

Changes in Levels of Educational Attainment in Pakistan: 1951–1961

by

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Education is one of the basic problems facing the developing nations. It is considered an index of the social and intellectual advancement of a population. This statement may not be absolutely correct; yet there is no denying the fact that progress of literacy and education is closely connected with the social and economic levels attained by a country. Pakistan stands among the least literate countries of the world. The 1961 Census showed a literacy rate of 15.9 per cent¹. This was an apparent decline from the 19.0 per cent literacy rate registered in the 1951 Census. Actually, however, the decline was not real but resulted from a difference in the definition of literacy used in the 1951 and 1961 Censuses of Population. The 1951 definition treated as literate all persons who could read any language in clear print, thus including an estimated number of about 4.3 million persons² who could read only the Holy Quran—and that also without understanding³. The 1961 definition was a notable improvement over that of 1951 because it considered only those persons as literate who could read a simple letter in any language with understanding.

In order to achieve comparability between the 1951 and 1961 literacy figures, Krotki⁴ and Jillani⁵, among others, worked out some methods of making the 1951 figures comparable with those of 1961. If the number of Holy

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¹ Office of the Census Commissioner, *1961 Census Bulletin No. 4: Literacy and Education*. (Karachi: Manager of Publications, 1962), Statement 1, p. vii.

² M. S. Jillani, "The Comparability of Literacy between the Pakistan Censuses of 1951 and 1961". A paper presented to the Asian Population Conference, New Delhi, December 1963.

³ The 1951 Census reported a higher corresponding figure of 6.6 million which was suspected of having been inflated.

⁴ Karol J. Krotki, "First Release from the Second Population Census of Pakistan—1961", *Pakistan Development Review*, Vol. I, No. 2, Autumn 1961, p. 67.

⁵ Jillani (*op. cit.*) applied the proportion of Holy Quran readers in 1961 to the Muslim population in 1951 to estimate the number of Holy Quran readers in 1951. Due to inconsistencies within the Holy Quran readers, he suspected that the figure of Holy Quran readers reported in 1951 was inflated.

Quran readers determined by Jillani's method is excluded from the total number of literates, the results show that the proportion of literate persons to population in 1951 was 13.3 per cent.

TABLE I

DISTRIBUTION OF TOTAL LITERATES IN 1951 AND 1961 BY JILLANI'S AND KROTKI'S METHODS AND PER-CENT VARIATION : PAKISTAN AND PROVINCES, 1951 AND 1961

(1)	Jillani's method 1951 ^a	Krotki's method 1951 ^b	Census 1961 ^c	Percent variation		Literates Percent of Population 1951		Literates per cent of total population, 1961
				Jillani's method	Krotki's method	Jillani's Method	Krotki's Method	
				(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
	(.....in thousands.....)			(.....in per cent.....)				
Pakistan	9,739	7,390	14,336	47.2	94.0	13.3	10.0	15.9
East Pakistan	7,474	5,578	8,956	19.8	60.6	17.2	13.3	17.6
West Pakistan	2,252	1,812	5,381	138.9	197.0	7.9	5.7	13.6

Source: a) M. S. Jillani, "The Comparability of Literacy between the Pakistan Censuses of 1951 and 1961", *op. cit.*

b) Office of Census Commissioner, *Population Census of Pakistan, 1951, Vol. 1*. (Karachi: Manager of Publications), Table 8-A.

c) *1961 Census Bulletin No. 4, op. cit.*

When compared with the 1961 figures of 15.9 per cent, the progress amounts to about 2.6 per cent. If the intercensal comparison is undertaken by Krotki's method of excluding the number of Holy Quran readers as reported in the 1951 Census, the progress amounts to 5.9 percentage points (10.0 per cent in 1951 to 15.9 per cent in 1961). In the latter case, the rise in the literacy rate is more than in the former. The picture is made darker when one compares the progress in two wings of Pakistan.

In light of Jillani's figures, East Pakistan with a larger population shows a rise of only 0.4 percentage points. This low figure, to some extent, is compensated by a rise of 5.7 percentage points in West Pakistan, but it does not lessen the gravity of situation in East Pakistan. If population growth is not taken into account, by using Jillani's estimates the number of literates in East Pakistan and West Pakistan increased by 23.6 and 130.7 per cent respectively (*cf.*, Table I). If Krotki's estimates are used, the increase is higher (60.6 per cent in East Pakistan and 197.0 per cent in West Pakistan), yet the differences

between East Pakistan and West Pakistan still remain high. The great disparity in the growth of literacy between the two provinces cannot be explained by the rate of population growth in East Pakistan during the intercensal period, because East Pakistan shows a lower growth of 21 per cent than the 27 per cent for West Pakistan⁶.

Literacy, by definition can be divided into three different types. Persons claiming to be literates but without any formal education may be called *simple literates*. Those who have received some formal education but have not passed any examination may be called *formal literates*. A third type may be identified as *functional literates* comprising those who have received at least four years of formal education and have completed primary school. All these types of literates taken together may be called *total or overall literates*. Overall literacy which would include all three of these types is not a very satisfactory measure for gauging the social or economic progress of a nation, although widely used for statistical purposes in the underdeveloped countries⁷. The quality of literacy is as important as its quantity. Any detailed study of the progress of education should concentrate more on the levels of educational attainment rather than on overall literacy. The importance of educational attainment becomes apparent when one considers the fact that 14.0 per cent of all literates (more than 2 million persons) are without schooling among a total literate population of 14.3 million in 1961. Literacy of these two million persons may be doubted. Indeed Jamila Akhtar classified another 8.8 million persons in the "doubtful category" by excluding those with less than four years of formal education from the total of literates⁸. One may not fully agree with the concept of functional literacy but there is probably no denying the fact that the informally educated persons or those who successfully completed less than four years of formal education are much less useful to the economy than those who have been through the higher classes. It is pertinent to point out that almost 70 per cent of the informally educated literate persons in Pakistan were enumerated in East Pakistan, thus considerably lowering the quality of literacy in that province (1.45 million out of 8.95 million total literates)⁹. In other words, West Pakistan with a lower percentage of overall literacy has the better quality than East Pakistan. This point is further illustrated in Table II.

⁶ Office of the Census Commissioner, *1961 Census Bulletin No. 2: Final Tables of Population*. (Karachi: Manager of Publications, 1962), p. 4.

⁷ United Nations, "Demographic and Social Characteristics of the Population", in *A Handbook of Population Census Methods: Vol. III*. (New York: Statistical Office of the United Nations, 1959), pp. 25-30.

⁸ Jamila Akhtar, "Literacy and Education: Fifth Release from the 1961 Census of Population", *Pakistan Development Review*, Vol. III, No. 3, Autumn 1963, pp. 424-42.

⁹ *1961 Census Bulletin No. 4, op. cit.*, Table 8, p. xviii.

TABLE II

**PER-CENT VARIATION IN LITERATES WITH FORMAL EDUCATION
PAKISTAN AND PROVINCES: 1951 AND 1961**

Code	Area	1951 ^a	1961 ^b	Variation	Per-cent Variation
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
	Pakistan	10.3	12.3	2.0	19.6
	East Pakistan	6.8	7.5	0.7	10.6
	West Pakistan	3.5	4.8	1.3	37.0

Source: a) *Population Census of Pakistan, 1951, Vol. 1-6, op. cit., Table 9-B pp. 9-22.*

b) *1961 Census Bulletin No. 4, op. cit., Statement II, pp. XXI.*

Table II reveals that the number of literates with formal education for the whole country showed an increase of 19.6 per cent between 1951 and 1961. East Pakistan recorded an increase of 10.6 per cent as compared with West Pakistan which showed an increase of 37.1 per cent during the decade. This brings out two important points. *First*, the increase in total number of literates in Pakistan was mostly due to the increase in West Pakistan because West Pakistan recorded a rise almost four times the rise in East Pakistan. *Second*, the rise in the formally educated population (2.0 per cent) is lower than that in total literates for Pakistan (2.6 per cent. *Cf.*, Table I). It shows that, along with an increase in facilities for education, there has been a proportionately higher rise in facilities for informal education, more so in West Pakistan than in East Pakistan.

A comparative study of East Pakistan and West Pakistan in terms of educational attainments is fruitful in more ways than one. It may be pointed out here that it is highly misleading to read and interpret demographic figures for the whole of Pakistan. There are definite cultural and social differences between the two wings which may make the overall figures misleading¹⁰. Unless the variations between the two wings are taken into account, important factors may remain concealed.

The rise in the total number of literates between 1951 and 1961 for East Pakistan was 19.8 per cent (*cf.*, Table I) and was almost identical with the growth of population which was 21.2 per cent. However, in West Pakistan there was 138.9 per cent (*cf.*, Table I) increase in the total number of literates compared with a population growth of 27.0 per cent.

¹⁰ A. F. A. Hussain, *et al.*, *Problems of Economic Reform and Development in Pakistan*. (Karachi: Institute of International Affairs).

Table III shows that in East Pakistan, 22 per cent of the population of age group 5-and-above was literate; but 96 per cent of them were below matriculation¹¹ and only 4 per cent had qualifications of matriculation and above. Compared with this, West Pakistan enumerated 16 per cent of the population in the age group 5-and-above as literate; of whom 88 per cent were below matriculation and 12 per cent were matriculation-and-above¹². This clearly shows that although the percentage of literacy was lower in West Pakistan, she was better off qualitatively.

TABLE III

DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION 5-YEARS-AND-ABOVE BY EDUCATIONAL LEVELS: PAKISTAN AND PROVINCES, 1961

Area		Educational level						
		Total population	Total literates	Below primary	Primary but below matric	Matric but below degree	Degree but below higher degree	Higher degree
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
(.....in millions.....)								
Pakistan	T	74.6	14.3	6.9	6.4	0.9	0.1	0.0
	P.C.P.	100.0	19.2	9.2	8.6	1.2	0.1	0.0
	P.C.L.	—	100.0	48.1	44.9	6.2	0.6	0.2
East Pakistan	T	41.6	9.0	5.3	3.3	0.3	0.0	0.0
	P.C.P.	100.0	21.5	12.7	8.0	0.7	0.1	0.0
	P.C.L.	—	100.0	58.9	37.8	3.3	0.3	0.1
West Pakistan	T	33.0	5.4	1.6	3.1	0.6	0.0	0.0
	P.C.P.	100.0	16.3	4.9	9.4	1.8	0.2	0.1
	P.C.L.	—	100.0	30.2	57.4	10.9	1.0	0.4

Source: 1961 Census Bulletin No. 4, op. cit., Table 3, pp. 160-61 and 242-43.

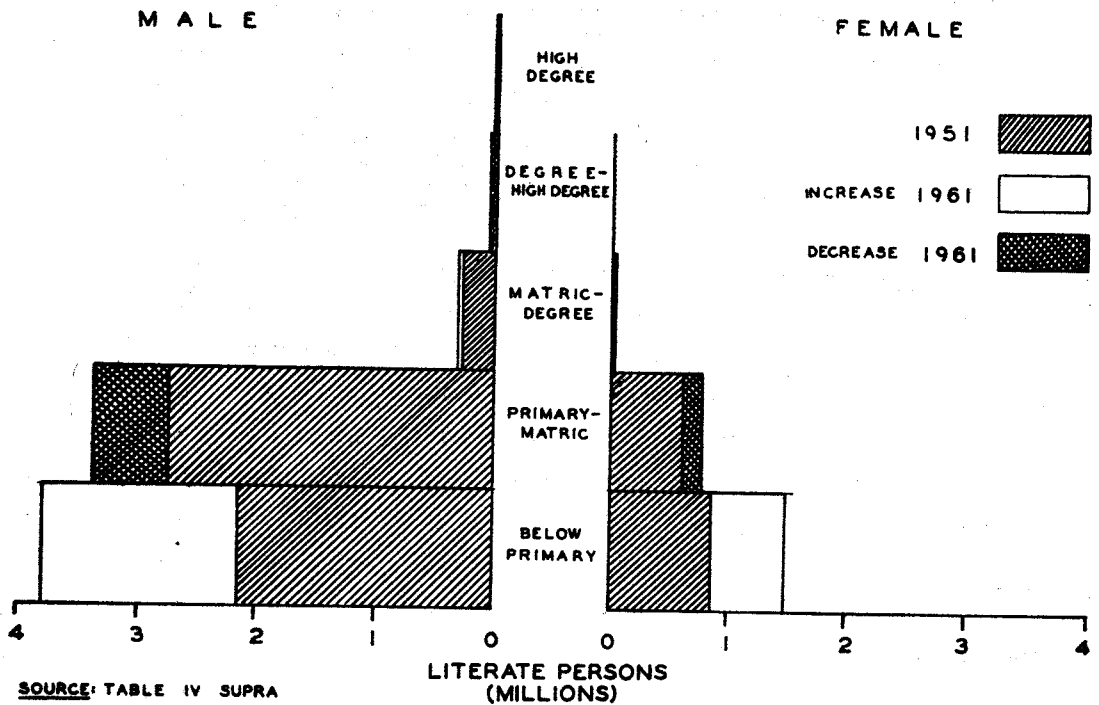
Note: T = Total, P.C.P. = Per cent of population, P.C.L. = Per cent of literates.

Oriental are not counted due to their insignificant number.

¹¹ Matriculation is equivalent to a school-leaving certificate and involves about 10 to 11 years of schooling.

¹² 1961 Census Bulletin No. 4, op. cit., Statement 7, p. xvii.

FIGURE I
DISTRIBUTION OF LITERATE POPULATION BY LEVELS OF EDUCATION
IN EAST PAKISTAN
(1951 AND 1961)



A study of Table III shows that 12.7 per cent of the population of age group 5-and-above in East Pakistan had either no formal education or were of "below primary" school standard. In West Pakistan, only 4.9 per cent of the total population of age group 5-and-above were in this category. In the category of "above-primary-but-below-matriculation", East Pakistan loses its entire lead over West Pakistan. Percentage of persons "above-matriculation-but-below-degree" in East Pakistan is less than half than that in corresponding category in West Pakistan (0.7 per cent as against 1.8 per cent for West Pakistan)¹³. In the "degree" and "higher degree"¹⁴ categories, West Pakistan increases its lead over East Pakistan still further. This is illustrated in Figures I and II.

Comparison between 1951 and 1961 figures (*cf.*, Table IV) provides an indication that East Pakistan in comparison with West Pakistan has not been able to increase schooling facilities adequately during the intercensal period. For this reason, West Pakistan has recorded a phenomenal rise of 976 per cent (almost ten-fold) in the number of simple literate males as against only 77-per-cent rise in East Pakistan. Although these figures seem to be affected by certain biases introduced by methods of estimation¹⁵, data are equally convincing. With the exception of "matriculation-and-above-but-below-degree" category where some increase (of 6.3 per cent) has been recorded, there is a decline in East Pakistan at all other levels (females at higher-degree level being another exception). So the first striking point coming out of Table IV is the decrease in the educated population above matriculation at almost all levels in East Pakistan as compared with an impressive increase at all levels in West Pakistan. The second indication provided by this table is, by and large, a greater rise in the percentage of educated females as compared with males in Pakistan. East Pakistan women relatively to their men have done better than West Pakistan females.

As for the second point, West Pakistan has recorded a higher rise in the percentage of educated females at degree and higher-degree levels and a lesser increase at the primary and matriculation levels. It may be an indication that those women who had already received education upto matriculation immediately after Partition, went for higher education, while a smaller proportion of women entered the school during the intercensal period. The same is not true

¹³ See, Table IV.

¹⁴ By "degree" is meant a bachelor's degree. Higher degree is a post-graduate degree like M.A., M.S., etc.

¹⁵ The figures for simple literates should be read with caution, as any errors in the method for estimating the 1951 literates would directly affect this category of literates; the increases in East and West Pakistan may be of different real magnitude. However, in the absence of reliable 1951 data, a definite statement cannot be made.

TABLE IV
DISTRIBUTION OF LITERATES AND VARIATION BY EDUCATIONAL LEVELS BY SEX: PAKISTAN AND PROVINCES
1951 and 1961

Educational levels	Sex	Pakistan			East Pakistan			West Pakistan						
		1951	1961	Variation	1951	1961	Variation	1951	1961	Variation				
											Total	Per cent	Total	Per cent
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	
		(.....in thousands.....)			(.....in thousands.....)			(.....in thousands.....)						
Total literates	BS	9,739	14,336	4,593	47.2	7,474	8,956	1,481	19.8	2,252	5,380	3,127	138.9	
	M	7,578	11,104	3,526	46.5	5,853	6,853	1,001	17.1	1,732	4,259	2,527	145.9	
	F	2,161	3,228	1,067	50.1	1,621	2,102	481	66.3	520	1,120	600	115.4	
Below primary or without formal schooling	BS	3,156	6,899	3,743	118.2	2,991	5,271	2,380	72.9	152	1,628	1,476	970.9	
	M	2,257	4,949	2,692	119.2	2,156	3,796	1,640	76.6	108	1,152	1,044	975.7	
	F	899	1,950	1,051	119.2	835	1,475	640	75.8	44	476	432	975.5	
Primary or above but below Matric	BS	5,951	6,435	484	8.1	4,150	3,397	-803	-19.4	1,801	3,088	1,287	71.5	
	M	4,745	5,256	511	17.7	3,376	2,738	-638	-18.8	1,369	2,527	158	84.6	
	F	1,207	1,180	-27	-22.4	775	618	-157	-20.9	432	561	129	29.9	

(continued)

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)
Matric & above but below degree	BS	522	884	362	69.4	282	300	18	6.3	240	584	344	143.7
	M	475	797	322	67.9	273	285	12	4.4	202	511	309	152.9
	F	47	87	40	85.1	10	15	5	53.3	38	73	35	93.5
Degree or above but below higher degree	BS	86	82	-4	-4.6	41	28	-13	-32.3	45	54	9	21.3
	M	80	74	-6	-7.6	40	27	-13	-33.1	40	47	7	18.4
	F	6	8	2	34.9	1	1	0	0	5	7	2	47.6
Higher degree	BS	23	31	8	39.6	8	7	-1	-12.0	14	24	10	68.6
	M	21	28	7	30.8	8	7	-1	-14.3	13	22	9	66.1
	F	2	3	1	91.0	0	0	0	0	1	3	2	200.0

Source: 1) *Population Census of Pakistan, 1961, Vol. 1-6, op. cit., Table 9-B, pp. 9-22.*

2) *1961 Census Bulletin No. 4, op. cit., Table 3, pp. 160-61.*

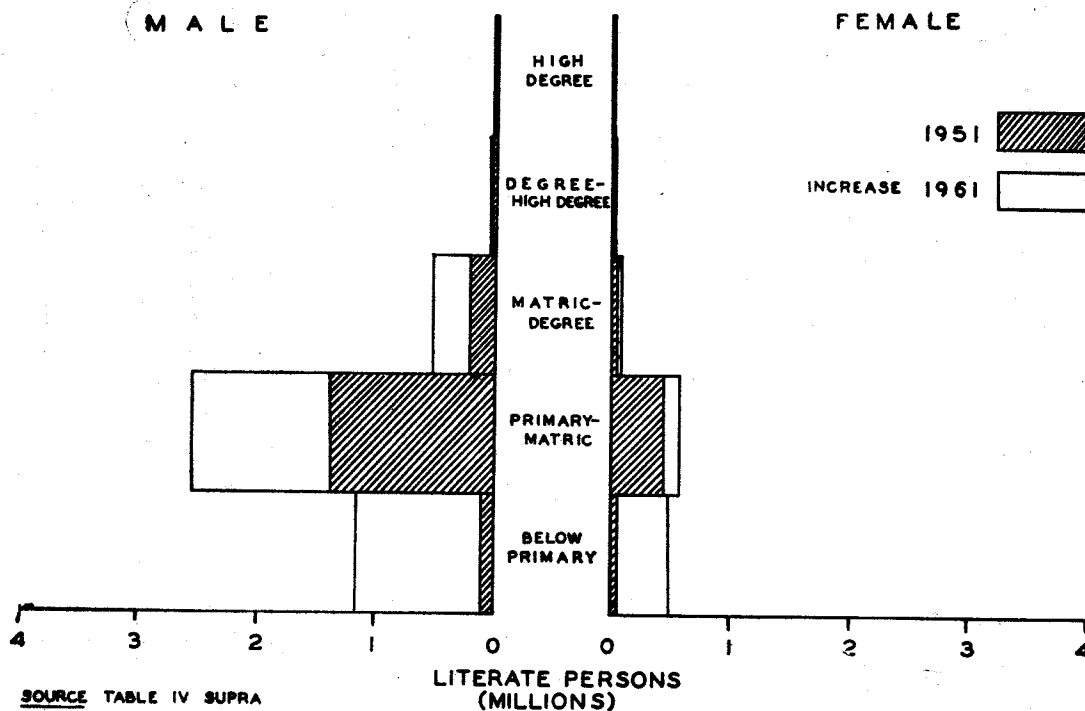
3) M. S. Jillani, "The Comparability of Literacy between the Pakistan Censuses of 1951 and 1961", *op. cit.*

Note: a) Figures are rounded independently.

b) 1951 figures for "Below primary or without formal education" should be read with caution. See footnote 15 in text.

FIGURE II

**DISTRIBUTION OF LITERATE POPULATION BY LEVELS OF EDUCATION
IN WEST PAKISTAN
(1951 AND 1961)**



SOURCE TABLE IV SUPRA

for East Pakistan; in that province females have shown greater tendency for schooling than males as indicated by comparison between figures for 1951 and 1961. This tendency is supported by a higher rise in the total number of literate females than of males in the categories, "matriculation-and-above", "degree-and-above" and the "higher degree". The only exceptions are in the categories of "below primary" and the "primary-and-above-but-below-matric" where the proportionate increases/decreases for males and females are almost equal.

With respect to the first point, the important question is the cause of decline in East Pakistan in the number of educated persons at different levels above primary with exception of "above-matriculation-and-below-degree". The most notable decline in East Pakistan has been in the number of college graduates by 32.3 per cent. This decline may be attributed to the failure of educational institutions in East Pakistan to keep up with the growth of population. However, when one looks at the almost four-fold¹⁶ increase in the expenditure on education in East Pakistan between 1953 and 1961, other factors must be involved. Overenumeration of graduates in 1951 and underenumeration in 1961 could be other possible factors affecting the number of graduates. For lack of adequate data, it is difficult to substantiate the overenumeration in 1951. However, there is some evidence in support of underenumeration of graduates in East Pakistan in 1961; some areas did not show a single graduate among the population while the area had a judicial or revenue headquarter which must have had some officers who should hold degrees. But even this factor can only partly explain the shortage of graduates in 1961.

Another reason for the decline in the number of graduates could be the emigration of graduates from East Pakistan. The migration of graduates from East to West Wing may explain a part but probably could not account for the decline in graduates of the magnitude observed.

As far as the possibility of migration to other countries is concerned, two points must be taken into consideration. *First*, there are limited avenues for Asian emigrants to the Western countries with the exception of physicians and some other technical personnel. So there are limited possibilities of the educated young Pakistanis to migrate abroad. A large number of East Pakistanis are known to be living in England. But due to lack of statistical evidence it is difficult to determine their total number and the number of graduates among them.

¹⁶ Unpublished data on expenditure on education, Central Bureau of Education, Ministry of Education, Government of Pakistan.

The second point, namely the migration of Hindus from East Pakistan, is an important one. It is common knowledge that religion-selective migration between Pakistan and India has continued during the intercensal period and even later. In 1951 Census, the Hindu population had recorded a higher literacy of 25.3 per cent than the Muslim population with a literacy of 15.6 per cent¹⁷. So it is conceivable that due to migration of Hindus who were more educated than the Muslims, the figure for total graduates also declined. However, a complete picture of this situation can be painted only after the extent of Hindu and Muslim migration has been determined.

During the intercensal period, East Pakistan population registered an overall increase of 21.2 per cent: Muslim population increased by 26.9 per cent, and the Hindu population by 1.5 per cent only¹⁸. Kingsley Davis¹⁹ has mentioned a lower fertility rate for Hindus than for Muslims; but the difference shown by him is not nearly great enough to explain the above difference. The population of Hindus in East Pakistan in 1951 was reported to be 9.240 million. In 1961 Census 9.380 million Hindus were enumerated in East Pakistan, yielding an increase of 0.14 million which is far less than could be expected at a normal rate of growth. On the basis of this marked difference, it can be safely assumed that barring any natural calamity which would have been selective of Hindus, some of these missing Hindus must have emigrated from Pakistan between 1951 and 1961.

In order to estimate the number of Hindu emigrants from East Pakistan, it is necessary to find out an approximate rate of growth of Hindu population. Since there are no reliable figures of fertility and mortality for Pakistan or India, the best course left is to use the population growth rates of a region which is demographically similar to East Pakistan. The obvious choice is that of West Bengal which was previously a part of united Bengal including East Pakistan. However, in view of the possibility of the immigration of Hindus from East Pakistan to West Bengal, the growth rate of West Bengal cannot be used for estimating the natural increase. Instead, certain Indian states were selected with demographic characteristics similar to those of West Bengal as shown by the 1961 Indian Census figures. The states of Mysore, Maharashtra, Gujrat and Punjab (India) were found to have three important variables, namely proportion of urban population, literacy rate, and sex ratio similar to those

¹⁷ For the figure of Hindus, see, *Population Census of Pakistan, 1951, Census Report Volume III-East Bengal*. The rate of Muslims was obtained through subtracting Jilani's estimated figure of Holy Quran readers (1.38 million) from the total literates.

¹⁸ 1961 *Census Bulletin No. 2, op. cit.*, Statement 4B, p. 18.

¹⁹ Kingsley Davis, *The Population of India and Pakistan*. (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1951), p. 155.

of West Bengal²⁰. As an additional qualification, with the exception of Maharashtra none of these Indian states were known to have experienced a considerable migration flow between 1951 and 1961. The growth rates of these four states and the one yielded by Kingsley Davis were used to project the 1951 Hindu population of East Pakistan to 1961. The results are given in Table V.

TABLE V

ESTIMATED HINDU EMIGRANTS FROM EAST PAKISTAN DURING 1951 AND 1961
AT DIFFERENT RATES OF POPULATION GROWTH

Code	Growth-rate source	Population growth	Estimated growth of Hindus, in E. Pakistan between 1951 & 1961 by different rates	Expected Hindu population of E. Pakistan in 1961	Estimated Hindu emigrants from E. Pakistan during 1951 and 1961
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
(.....in thousands.....)					
1	Mysore	21.36	1,974	11,213	1,834
2	Maharashtara	23.44	2,166	11,405	2,026
3	Gujrat	26.80	2,476	11,716	2,336
4	Punjab	25.80	2,384	11,623	2,244
5	Hindu—India (K. Davis)	23.96	2,214	11,453	2,074

Source: a) *Population Census of India, 1961*. (New Delhi: Registrar General's Office, Government of India).

b) *Provincial Census Totals*. (New Delhi: Registrar General's Office, Government of India).

Notes: i) Hindu population of East Pakistan, 1951 = 9240.

ii) Hindu population of East Pakistan, 1961 = 9380.

iii) Increase in Hindu population of East Pakistan, (1951—1961) = 140.

Figures are rounded independently in thousands.

The figures of Hindu emigrants obtained in Table V lie between 1.8 and 2.3 million. Since these figures include the children who would have been born in Pakistan but for emigration of their parents, it is more logical to select the lower estimates, *i.e.*, 1.8 million.

A look at the population growth in West Bengal and Assam states of India, which envelop East Pakistan from three sides, shows that the conclusion reached is not unreasonable, for both states have recorded some of the highest popula-

²⁰ See, Table V.

tion growth rates in India during 1951 and 1961 (the growth for West Bengal is 32.94 per cent as compared with 11.73, 21.36, 23.49 per cent for Madras, Mysore and Maharashtra respectively)²¹.

The migration during 1951 and 1961 has not been a one-way process between India and Pakistan. There are indications to the effect that quite a large number of persons also entered into East Pakistan during the intercensal period. Most probably these immigrants were Muslims coming from India. This contention is supported by the very high population growth of Muslims in East Pakistan (about 27 per cent). Mauldin and Hashmi in 1959 had assumed that during the intercensal period, West Pakistan would have a net increase of about 0.25 million through migration while East Pakistan would experience an equal amount of emigration and immigration recording no increase or decrease due to migration²².

The Office of the Census Commissioner of Pakistan has tentative figures for graduates and higher degree-holders by religion. These figures are given in table VI.

TABLE VI

DISTRIBUTION AND PER-CENT VARIATION OF GRADUATES AND POST GRADUATES BY RELIGION: PAKISTAN AND PROVINCES, 1951 AND 1961

Area	Religion	Graduates				Post graduates			
		1951	1961	Variation		1951	1961	Variation	
				Total	Per cent			Total	Per cent
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
Pakistan	T	85,988	82,069	-3,819	-4.6	22,546	31,470	8,924	39.6
	M	69,770	74,256	4,486	6.4	19,694	28,683	8,989	45.6
	H	16,218	7,813	-8,405	-51.1	2,852	2,787	-65	-2.3
East Pakistan	T	41,484	28,069	-13,415	32.6	8,117	7,146	-971	-12.0
	M	26,910	21,571	-5,339	-24.8	5,718	4,903	-815	-16.6
	H	14,574	6,498	-8,076	-55.4	2,399	2,243	-156	-6.5
West Pakistan	T	44,504	54,000	9,496	21.3	14,429	24,324	9,895	68.6
	M	42,860	52,686	9,825	22.9	13,976	23,780	9,804	70.2
	H	1,644	1,315	-329	-20.0	453	544	91	20.1

Source: *Population Census of Pakistan, 1961*. Unpublished tables on education and religion obtained through courtesy of Dr. S. S. Hashmi.

Between 1951 and 1961 East Pakistan shows a loss of 13,415 graduates. Out of this the Muslims suffered a loss of 5,339 or 24.8 per cent and the decrease in the non-Muslim (mostly Hindus) was that of 8,086 graduates or 55.4 per

²¹ Office of the Registrar General, *Population Census of India, 1961. Provisional Census Totals*. (New Delhi: Registrar General's Office, Government of India).

²² Parker W. Mauldin, and Sultan S. Hashmi, "Illustrative Estimates and Projections of the Population of Pakistan, 1951 to 1991" in *Population Growth and Economic Development with Special Reference to Pakistan*. (Karachi: Institute of Development Economics, 1960), p. 72.

cent. Among the post-graduates, East Pakistan recorded a net decrease of 971 (12.9 per cent) out of which the Muslims suffered a decline of 815 (16.6 per cent) while the number of non-Muslim post-graduates decreased by 156 (6.5 per cent).

In light of emigration of about 2 million Hindus during the decade, it is not difficult to assume that the deficit of 8,100 non-Muslim graduates and 150 non-Muslim post-graduates may be mainly due to the emigration of Hindu population-selective of literates. It is further possible that the low growth recorded at other educational levels may also be partly due to the emigration of Hindus. Still another possibility is the simple literates in East Pakistan increasing at a rapid rate due to the immigration of Muslims from India whose literacy is known to be of a lower level than that of the Hindus, as reported earlier.

Although the mystery of decline in the number of graduates seems to have been solved, yet it will be worthwhile to examine figures for educational attainments by age groups. Generally, in a voluntary migration the majority of emigrants are grown-up persons. However, some children do accompany their parents. If this contention is correct, then the migration of Hindus should not have affected the school enrolment very drastically unless whole schools were closed because of the emigration of Hindus. Most of the loss to population must have occurred at the post-school and college stages. The number of students and pupils in East Pakistan rose from 2.558 million to 2.770 million, showing an increase of only 8.3 per cent. For West Pakistan, the change was from 1.706 million to 2.225 million or a rise of 30.4 per cent. This wide difference is an indication that the relative decline in the percentage of educated persons at various levels in East Pakistan need not be due to emigration alone but may also be due to the rather poor growth of educational facilities in that province as compared with West Pakistan. This point is further strengthened when one looks at the poor growth of population in East Pakistan in the age group 10-and-above where an increase of only 8.3 per cent is shown, as compared with a corresponding increase of 13.4 per cent in West Pakistan²³. It shows that the loss of population in East Pakistan has generally been in the age group 10-and-above, most of whom would not have been enumerated as primary-school students, where the greatest increase has taken place.

Coming back to the growth of the population of students and pupils, one notices a very poor growth of student population in East Pakistan as compared with West Pakistan in age group 0-9 (*cf.*, Table VII); East Pakistan recorded an increase of 30.4 per cent for both sexes (24.0 per cent for males and 43.2 per cent for females). In West Pakistan, the increase in the student population of both sexes is 82.1 per cent (78.0 per cent for males and 92.4 per cent for females).

²³ See, Table VIII *infra*.

TABLE VII
DISTRIBUTION AND PER-CENT VARIATION OF STUDENTS BY SEX AND AGE
PAKISTAN AND PROVINCES: 1951 AND 1961

Area	Sex	AGE GROUP						Per-cent variation		
		1951			1961			5 +	0-9	10 +
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)
			(.....in thousands.....)	(.....in thousands.....)	(.....in thousands.....)	(.....in thousands.....)	(.....in thousands.....)	(.....in thousands.....)	(.....in thousands.....)	(.....in thousands.....)
Pakistan	BS	4,264	1,601	2,664	5,001	2,366	2,635	17.3	47.8	-1.1
	M	3,101	1,096	2,005	3,659	1,569	2,090	18.0	43.2	4.2
	F	1,164	505	659	1,343	797	545	15.4	57.9	-17.2
East Pakistan	BS	2,558	1,061	1,497	2,770	1,384	1,386	8.3	30.4	-7.4
	M	1,901	708	1,193	1,994	878	1,117	-4.9	24.0	-6.4
	F	657	353	304	776	506	270	18.1	43.2	-11.1
West Pakistan	BS	1,706	540	1,166	2,225	982	1,243	30.4	82.1	6.5
	M	1,199	388	811	1,658	691	968	38.3	78.0	19.5
	F	507	151	355	567	291	375	11.9	92.4	5.6

Source: i) *Population Census of Pakistan, 1951, Vol.-1, op. cit., Table-9, pp. 7-9.*
ii) *Population Census of Pakistan, 1961.* Unpublished Table 31-32, Office of the Census Commissioner, Home Affairs Division, Government of Pakistan, Karachi.

Note: Figures are independently rounded in thousands.

East Pakistan shows a higher increase in the total number of female students than does West Pakistan. However, West Pakistan has recorded a higher increase in female literates over the decade than East Pakistan (*cf.*, Table IV). It will be significant to notice that these disparities are remotely, if at all, connected with the growth of population in the various age groups (*cf.*, Table VIII). The population-growth figures for East Pakistan are slightly lower than those for West Pakistan; but they hardly justify the very small increase in the student population of that province. This may be due to the slow increase in educational facilities.

TABLE VIII
PER-CENT VARIATION OF POPULATION BY LOWER AGE
GROUP : PAKISTAN AND PROVINCES, 1951-61

Area	Sex	Age group		
		5 +	0—9	10 +
(1)	(3)	(3)	(4)	(6)
Pakistan	BS	17.6	53.3	10.6
	M	17.1	54.2	10.0
	F	19.6	52.2	11.3
East Pakistan	BS	16.1	52.7	8.3
	M	15.2	53.2	7.5
	F	17.0	52.1	9.3
West Pakistan	BS	16.7	54.1	13.5
	M	19.4	55.6	13.1
	F	20.0	52.4	13.9

Source: 1) *Population Census of Pakistan 1951, Vol. 1, op. cit.*, Table 4, pp. 1 and 17.

2) *1961 Census Bulletin No. 2, op. cit.*, Table 1, pp. 2, 3, 84.

The comparison between the population growth and the growth of the student population hardly needs any explanation. The growth of the student population has little, if any, relationship with the growth of total population in either wing. It may be pointed out that in 1961, figures of student population in age group 10-and-above (*cf.*, Table VII) are not absolutely comparable with corresponding figures for 1951. It is so because the 1961 Census took it for granted that all persons above 20 who report themselves to be students must have a standard of intermediate or above; any student above 20 who claimed to be studying in a lower standard was excluded while the 1951 Census included an unknown number belonging to this category²⁴; this procedure was adopted in both the wings. This rule does not apply to "Maktab"²⁵ students in East Pakistan who were reported to be "pupils and students" irrespective of their age.

²⁴ Office of the Census Commissioner of Pakistan. Unpublished Tables 30, 31, 32.

²⁵ "Maktab" is a school in a mosque where the Holy Quran is taught. In addition, lessons in the local language and some arithmetic are given.

A more fruitful study of educational facilities can be done if the number of students are studied either by their class of education or by age groups. On this point, two sets of data are available which come from two different sources. The first set of data provided by the Central Bureau of the Ministry of Education is vastly different from the second set originating from the 1961 Census. It is very difficult to decide which of the two is more reliable. Since, so far the discussion has been based upon the census data, they are taken first (*cf.*, Table IX).

TABLE IX
NUMBER OF STUDENTS ON ROLLS BY SEX AND AGE
PAKISTAN AND PROVINCES, 1961

Area	Sex	Age groups					
		5 +	5—9	10—14	15—19	20—24	25 +
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
(.....in thousands.....)							
Pakistan	BS	4,995	2,366	1,941	638	32	17
	M	3,653	1,569	1,462	578	28	15
	F	1,343	797	480	60	4	2
East Pakistan	BS	2,770	1,384	1,053	314	13	7
	M	1,994	878	788	310	12	6
	F	776	506	266	3	1	0
West Pakistan	BS	2,224	982	889	324	20	10
	M	1,658	691	674	268	16	9
	F	567	291	214	56	4	1

Source: *Population Census of Pakistan, 1961*. Unpublished tables 30/1, 30/2, Office of the Census Commissioner, Home Affairs Division, Government of Pakistan, Karachi.

Note: Figures are rounded independently.

The total number of students and pupils in 1961 has been reported as 5.221 million but it included about three hundred thousand "Maktab" students in the age group 20-and-above whose credentials were thought to be rather dubious. Further, East Pakistan figures included the "Maktab" students while West Pakistan excluded them and there was no way of achieving comparability except by excluding all "Maktab" students from the population in the age group 20-and-above. The figure of 4.9 million, given in table IX, has resulted from this subtraction. East Pakistan reported 2.77 million total students as compared with 2.22 million in West Pakistan. East Pakistan keeps a lead over West Pakistan upto the age group 10-14. But in the subsequent higher groups of 15-19, 20-24, and 25-and-above, West Pakistan goes on widening its lead over East Pakistan.

In the field of female education, East Pakistan lags far behind West Pakistan in the age group 15-and-above. East Pakistan has a fair lead over West Pakistan in the age groups 5-9 and 10-14 indicating the possibility of a larger number of young girls receiving education at "*Makhtabs*" which are far more common in East Pakistan than in West Pakistan. The very small number of female students at the higher levels in East Pakistan is specially striking. It might either be due to lack of educational facilities or it may be the result of a large number of persons in East Pakistan who abandoned their studies at younger ages.

The discussion in the preceding paragraphs has been entirely based upon the census data for the students and pupils. As indicated earlier, however, there is vast difference in the figures provided by the Education Department and the 1961 Census (*cf.*, Tables VII and X). The disparity between the figures for students provided by the Bureau of Education, Government of Pakistan, and 1961 Census of Population presents a major problem for research worker. The magnitude of difference can be pointed out by the fact that the total number of students in Pakistan in 1961 who were enumerated by the Bureau of Education is 6.78 million while the figure of the 1961 Census was 4.26 million. For the primary schools, the Bureau gave a total figure of 5.04 million students while the census came out with a figure of 2.37 million (*cf.*, Table IX). The very low census-figure is apprehended to be due in part to the exclusion of students of primary schools who were above the age of 9²⁶, yet the disparity—the lower 1961-Census figures and higher figures of the Education Bureau—continues at all levels of education. The data originating from the two sources, when compared at the provincial level, disclose very high figure coming from East Pakistan contacts of the Bureau. The figures obtained from the Bureau of Education are given in Table X. The number of total primary students in East Pakistan provided by the latter source is 3.93 million while the 1961 Census figure is 2.77 million (*cf.*, Table IX), yielding a net difference of 1.16 million. In West Pakistan, the figure provided by the Bureau is 2.76 million as compared with 2.22 million of the 1961 Census; the difference between the two figures is 0.54 million, still considerable but less staggering than in East Pakistan. Within East Pakistan the overestimation by the Bureau or underestimation by the 1961 Census is more pronounced at the lower levels than at the higher ones. The difference in the two sets of data needs an explanation. The Bureau figures seem to be suffering from overenumeration either due to the inclusion of persons studying in educational institutions of dubious credentials which sprang up overnight with the expansion of cities, or they suffered from double enrolment

²⁶ It is apprehended that the 1961-Census figure of 2.37 million included only those students and pupils in the primary school who were under 10 years of age, thus excluding students in the primary schools who were of 10 years and above.

TABLE X

NUMBER OF INSTITUTIONS AND STUDENTS IN EAST AND WEST PAKISTAN IN 1953 AND 1961 WITH PER-CENT VARIATION BY TYPES OF INSTITUTIONS

Code	Name	East Pakistan						West Pakistan					
		1953/54		1960/61		Per-cent variation		1953/54		1960/61		Per-cent variation	
		No. of Institutions	No. of Students	No. of Institutions	No. of Students	Institutions	Students	No. of Institutions	No. of Students	Institutions	Students	Institutions	Students
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)
Total		29,480	3,127,087	29,934	3,925,535	1.5	25.5	16,466	1,942,982	24,084	2,756,663	46.3	41.9
1. Primary		26,227	2,652,585	26,665	3,330,582	1.7	25.6	14,168	1,237,600	20,909	1,705,962	47.6	37.8
2. Secondary		3,102	442,638	3,130	534,822	0.9	20.8	2,183	661,044	2,970	960,606	36.1	45.3
3. Arts and science college		70	22,936	81	47,843	15.7	108.6	58	32,320	131	70,580	125.9	118.4
4. Medical		1	751	3	1,130	200.0	50.5	6	2,355	9	3,792	50.0	61.1
5. Engineering		2	689	2	921	0.0	33.7	2	1,582	4	2,070	100.0	30.8
6. Commerce		1	341	2	605	100.0	77.4	3	880	4	1,183	33.3	34.4
7. Agriculture		2	156	2	486	0.0	211.5	3	699	4	1,916	33.3	17.4
8. Teacher's training		73	3,898	47*	3,571	-35.6	-8.4	39	3,919	49*	5,762	25.6	47.0
9. Universities		2	3,093	2	5,575	0.0	47.9	4	2,083	4	4,792	0.0	130.3

Source: Unpublished figures obtained from the Central Bureau of Education, Government of Pakistan, Karachi.

*Figures for 1959.

which is quite common almost all over the world. Another source of error may be the *ghost students* who either never existed or had dropped out; but higher figures were given by the educational institutions to receive grants or to attract more students which has been a common practice among institutions running on commercial basis. However, this view is seriously contested by the Central Bureau of Education. They contend that the figures provided by the Bureau has a more adequate coverage of educational institutions than the 1961 Census. Indirectly, the Central Bureau of Education holds that the 1961 Census of Population has underenumerated the number of students due to scanty coverage or the lack of emphasis on education.

The figures for students in primary schools for East Pakistan and West Pakistan in 1960/61, provided by the Central Bureau of Education, are 3.33 million and 1.7 million respectively (*cf.*, Table X), showing a much higher incidence of primary education in East Pakistan than in West Pakistan. For higher and secondary schools, East Pakistan shows 0.53 million students while West Pakistan recorded 0.96 million students. This lead is kept all the way by West Pakistan for all the subsequent higher levels of education with the exception of universities where East Pakistan reported 5,575 students as compared with 4,792 in West Pakistan. East Pakistan has limited its educational attainments basically to the primary level while West Pakistan is ahead in terms of higher education. There is a possibility that the higher education had a late start in East Pakistan. Yet the primary-school students in East Pakistan since 1953/54 have recorded an increase of 25.6 per cent. The corresponding increase in the high and secondary-school enrolment in East Pakistan has been 20.8 per cent (from 0.44 million in 1953/54 to 0.53 million in 1960/61). There has been an impressive increase in the number of college students from 22,936 in 1953/54 to 47,843 in 1960/61 (108.6 per cent). But it is less than the increase in West Pakistan, from 32,320 in 1953/54 to 70,580 in 1960/61, or 118.4 per cent. The enrolment in the universities in East Pakistan showed an increase of only 47.9 per cent (from 3,093 to 5,575) during 1953-1961 while the corresponding increase in West Pakistan was 130.3 per cent during the same period (from 2,083 to 4,792). In case of the students of engineering, commerce and agriculture, East Pakistan showed a higher increase than did West Pakistan. However, in terms of absolute numbers, East Pakistan had far less students in these professional subjects than West Pakistan. It brings out the point that education in both provinces has recorded a rise, yet the comparative progress in West Pakistan indicates that East Pakistan has been left far behind West Pakistan. Krotki has already expressed the opinion that in 33 years, West Pakistan will catch up with the simple-literacy level in East Pakistan²⁷. In view of the above figures, this period may be much shorter and certainly the period required by West Pakistan to catch up with East Pakistan in terms of functional literacy will be only a question of one or two years.

²⁷ Karol J. Krotki, *op. cit.*, p. 76.

With the exception of primary schools, West Pakistan had started ahead of East Pakistan and the progress made during the decade has proportionately been higher in the former province. As a general rule, this may not be unexpected because West Pakistan had a tradition of education at higher levels while East Pakistan had a tradition of education at lower levels. This point has also been made earlier where literacy pyramid for East Pakistan had been shown to have a wider base than West Pakistan as shown in Figures I and II.

The point regarding a greater proportion of simple literates in East Pakistan than in West Pakistan cannot be made clear unless it is proven that adequate opportunities for education had been provided in East Pakistan but they were not used by the local population. A study of the expenditure on education at different levels may be helpful in settling this issue (*cf.*, Table XI). The Government of East Pakistan in 1950 spent a sum of Rs. 6.2 million on primary education which rose to Rs. 37.3 million in 1959/60, recording an increase of 516.7 per cent. West Pakistan in 1950/51 spent Rs. 20 million on primary education. It rose to Rs. 55.0 million in 1959/60 recording an increase of 175 per cent.

TABLE XI

**EXPENDITURE ON EDUCATION IN 1950/51, 1960/61 AND 1951/61,
BY EDUCATION LEVELS : PAKISTAN AND PROVINCES^a**

Area	Primary	Secondary	University	Others	Total
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
(.....in million rupees.....)					
1950/51^a					
Pakistan	28.98	15.68	10.34	14.18	69.87
East Pakistan	6.25	5.20	3.15	6.31	20.91
West Pakistan	20.30	9.44	6.18	6.99	42.91
1959/60^b					
Pakistan	97.54	46.54	45.04	52.25	241.37
East Pakistan	37.29	12.22	12.15	16.86	78.52
West Pakistan	55.05	28.44	24.49	26.05	134.03
Total in 1951/61					
Pakistan	603.38	306.06	262.04	330.68	1,502.16
East Pakistan	179.39	81.05	63.07	111.82	435.33
West Pakistan	387.59	192.57	147.31	145.98	883.45

Source: a) Government of Pakistan, *Combined Finance and Revenue Accounts of the Central and Provincial Government for the year 1950-51*. (Karachi: Manager of Publications).

b) Unpublished figures obtained from the Central Bureau of Education, Government of Pakistan, Karachi.

Notes: i) The East and West Pakistan figures do not add up to Pakistan total because a part of the Pakistan total was spent in the Centre.

ii) The figures of expenditure in Table IX are those spent by the Education Ministries of the Governments of East and West Pakistan. The expenditure on education in Karachi is not included in this table due to nonavailability of figures for 1959/60. In addition to the government expenditure, the private expenditure should also be included in the analysis. However, due to the nonavailability of figures for private expenditure this goal could not be attained.

This great increase in the expenditure on primary education in East Pakistan seems to be largely responsible for a very wide base for literacy pyramid of East Pakistan as shown in Figure I *supra*. For secondary education, the expenditure in East Pakistan rose by 108 per cent (from Rs. 5.2 million in 1950/51 to Rs. 12.2 million in 1959/60), while in West Pakistan it rose by 202 per cent (from Rs. 9.4 million to 28.4 million). At the university level, the rise in East Pakistan was from Rs. 3.15 million to Rs. 12.15 million, while the rise in West Pakistan was from Rs. 6.18 million to Rs. 24.49 million. At other levels, West Pakistan has shown better figures for increase than East Pakistan. The discussion above shows that East Pakistan has concentrated more on primary education while West Pakistan spent more on higher education.

Although the expenditure on education in East Pakistan has shown higher proportionate increase than in West Pakistan, yet it has not been adequate to make up the initial disparity suffered by East Pakistan. This is illustrated by the fact that during the ten-year period between 1951 and 1961 the total amount spent on education in Pakistan was Rs. 1,502.16 million out of which Rs. 883.45 million were spent in West Pakistan; Rs. 435.33 million were spent in East Pakistan and Rs. 183.49 million were spent by the Central Ministry. It means that the money spent on education in East Pakistan during the ten years was less than half the expenditure on education in West Pakistan. In 1951, the expenditure on education in the two provinces showed exactly the same proportion²⁸.

On the whole, it can be said that East Pakistan did not spend the same amount on education as West Pakistan did. Thus, it may be concluded that East Pakistan did not get the same facilities for education as West Pakistan did over the same period.

II: CONCLUSION

An overall view of the progress of education in Pakistan during the decade of 1951 and 1961 suggests the inadequacy of expenditure on educational development during this period. It is more so when the growth of population is taken into consideration. The growth of literacy has been quite unimpressive and any gains at the higher levels were offset by emigration of the relatively more educated population. Although East Pakistan maintained a higher population of literates than West Pakistan, at higher levels West Pakistan was already at an advantage in 1951 and she increased it further during the decade. The analysis of expenditure, school enrolment and the number of educational institutions

²⁸ Central Statistical Office, *Pakistan Statistical Yearbook, 1962*. (Karachi: Manager of Publications), pp. 321, 322, 327, 330.

in the two wings shows that East Pakistan, received lower financial allocations²⁹ than did West Pakistan; and the increase in the student population or the number of educational institutions was also poor as compared with that in West Pakistan.

The salient point of the discussion comes out to be the higher expenditure on primary education in East Pakistan and the emphasis on higher education in West Pakistan. Logically, East Pakistan with a wider base should be more prepared for higher education than West Pakistan. Yet for some unknown reasons, the expenditure in that province was in the direction of widening the base still further. Perhaps, an emphasis on higher education in East Pakistan and on primary education in West Pakistan would have been a more appropriate response to the situation existing in 1951.

A consequence of the trends prevailing during the decade would be the greater capacity of the population of West Pakistan to get into job-openings requiring high academic qualifications. If the higher education in East Pakistan continues to suffer the present lag for sometime, its effects would tend to persist for decades.