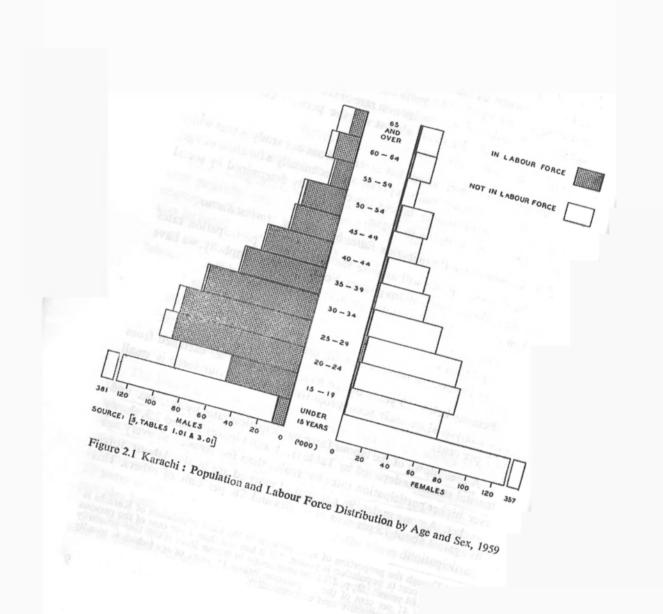
In this section, we will analyse the labour force participation rates for the various marital status groups. For the sake of simplicity, we have taken only three marital status groups:

- a) Single
- b) Married
- c) Others, including widowed, divorced and separated.

Persons below 15 years of age have been altogether excluded from this analysis since their total proportion in the labour force is small (1.7 per cent).

A breakdown of the labour force participation rates by age, sex and marital status, as depicted by Table II. 1 and Figures 2.2 and 2.3, shows ever higher participation rates for males than for females at every age bracket. Among males, 96 per cent of married are in the labour force as against about 75 per cent of singles and 78 per cent of others. This participation

⁴ Though the proportion of aged persons in the total population of Karachi is only 2 per cent (a population is young, "if it has less than 4 per cent of the persons above age 64 years" [21, p. 27]) the proportion in labour force is still low primarily because of 41 per cent of the population below 15 years of age (which is usually regarded as unproductive ages economically).



rate pattern, except for age group 45-49, persists at every age, *i.e.*, the married men have significantly larger proportions. This clearly speaks of the heavy financial responsibilities shouldered by married men. More than nine-tenths of the married men in 15-19 age group are in labour force as compared to only 54 per cent of the single males⁵.

Even in the 60 years-and-over age group participation rate for married is higher than that for any other group. It reflects an interesting social phenomenon, that not only do the married join the labour force much earlier than singles, but also that a married man, even if there is somebody to replace him for supporting the family, may like to work under the urge of his sense of duty.

On the other hand, the single males join the labour force late and leave it earlier. The participation rate for single males in the age group 50 years-and-over declines sharply, their highest participation rates being in the age group 25-49 (90 per cent and higher).

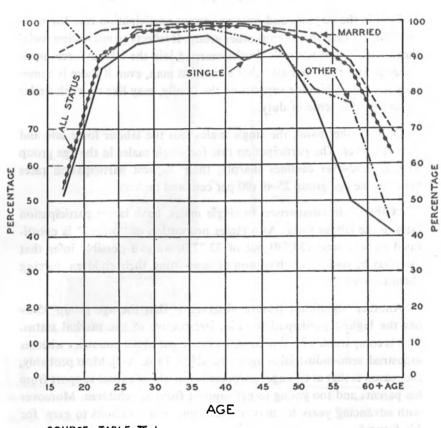
"Others", in comparison to single males, have larger participation rates in the labour force. As a larger proportion of "others" is constituted by widowers (30,550 out of 32,775), we can possibly infer that they may be under the obligation of supporting their children, forcing them to work.

Another significant feature observed is that the age group 35-39 has the highest participation ratio, irrespective of the marital status. This is comparable with similar figures for most of the countries whether industrial, semi-industrial or agricultural [19, Table A-2]. Most probably, the reason is that at this age, a worker is too old to expect support from his parents and too young to get support from his children. Moreover with advancing years he may also become more anxious to earn for his future 6.

As is evident from Table II.1 only 4.74 per cent of the females above 15 years of age are in labour force. The "others" have the highest

⁵ A reason for this lower labour force participation of single males in age group 15-19 may be their engagement in education. About 23 per cent of them were attending schools [8, p. 16].

⁶ For a fuller and more meaningful discussion of differences in the male labour force participation rates, *see* [20, pp.1-16].



SOURCE: TABLE II.

Figure 2.2 Karachi: Male Percentage in the Labour Force by Age and Marital Status, 1959

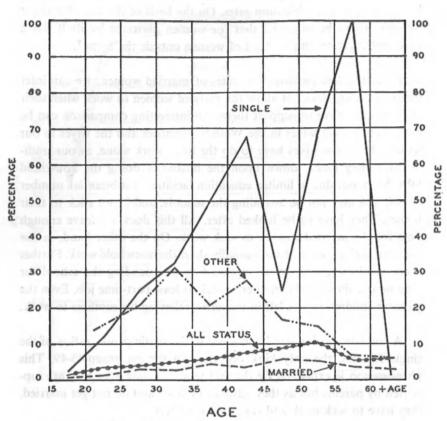
overall labour force participation rate of 12.82 per cent, followed by a participation rate of 6.08 per cent for singles and 2.89 per cent for the married women. Another noticeable fact is that the married women have the lowest rates at all ages, while the single females, excepting the 20-24 and 60-and-over age groups (where others have larger participation rates), have the highest participation rates. On the basis of the rates for single women, it can be observed that for women marriage by itself has a deterrent effect on employment of women outside the home.

From the low participation rates of married women, we can infer that our society does not allow the married women to work when their husbands are alive to support them. An interesting comparison can be made between the wives in the Western countries and the wives in our society. Here, the wives have to do the housework alone, as our traditional society looks down upon the husbands doing the household jobs. Moreover due to limited education facilities, a substantial number of children may not be attending the schools, and hence stick to their homes. They have to be looked after. All this does not leave enough time for the married women to seek work. On the other hand, in the Western society the husbands usually share the household work. Further every child in school age is supposed to be attending the school for long hours, allowing the mother to seek at least part-time job. Even the younger children can be left in nurseries, relieving the mothers to work.

A consistent rising trend is noticed in the participation ratios of the single females, the only kink occurring in the age group 45-49. This phenomenon is explained by the fact that at young ages they are supported by parents but as they advance in years and do not get married, they have to seek work and support themselves.

Similarly, among the "other" females, who once were married, some may get support from their parents or their children. The rest have to support themselves, as reflected by their higher labour force participation rates as compared to those of the married women.

⁷ For a detailed discussion of marital status and female participation rates, see [19, pp. 36-48].



SOURCE: TABLE II.

Figure 2.3 Karachi: Female Percentage in the Labour Force by Age and Marital Status, 1959

TABLE II.1

KARACHI: LABOUR FORCE PARTICIPATION RATES OF POPULATION 15 YEARS-AND-OVER, BY MARITAL STATUS, SEX, AND AGE, 1959

		P	ercentage	in labour for	ce by marita	l status
Age	group	A	Il status	Singles	Married	Others
(1)		(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
			M	ALE		
Total:	J 1		87.82	74.93	96.02	77.88
15—19			55.39	53,73	92.26	100.00
20-24			90.14	87.01	97.80	89.47
25—29			97.01	93.93	98.49	97.73
30—34			98.47	95.26	99.04	97.04
35—39	,		98.99	96.12	99.19	98.29
40—44			98.35	89.86	98.88	95.95
4549			97.22	93.02	97.91	92.25
50—54	o ••• ·		93.87	76.92	96.15	80.86
55—59			86.94	50.00	88.99	76.74
60-and-	over		66.58	42.11	73.13	48.40
			FEMA	LE		
Total:			4.74	6.08	2.89	12.82
15—19			1.53	2.01	1.06	_
20—24			3.06	11.93	1.67	15.25
25—29			3.98	24.66	2.85	20.39
3034			4.71	32.26	2.77	30.77
35—39			5.95	50.00	4.15	20.51
4044			7.84	66.67	3.81	27.57
4549			8.64	25.00	5.77	16.67
50—54	TO LOUIS		10.04	66.67	5.45	14.40
55—59	··· of		5.57	100.00	3.45	6.64
60-and-	over		5.89		3.25	6.57

Source: [5, Tables 1.01 and 3.60].

2.4 Characteristics of Persons not in Labour Force

The total of persons not in labour force is, by definition, equal to the total population minus the persons in the labour force. Study of the persons not engaged in any kind of economic activity will provide us with a better insight into the labour force itself. How flexible the size of labour force is can be better judged by analysing the different categories of the population not in labour force.

In the preceding sections, the analysis of the labour force participation rates has reflected to a great extent the nature of persons not in labour force. For instance, Figure 2.1 and Table II.1 have shown that only 2.5 per cent of the males under 15 years of age (i.e., 9,650 out of 381,250) were in the labour force as compared to a proportion of more than 90 per cent of the males in the 20-54 age group in the labour force; this implies that the majority of the persons not in the labour force are children. It was also observed that the major component of non-economically active population were females. However, there may be many other characteristics of the persons not in labour force that are not apparent from a study of those in the labour force. An attempt is made in this section to analyse these characteristics.

According to the 1961 Census, the population of Karachi is divided into four categories:—

In labour force	2.71	686,814
Total not in labour force		1,357,230
Under 15 years	20,0	811,045
15 years and over	3,98	546,185
30.26 0.77 30	4.77	2 044 044
Total:	5.03	2,044,044

This classification presents 33.6 per cent of the population in the labour force, leaving 66.4 per cent in the non-working group. Of the 66.4 per cent, about three-fifths are below 15 years. Here, we are primarily concerned with the 26.7 per cent of the population, which is old enough to work but is not working. The reasons for leaving the persons under 15 years of age is that in nearly every economy, children do not

typically work for their living. This is evident by their small proportion of 1.7 per cent (i.e., 9,950 out of 737,825) in the labour force.

We have divided the persons not in labour force of 15 years-and-over into four categories:

- 1) Receiving education: In this category, we include the persons who are attending schools, colleges, technical educational institutions, maktabs, etc.
- 2) Unable to work: Persons unable to work because of some permanent or temporary disabilities. In this class, we have included totally blind, deaf and dumb and crippled persons.
- 3) Retired and pensioners: All those persons, who have retired from their jobs because of old age or ill health.
- 4) Doing household work and others: Here we include persons, doing household work; and others, who could not be classified.

This division of persons not in labour force into the above mentioned four categories should not be regarded as strictly accurate. For example, those shown as "unable to work" may include some disabled persons, who could be turned into useful workers by some philanthropic institutions. Also there may be some students who are working part time. But on the whole, persons who could not be categorised accurately may not form a significant enough proportion to make our analysis defective.

Table II.2 shows that there are two main reasons for this group for not participating in the labour force: receiving education and doing household work. Household work is more significant as it involves 89.6 per cent of the non-working population of 15 years-and-over. The number of women, doing household work only, is 434,410 which is about nine-tenths of the class "doing household work and others" and 95.1 per cent of the total females not in labour force [15, Table 31] (it means that unclassifiable are relatively small).

Those receiving education account for 9.1 per cent of the persons not in the labour force. Distribution by sex shows that 37.5 per cent

TABLE II.2

KARACHI: STATUS OF PERSONS 15 YEARS AND OVER NOT IN LABOUR FORCE, BY SEX, 1961 *

Per 10 10 10 10 10 10 10 10 10 10 10 10 10		Number	Per cent			
Status (1)	Both sexes (2)	Male (3)	Female (4)	Both sexes (5)	Male (6)	Female (7)
Total:	546,185	89,476	456,709	100.0	100.0	100.0
Receiving education	n 49,572	33,569	16,003	9.1	37.5	3.5
Unable to work	1,338	854	484	0.2	0.9	0.1
Retired and pen- sioners	5,812	5,345	467	1.1	6.0	0.1
Doing househol work and others	ld 489,463	49,708	439,755	89.6	55.6	96.3

Sources: [15, Table 13, p. IV-24, Table 24, p. IV-42, Table 31, p. IV-56 and Table 32, p. IV-58]; [17, Table 7-42].

males are receiving education as compared to 3.5 per cent females. There are some obvious reasons for this. It may be due to the discriminatory tendency observed particularly among poor families to give more importance to education of their sons than to that of their daughters. "This may be so because the sons of the poor are considered to be an economic asset for the family as they contribute to the family income when they grow up. On the other hand, the girls are thought to be an economic burden by the poor families because after marriage they no longer live with their parents and so the parents do not get a reward of their investment on the girls education" [8, p. 29]. Moreover after the age of 15, most of the girls are married and are busy with household work.

[•] a) The number of persons 15 years-and-over, who are not in labour force, was drawn from Table 32 of the *District Census Report* by subtracting the persons in labour force from the total population (15 years-and-over).

b) District Census Report of Karachi, 1961 did not account for the number of pensioners and retired persons, who are out of labour force. We calculated the number of such persons for 1961 on basis of their number in 1959. This hypothetical number is based on the assumption that proportion of retired persons of 1959's population remained constant. The proportions of retired men and retired women of their respective population were 0.46 per cent and 0.05 per cent in 1959.

Those who are unable to work, retired and/or pensioners constitute only 0.2 per cent and 1.1 per cent of persons not in labour force respectively. The proportion of males in both the categories is higher than that of females.

2.5 Employment Status of the Population by Sex and Migrant Status

The survey of Karachi revealed (Table II.3) that in 1959, the labour force of Karachi numbered 573,900 workers, of whom 552,375 were males and 21,525 females. In percentages the labour force was 31.8 per cent of the total population, 55.3 per cent of all males and only 2.7 per cent of all females. The female workers were however better placed as far as availability of jobs was concerned: compared to unemployment proportions of 3.3 per cent for the total workers and 3.4 per cent for the male workers, only 0.9 per cent of female workers were without jobs.

Table II.3 shows that by migrant status 8 the natives had the lowest labour force participation of 29 per cent as compared to 46.2 per cent for the in-migrants, which was highest for any group. This shows that persons from other parts of Pakistan (mostly males) were migrating into Karachi mainly to avail themselves of employment opportunities which are in abundance in this expanding industrial centre than any other part of the country.

Studying employment situation by different migrant groups, the unemployment proportion seems to be comparatively high among the native males, i.e., 4 per cent, followed by the immigrants with 3.4 per cent and in-migrants 3.2 per cent. For the female labour force participants, in-migrants had the higher proportion of 1.4 per cent without jobs than either immigrants (0.9 per cent) or natives (0.8 per cent). However, the percentages are not large enough to draw firm inferences about migrant status and differences in unemployment.

According to the 1961 District Census Report of Karachi, the employment situation appears to have deteriorated. It is observed from Table II.4 that unemployment has increased from 3.3 per cent in 1959 to 5.2 per cent in 1961. It means that unemployment increased by about 16

⁸ For definitions of different migrant groups, refer to the glossary at end of the monograph.

per cent in the first two years as against 11 per cent population growth in the same period.

The increasing unemployment may be explained in terms of occupational pattern of the labour force. The analysis of the occupational pattern in the subsequent chapter reveals that due to low literacy rate and deficiency of required skills, a large number of labour force participants were in those occupations the demand for which might have been affected by the introduction of new techniques of production. Also, the application of automatic mechanical complexes may be reducing the need of human hands.

Tinbergen describes widespread unemployment as the most important of the "fundamental disequilibria" existing in underdeveloped economies. The basic reason in all probabilities is the lack of complementary means of production, *i.e.*, land and capital. Very probably, the equilibrium level of wage rates will be considerably less than market wages and equilibrium interest rates much higher than market rates [18, p. 39]. Karachi's economic condition is no different. Wages are continuously rising under social and political pressures, thus making labour more expensive than capital, whose market rate is perhaps less than its true equilibrium cost. Under such circumstances, the entrepreneurs may be lured to labour-saving methods of production to reduce costs, blocking the creation of new employment opportunities.

Moreover, the population of Karachi is increasing at a fast rate. During the decade 1951-61, Karachi experienced an increase of 80.5 per cent, or an annual population growth rate of 6.1 per cent [6, p. 19]. Along with population growth the proportion of labour force also increased significantly during 1959-61, *i.e.*, from 31.8 per cent to 33.6 per cent. Both the rapid growth of population and increasing rate of labour force participation led to widening of the gap between the supply of labour and demand for labour despite the substantial expansion of industrial activity in the city [4, p. 46].

Following the assumption that small-scale industries are labourintensive, we witness a consistent and rapid multiplication of largescale industrial units, whereas small-scale industries are growing very slowly. Thus though with the establishment of large-scale industries, new jobs are created, the number is not sufficient to absorb new addition to labour force as perhaps it would have been if small-scale industries had been established in larger numbers.

TABLE II.3

KARACHI: POPULATION BY SEX, ECONOMIC CATEGORIES
AND MIGRANT STATUS, 1959

		1	
Economic categories	Both sexes	Male	Female
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
ALL	STATUS	,	
Total population	1,803,175	999,250	803,925
Labour force	573,900	552,375	21,525
Per cent of total population	31.8	55.3	2.7
Working labour force	554,750	533,425	21,325
Per cent of labour force	96.7	96.4	99.1
Unemployed	19,150	18,950	200
Per cent of labour force	3.3	3.4	0.9
N	ATIVES		
Total population	300,125	153,025	147,100
Labour force	87,125	81,175	5,950
Per cent of total population	29.0	53.0	4.0
Working labour force	83,825	77,925	5,900
Per cent of labour force	96.2	96.0	99.2
Unemployed	3,300	3,250	50
Per cent of labour force	3.8	4.00	0.8
MI	GRANTS		
Total population	1,490,500	834,550	655,950
Labour force	475,300	460,125	15,175
Per cent of total population	31.9	53.3	2.3
Working labour force	459,850	444,825	15,025

TABLE II.3 (contd)

KARACHI: POPULATION BY SEX, ECONOMIC CATEGORIES
AND MIGRANT STATUS, 1959

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Per cent of labour force	96.7	96.7	99.0
Unemployed	15,450	15,300	150
Per cent of labour force	3.3	3.3	1.0
IN-I	MIGRANTS		
Total population	316,400	206,150	110,250
Labour force	146,050	142,575	3,475
Per cent of total population	46.2	69.2	3.2
Working labour force	141,450	138,025	3,425
Per cent of labour force	96.8	96.8	98.6
Unemployed	4,600	4,550	50
Per cent of labour force	3.2	3.2	1.4
IM	MIGRANTS		
Total population	1,174,100	628,400	545,700
Labour force	329,250	317,550	11,700
Per cent of total population	28.0	50.5	2.1
Working labour force	318,400	306,800	11,600
Per cent of labour force	96.7	96.6	99.1
Unemployed	10,850	10,750	100
Per cent of labour force	3.3	3.4	0.9

Source: [5, Tables 3.01, 3.02 and 3.03].

TABLE II.4

KARACHI: POPULATION BY ECONOMIC CATEGORIES
AND SEX, 1961

Economic categories (1)	Both sexes (2)	Male (3)	Female (4)
Total population	2,044,044	1,161,990	882,054
Labour force	686,814	659,031	27,783
Per cent of total population	33.6	56.7	3.2
Working labour force	651,173	624,145	27,028
Per cent of labour force	94.8	94.7	97.3
Unemployed	35,641	34,886	75:
Per cent of total force	5.2	5.3	2.

Source: [15, Table 31, p. IV-56].

2.6 Employment Status, Major Industry and Sex by Selected Age Groups

The following table depicts the broad features of labour force emanating from age and sex distribution of major components of labour force as of 1959.

TABLE II.5 KARACHI: LABOUR FORCE BY EMPLOYMENT STATUS, MAJOR INDUSTRY AND SEX BY SELECTED AGE GROUPS, 1959

Employment status and sex 15 years-and-over 15—19 years 20—64 years 65 years 65 years-and-over Number Per cent Number<					Age	Age groups			
(1) (2) (3) (4) (5) (6) (7) (8) 1 sexes (2) (3) (4) (5) (6) (7) (8) 1 sexes (2) (3) (4) (5) (6) (7) (8) 1 sexes (2) (3) (4) (5) (6) (7) (8) 1 sexes (3) (4) (3) (6) (7) (8) (7) (8) 1 sexes (4) (3) (4) (4) (6) (7) (8) (7) (8) 1 sexes (40,82) (8,4 (40,80) (8,4 (8,40) (8) (8,40) (8,60) (8,40) (8) (8,40) (8,40) (8,60) (8,40) (8,40) (8,40) (8,60) (8,40) (8,60) (8,40) (8,60) (8,40) (8,60) (8,40) (8,60) (8,40) (8,60) (8,40) (8,60) (8,40) (8,60) (8,60) (8,60) (8,60) <th>Employment status and sex</th> <th>15 years.</th> <th>and-over</th> <th>15—19</th> <th>years</th> <th>20-</th> <th>-64 years</th> <th>65 years-</th> <th>and-over</th>	Employment status and sex	15 years.	and-over	15—19	years	20-	-64 years	65 years-	and-over
1 (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) (6) (7) (8) 1 sexes 545,650 100.0 47,335 8.7 489,175 89.6 9,050 sloyed 524,625 100.0 46,235 8.8 469,900 89.6 8,400 sloyed 506,525 100.0 42,660 8.4 456,700 90.2 7,075 regriculturel 17,800 100.0 1,175 6.6 15,875 89.2 750 mployed 18,100 100.0 41,385 8.5 440,825 90.2 6,325 sloyed 18,100 100.0 1,100 5.2 19,275 91.7 650 sulture 175 100.0 1,100 5.3 19,150 91.7 650 editure 175 100.0 1,100 5.3 19,150 92.0 575 editure 175 100.0 1,100 5.3 19,025 92.1 525 edi		Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
1 sexes 545,650 100.0 47,335 8.7 489,175 89.6 9,050 sloyed 524,625 100.0 45,235 8.8 469,900 89.6 8,400 sloyed 506,525 100.0 42,660 8.4 456,700 90.2 7,075 regriculture 17,800 100.0 1,175 6.6 15,875 89.2 750 regricultural industries 488,725 100.0 41,385 8.5 440,825 90.2 6,325 sloyed 18,100 100.0 3,575 19.8 13,200 72.9 1,325 sloyed 20,825 100.0 1,100 5.2 19,275 91.7 650 culture 175 100.0 1,100 5.3 19,150 92.0 575 agricultural industries 20,650 100.0 1,100 5.3 19,025 92.1 525 mployed 20 100.0 - - - - -	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(9)	(2)	(8)	(6)
sloyed 524,625 100.0 46,235 8.8 469,900 89.6 8,400 sloyed 506,525 100.0 42,660 8.4 456,700 90.2 7,075 ragricultured 17,800 100.0 1,175 6.6 15,875 89.2 750 ragricultural industries 488,725 100.0 41,385 8.5 440,825 90.2 6,325 sloyed 18,100 100.0 3,575 19.8 13,200 72.9 1,325 sloyed 20,825 100.0 1,100 5.2 19,275 91.7 650 sagricultural industries 20,650 100.0 - - 125 71.4 50 mployed 200 100.0 - - 125 92.1 52 mployed 200 100.0 - - 125 92.1 52	Both sexes	545,650	100.0	47,335	8.7	489,175	9.68	9,050	1.7
loyed 506,525 100.0 42,660 8.4 456,700 90.2 7,075 regricultured 17,800 100.0 1,175 6.6 15,875 89.2 750 regricultural industries 488,725 100.0 41,385 8.5 440,825 90.2 6,325 mployed 18,100 100.0 1,100 5.2 19,275 91.7 650 sloyed 20,825 100.0 1,100 5.3 19,150 92.0 575 culture 175 100.0 - - 125 71.4 50 agricultural industries 20,650 100.0 - - 125 92.1 525 mployed 200 100.0 - - - 125 92.1 525	Male	524,625	100.0	46,235	8.8	469,900	9.68	8,400	1.6
culture 17,800 100.0 1,175 6.6 15,875 89.2 750 regricultural industries 488,725 100.0 41,385 8.5 440,825 90.2 6,325 mployed 18,100 100.0 3,575 19.8 13,200 72.9 1,325 sloyed 20,825 100.0 1,100 5.2 19,275 91.7 650 culture 175 100.0 1,100 5.3 19,150 92.0 575 egricultural industries 20,650 100.0 1,100 5.3 19,025 92.1 52 mployed 200 100.0 - - 125 62.5 75	Employed	506,525	100.0	42,660	8.4	456,700	90.2	7,075	1.4
ragricultural industries 488,725 100.0 41,385 8.5 440,825 90.2 6,325 mployed 18,100 100.0 3,575 19.8 13,200 72.9 1,325 sloyed 21,025 100.0 1,100 5.2 19,275 91.7 650 sloyed 20,825 100.0 1,100 5.3 19,150 92.0 575 culture 175 100.0 — — 125 71.4 50 agricultural industries 20,650 100.0 1,100 5.3 19,025 92.1 525 mployed 200 100.0 — — 125 62.5 75	Agriculture	17,800	100.0	1,175	9.9	15,875	89.2	750	4.2
mployed 18,100 100.0 3,575 19.8 13,200 72.9 1,325 sloyed 20,825 100.0 1,100 5.2 19,275 91.7 650 culture 175 100.0 - - 125 71.4 50 agricultural industries 20,650 100.0 1,100 5.3 19,025 92.1 525 mployed 200 100.0 - - 125 62.5 75	Non-agricultural industries	488,725	100.0	41,385	8.5	440,825	90.2	6,325	1.3
sloyed 20,825 100.0 1,100 5.2 19,275 91.7 650 culture 175 100.0 1,100 5.3 19,150 92.0 575 eagricultural industries 20,650 100.0 1,100 5.3 19,025 92.1 525 mployed 200 100.0 - - 125 62.5 75	Unemployed	18,100	100.0	3,575	19.8	13,200	72.9	1,325	7.3
20,825 100.0 1,100 5.3 19,150 92.0 575 175 100.0 — — 125 71.4 50 20,650 100.0 1,100 5.3 19,025 92.1 525 200 100.0 — — 125 62.5 75	Female	21,025	100.0	1,100	5.2	19,275	7.16	650	3.1
175 100.0 — — — 125 71.4 50 20,650 100.0 1,100 5.3 19,025 92.1 525 200 100.0 — — — 125 62.5 75	Employed	20,825	100.0	1,100	5.3	19,150	92.0	575	2.8
20,650 100.0 1,100 5.3 19,025 92.1 525 200 100.0 - - 125 62.5 75	Agriculture	175	100.0	1	1	125	71.4	20	28.6
200 100.0 125 62.5 75	Non-agricultural industries	20,650	100.0	1,100	5.3	19,025	92.1	525	2.5
	Unemployed	200	100.0	1	1	125	62.5	75	37.5

Source: [5, Tables 3.02 and 3.20].

Traditionally, the wage earners have been thought of as adult males [2, p. 6]. It may be seen from the table, that in 1959, out of 546 thousand men in the labour force (15 years-and-over) 470 thousand or about 86 per cent were in the 20-64 age group. Female labour in the same age group numbered 19.3 thousand, constituting a little more than 3.5 per cent of the total. Remaining were the workers below age 15.

Boys and girls in their teens account for 8.7 per cent of the total labour force, and old persons of 65 years-and-over, 1.7 per cent. Comparatively more boys than the girls are in the labour force. But in the old age group, females participate relatively more than the males.

In the central age group of 15-64 years, the majority of men (9 out every 10) are employed in the non-agricultural industries. In the same group, women's occupation in non-agricultural industries is relatively greater than for their counterparts. The situation is quite different among teenagers. Both for agricultural and non-agricultural industries, there is a larger proportion of boys in the labour force than that of girls. However in the older ages, the women have an edge upon the men in both the types of livelihood.

Another striking feature of the labour force is that agriculture depends to a greater extent on young workers and workers 65 years-and-over than do non-agricultural industries. About 11 per cent of the male agricultural workers and 29 per cent of the female workers are in these age spans. At these ages, it might be said to be either too early or too late to seek more remunerative types of work available in the non-agricultural industries [2, p. 7].

As for the unemployed segment of the labour force, the table shows that it is heavily weighted with young males. On the average, one out of every five males, seeking work is under 20 years of age; the unemployment rate for this age group is about 8 per cent, or about three times the rate for males in the age group 20-64 years. However, the situation is quite reverse in the case of females. No girl under 20 years of age is unemployed.

One interesting feature of the labour force is the evidence of higher unemployment rates in the old ages, both for males and females. For males, it is about 15 per cent in comparison to 2.7 per cent in age group 15-64 years, and 8 per cent for the young workers. For females, the rate is about 12 per cent, whereas it is only 0.7 per cent in the central age group.

2.7 Participation of Older Persons in Labour Force

These problems and others related to old labourers (60 years-and-over) necessitate a separate study of these persons as a special group of manpower 10.

The survey counts 28,825 persons of 60 years-and-over in the labour force in 1959 (Table II.6). Among them 26,800 are males and 2,025 females, constituting 66.6 per cent and 5.9 per cent of their respective population. This shows that against the common belief that in old age persons do not participate in economic activity, two out of every three aged males are in the labour force. Even the aged females' participation increased from 5.9 per cent in 1959 to 6.8 per cent in 1961 (Table II.6).

2.7.1 Comparison of Older Person's Labour Force Participation in Karachi with other Cities: Availability of the census data on labour force participation for other cities permits a comparison with the city of Karachi. Table II.6 demonstrates old persons' (60 years-and-over) participation in labour force for Karachi, Lahore and Dacca. These

⁹ Usually persons over 60 or 65 years participating in labour force are categorised as old (or aged) labourers.

¹⁰ For a detailed study of the problems of older persons, see [9].

are the three principal cities of Pakistan, containing 30.7 per cent of the urban population of the country, according to the 1961 Census.

It can be observed from the table that though the aged males are only a small segment of the population, their participation in economic activity is quite high, from 65 per cent for Lahore to 75 per cent for Dacca, of their total number. Participation rates of old persons in these three cities are more or less identical to those of the most of semi-industrialized and agricultural countries (the rate ranges from 60 per cent for semi-industrialized to more than 70 per cent for agricultural countries) [19, p. 12]. On the other hand, the old persons' participation rate in industrialized countries is only about one-half of those for semi-industrialized and agricultural countries. This seems to suggest that despite the rapid industrialisation, particularly in Karachi, structures of the three principal cities of Pakistan are corollary to economic and social structure of the developing countries which "leaves little room for a rigid concept of "retirement from work" and plenty of room for the continued exercise of independent own-account activities where the workers go on as long as they can, especially since most of them have no other source of income for their later years and have to rely on their own continued efforts" [9, p. 16]. The higher participation rate for Dacca than either for Karachi or Lahore reflects perhaps the degree of heavy burden imposed upon the old persons in Dacca to earn their own living.

However, though a larger proportion of old persons remain in the labour force, they form only a small proportion of labour force. For instance in Dacca, where three out of every four men of 60 years-and-over are in labour force, as a group they constitute only 3.8 per cent of the total labour force; in Lahore and Karachi, where two-thirds of the aged men are economically active, they form 7.3 per cent and 4.7 per cent of the labour force [14, Table 4]. The proportions of the labour force of Karachi and Lahore made up of older persons are higher than it is for Dacca, primarily because of their larger shares in population.

2.8 Female Labour Force Participation

Besides old persons, women too are generally treated as a special group in manpower studies, because they also encounter special prob-

TABLE II.6

THREE PRINCIPAL CITIES OF PAKISTAN: LABOUR FORCE PARTICIPATION OF PERSONS 60 YEARS-AND-OVER BY SEX, 1961

				374, 1701				
		Ma	le			Fen	ale	
City	Danula	Labour	force	Rank	Donula	Labou	r force	Powle
City	Popula- tion	Num- ber	Per- cent	Rank	Popula- tion	Num- ber	Per cent	Rank
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
Karachi	45,203	30,017	66.4	2	35,847	2,452	6.8	1
Karachi*	40,250	26,800	66.6		34,375	2,025	5.9	
Lahore	41,197	26,712	64.8	3	26,371	757	2.9	3
Dacca	10,188	7,675	75.3	1	7,377	483	6.5	2

*1959 figures. Source: [14, Table 4, pp. 112, 119, and 125]: [5, Tables 1.01 & 3.01].

lems rooted in cultural traditions as well as in the pace and character of development in all fields, which other groups may not face 11. "Female population can make significant contribution to the development of a region, only if they are equipped to make their contribution.....if various social, economic and cultural factors which may usually confine their potential contribution within too practical limits are overcome" [10].

In this section the female labour force situation is studied with the help of available data on Karachi.

The female component in the labour force is found to be only about 4 per cent. This is undoubtedly largely due to cultural traditions, which do not permit women to work (meaning work outside their homes). With the economic advancement, increasing literacy rate and under the strong demonstration affects of Western culture, the rigid fabric of the old culture is changing. But these are still strong enough to keep a large number of females away from the labour force. This is evident from Table II.7 which shows that over the decade 1951-1961, the female component in the labour force increased from 2.85 per cent to 4.05 per cent, both low rates, despite the tremendous economic growth of the economy.

¹¹ For a detailed study of the problem of female labour, refer to [10].

TABLE II.7

KARACHI: FEMALE LABOUR FORCE AND ABSOLUTE AND PERCENTAGE CHANGE, 1951, 1959 AND 1961*

		Year		Absolute	and percenta	ge change
Labour force	1951	1959	1961	1951-59	1951-61	1959-61
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
Total labourers	378,740	573,900	686,814		-	<u> </u>
Female	10,795	215,525	27,783	+10,730	+16,988	+6,258
Per cent	2.85	3.75	4.05	+ 0.90	+ 1.20	+ 0.30

Sources: [5, Table 3.01]: [15, p, IV-56, Table 31]; [10, W.P. 1-2 and W.P. 1-8, Table 1]

* It would have been highly relevant for our analysis to have made a presentation of earlier decades by migrant status. But it is not possible because of the non-availability of comparable data.

Table II.7 presents female proportion and percentage change in their proportion in the labour force which occurred during the periods 1951-1959, 1951-61 and 1959-61. Whereas the total labour force has increased from 378,740 workers to 686,814 over the decade 1951-61 (showing an annual growth rate of 6.13 per cent), the female labour class increased from 10,795 to 27,783 over the same period, showing an annual growth rate of 9.92 per cent 12. This shows that female labour is increasing faster than the overall labour force.

Compared to 1951 figure of 2.85 per cent, the female proportion increased to 3.75 per cent in 1959 and to 4.05 per cent in 1961. Table II.7 shows a net gain of 0.9 per cent for the female proportion in labour force at the expense of male workers in the period 1951-1959, 1.2 percent in 1951-1961 and 0.3 per cent for 1959-1961. The annual percentage

$$\log - \frac{P_2}{P_1} - = n \log (1+r)$$

Source: [3, p.31].

¹² Annual growth rates for labour force and for female workers are calculated by the following formula:

change in the composition of labour force was 0.12 per cent in favour of female labour force participants in the decade, 1951-61.

2.8.1 Comparison of Female Labour Force Participation in Karachi with other Cities of Pakistan: Table II.8 compares the female labour participation rate in Karachi, Lahore and Dacca. It can be observed from the table that ranking of the three cities according to participation rate has not changed over the decade 1951-61. Women of Dacca are participating comparatively more in economic activity than either of the two cities. However, growth rate of female labour both in Karachi and Lahore is much higher than in Dacca. Karachi, if it maintains its present growth rate, may soon catch up with the female participation rate of Dacca.

One definite pattern is evident from the 1961 Census data. Overall, female labour force participation is much lower in the urban areas of Pakistan (3.1 per cent) than in rural areas (9.6 per cent) [14, pp ii-v]. A plausible explanation of this wide rural-urban female labour force participation differential may be related to their economic structures. In rural areas which are predominantly agricultural, it may be easier for women to participate in economic activity (due to simple nature of work, requiring practically no skill or education) than in cities like Karachi or other urban centres where due to complex industrial structure women may not be capable of occupying jobs in sufficient number.

Moreover, as compared to the rural areas where a woman usually works with her family, her sister in an urban centre may have to work with men other than of her family, which is not encouraged by the society. Only few women may be allowed by their families or may be bold enough to face the criticism of society to work in the institutions where men may also be working. This tendency of discouraging females to enter the labour force in urban areas however seems to be weakening as is evident from the Table II.8, which depicts an increase in female labour force participation for all the three cities during 1951-61.

Finally, it has been observed that in rural areas the earning capacity may be generally much lower than in cities. Hence to maintain even subsistence living, more women in rural areas have to work to support the family.

TABLE II.8

THREE PRINCIPAL CITIES OF PAKISTAN: FEMALE LABOUR FORCE PARTICIPATION, 1961, 1951

		19	61			1951		
Citu		Labour	r force			Labou	r force	
City	Popula- tion	Num- ber	Per cent of popu- lation	Rank	Popula- tion	Num- ber	Per cent of popu- lation	Rank
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
Karachi	825,015	26,425	3.2	2	479,114	10,795	2.3	2
Lahore	573,278	10,059	1.8	3	370,834	2,188	0.6	3
Dacca	222,805	10,264	4.6	1	103,697	4,441	4.3	1

Source: [16, Table 1]: [13, Table 1]: [14, Table 2].

2.9 Child Labour

No sharp and generally accepted definition of child labour is available, as the very concept differs widely from region to region. It is difficult to designate a single age group as "child labour". However, in most of the cases, persons in labour force under 15 years are taken as child labourers.

Child labour emerges as a special group of manpower for the following reasons; a) its participants are supposed by the society to be in school and not working; b) legislation treats them differently, with special rules and regulations; and c) the proportion of children in the labour force reduces the proportion of dependents by the same extent in the economy. But an offseting argument to this is that even leaving aside social and moral considerations, the economy will be the loser from the long-run economic point of view because the children who are working usually do not get schooling, this means reduced educational attainments, which otherwise might have resulted in increased productivity in their adulthood. It is said that "young people in school can be regarded as national assets, the value of which, in terms of their potential future products, increases with each addition to the investment

in their schooling" [20, p.6]. It was for this that use of child labour has been constantly declining particularly after the turn of Twentieth century in the developed countries whereas during the era of industrial revolution, more children usually meant more income for family in these countries 13.

Table II.9 shows persons under 15 years by selected age groups of under 10 years and 10-14 years by sex, education and working status for 1959. As observed from the table, the child labour force participants number 9,950 or 1.3 per cent of their total population. The age group 10-14 constitute the main body of the child labour, numbering 9,475 out of 9.950. Out of 531,475 only 475 of the children below 10 are participating in economic activity. Their main activity seems to be attending schools (leaving aside children below 5, who are too young to work or to attend school; of children 5-9 years, about 92,700 or 35.6 per cent are receiving education).

A distinct characteristic of the child labour observed in the table is that despite the fact that the proportion of girls not attending schools is much higher than that for boys, their participation in economic activity is nominal, *i.e.*, only 300 out of 356,575 girls below 15 are in labour force. It signifies that these girls are receiving relatively less education and are mainly occupied in household work. The reasons have been described in the preceding section. Thus, it is not surprising to find the boys constituting the major proportion of child labour (*i.e.*, 97 per cent of the total child labour).

Another notable feature of child labour is its high degree of unemployment for the male labourers. As compared to overall male unemployment proportion of 3.4 per cent, 850 or 8.8 per cent of the male child workers are without jobs. This high ratio of the unemployed among these child male labourers is explained by the fact that many of them would be entering the labour market for the first time and may have poor capabilities for work. Compared to this, a point worth noticing is that no girl participant of child labour is unemployed. It may be because of limited supply of girl workers in the labour market.

¹³ For an extensive discussion of early child labour, see [1].

Hence, whatever number of girls is presenting itself for employment is readily engaged.

2.9.1 Comparison with 1961 Census Data: The 1961 Census does not enumerate economic characteristics of the persons below 10 years. We can only compare the relative figures of the census and survey for the persons in age group 10-14. Compared to the survey reporting of 8.3 per cent of the males 10-14 in labour force, census reports a corresponding figure of 19.2 per cent [14, Table 4, p. 124]. Even accounting for the two-year gap between the two reportings, the difference appears to be quite large. Either there is underenumeration of child labour in the survey or overestimation in the census.

Possibility of underreporting of child labour in the survey is strong because in a city like Karachi characterized by growing number of industrial and commercial concerns offering enormous employment opportunities, tempting the poor families to use their children as a source of raising their living standard, a percentage of only 8.3 per cent of male 10-14 participating in economic activity seems doubtful. Most probably there was underreporting by the enumerators in the survey. By reporting a child as student or not in labour force (even though he may be a labourer) the enumerator could save the time and botheration of filling answers for other questions on occupation, place of work, income, etc. Hence a number of actual labourers would have been reported otherwise. Also, the degree of error may be larger in a sample survey than in case of a complete enumeration.

However, census reporting also cannot be used with much confidence. Because as discussed earlier, there was an evidence of underenumeration of population in the age group 10-14 in favour of age group 5-9. Nothing definite can be said about these misreported persons. If many of them were labourers, then even the census underreported child labour and if otherwise, there would have been overestimation of child labour.

But one thing is obivous from our study of child labour. Even accounting for all misreportings and errors, the proportion of males 10-14 reported neither in labour force nor in school is alarming and needs foremost attention of city planners. Assuming that only those

children are in labour force who do not attend schools, the survey reports 36,975 or 33.3 per cent of the total males 10-14 neither in school nor in labour force (Table II.9); the corresponding figure in the census is 43,878 or 39 per cent [15, pp. iv 46-47, 58]. Such high proportion of children neither in the labour force nor in school may be a great social problem. It imposes a heavy burden upon the economy as they are neither contributing in economic activity nor getting schooling to become valuable economic assets of the society in future. The extent of this problem indicates that how big an effort is needed to increase educational facilities in the city.

TABLE II.9

KARACHI: POPULATION UNDER 15 YEARS BY SELECTED AGE GROUPS, SEX, EDUCATION AND WORKING STATUS, 1959

	inc		Por	oulation			
				Labou	r force	Unem	ployed
Age and sex	Total number	In schools	Not in school	Number	Per cent of popu- lation	Num- ber	Per cent of labour force
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Both sexes	737,825	198,650	539,175	9,950	1.3	850	8.5
Under 10 years	531,475	92,700	438,775	475	0.9	50	10.5
10-14 years	206,350	105,950	100,400	9,475	4.6	800	8.4
Male	381,250	117,175	264,075	9,650	2.5	850	8.8
Under 10 years	270,300	52,375	217,925	475	1.8	50	10.5
10-14 years	110,950	64,800	46,150	9,175	8.3	800	8.7
Female	356,575	81,475	275,100	300	0.8	_	
Under 10 years	260,175	40,325	220,850	_	<u>(1)</u>	<u>, 1</u>	
10-14 years	95,400	41,150	54,250	300	0.3	100	

Source: [5, Tables 1.01, 3.25 and 8.06].

2.10 Class-of-Worker Composition

After observing in the previous sections how different groups of persons participate in economic activity to differing degree, here we study how these persons can be classified according to their status in labour force. Such a study of workers divided into different classes of employment status may provide us with a broad idea of the structure of manpower.

We have classified the total gainfully employed workers into three classes:

- a) wage or salary workers;
- b) self-employed workers;
- c) unpaid family workers.

All the persons, who draw wages or salary from government agencies or non-governmental concerns, are returned as "wage or salary workers". "Self-employed workers" are those who work for themselves and or employ people to work in their economic enterprises. "The unpaid family worker" is one who works with a member of his family in some business enterprise for which he gets no pay.

The type of economic organization has pronounced effects upon this distribution of working labour force into classes of works. In a traditional agrarian economy, a great concentration of workers occurs in the "self-employed class". This distribution is also affected by political mechanism, for instance in a pure communist system, there is only one class of workers, "government employee".

The social structure of the society also determines this distribution. These considerations will affect the desires of individuals to go for business enterprises or for services. For example, among the Parsi community it is highly desirable to have independent business enterprises, which imply significant proportion of the labour force situated in "self-employed workers" class. In Bombay city, more than half of the Parsi earners were distinguished as self-employed workers [12, Table IV-16].

Table II.10 provides evidence on the distribution of workers by class of workers. Due to limitation of data, we could not undertake a distribution by sex. This table also does not provide exact information, as clearcut evidence of some groups of workers was not available. However, such workers formed a very insignificant percentage, hence the validity of our analysis should not be much impaired.

TABLE II.10

KARACHI: DISTRIBUTION OF EMPLOYED MANPOWER BY CLASS OF WORKERS, 1959

Class of worker*	Work	ers
(1)	numbers (2)	percentage (3)
Total employed	554,750	100.0
Wage or salary workers	450,725	81.2
Self-employed workers	91,625	16.5
Unpaid family workers	6,025	1.1
Workers not classifiable	6,375	1.2

Source: [5, Table 3.50].

Table II.10 shows that about four-fifths of 554,750 employed workers are working in private organizations and government institutions on wage or salary basis. "Wage or salary workers", therefore, constitute the largest class in this distribution. This signifies that city's economy is dominated by enterprises, a majority of which are privately

^{*} Wage or salary workers consist of educators, scientists and engineers and a segment of physicians and surgeons in the professional and technician class; clerical workers; administrators and managers except shop-keepers and businessmen; farm workers; drivers, postmen and related except cart drivers; sales workers other than hawkers, vendors, brokers and commission agents; skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled labourers; servants and related and persons in service, private service, government and semi-government services.

Self-employed workers constitute the professionals and technicians except the persons mentioned for wage or salary workers of this occupation; shop-keepers and businessmen; hawkers, vendors, brokers and commission agents, cart drivers, farmers and fishermen.

Unpaid family workers are the persons working with the members of their families in business enterprises for which they get no pay.

owned. Mainly these firms are functioning as manufacturing units or are engaged in commerce (manufacturing and trade companies employ 45 per cent of the total workers, see Chapter 3). Due to the presence of the national capital in Karachi in 1959, a large portion of the workers were also employed in government and semi-government concerns (about 18 per cent). The large governmental and private establishments employing large numbers of workers form a most significant element determining the class of worker composition.

The self-employed number 91,625 or 16.5 per cent of the total. They are mainly in the occupational groups of agriculture, professionals and technicians, sales workers and businessmen. Of the remaining workers, 1.1 per cent are unpaid family workers, 1.2 per cent could not be classified.

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CHAPTER 3

INDUSTRIAL AND OCCUPATIONAL CLASSIFICATIONS

3.0 Mode of Study

For a comprehensive study of the structure of manpower, two methods are generally employed: classification by industry and classification by occupation. Such classification of manpower may also partly reflect the economic organization of a people and the state of technological development attained. Under the first method (industry) manpower is categorised according to the type of production; under the second method (occupation), classification is made by the type of work done by the individuals, irrespective of the type of activity of the enterprise of establishment. In precise terms, a man's "occupation" is the nature of work he actually does; his "industry" is defined by who he does it for [2, p. 495].

3.0.1 Classification of Occupations and Industries: In the survey separate questions were asked about the "occupation" and "industry" of the individuals. The economic activities were classified under ten occupational groups 1. A two-digit occupational classification was adopted. Each major occupational group was denoted by the first digit, while the sub-groups were indicated by the second digit. The ten main groups were thus divided into 59 sub-groups (reproduced in Table III.2). Only a one-digit industry code providing for nine main groups was used.

Serious doubts are cast on the validity of occupational and industrial classifications. Some of the salient shortcomings in the occupational classification are listed below.

i) A great deal of ambiguity may be observed in the reporting of occupations: e.g., 17 per cent of the workers were classified as "workers not classifiable". This suggests that enumerators frequently

¹ Only in some cases were the international categories [7] for major occupational groups abridged or modified to fit the reported occupations of Karachi [5, p. 20].

recorded vague terms like government service, service and private service, which could not be classified into specific occupational groups.

- ii) In most of the other occupational groups also, substantial number of persons were vaguely reported. For example, 38 per cent of the "sales workers", and 10 per cent of the "professionals and technicians" were returned as "others".
- iii) There is also an evidence of improper grouping of occupations, e.g., "administrators and managers". This group is usually considered as a distinguished segment of manpower but inclusion of shopkeepers and businessmen (who constitute four-fifths of the group) without any distinction is likely to be misleading.

The validity of industrial classification is also questionable on the ground that the survey deals with only nine main groups².

For these shortcomings of data, the results should, therefore, be interpreted with caution.

We shall first examine the industrial distribution of labour force and after reaching some generalisations will turn to a more detailed occupational study.

3.1 Industrial Composition

Study of industrial composition of the labour force besides indicating how manpower resources are presently disposed off among industries, will also portray the economic organization of the society³.

We have divided the industry in Karachi into four major classes: i) agriculture; ii) manufacturing and trade; iii) transport; iv) services and miscellaneous sources.

Table III.1 presents industrial composition of the gainfully employed person by sex and migrant status. It can be observed that of the various industries, "manufacturing and trade" contains the largest number of workers, i.e., more than 250 thousands or 45.2 per cent of

² For the 1961 Census, industrial classification system deals with nine main groups, 40 sub-groups and 291 minor groups [13, p.7].

³ For a detailed discussion of the importance and nature of "industrial composition", see [9, pp. 148-150].

the total workers. The smallest industry in this sense is "agriculture" which employs only 3.3 per cent of the total workers. Some important differences can also be observed in the industrial distribution of male and female workers (Table III.1). The three leading industries for male employment, in descending order, are "manufacturing and trade", "government and semi-government services", and "transportation", employing no less than seven-tenths of the total male workers. For women, the three leading industries are "personal services", "manufacturing and trade" and "professional services" accounting for a little more than seven-tenths of the total female employment. The reasons for these differences will be discussed in detail in sub-section 3.2.1.

As mentioned earlier, due to inherent difficulties in the classification of vaguely reported economic activities, a large number of persons could not be classified by occupation or industry. The extent of such persons in the industrial composition was about 11.5 per cent of the total working labour force. They were included in the miscellaneous category. This limits, but does not destroy, the meaningfulness of our analysis.

3.1.1 Agriculture⁴: Since the industrial revolution, changed economic patterns have led to a preference for the outskirts of urban centres as suitable locations for the establishment of industries. Karachi appears to be no exception. With its transformation from a small town with fishing as the main industry in 1843 into the largest urban population agglomeration of Pakistan today, fishing (or even agriculture, as a whole) has ceased to be an important source of livelihood. Only a little more than 3 per cent of the present working labour force in Karachi is engaged in this industry.

However, for natives agriculture is still an important source of employment after "manufacturing and trade". As compared with 0.5 per cent of the migrants, a little less than one-fifth of the native workers are still tied to their parental occupation of agriculture, perhaps mainly because they have been tenants or owners of agricultural farms since

⁴ Agriculture consists of fishing and cultivation. In this industrial class, fishermen account for a major proportion (Appendix Table B-5).

long and/or better trained for fishing than for any other profession. Scarcity of irrigation water and land in Karachi is perhaps the main deterrent force, keeping the migrants away from agriculture.

3.1.2 Manufacturing and Trade: An analysis of "manufacturing and trade" as industrial class is important as it may reflect the production and consumption patterns and more so the extent of industrial development of the economy. "Manufacturing" includes all the persons mainly occupied in producing physical goods 5 and "trade" contains those in the wholesale and retail trade of the physical goods.

As mentioned earlier, "manufacturing and trade" forms the largest single industrial category absorbing 45.2 per cent of the total working manpower, which is not unexpected as Karachi is the biggest commercial and industrial centre of the country. At the time of Partition Karachi had a very few manufacturing establishments. But since then rapid expansion has been witnessed in the manufacturing sector, making it the most important source of earning for Karachi⁶. Within the span of a decade, 1949-59, there has been more than five-fold increase in the number of factory workers [1, Table 22]. The average increase per annum works out to be about 55 per cent, which also makes manufacturing as the largest contributor to providing additional jobs to the rapidly expanding labour force of the city. Statistics also show that in 1959, Karachi had about 32 per cent of the total factory workers of Pakistan and 58 per cent of West Pakistan [1, Table 28] supporting the common belief that Karachi is the largest and most important manufacturing centre of the country.

Among migrant groups, the immigrants have the largest proportion in "manufacturing and trade" (47.2 per cent) followed by in-migrants with 46.4 per cent and the natives with a proportion of 35.5 per cent.

⁵ 1961 Census includes production and processing of following goods in manufacturing: food and beverages; rubber products; leather products; textile products; clothing; wood products; paper products; printing, publishing and allied industries; iron and steel products; transportation equipment; non-ferrous metal products; electrical apparatus and supplies; non-metallic mineral products; products of petroleum and coal; chemical products and miscellaneous [13, Appendix D, pp. 283-285].

⁶ Available data reveals that from only 286 registered factories in 1949 the number increased to 1,760 in 1959 [1, Table 21].

These findings strengthen our earlier assertion that one of the motivating factor of migration into this city is that the industrial and trade complex of its economy provides more opportunities of livelihood than any other city of Pakistan. The lower percentage of natives in manufacturing and trade than that of migrants may partly be attributed to comparatively more possession of land and fishing equipments which may keep a substantial number of natives away from manufacturing and trade.

3.1.3 Transportation: Transportation is mainly a service-producing industry. It includes all kinds of transports, whether by land, sea or air. For the people of Karachi, transportation is the fourth major source of employment (i.e., after "manufacturing and trade", "government and semi-government service" and "personal services") absorbing 7 per cent of the working labour force. One point worth mentioning is that natives have comparatively large percentages in transportation both for males and females than any other migrant group. However differences are too small to allow for possible explanations.

3.1.4 Services and Other Miscellaneous Sources: Major portion of this category consists of those employed labourers in whose case the response was poor and industry was vaguely reported. In other words, the greater proportion in this category is a combination of all residuals and hence cannot be discussed as an independent category itself. Most probably, out of this category we can only discuss "government and semi-government services" and "professional services" with some confidence.

Among all the service-producing industries, "government and semi-government services" seems to be the most important, providing 17.9 per cent of the total jobs. The natives have the lowest proportion in the government and semi-government services (6.1 per cent) whereas the proportions for immigrants and in-migrants are significantly higher (18 per cent and 25.6 per cent respectively). The main reason for this phenomenon could be higher literacy rate of the migrant groups. As compared to the natives, the migrants are more equipped with education which provides them with necessary qualifications

⁷ For educational status of different migrant groups, see [6, pp. 22-25].

required to comply with most of the government and semi-government jobs⁸. Most probably, the main reason for higher percentage of in-migrants in the government and semi-government services than any other group seems to be that at the time of collection of the data (i.e., in 1959) Karachi was the federal capital and majorty of the central government offices were situated in the metropolis. It implies that a substantial number of central government employees (i.e., in-migrants) had to leave their respective areas and settled down in Karachi.

The professional services account for only 2.3 per cent of the total workers. The lowest proportion is represented by the in-migrant (1.2 per cent). A possible reason may be the existence of greater demand for sub-professionals as physicians, surgeons, nurses, engineers, etc. in other regions of Pakistan, obstructing them from migrating over to Karachi.

TABLE III.1

KARACHI: PERCENTAGE OF INDUSTRIAL COMPOSITION OF WORKING LABOUR FORCE BY SEX AND MIGRANT STATUS, 1959

corned top.			Migrant s	status		
Industrial group	ICO. kn		no on	Migr	ants	
industrial group	All indus- tries	Natives	Migrants	Inmig- rants	Immi- grants	No inform- ation
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
Both Sexes	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
I. Agriculture	3.3	18.5	0.6	0.6	0.6	1.4
II. Manufacturing & trade	45.2	35.5	46.4	44.8	47.2	64.6
III. Transportation	7.0	7.8	7.0	7.0	7.0	2.5
IV. Services & miscellane ous sources	- 44.5	38.2	46.0	47.6	45.3	31.6
(a) Professional services	s 2.3	2.6	2.3	1.2	2.8	0.2
(b) Govt. & semi-gov ment services		6.1	20.4	25.6	18.0	4.7
(c) Private services	4.3	4.1	4.4	1.7	5.7	_
(d) Personal services	8.0	5.5	8.1	10.9	6.9	23.2
(e) Others	0.5	0.9	0.5	0.3	0.5	
(f) Unable to determine		19.0		7.8	11.4	3.4
			A.		(c	ontinued)

⁸ Similarly, larger male participation (18.3 per cent) in government and semigovernment services than females (7.7 per cent) can be related to higher literacy rate among males.

TABLE III.1 (contd)

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
Male:	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
I. Agriculture	3.4	19.7	0.6	0.6	0.6	1.4
II. Manufacturing & trade	46.1	36.5	47.3	45.7	48.1	66.7
III. Transportation	7.3	8.2	7.2	7.2	7.2	2.6
IV. Services & miscellane- ous services	43.2	35.6	44.9	46.5	44.1	29.3
(a) Professional services	1.8	1.8	1.8	1.0	2.2	0.2
(b) Govt. & semi-gover ment services	n- 18.3	5.8	20.8	26.1	18.4	4.9
(c) Private services	4.3	3.9	4.5	1.7	5.8	-
(d) Personal services	7.0	4.6	7.1	9.6	5.9	20.6
(e) Others	0.5	0.9	0.5	0.3	0.5	
(f) Unable to determine	11.3	18.6	10.2	7.8	11.3	3.5
Females:	100.0	100.0	100.0	100,0	100.0	100.0
I. Agriculture	0.9	3.0	0.2	_	0.2	
II. Manufacturing & trade	20.3	22.5	19.8	8.0	23.3	6.2
III. Transportation	1.2	2.5	0.7	0.7	0.7	_
IV. Services & miscellane- ous sources	77.6	72.0	79.4	91.3	75.9	93.8
(a) Professional services	15.6	14.0	16.6	9.5	18.8	_
(b) Govt. & semi-government services	ı- 7·7	8.9	7.5	6.6	7.8	_
(c) Private services	3.8	6.8	2.7	1.5	3.0	-
(d) Personal services	34.8	17.8	39.9	62.1	33.4	93.8
(e) Others	0.1	_	0.2	_	0.2	_

Source: [5, Table 3.81].

3.2 Occupational Distribution

Occupational characteristics of manpower are not less important than industrial characteristics. The occupation of an individual describes in a summary way his level of skill and training better than his industrial category. Analysis of the occupational composition of manpower may also reveal the economic organization, the labour market conditions and level of technological development achieved by the economy. For example, the proportion of white-collar jobs is an index of technological development; it is higher in technologically advanced countries, where the use of modern technologies has reduced the need for large numbers of manual workers, or where trade and commerce are of increased importance [9,p. 144].

Considering limitations of the data, the classification of labour force in broad occupational groups cannot be fully dependable. For example, it is very difficult to specify those in government, semi-government and private services as white-collar workers because their activities have not been exclusively determined. A secretary and an office boy, for instance, working as government employees cannot be treated equally as white-collar. In the absence of precise information, we have adopted the criterion of income. All persons in government, semi-government and private services earning Rs. 125 or more monthly are treated as white-collar workers. With these considerations, we have divided the workers in the following three broad occupational groups:

Non-agricultural	
White-collar workers	26.7 per cent
Manual workers	61.4 per cent
Agricultural workers	3.3 per cent
Workers not classifiable	8.6 per cent

Total: 100.0

To get a clearcut idea of the occupational characteristics we have worked out occupational classification in the subsequent tables by selected age groups, by type of population and by income.

⁹ Other major groups considered white-collar are following: professionals and technicians; administrators and managers; clerical workers and sales workers excluding hawkers and vendors (for these groups, the criterion of income has not been applied). *Manual workers* are skilled, semi-skilled and skilled labourers, hawkers and vendors, drivers, postmen and related, servants and related, farmers and fishermen and unpaid family workers. *Agriculture workers* consists of farm managers.

TABLE III.2
KARACHI: ABSOLUTE AND PERCENTAGE OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF WORKING LABOUR FORCE
BY SELECTED AGE GROUPS, 1959

					Age 3	Age groups			
-			Number	Number of persons			Per	Per cent	
Code	Occupational group	All	Under 15	15—64	65 & over All ages	All ages	Under 15	15—64	65 & over
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(9)	(7)	(8)	(6)	(10)
7	All gainfully employed	554,750	9,100	536,600	9,050	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00
1	Professional and technicians	14,775	25	14,250	200	2.66	0.27	2.66	5.53
01 E	Educators, lawyers & scientists	7,375	1	7,150	225	1.33	1	1.33	2.49
02 I	Physicians & surgeons	875	ı	875	1	0.16	1	0.16	1
03 I	Dentists	150	1	150	1	0.03	1	0.03	1
1 40	Unregistered medical practitioners	725	1	009	125	0.13	I	0.11	1.38
05 1	Midwives	009	1	575	25	0.11	1	0.10	0.28
90	Other medical & related occupations	1,075	L	1,050	25	0.19	1	0.20	0.28
07 F	Religious workers	1,250	1	1,175	75	0.22	I	0.22	0.83
08 E	Engineers, architects, etc.	1,275	1	1,275	1	0.23	1	0.24	1
60	Other professionals	1,450	25	1,400	25	0.26	0.27	0.26	6 0.28

TABLE III.2 (contd.)

(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
Administrators and managers	49,300	100	47,750	1,450	8.89	1.10	8.90	16.02
Administrators and managers in government offices	3,700		3,650	50	0.67	_	0.68	0.55
Business administrators and managers	4,575	_	4,475	100	0.82	-	0.83	1.10
Shopkeepers and businessmen	41,025	100	39,625	1,300	7.40	1.10	7.38	14.37
Clerical workers	17,575	25	17,475	75	3.17	0.27	3.26	0.83
Clerks, cashiers, typists, computers	17,575	25	17,475	75	3.17	0.27	3.26	0.83
Sales workers	42,600	625	40,300	1,675	7.68	6.87	7.51	18.50
Hawkers and vendors	23,050	350	21,925	775	4.15	3.85	4.09	8.56
Brokers and commission agents	3,175	50	3,075	50	0.57	0.55	0.57	0.55
Other sales workers	16,375	225	15,300	850	2.95	2.47	2.85	9.39
Farmers and fishermen	18,500	525	17,175	800	3.33	5.77	3.20	8.84
Farm managers	2,225	50	2,025	150	0.40	0.55	0.38	1.66
Farm workers	8,000	275	7,350	375	1.44	3.02	1.37	4.14
Fishermen	8,275	200	7,800	275	1.49	2.20	1.45	3.04 ntinued)
	Administrators and managers Administrators and managers in government offices Business administrators and managers Shopkeepers and businessmen Clerical workers Clerks, cashiers, typists, computers Sales workers Hawkers and vendors Brokers and commission agents Other sales workers Farmers and fishermen Farm managers Farm workers	Administrators and managers 49,300 Administrators and managers in government offices 3,700 Business administrators and managers 4,575 Shopkeepers and businessmen 41,025 Clerical workers 17,575 Clerks, cashiers, typists, computers 17,575 Sales workers 42,600 Hawkers and vendors 23,050 Brokers and commission agents 3,175 Other sales workers 16,375 Farmers and fishermen 18,500 Farm managers 2,225 Farm workers 8,000	Administrators and managers 49,300 100 Administrators and managers in government offices 3,700 — Business administrators and managers 4,575 — Shopkeepers and businessmen 41,025 100 Clerical workers 17,575 25 Clerks, cashiers, typists, computers 17,575 25 Sales workers 42,600 625 Hawkers and vendors 23,050 350 Brokers and commission agents 3,175 50 Other sales workers 16,375 225 Farmers and fishermen 18,500 525 Farm managers 2,225 50 Farm workers 8,000 275	Administrators and managers 49,300 100 47,750 Administrators and managers in government offices 3,700 — 3,650 Business administrators and managers 4,575 — 4,475 Shopkeepers and businessmen 41,025 100 39,625 Clerical workers 17,575 25 17,475 Clerks, cashiers, typists, computers 17,575 25 17,475 Sales workers 42,600 625 40,300 Hawkers and vendors 23,050 350 21,925 Brokers and commission agents 3,175 50 3,075 Other sales workers 16,375 225 15,300 Farmers and fishermen 18,500 525 17,175 Farm managers 2,225 50 2,025 Farm workers 8,000 275 7,350	Administrators and managers 49,300 100 47,750 1,450 Administrators and managers in government offices 3,700 — 3,650 50 Business administrators and managers 4,575 — 4,475 100 Shopkeepers and businessmen 41,025 100 39,625 1,300 Clerical workers 17,575 25 17,475 75 Clerks, cashiers, typists, computers 17,575 25 17,475 75 Sales workers 42,600 625 40,300 1,675 Hawkers and vendors 23,050 350 21,925 775 Brokers and commission agents 3,175 50 3,075 50 Other sales workers 16,375 225 15,300 850 Farmers and fishermen 18,500 525 17,175 800 Farm managers 2,225 50 2,025 150 Farm workers 8,000 275 7,350 375	Administrators and managers 49,300 100 47,750 1,450 8.89 Administrators and managers in government offices 3,700 — 3,650 50 0.67 Business administrators and managers 4,575 — 4,475 100 0.82 Shopkeepers and businessmen 41,025 100 39,625 1,300 7.40 Clerical workers 17,575 25 17,475 75 3.17 Clerks, cashiers, typists, computers 17,575 25 17,475 75 3.17 Sales workers 42,600 625 40,300 1,675 7.68 Hawkers and vendors 23,050 350 21,925 775 4.15 Brokers and commission agents 3,175 50 3,075 50 0.57 Other sales workers 16,375 225 15,300 850 2.95 Farmers and fishermen 18,500 525 17,175 800 3.33 Farm managers 2,225 50 2,025 150 0.40 Farm workers 8,000 275 7,350	Administrators and managers 49,300 100 47,750 1,450 8.89 1.10 Administrators and managers in government offices 3,700 — 3,650 50 0.67 — Business administrators and managers 4,575 — 4,475 100 0.82 — Shopkeepers and businessmen 41,025 100 39,625 1,300 7.40 1.10 Clerical workers 17,575 25 17,475 75 3.17 0.27 Clerks, cashiers, typists, computers 17,575 25 17,475 75 3.17 0.27 Sales workers 42,600 625 40,300 1,675 7.68 6.87 Hawkers and vendors 23,050 350 21,925 775 4.15 3.85 Brokers and commission agents 3,175 50 3,075 50 0.57 0.55 Other sales workers 16,375 225 15,300 850 2.95 2.47 Farmers and fishermen 18,500	Administrators and managers 49,300 100 47,750 1,450 8.89 1.10 8.90 Administrators and managers in government offices 3,700 — 3,650 50 0.67 — 0.68 Business administrators and managers 4,575 — 4,475 100 0.82 — 0.83 Shopkeepers and businessmen 41,025 100 39,625 1,300 7.40 1.10 7.38 Clerical workers 17,575 25 17,475 75 3.17 0.27 3.26 Clerks, cashiers, typists, computers 17,575 25 17,475 75 3.17 0.27 3.26 Sales workers 42,600 625 40,300 1,675 7.68 6.87 7.51 Hawkers and vendors 23,050 350 21,925 775 4.15 3.85 4.09 Brokers and commission agents 3,175 50 3,075 50 0.57 0.55 0.57 Other sales workers 16,375

TABLE III.2 (contd.)

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
VI	Drivers, postmen and related	33,700	300	33,000	400	6.07	3.30	6.15	4.42
20	Car, taxi and auto-drivers	2,725	_	2,725	_	0.49	_	0.51	_
21	Rickshaw pullers	5,125	200	4,925	_	0.92	2.20	0.92	_
22	Cart drivers	4,475	75	4,275	125	0.81	0.82	0.80	1.38
23	Bus and tram drivers	2,675	_	2,625	50	0.48	_	0.49	0.55
24	Other transport workers	17,100	25	16,900	175	3.08	0.27	3.15	1.93
25	Communications workers	1,600	_	1,550	50	0.29		0.29	0.55
	1 20 120 120 1								
VII	Skilled labourers	92,175	750	90,000	1,425	16.62	8.24	16.77	15.75
26	Spinners and weavers	8,725	100	8,575	50	1.57	1.10	1.60	0.55
27	Leather cutters and shoe makers	4,150	25	4,050	75	0.75	0.27	0.75	0.83
28	Plumbers	425	_	425	_	0.08	_	0.08	_
29	Carpenters	7,275	125	7,025	125	1.31	1.37	1.31	1.38
30	Masons and stone engravers	9,500	125	9,125	250	1.71	1.37	1.70	2.76
31	Electricians	2,925	-	2,925	_	0.53	_	0.54	-
32	Painters	2,100		2,075	25	0.38	_	0.39	0.28
33	Tailors	9,750	25	9,550	175	1.76	0.27	1.78	1.93

51

TABLE III.2 (contd.)

	1 11107		,		_!				-
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
34	Tinsmiths, welders and brickbakers	3,200	25	3,175	<u></u>	0.58	0.27	0.59	_
35	Blacksmiths	1,800	_	1,775	25	0.32	-	0.33	0.28
36	Mechanics and fitters	18,325	125	18,125	75	3.30	1.37	3.38	0.83
37	Goldsmiths and jewellers	1,725	-	1,675	50	0.31	_	0.31	0.55
38	Model makers and moulders	925	50	825	50	0.17	0.55	0.15	0.55
39	Photographers and printers	2,100	_	1,950	150	0.38	_	0.36	1.66
40	Supervisors and foreman	1,525	_	1,500	25	0.27	-	0.28	0.28
41	Inspectors	750	_	750	_	0.14	-	0.14	-
42	Bakers and skilled workers in food	925	_	850	75	0.17	_	0.16	0.83
43	Other skilled labourers	16,050	150	15,625	275	2.89	1.65	2.91	3.04
VIII	Semi-skilled and unskilled	1-10	-		Swift		70 .		
V 111	labourers	114,150	2,850	110,275	1,025	20.58	31.32	20.55	11.33
44	Semi-skilled labourers	44,150	775	43,175	200	7.96	8.52	8.05	2.21
45	Unskilled labourers	70,000	2,075	67,100	825	12.62	22.80	12.50	9.12
								(co	ntinued

TABLE III.2 (contd.)

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
IX	Servants and related	71,775	2,150	68,600	1,025	12.94	23.62	12.78	11.33
46	Policemen and guards	11,950	25	11,575	350	2.15	0.27	2.16	3.87
47	Housekeepers and cooks	6,025	50	5,800	175	1.09	0.55	1.08	1.93
48	Bearers and waitors	5,925	575	5,350	_	1.07	6.32	1.00	_
49	Sweepers	12,000	225	11,700	75	2.16	2.47	2.18	0.83
50	Water carriers	2,200	50	2,125	25	0.40	0.55	0.40	0.28
51	Barbers	3,575	7 5	3,475	25	0.64	0.82	0.65	0.28
52	Washermen	7,100	125	6,850	125	1.28	1.37	1.28	1.38
53	Peons	8,850	75	8,700	75	1.60	0.82	1.62	0.83
54	Other personal services	14,150	950	13,025	175	2.55	10.44	2.43	1.93
x	Workers not classifiable	100,200	1,750	97,775	675	18.06	19.23	18.22	7.46
55	Service	21,600	400	21,025	175	3.89	4.39	3.92	1.93
56	Private service	28,450	350	27,875	225	5.13	3.85	5.19	2.49
57	Government and semi-government service	37,750	_	37,525	225	6.80	_	6.99	2.49
58	Unpaid family workers	6,025	1,000	5,000	25	1.09	10.99	0.93	0.28
59	Other workers not classifiable	6,375	_	6,350	25	1.15	_	1.18	0.28

Source: [5, Table 3.50].

In Table III.2 we have divided the working manpower into three broad age groups (under 15 years, those between 15-64 years, and those 65 years-and-over) to study the occupational composition of two special groups of manpower, child labour (i.e., under 15 years) and aged workers (i.e., over 64 years) along with total manpower.

For child labour, "semi-skilled and unskilled labourers" class represent the largest single occupational classification accounting for a little less than one-third of the total employed child labourers. The next important occupation is that of "servants and related" occupying 23.6 per cent of child workers followed by 11 per cent as unpaid family workers, 8.2 per cent as skilled labourers, 6.9 per cent as sales workers and 5.8 per cent as farmers and fishermen.

Overall, the occupational distribution of child labour seems to be dominated by the manual occupations which are in accord with the limited capabilities of child workers and require less education and less skill. The white-collar jobs which carry social status plus high income earning capacity seem to be almost closed to child labour. This is self-explanatory. These jobs are relatively technical and complex in the sense that these entail high education and special training. Children below 15 years could not be expected to be in a position to fulfil these requirements.

On the other hand, the occupational distribution for the old workers shows a large number of them in the occupations, which require practical experience, rather than education. This is evident from the larger proportion of old workers (more than one-third of their total number) than the overall proportion (26.7 per cent) in white-collar occupations. Even among the old workers in the manual occupations, significant proportion of them are higher-paid manual workers (e.g., 15.8 per cent are skilled labourers, 2.2 per cent semi-skilled labourers, and 4.4 per cent are drivers, postmen and related).

Taking the employed manpower as a whole, the largest number of workers are engaged in the manual occupations (340,875). Of these, 114,150 are semi-skilled and unskilled labourers, constituting one-fifth of the total employed labour force participants. Semi-skilled

workers occupy about 39 per cent of the class and make up 8 per cent of the total workers. For an industrial economy like Karachi, semiskilled labour is important as it has a specific demand and at least cannot be substituted by unskilled labour.

The group "skilled labourers" is the next largest segment containing 16.1 per cent of total labour force and 16.6 per cent of total workers. This proportion of skilled labourers is most probably higher than in any part of Pakistan. This type of manpower is important. In many developing economies, along with an abundant supply of unskilled labour (which does not usually find adequate employment), a relative shortage of skilled personnel is linked with the problem of manpower utilization [3, p. 1]. With the availability of new techniques accompanied by new mechanical devices, adequate, employment opportunities can be generated in developing economy only if a sufficient number of skilled men is available.

Table III.3 and Figure 3.1, presenting occupational distribution by different groups, show poor capabilities of skill among the natives. They have only 8.4 per cent of their total labour force as skilled reflecting their backwardness in the technical field. This may be due to their reluctance or inadequate financial resources to have technical education and training. The highest proportion of skilled labour is presented by immigrants—mainly from India. This proportion is 18.1 per cent which is larger than the corresponding figure for the labour force as a whole. It suggests that a substantial number of immigrants came from the industrial cities of India, where they were gainfully working on some skilled jobs. Moreover this also shows their aptitude of training their kith and kin in the like manner, which helps to maintain a higher proportion of skilled labour among them.

Migrants from other parts of Pakistan with 15.8 per cent as skilled labour also seem to be an important source of contribution to skilled manpower; also their proportion of 31.3 per cent in "semi-skilled and unskilled labour" class is the highest for any group. A possible cause for such a high percentage of semi-skilled and unskilled labour among in-migrants may be that a larger number of them come from the rural areas. Mostly they are illiterate farmers, who for lack

of land migrate to industrial area, where they can earn their livelihood more easily. Karachi, being the largest business and industrial centre of the country, attracts majority of them. On the other hand, the higest proportion of skilled labour and the lowest proportion of semi-skilled and unskilled labour (i.e., 13.8 per cent) among immigrants suggests that they are the most advanced manual group of Karachi population.

After "semiskilled and unskilled labour" and "skilled labour", comes the "servants and related" group in order of numerical importance comprising 12.9 per cent of employed and 12.5 per cent of total labour force. Keeping in view the degree of illiteracy (only 34.7 per cent of adult *i.e.*, 15 years-and-over, of Karachi city is literate [12, Table 26]) a high proportion of "servants and related" in the occupational composition of the people of Karachi is obvious. The sub-classification of this category (Table III. 2) reveals that these manual services are of lower social status and capable of earning only subsistence living. These services do not require complex training or education and hence provide a kind of last resort for the least educated and untrained persons who for their limited capabilities may not be able to adopt better occupations.

Classifying by type of population (Table III.3) the in-migrants have a higher proportion of "servants and related" (19.6 per cent) than either the immigrants or the natives. This may partly be attributed to an acute shortage of jobs for servants in the other parts of Pakistan. Such persons who due to their poor capabilities cannot earn their living in their own areas migrate to Karachi. These people, if they do not get the opportunity of being absorbed in a better industry, prefer to join the category of servants, despite low remunerations and low social status, rather than to remain without any source of living in their original areas.

The next important occupational classification and the largest among white-collar occupations is "administrators and managers". This group accounts for 8.6 per cent of the total labour force and 8.9 per cent of the working labour force. This percentage of administrators and managers is quite large since it requires special training, high education or a special bent of mind, sufficient amounts of fund, and better

TABLE III.3
KARACHI: ABSOLUTE AND PERCENTAGE OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF LABOUR FORCE
BY MIGRANT STATUS, 1959

		Absol	Absolute numbers	ers			Percentage	itage		
Occupational group		Motivio	Mic	Migrants	ants	ATI	Motimas	Min	Migrants	ants
	status	Ivanives	rants	In-mig- rants	Immi- grants	status	Ivanves	rants	In-mig- rants	Immi- grants
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(9)	0	(8)	(6)	(01)	(11)
All persons in labour force	573,900	87,125	475,300	146,050	329,250	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Professional and technicians	14,775	2,250	12,500	2,250	10,250	2.6	2.6	2.6	1.5	3.1
Administrators and managers	49,300	006'9	42,275	6,625	35,650	8.6	7.9	8.9	4.5	10.8
Clerical workers	17,575	1,100	16,325	4,425	11,900	3.1	1.3	3.4	3.0	3.6
Sales workers	42,600	8,100	34,200	3,475	30,725	7.4	9.3	7.2	2.4	9.3
Farmers and fishermen	18,500	15,550	2,825	925	1,900	3.2	17.8	9.0	9.0	9.0
Drivers, postmen and related	33,700	4,750	28,675	9,375	19,300	5.9	5.4	6.0	6.4	5.9
Skilled labourers	92,175	7,225	82,475	23,000	59,475	16.1	8.4	17.4	15.8	18.1
Semi-skilled and unskilled labourers	114,150	18,800	90,975	45,675	45,300	19.9	21.6	19.1	31.3	13.8
Servants and related	71,775	7,350	61,500	28,650	32,850	12.5	8.4	12.9	19.6	10.0
Workers not classifiable	100,200	11,750	88,100	17,050	71,050	17.5	13.5	18.5	11.7	21.6
Unemployed	19,150	3,300	15,450	4,600	10,850	3.3	3.8	3.2	3.2	3.3

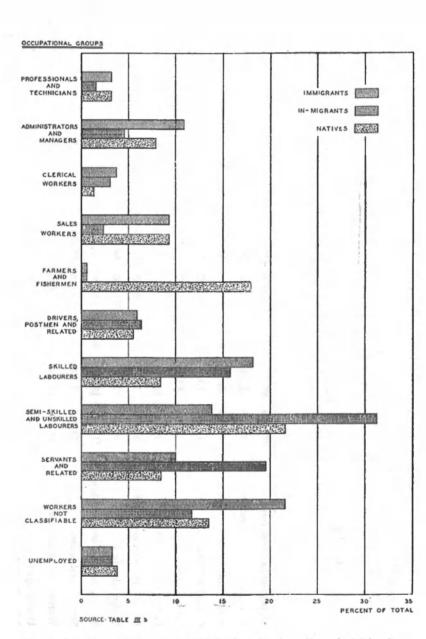


Figure 3.1 Karachi: Percentage Distribution of Labour Force by Major Occupational Groups and Migrant Status, 1959

insight. Naturally only a small segment of the population can have above-mentioned traits. However reliable inferences may not be drawn from the data about "administrators and managers" as the detailed information about shopkeepers and businessmen (who are four-fifths of the total administrators and managers) is not available.

Among the migrant groups, the immigrants have 10.8 per cent of their total labour force participants as administrators and managers, the highest proportion for any group. This corresponds to the highest literacy rate prevalent among the immigrants and perhaps availability of capital (from savings brought in liquid form) which tend to go into business. On the other hand, the in-migrant's proportion of administrators and managers is the lowest. Plausible explanations can be: i) low education among in-migrants; ii) non-availability of sufficient funds with most of the in-migrants; iii) existence of sufficient livelihood opportunities for the administrators and managers in their own regions which discourages them from going elsewhere. Only the very enthusiastic may seek to earn more in Karachi than is possible in their local places.

The group "sales workers" comes fifth in the rank, containing 42,600 or 7.4 per cent of the total workers. The bulk of the group (more than three-fifths) is identified as manual workers (i.e., hawkers and vendors) and the rest comprise the lower-paid white-collar workers. About 9.3 per cent of sales workers are from the immigrants, 9.3 per cent from the natives, and only 2.4 per cent from the in-migrants.

Next to sales workers are "drivers, postmen and related" who constitute about 5.9 per cent of the total labour force followed by minor occupational groups of "farmers and fishermen", "clerical workers" and "professionals and technicians" containing 3.2 per cent, 3.1 per cent and 2.6 per cent of the total labour force.

3.2.1 Occupational Differentials by Sex: There are primary minimal divisions of labour as every society distinguishes between men's and women's work. Generally the more energetic and exciting occupations may be assigned to the men and the more routine and monotonous ones to the women [14, p. 4]. As is evident from Table III.4 and Figure 3.2 which present occupational distribution of working labour force by sex

TABLE III.4

KARACHI: OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF WORKING LABOUR FORCE BY SEX, 1959

Occupational classification	M	ale	Fer	nale
Occupational classification	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Professionals and technicians	11,225	2.1	3,550	16.6
Administrators and managers	48,725	9.1	575	2.7
Clerical workers	17,225	3.2	350	1.6
Sales workers	41,900	7.9	700	3.3
Farmers and fishermen	18,325	3.4	175	0.8
Drivers, postmen and related	33,550	6.3	150	0.7
Skilled labourers	90,325	16.9	1,850	8.7
Semi-skilled and unskilled labourers	111,125	20.8	3,025	14.2
Servants and related	63,800	12.0	7,975	37.4
Workers not classifiable	97,225	18.2	2,975	14.0
Total	533,425	100.0	21,325	100.0

Source: [5, Table 1.04].

for 1959, the occupational composition of females differs strikingly from that of males. Some occupations seem to be completely limited to one sex and the others have unequal proportions of men and women workers.

A little less than one-third of the women workers are categorised in white-collar occupations and of these more than one-half are "professionals and technicians". The occupational groups of "servants and related" and "semi-skilled and unskilled labourers" form the bulk of manual women workers. In contrast to this, only a little more than one-fourth of men are in white-collar occupations and majority of them are "administrators and managers" and "government and semi-government servants". The group of "professionals and technicians" comprises the lowest proportion of white-collar jobs for men. For males in the manual

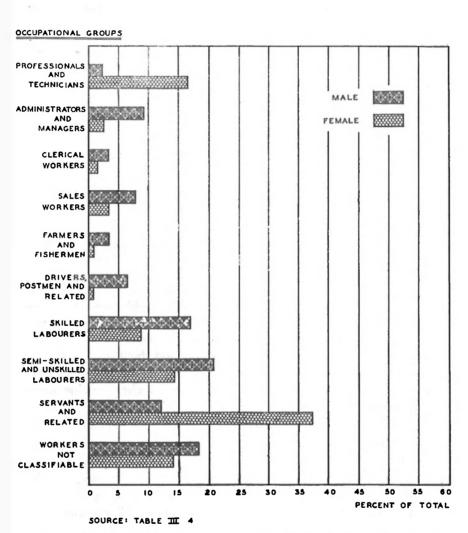


Figure 3.2 Karachi: Percentage Distribution of Workers by Major Occupational Groups and Sex, 1959

occupations, "semi-skilled and unskilled labourers" and "skilled labourers" groups contain more than three-fifths of the total number.

The differences observed between the occupational distribution of male and female workers represent to some extent their relative abilities and endowments for doing different types of work. For instance more than half of women workers' participation is in the groups "servants and related" and "semi-skilled and unskilled labourers" which suit their limited capabilities as most of them are illiterate and untrained. The women workers even if found in the occupations, generally believed to be exclusively for males (as "skilled labour") may be usually restricted to those types which require relatively less skill, less education and less physical exertion (e.g., two-thirds of the women in "skilled labourers" group are tailors). In some cases, these occupational differences also reflect the attitudes and customs of the society regarding what is "right and proper" for women to participate in [9, p. 146]. For instance, a large number of women are found in "professional class' because society's attitude is more favourable to these occupations.

3.2.2 Occupation and Income: It is difficult to attach a definite status tag to occupations but some valid analysis of one's status can be made by the occupations held, the income earned and education acquired. In the absence of relevant information about the relationship between education and occupational distribution, we can only study occupations and income¹⁰. As activities in a society become more specialized, some jobs acquire more importance and enjoy higher status than others and usually are accompanied by high income. The general rule had been that "the more difficult and the more abstruse the activity and the more personal autonomy involved, the more prestige and status were associated with it" [14, p. 8]. Obviously, all the works which are routine and dull and involve less schooling or training would be of low status and hence may have low earning capacity.

From Table III.5, which presents occupational distribution of labour force by monthly personal income, median income and migration status, we will study the relative earning capacity of different

¹⁰ However, we will try to deduce by general reasoning the educational requirements of various occupations.

occupations and the differential in capabilities of earning of the migrants and the natives in various occupations. The median personal incomes are worked out to give a precise idea of earning capacity of each occupation. Leaving aside unemployed persons, the income range is from Rs. 67.94 for "servants and related" to Rs. 175.00 for "administrators and managers". Being the most remunerative occupational group, "administrators and managers" also have the largest proportions in the highest income groups of Rs. 500-999 and Rs. 1000-and-over among all the occupations. In the lower income groups of Rs. 0-99 also this group has relatively a lower percentage. This reflects the great scarcity value of "administrators and managers", making this occupation lucrative and attractive.

Among the various groups, the in-migrant "administrators and managers" draw the highest median income of Rs. 191. One reason may be that most experienced of them are engaged in large numbers in government offices as central government employees. Such persons for their experience might be expected to receive high salaries. The private organisations in Karachi may also offer handsome salaries to capable persons and attract efficient administrators and managers from other parts of Pakistan. The in-migrants settling in Karachi for business purpose may also usually bring large funds to invest in business resulting in high incomes for them.

When computing median personal income for "professionals and technicians", we get astonishing results. Contrary to the common belief, "clerical workers" (Rs. 146.13) enjoy a higher income than the professionals and technicians class (Rs. 138.50). The explanation of this strange phenomenon can rest on both the theoretical and statistical grounds.

On the theoretical or conceptual side, there can be several factors. According to ILO definition, unregistered medical practitioners, midwives, religious workers, other medical and related occupations, and other professionals are also included in the occupational group of "professionals and technicians" [7]. These persons are financially not well established (see, Appendix Table B-5), although in our case such persons constitute more than one-third of the group. These persons

are responsible for the apparent distortion in the income distribution of this occupational group which pulls the median income down.

Another reason may be misreporting. An increasing tendency has been found among the high income earner group of "professionals and technicians" to provide deflated statements of their incomes on the fear that income survey data will find its way to the tax collector.

Moreover, a significant proportion of "professionals and technicians" are just the beginners and are in the process of receiving training for their life careers. These beginners either do not get any remuneration or receive meagre amounts (Appendix Table B-5 shows incomes of 3,300 or 22.3 per cent of the "professional and technicians" to be below Rs. 75).

On the other hand, the income distribution for the "clerical workers is not so much skewed. Relatively, they have a larger degree of uniformity than "professionals and technicans". About 90 per cent of them fall in the income range of Rs. 75-299 whereas only 43 per cent of the "professionals and technicians" are placed in this income range and the remaining are either in extreme low income groups or extreme high income groups.

The more purely statistical explanation for lower income of the professionals and technicians is related to the nature of income distribution. More than 27 per cent of these people fall in the low income group of Rs. 0-99, whereas only 12 per cent of the clerical workers are located in this group and; as the median class, the mid-point comes in the earlier income group for the professionals and technicians than the clerical workers. Even if we discard the median as true indicator of income and use instead the mode, the model income group for clerical workers is Rs. 150-199 and Rs. 100-124 for professionals and technicians. This merely upholds our provisional results.

However, if we compute the mean for these two occupational groups, we get different results. The mean income for the "clerical workers" comes to about Rs. 171 whereas for "professionals and technicians" it is as high as Rs. 246. But we cannot rely on these results. The mean

income just refers to that amount which when multiplied by the number of entries, gives the total income for that group. As such it does not take into account the extreme values, for instance, among the professional and technicians 7.1 per cent are in the income group Rs. 500-999 and 3.6 per cent are having income of Rs. 1000 or more whereas only 0.4 per cent of the clerical workers are in the income range of Rs. 500-999 and none is having income of Rs. 1000 or more. The presence of these extreme values in favour of "professional and technicians" inflate the mean income for them, which is misleading.

For both the occupations, the earning capacity of the immigrants is higher than either natives or in-migrants. White-collar occupations of "clerical workers" and "professional and technicians" like "administrators and managers" entail a high standard of education. The higher level of education among immigrants most probably enables them to occupy more remunerative jobs in these two occupations 11.

The occupational class containing "workers not classifiable" (of whom the majority are holding white-collar jobs in government, semi-government and private services) comes fourth in the rank with monthly median income of Rs. 125.28, and enjoy both higher social and economic status than at least the manual occupations. Again immigrants due to their higher literacy rate are drawing the highest median income of Rs. 132.25 while, income of the native is the lowest, *i.e.*, Rs. 105.54.

"Skilled labourers" is the fifth important occupation for its average earning capacity of Rs. 108.45. This income was much higher than average monthly earning of Rs. 86.15 for the general workers of Karachi in 1959 [10, Appendix D, Table 1] reflecting the high intrinsic value for the skilled workers in the manual jobs.

"Drivers, postmen and related" come next with monthly median income at Rs. 103.42. The migrants and the natives receive more or

¹¹ Our assumption, that immigrants enjoy a higher literacy rate than any other group is based on the findings made in an earlier monograph which reveals much higher percentage of in-migrants in school-going age group (5-20 years) seeking for education than for natives or in-migrants [6, p. 23].

less uniform incomes suggesting a narrow range of salaries paid to persons with different education and training in this occupational group.

"Sales workers" with average incomes of Rs. 81.90 are next in order. White-collar job holders in this group have relatively much higher median incomes than the manual sales workers [Appendix Table B-5].

Apart from unemployed labour force participants, the "semi-skilled and unskilled labourers", "farmers and fishermen" ¹² and "servants and related" comprising bulk of the manual workers are at the lowest ebb of earnings with median incomes of Rs. 74.40, Rs. 72.45 and Rs. 67.94 respectively. Median income for the unemployed persons is zero. However, their mean monthly income comes to Rs. 8.40.

In the light of classical studies [2;4], two important characteristics of the economic structure emanate from our analysis of the relative earning capacities of different occupations. The first is related to the income differential of the skilled workers and unskilled workers. Whereas an unskilled worker is earning Rs. 69.00, a skilled worker is receiving Rs. 108.45, i.e., 57 per cent more than the unskilled worker [Appendix Table B-5]. We need here to mention the pioneering thinking made by Professor Fisher, who pointed out that the margin between wages of skilled labourer and unskilled labourer might be expected to be relatively wide in primitive countries or in countries at an earlier stage of industrial development and relatively narrow in countries with long industrial experience, where the acquisition of the regional skills and education was easier [4]13. The reasons for the substantial difference between incomes of skilled worker and unskilled worker seems to be obvious. Many of those who attend primary schools have no opportunity for further education [15, p.11]. It is true for Karachi. The cost

¹² A remarkable feature of the occupational group "farmers and fishermen" is higher median income for the natives than any other group. For this group all the persons earning Rs. 1000 or more are natives. Also, out of 950 farmers and fishermen in the income range of Rs. 200-999, 825 are natives. This supports our earlier reasoning that more of the natives remain in agriculture including fishing due to possession of large land estates and better fishing equipments giving them larger returns than possible in many other occupations.

¹³ This generalisation was substantiated by Colin Clark by a comparison of skilled and unskilled wages for different countries [2, pp. 526-531].

of education is high which only a limited number can afford. The educational facilities provided by public authorities are narrow and the training centres are few. A common tendency has also been observed among families to restrict special skills within the family bounds and not to let these pass over to other persons. All these factors may maintain the high scarcity value for the skills.

The second important feature of the economic structure is related to the highest incomes for the white-collar occupations, "administrators and managers", "clerical workers" and "professionals and technicians" (Table III.5). According to Colin Clark, if the relative position of persons performing clerical, professional and administrative duties is examined, we may naturally expect relative earnings in this group to be the highest in the least developed and the least literate countries [2, p. 539]. This generalisation seems to be only partly true for our economy. The incomes of the "skilled labourers" (Rs. 108.45) and "drivers, postmen and related" (Rs. 103.42) in particular, though not very close to the incomes of "professional and technicians" and "clerical workers", are still not much below. It may suggest that our economy if not highly developed is also not primitive 14. However, the relative incomes of "servants and related", "farmers and fishermen" and "unskilled labourers" are much lower. All these observations necessitate a great deal of efforts to uplift the society from the present low literacy rate (32.3 per cent) to a higher literacy rate to narrow down the differentials in the earnings of various occupations.

3.3 Workers by Occupation and Industry

This section studies the distribution of gainfully employed workers by both occupation and industry. The industrial classification concentrates on the sectors from which the demand for labour emanates, while the occupational classification makes a concentration on the labourer as such (i.e., on the nature of his work). This part of our study will attempt to find the pattern of relationship between the two distributions.

¹⁴ Examples of Cuba and Dominican Republic can be cited as the type of economies, mentioned by Clark. In Havana (Cuba), the unskilled labour was paid \$ 2 per day and the ordinary male clerks earned \$ 4 to \$ 6 per day. In the Dominican Republic, the ratio was wider: unskilled labour being paid 0.75 to 1 peso per day and, a salesman 3 pesos per day [8].

The distribution of workers relating to different types of occupations in various industries is presented in the Table III.6. The table depicts a definite relationship between industrial and occupational distributions; the occupations are not found to be distributed at random among various industries. Generally, a larger number of the white-collar jobs is found in the service-producing industries and larger number of manual jobs in the physical goods-producing industries and larger proportion of "farmers and fishermen" in "agriculture". For example of 12,800 workers in "professions" (which is a service-producing industry) 12,750 are white-collar workers. Similarly in the "manufacturing and trade" industry 15, about three-fourths of the workers are at manual jobs and the rest at white-collar Jobs due to inclusion of "trade" in this industrial category which is service-producing. Same rule applies to "agriculture" also, where more than 95 per cent of the total workers are reported "farmers and fishermen". "Transportation" is perhaps the only occupation which though a service-producing industry contains a larger proportion of manual workers.

The other remarkable feature of the distribution of the occupation of workers by industry is that most of the occupations are singularly concentrated. For example, nearly all the "sales workers" are found in only one industry, namely "manufacturing and trade" which also accommodates more than nine-tenths of "administrators and managers", 85.1 per cent of the "skilled labourers" and one-half of the "semiskilled and unskilled labourers". Similarly, more than three-fourths of the "drivers, postmen and related" are absorbed in "transportation" industry. "Profession" industry employs 83.6 per cent of the "professionals and technicians". Even these occupational groups (e.g., "clerical workers", "semi-skilled and unskilled labourers" and "servants and related") which are not singularly concentrated are specified to only two or three industrial categories. For instance, "government and semi-government services" (47.1 per cent), "manufacturing and trade" (25.5 per cent) and "transportation" (10.5 per cent) account for the employment of more than four-fifths of the "clerical workers".

¹⁵ In classification of "manufacturing and trade" industry, the "manufacturing" constitute a major proportion of the class resulting in a larger proportion of manual worker in this industry group.

TABLE III.6 KARACHI: DISTRIBUTION OF WORKERS BY OCCUPATION AND INDUSTRY, 1959

S	Code	Occupational	Pro- fession	Agri- culture	Manu- factur- ing & trade	Trans- port- ation	Govt. & semi- Govt.	Privat	Perso- nal vices	others	Not classi- fiable	All occupa- tions
Ξ		(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(9)	(7)	(8)	(6)	(10)	(II)	(12)
-:	Professio	Professionals & technician	12,350	75	575	150	1,525	75		25	1	14,77
0	Administ	Administrators & managers	(83.6)	(0.5)	(3.9)	(1.0)	3.550	(0.5)	25	(0.2)	25	49.30
i			(0.7)	. 1	(90.4)	(1.4)	(7.2)	(0.2)	(0.1)	(0.1)	(0.1)	(100.0
e,	Clerical workers	workers	(0.4)	1.1	4,475	1,850	8,275	(4.4)	50	125	1,950	(100.0)
4.	Sales workers	rkers		Ţ	42,450	75	75	1		1	1	42,60
v	Farmere	Farmers and fishermen	1.1	17.375	(99.6)	(0.2)	(0.2)			125	1 1	18.50
;	1	The state of the s	1	(93.9)	(2.6)	(0.4)	(2.4)	1	1	(0.7)	1	(100.0
9	Drivers,	Drivers, postmen and related	1	1	009	25,525	7,300	20	1	125	100	33,70
			1	1	(1.8)	(75.7)	(21.7)	(0.2)	1	(0.4)	(0.3)	(100.0
7	Skilled labourer:	aponters	1	50	78,400	2,750	10,275	150	275	100	175	92,17
00	Semi-skil	Semi-skilled & unskilled	1 1	575	37,350	2.875	7.175	(0.2)	200	100	45.800	114.15
	labourers		I	(0.50)	(50.2)	(2.5)	(6.3)	(0.1)	(0.2)	(0.1)	(40.1)	(100.0
6	Servants	Servants and related	25	20	9.950	2,050	15,050	350	43,900	125	275	71,77
	***************************************	1,1,9,-1-	(0.0)	(0.1)	(13.9)	(2.9)	(21.0)	(0.5)	(61.2)	(0.2)	(0.4)	(100.0
0	Workers	workers not classifiable	(0.0)	(0.1)	(11.600	(3.0)	(45.5)	(22.3)	(0.2)	(2.1)	(15.2)	(100.0
AII	All industries	1	12,800 (2.3)	18,200	250,450 (45.2)	39,050	99,250 (17.9)	23,925 (4.3)	44,600 (8.0)	2,875 (0.5)	63,600 (11.5)	(554,750) (100.0)

Also approximately, the "servants and related" is absorbed in only three industrial categories, *i.e.*, "personal services" (61.2 per cent), "government and semi-government service" (21 per cent) and "manufacturing and trade" (13.9 per cent).

3.4 Conclusion

The analysis of industrial and occupational distribution of the labour force reveals Karachi to be an industrialized and commercialized economy, characterised by specialization of activities and division of labour.

There seems to be an implicit correlation among incomes, educational requirement and the social prestige enjoyed by the occupation. For instance, the servants and unskilled workers generally due to their low education attainment, earn relatively meager amounts and have a low social status. On the other hand, the administrators, managers, clerical workers and technicians generally enjoy the highest social status because of their high incomes and relatively advanced education (which also raise their scarcity value higher than many of the other occupations).

Some distinctive occupational characteristics of the three special groups of manpower (i.e., child labour, female labour and aged labour force participants) were witnessed. Relatively, the child labour and female labour were restricted to those occupations which require less education, training and physical exertion. However, in comparison to child labour (for whom the white-collor jobs were almost closed) a significant proportion of female workers were categorised in the white-collar occupations though most of them were lower paid. The occupational distribution of older workers in comparison to overall manpower shows a larger number of them engaged in the remunerative occupations, which require experience, skill and education and enjoy high social status.

Occupational distribution by migration status reveals the limited capabilities of the natives, particularly when compared to the immigrants. Taking the occupational categories ("administrators and managers", "clerical workers", "professional and technicians", "skilled

labourers" and "drivers, postmen and related") having monthly median incomes of more than Rs. 100, the relative proportion of the natives is the lowest. Compared to corresponding figures of 41.4 per cent of the immigrants and 31.2 per cent of the in-migrants, only one-fourth of the natives were found in these most remunerative occupations. However, even the overall proportion of working force in these occupations is not appreciable. Efforts are needed to equip more persons with education and technical skills to join these occupations.

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CHAPTER 4

INDUSTRIAL ENTREPRENEURSHIP IN KARACHI*

4.0 Introduction

In recent years emphasis has shifted from an almost overwhelming concern with physical capital accumulation as the sine qua non of development to a recognition of the concurrent importance of human resources. Chief among these is the successful discharge of the entrepreneurial function. Given a set of objective economic ingredients such as the requisite supply of factors of production, and markets, growth requires the presence of a difficult-to-define catalytic agent, inside or outside of government, capable of putting the pieces together and organizing them into productive economic units. The traditional Schumpeterian definition of entrepreneurship emphasises the discovery of new productive functions and new products, as well as new markets. However, we find that, in countries such as Pakistan entrepreneurial success is more measurable in terms of responsiveness to given economic stimuli and also, perhaps more importantly, in terms of relative effectiveness in obtaining access to scarce resources, while guiding the enterprise through a maze of controls. Both the owneroperators in the small-scale sector and the managers are, therefore, included in our definition 1.

The scarcity of the entrepreneurial "third dimension" in industrial growth is now acknowledged as a problem in the developmental literature, but analysis of the emergence, functions and characteristics of industrial entrepreneurs are still few and far between. This study draws on some of the results of the Institute's sample survey of 530 industrial

^{*} This study was originally done by Matlub Hussain. The author of this monograph is, however, responsible for presenting the results in the present form.

¹ For the purpose of the present study, industrial establishments in the sample employing less than 20 workers were categorised as small scale while those employing 20 or more workers were taken as large scale. Accordingly, 380 entrepreneurs represented the small-scale sector while the large-scale sector consisted of 150. Three firms in the former and 24 in the latter were operated by managers and are grouped together for the purpose of analysis in our study.

establishments in Karachi. This is a completely different sample from that used in the "People of Karachi" study². The significance of such a study is highlighted by the government's avowed intention to gradually dismantle the existing network of direct controls, and replace it with greater reliance on private sector decision making in a world of indirect controls.

Now we will proceed to investigate relevant evidence on entrepreneurial antecedents and motivations.

4.1 Geographic Origin of Entrepreneurial and Managerial Resources

This section provides an analysis of the overall geographic origin of industrial entrepreneurs presently in Karachi, their concentration in particular size and type of industry.

As is indicated in Table IV.1, 92.1 per cent of industrial entrepreneurs are from migrants, who comprise 83.4 per cent of the present population

TABLE IV.1

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF INDUSTRIAL ENTREPRENEURS
MANAGERS AND TOTAL POPULATION OF KARACHI BY PLACE
OF ORIGIN

	ar glimario no	- 1 Ent	trepreneu	ers	United to		
150	lace of origin	Small scale	Large scale	Total cols. (2) & (3)	Mana- gers	Total cols. (4) & (5)	Total popula tion
,51 A(S)	(I)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
licino	Total:	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
I Pa	kistanis by origin	28.9	14.3	25.2	3.7	24.2	34.2
a)	Natives	9.6	4.8	8.3	10-1	7.9	16.6
b)	In-migrants	19.3	9.5	16.9	3.7	16.3	17.6
II Mi	grants from India	70.8	81.7	73.6	81.5	74.0	64.4
	grants from other antries	0.3	4.0	1.2	14.8	1.9	1.4

of Karachi. The percentage of entrepreneurs from local population, which is 16.6 per cent of Karachi's total population, is only 7.9.

² Data obtained from this sample survey were also used in two earler studies [1; 2].

This suggests the possibility that the migrants possess relatively a higher entrepreneurial ability than the local population. A further consideration of the statistics reveals, on the whole, that a comparatively lower entrepreneurial ability exists among the local population of what is now Pakistan than among immigrants originating from areas outside Pakistan. Only 24.2 per cent of the entrepreneurs have come from the Pakistan-born portion of the total population (34.2 per cent) while immigrants from India have provided 74.0 per cent of the entrepreneurs out of a share in the total population of only 64.4 per cent.

Our findings show that 95.2 per cent of the large-scale firms have been established by non-Karachi entrepreneurs, which suggests their ability to establish larger firms and carrying them successfully through the critical incubation period. It can further be seen that 85.7 per cent of the total large-scale firms owe their existence to migrants from outside Pakistan (primarily from India) while in-migrant entrepreneurs account for 9.5 per cent only. This fact suggests greater initial advantage (as for example, capital) and for a comparatively higher degree of entrepreneurial skill and initiative among immigrant entrepreneurs than other groups.

Other countries (aside from India) have made relatively small yet significant contributions to the present stock of entrepreneurs operating in Karachi. These entrepreneurs have also mainly concentrated their efforts in the large-scale sector and 4.0 per cent of the total large-scale firms have been established through the financial resources and entrepreneurial skill of these other-nationality groups. As far as the supply of scarce managerial skill is concerned, the contribution of other foreign countries (excluding India) has been more significant since 14.8 per cent of the total managerial class originates from this source. However, immigrants from India constitute the principal source of recruitment for the present managerial class, accounting for 81.5 per cent of the total managers. The total contribution made by local Pakistanis is insignificant. In fact out of 27 firms only one manager from the areas now forming West Pakistan was encountered; an indication of the relative infancy of such skills and education in traditional Pakistani society.

The advent of scientific management, a process in which managers unrelated to owners take over important responsibilities have hardly begun in Pakistan. Entrepreneurial functions have not yet become distinct from managerial functions and are still closely wedded to each other as well as to the paternalistic and familistic social structure.

As far as the present group of small-scale entrepreneurs is concerned, statistics indicate that this group too is predominantly composed of migrants, i.e., 83.4 per cent of the overall migrant portion of the population has supplied 90.4 per cent of the total small-scale entrepreneurs. This fact confirms the hypothesis that even in the small-scale sector migrants seem to manifest a higher potential ability for entrepreneurial activity, while growth and development of this talent or skill seems relatively impeded among the natives.

However, as far as the migrants from other parts of Pakistan are concerned, a comparison of their contribution to the present-day small-scale and large-scale industrial entrepreneurial pool indicates that the numerical growth of entrepreneurs in the small-scale sector is almost equal to their percentage representation in the total population of Karachi. At present initial private ventures are largely confined to the small-scale sector. With lessened scope for future mass immigration from outside the country, experience in the small-scale sector provides a useful training ground for the development of future, particularly large-scale, entrepreneurial resources. Besides, with the change in the nature of the economy as economic development proceeds, the small-scale sector will provide a channel for private initiative released from the rural sector.

Table IV.2 depicts the regionwise supply of entrepreneurial resources.

4.2 Socio-Occupational Background

In the preceding section, we discussed the geographic origin of the present entrepreneurial and managerial resources of Karachi. The growth of these resources in a given region is conditioned by the socio-economic complex. The present section is addressed to an analysis of entrepreneurial antecedents and motivations, which condition the quantitative growth of entrepreneurial resources in these regions.

TABLE IV.2
REGIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF ENTREPRENEURS/MANAGERS BY PLACE OF ORIGIN

					Entrep	Entrepreneurs			Monogan	-	Grand total	Lotot
P	ace	Place of origin (country/region)	Small	Small scale	Large scale	scale	Te	Total	Malle	Scis	Oland	lolai
			No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
		(1)		(2)	(3)	(3)		(4)	(5)		(9)	0
i.	1	Pakistan 1 Former Puniah	109	100.0	18	100.0	127	100.0		100.0	128	100.0
	; ;		36	33.0	9	33.3	42	33.1	1	1	42	32.8
	33	North West Frontier	24	22.0	П	5.6	25	19.7	1	1	25	19.5
	4.	Sind	9	5.5	1	1	9	4.7	I	1	9	4.7
	5.	Others	9	5.5	9	1	9	4.7	1	1	9	4.7
Ξ		India 1. U.P.	267	100.0	103	100.0	370	100.0	22	9.1	392	100.0
	7	Delhi	65	24.3	28	27.2	93	25.1	7	9.1	95	24.2
	3	Bombay and Saurashtra	36	13.5	34	33.0	70	18.9	11	50.0	81	20.7
	4.	East Panjab	43	16.1	7	8.9	50	13.5	7	9.1	52	13.3
	5	C.P.	12	4.5	S	4.9	17	4.6	67	9.1	19	4.9
	6.	Rajasthan	25	9.4	∞	7.8	33	8.9	1	4.5	34	8.7
	7.	7. Others	6	3.4	4	3.9	13	3.5	7	9.1	15	3.8
Ξ		Other Countries	1	100.0	9	100.0	9	100.0	4	100.0	10	100.0

One of the chief characteristics of entrepreneurship in Pakistan is the existence of the family firm which nurtures and gives rise to talent in terms of ancestral or family experience. Most of the present entrepreneurs in Karachi have descended from industrial and trading families, inheriting initial resources and the means to carry on enterprise and perhaps also an enterprising vision. The latter possibility is suggested by the comparison of the major occupational experience of presentday entrepreneurs and managers with their ancestral occupations. The grandfathers of 18.7 per cent of the present-day entrepreneurs and managers were industrialists as were 28.5 per cent of their fathers, while 41.5 per cent started their own careers independently. Thus while there has been only a relatively short industrial tradition to fall back upon, such experience has been cumulatively utilized. The secular trend is reversed in the case of trade and commerce—since only 21.9 per cent of the present-day entrepreneurs started their careers in this area, while 33.6 per cent of their fathers and 31.5 per cent of their grandfathers were engaged in small enterprises.

TABLE 1V.3

DISTRIBUTION OF ENTREPRENEURS/MANAGERS ACCORDING TO THEIR FIRST OCCUPATION AND THE MAJOR OCCUPATION OF THEIR FATHERS AND GRANDFATHERS

		cupation,	1	Major occ	upation o	f E
Classification of occupation		preneurs/ - agers	Fa	ther	Gran	dfather
classification of occupation	No.	%	No.	1 %	No.	%
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
Industrialists	220	41.5	151	28.5	99	18.7
Traders, businessmen, etc.	116	21.9	178	33.6	166	31.3
Agriculturists	7	1.3	44	8.3	90	17.0
Government service (nor	1-					
technical)	20	3.8	29	5.5	20	3.8
White-collar employees	40	7.6	18	3.4	13	2.5
Professional people	2 7	0.4	20	3.8	17	3.2
Technicians	7	1.3	5	0.9	2	0.4
Skilled labourers	106	20.0	61	11.5	42	7.9
Service workers	5	0.9	7	1.3	6	1.1
Unskilled labourers	7	1.3	17	3.2	9	1.7
Occupation not known/			÷ 0			
reported	غ — <u>ن</u>	- E	를 를		66	12.4
Fotal:	530	100.0	530	100.0	530	100.0

In brief, the distribution in Table IV.3 above shows that in Karachi

entrepreneurship has largely originated either from families which had commercial tradition or from the skilled labour and white-collar classes.

The qualitative aspects of the entrepreneurship in Pakistan suggested by the comparative study of the family backgrounds in the commercial sector seems to possess combined advantages of higher initial resources and more enterprising skill. This can be seen by the number of largescale firms established by entrepreneurs originating from such families (see, Appendix, Table B-11): 61.1 per cent and 66.7 per cent of the present entrepreneurs in the large-scale sector reported that their grandfathers and fathers were respectively engaged in commercial activity while 39.7 per cent initiated their own careers in commerce. Compared to it in the small-scale sector only 21.0 per cent and 22.3 per cent reported traders among their grandfathers and fathers respectively, while only 16.7 per cent started their own careers in this fashion. On the other hand, in the small industry sector only 10.9 per cent of the grandfathers and 16.2 per cent of fathers of the entrepreneurs were skilled labourers while as many as 27.0 per cent began their careers as skilled labourers. Whereas for the large scale, we find that there were only 0.8 per cent skilled labourers among their grandfathers but none among their fathers, while 2.4 per cent initiated their own careers in this field. As far as the family backgrounds of the present managerial calss is concerned, 14.8 per cent revealed whitecollar employees among their fathers, while 48.1 per cent of all the present entrepreneurs were white-collar employees in the beginning of their careers while among their grandfathers and fathers, only 1.8 per cent and 3.7 per cent respectively held such positions. These differences are significant and definitely point out the relationship that exists between the family backgrounds and the qualitative characteristics of the entrepreneurship in Pakistan. Thus, entrepreneurship in the largescale sector has mainly emerged from families, which seem to have somewhat stronger commercial backgrounds, whereas in the small-scale sector it has also originated significantly from skilled labour class. The managerial resources have largely emerged from the trading families and the white-collar class.

Study of the generational mobility of the entrepreneurs originating in Pakistan territory and those who have migrated from India and elsewhere (see, Table IV.4 below) discloses some interesting features for consideration. For instance, the development of industrial entrepreneurship in what is present-day West Pakistan has been slower than its growth in regions now included in India. This may be inferred from the fact that among the former group 20.0 per cent of the present generation of entrepreneurs reported that their grandfathers pursued industrial careers while 38.5 per cent of their fathers were engaged in such activities. Within this group, 39.1 per cent initiated their careers as

TABLE IV.4

COUNTRY-WISE PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF ENTREPRENEURS/
MANAGERS ACCORDING TO THEIR FIRST OCCUPATION AND
THE OCCUPATIONS PURSUED BY THEIR FATHERS AND
GRANDFATHERS

	be at a some of	India a	ind other o	ountries	l ban Pa	akistan	
oii nio	Classification of occupations	First occupa- tion of respon- dent	Father's occupa-	Grand- father's occupa- tion	First occupa- tion of respon- dent	Father's occupation	Grand- father's occupa tion
	(I)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
by	usioni vesi ma e List	ide et	11.1	113(1)	Smod I	nd redi	al milit
1,	Industrialists	42.3	27.9	18.2	39.1	30.5	20.3
2.	Traders & merchants	23.6	35.6	35.3	16.4	26.6	18.0
3.	Agriculturists	0.7	5.5	14.4	3.1	17.2	25.0
4.	Government service (non-technical)	3.5	6.2	4.7	4.7	3.9	0.8
5.	White collar employees	0.5	4.2	2.2	3.9	0.8	3.1
6.	Professional people		3.5	2.5	1.6	4.7	5.5
7.	Technicians	9.7	1.0		0.0	0.8	onq a
8.	Skilled labourers	18.4	(12.7 b	8.5	25.0	7.8	6.3
9.	Service workers	0.8	1.7	1.5	1.5	7.8	5.5
10.	Unskilled labourers	0.5	1.7	0.5	3.9	10 - 11 1 10 - 10	15.5
11.	Occupation not known			11.4	a-s tit lw	nli +	- 1
	Total:	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

industrial entrepreneurs while 60.9 per cent later moved into this area of endeavour. In comparison, those who have migrated to Karachi revealed that 18.2 per cent of their grandfathers and 27.9 per cent of their fathers were industrialists, while 42.3 per cent started their careers in this manner and only 57.7 per cent later on moved into it. This would imply that comparatively a larger number of entrepreneurs and managers originating from Indian territory have an industrial tradition to fall back upon than the Pakistan-born group. One of the reasons for the slower growth of entrepreneurial talent among the Muslim population of West Pakistan may be found in the fact that the talent born in this area in the pre-Partition period was largely absorbed in the British Army. Further, only 18 per cent of their grandfathers and 26.6 per cent of their fathers were categorised as traders and merchants. Compared with these figures, there were 35.3 per cent and 35.6 per cent traders respectively among the grandfathers and fathers of entrepreneurs who had migrated from India and elsewhere. Moreover, 23.6 per cent of this migrant group initiated their career as traders while only 16.4 per cent of the entrepreneurs originally from Pakistan began their careers as merchants. This indicates that entrepreneurship emerging from what is present-day India is endowed with a somewhat stronger commercial background than that of Pakistan-born.

Further analysis of the data indicates that there were more representatives of agriculturist families among the ancestors of entrepreneurs originally from Pakistan than among those who have migrated from India and other countries. In the native-born group 25.0 per cent reported that their grandfathers were agriculturists, 17.2 per cent that their fathers were agriculturists while 3.1 per cent started their own career in the primary sector. The relevant figures for immigrant entrepreneurs are 14.4 per cent, 5.5 per cent and 0.7 per cent respectively. These differences are significant and definitely point to a relationship between area of origin and occupational background.

It is interesting to note that there were no technically-trained men (e.g., engineers) among the grandfathers of the entrepreneurs originating in Pakistan while only 0.8 per cent of the informants claimed this as their first occupation. Compared with these figures, 9.7 per cent of the entrepreneurs from outside Pakistan initiated their careers as technicians

while 0.5 per cent of their grandfathers and 1.0 per cent of their fathers were listed as technically-trained. Among the entrepreneurs from Pakistan a relatively high percentage had held non-technical government jobs in the beginning of their careers, compared to their ancestors —4.7 per cent compared with 0.8 per cent of grandfathers and 3.9 per cent of fathers.

Note that a larger percentage of Pakistan-born entrepreneurs started their careers as skilled labourers compared with entrepreneurs who migrated from other countries to Pakistan (i.e., 25.0 per cent in comparison to 18.4 per cent). However, it must be pointed out that there were more skilled labourers, among the ancestors of the migrant group. Skilled labourers account for 8.5 per cent among their grandfathers and 12.7 per cent among their fathers. Only 6.3 per cent and 7.8 per cent were reported among the grandfathers and fathers respectively, of the entrepreneurs from Pakistan.

The foregoing analysis of the occupational mobility of the present stock of entrepreneurs/managers has indicated certain long-run trends and in particular inter-generational movements into and out of all occupational positions. Since one of the characteristics of entrepreneurship in Pakistan is its recent beginning, it is important to examine the short-term occupational movements within the present generation of entrepreneurs/managers, *i.e.*, lateral and vertical movements within their own occupational career. Occupational mobility may include each change from one job to another. However, we have tried to ascertain occupational mobility by examining only four preceding jobs held by the entrepreneurs/managers in our sample and which lasted more than one year. For very few (*i.e.*, 2.5 per cent) of them have had more than five previous jobs.

The statistics gathered on the occupational histories of entrepreneurs/managers in our sample (see, Table IV.5) reveals that out of 530 entrepreneurs/managers interviewed only 16.4 per cent entered directly into their present occupations while 83.6 per cent had been committed to one or more preceding occupational affiliations; 52.8 per cent of our sample held two or more preceding occupations, 25.3 per cent three or more preceding occupations and 12.1 per cent four or more preceding occupations.

TABLE IV.5

DISTRIBUTION OF ENTREPRENEURS/MANAGERS ACCORDING
TO THEIR PREVIOUS FOUR OCCUPATIONS

End	Classification of		irst ious		cond vious		hird vious	1	urth vious
	occupations	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
	(1)	(2	2)	(3)	((4)	(5)
dal	Industrialists	156		79	28.2	29	21.6	7	10.9
2.	Traders & merchants	109	24.6	68	24.3	24	17.9	13	20.3
3.	Agriculturists	4	0.9	6	2.1	2	1.5	1	1.6
4.	Government service					-			400
_	(non-technical)	10		17	6.2	.7	5.2	7	10.9
5.	White-collar employees	34	7.7	28	10.0	18	13.4	9	14.1
6.	Professional people		-	1	0.4	1	0.8		
7.	Technicians	10	2.3	2	0.7	3	2.2	2	3.1 35.9
8.	Skilled labourers	109	24.6	71	25.4	48	35.8 0.8	23	1.6
9. 10.	Service workers Unskilled labourers	10	0.2 2.3	4	1.4 1.4	rl) o i c	0.8	i	1.6
	Total :	433	100.0	280	100.0	134	100.0	64	100.0
Res	pondants having one or								
m	ore previous occupations pondants having no pre-	443	83.6	280	52.8	134	25.3	64	12.1
	eding occupations	87	16.4	250	47.2	396	74.7	466	87.9
	Grand Total:	5 30	100.0	5 30	100.0	530	100.0	530	100.0

There has been a steady increase in the participation of the sampled population in entrepreneurial pursuits as we go from fourth to first previous occupation. In the first occupation in chronological order only 10.9 per cent of the present entrepreneurs and managers were industrialists. This percentage increased in third previous occupation to 21.6 in second occupation to 28.2 and in the occupation previous to the present one to 35.2 per cent.

The flow of talent at each stage directed towards the pool of entrepreneurs/managers emanates largely from the trading and skilled labour classes. In the fourth previous occupation 20.3 per cent indicated that they were traders; in the third this number was reduced to 17.9 per cent increasing again in the second occupation to 24.3 per cent and 24.6 per cent in the first previous occupation. This shows that most of the entrepreneurs have had commercial experience previous to becoming

industrial entrepreneurs, the figures suggesting that entrepreneurship in Pakistan has gone through a stage of commercial incubation. On the other hand, 35.9 per cent were skilled labourers in the fourth occupation, 35.8 per cent in the third occupation, 25.4 per cent in the second and only 24.6 per cent in the first previous occupation.

The other major occupational sources from which entrepreneurial talent has been drawn consists of government service and white-collar employment. Those who had held non-technical government jobs in the fourth previous occupation accounted for 10.9 per cent and 14.1 per cent were white-collar employees at that stage.

It is of interest, moreover, to note that comparatively more entrepreneurial/managerial talent has been recruited from technically trained sources than from the agricultural sector. Technicians account for 3.1 per cent in the fourth occupation, 2.2 per cent in the third, 0.7 per cent in the second, and 2.3 per cent in the first previous occupation. In comparison to this, there were only 1.6 per cent agriculturists in the fourth occupation, 1.5 per cent in the third occupation and 0.9 per cent and 2.1 per cent respectively in the first and the second previous occupations.

To sum up, our findings suggest that the skilled labourers and trading class as well as government and white-collar employees are the main sources of entrepreneurship in Pakistan and that the technically and the agriculturally trained account for a negligable proportion.

Further consideration of our data seems to suggest that a definite relationship exists between the occupational mobility and the place of origin of entrepreneurs/managers. As far as geographical origins are concerned, 19.5 per cent of the group of Pakistan-born entrepreneurs/managers entered directly into their present occupation while 80.5 per cent have had one or more preceding occupations (see Table IV.6). Compared to this only 15.4 per cent immigrant entrepreneurs/managers from India and other countries are direct entrants into their present occupation, whereas 84.6 per cent have one or more previous occupational affiliations. This indicates that the occupational mobility has been greater in the latter group than in the former group. Since the immigrant entrepreneurs/managers have emerged from somewhat

industrially developed regions of Indo-Pakistan subcontinent the reasons for the higher occupational mobility in this group becomes obvious.

TABLE IV.6

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF ENTREPRENEURS/MANAGERS ACCORDING TO PREVIOUS FOUR OCCUPATIONS BY THEIR PLACE OF ORIGIN

	a manage is to	India	and ot	her cou	intries	arrent.	Pakist	an	PII
	Classification of occupations	First pre- vious	Se- cond pre- vious	Third pre- vious	Fou- rth pre- vious	First pre- vious	Se- cond pre- vious	Third pre- vious	rth
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
1.	Industrialists	36.5	30.5	27.6	10.2	31.1	19.3	10.3	13.3
2.	Traders and merchants	26.5	24.7	16.2	22.4	18.4	22.8	24.1	13.3
3.	Agriculturists	0.6	1.8	0.9	_	1.9	3.5	3.5	6.7
4.	Government service								
10	(non-technical)	1.2	5.8	5.7	12.2	5.8	7.0	3.5	0 6.7
5.	White-collar employee	s 8.8	11.2	14.3	16.3	3.9	5.3	10.3	6.7
6.	Professional people	-		10			1.8	3.5	
7. 8.	Technicians Skilled labourers	2.9	0.9 23.3	1.9 35.2	4.1	35.0	33.3	3.5 37.8	40.0
9.	Service workers	0.3	0.9	0.9	34.7	35.0	3.5	37.0	6.7
10.	Unskilled labourers	1.8	0.9		_	3.9	3.5	3.5	6.7
	Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
I.	Respondants who have	in I							green.
bəll	one or more previous occupations	84.6	55.5	26.1	12.2	80.5	44.5	22.7	11.7
II.	Respondents having no previous occupation	15.4	44.5	73.9	87.8	19.5	55.5	77.3	88.3
	Grand Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

As is indicated by the above table the immigrant entrepreneurial group resembles the Pakistan-born group in that it has likewise drawn the entrepreneurial talent largely from the commercial class and skilled labourers. Together they account for 57.1 per cent in the fourth previous occupation and 48.0 per cent in the first previous occupation among the former group and 53.3 per cent and 53.4 per cent respectively among the latter group. However, it may be noted that there is a higher percentage representation of skilled labourers among the Pakistan-born group than the immigrant. For instance, in the former group in the

fourth previous occupation they accounted for 40.0 per cent and in the first previous occupation 35.0 per cent. The relevant information for the latter group is 34.7 per cent and 21.5 per cent respectively. Nevertheless, the immigrant entrepreneuraial group contains a larger number of white-collar employees than the Pakistan-born, *i.e.*, 16.3 per cent in the fourth previous occupation and 8.8 per cent in the first previous occupation compared with 6.7 per cent and 3.9 per cent respectively. On the other hand, the agriculturists have a greater representation among the Pakistan-born entrepreneurial group. For example, this group in the fourth previous occupation accounted for 6.7 per cent and in the first previous occupation 1.9 per cent compared with none among the immigrant entrepreneurial group in the fourth previous occupation and 0.6 per cent in the first previous occupation.

Since the Pakistan-born entrepreneurs are mostly in the small-scale sector it is interesting to analyse their occupational background.

Our findings indicate that this group did not differ appreciably from the occupational background of the population. In other words, the Pakistan-born small-scale entrepreneurial group comes mainly from the skilled labo rers and trading class.

In short, in its entirty as well as in its component parts the fore-going analysis of the occupational background of the entrepreneurs/managers substantiates our earlier results that the greatest proportion of small-scale entrepreneurs are directly recruited from the skilled labour class. On the other hand, managers of the large-scale firms have emerged primarily from the white-collar class of employees while the owner-operators in the large-scale sector have commercial careers to their credit.

4.3 Entrepreneurial Motivations

Previous section was devoted to the study of the inter-generation occupational mobility covering a period of three generations of social life and the occupational histories of the entrepreneurs/managers in our sample. Our analysis suggested that there has been considerable occupational mobility. The cause of this mobility also provides useful information for an ultimate understanding of entrepreneurial motivations. This topic will be discussed in detail in this section.

There is a reason to believe that a large portion of the changes in the preceding occupations of entrepreneurs/managers has been induced either by migration which was directly related to Partition or by economic incentives as the desire for higher earnings. As is indicated by Table IV.7, 20.7 per cent of the entrepreneurs/managers in our sample did report that their change of occupation between the fourth previous and the third previous occupations was due to the upheaval of Partition while 39.7 per cent left the fourth previous occupation for economic reasons. However, as we would expect the abnormal reasons for occupational change have been declining and the normal economic incentives increasing as we approach their present occupation.

TABLE IV.7

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF ENTREPRENEURS/MANAGERS ACCORDING TO REASONS FOR CHANGING OCCUPATIONS

Reasons for changing occupation	First previous	Second previous	Third previous	Fourth previous
to the man per (t) it between the	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Migration (mainly due to Partition) Dissolution of partnership or	31.0	37.0	28.5	20.7
enterprise	10.2	12.1	9.2	10.3
Better prospects (profits, pay etc.)		36.3	45.4	39.7
Unsuitable location	1.1			
Loss (mainly due to inexperience)	3.5	1.8	3.1	6.9
Slack demand	2.8	2.2	1.5	5.2
Promotional transfer	1.5	1.1	2.3	
Dismissal	1.3	7.0	6.2	6.9
Retirement (mainly from govern-		mailman	11.	a diam'
ment service)	1.5	2.6	3.9	3.5
Total:	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Our findings also seem to suggest that certain occupational changes have been due to factors which might have affected the growth of initiative. Figuring prominantly is the institutional factor of the shortage of capital resulting in dissolution of enterprise. This is indicated by the fact that between the fourth and the third previous occupations, for example, as much as 10.3 per cent occupational changes occured due to close-downs which were mainly attributed to the dissolution of partnership; between the third and the second previous occupations it accounts for 9.2 per cent; between the second and the first previous

occupations for 12.1 per cent; and between the first previous and the present occupations for 10.2 per cent of the total occupational changes. On the other hand, occupational changes due to business inexperience seem to decrease as we approach the present occupation For instance, between the fourth and the third previous occupations 6.9 per cent sustained losses which were attributed to their inexperience; between the third and the second previous occupations 3.1 per cent; between the second and the first previous occupations only 1.8 per cent; and between the first and the present occupations 3.8 per cent. This fact might be taken to indicate the development of entrepreneurial experience and/or the possibility of the existence of fewer chances of incurring losses due to favourable subsequent market conditions. The latter possibility is suggested by the fact that the occupational changes due to slack market conditions also decrease along with the decrease of occupational changes due to losses. Thus, the fall in demand for their products account for the change of 5.2 per cent between the fourth and the third previous occupations, only 1.5 per cent between the third and the second previous occupations, 2.2 per cent between the second and the first previous occupations, and 2.8 per cent between the first previous and the present occupations.

Promotional transfers, dismissals and the retirement from the government service are among the remaining causes of changes in the preceding occupations of entrepreneurs/managers. Of these, dismissals figure most prominantly and account for 6.9 per cent between the fourth and the third previous occupations; 6.1 per cent between the third and the second previous occupations; 7.0 per cent between the second and the first previous occupation; and only 1.3 per cent between the first previous and the present occupations.

For all changes the importance of Partition as a motivational factor is overwhelming. Ignoring the time factor and setting aside the Partition-induced migration for a moment, however, the major factor responsible for changes in occupation is the profit motive and the incentive of higher wages.

In short, it might be concluded from the preceding discussion that the normal economic forces such as prospects of earning higher profits, and/or wages and market conditions are the main motivational factors involved in the occupational changes of entrepreneurs/managers. Occupational changes directly related to the Partition-induced migration, although overwhelmingly important, can be ignored since it represents an abnormal phenomenon.

The above analysis of the causes of the occupational mobility has suggested some of the entrepreneurial motivations. Related to these are the motivations, which attracted entrepreneurs to their present business as is indicated by Table IV.8 below:

TABLE IV.8

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF ENTREPRENEURS/MANAGERS ACCORDING TO THE REASONS FOR SELECTING THEIR PRESENT BUSINESS

to the same of their present	En	treprene	ırs		1-1
Reasons	Small scale	Large scale	Total cols. (2) & (3)	Mana- gers	Total cols. (4) & (5)
ration because(t) sey had initial	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Initial training and subsequent experience	52.9	31.8	47.3	42.9	47.0
Ancestral business	22.9	26.1	23.7	19.9	23.5
Higher demand and more profits	17.3	24.8	19.3	25.7	19.7
Aptitude, skill and experience of partner	of 3.0	8.3	4.4	5.7	4.5
Availability of skilled labour or technical advice	0.2	3.2	1.0	2.9	1.1
Availability of machinery and raw material	0.7	2.5	1.2	_	1.1
No particular reason	3.0	3.2	3.0	2.9	3.0
Total:	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

The major motivational factor for selecting their present occupation appears to be the training that the entrepreneurs/managers had initially received and the subsequent experience gained in the chosen area. Thus, 47.0 per cent of the total firms were established because the entrepreneurs/managers had personally received training in this field or

were somehow familiar with the area of their endeavour, while 4.5 per cent were motivated by their partner's aptitude, skill and experience. This would imply that training and experience are two of the major factors in the growth process of entrepreneurial/managerial resources. Moreover, the impact of ancestral/family experiences and/or resources as a motivational factor in the emergence of entrepreneurship seems to be considerable. This is suggested by the fact that 23.5 per cent entrepreneurs/managers were motivated to select their present occupation because this was their ancestral business.

Aside from these institutional factors the direct economic incentives of earning higher profits and salaries appears to be most important. Thus, 19.7 per cent entrepreneurs/managers were motivated by expectations of higher profits/salaries.

A comparison of the reasons given for the selection of their present business by the large-scale and small-scale entrepreneurs presents some interesting and varying features. Compared to 31.8 per cent in the large-scale sector, 52.9 per cent of the entrepreneurs in the small-scale sector selected the present occupation because they had initial training and subsequent experience in this area. This is due to the fact that entrepreneurship in the small-scale sector has largely emerged from the skilled labouring class and as such has initial industrial training and experience to its credit. However, in the large-scale sector comparatively more persons were motivated to take up their present occupation due to aptitude, skill and experience of their partners rather than their own, i.e., 8.3 per cent as compared to 3.0 per cent. Similarly, the profit motive appears to be a stronger motivational factor in the growth of large-scale sector as compared to small-scale (24.8 per cent compared with only 17.3 per cent).

It is interesting to note the effect of the certain exogenous factors like the availability of skilled labour and technical advice, machinery and raw materials as a motivational force in the development of entrepreneurship. In large-scale sector, for example, as much as 5.7 per cent entrepreneurs were motivated by the above-mentioned factors and the relevant figures for the small-scale entrepreneurs is a mere 0.9 per cent.

The location-decision is one of the major entrepreneurial functions and the considerations leading to it seem to suggest certain other

motivational factors linked with the growth process of entrepreneurship. As is indicated by Table IV.9 below, in their location decisions the large-scale entrepreneurs appear to be motivated mostly (50.6 per cent) by the concentration of industries at Karachi and the inducement provided by the government and the nearness to the market (25.3 per cent).

TABLE IV.9

SCALEWISE PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF ENTREPRENEURS ACCORDING TO REASONS FOR SELECTION OF PRESENT LOCATION

-		Entrepr	eneurs		То	tal
enter browner and assert	Small	scale	Large	scale	10	tai
Reasons	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
(1)	(2)	(3	3)	(4)
Inherited or acquired on						
easy attractive terms	175	38.0	10	6.2	185	30.1
Nearer to market	97	21.4	41	25.3	138	22.4
Industrial area (purchased or government allotted plot or concentration of industries)	27	6.0	82	50.6	109	17.7
Nearer to home place	66	14.6	3	1.9	69	11.2
Work easily available	16	3.5	2	1.2	18	2.9
Labour of right type available in vicinity	5	1.1	5	3.1	10	1.6
To keep secrecy in business	1	0.2		<u> </u>	1	0.2
No particular reason	66	14.6	19	11.7	85	13.8
Total:	453	100.0	162	100.0	615	100.0

In the small-scale sector, the location decision guided by the proximity to market also figures prominent (i.e., 21.4 per cent). However, most of them (38.0 per cent) have either inherited the business or were attracted to locate their plants at Karachi because they can get land/buildings and the like on easy terms. It is interesting to note that among them as many as 14.6 per cent located the plant at the present site because it was nearer to their home place, while the relevant information for the large-scale entrepreneurs is a mere 1.9 per cent.

4.4 Conclusion

The industrial entrepreneurs in Karachi at present mainly consist of migrants. Containing 83.4 per cent of the present population, the migrants accounted for 92.1 per cent of the total entrepreneurs. A further classification shows a comparatively lower entrepreneurial ability among the indigenous population of what is now Pakistan than among immigrants from other countries. Immigrants (primarily from India) established 85.7 per cent of the total large-scale firms, which reveals their greater initial advantage and a higher degree of entreprise skill than other groups. They also contributed largely for the present managerial class (81.5 per cent).

Most of the present entrepreneurs have descended from industrial and trading families, inheriting initial resources and enterprising vision. The entrepreneurship in the large-scale sector has mainly emerged from families having strong commercial background, whereas in the small-scale sector skilled labour class contributed significantly. Trading families and the white-collar classes were largely responsible for the managerial resources.

Comparatively, a larger proportion of entrepreneurs and managers among immigrants have industrial background than the Pakistanborn group. It may be due to large absorption of Muslims of West Pakistan in the British Army under the British rule. Moreover, a greater number of the ancestors of entrepreneurs originally from Pakistan were agriculturists than the immigrant entrepreneurs.

A high degree of occupational mobility is induced by a proportion of 83.6 per cent of the total entrepreneurs, who had been committed to one or more preceding occupations. Most of the persons engaged in trading and skilled labour classes initially adopted the class of entrepreneurs/managers. On the other hand, the technically and agriculturally trained persons accounted for a negligible proportion. By migrant status, the occupational mobility was found to be greater among the immigrants than among the in-migrants or the natives.

Occupational mobility was either motivated by migration (mainly due to Partition) or by indirect economic incentives. Among economic

incentives, the profit motive and the incentive of higher wages were the major factors responsible for changes in occupation.

Among the major motivations, which attracted entrepreneurs to their present business, an important one was the training, initially received by the entrepreneurs/managers and the subsequent experience gained by them in the chosen area. Ancestral family experiences and/or resources were also important motivational factors in the emergence of entrepreneurship in Karachi.

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CHAPTER 5

OCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY

5.0 Main Concern

Our main concern in this chapter is to ascertain the importance of vertical occupational mobility. We will address ourselves to the following questions¹:

- i) are the high-status occupations easily accessible to those now placed in the low-status occupations;
- ii) what are the factors responsible for shifting from lower-level occupations to higher-level-occupations;
- iii) what are the forces obstructing this mobility?

A highly mobile labour force is usually said to be characterized by high labour turnover as members try out various jobs and localities [4, p. 50]. With rapid technological development resulting in dynamic changes in production techniques some presently significant and important occupation may become obsolete and insignificant. But if the holders of the occupation are highly skilled and have received other training as well, they will find no difficulty in shifting to some other occupation. In other words, limitation of skill and education will restrict a worker's occupational mobility.

5.1 Occupational Mobility

In this section, we will study the extent and pattern of occupational mobility on the basis of the data provided by the survey [1]². This study. may cast light on the accessibility to different occupations and hence the "open-ness" of the social structure³.

¹ Similar type of questions were framed by Warner and Abegglen to ascertain vertical occupational mobility [3].

² Due to limited data, it was not possible to analyse variations in the mobility rates by migration status.

³ Natalie Rogoff asserts that occupational mobility is an index of the relative open-ness of a social structure which refers to the ease with which individuals can acquire goods and positions in the economy [2, p. 19].

We will depart from the traditional technique of estimating occupational mobility by comparing the occupations of fathers with occupations of sons or by using some other inter-generational measure. Absence of relevant data in our case will prove a great obstacle in following the traditional technique (This has been investigated, to some extent, in our previous chapter). Hence, we will primarily rely on the survey data showing the former and present occupational structure. This gives us clearcut evidence of transfer of workers to and from different occupational classification.

Analysis of occupational flexibility necessitates a well laid down occupational classification matrix of reference. Such a matrix is presented in Table V.1, which shows former and present occupational distribution of working labour force. For the sake of simplicity, we have taken only percentages of employed workers as in former occupations and as at present. The actual numbers are given for each row and column only. Each row represents the numbers in the present occupation and columns show the numbers in the former occupation.

Diagonal cells in the table indicate immobility as they show the percentages of workers presently in the occupation to which they belonged formerly. The larger the size of diagonal cell, the more immobile the occupation is.

Studying these diagonal cells, the highest percentage of labourers, belonging to any particular occupation and remaining there is found in the occupational group of "clerical workers" (about 98 per cent). This shows the occupational stability or rigidity of the "clerical workers." Once they enter into this occupation, they are less tempted than other workers to seek alternate jobs. Next to them, come the "servants and related", "drivers, postmen and related", and "professional and technicians" with a percentage of over 96 per cent of their total numbers, remaining in their respective occupations. The class of "farmers and fishermen" showed the least stability in terms of occupational mobility. Only 40 per cent remained in their occupational group.

On the other hand, the highest percentage of those, who are in a particular occupational classification and formerly belonged to that group as well (represented by the upper cells), can be found in the group

of "farmers and fishermen" (about 98 per cent). It implies that there was only a very insignificant inflow into this occupation. The lowest proportion of 82 per cent was for the "sales worker". In other words, this group relatively attracted more workers than any other group from other occupational groups.

Now, we will analyse occupational mobility in terms of rows and columns. A row indicates the input of an occupation or inflow of persons into the occupation, and a column presents output or outflow of persons of one occupation into other occupational groups. Again the "clerical workers" form the most rigid or stable occupation, in the sense that evidently it attracts fewer persons into it. Furthermore, very few persons of this occupation go into other occupations. But more persons adopt this occupation than the number which leaves it. It is evident from the expansion of its size from 16,925 to 17,575, showing an increase of about 4 per cent. The major contributors in this expansion were the groups of "workers not classifiable", "farmers and fishermen" and "administrators and managers".

The most dynamic occupation is represented by "farmers and fishermen". Table V.2 which deals with absolute and percentage distribution of gainfully employed labour force into former and present occupations, and Figure 5.1 show that farmers and fishermen, as a class, shrank in size from 45,500 to 18,500. It means a significant contraction in the share of this group, from 8.2 per cent to 3.3 per cent of the total working labour force. Of the outflow from this occupation, the major receivers were the "semi-skilled and unskilled workers", who extracted 10,775 or 23.68 per cent of the total former number of farmers and fishermen. Other receivers were the "servants and related (13.13 per cent), "workers not classifiable" (4.73 per cent), "administrators and managers" (3.57 per cent); and sales workers (3.30 per cent).

Table V.2 presents data on the relative mobility of the different occupational groups. As mentioned earlier occupational status, in most cases, is correlated with education, amount and source of income, and social prestige. In this table, we have taken only one variable—incomes for different occupations (already calculated in Chapter 3). Of the other variables which determine a person's choice in selecting an occupation

TABLE V.1

KARACHI: FORMER AND PRESENT OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF WORKING LABOUR FORCE, 1959

				F	Former occupa	tional group					
Present occupational group	Professionals and technicians	Administra- tors and managers	Clerical workers	Sales workers	Farmers and fishermen	Drivers, postmen and related	Skilled labourers	Semi- skilled and unskilled labourers	Servants and related	Workers not classifiable	Total
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)
Professional and technicians	92.55 96.13	1.52 0.45	0.17 0.15	0.51 0.20	1.02 0.33	_	0.51 0. 08	0.34 0.05	0.34 0.08	3.04 0.43	14,775
Administrators and managers	0.35 1. 2 3	87.36 85.81	0.15 0.44	0.41 0.54	3.30 3.57	0.51 0.85	1.88 1.03	1.27 0.60	0. 7 6 0.58	4.01 1.90	49,300
Clerical workers	0.43 0.53	1.14 0.40	94.03 9 7.6 6	0.14 0.07	1.28 0.49	_	_	=	0.85 0.23	2.13 0.36	17,575
Sales workers	0.18 0.53	4.17 3.53	0.12 0.29	82.39 9 5.1 9	3,52 3.30	0.47 0.68	2.23 1.06	2.41 0.99	0.76 0.50	3.76 1.54	42,600
Farmers and fishermen	Ξ	0.14 0.05	=	0.14 0.07	98.23 39.95	=	0.14 0.03	0.41 0.07	0.41 0.12	0.54 0.10	18,500
Drivers, postmen and related	0.07 0.18	1.41 0.95	0.07 0.15	0.45 0.41	7.34 5.44	84.12 96.11	1.5 6 0.58	2.00 0. 65	0.52 0.27	2.45 0.79	13,700
Skilled labourers	0.05 0.35	1.00 1.84	0.05 0.29	0.24 0.61	2.66 5.38	0.14 0.42	92.98 95.47	0.68 0.60	0.49 0.70	1.7 <u>1</u> 1.5 2	92,175
Semi-skilled and unskilled labourers	0.04 0.35	0.77 1.74	0.07 0.44	0.52 1.63	9.44 23.68	0.20 0.76	0.50 0.64	86.93 95.89	0.42 0.74	1.12 1.23	114,150
Servants and related	Ξ	0.63 0.90	0.07 0.29	0.49 0.9 5	8.32 13.13	0.24 0.59	0.66 0.53	1.43 0.99	86.66 96.47	1.50 1.04	71,775
Workers not classifiable	0.10 0.70	2.17 4.33	0.05 0.29	0.12 0.34	2.15 4.73	0.17 0.59	0.52 0.58	0.15 0.14	0.20 0.31	94.36 91.09	100,200
Total:	14,225	50,200	16,925	36,875	45,500	29,500	89,775	103,475	64,475	103,800	554,750

Source: [1, Table 3.70].

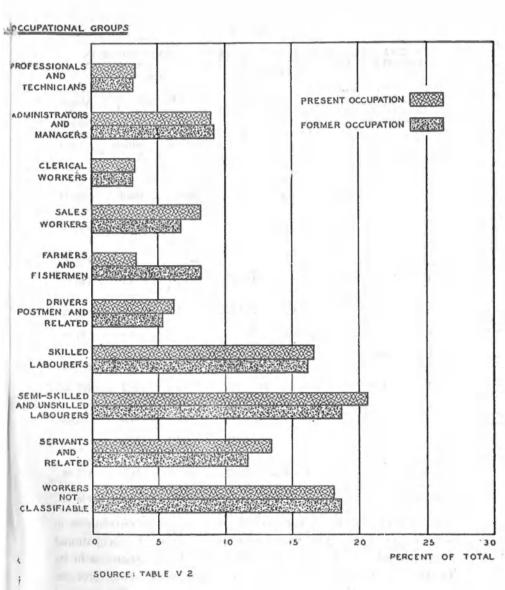


Figure 5.1 Karachi: Percentage Distribution of Workers by Former and Present Occupations, 1959

we have no information. Nonetheless, we will try to roughly estimate their influence on occupational mobility.

TABLE V.2

KARACHI: DISTRIBUTION OF WORKING LABOUR FORCE IN FORMER AND PRESENT OCCUPATIONS, AND BY MONTHLY MEDIAN PERSONAL INCOME, 1959

Occupational _	Nun	nber	Per	cent	Monthly median
classification	Present distri- bution	Former distri- bution	Present distri- bution	Former distri- bution	persona income (Rs.)
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
All classifications	554,750	554,750	100.0	100.0	94.33
Professionals and technicians	14,775	14,225	2.7	2.6	138.50
Administrators and managers	49,300	50,200	8.9	9.1	175.00
Clerical workers	17,575	16,925	3.2	3.1	146.13
Farmers and fisher- men	18,500	45,500	3.3	8.2	72.54
Sales workers	42,600	36,875	7.7	6.6	81.96
Drivers, postmen and related	33,700	29,500	6.1	5.3	103.42
Skilled labourers	92,175	89,775	16.6	16.2	108.45
Semi-skilled and un- skilled labourers	114,150	103,475	20.6	18.6	74.40
Servants and related	71,775	64,475	12.9	11.6	67.94
Workers not class- ifiable	100,200	103,800	18.1	18.7	125.58

Source: Table V.1.

Comparison of the former distribution with present distribution in Table V.2 and Figure 5.1 show that in relative terms, the occupational group of "sales workers" experienced a remarkable expansion in its size, from 6.6 per cent to 7.7 per cent of the working labour force, an increase of more than 15 per cent. Closely following is the group of "drivers, postmen and related", which went up from 5.3 per cent to

6.1 per cent, an increase of 14 per cent. In absolute terms, the "semi-skilled and unskilled workers" add the highest number of migrants from other occupations. No less than 10,675 net new additions were made to this group. Among the occupations which suffered net reductions in their sizes, the most notable is that of "farmers and fishermen", which suffered a net outflow of 27,000 workers.

Thus, the proportions of workers in former occupations and present occupations in Table V.2 provide the basis for systematic answer to the question of rigidity or fluidity of the occupational structure. To obtain a single measure of the differences (shown in Table V.2) the ratio of one proportion to the other may be taken [3, p. 41].

Table V.3 shows ratios of proportions of working labour force in present occupational group to proportions of former occupational group.

TABLE V.3

KARACHI: RATIO OF PROPORTION OF WORKING LABOUR FORCE IN PRESENT OCCUPATIONAL GROUP TO PROPORTION OF FORMER OCCUPATIONAL GROUP, 1959

Occupational groups	Ratio*	Rank order (1-10)
vation, we see a very stariling) benome-	(2)	(3)
Professional and technicians	1.04	inlar oo a siasaa
Administrators and managers	0.98	8
Clerical workers	1.04	6
Sales workers	1.16	1
Farmers and fishermen	0.41	10
Drivers, postmen and related	1.14	2
Skilled labourers	1.02	7
Semi-skilled and unskilled labourers	1.10	4
Servants and related	1.11	3
Workers not classifiable	0.97	9

^{*} Proportional representation=1.00

Source: Table V.2.

Under a kind of null hypothesis that the same proportions of labourers will be found in present occupations as in the former ones, the proportion shown in the Table V.2 would be the same for both the occupational distributions and the ratio between former proportions and

present proportion would be 1.00. It implies that if fewer persons adopt the occupation than the former proportion indicates, the ratio would be less than 1.00 and, vice versa.

With the application of this measure of occupational mobility (Table V.3) we can rank the occupations in terms of their representation in the present occupational structure. The most affected occupational group in this sense is that of "farmers and fishermen", as its representation in the present structure is the lowest, with a ratio of 0.41. "Workers not classifiable" are the next underrepresented class with a ratio of 0.97, closely followed by "administrators and managers" (0.98).

Following these three underrepresented groups, in order of increasing proportions are "skilled labourers", 1.02; "clerical workers", 1.04; "professional and technicians", 1.04; "semi-skilled and unskilled labourers", 1.10; "servants and related", 1.11; "drivers, postmen and related", 1.14; and "sales workers", 1.16.

Against these results, we will try to evaluate the influence of different variables on occupational mobility, in particular that of income differentials. Comparing these ratios of representation with the average monthly income for each occupation, we see a very startling phenomenon. Particularly, for administrators and managers, there seems to be a negative correlation between income and occupation status. Privileged with the highest average income, it ranks as low as eighth in terms of representation in the present occupational structure. Similarly, for clerical workers and professionals and technicians as well, the correlation is not highly positive.

This phenomenon can perhaps be explained by the nature of persons who left their respective occupations. As noted earlier, most of such persons belonged to the group of farmers and fishermen. Due to low earning capacity of their occupation, (average income of Rs. 72.54, which is the lowest of all the incomes barring the income for "servants and related") they were naturally tempted to turn to other occupations. But being the least educated and probably severally deficient in skill, most of them could not adopt higher occupations of "administrators and managers", "professional and technicians" or "clerical workers". The

most accessible occupations for them were, therefore, the manual occupations of "servants", "semi-skilled and unskilled workers", etc. A number of persons belonging to such lucrative occupation, as "administrators and managers", also left their occupation. The reason is quite obvious: these were the persons, who belonged mostly to lower categories of the group or who failed in their practices and hence had to leave for other means of livelihood.

These and other factors were responsible for creating distortion in the relationship of income and mobility of occupation. So, we can safely argue that income, though one of the important factors, is not the primary determinant of occupational mobility, as a whole.

5.2 Inter-Class Mobility

We have reduced the ten occupational classes into three broad classes by applying the same technique as was adopted somewhere in the study (Section 3.2). We are interested in knowing the pattern of occupational mobility (i.e., whether it is vertical, horizontal or downward), and in analysing inter-class mobility.

Table V.4 provides necessary data about intra-class mobility by presenting former and present major occupational classifications as follows⁴:

TABLE V.4

KARACHI: FORMER AND PRESENT MAJOR OCCUPATIONAL CLASSIFICATION, 1959

Class	Former percentages	Present percentages
(1)	(2)	(3)
White-collar workers	26.5	26.7
Manual workers	55.1	61.4
Agricultural workers	No. 1915 1917 18.2	3.3
Workers not classifiable Total:	10.2 100.0	8.6 100.0

Source: [1, Tables 5.12] and Table V.2.

⁴ As mentioned earlier these distributions are not exact. A high degree of "not classifiable" limits exact inferences. Perhaps more detailed information about these workers might have given different results.

The white-collar class shows no significant improvement, the proportion increased very nominally from 26.5 per cent to 26.7 per cent. But this does not imply that there was no transfer of workers into or out of this class. As evident from the matrix in Table V.1, there was significant movement by the persons in and out of the occupations, relating to the white-collar class. For instance, where the number of administrators and managers deteriorated that of the professionals and clerical workers improved. Moreover, the movement from one white-collar occupation to another was relatively easier and greater than the mobility from other classes into white-collar class.

Whereas the white-collar class did not alter its size, phenominal changes, however, occurred in the structures of other two classes. There was a remarkable vertical movement from the agricultural worker class to manual labour class. The shares of manual workers in the total working labour force increased from 55.1 per cent to 61.4 per cent at the expense of agricultural workers, who reduced their size from 8.2 per cent to 3.3 per cent. We can term this as "vertical mobility" in the sense that (as Table V.2 shows) the average incomes of manual occupations are relatively higher than that of agricultural workers.

This study of occupational mobility reflects a very significant aspect of the economy. With the structural changes taking place in the economy, the occupational pattern is following the course of changing sources of employment (i.e., pattern of livelihood). Our study shows a net outflow of workers from agriculture into manual occupations and an increasing proportion of number engaged in white-collar services though not so remarkable but is still promising.

5.3 Conclusion

The findings of this chapter can be summarized as follows:

- a) There were large increases in the numbers of semi-skilled and unskilled workers, sales workers, skilled workers, drivers, postmen and related, and servants; and a relative decline in the proportions of farmer and fishermen, and workers not classifiable. These movements are the main indications of occupational mobility.
- b) The farmers and fishermen led all the occupational groups in movement out of an occupation. They moved into all occupational

groups with greater ease than any other class, with one exeption, the professional and technician group, into which they were not able to get much access.

- c) In absolute number, the most easily accessible occupational class is represented by semi-skilled and unskilled workers, who attracted no less than 14,925 workers from other occupations (while only 4,250 left the group) but in relative terms, the sales workers represented the most easily accessible class. About 18 per cent of its total present number is composed of transferrees from other classes. The opportunities of entering into this class is relatively much greater than the opportunities of these workers of transferring to other classes. On the other hand, agriculture was the least alluring of all the occupational groups. On the average, only about 325 workers from all the occupations moved into it.
- d) The occupational move from the manual workers class into white-collar class (upward mobility) was less frequent in comparison to agricultural workers. However, the manual workers class attracted more agricultural workers than did the white-collar class.
- e) Manual workers' movement into agriculural class (downward mobility) was relatively more than the white-collar workers. Downward mobility was, however, rather insignificant.

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CHAPTER 6

INCOME RELATIONSHIPS

6.0 Introduction

An analysis of income distributions reveals some of the significant socio-economic characteristics of the people of a region. Income distribution is an index of the standard of living, and mirrors the relative economic positions of the different groups of people.

In the present study, we will examine income both as an independent variable and for its association with migration, size of family and distance to workplace.

The 1959 Survey asked a question about the income of every individual living in a household; and both the personal income and family income (for definition, see glossary) were thus enumerated separately which were aggregated into ten income groups. As mentioned in Chapter 1 and Chapter 3, the reporting of income seems to suffer from the bias of misstatement of income resulting in underrepresentation of persons in the higher income groups. So, the results must be interpreted carefully.

6.0.1 Use of Median¹: In the present chapter, extensive use of median has been made for the analysis of income distribution. The median is generally considered as the best central statistic for evaluating the performance or income status of the individuals. It provides a better comparison of different groups of individuals than can be had from the mean, which is influenced by extremes of wealth or poverty².

¹ Following formula has been used to estimate median [7, p. 26]:

 $Md = lower limit of Md class + Md class interval \times \frac{required number}{frequency of Md class}$

² As discussed in Chapter 3 as well, the income distribution reported by the survey is very skewed and use of mean or mode would have given misleading results.

6.1 Income Distribution by Marital Status and Sex

In this section an effort is made to estimate the relative relationships between income and marital status for males and females. This study will thus supplement the previous study (Section 2.3) which dealt with the influence of marital status on the labour force participation of males and females.

Table VI.1 provides necessary data about the personal income distribution of the population by marital status and total personal income for each marital group of males and females. We observe from this table that for every marital classification as between male and female population, the females have relatively low income. About 70 per cent of the divorced to 99 per cent of the single women are found in "no income group", whereas the range of males in "no income group" is from 5 per cent for the married to 73 per cent for the singles. The income differential by sex is further made evident by a monthly per capita income of Rs. 3.46 for females and Rs. 76.25 for males (Table VI.2). The monthly per capita income range for the females is Rs. 1.95 for the singles to Rs. 19.75 for the separated, the corresponding range for males is from Rs. 26.64 for the singles to Rs. 155.36 for the , married. On the whole the total personal income for Karachi is Rs. 78.5 million per month. Of this total, the males account for a proportion of 96.46 per cent and the females have a share of only 3.54 per cent.

This wide structural income differential for males and females can directly be related to be our earlier finding of labour force participations by sex (compared to 55.3 per cent of the total males, only 2.7 per cent of the females were reported in labour force). It once again proves the validity of our argument that the basic tenets of this country's culture regard the female members of the family as exclusively dependant on the male members, and discourage females from entering into economic activity and having an independent income.

As observed in the earlier study (Section 2.3) marital status again seems to be playing a dominant role in the relative income distributions. Coinciding with their highest participation rate in economic activity, the married males enjoy the highest per capita income of Rs. 155.36. For the highest income group of Rs. 1000-and-over also, they have the largest

TABLE VI.1

PERSONAL AND MEDIAN INCOME BY MARITAL STATUS AND SEX, 1959

			Marita	l status								
22.0		Married			Widow	ec		Divorc	ed	Separated		
Female	Both sexes	Male	Female	Both sexes	Male	Female	Both sexes	Male	Female	Both sexes	Male	Female
(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)	(16)	(17)	(18)	(19)
99.06	48.35	5.23	96.69	64.25	25.70	82.33	44.44	16.66	69.70	52.91	10.16	84.81
0.11	2.05	2.67	1.34	8.78	8.35	8.99	17.46	13.33	21.21	5.80	8.47	3.80
0.08	12.05	22.04	0.83	11.19	24.96	4.72	12.70	23.33	3.03	7.97	15.25	2.53
0.03	9.40	17.66	0.11	5.62	16.12	0.69	7.94	16.66		9.42	18.64	2.53
0.14	9.98	18.67	0.22	4.70	12.27	1.15	11.11	20.00	3.03	9.42	20.34	1.27
0.09	2.98	5.54	0.11	0.91	2.37	0.23	_		_	0.72	1.69	_
0.11	5.71	10.62	0.20	2.25	5.48	0.73	1.59	-	3.03	2.90	5.08	1.27
0.10	4.24	7.80	0.24	0.99	2.13	0.46	4.76	10.00	_	5.80	10.17	2.53
0.08	2.85	5.28	0.13	0.63	1.55	0.19	_	_	_	0.72	_	1.27
0.11	1.22	2.27	0.05	0.13	0.33	0.04	_	_	_	1.45	3.39	_
	0.70	1.30	0.02	0.13	0.25	0.08	_	_	_	_	_	_
0.08	0.52	0.92	0.07	0.42	0.49	0.38	_	_	_	2.90	6.78	-
100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

Source: [1, Table 1.03].

TABLE VI.2

KARACHI: PER CAPITA AND TOTAL INCOME BY MARTIAL STATUS, 1959

(in rupees) Personal income/marital status Both sexes Males Females (1) (2) (3) (4) All Status: Total income 78,453,175 75,675,475 2,777,700 Per capita income 43.69 76.25 3.46 Singles: 15,728,175 16,514,650 786,475 Total income 16.62 26.64 Per capita income 1.95 Married: 57,403,950 Total income 58,560,600 1,156,650 Per capita income 83.49 155.36 3.48 Widowed: Total income 3,099,900 2,317,425 782,475 Per capita income 32.54 76.23 11.96 Divorced: 72,875 59,775 13,100 Total income 79.70 15.88 Per capita income 46.27 Separated: Total income 205,150 166,150 39,000 61.24 120.83 19.75 Per capita income

Source: Table VI.1.

proportion than any other group. On the other hand, the per capita income of only Rs. 3.48 for the married women along with 97 per cent of them in "no income group" corresponds to their relatively low labour force participation rate (Table II.1).

Both for the male and female singles, the proportions in the "no income group" were larger than any other group affecting the overall income average of the group—the per capita income being only Rs. 16.62. Obviously, because most of the persons in this group are too young to work.

The group of "separated" is second in importance for the males with per capita income of Rs. 120.83. However, for females in this group, the per capita income of Rs. 19.75 is the highest for all the groups. This is in accord with the high labour force participation rate of the separated.

6.2 Family Size by Family Income

It is most relevant to determine income status of the family (which is normally treated as the basic economic unit) to measure the standard of living. Family income is usually an important factor in shaping the different aspects of a family. In this section we will explore the relationship between "income and family size", and "income and family type".

6.2.1 Income and Family Size: Usually, along with inverse relationship between fertility behaviour and income, the size of family is also claimed to be negatively related with income. However, the people of Karachi appear to be maintaining an adverse tendency. Variation in income has not been found to affect fertility behaviour [2, p. 99]. Similarly Table VI.3, which shows average family size by family income, indicates a positive relationship between family size and the income. The smallest average family, comprising four members, can be located in the lowest family income group of under rupees 50. Once the family passes the poverty line ³ (i.e., when monthly income is hundred rupees or more) a remarkable expansion in its size is observed.

To draw statistical inference about the relationship between family income and family size, a regression analysis [4] was applied. Since the information supplied by Table VI.3 was related to one point of time (i.e., 1959) we tried cross-sectional data.

The final results of the regression equations are as follows:

Taking family size as Y Y = 3.06 + .0074 X $R^2 = .51$ (.905) (.0016) N = 10

N is 10, as entries of "no income" and "no information" are excluded. This exclusion, however, will not affect the analysis seriously.

³ Based on common assertion, a family earning less than hundred rupees monthly is regarded as very poor.

TABLE VI.3

KARACHI: AVERAGE FAMILY SIZE BY FAMILY INCOME, 1959

Family income (1)	Number of persons (2)	Number of families (3)	Average family size (4)
No income	13,600	2,825	4.8
Rs. 1-49	36,700	9,225	4.0
Rs. 50-74	238,000	52,425	4.5
Rs. 75-99	230,950	53,125	4.4
Rs. 100-124	284,600	53,550	5.3
Rs. 125-149	129,450	24,375	5.3
Rs. 150-199	271,600	48,325	5.6
Rs. 200-299	261,550	40,575	6.4
Rs. 300-499	188,100	26,100	7.2
Rs. 500-999	82,000	11,850	6.9
Rs. 1000-and-over	39,425	5,800	6.8
No information	27,200	4,600	5.9
All incomes	1,803,175	332,775	5.4

Source: [1, Tables 6.04 and 6.31].

All the coefficients were at least significant at the 5 per cent level⁴. Interpreting these coefficients, the value of "X" indicates that as an average approximation over all the families, a difference of one rupee in family income has been associated with a difference of 0.0074 in family size. In broader terms, it implies that an increase in family income of Rs. 100 was associated with an expansion in size of family by 0.74. The value of coefficient of determination (R²) was 0.51, indicating that a little more than half of the total observed variance in family income was (linearly) associated with variation in family size. The correlation of income with size of family was as high as 0.71. Hence income, though

⁴ The coefficient X is significant at 1 per cent level.

not the only factor (as 49 per cent of the variation in family size is unexplained) associated with variation in family size, is significantly related to limit or expand the size of the family.

These empirical findings are consistent with the findings of William F. Ogburn in a study (1933) based on a special sample of 60,000 native white women of native parentage under 45 years of age living in places of 5,000 or over in the East North Central States of the United States, reporting a positive relation between family size and rental value (in rental groups of \$100-and-over) for larger cities [6, pp. 686-687].

A plausible reason for this direct correlation between family size and family income may be related with the fertility behaviour (to change in income) which is an important determinant of the size of family. Study by Hashmi shows that variation in income in Karachi is not yet sensitive to the changing behaviour of fertility. "It is noted that even the well-to-do persons in Pakistani urban society have not yet manifested in their fertility behaviour any effort at regulating the size of their families; or may be they are just now starting" [2, p. 99].

Still there can be another possible explanation for a positive correlation between family size and family income. Most probably, the larger families may have larger incomes because of greater number of earners in comparison with smaller families (see, Appendix Table B-9). A primary family having no earner is the smallest in size (about three-fourths of the families, having no earners, are composed of 4 persons and less). On the other hand, of the families having 5 or more earners, about half are composed of 7 persons or less and one-fifth consist of 11 persons.

6.2.2 Family Type by Family Income: We extend our study in this sub-section to explore the relationship between family income and family type. Families are classified into nuclear, extended and joint. Almost by definition (see glossary), the nuclear type of family has fewer persons than an extended family, while the joint family contains a larger number than either of the other two types.

The distribution pattern of the families by family income, observed from Table VI.4 and Figure 6.1, suggests a greater possibility of association of higher income with joint families than any other family classification. For instance, as many as one-third of the smaller (i.e., nuclear)

TABLE VI.4

KARACHI: DISTRIBUTION OF FAMILIES BY FAMILY INCOME
1959

Monthly —		Family classi	fication		
family	Nuclear	Extended (3)	Joint (4)	Non-family type (5)	Total
BA A					
No income	8,600 (0.8)	1,350 (0.1)	375 (0.1)	3,275 (2.4)	13,600 (0.8)
Rs. 1—49	23,775	3,875	1,250	7,800	36,700
	(2.4)	(1.2)	(0.5)	(5.7)	(2.0)
Rs. 50—74	174,950	29,925	8,100	25,025	238,000
	(16.2)	(9.6)	(3.0)	(18.4)	(13.2)
Rs. 75—99	171,550	29,825	10,150	19,425	230,950
	(15.8)	(9.5)	(3.7)	(14.3)	(12.8)
Rs. 100—125	191,325	44,025	31,700	17,550	284,600
	(17.7)	(14.1)	(11.6)	(12.9)	(15.8)
Rs. 125—149	77,300	24,200	20,450	7,500	129,450
	(7.1)	(7.7)	(7.5)	(5.5)	(7.2)
Rs. 150—199	150,125	56.525	51,075	13,875	271,600
	(13.9)	(18.1)	(18.8)	(10.2)	(15.1)
Rs. 200-299	130,375	54,300	61,425	15,450	261,550
	(12.0)	(17.3)	(22.6)	(11.3)	(14.5)
Rs. 300-499	83,200	37,925	50,525	16,450	188,100
	(7.7)	(12.1)	(18.6)	(12.1)	(10.4)
Rs. 500—999	38,225	18,050	19,375	6,350	82,000
	(3.5)	(5.8)	(7.1)	(4.7)	(4.5)
Rs.1000-and-over	20,975	7,550	9,725	1,175	39,425
	(1.9)	(2.4)	(3.6)	(0.9)	(2.2)
No information	11,400	5,700	7,950	2,150	27,200
	(1.1)	(1.8)	(2.9)	(1.6)	(1.5)
Total	1,081,800	313.250	272,100	136,025	1,803,175
	(100.1)	(100.0)	(100.0)	(100.00)	(99.9)
Median income per family	121.25	160.35	221.08	117.79	144.00

Source: [1, Table 6.04].

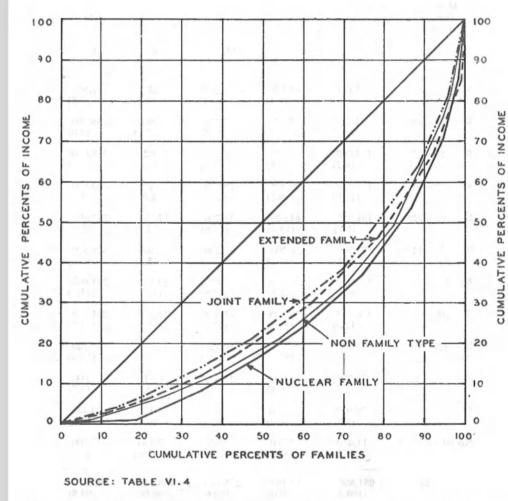


Figure 6.1 Karachi; Lorenz Curve for the Distribution of Family Income by type of family 1959 6.1 Karachi: Lorenz Curve for the Distribution of Tail and State o

families are reported in low income groups of under one hundred rupees. Only 13 per cent of these nuclear families could manage to go into higher income status (i.e., Rs. 300 or more). Extended families, however, show better income structure than nuclear families with 57 per cent of them having incomes between Rs. 100 to Rs. 299 and one-fifth in higher income status. On the other hand, more than three-fifths of the joint families are found in the middle income range of Rs. 100-300 and a little less than one-third having income of Rs. 300 and more. On the whole, the joint family enjoys the highest monthly median income of Rs. 221, while the nuclear family (leaving non-family type) is at the lowest ebb, i.e., Rs. 121.25.

The same reasoning can be advanced as mentioned earlier for higher incomes among joint families than extended or nuclear families. Most probably for larger number of earners, the joint families are able to enjoy higher incomes ⁵. A possible reason for relatively lower income status of nuclear families may also be the larger number of children (because of higher fertility rate [2, p. 192]) than any other groups.

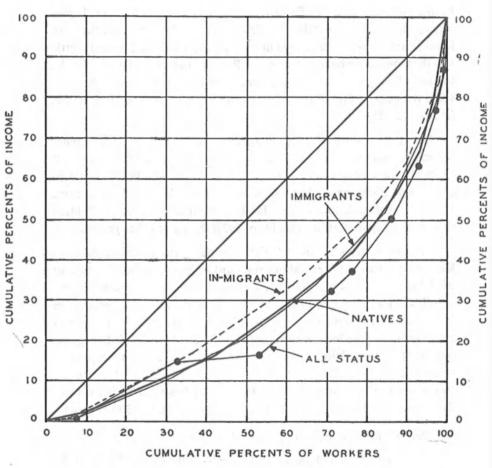
Taking an overall view of the income status of the families of Karachi (to draw inference about standard of living), about 29 per cent of the total families are poor—not even able to earn hundred rupees monthly. More than half of the families are in the middle income range of Rs. 100-299. A similar study in Bombay also reports half of the city's total families in the income group of Rs. 100-250 [5, p. 278]. It suggests that most of the urban areas are characterized by a major proportion of middle class families perhaps because of the industrial and commercial nature of their economy. Only a little less than 17 per cent of the families in Karachi are in the income group of Rs. 300 or more.

6.3 Income Relationships by Age and Migrant Status

Study in this section purports to analyse life cycle of worker by income and differential pattern of income distribution by different population groups.

6.3.1 Income and Age: Table VI.5 (showing personal income distribution of working labour force by age) presents the life cycle of a

⁵ Similar reasons for higher incomes among joint families were given in [3, p. 90].



SOURCE: TABLE VI. 6

Figure 6.2 Karachi: Lorenz Curve for the Distribution of Monthly Personal Income of Working Labour Force by Migrant Status, 1959

TABLE VI. 5

KARACHI: PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF WORKING LABOUR FORCE BY AGE AND MONTHLY PERSONAL INCOME, 1959

						P	ersonal ince	ome	mujible						
Age g	roup	No income	Rs. 1-49	Rs. 50-74	Rs. 75-99	Rs. 100-124	Rs. 125-149	Rs. 150-199	Rs. 200-299	Rs. 300-499	Rs. 500-999	Rs. 1000 and over	No inform- ation	Total	Median income (Rs.)
(1)	(61)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)
Jnder 15	001,86	12.9	56.3	20.1	5.0	0.5	0.5	0.5	8,075	_	91 -	8,625	4.1	9,100 99.9	32.16
15—19		5.4	16.9	42.3	18.1	10.5	1.2	2.4	0.7	0.3	ši -	4,350	2.1	47,425 99.9	65.74
20—24		1.9	5.0	31.4	23.3	19.4	4.6	7.4	3.8	1.4	0.5	0.1	1.2	95,425 100.0	86.98
25—29		0.9	3.6	24.7	21.5	19.2	6.5	10.2	6.9	4.2	1.2	0.3	0.8	99,325 100.0	98.83
30—34		0.7	2.9	21.9	20.0	18.2	5.7	11.3	9.8	5.6	2.0	0.9	1.0	84,750 100.0	105.47
35—39	23,475	0.4	3.0	21.7	17.3	17.8	6.6	12.6	8.6	6.9	2.8	1.6	0.7	62,475 100.0	110.19
40—44		0.3	4.3	23.9	16.9	19.4	5.3	10.9	7.1	6.1	3.3	2.0	0.5	50,925 100.0	105.55
45—49		0.6	5.5	21.6	15.4	19.0	4.4	10.7	8.3	7.0	4.3	2.2	1.1	34,500 100.1	108.26
50—54		0.4	10.3	24.5	16.1	19.1	2.9	8.5	6.2	4.9	3.6	2.1	1.3	31,900 99.9	96.79
55—59		0.2	9.3	23.9	13.0	15.1	5.0	8.6	12.9	6.0	3.7	2.1	0.2	13,400 100.0	105.73
60-and-over		0.7	14.5	32.4	13.7	15.9	2.4	8.7	5.1	3.4	1.1		1.2	25,525 100.0	78.31
7	Total:	7,925	38,150	147,375	104,650	97,725	26,850	51,175	36,000	23,475	10,250	5,100	6,075	554,750	94.33
I	er cents	1.4	6.9	26.6	18.9	17.6	4.8	9.2	6.5	4.2	1.9	0.9	1.1	100.0	

Source: [1, Table 4.06].

worker showing his economic conditions at various stages of life. The life cycle of a Karachi worker is constructed on the basis of cross-section data due to non-availability of the relevant data for larger age span. Thus, the conclusions may be inexact; but there is clearcut evidence of a direct relationship between age and income.

Median income is the lowest for workers below 15 years of age. The income, however, gets doubled for the worker in the next immediate age group of 15—19. A continuous expansion in income accompanies advancing age till the worker is in age group 35—39, when the income is at the peak level of Rs. 110.19. This corresponds to our reasoning for the highest labour force participant rate of males in age group 35—39 (Section 2.3). Persons in this age group are more conscious of their family duties and future responsibilities and try to earn maximum possible incomes which may be possible because of their age-long experiences in their works.

On the average, the monthly personal income per worker remains more or less static from 40—59 years of age (with one exception in age group of 50—54, when income was reduced quite significantly). It may imply that during this period of life, the scope of promotion and advancement in the respective fields becomes narrow, and new opportunities by and large are not available. Hence, the income of a worker remains more or less static and exposed to decline. Once the worker has passed to the next age group of 60 years-and-over, his income is reduced to Rs. 78.31 only, about one-fourth less than the income in the immediate preceding age group.

It can be safely concluded from these observations that there is a positive relationship between age and income. As the labourer improves his insight into his work and gains more experience and skill with the advancement of his age, his earning capacity flates out. But normally, after 60 years of age, due to physical or mental decay and retirement from original jobs, his earning capacity usually deteriorates.

6.3.2 Income Distribution by Migrant Status: Table VI.6 and Figure 6.2 compare the (personal) income distribution and median income of the workers in different population groups. It can be seen from this

distribution that income status of the natives and in-migrants are almost similar, the latter having only a slight edge over the former. But the immigrant workers are much better off than both the natives and in-migrants. In comparison to the median incomes of Rs. 84.33 for the natives and Rs. 87.13 for in-migrants, the immigrants are enjoying income of Rs. 101.94, *i.e.*, 21 per cent and 17 per cent more than natives and in-migrants respectively.

As is evident from the table, one homogeneity maintained by all the groups was the placement of major proportions of their workers in the income group of Rs. 50—74. Most probably, this is because of larger proportions of all the groups of workers found in the "semi-skilled" and "unskilled labourers" and "servants and related" classes (see, Section 3.2) which have relatively lower earning capacities than most of the occupations. However, leaving this income group, the income structure of immigrants presented quite a different distribution as compared with the natives and in-migrants who have a greater degree of similarity.

Judging by the general standard, the natives have a proportion of 14 per cent at the brink of poverty (i.e., earners having personal incomes less than Rs. 50 per month), and only one-fifth have incomes Rs. 150-and-more. As compared to the 14 per cent of the native workers, 7 per cent of the in-migrant workers are facing poverty. But they have a greater proportion (three-fourths of their number) in the middle income range of Rs. 50-149, while the natives' proportion is 64.3 per cent and a lower proportion of workers (16.6 per cent) in the higher income groups of Rs. 150-and-more, than the natives. The income distribution pattern for immigrant workers presents a different picture. As compared with the two other migrant groups, the proportion of immigrants (more than one-fourth) in the higher income groups of Rs. 150-and-over is much larger.

These findings lead us to the conclusion that immigrant workers are much more capable and skilled than the natives or in-migrants. These findings also support our earlier analysis of the industrial

⁶ Compared to family income standard of poverty, a personal income of less than Rs. 50 is usually considered to constitute poverty.

and occupational classification of the labour force (Chapter 3) which asserted that the immigrants due to their better technological skill and higher education found occupation in those industries which yield higher incomes.

But taking the relative per capita incomes for different sections of population by migrant status, some interesting contrasts can be seen (Appendix Table B-6). Though the immigrant worker is earning the highest income, the per capita income for the immigrant population as a whole is taken into account, it is much lower than the in-migrants (Rs. 42.31 as compared to Rs. 55.06). Among males also the in-migrants' per capita income of Rs. 83.11 is the highest than for any other group. Natives' incomes for both sexes as a whole and for the males are the lowest for all the groups. However, the native females' per capita income of Rs. 6.31 is relatively much higher than for females of other groups.

These findings substantiate our earlier results. Higher incomes for the in-migrant population can be related to their higher participation rate in labour force. Similarly, the incomes of the native females are higher than in-migrants and immigrants because their labour force participation is relatively greater (Section 2.5).

6.4 Income Distribution by Industries and Sex

Based on the data provided by Table VI.7 (which shows personal incomes of male and female workers as in different industries) and, Table VI.8 (which measures the quartile incomes for various industrial groups) we will analyse the distribution of income by industries and relative differences in the earning structures of male and female workers⁷.

In agriculture, more than nine-tenths of the males are earning less than Rs. 200. The middle 50 per cent have incomes between Rs. 57.75 and Rs. 111.50. Since three-fourths of the female agricultural worker are reported in the very first income group of Rs. 1-49, we could not calculate their quartile incomes. Average income (calculated by the mean method) is, however, Rs. 34.25, which is below even the first quartile income for the males. The incomes for both male and female

⁷ With this study of income distribution of female workers, the overall analysis of female labour force participants as a special group of manpower is completed.

workers in this industry are the lowest among all the major industrial classifications.

For "manufacturing and trade" industry, the first quartile earning is Rs. 70.50 and the median Rs. 98.50 for the males, compared to the female median earning of Rs. 52.25 only. Two-thirds of the male workers are recorded in the income range of Rs. 50-124, whereas more than 72 per cent of the females are in the lower income groups of below 75 rupees. But despite their overall low income status in this industrial class, the proportion of females earning Rs. 1000-or-more is not only greater than their male counterparts but also greater than the female workers of any other group. It may be perhaps due to two possible reasons; first some of these women may be running the business of their deceased husbands, and secondly, some of them engaged in commercial and industrial concerns may be drawing higher salaries for their high qualifications.

The median income of Rs. 103.75 for the male workers employed in the transport industry is the highest for all the four major industrial groups. Like the male workers of manufacturing and trade, two-thirds of the transport workers are almost equally divided among the income groups of Rs. 50-74, Rs. 75-99 and Rs. 100-124. But in the higher income brackets, the proportion of transport workers is much larger than the two preceding industries. Those earning Rs. 124 and more number 11,275 or 29 per cent compared to the proportion of 27 per cent for the "manufacturing and trade" and 14.4 per cent in "agriculture". On the other side, half of the female workers are in the low income status of below rupees 75. Median earnings are only Rs. 67.75, *i.e.*, two-thirds of the males' income.

For the industrial category "services and miscellaneous sources" except in the income groups of Rs. 50-74, where 30 per cent of the male workers are recorded, there is no marked concentration in other income groups. The median income for males is Rs. 92.00. It is larger by Rs. 27.5 than the first quartile earning and smaller than the third quartile income by Rs. 57.25. Incomes for females are quite substantial, only next to the incomes in the transport industry. However, examining the quartile earnings, one-fourth of the females are in the average income of Rs.

TABLE VI.7

KARACHI: INCOME DIFFERENCES BY INDUSTRIES AND SEX, 1959

										= 9(34)	(6)				(1)
								Personal inc	come						1
	Industrial group	Sex	No income	Rs. 1-49	Rs. 50-74	Rs. 75-99	Rs. 100-124	Rs. 125-149	Rs. 150-199	Rs. 200-299	Rs. 300-499	Rs. 500-999	Rs. 1000-and- over	No inform- ation	Total
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)
I.	Agriculture	m	50 (0.28)	2,175 (12.08)	6,850 (38.06)	2,525 (14.03)	3,275 (18.19)	225 (1.25)	1,250 (6.94)	625 (3.47)	325 (1.81)	150 (0.83)	25 (0.14)	525 (2.92)	18,00 0 (100.00
		f	=	150 (75.00)	50 (25.00)	V.	_		<u>-</u>	55 <u>T</u>	_	0-	_	olds <u>iñi</u> sble	200 (100.00
II.	Manufacturing and trade	m	650 (0.26)	12,025 (4.89)	58,875 (23.92)	53,525 (21.75)	51,8 ⁷ 5 (21.08)	11,275 (4.58)	24,825 (10.09)	14,325 (5.82)	9,750 (3.96)	3,925 (1.59)	2,800 (1.14)	2,275 (0.92)	246,125 (100.00
		f	100 (2.31)	1,925 (44.51)	1,175 (27.17)	225 (5.20)	250 (5.78)	-	275 (6.36)	200 (4.62)	25 (0.58)	25 (0.58)	50 (1.16)	75 (1.73)	4,325
II.	Transport	m	175 (0.45)	950 (2.45)	8,625 (22.23)	8,100 (20.88)	9,450 (24.36)	2,625 (6.77)	4,650 (11.98)	1,950 (5.03)	1,275 (3.29)	475 (1.22)	300 (0.77)	225 (0.58)	38,800 (100.00
		f	25 (10.00)	50 (20.00)	50 (30.00)		25 (10.00)	=	_	=	75 (30.00)	=	_	_	250 (100.00
V.	Services and misc. sources	m	725 (0.31)	16,075 (6.97)	69,550 (30.17)	40,450 (17.55)	32,27 ⁵ (14.0 ⁰)	11,875 (5.15)	19,575 (8.49)	18,375 (7.97)	11,450 (4.96)	5,250 (2.28)	1,925 (0.84)	2,97 5 (1.29)	230,500 (100.00
		f	300 (1.81)	7,250 (43.81)	3,875 (23,41)	300 (1.81)	1,175 (7.10)	750 (4.53)	725 (4.38)	800 (4.83)	550 (3.32)	450 (2.72)	_	375 (2.27)	16,550 (100.00
a	Professional services	m	75 (0.79)	575 (6.07)	1,625 (17.15)	675 (7.12)	1,475 (15.57)	600 (6.33)	1.025 (10.82)	1,175 (12.40)	1,225 (12.93)	625 (6.60)	225 (2.37)	175 (1.85)	9,475 (100.00
		f	25 (0.75)	575 (17.29)	375 (11.28)	75 (2.26)	700 (21.05)	575 (17.29)	250 (7.52)	300 (9.02)	. 225 (6.77)	100 (3.01)	_	125 (3.76)	3,325 (1000.0
b	Government & semi- government service	m	150 (0.15)	1,450 (1.49)	20,450 (20.95)	16,525 (16.93)	14,900 (15.26)	7,325 (7.51)	11,575 (11.86)	12,675 (12.99)	6,950 (7.12)	3,150 (3.23)	1,650 (1.69)	800 (0.82)	97,600 (100.0
		f		75 (4.55)	775 (46.97)	25 (1.52)	175 (10.61)	150 (9.09)	125 (7.58)	175 (10.61)	50 (3.03)	100 (6.06)	_	=	1,650 (100.0
C,	• Private service	m	=	2,200 (9.51)	3,850 (16.65)	3,075 (13.30)	3,3 ⁷ 5 (14.59)	1,600 (6.92)	3,075 (13.30)	2,825 (12.22)	2,100 (9.08)	875 (3.78)	25 (0.11)	125 (0.54)	23,12: (100.0
		f	_	100 (12.50)	100 (12.50)	_	125 (15.63)	_	100 (12,50)	125 (15.62)	150 (18.75)	100 (12.50)	_	_	800

TABLE VI.8

KARACHI: THE 1ST QUARTILE, MEDIAN AND 3RD QUARTILE INCOMES OF GAINFULLY EMPLOYED WORKERS BY SEX IN DIFFERENT INDUSTRIES, 1959

	Industrial group	Sex	1st quartile	Median	3rd quartile
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
I	Agriculture	m	57.75	73.75	111.50
		f	-	-	le oroda
11	Manufacturing and trade	m	70.50	98.50	138.25
		f	26.00	52.25	74.75
Ш	Transport	m	74.75	103.75	140.50
		f	38.50	67.75	334.00
IV	Services and mics, sources	m	64.50	92.00	149.25
		f	27.00	53.50	108.75
a	Professional services	m	76.75	134.50	279.00
		f	63.75	120.00	169.00
b	Government and semi-				
	government services	m	78.25	116.50	202.00
		f	61.00	74.25	165.00
c	Private services	m	73.00	117.50	203.00
		f	75.00	187.50	334.00
d	Personal services	m	55.00	68.75	82.50
		ſ	18.50	37.00	56.25
e	Others	m	77.00	110.50	173.00
		ſ	d etales	_	-
ſ	Not classifiable	m	57.75	71.75	97.00
		f	21.50	45.50	71.50
1 (6.6)	All industries	m	67.25	95.75	126.75
	a find that the table of	f	26.50	53.00	102.75

Source: Table VI.7

27.00. Half of the total females are having incomes upto Rs. 53.50 while only one-fourth are able to draw more than Rs. 108.75.

Classifying the "services and miscellaneous sources" by subindustries, the males in the "professional services" enjoy the highest income not only in this broad classification but for all other industries, followed by the male workers in "private services", and in "government and semi-government services", with median incomes at Rs. 117.50 and Rs. 116.50 respectively.

One most interesting and important finding is that, though in each and every other industrial class, female workers are in the lower income brackets in comparison to their male counterparts, they are the highest income earners with a median income of Rs. 187.50 in the "private services". This is the highest income not only for all females but also above the income for the males in any sector. Three-fifths of the female private servants are in the high income earning groups, constituting incomes of Rs. 150 and over. Even the lower one-fourth of these workers have managed to earn Rs. 75.00, whereas the upper one-fourth are earning more than Rs. 334.00.

For all the industrial groups the median income for male workers is Rs. 95.75. First quartile income is Rs. 67.25 and third quartile, Rs. 126.75, almost double of the first quartile income. The earning capacity of females is relatively poor, the median income being only Rs. 53.00 per month and first quartile and third quartile incomes being Rs. 26.50 and Rs. 102.75 respectively.

These tables have also been analysed from another angle, by examining the relative contributions made by each industry to the different income brackets. This, and the dispersion of incomes in different industrial groups and sub-groups, are broadly analysed by taking the ratio of first quartile to third quartile incomes, and the ratios these incomes individually bore to the median incomes in each industrial classification.

As a matter of fact, in our case, where the income classes are openended, an examination of dispersion of income distribution by taking the lowest and the highest income does not represent any true evidence of dispersion. A better, more precise and more relevant picture can be attained only by having a comparison of the first and third quartile earnings. Instead of taking the extremes, which give misleading results, we consider the limits of incomes of the bulk, (i.e., the middle 50 per cent of the workers in each industrial group). This ratio supplies our evidence of the limits of dispersion.

The method, which we have applied is that the median incomes provide the mid-point, and the ratios of first and third quartiles to median show the dispersion of earnings in the lower and upper stretches. By this method, if the incomes are distributed in a uniform manner, and there is no dispersion, all the ratios mentioned will be 1:1. Table V1.9 shows the indices of dispersion of incomes in different industries by sex as in 1959.

Dispersion of income in a given class may be accounted for by two factors: first that incomes may actually be dispersed; secondly the classification may not be homogeneous and may contain individuals of diverse attainments who are merged together because of the broadness of classification. The first type of dispersion can be illustrated by referring to the first industry, i.e., agriculture. All are agriculturists in this classification but their incomes may differ due to variation in the holding sizes. The example of the latter type is the workers in the "professional services". In this sub-classification, we include nurses, midwives, unregistered medical practitioners, religious workers, etc. The levels of income obviously are quite different for these different type of people, who are put under the common title "professional services" (refer to Appendix Table B-5). The group of "services and miscellaneous sources" by its very title exposes its heterogeneity. It contains males with median incomes from Rs. 68.75 in the personal services to Rs. 134.00 for the professional services.

It can be observed (Table V1.9) that the highest degree of dispersion for males is in the broad classification of "services" and "manufacturing and trade". Specifically, the largest degree of dispersion is in the professional, private, government and semi-government services. For agriculture, the degree of dispersion is slightly higher than in transport.

In comparison to male workers, the degree of dispersion is much greater for the females in every group except that of professional services. The diverse character of the female labour force is the explanation. The highest dispersion is observed in transport, in which the dispersion of income distribution for male workers was the least. Other groups, which show high degrees of dispersion are "private services", "not-classifiable", and "personal services".

TABLE VI.9

KARACHI: INDICES OF DISPERSION OF INCOMES IN DIFFERENT INDUSTRIES BY SEX, 1959

	Industrial group	Sex	Ratio of 1st quartlie to median earn- ings	Ratio of 1st quartile to 3rd quartile earnings	Ratio of median to 3rd quartile earnings
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
1	Agriculture	m	1:1.93	1:1.28	1:1.51
		f		1	_
II	Manufacturing and trade	m	1:1.96	1:1.40	1:1.40
		ſ	1:2.88	1:2.01	1:1.43
Ш	Transport	m	1:1.88	1:1.39	1:1.35
		f	1:8.79	1:1.95	1:4.45
IV	Services and misc. sources	m	1:2.31	1:1.43	1:1.62
		f	1:4.03	1:1.98	1:2.03
a	Professional services	m	1:3.64	1:1.75	1:2.07
		f	1:2.65	1:1.88	1:1,41
b	Govt. and semi-govt. services	m	1:2.58	1:1.49	1:1.73
		f	1:2.70	1:1.22	1.2:22
c	Private services	m	1:2.78	1:1.61	1:1.73
		f	1:4.45	1:2.50	1:1.78
d	Personal services	m	1:1.50	1:1.25	1:1.20
		f	1:3.04	1:2.00	1:1.52
c	Others	m	1:2.25	1:1.44	1:1.57
		f		-	
f	Not classifiable	m	1:1.68	1:1.24	1:1.35
		f	1:3.33	1:2.12	1:1.57
_	All Industries	m	1:1.88	1:1.42	1:1.32
		f	1:3.88	1:2.00	1:1.94

Source: Table VI-8.

The dispersion in the lower and upper half of the median earnings for the female employed labour force participants is higher in the lower half in "manufacturing, and trade", "professional", "private" and "personal services" and "not-classifiable". This would broadly imply that in these groups, there is an upper limit to the high incomes that could be sought but there is no lower limit. The dispersion is higher in the upper half of the "transport" and "government and semi-government services". In these high income-yielding groups for females, there is a definite lower limit, below which income may be not fall, but there may be no limit to the high income that can be earned relative to higher income groups in our classification. For the male workers, the groups wherein they can expand their earning opportunities without any hindrance are the "professional", "government and semi-government" and "private services".

6.5 Relationship between Income and Distance to Workplace

It is a wellknown phenomenon that one may have usually to go to far places in search of good jobs which give larger incomes. The more a person insists on staying near his home for a job, the less are his chances of acquiring a more remunerative job. In other words, by limiting his labour market horizon, a worker limits his employment chances.

A positive relationship between the income sought by a worker and the distance to his workplace can be seen from Table VI.10 which shows relative median incomes of the workers by their respective place of work.

TABLE VI.10

KARACHI: RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN INCOME AND WORKPLACE
OF WORKING LABOUR FORCE, 1959

Workplace and residence relation	Median income
Works in own household	71.10
Works in same chunk of residence	86.10
Works in contiguous chunk of residence	88,85
Works in non-contiguous chunk of residence	113.43
Works outside Karachi	172,75
No fixed place of work	81.82
No information	89.83
All relation	94.33

Source: [1, Table 4.09]

Until the worker is prepared to leave his household, the scope for earnings is very limited; he can earn, on the average, a monthly income of Rs. 71.10 only. As the worker breaks off relation with his household as working place and works in the "same chunk of residence" he may gain more opportunities, as evident from income of Rs. 86.10, an increase of 21 per cent. When he moves further away from his chunk of residence to other chunk, but adjoining his own chunk, the median income is increased further to Rs. 88.85. But the worker still may not be able to exploit his potentialities to the maximum extent, because the market is still comparatively limited. It is only when the workplace is shifted to a non-contiguous chunk of residence that the worker's median income shoots up from Rs. 88.85 to Rs. 113.43, an increase of about 28 per cent. Income capacity is, however, on the maximum, when the worker is doing work outside Karachi. Such workers are getting monthly median income of Rs. 172.75, i.e., 52 per cent more than the worker, whose working place is in the non-contiguous chunk of residence, and more than double the income earned by the workers working in their own household. These findings are self-explanatory. A worker will be ready to move to a workplace farther from his residence only when he is offered more money as compensation for the extra trouble he undertakes. It is found that immigrants go the farthest for their jobs in comparison to in-migrants and natives and this may be one of the reasons why immigrants have better jobs and enjoy higher incomes [3, p. 55].

There can be another possible explanation for the association of higher income with the widening of the distance between residence and workplace. It is a general tendency that as the income of a person rises, he may shift his residence to a "better" area, which may demonstrate his raised standard. Now the distance may be increased between his residence and workplace, but he may easily cover the extra cost of transportation (due to his increased income). So this tendency to move to better housing (in a new area) following an increase in income may also be a possible cause (other than those discussed above) of expanding distance between residence and workplace, as the income rises.

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CHAPTER 7

DEPENDENT POPULATION

7.0 Measuring the Dependency Ratio

The underlying assumption of the analysis of dependency which follows is that persons gainfully employed are earners and persons not working are non-earners or dependents. The ratio of dependents to earners conditions the behaviour of consumption and production in the economy and as such its study is significant from socio-economic point of view. Measurement of dependency load will be useful for formulating socio-economic programmes in the city.

According to Bancroft, a measure of dependency can only be true if it evaluates the services performed by an individual in comparison with his consumption and hence any division of population into the productive and dependent segments on the basis of economic activity is likely to be unrealistic in many ways [1, pp. 21-22]. For instance, keeping in view the definition of labour force, a larger number of women who are engaged in their household works are considered not in the labour force, although they are performing services which majority of the families may not be even able to purchase. Similarly some times certain household jobs which would otherwise have to be paid for, are performed by the male members of the household but are considered outside the definition of "economic activity". Conversely, there may be many persons included in the economically active population who are working for much less than normal hours and at least should not have been treated equally with those working full time 1. However in the absence of relevant data, it is very difficult to account for all the above-mentioned factors. The only crude measure that can usually be applied is the relative proportion of workers and non-workers [1, p. 22]. For that purpose, we can use the information provided by the survey [2] regarding the persons who were not working.

¹ For a detailed discussion of the problems of measurement of dependent population, see [1, pp. 21-23].

The unemployed are excluded from the earning status. Out of 19,150 unemployed persons, 17,200 or 90 per cent had no income. So, broadly speaking, this group of people may be counted among the dependents. However, not all workers are earners. Our statistics show that 7,925 employed workers had no income. But in this total were also included 5,875 unpaid family workers, who though not earning personal income, were nevertheless positively contributing to family income.

7.1 Economic Status of Population

Table VII.1 presents the economic status of the population of Karachi during 1951, 1959, and 1961 as between earners and dependents. According to the definition given by the survey, a person who at the time of survey had a gainful occupation is an earner. It is observed that whereas the population expanded from 1.12 million in 1951 to 2.04 million in 1961, showing an increase of 82 per cent, the number of earners showed relatively more increase, from 344,868 to 651,173, an increase of 89 per cent (*i.e.*, 7 per cent more than the expansion of population). On the whole, earners increased by the annual compound rate of 6.56 per cent. Of this, female earners multiplied at a faster rate of 10.8 per cent per annum whereas the males experienced annual growth rate of 6.41 per cent.

For eight years (from 1951-59) the proportion of earners remained more or less constant. Only a minor increase from 30.7 per cent to 30.8 per cent was witnessed. This finding corresponds to the fact that during this period there was a tremendous inflow of migrants both from India and other parts of Pakistan. The economy's capacity to absorb this additional manpower in these early days was limited. Scores of persons failed to find some means of livelihood. However, with the achievement of stability and an increase in the growth rate the economy was able to absorb proportionately more persons than ever before, slightly improving the situation.

Significant progress was, however, achieved by 1961, when the proportion of earners rose to 31.9 per cent. In relative terms, again the participation of females in the earning status was more pronounced, the proportion increasing to 3.1 per cent in 1961, signifying that 55 per cent

TABLE VII. 1 KARACHI: ECONOMIC STATUS OF POPULATION 1951, 1959, and 1961

Economic status of population (1)	1961 (2)	1959	1951 (4)
Total population:	2,044,044	1,803,175	1,122,406*
Males	1,161,990	999,250	643,292
Females	882,054	803,925	479,114
Total earners:	651,173	554,750	344,868
Male carners	624,145	533,425	335,177
Female earners	27,028	21,325	9,691
Total dependents**	1,392,871	1,248,425	777,538
Percentage of earners to population	31.9	30.8	30.7
Male earners to total males	53.7	53.4	52.1
Female earners to total females	3.1	2.7	2.0
Dependents per 1,000 earners	2,139	2,250	2,255

Sources: [2, Table 3.02; 5, Table 31, p. IV-57; 6, Table 11, p. 11-2 to p. 11-4].

who were unemployed.

For 1951, the figure of persons unemployed was not available. To bring in consistency in our analysis, we derived the number of unemployed from Table 11-A, p. 111-29 and Table 12, p. 111-31 in Census of Pakistan 1951 (Vol. 1,) by deducting the workers included in "Other Service Workers and Police, Fire and Services" (29, 410) and "Unclassified" (275) from the total number of 63,557 in "Other and Unclassified including unemployed", we got the total number of workers unemployed. The proportion of unemployment was 8.9 per cent of the total labour force. This proportion was quite high in comparison with the other two periods, 1959, and 1961. But this is quite reasonable. By 1951 Karachi had received about one million refugees from India and more than hundred thousand migrants from other parts of Pakistan. It was quite natural that the economy, though expanding enormously, was still not able to digest such a high in-pouring of persons.

By deducting the unemployed persons from the total workers, we got total

By deducting the unemployed persons from the total workers, we got total number of earners.

^{*}The population figure for 1951 is of Federal Capital Area, Karachi, and not for Karachi District. The population of District was 1,137,937. But because of the inadequacy of data regarding the number of earners and dependents we have to take the figures of F.C.A., Karachi. The difference between the two concepts is however small.

^{**} According to census reports, the dependents include all persons, who did not claim to be self-supporting, partly so, or seeking work. For 1961, we adjusted the figure of dependents by taking all those persons who were not working, plus those who were unemployed.

more females were working than before. This would indicate an expansion of employment opportunities for women. So one of the main causes of the increase in the proportion of earners to total population might be attributed to increase in the number of economically active females.

The males also made a significant contribution to the contraction of the dependency load of the economy. Male earner's proportion continuously increased from 52.1 per cent in 1951 to 53.4 per cent in 1959 to stand at 53.7 per cent in 1961. On the whole, the magnitude of the rise in the ratio of male earners to males and ratio of female earners to females was greater than the expansion in their respective population sizes.

The last row in Table VII.1 which states the number of dependents per thousand earners, gives us the dependency situation in a nutshell. It declined from 2,225 per thousand earners in 1951 to 2,139 in 1961. If we analyse in absolute terms, the picture appears to be more impressive, showing the dynamism of the economy and its flexibility in adopting the changing conditions. In comparison with 1951, when the economy was entrusted with providing livelihood to only 344,868 persons, it had to provide jobs to no less than 651,173 in 1961. This reflects the colossal advancement, made by the economy.

But despite the upward trend in the earning proportions, the dependency load was still very high. In comparison with Karachi, Bombay had only 1,145 dependents per thousand earners in 1951 [4, p. 41]. The large, unproductive female segment of the population is responsible for this heavy load of dependency. Whereas, Bombay's proportion of female earners to total females was 11.3 per cent in 1951, the proportion for Karachi was only 2.0 per cent in 1951, and 3.1 per cent in 1961. Another factor responsible for such a high percentage of dependent population was the remarkably high fertility rate of 224 birth per thousand women in 15 to 49 years of age in 1958 [3, p.87]. Another part of the explanation may be the diminishing participation of adolescents in the economic activity due to the increasing proportions attending school.

7.2 Dependency Ratios by Sex and Migrant Status

The study in this section is designed to present an overall picture of the different migrant and native groups by male and female segments on the basis of relative dependency ratios depicted in Table VII.2:

TABLE VII.2

KARACHI: DEPENDENCY RATIOS BY SEX AND MIGRANT STATUS
1959

		- 11	Migra	ant status		
					Migrants	
Sex	All per- sons	Natives	Migrants	In-migrants	Immi- grants	No in- formation
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
All dependents	69.2	72.1	69.1	55.3	72.9	11.8
Male	46.6	49.1	46.7	33.0	51.2	8.6
Female	97.4	92.3	97.7	96.9	97.9	54.3

Source: [2, Table 1.20, Table 3.20].

In all respects, the migrants from India carried the greatest load of dependency. Compared with overall dependents' average of 69.2 per cent of the total population, the immigrants' proportion is 72.9 per cent. Similarly, by the male and female classifications as well, the proportions of immigrant dependents are the highest among all the groups. Natives are closely following the immigrants with a proportion of 72.1 per cent. Under the assumption that extended and joint families usually carry a larger dependency load along with a larger number of earners (due to large size of family) than the nuclear families, the natives and immigrants have larger proportions of their populations in extended and joint families (37 per cent and 33 per cent respectively) than the in-migrants (29 per cent) who have the lowest proportion of dependents.

The migrants from other regions of Pakistan present a much better picture. They have a load of only 55.3 per cent of their total number dependent upon them. By sex, less than one-third of their total males are not working for a living as compared with half of the natives and immigrant males. Largely, it may be due to a better age distribution of

the in-migrants—having larger proportion of males in the productive ages of 15-64 than immigrants or natives [2, Table 1.01]. Another overall explanation obviously may be that many in-migrants have their relatives (mostly females and children) elsewhere in Pakistan [3, p. 56] whereas the immigrants moved as family units.

The other striking feature is that though the male dependency ratios for the natives are quite high, their female dependency load is the lowest for all the groups. Compared with the proportion of 97.9 per cent for immigrants and 96.9 per cent for the in-migrants, the native female dependent proportion is 92.3 per cent. The explanation may be that it is considered less harmful to family prestige among the native families to allow their women to work for a living. Another possible reason is evident from the income study in Chapter 3 which reflected relatively poor earnings for the native males. There would be many who cannot sustain their families on the meagre amounts earned. For such reasons, the native females may be forced in larger number to share the burden of living with the male members.

7.3 Age Distribution of Population not Economically Active by Sex

Age distribution by sex of the population not economically active has been depicted in Table VII.3. The survey finds some 1.25 million persons who do not work. Of this number, almost three-fifths are under 15 or are 65 years-and-over. It is observed, that bulk of this population is composed of children under 15 years (more than 58 per cent).

In the working age group 15-64, the dependent load accounts for about two-fifths of the total dependent population. The great majority of this dependency load is constituted by the females.

The overall ratio of male dependents to female dependents is 1:1.7. Of the total not economically active, about 63 per cent are females and 37 per cent males. About four-fifths of the male dependents and three-fifths of the total are placed in the non-working age group of under 15 years. In this age group, the female proportion is relatively less (28.5 per cent in comparison to 29.8 per cent for males). This is primarily because of a higher masculinity ratio. Again the next age group of 15-19 has the major proportion of dependency for males (3.5 per cent). This, of course, reflects males who are seeking education.

TABLE VII.3

KARACHI: AGE AND SEX OF POPULATION NOT ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE, 1959

Not in earn	ning status		107 148 .61				
Total dependents (per cent)		1,248,425 100.0					
Age (1)	Male (2)	Female (3)	(4)				
Under 15	29.8	28.5	58.4				
15—19	3.5	5.7	9.2				
20—24	1.1	6.2	7.3				
25—29	0.4	5.8	6.2				
30—34	0.2	4.1	4.3				
35—39	0.1	3.0	3.1				
40—44	0.1	2.5	2.6				
45—49	0.1	1.7	1.8				
50—54	0.3	1.9	2.2				
55—59	0.2	0.8	1.0				
60—64	0.5	1.2	1.7				
65-and-over	0.9	1.4	2.3				
All ages	37.2	62.8	100.0				

Source: [2, Tables 3.03 and 5.81]

In the non-working status of this age group, 30,275 out of 43,750 persons are attending educational institutions [2, p. 323]. The dependency proportion goes on declining till the age group 40-44. After this age group, the proportion begins to increase (with one exception in the age group 55-59) and reaches a peak for the group of males 65 years-and-over.

For the females, there is no such uniformity as witnessed in the case of males. Only 46 per cent are recorded under 15 years of age. The remaining are widely distributed. The reasons for high dependency ratios in almost all the age groups can be related to marital status. Once the female is married, she is totally exempted from the burden of earning livelihood. Even when they are single, mostly their burden of living is taken by the society as responsibility of the male members. In most of the cases, it is only when the females are without any supporter that they become involved in economic activity.

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CHAPTER 8

SUMMARY AND IMPLICATIONS

8.0

Since the industrial revolution, cities all over the world have been growing rapidly. The changed economic pattern brought about by industrialisation provided not only greater employment opportunities but also better returns. The industries were mainly located in and at the peripheries of urban centres and became the great centripetal forces for growth of the modern cities. Comparatively, low agricultural returns per worker proved to be the main force, compelling the rural population to migrate to urban areas.

After the achievement of independence, Pakistan by necessity began to develop her industries and Karachi being the then capital and the main port attracted the greatest number of the new industrial establishments. Being the prime city, with abundant employment opportunities, it received the largest share of the refugee population from across the border and also in-migrants from rural areas within Pakistan.

All the above factors made the study of the economic characteristics of this urban, industrial and commercial centre important for understanding the behaviour of future urbanization and economic growth, as the country moves along the path of development.

Among the main variables dealt with in this study are: the size and growth of labour force; labour force participation rates; marital status; employment opportunities; income distribution; mobility; and dependency.

8.1

About 32 per cent of the total population of Karachi was in the labour force in 1959. The age distribution of the labour force shows that entrance into as well as exit from the labour force was largely a function of age. Seven-tenths of all labourers were recorded in the central age group of 20-44 years. The participation rates for males in the labour

force were higher than for the females for any age group. By marital status, the married men represented the highest labour force participation rate, whereas the singles' proportion was the lowest for any group. Among the females, the married were the least reported in the labour force. By migrant status, the in-migrants enjoyed the highest participation rate, whereas the immigrants' proportion was the lowest.

There has been a phenomenal expansion in the labour force from about 379 thousands in 1951 to 574 thousands in 1959 and to 687 thousands in 1961. In other words, in a decade, the labour force enlarged its size by 81 per cent. The unemployment proportion declined from 8.9 per cent in 1951, to 3.3 per cent in 1959, but made a headway in 1961 by rising to 5.2 per cent of the total labour force.

Distribution of employed manpower by employment status found four-fifths of the workers in "wage or salaried workers" class and 16.5 per cent as "self employed" and only 1.1 per cent as unpaid family workers. Similar pattern of employment was observed in the other urban centres of West Pakistan, wage earners accounting for larger proportions. On the other hand, in the rural areas of both West and East Pakistan the distribution of workers by employment status was just the opposite, the self-employed and unpaid family workers constituting larger proportion than the wage earners. Hence, in line with expectations ("as long as the ratio of the unpaid family workers to the wage earners remains high, the earning capacity or in other words, the economic prosperity of an average household will remain low" [3, p.288]). Karachi along with other urban centres appears to be enjoying more economic prosperity than the rural areas due to low proportion of unpaid family workers.

Among the persons not in labour force, about three-fifths were below 15 years. The two main activities of persons in age group 15-and-over not in labour force were household work and attending the school.

8.2

"Manufacturing and trade" constituted the largest single source of employment, absorbing a little less than half of the working labour force, whereas agriculture was the least important, constituting only 3 per cent of the workers. But for natives, agriculture was the second largest source of employment after manufacturing and trade, employing about 18 per cent of their labour force participants.

The distribution of labour force into broad occupational groups showed 26.7 per cent of the workers as white-collar while 61.4 per cent were reported in the manual occupations. Of the special groups of manpower, the employed child labour and female labour force participants were mostly engaged in the occupations requiring less skill, training, experience and education. However, a substantial proportion of female workers was engaged in the white-collar jobs (though of low status) whereas these were almost closed for juvenile workers.

Studying the earning capacity of occupations, the income range was found to be from Rs. 67.94 for "servants and related" to Rs. 175.00 for "administrators and managers". Study revealed a positive correlation among earnings, educational level, and the social prestige attached to the occupation. The servants or unskilled labourers were at low social status as they were earning the least amounts due to low educational attainment and skill. On the other side, the administrators, managers, professionals and technicians enjoyed a higher social status for their substantial earnings and high education.

Among the different groups of population, natives on the whole appeared to be the most poorly placed group by occupational distribution. In large proportions, they were placed in the lower category occupations, which have low-earning capacity and enjoy a low social status.

8.3

The study of industrial entrepreneurship in Karachi reveals a higher relative entrepreneurial participation among the migrants from India than any other group. Only 24.2 per cent of the stock of entrepreneur has emerged from the Pakistan-born portion of the total population (34.2 per cent) while the immigrants from India constituted 74.0 per cent of the entrepreneurs out of a share in the total population of 64.4 per cent. Both in the small-scale and large-scale sectors, immigrants seem to manifest a higher potential for entrepreneurial activity, while growth and development of this potential seems to be relatively impeded

among the natives in particular (while having 16.6 per cent of the total population, the natives contained only 7.9 per cent of the entrepreneurship).

Most of the present entrepreneurs have emerged from industrial and trading families, inheriting initial resources and enterprise vision. Skilled labourers and white-collar class also contributed significantly to the present stock of entrepreneurs.

Only a few of the entrepreneurs/manager (16.4 per cent) entered in their present occupations directly, while the remaining had one or more preceding occupational affiliations. Here also, the immigrants led all the groups in occupational mobility. Among the motivational factors, partition of subcontinent was the most important. Besides Partition, the major factor responsible for changes in occupation was the profit motive and the incentive of higher wages.

8.4

Some significant occupational mobility was witnessed in certain occupations. The farmers and fishermen led all the occupational groups in context of movement out of the occupations, whereas the "sales workers", and "dirvers and related" attracted most of the mobility, and expanded their sizes remarkably. On the whole, there was an evidence of upward mobility.

8.5

A glance at the income distribution in Karachi shows how pointed is the income pyramid and how broad its base as is evident from 68.7 per cent of the total number recorded as having no incomes. Monthly per capita income was estimated to be Rs. 43.69. Despite a high degree of underreporting of income this was larger than the per capita incomes of West Pakistan or East Pakistan [5, Table 5, p. 7]. A significant relationship was found between family income and family size. Most probably due to larger number of earners, larger families were enjoying more incomes than small size families. By similar reasoning, i.e., due to larger number of earners in the household a larger proportion of joint families are in the higher income groups than the extended or nuclear families. A positive relationship was also present between age and income. There was also an evidence of direct

relationship between the income and distance to workplace, *i.e.*, larger income usually accompanying larger distance between residence and workplace.

Income distribution by type of population status shows that the native and in-migrant workers were almost similarly placed. In-migrants were slightly better, with a median income of Rs. 87.13 as compared to Rs. 84.33 for natives. But natives had a larger proportion of their workers at the brink of poverty, with 14 per cent of them earning less than Rs. 50, whereas the proportions of in-migrant workers in this income category was only half as great. The immigrant workers were, financially, the best placed group with median personal income at Rs. 101.94 per month.

8.6

Along with their high income status, the immigrants were also carrying the greatest dependency load among all the groups. As compared to the proportions of 72 per cent of the natives and 55 per cent of the immigrants, the immigrant's proportion was 73 per cent of their total number in the dependent status. One interesting finding was the higher earner ratio for the native females compared to other female groups.

From 1951 onwards, the dependency load was shrinking. One of the causal factors was the consistent increase in the proportion of workers among females. From 2 per cent in 1961, their proportion rose to 3.1 per cent in 1961. But still, it is a very low proportion when compared with ratios for other urban agglomerations of the world.

Various arguments can be advanced for increasing the female participation in the labour force. Particularly the educated women should be brought into economic field. The women after completing their education are mostly married and engage themselves in the household work only and hence the economy is deprived of any economic returns from its investment on the education of these women. The number of educated women is quite substantial. In 1961, 23.8 per cent of the female population (5 years-and-over) was enumerated as educated. Of this 9.3 per cent were attending schools and colleges, the remaining 14.5 per cent had left schools and colleges [4, p. IV, Table 25]. Most of these educated women were not engaged in productive activity, as it is apparent from the low female participation in the labour force.

The introduction of these educated women in the labour force can be of significant benefit for the economy as scarcity of high level (educated) manpower is badly felt due to overall low literacy rate. Economic returns may be much more than the cost of replacing them from household work to some economic activity. This will be a positive contribution to national production. In a strict sense, the inclusion of the educated women in the economic field may release the male workers for more specialized kind of jobs and hence leading to a more efficient use of manpower resources.

Moreover an increasing need has also been felt to substitute female workers for the child labour. As mentioned elsewhere in this study, there are a number of poor families in the economy who by necessity use their children to augment the family income. If women replace these child workers, the children will get the opportunity to receive schooling which in future will raise the overall productivity of the economy.

The increasing participation of women in the labour force is also sometimes favoured as it may generate a tendency among the female workers to have fewer children, ultimately restricting population growth. As witnessed in the Western economies, an increasing proportion of female workers come to favour the regulation of the size of their families.

The economy of Karachi is not facing serious problems of underemployment or unemployment at least for female labour force participants (as unemployment proportion for female labourers was observed to be very low as compared to that of male labourers). As a general observation demand for specialized jobs of women is not low. Hence expanding number of the females in the labour force should not adversely affect the employment situation (i.e., by replacing male workers).

Furthermore, attention should be paid to the tremendous population growth the city has been experiencing. If the present rate of increase is maintained, the population will touch the 4 million mark by 1974 [2, p. 126]. And so will the labour force participation rate. This participation rate in economic activity will further accelerate with increasing female participation in labour force. On the other hand, the unemployment proportion has been rising (from 3.3 per cent in 1959 to 5.2 per cent

in 1961) which signifies that the present growth rate of the economy is not sufficient to absorb all the new additions 1. The rate of creation of new employment opportunities has to be enhanced (by raising the present investment rate) or the economy may suffer growing unemployment.

In the world of complex processes of production and technology the developing economies can make rapid strides towards development. In many ways they are better placed than were the developed countries (of the present day) who started their development efforts with crude methods of production and simple technology. But it is only possible if adequate proportions of skilled manpower are available. According to the Manager of the Regional Employment Exchange, Karachi already has "considerable demand for technical hands, skilled personnel, professional people such as doctors and engineers and trained persons as teachers" [1]. The future plans which emphasize introduction of heavy industry (as Third Five Year Plan proposes) will further increase this demand. Thus, increased establishments for educational and technical training are urgently required to maintain an adequate supply of skilled labourers, professionals, technicians and administrators. This flow should be sufficient not only for the city's economy but for the requirements of other regions as well.

¹ Though the unemployment proportion in 1951 was much larger (8.9 per cent) than in 1961, we can attribute it to the abnormal conditions of the economy. Thousands of migrants were pouring in the city. The economy's structure was disturbed. But by 1959 the conditions were normalized, as is evident from the low unemployment figure. Hence, from this time onward, if unemployment proportion increases, it will largely be due to economic factors.

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Appendix A Enumeration Schedule Survey of Karachi Population

MIGRANTS

Relationship to Head of	Sex	Marital Status	Age _		Occupation	Inc (Last n	ome nonth)	Normal Place of Work
Family (I)	(2)	(3)	(4)	Present (5)	Former (6)	Earned Income (7)	From Other Sources (8)	(9)
i) Head of Family								
			1 1					
			1 1			1	1	
	3		1 1					
	1 1		1 1					
ri)			ļ				.	
ii)								***************************************
ii)				••••••				***************************************
x)		•••••		••••••				•••••
x)			ļ					
No. of births last yearType of Habitation:Tenure of Habitation:		No of	deaths last year Pucca Owner occupi		Semi-pucca	Jugg Rent	l : Free	On roof top No regular :
. Facilitles in the Habitation:			Water		Electricity	Bath	room	Latrine
. Original Place of Residence:			Province/State	Dist	tTown/Village	Year	of migration from Ir	ndiaYear of arrival in Karachi
. Claim, if any			Verified Rs		Acres	Not	Verified Rs	Not filed Rs
. Prepared to buy any Plot b	y Instalments/	Cash						
. Prepared to buy House by	Instalments/Ca	sh			*****			
. If prepared to buy Plot or H	ouse, Amount	that can be paid:			Each Month Rs	•••••	•••••	Total Cash Rs
. Land owned in Pakistan:				nd Location		S.	ware vards and least	ion

Appendix B

Selected Tables*

*Sources to all tables in this appendix are shown by table numbers only.

All these source-tables are from People of Karachi: Data from A Survey.

TABLE B-1

KARACHI: MEDIAN AGE OF WORKERS BY OCCUPATIONAL GROUP
AND MIGRANT STATUS, 1959

				Median a	age		
	3.8		1	Migran	t status	23V)	CM
Occupational group	4.3				Mig	grants	No Infor
29.3	3.85	All status	Natives	Migra- nts	In- migrants	Immi- grants	mation
(1)	0.14	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
37.0	31.4		1		,,	autetr	n/a
Professionals and technicians		37.9	41.8	37.0	32.1	38.3	_
Administrators and managers		37.8	41.2	37.5	35.4	36.3	46.7
Clerical workers		29.8	31.0	29.8	26.9	30.9	_
Sales workers		34.9	36.0	34.7	33.3	34.9	25.0
Farmer and fisher- men		34.4	34.2	35.9	31.5	36.9	_
Drivers, postmen and related		31.7	31.8	31.7	31.0	32.1	24.2
Skilled labourers		31.2	36.6	31.1	28.4	32.3	25.1
Semi-skilled and unskilled labourers		28.8	33.6	28.2	26.8	29.9	24.3
Servants and related		32.2	32.1	32.3	30.4	34.7	27.2
Workers not classi- fiable		31.1	29.3	31.3	30.5	31.5	_
Unemployed		30.7	34.5	30.4	26.0	34.5	23.1
Total employed		31.5	34.1	31.4	28.6	32.8	25.2

TABLE B-2

KARACHI: MEDIAN AGE OF EMPLOYED WORKERS BY SEX AND MIGRANT STATUS, 1959

					Med	ian age
MIONAL GROUP	igrant	status	WORLD:R	10 al	Male (2)	Female (3)
		Nedlan :				
Natives		Migran			33.8	37.4
Migrants					31.2	38.1
In-migrants		Magas	Natives		28.5	29.3
Immigrants				SULGE	32.6	40.2
No information			(8)		24.9	38.3
All status					31.4	37.9
38.3	32,1					

TABLE B-3

KARACHI: WORKERS BY OCCUPATION AND INDUSTRY, 1959

					Indust	ries				
Occupational group	Profession	Agriculture	Manufac- turing and trade	Trans- portation	Govt. and semi-govt. services	Private services	Personal services	Others	Not Classifiable	All occupa pations
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)
	134.50		MA	LE						
Professionals and technicians 138.00	9,050 (80.62)	75 (0.67)	575 (5.12)	150 (1.34)	1,275 (11.36)	75 (0.67)	=	25 (0.22)	and the second	11,225 (100.00)
Administrators and managers 12	300 (0.62)	=	44,075 (90.46)	650 (1.33)	3,550 (7.29)	75 (0.15)	25 (0.05)	25 (0.05)	25 (0.05)	48,725 (100.00)
Clerical workers	75 (0.44)	=	4,300 (24.96)	1,800 (10.45)	8,275 (48.04)	750 (4.35)	25 (0.29)	125 (0.73)	1,850 (10.74)	17,225 (100.00)
Sales workers	=	Ξ	41,750 (99.64)	75 (0.18)	75 (0.18)	_	=	_	market kill k	41,900 (100.00
Farmers and fishermen	=	17,200 (93.86)	475 (2.59)	75 (0.41)	450 (2.46)	=	=	125 (0.68)	embo Lare as the	18,325 (100.00
Drivers, postmen and related	=	=	525 (1.56)	25,450 (75.86)	7,300 (21.76)	50 (0.15)	_	125 (0.37)	100 (0.30)	33,550 (100.00
Skilled labourers	=	50 (0.06)	76,575 (84.78)	2,725 (3.02)	10,275 (11.37)	150 (0.17)	275 (0.30)	100 (0.11)	175 (0.19)	90,325
Semi-skilled and unskilled workers	=	575 (0.52)	56,525 (50.87)	2,875 (2.59)	7,100 (6.39)	50 (0.04)	150 (0.13)	100 (0.09)	43,750 (39.37)	111,123 (100.00
Servants not related	25 (0.04)	25 (0.04)	9,875 (15.48)	2,050 (3.21)	14,550 (22.81)	350 (0.55)	36,525 (57.25)	125 (0.20)	275 (0.43)	63,800 (100.00
Workers not classifiable	25 (0.03)	75 (0.08)	11,450 (11.78)	2,950 (3.03)	44,750 (46.03)	21,625 (22.24)	150 (0.15)	2,100 (2.16)	14,100 (14.50)	97,225 (100.00
All Industries	9,475 (1.78)	18,000 (3.37)	246,125 (46.14)	38,800 (7.27)	97,600 (18.30)	23,125 (4.34)	37,175 (6.97)	2,850 (0.53)	60,275 (11.30)	533,423 (100.00

TABLE B-4
KARACHI: WORKERS BY OCCUPATION AND INDUSTRY, 1959

					40.00	Industries					
Occupational group	Personal	Profession	Agriculture	Manufac- turing and trade	Trans- portation	Govt. and semi-govt. services	Private services	Personal services	Others	Not Classifiable	All occupa tions
(1)	/2)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)
				Fe	male	161-01					
Professionals and technicians		3,300 (92.96)	200 1	4 -	=	250 (7.04)	- =		_		3,550 (100.00
dministrators and managers		25 (4.35)		500 (86.95)	25 (4.35)	_	V: =	_	25 (4.35)	roug	57. (100.00
Clerical workers		250	<u>9</u> 275	175 (50.00)	50 (14.29)	-	25 (7.14)	-		100 (28.57)	350 (100.00
ales workers		=	35 <u>-</u>	700 (100.00)	US	=	_	_		_	70 (100.00
armers and fishermen		=	175 (100.00)	77 7	415	100 	_			_	17: (100.00
rivers, postmen and related		(0.15)	000	75 (50.00)	(50.00)	=	, -	and .	_	_	150 (100.00)
killed labourers		0.51	(*** <u>(**</u>	1,825 (98.65)	(1.35)	- 10. 01	_			_	1,850
emi-skilled and unskilled labourers		02_(10.0)	7.100	825 (27.27)	· -	75 (2.48)	(0.83)	50 (1.65)	76.	2,050 (67.77)	3,025 (100.00)
ervants and related		(<u>01</u> (<u>02</u> 0)	25 (0.31)	75 (0.94)	2 = 2 <u>0</u> 1 54 <u>- 1</u> 1	500 (6.27)	2.5	7,375 (92.48)	=	-	7,975 (100.00)
orkers not classifiable		10 15 m	05.5	150 (5.04)	75 (2.52)	825 (27.73)	750 (25.21)		=	1,175 (39.50)	2,975 (100.00)
Il industries		3,325 (15.59)	200 (0.94)	4,325 (20.28)	250 (1.17)	1,650 (7.74)	800 (3.75)	7,425 (34.82)	25 (0.12)	3,325 (15.59)	21,325 (100.00)

TABLE B-5

KARACHI: LABOUR FORCE AND PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION BY OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS, PERSONAL INCOME AND MEDIAN INCOME, 1959

																(in rupees)
	P. P.			005,1.	100				Perso	nal Incom	e	27271			i workers	(9119) 714
Code	Occupational groups	All	%	No.	Rs. 1-49	Rs. 50-74	Rs. 75-99	Rs. 100-124	Rs. 125-194	Rs. 150-199	Rs. 200-299	Rs. 300-499	Rs. 500-999	Rs. 1,000 and over	No. inform- ation	Median income
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)	(16)	(17)
I.	Professionals and technicians	14,775 (100.00)	(100.00)	100 (0.68)	1,150 (7.78)	2,050 (13.87)	725 (4.91)	2,450 (16.58)	1,375 (9.31)	1,375 (9.31)	1,800 (12.18)	1,825 (12.35)	1,050 (7.11)		350 (2.37)	138.50
01.	Educators, lawyers and scientists	7,375 (49.92)	(100.00)	50 (0.68)	700 (9.49)	600 (8.14)	325 (4.41)	1,350 (18.30)	975 (13.22)	700 (9.49)	1,100 (14.91)	950 (12.88)	425 (5.76)	75 (1.02)	125 (1.69)	140.50
02.	Physicians and surgeons	875 (5.92)	(100.00)	_	_	25 (2.86)	25 (2.86)	25 (2.86)	1	100 (11.43)	225 (25.72)	250 (28.57)	200 (22.86)	25 (2.86)	- In	330.00
03.	Dentists	150 (1.01)	(100.00)		=	<u>110</u>	_		25 (16.67)		- I	75 (50.00)	=	50 (33.33)		434.00
04.	Unregistered medical practisioners (hakims, homoeopaths,	725 etc.) (4.91)	(100.00)	_	E	75 (10.34)	25 (3.45)	100 (13.79)	50 (6.90)	175 (24.14)	125 (17.24)	75 (10.34)	75 (10.34)	=	25 (3.45)	178.50
05.	Midwives	600 (4.06)	(100.00)	_	100 (16.67)	175 (29.17)	25 (4.17)	225 (37.50)	25 (4.17)	77 =	S. =	25 (4.17)	=	_	25 (4.17)	87.50
06.	Other medical and related occupations	1,075 (7.28)	(100.00)	=	25 (2.23)	200 (18.61)	100 (9.30)	325 (30.23)	100 (9.30)	150 (13.95)	75 (6.98)	100 (9.30)	_	_	7	116.25
07.	Religious workers (clergies and moulvies)	1,250 (8.46)	(100.00)	50 (4.00)	275 (22.00)	575 (46.00)	100 (8.00)	50 (4.00)	50 (4.00)	25 (2.00)	25 (2.00)	25 (2.00)	=	25 (2.00)	50 (4.00)	62.00
08.	Engineers, architects, etc.	1,275 (8.63)	(100.00)	_	=	25 (1.96)	_	100 (7.84)	25 (1.96)	125 (9.80)	200 (15.69)	200 (15.69)	275 (21.57)	250 (19.61)	75 (5.88)	426.00
09.	Other professionals	1,450 (9.81)	(100.00)	=	50 (3.45)	375 (25.86)	125 (8.62)	275 (18.97)	125 (8.62)	100 (6.90)	50 (3.45)	125 (8.62)	75 (5.17)	100 (6.90)	50 (3.45)	113.75
II.	Administrators, and managers	49,300 (100.00)	(100.00)	200 (0.41)	1,150 (2.33)	6,250 (21.68)	4,300 (8.72)	7,500 (15.21)	1,725 (3.50)	5,975 (12.12)	6,675 (13.54)	5,825 (11.82)	4,850 (9.84)	3,800 (7.71)	1,500 (2.13)	175.00
10.	Administrators and managers in govt. offices	3,700 (7.51)	(100.00)		<u></u>	=	_ '	_	_	25 (0.68)	350 (9.46)	425 (11.49)	1,550 (41.89)	1,225 (33.11)	125 (3.38)	820.00
11.	Business administrators and managers	4,575 (9.28)	(100.00)	2 (- 1 2)	+ 11	300 (6.56)	300 (6.56)	375 (8.20)	125 (2.73)	250 (5.46)	475 (10.38))	875 (19.13)	700 (15.30)	825 (18.03)	350 (7.65)	366.00
12.	Shopkeeprs and businessman	41,025 (83.21)	(100.00)	200 (0.49)	1,150 (2.80)	5,950 (14.50)	4,000 (9.75)	7,125 (17.36)	1,600 (3.90)	5,700 (13.89)	5,850 (14.26)	4,525 (11.03)	2,600 (6.34)	1,750 (4.27)	575 (1.40)	167.50

TABLE B-5 (contd.)

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)	(16)	(17)
II.	Clerical workers	17,575 (100.00)	(100.00)	25 (0.14)	_	500 (2.84)	1,625 (9.25)	4,100 (23.33)	2,900 (16.50)	4,200 (23.90)	2,875 (16.36)	1,100 (6.26)	75 (0.42)	_	175 (1.00)	146.1.
3.	Clerks, cashiers, typists computers etc.	17,575 (100.00)	(100.00)	25 (0.14)	=	500 (2.84)	1,625 (9.25)	4,100 (23.33)	2,900 (16.50)	4,200 (23.90)	2,875 (16.36)	1,100 (6.26)	75 (0.42)	_	175 (1.00)	146.1
IV.	Sales workers	42,600 (100.00)	(100.00)	125 (0.29)	4,525 (10.62)	14,075 (33.04)	8,350 (19.60)	7,175 (16.84)	1,225 (2.88)	3,575 (8.39)	1,700 (3.99)	1,050 (2.46)	225 (0.53)	75 (0.18)	500 (1.17)	81.9
4.	Hawkers and vendors	23,950 (54.11)	(100.00)	50 (0.22)	2,325 (10.09)	9,350 (40.56)	4,900 (21.26)	3,575 (15.51)	450 (1.95)	1,700 (7.38)	425 (1.84)	75 (0.33)	25 (0.11)	_	175 (0.76)	74.2
5.	Brokers and commission agents	3,175 (7.45)	(100.00)	7 <u>-</u>	25 (0.79)	225 (7.09)	275 (8.66)	275 (8.66)	75 (2.36)	375 (11.81)	850 (26.77)	750 (23.62)	200 (6.30)	50 (1.57)	75 (2.36)	235.0
6.	Other sales workers	16,375 (38.44)	(100.00)	75 (0.46)	2,175 (13.28)	4,500 (27.48)	3,175 (19.39)	3,325 (20.31)	700 (4.27)	1,500 (9.16)	425 (2.60)	225 (1.37)	_	25 (0.15)	250 (1.53)	85.2
V.	Farmers and fishermen	18,500 (100.00)	(100.00)	59 (0.27)	2,075 (11.22)	7,500 (40.54)	2,650 (14.32)	3,300 (17.84)	225 (1.22)	1,200 (6.49)	550 (2.97)	250 (1.35)	150 (0.81)	25 (0.14)	525 (2.84)	72.8
7.	Farm managers	2,225 (12.03)	(100.00)		200 (8.99)	725 (32.58)	400 (17.98)	425 (19.10)	50 (2.25)	75 (3.37)	125 (5.62)	100 (4.49)	75 (3.37)	=	50 (2.25)	85.2
8.	Farm workers	8,000 (43.24)	(100.00)	=	1,400 (17.50)	3,450 (43.13)	1,025 (12.81)	1,100 (13.75)	50 (0.63)	350 (4.38)	200 (2.50)	75 (0.94)	25 (0.31)	_	325 (4.05)	60.50
9.	Fishermen	8,275 (44.73)	(100.00)	50 (0.60)	475 (5.74)	3,325 (40.18)	1,225 (14.80)	1,775 (21.45)	125 (1.51)	775 (9,37)	225 (2.72)	75 (0.91)	50 (0.69)	25 (0.30)	150 (1.81)	79.2
VI.	Drivers, postmen and related	33,700 (100.00)	(100.00)	175 (0.52)	750 (2.23)	6,450 (19.14)	7,875 (23.37)	10,975 (32.57)	2,000 (5.93)	3,575 (10.61)	1,100 (3.26)	474 (1.41)	75 (0.22)	50 (0.15)	200 (0.59)	103.4
20.	Car, taxi and autodrivers	2,725 (8.09)	(100.00)	(-)	50 (1.83)	375 (13.76)	575 (21.10)	1,250 (45.87)	25 (0.92)	350 (12.84)	50 (1.83)	25 (0.92)	25 (0.92)	_	_	107.25
1.	Rickshaw pullers	5,125 (15.21)	(100.00)	100 (1.95)	275 (5.37)	3,025 (59.02)	1,025 (20.00)	425 (8.29)	100 (1.95)	150 (2.93)		25 (0.49)	=		=	68.0
2.	Cart drivers	4,475 (13. 2 8)	(100.00)	A 015 (1243)	250 (5.59)	1,225 (27.37)	1,175 (26.26)	1,325 (29.61)	75 (1.68)	250 (5.59)	125 (2.79)	\equiv	=	=	50 (1.12)	90.7
3.	Bus and truck drivers	2,675 (7.94)	(100.00)	25 (0.93)	_	50 (1.87)	350 (13.08)	1,275 (47.66)	425 (15.89)	375 (14.02)	150 (5.61)	_	_	=	25 (0.93)	117.7
24.	Other transport workers	17,100 (50.74)	(100.00)	50 (0. 29)	150 (0.88)	1,550 (9.06)	4,400 (25.73)	6,275 (36.70)	1,175 (6.87)	2,175 (12.72)	675 (3.95)	425 (2.49)	50 (0.29)	50 (0.29)	125 (0.73)	111.7
5.	Communication workers	1,600 (4.75)	(100.00)	(01217	25 (1.56)	225 (14.06)	350 (21.88)	425 (26.56)	200 (12.50)	275 (17.19)	100 (6.25)	_		_ 0 =	1	-

TABLE B-6

KARACHI: TOTAL INCOME AND PER CAPITA INCOME BY
MIGRANT STATUS AND SEX, 1959

thomas two	27 19		(i) rupees
Megale	ligrant status	Total income	Per capita income
(8)	(1)	(2)	(3)
	Natives:		
	Both sexes	10,776,625	36.08
	Males	9,848,300	64.94
	Females	928,325	6.31
	In-migrants:		
	Both sexes	17,371,850	55.06
	Males	17,061,900	83.11
	Females	309,950	2.81
	Immigrants:		
	Both sexes	49,492,550	42.31
	Males	47,964,975	76.81
	Females	1,527,575	2.80
	Total Population:		Sightland
	Both sexes	78,453,175	43.69
	Males	75,675,475	76.25
	Females	2,777,700	3.46

TABLE B-7

KARACHI: IN-MIGRANTS, PER CAPITA INCOME BY SEX AND REGION OF ORIGIN, 1959

(in rupees) Female Male Region of origin (3) (2) (1) 50.18 1.29 Lasbella district 1.61 Nawabshah and Hyderabad districts 87.59 Tharparkar district 61.67 2.27 4.00 Sukkur and Larkana districts 68.58 Rest of old Sind province district 85.86 Makran and Kharan districts 52.35 2.32 Old Baluchistan State including Kalat State 1.24 80.33 25.42 Bahawalpur and Multan districts 111.17 Lyallpur district 110.66 7.41 Lahore district 134.19 8.97 47.46 6.61 Gujranwala district 81.19 1.45 Sargodha and Mianwali district 0.62 Campbelpur district 82.33 1.86 97.01 Jhelum district 92.22 2.79 Rawalpindi district Sialkot district 107.86 4.34 3.94 123.58 Rest of old Punjab province 0.74 66.65 Kohat district Peshawar district 74.46 0.31 0.18 73.52 Mardan district 0.93 64.11 Hazara district 66.75 Old Swat State 0.98 69.58 Rest of old NWFP 5.69 70.61 Azad Kashmir region West Pakistan but exact region not 1.88 63.57 known 2.63 117.96 East Pakistan 2.81 83.11 All regions

TABLE B-8

KARACHI: IMMIGRANTS, PER CAPITA INCOME BY SEX AND REGION OF ORIGIN, 1959

		(in rupees
Region of origin	Male	Female
(1)	(2)	(3)
Rajastan	60.22	1.14
Junagadh, Manavadar and Mangrol	55.35	1.95
Bombay	89.78	4.99
Occupied Kashmir	83.30	3.15
Punjab	78.88	2.02
Delhi	66.27	2.12
Uttar Pradesh	61.06	2.19
Madhya Pradesh	76.72	2.14
Andhra Pradesh	93.62	4.73
Mysore	92.47	6.17
Madras	152.28	8.63
Kerala	79.87	
Bihar	100.77	1.55
Assam and West Bengal	183.65	-
Rest of India	400.00	12.50
Immigrants from other countries	305.74	13.14
All status	76.81	2.80

TABLE B-9
KARACHI: MEDIAN INCOME BY NUMBER OF EARNERS AND FAMILY SIZE, 1959

Fam	ily size	All primary		Numbe	er of earners in	n a primary fa	mily	
	111y 312c	families	None	1	2	3	4	5-or-more
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
2	persons	39,350 (11.82)	20.91	14.66	3.59	3-1	<u> </u>	3.77
3	persons	56,500 (16.98)	25.16	18.89	13.17	4.23	_	7.55
4	persons	60,550	18.63	19.66	15.94	9.64	3.31	3.77
5	persons	56,275 (16.91)	12.75	17.07	17.26	16.06	14.57	13.21
6	persons	43,925 (13.20)	8.17	12.54	15.44	17.66	10.60	9.43
7	persons	31,775 (9.55)	5.88	8.11	13.25	15.77	21.19	11.32
8	persons	19.325	3.92	4.41	8.48	13.58	15.89	5.66
9	persons	11,650	1.31	2.50	5.90	8.32	11.92	3.77
10	persons	6.625 (1.99)	2.29	1.28	2.97	5.84	9.93	13.21
11	persons	6.150 (1.85)	0.65	0.79	3.51	8.32	9.27	20.75
12	or more persons	650 (0.19)	0.33	0.09	0.12	0.58	3.31	7.55
	All sizes	332,775 (100.00)	7,650 (100.00)	242,350 (100.00)	60,550 (100.00)	17,125 (100,00)	3,775	1,325
Medi	ian income (in rupees)	122.78	22.05	110.80	170.26	253.10	(100.00) 295.90	(100.00) 466.66

Source: Tables 6.31 and 6.32

TABLE B-10

KARACHI: HOUSEHOLD SIZE BY FAMILY INCOME AND MEDIAN INCOME OF PRINCIPAL EARNERS, 1959

Source: Table 7.06	Source:												
119.00	420.00	256.00	256.00	215.00	192.50	167.00	144.75	124.75	116.00	110.00	102.25	88.00	Median income (in rupees)
409,325 (100.0)	3,600	3,050 (100.0)	6,825	12,000	19,800 (100.0)	32,300 (100.0)	45,875 (100.0)	57,700 (100.0)	63,325 (100.0)	61,375 (100.0)	49,600 (100.0)	. 53,875 (100.0)	Total:
0.9	2.8	0.8	2.6	1.9	1.1	1.3	1.2	1.0	1.2	1.1	1.3	1.4	No information
0.7	13.9	4.9	4.0	4.4	4.4	2.0	2.2	1.5	1.5	1.0	0.8	0.3	Rs. 1000and-over
1.7	21.5	11.5	10.3	5.0	8.3	5.3	4.5	2.6	1.7	2.5	2.0	0.5	Rs. 500-999
2.9	32.6	22.1	24.2	17.5	14.8	10.8	11.1	9.3	5.8	4.0	2.4	2.3	Rs. 300-499
4.8	11.8	25.4	23.1	26.0	18.9	18.8	14.4	13.3	11.0	8.8	6.7	5.8	Rs. 200-299
7.9	8.3	17.2	16.8	13.7	19.4	18.7	15.7	14.8	15.2	12.8	12.2	7.2	Rs. 150-199
11.2	6.9	8.2	3.7	7.9	7.9	7.9	7.2	7.9	7.4	8.1	6.7	4.6	Rs. 125-149
14.1	1.4	3.3	7.7	10.0	11.4	12.4	14.2	17.8	18.8	20.4	20.6	19.9	Rs. 100-124
15.5	0.7	4.1	6.2	7.5	8.3	12.9	15.2	14.6	16,4	17.2	17.6	18.1	Rs. 75-99
15.0	1	1.6	1.5	5.4	5.6	8.6	12.5	15.0	18.2	19.3	23.0	29.7	Rs. 50-74
12.1	1	0.8	1	0.6	0.8	0.7	1.3	1.8	2.5	3.7	5.9	7.9	Rs. 1-49
13.2	1	1	1	1	1.0	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.4	1.1	0.9	2.3	No. income
(14)	(13)	(12)	(11)	(10)	(9)	(8)	(7)	(6)	(5)	(4)	(3)	(2)	(1)
All	12 or more persons		10 persons 11 persons	9 persons	8 persons	7 persons	6 persons	5 persons	4 persons	3 persons	2 persons	1 person	Family income of principal earners

TABLE B-11
SCALE-WISE DISTRIBUTION OF ENTREPRENEURS AND MANAGERS ACCORDING TO THEIR FIRST OCCUPATION AND THE MAJOR OCCUPATIONS OF THEIR FATHERS AND GRANDFATHERS

	Le			First occ	cupation	of respond	lent			
Classification of occupations			Entrepre	eneurs		(16)			~	
	Sma	Il scale	Large	scale		otal (2) & (3)	M	lanagers		otal (4) & (5)
(1)		(2)		(3)		(4)		(5)	3,	(6)
Industrialists	No. 160	% 42.4	No. 58	% 46.0	No. 218	% 43.3	No.	% 7.4	No. 220	% 41.5
Traders and merchants	63	16.7	50	39.7	113	22.5	3	11.1	116	21.9
Agriculturists	7	1.9	_	_	7	1.4	_	+	7	1.3
Govt. service (non-technical)	15	4.0	4	3.2	19	4.8	1	3.7	20	3.8
White-collar employees	18	4.8	9	7.1	27	5.4	13	48.1	40	7.6
Professional people	2	0.5	_	_	2	0.4	-		2	0.4
Technicians	3	0.8	2	1.6	5	0.9	2	7.4	7	1.3
Skilled labourers	102	27.0	3	2.4	105	20.0	1	3.7	106	20.0
Service workers	3	0.8		_	3	0.6	2	7.4	5	0.9
Unskilled	4	1.1	_	1 1 1 2	4	0.8	3	11.1	7	1.3
Occupation not known	_	_	_	-	_	- PK 111	. 111.4		_	_
Total:	377	100.0	126	100.0	503	100.0	27	109.0	530	100.0

					Grandf	ather's i	najor occup	pation			
	Classification of occupations			Entre	preneurs						
			li scale		ge scale (13)		Γotal (12) & (13) (14)	М	(anager	Cols. (Total (14) & (15 (16)
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1.	Industrialists	73	19.4	22	17.5	95	18.9	4	14.8	99	18.7
2.	Traders and merchants	79	21.0	77	61.1	156	31.0	10	37.0	166	31.3
3.	Agriculturists	78	20.7	10	7.9	88	17.5	2	7.4	90	17.0
4.	Govt. service (non-technical)	10	2.7	6	4.8	16	3.2	4	14.8	20	3.8
5.	White-collar employees	6	1.6	3	2.4	9	1.8	4	14.8	13	2.5
6.	Professional people	12	3.2	3	2.4	15	2.9	2	7.4	17	3.2
7.	Technicians	2	0.5	*****		2	0.4	-	-	2	0.4
8.	Skilled labourers	41	10.9	1	0.8	42	8.3		-	42	7.9
9.	Service workers	- 6	1.6	-		6	1.2	-	_	6	1.1
10.	Unskilled labourers	9	2.4		-	9	1.8		_	9	1.7
11.	Occupation not known	61	16.2	4	3.2	65	12.9	1	3.7	66	12.4
	Total	377	100.0	126	100.0	503	100.0	27	100.0	530	100.0

TABLE B-11(concld.)

:IstoT	LLE	0.001	126	100.0	203	0.001	LZ	0.001	930	0.00I -(bənnit
occupation not known	-	_	-	_	-	_	_	_	-	_
Juskilled labourers	SI	0.4	-	-	SI	8.2	7	4.7	LI	2.2
ervice workers	L	6.I		-	L	4.1	*****		L	1.3
killed labourers	19	16.2		_	19	12.1	-	-	19	2.11
echnicians	ε	8.0	7	9.1	S	6.0			5	6.0
stofessional people	16	4.2	7	9.1	81	3.6	7	4.7	20	8.5
White-collar employees	SI	0.4	I	8.0	91	7.5	7	4.7	81	2.4
Sovt. service (non-technical)	23	1.9	3	2.4	97	5.2	3	1.11	57	2.2
griculturists	LE	8.6	3	2.4	01⁄2	6.7	*	14.8	44	€.8
fraders and merchants	1/8	22.3	78	L'99	168	4.88	10	37.0	178	33.6
ndustrialists	911	8.05	31	24.6	LÞI	Z.6Z	₽	14.8	121	28.5
	.oN	%	.oN	%	.oN	%	.oN	%	No.	%
)	(4)		(8)		(6)		(01)	0	(11)
	Smal	ll scale	Larg	scale	Cols.	(8) & (7)	M	anager	Cols.	Total (9) & (1)
				Entrep	reneurs					

TABLE B-11(contd.)

TABLE B-12 KARACHI: DISTRIBUTION OF MALE AND FEMALE ADULT AND NON-ADULT POPULATION ACCORDING TO EARNING STATUS, 1959

		Non-adul	lts (0-15)			Adults	(15-64)		1	Adults 6	5-and-over		Total
Migrant status	Earners	Not- earning	Unem- ployed	Total (0-15) non-adults	Earners	Not- earning	Unem- ployed	Total (15-64)	Earners	Not- earning	Unem- ployed	Total 65 and over	popu- lation
(1;	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)
					M	ALE							
Vatives	2,100 (1.4)	61,650 (40.3)	715 (0.1)	63,925 (41.8)	73,575 (48.1)	8,425 (5.5)	2,700 (1.8)	84,700 (55.4)	2,250 (1.5)	1,775 (1.2)	375 (0.2)	4,400 (2.9)	153,025 (100.0
Migrants	6,425 (0.8)	309,800 (37.1)	675 (0.1)	316,900 (38.0)	432,275 (51.8)	56,950 (6.8)	13,675 (1.6)	502,900 (60.2)	6,125 (0.7)	7,675 (0.9)	950 (0.1)	14,750 (1.8)	834,550 (100.0)
n-migrants	1,950 (1.0)	53,400 (25.9)	250 (0.1)	55,600 (27.0)	135,400 (65.7)	9,500 (4.6)	4,200 (2.0)	149,100 (72.3)	675 (0.3)	675 (0.3)	100 (—)	1,450 (0.7)	206,150 (100.0)
Immigrants	4,475 (0.7)	256,400 (40.8)	425 (0.1)	261.300 (41.6)	296,875 (47.2)	47,450 (7.6)	9,475 (1.5)	353,800 (56.3)	5,450 (0.9)	7,000 (1.1)	850 (0.1)	13,300 (2.1)	628,400 (100.0)
No information	275 (2.4)	150 (1.3)	-	425 (3.6)	10,375 (89.1)	450 (3.9)	400 (3.4)	11,225 (96.4)	25 (—)	(—)	(—)	25 (—)	11,675 (100.0)
Total:	8,800 (0.9)	371,600 (37.2)	850 (—)	381,250 (38.1)	516,225 (51.7)	65,825 (6.6)	16,775 (1.7)	598,825 (59.9)	8,400 (0.8)	9,450 (0.9)	1,325 (0.1)	19,175 (1.9)	999,250 (100.0)
	FEMALES												
Natives	50 (—)	64,550 (43.9)	<u>(</u> _)	64,600 (43.9)	5,625 (3.8)	72,175 (49.1)	50 (—)	77,850 (52.9)	225 (0.2)	4,425 (3.0)	()	4,650 (3.2)	147,100 (100.0)
Migrants	225 (—)	291,550 (44.5)	-	291,775 (44.5)	14,375 (2.2)	336,775 (51.3)	75 (—)	351,225 (53.5)	425 (0.1)	12,450 (1.9)	75 (—)	12,950 (2.0)	655,950 (100.0)
n-migrants	125 (0.1)	47,975 (43.5)	(—)	48,100 (43.6)	3,275 (3.0)	57,850 (52.5)	25 (—)	61,150 (55.5)	25 (—)	950 (0.9)	25 (—)	1,000 (0.9)	110,250 (100.0)
mmigrants	100 (—)	243,575 (44.6)	(—)	243,675 (44.7)	11,100 (2.0)	278,925 (51.1)	50 ()	290,075 (53.2)	400 (0.1)	11,500 (2.1)	50 (—)	11,950 (2.2)	545,700 (100.0)
No information	25 (2.9)	175 (20.0)	-	200 (22.9)	375 (42 9)	275 (31.4)	()	600 (68.6)	(—)	75 (8.6)	(—)	75 (8.6)	875 (100.0)
Total:	300 (—)	336,275 (44.4)	(-)	356,575 (44.4)	20,375 (2.5)	409,175 (50.9)	125 (—)	429,675 (53.4)	650 (0.1)	16,950 (2.1)	75 (—)	17,675 (2.2)	803,925 (100.0)

Source: Tables 1.20 and 3.03

Appendix C

GLOSSARY

Age

Age in years as reported by the respondents at the time of enumeration, were recorded.

Child Labour

All persons, below 15 years of age, working or looking for work.

Chunk

The area of Karachi was arbitrarily divided into manageable divisions named chunks for sampling purposes.

Dependent

A person, who was reported either not working or unemployed.

Divorced

A person, who was reported as divorced at the time of enumeration was recorded as such.

Earner

A person who at the time of the survey had a gainful occupation is an earner. The number of earners in a family does not include servants and lodgers.

Extended Family

A family consisting of nuclear family (as defined) plus one or more other relatives (related either to the head or to the spouse) sharing economic and living arrangements.

Family Income

Refers to the sum total of the personal incomes of all individuals related to the head of household by blood or marriage.

General Fertility Rate for Married Women-Housband Present 15-49 Years.

Births during 1958

Married women 15-49 years husband present on July 1, 1958.

Household

A family or group of families or group of persons living together and eating at least one main meal a day from the same kitchen.

Household Size

The size of a household is determined by all persons enumerated in the survey as members of the household, including servants and lodgers. Lodgers who eat from a different kitchen are, in accordance with the definition of the household, a separate household.

Immigrant

Migrant (as defined) whose original place of residence is outside Pakistan. About 99 per cent of the immigrants are migrants from India and the rest from other countries. As the proportion of migrants from countries other than India is very small to impair the results, they have been lumped together with the migrants from India.

In-Migrant

Migrant (as defined) whose original place of residence is in Pakistan, excluding Karachi.

Joint Family

Refers to a primary family, if it consists of a nuclear family (as defined) plus one or more sub-families, (as defined) with or without other relatives sharing economic and living arrangements.

Karachi

Metropolis, the are of 2,102 square kilometres covered in the survey, consistent with the former Federal Capital Area (later called Federal Territory), is greater than the city but smaller than the district of Karachi.

Karachi District

Comprises an area of 3,515 square kilometres consisting of Karachi (metropolis) as covered in the survey plus 37 villages of Thatta district.

Labour Force

All persons, who were gainfully employed or were actively seeking jobs at the time of enquiry, plus unpaid family workers.

Married

The persons, who were reported as married at the time of the survey, whether for the first time or whether remarried after having been widowed or divorced.

Major Divisions

Chunks were grouped into eight major divisions so as to obtain a more general idea about the pattern of spatial distribution of various characteristics of the metropolis.

Masculinity Ratio

Number of males per 100 females.

Migrant

A person whose family's original place of residence is not Karachi. In the survey, the migrant status and the original place of residence are recorded on each schedule for the entire family and not against each individual. Therefore, the head and all persons, who are related to the head are given the same migrant status as shown on the schedule. Thus, children of migrants born in Karachi and the natives, who moved into migrant families by marriage, are also considered migrants.

Native

A person whose family's original place of residence is Karachi.

Non-Adult

A person below 15 years of age.

Non-Family Type Persons

Persons who do not form a family by themselves.

Nuclear Family

A primary family (as defined) is a nuclear family if it consists of the following three types:

- i) husband, wife, and never married child/children
- ii) husband and wife
- iii) one parent and never married child/children.

Occupational Group

The reported occupations were grouped into broad categories in more or less similar way as adopted by the International Standard Classification of occupations.

Personal Income

A sum of individual, income (earned and received from other sources such as pension, rent received, *etc*) in the month preceding the month of enquiry.

Persons not in Labour Force

Persons who were reported as neither gainfully employed nor actively seeking work at the time of the enumeration. This category, more specifically, includes students, pensioners, retired persons, housewives, dependents of all ages and the persons whose occupations were not reported at the time of enumeration.

Population not Economically Active

Refers to dependent (as defined) population.

Primary Family

A multiple-person household of an independent character when the members of the household are all related to the head by blood or marriage, excluding servants and lodgers.

Principal Earner

Income is the main criterion for determining a principal earner in a household. From all earners in a household, the one whose earnings are the highest is taken as a principal earners. In cases where income is not reported or two earners have the same income or a household has

zero income, a person who has a better occupation or appears to be the one, who is likely to earn more than other members of his household is selected.

Separated

A spouse who was enumerated as separated was recorded as such. The separation may not necessarily be a legal separation.

Unemployed

All persons who were not working but claimed to be looking for work at the time of enquiry.

Unpaid Family Worker

A person who works with a member of his family in some business enterprise for which he gets no pay.

Widowed

Persons reported as widowed at the time of enquiry.

Working Labour Force

Includes all the persons, who were gainfully employed at the time of enumeration.

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						TABI	E B-5 (c	ontd.)								
(1)	(2)	(3)	(1)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)	(16)	(17)
VII.	Skilled lahourers	92,175 (100.00)	(100.00)	200 (0.22)	4,250 (4.61)	15,400 (16.71)	17,800 (19.31)	24,150 (26.20)	7,075	13,525 (14.67)	6,625 (7.19)	2,350 (2.55)	225 (0.24)	75 (0.08)	500 (0.54)	108.45
26.	Spinners and weavers	8,725 (9.47)	(100.00)	口语	125 (1.43)	1,475 (16.90)	3,400 (38.97)	2,575 (29.51)	700 (8.02)	350 (4.01)	(0.57)	25 (0.29)	-	era <u>mo</u> dal	(0.29)	95.25
27.	Leather cutters and shoe makers	4,150 (4.50)	(100.00)	25 (0.60)	400 (9.64)	1,050 (25.30)	975 (23.49)	1,150 (27.71)	75 (1.81)	400 (9.64)	(0.60)	(0.60)	=	201000	(0.60)	90.00
28.	Plumbers	425 (0.46)	(100.00)	1,85 <u>7</u>	25 (5.88)	75 (17.65)	50 (11.76)	200 (47.06)	(5.88)	(5.88)	(5.88)	0011	=	balalar	ome contra	107.75
29.	Carpenters	7,275 (7.89)	(100.00)	-145,0 -145,0	400 (5,50)	1,075 (14.78)	925 (12.72)	2,275 (31,27)	500 (6.87)	1,550 (21.31)	400 (5.50)	(0.69)	= ,	-	100 (1.37)	113.00
30.	Masons and stone engravers	9,500 (10.31)	(100.00)	(0.26)	225 (2.37)	1,000 (10.53)	1,200 (12,63)	3,375 (35.53)	725 (7.63)	2,300 (24.21)	550 (5.79)	50 (0.53)		=	(0.53)	116.75
31.	Electricians	2,925 (3.17)	(100.00)	_000	(0.85)	350 (11.97)	575 (19.66)	950 (32.48)	325 (11.11)	275 (9.40)	300 (10.26)	100 (3.42)	_	7	(0.85)	113.25
30.	Painters	2,100 (2.28)	(100.00)	70	75 (3.57)	400 (19.05)	450 (21.43)	350 (16.67)	225 (10.71)	425 (20.23)	(5.95)	25 (1.19)	25 (1.19)	- 3	Pro - 11	109.00
33.	Tailors	9,750 (10.58)	(100.00)	200	1,250 (12.82)	1,675 (17.17)	1,850 18.97)	2,600 (26.67)	725 (7.44)	975 (10.00)	450 (4.62)	(0.77)	50 (0.51)		100 (1.03)	100.50
34.	Tin smiths, welders and brick bakers	3,200 (3.47)	(100.00)	700	75 (2.34)	800 (25.00)	1,125 (35.16)	850 (26.56)	75 (2.34)	(6.25)	(1.56)	=	_	_	(0.78)	90:75
35.	Blacksmiths	1,800 (1.95)	(100.00)	-(1) -035	100 (5.56)	400 (22.22)	375 (20.84)	600 (33.34)	75 (4.17)	200 (11.11)	30 (2.78)	_	_	=	_	101.00
36.	Mechanic and fitters	18,325 (19,88)	(100.00)	25 (0.14)	275 (1.50)	2,850 (15.55)	(2,275 (12.41)	3,650 (19.92)	1,850 (10.10)	3,525 (19.24)	2,900 (15.83)	850 (4.64)	=	75 (0.41)	50 (0.27)	133.50
37.	Gold smiths and Jewellers	1,725 (1.87)	(100.00)	-000	25 (1.45)	225 (13.04)	125 (7.25)	325 (18.84)	200 (11.59)	350 (20.29)	300 (17.39)	175 (10.14)	=	- degreents	-	145.25
38.	Model makers and moulders	925 (1.00)	(100.00)		(2.70)	200 (21.62)	150 (16.22)	225 (24.32)	25 (2.70)	225 (24.32)	50 (5.41)	(D)	=	=	(2.70)	108.25
39.	Photographers and painters	2,100 (2.28)	(100.00)	(1.19)	(5.95)	300 (14.29)	225 (10.71)	625 (29.76)	150 (7.14)	400 (19.05)	125 (5.95)	75 (3.57)	(2.38)	, ;	=	115.00
40.	Supervisors and foremen	1,525 (1.65)	(100.00)	_	三	25 (1.64)	100 (6.56)	200 (13.11)	225 (14.75)	200 (13.11)	450 (29.51)	225 (14.75)	100 (6.56)	_	=	203.00
41.	Inspectors	750 (0.81)	(100.00)	_001		50 (6.67)	(3.33)	125 (16.67)	100 (13.33)	200 (26.67)	125 (16.67)	125 (16.67)	8 <u>1.0</u> 8 m	_	-	169.00
42.	Dakers and skilled workers in food	925 (1.00)	(100.00)	=	200 (21.62)	225 (24.32)	175 (18.92)	150 (16.22)	(2.71)	(5.41)	(10.81)	19.	_ '	=	a vigara	80.25
43.	Other skilled labourers	16,050 (17,41)	(100.00)	100 (0,62)	900 (5.61)	3,225 (20.09)	3,800 (23.68)	3,925 (24.45)	1,050 (6.54)	1,875 (11.68)	550 (3.43)	550 (3.43)	=	_	75 (0.47)	99.75