

RESEARCH REPORT SERIES

No. 9

Aman and Korangi Surveys

By

S.A.A.B. Rizvi



INSTITUTE
OF
DEVELOPMENT
STUDIES
LIBRARY

PAKISTAN INSTITUTE OF DEVELOPMENT ECONOMICS
OLD SIND ASSEMBLY BUILDING
BUNDER ROAD, KARACHI
PAKISTAN

No. 9

Aman and Korangi Surveys

By

S.A.A.B. Rizvi

The research Reports of the Pakistan Institute of Development Economics are circulated to inform interested persons with regard to research progress at the institute. These reports may be freely circulated but they are not to be quoted without the permission of the author. Work on this manuscript is still in progress; comments are invited to improve the final version.

June 1963

PAKISTAN INSTITUTE OF DEVELOPMENT ECONOMICS
OLD SIND ASSEMBLY BUILDING
BUNDER ROAD, KARACHI-1
(PAKISTAN)

AMMAN AND KORANGI SURVEYS

LIST OF CONTENTS

1. GENERAL

Introduction	1
The Surveys	2
Utility of the Review	4

2. METHODOLOGICAL

The Sample Designs	4
The Field Work	6
The Reports	8

3. SUBSTANTIVE:
GROWTH AND CHARACTERISTICS OF TWO
POPULATIONS

Growth and Vital Events	12
Density	15
Masculinity Ratio	16
Age Structure	16
Marital Status	19
Migrant Status	21
Household Composition	22
Employment and Occupation	22
Housing Condition	24

4. CONCLUDING REMARKS

General	26
Methodological	26
Substantive	26

oooo000000oooo

AMMAN AND KORANGI SURVEYS

Amjad Ali Bahadur Rizvi*

1. GENERAL

Introduction:

The city as a purely physical fact has been subject to numerous investigations. But "what is the city as a social institution, . . . an economic organization [and] an institutional process"^{1/} has not been adequately treated. In fact, the rising concentration of people in urban areas put many and varied social processes to work of importance to the understanding of social change. Equally of interest, because of the more purely economic aspects, the same phenomena requires scarce resources not only for housing and urban development, but also, and perhaps primarily, for the creation of industrial overheads and infra-structures.

The impact of social and economic forces on the overall structure of the city has stimulated the interest of human ecologists and ekisticians^{2/} in recent years. Simultaneously, there has grown an increasing realization on the part of the city and regional planning agencies of the fact that "active programme to be effective, must be based on an adequate knowledge of the socio-economic setting in which they are to be carried out"^{3/}. Such surveys have now become pre-requisite for drawing up of plans, as distinct from merely deepening

* The author is Staff Demographer in the Institute of Development Economics. He is grateful to Dr. Karol J. Krotki, Research Adviser to the Institute, for taking pains to go through earlier drafts and suggesting improvements.

1/ Lewis Mumford, Culture of Cities (New York: Harcourt Brace & Co. 1938) p. 479.

2/ "Ekisticians" are those who practice "Ekistics". "Ekistics" is a Greek derivative (from O. I K O S, meaning settling down), "It demonstrates the existence of a science of human settlements conditioned by man, influenced by economics, sociology, geography & technology." (Ekistics, January 1962, Vol.13.No.75).

3/ Gilbert R. Cabrera (ed.), Proceedings of the 1960 World Planning & Housing Congress, San Juan, Puerto Rico, from May 28 to June 3, 1960, Earnest Weissmann's address (San Juan, 1961) p.32.

our understanding of a given situation. This article reviews two surveys, which were guided by the need to equip planners and administrators with the information required by them in the performance of their tasks.

The Surveys:

The Korangi survey,^{4/} was carried out at the request of the National Housing and Settlements Agency of the Government of Pakistan, by the Central Statistical Office.^{5/} The object was to "find out how intense the problems of adjustment in this new community were and what the new steps in planning should be . . . and to understand the economic and social needs . . . (Korangi, p.iii)^{6/} of the newly created settlement where about 75,000 hitherto to shelterless persons have been resettled by the latter half of 1959."^{7/}

The Amman survey was undertaken at the suggestion of the Middle East Research Department of the University of Durham. It was administered and planned by an Advisory Committee appointed by the Prime Minister. The report^{8/} was issued under the authority

4/ Government of Pakistan, Report on Socio-Economic Survey of Korangi, December 1960 - January 1961 (Karachi: Central Statistical Office, Ministry of Economic Affairs, 1961) 64 pages, 52 tables, 9 illustrations, printed.

5/ An earlier survey (i.e., Shelterless Persons Survey) was carried out by the Central Statistical Office in 1959 as a first step to the drawing up of a plan to cater for the growth of Karachi city. The present survey was undertaken about one year after the rehabilitation of about 20,000 shelterless families out of the 120,000 surveyed then.

6/ To avoid frequent repetition in footnotes, references to the two reports will be given in the text by the name of the town to which they refer followed by the page number of the given report.

7/ The population has grown to 140,000 by February, 1963 according to the information received from the National Housing and Settlements Agency at the time this review was being completed.

8/ Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, Social Survey of Amman, 1960, (Amman: Ministry of Social Affairs 1961) m145 pages, 80 tables, 13 illustrations -- only two present in the copy reviewed, mimeographed.

of the Jordanian Government. The object of the survey was . . .
"to collect data on housing conditions in Amman which might pin-
point socio-economic problems caused by the rapid growth of the
city during the last seven years". (Amman: p.3).

The Amman Korangi and Karachi Settings:

Amman is an old settlement with a population of 200,000
people in 1960-61. It is the capital city of the Hashemite King-
dom of Jordan. Jordan was one of the states carved out after the
First World War from Syrian districts of the former Ottoman Empire
and began its separate career^{9/}. The present population consists of
Palestinian refugees (excluding those Palestinians who lived on the
right bank of Jordan river), the former making up about a quarter
of the total lot. "The fusion of the two peoples called for
personal and political adjustments that were painful and hard for
both".^{10/} The Amman city evolved gradually until in the last decade,
it was subject to rapid growth due to the flooding of refugees
from Palestine.

Korangi, on the other hand, is a ~~suburban~~ town of Karachi.
Karachi is the biggest commercial and industrial centre of
Pakistan. Until recently, it was the capital of the State.
Pakistan was born as a result of the partition of India on 14th
August 1947. "Partition enforced movements of people on a scale
absolutely unparalleled in the history of the world".^{11/} As a result
Karachi rose four-fold in a period of 14 years. The Korangi town
was designed to rehabilitate a part of the refugee population
of Karachi living in slums. The slum-dwellers constitute one-
fourth of the total population of Karachi or about half a million
people. The present area of Korangi can, therefore, cater for

9/ Ann Dearden, Jordan (London: Robert Hall Ltd., 1959) p.17

10/ Don Peretz, Israel and the Palestine Arabs (Washington DC:
The Middle East Institute 1958). p.19

11/ O.H.K. Spate, India and Pakistan (London: Methuen & Co. Ltd.,
& New York: E.P. Dutton & Co. Inc., 1954) p.110.

over a quarter of the slum-dwellers. Amman and Karachi have grown in recent years under similar circumstances, and therefore, display similar problems: congestions, slums, lack of amenities, haphazard growth etc.

In one respect, however, the two studies are different: The Amman inquiry is concerned with conditions of an entire city, inhabited by heterogeneous population; the Korangi inquiry deals with shelterless persons who have now been settled in newly planned housing communities. Notwithstanding the two different physical settings in which the investigations were carried out, the intentions were similar.

Utility of the Review:

Whereas wide disparity exists between the cities of Asia and those of Europe and America, the cities of Asia in themselves, even if geographically wide apart, do not perhaps differ substantially in terms of their socio-economic status. Through such comparison light may be thrown on some such hypothetical notions like: in what respects conditions in a metropolitan city of the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent are similar, and in what respects different from a metropolitan city of the Middle East? Do they require common planning principles or different ones? These are important questions a comparative study may help us answer. Similar inquiries elsewhere into man's habitat provided interesting results. "A comparative study of the coastal towns round the Indian Ocean shows that the city structure of Kilwa was not indigenous to the Swahili people of Kenya but had strong similarities with trading ports on the coast in, for instance, Arabia and India."^{12/}

2. METHODOLOGICAL

The Sample Designs:

Both surveys were designed by experts. In methodology, they

^{12/} Olof G. Tandberg, "The Indo-Pakistanis Importance for the Urbanization of Kenya, Pakistan Geographical Review. Vol. 17, No. 2, July 1962, p.17.

have much in common. In both, systematic random sampling was applied, the sampling fraction being one-tenth in the case of Amman and one-sixth in the case of Korangi. To what extent were these sample ratios rationally chosen is seen from personal judgement. "There may be other ways of judging adequacy of samples but they depend on personal judgements",^{13/}

In so far as the socio-economic content of the inquiry was to a great extent similar, the difference in the sample size determined seems surprising. Admittedly, Korangi is by size one half of Amman, but most of the characteristics investigated are interesting as proportions, and large proportions at that, and not as absolute totals, so that the size of the universe is not the directly determining factor in sample size. We are, therefore, left with two explanations : (a) either higher reliability was required of the Korangi survey, or (b) its population is more heterogeneous than that of Amman.

As regards the first explanation, the people of Korangi were surveyed twice, once before and once after shifting to Korangi. High reliability might have been needed in the first case, when the data was required for planning. At the post-rehabilitation stage high reliability was not required, and as said, the data was of interest in proportions. There is homogeneity in respect of the people, their dwellings, their customs, their income, etc. And this is nothing special. "Suburbs as a whole are statistically more homogeneous than cities as a whole, suburbanites are all alike".^{14/} In fact, some of the sample studies of some of the individual sectors of Korangi, with such sampling ratios as 1:10, gave similar results as those given by the Korangi study for the whole of Korangi.^{15/}

^{13/} Loon Festinger and Daniel Katz, (ed), Research Methods in the Behavioral Sciences. (New York: Holt Rinehart & Winston, 1953) p.181

^{14/} Herbert J. Gants, "The Balanced Community - Homogeneity or Heterogeneity in Residential Areas", Ekistics, Vol.13, No.75, January 1962. p. 58.

^{15/} Some selected problems of individual sectors were studied by the ekistic trainees of the Pakistan Ekistics Training Centre, Doxiadis Associates and a Statistical Adviser to the Central Statistical Office (Mrs. Dorothy Cook) separately before the Korangi Survey. There was insignificant variation between their findings and those of the Korangi Survey.

Thus the second explanation as to the heterogeneity of population does not apply. We are, therefore, left with our accusation on the Korangi survey, namely, that the sampling ratio of 1:6 was unnecessarily large.

On the other hand, in view of the heterogeneity of Amman, availability of survey resources and the required reliability the 10 per cent sample size does not seem to have been big enough. The survey peoples of Karachi whose heterogeneity is similar and even greater than Amman was done on a sample size of 4 per cent. In such decisions, optimum compromise between the economy of survey resources and the achievement of reliability needs is rationally arrived at.

In the selection of sample, non-residential land uses were excluded in both cases. In Amman, there were serious problems of management and planning. Those were created by the non-availability of maps, particularly of areas grown in recent years. Location of sample households was a difficult task because houses did not bear numbers and areas were spatially haphazard (Amman: p.10). Korangi did not pose problems of this sort. It is on such occasions that a rational and economy-conscious town planner is blessed for his grid-iron layout (Korangi: Master Plan facing page 1).

The Field Work:

The 10 per cent sampling fraction in case of Amman gave 3182 households to interview (Amman: p.21), whereas 2195 households were to be interviewed in Korangi (Korangi: p.50) on the basis of 16.7 per cent. In other words, in a population equal to half the population of Amman, a sample equal to the two-third of the sample size of Amman formed the respondents in Korangi.

In Amman, the number of "no response" was 235 (Amman: p. 21) which forms 7.4 per cent of the sample. In Korangi the ultimate figure under same head was 215 (i.e., 2195-1980 = 215) which forms 9.8 per cent of the sample size (Korangi: p.50). From this point of view the field staff in Amman deserves credit. Korangi shows up poorly in this respect in spite of the creditable efforts of

organisers to secure interviews of those missed on first count.

The Amman report contains cost in money terms distributed under broad heads. Korangi report omits such an important information. Hence comparison of cost in terms of man-hours is made in this review article. The data are conspicuous by their similarity. The total enumerator-hours applied in Amman and Korangi were 10,800 and 3,900 respectively.^{16/} In other words, one enumerator-hour was used for each .3 households in Amman and .5 in Korangi - data which could be of great informative interest to those responsible for planning and executing such surveys.

The achievement of 1.5 per cent "refusals" in Amman when judged in the light of no "refusals" in Korangi, reflects the insufficient persuasive power of Amman enumerator. On the respondents side these differences may be due to differences in norms and mores etc. The enumerators of the Korangi Survey were graduate students of the University of Karachi and the Pakistan Ekistics Training Centre. Those in Amman were comparatively less qualified. Some came from various Government Departments. More than half of them were part-time workers. "The usual experience", according to some experts (e.g. Karol J. Krotki), "is that students do a lousy job in comparison with less educated enumerators". But there were special reasons operative in the case of Korangi. Enumerators were to get credits in their examinations through the evaluation of their works by their supervisors. This might have induced them with a more serious attitude than is the "usual experience."

The two questionnaires were leaded with about equal number of questions (between 60 and 70) in both cases (Amman: p.123; Korangi: pp.51-57). The questions were nearly all factual and direct in Amman. They were partly factual and indirect but mostly attitudinal in Korangi. In view of this, the more than double time used per interview in Amman (75 minutes) than in Korangi

^{16/} The figures in this para have been worked out from the data of two reports so as to facilitate comparison.

(30 minutes) may mean : (a) slow interviewing in Amman and fast interviewing in Korangi; (b) Locational problems with sample areas in Amman with no effect on standards; (c) More co-operative respondents in Korangi than in Amman; (d) Difference of attitude, norms and mores etc between Amman-ites and Korangi-ites.

Whatever the actual effect of the faster interviewing in Korangi, there may have been a host of special reasons why the interviewing was fast:^{17/} (a) Survey-minded people. (b) Awareness of its utility and the hope of being helped by the Government. (c) Trained and experienced supervisors. (d) Similarity of attitude of respondents. In Amman factual questions elicited, as usual, dissimilar replies. Facts about things may differ, but bulk of the people share similar feelings about common problems and display same attitude, which are expressed quickly and recorded quickly.

The Reports:

Amman report is more descriptive (145 pages, single space, cyclostyled); Korangi one is less descriptive (66 pages, printed) and less analytical. This does not mean that Korangi report is less ambitious or is not conclusive. In spite of its being less descriptive and handy, it is more specific. The purpose, however, of providing data for more analytical inquiry explains why Korangi is less descriptive. The two reports contain wealth of data on a variety of characteristics: demographic, social, educational, occupational, income and housing and living conditions. In one respect, they differ; Amman report presents factual information of an existing state of affairs. Korangi one compares opinion of people at pre and post-rehabilitation stages. Both are important in respective ways: One (Amman) would guide us as to the course to follow when an old city swells up due to the recent event of urbanization. The other (Korangi) would tell us the rationale of treatment (planning) under the given circumstances. Both Amman and Korangi can learn from their mutually exclusive efforts.

^{17/} These explanations are entirely based on personal observations and experience of this reviewer while interviewing in Korangi without prejudice to their existence in the Amman.

Skimming through the first few pages of the Amman report, one comes across many typographical mistakes and omissions. The date on which the report was released has not been mentioned. It is devoid of page numbers. The over-simplified "Table of Contents" does not show page reference. Chapter numbers do not appear in the body of the report. Titles are not sharply focussed. It leaves a poor impression of an otherwise very informative contents. Korangi report is systematically and clearly presented. However, here also some of the heads are inconsistent. E.g. : (a) difference of wordings of the heads of Chapter II and Appendices D & E between that given in the list of contents and in the report; (b) absence of those titles in the pages of the report which are claimed in Appendices A and C in the table of contents; (c) no page numbers either in the list of contents or in the relevant page against Appendix E. These mistakes are no doubt serious, but in this respect Amman report frustrates the reader. In Korangi, such mistakes are rare.

The "Introductions" to the two reports do not deserve much comment. They are similar in approach. The last chapter (Conclusion) of the Amman report (p.116-121) may be compared with the first chapter (Summary of Surveys Results) of the Korangi report (pp. 1-6). But under the head "Conclusions", the real conclusion of survey results are absent. A wealth of findings so appreciably presented in the body of the report have been kept hidden. In the maze of methodological and procedural descriptions, the reader remains thirsty for want of pin-pointed results and findings of the study in Amman. In the Korangi report the socio-economic picture of inhabitants have been focussed and findings of the survey presented in so simple a manner as to be appreciated even by unsophisticated readers.

The characteristics of the Amman population is explained with the help of 80 tables, 2 maps and 15 diagrams. The "List of Illustrations" (Amman fifth page from the beginning) also claims 13 photographs, but none is present in the report. The authors of the Korangi

report, illustrate findings with the help of 52 tables, 3 maps, no diagrams and 6 page-size photographs. The list of photographs and maps (except the one in appendix) are not shown in the list of contents at all. The Amman report is more illustrative than the Korangi one, (i.e., in terms of sketches, diagrams and maps).

The cartographically superior map of population density in the Amman report makes the absence of other equally important maps significant. The map on page 3 does not describe the area it represents. The titles of the Amman tables are vague and incomplete: Grand totals are shown in the bottom instead of at the top, a modern and convenient practice. The rows and columns of captions and that of totals are not differentiated. Columns are not serially numbered. Errors of calculations as detected in few cases from 'random checking' are serious indeed: In table 13 (Amman: p.42 - 43), persons (males and females) in 48 and 57 years of age add up to 75 and 18 respectively, while it should be 95 and 88. Grand total shown in table 74 (Amman: p. 106) differs from the sum of sub-totals in the fourth column. The grand total should be 2946, or else the sum of the sub-totals in the third row should be 312 instead of 311. There are also some omissions in totals: Total average density of households in table 11 (Amman: p.38) is not given. Table 17 very well depicts sex ratio by single years, but does not show the composite sex ratio of all ages anywhere.

In the Amman report, pages containing graphs are not numbered. Neither the titles of graphs are given nor x & y axes described (Amman: p. 57 & 58). Some bar graphs have neither identifying numbers nor indicate what they represent (Amman: p. 77). In short, the report seems to ignore some of the basic rules of reporting.

Out of the three maps shown in Korangi report, the one shown on the last page is an example of poor cartography and serious inaccuracies and is deceptive. The other map (p.vi) of Korangi Master Plan belonging to the Doxiadis Associates is fair and accurate but because it fails to show the actual built up area and surveyed area, it is not so meaningful for the reader as it is for a town planner. Showing only one house

design (facing page 42) is deceptive for actually there are more than one house types in Korangi.

The presence of charts and diagrams in the Amman report makes the reviewer regret their absence in the Korangi report. As regards the photographs in Korangi report, the one on page 11 and the one facing page 43 may also deceive the reader. The one photograph on page 11 and one facing page 43 does not show the commonest type of houses in which people are living. Photographs should depict the prevalent housing living and social conditions rather than the better conditions which appears to the photographer.

There are inconsistencies in the lengthy questionnaire of the Korangi Survey. Information regarding over-due rent (Qn.IV. p. 52) and present housing (Qn.X 1, 2, 3, p. 55) could have been readily available from the Karachi Development Authority, the Resettlement Departments of the Ministry of Rehabilitation and local agencies. Many questions (e.g., to name one, Qn. VIII 2a p. 53-54 are repeated. Many questions, (e.g. QNVIII might not bring out answers to the 7 p.54) required degree of accuracy. This is reflected in the fact that quite a few tables pertaining to such questions have not been prepared and included in the report (e.g., Qn 3 and 4 in Section VIII, p. 54 and Qn 1 and 3 in Section XI, pp. 56-57). Some questions could have been combined (e.g., Qn. 2 and 6 in Section VIII) and the questionnaire made shorter.

However, these limitations in two surveys do not defeat the purpose for which they were designed. Some inconsistencies as pointed out reflect the lack of foresight in planning the job. However, one report (Korangi) is the data-giving document; the other (Amman) is data-giving with considerable analysis. Interpretations are not complete. In so far as the data were to be meant for future planning purposes, the extent to which they were currently interpreted is sufficient. For further research the information is there to be used.

GROWTH AND CHARACTERISTICS OF POPULATION

Growth and Vital events: The population of Amman has grown from 60,000 in 1948 to 193,450 in 1960 (Amman: p.28). ".... Rather it would appear that the population of the Capital has already passed the 200,000 mark". (Amman: p.29). This more than three-fold increase compares with the quadrupling of the population of Karachi during the same period. The 1961 figure for Karachi is 1,912,598.^{18/} The latter is thus ten times as big as Amman. This rapid growth of both cities delays the growing importance of the big and principal cities of developing countries. To Krotki in Pakistan" the decreasing importance of small towns and the increasing importance of large town is quite noticeable".^{19/} The same is likely to hold true in all developing countries.

The present population of Korangi on the other hand, is not much greater than was that of Amman in 1948. There is again one consideration to keep in mind: Amman had a natural growth typical of old settlements. Only recently its size has been swelled due to in-migration. Korangi is a man-made town created in 1959 to rehabilitate the slum-dwellers and shelterless persons in Karachi. The town has not yet been saturated to the level it was conceived.^{20/}

"The main cause of the population pressure in Amman is containing immigration on a considerable scale" (Amman:p.29) which reason was equally operative in case of Karachi of which Korangi is a part. Because of this the need of a new community like Korangi arose. The settlement of Korangi is a result of the mobility of people and also efforts of the Government to

^{18/}Government of Pakistan, Population Census of Pakistan 1961 Age, Sex and Marital Status, Census Bulletin No.3, 30th May 1962. (Karachi: Office of the Census Commissioner, Ministry of Home Affairs) p. 314.

^{19/} Karol J. Krotki "Urbanization Through Large or Small Towns" paper presented to the Seminar on "Urban-Rural Differences and Relationship with special Reference to the Role of Small Towns in Planned Development, held in New Delhi, December 27 to 30, 1962, p. 13. memographed.

^{20/} The Town is planned for an ultimate population of 500,000; the present size forms more than a quarter of the ultimate target.

redistribute the population of the city of Karachi systematically in an attempt to solve its many intricately-interlinked problems of urban structure.

The analysis of both reports starts from the demographic characteristics of the respective populations (Amman: p.28 & Korangi: p. 7). It appears that as high a crude birth rate as 47.2 per 1000 and as high a crude death rate as 18.4 per 1000 in Korangi gives natural increase rate of 2.9 per cent per annum (Korangi: p.7).

The vital information about vital events were not inquired, and therefore, they do not appear in the Amman report, except fortunately a statement: "... a conservative estimate of the yearly increase of births over deaths in Amman is 18 per 1000 ..." (Amman: p. 28). Thus a growth rate of 2.9 per cent per annum in Korangi compares with 1.8 per cent per annum in Amman. If the latter estimate is taken to be close to real figure, the wide disparity between two rates is surprising particularly when one considers that the socio-economic forces affecting fertility and mortality in the two places are not substantially different.

The only fertility indicator mentioned in the Amman report is the "fertility ratio".^{21/} This is a vaguer term discovered by the Amman team. It is called "child-women ratio" in demographic literatures and this "index is plainly a make-shift designed to furnish a measurement of fertility when birth statistics are lacking".^{22/} In the absence of birth statistics, the ratio is calculated as 77.4 per 100 (Amman: p.50) -- per 1000 a usual figure has not been preferred by the Amman team. However, this figure seems to be substantial though not unexpected for a country like Jordan. No significant variation is found

^{21/} The "Fertility ratio" or as is technically called the "child-women ratio" is the No. of children under 5 years to the No. of women aged 15 to 49 years" (Amman: p.50)

^{22/} George W. Barclay, Techniques of Population Analysis (New York: John Wiley & Sons: London: Chapman & Hall Ltd., 1959). p. 172.

when these figures are arranged as follows :

Amman	774 per 1000
Korangi	804 per 1000
Karachi	766 per 1000

From the data of two reports the reviewer has also calculated the gross fertility ratio ^{23/} of Amman and Korangi populations for convenience of further comparing the fertility conditions. The figures thus arrived are as follows:

Amman	33.6 per 1000
Korangi	35.5 per 1000
Karachi	35.4 per 1000

Although the difference amongst figures of the three places is not much significant, but the rates are suggestive of high fertility both in Karachi and Amman. However, the slightly higher rate in Korangi may be due to the lower socio-economic class to which the population of Korangi belongs.

From the similarity of figures for child-women ratio and gross fertility ratio between Amman and Korangi, one may safely conclude: Fertility conditions in two places are same; forces affecting fertility might also be nearly the same. This conclusion is important for what follows.

The absence of birth and death questions on the questionnaire of Amman "Social Survey (p. 123) seems to be a serious omission in view of their imperativeness for social and physical planning. However, one may make a less sweeping assessment from the fertility indicators discussed above that the birth rate in Amman should also be around the Korangi figures i.e., 47 per 1000.

From this conclusion, another safe conclusion about mortality conditions can be arrived. To make up for a growth-rate of 1.8 per cent per annum, death rate should be substantially high, i.e., around 30 per 1000. Even a figure slightly less than this is amongst the highest in the world; and

^{23/} Gross fertility ration is the number of children under 5 years to number of women of all ages.

the reviewer has thus far, not come across such a figure for any urban area of the world. The question arises why then is the natural increase in Amman so low? Low increase may be a function of one of the following/factors :

- (a) high death rate
- (b) high masculinity ratio
- (c) wrong assessment

Logicity of (a) has been exposed to serious doubts above. As regards (b), as the figures stand, masculinity ratio in Amman (111.6) is lower than in Korangi (114.5). Finally, therefore, there is reason to accuse the Amman reporter of wrong assessment of natural growth rate. Such figures may not be taken as portraying the demographic fantasies; instead they may be taken as the display of a lesson for those responsible for the conduct of such surveys and research.

Density: The Amman survey provides estimates of population and density of as small an area of the town as a block which are useful to study over-crowding and slums. The density ranges from as low as .05 persons per denum (50 persons per square miles) in E1 Ithra North to as high as 60.12 persons per denum (60,000 persons per square miles) in Mahajarin (Amman:pp.36-37). "The 'upper income markets',... are upper geographically living more spaciouly on the top of the bluffs ... most congested area lies in the main valley." (Amman: p. 34). The former area the areas of least density (average 10 persons per denum or 10,000 persons per square miles), the latter the areas of most density (average 40 persons per denum or 40,000 persons per square miles) The town planner may take such information as a routine data, but they are of greater interest to social scientists.

No density figures appear in the Korangi report. The map of Korangi plan (facing p.vi) is just a skeleton and does not show the built up area to facilitate calculations of density. However, the land looks to be monotonously flat. The major grids with an approximate area of 2,700,000 sq.yds. contain

about 40,000 people. The openness of the land, it appears, gave planners enough freedom to plan for a desired density (60 persons per acre or 37,5000 persons per sq.mile) according to an official of the Karachi Development Authority. Thus it appears that Korangi and Karachi are more over-crowded than Amman which actually is not the case. The density figure of Karachi is inflated because of large open surrounding area which has been accounted for in density calculation.

Masculinity ratios: The Amman survey reports femininity ratios by single year age but does not give a composite ratio of all ages. This is, therefore, calculated. The femininity ratio of 89.6 is equal to a masculinity ratio of 111.6.^{24/} The Korangi Survey reports the masculinity ratio of 114.5. There are, however, variations as between age groups and areas. The masculinity ratio (i.e. 75) of infants under 1 year and 101 for those between 12 and 19 in Korangi "is not presently explainable". (K o r a n g i : p. 4). In addition to this unsatisfactory excuse, it is suggested only three pages ahead (Korangi: p.7) that in case of under 1 year age, there might have been under-recording of female births and more mortality in female infants. Similarly in case of 12-19 age groups (masculinity ratio 101) there might have been under-enumeration because of employment mobility in males. (Korangi: p. 7).

Age Structure: The age structure of two populations is nearly same. Taking broad age groups the proportion of people in Amman and Korangi respectively in each age groups

^{24/} The practice of using "masculinity ratio" and "femininity ratio" is gaining popularity in demographic writings. It is convenient to use one of the two (preferably the "masculinity ratio") instead of using "sex ratio" only because it immediately says what it is. E.g., in Amman report, the term "sex ratio" is used inconveniently for femininity ratio.

are as follows :

<u>Amman</u>	<u>Age group</u>	<u>Korangi*</u>
100.0	years	100.0
16.8	0-4	16.5
41.0	5-19	37.5
36.1	20-59	41.7
6.1	60 and over	4.1

* The component parts do not add up to 100 because of rounding.

The difference in the age structure of two populations is not significant. The main point of interest that emerges from these figures is the extreme youthfulness of the two populations. This is evident from the fact that in Amman 37 per cent of population is concentrated in ages under 12 years and 58 per cent under 19. In Korangi, on the other hand, those under same ages are 38 and 54 per cent respectively.

In respect of broad age distribution a comparison can also be made with some other socio-economic settings of Asia as follows:

<u>Age Groups</u> (Years)	<u>Amman</u>	<u>Korangi</u>	<u>Karachi</u> ^d	<u>Hong Kong</u> ^c	<u>Pakistan</u> ^b	<u>Greece</u> ^c	<u>Kuwait</u> ^c	<u>Japan</u> ^c
All ages	100.0	100.0 ^a	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0 ^a
0-4	16.8	16.5	15.3	16.8	17.4	9.0	13.7	8.4
5-19	41.0	37.4	35.2	30.2	35.3	24.7	26.6	31.4
20-59	36.1	41.7	45.2	47.9	41.3	54.4	55.5	51.4
60 & over	6.0	4.1	4.3	5.1	6.0	11.8	4.2	9.0

a. The component parts do not add up to 100 because of rounding. Calculations based on figures from:
Calculations based on figures:

b. Government of Pakistan, Population Census of Pakistan 1961, Tables of Population, Sex, Urban-Rural, Religion.
Census Bulletin No. 2 (Karachi: Office of the Census Commissioner, Ministry of Home Affairs, Nov. 30, 1961).

c. United Nations, Demographic Yearbook, 1961. Thirteenth Issue (New York: 1962) pp. 150-154.

d. Government of Pakistan, Population Census of Pakistan 1961. District Census Report, Karachi,
Pt. I-V. (Karachi: Office of the Census Commissioner, Ministry of Home & Kashmir Affairs, 1963)
pp IV-8-17-9.

The significant finding that emerges is the presence of a very youthful population in Amman, Korangi, Karachi and Hong Kong. The base of the population pyramid of a country as a whole is wider than that of its cities. Expectedly it is, therefore, found that the populations of Jordan and Pakistan are about twice as youthful as those of Greece, Kuwait and Japan. The data in the age group 20-59 suggests that fewer people in Pakistan and Jordan produce more children. On the other hand, in Japan and Greece relatively more people produce fewer children. Again, old age population is less frequent in the former than in latter group. Japan is the country in Asia which possesses demographic behaviour typical of Western Europe. The demographic imitation of Greece from its western neighbours is due to more socio-economic affinity with them than with those of the east. Kuwait is unusual in this respect. One would expect from such a population a behaviour similar to those of Jordan and Iraq which is not the case. The reason is immigration and rapid economic mobility up the scale.

Marital Status: As regards the marital status, the Amman table (p.21, table 20) takes account of all ages, and the Korangi table (p.9 table 2) from 12 onward. On the ground that marriage before the age of 12 or birth before this age is highly doubtful - one doubts the wisdom of including children under 12 years of age in the accounts of Amman table (p.21). However, treating the Korangi data on Amman groupings (i.e., under 15 to 80 and over in 5 year age group) a meaningful comparison appears as follows :

<u>Amman</u>		<u>Marital Status</u>	<u>Korangi</u>	
<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>		<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>
100*	100*		100	100
67.2	60.3	Unmarried	57.8	48.7
26.2	33.0	Married	38.6	43.8
5.9	6.4	Widows/Widowers	3.2	7.1
0.8	0.5	Divorced/Separated	0.4	0.4

* The competent parts do not add up to 100 because of rounding.

Both surveys reveal a high proportion of unmarried people (around 60 per cent). Unmarried males outnumber their unmarried sisters in absolute terms. In proportions, 67.2 per cent of Amman males and 60.3 per cent of females are unmarried. Figures of Korangi under the same head are 57.8 and 48.7 per cent.

While the incidence of "unmarried" status is more noticeable in males than in females, the marriageable people of Amman are more prone to remain "unmarried" than those of Korangi. Conversely Korangi claims proportionately more married people than Amman. Thirty nine per cent married males and 44 per cent married females in Korangi compare with 26 per cent married males and 33 per cent married females in Amman. In both cases proportion of married females is higher than those of married males. The higher incidence of female marriages recorded might not be due to the existence of polygamously married wives, because of the declining institution of polygamy. The incidence of "divorce" and "separation" is insignificant.

Such informations are of great sociological significance for the institution of marriage affects the size, the function and the trend in the family. There is a growing interest amongst sociologists as regards the changes the institution of marriage and family are undergoing in Pakistan. Changes are more perceptibly noticed in the urban society of the developing countries like Jordan and Pakistan. In Jordan, "the rate of transition is now so rapid that many anomalies are found".²⁵

^{25/} Anna Dearden, Op.cit., p. 162.

Migrant Status: The "Amman population is composed of elements culled from Palestine and Transjordan..." (Amman: p.53). Although Korangi Survey did not take account of the "place of births", yet it is important to mention that the bulk of the peoples of Karachi are immigrants of India. They constitute 82.7 per cent of the total".^{26/} The entire population of Korangi consists of refugees. Of the total Amman population, 30.5 per cent are immigrants of Palestinian origin as against the entire population of Korangi being of Indian origin.

Amman Survey reports marked difference between the camp-refugees and the towns-folk. E.g. there is preponderance of males in town and of females in camp, the two homogeneous areas under which the data are categorised. Measured in terms of "fertility ratio" (child-women ratio), towns' women show less fertility than camp women. A bigger proportion of persons attend schools in town. The town has more and better facilities (e.g., water, electricity, etc.) than camp. From some of the unconcluded researches in the Institute of Development Economics Karachi,^{27/} differences of like nature are likely to be observed between Korangi populations and those of the rest of Karachi excluding the people in lower residential areas. From similar studies elsewhere the process of assimilation of immigrants in metropolitan atmosphere may be an appealing subject of investigation particularly for urban sociologists and human ecologists.

^{26/} According to findings of the "People of Karachi Survey, 1959" A mass of information is expected to be published by the Institute of Development Economics.

^{27/} E.g. Following expected monographs on the "Peoples of Karachi": Demographic Characteristics, Economic Characteristics, Social Characteristics, and a Statistical Paper about above characteristics.

Household Composition: There are significant points in terms of social structure. The two generation households both in Amman and Korangi have the same proportions, i.e., 55.7 per cent. There are differences in one generation households - this being 4.7 in Amman and 6.8 per cent in Korangi. Similarly, the single person households are 2.5 per cent in Amman and 1.2 per cent in Korangi. The reason why the proportion of single person households in Korangi is half as much in Amman may be due to these reasons: Firstly, refugees from India came to Karachi not so much for economic pursuits as for reasons of security. This tells why they came along with their families. Secondly, here houses were allotted to groups and families. In Amman, people particularly the young unmarried ones, came from upcountry for economic reasons and preferred to come alone. "They prefer to do so from necessity rather than choice". (Amman: p. 60).

In connection with the "household composition", one observes the section (Amman: pp. 58-65) to be very analytical and exceptionally well treated compared to other sections. It might have occurred to the Amman team that household information is vital for housing and town planning purposes. The report finds that "Of a total of 2,947 households, the largest group (1,783 households (60.40 per cent) are family units ... only 140 couples (4.75%) are living in a childness households, "(Amman:p. 60). The average household size is 6.45 in Amman (Amman: p. 57) and 5.17 in (Korangi: p.4). However, the latter size is that of a town-planned community, and therefore, does not speak high of Korangi when compared to the household size of Amman.

Employment and Occupations: Over one-fourth (27.5 per cent) of Korangi people were gainfully employed compared to 23.5 per cent gainfully employed people of Amman. Another point of interest is that the proportion of gainfully employed people in Korangi are less than in Karachi (30.8 per cent). Also in proportion they are less in Amman than in Korangi and still less than in Karachi. From this

figure, one may infer that Korangi presents more and Karachi still more employment opportunities than Amman. But one fact needs notice: For the type of people in Korangi (predominantly craftsmen and production workers), the commercial and industrial city of Karachi does offer more employment opportunities.

At the same time, proportion of those unemployed to the total labour force in Korangi (13.9 per cent) is more than three times (3.9 per cent) that of Amman as well as that of Karachi (3.3 per cent). This is a significant point. Including this lot, the labour force in Korangi appears much larger than in Amman. Higher proportion of unemployed persons to the labour force may suggest paucity of openings in commercial and industrial market of Karachi. But since figures for Amman and Karachi are about the same, it should appear that both cities present equal opportunities. This fact is consistent with our expectations of such cities. One explanation about the high incidence of unemployment in Korangi may suffice: There is reservation on their part to accept jobs unless they are lucrative enough to cover the high transportation and other living costs they have to bear living in Korangi.

Of all occupational groups the group of "craftsmen and production workers" predominate. This is followed by "salesmen and servicemen" both in case of Korangi and Amman. Those under "sales and "service" category are 19 and 15 per cent and 13 and 11 per cent in Korangi and Amman respectively. Earners or economically active population are clustered in 20-39 and 40-50 age groups in both case

	<u>Amman</u>	<u>Korangi</u>
Craftsmen and production workers.	40%	52%
Salesmen	15%	19%
Servicemen	11%	13%
<u>Earners in Ages:</u>		
20-29	54%	55%
40-49	23%	25%
Other sources of income.	8%	4%
Dependency Load.	3.3	2.6

This should not mean that those aged 40-50 are lazier. There is merely less of them. The proportion of those having other sources of income in Korangi are half (4 per cent) of Amman (8 per cent).

Coming to dependency load, 2.6 persons in Korangi and 3.3 persons in Amman of ages under 15, over 60 and 15-59 (females) are dependent economically upon one male of 15-59 age group. This being the dependency load, is a heavy strain on earners. In Amman, this load is heavier than in Korangi and still heavier than in Karachi. Reasons are many: Less efficient field work in Korangi; more old age (above 60 years) population in Amman (6.1 per cent) than in Korangi (4.1 per cent); relatively more women of 15-59 age groups and children under 15 in Amman.

Housing Conditions: Assessment of housing conditions depends on what standard is adopted for "good conditions" or "good living". Whether it be a household size of 5.17 persons as in Korangi or 6.45 as in Amman, both nevertheless display depressing state of affairs when studied in relation to the density of 4-5 persons per room in Korangi and 3.2 persons in Amman. This shows that in both places, people live in shelter rather than in "dwelling house", as it is defined.^{28/} However, in between-town comparison, Korangi is placed at a lower level in this respect.

From this the inference may not be drawn that the planners have failed to solve the acute housing problem and that of slum. In actual fact, the policy making agencies^{29/} were faced with two limitations at two ends: (a) lack of finances and resources of the Government and (b) resourcelessness of the slum dwellers. The best they could do under such circumstances was to provide accommodation

^{28/} "A dwelling home is a building arranged in such a fashion that meals may be easily prepared and served... that rest and sleep may be enjoyed without disturbance from the outside world, that sexual intercourse may take place with privacy and a minimum of distraction at all times in the year and that the care of the young may be carried on under favourable conditions of companionship and supervision". (Lewis Mumford, op.cit. p.466).

^{29/} The planning and executing agencies involved are: (a) National Housing & Settlement Agency, Ministry of Rehabilitation and Works (b) Doxiadis Associate - Consulting Engineers, Athens, Greece, (Consultants to (a) and (c) Karachi Development Authority, Karachi.

on a modest plot of enough size (100-120 per sq. yds.) so as to incite their initiative of making extensions according to their requirements as and when they have enough savings and their resource permit. And three-fourth (76 per cent) did make alterations in their houses; one-third did make additional shelters; half did spend money in alterations. Bulk of those who spent money, spent between 25 and 200 rupees. (Korangi : pp. 44-45).

Yet at present both Korangi and Amman display very high density of habitation even if judged from the minimum standard. More than three-fourth of households in Korangi and about half in Amman live in one room. Living conditions in Amman are relatively bad in the sense that there, in one-third of household kitchen-wash-room are combined, whereas in Korangi all houses are equipped with separate living, cooking and washing spaces. Fifty four per cent houses have electricity in Amman as against none in Korangi. In Amman 57 per cent have water taps inside houses. In Korangi no house is equipped with water taps. All households have to depend on water from the community taps at an average distance of about 50 meters. In Amman, 9 percent depend on community tap 50 meters distance. Forty per cent of houses are owner-occupied in Amman, whereas no house is privately owned in Korangi.

From the above fact, before a negative inference is drawn, one should note that they are paying monthly instalments (Rs. 8.00 ground cost + 3.13 conveyance) for houses which will be theirs in 15-20 year time or even earlier, depending on when the cost is recovered. This is because one of the principles which guided Korangi planners was: "Houses should ultimately become the property of beneficiaries." It is on such vital points that Amman team of planners can learn from Korangi, as the latter can learn on other points from the former.

4. CONCLUDING REMARKS:

General: We see that there was similarity of objective between the two surveys. Despite the orientation of surveyors towards such

30/ A.A. Bahadur Rizvi, "Financing Scheme of a Community Class IV (2000 families) in Korangi". (Athens: Graduate School of Ekistics Athens Technological Institute, September, 1960, not printed, p. 5).

information as would be of use for town planning and community development, the informations seem to be comprehensive enough - some inconsistencies granted - to warrant socio-economic studies. Should attitude surveys be conducted on the same sampling frame some of the gaps in sociological studies of this part of the world, can be filled. The statement, "Karachi is a museum of social research"^{31/} is a statement which should find relevance in many of the other like metropolitan cities of Asia (e.g. Hong Kong and Singapore). In such metropolitan areas waves of immigrants bring different traits and amalgamate them in the metropolitan society -- "the culture of cities".

Methodological: In terms of field work achievement although information points towards better results of Korangi survey, but the time and staff economy should not be assessed in isolation from the extra problems posed by the Amman (e.g., location of samples). Similarly, notwithstanding a lot of merit, some of the limitations deciding the sampling fraction and in reporting survey findings as exposed above in this review, were the result of the extent of resources and know-how available in two cases. They do not however, defeat the object of the enquiry.

Substantive: The assessment of socio-economic variables shows many of the common features in the area of population characteristic occupation, social structure. At the same time, there appear to be significant differences in other respects (e.g. housing condition). Taking such criteria as the per room density, amenities available (e.g., electricity, water, etc.), if the pessimistic conclusions are drawn about Korangi they will be amiss. It is thought that such indices may not be sufficient -- and the only ones -- for the assessment of housing and living conditions.

One may also feel sorry for an open area (Korangi) with poor transportation facilities trying to have sparse distribution,

^{31/} From the speech of Dr. I.H. Qureshi, Vice-Chancellor of the University of Karachi. in the University... December, 1961. (Quoted from memory).

thereby, aggravating the commuting problem. The location of planned community in Korangi raises the question of economic efficiency, "If the gainful workers in a suburban community are employed in the central city, the cost of commuting long distances as well as wear and tear on the nervous system may cancel some of the gains of living in spacious areas."^{32/}

These surveys are means to an end-planning for a good living. "Men come together in cities in order to live. They remain together in order to live the good life" (Aristotle). The main consideration of this article has, therefore, been to gauge to what extent the two teams of surveyors acquainted themselves with methodological and field problems, as also the problems of people in their respective universes.

The socio-economic problems displayed by the two surveys should incite the planners to assess a principal issue in the developing countries: the appropriateness of share of national resources devoted to housing and urban development. This is important because of an expected phenomena: "In the twenty five years period ending 1975 according to various estimates between 280 and 540 million persons will be added to the population of Asian cities with over 20,000".^{33/} This should increase the demand on natural resources for housing and urban development. More investment capital will also be needed to create the new jobs needed in the cities for the employment of new city dwellers. These are aspects of economic development the cities of this part of the world are going to face. If capital lacks and judicious and ekistic planning is absent, one can anticipate not only the decay of the costly urban land use but its socio-economic life as well.

^{32/} Nael P. Gist and L.A. Halbert. Urban Society, (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell & Co.; 1954) p. 524.

^{33/} Gilberto R. Cabrera, op. cit. p. 29.

This work is licensed under a
Creative Commons
Attribution – NonCommercial - NoDerivs 3.0 Licence.

To view a copy of the licence please see:
<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/3.0/>