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PUBLIC POLICY IN PAKISTAN: A CONTENT ANALYSIS

by



MOHAMMAD OBAIDUL HUQ

A THESIS

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation is a study of public policy in Pakistan defined in terms of the authoritative allocation of resources for economic and social development. Having found the different approaches to the study of public policy inadequate, a new approach, i.e., ecological, has been developed for analysis of the policy content. The total content of public policy was brought within the scope of analysis in order to find out the orientation of government in the use of resources. Secondly, policy with regard to a particular sector was discussed in relation to others so as to find out the rationale of priorities in the allocation of resources.

The three Five Year Plans of Pakistan which allocated resources for the improvement of human and non-human sectors were then used to analyse public policy. The non-human sector includes agriculture, industry, water, power, transport, communications and the human sector includes education, housing, health, social welfare service and population control. It has been found that the basic principle of the allocation of resources was to invest more money on that economic sector which was expected to give a quick and quantifiable return. Because the return from investment in the social (human) sector

was not quantifiable and immediate, it received meagre attention of government. As the government was anxious to attain a quick economic growth, there were several inconsistencies in policies for different sectors of development. It has therefore been concluded that the principle of allocation of resources to different sectors of development was inappropriate. A more rational policy should have been to use resources not only for quick and quantifiable return but also for the creation of potential capacity which, while taking a relatively longer time to develop, will give the country strong and sound base for sustained economic and social development -- the ultimate objective of a nation. More investment on economic sector for quick and quantifiable return may create a lag in the social sector. It is, in fact, the social sector that contributes the skills and human motivation necessary for the economic development of a country.

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CHAPTER I

PUBLIC POLICY

Although political scientists have paid serious attention to many important aspects of political science, there has not been much intellectual exercise or empirical investigation in the field of public policy. A vast amount of literature has been produced, for example, on functionalism, political culture, political development, political modernization, political process, electoral behaviour, political behaviour, etc., but the literature on public policy is sparse. As a result the term "public policy" lacks conceptual clarification and the theories of public policy are deficient in many respects.

A Search for a Definition

Before defining the term "public policy" one must look into the meaning of the word "policy". Lasswell and Kaplan have defined policy as "a projected program of goal values and practices."¹ It is a course of action in relation to others and "is constituted by interpersonal relations."²

¹Harold D. Lasswell and Abraham Kaplan, Power and Society (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1950), p. 71.

²Ibid.

Elsewhere Lasswell defined policy as "the most important choices made either in organized or in private life" and so "policy is free of many of the undesirable connotations clustered about the word political."³ According to James Robinson, "'policy' refers to the goals (objectives, ends) of any social system, the means chosen to effectuate these goals, and the consequences of the means, i.e., the actual distribution of values."⁴ Van Dyke says:

A policy is a product - perhaps a product of something called a process; it is an output of a system or subsystem.... Policies imply or reflect goals; and in addition, they imply or reflect reasoning in the choice of plans or strategies or methods for promoting achievement of the goals.⁵

From these definitions one finds three basic elements of the term policy: (1) it is a decided plan for action, (2) it has a goal or goals, (3) it specifies the strategy to execute the plan of action and achieve the projected goals.

"Public policy" is generally referred to as the policy of public authorities affecting the public in general.

³Harold D. Lasswell, "The Policy Orientation", in Daniel Lerner and H. D. Lasswell, eds., The Policy Sciences (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1951), p. 5.

⁴James Robinson, Congress and Foreign Policy-Making (Homewood, Ill.: Dorsey Press, 1962), p. 3.

⁵Vernon Van Dyke, "Process and Policy as Focal Concepts in Political Research", in Austin Ranney, ed., Political Science and Public Policy (Chicago: Markham Publishing Company, 1968), pp. 27-28.

The policy of a government, a city council or a public corporation is therefore designated as public policy. Each level of government has its defined powers within which it works. Thus, public policy may be viewed as the authoritative or sanctioned decisions of the political system or a sub-system for the realization of an objective or a set of objectives by the employment of specified means.

A definition of public policy may also be identified by the elements a policy has. Ranney mentions several such elements. These are: a particular object or set of objects, a desired course of events, a selected line of action, a declaration of intent, and an implementation of intent.⁶

Political Science and Public Policy

To date relatively little attention has been paid by political scientists to the concept or theory of public policy. It would appear that one of the important reasons why political scientists have not studied public policy is their concern for objectivity in the discipline. Political scientists, it seems, want to keep themselves away from participation in the actual formation of public policy.

⁶Austin Ranney, "The Study of Policy Content: A Framework for Choice", in Austin Ranney, ed., Political Science and Public Policy, op. cit., p. 7.

Eckstein mentions four contrasts between politicians and political scientists which prevent the latter from participating in the formation of public policy.⁷ First, politicians shall have to choose from among many alternatives according to convictions, moral commitment and immediate means that are not purely technical, while political scientists are morally silent and dispassionate on political issues. Second, political activities are concerned with the whole society, while political scientists are concerned with a fragment of it. Third, political activities are conducted in a routinized organization and a complex machinery, political scientists work as individuals and are not involved directly in the mechanism of decision making. Fourth, time and space have different dimensions for both politicians and political scientists.

Political space is parochial, tied to specific societies, whatever visions there may be to the contrary; scientific space is inherently ecumenical. The politician's time perspective is inherently constricted; the social scientist's is expansive and indeed in a sense, infinite.⁸

Robert Merton remarks that "The honeymoon of intellectuals and policy-makers is often nasty, brutish and short". He points out two reasons for this: (1) con-

⁷Harry Eckstein, "Political Science and Public Policy", in Ithiel de Sola Pool, ed., Contemporary Political Science: Toward Empirical Theory (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1967), pp. 148-150.

⁸Ibid., p. 149.

flicts of values between intellectuals and policy-makers and (2) the nature of bureaucratic organization.⁹

Although political scientists have skill and knowledge to advise the politicians in the decision-making of the government, the decisions of the latter may be influenced by various factors such as the nature of the problem, their situation, the time factor, the means available at the moment, etc.

It may be true that politicians have to decide on the basis of immediate needs and political expediency. Here the advice of political scientists may not be fruitful. But political scientists may advise the politicians on the policy, having long term objectives in mind for their knowledge equips them with the ability to tender advise to the policy-makers. Pendelton Herring makes this point clear:

While social science research is by its very nature less than statesmanship it can help the decision maker visualize alternatives of policy and their probable consequences - the classic 'if this...; then... that'.¹⁰

⁹Robert K. Merton, "The Intellectual and Public Policy" in Edgar Litt, ed., The Political Imagination (Atlanta: Scott, Foresman and Company, 1966), pp. 358-360.

¹⁰Pendelton Herring, "Research on Government, Politics, and Administration", in The Brookings Institution, Research For Public Policy (Washington, D. C.: 1961), p. 9.

The Policy Sciences

Although we have pointed out earlier that the lack of interest among political scientists in the area of public policy is due to their concern for objectivity in the discipline, some efforts have been made by a group of political scientists to develop a new social science - the policy science. The efforts may be said to have started with the publication of a book in 1951 by Lasswell and Lerner entitled The Policy Sciences.¹¹ According to Lasswell, "The Policy Sciences study the process of deciding or choosing and evaluate the relevance of available knowledge for the solution of particular problems."¹² Elaborating the point further he says:

Sciences are policy sciences when they clarify the process of policy making in society, or supply data needed for the making of rational judgements on policy questions.¹³

A policy scientist will not keep himself away from the on-going political process but may commit himself to democracy, fraternity and security, or he may support a social order in which power, wealth, and all other valued outcomes are in

¹¹Daniel Lerner and H. D. Lasswell, The Policy Sciences (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1951).

¹²H. D. Lasswell, "Policy Sciences", in David L. Sills, ed., International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences. Vol. 12, p. 181.

¹³H. D. Lasswell, Power and Personality (New York: The Viking Press, 1948), Viking Compass Edition, 1962, p. 120.

the hands of a self-perpetuating caste.¹⁴

The object of the policy scientists is the improvement of "the rationality of the flow of decision." Equipped with appropriate "developmental constructs", the policy scientists can advise the policy makers on a wide range of alternatives.¹⁵

According to Lasswell, the policy sciences have three elements: the method by which the policy process is investigated; the results of the study of policy; and the findings of the disciplines making most important contributions to the intelligence needs of the time.¹⁶

Lasswell, however, does not suggest that the policy scientists should be active politicians, nor they should spend most of their times in advising the policy makers. Their attention should be directed towards the solution of the conflicts in society.¹⁷

¹⁴H. D. Lasswell, "Policy Sciences" in David L. Sills, ed., International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, Vol. 12, p. 182.

¹⁵See H. D. Lasswell, "The Political Science of Sciences: An Inquiry into the Possible Reconciliation of Mastery and Freedom", in American Political Science Review, Vol. 50 (December, 1956), pp. 961-979.

¹⁶H. D. Lasswell, "The Policy Orientation", in Daniel Lerner and H. D. Lasswell, eds., The Policy Sciences, op. cit., p. 3.

¹⁷Ibid., p. 8.

Lasswell has emphasized that all social sciences together may be termed as the policy sciences. This contention does not, however, seem to be tenable. The other social sciences, except political science and public administration deal less with the decision-making process of government. In many respects the social sciences have implications for public policy. We cannot deny for example, that sociology, psychology, economics, etc., study various aspects of national problems and as such give some clue to the solution of those problems. But these social sciences have no direct bearing on the formulation of public policy. They may be helpful in the formulation of public policy, but one can not mark out "any one or several among them as the policy sciences."¹⁸

Aspects of Public Policy

In analysis of public policy two aspects are generally considered the most significant: the policy process and the policy content. The policy process refers to the way in which policies are formulated. It is mainly concerned with the structure of the decision-making organization, the individuals in the organization involved in the making of the policy, groups external to the organization

¹⁸Carl J. Friedrich, "Policy - A Science ?", in Carl J. Friedrich and J. K. Galbraith, eds., Public Policy, Vol. 4 (1953), p. 276.

who influence the policy making, the communication pattern, etc.

Policy content refers to the authoritative decisions of the government. This is the output of the political system. Policy process concerns with how policies are formulated and policy content concerns with what policies are formulated. Policy content indicates the goals of the government. One can not clearly differentiate between policy process and policy content, however, because the latter is largely determined by the former.

APPROACHES TO THE STUDY OF PUBLIC POLICY

One finds reliance on three approaches to the study of public policy: (1) decision making, (2) normative-descriptive-historical, and (3) conceptual. Each approach focuses its attention on a particular aspect of public policy. We may, however, suggest a fourth approach: ecological. But before we discuss the new approach to the study of public policy we propose to review the three approaches mentioned above.

The Decision-Making Approach

The decision-making approach is primarily concerned with how public policies are formulated. Its main focus is

process of policy-making rather than policy content. It discusses the principles of decision-making, the organization or the entities connected with decision-making and related problems. As Buechner says:

... the decision-making approach views the organization as a unit consisting of many decisional situations in which the administrator is the decision-maker. It has generally been accepted that an administrative organization as a collective body, makes decisions and the individual administrator makes decisions within a context subject to a variety of influences.¹⁹

The major contribution to the study of decision-making has been made in the fields of public administration and foreign policy analysis. Bureaucracy as an organized group within the government is intimately connected with the decision-making process. They supply information to the political heads, point out alternative courses of action and shape the nature of the decision to be taken by politicians. Administrative organization has, therefore, become a focus of analysis in the decision-making approach.

Herbert Simon criticized certain established doctrines of organization theory as unsatisfactory and remarked:

Administrative description suffers currently from superficiality, oversimplification, lack of realism. It has confined itself too closely to the mechanism

¹⁹ John C. Buechner, Public Administration (Belmont, California: Dickenson Publishing Company, Inc., 1968) p. 15.

of authority and has failed to bring within its orbit the other, equally important modes of influence on organizational behavior. It has refused to undertake the tiresome task of studying the actual allocation of decision-making functions. It has been satisfied to speak of 'authority', 'centralization', 'span of control', 'function' without seeking operational definitions of these terms.²⁰

Simon suggests that the decision-making should be the focus of inquiry. In other words, in any organization decisions are not made by any single individual but are the result of compromise amongst individuals, committees, and boards concerned.²¹ Simon argues that the two basic principles of organization are efficiency and rationality. Efficiency is secured by the removal of the limits found within the members of the organization, and rationality by their skills, values and knowledge.²² According to Simon, decision-making involves only "bounded rationality" in contrast to earlier views that it involves a rational choice among alternatives. The decision-makers do not aim at maximizing benefit, but are content with "satisficing" i.e., fulfilling the minimum standard (which is "good enough").

Lasswell suggests seven elements of the decision-making process. These are: intelligence - information, prediction, planning; recommendation - promotion of policy

²⁰Herbert A. Simon, Administrative Behavior (New York: The Free Press, 1965), p. 38.

²¹Ibid., p. 222.

²²Ibid., p. 40.

alternatives; prescription - the enactment of general rules; invocation - provisional characterization of conduct according to prescription including demand for application; application - the final characterization of conduct according to prescription; appraisal - the assessment of the success and failure of policy; termination - the ending of prescription and of arrangements entered into within their framework.²³

Robinson and Majak suggest five "variable clusters" to examine the decision-making process. Briefly stated they are: the decision situation, the decision participants, the decision organization, the decision process and the decision outcome.²⁴

Sorenson mentioned eight steps in the decision-making process in the White House: agreement on the facts, agreement on the overall policy objective, a precise definition of the problem, a canvassing of all possible solutions with all their shades and variations, a list of all possible

²³ H. D. Lasswell, "The Decision Process", in Nelson W. Polsby, Robert A. Dexter, and Paul A. Smith, ed., Politics and Social Life: An Introduction to Political Behaviour (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1963), p. 93. See also H. D. Lasswell, The Decision Process (College Park: University of Maryland Press, 1956).

²⁴ James A. Robinson and R. R. Majak, "The Theory of Decision-Making", in James C. Charlesworth, ed., Contemporary Political Analysis (New York: Free Press, 1967), p. 178.

consequences that would flow from each solution, a recommendation and final choice of one alternative, the communication of that decision, and finally, provision for its execution.²⁵ He also pointed out that Presidential decisions are limited by five factors: permissibility, availability of resources, availability of time, previous commitments, and availability of information.²⁶

All of the authors mentioned have discussed the decision-making process in the context of the organization which is involved in the decision output. Richard Snyder, however, has not restricted his analysis to the organizational setting only. He has broadened his framework of analysis to include many extra-organizational elements. His scheme to analyse foreign policy decision-making process includes the following variables:

1. International setting of decision-making: non-human environment; society; human environment, culture, population.
2. Social structure and behaviour: major common value orientations; major institutional patterns; major characteristics of social organizations; role differentiation and specialization; groups - kinds and functions; relevant social processes - opinion formation, adult socialization, and political process.
3. Decision-making process: decision makers.

²⁵Theodore C. Sorenson, Decision-Making in the White House: The Olive Branch of the Arrows (New York: Columbia University Press, 1963), Paperback edition, pp. 18-19.

²⁶Ibid., p. 23.

4. Action.

5. External setting of decision-making: non-human environment; other cultures; other societies; societies organized and functions as states; government action.²⁷

In the main Snyder's important variables are the international setting (factors emanating from organization), societal setting (factors emanating from society), and external setting (factors emanating from abroad).

As noted earlier, the decision-making analysis focuses attention on the process of the formulation of public policy although we may get some idea about the outcome of the process from the internal and external factors of the organization, and the orientations of the individuals who are associated with the making of public policy. Although it is very difficult to say which of the two is more important - the process or the content - it seems reasonable to suggest that people in general are more concerned with the content rather than the process. This is because they are more concerned with what they get rather than how they get public goods.

Simon's view, that one of the functions of the decision is the realization of the objectives of the organ-

²⁷Richard C. Snyder, H. W. Bruck, and Burton Sapin, Foreign Policy Decision-Making: An Approach to the Study of International Politics (New York: Free Press of Glencoe, 1962), pp. 1-185. See diagram at p. .

ization, has been criticized on the ground that it is very difficult to determine the goals of an organization. Rational decisions require accurate and timely information which is not always available to decision makers. Moreover, a decision is often the result of conflict, compromise and bargaining.

Snyder has suggested many categories of variables. It may be difficult to gather information on all these variables exhaustively and in time. His scheme also imposes a tremendous demand on the rationality of the calculators. However, it is not always necessary that equal attention be given to all variables. It should be pointed out that politicians do not always rationally calculate all the variables before making a decision.

When powers are centralized the decision-making machinery may become very complex. As Robinson and Majak point out:

The apparent increase in departmentalization and collectivism in decision-making is, in itself, a way of characterizing decision processes, whose effects on decision outcomes might usefully be explored more systematically than they yet have been. At the same time, however, these trends complicate the task of tracing decision-processes make the study of process-outcome relationship more difficult, and place heavy demands upon efforts to build a comprehensive decision-making theory.²⁸

²⁸James A. Robinson and R. R. Majak, "The Theory of Decision-Making", op. cit., p. 186.

The greatest contribution of decision-making approach seems to be that it attempts to discover to what extent a correlation exists between the process and the content of public policy. It may help us to understand why some decision makers have adopted a particular policy rather than others. More specifically, it may help us to find out whether there is any relation amongst the alternative choices and the organizational pattern and its internal and external factors.

The Normative Approach

The normative approach is the traditional one and is ladden with value judgements. The researcher studies a particular aspect of public policy and suggests either reform or a new type of policy. This kind of study falls into many categories.²⁹ There are studies which relate to the substantive areas of public policy³⁰, to the political

²⁹ Lewis Froman has mentioned eight such categories. See Lewis A. Froman, Jr., "The Categories of Policy Content", op. cit., p. 46.

³⁰ Examples are: Arthur Smithies, Economics and Public Policy (Washington, D. C.: The Brookings Institution, 1955); S. E. Harries, Education and Public Policy (Berkeley, Calif.: McCertchan, 1965); Raymond A. Bauer, Ethiel de Sola Pool, and Lewis A. Dexter, American Business and Public Policy (New York: Atherton Press, 1964).

institutions³¹, time periods³², governmental level³³, etc.

The traditional normative approach has been found to be unsatisfactory on many grounds. Firstly, the categories are at a very low level of generalization and their classification is not scientific.³⁴ Secondly, since only a particular policy is being studied little comparison has been made among various policies. The study of a single policy area gives us scant information about the governmental orientation in general.

The Conceptual Approach

This weakness of the normative-descriptive approach to public policy analysis has recently led some writers to search for new ways of studying policy. The conceptual approach is an effort to study public policy on a more scientific level. Basically, it is a study of public policy on the basis of conceptual categories. We shall briefly survey some of the literature on this approach.

³¹For example, M. M. Saphiro, The Supreme Court and Public Policy (Glenview, Ill.: Scott, Foresman and Company, 1968).

³²See James L. Sunquist, Politics and Policy: The Eisenhower, Kennedy and Johnson Years (Washington, D. C.: The Brookings Institution, 1968).

³³See James Q. Wilson, City Politics and Public Policy (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1968).

³⁴Lewis A. Froman, Jr., "The Categories of Policy Contents", op. cit., p. 46. See also Table I, p. 47.

Berelson and his associates analyzed the issues in the 1948 Presidential election campaign. The study was conducted in Elmira, New York.³⁵ Berelson et al. pointed out that elections are fought around some issues on which various political parties declare their positions. Party positions reflect the differences or disagreements, but the election settles the issues. The authors distinguish two general sets of issues: the position issues and the style issues. The position issues are, for example, of taxation, labour relations, tariffs, farm policies, price controls, etc. Style issues would include prohibition, religious education, civil liberties, immigration, etc. In position issues the question is: "In whose interest should the government be run?" and in style issues the question is: "In whose style should the government be run?".³⁶

The authors have pointed out that both the Republican and the Democratic parties do not differ very much on the basic issues. Both parties agree on the important issues of the election: the criteria used to judge the candidates, expectations about major political events, how much the election matters, personality factors, and the rules of the

³⁵ Bernard R. Berelson, Paul F. Lazarsfeld, and William N. McPhee, Voting: A Study of Opinion Formation in a Presidential Campaign (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1954), Pages refer to Phoenix edition, 1966.

³⁶ Ibid., p. 184.

game.³⁷ There are, however, differences between them. For example, they differ in material interests which is based on position issues (e.g. price control). They also differ on style issues. For example, there is an agreement that U.S. should be 'firmer' with Russia, but there is disagreement as to who would be able to implement this policy better.³⁸

The basic conclusion of Berelson and his associates seems to be that public policies are almost decided through the process of the election campaign. Through the election of a President the voters accept the programmes for which his party stands, and the agreed programme becomes the "basis for political action".³⁹ Commenting on how the elections shape the formulation of public policy Walker says:

The political leaders, in an effort to gain support at the polls, will shape public policy to fit the citizen's desires. By anticipating public reaction the elite grants citizenry a form of indirect access to public policy making, without the creation of any kind of formal institution and even in the absence of any direct communication.⁴⁰

³⁷ Ibid., pp. 185-192.

³⁸ Ibid., pp. 196-197.

³⁹ Ibid., p. 185.

⁴⁰ Jack L. Walker, "A Critique of the Elitist Theory of Democracy", in Norman R. Luttbeg, ed., Public Opinion and Public Policy: Models of Political Linkage (Homewood, Ill.: Dorsey Press, 1968), p. 455. For the role of voter in decision making, see, Charles E. Lindblom, The Decision-Making Process (Engelwood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice Hall, Inc., 1968), Chapter 7.

Huntington, in a study of the "politics of military policy" categorized the area of military policy into two - the strategic and structural.⁴¹ Decisions with regard to international politics involving the military are described by him as strategic and decisions related to the internal organization and the management of the military are described as structural. "A strategic concept identifies a particular need and implicitly or explicitly prescribes decisions on the uses, strengths and weapons of the armed forces".⁴² The structural decisions "deal with the procurement, allocation, and organization of men, money and material which go into the strategic units and uses of force."⁴³

By classifying the military decisions into two, Huntington seems to emphasize that for each type of military decision distinct categories of factors are to be taken into consideration. In other words, public policy in defence is to be formulated keeping in view the international situation and the domestic forces.

Public policy has also been analyzed in terms of

⁴¹Samuel P. Huntington, The Common Defence: Strategic Programs in National Politics (New York: Columbia University Press, 1961), p. 3.

⁴²Ibid., p. 4.

⁴³Ibid.

"material" benefit and "symbolic" assurance. In examining the regulatory laws of the United States, Edelman has pointed out that policies of the government confer tangible benefits to some while they give only symbolic assurance to others.⁴⁴ In politics some people are spectators while others are actively engaged in getting specific benefits for themselves. Those who are spectators are satisfied with the symbolic aspect of politics.⁴⁵

Political analysis must, then, proceed on two levels simultaneously. It must examine how political actions get some groups the tangible things they want from government and at the same time it must explore what these same actions mean to the mass public and how it is placated or aroused by them.⁴⁶

Edelman's main thesis is that government action (regulation) facilitates the exploitation of resources by knowledgeable and organized groups; the unorganized and the uninformed are being manipulated by symbolic assurance, such as the assurance of the government that a particular action has been taken in the interest of the public, or, that the interest of one group would be protected although some benefits were distributed to others. Public policy analysis should focus its attention on both aspects of gov-

⁴⁴J. M. Edelman, The Symbolic Uses of Politics (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1964).

⁴⁵Ibid., p. 5.

⁴⁶Ibid., p. 12.

ernment policy.

In a review article Lowi first examines the current approaches to the study of public policy and then suggests three conceptual categories for the scientific analysis of public policy. He criticized the analysis of public policy based on power, groups, and decentralized and multi-centred political arena and comes to the conclusion:

The main trouble with all these approaches is that they do not generate related propositions that can be tested by research and experience. Moreover, the findings of studies based upon any one of them are not cumulative. Finally, in the absence of logical relations between the 'theory' and the propositions the theory becomes self-directing and self-supporting.⁴⁷

Lowi then draws a scheme of three major categories of public policy: distribution, regulation and redistribution.⁴⁸ Distributive policies are those that are concerned with the giving away of things (e.g. subsidies); regulatory policies are those that restrict available alternatives (e.g. anti-trust); and redistributive policies are those by which things are taken from one group and given to another group (e.g. progressive income tax).

⁴⁷Theodore J. Lowi, "American Business, Public Policy, Case Studies and Political Theory", in World Politics, Vol. 16, (July 1964), p. 681.

⁴⁸Ibid., p. 689.

Lowi claims that these categories constitute "real arenas of power" and that "each arena tends to develop its own characteristic political structure, political process, elites, and group relations."⁴⁹ What Lowi proposes is really the analysis of public policy on the basis of the three important functions of government.⁵⁰

Lewis Froman has made an analytical study of public policies in local government.⁵¹ In an effort to build a theory of public policy he tried to demonstrate the relationship between the typology of cities and the typology of policies. For this purpose he classified policies into two: "areal" policy which affects all the people living in the cities and the "segmental" policy which affects only a segment of the total population. He then proposes and partially tests the following two hypotheses:

1. Areal policy tends to be associated with homogeneous communities; and
2. Segmental policy tends to be associated with heterogeneous communities.

⁴⁹ Ibid., pp. 689-690. For the relationship between the arenas of power and political power see Table 2, p. 713.

⁵⁰ See for example, his article "Distribution, Regulation and Redistribution: The Functions of Government", in Randall B. Ripley, ed., Public Policies and their Politics: An Introduction to the Techniques of Government Control (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, Inc., 1966), pp. 27-40.

⁵¹ Lewis A. Froman, Jr., "An Analysis of Public Policies in Cities", in Journal of Politics, Vol. 29, No. 1 (February, 1967), pp. 94-108.

Froman suggests that for the purpose of the scientific study of policy we need to take out policies from the "problem-oriented" case study and normative framework. We must develop some policy categories which are related to other phenomena. And this is the way we may build a theory of public policy.

In a similar kind of study Williams and Adrian found relationship between community type and policy.⁵² They first constructed a typology of the roles of government. These are: economic growth, life's amenities, caretaker, and arbiter. They then sought to find out the correlation between the community types and these variables. Some of their findings are as follows:

1. "To the extent that policies of economic growth and amenities call for increased expenditures, support generally comes from the high income groups and opposition comes from the lower income groups".
2. "Conversely, the strongest supports of caretaker government [the government that maintains traditional services] are centred among low-income citizens".
3. "In middle-sized cities, producer-consumer conflicts are rare".

The conceptual approach to the study of public policy has some serious drawbacks. Berelson's distinction

⁵² Oliver P. Williams and Charles R. Adrian, "Community Types and Policy Differences", in James Q. Wilson, ed., City Politics and Public Policy, op. cit., pp. 17-36.

between position and style issues is ambiguous. Many issues have both style and position features. Moreover, some voting studies have shown that issues are not very important determinants of how people vote. Many voters are ignorant of the basic issues involved.⁵³ Edelman's categories are not ambiguous, but there is difficulty in operationalizing the distinction between material benefits and symbolic assurance.⁵⁴ Huntington himself has pointed out that "no sharp line exists between the strategic and structural elements in a military decision."⁵⁵ We cannot therefore clearly say which issue is strategic and which one is structural. The same criticism may be made of the categories of Lowi, Williams and Adrian. The line of distinction between the categories they constructed is very thin. Froman's classification does not suffer from this criticism, but it "suffers from reliability problems."⁵⁶

A major difficulty with this approach, however, is that of measurement. The conceptual categories we use

⁵³ See for example, Angus Campbell, Philip E. Converse, Warren C. Miller, and Donald Stokes, The American Voter (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1960).

⁵⁴ Lewis A. Froman, Jr., "The Categories of Policy Contents", op. cit., p. 49.

⁵⁵ Samuel P. Huntington, The Common Defence, op. cit., p. 4.

⁵⁶ Lewis A. Froman, Jr., "The Categories of Policy Content", op. cit., p. 50.

for any scientific analysis must be based on sound principles. If the categories satisfy the basic principles of classification they will lead to the construction of a theory; if not, their contribution to theory building is doubtful. Froman has examined the categories we have discussed above in the light of some well-defined criteria. His criteria are: inclusiveness, mutual exclusiveness, validity, level of measurement, ease of measurement, and differentiation.⁵⁷ Examining the abstract categories in terms of these criteria Froman concludes that the "problems of measurement are most severe with categories that show the greatest theoretical power."⁵⁸ This is true because although most of the categories are inclusive, many of them are not mutually exclusive, and their validity and reliability are low.⁵⁹

A New Approach to the Study of Public Policy: Environment

The approaches we have discussed before have all been used to analyse a particular policy. Neither the traditional approach nor the conceptual approach offers us

⁵⁷ Ibid., pp. 47-48.

⁵⁸ Ibid., p. 52.

⁵⁹ Ibid., p. 51, Table 2.

much of a guide to the real understanding of public policy. It seems to us that a more fruitful approach would be to analyze public policy from the point of ecology, i.e., environment. Ecology is defined as "the study of relation of organisms or groups of organisms to the environment, or the science of inter-relations between living organisms and other environment."⁶¹ Although originally used in the biological sciences, the ecological approach is now being used in social sciences also, specially in sociology. Recently, this approach has been used in public administration. F. W. Riggs has drawn our attention to ecological approach in his study of public administration of the developing nations.⁶²

Recent political writers have emphasized that there is a line of demarcation between the political system and other systems, although it is very difficult to distinguish them very clearly.⁶³ For example, when a man

⁶¹Eugene P. Odum, Fundamentals of Ecology (Philadelphia: W. W. Saunders Company, 1959), p. 6.

⁶²Mention may be made of Riggs' two books: The Ecology of Public Administration (London: Asia Publishing House, 1961), and Administration in Developing Countries: A Theory of Prismatic Society (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1964). See also his article, "An Ecological Approach: The 'Sala' Model", in Ferrel Heady and Sybil L. Stokes, eds., Papers in Comparative Public Administration (Ann Arbor, Michigan: Institute of Public Administration, The University of Michigan, 1962), pp. 19-36.

⁶³See for example, the writings of David Easton: The Systems Analysis of Political Life (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1965), and A Framework for Political Analysis (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice Hall, Inc., 1965).

works in the farm he is within the economic system and when he votes in an election he crosses the boundary of the economic system and enters into the political one. A clear and distinct separation is not, however, possible. The political system may lay down some rules which may affect the conditions of the farm and contrarily, the condition of the farm (e.g. the increase or decrease of production) may lead the political system to change its farm policy. We therefore find that although there is a line of demarcation between them there is interaction, too.

The political system is distinguished from other systems for it alone has the ultimate power of coercion. We may therefore set up a dichotomy and classify the whole system into the political system and its environment. All other systems, sometimes called the sub-systems (political sub-system and other environmental sub-systems) are included in the environment. The environment may again be classified into two - the non-human and human environment. Many aspects of the environment may be included in each environment but we will consider for our purpose only those which have a major impact on the political system.

Since public policy has been defined as the sanctioned decision of the political system, and since the political system works within an environment, there is a close re-

lationship between public policy and environment. This correlation between public policy and environment gives us the basis of the environmental study of public policy. Schematically, the relationship between public policy and its environment is given in Figure 1.1

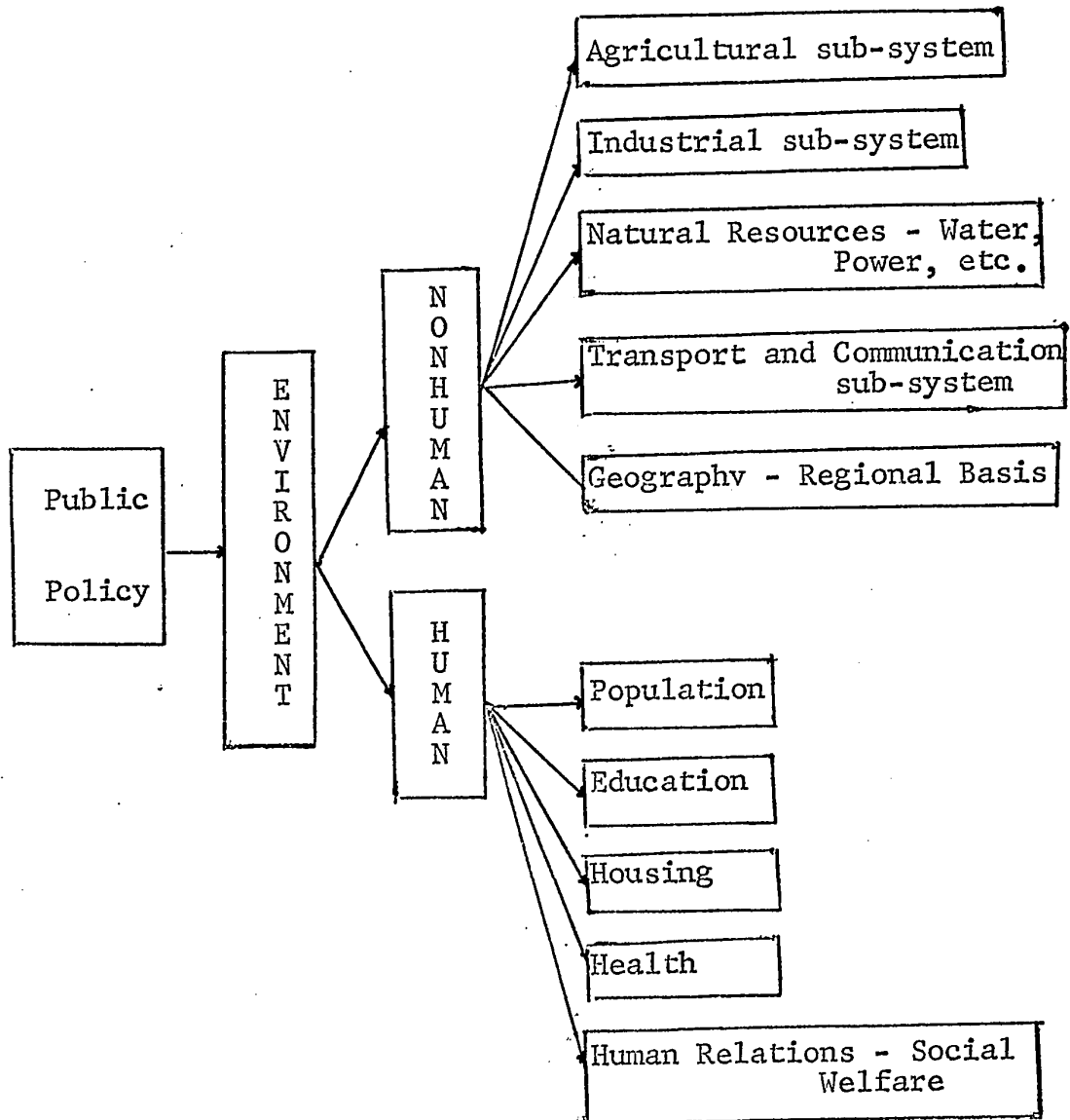
When we speak of the ecological approach to public policy we refer to the efforts of the political system to bring about changes in the environment composed of non-human and human factors (see figure 1.1). As Eyestone and Eulau say:

We conceive public policy as a response of government to challenges or pressures from the physical and social environment.... Changes in public policy, then, can occur in response to changes in environment. The response can be two-fold: either the policy adjusts and adapts the political system to environmental changes, or it brings about changes in the environment. Which alternative is chosen, depends potentially on a great variety of factors - the structure of the political system, including the vitality and diversity of its group life; the functions which it is seen to perform traditionally; its resource capabilities; and the values that policy-makers seek in formulating policy - their policy orientations.⁶⁴

The ecological approach to public policy also refers to the fact that we should study public policy in its totality. The study of a particular policy gives us little information about the general orientation of the

⁶⁴Robert Eyestone and Heinz Eulau, "City Councils and Policy Outcomes: Developmental Profiles", in James Q. Wilson, ed., City Politics and Public Policy (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1968), p. 390.

Figure 1.1: Environmental Basis of Public Policy



government. For this purpose we need to study all the important policy areas so that we may know the ultimate goals of the government. Van Dyke remarks:

Political scientists pay relatively little attention to policy outputs designed to have consequences in environments external to the system. They pay little attention to policies concerning such matters as transportation and communication; science, technology, industry, and agriculture; money and banking, currency and credit; taxation; employment and unemployment; health, education, and social security; the family; the conservation and utilization of natural resources; even law enforcement.⁶⁵

It seems to us, then, that public policy should be formulated taking the improvement of the environment as the main objective and then adopting specific policy for each element of the environment. Caldwell also suggests an environmental basis of public policy and remarks:

Examination of the recent literature of human ecology, public health, natural resources management, urbanism, and development planning suggests a growing tendency to see environment as a policy framework within which many specific problems can best be solved.⁶⁶

The ecological approach, of course, faces two major problems. The first is the problem of limits. For example, how far the action of a government falls within

⁶⁵Vernon Van Dyke, "Process and Policy as Focal Concepts in Political Research", in Austin Ranney, ed., Political Science and Public Policy, op. cit., p. 30.

⁶⁶Lytton K. Caldwell, "Environment: A New Focus for Public Policy", in Claude E. Hawley and Ruth G. Weintraub, eds., Administrative Questions and Political Answers (Toronto: Van Norstrand Co., Inc., 1966), p. 224.

the political arena and how far it falls outside the political arena and within other systems. Secondly, it will also be difficult to find out the exact nature and extent of interaction between the political system and its environment.⁶⁷

The system of public planning as introduced in many of the developing nations such as Pakistan, represents an effort to adopt a comprehensive environmental policy. Through planning, resources are allocated for the development of human and non-human sectors of environment, e.g. agriculture, industry, transport, communications, water, power, housing, health, education, etc. As the developing nations have limited resources, each sector of the environment competes with others for them. For the maximization of benefits from scarce resources certain principles of allocations are applied. Some of the important principles of allocation are of efficiency, consistency and balance. An efficient allocation is one which gives maximum return out of an expenditure. This is generally measured by the cost-benefit analysis and finding out whether there is any shortfall. Consistency refers to the maintenance of relations among the development sectors. All sectors are

⁶⁷ See Marston Bates, "Environment", in David L. Sill, ed., International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, Vol. 5, p. 91.

interrelated and in allocating resources for one sector, its effects on other sectors must also be calculated. By balanced allocation is meant that the need of each sector must be assessed and allocation be made accordingly. Too much emphasis on one sector at the cost of others creates imbalance in economic and social fields. An analysis of the nature and purpose of allocation of resources by a government will help us understand the principle(s) applied in such allocation. For example, if a country wants a quick economic growth and allocates its resources on the principle of efficiency, then those sectors the productivity of which can not be quantified will tend to get meagre attention of government. Moreover, a comprehensive analysis of resource allocation gives one an information as to the general objectives of government in utilizing its resources. The question which may be raised in this connection is: to what direction the country is being led by allocating the resources in a particular way. This and other questions mentioned above can not be answered unless one studies all development sectors for which government allocates resources.

My purpose in this thesis is to discuss and analyse the public policy in Pakistan since 1955, the date from which it adopted systematic and comprehensive public planning. The government of Pakistan has so far implemented two Five-Year

Plans while the third one is in the process of completion.⁶⁸ The plans are aimed at changing the total environment of the political system through the development of agriculture, industry, transport, communications, water, power and the improvement of education, health, housing, etc.

In discussing public policy in Pakistan we will not be dealing with the process by which public policy is formulated or the influences exercised by the various interest or pressure groups. Instead, we will be mainly concerned with the policy output as reflected in the allocation of resources. In particular, the following related matters will be the main focus of our analysis.

1. What are the allocations of money for different sectors over the plan periods?
2. What priorities are given to different sectors in different plan periods?
3. What is the rationale of priorities?
4. To what extent the utilization of money allotted for development purposes led to the realization of the objectives set forth in the plans?
5. What is the general orientation of the government of Pakistan? More specifically, what is the main objective of the government: economic growth measured in terms of the increase in per capita income, or, social development in terms of the welfare of the general public, or both?

⁶⁸The three plans are: Government of Pakistan, National Planning Board, The First Five Year Plan, 1955-60 (Karachi: Manager of Publications, 1957); Government of Pakistan, Planning Commission, The Second Five Year Plan, 1960-65 (Karachi: Manager of Publications, 1961); and Government of Pakistan, Planning Commission, The Third Five Year Plan, 1965-70 (Karachi, Manager of Publications, 1965).

CHAPTER II

THE SETTING OF THE ENVIRONMENT

In the previous chapter it was suggested that the study of public policy from the point of view of environment is more fruitful than other approaches. The environment is composed of two factors: human and non-human. The constituent elements of the environment are: the geographical features of the country, the state of agricultural and industrial development, the system of transport and communication, water and power resources, the system and level of education, the health conditions, the housing conditions, the quantity and quality of population, the extent of the amenities for social and cultural life, and the extent of social services for those in need.

In an effort to alter these factors in the environment governments mobilize and allocate resources. By mobilization we mean to put into use or to create conditions to put into use both material and human resources. Allocation of resources refers to the distribution of money to various elements in the environment for the realization of some desired objective. The yearly budgets and the periodical economic

planning are the means through which these resources are mobilized and allocated.

Resources have alternative uses. They may be used for either the production of consumer goods to satisfy the present needs, or for the production of goods to create conditions for future satisfaction. It may also be used for armaments, or for public welfare. The nature of the allocation depends upon the determination of priorities and the objectives sought.

Given the limited nature of resources they should be used to maximize social benefits. Unless rational calculation is made in selecting the alternatives maximum social benefits are not likely to be derived.

Thus before resources are allocated it is necessary to see the prevalent environmental conditions. We, therefore, propose to discuss the settings of the environment in Pakistan from 1947 to 1955.

The Physical Setting

Geography plays an important part in the life of a nation. A well-defined national boundary, climate, natural resources, the river system, the nature of soil, etc. are important factors in the development of a country. If

these factors are favourable and properly utilized, a country may develop quickly, but if they are unfavourable a major effort will be needed to bring about desired changes in some of the physical settings. Moreover, regional differences call for different developmental programme for each region.

Geographically, Pakistan is situated at two different locations: the eastern wing in the tropical and the western wing in the temperate zones, and the two wings are about 1,000 miles apart from each other. Climate, culture, language, the nature of the economy, and even the personality types of people are different in the two wings.

About 80 per cent of the area of East Pakistan is fertile alluvial plain drained by three large rivers - the Ganges, the Brahmaputra and the Meghna. Only a minor portion of the land in the eastern side of the province is covered by hills. Being in the tropical zone, East Pakistan is humid with an average rainfall of 80 inches a year, and excessive rainfall sometimes causes floods. The average temperature is about 70° F. The area of East Pakistan is about one-sixth that of West Pakistan, but it has approximately 58 per cent of the population of Pakistan. Climate, rainfall and the population density, there-

fore, created problems for that province which one does not find in West Pakistan.¹

More than half of West Pakistan is covered by mountain and desert area. The rest is plain, drained by the Indus river and its tributaries. Its climate is almost continental. It is dry with an average rainfall of about 20 inches a year, requiring the construction of a vast network of irrigation projects to sustain agriculture. In area, West Pakistan is about six times larger than East Pakistan, but has 42 per cent of the total population of Pakistan.²

The geographical features of the two wings of Pakistan being different, they need different strategies for development. For example, the need for irrigation for West Pakistan and for drainage and flood control in East Pakistan is due to geography.³ Discussing the

¹For physical features and climate of East Pakistan, see Ali Arif Rizvi, "Natural Regions of East Pakistan", in Pakistan Geographical Review, Vol. V, No. 1 (1950), pp. 32-51; and Kazi S. Ahmad, "Climatic Regions of East Pakistan", in Pakistan Geographical Review, Vol. VII, No. 2 (1952), pp. 102-112.

²For geographical features and climate of West Pakistan, see Kazi Saeed-ud-Din Ahmed, "Climatic Regions of West Pakistan", in Pakistan Geographical Review, Vol. VI, No. 1 (1951), pp. 1-35.

³For some of the contrasts in population, climate, agriculture, economy, etc. between East and West Pakistan, see O. H. K. Spate and A. T. A. Learmonth, India and Pakistan: A General and Regional Geography (London: Methuen & Co. Ltd., 1954), Third edition, 1967, pp. 143-144, 170-171, 228, 230, 233-234, 237, 244, 278-279, 368, 377-382.

planning problems in East Pakistan Nafis Ahmed says that "in any development scheme, however gigantic, the demographic consideration will be of vital significance."⁴

The Economic Setting

The condition of the economy of Pakistan prior to 1955 may be best described in the words of the Planning Board:

At the time of partition, Pakistan was an underdeveloped area even relative to some other Asian countries. The systems of production, transportation, trade and consumption yielded a very low standard of living - most of the people living at, or barely above, the level of subsistence with little opportunity for education, or economic advancement. Agricultural methods were for the most part primitive and average yields were among the lowest in the world. Industry was nearly non-existent. Financial institutions to provide credit and to collect the savings and channel them into productive investments were rudimentary.⁵

⁴Nafis Ahmed, "Some Planning Problems in East Bengal", in Pakistan Geographical Review, Vol. IV, No. 2 (1949), p. 3. See also, Kazi Saeed-ud-Din Ahmad, "The Role of Geography in Our National Planning", in Pakistan Geographical Review, Vol. V, No. 2 (1950) pp. 16-27; K. U. Kureshi, "Geography in National Planning, with Special Reference to Urban Development", in Pakistan Geographical Review, Vol. XXI, No. 1 (January 1966), pp. 21-33; K. U. Kureshi, "Urbanization Trends in West Pakistan: A Geographical Analysis", in Pakistan Geographical Review, Vol. XXI, No. 1 (January 1966), pp. 1-20; and Kazi S. Ahmad, "A Politico-Regional Plan", in Pakistan Geographical Review, Vol. IV, No. 2 (1949), pp. 18-25.

⁵National Planning Board, Government of Pakistan, The First Five-Year Plan, 1955-60 (Karachi: The Manager, Government of Pakistan Press, 1957), p. 7. Herein after referred to as The First Five-Year Plan, 1955-60.

Partition also created some major effects on the economy. It dislocated and disrupted trade, commerce, industrial organization, marketing relations and communications. The exchange of refugees also created a great problem. About 7.5 million refugees came to Pakistan during the first few years of independence. Many of them were poor farmers and craftsmen, and the government had to provide them with food and shelter. The influx of refugees overburdened the existing dislocated economy. On the other hand, those people who left Pakistan (mostly Hindus and Sikhs) were merchants, businessmen, moneylenders and skilled labourers. They took with them their money, skill and experience. This exchange of population adversely affected the economy of Pakistan.⁶ Looking at the major sectors of the economy one finds the following conditions.

Agriculture

Agriculture is the largest segment of the economy of Pakistan. According to the estimate of the First Five-Year Plan, it contributed 60 per cent of the national income and 95 per cent of the foreign exchange earnings, and employed 75 per cent of the civilian labour force. About 90 per cent of the people living in villages were directly or

⁶Ibid., pp. 7-8.

indirectly dependent on agriculture.⁷ In spite of its pre-dominance in the economy no serious effort was made either by the government or by the cultivators themselves to improve agriculture. Agricultural methods were primitive with traditional implements being used for the cultivation of land and the use of fertilizer was practically unknown.

Agriculture was dependent on the vagaries of nature and suffered either from too much or too little water. In East Pakistan, there were floods and sometimes drought. Most of the areas of West Pakistan suffered from water logging and salinity. The system of land tenure,⁸ under which the farmers were not the real owners of the land they tilled, also hampered agricultural improvement. The agricultural holdings were very small and fragmented which led to their inefficient use. Adequate credit facilities did not exist for the farmers. As a result they were not in a position to invest in land improvement. The consequence of all these was low productivity on a per acre basis. The rate of growth in agriculture was less than that of population. Except for initial years (1947-1951) government had to import food averaging one million tons a year to feed the population which was growing at an average rate

⁷Ibid., p. 213.

⁸See pp. 90-93.

of 3 per cent per annum.⁹ In short, initially, agriculture in Pakistan was characterized by stagnation.

Pakistan being a densely populated country the man-land ratio is very low. The per capita land available is 1.9 acre and only 0.5 acre of land per head are under cultivation. The total land area of Pakistan is 234 million acres of which only 21 per cent was under cultivation and 5 per cent was current fallows before the plan period. So, the total area under cultivation was 26 per cent. About 12 per cent was cultivable waste and 5 per cent was forests. Twenty-four per cent of the land was not available for cultivation. The remaining 35 per cent had not been surveyed. Land utilization in Pakistan is summarized in Table 2.1.

The area of cultivable land could be increased by reclamation, irrigation, flood control and other measures. Moreover, intensive cultivation could be practised along with these measures thereby increasing the per acre yield.

⁹Gustav F. Papanek, Pakistan's Development: Social Goals and Private Incentives (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1967), p. 146.

TABLE 2.1
LAND UTILIZATION IN PAKISTAN

	Area in million acres	Percentage
Net Area Sown	49.2	21
Current fallows	11.5	5
Forests	6.1	3
Cultivable waste	27.0	12
Not available for cultivation	57.4	24
Area not classified	82.3	35
	233.5	100

Source: The First Five-Year Plan, 1955-60, p. 215.

Industry

If agriculture in Pakistan was in a primitive stage, it appeared advanced when one compares with the state of industry. At the time of partition, Pakistan received only 1,406 industrial units out of the total of 14,569 industrial establishments in British India. This means that while the population of Pakistan constituted about 20 per cent of the whole of British India, only 10 per cent of the

manufacturing industries came under Pakistan.¹⁰ The total industrial assets at the time were estimated at Rs. 58 million which, however, increased to Rs. 351 million in 1955.¹¹ Although Pakistan produced nearly 70 per cent of the world's jute, it did not possess a single jute mill. Of the 1.5 million cotton bales produced in the country, the home textile industry possessed the capacity to use only one-tenth of them.¹²

Certain conditions vital for industrial development were non-existent in Pakistan. It lacked mineral resources such as iron, oil, coal, etc. It had no sufficient electric power to move the wheels of industry. The system of transportation and communication was extremely poor. The country had insufficient amounts of capital for investment, and banking and credit facilities were inadequate. Engineers, technicians and industrial managers were not available in sufficient numbers. Shortage of foreign exchange prevented the purchase of machines and equipment necessary for industrialization. By 1950, however, a number

¹⁰Economic Adviser to the Government of Pakistan, Ministry of Finance, Pakistan Basic Facts: 1966-67 (Islamabad: Department of Films and Publications, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, 1967), p. 42.

¹¹Gustav F. Papanek, "The Development of Entrepreneurship", in The American Economic Review, Vol. 52, No. 2 (May 1962), p. 51.

¹²The Planning Commission, Government of Pakistan, Basic Facts: Industries in Pakistan (Karachi: Department of Films and Publications, n.d.), p. 3.

of factories were established and Pakistan started manufacturing textiles, cement, sugar, vegetable oil and cigarettes. Surveys for mineral resources were started and production of electricity was increased. Thus, the basic foundation for industrial development was under way by 1950.

Transport and Communication

Remarking on the transport system of Pakistan, von Vorys said: "Rudimentary is the kindest word to describe the transportation network and facilities of the country."¹³ Transportation and communication are the essential factors in the economic development of a country. Movement of goods, raw materials and finished products, need a good transportation system. Mobility of labour depends on extensive and cheap means of transportation, which also link urban and rural areas. The main means of public transport in Pakistan are railways, buses, steamer launches, country boats, ox cart, horse cart, motor vehicles and rickshaw (tri-cycle for carrying passenger). Post office, telegraph, telephone and radio maintain a network of communications system.

Only a small area in Pakistan was covered by railways. In 1954-55, there were only 10,021 miles of railway

¹³Karl von Vorys, Political Development in Pakistan (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1965), p. 16.

tracks - 2,533 miles in East Pakistan and 7,488 miles in West Pakistan¹⁴ - approximately one mile of track for every 52 square miles of territory. The railway locomotives were about 30 years old and were run inefficiently. Express trains used to run at an average speed of 27 miles an hour and railway wagons would average 20-30 miles a day. Only a few cars were used on each line. The result was that trains were always overcrowded. From 1947 to 1955, the railways carried an average of 133 million passengers a year.¹⁵ Facilities for passengers in the trains were at a minimum making long distance journey by overcrowded train very strenuous.

Road transport was also unsatisfactory. In 1947 there were only 14,021 miles of both high and low type roads averaging one mile of road for every 26 square miles of territory.¹⁶ East Pakistan had only 240 miles of road. Roads were narrow but used by motor vehicles, carts driven by bullocks, camels, donkeys and horses, and rickshaws. Thousands of pedestrians used the roads especially on market days.

¹⁴Central Statistical Office, Economic Affairs Division, President's Secretariat, Government of Pakistan, Statistical Pocket Book of Pakistan, 1968 (Karachi: Manager of Publications, 1968), pp. 172-173.

¹⁵Central Statistical Office, Government of Pakistan, 20 Years of Pakistan in Statistics, 1947-1967 (Karachi: Pakistan Publications, 1968), p. 136.

¹⁶Economic Adviser to the Government of Pakistan, Ministry of Finance, Pakistan Basic Facts, 1966-67, op. cit., p. 55.

Stray cattle also moved freely on the roads. These conditions created traffic problems and the vehicles could only move very slowly. The number of motor vehicles was also small. In 1947 there were only 25,405 motor vehicles including buses, trucks, motor cars, taxi cabs and motor cycles.¹⁷ So, there was only one motor vehicle for about 2,800 people.

Water transport is an important means of transportation in East Pakistan. It had about 4,000 miles of potentially navigable waterways which were, however, reduced to 2,500 miles due to silting and shoaling. Water transport carried about three-fourths of the total traffic in East Pakistan.¹⁸ About 90 per cent of the villages rely on water transport during the monsoon season to maintain contact with each other and with distant places. Water transport was utterly inadequate and there were only 58 motor launches in East Pakistan at the time of independence. Non-motorized vessels carried most of the cargoes and passengers.

The maintenance of a good and speedy transportation system between East and West Pakistan was a great problem. Though an air service between the two wings subsidized by government did exist, yet air travel was prohibitive for most people. A shipping service plied between the two provinces

¹⁷Ibid.

¹⁸The First Five Year Plan, 1955-60, p. 499.

on a route of about 3,000 miles but it was also inadequate. There is no land transport between East and West Pakistan which creates a number of problems.

The communication system consisted of the postal service, telegraph, telephone and radio. Pakistan had 5,650 post offices in 1947-48 which had increased to about 8,000 by 1954-55.¹⁹ There was therefore one post office for every 87,500 people. The Postal Service lost money every year except between 1951 and 1954. The telegraph and telephone services started with severe handicaps. Demand for the installation of telephones was very great, as for example, in 1954-55 there were requests for 23,365 telephones but only 8,761 telephones could be installed.²⁰ As a result, trade, industry and commerce lacked communication facilities. Only three broadcasting stations worked in the country at the time of partition. Later two more stations were opened. The five regional stations, aided by eight ancillary transmitters, had a total power of 170 kilowatts and were putting out 105 programme hours daily using 17 different languages.²¹ In 1954-55 the total number of radio sets registered in the country was 134,041 - 13,719 in East Pakistan and 120,322 in West

¹⁹ Ibid., p. 511.

²⁰ Ibid., p. 514, Table 4.

²¹ Ibid., p. 515.

Pakistan.²² The ratio of radio sets and population, therefore, was 1 : 523. Most of the rural areas were not covered by radio broadcasts as the radio sets were largely limited to the urban areas.

Water and Power

Water is essential to development in a number of ways. It is needed for irrigation, both in East and West Pakistan. Agriculture in West Pakistan mostly depends on irrigation since the average rainfall is low. In winter irrigation is necessary in East Pakistan. Water is also necessary for production of hydro-electricity.

Control of water either for irrigation, production of electricity or for flood control was a paramount need for Pakistan. However, no systematic effort was made to tackle this problem, although some projects were undertaken.

Power is needed for industrial and agricultural development. At the time of partition the total installed capacity for generating power was 110,00 kilowatt, but the actual production of electricity was less. This was due to the fact that most of the thermal stations became worn-out

²²Central Statistical Office, Economic Affairs Division, President's Secretariat, Government of Pakistan, Statistical Pocket Book of Pakistan, 1968, op. cit., p. 183.

from excessive pressure for producing more electricity during the war. Many stations had to be closed down for varying periods. By 1954-55, however, power generation had been increased to 280,000 kw., increasing the per capita consumption from 2.8 units in 1947-48 to 7 units in 1954-55. But still the supply of electricity was much below the demand.²³

The Social Setting

The Social Structure

The Muslims of the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent are traditionally classified into two groups - the Ashraf (the high born) and the Atraf (the low born).²⁴ The first group consists of four sub-groups: Sayyid, Shaikh, Moghul, and Pathan. Sayyids claim their descent from Ali, the son-in-law of the prophet Mohammad; Moghuls and Pathans from the Turkish and Afghan Conquerors of India, and the Shaiks from the Qureshi tribe to which the Prophet Mohammad belonged.²⁵

The Atraf are largely the descendants of the indigenous people. They were converts from Hinduism and

²³The First Five-Year Plan, 1955-60, p. 9.

²⁴Donald N. Wilber, Pakistan: Its People, Its Society, Its Culture (New Haven: HRAF Press, 1964), pp. 117-118. Nazmul Karim, however, mentions four social classes: Ashraf, Atraf Bahamanus, Atraf and Arzal. See A. K. Nazmul Karim, Changing Society in India and Pakistan (Dacca: Oxford University Press, 1956), pp. 128-129.

²⁵Donald N. Wilber, op. cit., p. 118.

Buddism, but they retained many of their old customs and practices even after conversion.²⁶

During the British rule in India, the social structure started undergoing transformation. Unlike older groups which were based on origin, the new groups were based primarily on economic status and profession. As a result of such a transformation the following social groups emerged during the British period in the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent.

(1) Rural Social Classes:

- (a) Landlords, including the absentee landlords
- (b) Tenants under landlords
- (c) Peasant proprietors
- (d) Merchants
- (e) Money lenders

(2) Urban social classes:

- (a) Capitalist class
- (b) Working class
- (c) Petty traders and shop keepers
- (d) Professional class, such as technician, physician, teacher, journalist, etc.²⁷

The caste-like social classes of Pre-British India gave way to more flexible ones and made easy social mobility due to the spread of Western education, industrialization, urbanization and other socio-cultural factors.

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ A. K. Nazmul Karim, op. cit., pp. 101-102.

Historically, the Hindu middle classes in India emerged during the period of the East India Company, but they grew faster in size after English was made the medium of instruction in 1835. In 1857 three universities were established in Calcutta, Bombay and Madras which became, primarily, the seats of Hindu learning. In 1891 literacy among Muslims in India was 4.2 per cent which rose to 7.2 per cent by 1931 showing a growth rate of 70.7 per cent over the period. During the same period literacy among Hindus rose from 6.3 per cent to 9.3 per cent, registering a growth rate of 46.4 per cent.²⁸ It was therefore evident that the rate of growth in literacy was faster among Muslims than among Hindus. The Muslim middle classes, though they started emerging with the establishment of the Government College, Lahore, in 1869, the University of Lahore in 1882 and the Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental College at Aligarh in 1878, really grew in size about half a century later, when between 1918 and 1921, three universities were established in Hyderabad, Aligarh and Dacca to cater to the needs of the Indian Muslims.

²⁸Kingsley Davis, The Population of India and Pakistan (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1951), p. 155, Table 72. For the emergence of the middle classes in India see B. B. Misra, The Indian Middle Classes: Their Growth in Modern Times (London: Oxford University Press, 1961).

Independence brought further opportunities for the education of Muslims with the establishment of more schools, colleges and universities. By 1951, literacy in Pakistan rose to 13 per cent and by 1955 there were 41,862 primary schools, 5,743 secondary schools, 137 vocational schools, 128 teachers' training institutions, 148 colleges and 6 universities in the country (see Table 2.2). As a result of the increase in the number of the educational institutions and the adoption of new educational policies, the number of intellectuals increased substantially leading to the strengthening of the Muslim middle classes further.

At any rate, the emergent middle class in Pakistan was and still is a considerable political force. Demands for political and economic reforms came mainly from this group. With an increase in the number of this social group articulation of interests has become even more vigorous.

The Social Services

Social services in the country prior to 1955 were almost nil. Government was primarily concerned with the maintenance of law and order and the concept of social service was foreign to it. No attention was paid even to the vital needs of the society.

Firstly, the country had a very poor educational system. According to the census of 1951 only 13 per cent of the population was literate. Most of the educational institutions were managed and supervised by Hindus who left after partition. There was an inadequate supply of trained and qualified teachers to fill the positions in schools, colleges and the Universities vacated by the Hindus. The curriculum was deficient in that it was oriented toward a general education meaning that scientific and professional education was neglected. No steps were taken to correlate the output of the educational institutions with the job opportunities. The result was the production of a large number of graduates every year without any prospect of their employment. Research facilities were also lacking in the institutions of higher learning.

Government expenditure on education was increased from 5.3 per cent of the total expenditure in 1948-49 to 7.7 per cent in 1954-55. This increase was not, however, adequate to meet the demands. Table 2.2 shows the changes in the number of educational institutions from 1948 to 1955 as a result of this increased expenditure.

The table shows that although the number of Primary schools, Colleges and Universities increased, there was a decline in the number of Secondary schools and Teacher

Training Institutions. This occurred because of the downgrading of some of the Secondary schools, and the abolition of some inefficient ones.

TABLE 2.2
CHANGES IN THE NUMBER OF EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS
IN PAKISTAN FROM 1948 TO 1955

Educational Institutions	1948	1955
Primary Schools	38,122	41,862
Secondary Schools	6,275	5,743
Colleges (Arts, Commerce, Science)	90	148
Universities	3	6
Teacher Training Institutions (for both Primary and Secondary teachers)	136	128

Source: The First Five-Year Plan, p. 541, Table I.

Secondly, the housing and municipal services were a problem. Only the rich could afford good houses. The refugees, who constituted about 10 per cent of the population by 1951, had difficulty even in finding shelter. Lack of community services such as water, sewage, streets, market places, schools, and dispensaries resulted in hardships. With industrialization, urbanization, population increase and breaking away of the extended family the need for more

houses and community services increased. It was estimated that the country needed 200,000 additional houses each year and with replacement this figure would go up to 300,000.

Private investment in housing, of course, increased in post-independence period. Total monetary and non-monetary investment combined was more than Rs. 250 million a year. Government expenditure was mostly on community facilities and amounted to about Rs. 370 to 380 million up to 1955.

Despite these expenditures the housing problem remains serious. As the Planning Board said:

Though the total effort has been very large, the problems have been so great that there is still a serious housing shortage. In all the towns there are large numbers of homeless families. The older parts of the towns are grossly overcrowded, and essentials[sic] services and public buildings are totally inadequate. New suburban building is often characterized by bad design and construction, excessive use of expensive building materials, and extravagant planning for the use of land. Towns are growing without adequate town plans and reflect the same array of problems; and increase of population and insufficient resources with which to create satisfactory human settlements.²⁹

In rural areas also, housing and facilities for community life were inadequate. The village sites were often determined by defence considerations or according to the in-

²⁹The First Five-Year Plan, 1955-60, p. 518.

terests of landlords. They were not determined according to the needs of the inhabitants.³⁰ Although it would be almost impossible to re-plan the rural settlements, community services could be provided to a large extent.³¹

Thirdly, health standards of the people have been very low. "Inadequate nutrition, insanitary conditions, insufficient medical facilities and meagre parental care, all contributed to the prevalence of ill health, epidemics, and high rate of infant mortality".³² In the wake of widespread disease and epidemics the people were in a state of utter helplessness and attributed this to fate. Government paid little attention to the health problems of the people and would only help in case of epidemics. Allocation of resources to health was insignificant. Some efforts were made, however, to control fatal diseases such as tuberculosis, small pox and malaria.

The death rate was very high in Pakistan. It was double the rate of the developed countries. Infant mortality was still higher: about five times those of the developed

³⁰Ibid., p. 519.

³¹For a description of layout of a typical homestead in East Pakistan see B. L. C. Johnson, How People Live in East Pakistan (London: The Educational Supply Association Ltd., 1961), pp. 24-30.

³²The First Five-Year Plan, 1955-60, p. 609.

countries. The number of medical personnel in relation to population was utterly inadequate. The following table will show the ratio between the medical personnel in Pakistan and the United Kingdom.

TABLE 2.3

RATIO OF MEDICAL PERSONNEL AND POPULATION IN
PAKISTAN AND THE UNITED KINGDOM

Items	Estimated number available, 1954	Pakistan	U. K.
Doctors (Government and registered)	6,000	1:13,500	1:1,000
Nurses	1,600	1:50,700	1: 300
Health Visitors	200	1:406,000	1:4,800
Trained Midwives	1,040	1:78,000	1: 600

Source: The First Five-Year Plan, p. 610, Table I.

There was also a sharp disparity in medical services between the rural and the urban areas. There was one doctor for about 700 people in the urban areas, compared with one doctor for between 10,000 and 20,000 people in the rural areas.

Fourthly, the social welfare activity of the government was conspicuous by its absence. This was simply due to the fact that a law-and-order government was not oriented toward social welfare activities. The Planning Board lamented:

But also looking backward we can see that if the ideas of social welfare had been better understood when big economic changes began and if these ideas had received effective expression in the community life, the subsequent personal and social cost would have been much less.³³

Economic and social changes bring about changes in urbanization patterns, family life, distribution of income, sharing of social amenities, and a host of other things. Tensions and frustrations are bound to arise in such changed situations. There was, therefore, a paramount need for social welfare organizations to provide help and guidance to those affected by the process of economic and social transformation.

Apart from some voluntary social welfare organizations, there were only a few labour welfare officers in the country. The government took a positive step in 1952 by arranging with the United Nations and other agencies to train social workers. By 1954, about 124 social workers were trained and a beginning was made to provide welfare services to the people. At the same time some educational institutions started giving courses in social welfare and some professional organizations for social welfare were also established. Compared with the magnitude of the problems these provisions were merely a beginning.

Since 1955 Pakistan has started a deliberate and

³³Ibid., p. 619.

continuous effort to bring about changes in the environmental settings. The three Five-Year Plans so far drawn up by the Planning Commission appointed for the purpose allocated resources for the development of various sectors in the environment and set up priorities among them. The following table gives us an idea as to the nature of the allocation of the resources in the three Five-Year Plans.

TABLE 2.4
SECTORAL ALLOCATIONS IN THE THREE FIVE-YEAR PLANS
OF PAKISTAN, IN PERCENTAGES

Fields of development	First Plan (1955-60)	Second Plan (1960-65)	Third Plan (1965-70)
Agriculture	7	13	15
Industry, fuels, minerals	31	28	26
Water and Power	17	19	15
Transport and Communication	17	17	18
Physical Planning and Housing	20	15	13
Education	6	4	5
Health	2	1	2
Manpower and social welfare	Neg.	Neg.	1
Others (Works Programme)	-	3	5
	100	100	100

Source: Planning Commission, Government of Pakistan, The Third Five-Year Plan, 1965-70, (Karachi: The Manager, Government of Pakistan Press, 1965), pp. 6 and 41.

The need for democratic public planning in Pakistan seems to have arisen out of the conditions of the environment discussed above. However, planning in Pakistan is not based on any doctrinaire assumptions as in socialistic countries but on purely pragmatic considerations. There was need to bring about economic and social development through the proper utilization of the resources of a country whose viability was doubted at its birth.

Pakistan has developed an elaborate, efficient and strong machinery for public planning. It studies the availability of resources, the needs of the country, and recommends to the government appropriate policy for the proper utilization of these resources for social and economic development. Since the planning machinery in Pakistan has occupied an important place in the allocation of the resources of the country it seems quite appropriate to discuss its organization and powers. The following Chapter is devoted to such a discussion.

CHAPTER III

THE PLANNING MACHINERY IN PAKISTAN

Allocation of resources for bringing about desired changes in the environment and the maximization of benefits requires a machinery well-fitted for this task. Many important factors need study before such allocations could be made and the regular administrative machinery of the government is not suitable for this purpose. Most of the developing countries therefore have developed their own planning agencies for the proper allocation of their meagre resources.

THE CENTRAL PLANNING MACHINERY

Pakistan has developed an elaborate, efficient and powerful planning machinery, now known as the Planning Commission. From a mere advisory body in 1948, the planning agency has now become a powerful economic institution in the country.

It should, however, be noted that there are many other institutions in Pakistan which are connected with the planning processes of the country. The National Economic Council is the highest policy-making body in Pakistan. But it is the Planning Commission which advises the government

on the supreme economic policy of the government. The Five Year Plans prepared by the Commission and approved by the government become the official document of economic and social policy. There are planning machineries in the Provinces but they work within the limits set by the central Planning Commission with respect to policy matters.

Economic planning in Indo-Pakistan sub-continent started in 1940's when the government of British India created a Department of Planning and Development just before the closing of the Second World War. In accordance with the directives of the central government the provincial governments prepared some projects which, however, could not be implemented before the partition of British India in 1947.¹

Immediately after independence, the government of Pakistan gave its attention to the development projects already drawn up by the provinces. Partition had created a new situation necessitating the revision of projects and the resetting of priorities. So, the government created a Development Board in 1948 with responsibilities to coordinate development plans, recommend priorities, supervise implementation of projects, and report to the government on the pro-

¹Albert Waterston, Planning in Pakistan: Organization and Implementation (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1963), p. 13.

gress of these projects. The Board was headed by a Central Minister and all other members were secretaries of the development departments. However, the Board did not have sufficient authority as its status was merely advisory. Any development scheme involving a non-recurring expenditure of Rs. 50,000 or more and a recurring expenditure of Rs. 10,000 was to be submitted to the Board for recommendation. But in some cases projects were approved without referring them to the Board.²

The government also created in 1948 a Planning Advisory Board and assigned it three functions: advising the government on matters relating to planning and development, reviewing progress of projects and programmes, and maintaining public relations. The Board was composed of the representatives of the government and of the private sector, and worked with the assistance of several boards and committees appointed by the central and provincial governments.

The Development Board and the Planning Advisory Board were at first responsible to the Cabinet Secretariat but a few months later they were transferred to the newly

²J. Russel Andrus and Aziiali F. Mohammad, The Economy of Pakistan (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1958), p. 478.

created Ministry of Economic Affairs, whose political head also became the Chairman of the Development Board.

In 1950 Pakistan drew up a Six-Year Development Plan of Rs. 2,600 million to be integrated into the Colombo Plan. The size of the Plan was fairly large compared with the resources available at the time and the government therefore created a new planning machinery for its implementation. The Planning Advisory Board was abolished and the Development Board was replaced by a Planning Commission. The membership of the Commission was increased to 20 and included the Minister of Economic Affairs who became its Chairman, the Secretary General of the Cabinet (Vice-Chairman), the permanent secretaries of almost all the Central Ministries, the Director General of the Railways, and Chairman of the Industrial Development Corporation, and the nominees of the Provincial Governments. The functions of the Commission were also increased when it was assigned the functions previously performed by the Development Board and the Planning Advisory Board. It could examine projects costing a non-recurring expenditure of Rs. 500,000 or more and a recurring expenditure of Rs. 100,000.³ The Planning Commission had six sub-commissions each headed by the secretary of the respective department.

³ Albert Waterston, op. cit., p. 17.

Another planning institution created at the same time was the Economic Council chaired by the Prime Minister. Other members of the Council were the Ministers of Food and Agriculture, Communication, Education, Economic Affairs, and Finance and Industries.

Up to 1953 the planning agencies did not draw up an integrated plan for development. The plan usually consisted of individual projects without having any relation to the available total resources of the country or to the ultimate objective of the nation. Although the size and functions of the Planning Commission increased considerably, it did not have adequate influence in the formation of the economic policy of the country. Its functions were limited to the consideration of projects and programme drawn up by the various Ministries and Departments. It was not always consulted by the government before approving project. No systematic method was devised to review the progress of the projects under implementation.⁴

The drawback of the early planning processes led the government to consider the reorienting of the planning process and reorganizing the planning machinery. In July 1953, the Government of Pakistan created a Planning Board

⁴Ibid.

to prepare an orderly and integrated national plan. According to the terms of reference the functions of this Board were to review development that had taken place since independence, to assess the material and human resources which could be made available over the next five years, to prepare a national plan of development based on fullest utilization of the available resources for implementation in a period of five years, and to make proposals regarding the administrative machinery best calculated to assure the successful implementation of the plan, and to make any other recommendation which in the opinion of the Board would contribute towards the success of the Plan.⁵

The number of the Planning Board members was reduced to three. The Chairman became a full-time officer and each member headed a Division. The Economic Division was responsible for economic research, proposing sectoral priorities and the preparation of the proposed plan. It had four sections: (1) Fiscal and Monetary, (2) International Trade and Foreign Exchange, (3) National Income and Statistics, and (4) General Economics. The Projects Division was responsible for examining and proposing projects for inclusion in the proposed plan and concerned with the main sectors of the

⁵National Planning Board, Government of Pakistan, The First Five-Year Plan, 1955-60 (Karachi: The Manager of Publications, 1957), p. 1.

economy: agriculture, industry and commerce, power, irrigation and reclamation, transport and communications, housing and settlements, education and training, health, manpower and employment, and social services. The Administrative Division was concerned primarily with administration and maintaining the Board's relation with outside agencies.⁶

Although the Planning Board was created to prepare a comprehensive and well-integrated national plan, it suffered from serious drawbacks in its early stage. First, it lacked adequately trained staff. It could not offer salaries high enough to attract needed talents. The Board requested the Ford Foundation to provide it with some foreign advisers. The Foundation was able to send in 1955 eight advisers from the Graduate School of Public Administration at Harvard University. By that year the Board could recruit 60 Pakistani professionals.⁷ Secondly, the Board was an advisory body and its status was temporary at the beginning. It was, however, made a permanent agency in 1957. Thirdly, frictions between the Board and the Ministries and Departments started when it suggested changed project estimates prepared by the latter. The Ministry of Finance also tried

⁶Albert Waterston, op. cit., p. 23.

⁷Clair Wilcox, "Pakistan", in Everet E. Hagen, ed., Planning Economic Development (Homewood, Ill.: Richard D. Irwin, Inc., 1963), p. 55.

to exert its authority by scrutinizing the projects which were already approved by the Board. Fourthly, the relationship between the Planning Commission and the Planning Board was not clearly defined. Normally, the Planning Commission was required to submit proposals to the Planning Board for recommendation, but in some instances projects were approved by the Commission without referring them to the Board.⁸

However, there was one important reason why the Planning Board, in spite of its inherent drawbacks and conflicts of jurisdiction which tended to weaken it, gained in status gradually. It received political support from the Prime Minister. In 1957 when the Board was reorganized and made permanent the Prime Minister became its Chairman. When he was unable to attend the meeting of the Board, the Chairmanship was, however, transferred to the Minister of Economic Affairs.

In addition to the political support, the functions of the Board were also increased considerably. By reorganization some functions of the Ministry of Economic Affairs and of the Planning Commission were assigned to the Board. Apart from the functions it performed before the Board also was to advise when asked for by Ministers, to stimulate and, when

⁸ Albert Waterston, op. cit., p. 25.

necessary, to initiate the preparation of schemes required to achieve national objectives in the economic and social fields, to maintain continuous and constant review of the progress of development, to study the benefits realized and the difficulties experienced, to maintain a continuous review of the economic conditions of the country so far as they had a bearing on development plans, to submit periodic reports to the government, to encourage the improvement and expansion of research, statistical surveys and investigations, and generally to advise the government on economic policies and problems in various fields.⁹

By 1955, the Planning Board also acquired a new function, in spite of the opposition of the Ministry of Finance, of preparing annual development programmes which were drawn up in the light of the Five Year Plans and were incorporated into the Central and Provincial budgets. The Planning Board insisted from the very beginning on getting this function on the ground that coordination between the annual development programmes and the Five Year Plans was necessary for achieving plan objectives.

According to the provision of the 1956 Constitution of Pakistan, a National Economic Council (NEC) was set

⁹The First Five-Year Plan, 1955-60, p. 97.

up as an advisory body. The Council was composed of 11 members with the Prime Minister as Chairman. The membership also included 4 other Central Ministers, 3 Ministers from each Province including the Chief Ministers. The National Economic Council was the highest economic body in Pakistan and had the responsibility of reviewing the economic situation of the country, and drawing up financial, commercial and economic policies for the uniform economic development of all parts of the country. On the creation of NEC, the Economic Council which was set up in 1951, was renamed as the Economic Committee of the Cabinet.

In 1957, the Planning Commission was abolished and in its place a Development Working Party was set up. Its functions were to review projects and programmes.

By 1958, the powers of the Planning Board (now renamed as the Planning Commission) increased in addition to its already existing functions by the power to review and report to the government about the progress of projects and programmes. Previously, these functions were performed by the Ministry of Economic Affairs which was abolished in 1958. The Planning Board's request to give it the supervisory powers over the implementation of the plans was rejected at the instance of the operating departments which argued that planning and implementation should be separated.

However, at the recommendation of the Commission itself, this function was again transferred to the newly created Projects Division in the President's Secretariat. In 1961, the Projects Division in the President's Secretariat was abolished and the supervisory and reporting functions were again given to the Commission.

In 1959, the military government set up an Economic Council with the President as its head. It had 11 other members including the Governors of the Provinces, 5 Central Ministers, Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission, the Chairman of the Pakistan Industrial Development Corporation, and the Chairman of the Water and Power Development Authorities of East and West Pakistan. It was "the supreme decision-making body on economic policies and programming"¹⁰ and had the responsibility to review and formulate economic policies, to approve Five Year Plans and annual development plans, and to ensure balanced economic development of all parts of the country.¹¹

To maintain liaison between the Economic Council and the Planning Commission, the Deputy Chairman of the Commission was appointed the secretary of the Council. It was

¹⁰The Second Five Year Plan, 1960-65, p. 106.

¹¹Ibid., pp. 106-107.

also provided that the memoranda for the consideration of the Economic Council were to be prepared by or in consultation with the Planning Commission. This gave the Planning Commission power to influence the decisions of the Economic Council. In 1962, the name of the Economic Council was changed to National Economic Council in accordance with the provision of 1962 Constitution of Pakistan. The membership of the Council was also enlarged with the inclusion of the Provincial finance ministers.

The military government also created in 1959 the Economic Committee of the Cabinet with the Finance Minister as its Chairman. It had six other members: 4 Central Ministers, the Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission, and Chairman of the Pakistan Industrial Development Corporation. Its position was below the level of the Economic Council and it was charged with the function of supervising the implementation of economic policies laid down by the Cabinet and the Economic Council, taking day-to-day decisions on economic problems, and sanctioning development schemes pending their submission to the Economic Council.¹²

Although the Economic Council was the ultimate authority on policy matters, most of its functions were per-

¹²Ibid., p. 107.

formed by the Economic Committee of the Cabinet. With the reconstitution of the Economic Council as the National Economic Council the Economic Committee of the Cabinet was abolished and its functions were assigned to two committees under the NEC - the Executive Committee and the Economic Policy Coordination Committee, the latter was abolished six months after its creation, and its functions were assigned to the Cabinet.

The year 1961 is a remarkable year in the history of the Planning Commission of Pakistan. In that year the President of Pakistan took the full charge of the Commission by becoming its Chairman. He appointed a civil servant as Deputy Chairman with the rank of a Central Minister. The Planning Commission was made a Division in the President's Secretariat. It thus entered into the very heart of political power. Since the President of Pakistan is now the Chairman of the Planning Commission, it has received full political support and has been able to establish its position in the decision-making structure of Pakistan.

By putting the Planning Commission in his Secretariat, by assuming the Chairmanship himself, and by raising the Deputy Chairman to ministerial rank, the President hoped to reinforce the obligation of the ministries and departments to conform to the Plan and to promote a greater amount of cooperation between them and the Planning Commission.¹³

¹³Albert Waterston, op. cit., p. 77.

Planning Cells

Since planning is a continuous process and requires expert staff, the Planning Commission recommended that a Planning Cell should be established in each Central and Provincial Ministry and Department. In 1961, on instructions from the Central Cabinet, many Central Ministries and Departments set up Planning Cells. Each cell consists of one economist and two or more technical officers. The primary function of the cell is to formulate and evaluate projects and make periodic reports.

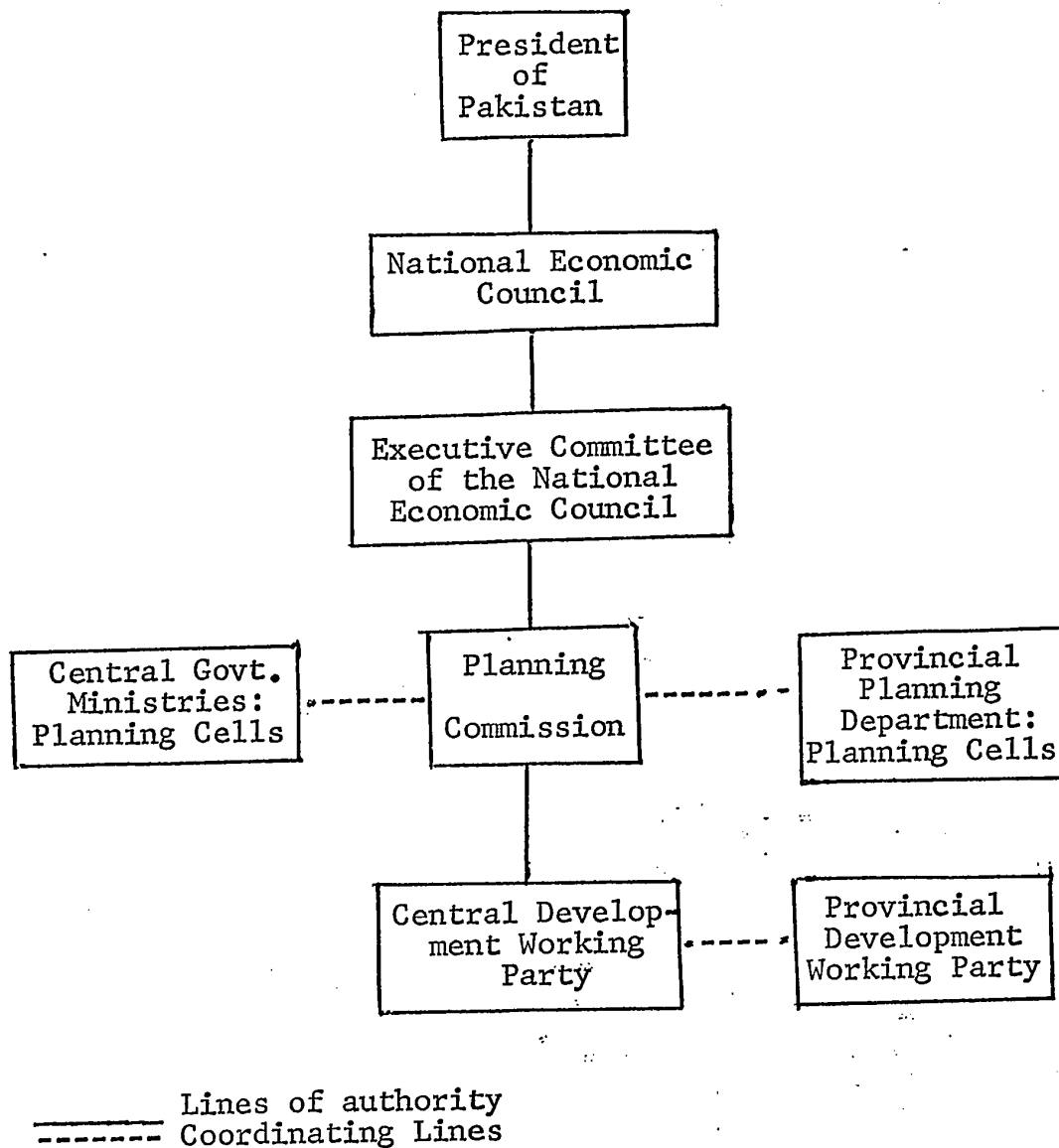
Because many developmental responsibilities have been transferred to the provinces since 1962, it has been proposed that the Planning Cells in the Central Government should be created only in the technical departments, but Ministries having more than one sector of development may create Planning Cells.¹⁴

We summarize in Figures 3.1 and 3.2 the planning organizations in Pakistan and the structure of the Planning Commission of Pakistan as stood in 1968.

The Planning Commission has now attained a distinct position in the policy-making structure of Pakistan

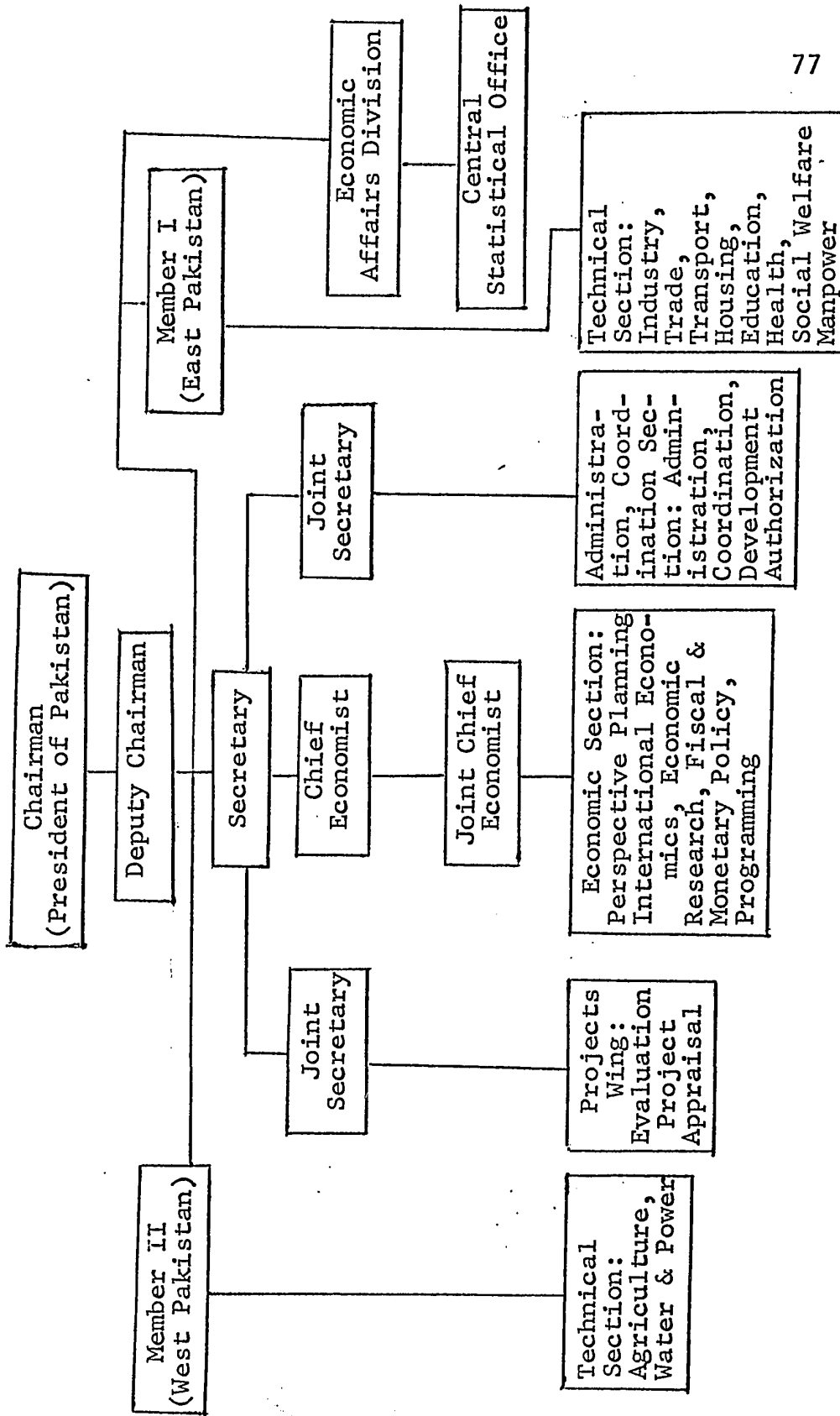
¹⁴Planning Commission, Government of Pakistan, The Third Five Year Plan, 1965-70, (Karachi: Manager of Publications, 1965), p. 163.

Figure 3.1: Planning Organizations in Pakistan



Source: Wouter Tims, Analytical Techniques for Development Planning: A Case Study of Pakistan's Third Five-Year Plan (1965-1970) (Karachi: Pakistan Institute of Development Economics, 1968), p. 10.

Figure 3.2: Organization of the Planning Commission of Pakistan



Source: Wouter Tims, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

and shares in the final decision-making process. It not only prepares plans, reviews progress of their implementation, reports to the government, and draws up annual development programmes, but also advises the government on important economic policies. The conflicts between the Planning Commission and Ministries and Departments, especially the Ministry of Finance have been resolved in favour of the former. Although in early years the Commission suffered from lack of adequate trained staff, it has now been able to recruit professionals and experts. The civil servants no longer dominate it. With the enlargement of its powers and the political support it receives, its authority has now been fully established. In the words of Waterston:

Within a decade of its establishment as a temporary body, the central planning agency is not merely accepted as a permanent part of government administration, it is widely recognized as one of the most effective governmental bodies in Pakistan. Few planning offices in developing countries can claim such clear progress.¹⁵

THE PROVINCIAL PLANNING MACHINARIES

As planning starts from the local levels the Provincial planning organizations occupy an important position in the planning process of the country. Legally, the central

¹⁵Ibid., p. 1.

planning machinery has no direct control on the provincial planning machineries, but in practice it can influence the provincial development planning since the provinces are dependent on the central government for their development funds. However, the importance of the provincial planning machineries has increased since 1962 when many planning responsibilities were transferred to the provinces.

East Pakistan

Within a few years after independence East Pakistan created three planning organizations - the Cabinet Development Committee, the Development Board and the Planning Department. The Cabinet Development Committee headed by the Chief Minister of the province had the power of approval of the projects submitted to it by the Development Board. In case it was unable to take any decision it would refer the case to the Cabinet. The Development Board was composed chiefly of the civil servants. The Chief Secretary was its Chairman. It had the power to formulate integrated Provincial plans, set up priorities and watch the progress of their implementation. The Planning Department was headed by a Development Commissioner and was responsible for overseeing, coordinating, evaluating, and facilitating programme implementation.

In 1957, the Government of East Pakistan created a Planning Board with the Chief Minister as its Chairman. It had three other members including two economists. The

new Planning Board had wide functions including the assessment of the resources of the province, formulation of long range and annual development programmes, advising provincial government on development policies, encouraging research, and maintaining liaison with the central planning board.¹⁶

In 1958, the military government abolished the Planning Board. The Planning and Development Department (previously known as the Planning Department) was reorganized and its status was raised. The Department was placed under an Additional Chief Secretary and the number of sections of its Planning Division was increased. The position of the sectional chiefs of its Planning Division was raised from assistant chief economist to deputy chief economist. The Provincial Bureau of Statistics was integrated into the Planning and Development Department. Two inter-departmental committees - the Planning Authority and the Development Working Party - were also set up. The Planning Authority was composed of the Chief Secretary, the Additional Chief Secretary for Planning and Development Department and the Finance Secretary, and was given the power of final decision on all economic matters. The Development Working Party, composed of one representative each from the Planning and

¹⁶The First Five-Year Plan, 1955-60, p. 98.

Development Department, the Finance Department and the department sponsoring the project under consideration, was authorized to scrutinize and submit projects to the Planning Authority with its recommendations. The Planning and Development Department, however, scrutinizes the projects first.

In 1963, a new Planning Board was established with three members under the Chairmanship of the Additional Chief Secretary of Planning and Development Department. It is now the highest decision-making body in the province.

West Pakistan

The planning machinery in West Pakistan was not as well organized as that of East Pakistan. West Pakistan had a number of Development Commissioners who had, however, little time to plan as they were pre-occupied with the various functions in the operating departments. Their status was also not very high and they did not have enough power to supervise the planning and implementation in the operating department.

The Development and Irrigation Department performed some coordinating functions and acted as the secretariat for the Development Council and the Development Committee. The Development Council was composed of three ministers who re-

presented West Pakistan on the National Economic Council and had the final authority to approve projects and programmes. The Development Committee consisted of the permanent secretaries of all the provincial departments except the departments of Home and Law. It was responsible for considering projects submitted by various departments and reviewing the progress of implementation.

In 1961, West Pakistan created a Planning and Development Department on the model of East Pakistan and separated the planning function from the operating function. The Department is headed by a Development Commissioner whose rank was raised to that of Additional Chief Secretary. He is assisted by two advisers - one general economist and one statistician, in addition to a number of professionals at lower levels. The Department has a Coordination and Administration Section, an Economics and Progressing Cell and a Bureau of Statistics.¹⁶

Like East Pakistan, West Pakistan has also a Development Working Party for the review of the on-going projects. The Working Party is composed of the Additional Chief Secretary who is its Chairman, the Finance Secretary and representative of the department or agency whose projects are under consideration. It submits its reports to the Governor in the form of recommendations.

¹⁶Albert Waterston, op. cit., p. 93.

CHAPTER IV

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT: AGRICULTURE AND INDUSTRY

The economic development of a country depends to a large extent on the development of two important sectors of the economy - agriculture and industry. The contribution of each of them to the gross national production is generally higher than that of the other sectors of the economy. From the point of view of the share of contribution to production countries have been divided into either agricultural or industrial. Pakistan is primarily an agricultural country. Agriculture contributes about one half of the Gross National Products, while industry contributes about one-tenth.¹

The importance of agriculture in the economic development of a country has long been recognized. Agriculture supplies our primary needs for food and clothing. The other

¹Recently there have been some structural changes in the gross national products of Pakistan. In 1949-50, agriculture accounted for about 60 per cent of GNP, while the contribution of industry was 5.8 per cent. In 1964-65, the contribution of the agricultural sector came down to 49.1 per cent, while that of industry rose to 11 per cent. The contribution of other sectors in the respective years are as follows: construction 1.0 and 4.4 per cent, transport and communications 5.1 and 6 per cent, and others 28.1 and 29.1 per cent. see Planning Commission, Government of Pakistan, Third Plan in Perspective (Karachi: n.d.), p. 19.

important sector of economy, industry, is dependent on it in many ways. It is the source of industrial expansion, of essential supplies for maintaining growing industrial population, of exports to be traded for industrial goods, and of savings for non-agricultural investment.²

Such being the importance of agriculture, any efforts toward economic development should first of all be made in the direction of rapid development of agriculture.

Historical records clearly show that no country has moved from chronic stagnation into the take-off stage of economic development without first achieving a substantial gain in agricultural productivity.... Economic growth of the less developed countries depends heavily upon improving the performance of the agricultural sector just as it did in the more advanced countries at earlier stages of their development.³

AGRICULTURE IN PAKISTAN

Some Basic Facts

It was mentioned in Chapter II that Pakistan has about 234 million acres of land - 35 million acres in East

²Bruce F. Johnston and Herman M. Southworth, "Agricultural Development: Problems and Issues", in Herman M. Southworth and Bruce F. Johnston, eds., Agricultural Development and Economic Growth (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press, 1967), p. 4.

³Raymond P. Christensen, "Agricultural Progress in Less Developed Countries", in Iowa State University Center for Agricultural and Economic Development, Economic Development of Agriculture: The Modernization of Farming (Ames, Iowa: Iowa State University Press, 1965), p. 25.

Pakistan and 199 million acres in West Pakistan - of which only 70 million acres are under cultivation. The cultivated land per head therefore is 0.5 acre. The per head acreage is more in West Pakistan than in East Pakistan because of the large area and the small population there. About 31 per cent (22 million acres) of the total cultivated area is used for the production of rice and 20 per cent (13 million acres) for wheat.⁴ More than half of the cultivated area is therefore used for the production of food crops. The rest of the land is used for jute, cotton, sugarcane, fodder, fruits, etc. There are about 11 million farm holdings in the cultivated areas which indicate that the holdings are very small. Twenty per cent of the holdings are under one acre, 23 per cent below 2.5 acres and 22 per cent below 5 acres. Only one per cent holdings are of 5 acres and above.⁵ Agriculture in Pakistan is subsistence in character. About 98 per cent of the rice produced in East Pakistan and 67 per cent wheat produced in West Pakistan are consumed by the producers themselves.

⁴Central Statistical Office, Government of Pakistan, 20 Years of Pakistan in Statistics 1947-1967 (Karachi: 1968), pp. 36-41.

⁵Agricultural Census Organization, Government of Pakistan, 1960 Census of Agriculture, Vol. III, All Pakistan Report (Karachi: Manager of Publications, 1964), p. 6.

Because of various factors which will be discussed below, agricultural production in Pakistan is very low. It was estimated that the yield of rice in Pakistan is only 30 per cent of that of Japan wheat is about 36 per cent of the yield in Egypt. Instead of increasing the production of food crops has actually declined in the past few years. For example, rice production declined from 869.2 lbs. per acre in 1948-49 to 795.4 lbs. in 1954-55. For the same period the production of wheat declined from 836.4 lbs. to 664.2 lbs. per acre.⁶ Low agricultural productivity resulted in a food crisis almost every year and the government had to import a huge quantity of foodstuffs from abroad, creating a strain on foreign exchange reserve.

The importance of agriculture in the national economy and the need for self-sufficiency in food was recognized by the First Five Year Plan which accorded 'first priority' to it. The subsequent two plans continued the policy of priority to agriculture, but in terms of allocation of money, the sum devoted to agriculture has been less than that allocated to industry as can be seen from Table 4.1.

⁶The First Five Year Plan 1955-60, p. 217, Table 4.

TABLE 4.1

ALLOCATION OF MONEY TO AGRICULTURE AND INDUSTRY IN THE THREE FIVE YEAR PLANS, 1955-1970 (BOTH IN THE PUBLIC AND THE PRIVATE SECTORS).

	First Plan		Second Plan		Third Plan	
	Amount	p.c.	Amount	p.c.	Amount	p.c.
Agriculture	Rs.1,210 m	7 ^a	Rs.3,420m	13.3	Rs.8,115	15.3
Industry	Rs.3,050 m	31	Rs.6,120m	28	Rs.13,155	24.8

Source: Central Statistical Office, Government of Pakistan, Statistical Pocket-Book of Pakistan 1968 (Karachi: 1968), pp. 223 and 225.

a - The original plan allocation for agriculture was 13 per cent.

The Agricultural Policy

The agricultural policy of the government had several objectives. First, it aimed at self-sufficiency in food. As the Second Plan said: "At the core of the agricultural programme is the determination to feed the nation with the food grown on its own soil."⁷ This was to be achieved by a 'technological revolution' in agriculture. Second, it aimed at improving the dietary standard of the people. It

⁷The Second Five Year Plan 1960-65, p. 127.

was estimated that the typical Pakistani diet contains about 2,150 calories derived largely from rice and wheat which are the staple food in East and West Pakistan respectively. The intake of protein is less than a good nutritional standard: it is about 305 calories per day. Although the calories taken per day compare favourably with the figures for Japan (2,000), and are above those for Ceylon (1,960) and India (1,850), they are considerably less than those of the highly developed countries like the United States (3,100) and the United Kingdom (3,290).⁸ Third, it aimed at diversifying food intake through the increased supply of fish, vegetables, fruits, sugar and livestock products. Fourth, the agricultural policy aimed at increasing the income of the farmers by bringing agriculture from subsistence to commercial level. Fifth, it aimed at creating opportunities for employment reducing under-employment in agriculture. Sixth, it aimed at supplying raw materials to industry through developed agriculture. Industry in Pakistan is primarily based on agricultural raw materials. About 75 per cent of the total industrial products depend on agriculture, using such crops as jute, cotton, sugarcane, groundnuts, etc. Seventh, the policy ultimately aimed at earning foreign exchange through agricultural export, in

⁸ Ministry of Food and Agriculture, Government of Pakistan, Report of the Food and Agriculture Commission (Karachi: 1960), Table 5.3, p. 559.

addition to achieving self-sufficiency in food. Last, but not least, it aimed at recognizing the man behind the plough and at his welfare for his has been the labour that for centuries has gone to provide the basic needs of the population but he himself has remained unnoticed and unrecognized.

A programme of agricultural progress will be meaningless if it does not lead to a perceptible advancement of the rural producer's material welfare and to the regeneration of rural life, which has long since been stagnant owing to the constraining influence exerted by environmental and industrial and traditional value.⁹

The foregoing account shows that Pakistan has given importance to agriculture not as a secondary matter but as a right which it can claim for itself.

For the transformation of a traditional and stagnant sector of the economy major efforts were needed.¹⁰ The improvement of agriculture was therefore a joint task of government as well as the farming community, with the state assuming the major responsibility. Farmers need education in the new techniques of agriculture, supply of implements and other inputs of agriculture at low costs as well as finance. Agriculture in Pakistan suffers from some serious

⁹Planning Commission, Government of Pakistan, Basic Facts: Agriculture in Pakistan (Karachi: n.d.), p. 3.

¹⁰On the problems of transforming the traditional agriculture see T. W. Schultz, Transforming Traditional Agriculture (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1964), and Leonard Dabasi-Schwarz, "The Problem of Transforming Traditional Agriculture", in World Politics, Vol. XVII, No. 3 (April, 1965), pp. 503-521.

drawbacks and all of them need to be removed if the country wants a real development in this sector.

The primary objective of agricultural policy, as mentioned before, is to increase food production. The Food and Agricultural Commission of Pakistan recommended "five firsts" for this purpose: better seed, use of fertilizer, plant protection, better cultivation techniques and adequate credit.¹¹ The Commission emphasized that if these factors of production were combined harmoniously, the yield per acre would be increased significantly. The Commission, however, did not mention some other important factors which had to be taken into consideration in planning agricultural development. Government policy since 1955 has emphasized the adoption of a comprehensive agricultural programme covering the areas relating to increased production. Resources have been so allocated as to bring about improvement in these areas in order to increase production. In the next few sections the areas covered by the agricultural programme and the resources allocated for them will be discussed.

Land Reform

Land is the basic factor in agriculture and as such

¹¹ Ministry of Food and Agriculture, Government of Pakistan, Report of the Food and Agriculture Commission, op. cit., p. 64.

reform in the system of land tenure was of utmost importance. The First Plan recommended very strongly the introduction of land reform in Pakistan because of

the uncertainty which surrounds the problem of land tenures, as a result of which neither the landowners nor the cultivators feel that deep attachment to the land which derives from confidence in guaranteed possession and in the exclusive and continued right to the fruits of investment and labour.¹²

As a result of the land tenure system there were about six classes connected with land. First, there were zemindars (landlords) who had acquired the right on land from the British period. In East Pakistan about 90 per cent of the agricultural land was held by landlords who were mostly Hindus. In West Pakistan there were zemindars and jagirdars. The Land Reform Commission estimated that about 3.3 million small landowners in West Pakistan owned 7.4 million acres of land, compared with 60,000 large owners occupying 7.5 million acres.¹³ Most zemindars were absentee landlords, interested only in collecting rents but not in improving land. They could eject the tenants from their lands at will. The tenants had to surrender almost half of their produce to the landlords. Not only that, they had to work for landlord

¹²The First Five-Year Plan, 1955-60, p. 213.

¹³Government of Pakistan, Report of the Land Reform Commission, 1959 (Lahore: Government of West Pakistan Printing Press, 1961), pp. 13-14, and Appendix I.

without payment and give gifts at weddings, births, etc. The system had political implications, too. The landlord could extract votes from his tenants by threatening to eject if they would not vote for him in election for public offices. Second, there were jagirdars who collected land revenue on behalf of government retaining a portion of it or holding land for themselves. Third, there were peasant proprietors who owned and cultivated lands. Fourth, there were occupancy tenants who had some hereditary and transferable rights on land. Fifth, there were tenants who cultivated the land without any right on it. Lastly, there were landless agricultural labourers.

In East Pakistan landlordship was abolished in 1950. This could be done so early because most of the landlords there were Hindus. Land reform in West Pakistan was introduced only in 1959 after the proclamation of martial law. It came late because most of the landlords in West Pakistan were Muslims and were politically influential. In East Pakistan government acquired all land held by the landlords and distributed it to cultivators on the basis of 33 acres per family or 3.3 acres per family member. In West Pakistan the individual holdings were fixed at 500 acres of irrigated land and 1,000 acres of unirrigated land. Government took away the excess lands from the landlords on payment of compensation and distributed it among the cultivators.

The ceiling of land holding was fixed at a low level for East Pakistan because of scarcity of land in that province. The ceiling in West Pakistan was fixed at a higher level because of higher land-man ratio in the province.

Although some land reforms were introduced in the form stated above, certain fundamental problems remain to be solved yet. As Gunnar Myrdal has stated:

Considering the height of the ceiling, [especially in West Pakistan] the fact that orchards and some other land used for special purpose was exempt, the rather substantial compensation paid to the old land-owners, and the burdensome payments imposed on the new ones, this was certainly not a radical land reform.¹⁵

Tenancy in West Pakistan has not been abolished and in East Pakistan no provision has been made for the landless labourers. The system of share-cropping still survives. Unless these deficiencies are removed by adequate reforms agricultural revolution is not likely to be achieved.

Manures and Fertilizers

Working and reworking the land without letting it lie fallow decreases the fertility of land. Climatic condition, e.g., wind, salinity, erosion, etc., also affect the surface of the soil resulting in its low productivity. The

¹⁵Gunnar Myrdal, Asian Drama: An Inquiry into the Poverty of Nations (New York: Pantheon, 1967), Vol. II, p. 1314, Paperback edition.

government, therefore, adopted the policy of providing manures and fertilizers, because it is estimated to increase production by 50 per cent or more, and of subsidizing the sale of fertilizers to the extent of 50 to 60 per cent of the cost in order to popularize its use, especially for food grains. The rate of subsidy is, however, on a gradually decreasing scale. The Second Plan aimed at the increased use of chemical fertilizers much more rapidly and emphasized that their balanced application should be determined by soil survey. The success of the Second Plan in increasing production led to the intensified use of fertilizers and manures during the Third Plan period. Two fertilizer factories were set up to assure adequate supply. The production of fertilizers was 110,000 tons in 1965, and by 1970 it is expected to increase to 443,000 tons a year. Already the use of fertilizers increased seven-fold from 1960 to 1967. By 1970 the use will increase by another 250 per cent. To assure adequate and prompt supply, the distribution of fertilizers has been made the responsibility of the Agricultural Development Corporation and the Rural Supply Cooperative Corporation.

Government expenditure on fertilizer has always been increasingly higher than on any other sub-sector of agriculture. It was 17 per cent in the First, 19 per cent in the Second and 21 per cent in the Third Plan (see Table 4.4).

Irrigation

As noted before, irrigation is very important to agricultural development in Pakistan, especially in West Pakistan. Several multipurpose projects have been undertaken for irrigation purposes in both the wings of Pakistan and it is planned to bring more land under cultivation through extensive irrigation.¹⁶ Provision has also been made to facilitate the use of ground water by sinking tube wells.

The total cropped area at the end of the First Plan was 60.8 million acres. About 1.8 million acres were added by the end of the Second Plan. The Third Plan irrigation projects will add another 5.8 million acres to the existing cultivated lands. In addition to these, the Third Plan will bring about improvement of approximately 11 million acres of land.¹⁷ The total area affected by irrigation in both East and West Pakistan can be seen from Table 4.2.

Improved Seed

Improved varieties of seeds have shown to yield bigger crops. Pakistan planned to use such seeds for rice, wheat, sugarcane, maize, cotton, jute and other crops in

¹⁶ For a detailed account of irrigation projects see Chapter V below.

¹⁷ The Third Five Year Plan, 1965-70, pp. 131 and 137.

TABLE 4.2

AREAS ALREADY BROUGHT UNDER CULTIVATION AND THE AREAS TO
BE BROUGHT UNDER CULTIVATION BY IRRIGATION

(in million acres)			
	East Pakistan	West Pakistan	Total
Cropped area at the end of the First Plan	26.6	34.2	60.8
Addition to the cropped area by the end of the Second Plan	0.4	1.4	1.8
Addition to the cropped area by the end of the Third Plan	2.1	3.7	5.8
Total Cropped Area by the end of the Third Plan	29.1	39.3	68.4
Existing area estimated to be improved during the Second Plan	2.4	5.8	8.2
Existing area likely to be improved during the Third Plan	2.7	8.3	11.0

Source: The Third Five Year Plan 1965-70, p. 401,
Table 5.

order to attain an increase of 10 to 20 per cent.¹⁸ The newly developed Mexi-Pak variety of wheat is expected to give an average yield of 2,870 lbs. to 3,280 as against 820 lbs. to 984 lbs. given by the local variety.¹⁹ The yield of maize per acre with improved variety was 9,922 lbs. as against 820 lbs. of average yield previously. The 'IRRI'²⁰ rice has similarly given yields three times higher than the local variety.²¹ The area sown by improved seeds is increasing and by 1970 70 per cent of the area under major crops will be sown with improved variety. A system of seed testing and certification has been introduced with 17 testing laboratories in Pakistan.

Pest Control and Plant Disease

Losses in production due to insects, pests, and plant diseases are considerable. It was estimated by the First Plan that such losses were about 5 to 10 per cent of the total value of the crops.²² Increased attention has

¹⁸The First Five-Year Plan, 1955-60, p. 225.

¹⁹Planning Commission, Government of Pakistan, Basic Facts: Agriculture in Pakistan (Karachi: n.d.), p. 17.

²⁰International Rice Research Institute (IRRI), Manila, has done an impressive research in improving rice stalks for higher yields.

²¹Pakistan News Digest, Vol. 15, No. 1 (January 1, 1967), p. 8.

²²The First Five-Year Plan, 1955-60, p. 32.

therefore been given to the control of plant disease and pest control. Financial allocation for this purpose has increased over the Plan periods. With a modest allocation of Rs. 60 million for plant protection in the First Plan, the allocation has been increased to Rs. 260 million in the Second and to Rs. 585 million in the Third Plan. Government arranged the spray of insecticide free of charge in the beginning. But later on a part of the cost was realized from the farmers. The Third Plan proposed the gradual transfer of plant protection services to private hands. But still the responsibility of the government in this respect is enormous. It has adopted both preventive and curative measures of land protection. By 1970 12 million acres of land are planned to be covered by the curative and 14 million acres by the protective measure.²³

Mechanization

Mechanization is the use of mechanical or power implements in agriculture, e.g., the replacing of wooden by tractor and the introduction of pump irrigation. Although the aim of government is technological revolution in agriculture, there are certain factors which tend to prevent the

²³Government of Pakistan, Twenty Years of Pakistan, 1947-1967 (Karachi: Pakistan Publications, 1967), p. 168.

use of power machinery in agriculture. The use of tractors for example was not initially favoured by government because of the existence of a huge labour force, smallness of holdings, dearth of foreign exchange for importing tractors and the high cost of maintenance.²⁴ However, in view of the fact that mechanization will help increase production government is now giving its increasing attention to it. Public expenditure on machanization has increased more than eight times in the Third Plan than that in the First Plan. It has been stated by the Third Plan that in many parts of East Pakistan it is possible to raise two or three crops on the same land during a year, provided facilities exist for quick tillage of land immediately after harvest and water is also available. Intensive cultivation in West Pakistan also requires quick ploughing where irrigation facilities are available.²⁵ Mechanization has also been encouraged through cooperative societies, and several pilot projects have been undertaken for this purpose. So far about 237,000 acres of land have been brought under machanized farming in the First Plan, and 345,000 acres in the Second Plan. The Third Plan target is one million acres.²⁶ It was emphasized that mechanization

²⁴The First Five-Year Plan, 1955-60, p. 232.

²⁵The Third Five-Year Plan, 1965-70, p. 402.

²⁶Government of Pakistan, Twenty Years of Pakistan, 1947-1967, op. cit., p. 171.

in agriculture should be based on sound economic and engineering research. Accordingly, research was to be undertaken on the economics of cultivation and reclamation of land by various types of tractors, tube-wells, and small power pumps for irrigation, the use of windmill, and the improvement of agricultural implements generally. Government agencies plan to devise new agricultural implements which can increase production or reduce expenditure, and their design will be made available to private manufacturers for mass production.

Soil Survey and Conservation

Proper use of soil requires an intensive survey in order to determine its physical and chemical characteristics, its potential productivity and suitability for different crops, fertilizer needs, and the modes of cultivation requirements. To this end the First Plan recommended a uniform classification of soil, soil survey of the entire country and the preparation of soil maps for general use. By the end of the Second Plan about 10 million acres of land were mapped. During the First Plan a project known as the 'Rapid Soil Fertility Survey' was undertaken in order to determine the fertility of soil for the effective use of fertilizers. It was found in the survey that the combined use of nitrogen and phosphorous yielded more production than when they were used

separately.²⁷

The soil in many areas of West Pakistan is subject to erosion by water and wind. The flowing water washes away top soil and the wind blows away particles leaving behind heavy sands. Of the total land area of 199 million acres in West Pakistan about 160 million acres suffer in various degrees from wind and water erosion. The restoration of vegetation on these areas is imperative if soil erosion is to be prevented. In East Pakistan there is no such serious problem. There is heavy rainfall which causes vegetation. But heavy floods sometimes wash away the finer elements from the surface of the soil. Government recognized the need for extensive research on soil conservation. It was also felt that information about soil is required in order to develop a comprehensive agricultural programme, and to devise equitable agricultural taxation.

Agricultural finance and cooperatives

The income of farmers in Pakistan is very low on account of subsistence level farming. Their savings are therefore insignificant. It has been estimated that the average agricultural saving in East Pakistan is about 3 per cent and in West Pakistan 5.5 per cent. A recent study on the mob-

²⁷The Third Five Year Plan, 1965-70, pp. 416-417.

ilization of rural savings at Comilla showed that the per capita annual cash savings increased from Rs. 44.92 in 1961-62 to Rs. 89.64 in 1966-67.²⁸ As a result of their inability to save many farmers are indebted. In 1960, 49 per cent farmers in East Pakistan and 29 per cent in West Pakistan were indebted.²⁹ An analysis of the causes of rural indebtedness shows that farmers borrow money mainly for meeting family expenditure and not for improving land or increasing production. About 67 per cent of the loans to farmers in East Pakistan and 55 per cent of those in West Pakistan were spent for family purposes. Only 19 per cent of the total loan in East Pakistan and 32 per cent in West Pakistan were spent for agricultural improvement.³⁰ Many social, economic and cultural factors are responsible for this state of affair. However, the fact remains that farmers need credit for agricultural improvement. Mechanization of agriculture and the need to apply more inputs have increased the demand for more money.

Previously, the institutionalized credit facilities for farmers were utterly inadequate. Ordinary banking

²⁸ Mahmoodur Rahman, "Mobilizing Rural Savings for Agricultural Development: Lessons from Experiments in Comilla", in Pakistan Economic Journal, Vol. XIX, No. 2 (1968-69), p. 52.

²⁹ Mahmood Hasan Khan, op. cit., p. 92.

³⁰ Ibid., p. 93.

rules in Pakistan require security deposits of valuable articles, lands, etc., for loans. The farmers, however, have little to offer as security deposit and hence they can obtain no loan from commercial banks. Therefore, a different kind of bank is necessary for their purpose.

Notwithstanding these difficulties, many sources of credit are still available to the rural population. It has been found in a survey in West Pakistan that the rural people take 63.2 per cent of their credit from their friends and relatives, 16.9 per cent from landlords, and 13.2 per cent from the cooperatives. The government loan is very small and comprises only 2.9 per cent. In a similar survey in East Pakistan it was found that the rural population there takes 53.3 per cent of its loans from their friends and relatives, 21.6 per cent from rich rural people, 11.2 per cent from shopkeepers and only 0.6 per cent from the cooperatives. The government loan was only 4.3 per cent.³¹ Both the studies reveal that a large portion of loans is taken from friends, relatives and the rich people in the rural areas.

The government policy is, however, to strengthen the institutionalized credit and with this end in view it has sought to reorganize the cooperative societies in rural areas.

³¹The First Five-Year Plan, 1955-60, pp. 304-305.

In 1955-56 there were about 28,400 cooperative societies (both agricultural and non-agricultural and both credit and non-credit) with a working capital of Rs. 529,800. In 1958-59 their number rose to 28,900 with a working capital of Rs. 577,900. During 1960-65, about 500 Union (primary level)³² multipurpose cooperative societies were developed or reorganized. During the same period about 500 cooperative societies were revived, 65 marketing societies at secondary level and 3,000 service societies were organized in West Pakistan.³³ It was emphasized by the First Plan that credit and marketing were to be so linked that farmers would not only be ensured of the credit but also of marketing through the cooperative societies so that they can earn more profit through the elimination of middlemen.

The government realized the inadequacy of these credit and service institutions in meeting the demands of the agricultural population. Although no systematic and comprehensive survey has so far been made to estimate the credit needs of farmers it has been estimated that about 50

³²The cooperative societies in Pakistan are hierarchically organized. At the lowest level there are Primary Societies composed mainly of the shareholders; at the secondary level there are district banks with primary function of meeting the credit needs of the Primary Societies. The Provincial Cooperative Banks are organized at the top and control the societies below them.

³³Government of Pakistan, Twenty Years of Pakistan, 1947-1967, op. cit., p. 176.

to 80 per cent of them need financial help.³⁴ In terms of money, the credit requirement varies from Rs. 2,000 to Rs. 3,000 million in total.³⁵ Considering this huge need, government set up the Agricultural Development Finance Corporation in 1952 and the Agricultural Bank of Pakistan in 1957. Both the banks were merged into one in 1961 under the name of the Agricultural Development Bank of Pakistan. The bank advances loans for the purchase of agricultural implements, raising crops and their marketing. It has been estimated that benefits derived from the loans given by the bank were over Rs. 170 million in the shape of increased production in the country.³⁶

Agricultural Education and Training

It has been recognized by the government that the key to agricultural productivity lies in increasing research and spreading information about better farming methods. These require an extensive agricultural education programme but it has been almost non-existent. Consequently, it was decided to devote serious attention to it but the personnel needed for agricultural improvement was far below the require-

³⁴ See Mazharul Huq, "Impact of Development Programme on Agriculture", in Pakistan Economic Journal, Vol. XVII (1967), p. 32.

³⁵ Masood Hasan Khan, op. cit., p. 95.

³⁶ Government of Pakistan, Twenty Years of Pakistan, 1947-1967, op. cit., p. 176.

ments. In fact it was one of the limiting factors in agriculture. The First Plan estimated that for the development programme of 1955-60, there was a shortage of 186 specialists in agriculture, 315 in animal husbandry, and 117 in forestry.³⁷ There was also shortage of personnel in Village Agricultural and Industrial Development (Village-AID) programme and agricultural extension service. The agricultural and animal husbandry departments had only 1,500 extension workers.³⁸ The gross requirement for agricultural personnel for Village-AID was estimated at 1,255.³⁹ In the Second Plan the estimated additional requirement of agricultural graduates and post-graduates was 1,040.⁴⁰ There were only three agricultural colleges in the country and no course on agriculture was offered by any other educational institutions. Two agricultural universities were later set up (one in each wing). These universities provide training in agriculture and related professions. The Second Plan recommended the introduction of courses in agricultural and related matters in high schools.

The Third Plan strategy is to provide expansion

³⁷ The First Five-Year Plan, 1955-60, p. 274, Table 13.

³⁸ Ibid., p. 273, Table 12.

³⁹ Ibid., p. 275, Table 14.

⁴⁰ The Second Five Year Plan, 1960-65, p. 175.

and improvement in all existing facilities and the improvement of the quality and standard of agricultural education and training. Lower level education and training was also emphasized. By the beginning of the Third Plan there were five training centres in West Pakistan and six agricultural schools in East Pakistan. Provision was also made for the intensive training of the agricultural personnel. The two universities now produce about 750 graduates annually.

Research facilities in the universities have been increased in recent years and an Agricultural Research Council has been set up to organize, coordinate and promote scientific research in agriculture.

Storage and Marketing

Preservation of marketable as well as surplus food-grain is essential if all the produce is gainfully utilized, though at present the quantity of surplus food after consumption is not large. However, the surplus is to be preserved and facilities should be created for its profitable market. There were no adequate storage facilities in the country although they were needed by the producers, traders, processors and government. Consequently, there was a heavy loss of foodgrain every year. The First Plan proposed to provide storage facilities for 128,000 tons of foodgrains in the rural areas to protect them from insects, decay and other types of loss. At the end of the Second Plan the total grain storage

capacity reached 1.5 million tons. The Third Plan projection is for another 0.5 million tons. This fulfils the total requirements of storage capacity for two million tons. The progress in creating storage capacity was due to the government's earlier policy of food procurement.⁴¹

The marketing system in Pakistan suffers from some serious drawbacks. The inadequacy of transport system limits the market for agricultural produce. There are many middlemen in between the producers and the consumers. The result is that farmers sell their produce at a low price while the consumers buy it at a high price. Although grading has been introduced, it does not cover all the commodities. Government now issues periodical reports of prices of foodgrains and other produce through the Department of Marketing Intelligence and Agricultural Statistics and the Central Statistical Office. Daily price bulletins on agricultural commodities are issued by the press and the broadcasting stations. These measures have improved marketing system considerably, but it is still far from perfect. Farmers still find it difficult to sell their produce at a competitive price.

⁴¹The Third Five Year Plan, 1965-70, p. 426.

OTHER ASPECTS OF AGRICULTURE

The foregoing describes the efforts of government to increase agricultural production by institutional reforms as well as the supply of more inputs. Government has also given attention to increase the supply of other kinds of food mainly fish and meat. Consequently, fisheries and animal husbandry have been allotted a sizable amount of money for their improvement. The allocation for fisheries amounted to Rs. 35 million, Rs. 46 million and Rs. 170 million in the three plans respectively. Animal husbandry has been allocated a larger amount of money in the successive Plans: Rs. 114 million in the First, Rs. 120 million in the Second, and Rs. 148 million in the Third Plan.

Fisheries

Fish is an important element in the diet of the people of Pakistan, especially of the people of East Pakistan. It helps to reduce the existing protein deficiency of the people. Fish can also provide manures, fishmeal and other valuable industrial by-products. Fishing can be a source of employment and can also earn foreign exchange. According to 1961 census there were about 558,000 whole time workers engaged in fishing industry and about 293,000 persons supplemented their income from fishing.⁴² The present production

⁴²Government of Pakistan, Twenty Years of Pakistan, 1947-1967, op. cit., p. 163.

of fish is about 397,000 tons.

The First Plan proposed to provide vessels for inshore exploration and ocean fishing. It made provision for the purchase of marine engines for mechanizing private fishing crafts and to promote cooperative societies for credit and marketing in fishing villages along the sea coast. The development of cold storage and transportation was also an important part of the fishing programme. The supply of fish increased by 21 per cent between 1959 and 1964. The Third Plan projects an increase of 35 per cent.⁴³

The Third Plan intends to expand and continue the programmes initiated by the two previous Plans. Reliance is placed on the private sector to fulfil the target. The government activity will be confined to surveys, exploration, research, training and the provision of improved market facilities. In East Pakistan a Fisheries Development Corporation has recently been established by the government.

Both technological and biological research on fish is conducted in government laboratories. The studies include fish drying, and curing methods, processing of fish products like manures and meals, and analysis of vitamin content of fish oil, and the migratory habits of some fishes.

⁴³ The Third Five Year Plan, 1965-70, p. 433.

Animal Husbandry

Livestock plays a very important role in the agriculture of Pakistan. The farm animals were and still are used to cultivate land, draw water from wells, and provide transport. They supply important foodstuff like meat and milk and many other commercial items like hides, skin, manure and a number of other products.

Although the aim of government is to revolutionize agriculture, this will be done by using the existing labour and animal power along with mechanization and by using more inputs. The place of livestock in supplying motive power will therefore continue to be significant at least for many years. The 1960 census of agriculture reveals that there were about 19 million work animals in Pakistan.⁴⁴ The same census gives us livestock population in Pakistan as is shown in Table 4.3

These figures show that the livestock population is inadequate in the country. The estimated per capita consumption of meat in Pakistan is 8 lbs. per year. The annual production of milk is 2,504 million gallons - about 28.8 gallons per head a year.⁴⁵ Neither the production of meat nor of milk is sufficient for a balanced diet of the people.

⁴⁴Government of Pakistan, 1960 Census of Agriculture, p. 24, Table 37.

⁴⁵Government of Pakistan, Twenty Years of Pakistan, 1947-1967, p. 162.

TABLE 4.3

LIVESTOCK POPULATION IN PAKISTAN, ACCORDING
TO 1960 CENSUS OF AGRICULTURE

Species	Number in million
Cattle	33.5
Buffalos	8.4
Sheep	10.3
Goat	13.0
Poultry	13.1
Horse, Donkey, Mule, Camel, Pig	2.1
Total	97.4

Source: Government of Pakistan, Twenty Years of Pakistan, 1947-1967, p. 160.

This unsatisfactory state of livestock and livestock products is due to a variety of factors. The livestock is insufficiently fed due to pressure on land for food production, and insufficient quantity of fodder. Consequently, they are "under-nourished, under-sized, disease infected" and their yields are poor.⁴⁶ Moreover, cattle is indiscrim-

⁴⁶The First Five-Year Plan, 1955-60, p. 245.

inately slaughtered and no serious effort has been made to preserve the good stock. Although the demand for meat increased over the years, the government prohibited the slaughtering of cattle two days in a week.

The First Plan drew up a programme for improvement in the livestock situation covering disease control, cattle breeding, livestock conservation, dairy and poultry development and research and training. The achievement was, however, below the target. The Second Plan expanded the programme and placed more emphasis on disease control and the preservation of livestock.

At the beginning of the Second Plan there were 500 veterinary hospitals in the country, but the total number was small in relation to the area and the livestock population. During the Second Plan, 21 hospitals, 318 dispensaries and 8 mobile units and over 200 outposts were established in the country.⁴⁷ The Third Plan programme is to establish 89 new hospitals and about 200 dispensaries throughout the country. The programme also includes animal nutrition, marketing, education and research.

⁴⁶The First Five-Year Plan, 1955-60, p. 245.

⁴⁷The Third Five Year Plan, 1965-70, p. 428.

Both fishing and animal husbandry will play an important role in making the country self-sufficient in foodstuffs. The government policy is to encourage the diversification of food so that people will not depend solely on rice or wheat as has been the practice in Pakistan for a long time. The diversification of food will also provide better nutrition through a balanced diet.

Agricultural Extension

As agricultural work is done far away in the villages, there is a need for extension services in this regard. The extension workers play a vital role in disseminating information to the farmers. In fact the successful utilization of the inputs depends to a large extent on the efforts of the extension workers. The number of extension workers in Pakistan is very small compared to the number of villages, the agricultural population or the cultivated area. In East Pakistan each agricultural extension worker covers an average of 116 villages or 20,000 farmers; in West Pakistan an extension worker looks after 104 villages or about 16,000 cultivators.⁴⁸

By 1957 there were about 1,500 extension workers in

⁴⁸The First Five-Year Plan, 1955-60, p. 273.

the whole of Pakistan. The requirement for Village-AID programme was estimated at 1,255 during 1955-60, over and above the need for 618 specialists.⁴⁹ The shortage of workers and specialists is due to low salary, inadequate facilities for schools, hospitals and dispensaries in the rural areas. Many of the agriculture graduates therefore seek employment in departments other than agriculture. In order to attract more educated personnel in agriculture it is necessary to raise their salaries and improve employment conditions. During the Second Plan, however, extension services have been considerably improved. The Third Plan seeks to bring about further improvement in the performance of extension services through additional training, provision for transport and other amenities.

Rural Works Programme

The government of Pakistan initiated a rural community development programme in 1953 known as the Village Agricultural and Industrial Development (Village-AID). The object of this programme was to raise the agricultural output and income of the villagers, to expand cottage industries, to create a spirit of self-help, initiative and cooperation among the villagers, and to provide the community and recre-

⁴⁹ Ibid., p. 275.

ational services. A total of Rs. 213 million was allotted for these purposes in the First Plan. In 1960 the Village-AID was transformed into Rural Works Programme with a pilot project in Comilla Thana. The project was highly successful and the programme was then extended throughout the province of East Pakistan in the following year.⁵⁰ Meanwhile, during the Second Plan period an amount of Rs. 483.7 million was allotted for the Village-AID. An expenditure of Rs. 800 million from 1962 to 1965 under Rural Works Programme remained outside the Plan allocation.

The Rural Works Programme has now been integrated with the national economic plan and the Third Plan made a provision of Rs. 2,500 million for this purpose. This comprises about 5 per cent of the total allocation for the Plan period. Money allotted under Works Programme is spent to improve the economic infrastructure of the rural areas through irrigation works, building of transportation facilities and the provision of community services. It is expected that the Rural Works Programme will bring about a radical change in rural Pakistan.⁵¹

⁵⁰ See Pakistan Academy for Rural Development, An Evaluation of the Rural Public Works Programme, East Pakistan, 1962-63 (Comilla: Pakistan Academy for Rural Development, 1963).

⁵¹ For a study of community development see Jack D. Mezirow, Dynamics of Community Development (New York: The Scarecrow Press, Inc., 1963).

TABLE 4.4

PUBLIC SECTOR ALLOCATIONS FOR AGRICULTURE IN THE
THREE FIVE YEAR PLANS OF PAKISTAN

Sub-sectors	First Plan	Second Plan	Third Plan
Seed Multiplication	64.43	114.0	93.497
Manure and Fertilizers	200.28	318.0	884.483
Plant protection	60.03	256.0	584.977
Research projects	4.57	24.0	
Mechanization	48.66	63.0	417.077
Marketing regulation and government storage	59.41	200.0	285.543
Fisheries	34.92	46.0	169.944
Animal husbandry	113.82	124.0	148.104
Range management	10.31	12.0	15.700
Forestry	90.10	134.0	256.709
Soil conservation	7.42	16.0	100.720
Soil survey	1.12	9.0	24.636
Colonization	114.87	150.0	93.818
Agricultural statistics	8.63	10.0	11.674
Agricultural education, research and extension	52.04	61.0	293.631
Cooperative, rural credit and marketing	107.12	--	156.294
Land reform	11.50	76.0	13.500
Agricultural Development Corporation	--	--	99.550
Others	217.10	47.0	94.870
Block provision	--	--	370.540
Total	1,206.50	1,660.0	4,115.274

Source: The First Five-Year Plan, 1955-60, p. 280.
The Second Five Year Plan, 1960-65, p. 192.
The Third Five Year Plan, 1965-70, pp. 17-18,
Table 3 of Annexure.

It will be clear from the above discussion that the government of Pakistan has initiated a comprehensive programme for agricultural development. The programme covers almost all the related aspects of agriculture and food production. The amount of money allotted for each sub-sector and the intra-sectoral priorities can be seen from Table 4.4

Targets and achievements in agriculture

The First Plan aimed at increasing food production by 9 per cent over the Plan period, i.e., 1.9 per cent per year against a growth rate of 1.3 per cent in a year during the pre-plan period. The investment in agriculture fell short of the estimated amount: it was only 7 per cent of the total expenditure. The shortfall was due to "distinctly worse than normal weather conditions; continued deterioration of agricultural lands due to water logging and salinity; and slow rate of implementation of the agricultural programme".⁵²

In physical terms the achievement was deplorable. The production of rice decreased by 2 per cent instead of showing an increase. Wheat and maize production increased by only 4 per cent and other foodgrains by only 5 per cent. Among the cash crops sugar production increased by 30 per cent,

⁵²Planning Commission, Government of Pakistan, First Five Year Plan: Preliminary Evaluation Report (Karachi: The Manager of Publications, 1960), p. 21.

cotton by 2 per cent and jute by 5 per cent. Tea and tobacco production declined by 3 and 20 per cent respectively (see Table 4.5).

From a period of stagnation in 1950's agriculture entered into a period of development in 1960's. During the Second Plan period the investment in agriculture increased to 13 per cent. The growth rate marked an increase of 3.4 per cent a year thus surpassing the growth rate of population which was estimated at 2.6 per cent. The production of both foodcrops and cash crops increased substantially (see Table 4.6). Food grains production increased by 27.96 per cent, sugarcane by 40.5 per cent, cotton by 42.2 per cent and tea by 11.3 per cent. There was, however, no appreciable increase in the production of jute and the target of tobacco production fell short. The breakthrough in agriculture which came during the Second Plan period may be attributed to increases in key inputs, improvement in institutional frameworks and institutions serving agriculture and the improvement of agricultural policy by relaxation of control in food procurement and giving incentives to the farmers by the reduction of export duties and the assurance of minimum prices. Papanek has rightly said that agriculture stagnated in 1950's but its performance was "surprising" in 1960's.⁵³

⁵³Gustav F. Papanek, Pakistan's Development: Social Goals and Private Incentives (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1967), p. 12. See also Chapter VI.

TABLE 4.5

TARGETS AND ACHIEVEMENTS OF AGRICULTURE IN THE
FIRST FIVE YEAR PLAN, 1955-60

Crops	Base period production	Planned production	Plan increase	Average production 1955-59	Increase or Decrease compared with base period
	(Thousand tons)	(Thousand tons)	(percent)	(Thousand tons)	(percent)
Rice	8,320	9,000	8	8,152	-2
Wheat	3,435	3,839	12	3,588	4
Maize	395	456	15	452	4
Other foodgrains	725	781	8	689	-5
Sugarcane	10,600	14,110	33	13,750	30
Oil seeds	890	1,017	15	965	8
	(Thousand bales)	(Thousand bales)	(percent)	(Thousand bales)	(percent)
Cotton	1,630	1,967	21	1,658	2
Jute	5,565	6,400	15	5,826	5
	(Million lbs.)	(Million lbs.)	(percent)	(Million lbs.)	(percent)
Tea	52.8	60.7	15	51.3	-3
Tobacco	260.0	300.0	16	207.0	-20

120

Source: The Second Five Year Plan, 1955-60, p. 132.

TABLE 4.6

AGRICULTURAL TARGETS AND ACHIEVEMENTS DURING THE
SECOND FIVE YEAR PLAN, 1960-65

Crops	Base period	Plan target	Production	Percent increase registered
	1959-60 (000 tons)	Quantity (000 tons)	1963-64 (000 tons)	
Rice	8,341	10,164	11,629	39.4
Wheat	3,703	4,329	4,014	8.4
Maize	470	682	522	11.0
Other food grains	675	746	712	7.7
Total	13,189	15,921	16,877	27.95
Sugarcane	15,430	20,000	21,682	40.5
	(000 bales)		(000 bales)	
Jute	6,000	7,300	6,000	—
Cotton	1,666	2,292	2,370	42.3
	(000 lbs.)		(000 lbs.)	
Tea	53,300	63,800	55,000	11.3
Tobacco	223,000	254,700	212,700	-4

Source: The Second Five Year Plan, 1960-65, p. 134; Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Government of Pakistan, Second Five Year Plan: Targets and Achievements (Karachi: 1965), pp. 3-4.

Progress of agriculture during the Third Five Year Plan seems to be very encouraging. The past three years of the Plan registered an increase of more than 4 per cent per annum against a target of 5 per cent.⁵⁴ The government expects to make the country self-sufficient in food by 1970, raising the index of agricultural production to 150 over the base year of 1959-60.

Pakistan's progress in agriculture has received admiration from many quarters. In an editorial the Wall Street Journal said: "Pakistan's experience should be something of a lesson for less developed lands eager to upgrade their agriculture."⁵⁵

INDUSTRY

The extent of industrial backwardness has been discussed in Chapter II above. In spite of lack of raw materials and other pre-requisites for industrial development, Pakistan laid emphasis on the development of this sector along with agriculture for several reasons. Firstly, industrial development is regarded as one of the important aspects of modernization. It has been a tendency of the developing nations to equate modernization with industrialization and to

⁵⁴Embassy of Pakistan, Washington, D. C., Interim Report Series, Vol. IX, No. 5 (May 1968), p. 1.

⁵⁵The Wall Street Journal, May 31, 1966, p. 14.

follow the Western nations in this regard. Through industrialization they want to uplift their countries to a higher level of science and technology. Secondly, the basic consumers goods were in short supply in the initial years of Pakistan and the people had to be assured of them. Thirdly, Pakistan had to improve its foreign exchange position by increased exports. Previously, foreign exchange was earned mainly by exporting such primary goods as jute and cotton. The demand as well as the prices of these goods fluctuated creating an uncertainty in the foreign exchange position. It was therefore thought necessary to eliminate uncertainty by diversifying the items of export with the inclusion of the finished or semi-finished products. Fourthly, unemployment, under-employment, pressure on land and increase of population necessitated industrialization. An industrialized country is supposed to be able to support more population than an agricultural one. Lastly,

Industrialization was adjudged to be important not only as a provider of employment, as a source of big increase in national dividend and as the supplier of goods for exports and internal consumption, but also as an agency of economic catalysis which would help transform all other sectors of the economy.⁵⁶

⁵⁶The Planning Commission, Government of Pakistan, Basic Facts: Industries in Pakistan, op. cit., p. 3. For a general discussion on the motives of industrialization in the developing countries, see Alan B. Mountjoy, Industrialization and Underdeveloped Countries (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company, 1967), Chapter 4.

Within the limitation set by the resources and technology the government of Pakistan had to make rational choices with regard to industrial development. The choices may be listed under the following headings.

1. Whether to give priority to industries producing consumer goods or producer (capital) goods.
2. Whether to concentrate on large scale or medium and small scale industries.
3. Whether the industries would be publicly or privately owned.
4. The choice of strategy for rapid industrial development.

The Production of Consumer Goods or Producer Goods

In the few years after independence, Pakistan devoted a large amount of its resources for the production of consumer goods. About 60 per cent of industrial investment went to the consumer industries and the rest in the producer goods industries. The former was emphasized because, being light industries, they required a small amount of capital and a simpler technology. They also led to self-sufficiency in consumer goods, reduced imports and released foreign exchange for the purchase of capital goods.

This policy was continued during the First Five Year Plan. In the Second Plan, however, the emphasis was shifted from the production of consumer goods to that of producer goods. This was done because concentration on

consumer goods hampered further industrial development. It has been the major policy of the government that the industrial development in Pakistan should be based on the country's own capacity ultimately.⁵⁷ The shift of policy became possible because basic consumer goods requirements were met by the end of the First Plan. However, the consumer goods industries were not neglected in the subsequent plans. More importance was given to the production of essential rather than non-essential consumer goods.

Public and Private Industries

The basic policy of the Government of Pakistan has been to encourage private enterprise, not to own and operate industries, although it reserves the power to take over industries in the interest of the nation. The government may own and operate industries only in two cases:

1. When they are connected with national security, e.g., ordinance factories, telephones, telegraphs, etc.
2. When they are essential but private investment is not forthcoming.

The Second Plan proposed to give "maximum encouragement" to private investment. It said:

It is a basic assumption of the plan that for the implementation of the industrial development programme, reliance will be placed primarily on private enterprise.

⁵⁷The Third Five Year Plan 1965-70, p. 29.

This policy has been adopted not to reduce the burden of the public expenditure but as a recognition that private enterprise has a very key role to play in the economic development.

The cardinal principle is that there should be no public industrial sector in the sense of reservation of complete industries for public enterprise, but that the government should remain generally responsible for promoting all industries by providing all required facilities, and should directly participate only in those enterprises which are essential for over-all development and where private capital is not forthcoming or high considerations of national security intervene.⁵⁸

Although the government's declared policy was the encouragement of private initiative, the control over the industrial activities was enormous in the 1950's. The government introduced many types of control on industries such as permission to set up industry, supply of raw material, allocation of foreign exchange, fixation of prices, etc. The country suffered losses due to the centralized control on industrial sector and Papanek has estimated that in 1958 such loss amounted to Rs. 650 million, representing 15 per cent of the total industrial assets of that year.⁵⁹ From 1960 onward, however, control has been relaxed to a great extent and a considerable amount of freedom has been given to the private sector.

⁵⁸The Second Five Year Plan, 1960-65, p. 226. Italics supplied.

⁵⁹Gustav F. Papanek, Pakistan's Development: Social Goals and Private Initiative, op. cit., p. 123.

Because of the good performance of the private sector, the government created more favourable situation for it. The government has liberalized the import policy and is gradually increasing the number of items on free list of imports. The government has set up many industrial estates connecting them with roads, railways, water and power. Industrial units are being set up in these estates. The private sector is also helped through several developmental, financial and promotional institutions, such as Industrial Development Corporation (one in each province), Industrial Development Bank, Industrial Credit and Investment Corporation, Investment Promotion Bureau and Export Promotion Bureau.

The new industries have been given tax holiday extending from 4 to 8 years. Price control has been relaxed or withdrawn altogether. In 1958 there were 88 articles under price control, but at present there is no such control. The Export Bonus Scheme introduced in 1959 has boosted up production and export. Under this scheme an exporter of all manufactures except cotton and jute manufactures can get bonus up to 40 per cent of the value of their exports and can import any article from a list of 219 items, or can sell the bonus freely in the market.⁶⁰

⁶⁰See Agha M. Ghouse, "Structural Changes in the Economy of Pakistan", in Agha M. Ghouse, ed., Studies in Economic Development with Special Reference to Pakistan (Lahore: The Businessmen's Seminar, 1962), pp. 34-39.

To provide education, training and research, several institutions have been set up. The objects of these institutions are to promote productivity consciousness, to make technical advice available to industries, to disseminate modern know-how and improved technique among industrial personnel, to train industrial personnel, to upgrade their skill and knowledge and to design and manufacture precision tools.⁶¹

Check on the concentration of wealth

Although private enterprise has been given free play government proposed to adopt several measures in order to check the concentration of wealth in a few hands. The public companies are required to offer to the general public at least 60 per cent of the issued capital. In issuing shares preference is given to those who have applied for small number of shares. The ownership of shares is gradually being broadened through the operation of National Investment Trust which is given the first option to buy 20 per cent of the share capital offered by the company. Imports have been liberalized in order to check the monopoly of license holders. The newcomers are encouraged to enter into industry and commerce and they are given credit facilities through banks and other financial institutions. Further, the government imposed

⁶¹Government of Pakistan, Twenty Years of Pakistan, 1947-1967, p. 190.

new taxes on big business.⁶² The big business, however, will keep on playing on role in the economy of the country though power to establish monopoly will be curtailed.

The policy of the government is neither to liquidate the big industrial families nor to deny them participation in the future growth of this country but ensure that opportunities are created for newcomers and for investors with modest means to participate in industrial venture.⁶³

Large or Small Industry

The nature of Pakistan's industrial development has been shaped by the availability of raw materials and the supply of other factors of production, especially labour and capital. Because of lack of mineral resources industries have been based on raw materials supplied by agriculture. In addition, capital for large industries is not easily obtainable. However, there is a huge labour force which can be gainfully employed for industrial development.

Considering these factors Pakistan recognized the importance of small industries, including cottage industries.⁶⁴

⁶²The Third Five Year Plan, 1965-70, pp. 117-118.

⁶³Ibid., p. 450.

⁶⁴Small industry has been defined as "any manufacturing enterprise which either uses no power, or employs less than 20 persons", or, "industries which use motive power and use fixed assets, other than land, valued at not more than Rs. 25,000". See First Five-Year Plan, 1955-60, p. 471 and p. 204. Cottage industry is "industry which is carried on in the home, usually with the help of the members of the family". See The First Five-Year Plan, 1955-60, p. 471.

Small and medium-sized industrial units have an important role to play as producers of certain simple manufactures and providers of employment to many. They provide a productive outlet for the initiative and organizing ability of men with small means and little business experience and help tap a fraction of dormant capital in the country. They are often a proving ground for the commercial soundness of a project and represent a school for the training of entrepreneurs, managers and industrial workers.⁶⁵

Small and cottage industries are labour intensive and can offer employment to those people who have few alternative employment. They can provide a good subsidiary occupation to the agricultural population. It has been estimated that about 3 million agriculturalists in rural areas are engaged in these industries. About 1.8 million workers are engaged in urban areas.⁶⁶ Small and cottage industries do not need a huge amount of foreign exchange. They are fed by local materials and can meet most of the needs of the villagers. The income of the villagers can also be increased with the expansion of small and cottage industries.

Small and cottage industries suffer from some serious handicaps and rely heavily on government for finance and technical information. To cater to their needs the government of East Pakistan has set up a Small Industries Corporation.

⁶⁵The Planning Commission, Government of Pakistan, Basic Facts: Industries in Pakistan, op. cit., p. 14.

⁶⁶Government of Pakistan, Twenty Years of Pakistan, 1947-1967, p. 204.

It grants loans, prepares plans, provides technical and advisory services for small and cottage industries and arranges for the marketing of their goods. The government has also established some industrial estates for providing production facilities to them.

The government has formulated some governing principles for promotion of small and cottage industries which are stated below.

1. Adapting small industries to changing technological, economic and social conditions;
2. Stimulating production of implements and equipments required for agriculture;
3. Encouraging the processing of indigenous raw materials and specialization;
4. Creating additional employment opportunities;
5. Modernizing the existing units;
6. Encouraging the cottage industry in rural areas;
7. Bringing about a closer relationship between small and large industries; and
8. Preserving and promoting traditional arts and crafts.⁶⁷

The Small Industries Corporation of East Pakistan and Small Industries Division of West Pakistan Industrial Develop-

⁶⁷ The Third Five Year Plan, 1965-70, p. 455.

ment Corporation are empowered to look after the small and cottage industries. However, the Central Government determines the national policy with regard to them, coordinates their activities, fixes priorities, arranges foreign assistance, conducts or arranges for research and training programmes.

The Choice of Strategy

The strategic choices relate to the skilful employment of the means available for industrial development. Such strategy is necessary because the limited available resources are to be used for maximum production in a short period. The first strategy of the government policy is to use the indigenous raw materials. This would lead to the exploration for resources within the country and less dependence on foreign raw materials. The second strategy is to invest in those industries which yield quickest and largest returns in relation to the investments made. Accordingly those industries are favoured by the government which would contribute a larger share to the GNP. The third strategy is to lay emphasis on labour intensive industries as Pakistan has a huge labour force. This is the reason why small and cottage industries have been favoured. However, Pakistan also needs some industries which are capital intensive in order to use its own resource, e.g., jute industry. The fourth strategy is to disperse the location of industry so

that benefits of industrialization are shared by all regions. The First Five-Year Plan stated:

In the interest of balanced regional development and social stability, it is desirable that industries should be more widely dispersed, to spread the benefits of employment and increased income over large areas. Dispersal will lessen the magnitude and intensity of the social problems created when populations are moved from rural to urban areas, inadequately provided with public facilities.⁶⁸

Fifthly, preference is given to modernizing the existing industries and to using them to their full capacity instead of establishing new industries. This policy was highly emphasized in the First and Second Plans. Sixthly, since the beginning of the Second Plan, the strategy has been to shift emphasis from production of consumer goods to that of capital goods in order to maintain the contribution of the industrial sector to the saving efforts and to extend the import substitution programme on a much wider front.⁶⁹ Lastly, the setting up of industries primarily for export was favoured. The last two strategies have been specifically mentioned in the Third Five Year Plan.⁷⁰ There has also been a shift from light industries in the First Plan to heavy industries in the Third Plan.

⁶⁸The First Five-Year Plan, 1955-60, p. 414.

⁶⁹The Third Five Year Plan, 1965-70, p. 447.

⁷⁰Ibid., pp. 447-448.

Financial Allocations for Industries

Industries have received a major share of country's resources. The First Five Year Plan assigned 31 per cent of its allocation for industries, both in the public and the private sectors. In financial terms, the amount allocated for large industries alone was Rs. 3,215 million - Rs. 1,480 million in the public and Rs. 1,735 million in the private sector. However, only Rs. 1,850 million could be invested. The invested amount was higher for the private sector which was Rs. 1,100 million. The Second Plan allocation for the large industry was Rs. 5,120 million. Of this, Rs. 1,460 million was to be invested in the public sector and Rs. 3,660 million in the private sector. The target was over-fulfilled and the total investment amounted to Rs. 5,292.6 million: Rs. 1,305 million in the public sector and Rs. 4,624.6 million in the private sector.⁷¹ The figures indicate that there was a lag in public investment whereas private investment was quite impressive. The allocation for large industries was tripled during the Third Plan period raising the amount to Rs. 12,770 million. Of this the public investment will account for Rs. 4,470 million and the private investment Rs. 8,300 million.⁷²

⁷¹The Planning Commission, Government of Pakistan, Basic Facts: Industries in Pakistan, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

⁷²The Third Five Year Plan, 1965-70, p. 458.

Some of the industries have received very high priorities in the successive plans. For example, textile, chemical, food products and metal industries were allocated high proportion of money in all the three Plans. Financial allocation for some of the important industries may be found in Table 4.7.

Although the importance of small and cottage industries has been emphasized by the government, only a small amount of money was allotted for their development. Of the total allocation of Rs. 204.8 million for small and cottage industries in the First Plan, government proposed to spend only Rs. 86.6 million. In the Second Plan, however, public expenditure on small and cottage industries was increased to Rs. 500 million and provision was made for another Rs. 250 million in the private sector. The Third Plan allocation is Rs. 721.7 million in both public and private sectors. The government proposes to spend Rs. 287.81 million for promoting small industries and Rs. 137.5 million for setting up industrial estates.

Expenditure on industries also includes those on fuels and minerals. As the basic policy for the development of fuels and minerals is not different from general industrial policy we have not discussed them separately. Expenditure for these sub-sectors has not been very high although Pakistan

TABLE 4.7

FINANCIAL ALLOCATIONS TO SOME
SELECTED INDUSTRIES, 1955-70.

(In million rupees)

Industries	First Plan	Second Plan	Third Plan
Food Products	368	375	786
Textile	694.8	728	2,477
Paper	184	63	634
Chemical	523.5	523.5	1,470
Non-metallic mineral products	141.2	275	980
Basic Metal Industry	346.9	362	1,546
Total	2,056.4	3,352	7,893

Source: The First Five-Year Plan, 1955-60, pp. 429-434;
The Second Five Year Plan, 1960-65, p. 231;
The Third Five Year Plan, 1965-70, p. 458.

needs to explore its mineral resources. The First Plan made a provision for Rs. 474 million and the Second Plan almost doubled the amount raising it to Rs. 850 million. The Third Plan allocation has, however, been reduced to Rs. 592 million.

Industrial targets and achievements

The industrial sector, especially the large industries, recorded an impressive growth in the two Plans al-

ready completed. The growth was noticeable mostly in the manufacturing industries with production increasing five times from 1950 to 1959. A number of new industries have been set up "from almost nothing". Cotton and jute manufactures not only made the country self-sufficient but also earned foreign exchange. Sugar production increased by 7 times and cement by 4 times. Many industries started to work on full capacity. The Pakistan Industrial Development Corporation set up in 1952 established some large scale industries such as paper mills, fertilizer factories, jute mills, etc. A number of medium and small industries started to manufacture engineering and electrical goods.

During the Second Plan the manufacturing industries registered further impressive growth. The production of cotton yarn increased by 32 per cent, jute goods by 43 per cent, sugar by 158 per cent and cement by 46 per cent (see Table 4.8). The growth rate in manufacturing industries rose from 7.4 per cent in 1959-60 to 10 per cent in 1964-65.⁷³ The contribution of these industries to GNP increased to 8.5 per cent a year. In 1965 the index of industrial production rose to 200 from the base year of 1959-60. The first two years of the Third Plan registered further increase in industrial production raising the index to 260.⁷⁴

⁷³Planning Commission, Government of Pakistan, Basic Facts: Industries in Pakistan, op. cit., pp. 10-11.

⁷⁴Planning Commission, Government of Pakistan, Pakistan's Development Decade (1969-70), (Karachi: n.d.), No page marking.

Since 1960-67 the process of import substitution has been accelerated in intermediate and capital goods. By 1970 about one-third of the machinery and equipment required by the country will be produced locally. The non-agricultural labour force has expanded to more than 10 million - double the figure at independence. The Third Plan provides for employment of 5.5 million people. In general the present plan aims at maintaining the tempo of growth which is now 10 per cent a year.

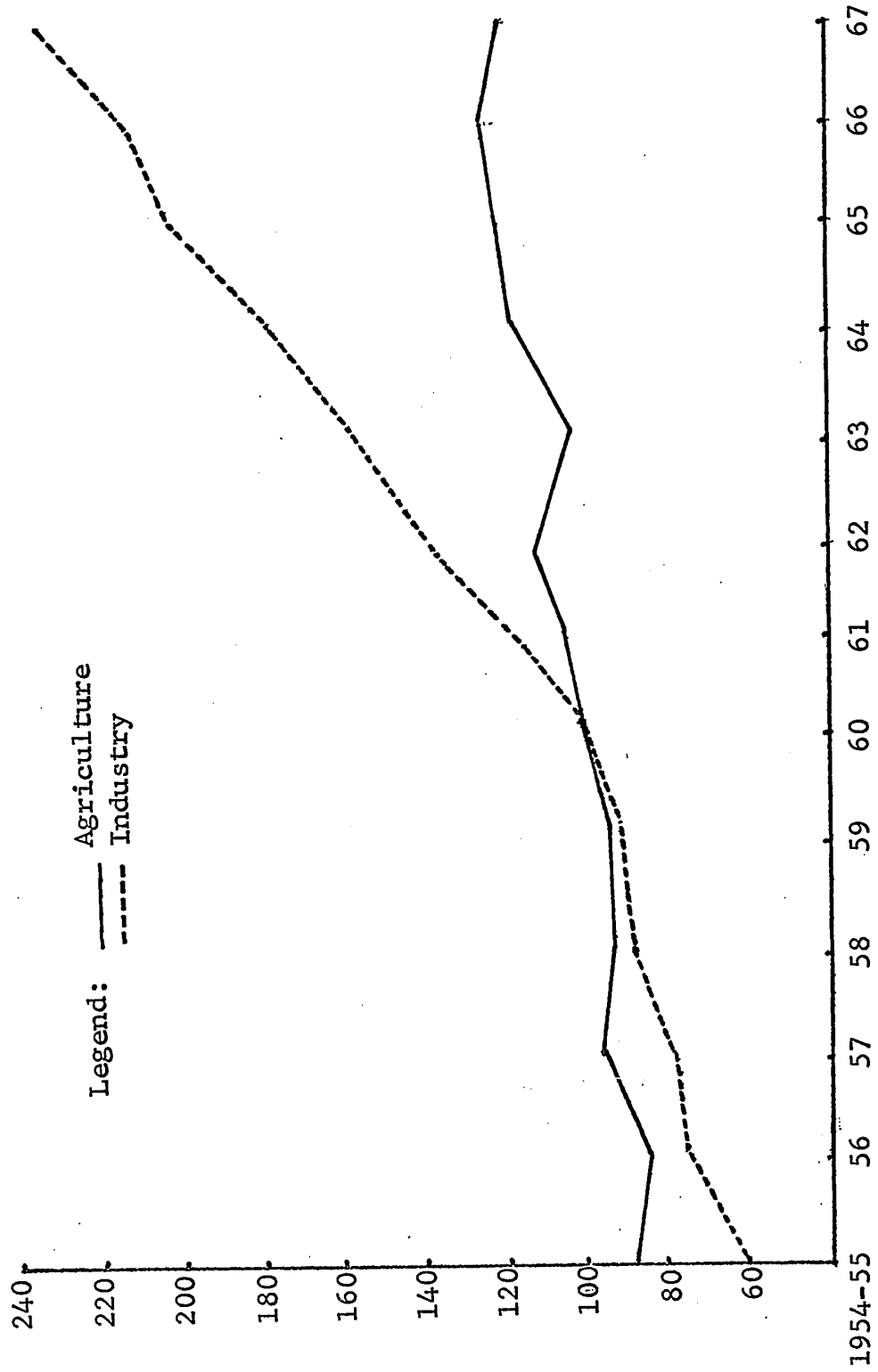
TABLE 4.8

TARGETS AND ACHIEVEMENTS OF INDUSTRIAL
PRODUCTION DURING THE FIRST PLAN,
1955-60

Items	Base year production (1959-60)	Plan increase	Percentage increase
	(Thousand lbs.)		
Cotton yarn	409	540	32
	(Thousand tons)		
Jute manufactures	265	380	43
Sugar (white)	145	375	158
Paper and paper board	62	85	37
Cement	1,120	2,200	46
Nitrogenous fertilizer	45	555	1,133
Phosphate	4	7	75
	(Thousand cwts)		
Vegetable products	21	45	114

Source: The Ministry of Information and Broadcasting,
Government of Pakistan, Second Five Year Plan:
Targets and Achievements, (Karachi: 1965), p. 5.

FIGURE 4.1 INDEX OF AGRICULTURAL AND INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTION
(BASE YEAR 1959-60 = 100)



CHAPTER V

INFRA-STRUCTURE FOR ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT: WATER, POWER, TRANSPORT AND COMMUNICATIONS

Economic development requires the building of infra-structure - the basic prerequisites on which development may take place. Unless the infra-structure is sufficiently developed and strong foundation is laid, economic growth can not be accelerated. The four important elements of the economic infra-structure are water, power, transport and communications. Their development is closely related to the vital sectors of the economy.

In the present Chapter we will be concerned with the four elements of the infra-structure mentioned above. Table 5.1 summarizes the financial allocation to these sectors over the three plan periods.

WATER DEVELOPMENT

The problem of water in Pakistan can be understood from the following news item:

Flying over West Pakistan is like a peep at the moon. The land is arid, eroded, pockmarked. It cries for one thing - water.

One thousand miles away across India your plane dips down over endless paddy field. This is East Pakistan, with too much water. The country is riddled with creeks and rivers that swell into huge floods each year as torrential rain and cyclones sweep up the Bay of Bengal.¹

TABLE 5.1

ALLOCATION OF MONEY FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF
WATER, POWER, TRANSPORT AND COMMUNICATIONS
FROM 1955-1970

	First Plan		Second Plan		Third Plan	
	Amount in rupees	p.c.	Amount in rupees	p.c.	Amount in rupees	p.c.
Water and Power	2,160	17	4,390	19	8,690	16.4
Transport and Communications	1,790	17	4,050	17	10,611	20.2

Source: Central Statistical Office, Economic Affairs Division, Government of Pakistan, 20 Years of Pakistan in Statistics, 1947-1967 (Karachi: 1968), pp. 331 and 332.

¹The Edmonton Journal (Edmonton), June 18, 1969, p. 75.

The development of water resources in Pakistan therefore means two things for two provinces. In West Pakistan the primary need is for the irrigation of cultivable lands. There are about 199 million acres of land in West Pakistan, of which about 41 million acres are cultivated and 27 million of this area (68 per cent) again are presently irrigated by a network of canals.² The need for water in West Pakistan is therefore great, but there is not enough water for irrigation purposes.

Soil erosion and water logging are the major problems in West Pakistan. Soil erosion affects more than 1.6 million acres and salinity and water logging affects about 100,000 acres.

There are about 35 million acres of land in East Pakistan. Nearly 20 million acres of this land are cultivated and about 2 million acres are potentially cultivable land. These areas could be brought under cultivation by drainage, flood control and similar other measures. The frequency of crop production per year could be increased by irrigation. About 98 per cent of the land in East Pakistan gets water from rainfall. Floods cause extensive damage to

²The Planning Commission, Government of Pakistan, Basic Facts: Water and Power in Pakistan (Karachi: n.d.), pp. 1-2.

lives, property and crops in East Pakistan. From 1954 to 1956 floods caused damage to 8.33 million acres of rice area and 1.75 million tons of agricultural production valued at Rs. 470 million. The flood of 1962 damaged crops valued at Rs. 1,100 million.³ Floods are caused by excessive rainfall in East Pakistan which accounts for about 100 million acre feet of water each year. The three big rivers of East Pakistan - Padma, Brahmaputra and Meghna - get about 1,070 million acrefeet of water from the catchment areas outside the province.⁴ The accumulated water block the rivers resulting in floods.

The development of water resources has many objectives. Firstly, it seeks to strengthen and stabilize the agricultural economy of the country by improving land through improved water supply, control of salinity and water logging. Secondly, it brings water to new areas through irrigation, flood management and drainage. Thirdly, it stimulates the growth of electric power to meet the agricultural and industrial needs. Water and power development has been interlinked because of the vast potential, especially in West Pakistan, of generating hydro-electricity which is needed because other sources of power are limited.

³Government of Pakistan, Twenty Years of Pakistan, 1947-1967, op. cit., pp. 210-211.

⁴Ibid., p. 211.

East Pakistan

Water development programme for East Pakistan is meant to provide: irrigation, water for double or triple cropping over large areas and for increasing the production of single crops, for drainage and flood control, to protect land from saline waters of tides and to improve waterways for inland water transport.

A Flood Control Commission was set up in 1955 and a year later a Flood Control Board was appointed to make expert studies on floods. A United Nations Water Control Mission studied the prospects of water resources development in 1956-57. Realizing the immensity of the task the government created a public corporation - the East Pakistan Water and Power Development Authority (EPWAPDA) in 1958. Since then the EPWAPDA has prepared many schemes for flood control, drainage and irrigation and has drawn up a Master Plan to divert water for the irrigation of 11.2 million acres.⁵

There are a number of water development and irrigation projects some of which have been completed and others are under implementation. The Karnafuli Project completed at a cost of Rs. 250 million provides irrigation facilities

⁵Ibid., p. 213.

to 1 million acres of land and drain 50,000 square miles of waterlogged areas. The Teesta Barrage Project went under implementation in 1953 at a cost of Rs. 116 million and is providing irrigation facilities to about 1.8 million acres. The Ganges-Kabadak Project, started in 1954, is the "foremost flood control and irrigation project" which will irrigate about 2.58 million acres. The Tippera-Chittagong Project covering 1,750 square miles of area will irrigate 110,000 acres and will protect 137,270 acres from flood. The Dacca-Narayanganj-Demra Project which is almost completed will supply irrigation water to 18,840 acres and will protect 12,740 acres from flood.

The water development programme also includes the use of ground water. A Ground Water Development and Pump Irrigation Project has been drawn up which will serve about 186,000 acres of dry land.

The coastal areas of East Pakistan need protection from tidal inundation and salinity which damage crops extensively. There are small embankments in many coastal areas but they are frequently breached and overtopped. A Coastal Embankment Project has therefore been drawn up to remodel the existing banks and to construct new ones with sluice gates. The total length of the embankment proposed to be constructed is 3,083 miles which will protect about 3.4 million acres.

So far about 1,200 miles of embankment has been constructed which now protects about 1.2 million acres of land.⁶

These multipurpose projects have contributed towards the irrigation of a large area which can be seen from Table 5.2

TABLE 5.2

ESTIMATED AREAS BENEFITTED BY IRRIGATION,
DRAINAGE AND FLOOD CONTROL PROJECTS DURING
THE FIRST, SECOND AND THIRD PLAN PERIODS

(in million acres)			
Area	First Plan	Second Plan	Third Plan
New	0.05	0.2	1.7
Old	0.5	2.2	2.7
Total	0.55	2.4	4.4

Source: The Second Five Year Plan, 1960-65, p. 197, Table 1; The Third Five Year Plan, 1965-70, Table 3, pp. 299-300.

The Third Plan has placed increased emphasis on water development to accelerate growth in East Pakistan. "Such acceleration is imperative if per capita income is

⁶The Third Five Year Plan, 1965-70, p. 300.

to increase, unemployment is to decline, and additional resources are to be generated for future development".⁷ The Plan proposes to improve the cropping intensity on 20 million acres of cultivated land in order to increase yield up to four times. The irrigation facilities would help winter cultivation to 11 million acres.⁸

West Pakistan

The basic objectives of water development in West Pakistan are: the regulation of uncontrolled flow of the Indus rivers and its tributaries for beneficial use and for reduction of flood damage, improving water supply to irrigated land, providing improved water supply for irrigation of lands under cultivation, providing irrigation water for uncultivated land and reclaiming water logged and saline areas.⁹

Success and continuous agricultural production in West Pakistan depends on satisfactory supply of water. For this purpose a vast reservoir is required along the Indus Basin. The reservoir need in the Indus Basin is estimated to be 100 million acrefeet, but initially it had a capacity of 25 million acrefeet. For the flow of water and its long-

⁷Ibid., p. 301.

⁸Ibid., pp. 296-297.

⁹The First Five-Year Plan, 1955-60, p. 39.

range distribution it is necessary to connect the Indus and its tributaries. There is also a need for providing ground water supply. Drainage is necessary to eliminate waterlogging and salinity which impairs the productivity of the soil.

For the purpose of water development West Pakistan has been divided into two regions - the Indus Basin region, and the Coastal Tributaries and Desert region.

The gross area of Indus Basin in Pakistan is 131 million acres, of which 75 million are cultivable, but the net area sown is only 27.5 million acres. About 90 per cent of this area produces only one crop a year. The net area irrigated in an average year is 21 million acres which represents 28 per cent of the cultivable land and 76 per cent of the cropped area.¹⁰ When developed fully the Indus Basin projects will help irrigate 38 million acres of cultivable land.

The rest of the area outside the Indus Basin has been designated as the Coastal Tributaries and Desert Region. There are about 10 million acres of cultivable land in this area of which only 4 million acres are cultivated.

In both the areas there are a number of huge water

¹⁰ Ibid., p. 355.

development projects. In the Indus Basin the two important projects are - Mangala Dam and Tarbela Dam. The Mangala Dam was completed in 1967 and is one of the biggest earth-filled dams in the world. The construction of Tarbela Dam started in 1968. The dam will have the capacity to retain 11.1 million acrefeet of water for irrigation. The Ghulam Mohammad Barrage, completed in 1961 is 2,934 feet long and supplies irrigation water to 2.8 million acres, of which 1.7 million acres received irrigation for the first time. The Guddu Barrage in the Indus Basin passes a peak flood of 1.2 million cusecs. Another important dam in West Pakistan is the Warasak Dam which was completed in 1961. It supplies water to 120,000 acres of waste land. The Kurram Garhi Multipurpose Project facilitates irrigation to 107,000 acres of old and 150,000 acres of new area. This project was completed in 1962. The Taunsa Barrage is about a mile long and has the capacity to supply water to 53,000 acres. There are several other dams, e.g., Tanda Dam, Gomal Dam, Khanpur Dam, which provide irrigation facilities to a vast area of West Pakistan.

The total area covered by water development programme is now about 21 million acres. The planned progress in water development for irrigation is given in Table 5.3

Side by side with irrigation from canals and rivers, projects were also undertaken to supply ground water

TABLE 5.3

GROSS AREA SERVED BY IRRIGATION AND RECLAMATION
PROJECTS IN WEST PAKISTAN DURING THE FIRST,
SECOND AND THIRD PLAN PERIOD

(In million acres)			
Area	First Plan	Second Plan	Third Plan
New	1.0	1.8	3.9
Old	2.0	6.2	17.0
	3.0	8.0	20.9

Source: The Second Five Year Plan 1955-60, p. 197, Table 1; The Third Five Year Plan, 1965-70, p. 291, Table 2.

through tube well. The number of wells sunk by the public and private sectors is about 65,000 a year. The Third Plan has laid emphasis on the development of ground water as it is less expensive.

Flood is less frequent in West Pakistan. However, a Flood Commission for West Pakistan was created in 1957.

In 1958, the West Pakistan Water and Power Development Authority (WPWAPDA) was created with the "express purpose of accelerating the development of the region's extensive

water and power resources on a unified and multipurpose basis".¹¹ It has drawn up 26 schemes covering 29 million acres of land. The programme includes the construction of tube wells, and arrangement for drainage. As a result of the West Pakistan WAPDA programme, the crop yield in West Pakistan will increase by about 100 per cent over most of the areas. The net increase in the farm income has been estimated at Rs. 64 per acre in the northern zone and Rs. 58 per acre in the southern zone.¹²

POWER DEVELOPMENT

The demand for power is increasing rapidly. The development of industry, the power pump irrigation system and the fast growing cities and towns need electric power at a cheap rate. The consumption of electricity has increased considerably since independence, but the supply is still inadequate.

Electricity

The power supply in East and West Pakistan is derived from different sources. Because of the limited quantity of coal and gas, and underdeveloped water resources the source

¹¹Embassy of Pakistan, Washington, D. C., Interim Report Series, Vol. IV, No. 12 (December 1964), p. 1.

¹²Government of Pakistan, Twenty Years of Pakistan, 1947-1967, op. cit., pp. 220-221.

of power in East Pakistan is mainly thermal. There is not much prospect for producing hydro-electricity because of the flat terrain feature of the province and only 0.2 million kw of hydro-electricity can be harnessed, of which about 0.1 million kw will be put to use by 1970.¹³ In addition, East Pakistan has a deposit of natural gas of about 5 million cubic feet, of which 50 to 60 per cent is used for generating power.

In East Pakistan the per capita consumption of electricity has risen 37 times since 1947, and the object of East Pakistan Water and Power Development Authority is to raise the per capita consumption to 50 units by 1970. The East Pakistan WAPDA is now working on 10 major schemes of power development.

West Pakistan has a deposit of natural gas and coal: the total gas reserve is estimated at 430 million cubic feet. It was estimated that about 2 million kw of electricity can be produced from the natural gas in West Pakistan. The Indus Basin has the potential capacity of producing 6 million kw of hydro-electricity, but only 2 per cent of the capacity has been developed. The West Pakistan Water and Power Development Authority has undertaken 18 schemes for power development.

¹³Planning Commission, Government of Pakistan, Basic Facts: Water and Power in Pakistan, op. cit., pp. 5-6.

Since 1959, it has made rapid progress in the fields of generation, transmission and distribution of power.

During the First and the Second Five Year Plan periods the production of power increased from 0.34 million kw in 1955 to 1.4 million kw in 1965. This shows an increase at the rate of 16.6 per cent annually. The per capita consumption increased during the same period from 11 units to 40 units (see Table 5.4).

TABLE 5.4

POWER DEVELOPMENT IN PAKISTAN, 1955-65

Year	Power capacity, kw			Private	Grand Total	Annual per cap consump
	E.P.	W.P.	Total			
1955	32,196	168,126	200,322	142,000	342,322	11 units
1960	108,658	550,229	658,887	252,000	910,887	22 units
1965	205,672	910,400	1,140,000	290,000	1,408,000	40 units

Source: Government of Pakistan, Twenty Years of Pakistan, 1947-1967, p. 240, Table 21.

During the Third Plan a substantial increase in generating capacity is envisaged. It proposes to increase the production from 0.3 million kw to 0.8 million kw in East Pakistan and from 1.1 million kw to 2.2 million kw in West Pakistan.¹⁴ Since the Second Five Year Plan the improvement of distribution system has been emphasized.

Initially the power facilities were limited to big and medium-size cities covering only 10 per cent of the population. All the towns with a population of 25,000 and more and numbering 56 have been electrified. Of the 186 smaller towns with a population ranging from 5,000 to 25,000, only 64 have been electrified. Village electrification is still poor. Of 100,000 villages with a population of less than 5,000, only 370 have so far been electrified.¹⁵ During the Second Plan 50 towns and 2,000 villages were proposed to be electrified. But only 50 per cent of the target was realized. The Third Five Year Plan proposes to electrify 6,500 villages in both East and West Pakistan. The cost of electrification of villages is very heavy because of low level of income and the lack of load density.

¹⁴Ibid., pp. 10-11.

¹⁵The Second Five Year Plan, 1960-65, p. 215.

Atomic Power

Pakistan entered into the atomic age in 1966 with the start of the first atomic reactor at the Institute of Nuclear Science and Technology at Islamabad. The atomic energy produced from this reactor will be used for the production of power. It will also be employed for the use of radio-isotopes in the fields of agriculture, medicine and industry.¹⁶ West Pakistan will have another atomic plant for which the reactor has been supplied by Canada and the conventional turbine by Japan. The plant will have the generating capacity of 137,000 kw of electricity. A proposal is also under consideration for a nuclear station at Ruppur in East Pakistan with a capacity to produce 50,000 kw of electricity.

Because of their importance for agricultural and industrial development and the economy in general the demand of water and power on the resources of the country is heavy. Table 5.5 shows the allocation of resources for these sectors and the intra-sectoral priorities.

The above does not tell the whole story of the water and power development in Pakistan. Pakistan looks to the future with high hopes:

¹⁶Pakistan News Digest (Karachi), Vol. 14, No. 1, (January 1, 1966), p. 1.

TABLE 5.5

PUBLIC EXPENDITURE ON WATER AND POWER DEVELOPMENT
IN PAKISTAN, 1955-70

(in million rupees)

Sub-sectors	First Plan	Second Plan	Third Plan
General investigation	108.00	142.70	271.60
Multipurpose development	733.00	790.50	854.10
Irrigation	788.00	437.30	787.68
Flood Regulation, drainage, tubewell	197.00	539.00 ^a	1,912.36 ^b
Open Canals	--	110.00	107.44
Power development	571.00	950.50	3,848.35
Miscellaneous	300.00 ^c	77.30	265.70
Central Government programme	--	92.70	--
Total	2,697.00^d	3,140.00	8,047.29

- a - Drainage, reclamation and tubewell, Rs. 228.8; Flood control, Rs. 310.2
b - Drainage, reclamation and tubewell, Rs. 1,32.78; Flood control, Rs. 77.58
c - Reserve for East Pakistan
d - The actual expenditure was Rs. 177.00 million.

Source: The First Five Year Plan, 1955-60, p. 43;
The Second Five Year Plan, 1960-65, p. 203;
The Third Five Year Plan, 1965-70, p. 19,
Table 4 of Annexure.

To attain the level of development envisaged for 1975, Pakistan must reclaim 19,000,000 acres of land through a system involving 34,000 tubewells and nearly 6,000 miles of surface drains. About 390 canal miles must be added to the water conveyance system in the province [West Pakistan] and the generating capacity in the area must also be raised from the present 600,000 kw to more than 2.2 million kw by adding over 1 million kw hydro-electricity capacity and approximately 0.5 million kw of thermal capacity to the system.¹⁷

DEVELOPMENT OF TRANSPORT

A good transport system is a prerequisite for economic development. There is a close relationship between the volume of transport and the level of economic development. The greater the economic activity, the greater is the need for transport. The volume of transport gives an indication of the level of economic development. Lack of a good transport system may slow down economic activity. The objective of a good transportation system should therefore be to provide cheap, fast and safe transport service.

Pakistan inherited an inadequate system of transport, which was further disrupted by the World War II and partition. As the First Plan stated:

Independence brought the problem of developing transport and communication between the two wings, of reorganizing the transport system of East Pakistan, of strengthening, improving and expanding

¹⁷ Embassy Of Pakistan, Washington, D. C., Interim Report Series, Vol. IV, No. 12 (December 1964).

the rail, river and road transport systems, and of improving harbour facilities.¹⁸

During the First Five Year Plan the demand for transport increased considerably. For example, in West Pakistan there was 23 per cent increase in the passenger mile and 33 per cent increase in freight ton miles. In East Pakistan the corresponding increase was 20 per cent and 90 per cent respectively. It was estimated that about 15 per cent more traffic could have been handled if the railway had possessed capacity to carry it.¹⁹ During the Second Five Year Plan the demand for transport increased by about 35 per cent. The Third Plan estimates that there will be 70 per cent increase in the demand for transport by 1970.

The peculiar feature of the transport system of Pakistan is that there is the problem of movement between East and West Pakistan, and the two provinces have two different patterns of transportation. The movement between East and West Pakistan is maintained by sea and air transport.

In East Pakistan the principal means of transport are the waterways. They cover practically three-fourths of

¹⁸The First Five Year Plan, 1955-60, p. 81.

¹⁹Ibid., p. 278.

the transport services covered by steamships and country boats. The water transport was entirely covered by private enterprise, but with the creation of Inland Water Transport Authority the government is providing water transport now. The road system is not satisfactory because of many rivers criss-crossing the province. It is difficult to construct bridges over wide rivers and in many cases the construction of roads blocks drainage. However, the government policy is to construct roads as far as possible with the locally available labour and involving no foreign exchange.

The transport system in West Pakistan is mainly maintained by the railways and by a network of roads. Water transport is very insignificant and therefore railways and roads will continue to be the principal means of transport. In East Pakistan, the railways and the waterways will remain as the principal means. Air services connect the principal cities of both the provinces.

Railways

In Pakistan the railways are publicly owned. Previously, railways were a central subject and their budgets were integrated with the national budget. Later, they were transferred to the provinces, and ultimately their responsibility was handed over to two Boards which were made autonomous.

Pakistan has 7,047 route mileage of railways: 1,713 miles in East Pakistan and 5,335 miles in West Pakistan.²⁰ The railway lines have not increased significantly since independence. In 1947-48, the total mileage was 6,931, which increased to 7,043 in 1955-56.²¹ The increase from 1955 to the present time is insignificant.

The First Plan programme was the rehabilitation of the railway tracks and rolling stocks which was necessary to maintain efficient railway transport capacity. The programme for the development of railways was proposed to be spread over a long period "corresponding as far as possible to the effective ages of the main assets".²² This would not place a heavy demand on the limited resources of the country. Highest priority was given to the rehabilitation of tracks and then to the rolling stocks. The Second Plan continued this policy. In the Third Plan period attention was given to the over-all improvement of the railway system including the provision of essential amenities for passengers and the railway staff, of signalling system, of indigenous capacity for the manufacture of passenger coaches and wagons and of

²⁰ Central Statistical Office, Government of Pakistan, 20 Years of Pakistan in Statistics, 1947-1967, op. cit., pp. 148 and 150.

²¹ Ibid., p. 148.

²² The First Five Year Plan, 1955-60, p. 488.

signal and track equipment.²³ For quick transport electric trains are proposed to be introduced by 1970.

Road and Road Transport

The total road mileage in Pakistan is 25,096. Of these only 2,588 miles lie in East Pakistan and 22,508 miles in West Pakistan.²⁴ Roads have been classified into two types - high and low. High type roads are those which have cement, concrete or bituminous concrete surface. Those roads which have generally stone, brick, gravel or ordinary earth surface are termed as low types. There are about 13,197 miles of high type roads - 2,438 in East Pakistan and 10,759 miles in West Pakistan. Low type roads are 11,899 miles of which only 150 miles are in East Pakistan and the remaining in West Pakistan.²⁵ From 1956 to 1966 road construction increased by 25 per cent. More attention was given to the construction of roads in the rural areas because this would help agricultural development. Secondly, roads are planned to be constructed in the less developed areas and the newly developed industrial areas.

²³ The Third Five Year Plan, 1965-70, p. 318.

²⁴ Central Statistical Office, Government of Pakistan, 20 Years of Pakistan in Statistics, 1947-1967, op. cit., p. 151.

²⁵ Ibid.

Although the construction and maintenance of roads is a provincial subject the central government has interest in the road system because of its importance to the whole economy. It has created a Central Roads Fund out of the taxes on Motor oil and distributes the proceeds to the provinces. The government has also made provision for research in road building. It recognized that a proper study of soils, materials and topographical regions was necessary for road building.

The Third Five Year Plan proposes the following measures for road building:

1. A careful classification and categorization of roads to avoid over investment in relation to traffic density.
2. Evolution and use of low-cost road-building techniques based on local materials.
3. Development of effective organizational, institutional and financial arrangements to ensure efficient construction and proper maintenance of different categories of roads.
4. Completion of individual projects quickly.
5. Building highway in stages.²⁶

Pakistan is a member of the Regional Cooperation for Development.²⁷ In order to build an international highway it

²⁶ The Third Five Year Plan, 1965-70, pp. 324-325.

²⁷ The Regional Development Cooperation (RCD) was formed in 1964 and is composed of Pakistan, Iran and Turkey. Its main objective is the greater collaboration of the member countries for economic development.

is planning to construct a road from Karachi to Ankara via Tehran. The member countries have undertaken projects to improve roads, railways, shipping, postal facilities and telecommunications. Top priority has been given to the completion of the highway.²⁸

It is the policy of the government to leave road transport to private enterprise, but keeping in view the needs of the country which can not be met by private enterprise, the government has stepped in to supplement the services in areas of deficiency. Two Road Transport Corporations - one in each province - has therefore been created. The government services are also intended to serve as model, cooperating with the private services.

Inland Water Transport

As mentioned before, waterways are the principal means of transport in East Pakistan serving about 75 per cent of the transport needs. They are, thus, very important, but in addition, there are other reasons too for developing them. They are the cheapest means of transportation available to the rural population. The farmers who own boats can carry their produce to the market places and can earn more profit as they are not required to pay for transportation. Water-

²⁸Pakistan News Digest (Karachi), Vol. 17, No. 9 (May 1, 1969), p. 7.

ways also provide employment opportunities to many people owning boats which can be built at less expense. As roads in many parts of East Pakistan are difficult to use during the monsoon, waterways remain the only means of transportation. Moreover, both the railways and the roads need feeder transport which may be conveniently provided through rivers. The principal trade centres in East Pakistan are in inland ports located at the banks of important rivers - Padman, Brahmaputra and Meghna.

Although the length of the waterways in East Pakistan is 4,000 miles, it has been reduced to about 2,500 miles due to silting and shoaling. Waterways were not maintained properly, there was no provision for navigational aids, pilotage and salvage facilities, terminal facilities for passengers and handling and storage of cargoes. There was therefore a paramount need to provide these and related services. The First Plan recognized the need for creating an agency for the management of waterways and a public corporation, the Inland Water Transport Authority, was therefore created in 1958 to survey rivers, provide navigational aids, maintain water channels through dredging and river training, to provide pilotage and salvage facilities, to enforce navigational rules, to survey vessels and country boats, to maintain inland ports, to provide terminal facilities for passengers and for handling and storage of cargoes.

The services provided by the Inland Water Transport Authority were not enough, especially due to the decline of coastal services provided by private enterprise. Consequently, the East Pakistan Shipping Corporation was established to provide essential services in the semi-public sector.

In view of the extreme importance of the development of water transport in East Pakistan, the First Five Year Plan provided for the investment of Rs. 30 million in the industry.

The building of road and river transport facilities in the rural areas has made tremendous progress since the launching of the Rural Works Programme. In East Pakistan, 76,883 miles of kutchha²⁹ road, and 6,056 miles of pucca road have been built under this programme. Other achievements are: 411,641 culverts and bridges built, 7,525 miles of drainage and canals cleared and 5,754 miles of embankment built. In West Pakistan 121 miles of metalled roads were constructed, 500 miles of road were treated or repaired, and 3,300 miles of kutchha roads were constructed.³⁰

²⁹ Kutchha roads are those which are made of earth, and Pucca roads are those which have brick or cement surface.

³⁰ Planning Commission, Government of Pakistan, Pakistan's Development Decade (1960-1970), op. cit., no page marking.

Civil Aviation

The importance of civil aviation lies in the fact that this is the only certain and rapid means of communication between the two wings of Pakistan. Air service is also a rapid and reliable means of connecting the principal cities of East and West Pakistan. At independence, there was no airways company based in Pakistan. The Orient Airways transferred its base from Calcutta to Karachi and developed air service in Pakistan. There was only one major airport (Karachi) at independence. The Pakistan International Airlines Corporation (PIA) was set up in 1955 and absorbed the Orient Airways. Airports were subsequently built in important places of East and West Pakistan. An Air Training Centre was opened in Karachi to train air traffic controllers, communication personnel and radio technicians.

The progress in air transport has been very rapid. The First Plan made provision for the training of technical personnel, improvement of airports and of ground and navigational facilities, acquisition of aircraft and other equipment. The scheme made satisfactory progress. Most of the aircrafts were modernized and provided with the latest equipments to bring them up to international standard. The runway for medium jet aircraft has been constructed at Karachi. The Dacca, Chittagong, Lahore and Rawalpindi airports were

remodelled in order to meet the requirements of medium jet aircraft.

The P. I. A. ton-mile capacity increased from 15.3 million in 1955-56 to 101 million in 1963-64. The number of revenue passengers increased from 109,700 in 1955-56 to 712,000 in 1963-64. The operating revenue increased from Rs. 21 million in 1955-56 to Rs. 213 million in 1963-64.³¹ By 1967, the P. I. A. became the fifth largest profit making airline in the world carrying one million passengers a year.³² In 1966-67 it earned a profit of Rs. 42 million.

It has been estimated that the P. I. A. will need an over-all capacity of some 280 million ton-miles by 1970. The domestic services are likely to be more than doubled and substantial additions are expected on international routes.

Shipping

Pakistan had only 3 ships at the time of independence and this number rose to 20 in 1955. Most of these ships were old and needed replacement. The First Plan proposed the purchase of 6 or 7 ships to enable the Pakistani shipping to carry coastal trade between East and West Pakistan and to begin international shipping.³³ The Plan suggested the for-

³¹The Third Five Year Plan, 1965-70, p. 341.

³²Pakistan News Digest (Karachi), Vol. 15, No. 10, (May 15, 1967), p. 1.

³³The First Five-Year Plan, 1955-60, p. 47.

mation of a public corporation to provide shipping services and leadership for the shipping industry. But no public corporation was formed in the early years of the Second Plan as private investment was forthcoming. When the share of Pakistan in international traffic increased, the National Shipping Corporation was formed in 1963. During the Second Plan provision was made for the purchase of 35 ships. By the end of the Second Plan the total number of ships was 52. By 1970 Pakistan will have 98 ships in its merchant fleet.³⁴

Pakistan built its first ship in 1966. Although the materials for ship building in Pakistan are limited, "the policy of the government is to ensure maximum utilization of the ship building capacity in the country".³⁵

A new shipping policy was announced by the government in 1963. It envisaged "the effective and increased participation of Pakistani ships on the existing and new foreign routes and renovation and modernization of existing fleet".³⁶

The coastal trade of Pakistan is almost entirely handled by Pakistani ships. They are also now operating on international lines linking Pakistan with United Kingdom, and the Continent, the United States, Baltic Sea, East Africa

³⁴The Third Five Year Plan, 1965-70, p. 338.

³⁵Pakistan High Commission, Ottawa, Pakistan News and Views, Vol. 14, No. 10 (May 15, 1966), p. 1.

³⁶Ibid.

and the Persian Gulf.³⁷ The earnings of the National Shipping Corporation have increased considerably, and stood at Rs. 28 million in 1968.³⁸

Ports

Ports are important for coastal and international shipping, export and import trades. Movement of goods between the two wings of Pakistan is not possible by land routes. As such shipping is the only means of transporting goods between the two wings of Pakistan. The principal ports of Pakistan - Karachi and Chittagong - had limited capacity to handle cargo. Due to the increase of import and export trade the traffic through these ports has increased by 44 per cent through Karachi and 500 per cent through Chittagong since 1948-49 and by 63 per cent in the newly created Chalna Anchorage between 1951 and 1956.³⁹

Due to increased importance of the ports and the complexity of operations, Port Trusts have been created for Karachi and Chittagong. With the installation of modern equipments the handling capacity of the ports has increased. The government expenditure on the expansion and modernization

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ Pakistan News Digest (Karachi), Vol. 16, No. 24, (December 15, 1968), p. 12.

³⁹ The First Five-Year Plan, 1955-60, pp. 94-96.

of ports is considerably high.

Public expenditure on transport has increased considerably over the plan periods. High priority has been given to the railways and the construction of roads, which were assigned Rs. 2,415 million and Rs. 1,954.16 million respectively in the Third Plan. Public expenditure for transport development may be found in Table 5.6.

TABLE 5.6

PUBLIC EXPENDITURE FOR TRANSPORT DEVELOPMENT,
1955-1970

(In million rupees)

Sub-sector	First Plan	Second Plan	Third Plan
Railways	683	960	2,415.00
Ports	130	139 ^a	197.50
Shipping	63	2	25.50
Inland Water transport	83	80 ^a	274.70
Roads	360	545	1,954.16
Road Transport	25	120 ^a	40.00
Civil Aviation	78	100	440.00
	1,422	1,946	5,346.86

a - Semi-public sector

Source: The First Five-Year Plan, 1955-60, p. 510;
The Second Five Year Plan, 1960-65, pp. 279-80;
The Third Five Year Plan, 1965-70, p. 22,
 Table 7 of Annexure.

DEVELOPMENT OF COMMUNICATIONS

Communications include post offices, telecommunications, radio and television network which are all owned and operated by government. Recently, separate public corporations have been set up for radio and television network.

Postal Services

The number of post offices in Pakistan is inadequate and their services are inefficient. Although some improvements have been made during the last few years, there is much left to be desired. First of all, the ratio of the number of post office and the population served is high. There is at present one post office for every 10,000 population. Secondly, many post offices have not been linked up with other means of communication, viz., telephone and telegraph.

The programme for the development of postal services aims at an increase in the number of post offices, linking them with public telephone and telegraph lines and the general improvement of services.

During the First Five Year Plan, measures were taken to open about 1,500 post offices in the rural areas in order to bring the postal services within the range of every

village. The objective is also to minimize the loss which the rural post offices have been incurring. A general principle governing the establishment of post office in the rural areas is that a village would qualify for a post office if the annual deficit in operation is not expected to exceed Rs. 600 per annum. It is also proposed that whenever possible, post offices should be handed over to private agency.

During the Second Plan period about 1,300 new post offices were opened and the Third Plan proposes to open another 2,000 raising the total number of post offices in Pakistan to 13,800.

Telecommunications

The telecommunications include telegraph and telephone services by wire, cable and wireless. These services started with a severe handicap but developed very rapidly. Telephone exchanges increased from 242 to 439 and the number of telephones installed increased from 12,449 to 37,076 between 1947 and 1955.⁴⁰ Modern trunk exchanges have been opened in the principal cities of East and West Pakistan. A Central Telecommunication College has been set up in West Pakistan.

⁴⁰The First Five-Year Plan, 1955-60, p. 512.

The demand for telephone services is increasing every year. The increase is due to the expansion of trade, commerce and industry and of the government offices. The demand for private telephones has also increased. But due to the limited capacity of the Telephone Department telephone installation is lagging behind demand.

The need for telecommunications link between East and West Pakistan was an urgent matter for the government. Three high frequency radio telephone channels have been provided between the two wings. More wireless links are planned to be provided between East and West Pakistan. The Third Plan gives a very high priority to the improvement of inter-wing telecommunications. A plan is under way to link both the wings through a telecommunication satellite. There will be two ground stations - one in each wing.

Since Pakistan needed telephone connections with foreign countries such connections were established with cities like London, Berne, Cairo, Hong Kong, Colombo, Manila, etc. Pakistan has also been connected with Tehran, Peking, Moscow, Paris, London, New York, Osaka, Amsterdam and Hamburg through international radio telegraph. International telex service is now available for Germany, Belgium, Sweden, Holland and the United States.

The revenues of the Telephone and Telegraph Depart-

ment have increased in recent years. In 1959-60 the revenue earned was Rs. 83 million; it increased to Rs. 136 million in 1963-64.⁴¹

The Third Five Year Plan envisages an overall improvement of the telecommunication system and proposes to "investigate the development and utilization of suitable electronic switching system for automatic telephone exchanges, and applied research in other relevant matters".⁴²

Broadcasting

At the time of independence there were only three radio stations in the whole country - one each at Lahore, Dacca and Peshawar - which increased to five by 1950 with the opening of two more stations in Karachi and Rawalpindi.

Recognizing the fact that a large majority of the people lives in villages, the radio programme was aimed at covering the whole population through broadcasting. The Second Plan proposed to cover the whole area of East Pakistan and 50 per cent area of West Pakistan. By the end of the Third Plan about 85 per cent of the population of West Pakistan will be covered by radio broadcasts. By 1970 there will be 14

⁴¹The Third Five Year Plan, 1965-70, p. 345.

⁴²Ibid., p. 346.

transmitting stations, 36 transmitters with 3,680 kw of power.⁴³

The transmitting power of the broadcasting stations has increased: between 1958 and 1968 the medium wave transmitting power rose from 44 kw to 297 kw, and the short wave power from 128 kw to 468 kw. This represents approximately 450 per cent increase during the period.⁴⁴

Since 1965, the broadcasting policy of the government has changed. Previously, the radio stations were mainly used by the government for its own use. According to the new policy it has been recognized that "Radio Pakistan is a people's medium and every minute of broadcasting should be used as the people's time", and it should be developed "as an instrument of education, information and entertainment".⁴⁵

Since 1966 Radio Pakistan has started a daily programme for the farmers in order to give them technical and professional guidance on modern methods of agriculture.⁴⁶

⁴³ Ibid., p. 349.

⁴⁴ Embassy of Pakistan, Washington, D. C., Pakistan Affairs, Vol. XXI, No. 13 (September 18, 1968), p. 3.

⁴⁵ Pakistan News Digest (Karachi), Vol. 13, No. 23, (September 1, 1965), p. 4. See also Dawn, November 15, 1965, p. 5.

⁴⁶ Pakistan High Commission, Ottawa, Pakistan News and Views, Vol. 14, No. 24 (December 15, 1966), p. 11.

Television

Television is the latest arrival in the communications system of Pakistan. Introduced in 1964, there are now three television stations in Pakistan - at Dacca, Karachi and Lahore - having 5 kw transmitters. They cover an area of 60 miles radius and a population of 10 million in each province. Each station produces 30 hours of programme per week. Three small stations are proposed to be set up at Islamabad, Chittagong and Peshawar with limited production facilities. Proposal has also been made to introduce educational television in Pakistan.⁴⁷

Public expenditure on communications shows that tele-communications have been given a very high priority in all the three plans. From an allocation of Rs. 202 million in the First Plan their share has increased to Rs. 1,151 million in the Third Plan. Postal services have not received adequate attention of the government. Table 5.7 shows the allocation of money in the public sector for the development of communications.

The foregoing describes the efforts of the Government of Pakistan in building the physical infra-structure for the purpose of economic development. These are re-

⁴⁷ Pakistan News Digest (Karachi), Vol. 17, No. 1 (January 1, 1969), p. 7.

garded as the basic requirements for creating a stage of self-sustaining growth of the economy of the country. In summary the targets for 1970 are put in Table 5.8.

TABLE 5.7

PUBLIC EXPENDITURE ON COMMUNICATIONS,
1955-70

(In million rupees)

Sub-sectors	First Plan	Second Plan	Third Plan
Postal services	17		70
Telecommunications	202	316	1,151
Broadcasting	25	40	90
Television	--	--	23
Total	244	356	1,334

Source: The First Five-Year Plan, 1955-60, p. 516;
The Second Five Year Plan, 1960-65, p. 279;
The Third Five Year Plan, 1965-70, p. 22,
Table 7 of Annexure.

TABLE 5.8

TARGETS IN THE BUILDING OF THE PHYSICAL
INFRA-STRUCTURE OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT
OF PAKISTAN BY 1970

Developmental sectors	1959-60	1969-70
<u>Water</u>		
Irrigated area (million acres)	25	32.7
Water availability (million acrefeet)	58	91
<u>Power</u>		
Installed generation capacity (MW)	881	2,888
Village electrification (number)	3,087	9,087
<u>Railways</u>		
Locomotives	1,350	1,518
Passenger carriages	4,607	5,921
Wagons	49,494	62,267
<u>Road Transport</u>		
Buses (number)	11,500	23,950
Trucks (number)	24,000	38,500
High type roads (miles)	9,508	15,700
<u>Shipping</u>		
Port traffic (million tons)	8	17
Ships (number)	26	98
<u>Communications</u>		
Telephones (number)	75,500	285,000
Post office (number)	10,100	13,800

Source: Planning Commission, Government of Pakistan, Pakistan's Development Decade (1960-70), (Karachi: 1967), No page marking.

CHAPTER VI

SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT: HOUSING, HEALTH AND SOCIAL WELFARE

The concern of the Government of Pakistan in developing the country has not been limited to the economic development alone. In planning the whole environment and in allocating resources social development has also been taken into consideration. Consequently, resources have been provided for the development of such social sectors as housing, health, education and social welfare. As the rate of growth of population is very high government has also given its attention to the control of population growth.

The present Chapter is mainly concerned with housing, health and social welfare. At the outset it seems necessary to state the allocation of resources for these sectors, which is given in Table 6.1.

PHYSICAL PLANNING AND HOUSING

Housing is one of the basic requirements of human existence. It is necessary to protect life from the hostile environment. However, the function of housing has changed with the progress of civilization. Houses now not

TABLE 6.1

ALLOCATION OF MONEY FOR HOUSING, HEALTH AND
SOCIAL WELFARE DURING THE PERIOD FROM
1955 TO 1970, IN PERCENTAGES

Sectors	First Plan	Second Plan	Third Plan
Physical Planning and Housing	20.0	15.0	12.0
Health	2.0	1.0	2.3
Social Welfare	Neg.*	Neg.*	0.4

* Negligible

Source: Central Statistical Office, Government of
Pakistan: 20 Years of Pakistan in Statistics,
1947-1967 (Karachi, 1967), pp. 331 and 332.

only protect human lives, but also give them comfort as well as community life. A cluster of houses builds a sense of community life and we-feeling. It also "constitutes one of the most universal forms of material culture".¹ Today, housing has another dimension too. House-building has developed as an important industry in the national economy and "represents an important element in all capital formation".² A

¹ John Madge, "Housing: Social Aspects", in David L. Sills, ed., International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, Vol. 6, p. 516.

² Ibid.

household is an economic organization and in the past industries developed in houses.

The United Nations has rightly recognized the importance of housing when it said:

Housing, together with education and health, belongs to the category of so-called 'social overhead' projects. They are considered basic to economic development. In this respect they can be compared to the 'economic overhead' projects such as transport, communications and power, which are generally considered to be requisites for effective economic development.³

The United Nations also emphasized that

The improvement of housing helps directly in bettering the lot of families and of the people in general and in creating an atmosphere favourable to solution to the other problems.... Housing in itself is a means of education and is closely bound up with family stability and economic productivity.⁴

The provision for good housing should go along with the economic development of the country. Lack of housing and community facilities may create serious obstacles to economic development. Realizing this a United Nations Seminar recommended, among others, that

The construction of housing should not be relegated to the background or placed behind other programmes of economic development but should be carried out concurrently with them, because its effects on increased

³United Nations, Financing Housing and Community Development Programmes (New York: 1957), p. 5.

⁴United Nations, Housing Through Non-Profit Organization: Housing, Building and Planning No. 10 (New York: 1957), p. 55.

productivity and on the construction industry and labour market makes it an essential element in the economic development of a nation.⁵

Pakistan has recognized the importance of housing in the political, social and economic life of the people. It recognized that housing does not only mean provision for living space, but also creating a decent and healthy environment for life. In the same way it does not mean the construction of houses only, but that it is also necessary to plan "the entire physical environment in which people live, work and seek outlets for social, recreational and cultural needs".⁶ According to the Third Plan, the concept of 'Physical Planning' includes "the national planning process by focussing attention on regional and local needs and development as well as crystalizing a comprehensive planning system well integrated on local, regional and national levels".⁷ According to the the Second Five Year Plan housing is

concerned with land use, transport and utilities, dwelling houses, public buildings, and other social, cultural and economic facilities and conveniences necessary for the pursuit of a useful and happy community life.⁸

⁵Ibid., p. 64.

⁶The Third Five Year Plan, 1965-70, p. 363.

⁷Ibid., p. 362.

⁸The Second Five Year Plan, 1960-65, p. 321.

The problem of housing has assumed a gigantic proportion in Pakistan. Several factors have contributed to this challenging problem. Firstly, the influx of refugees from India since 1947 onward has created a serious housing crisis. The refugees now constitute about 10 per cent of the total population of Pakistan. Most of them have settled in the cities and urban areas making them overcrowded. Secondly, the population of Pakistan is increasing at a high rate of about 3 per cent a year. This means that the yearly increase of population is about 3.5 million.⁹ Thirdly, urbanization is growing at twice the rate of growth of population.¹⁰ The present rate of growth of population in cities is about 6 per cent a year. In 1960 the urban population in Pakistan constituted about 13 per cent of the total population and in 1965 it rose to 15 per cent. By 1970 the percentage of urban population will be about 17.¹¹ Thirdly, not only the popu-

⁹See Chapter VIII below.

¹⁰Lucian Pye distinguishes between three distinctive patterns of urban growth and suggests a policy for each. See Lucian W. Pye, "The Political Implications of Urbanization and Development Process", in Gerald Breese, ed., The City in Newly Developing Countries: Readings in Urbanism and Urbanization (Engelwood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice Hall, 1969), pp. 401-406.

¹¹Planning Commission, Government of Pakistan, Basic Facts: Physical Planning and Housing in Pakistan (Karachi, n.d.), p. 19. See also A. F. A. Hussain and Khalid Shibli, "Urbanization and Urban Development Policy in Pakistan", in Shafik H. Hashmi and Garth N. Jones, eds., Problems of Urbanization in Pakistan (Karachi: National Institute of Public Administration, 1967), pp. 36-38.

lation of the existing cities is increasing, the number of cities is also growing fast. The expansion of government offices, the establishment of industrial, trading and commercial centres, etc., led to the growth of new cities. The cities having a maximum population of 25,000 rose from 56 to 76, of 25,000 - 49,999 population rose from 36 to 45, and of 50,000 - 99,999 population rose by 6. The number of large cities also increased. Cities having a population of 100,000 and above rose by 5.¹² Fourthly, the poverty of the people has augmented the already near-explosion housing crisis. As the Third Plan says: "For a large part of the nation, however, the problem of housing is part of the general problem of poverty."¹³ It was estimated that about 72 per cent of the urban families belong to the lower income groups who cannot afford to build or buy a house or rent one at a high rate. About 23 per cent constituting the middle income groups and 5 per cent constituting the upper income groups can afford to build or buy a house or can rent a good one.¹⁴ Fifthly, most of the cities are old and lack community facilities or services. There is no proper arrangement for sanitation, safe water supply, or recreational facilities.

¹²The Third Five Year Plan, 1965-70, p. 365.

¹³Ibid., p. 367.

¹⁴Ibid.

The magnitude of the housing problem in Pakistan can be realized from the following figures. In 1947 Pakistan had a shortage of 540,000 housing units; in 1960 the shortage was 600,000 and in 1965 about 950,000. By 1970, the shortage will be about 1.2 million.¹⁵ The figure clearly indicates that the shortage of housing units is increasing gradually. It was estimated that apart from the backlog, there is an additional need for about 120,000 new dwelling units every year.¹⁶

The Government Policy

The Government of Pakistan had no clear and systematic housing policy till 1965. Up to that time, its efforts were limited to the settlement of refugees and the supply of basic community services. However the efforts during the period from 1947 to 1965 laid the foundation for future development. A systematic and comprehensive housing policy was adopted during the Third Plan. By 1965 the government machinery for housing was also improved and integrated with the system of national planning.

Like other sectors of development government has

¹⁵Government of Pakistan, Twenty Years of Pakistan, 1947-1967, op. cit., p. 525.

¹⁶Ibid., p. 526.

placed greater reliance on private enterprise for house-building and the solution of the housing problem. The government policy is not to build more than 10 per cent of the houses required for the country and the remaining are to be constructed by private individuals, cooperatives and on self-help and mutual aid basis. Government is responsible for the housing of its employees, of the refugees and of the victims of natural calamities such as flood, cyclone, earthquake, etc. Government, however, takes the responsibility of mobilizing the necessary resources and labour for those who want to build their own houses but are not in a position to procure finance and building materials. Government provides credit facilities and creates necessary institutions to develop industry in the country. It participates in the construction of houses only when the performance of the private sector is poor. In most cases government efforts are limited to the provision of community facilities, such as water supply, sewerage, garbage disposal, transport, etc. Government conducts surveys to collect data and to evaluate housing needs. It also conducts research to discover the utilization of local materials for house-building and new materials that can be used economically. The nature of the building of houses in East and West Pakistan differs considerably. In West Pakistan about 70 per cent of the houses are made of mud and 30 per cent use brick, stone or concrete. In East Pakistan 60 per cent of the houses are

built with bamboo, 30 per cent with bamboo and timber, and 10 per cent with brick.¹⁷ This points to the need for research as to soil stabilization, use of timber and bamboo and economical design of the houses. Research is also carried on in environmental sanitation.

Because of the scarcity of resources and the general poverty of the people, first priority was given to the provision of housing for low-income groups, slum dwellers, and industrial workers. Government has established a principle that the cost of the construction of a house should not be more than twice the yearly income of the occupant.¹⁸

Government develops residential plots in expanded cities or in satellite towns with essential services and community facilities. These plots are allotted to private individuals who build houses on them. Among the plots developed 50 per cent are given to the lower income groups, 40 per cent to the middle income groups and 10 per cent to the upper income groups.¹⁹ Government also builds nucleus houses and allots them to the people who later complete the construction.

One of the objectives of the government policy of

¹⁷The First Five-Year Plan, 1955-60, p. 12.

¹⁸Ibid.

¹⁹The Third Five Year Plan, 1965-70, p. 378.

housing is to reduce the distance between the place of living and the place of work. This would eliminate the problem of transport, and save time and money.

At present there is too much difference between the city and the village on socio-economic and technological levels. This has resulted in two political cultures - the culture of city and the culture of village.²⁰ The government objective is to minimize the gap between the city and the village. For this purpose small cities linking the big cities and the villages are proposed to be established.

The Housing Programmes

Although the problem of housing was very serious and government was aware of it, the First Plan did not give any serious attention to its solution. Consequently, the housing programme in the First Plan was very modest. Its programme was as follows:

- (1) Construction of 60,000 new tube wells in the rural areas for supply of drinking water;
- (2) Making improvement in existing cities;

²⁰ According to Weiner there are two political cultures in the developing nations - one is in the centre of national politics, and another is at the district level. See Myron Weiner, "India: Two Political Cultures", in Lucian Pye and Sidney Verba, eds., Political Culture and Political Development (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1965), Paperback edition, 1969, p. 199.

- (3) Providing community facilities for several million people in the existing cities and towns;
- (4) Preparation of 250,000 plots in the new settlements;
- (5) Building 70,000 nucleus houses; and
- (6) Building 20,000 houses, including 5,000 houses to be owned by government.²¹

However, the housing programme of the First Plan fell short of targets in both the rural and urban areas. In spite of the government policy of the construction of simple houses, most of the construction in the private sector, however, was in luxury houses undertaken by relatively wealthy people.²²

The housing programme during the Second Plan was also modest. The Plan proposed to build 300,000 houses besides houses for government employees, industrial workers, and houses constructed from the contribution of the local bodies. Like the First Plan, the performance of the Second Plan in housing was also unsatisfactory. Only 150,000 houses were built during the Plan period, fulfilling 50 per cent of the target. Execution of water supply schemes for 23 towns was, however, completed and substantial progress was made in the supply of water in rural areas. In East Pakistan

²¹The First Five-Year Plan, 1955-60, p. 533.

²²The Second Five Year Plan, 1960-65, pp. 321-322.

about 150,000 hand pumps were installed providing one tube well for 200 persons. In West Pakistan 188 villages were served with portable water supply.²³

The housing problem continued to be serious at the beginning of the Third Plan. It was estimated that there were about 2.2 million housing units in the urban areas. Of this about 600,000 were temporary and dangerously dilapidated. So, the number of good and habitable houses came down to 1.2 million. The increase of the urban population, on the other hand, created demand for about half a million houses. As was mentioned before, only 150,000 houses were built during the Second Plan period. At the beginning of the Third Plan, therefore, the backlog increased to 950,000 houses. The Third Plan proposes to double the rate of construction of new houses, constructing a total number of 292,000. But still the backlog of houses is expected to increase rather than decline by 1970. The housing shortage by the end of the Third Plan will be about 1.2 million.²⁴

The Rural Housing

The nature of the housing problems in the urban and

²³The Third Five Year Plan, 1965-70, p. 372.

²⁴Government of Pakistan, Twenty Years of Pakistan, 1947-1967, op. cit., p. 525.

the rural areas is different. Because of the extended family system in Pakistan, more than one family live in one house. However, with the increase of population there is a need for more houses in the rural areas also. But the greatest need in the rural areas is the supply of pure and safe drinking water, arrangement for drainage, community centres, and other related services.

At the beginning the housing problem in rural areas was to be looked after by the Village Agricultural and Industrial Development Organization (Village-AID). Later the District Councils were made responsible for housing in the rural areas, although the actual work is carried on by the Union Councils. In the First Plan an amount of Rs. 50 million was allotted for the improvement in the rural housing.²⁵ To educate the people in the technique of low-cost house-building, government proposed to build model houses in the rural areas.

The Second Plan recommended that basic research in building materials, experimental houses and cheap and effective sanitation in the rural areas should be started promptly. It made a provision of Rs. 2.5 million for village development programme in selected areas.²⁶ The government contri-

²⁵The First Five-Year Plan, 1955-60, p. 524.

²⁶The Second Five Year Plan, 1960-65, p. 323.

bution in rural housing is limited to technical advice and construction of model houses designed according to local conditions and materials. The Third Plan proposes to bring 10,000 villages under comprehensive plan and to cover 20,000 villages by pilot projects.²⁷ About one million dwelling units will be constructed in the rural areas by 1970.²⁸

Finance

Lack of finance is one of the important reasons for the housing crisis in Pakistan. Private saving is not adequate for the construction of houses. There are only a few credit institutions for house-building. Government created a House Building Finance Corporation in 1952 for providing credit facilities for prospective house builders. Its policy is to help those who can help themselves. Loans are granted only when one can build the foundations of the house. The corporation has so far sanctioned an amount of Rs. 337.3 million to individuals and cooperatives. With the help of these loans about 1,700 houses were built by private individuals and 7,000 flats and houses by the cooperatives.²⁹

²⁷The Third Five Year Plan, 1965-70, p. 380.

²⁸Ibid., p. 382.

²⁹Government of Pakistan, Twenty Years of Pakistan, 1947-1967, op. cit., p. 532.

Another financial institution is the East and West Loans and Buildings Association. It grants loans to people who deposit their savings with the Association. Commercial banks and insurance companies do not generally grant loans for the construction of houses although they have substantial funds at their disposal.

The creation of new institutions and the improvement of existing ones is essential for the execution of the housing plan. The institutions now in existence for this purpose are the National Building Centre, Pakistan Centre for Regional and Urban Development, Building and Housing Research Centre, House Building Corporation, Building and Trade Schools, Experimental Factories for prefabricated houses, Savings and Loans Association and Public Health Laboratories and Institutes.

Expenditure on Housing

The First Plan provided for an expenditure of Rs. 861.2 million for housing and settlement in the public sector. The expenditure was to be incurred in preparatory programme, rural programme, urban development, community facilities, public housing and rehabilitation and in government owned houses.³⁰ Private investment in housing during

³⁰The First Five-Year Plan, 1955-60, p. 538, Table 2.

the First Plan period was estimated to be Rs. 3,300 million.³¹

There has been a gradual decrease of public expenditure in terms of the percentage of the total amount of money allocated for development purposes in the subsequent two plans. In the Second Plan the total expenditure on housing was Rs. 2,840 million - Rs. 895 million in the public sector, Rs. 810 million in the semi-public sector, and Rs. 1,135 million in the private sector.³² The Third Plan allocated Rs. 3,026.16 million in the public and Rs. 4,000 million in the private sector, the total being 7,026.16 million.³³

The public expenditure in housing is relatively smaller than the private expenditure. But the government expects that "The public expenditure, though relatively small, will act as a catalyst for bringing forth public enthusiasm on cooperative self-help basis."³⁴

PUBLIC HEALTH

The problem of health is inherent in the biological characteristics of human beings and the nature of the

³¹Ibid., p. 534.

³²The Second Five Year Plan, 1960-65, pp. 327-328, Table I.

³³The Third Five Year Plan, 1965-70, p. 389, Table II.

³⁴Planning Commission, Government of Pakistan, Basic Facts: Physical Planning and Housing, op. cit., p. 15.

environment in which they live. The human body is susceptible to disease and the environment, e.g., climate - helps or prevents the growth of certain diseases. Group living has also contributed to the occurrences and spread of some diseases which are called contagious. These problems have led to the emergence of the concept of public health.

Out of the need for dealing with the health problems of group living, there has evolved, with increasing clarity over the centuries, a recognition of the importance of community action in the promotion of health and the prevention and treatment of diseases. This recognition and its consequences for action are summed up in the concept of public health.³⁵

There are various reasons, of course, for giving attention to problems of public health, such as religious consideration, humanitarianism and scientific interest in the study of germs and bacteria causing disease and in developing medicine for the control of those diseases. Changing political, economic, social and cultural factors also necessitate increased attention to health problems. As Rosen put it:

Health and ill-health have their biological roots, but the biological processes and phenomena have been and are being influenced, impeded and facilitated in context of changing political, economic, social and cultural elements.³⁶

³⁵George Rosen, "Public Health", in David Sills, ed., International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, Vol. 13, p. 164.

³⁶Ibid.

Health condition of the people has tremendous impact on the social, cultural, economic and political developments of the country. But the most potent result has been its effect on economic development. Health care results in the supply of a more efficient labour force, increase in income and capital formation of a country. A sick labour force cannot contribute to economic development. Working hours are lost when labourers are sick and this in turn brings poverty and misery to them. As a result the society as a whole suffers. Expenditure on public health is therefore regarded as an investment for the development of the country's economy.³⁷

The Government of Pakistan has recognized the importance of improving public health, as the First Plan said:

It [health] contributes an important factor in the happiness of men and women, their efficiency as productive members of the community, and the richness of their social and family life. Good health is essential to the efficiency of modern industrial organization, and to the strength and prosperity of the nation.³⁸

Though Pakistan recognizes the importance of pub-

³⁷ See Selma T. Mushkin, "Health as an Investment", in The Journal of Political Economy, Vol. 70, No. 5, Part 2 (Supplement), pp. 129-157.

³⁸ The First Five-Year Plan, 1955-60, p. 609.

lic health, she still faces a very serious problem which arises due to various causes: First, there is a lack of proper environmental sanitation. People suffer from various kinds of diseases because they live in unhealthy conditions. It was estimated that about 50 per cent of diseases in East Pakistan are caused by insanitary conditions. Some of these diseases may be cured by inoculation and other medical measures but their eradication would require arrangement for improved sanitation, e.g., proper disposal of sewerage and the supply of pure and safe drinking water. Second, the dietary standard being low, people suffer from malnutrition and become vulnerable to diseases easily. The calorie intake is generally below the minimum requirement as recommended by the Food and Agricultural Organization of the United Nations.³⁹ Moreover, the people do not take a balanced diet. They take more carbohydrate than protein and other protective stuff. Third, there are some regional diseases with high incidence resulting in death of large numbers every year, such as tuberculosis, small pox and cholera. Malaria attacks about 20 million people every year and incapacitates them wholly for six working days. It takes about two months to regain full working capacity. Accordingly, about 960 million man-workdays are utilized partially. The annual death rate from malaria

³⁹ See page 88 for the calorie intake by the people of Pakistan.

is about 250,000,⁴⁰ from tuberculosis about 100,000 a year and from cholera about 25,000. Small pox, when it occurs as an epidemic, also takes a heavy toll of life. Fourth, the incidence of child and maternity mortality is about 110-130 per 1,000 live births, and maternity death is about 440 to 680 per 1,000 births. Of the total number of deaths about half are children below the age of 10 years. Of the children, again about half are less than a year old. Fifth, there is paucity of trained personnel, hospital and hospital equipments. As the Third Plan clearly states: "The biggest single obstacle to having a large health programme is the scarcity of trained personnel particularly of paramedical personnel."⁴¹ Pakistan had only 1,200 registered doctors and only one medical college at the time of independence. The number of beds in hospitals was only 15,000 with one nurse for every 75 beds.⁴² Lastly, the rapid increase of population also necessitated the provision of more medical facilities. The family planning programme for the control of population also calls for more medical facilities especially in cases of vasectomy and ligation.

The magnitude of health problem can be better un-

⁴⁰Government of Pakistan, Twenty Years of Pakistan, 1947-1967, op. cit., p. 467.

⁴¹The Third Five Year Plan, 1965-70, p. 247.

⁴²Government of Pakistan, Twenty Years of Pakistan, 1947-1967, op. cit., p. 464.

derstood from the following comparison of the health services provided by Pakistan and the United Kingdom.

TABLE 6.2

A COMPARISON OF THE HEALTH SERVICES PROVIDED BY
PAKISTAN AND THE UNITED KINGDOM

Services	Pakistan 1965	United Kingdom 1961
Doctors	1:7,400	1:910
Nurses	1:32,000	1:440
Hospital beds	1:3,200	1:100
Lady Health Visitors	1:115,000	1:4,000
T. B. Beds	1:150 fatal cases	1:4,000 fatal cases

Source: The Third Five Year Plan, 1965-70, p. 245.

The table clearly points out that the ratio of population to the types services is high in Pakistan. The health programme of the Government of Pakistan is therefore aimed at the reduction of this ratio.

For the purpose of solving the huge problem the government has adopted both preventive and curative measures. However, to eradicate the causes of disease priority was given to preventive measures in all the plans so far drawn up. About 60 per cent of the allocation for health sector was

provided for preventive measures and the rest for curative measures. The preventive measures include the supply of safe drinking water, the arrangement for sewerage and garbage disposal, control of malaria, tuberculosis and other deadly diseases, maternal and child welfare and health education. Some of the important programmes under the preventive measures are as follows:

Malaria control: The programme to control malaria started before the plan periods but a comprehensive plan was adopted in 1961, with the object of controlling the disease within the next 14 years. The Third Plan period provided about one-fourth of the total allocation for the health sector for malaria control. A Malaria Eradication Board was created at the centre with autonomous powers in policy making. There are also two provincial boards which are responsible for the execution of policy. By 1966, 78.1 million people in East and West Pakistan were protected against malaria. This intensified measure resulted in decreased incidence by 20 to 30 per cent. Improved results are expected by 1970 when about 20 million people will be totally immune. For 45 million people the disease will occur very rarely, and for the rest of the population the "parasitic index" will decline from the present 25 per cent to less than 4 per cent.⁴³

⁴³Ibid., p. 468.

Tuberculosis: To control tuberculosis a B.C.G. vaccination was started in 1949. So far 57.07 million people have been tested and 25.41 million have been vaccinated. At present there are about 100 clinics in the country for T.B. patients. This will be increased to 181 by 1970. The aim of the government is to have one clinic for every 100,000 population. The number of beds in T.B. hospitals will be increased from the present 2,800 to 3,800 by 1970. Two research hospitals with one hundred beds in each will be set up in the country by the end of the Third Plan.

Cholera: Cholera can be prevented by the supply of uncontaminated water and the improvement of environmental sanitation. So, a large part of the programme for the eradication of this disease is devoted for these purposes. A Cholera Research Laboratory was set up in Dacca in 1960 which was able to reduce the mortality rate in many trial cases from 30 to 50 per cent to only 2 per cent.⁴⁴ The Laboratory studies the environment of the disease, the ways of living and the methods of sanitation of the people. It also conducts clinical research to determine the relationship between the physiological characteristics of the individuals and the disease itself.

Small pox: Small pox mostly occurs in East Pakistan. A

⁴⁴Ibid., p. 469.

Pilot project for the control of this disease was started in 1960 in some districts of East Pakistan. Later, a two-year eradication programme was adopted. The programme showed a satisfactory result and the incidence of death from this disease showed a decline by 98 per cent between 1959 and 1965.

Maternity and Child Welfare: As infant mortality and maternity death is high in Pakistan it was felt necessary to open maternity and child welfare centres. By 1955 there were about 200 maternity centres in the country and the First Plan proposed to increase the number to 375, providing services to 3.6 million people. By the end of the Second Plan such centres increased to 700. The Third Plan makes no special provision for maternity and child welfare centres as the future "policy is to provide for maternity and child health services as part of the general health services and not in separate maternity and child health centres".⁴⁵

Health Education: Lack of qualified personnel is one of the bottlenecks of the health programme. As noted before, Pakistan had only one medical college at the time of independence. At present there are 12 medical colleges producing about 1,000 doctors a year. There are two postgraduate medical centres - one at Karachi and another at Dacca. There

⁴⁵The Third Five Year Plan, 1965-70, p. 255.

is one school of Tropical Medicine in West Pakistan, and another school will be set up in Dacca during the Third Plan period. Lahore has an Institute of Hygiene and Preventive Medicine. The postgraduate facilities will meet the country's need for teaching and research personnel. Recently, a College of Physicians and Surgeons has been created to examine postgraduate students in clinical subjects.

Nursing Training Institutes are also increasing in numbers. There are 26 of them now in the country. By the end of the Second Plan the number of nurses stood at 2,000; the figure rose to 3,600 by 1965, and the target for 1970 is 5,400. The nurses are given training for three years in the institutes. Other institutions relating to health education are the training schools for health technicians, sanitary inspectors and rural health inspectors.

Government is providing for research in public health. The Pakistan Medical Research Council was set up in 1953 and reorganized in 1962. It organizes, coordinates and promotes research in the various fields of medicine and public health. Research is also being carried on by the Cholera Research Institute at Dacca, Jinnah Postgraduate Medical Centre, Institute of Public Health and the National Health Laboratories.

School Health: The School health programme aims at the protection of children through health services. Provision has been made for regular medical examination and treatment of minor ailments in special clinics. Each clinic looks after 5,000 to 8,000 children. There were about 68 school health clinics at the beginning of the Third Plan. Another twenty two clinics will be set up by 1970.

Rural health: Although the health problem in the rural areas is no less acute than in urban areas no serious attention was given to the rural health problem until recently. There is almost no hospital and no dispensary in the rural areas. The services of qualified physicians are not available even in emergencies. The ratio of doctors to population in the rural areas is 1:10,000 - 20,000, whereas such ratio in the urban areas is 1:700. A programme for the creation of rural health centres was drawn up and by 1960 about 200 such centres were set up. Each centre consists of a primary unit with three sub-centres and provides medical aid to about 50,000 population. Each primary unit is managed by two doctors - one male and one female, a health visitor, health laboratory technicians and a number of other staffs. The sub-centres consist of a compounder-dresser, a nurse-dai, a peon-cum-medicine carrier, a health assistant and a cleaner. The centre has been assigned various types of duties which include medical treatment, maternity and child welfare, family planning,

environment sanitation, control of epidemic and infectious diseases, health education and compilation of vital statistics.

Although priority has been given to preventive measures, curative measures have also been undertaken. Provisions have been made for medical facilities by increasing the number of doctors, nurses, technicians, hospital beds and hospital equipment.

The First Plan allocated Rs. 287.2 million for the health sector of which only 40 per cent was utilized during the plan period. However, some visible improvements were seen in some aspects of the health services. The number of medical colleges rose from 6 in 1955 to 9 in 1959. In the same period the number of nurses training institutes increased from 14 to 18, the number of nurses from 1,414 to 2,000 and the number of registered doctors from 6,000 to 9,200. Hospital beds increased from 23,000 to 28,000, and maternity and child welfare centres 200 to 256 over the same period.⁴⁶

The Second Plan allotted a total amount of Rs. 350 million in the public sector and Rs. 50 million in the private sector. The achievements up to the end of the Second Plan were as follows: doctors 15,600; nurses 3,600; lady health

⁴⁶The Second Five Year Plan, 1960-65, pp. 357-358.

visitors 1,047; hospital beds 35,500; T.B. clinics 96; school health clinics 68; rural health centres 200; nurses training institutes 18; and medical college 12.⁴⁷

The Third Plan proposes to extend the health services to the entire population within the next 15 years. This is a long-term policy and, according to the plan,

The long-term objective of any health programme must, in broad terms, be to maximize each child's chances of survival at birth, to increase its average life expectancy, and to ensure that it enjoys good health throughout its life time.⁴⁸

The Third Plan has drawn the health plan accordingly. In the original plan the health programme's share was Rs. 1,330 million. In the revised plan, however, about Rs. 1,175 million were allocated for the health programme. The intra-sectoral allocations in the health sector over the three five year plans are given in Table 6.3.

SOCIAL WELFARE

Social welfare has been defined by Marriam as "the activities that directly concern the economic and social

⁴⁷The Third Five Year Plan, 1965-70, p. 244.

⁴⁸The Third Five Year Plan, 1965-70, p. 247.

TABLE 6.3

PUBLIC EXPENDITURE FOR HEALTH PROGRAMME OF THE
GOVERNMENT OF PAKISTAN FROM 1955-1970

(In million rupees)

Sub-sectors	First Plan	Second Plan	Third Plan
Malaria control	53.0	55.98	271.580
T.B. hospital, clinics, B.C.G.	26.0	19.82	28.530
Medical college and education	58.6	21.09	229.770
Hospitals	56.1	81.26	129.791
Dispensaries	37.1	52.57	---
Infectious diseases hospital	4.2	16.60	---
Medical stores	1.0	4.70	---
Higher training for doctors, nurses and research	11.1	24.50	---
Maternity and child health centres	12.2	2.61	---
Nurse and other training	17.9	21.87	---
School health services and health education	5.7	4.40	3.284
Family planning	--	30.50	274.000
Nutrition	--	5.50	3.160
Rural health centres	--	--	155.961
Training of paramedical personnel	--	--	26.541
Miscellaneous	--	--	51.913
	287.2	350.0	1,174.532

Source: The First Five-Year Plan, 1955-60, p. 617;
The Second Five Year Plan, 1960-65, p. 366;
The Third Five Year Plan, 1965-70, p. 27 of
 Annexure, Table 10.

well-being of individuals and families".⁴⁹ It is difficult to determine what kinds of activities constitute social welfare as one finds that the range of social welfare activities is different in different countries. It seems from an agenda of the social welfare activities of the Government of Pakistan that its efforts in this regard are limited to the solution of social problems arising out of the economic and social changes and to helping those who are helpless. In general, the social welfare activities of the Government of Pakistan covers urban community development, rural development, refugee problem, child protection, delinquency, physically and mentally handicapped, women deprived of family support, and begging and destitution. The ultimate object of such a programme is the elimination of discontent and frustration and the arousal of support for the government.

The government policy is to provide services for two aspects of social welfare - the preventive and the curative. The preventive social welfare is designed to foresee problems which arise from social and economic changes. The curative and remedial aspects of social welfare deal with the care of the destitute, the handicapped, etc., and those people who are unable to solve their problems with their own resources.⁵⁰

⁴⁹Ida C. Marriam, "Social Welfare Expenditure: 1964-1965", in Social Security Bulletin, Vol. 28, No. 10, p. 3.

⁵⁰The First Five-Year Plan, 1955-60, p. 56.

The Social Welfare Policy

The social welfare policy of the government emphasizes three aspects of development which are briefly discussed below.

1. Social planning - Social welfare activities were previously undertaken on a piece-meal basis. Specific service organizations were established by private individuals or groups to deal with particular problems. These services were not related to the whole society. The concept of social planning indicates that there is a need for an integrated service for social welfare to minimize social tensions and "to ensure a smooth and harmonious social and cultural transition".⁵¹

2. Social research - Social planning should be based on a deeper study of the society. There are many questions regarding society and social relationships which must be answered before a comprehensive social planning is initiated. For this reason social survey through a thorough study of society is essential.

3. Social work - Social work is the specific activity of government or the voluntary organization in connection with social problems. Such works are both preventive and remedial,

⁵¹Ibid., p. 621.

as mentioned earlier. The government policy is to take preventive measures as its own responsibility and to rely on private voluntary organizations for curative and remedial measures although no sharp distinction is made between the two. In general, government services will primarily be directed to the elimination of the causes of social problems, but if problems do arise government will rely in most of the cases on private organizations for their solution. There are about 4,000 private organizations engaged in various kinds of social welfare activities.

Social Welfare Organizations

Initially, the Ministry of Health, Labour and Social Welfare was responsible for social welfare activities of government. In 1962, social welfare functions were transferred to the provinces in accordance with the provisions of the 1962 Constitution. The Central Directorate of Social Welfare was abolished and Directorates of Social Welfare were set up in the provinces. Each province has a council of Social Welfare. However, the Labour and Social Welfare Division of the Ministry of Health, Labour and Social Welfare deals with matters of national and international importance.

In 1956, the Central government set up the National Council of Social Welfare composed of official and non-official members. It evaluates the needs and activities of the

voluntary organization, and gives them guidance, and financial and technical assistance.

Some specific social welfare activities

The areas covered by the social welfare activities are many and varied. Some of the specific services rendered by government and private organizations will now be discussed.

Urban Community Development. The need for community development in the cities of Pakistan is high. Cities are growing rapidly and with their growth many problems arise. As the First Plan stated:

It is in the industrial areas that the regulative authority of tradition will be weakest, the ties of family responsibility least compelling, the opportunity for organized discontent greatest.⁵²

There is therefore a paramount need for the development of a society of contented city dwellers. An integrated new community is to be formed out of the people who come to the city from different areas of the country so that they are able to satisfy the needs of social relationships. They also need recreational facilities, education, health and physical protection. The object of the urban community development projects of the government is to help people to help themselves in these matters.

⁵²Ibid., p. 623.

The community development programmes provide services like community hygiene, sanitation, medical clinics, family planning, adult education, recreational services, industrial homes and assistance to the destitute. A community development project is manned by two or three trained social workers for 15,000 to 20,000 people. During the First Plan period provision was made for 70 urban community development projects but only 25 projects were completed. Eighty seven projects were completed during the Second Plan against a target of 98. During the Third Plan 65 projects are proposed to be undertaken. The total number of projects needed for the urban areas is estimated at 491. Therefore, there is a need for 314 more projects.⁵³

Rural Development Services. Previously no social service was provided to the rural communities. The Village Agricultural and Industrial Development organization was oriented toward economic development of the rural areas. However, it provided some social services to the rural people. This organization was replaced by Village Extension Service giving it an agricultural and industrial bias. A separate programme for rural areas was then felt necessary. This function was assigned to the Basic Democracies. Nothing was, however, done in this regard till the beginning of the Third Plan.

⁵³The Third Five Year Plan, 1965-70, p. 274.

The Plan estimates that there is a need for about 5,400 rural social service units, each unit covering 15,000 people. Against this need, however, only 500 units are proposed to be provided during the Third Plan.⁵⁴ Funds for this purpose have been provided out of the allocations for the Rural Works Programme.

Child Welfare. The child welfare programme has varied objects. It is designed to help the pre-school and out-of-school children who are neglected, and who suffer from emotional disturbances. The programme also covers the children of families dislocated due to sickness, death or natural calamities. Day care services are also provided for the children of working mothers. By 1965, only 15 social service centres were established out of the total estimated need for 4,000 units. The Third Plan proposes to set up 34 pilot projects. Three Councils for Child Welfare were set up by the government - one at the centre and two in the provinces. They are responsible for making policies, plan and programmes, coordinating the activities of child welfare organizations and providing advisory service to them. Training institutes for child welfare are being established with the help of the UNICEF. Private organizations have borne major responsibilities for child welfare, especially for children without families and parents.

⁵⁴Ibid., p. 275.

Services for the Physically and Mentally Handicapped. The number of physically and mentally handicapped persons in Pakistan is large. It was estimated that about 2,500 service units are required for this purpose - each unit consisting of 100 to 300 people. As most of the handicapped people can be made self-supporting, 40 pilot projects have been undertaken for their training and rehabilitation. There are several institutions which provide the blind persons with board, lodging, education and training. During the Third Plan period 27 centres are planned to be set up for them. Private organizations like Association for the Prevention of Blindness and Adult Blind Centre render useful services to these disadvantaged people. In East Pakistan a centre has been opened for the physiotherapeutic treatment of the crippled children. The deaf and dumb are also cared for. There are six institutions for their education and training. During the current plan five more training centres will be opened. Model institutions are being set up for the mentally retarded. Surveys about the incidence of mental illness are being conducted by the Pakistan Institute of Mental Hygiene and the Pakistan Association of Mental Health. During the Third Plan three institutions are proposed to be set up for the mentally retarded persons.

Services for the orphans. Services for the orphans have a long tradition in the country, but the orphanages have been in unsatisfactory conditions. However, the services are going

to be improved under the influence of professional social workers, professional thinking and practice. Nevertheless, there is a need to further improve the condition of the orphanages. They are to be converted into a training place instead of an abode for the unfortunate people. Over 500 orphanages are run in Pakistan on voluntary basis. The Pakistan Council of Social Welfare is giving grants-in-aid to these orphanages. The East Pakistan Council of Social Welfare maintains 17 state and 24 aided orphanages. The West Pakistan Council maintains 19 orphanages. All orphanages have their schools and training institutes. However, it is being felt that the orphans are to be regarded as part of the society and are not to be kept within their residential and school surroundings; they should be allowed to attend schools outside the orphanages.

Youth Welfare. The social services for the youth are designed "to inculcate the dignity of labour in the youth and to prepare them for useful employment".⁵⁵ The youth welfare programme was drawn up for the first time during the Second Plan period. The programme was modest and out of the need for 750 service units only 20 units were set up during the Plan period. Comprehensive programmes for youth welfare are drawn up by the Provincial Directorates of Social Welfare. The ob-

⁵⁵Ibid., p. 276.

ject of these schemes is to foster opportunity for health, social, physical and cultural growth of young men. The government of East Pakistan has organized 16 Youth Welfare Centres for fostering interest in work camp, community services and youth rallies. The Third Plan proposes to provide 29 model service units. Youth organizations like Boy Scout, Girl Guides, the Work Camps Association and Pakistan Youth Hostel Association have been included in the Plan and would receive grants from government for building youth hostels, organizing camps and establishing youth service centres.

Care for the Old. In most cases the family takes the responsibility for the care of the old persons. But in some cases they are not being looked after by anybody. In that case they become beggars. Many of these people can be rehabilitated after proper training. Government proposes to set up 6 model institutions for the aged. There is almost no private effort for the care of the old persons.

School Social Work. Among the institutions in which the future citizens are trained schools are the most important. But in many schools in Pakistan teachers are so underpaid and overworked that they are not in a position to look into the various problems of the students such as absenteeism, failures, gangsterism, delinquency or apathy of parents. Some of the parents are too busy to take proper care of their children. School-home relationship is not established in many cases.

To fill this gap school social work was introduced at school, college and university levels. Trained social workers are appointed to help and guide students in their educational life, to prevent breakdown in their school career, to find economic assistance when needed, to help in the development of their personalities and in home adjustments, to facilitate teacher's work, to promote parent-teacher relationships and to prevent truancy and delinquency among students.⁵⁶ During the Third period about 40 service units will be set up in East Pakistan in different educational institutions.

Medical Social Work. Medical social work has both preventive and curative aspects and it encompasses many objectives.

It cuts return to hospital, prevents spread of disease and breakdown in patient's family; makes medical treatment more meaningful and effective; undertakes rehabilitation of patients; motivates community action for the benefit of patients; and undertakes patient's after care.⁵⁷

Medical social work will require approximately 650 service units. So far only 24 projects have been undertaken and 60 new units will be set up during the Third Plan period.

Other Social Welfare Services. The social welfare programme of the government of Pakistan also pays attention to beggary, destitution, women deprived of family support, widows, delinquency, prostitution, etc. In 1961 the Government of Pakistan

⁵⁶Ibid., p. 277.

⁵⁷Ibid.

appointed a Commission to enquire into social evils and to recommend measures for their eradication. The Commission submitted its report in 1965.⁵⁸ It dealt with such problems as ceremonies connected with birth and death, ceremonies and customs connected with marriage, problems of children and adolescents, beggary, prostitution, gambling and betting, intoxicants, bribery and other forms of corruption. Government has accepted many of its recommendations which are being implemented gradually.

Training on Social Work

The social welfare activities of the Government of Pakistan are relatively recent. There were, however, some private organizations doing this work. But the scope of their functions was limited because of lack of funds as well as trained personnel. The First Plan recognized these two problems and made a plea for the expansion of training facilities for the social workers. By the beginning of the plan 124 social workers have been given social welfare training. Short courses were also introduced for giving training in urban community development which was given high priority in the first two plans. The University of Punjab started a graduate course

⁵⁸Ministry of Health, Labour and Social Welfare, Government of Pakistan, Report of the Commission for Eradication of Social Evils (Karachi: 1965).

in social work in 1954. Schools of social work were established in Dacca in 1959, in Karachi in 1961 and in Rajshahi in 1964. Courses in social work were also introduced in other regular colleges. The First Plan provided for the training of 500 social workers for only 350 could be trained. The need of the Second Plan was estimated at 1,100 social workers and 700 specialized social workers. The Third Plan programme is to train about 2,000 social workers.

Research in Social Work

Extensive research is essential for discovering the social problems of the country as well as for the proper planning of social welfare programmes. The present government activities in the field of social welfare are limited only to problems which are known at present. More problems may be revealed after thorough research and consequently, there will be expansion of government activities in this field. Research is needed in a wide variety of fields: the impact of industrialization on family and community; the impact of urbanization; the nature and extent of tension and conflict due to the process of economic and social changes, etc. The First Plan gave considerable emphasis to research. It recommended the creation of three research units in the Directorate of Social Welfare in the Central and the Provincial governments. But nothing was done till the beginning

TABLE 6.4

PUBLIC EXPENDITURE FOR SOCIAL WELFARE IN PAKISTAN,
1955-1970

(In million rupees)

Sub-sectors	First Plan	Second Plan	Third Plan
Training	2.75	2.3	3.736
Administration	2.22	.66	1.438
Research	1.05	2.78	0.292
Urban Community Development	9.89	5.55	8.078
Remedial Establishments	16.59	-*	-*
Medical Social Work	-	.63	1.878
Child Welfare	-	4.67	10.894
Youth Work and Recreational Services for Children	-	1.75	0.474
Delinquency and Probation	-	4.92	2.830
Socially and Mentally Handicapped - Grants-in-aid to Voluntary Agencies	-	15.23	18.723
Social Service under Basic Democracies	-	13.50	22.134
Social Service for Rural Communities	-	35.00	-
School Social Work	-	-	4.921
Miscellaneous	-	-	1.424
	-	-	13.500
	32.50	84.71	90.322

* - Expenditure for Remedial Establishments have been shown separately in the Second and the Third Plans.

Source: The First Five-Year Plan, 1955-60, p. 638;
The Second Five Year Plan, 1960-65, p. 391;
The Third Five Year Plan, 1965-70, p. 28,
 Table 11 of Annexure.

of the Third Plan which proposes to undertake 17 research projects. The findings of these researches are in the process of publication.

Social welfare did not figure high in the minds of the planners in Pakistan. Consequently, only a small fraction of the total allocation of money was provided for this sector. In the public sector only Rs. 32.5 million was allotted for social welfare. The Second Plan Allocation was more than doubled but still compared with the total allocation it was meagre. In the Third Plan Public sector allocation for this sector was Rs. 90 million slightly less than triple the amount of the First Plan (see Table 6.4).

CHAPTER VII

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT: EDUCATION

Education is one of the important means of developing a nation. In this respect its function is multi-dimensional. For the individual it has an independent value, as Myrdal said:

Certainly an individual benefits from the development of his faculties, and anything that enlarges his opportunities to participate in the life and culture of his nation and the world enriches him personally. ¹

Education plays a great role in social and political changes. It promotes motivation in people, develops the quality of self-reliance and initiative and "above all, the desire to achieve."² Daniel Lerner has placed a considerable importance on education in the transformation of a traditional society into a modernized one. According to him "The capacity to read, at first acquired by relatively few people, equips them to perform the varied tasks required in

¹Gunnar Myrdal, Asian Drama: An Inquiry into the Poverty of Nations (New York: Pantheon, 1968), Paperback edition, Vol. III, p. 1537.

²Muhammad Shamsul Huq, Education and Development Strategy in South and Southeast Asia (Honolulu: East-West Center Press, 1965), p. 64.

the modernizing society."³ Meier has said that one of the functions of education is to "provide seeds for new understanding, new capacities to adapt, and new sources of leadership, looking towards the continuation and progressive improvement of the society."⁴ Education also contributes towards economic development. Some studies have recently been made which show correlation between education and economic development.⁵

The General Objective of Education in Pakistan

The objectives of education vary from country to country. Generally, the system of education of a country depends on its developmental needs and the prevailing ideology of the nation. Every country has some developmental goals and the educational system is geared to the achievement of those goals. As a developing nation Pakistan needs trained manpower. The system of education must give the individuals full opportunity to develop their skills for their own sake and for the sake of the development of the country as well.

³Daniel Lerner, The Passing of Traditional Society (Glencoe: Free Press, 1964), p. 60.

⁴Richard L. Meier, Development Planning (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1965), p. 273.

⁵See page 351 below.

No uneducated country has progressed far in the modern world and no educated country with initiative and leadership has remained backward. An illiterate society clings to customs, traditions, and outmoded practices; it resists the forces of change which stimulate the acquisition of new knowledge and new skills. 6

For this reason the provision of scientific and technical education is one of the major goals of Pakistan's education. Pakistan needs leaders in government, business, commerce and other professions and the task of her educational system is to provide such leaders in all walks of life and all professions. Educational system also aims at the creation of informed citizenry which is necessary for the successful functioning of democracy. Education must also "play a fundamental part in the preservation of the ideals which led to the creation of Pakistan."⁷ Most Pakistanis believe that Pakistan was created, among others, to enable them to order their lives in accordance with what they consider the teachings of the Quran and Sunnah.⁸ As such one of the objectives of education is the preservation of Islamic way of life and

⁶The Second Five Year Plan, 1960-65, p. 337.

⁷Government of Pakistan, Report of the Commission on National Education (Karachi: 1959), p. 11.

⁸On the rise of Muslim religious nationalism in India and Pakistan, see Saleem M. M. Qureshi, Jinnah and the Making of a Nation (Karachi: Council for Pakistan Studies, 1969), pp. 11-27; Hafeez Malik, Muslim Nationalism in India and Pakistan (Washington, D. C.: Public Affairs Press, 1963), pp. 123-153.

strengthening the concepts of truth, justice, benevolence, universal brotherhood, etc. "The moral and spiritual values of Islam combined with the freedom, integrity and strength of Pakistan should be the ideology which inspires our educational system."⁹

Education should also help social cohesion, national integration, and solidarity. This function of education in Pakistan is important because of the geographical separation of the two component parts of the country and the diversity in race, culture and tradition of the people. Another objective of education is the creation of equal opportunity for all. This may be achieved through universal education and helping those who are not in a position to get education because of financial stringency. The Commission on National Education sums up the educational ideals of Pakistan in the following words:

The concepts of spiritual and moral values, of nation building, of scientific development, of enlightened citizenship, and of public service should in our view motivate and guide our educational system. ¹⁰

But the most important reason of all is that Pakistan is one of those countries which have a very low

⁹Government of Pakistan, Report of the Commission on National Education, op. cit., p. 11.

¹⁰Ibid., p. 14.

literacy rate. According to the Census of 1961, 19.2 per cent of Pakistanis were literate. In order to achieve the objectives stated above, it is of utmost necessity to expand facilities for education gradually.

The Educational Structure of Pakistan

The educational structure of Pakistan was inherited from the British period of India's rule. The structure was devised in accordance with the requirements of the British Government in ruling Indian people. The primary objectives of the British rulers was to create a host of clerks needed to man the administration at a minimum cost to the Government. Education up to matriculation level (grade X) was thought to be sufficient for this. This stage of education consisted of 4 or 5 years of middle and high school education. The intermediate classes (grades XI and XII) were regarded as a preparatory stage for university education. This stage of education had no value in itself. According to the recommendations of the Commission on National Education the whole educational structure was revised and organized into five stages. The first is the primary stage from grades I to V. This stage is meant for students of 6 to 11 years. The second is the Junior Secondary stage of grades VI to VIII for students of the age group of 11 to 14 years. The third is the Secondary stage of grades IX and X for students of the age

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³Daniel Lerner, The Passing of Traditional Society (Glencoe: Free Press, 1964), p. 60.

⁴Richard L. Meier, Development Planning (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1965), p. 273.

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⁶The Second Five Year Plan, 1960-65, p. 337.

⁷Government of Pakistan, Report of the Commission on National Education (Karachi: 1959), p. 11.

⁸On the rise of Muslim religious nationalism in India and Pakistan, see Saleem M. M. Qureshi, Jinnah and the Making of a Nation (Karachi: Council for Pakistan Studies, 1969), pp. 11-27; Hafeez Malik, Muslim Nationalism in India and Pakistan (Washington, D. C.: Public Affairs Press, 1963), pp. 123-153.

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⁹Government of Pakistan, Report of the Commission on National Education, op. cit., p. 11.

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group of 15 to 16 years. The next stage is of Higher Secondary comprising grades XI and XII for the age group of 17 and 18 years. The final stage is that of higher education in College and University. The age of the students at this stage of education is 18 years and above.¹¹ The new structure of education in Pakistan is diagrammatically put in Figure 7.1.

It was a matter of major policy for government to decide on what stage and on what aspect or aspects of education priorities should be assigned. This was very important because the available resources were to be used for maximum benefits to the country. The First Plan allocated 6 per cent (Rs. 580.7 million) for education, out of the total amount of development expenditure. The Second Plan allocation was reduced to 4 per cent (Rs. 1,398 million) and the Third Plan raised it to 5 per cent (Rs. 2,374.5 million) (see Table 7.5). The intra-sectoral priorities in education is given in Table 7.1.

It is proposed to discuss in the following sections the various measures taken by the Government of Pakistan to develop the educational system within the means allotted to the various sub-sectors.

¹¹ See Muhammad Shamsul Huq, Education and Development Strategy in South and Southeast Asia, *op. cit.*, pp. 164-165.

Diagram 7.1: EDUCATIONAL STRUCTURE OF PAKISTAN

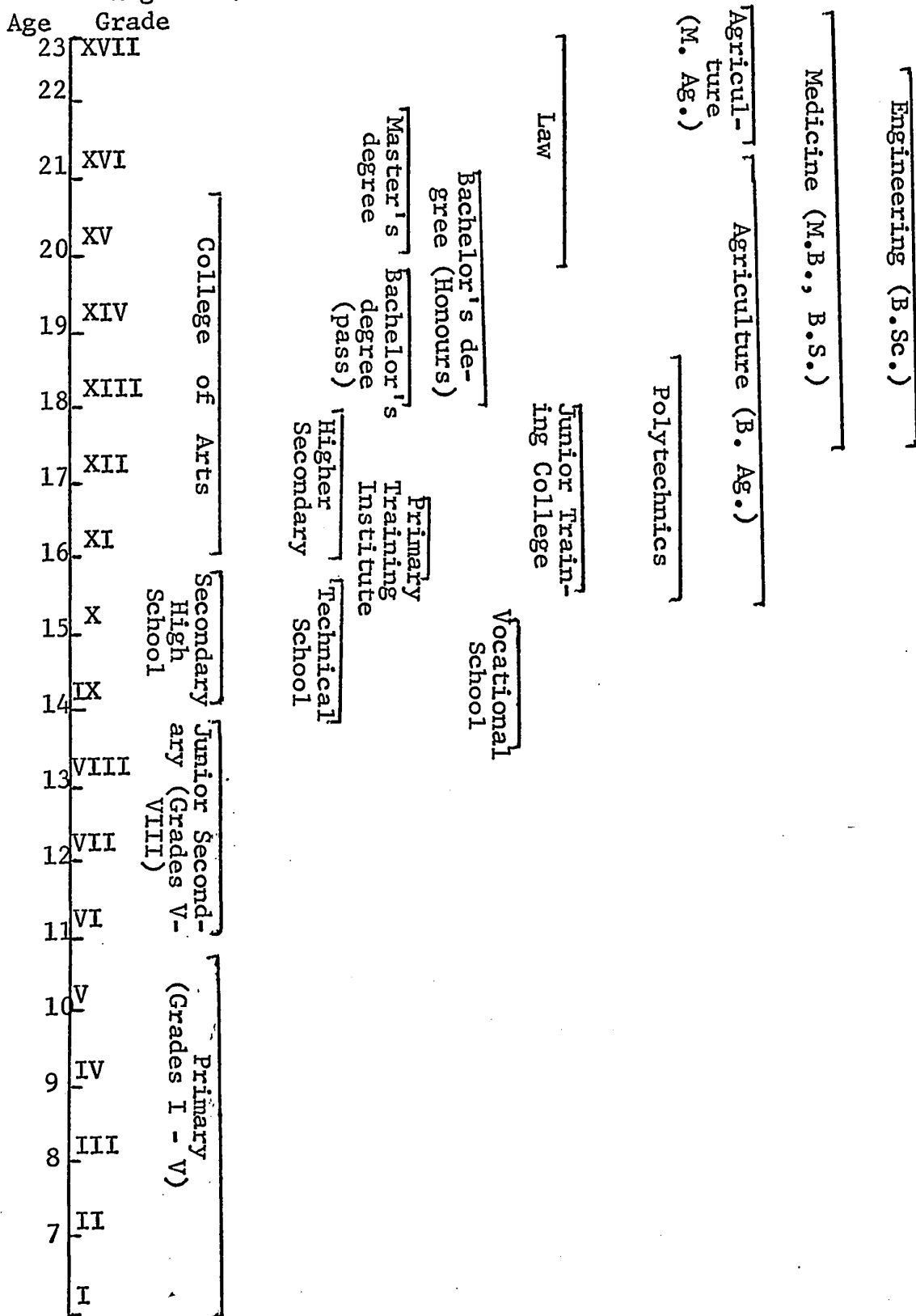


TABLE 7.1

ALLOCATION OF MONEY FOR DIFFERENT SUB-SECTORS OF
EDUCATION IN THE FIRST, SECOND AND THE THIRD PLANS
(1955-70)

(in percentages)

Sub-sectors	First Plan	Second Plan	Third Plan
Primary Education	20	9	20
Secondary Education	19	17	23
Teacher Education	2	6	5
Technical Education	6	24	23
Higher Education	26	25	15
Scholarships	1	8	8
Miscellaneous	26	11	6
	100	100	100

Source: Government of Finance, Ministry of Finance,
Pakistan Economic Survey, 1964-65 (Rawal-
pindi: 1965), p. 225.

PRIMARY EDUCATION

Although the primary education is the first stage of education, not enough attention was given to it, either during the British rule or immediately after independence. About 37 per cent of the children of the primary school age entered school at the time of independence.¹² About half of them dropped before reaching grade V. The condition of female education was even worse. Only 16 per cent of the girls of primary school age entered school.¹³ School building, reading materials, and trained teachers were insufficient. The schools were not made attractive at all. In improving the primary education attention was first given to teacher training and the construction of school buildings. It was emphasized in the First Plan that

A system of universal primary education is imperative. Primary education is essential to prepare citizens for the discharge of their democratic and civil responsibilities and to provide them with equal opportunities for economic and cultural advancement. It is essential to the nation as a base for the entire structure of secondary and higher education from which will come leadership in all walks of life and support for technical development in agriculture and industry.¹⁴

The Commission on National Education after a thor-

¹² Muhammad Shamsul Huq, Compulsory Education in Pakistan (Paris: UNESCO, 1954), p. 147.

¹³ Ibid., pp. 43 and 147.

¹⁴ The First Five-Year Plan, 1955-60, p. 545.

ough examination of the educational system of Pakistan, set the following objectives of primary education:

- (a) to provide such education as will develop all aspects of a child's personality - moral, physical and mental;
- (b) to equip a child according to his abilities and aptitudes with the basic knowledge and skills he will require as an individual and as citizen and which permit him to pursue further education with profit;
- (c) to awaken in a child a sense of citizenship and civic responsibilities as well as a feeling of love for his country and willingness to contribute to its development;
- (d) to lay the foundation of desirable attitudes in the child including habits of industry, personal integrity and curiosity;
- (e) to awaken in the child a liking for physical activity and awareness of the role of sports and games in physical well-being. ¹⁵

The Pakistan Education Conference of 1947 recommended the introduction of compulsory primary education initially for a period of five years to be raised later to eight years. The First Plan also declared: "Universal primary education is a major goal of national planning".¹⁶ Although the target date for the introduction of universal compulsory education was set for 1975, it has now been refixed

¹⁵ Government of Pakistan, Report of the Commission on National Education, *op. cit.*, p. 175.

¹⁶ The First Five-Year Plan, 1955-60, p. 545.

for 1980.

Improvement of primary education requires qualified teachers in large numbers. But Pakistan lacks sufficient number of qualified teachers for its primary education. Even in 1955 only 65 per cent of the teachers were trained. As regards the number of teachers it was estimated that about 40,000 teachers would be needed to conduct the primary schools during the First Plan period, and 165,000 additional teachers for universal primary education.

The problem of primary education is different in the two provinces. In East Pakistan, there were adequate number of schools - about 26,260 in all, but the dropout was higher than West Pakistan. In some areas only 15 per cent would continue up to grade V. In West Pakistan, the number of schools was inadequate. However, about 33 per cent of the students continued up to grade V. So, during the First Plan, emphasis was given to improve 6,000 schools in East Pakistan and to open 4,000 new primary schools in West Pakistan, in addition to 15,500 schools that were existing in 1955.¹⁷ The plan proposed to improve the quality of primary education by better teaching and supervision of teachers, development of improved training materials, raising of tea-

¹⁷Ibid., pp. 547-548.

chers' salaries to attract better qualified persons and reducing absenteeism.

However, the objective of the First Plan was not materialized fully. Only 2,400 new schools were opened in West Pakistan, achieving only 60 per cent of the target. Only a few schools were improved in East Pakistan. The actual enrolment increased by 440,000 against a target of one million.¹⁸ The shortfalls in the target clearly indicate that no serious attempt was made to implement the primary school programme.

The objective of the Second Plan was to raise the attendance of the primary school student from 43.3 per cent to 60 per cent by 1965. In West Pakistan about 15,200 new schools were to be opened, but in case of East Pakistan attention was to be given to the improvement of 7,000 schools. The enrolment in West Pakistan was anticipated to be increased by 1.2 million, raising the proportion of the age group attending school from 36 per cent to 56 per cent, and in East Pakistan the enrolment was to go up by 1.3 million, raising the percentage of the age group attending school from 48 to 65 per cent.¹⁹ The result of the primary education develop-

¹⁸The Second Five Year Plan, 1960-65, p. 341.

¹⁹Ibid., p. 342.

ment programme during the Second Plan was remarkably satisfactory. The achievement exceeded targets in many cases. In East Pakistan, about 7,500 schools were improved against a target of 7,000 schools. In West Pakistan, the opening of the new schools exceeded by 1,500, thus indicating an achievement of 110 per cent.²⁰ The enrolment, however, did not reach the target. The total enrolment increased by 2 million in place of the target of 2.5 million.²¹

The Third Plan seeks to widen the base of primary education. In its own words:

Heavy investment at the primary level is necessary in order to reveal talent and to lay the basis of attitudes of mind essential to development. This will improve the secondary and higher stages of education, which have been recruiting from too narrow a base in the past. ²²

The Plan proposes to increase the base of primary education by three measures: preventing dropouts, greatly expanding the supply of better qualified teachers and better facilities, and making the school more attractive to children.²³

The Third Plan programme for the improvement of primary education is, no doubt, ambitious. It proposes to

²⁰Government of Pakistan, Department of Films and Publications, Second Five Year Plan: Targets and Achievements, op. cit., p. 10.

²¹The Third Five Year Plan, 1965-70, p. 186.

²²Ibid., p. 187.

²³Ibid.

increase the total enrolment figure from 45 per cent in 1965 to 70 per cent in 1970. In actual figures, the enrolment will increase by 5.8 million by 1970 - 3 million in East Pakistan and 2.8 million in West Pakistan.²⁴ To achieve these ends, 18,500 schools will be improved in East Pakistan by increasing physical capacity, appointing better qualified teachers, and providing equipment and library facilities, in addition to opening 4,000 new schools. In West Pakistan, about 42,500 new schools will be set up by 1970. The Plan also seeks to retain about 50 per cent students at the primary schools in the grade V level in place of 20 per cent as in 1965, thus decreasing dropout substantially. By 1968, there was a 136 per cent increase in the enrolment of the primary school.²⁵ The increase was not uniform both in East and West Pakistan. In West Pakistan the increase was about 300 per cent, while in East Pakistan it was only 33 per cent.²⁶

The content of education should be given second place in any rational and realistic planning of education, the quality of teachers being given the first, and the school buildings and supplies the third place. The content of the

²⁴ Ibid., p. 189.

²⁵ Pakistan News Digest (Karachi), Vol. 16, No. 11 (June 11, 1968), p. 1.

²⁶ Adam Curle, Educational Planning in Pakistan: A Personal Case Study (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1966), p. 104.

primary education in Pakistan has been very poor. It has not been changed in decades. Neither has it been adapted to the mental abilities of those for whom the curriculum is meant. The Commission on National Education recommended, among others:

The curriculum should be adapted to the mental abilities of children aged five to ten and related to the normal situations they are faced with in everyday life. It must be so designed as to develop the basic skills in reading, writing and arithmetic, a liking for working with one's own hands, and a high sense of patriotism. 27

In accordance with the recommendation of the Commission on National Education, the primary school curriculum has been reshaped. Besides the basic courses of reading, writing and arithmetic (three R's), some other courses as social studies, elementary science, art work, crafts, manual labour, etc., have been introduced in the primary schools.

Although the successive Plans have declared their objective to widen the base of the primary education gradually with the ultimate objective of introducing compulsory universal primary education by 1975 (now by 1980) sufficient money has not been allotted for this purpose. In the First and the Third Plans only 20 per cent of the total allocation was given to primary education. The allocation in the Second

²⁷ Government of Pakistan, Report of the Commission on National Education, op. cit., p. 186.

Plan was however drastically reduced to 9 per cent. Considering the fact that the allocation was reduced in the Second Plan, the Third Plan allocation should have been much higher.

SECONDARY EDUCATION

Secondary education has two broad objectives. First, it fulfils the various needs of the country. It supplies trained personnel to government, business, agriculture, industry and other professions. Second, it forms the base of college and university education. According to the 1961 census the rate of literacy was the highest among the age group attending high school. It was 30.7 per cent.

Previously, secondary education was not regarded as a distinct stage of education. The secondary schools were placed under universities which would prescribe syllabus for them, conduct final examination and control various aspects of their administration. On the recommendations of the Commission on National Education, however, secondary education has been reorganized so as to give it a distinct place in the educational system. It is now regarded as terminal rather than preparatory to university education. The secondary schools have now been placed under the control of newly created Boards of Intermediate and Secondary Education, four in each province.

The Boards frame the curriculum and conduct examination of the secondary schools.

Previously, secondary education was from grades V to X. According to the revised structure, three stages have been set up within secondary education system - Junior Secondary (grades V-VIII), Secondary (grades IX and X), and Higher Secondary (grades XI and XII).

Unlike primary education which is largely supported by Government, secondary education is financed chiefly by private societies, local bodies and religious organizations. According to the estimates of the First Plan, of the 5,743 secondary schools, about 5,000 (i.e., 87 per cent) were maintained by these agencies.²⁸ For this reason high schools were not equally distributed on a regional basis. The high school curriculum was deficient in that important courses like education, home economics, social welfare, etc., were not included. Schools for girls were not opened in sufficient numbers. The First Plan therefore pointed out rightly:

The government has several well-defined functions to perform in secondary education including development and maintenance of high standards, balanced geographical distribution of schools, greater equality of opportunity for education regardless of economic status, more facilities for the education of girls. 29

²⁸The First Five Year Plan, 1955-60, p. 549.

²⁹Ibid.

Secondary education also heavily leaned towards liberal arts. It produced graduates whom the economy of the country was unable to offer employment or, would offer employment below their expectation. This will be evident from Table 7.2.

TABLE 7.2

PERCENTAGE OF STUDENTS IN ARTS, SCIENCE AND
COMMERCE IN EAST PAKISTAN, 1960

	(In percentage)	
	Intermediate College	Degree College
Arts	50	67
Science	29	13
Commerce	21	20
	100	100

Source: Adam Curle, Educational Planning in Pakistan: A Personal Case Study, op. cit., p. 86.

A need was, therefore, felt to reorient the curriculum of the secondary education so as to give more emphasis to the teaching of science and applied arts, and to give the students more adequate pre-vocational preparation for careers

in agriculture, education, social welfare, business and industry. New courses are gradually introduced in accordance with the developmental requirements of the country. This diversification of courses may be regarded as an important improvement in the secondary education system of Pakistan.

A question of major policy was whether the secondary education should be specific or general. It seems that the policy of the Government is to give general education to the secondary school students. The specific training is proposed to be given on the job. On this point the First Plan says:

One of the most important objectives of secondary education is that pupils be educated in the essentials of human relations. The understanding of the scientific basis of individual motivation, the search for security, the desire to belong to a group, the urge to have a voice in matters which concerns one and understanding of group process in the home, in the school, on the job, and in community and government, are essential to the growth of democracy and hence should be developed in all schools pupils. In addition, acquaintance with the principles of human relations will be of vocational value to many pupils when they finish their education and become teachers, nurses, supervisors in industry, village aid workers, etc. 30

The Commission on National Education recommended that:

Secondary education should bring about the full development of the child (a) as an individual, (b) as a citizen, (c) as a worker, and (d) as a

³⁰Ibid., p. 551.

patriot to enable him to understand and enjoy the benefits of social progress, scientific discovery and invention, and to participate in economically useful activities. 31

As was said before, secondary education is largely managed by private agencies and the role of government has been to encourage and assist private undertakings, to provide leadership concerning school standards, to assure more adequate geographical distribution of schools, to help change curriculum in accordance with the requirements of the country.

Compared with other sub-sectors of education, secondary education has drawn close attention of the Government as is evident from the allocation of money for it which is 19 per cent, 17 per cent and 23 per cent of the total allocation of money for education in the three successive Plans.

The First Plan programme for the improvement of the secondary education was to develop 1,000 junior high schools in East Pakistan by upgrading some primary schools and by downgrading weak secondary schools, although in the later case the policy should have been to improve them. Improvement in the teaching of science, arts and crafts would be made in 80 of them. About 500 high schools would get

³¹Government of Pakistan, Report of the Commission on National Education, op. cit., p. 144.

grants-in-aid from government for increasing the salary of teachers, diversifying curriculum, and for the construction of buildings and buying equipment.³² In West Pakistan 150 primary schools were proposed to be upgraded to middle schools, 40 middle schools to be upgraded to high schools, and to open 75 Government schools. Five hundred middle schools and 100 high schools were to be improved. The enrolment was expected to be increased by 144,000.³³

The performance of the First Plan in secondary education was quite encouraging. Against the target of opening 515 new secondary schools, 540 new schools were opened, and the enrolment increased by 230,000 against the target of 144,000.³⁴ The total enrolment increased by more than 12 per cent.³⁵

The Second Plan which allocated less amount of money (17 per cent) than the First Plan (19 per cent) envisaged further improvement in the secondary education system. It changed the structure of the secondary education by amalgamating the intermediate classes (grades XI and XII) with the secondary schools and thus gave the secondary education the character of a distinct stage.

³²The First Five-Year Plan, 1955-60, p. 551.

³³Ibid.:

³⁴The Second Five Year Plan, 1960-65, p. 342.

³⁵Ibid., p. 338.

The major programmes of the Second Plan were

for the improvement of the secondary schools by bringing their accommodation, equipment, libraries, and teaching to a specific standard; for the diversification of the programme in these institutions through the introduction of courses in technical, commercial and agricultural subjects; for the introduction of guidance programmes so that students with special interests and aptitudes can be encouraged to take courses suitable to their talents; for the development of residential schools offering instruction of the highest standard; for additional facilities for the education of girls; and for a programme of scholarship that will ensure the education of able but needy students. 36

These objectives were to be realized by the expansion and improvement of the existing schools and the opening of more new ones. By 1960 there were about 3,100 secondary schools in East Pakistan. As they were sufficient, according to the Plan's estimate, to absorb the students seeking enrolment, attention was given to the improvement of their qualitative standards. One thousand junior high schools were proposed to be developed by upgrading primary and middle schools. Of the total of 1,600 senior high schools, about 1,200 were to be provided with qualified teachers, adequate buildings, and better laboratories and equipment. Courses in crafts and agriculture were proposed to be introduced in 100 junior high schools and 50 senior high schools respectively. In West Pakistan there were 2,900 secondary schools in 1965 and so more schools were needed to serve more area.

³⁶Ibid., p. 342.

The Plan proposed to open 160 high schools, to upgrade 103 middle schools into high schools and to raise 600 primary schools into middle schools. Of the 1,900 middle schools, 200 were proposed to be provided with additional accommodation and equipment. About 800 qualified teachers were to be appointed in Government schools. Provision was also made to fit 70 science laboratories with modern equipment. For diversifying curriculum courses like industrial arts, commerce, agriculture, etc. were to be introduced in 250 middle schools and 45 high schools.³⁷

All these measures were expected to increase the enrolment by 430,000 students, raising the percentage of age group attending secondary schools from 12 in 1960 to 16 in 1965. On a regional basis the rise will be from 9 per cent to 12 per cent in East Pakistan and from 17 per cent to 20 per cent in West Pakistan.³⁸

The Third Plan recognized the need to widen the the base of secondary education in accordance with the manpower requirements of the country. In its view:

Primary education creates a potential and higher education caters for the specialists. It is secondary education that provides the largest

³⁷ Ibid., pp. 342-343.

³⁸ Ibid., p. 343.

number of people the requisite skills and intellectual ability to meet the immediate and multifarious needs of a rapidly expanding economy. 39

In view of this the Plan allocation for secondary education was increased to 23 per cent of the total allocation for education.

The Third Plan envisages the improvement or expansion of 500 junior high schools in East Pakistan and upgrading of 2,000 primary schools to middle schools in West Pakistan.

In East Pakistan 100 high schools will be improved and expanded by providing better accommodation and well equipped science laboratories and libraries and by the introduction of diversified courses in a number of selected schools. Forty-five new Government high schools and 3 pre-cadet schools are proposed to be established. Thirty-six pilot secondary schools will be gradually converted into comprehensive schools. In West Pakistan 950 schools will be improved and expanded by providing additional class rooms, libraries, equipment and by the introduction of diversified courses. In addition to these improvements and expansions, 100 middle schools will be upgraded to high schools. There will be 100 new high schools, 50 to be opened by Government and 50 by private agencies. Forty comprehensive schools with residential accommodations and facilities for diversified courses will

³⁹The Third Five Year Plan, 1965-70, p. 191.

be established.

A programme will also be drawn up to improve all existing intermediate colleges in East Pakistan. In addition, 15 new intermediate colleges will be opened in the province. In West Pakistan, 50 intermediate colleges will be improved and expanded and 35 new Government and an equal number of non-government colleges will be opened by 1970.⁴⁰

The National Economic Council in a meeting in September 1967, decided to introduce general science as a compulsory subject in high schools in West Pakistan and to set up 35 intermediate colleges to increase the enrolment of science students in the province.⁴¹ This was done to widen the base of technical education.

Pakistan's emphasis on secondary education with its bias on technical subjects may be regarded as a move in the right direction. Higher education being expensive and time consuming, secondary education may be able to supply the bulk of the skilled people required for the country's development. As more progress is achieved attention may be given to higher education.

⁴⁰Ibid., pp. 193-194.

⁴¹Pakistan News Digest (Karachi), Vol. 15, No. 18 (September 15, 1967), p. 2.

TECHNICAL EDUCATION

The development of scientific and technical education is one of the means by which the economic growth of a country can be achieved. It is in this area that education and economic growth can be better correlated. It seems that in the initial years this branch of education did not get adequate attention of the Government of Pakistan. In the First Plan only 6 per cent of the total allocation of money for education was provided for technical education. But the value of technical education seems to have been quickly realized and the allocation in the subsequent two Plans was increased substantially - to 24 per cent in the Second and to 23 per cent in the Third Plan.

Technical education in Pakistan was in very bad shape at independence. In a sense there was no organized system of technical education in the initial years of Pakistan's independence. A survey of technical education was made in 1950 by the Technical Education Committee appointed by the Council of Technical Education of Pakistan. Several of the recommendations of the Committee were significant and laid the basis of technical education in Pakistan. It recommended that technical education should be a part of the general education and technical high schools should be established in order to give technical bias to secondary education. The

Commission on National Education recommended the diversification of courses in general schools, as discussed before, so as to include technical subjects like agriculture, commerce, home economics, etc. The Commission further recommended that the curriculum in technical schools should also include courses in social studies and humanities.⁴² The Commission further recommended:

All students should pursue a common course through the middle stage, after which the first diversion of students from general to vocational and technical schools should take place. The second diversion should take place after class X when the students may join polytechnics and technical institutions.⁴³

The development of technical education was very slow in initial years. By 1955 there were only 4 engineering colleges, 15 trade schools, 5 monotech schools, 12 artisan schools, 70 weaving schools and 25 private commercial schools in the country.⁴⁴ Although several technical high schools and 4 polytechnic institutes were set up after independence, there was no national policy with regard to technical education in the country.

The First Plan emphasized the role of industrial

⁴²Government of Pakistan, Report of the Commission on National Education, op. cit., p. 166.

⁴³Ibid.

⁴⁴The First Five-Year Plan, 1955-60, p. 557.

enterprises and the Ministry of Labour in organizing and giving technical training to the prospective employees in industries. It also recommended, in line with the Technical Education Committee report, to gear the secondary education to the technical and scientific needs of the country. As a first measure the Plan proposed the construction of new buildings and provision of equipment for the existing technical schools.

The requirement of technical personnel for the country's development is huge. The First Plan estimated that about 40,000 skilled workmen and 5,000 technical supervisors would be needed during the Plan period.⁴⁵ To provide this number of trained people, it proposed to set up two engineering colleges, two polytechnic institutes and one monotechnic institute. But only one monotechnic institute was set up during the Plan period. The output of the technical and vocational institutes also did not reach the targets. Only 125 additional engineers and 350 sub-engineers were trained during 1960 against the target of additional 350 and 460 sub-engineers annually.⁴⁶

As mentioned before, a larger amount of money was

⁴⁵ Ibid., pp. 558-559.

⁴⁶ The Second Five Year Plan, 1960-65, p. 346.

allotted for technical education during the Second Plan. In its own words: "The Second Plan represents an effort to remedy the fundamental weakness in technical education and to make up the deficiencies in the quality and quantity of technically trained people".⁴⁷ To improve technical education the Directorate of Technical Education in West Pakistan was strengthened. A similar directorate was established in East Pakistan. To improve the quality of education, the duration of engineering courses was increased to 4 years. The Plan also made provision for the setting up of 2 engineering and technical universities and the introduction of some new courses directly related the acceleration of economic development. The annual output of engineers was proposed to be increased from 400 in 1960 to 700 in 1965.⁴⁸

At the supervisory level, proposal was made to improve the technical institutes and to open some new ones. The number of courses to be taught in these institutes was increased and included electrical installation, gas technology, paper technology, boat building and small craft design, navigation, printing, architectural draftsmanship, instrument making and repair, brickwork, tiling, concrete construction, etc. Thus the curriculum was enriched accord-

⁴⁷Ibid., p. 346.

⁴⁸Ibid., p. 347.

ing to the requirement of the country. At the present stage of development the yearly requirement of technicians in various fields has been estimated at 7,000.⁴⁹ The future annual requirement will, however, increase gradually.

The Third Plan continued the tempo of the development of technical education. It is proposed to develop the two engineering and technical universities set up during the Second Plan for the promotion of post graduate studies and research. In addition, the construction of 3 engineering colleges will be completed and two new ones will be set up. As a result of these measures the total output of the engineers during the Plan period will be 6,000 — 2,200 in East Pakistan and 3,800 in West Pakistan.⁵⁰ The Plan also proposes to set up institutes of technological development in the engineering universities at Dacca and Lahore which will provide technical information and assistance to the practising engineers, designers and other professionals.

At the lower level, facilities for the training of technicians will be further increased during the Plan period. In East Pakistan, expansion and improvement will take place in 13 polytechnic institutes. Two new poly-

⁴⁹Government of Pakistan, Report of the Commission on National Education, op. cit., p. 157.

⁵⁰The Third Five Year Plan, 1965-70, p. 198.

technic and 3 monotechnic institutes will be established. In West Pakistan provision has been made for the setting up of 13 new polytechnic institutes and one monotechnic institute. In addition, eight polytechnics and one monotechnic will be expanded. The result of these programmes will be the increase in the number of annual intake capacity of polytechnic and technical institutes from 4,100 in 1965 to 14,000 in 1970. The total output of technicians during 1965-70 will be 23,000.⁵¹

The Second Plan provided for the establishment of some commercial institutes and by 1965 there were 37 such institutes in Pakistan. The Third Plan does not propose to set up any new commercial institutes but to concentrate on the improvement on the existing ones.

There are several vocational schools in the country which were previously managed by the Department of Labour and Industries. The function of these schools was to produce skilled workers. These schools were, however, gradually taken over by the Department of Education. The annual intake capacity of these schools will increase from 8,300 in 1965 to 50,000 in 1970 as a result of their improvement. The total output of craftsmen will be about 110,000 during the period

⁵¹ The Third Five Year Plan, 1965-70, p. 199.

from 1965 to 1970.⁵²

The Third Plan also has given attention to the training of the rural workers and craftsmen. The Plan proposes to institute a system of mobile workshop on wheels or boats, suitably equipped and manned, which will camp at various rural areas to give informal or on-the-job training.

The need for technical education at various levels seems to have been recognized by the Government. The progress in technical education has also been fairly satisfactory. However, there are two serious drawbacks. First, the technical education is still in a state of confusion because of its control by various agencies. Much needs to be done in consolidating and integrating the whole system. Second, it has not been related to the manpower needs of the country. As Adam Curle said:

Most serious of all [the drawbacks of technical education], there was no national or provincial manpower policy which attempted to gear the number of products of different levels and types of educational and vocational training to the need of development for skilled persons. ⁵³

⁵² Ibid., p. 200.

⁵³ Adam Curle, op. cit., p. 144.

HIGHER EDUCATION

The role of higher education in imparting and spreading of knowledge has been recognized by every country in the world. With the development of science, technology and highly specialized profession in recent years, the need for higher education has increased all the more. Higher education provides the country with specialists and leaders in various professions. Apart from this it has some more important functions.

Higher education has a responsibility which goes beyond the training of persons to engage in specialized or professional work; it must also assist the students to become educated men in a general sense. This means creating in them proper habits of work, a continuing desire for knowledge, initiative and independence of thought, and understanding of the problems of society, a desire to help solve such problems and a sense of honesty and fairplay in dealing with others. In short, higher education must be concerned with the formation and development of character as well as with the acquisition of knowledge. 54

There is one more aspect of higher education.

... effective system of higher education not only serves society's personal needs but must also help to give direction and impetus to the course of human progress. Higher education is the agency primarily responsible for extending the frontiers of knowledge, for examining and interpreting of ways of man and nature. 55

⁵⁴Government of Pakistan, Report of the Commission on National Education, op. cit., p. 15.

⁵⁵Ibid.

Perhaps this is one of the reasons why comparatively larger amount of money was spent on higher education in Pakistan. In the first two Plans about one-fourth of the total allocation for education was provided for higher education. In the Third Plan, however, the allocation was reduced to 15 per cent.

Higher education in Pakistan includes education in colleges and universities. In 1955 there were 148 colleges (arts and science) of which 114 were degree colleges. Of 114, eleven colleges would offer a master's programme. There were 34 intermediate colleges (grades XI and XII).⁵⁶ The total number of students in these colleges was 65,000 - 7 per cent of those in high schools and 1.4 per cent of those in primary schools. About 87 per cent of the colleges were maintained by private agencies. The number of universities which performed examining, affiliating and teaching functions was 6 in 1955.

Higher education in the country was not well-organized. First, there were several professional colleges which were managed by the respective Government department. For example, engineering college was managed by the Department of Public Works, medical college by the Department of Health. There were separate Government arts and science colleges.

⁵⁶The First Five-Year Plan, 1955-60, p. 564.

The private colleges had varied system of administration and teaching. The First Plan recommended to bring all the colleges within the university in order to unify the whole system of higher education and to give the universities true leadership in it. For the universities themselves, the Plan recommended that they should be freed from the administrative control of Government. The Plan also recommended for the reorientation of the functions of the universities toward teaching and research rather than on examining and affiliating. The universities should provide guidance and leadership in higher education. For proper planning and financing of the universities the Plan proposed the creation of Central University Grants Commission and the Provincial Grants Committee. Both the central and the provincial Governments provide grants-in-aid to the universities although education is a provincial subject.

During the First Plan period higher education showed a considerable improvement as will be seen from Table 7.3.

The Second Plan attention was directed towards the unification and integration of higher education as was suggested by the First Plan. In addition, it sought to improve the quality of higher education. As was stated in the Plan: "The principal emphasis on higher education should

TABLE 7.3

DEVELOPMENT OF HIGHER EDUCATION DURING
THE FIRST PLAN, 1955-60

Institution	Number		Annual output	
	1955	1960	1955	1960
Medical College	6	9	350	450
Nurses Training Centres	14	18	152	200
Agriculture College	4	4	120	150
Animal Husbandry College	2	2	32	64
Forestry College	1	1	2	3
Law College	8	14	710	800
Non-professional College (arts and science)	145	209	65,866	110,166
University	6	6	3,900	7,400

Source: The Second Five Year Plan, 1960-65,
pp. 338-389.

be concentrated on those measures which will produce excellence in the educational programme and ensure competence in its products."⁵⁷

The improvement of higher education was suggested by the provision of laboratories for science instruction, lib-

⁵⁷The Second Five Year Plan, 1960-65, p. 348.

raries, equipment, and qualified staff. In East Pakistan, 5 Government and 28 private colleges were proposed to be improved. Programmes for similar improvements were also proposed for the colleges in West Pakistan. The Plan also proposed for increase in the number of universities. It provided for the establishment of 2 general and 4 technical universities by 1960.

The Second Plan recommended and took some measures for the shifting of emphasis from the teaching of arts to the teaching of science. The Third Plan, however, gave very high emphasis on the teaching of science in college and universities, and proposed several measures for this. The programme will cover 63 colleges in East Pakistan and 50 colleges in West Pakistan. Five new Government colleges will be set up in West Pakistan. Some of the private colleges are being gradually taken over by the Government. For the development of the universities, the Plan proposes:

Improvement of quality, expansion of facilities for study and research in scientific and technological disciplines and consolidation in general will be keynotes of the development of universities in the Third Plan. 58

The method of teaching in Pakistan did not improve over the decades. There is predominance of lectures and less emphasis on seminars and tutorials. So, to improve the method

⁵⁸The Third Five Year Plan, 1965-70, pp. 203-204.

of teaching and to establish a close relationship between the teachers and the students Government allotted Rs. 378 million in 1967. A building for the Inter-university Board which was created several years ago for coordination among the universities in various respects is being constructed in West Pakistan, at a cost of Rs. 105,000. A similar building will be constructed in East Pakistan.⁵⁹ In 1969 the Government set up the University Grants Commission, the proposal for which was made about 14 years ago.⁶⁰

Higher education in agriculture increased rapidly. Two agricultural universities were set up during the Second Plan period and the existing agricultural colleges were improved. By 1968 the intake capacity of the agricultural institutions increased by 40 per cent. The total agricultural graduates during the Third Plan period is expected to reach 3,750. During the Second Plan Rs. 40 million was allotted for agricultural education. The Third Plan allocation is Rs. 112 million.⁶¹

⁵⁹ Embassy of Pakistan, Washington, D. C., Pakistan Affairs, Vol. XX, No 15 (September 18, 1967), p. 2.

⁶⁰ Pakistan News Digest (Karachi), Vol. 17, No. 9 (May 1, 1969).

⁶¹ Pakistan News Digest (Karachi), Vol. 16, No. 12 (June 15, 1968), p. 2.

TEACHER EDUCATION

It was pointed out before that in any rational and realistic plan for educational development first priority should be given to the improvement of the quality of teachers.⁶² The quality of education can not be improved without qualified teachers. As such it is necessary for Pakistan to give a high priority to the education of teachers. According to the estimate of the First Plan about 35 per cent of the teachers in the primary schools and 52 per cent teachers of the secondary schools were untrained.⁶³ The high rate of dropout in the primary stage has been, in part, attributed to this phenomenon. In general there was a heavy shortage of teachers which resulted in the very high teacher-student ratio. In the primary stage the teacher-student ratio varies from 1:64 to 1:40.⁶⁴ Although the problem of quality and quantity of teachers is very serious in Pakistan, it has received the least attention of the Government. The allocation of money for this important area of education has been very meagre. In the First Plan only 2 per cent, in the Second only 6 per cent and in the Third Plan only 5 per cent of the total allocation of money for education and training was spent on teacher education.

⁶² See page 236 above.

⁶³ The First Five-Year Plan, 1955-60, p. 51.

⁶⁴ Muhammad Shamsul Huq, Compulsory Education in Pakistan, op. cit., p. 45.

Pakistan's efforts to have a breakthrough in education will require a corps of trained and devoted teachers. Adequate facilities shall have to be provided for this purpose. There were 125 primary teachers training institutes in Pakistan at the time of independence, but their number dropped down to 106 in 1954 due to the closing down of poorly equipped schools. The annual enrolment, however, increased from 6,145 to 7,500 during the same period. The number of institutions training secondary school teachers rose from 11 to 22 and the annual enrolment from 700 to 1,000. There was corresponding increase in the number of trained secondary school teachers from 17,500 to 22,500.⁶⁵ There were 115,500 primary school teachers in the country and the First Plan estimated that about 62,500 additional trained teachers would be required during the Plan period. The Plan proposed to establish 25 training institutes. It was estimated that all of them would be able to produce 43,000 teachers, leaving a shortfall of 18,000 teachers.

East Pakistan had three training institutes called Normal Schools for the training of middle school teachers; West Pakistan had 13. High school teachers are trained in Teachers Training Colleges, the number of which was 6 at the beginning of the Plan period. Only two universities had

⁶⁵ The First Five-Year Plan, 1955-60, pp. 439-40. See also Table I, p. 541.

Departments of Education to train high school teachers. These could produce about 500 teachers every year. The First Plan proposal was to improve teachers training colleges in West Pakistan and to open new colleges in East Pakistan, providing a total annual output capacity of 800 teachers.⁶⁶ All these measures would increase the total number of secondary school teachers to 6,500 during the Plan period. It was hoped that this would fulfil the requirement for the Plan period. The Plan also suggested measures for raising the standard of teacher training, introducing courses for specialized groups of persons, and strengthening research in education. The performance of the First Plan in the training of teachers was quite unsatisfactory. The trained teachers in the secondary school increased substantially, but "no increase was registered at the primary level".⁶⁷ This was perhaps the most serious failure of the First Plan. The number of teacher training colleges increased from 21 in 1954-55 to 23 in 1959-60, with an increased annual output over the same period from 1,300 to 1,800, against a target of 1,840. This shows that the target was nearly reached. In case of primary teachers training institute, however, the number actually fell down

⁶⁶ Ibid., p. 561.

⁶⁷ The Second Five Year Plan, 1960-65, p. 338.

from 97 in 1954-55 to 75 in 1959-60, although the annual output remained static at 7,400.⁶⁸

By the beginning of the Second Plan there were 127,000 primary school teachers in the country. In addition, 70,000 teachers were required to be added by the end of the Second Plan period. In the Secondary Schools there were 50,000 teachers in 1960 to which the Second Plan proposed to add 8,625 undergraduate and 6,155 graduate teachers.⁶⁹ At this level 425 graduate teachers were to be given specialized training in technical, commercial, agricultural, and home economics subjects. To attain these objectives the Plan provided for the improvement of facilities in 4 training colleges, 3 junior training colleges, and 28 of the 35 primary training institutes in East Pakistan. In addition, one training college, two junior training colleges, and 20 primary training institutes were to be opened in East Pakistan during the Second Plan period. In West Pakistan improvements were to be made at 36 primary training institutes, in addition to the setting up of 2 new training colleges and 15 primary training institutes.⁷⁰ Furthermore, facilities were provided or new institutions were created for training of teachers of technical schools and colleges. In total,

⁶⁸ Ibid., p. 338, Table I.

⁶⁹ Ibid., p. 344.

⁷⁰ Ibid.

the Second Plan provided for the training of 55,000 primary teachers and 12,000 secondary school teachers by 1965, fulfilling 80 per cent of the needs of primary and secondary schools.⁷¹ The achievement during the Second Plan seems to be satisfactory. The target for the establishment of new training institutes for primary teachers was achieved fully; expansion of primary training institutes, however, fell short of target by 25 per cent, although annual output increased by 43 per cent.⁷²

The requirement of primary school teachers was estimated at 350,000 during the Third Plan period. This is double the number that stood in 1965 (184,000).⁷³ The requirements for the other levels of secondary education were as follows: middle school 35,000; junior high school 17,500; and, higher secondary 8,400.⁷⁴ The Plan proposes to increase and create new facilities for the increase in the number of teachers to fulfil the requirements. For this purpose, in East Pakistan, the existing 47 primary training

⁷¹ Ibid., p. 345.

⁷² Government of Pakistan, Department of Films and Publication, The Second Five Year Plan: Targets and Achievements, op. cit. p. 10.

⁷³ The Third Five Year Plan, 1965-70, p. 194.

⁷⁴ Muhammad Shamsul Huq, Education and Development Strategy in South and Southeast Asia, op. cit., p. 245.

institutes will be improved, some new ones will be opened, the existing 5 teachers training colleges will be improved and expanded and one new college will be set up. In West Pakistan, 40 Normal Schools will be expanded, 15 new Normal Schools and 100 Normal Training Units will be set up, and 3 new teachers training colleges will be established. Separate colleges will be established for training of teachers of polytechnics and other technical institutes.⁷⁵ One novelty of the Third Plan is that it "provides for the holding of summer seminars for the teachers of colleges and universities to familiarize them with the latest techniques of teaching and developments in their fields of specialization".⁷⁶ Provision has already been made for the in-service training of teachers. There are two Education Extension Centres and 55 training centres for primary school teachers.⁷⁷

To improve the quality of teachers' education the Commission on National Education set a standard of admission requirement and the duration of training courses for the different levels of primary and secondary education. This is put below.⁷⁸

⁷⁵The Third Five Year Plan, 1965-70, p. 198.

⁷⁶Ibid., p. 198.

⁷⁷Embassy of Pakistan, Washington, D. C., Interim Report Series, Vol. 11, No. 3 (March 1964).

⁷⁸Government of Pakistan, Report on the Commission on National Education, op. cit., p. 267.

<u>Teachers of grades</u>	<u>Minimum Qualification</u>	<u>Duration of training</u>
Grades I-V	Secondary High School Certificate (Matriculation)	1 year
Grades VI-VIII	Higher Secondary Examination Certificate (Intermediate)	2 years
Grades IX-X	Bachelor's degree	2 years
Grades XI-XII	Three Years' degree Course	2 years; at present M.A. with short courses in teaching method

The present policy of teachers training has been framed according to this recommendation.

The availability of qualified teachers depend mostly on attractive salary. In 1956 the average salary of a primary school teacher in East Pakistan was Rs. 22. By 1963 it had gone up to Rs. 60. An untrained matriculate (graduate after tenth grade) teacher would get Rs. 35.5 to Rs. 50.5 per month, while a trained one would get Rs. 45.5 to Rs. 65.5 per month. By contrast a peon (file carrier) used to get Rs. 75 per month.⁷⁹ In West Pakistan, however, the teachers' salary was much higher than in East Pakistan.⁸⁰ Recently, the salaries of the school and university teachers have been in-

⁷⁹Adam Curle, op. cit., pp. 75-76. See also Muhammad Shamsul Huq, Compulsory Education in Pakistan, op. cit., p. 152.

⁸⁰Muhammad Shamsul Huq, Compulsory Education in Pakistan, op. cit., Table V, pp. 150-151.

creased from 25 to 50 per cent.⁸¹ Some more steps are being taken in this direction and the Government of Pakistan has very recently announced the policy of "Institution of one national pay-scale for the teaching profession with different segments for different qualifications, experience and ability".⁸²

ADULT EDUCATION

The importance of adult education in Pakistan lies in the fact that there is a high percentage of illiteracy and about 60 per cent of the children of the school going age are out of school. The situation is further aggravated by the high percentage of dropouts. If the vast majority of the population are kept out of the educational process of the country, the objective of education will be hard to realize.

The report of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization Fundamental Education Mission to Pakistan stated that adult education should be related to the problems the people face in day-to-day life, particularly to their economic problem. It was to be directed toward the acquisition of skills in thinking and com-

⁸¹Government of Pakistan, Twenty Years of Pakistan, 1947-1967, op. cit., p. 422.

⁸²Pakistan News Digest, Vol. 17, No. 14 (July 15, 1969), p. 1.

munication, of knowledge of personal and community hygiene, of organizing economic life and of leading a better and fuller integrated life. An eminent educationist remarks: "As a short-range measure expenditure on adult education appears to be extremely fruitful".⁸³

The Commission on National Education recommended that "The development of a literate population must be the immediate primary objective of adult education in Pakistan".⁸⁴

Since about 85 per cent of the population lives in villages, adult education should first be started there. This task was initially given to the Village-AID. However, of the total allocation for rural development only 8.8 per cent was spent for education.⁸⁵ In the urban areas adult education has been placed under community development projects. On the recommendation of the Commission on National Education and after the replacement of Village-AID by Rural Extension Service, adult education has now been placed under the institutions of Basic Democracies.

The progress of adult education is, however, very

⁸³ Muhammad Shamsul Huq, Education and Development Strategy in South and Southeast Asia, op. cit., p. 122.

⁸⁴ Government of Pakistan, Report of the Commission on National Education, op. cit., p. 204.

⁸⁵ The First Five-Year Plan, 1955-60, p. 208.

slow. The non-availability of trained teachers, reading materials and the lack of efficient and vigorous organization are some of the reasons. Efforts have so far been directed to the removal of these difficulties, but no remarkable result is yet visible. The Third Plan has recognized adult illiteracy to be a heavy barrier to economic, social and political progress of the country. It has given emphasis to four of its vital aspects:

- (a) A special organization is needed for this herculean task;
- (b) Not only adult literacy, adult education should also be objective;
- (c) Reading materials in simple language related to the vocational and everyday needs are to be produced;
- (d) First attention should be given to that section of the labour force where education would pay the highest dividends. So, emphasis should be to the teaching of industrial arts, crafts, agricultural practices, etc. 86

The Third Plan proposes to take up some experimental pilot projects and to set up suitable organization for rapid spread of adult education.

In East Pakistan, adult education has now been made the responsibility of the Education Department and it has be-

⁸⁶The Third Five Year Plan, 1965-70, p. 206.

come a part of the general educational programme. This will definitely help the acceleration of the programme for adult education. However, the measures so far taken for the removal of adult illiteracy leave much to be desired.

GIRLS' EDUCATION

The general objectives of education can not be realized if measures are not taken to increase the enrolment of girls (who constitute half of the population), at different levels of education. The enrolment of girls in educational institutions is exceedingly low. Only 16 per cent of the girls of primary school age attend school. The ratio of male-female student is 1:3 in primary school, 1:6 in secondary school and 1:7 in higher institutions.⁸⁷ In this respect, West Pakistan faces more problem of girls' education than East Pakistan. In the former, the male-female student ratio is 1:4, whereas in the latter it is 1:2.6.⁸⁸

The magnitude of the problem has been realized and efforts are being made to increase girls' education. The First Plan proposed to increase the enrolment of girls in schools through different measures. The Commission on National Educ-

⁸⁷ The Third Five Year Plan, 1965-70, pp. 207-208.

⁸⁸ Muhammad Shamsul Huq, Education and Development Strat-
in South and Southeast Asia, op. cit., p. 22.

ation recommended several measures for the spread of girls education and also to introduce curriculum in accordance with the special needs of girls. It recommended that as "Women are temperamentally well suited to develop the character and capabilities of young children", primary education up to grade III should be entrusted to them. Special courses should be introduced in secondary and high schools, and in colleges and universities. Such courses may include home craft, tailoring, weaving, child care in the secondary schools; typing, stenography, book-keeping, food technology, etc., in the high schools; and home economics in colleges and universities. Encouragement should also be given to girls to join nursing schools.⁸⁹ Following these recommendations, the Second Plan gave special emphasis to the education of girls. It proposed to increase the enrolment of girls in the existing schools and to set up new ones for them. By 1964-65, there were about 10,000 primary and 1,330 secondary schools for girls.⁹⁰ However, according to the present policy all primary schools will be common for both boys and girls.

Since the beginning of the Third Plan the number of schools for girls and enrolment in them increased considerably as will be seen from Table 7.4.

⁸⁹Government of Pakistan, Report of the Commission on National Education, op. cit., pp. 189-196.

⁹⁰Government of Pakistan, Twenty Years of Pakistan, 1947-1967, op. cit., p. 423.

TABLE 7.4

INCREASE IN THE NUMBER OF GIRLS SCHOOLS AND ENROLMENT
AT THE PRIMARY AND SECONDARY LEVELS,
1966-67

Year	Primary		Secondary	
	No. of schools	Enrolment	No. of schools	Enrolment
1965-66	9,944	1,854,901	1,498	506,404
1966-67	10,216	1,961,172	1,554	545,094

Source: Pakistan High Commission, Ottawa, Pakistan News and Views, No. 22 (February 15, 1969), pp. 4-5.

Several factors present special problems in the spread of girls' education. Families in Pakistan depend more on girls than on boys for household work. Consequently, mothers are unwilling to send their daughters to school. The value of girls' education has not been clearly understood. The reason is that the maintenance of the family is primarily the task of menfolk. Moreover, because of strong religious attitude parents do not allow their daughters to attend school which are co-educational. Furthermore, parents are also unwilling to send their daughters to a school which is far away from their home.⁹¹

⁹¹See Muhammad Shamsul Huq, Education and Development Strategy in South and Southeast Asia, op. cit., pp. 218-219.

Measures must be taken to remove these barriers in the spread of girls' education. As Adam Curle says: "Clearly it will be impossible to achieve 100 per cent primary enrolment until, among other things, the factors militating against the enrolment of girls are greatly modified".⁹²

SCHOLARSHIP PROGRAMME

Among the requirements for the expansion of education is the provision for equal opportunities to buy education. A vast majority of people in Pakistan being in a state of poverty, it is hardly possible for most parents to cover the educational expenses of their children. Even if primary education is made universal, compulsory and free, the problem will arise with regard to higher education especially because it is relatively expensive. Many highly meritorious students are unable to pursue higher education due to lack of adequate financial support. In this way talents are wasted. This problem, however, has been realized by Government and appropriate policy has been adopted in this regard. The First Plan proposed a "Talent Scheme for Students" in order to finance the meritorious but poor students. As was stated in the First Plan:

⁹²Adam Curle, op. cit., p. 119.

We would emphasize that, since talent exists at every level of society, facilities for education should be provided in such a manner that the poorer sections of the population, as far as possible are afforded equal opportunities. 93

The Plan made provision for awarding financial assistance to 600 students at an average rate of Rs. 50 for 4 years.

That was just a modest beginning. The Commission on National Education recommended the institution of comprehensive scholarship programme at all levels beyond the stage of compulsory and primary education. Accordingly, the best students are awarded scholarships at the completion of grades V, VIII, X and XII. Scholarships are also offered at the college and the university levels. In order that the scholarship programme produces immediate benefit to the country the Commission recommended that it "should be used to channel able students into those fields of study where the need for trained personnel is greater".⁹⁴ It further recommended to allocate Rs. 15 million annually for scholarship purposes in addition to full and half freeships that were already available to students.

The Second Plan made provision for a comprehensive

⁹³The First Five-Year Plan, 1955-60, p. 580.

⁹⁴Government of Pakistan, Report of the Commission on National Education, op. cit., p. 256.

system of merit scholarship to be awarded to students from grade VIII onward. A provision of Rs. 46.5 million was made for the five year period.⁹⁵ The Plan recommended that the local authorities should award scholarships to students from grades VI through VIII until this stage of education is made free and compulsory. The scholarship programme is being expanded during the Third Plan which has allocated Rs. 168.43 million for this purpose. This represents 260 per cent increase over the Second Plan allocation.

ISLAMIC EDUCATION

The place of Islam in the politico-economic system of Pakistan has been a matter of long, sometimes bitter, controversy in Pakistan. This is primarily because the Muslims in Indo-Pakistan sub-continent fought for a separate state so that they could lead their lives according to the injunctions of holy Quran and the teachings of the Prophet in their own state. As a corollary to the general theme of Islamic state, however, Islamic education was also given a very prominent place in the discussion of the educational development of Pakistan. As early as 1947, the Pakistan Educational Conference passed the following resolution:

⁹⁵The Second Five Year Plan, 1960-65, p. 349.

The educational system in Pakistan should be inspired by Islamic ideology emphasizing among many of its characteristics those of universal brotherhood, tolerance and justice. 96

The Government of Pakistan accepted the resolution and thus formally adopted that Islamic educational ideology would form the basis of the educational policy of Pakistan. Since then Islamic education became a part of the general education in Pakistan.

The First Plan proposed to strengthen the Islamic education through the improvement and expansion of the institutes of Islamic studies and the Departments of Islamic Studies in the Universities of Pakistan. In addition to the further expansion of the Departments of Islamic Studies in the Universities, the Second Plan provided for the establishment of an Institute of Islamic Studies, with adequate facilities for libraries, research and publication. The Institute was intended:

- (i) to define Islam in terms of its fundamentals, particularly its basic concepts of universal brotherhood, tolerance and social justice;
- (ii) to interpret the teachings of Islam so as to bring out their dynamic character in the context of the intellectual and scientific progress of the modern world;

⁹⁶Pakistan Education Conference, Karachi, Proceedings of the Meetings, 27th November to 1st December, 1947 (Lahore: Firoze Sons Printing Works, 1947), Quoted in Shahiruddin Alvi, "Evolution of Educational Ideology of Pakistan", in Journal of Rural Development and Administration, Vol. 4 (September 1964), p. 6.

- (iii) to carry out research in the contribution of Islam to human thought;
- (iv) to organize and encourage research in Islamic history, philosophy, law and jurisprudence".⁹⁷

The Commission on National Education also emphasized religious education and said:

Religion has been the most vital civilizing force in the history of mankind; it broadens sympathies, indicates a spirit of tolerance, self-sacrifice and social service and removes artificial distinctions between man and man. Religious education should, therefore, be an integral part of the educational system.⁹⁸

It further recommended that religious education should be compulsory up to grade VIII. In the higher stages emphasis should be placed on research.

Although Islamic education has been recommended to be a part of the general education, there are some separate schools for religious education in Pakistan, known as Maktab, Madrassa and Darul-ulum. The courses in these institutions were loaded with religious and allied subjects. Changes are, however, being made to introduce in these institutions such subjects as mathematics, science, social studies and humanities. This measure will bring the institutions of religious education in line with the general education, thus obliterating the pronounced distinction between

⁹⁷The Second Five Year Plan, 1960-65, p. 350.

⁹⁸Government of Pakistan, Report of the Commission on National Education, op. cit., p. 215.

the general and religious schools.

EXPENDITURE ON EDUCATION

Expenditure on education has increased over the Plan periods although the percentage of allocation has not increased in a period of 15 years under review. The public expenditure on education in the three Five Year Plans are given in Table 7.5.

Compared with the public expenditure, the private expenditure in the three plans was very small: Rs. 100 million in the First and Rs. 343 million in the Second, and Rs. 300 million in the Third Plan.

These expenditures do not include the money spent for education and training in other sectors of development, e. g., agriculture, industry, water, power, transport, communication, etc. If we add those expenditures to the expenditure figures in this Chapter, the total amount of money spent on education will increase. For example, during the Second Plan Rs. 379.2 million was allotted to education and training in other sectors. This represents 1.8 per cent of the total plan allocation.

TABLE 7.5

PUBLIC EXPENDITURE ON EDUCATION,
1955-70

(In million rupees)

Sub-sector	First Plan	Second Plan	Third Plan
Primary education	104.52	327.0	318.507
Secondary education	154.92	290.2	556.719
Teacher education	38.20	49.6	81.014
Technical education, including engineering	50.55	181.7	615.758
Colleges	83.47	55.4	116.380
Universities	87.43	135.4	278.574
Scholarship	5.20	60.5	168.430
Scholarship for special areas	.30	15.9	29.710
Social and Cultural activities	8.34	49.7	52.246
Scientific & social research	28.82	65.0	--
Labour training centres	17.86	--	--
National Cadet corps and National service	--	35.6	--
Technical training centre	--	24.5	--
Madrassa education	--	--	14.000
Central Government educational Institutions	--	--	27.000
Special projects	--	--	35.812
Publicity	--	75.1	75.1
Miscellaneous	--	32.59	72.275
	580.70 ^a	1398.0 ^b	2374.548

a - The actual expenditure was Rs. 460 million.

b - The actual expenditure was Rs. 1,055 million.

Source: The First Five-Year Plan, 1955-60, p. 590;
The Second Five Year Plan, 1960-65, pp. 353-354.
The Third Five Year Plan, 1965-70, Annexure,
p. 24, Table 9.

CHAPTER VIII

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT: POPULATION CONTROL

The economic and social developments of Pakistan depend largely on the control of the rate of growth of population. All available statistics show that the population of the country is increasing at an alarming rate. The development efforts of the Government discussed in the previous chapters will be frustrated if the population growth is not kept in check. The rate of economic growth can not be sustained in a country of ever-increasing population. Since the ultimate objective of the development of the country is the welfare of the people, we may conclude that all questions of public policy should be considered in relation to population.

CHARACTERISTICS OF PAKISTAN'S POPULATION

As it was stated that population is an important variable for the makers of public policy, knowledge about the death and birth rate, rate of natural increase, age distribution, density, proportion of urban-rural population, the extent of labour force, etc., is necessary for the purpose

of planning i.e., the allocation of resources. An effective population policy is also based on this information. It is, therefore, proposed to discuss first of all the characteristics of the population of Pakistan.

Birth and Death Rates

There is no effective system of registration of births and deaths in Pakistan. Consequently, data on vital statistics is highly unreliable. However, the official information shows that the death rate in 1911 was 3.23 per cent; it came down to about 2.3 per cent in 1961. On the other hand, the rate of growth of population was 1.23 per cent a year in 1911 but it reached to about 2.6 per cent in 1961. In 1962 a Population Growth Estimation (PGE) experiment was undertaken. It employed both registration and survey techniques in 24 areas of East and West Pakistan. It estimated the birth rate by three methods: Census Data (CD), Longitudinal Registration (LR), and Cross-Sectional Survey (CS). Its findings for 1963 are put in Table 8.1.

According to the three methods of estimates the rate of natural increase of Pakistan's population is 3.5, 2.9 and 3.1 per cent per annum.

Fertility and mortality are two of the three de-

TABLE 8.1

ESTIMATED CRUDE BIRTH AND DEATH RATES IN PAKISTAN, 1963

(Per 1000 population)

Area	Birth			Death		
	CBR (CD)	CBR (LR)	CBR (CS)	CDR (CD)	CDR (LR)	CDR (CS)
Pakistan	54	45	44	19	16	13
East Pak- istan	55	48	48	19	16	15
West Pak- istan	43	42	38	19	16	11

Source: Report of the Population Growth Estimation Experiment: Description and Some Results for 1962 and 1963 (Karachi: Pakistan Institute of Development Economics, 1968), p. 84, Table X.

terminants of population.¹ The mortality rate being on the decrease, the fertility rate is the most important determinant of population growth. The fertility rate is highest among the females of 25-29 age group and lowest among the females of the age group of 45-49.² In general, the fe-

¹The third factor is immigration and emmigration. There are about 10 million immigrants in Pakistan. Some emmigration also took place. The net gain or loss out of immigration and emmigration cannot be ascertained precisely. We do not propose to discuss this problem as our main concern here is the natural increase of population.

²Report of the Population Growth Estimation Experiment: Description and Some Results for 1962 and 1963 (Karachi: Pakistan Institute of Development Economics, 1968), p. 87, Table XI.

males of the age group of 20-29 show the highest rate of birth. The fertility is higher among the females of East Pakistan than those of West Pakistan. The gross reproduction rate of the females of East Pakistan is 3.87 while those of West Pakistan is 3.84. But because the death rate is higher in East Pakistan than in West Pakistan, the population of the latter is increasing more than the former.

The rate of mortality is decreasing due to variety of reasons including the improved health services and the increase in the per capita income.³ The infant mortality is 146 per 1,000 population as against 200 a few decades ago. But still it constitutes about 40 per cent of the total number of deaths. Maternal mortality has also been estimated at 10 per cent of the total number of deaths. If the case of infant and maternal mortality is taken together, it may be concluded that "the very high rates of fertility are in fact a major cause of death".⁴

The mortality rate is, however, low (2 per 1,000) among the young children (ages 10-14 years). The age-specific

³ See Kingsley Davis, The Population of India and Pakistan (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1951), Chapter 6.

⁴ Warren C. Robinson, "Recent Mortality Rates in Pakistan", in Warren C. Robinson ed., Studies in the Demography of Pakistan (Karachi: Pakistan Institute of Development Economics, 1967), p. 33.

death rate based on PGE registration is given in Table 8.2.

TABLE 8.2

AGE-SPECIFIC DEATH RATE BASED ON REGISTRATION
ESTIMATES FOR PAKISTAN, 1963

(Per 1,000 population)

Age in Years	Both sexes	Male	Female
All ages	16.0	16.3	15.7
Under 1	146	158	132
1 - 4	22	21	23
5 - 9	4	5	3
10 - 14	2	2	2
15 - 19	4	2	5
20 - 24	4	3	4
25 - 29	3	2	4
30 - 34	6	4	8
35 - 39	6	5	8
40 - 44	6	5	6
45 - 49	7	9	4
50 - 54	9	11	6
55 - 59	15	18	12
60 - 64	30	27	33
65 - 69	28	28	29
70 and over	92	84	103

Source: Report of the Population Growth Estimation Experiment: Description and Some Results for 1962 and 1963 (Karachi: Pakistan Institute of Development Economics, 1968), p. 87, Table XI.

Age Distribution

An analysis of age distribution is important because it gives information, among others, about the number of

dependants (children and aged people), the number of working population (labour force) and the number of people of school-going age. The age distribution of the population of Pakistan is given in Table 8.3.

TABLE 8.3

AGE DISTRIBUTION OF THE POPULATION OF PAKISTAN,
1951 and 1961

Age	1951 Total:73 million		1961 Total:90 million	
	Number in thousand	percent	Number in thousand	percent
0 - 4	10,382	14.2	15,722	17.5
5 - 9	10,322	14.1	16,001	17.7
10 - 14	10,374	14.2	8,455	9.4
15 - 19	7,924	11.0	7,439	8.2
20 - 24	5,993	8.2	6,896	7.6
25 - 29	5,390	7.4	7,043	7.8
30 - 34	4,623	6.3	5,770	6.4
35 - 39	3,854	5.2	4,897	5.4
40 - 44	3,515	4.8	4,278	4.7
45 - 49	2,695	3.7	3,330	3.7
50 - 54	2,695	3.7	3,214	3.6
55 - 59	1,602	2.2	1,851	2.0
60 & over	3,625	5.0	5,387	6.0

Source: Government of Pakistan, Central Statistical Office, 20 Years of Pakistan, 1947-1967 (Karachi: 1967), p. 22.

Several remarkable features of the age distribution of the population of Pakistan are clear from the

table. The children below the age of 15 constituted 52.5 per cent in 1951 and 44.6 per cent in 1961, of the total population of Pakistan. This is a very high percentage. If we include people aged 60 and over, the percentage of dependents will increase more. The high percentage of dependent children, however, indicates that the labour force of the country will increase considerably in the near future. It also means that there will be a high demand on consumption side too. In 1951, the civilian labour force constituted 30.7 per cent of the total population. In 1961, it increased to 33.4 per cent.⁵

Sex Ratio

There is an imbalance in the male-female ratio of the population of Pakistan. According to 1951 Census the sex ratio was 1,127 but it came down to 1,111 in 1961. The PGE estimate also shows the same ratio. According to demographers, a desirable sex ratio should be between 1,020 and 1,070.⁶ There is, therefore, predominance of male over female in Pakistan. The sex ratio as presented in Table 8.4 also shows that West Pakistan has higher male-female ratio than East Pakistan.

⁵ Government of Pakistan, Central Statistical Office, 20 Years of Pakistan 1947-1967, op. cit., pp. 26-27.

⁶ A. R. Rukanuddin, "A Study of Sex Ratio in Pakistan", in W. C. Robinson, ed., Studies in the Demography of Pakistan, op. cit., p. 161.

TABLE 8.4

SEX RATIO IN PAKISTAN, 1962-1964

Area	1962	1963	1964	1962-64
Pakistan	1116	1120	1096	1111
East Pakistan	1096	1078	1013	1062
West Pakistan	1138	1168	1187	1165

Source: A. R. Rukanuddin, "A Study of Sex Ratio in Pakistan", in W. C. Robinson ed., Studies in the Demography of Pakistan (Karachi: Pakistan Institute of Development Economics, 1967), p. 152.

The male predominance is also reflected in the labour force of the country. According to 1961 Census 54.6 per cent of the males and 3.8 per cent of the females were in the labour force. Males, therefore, contributed 94 per cent of the total labour force of the country.⁷

Density

The density of population of Pakistan is very high. According to 1951 Census Pakistan had 207 people per square

⁷ W. A. Abbasi, "Population of Pakistan - A Summary View", in M. L. Qureshi, ed., Population Growth and Economic Development with Special Reference to Pakistan (Karachi: Pakistan Institute of Development Economics, 1960), p. 170.

mile. In 1961 the number rose to 256. The density is not uniform throughout the country. East Pakistan has more people but less land. In 1951 the density of East Pakistan was 701, while in West Pakistan it was only 109. In 1961 the density increased in both the provinces at a disproportionate rate. In East Pakistan the density increased to 922 (an increase of 31 per cent) while in West Pakistan the figure was 138 (an increase of 26 per cent).⁸ A United Nations Report, however, says that the density of the population of East Pakistan had reached 1,315 per square mile in 1968.⁹

Rural-urban population

The vast majority of the population of Pakistan lives in villages. However, there has been a steady increase in urbanization. According to 1961 census 13 per cent of the total population of Pakistan lived in cities; in 1951 the urban population was 10.4 per cent.¹⁰ So, the urban population increased by 25 per cent over the decade. The growth of urbanization is also not uniform in both the provinces.

⁸Government of Pakistan, Central Statistical Office, 20 Years of Pakistan in Statistics, 1947-1967, op. cit., p. 19.

⁹United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Report of an Evaluation of the Family Planning Programme of the Government of Pakistan (New York: 1969), p. 7.

¹⁰Government of Pakistan, Pakistan Economic Survey, 1964-65, Statistical Section, p. 3, Table 3.

In 1951 West Pakistan had 17.8 per cent population in the urban areas and East Pakistan 4.3 per cent. In 1961 the difference further widened. In West Pakistan the urban population increased to 22.5 per cent (9.6 million) while in East Pakistan it increased only to 5.2 per cent (2.6 million). The rate of growth of the urban population in East Pakistan is 4.5 per cent and in West Pakistan 6.1 per cent.¹¹ East Pakistan is, therefore, predominantly rural and will continue to be so probably for a few more decades.

Urbanization creates several problems. As more people are pouring into the urban areas, there is demand for more and better housing, health care, etc. It also creates many social and economic problems which was discussed in Chapter VI above.

POPULATION INCREASE AND POPULATION PROJECTION

The population of Pakistan, as was stated earlier, is increasing at a high rate. According to 1951 census the annual growth of population was 1.25 per cent. In 1961 it rose to 2.38 per cent. It was stated before that according to the PGE estimates the rate of natural increase is about

¹¹ Mahdi Hasan, "Introductory Address", in Shafik H. Hashmi and Garth N. Jones, eds., Problems of Urbanization in Pakistan (Karachi: National Institute of Public Administration, 1967), p. 5.

33 per thousand. Making allowance for sampling and other errors, the PGE report firmly states that the growth rate is not less than 3 per cent a year. The report further says: "A rate of natural increase of about 3 per cent per annum implies that if the population continues to grow at this rate, the current population of the country will double itself within 25 years".¹²

Several projections of the growth of the population of Pakistan have been made by various demographers. The forecasts have been made on the basis of different fertility and mortality assumptions. By 1970, the population of Pakistan will be about 135 million at the growth rate of 3 per cent per annum. Table 8.5 shows the projections of the population of Pakistan till 1985.

It seems from the projections of the different authors that Bean et. al., U. S. Bureau of Census, Investment Advisory Centre of Pakistan and Bracket and Alkers are close in their estimates. The Planning Commission has underestimated the population growth and this might have serious consequences of the planning itself. The population projections indicate that even if the lowest estimate is accepted, there is no doubt that Pakistan is facing a real population explosion.

¹²Report of the Population Growth Estimation Experiment
... op. cit., p. 99.

TABLE 8.5

PROJECTIONS OF THE POPULATION OF PAKISTAN, 1985

Source	Total population in 1985, in millions	
	High	Low
Bean, Khan and Rukanuddin	247.3	193.8
U. S. Bureau of Census	240.7	201.2
Central Statistical Office, Pakistan	194.4	164.6
Pakistan Planning Commission	199.3	190.4
Investment Advisory Centre, Pakistan	247.9	191.5
Bracket and Alkers	237.5*	207.3*

* Estimates are for 1986.

Source: Lee L. Bean, M. R. Khan and A. R. Rukanuddin, Population Projections for Pakistan, 1960-2000 (Karachi: Pakistan Institute of Development Economics, 1968), p. 28, Table V; Muhammad Hafiz Sheikh, "Projections of the Population of Pakistan by Age and Sex: 1965-1986: A Measure of the Potential Impact of a Family Planning Programme", The Pakistan Development Review, Vol. VII, No. 2 (summer 1967), p. 26.

It was estimated that the annual increase in the number of child-bearing women will rise from 1 million in 1960 to 1.7 million in 1971 and 2.1 million in 1976. From

1961 to 1971 the number of women of child-bearing age will increase by 36 per cent. The number of children born to these women under constant fertility will increase from 5 million in 1961 to 7 million in 1971.¹³

POPULATION POLICY

The population projection given in Table 8.5 gives a gloomy picture for the future of Pakistan. Although Pakistan has developed economically in the recent past and more vigorous policies are being adopted for rapid growth, it is not yet self-sufficient in food and other basic necessities of life. The growth of population, on the other hand, retards economic development.

Between the years of 1950 to 1960, national income rose by 28 per cent. But increase in per capita income was mere Rs. 7/-. Obviously, much of the benefit was rendered nugatory by the growth in numbers.¹⁴

The Second Plan also pointed out the same problem in the following words:

Rapid population growth is bound to increase the burden of the young on the community, curtail investment resources in favour of current consumption, raise the net cost of supporting the population, and create serious obstacles to social and economic development.¹⁵

¹³ Enver Adil, "Measurement of Family Planning Progress in Pakistan", in Demography, Vol. 5, No. 2 (1968), p. 169.

¹⁴ The Planning Commission, Basic Facts: Family Planning in Pakistan (Karachi: n.d.), p. 2.

¹⁵ The Second Five Year Plan, 1960-65, p. 360.

It seems, therefore, that there is need for a definite and a firm population policy for Pakistan. Myrdal gives two reasons for the "urgency in undertaking and effectuating a population policy without delay" by the Governments of the Southeast Asian countries.

First, the economic effects of alternative levels of fertility are not only very considerable but cumulative and progressive. Particularly as policy measures can only gradually affect fertility rates, it is imperative that they be initiated as soon as possible. Secondly, with the prevailing fertility rates there is an extraordinarily high proportion of young people in all South Asian countries: this implies that the braking distance is long. ¹⁶

Historically, the government has always been concerned with population matters. The government used its regulative powers in many ways to effect changes in the population of the country. There are laws encouraging marriage, taxing the unmarried, fixing a legal minimum age for marriage and subsidizing families with children. The government also regulates immigration and emigration of people. The decennial census is another example of studying various aspects of population. However, the present function of the government of controlling population through family planning is a relatively new phenomenon.

There are, however, two schools of thought regard-

¹⁶Gunnar Myrdal, Asian Drama... op. cit., Vol. II, p. 1524.

ing population growth and economic development. One school of thought says that if the country is economically developed, it can support more population. The other school of thought is of the opinion that the rate of population growth should be checked if a country wants to be economically developed. However, Pakistan seems to have accepted both the viewpoints: it has directed its attention to economic growth as well as population control at the same time.

Mortality and fertility are the two important factors in the rate of natural increase of population. The death rate is going to be decreased gradually, and the policy of the government is to bring it down further. Therefore, the most important measure of keeping the population growth in check is the control of fertility, in other words, practicing family planning. In the words of Myrdal again:

.... a consideration of the economic effects of population trends should give the governments of the South Asian countries strong reasons for instituting as soon and as vigorously as possible policy measures to get birth control practiced among the masses of the people. 17

In the rest of the Chapter attention will be given to a discussion of family planning measures taken by the government of Pakistan and the financial allocations made over the three Plan periods.

¹⁷Ibid.

THE FAMILY PLANNING PROGRAMME OF
THE GOVERNMENT OF PAKISTAN

The history of the family planning in Pakistan is very short. The movement was started first by the Family Planning Association of Pakistan in 1953. In 1959 the Government of Pakistan adopted an "affirmative policy" and initiated family planning programme administered through the health services, for this was considered a health problem. Some more steps were taken by the Government with the formation of the autonomous Family Planning Council at the Centre and Family Planning Boards at the Provinces. Further steps were taken in 1968 when a separate Family Planning Division was created within the Ministry of Health. Thus a national policy was adopted on family planning and a distinct organization was set up for the new function of the Government.

The 1951 census of Pakistan did not show a very high rate of growth of population and consequently, the First Plan did not give very high importance to family planning, although it recognized that "measures to this effect should be initiated now so that evils of underfeeding and over crowding not undo the efforts for the provision of a better life for the nation".¹⁸ The plan allotted a small amount of

¹⁸ The First Five-Year Plan, 1955-60, p. 192.

money which was utilized for setting up some pilot projects by the Family Planning Associations.

The Second Plan Family Planning programme was more ambitious and vigorous than the first one. Within the health programme it sought to "influence social attitudes and practices in favour of family planning".¹⁹ It made provision for medical and other facilities by setting up clinics, training doctors, nurses, health visitors, midwives and administrators. In all 4,000 clinics were to be set up and 1,200 health personnel were to be trained annually during the Plan period. Provision was also made for research. The programme was started in 1960 and intended to cover 1.2 million couples out of 18 million fertile couples by 1965.

Although the Second Plan programme was limited in scope, the targets could not be fully realized. Out of Rs. 24.7 million budgetted expenditure against the Plan allocation of Rs. 30.5 million, only Rs. 9.4 million were spent up to 1964.²⁰ During the same period 1,259 doctors, 251 lady health visitors and 204 nurses and midwives were trained in the techniques of family planning. However, only 2,750 clinics were set up against the target of 4,000. About 1.07 million people

¹⁹The Second Five Year Plan, 1960-65, p. 360.

²⁰Enver Adil, "National Progress: Pakistan", in Family Planning and Population Progress: A Review of World Development (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1966), p. 128.

attended the clinics during the same period. Evidence showed that the attendance was disappointing and was gradually declining.²¹ The new patients visiting clinics were 31 per cent of the targets. The distribution of contraceptives also fell short of targets.²²

However, some training and research institutions were created during the Plan period - the National Research Institute of Family Planning and 5 Research-cum-Training Institutes. The programme also helped gain experience in the new function of the Government and the foundation it built helped the formulation of the future plans.

The Third Plan Programme

The Third Plan adopted a comprehensive programme with a resolve to implement it vigorously. It provides for a strong and efficient organizational set up. Accordingly, a Family Planning Council was set up at the Centre and Family Planning Boards at the Provinces and districts. The Union Councils of West Pakistan and the Thana Councils of East Pakistan were associated with the programme. There is one Family Planning Supervisor for every 3 Union Councils

²¹The Third Five Year Plan, 1965-70, pp. 262-263.

²²Enver Adil, "National Progress: Pakistan", op. cit., p. 128.

in West Pakistan and one Thana Family Planning Officer for each Thana in East Pakistan. In the districts publicity-cum-executive officers have been appointed for execution and publicity of the programme. At the village level, are dais who perform the function of motivating the people and distributing contraceptives. To strengthen the organization, the Plan provides for the appointment of 1,000 Family Planning Supervisors, 400 Thana Family Planning Officers and 50,000 village dais.

To provide services in Family Planning the Plan proposes to set up clinics in urban areas for the insertion of IUD. There will be 53 whole-time and 718 part-time clinics by 1970. About 2,400 part-time family planning doctors are proposed to be appointed in the clinics during the Plan period. Each whole-time urban clinic will consist of one lady doctor, one health visitor, one family planning councillor and one female medical attendant. The scheme aims at 1.5 million IUD insertions and 90,000 vasectomies/ligations during the Third Plan period.²³

The Plan also provides for the training programme of the family planning personnel. About 150 lady doctors, lady health visitors and midwives from each province

²³The Third Five Year Plan, 1965-70, pp. 264-265.

will be given 10 days training in family planning techniques and motivational aspects. They will, in turn, train their counterparts in Tehsils/Thana of both the provinces. The Family Planning Officers, the Family Planning Supervisors and the village dais are given training ranging from 2 to 3 weeks.

The Third Plan gave very high emphasis to the motivation of the people in accepting family planning. As was stated in the Plan: "The success of any scheme will depend largely on how well the motivation to plan families is created and sustained".²⁴

What is of utmost importance is to make the essential idea acceptable and welcome. The factors and considerations that inhibit people from accepting family planning must be clearly understood and tackled before family planning can be popularized and made effective. ²⁵

The United Nations Family Planning Evaluation Mission also emphasised:

Effective family limitation requires knowledge about family planning practices, attitudes favourable to the acceptance and, finally, a change to a pattern of behaviour that incorporates family planning as a part of family life. ²⁶

²⁴Ibid., p. 263.

²⁵Planning Commission, Government of Pakistan, Basic Facts: Family Planning in Pakistan, op. cit., pp. 3-4.

²⁶United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Report of an Evaluation of the Family Planning Programme of the Government of Pakistan, op. cit., p. 51.

Much, therefore, depends on the motivation of the people in accepting the idea of family planning "as a part of family life".

The principal objective of the family planning scheme is reduction in the birth rate from 50 to 40 per thousand. About 20 million couples of the reproductive age will be induced to adopt family planning in some form or other.²⁷ It is estimated that this will prevent the birth of 5 to 6 million people in all.²⁸ The programme will initially cover 52 districts - 36 in West and 16 in East Pakistan, but by 1968 the whole country was proposed to be brought under the scheme.

The basic elements of the Third Plan programme are treating it as an administrative rather than a clinical programme, operating it through autonomous bodies, delegating powers at appropriate levels, giving priority to areas of greater response, making supplies and services available at the doorsteps of the people, and, finally, giving wide-spread publicity.²⁹

²⁷The Third Five Year Plan, 1965-70, p. 263.

²⁸United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Report of an Evaluation op. cit., p. 15.

²⁹Ibid.

Public Expenditures

As pointed out before, the First Plan did not give very high importance to the need of family planning and consequently, allotted only Rs. 0.5 million for the purpose. Most of this amount was given to the private agencies popularizing family planning. The Second Plan allotted more money than the First Plan - Rs. 30.5 million. However, up to 1964 Rs. 24.7 million was budgetted and only Rs. 9.4 million was actually spent for the purpose. The increased allocation was necessitated by the expansion of the programme as well as the assumption by the Government of the family planning function through the Department of Health.

The Third Plan allocation is much higher than the Second Plan. It allotted Rs. 284.42 million for the comprehensive programme it has drawn up.

Out of the total allocation Rs. 96.22 million will be spent on administration, training and research. Costs of materials and incentive payments will be Rs. 188.20 million. Major expenditures under these will be Rs. 12.26 million for publicity, Rs. 21.75 for I. U. D. insertion fee and family planning doctors, Rs. 75.0 million for contraceptives, and Rs. 36.45 million for salaries of village dais. The cost of transportation will be Rs. 17.45 million.³⁰

³⁰The Third Five Year Plan, 1965-70, p. 267.

The incentive payments are made in the following manner:

1. For vasectomy/ligation: Doctor, Rs. 15.0
2. For I.U.D. insertion:
 - (i) Doctor, Rs. 6.0
 - (ii) Lady Health Visitor, Lady Family Planning Visitor and Trained Midwife: Rs. 4.0
 - (iii) For referral leading to I.U.D. insertion:
 - (a) Village Organizer : Rs. 2.50
 - (b) Others : Rs. 2.0

The salaries of the family planning personnel have been made attractive and "In general, salaries are somewhat higher than for comparable posts in the permanent civil service".³¹ The financial incentives given by the government for the success of family planning is laudable and in the words of the UN Mission:

The use of financial incentives is a pragmatic administrative approach, and is considered an important key to the achievement of the programme to date. ³²

Knowledge, Aptitude and Practice of Family Planning

The success of any family planning programme also

³¹United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Report of an Evaluation ... op. cit., p. 28.

³²Ibid., p. 65.

depends on the knowledge of, attitude towards, and the actual practice of, family planning. To know these several studies on knowledge, aptitude and practice (KAP) have been undertaken in Pakistan.

In a survey in East Pakistan it was found that "all respondents were unaware of the contraceptive methods for limiting births".³³ Forty-seven per cent of the respondents expressed their willingness to adopt family planning practices if they knew the appropriate method. Eighteen per cent refused to practice family planning on religious ground. Another KAP study in East Pakistan showed that both male and female (married) underreport their knowledge of family planning, although they practice it more than their revealed knowledge. The study report says:

The degree of underreporting knowledge was found to be from 16 per cent (conservative estimate) to 20 per cent (liberal estimate) for males; 19 to 27 per cent for females. Underreporting of use was 13 to 22 per cent for males, 26 to 35 per cent for females.³⁴

Several surveys were conducted in West Pakistan also. A survey conducted in Lahore showed that 28 per cent of the respondents had knowledge about family planning, and 14 per cent of all the respondents actually practiced family

³³Enver Adil, "National Programmes: Pakistan", in Family Planning and Population Programmes: A Review of World developments, (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1966), p. 129.

³⁴Lawrence W. Green, "East Pakistan: Knowledge and Use of Contraceptives", in Studies in Family Planning, No. 39, p. 14.

planning.³⁵ Among the respondents who did not practice family planning 64 per cent did not know any method, and 18.9 per cent thought that it was against religion.³⁶ Another survey was made about the attitudes of the Union Council members towards family planning. The report of this survey says:

According to the responses received, it became evident that the Councillors, who had the knowledge of the population problem, thought the majority of the population of their areas was conscious of this problem. Those Councillors who did not have the knowledge of existence of the population problem thought that the majority of the people of their areas did not know that such a problem existed. The percentage of the Councillors who considered that the rapid growth of the population could be controlled was 42.7, another 43.4 per cent did not think it possible to control the rapid increase of the population and the rest of them either did not answer this question or did not know the answer to this question.³⁷

The report further says:

Of 993 respondents 45.4 per cent favoured introduction of family planning programme as an effective measure of controlling the rapid increase of population and 54.5 per cent suggested raising the age at marriage to achieve this goal.³⁸

³⁵University of the Punjab, Social Sciences Research Centre, Knowledge and Aptitudes Towards Family Planning (Lahore: Family Planning Association, n.d.), p. 50.

³⁶Ibid., p. 40.

³⁷University of the Punjab, Social Sciences Research Centre, Attitudes of the Union Councillors Towards the Adoption Family Planning Programme as a National Policy (Lahore: Family Planning Association of Pakistan, n.d.), p. 64.

³⁸Ibid., p. 68. The present age of marriage in Pakistan is 16 years for girls and 18 years for boys.

These studies are not sufficient to know the knowledge, aptitude and practice of family planning, but they indicate that there is an awareness of the need for it. However, two important things to be done in this respect are the launching of a movement to educate the people and to make the supplies of family planning materials and services available to them.

Achievements of the Family Planning Programme

The family planning programme of Pakistan should be looked at with some important factors in mind. First, some of the economic, social, religious and other factors militate against it. In an agricultural society like Pakistan children are regarded as an asset. Many children are desirable because only a few survive to adulthood, and they are security against old age of parents. Some people are fatalistic and think that they can not, by themselves, improve their lot.³⁹ Although Islam does not prohibit family planning, some people believe that it is against religion. The status of women in society is also an inhibitive factor. "Seclusion, by restricting women's ability to move, prevents their exposure to information and knowledge through contact with outside world or through

³⁹United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Report of an Evaluation op. cit., pp. 10-12.

school education".⁴⁰ Secondly, some demographers, e.g., Krotki, doubt whether a Government sponsored or, Government directed population policy through family planning can be at all successful or this is the best way to tackle the problem. Krotki points out that family planning is a personal matter and is not like a community action by the Government as in malaria eradication programme.⁴¹ It may, however, be pointed out here that the basic policy of the Government is to make the people understand the gravity of the situation arising out of overpopulation and the benefits of limiting family. In spite of this, Krotki's assertion can not be underestimated.

Pakistan's present family planning programme was officially started in September 1965. The programme is in operation for about four years. In the meantime several studies have been undertaken to evaluate its progress. The

⁴⁰Ibid., p. 56.

⁴¹Karol J. Krotki, "The Feasibility of an Effective Population Policy for Pakistan", in The Pakistan Development Review, Vol. IV, No. 2 (Summer 1964), pp. 292-295. Although Krotki doubted the feasibility of a national population policy for Pakistan he comes to the conclusion that "Judging by available historical experience the field of fertility is particularly unsuited for government intervention, while those limited fields in which the government can act, and, in fact, could have acted long ago, hardly deserve the name of national policy. Nevertheless, it is apparent that A POLICY IS NECESSARY, because on its own the population of Pakistan does not apparently move". Ibid., p. 295.

Government of Pakistan has adopted several formula to measure the progress of the programme.⁴² The United Nations sent a mission, at the request of the Government of Pakistan, in January 1968 to evaluate the progress. Several other individual studies have also been made. All these studies and evaluations were primarily concerned with the achievement of intermediate targets. More specifically, these evaluations have so far been made mostly on the organizational efficiency and effectiveness, the number of people covered so far by the programme, the number of contraceptives sold, the number of vasectomies and tubal ligations performed, and the like. The ultimate objective, i.e., the actual reduction in the birth rate has not so far been studied systematically.

The family planning programme was started as an administrative activity, from 1965. Since the creation of the new Division of Family Planning in the Central ministry, efforts have been made to strengthen the administrative organization at all levels. The targets in the appointment of personnel have reached from 97 to 100 per cent and there are now 90,000 workers at the district levels. Of these 40,000 are full-time and part-time workers and 50,000 are agents.⁴³ The number of family planning personnel at dis-

⁴²Enver Adil, "Measurement of Family Planning Progress in Pakistan", in Demography, Vol. 5, No. 2 (1968), pp. 659-665.

⁴³United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Report on an Evaluation op. cit., p. 123.

trict levels as stood in June 1968 is given in Table 8.6.

TABLE 8.6

FAMILY PLANNING PERSONNEL AT THE DISTRICT LEVELS
IN PAKISTAN, 1968

Position	East Pakistan	West Pakistan	Pakistan
District-cum-Publicity Officer	16	36	52
Medical and Paramedical Officer	884	1,386	2,230
Family Planning Supervisor/ Officer	331	800	1,131
Family Planning Assistants	954	-	954
<u>Dais</u>	20,214	14,884	35,098
<u>Agents</u>	21,225	29,125	50,450

Source: Lee L. Bean and A. D. Bhatti, "Three Years of Pakistan's New National Family-Planning Programme", in The Pakistan Development Review, Vol. 9, No. 1 (Spring 1969), p. 43; The Population Council, "Pakistan: The Family Planning Program, 1965-1967", in Studies in Family Planning, No. 26 (January 1968), p. 7.

The United Nations Evaluation Mission praised the family planning organization of Pakistan very highly and

remarked:

The establishment of the family planning programme, the development of its actual organization, staffing and procedures, in the short interval since mid-1965, is a remarkable administrative achievement, of which any country might be proud. ⁴⁴

By the middle of 1968, about 79 per cent of the target population has been covered: 84.2 per cent in East Pakistan and 37.9 per cent in West Pakistan.⁴⁵ About 296 million conventional contraceptives have been sold - 115 million in East Pakistan and 181 million in West Pakistan. The sale target has been achieved by 44.2 per cent in East Pakistan and 65 per cent in West Pakistan, and 54.5 per cent in the whole of Pakistan.⁴⁶ The monthly sale of contraceptives rose from 3.2 million in 1965 to 14.6 million in 1968. Vasectomies/ligations have been performed on 320,801 people. Of them, 303,189 cases were performed in East Pakistan achieving the target of 52.5 per cent there. The number of vasectomies/ligations in East Pakistan is thus much higher than in West Pakistan where only 17,612 cases were performed and only 38.8 per cent of the target was achieved. The average case of vasectomy/ligation rose from 198 per month in 1965 to 23,721

⁴⁴United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Report on an Evaluation op. cit., p. 123.

⁴⁵Lee L. Bean and A. D. Bhatti, "Three Years of Pakistan's New National Family-Planning Programme", in The Pakistan Development Review, Vol. IX, No. 1 (Spring 1969) p. 40.

⁴⁶Ibid., p. 48.

in 1968. The Government has fixed the target of sterilization at 60,000 a month - 40,000 in East Pakistan and 20,000 in West Pakistan.⁴⁷ The number of Intra-Uterine Device (IUD) insertions up to 1968 was 1.6 million. Of this 0.7 million took place in East Pakistan and 0.9 million in West Pakistan. The monthly IUD insertion rose from 9,446 in 1965 to 70,102 in 1968.⁴⁸ The present target is to insert 100,000 IUD a month.

There are, however, several matters which should be considered before the achievement of the programme is examined. In the first place, it should be ascertained precisely how many people are regular users of contraceptives. The number of contraceptives shown are distribution figures and not of their actual use. Secondly, all IUDs inserted are not retained. It has been estimated that the number of women retaining IUD will be 0.94 million against the initial acceptors of 1.6 million. Follow-up is extremely necessary in these cases. The efficiency of the staff still remains to be seen. According to one estimate the dais or agents who are responsible for motivation and distribution of contraceptives sell or distribute only 10 dozens of contraceptives and 3 to 4 bottles of foaming liquids a month. The dais motivate only two women per month for the acceptance of IUD.⁴⁹

⁴⁷Pakistan News Digest, Vol. 15, No. 23 (December 15, 1967), p. 6.

⁴⁸Lee L. Bean and A. D. Bhatti, op. cit., p. 49.

⁴⁹Ibid., p. 51.

CHAPTER IX

EVALUATION AND CONCLUSION

The framework of analysis adopted for this study is the ecological or environmental basis of public policy. Public policy here has been viewed as an independent variable and the sectors of development as dependent variables. The focus of attention has been to examine public policy in terms of the allocation of resources for bringing about changes in the environment consisting of human and non-human factors.

The three Five Year Plans through which resources were allocated for development purposes for the period between 1955 and 1970 have been examined. Each Plan laid down some specific objectives and the government expected to realize these objectives through the proper utilization of the allocated resources. To what extent public planning in Pakistan embodying the contents of public policy has been successful can be fairly determined by comparing the targets and achievements of the different plans. The relative priority given to the different sectors of development will also tell whether Pakistan's allocation of resources was aimed at changes in the

total environment or whether the allocative nature gave emphasis to the development of a particular aspect of the environment.

The Overall Achievement of Public Policy

With a total allocation of Rs. 10,800, the First Plan aimed at an increase in the national income by 3 per cent, and the per capita income by 2.3 per cent a year. In agriculture, it aimed at an increase of food production by 1.8 per cent and the production of cash crops by 3 to 6.6 per cent. The industrial target was set at a higher level than that of agriculture. The Plan's target was to achieve a 12 per cent yearly increase in industrial production. In addition, targets were also set for the development of water, power, transport, communications and for providing social welfare services.

The First Plan, however, could not achieve the objectives and there was shortfall in many cases. The national income increased by only 2.2 per cent. But as the population increased by almost 2.4 per cent against an expected increase of 1.4 per cent per year, there was virtually no increase in national income during the First Plan period. In the industrial sector the plan was successful and the industrial development showed an increase of 14.6 per cent a year.

There was no improvement in agriculture; rather here the growth rate declined. Investment in agriculture was only 50 per cent of the planned target.

There are several reasons for the failure of the First Plan to achieve its objectives. Firstly, the concept of planning was new to Pakistan and the organizational set up needed to implement the Plan was not well-built. Secondly, the country suffered from political instability which weakened the governmental power to execute the Plan vigorously. The Plan itself did not receive the approval of government until 1957, two years after it was supposed to go into implementation. Thirdly, unfavourable weather conditions, the deterioration of agricultural land due to water logging and salinity, and the slow rate of implementation of the agricultural programme were responsible for the failure in achieving targets in food production. On the other hand, the remarkable industrial growth was due to the creation of favourable conditions through the import of capital goods, reduced tax rates and high depreciation allowances.

The Second Plan allocation for development planning was Rs. 23,000 million. The target of achievement was fixed at a higher level than that of the First Plan. It aimed at a yearly increase in the national income by 4.8

per cent, per capita income by 2.4 per cent after making allowance for the increase of population, food production by 4.2 per cent and industrial growth by 12 per cent.

The performance of the Second Plan was better than that of the First Plan. The Gross National Product increased by 5.8 per cent showing an overfulfilment by one per cent a year. The increase in per capita income also exceeded the target set by the Plan. Instead of a planned increase of 2.4 per cent a year, the per capita income increased by 2.9 per cent. In the industrial sector too the production exceeded the Plan target: 12.3 per cent instead of 12 per cent a year. In the same way food production was also more than the target fixed. The Plan aimed at an increase of food production by 4.2 per cent per year, but the actual increase was 5.4 per cent.

Several factors contributed toward the success of the Second Plan. Firstly, the experience of the First Plan helped to prepare and implement the Second Plan more efficiently. The organizational structure needed to prepare and implement development plan was considerably improved during the Second Plan period. Secondly, the Second Plan success was closely related to the success in agricultural improvement. The increased application of physical inputs created a more stable base for agriculture.

Moreover, the government policy of relaxation of control of food procurement, of giving incentives to the farmers by the reduction of export duties and the assurance of minimum prices contributed to the growth in agriculture. Industry was also freed from direct government control and more facilities were given to the industrialists in various ways. Thirdly, the prices of agricultural and industrial products were also stabilized to a great extent by the liberalization of economic policy.

As the economic base of the country became strong with the successful implementation of the Second Plan, the Third Plan set the targets at still higher levels. The total Plan allocation was increased to Rs. 52,000 million. The Plan proposes to achieve an increase in the national income by 6.5 per cent a year. The per capita income is expected to increase by 4 per cent during the Plan period. In industrial sector, the target is to maintain a growth rate of 10 per cent a year and in agriculture a yearly growth rate of 5 per cent is expected.

During the first two years of the Third Plan the growth rate in the country was lower than the rate expected. In 1965-66, the growth rate was 4.6 per cent, and in 1966-67, it was 5.2 per cent. The pace of development was, however, accelerated in 1967-68, registering a growth

rate of 7.5 per cent.¹ Again, the growth rate declined to 5.2 per cent in 1968-69. On an average, however, the Third Plan maintained a growth rate of 5.2 per cent a year which is well above the growth rate set by the United Nations for its Development Decade, 1961-70.² Pakistan's growth rate is also higher than the average rate of the region covered by the Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East (ECAFE) which was 4.1 in 1967-68.³ The per capita income also increased during the first four years of the Third Plan. In 1964-65 the per capita income in the country was Rs. 365 which increased to Rs. 408 in 1968-69.⁴

The rise and decline in the growth rate in Pakistan is a peculiar feature of the economy and points to the fact that it is still dependent on many internal and external factors. Some of the important reasons of the decline in the rate of growth were weather conditions, i.e., flood or drought, which affected agricultural production,

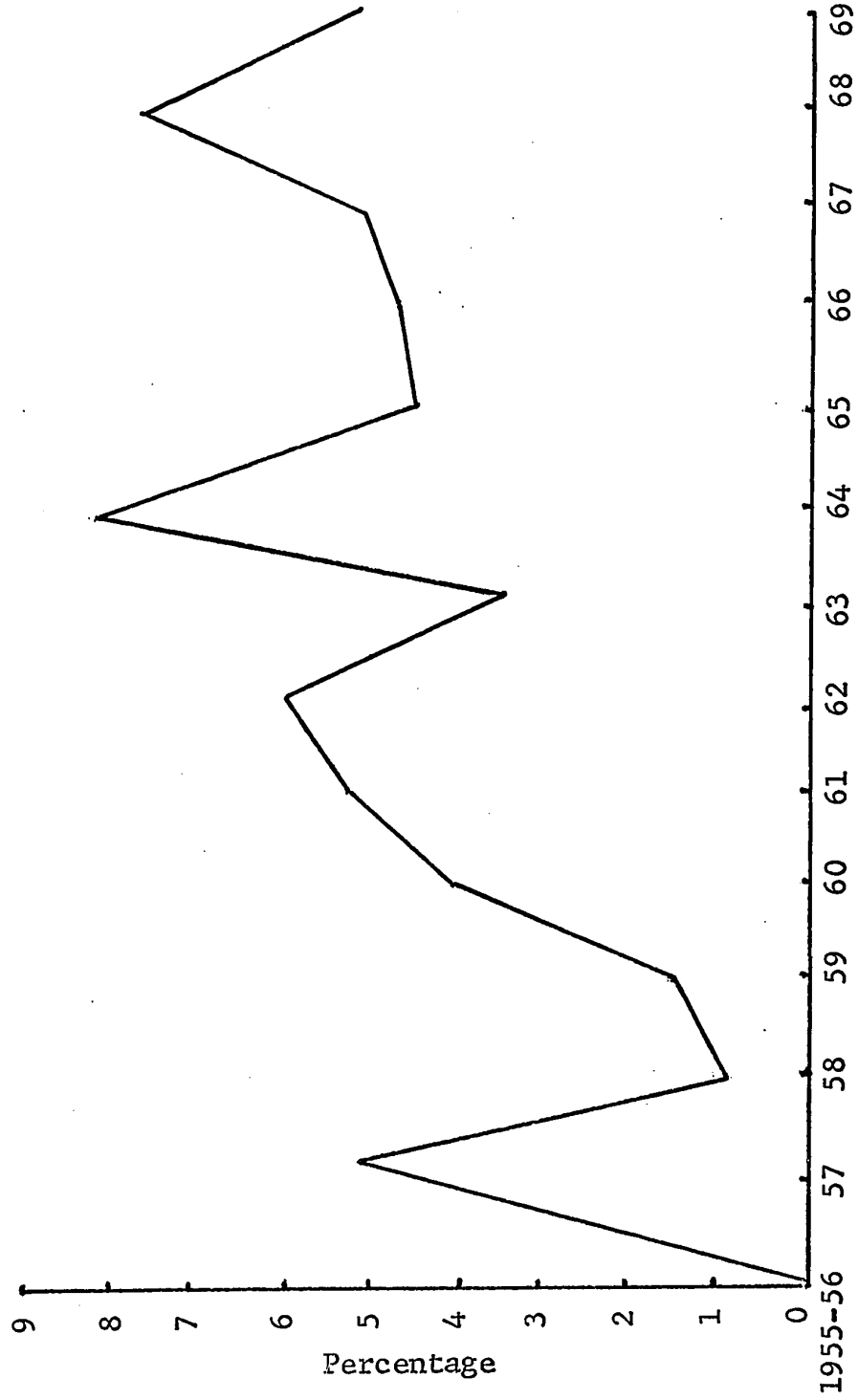
¹ According to a preliminary estimate the growth rate for the year 1967-68 was 8.3 per cent. The final estimate, however, showed it to be 7.5 per cent. See Pakistan High Commission, Ottawa, Pakistan News and Views, No. 17 (October 15, 1968), p. 1 and No. 27 (May 15, 1969), p. 1. See also Dawn, June 23, 1969, p. 1.

² UNO, The United Nations Development Decade: Proposals for Action: Report of the Secretary General (New York: 1962), p. 7.

³ Pakistan News Digest, Vol. 16, No. 21 (November 1, 1968), p. 1.

⁴ Dawn, June 23, 1969, p. 1.

FIGURE 9.1: THE RATE OF ECONOMIC GROWTH IN PAKISTAN



and the lack of supply of industrial raw materials which depended on the flow of foreign aid. Labour unrest and political instability also accounted for the slowing down of economic development in 1968-69.

TABLE 9.1.

TARGETS AND ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE THREE FIVE YEAR PLANS OF PAKISTAN, IN PERCENTAGES

	First Plan		Second Plan		Third Plan
	Target	Achievement	Target	Achievement	Target
National Income	15	11	24	29	32.5
Per capita income	7	neg.*	12	14.8	27
Food Production	9	**	21	27	25
Industrial growth	60	73	60	61.4	50

* Negligible

** Declined

Source: Government of Pakistan, Twenty Years of Pakistan, 1947-1967, op. cit., pp. 125-127, 135-136; Central Statistical Office, Economic Affairs Division, Government of Pakistan, 20 Years of Pakistan in Statistics 1947-1967, op. cit., p. 83.

Rostow Model and the stage of Economic Growth in Pakistan

Rostow has developed a model of the stages of economic growth. According to him there are five stages of growth: (1) the traditional stage, (2) the pre take-off stage, (3) the take-off stage, (4) the stage of drive to maturity, and (5) the stage of high consumptions.⁵ Among these stages, the take-off stage is the most important as it leads a country to "steady growth" and "growth becomes its normal condition."⁶ The three conditions of take-off stage, according to him, are:

1. A rise in the rate of productive investment of 5 to 10 per cent of national income (or net national product);
2. the development of one or more substantial manufacturing sectors with a high rate of growth; and
3. the existence of quick emergence of a political, social and institutional framework which exploits the impulses to expansion in the modern sector and the potential external economy effects of the take-off and gives to growth an on-going character. ⁷

If we apply these criteria to Pakistan we find that Pakistan has fulfilled some of these conditions fully

⁵W. W. Rostow, The Stages of Economic Growth: A Non-Communist Manifesto (Cambridge, Mass. Cambridge University Press, 1960), pp. 4-11.

⁶Ibid., p. 7.

⁷Ibid., p. 39.

and others partially. In case of investment Pakistan invested 4.2 per cent of her Net National Product (NNP) before the launching of the First Plan. In 1955 such investment rose to 7.3 per cent. By 1965, the total investment constituted 14.7 per cent of the NNP.⁸ Thus by the beginning of the First Plan Pakistan entered into the take-off stage and by 1965 the investment as percentage of NNP almost doubled.

Some of the manufacturing industries in Pakistan showed high rate of growth. For example, the textile industry grew at an average annual rate of 7 per cent from 1954-55 to 1966-67. The jute industry grew at an average rate of 32 per cent a year over the same period. The growth rate in the paper industry was 18 per cent in average from 1955-56 to 1966-67.⁹

Regarding the third criterion it may be pointed out that Pakistan developed some institutions which have taken a large responsibility in mobilizing the resources of

⁸For NNP see, Central Statistical Office, Government of Pakistan, 20 Years of Pakistan in Statistics 1947-1967, op. cit., p. 7, and for investment (1959-60 constant prices) see the Third Five Year Plan, 1965-70, p. 4. The investments as percentage of GNP were 4.6, 7.9 and 15.8 per cent respectively for those periods.

⁹Central Statistical Office, Government of Pakistan, 20 Years of Pakistan in Statistics 1947-1967, op. cit., pp. 83, 84.

the country for a sustained economic growth. Pakistan inherited an efficient civil service which is credited to have built a good administrative structure in the country. The First Plan may be said to have been made solely by the civil servants at the central secretariat. They also maintained an administration which was conducive to the economic growth of the country. From 1947 to 1958 when the country suffered from political instability, it was the civil service which maintained law and order in the country. From 1958, however, a strong political structure has been built although the civil servants still remained predominant in the decision-making process in the country. Pakistan has also developed an elaborate and efficient planning machinery which is now occupying a powerful position in the economic and political structures of the country. All these institutions created favourable conditions for economic growth and exploited "the impulses to expansion" in the economic sectors of development.

From the foregoing account it may be concluded that from the point of view of economic growth Pakistan's public planning has been successful. She has been able to reach the take-off stage according to the criteria developed by Rostow, and attained a growth rate fixed by the United Nations for the developing countries. According to Saleem Qureshi:

Pakistan today is much healthier, progressive, self-confident and apparently well set on the path of improvement than she has been at any time during the past and also in comparison to other countries similar in circumstances. ¹⁰

The fact that Pakistan attained a growth rate set by the United Nations suggests that the targets she fixed were neither too low nor too high.

It is now proposed to examine the progress that has taken place in all the sectors since the launching of the First Plan in 1955 in order to see to what extent Pakistan's developmental efforts have been successful and in what direction the development has gone. Attention will also be given here to the principles of allocation of resources as they largely determine the direction of developmental efforts.

Before discussing the actual progress, it seems necessary to discuss, first of all, the principles of allocation of resources as adopted by Pakistan.

¹⁰ Saleem M. M. Qureshi, "Pakistan Today", in Eastern World, Vol. XX, No. 1/2 (January/February, 1966), p. 11.

THE PRINCIPLES OF ALLOCATION OF RESOURCES

The First Plan adopted three criteria for allocation of resources although it provided for flexibility in the Plan. The three principles were -- the efficiency or productivity of resources, the administrative feasibility of the programmes, and the consistency within the Plan.¹¹

The question of efficiency or productivity arises because the resources available to the country are limited. In transferring resources from one sector to another the probable gain in the one and the loss in the other must be calculated. In application, this principle means that resources would be allocated on the basis of return and the increase in national income. As was stated in the Plan:

In general a transfer of resources is justified when the probable returns per unit of cost of the marginal scheme are higher in the sector where expansion is proposed than elsewhere.¹²

Administrative feasibility means that a programme must also be workable or capable of execution. In finding whether or not a programme is feasible such question as the administrative organization required to execute the plan, the

¹¹The First Five Year Plan, 1955-60, p. 77.

¹²Ibid., p. 78.

availability of personnel, changes in custom and practice, etc., must be considered.

Consistency refers to the fact that "in any workable plan the various parts must be consistent with each other and with the total supply of resources."¹³ In application, consistency in general refers to the balancing of the demands for and the supply of goods and services.

There are, however, several difficulties in allocating resources on the basis of these principles. Firstly, the principle of cost-benefit analysis can not be applied in all cases of investment planning by government. This is mainly for the reason that all capital expenditure does not create assets or marketable products. The return from some of the expenditure is not quantifiable. For example, it will be easy to calculate the return from an investment in a factory but difficult to quantify the return from investment in housing, or health services. Moreover, some expenditure helps increase 'quality' rather than 'quantity'. If the principle of productivity is applied rigorously in allocating resources, then the social sectors will be automatically neglected as the resources will be allocated to those sectors the return from which can be

¹³Ibid., p. 79.

quantified. Secondly, there is a lack of data which would help calculate the net results of expenditure. In the absence of accurate and adequate data therefore the calculation of net return will be difficult. Thirdly, many projects have multiple objectives and therefore it is difficult to calculate the return from an expenditure on them.¹⁴

It was stated in the Second Plan that the allocation of resources therein was based on the objectives to be achieved during the plan period. According to it: "The crucial objective is to attain an increase in national income by 20 per cent, while at the same time building up the potential for future growth."¹⁵ This could be done, according to the Plan, by improving agriculture, industry, water, transport, communications, training and other sectors related to production. It was further stated in the Plan that "self-sufficiency in food, improvement in the balance of payments, acceleration of the rate of growth of relatively less developed areas, and increase in employment opportunities are other important objectives of the Plan!"¹⁶ Because the primary objective of the spending of money is the

¹⁴See David Bell, "Allocating Development Resources: Some Observations Based on Pakistan Experience", in Carl J. Friedrich and S. E. Harris, eds., Public Policy, Vol. IX (1959), p. 86.

¹⁵The Second Five Year Plan, 1960-65, p. 7.

¹⁶Ibid.

development of the economic sectors the Plan said that "priority must be given to expenditures which produce results as quickly as possible."¹⁷ The Second Plan, however, recognized that priority should also be given to programmes which have long-range benefits, e.g., education, training, etc.

The criteria of allocation in the Second Plan were also far from satisfactory. Although priority was given to expenditures which would produce quick result this principle was not applied consistently. Hiroshi Kitamura criticized the criteria of allocation on this ground and said:

I have some reason to suspect that strict criteria of universal validity were neither formulated nor applied consistently to the determination of Plan priorities, and that only some 'rule of thumb' indicating priorities as among several objectives were developed instead. 18

The Third Plan adopted basically the same criteria as the First and Second Plans, although it emphasized that "the past 15 years have witnessed a rapid rate of economic development and building up of infra-structure but there are certain imbalances specially in agriculture, education and social services, which have to be removed."¹⁹ In spite

¹⁷Ibid., p. 8.

¹⁸Hiroshi Kitamura, "Some Observations on Pakistan's Second Five Year Plan", in Pakistan Economic Journal, Vol. XI, No. 1 (March 1961), p. 13.

¹⁹The Third Five Year Plan, 1965-70, p. 31.

of this recognition of the need for social development no substantial increase was made in the allocation of resources to this sector. In sum, the same pattern of allocation continued over the three plans. Very recently, however, the government seems to have changed its policy slightly when it made a special provision of Rs. 400 million in the budget of 1969-70 for social sector programmes, including education, low-cost housing, and other social welfare measures.²⁰

Although several principles have been adopted by Pakistan in allocating resources during the plan periods, it seems that two principles actually governed allocation. The first is the principle of productivity and the second is the principle of short-term or quick return. It has already been mentioned that productivity alone can not be accepted as a desirable principle of allocation, as in that case resources will not be allocated to the social sector the return from which can not be easily quantified. The second principle also does not seem to be very sound. It may be admitted that economic development of a country is necessary but there should not be any extreme concern for quick development by pouring in a larger share of the country's resources in the economic sector. The target of a particular economic sector

²⁰
Dawn, June 29, 1969, p. 12.

may be spread over a longer period of time thus eliminating the need for investing a larger amount of money in a short period. For example, it does not seem quite reasonable that the target of industrial growth in Pakistan should be fixed at 10 or 12 per cent a year and all the policies of government should be directed toward industrial development. Instead, the target may be fixed at a lower level and a 10 or 12 per cent growth may be achieved, say, in two or three years in place of one year.

SECTORAL PROGRESS

Agriculture

The greatest need in agriculture is to make the country self-sufficient in food. For this purpose food grain production must be increased rapidly. Substantial development has, however, taken place within the past few years. Before 1955, the growth rate in agriculture was 1.3 per cent per annum which increased to 3.4 per cent between 1960 and 1965. The Third Plan registered a growth rate of 4 per cent. According to the estimate of the Food and Agricultural Organization the index number of food production rose from 97 per cent in 1955 to 127 in 1966 compared with the base year of 1952-56 (100).²¹ This growth is higher than that of

²¹Food and Agricultural Organization, Production Yearbook, 1967 (Rome: FAO, 1968), p. 2.

India where the index number rose from 104 to 123 only. According to the same source, while the per capita consumption of food in Pakistan remained constant over the same period, that of India declined.²² However, whether or not Pakistan will be able to become self-sufficient in food depends on the rate of future growth of food production and of population. If it is assumed that the population of Pakistan will be 130 million by 1970 and if the intake of food is 15 ounces per day, the total food requirement by 1970 will be to the order of 20 million tons. In 1966 the total food production was 17.6 million tons. This means that food production shall have to be increased by 2.4 per cent a year to make the country self-sufficient in food by 1970. On the basis of past experience this seems to be unlikely even though the per capita consumption remains constant.²³

Although Pakistan placed emphasis on the development of agriculture it did not apply rigorously the principle of consistency to it. She made all efforts to increase food production but at the same time kept the food prices artifi-

²² Ibid., p. 29. The per capita consumption of food in Pakistan is 15 ounces per day.

²³ The yield of food crops per acre has not increased very much over the last 11 years. Rice production increased by 18 per cent (annual 1.6 per cent) and wheat production by 10 per cent (annual one per cent) from 1955 to 1966. See Central Statistical Office, Government of Pakistan, 20 Years of Pakistan 1947-1967, op. cit., pp. 42-43.

cially low which acted as disincentive to the farming community. Pakistan's experience shows that farmers respond to price incentives, but in order to give relief to the 10 per cent population of urban areas, incentives for the 90 per cent, the agricultural producers were rather limited.²⁴ From 1961 onwards, however, government control on food prices was abolished. This led to an increase in the prices of agricultural produce providing incentives to the farming community.

The second inconsistency in the agricultural policy is that the commercial policy of the government is biased toward industry, resulting in the gradual transfer of values (resources) from agriculture to industry. Agriculture earns a major portion of foreign exchange, but this is being used mostly for industrial development. In fact, the industrial development in Pakistan has taken place out of the savings obtained by "squeezing the peasants".²⁵ Industries received numerous concessions, government protection and subsidy at the cost of agriculture. In the words of Mahbubul Haq:

All these policies amounted to concealed tax on agriculture and a concealed subsidy for industry so that the working of these controls made agricultural investment an inferior alternative for

²⁴ Mahbubul Haq, The Strategy of Economic Planning: A Case Study of Pakistan (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1963), p. 53.

²⁵ Gustav F. Papanek, Pakistan's Development: Social Goals and Private Incentives, op. cit., p. 207.

the private sector. It is not possible to channel investment in one direction when all the policies are pointing to another. 26

In sum, Pakistan's efforts in agricultural development are commendable, but more should be done. Greater effort will be necessary to change the traditional agricultural system and more money should be allocated to this sector. All policies which tend to take away incentives in agricultural investment should be changed. If government policy is to rely on the private sector the agricultural population should be taught to rely on themselves. There is a greater need for psychological revolution than technological innovation. At the same time opportunities should be provided to them through financial assistance and marketing facilities so that a real revolution in agriculture can be brought about.

Industry

Although Pakistan had no large scale industry in the beginning, the growth rate in industry is more than double that of agriculture. By 1965, Pakistan attained a growth of 12 per cent a year in industry. The index of industrial development reached 260 in 1966-67. Very rapid progress was

²⁶Mahbubul Haq, op. cit., pp. 54-55.

made in manufacturing industries. From 1955 to 1965, the production of cotton textile increased by 72 per cent, jute goods by 234 per cent, paper by 233 per cent, sugar by 388 per cent, cement by 188 per cent, and chemical fertilizers by 147 per cent. Although tea is one of the important items of export, its production increased by only 19 per cent.²⁷ The reliance on foreign countries for consumer goods decreased with the production of 90 per cent of the requirements for those goods. Export has been diversified and 50 per cent of Pakistan's export are now of industrial products.²⁸

Although the share of allocation for industry out of the resources of the country has come down from about one-third to one-fourth by 1965 all the government policies are directed toward industrialization. Even up to the present time the industrial bias of commercial policy has not been changed. The import policy announced in January 1970 would, according to a government source "greatly stimulate the industrial activity in the country."²⁹ About 85 per cent of the allocation for imports will be utilized for im-

²⁷Central Statistical Office, Government of Pakistan, 20 Years of Pakistan in Statistics 1947-1967, op. cit., pp. 83, 84, 86, 89 and 90.

²⁸Pakistan High Commission, Ottawa, Pakistan News and Views, No. 45 (February 16, 1970), p. 2.

²⁹Ibid., No. 44 (February 1, 1970), pp. 2-3.

porting industrial raw materials, and the rest for consumer goods.

As mentioned earlier, the growth of the industrial sector in Pakistan is higher than that of any other sector of economy. The private sector in industry has shown dynamism and the high rate of growth in industry is largely due to the energetic efforts of private industrial entrepreneurs along with the government policy of creating favourable economic and non-economic conditions. At the same time government investment in industry is also high.³⁰ Since Pakistan is committed to the ideology of private initiative and since the private sector is very dynamic it seems quite reasonable to suggest that government's own investment in industry should be decreased and the money released thereby should be used for other sectors, e.g., in agriculture and in the social sector.

Economic Infra-structure

There has been some progress in the development of the economic infra-structure in the recent past. Water resources are being harnessed for irrigation of agricultural land and for production of energy. So far about 25.3 million acres of land have received benefits from an extensive

³⁰See page 134 above.

irrigation system throughout the country. Power generation has increased over the plan periods and the per capita consumption of electricity increased from 11 units in 1955 to 40 units in 1965. However, compared with other countries the per capita consumption is still low. For example, India's per capita consumption of electricity is double that of Pakistan.³¹

In transport and communications development the country has made slow progress, especially in railways and road transport. Although a large amount of money has been invested in the railways, only a small portion of the country has been covered by them. The railway mileage has not increased in proportion to the amount of money spent over the plan periods. There is therefore a need to change the transport policy of the government. Greater emphasis should be given to road and water transport. Civil aviation also received a large share of the resource of the country. The inter-national services of the Pakistan International Airlines Corporation have been expanded at the cost of the development of domestic transport system. It seems necessary to direct some resources from civil aviation to the building of more important means of domestic transport. In communications great importance has been given to the dev-

³¹United Nations Organization, Statistical Yearbook, 1967 (New York: 1968), p. 145.

elopment of telecommunications. Postal services which affect the majority of the rural population have not been provided adequately. Here also a shift of emphasis is urgently required.

Expenditure for the building of the physical infra-structure is very heavy. Allocation for the sectors constituting physical infra-structure was 34, 36 and 33 per cent of the total allocations in the First, Second and the Third Plans respectively. A question may be raised whether or not such high expenditure on these sectors is justified. It is difficult to give a categorical answer to this question. If the principle of productivity is applied in allocating resources in these sectors, such expenditure seems to be unjustified because no immediate return is received from them.³² But if the economic development is to be self-sustaining, the base must be strong and as such a high expenditure on the building of physical infra-structure may be justified. The visible return from an investment on them may not be seen within a short period, but the long term return to the community at large may be high. Private initiative in the building of infra-structure is not forthcoming at present and future private investment is also unlikely. Under these conditions government expenditure

³² See Mahbubul Haq, op. cit., p. 210.

will continue to be the chief source of physical infrastructure.

Social Sectors

Although some progress has taken place in economic sectors, the social sectors lag far behind. Many of the basic requirements for the existence of a healthy society have not been fulfilled, creating an imbalance between the economic and social development. The condition of housing is still deplorable. In a period of 10 years -- from 1955 to 1965 -- only 240,000 houses were built against the need for about 2,090,000 houses in the country. Although housing construction is planned to be stepped up during the Third Plan period, the shortage of houses is estimated at 1.2 million by 1970. Most of the houses were constructed by the private sector and many of them were luxury homes. There is a need to reverse this trend of building luxury homes by the rich people. The poorer section of the community which cannot afford to build its own houses should be provided with adequate resources for building houses at low cost.

Although some progress took place in the health services they are still inadequate compared with the needs of the people. The number of doctors has increased bring-

ing their ratio to the population from 1:11,177 in 1955 to 1:7,152 in 1966. The number of nurses in the hospitals has also increased from 1,741 in 1955 to 4,002 in 1966. This brought down the nurse-population ratio from 1:43,221 to 1:31,234 during the same period. The number of hospitals has not increased over the plan periods. In 1955 there was one hospital for every 187,500 people but in 1966 the hospital population ratio increased to 1:270,000. In the same way hospital beds did not increase, resulting in one bed for every 3,250 people in 1955 and for 3,800 people in 1966. It is clear from these figures that medical and hospitalization services have not shown any significant improvement.

Some achievements were however made in the preventive fields. The incidence of malaria has decreased by 20 to 30 per cent, and small pox by 98 per cent. Mortality due to cholera decreased by 30 to 50 per cent. For controlling tuberculosis 24.41 million people were vaccinated.

By far the most neglected among the social sectors is social welfare. Here the need is vast but the government attention is very poor. Only a fraction of the total needs has been fulfilled. No serious attention was given in the first two Plans to provide the necessary social services. The government policy was to leave them to private organizations which, however, do not have either the ability or the

resources to deal with the vast problems of social services. The Third Plan tried to remedy the situation to some extent, but compared with the requirements of services the plan proposals were negligible. Of the total estimated requirement for 13,685 service organizations, the Third Plan provision was for only 715 of them.

One of the important reasons why the need in social welfare services could not be fulfilled was the shortage of trained workers. As the voluntary social service organizations have insufficient resources to train their workers, the government responsibility in this regard is heavy. In an editorial Dawn said:

The point to be stressed is this: that we do not have to depend on, or even be confined to, the activities of inspired bands of social workers dedicating their life to the pursuit of goodness and virtue and able at all times to eliminate the personal perspective from their application to the task. It will continue, for a long time yet, to be chiefly the responsibility of government to initiate, primarily through their own agents, the various welfare measures for the strength and sustenance of the masses. 33

Education has received scant attention from government although national development depends heavily on it. Because of small financial allocation and the lack of zeal in implementing the programme, many targets in the

³³Dawn, April 8, 1968, p. 9.

field of education were not fulfilled. In primary education the target in the First Plan of opening new schools was fulfilled only up to 60 per cent, although the total enrolment was more than the estimated number. In the Second Plan, the target of opening schools was fulfilled, but not the goal of raising the school enrolment. The Third Plan proposed to bring 70 per cent of the children of school-going age to the primary school. If this target is to be achieved, the efforts at providing facilities for primary education should be increased many times than before.

The progress of secondary education is also slow. During the First Plan total enrolment in secondary schools increased by only 12 per cent. No appreciable increase was registered in the enrolment of secondary schools during the Second Plan period. From 1960-65, the increase was only 4 per cent.

The teacher-pupil ratio in the primary schools increased instead of decreasing. In 1955, the ratio was 1:37, but in 1965 it stood at 1:38. A similar situation is found with secondary education where the ratio was 1:25, but rose to 1:27 in 1965.³⁴

³⁴Central Statistical Office, Government of Pakistan, 20 Years of Pakistan in Statistics 1947-1967, op. cit., pp. 170, 172, 174, 175.

Technical education has not progressed satisfactorily and the need for technical personnel is still great. Even by the end of 1970 there will be a shortage of 7,000 engineers and 600 agricultural degree holders apart from many lower level technicians. The annual requirement of technicians is estimated at 7,000, but the annual output by 1970 will be only 4,600.

Higher education is also far from satisfactory. Student enrolment in higher educational institutions is still lower than what is found in some of the developing countries. In 1964 for example, there were only 227 students out of every 100,000 people in Pakistan. This compares unfavourably with India where there were 284 students per 100,000 population for the same year.³⁵

Public expenditure on education has increased over the years. The per head expenditure on education increased from Rs. 7 in the 1950's to Rs. 14 in the 1960's. In 1955, public expenditure on education was 0.5 per cent of the national income which rose to 1.9 per cent in 1964. But still Pakistan's expenditure on education is one of the lowest in the world. In India, for example,

³⁵UNESCO, Statistical Yearbook, 1966 (Paris: 1968), pp. 162 and 164.

about 2.8 per cent of national income is spent on education.³⁶

Education has received the "residuary" resources while allocations have been first made to those sectors which were termed as "productive", e.g., agriculture, industry, etc. There is, however, extreme need to spend more money on education because of its importance to the overall development of the country. The Karachi Plan drawn up in a conference of Asian countries in 1960 recommended that 4.6 per cent of the GNP should be spent on education.³⁷ The Commission on National Education appointed by the Government of Pakistan recommended that at least 7 per cent of the revenue of government should be spent on education. It further recommended that other development expenditure to the Ministry of Education for educational programme.³⁸ This seems to be a very sound recommendation as all sectors benefit by educational development.

³⁶ Ibid., pp. 271 and 274. According to the estimate of the Government of Pakistan, however, the expenditure on education reached 2.6 per cent of the GNP in 1964. See, Government of Pakistan, Twenty Years of Pakistan 1947-1967, op. cit., p. 412.

³⁷ Government of Pakistan, Twenty Years of Pakistan 1947-1967, op. cit., p 412.

³⁸ Ministry of Education, Government of Pakistan, Report of the Commission on National Education, op. cit., pp. 342-343.

The intra-sectoral priority in education is very unbalanced. In the first two plans a high proportion of total allocation (26 and 25 per cent respectively) was assigned to higher education which created an 'inverted pyramid' in the whole educational structure. Primary education was neglected although there is an urgent necessity to build a strong base of higher education. Emphasis on higher education at the expense of primary education represents, quite obviously, an elitist view on the part of the educational planners of Pakistan.

The system of education has not been related to the manpower needs of the country, and as such there is inconsistency in the demand for and the supply of manpower. If there is an imbalance between the output of the educational system and the input of the absorbing sectors the educational system tends to be dysfunctional.

Population Control

Government policy in population control is comparatively new and a vigorous effort has been started only since 1965. Although studies are under way, it is not precisely known how successful is the family planning programme of the Government of Pakistan. The ultimate object of bringing down the birth rate depends on the

number of people actually practising family planning. It was estimated that by 1968 about 11 per cent of the fertile couples were practising family planning.³⁹ This figure shows that much has not been achieved so far. The United Nations Report also said that "it is too early to predict with confidence that the target [of bringing the birth rate from 50 to 40 per thousand] will be achieved."⁴⁰

There are, however, some encouraging reports. The Government of Pakistan revealed that "the birth rate in the country showed a fall of 20 per cent during the current [Third] Plan period."⁴¹ Recently a fertility survey was conducted in East Pakistan which revealed that there has been 27 per cent decline in fertility from 1958 to 1967.⁴² More studies shall have to be made before one can come to a firm conclusion on the decline in the birth rate in the country.

39

Lee L. Bean and A. D. Bhatti, "Three Years of Pakistan's New National Family-Planning Programme", in The Pakistan Development Review, Vol. IX, No. 1 (Spring 1969), p. 54.

40

United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Report on an Evaluation of the Family Planning Programme of the Government of Pakistan (New York; 1969), p. 138.

41

Pakistan News Digest, Vol. 16, No. 10 (May 15, 1968), p. 1.

42

John Stoekel, "East Pakistan: Fertility and Family Planning in Comilla", in Studies in Family Planning, No. 39 (March 1969), p. 15.

Labour and Employment

One of the important objectives of public policy is to provide employment opportunities for the labour force of the country. With population increase the size of the labour force is also increasing but the achievement of government in providing employment opportunities to them is disappointing. No accurate estimate of the employment situation in the country has been made, but it was estimated by the First Plan that in 1950's about 5.6 million people were either unemployed or partially employed. Underemployment was highest among the agricultural labour force which also experiences seasonal unemployment. Several studies have shown that about 20 per cent of the agricultural labour force is underemployed. During the First Plan period the existing labour force could not be provided with employment. On the contrary, the size of the unemployed labour force increased to 7.5 million at the beginning of the Second Plan, indicating that about 30 per cent of the labour force could not be employed during the First Plan period.

The Second Plan also not give serious attention to provide employment opportunities for the underemployed or unemployed. It was estimated that about three million people would enter the job market during the Second Plan period. However, only half of the labour force, i.e., 1.5

million people were given employment from 1960 to 1965 with the result that the backlog increased further. The size of the labour force will be more than 40 million by 1970. The Third Plan proposes to provide employment to 5.5 million people. Even if it is possible to do so there will be about 8 million people who will either have no jobs or will be underemployed by the end of 1970.⁴³

The above figures show that the size of the underemployed or unemployed labour force is increasing with the increase of the size of the labour force. It seems that the employment policy of government is inconsistent with other policies. To provide employment it is necessary to expand those industries which can absorb more labour with less capital expenditure. For this reason government emphasis should be on the development of small and cottage industries instead of large scale industry. But the former received insufficient attention of government and the major share of the allocation for industry has gone to large industry. If substantial employment opportunities are not provided the social costs of maintaining the unemployed or underemployed will be very high.

⁴³ M. Yasin, "Employment and the Third Five Year Plan", in Anwar Iqbal Qureshi, ed., The Third Five Year Plan and Other Papers (Rawalpindi: Pakistan Economic Association, 1965), p. 189.

ECONOMIC VERSUS SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

The foregoing discussion clearly shows that the Government of Pakistan has given more emphasis to the economic sectors and neglected the development of social sector. The basic philosophy of government being growth measured in terms of increase in GNP, per capita income, etc., about 80 per cent of the resources of the country have been allotted to the economic sector in all the three plans.

Giving emphasis to the "productive" sectors produced some unhealthy results, apart from the lag in social development. Since all people do not equally participate in the productive activities and since the profits of investment in the economic sectors go directly to the entrepreneurs, the overemphasis on the "productive" side leads to concentration of wealth in a few hands. In a survey made a few years ago it was found that 27 per cent of the industrial investment in Pakistan was made by an industrial community (Halai Memon) which constituted roughly 0.3 per cent of population. Another community (Chinioti) constituting 0.05 per cent of population of Pakistan invested 9 per cent of the total investment in industry.⁴⁴ A recent

⁴⁴Gustav Papanek, "The Development of Entrepreneurship", in The American Economic Review, Vol. 52, No. 2 (May 1962), p. 54.

survey revealed that about "20 families" in Pakistan "own 60 per cent of all major manufacturing industry in the country and control even a greater number percentage of banking, insurance, shipping and other key sectors of the economy."⁴⁵ Concentration of wealth in a few hands tends to create a cleavage in society which has far reaching consequences. The social unrest in the country for the last few years may partly be attributed to the deprivation of the large majority of the people of a significant share of the country's resources. Suggesting that social unrest might have been linked up with the maldistribution of benefit Arthur Gaitskell asks: "Should not more attention have been paid to the distribution of benefit rate and less to the economic growth rate?"⁴⁶

Thus the allocation of a major share of resources for quick economic growth and reliance on private enterprise created a strong entrepreneurial class which tended to give a capitalistic bias to the society. However, the authorities seemed to be conscious of the ill-effects of unmitigated capitalism on the society as a whole. President Ayub him-

⁴⁵ Dawn, June 21, 1969, p. 1.

⁴⁶ Arthur Gaitskell, "Asia: A Mid-Course Solution", in Ceres (FAO review), Vol. 2, No. 6 (November/December, 1969), p. 35. In an editorial, Dawn also suggested for bringing about a synthesis between economic growth and equitable distribution. See Dawn, April 25, 1965, p. 9.

self said:

The result of this approach has been the rapid growth of private enterprise in Pakistan. This has certainly yielded high rates of growth, especially in recent years, but it has also led to some problems.... We have to ensure that in Pakistan too, private enterprise moves toward that stage of enlightenment where making of high profits and their re-investment ceases to be the sole or even the major criterion of success and the private⁴⁷ sector is motivated by the larger interest of society.

While the government did succeed in quickening the pace of growth, its efforts at devising some measure of equitable distribution failed. It was, therefore, the growth of capitalistic economy with little tangible and immediate benefits to the multitude that in 1968-69 sparked public agitation against the government, bringing down President Ayub Khan.

In June, 1969, the Government of Pakistan passed an Ordinance to curb monopoly and the concentration of wealth. It specified 15 steps to be taken for the equitable distribution of wealth, which include the organization of private charity, raising of taxes on income, discontinuance of investment allowance for tax purposes, passing anti-cartel laws and raising the tax on luxury goods.⁴⁸ It will

⁴⁷The Third Five Year Plan, 1965-70, p. IV.

⁴⁸Ibid., June 21, 1969, p. 1.

take some time to see the results of these measures, but one does not know how effectively these measures can be implemented by a government which is basically committed to the philosophy of growth.

It needs to be recognized by the Government of Pakistan that economic development is but one of the aspects of the overall development of the country, and the development of economic sector does not necessarily lead to the development in other sectors. This fact has been recognized by the United Nations in the following statement:

It is generally assumed that the purpose of economic development is the betterment of man's condition of life. At the same time it is recognized that social improvement does not necessarily or automatically follow economic development. It is therefore essential that the social scientist -- the welfare planner -- should join the other members of the planning team in setting not only realistic but also socially desirable goals, lest we forget the purpose of planning and economic development. 49

The United Nations formulated a programme for its Development Decade 1961-70, in which it emphasized social development along with economic development. In its words:

... social reform and economic strategy are two sides of the same coin, the single strategy of development. This realization came about through several intermed-

⁴⁹ The Secretariat of the United Nations, "Physical Planning and Economic Development", in United Nations, International Action in Asia and the Far East: Housing, Building and Planning, No. 9 (New York: 1955), p. 81.

iate stages in which an original opposition of these two ideas was replaced by a parallelism expressed in such terms as 'balanced economic and social development'. This ultimate identity can be best expressed by saying that the problem of the underdeveloped countries is not just growth, but development. Development is growth plus change; change, in turn, is social and cultural as well as economic, and qualitative as well as quantitative. It should no longer be necessary to speak of 'economic and social development', since development -- as distinct from growth -- should automatically include both. A direct corollary of this new approach to development was that the purely economic indicators of progress were seen to provide only limited insight and might conceal as much as they indicated. 50

The United Nations proposal brings out clearly the heed for giving serious attention to the social development which does not figure high in the minds of the economic planners or the political elites of the developing nations.

There are some plausible reasons for which attention should be given to social development along with economic development. Firstly, in the short run expenditure on social development may not give immediate return but in the long run it may be highly profitable to the community as a whole. This can be illustrated from some of the studies of the effects of educational development on economic growth. Harbison and Myers have found a cor-

⁵⁰ United Nations, The United Nations Development Decade: Proposal for Action, Report of the Secretary-General, op. cit., pp. 2-3.

relation between education and income in a study of 75 countries.⁵¹ Grouping these countries into four categories according to the level of educational development they found that 17 educationally underdeveloped countries (Level I) had a mean per capita income of \$84; 21 partially developed countries (Level II) had a mean of \$182; 21 semi-advanced countries (Level III) had \$380; and 16 advanced countries had a mean per capita income of \$1,100.⁵² Similar conclusion has been drawn by Becker whose study was based both on the formal education and on on-the-job training.⁵³ According to him "the most impressive piece of evidence is that more highly educated and skilled persons almost always tend to earn more than others", and "unemployment seems to be strongly related, usually inversely, to education."⁵⁴ Schultz has made several studies on the relationship between education and economic growth. In one of the studies he came to the following two conclusions:

During the last three decades, schooling has been a larger source of growth than material capital represented by structures, equipment and inventories as presently measured. The other lesson

⁵¹ Frederick Harbison and Charles Myers, Education, Manpower, and Economic Growth: Strategies of Human Resource Development (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1964).

⁵² Ibid., pp. 23-48. Pakistan has been placed in Level II, i.e., among the partially developed countries.

⁵³ G. S. Becker, Human Capital (New York: National Bureau of Economic Research, 1964).

⁵⁴ Ibid., p. 2.

pertains to earlier decades and to the decades ahead. Between 1909 and 1929...schooling played a much smaller role in growth than it has since then. 55

According to Schultz education makes a contribution to economic growth by improving the productive system of the country. He holds the view that investment in education may be 3.5 times more productive than physical capital.

Denison has shown that in the United States between 1929 and 1957 increased education of the labour force contributed 23 per cent of the growth in real national income while the advanced technological and managerial knowledge contributed another 20 per cent.⁵⁶ Denison concluded that

from 1929 to 1957 the increase of education raised the average quality of the labour force at an average annual rate of 0.93 per cent a year. What this rate implies is that an increase of 80 per cent in the average amount of schooling raised the average quality of labour by 30 per cent. 57

Housing also contributes to economic development. The construction industry employs labour and stimulates in-

⁵⁵T. W. Schultz, The Economic Value of Education (New York: Columbia University Press, 1963), p. 44.

⁵⁶E. F. Denison, "Measuring the Contribution of Education to Economic Growth", in E. A. G. Robinson and J. E. Vaisey, eds., The Economics of Education (New York: MacMillan and Company Limited, 1966), pp. 204-205.

⁵⁷Ibid., p. 207.

dustry producing building materials. These have multiplier effects on the economy of the country. A Report of the International Labour Organization stated several reasons for public housing policy, two of which are:

1. "Housing is a vitally important determinant of the general level of employment."
2. "Better housing produces important indirect benefits. The community gains in its health, moral welfare, efficiency and aesthetic appearance." 58

A United Nations Seminar recommended that "the provision of houses of minimum standards, suitable for local requirements, should have high priority in a plan for national development", and that "sufficient resources be allocated for national housing programmes."⁵⁹

In the same way the improvement of health may also contribute to economic development. It will increase the working hours per capita and will decrease absenteeism. A healthy labour force can therefore contribute to the overall growth of the country.

Secondly, certain patterns of social behaviour

⁵⁸International Labour Organization, Housing and Employment (Geneva: 1948), pp. 16-17.

⁵⁹"Report of the Seminar Working Party on Housing and Community Improvement Programmes", in United Nations, International Action in Asia and the Far East: Housing, Building and Planning, No. 9, op. cit., p. 66.

may create obstacles to economic development. Such obstacles should be removed for quick and smooth economic development.

It is true that development may bring about a disruption of certain traditional ways of life, with attendant social difficulties, it is also true that these traditional ways of life that do not fit the modern economic requirements may hamper economic growth. 60

It seems therefore necessary that people in the developing countries should be made "accustomed to social values and behaviour patterns which contribute towards economic progress."⁶¹

Thirdly, Pakistan is giving preference to those economic enterprises which are labour intensive. When priorities are so selected it becomes imperative on the part of the country to give consideration to social development. Investment in human beings is regarded as investment on the creation of social infra-structure which is perhaps more important than the creation of physical infra-structure at the present level of the development of Pakistan.

The capacity to create wealth resides largely in people. Their health, education, knowledge, skill, adjustment to requirements of progressive society

⁶⁰"Problems of Social and Economic Development in the Countries of Asia and the Far East", in Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East, Economic Bulletin for Asia and the Far East, Vol. 10, No. 3 (December, 1959), p. 3.

⁶¹"Social Development Planning", in Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East, Economic Bulletin for Asia and the Far East, Vol. 14, No. 2 (1963), p. 4.

and their degree of contentment, incentives, and acceptance of policies required for progress all constitute the indispensable social infrastructure of wealth. 62

It has been estimated that about 20 per cent to one-third of the increase in the national income can be attributed to quantitative increase in the input factors like capital and labour. The remainder of the increase may be attributed to qualitative improvements in the human resources.⁶³

Fourthly, economic development brings about certain social changes. With industrialization and urbanization there is a movement of population from village to cities. This created the problem of family and interpersonal relationships. Many people living in cities cannot maintain frequent contact with their parents in the rural areas. Consequently, the parents have less influence on their children than before. Many people leave their families in rural homes while going to work in cities. The villagers find an environment in cities which is quite different from the rural one. The process of transformation also brings about changes in attitudes and values.⁶⁴ These changed circumstances re-

⁶²Ibid., p. 3.

⁶³Ibid.

⁶⁴Two excellent studies on the changes in attitudes and values have been made in East Pakistan. See, A. F. A. Husain, Human and Social Impact of Technological Changes in Pakistan (Dacca: Oxford University Press, 1956), 2 volumes: Howard Schuman, Economic Development and Individual Change (Cambridge, Mass.: Center for International Affairs, Harvard University, 1967).

quire both social and psychological adjustment. Social services are necessary in these cases. Moreover, industrialization and urbanization create the problem of housing, health, crime, etc. These problems require proper solution.

Finally, Pakistan's expenditure on social development constitutes a very small fraction of total expenditure. It was pointed out before that Pakistan spent only 20 per cent of her development expenditure for social improvement. The development expenditure again constitutes a small portion of total expenditure of government. During the First Plan period only 4.8 per cent of the Gross National Products was spent for development purposes.⁶⁵ This increased to 6.1 per cent during the Second Plan period.⁶⁶ The increase is very insignificant and development expenditure still constitutes a small fraction of total expenditure of government.

One of the important reasons of low development

⁶⁵ Pakistan finances her development expenditure from two sources -- internal and external. The internal source comes from private and public savings and the external source from foreign aids. The total internal resource during the First Plan was Rs. 6,600 million which constituted 61 per cent of the total planned expenditure. The GNP during the same period (1955-60) was Rs. 137,113 million. The domestic resource during the Second Plan was Rs. 12,050 million constituting 52 per cent of the total planned expenditure. During the Third Plan period Rs. 36,000 million are expected to come from domestic source. This will be about 68 per cent of the total expenditure.

⁶⁶ The total GNP from 1960 to 1965 was Rs. 196,731 million.

expenditure in Pakistan is that she spends a high proportion of her revenue for defence because of military threat from her unfriendly neighbours. Before the Plan period, about 70 to 80 per cent of the revenue of the Central Government was spent on defence. This came down to 28.3 per cent in 1969-70 (see Table 9.2). In terms of GNP, Pakistan spent 3.90 per cent on defence in 1959. This is higher than many of the developing countries. For example, India spent 1.89 per cent of GNP for defence in 1959.⁶⁷

TABLE 9.2

REVENUE RECEIPTS AND DEFENCE EXPENDITURE
OF PAKISTAN FOR SELECTED YEARS

year	Revenue receipt	Defence expenditure met from revenue
1947-48	198.0	153.0
1950-51	1,273.2	649.9
1954-55	1,172.7	635.1
1960-61	2,094.7	1,005.3
1965-66	3,556.7	1,360.9
1969-70	7,533.7	2,600.0

Source: Government of Pakistan, Ministry of Finance, The Budget in Brief 1965-66 (Rawalpindi: 1965), pp. 10-11; Dawn, June 29, 1969, p. 13.

⁶⁷ Bruce Russett, et. al., World Handbook of Political and Social Indicators (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1964), p. 79.

Some Concluding Remarks

The Government of Pakistan seems to have been confronted with the crucial problem of the choice of allocating resources as between economic and social sectors. It accepted the first because investment on economic sectors give quick and quantifiable return. Even in choosing among the different economic sectors preference was given to that sector which gave relatively more return in a short period. This is why in spite of the declared policy of government of giving 'first priority' to agriculture, relatively more money was allocated to industry and all policies were virtually directed towards industrial development. The social sectors did not receive the close attention of government in terms of the allocation of resources because the return from an investment in them is not easily quantifiable and not immediate. Although the economy of the country showed a remarkable growth because of a high investment on the economic sectors, the benefits of growth were not distributed among the masses, but were limited to a handful of people.

It can therefore be concluded that the principles of allocation of resources to different sectors of development were inappropriate. The ultimate objective of the use of resources of the country should be for the creation

of potential capacity for growth first and not for the growth itself. The human resources can provide this potential capacity for growth and as such their development should receive more attention of government. Investment in man may be ultimately more profitable to the country as a whole than investment in machine.

The analytical framework used herein has been useful in studying public policy in two ways. First, instead of studying a particular policy in isolation, heretofore the common practice of political scientists, the totality of government policy was brought within the scope of discussion. All sectors for which resources were allocated for development purposes were studied in detail and the basic orientation of government in the use of resources was found out. The study of a particular policy separately would not offer much help in arriving at a conclusion regarding the general basic orientation of government.

Second, the different sectors of development were also studied in relation to each other. This involved the study of the selection of priorities in the allocation of resources and policy in regard to one vis-a-vis the others. It was discovered in such a study that there were several inconsistencies in the policy of gov-

ernment. Conflicting policies were adopted because of half-hearted commitment to some sectors and an anxiety to achieve a rapid economic growth. The analytical framework therefore gave us a tool to study public policy in its totality as well as in relation to each other.

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