

CENSUS OF INDIA

1951



GENERAL SCHEME

GENERAL SCHEME FOR THE 1951 CENSUS.

INTRODUCTION.

The Ninth All-India Census will relate to sunrise on 1st March, 1951.

2. This is precisely the same reference point as for 1941. The identity is the consequence of the fact that the census will again not be on a one-night basis but will be related to normal residence.

3. You will find waiting for you a set of papers designed to give you an immediate picture of everything that has been decided up to date. They are grouped broadly under enumeration and tabulation. Study the former first; in particular the three items below:

- (1) The layout of your area by district and tehsil numbers or in other words the location code.
- (2) Census questions and instructions.
- (3) Enumeration pads.

4. A census could be summed up as 'first you count and then you tabulate'. That does not prescribe the order of our operations but there is far more to the effort than that simple phrase might imply. Before we count we must build up our counting organisation, our enumeration army. That army has to cover every bit of the 1.2 million square miles of India; it has to be fully trained both in technicalities, attitudes and confidence, and that training and the perfecting and handling of that organisation is your prime task.

Everything will take its colour from your energy, enthusiasm and ability. More than in any other field of Government performance the quality of a census reflects the quality of the Census Superintendent.

5. It is essential, therefore, for the Census Superintendent to inspire confidence in himself and for this he must be ready to take responsibility and enforce it. I lay out the plans of campaign and the general directions, objectives, etc., but the Superintendents carry it out. I shall always help by visit, advice, etc., but I shall not solve or attempt to solve local details. These are for you.

I—HOUSE-NUMBERING.

Since the object of any countrywide count is, to quote again my old Madras village officer friend, "to catch every man", it follows that our agents must visit every place where a human being may be found. To ensure this, however, such places should be numbered. Provincial Governments have been busy on house-numbering since 1948 and one of your first concerns should be to satisfy yourself of the quality and completeness of this.

See the ten "golden rules" on house-numbering I drew up for the guidance of Provincial Governments. They sum up both objectives and direction.

2. Maintained house-numbering is at the root of our attempt to build up a sound statistical structure. Keep your eyes open throughout your tours not only to inspect but also to guide and encourage.

The intention is that house-numbering should be maintained by local authorities and you should do everything you can to put over this concept. Maintained house-numbering will be of the utmost value to them and to all concerned with social enquiries; and will be the foundation of the use of sampling and other modern methods to replace or at any rate reduce the impact of cumbersome all-in counts.

3. "Maintained" does not imply metal plates or other comparatively expensive forms of numbering. The permanence we seek is in the mind of householder and official alike, especially the former; if he knows that his house has a number and that he must know and use it, then we have achieved maintenance even if the number appears only in chalk above his door.

Maintained numbering however is not easily applicable to purely temporary erections such as are not uncommon in this country. Thus for example the here-today-and-gone-tomorrow shacks of nomads, purely temporary places put up for Displaced Persons, tents for similar purpose; and so on have probably not been numbered. You should see that any such collections still on the ground and unnumbered are given numbers for the purpose of the census.

4. House-numbering for villages and towns over a large country cannot be maintained by an officer sitting at Delhi. I have therefore taken it as a cardinal principle to get house-numbering brought into the regular Provincial administration field. I want Provincial Governments to look on the house-numbers as corresponding to survey numbers of the fields which as we know are carefully recorded. A good village officer knows his survey numbers, and who owns them, practically by heart; I want him to do the same broadly-speaking with the houses in his village.

So on the principle of first things first, go on this system of putting the house-number as the base of our whole structure of essential data. Do not lead or encourage anyone to look on the house-number as a purely census phenomenon or something particularly attached to you as Provincial Census Superintendent, approach it from the other aspect that this is a fundamental piece of Provincial structure in which you are interested and which we ought to bring to the highest standard in the interest of the Province.

5. We are building for the future. Our aim is that a house should carry its number as we ourselves do our own names from the moment we enter this world till the moment we leave it. Evidently therefore a house is not a matter of a decade or even a generation and the children should know their house-number as well as the parents and should regularly use it. Encourage therefore teachers and Education Departments generally to require their children to know their house-number and to use it on their essays or examination papers or other school activities. What we are after in fact is to bring about a state of things in which the man takes his house-number about within his mind as automatically as he does his own name.

LOCAL CALENDAR FOR AREA X.

1850 ..	Big cyclone which did special damage in tehsil A.
1850 ...	First Railway Train came.
1867 ...	Big floods in Rivér R, which washed away part of town Y.
1877 } 1878 }	Great Famine.
1885 ...	

15. Question 6 was cast to require an answer only by province of origin. This would have lent itself readily to a simple number code applicable all over India. Subsequently it was felt "district of origin" should be recorded.

The answer to this question will be highly concentrated, that is to say, the great bulk of the answers will come within areas in the North-West and North-East and in particular the Punjab and Bengal. Other areas will have comparatively few to record and the district name could be written in full without imposing any very great burden. In areas however where displaced persons are abundant the record will be much bigger and I wish Superintendents to evolve an appropriate local code. It is not possible to give a single code for all Pakistan districts. This would be too much labour. But in the west for example much the heaviest contributions to emigration came from the following Punjab districts: Lahore, Sheikhupura, Gujranwala, Sialkot, Montgomery, Lyallpur, Multan, along with Bahawalpur State, and Sukkur and Karachi in Sind. The Punjab Superintendent therefore could base a code on this, e.g., 1 for Lahore, 2 for Sheikhupura, etc. Similarly for Rajputana. Likewise in the east the Bengal Superintendent could frame a code based on the districts now in East Pakistan.

It might not be necessary to allot numbers to all districts of Pakistan or even to more than one or two; and the size and nature of the code will be for the Superintendent to decide. What I do require of him is that he keeps in mind every practicable means of saving the enumerator time and labour.

16. Question No. 7.—The instructions under this question prescribe the abbreviations to be used where the enumeration is done in English. In translating these instructions into the languages of the Province Superintendents should see that wherever letters are used as abbreviations they are based on the equivalent in the particular language of the Province.

Enumeration Pads.

17. As in 1941, enumeration will be on a pad common to the whole country. This pad contains no words in any language and has been run off in millions at a central press.

The pads have been supplied to each district headquarters and bear the code number of that district. All Provinces have been asked to lay out their territory in this code, i.e., district numbers within the Province, tehsils within the district, villages within tehsil, and of course houses within the village. Thus a number of four elements should define a particular house in your entire Province.

Thus an enumerator of district X will find X already printed on his slip. He will have to add the tehsil, village and house numbers on each slip. The first two he can add before enumeration begins, for

they are known in advance. The tehsil retains the same number always, likewise the village. A first element in training therefore is for all concerned with it to know the code numbers attaching to their particular units. Thus the tehsildar of A will know the code number of every village in A, the Revenue Inspector who looks after a group of villages will know the code number attaching to each of them; the enumerator of village V will know the number of that village as also of the tehsil in which it lies. This may sound complicated but is not really. While here again the objective is permanent, not confined to a single census. Evidently a systematic code lends itself to sampling, mechanical tabulation, etc., as well as to a manifest saving in labour. Every census slip must be identifiable as relating to one single person in the whole of India. Hence full local detail must appear on every slip. If the enumerator of village V has say 500 persons to enumerate it is obviously going to save him a vast amount of time if he can write a few figures instead of several long names.

There is no reason evidently why the code should not come into general use quite apart from the census and if we can bring this about we shall have contributed appreciably to administrative development.

Provisional Totals.

18. It is obviously desirable to give the Government at the earliest possible moment the population totals we discover. Evidently it will take us months to sort by communities, age, etc., but from the very enumeration booklet itself we can had the numbers of males and females and of literate persons, and the cover on the booklet is for that purpose. A well trained enumerator can add up the men and women and the literates in his book and jot down the figures. This first addition of course is provisional in the sense that it is not a formally sorted, etc., total but it should be dimensionally very close and if I can within a few days of the 1st March, 1951, give the Government of India such figures, it will be of assistance to them and redound to the credit of the staff.

Largely this is a matter of training and organisation. Train the enumerator in the idea of adding the males and females and of literates, organise the handing in of these enumerator's abstracts to the Supervisors, from Supervisors to the Tehsil Office, Tehsil to District Headquarters, District Headquarters to you and to me direct by telegram. It will be for you to inform your Provincial Government and for me to inform the Government of India. A standard form of report should be used, that of the enumerator's abstract itself with tehsil, district, province, etc., substituted for village. Thus a typical report sent to you and to me by the District Magistrate of X would be "X District, Population, males—females—total—Stop Literates, male—female—total—Stop".

19. Urban/Rural Classification.—Urban/rural is an important differentiating element in census and other statistics. That means that before we start our enumeration we have to know which places we are going to treat as towns. As soon as you take over therefore study the 1941 list of towns in your Province and decide whether any should be added to or removed from it. The essentials of the classification have not altered. But broadly where anything with a population below 5,000 is concerned, satisfy yourself that it really is a town and not a village. I shall require this time as in 1941, an urban/rural ratio based on 5,000 population minimum for towns.

III—RAILWAY AREAS, CANTONMENTS AND DEFENCE SERVICES.

Till 1941 railways and cantonments were governed by special sets of rules. These were dispensed with in 1941 but you may still find traces of the old idea that the railway and the military function so to speak in distinct universes. You must dispel firmly any such idea. So far as the census is concerned the railwaymen and the soldiers are the same as you and me and our office staff, citizens. Their houses are bought in with the appropriate village/town, ward, etc. in the most convenient manner.

The word "convenient" of course is important. Where you have an appreciable railway colony you will try to get it enumerated by someone who knows it, with the Supervisor, etc., drawn from railway staff. Similarly soldiers with their units, *i.e.*, in barracks should be enumerated by soldiers and sailors by their ship's commanders. This is only following the Indian practice of putting on to a job men whose connections, etc., make them appropriate agents.

2. There is no question of enumerating travelling public, etc., on train or soldiers on the march. If a military unit or a R.I.N. ship expects to be on the move on the 1st March 1951 its enumeration should be done before it leaves.

3. It is a first principle in all census-taking that separate administrative units should be completely identifiable and distinct throughout enumeration. This implies the drawing up of census units in such a form as to secure this end throughout. No census unit therefore should be partly in a cantonment and partly in a civil area.

It is also an accepted census practice that strictly military areas should be kept distinct and distinguishable in the enumeration books. Also that in strictly military areas military and civil population should be kept distinct.

Another established census principle is that as far as possible enumerators shall be drawn from the main element of the population they deal with. This principle is obviously susceptible of application to units of Naval, Military or Air Services.

4. First points for action are therefore:—

(1) Establishment of early contact between civil census authorities and Officers Commanding Stations.

(2) Determination of zones to be treated as (i) Cantonment, and (ii) non-Cantonment; and within (i) as (a) strictly military area and (b) other areas.

A suitable person should be nominated in charge of enumeration for the part of a cantonment which does not come within the strictly military area. This section of the Cantonment will be treated as far as possible as a civil region. The Officer Commanding Station or such officer as he may appoint in this behalf should be in charge of enumeration in the strictly military area. Such nominations and all nominations of military or cantonment personnel as Census Officers, should be made in consultation with the military authorities concerned.

5. Ships of the Royal Indian Navy should *mutatis mutandis* be brought within the compass of the above instructions. Each ship at sea should be considered a separate census unit, the commander being put in charge of the census of its personnel. Wherever possible the enumeration of Navy personnel should be brought within that of their home port.

IV—TABULATION.

Tabulation follows from enumeration. The connecting stage is the process whereby pads pass from the enumerators to your sorting offices. Well ahead of 1st March 1951 therefore you must have decided where you will locate your tabulation offices, you must have got hold of suitable men to run them and put them in position to receive the pads which will be sent direct to the appropriate office under instructions from you.

This again is a matter of good organisation which I put in your hands; every tehsildar should know exactly where his pads have to go without having to ask the Collector or anybody else; and there should be at that place your officer in position ready to receive, check and proceed with tabulation.

The tables to be made, and instructions for tabulation will be found among your papers. The general point here is the importance of quality in your Deputy Superintendents who run the sorting offices, the maintenance of the personal touch but at the same time a full enforcement of responsibility. These offices must be manned inevitably by temporary staff and may need both *firm and careful handling, but insist from the first on a high standard of discipline*; you will find that this is best. Payment in proportion to performance is another important guiding principle.

2. During 1949 I put out a scheme for a census of small industries, the instructions for these are in the papers prepared for you. The idea is that this enquiry should be finished and sorted before you take up sorting for the main census. See also paragraph 5 of 11—Enumeration. The enquiry need not be related to a fixed time since industries do not come and go and the idea is to suit as much as possible Provincial convenience. Sorting these will be a much smaller job than sorting the main census record; and you could probably take the whole of the staff employed on it bodily into the main sorting offices. Hence the importance of timing, *i.e.*, arranging for the industrial sorting and tabulation to be finishing just as the main census slips are coming in.

In other words you cannot begin too early to look for good men and suitable buildings for your offices.

3. For means of livelihood tabulation I have decided to adopt the U.N.O. Classification and full detail on this will be found in your papers.

V—SAMPLES.

Among the papers I have sent you is a copy of a book of random numbers. These numbers, as the title implies are a completely random aggregation with no kind of arrangement, theme or presentation. They afford a useful means of achieving a random start in operations based on drawing from any numbered system. Practise the use of these and look out for opportunities of making them and their use known.

In essence the system of countrywide counts on large schedules is primitive. But before a primitive method can be given up we must have evolved and tested its successor. The golden rule for sampling is that the would-be sampler must be his own first, last and worst critic. Never forget this; and approach all sampling in the true scientific spirit.

Do not regard the book of random numbers as the only possible means of achieving a random start however. I do not wish your outlook on this to be limited to any particular production. It is the attitude and approach which matter. Thus, for example, see the

instructions given in regard to the first break-the-ice attempt I set going in the spring of 1949. Here the first step was opening a book and multiplying the line numbers. The important matter in all enquiries professing a scientific base is to suit the method to the agency available. One does not put a scalpel in a ploughman's hand. Nor for that matter does one put a plough in a surgeon's hand. Within his appropriate field of experience and judgment any man of reasonable intelligence can act as an observer and record observations of value. In our endeavour to make the citizens our observer corps we should always keep this in mind.

2. The basis of any sample is the probability theory and put very broadly this means that every unit in the total field studied must have a chance of coming in.

Evidently two points stand out at once: the field itself must be complete and the drawing system must give each unit a chance.

The importance of this is often overlooked, particularly of the first, and one should remember that any sample merely declares as it were the list from which it is drawn. A sample therefore, however well taken, of an inadequate list will itself be inadequate.

3. I mention these points particularly here to emphasise the importance of house-numbering. So far as a countrywide count is concerned I have already summed this up in the fact that our agents must visit every place where a human being may be found. But you will see that if we are to use our house-number for subsequent sampling the completeness of cover is essential there too.

If every house has a number then we have the essential starting point for a sample with the whole field covered. There are various ways of taking samples and the best way will be largely an expression of the phenomenon we wish to measure. Similarly the appropriate size of the sample will be governed by the nature of the phenomenon. What I call a "universal"; that is something distributed throughout the entire population such as age, or sex, can evidently be approached on a smaller sample and on a household basis. Others such as standard of living, family budgets have distinctive features; while universals in one way, they are not the same in different strata of the population and can frequently be more appropriately sampled after a preliminary stratification. In other words the first thing as in any scientific effort is to be quite clear on what we want to measure and what its distinguishing characteristics are.

4. Notice that the numbered layout of districts and tehsils and villages enables us to take a sample of which the unit is the village itself. This would be an appropriate unit where for example suitable enumerators are not to be had locally and thus if the village as a whole were a suitable unit for the phenomenon to be studied, we could send a team to the particular village or villages drawn in the sample.

5. A successful enquiry depends on three fundamentals:—(1) a clear and definite subject, (2) an equally clearly defined field, and (3) the enquiry agency available.

The first of this is probably the most obvious but its importance is frequently not realised. One cannot conduct an enquiry into an abstract idea: what we have to do is to express the idea in terms of specific actions or attitudes by individual citizens. Hence the importance of the questionnaire.

The second brings up several aspects, not the least important being closely associated with point (3), i.e., the field which can be effectively covered by the agency available.

The third in some ways is the most important of all and certainly the one most frequently overlooked. Satisfy yourself that every question you put can be understood (a) by your enumerator or agent and (b) by the citizen himself. Unless you are satisfied of both (a) and (b) modify your question until you are. There is a definite limit to the enlargement which any particular lens will give and it is the same in social enquiries. If we try to go beyond a lens' power we merely weaken our definition and widen the blurring. And that is why a better order of the three points I have mentioned would perhaps be (1), (3) and (2). First the idea then the agency and last the field which the agency can cover. The bulk of the work involved in any enquiry should have been done as it were before the enquiry agents ever knock on a single door.

6. A particular field where you will find sampling valuable and indeed possibly essential is in pursuing supplementary enquiries along with the census. There are sound reasons for keeping the countrywide questionnaire as short as possible. But if we can cast important supplementary aspects into an appropriate sample for which we can employ a special type of enumerator we can add considerably to the information collected. In 1940-41 I had an excellent economic enquiry carried out in Rajputana by students of the Mayo College. Wherever possible bring this type of helper in. It is very valuable to any student for example who proposes to pursue economic or business activities, or indeed I would say to any educated citizen who wishes to understand government, to have taken part in an actual enquiry designed to throw up valuable information. In this, as in any form of enquiry never put too much on to your enumerator agency. Cast your instructions in the simplest possible language and do everything you can to make your agents feel confidence in themselves.

7. I shall probably ask you to conduct a sample on all-India lines bearing on fertility and possibly matters of diet. This will be discussed further at the conference. The fertility information will be useful in population studies, projections, etc., and diet matters have an obvious general interest and importance.

VI—ESSAY.

As I said in 1940 I think the day for the old omnibus type census report has gone. The tables will be at the disposal of various departmental specialists—and of the general public—who can follow up their message for the particular specialist matters of interest. What I do want from you however is a good synoptic essay on your Province. The contraction of operations in 1941 deprived India of the valuable set which would have come from your predecessors. There have been many changes on the face of your areas since then and the administrative picture, problems, characteristics, etc. should receive your attention. In fact the synoptic view will be of particular value here. Look at your Province as a unit and from that standpoint try to trace as it were its natural articulation. Conditions or circumstances which seem to you to disturb this articulation should be brought to notice as of course on the other side any particularly happy connections.

2. You can look up the instructions for the essay I gave your predecessors in 1940. These broadly still stand. But I should like you to write this essay to

the definite theme of Population and Sustenance. Under Population should come as close a forecast as you can make of the trend of your Province's population for 30 years ahead. Use age tables, fertility data, birth/death record and all relevant sources. The age table for this field is the most important of all; children of course are born only to women within certain years and earlier years, *e.g.*, 15 to 25 are more productive of children than later years.

3. Public health improvements have an obvious bearing and you must study them in close consultation with the medical and health authorities. See for example the study made in the 1941 All-India Report under my direction in which the effect of a single cause, a fall in the infantile mortality, is shown as adding millions to the population of India. In mathematics dy/dx is more important than y . In other words determine the rate of change and its direction; and indeed, if you can, also the rate of change of the rate of change, *i.e.*, d^2y/dx^2 .

Governments are of people and therefore the number of people is fundamental to all Governments and the most useful thing we can do is to provide a picture which will enable our Governments, planning for the future, to have a reasonable idea of the number of persons for whom they ought to plan.

"Population" therefore is a very wide term. The other element is almost equally wide. Sustenance implies *what enables the people to live, how they get it*, the degrees of adequacy both in quantity, quality and acceptability; and, here again the rate of change. At point of time X_0 we have sustenance available S_0 but if we are forecasting for time X_1 then we must try to forecast the sustenance S_1 . Agricultural developments, manuring, irrigation, power, changes in diet, *etc.*, all come into this.

You will see therefore that the two heads I have mentioned cover a full picture of the essential features of your Province's life. While discussion of figures must to a large extent await the enumeration results, a great deal of enquiry can and should be pursued before that. Start thinking over this essay therefore and working towards it, from the moment you take over. During your tour seize every opportunity for inspection, discussion, *etc.*, to build up your knowledge and views on matters affecting it.

VII—MISCELLANEOUS.

Among the papers awaiting you is a set of the broadcast talks I gave in 1943 under the title "A Philosophy of Social Measurement". You will have gathered from this that in my view knowledge is one; and statistics is simply another way of saying knowledge of a certain kind or in a certain field. Avoid and discourage therefore any tendency to emphasise the distinctness of the census operation from the main field of fundamental information. Bring in rather that it is a part of that field; an essential one undoubtedly without which all the rest may lose meaning, but a part nevertheless. Always, you see, the synoptic view.

Keep this in mind in your operations. There are many more potential information channels than is often realised; but they may have to be first identified and then perhaps cleared and slightly assisted in order to function.

2. For example, take doctors in ordinary practice. They are men whose profession has trained them to be observers. They are in a special position in the households of their patients, for unlike our enumerators they are actually invited in. Moreover they are always

circulating and thus if we could devise one or two simple points which a doctor could note in regard to every house he visits we might in a comparatively short time develop a field of information of considerable value. Naturally of course these points would have no connection with any medical case but would relate to topics of general social interest, *e.g.*, standard of nutrition in the household, chief diet, days laid up by illness.

Evidently if doctors started doing this it would bring a continual field of observation. I made this suggestion to a Bombay statistical group associated with the Reserve Bank but commend it for general interest.

We must of course avoid mere generalities. And the points for the doctors to study should be accurately stated, and common to all; with sufficient indication of the character of the household to enable the data to be properly related.

3. Another field is the educational one. Within their appropriate limits, children are very good observers; would it be possible to get teachers to ask automatically all children within a certain age group certain points bearing on their homes which a child could efficiently observe and report? Naturally of course the points must not be invidious or embarrassing.

In all such enquiries a record of the housenumbers should be an essential feature. And new children joining schools should be required to tell their teachers their housenumber.

Doctors may not care to give the housenumber as this would identify a patient; we should respect genuine susceptibilities and if they are held strongly this could be an exception. Still if the points are of general social interest, *i.e.*, not personal matters connected with Mr. X, Y, or Z, it may be possible to overcome doctors' reluctance too.

4. If your Provincial Government has a good Statistics Office or State Statistician, make early contact with it and while observing your own authority and responsibility for the operations entrusted to you, keep in touch with them; make every use of any knowledge or experience they may have acquired and in return do what you can to help them in desirable and practicable enquiries. The two adjectives are important. Every Census Superintendent is apt to be assailed by requests from single persons or associations, *etc.*, for the collection of this or that information. You must retain a firm judgment on the value both of the persons themselves and the subjects or enquiries they wish you to pursue. Keep as Census Superintendent always in your mind that you have to train this mainly unpaid enumeration army to carry out a certain operation. Do not add anything to these men's load unless you are quite satisfied that the addition is as I said desirable and practicable; and that it will not arouse any resentment.

Avoid duplication of the census or any field. Enquiries through doctors, school masters, economic or social groups, *etc.*, should be directed towards filling in the countrywide picture your operation will produce.

5. Look round always for any existing material that will help you or fill out the picture you want to draw. If there has been a recent electoral roll on the basis of adult franchise and community and if the housenumbers have been written on it, then you get a first cast at population and community distribution—and also an opportunity for checking housenumbering. Unfortunately no age tables exist for the greater part

of India for 1941 but South India for example will find a full age tabulation for over 30 million people in the States of Hyderabad, Mysore, Travancore, Cochin. Similarly in the North, Rajputana will offer a complete age table. In the East, operations on the Y—Sample I drew in 1941 provided age tables and thus the field is not so bare as might appear. Use it to arrive at a proportion between adults and others; you will find it in the neighbourhood of 50:50, rather more non-adults than adults as a rule. Applying this to electoral roll totals should give you a dimensional picture of the total population. That dimensional picture should be a useful guide to what you may expect for our full record in the spring of 1951.

Sample enumeration based on the housenumbering should also have thrown up a picture of population dimensions that may be expected. Carry out an occasional sample yourself wherever you find a suitable agency or opportunity; and in general do everything you can to prepare in your own mind the kind of figure you expect to discover at the first March record. If you find that record and your estimate differ widely then apply yourself to discovering the reason for the difference. Much advance in science has sprung from this very process, i.e., of trying to find out why estimate and realisation differ.

6. *Birth/Death Record.*—Formerly the Census Commissioner and his officers had the single function of conducting the 10-yearly census. Evidently officers concerned with the growth of population could not be uninterested in the nature of the birth/death record and the means by which it was produced; but that interest was indirect—they had no responsibility or positive official connection with that record.

This position was changed by the decision of the Government of India in May 1949 to create the post of Registrar-General who should be *ex-officio* Census Commissioner, and to put in his charge all matters bearing on population statistics. The birth/death record (I prefer this phrase to the ugly term vital statistics) is fundamental to population studies in a way that no periodical counts could be. For, of adequate quality, it records the fundamental phenomena at the moment more or less of their occurrence.

As Superintendents of Census Operations your prime duty is to train the enumeration army of your Province to a high state of efficiency for "Operation Census" in the spring of 1951. But in addition I wish you to assume part of my mantle in regard to the birth/death record also. Make a point in your tours and at your headquarters of finding out all there is to know about its quality, the degree of cover achieved—or missed—, of delay, or accuracy, possibilities of improvement, agencies that might be developed and so on in fact everything that will enable me as Registrar-General to work towards bringing the whole field of population statistics, their record and their content into a coherent, effective and simple system.

7. *Codes, Circulars and Instructions.*—The issue of printed matter whether from the centre to the Provinces or for that matter from Provincial Superintendents down to enumerators, is best kept at a minimum. The printed word is apt to be taken literally when the executive agent is far from the source of instructions. What we should aim at is to encourage realisation in the enumerator that we are relying on him to apply his own intelligence and local knowledge to secure the information we want. We have trained him and given him the utmost help beforehand but the main operation is his. Enumeration is after all a local

phenomenon, a field process, and to get the best results in the field the man engaged in the struggle should have as much discretion on tactics as possible. Objectives and strategy are determined so to speak by the high command; tactics are a matter of local and varied circumstances.

Hence, apart from this general scheme, I do not propose to put out any formal census "code", etc. Your enumerator must have his booklet but apart from that and possibly some instructions for the supervising staff the less paper you put out the better. Paper begets paper and elaboration tends to develop hypothetical queries, whereas what we want is a well trained army setting out confidently on its mission.

8. *Stationery and Local Printing.*—As in 1941 I have taken the burden of enumeration-slip printing on to the Centre. This lightens and simplifies Provincial printing concerns. Technically since your printing is debitable to the central fisc you would ordinarily have to follow the complicated rules of sanction, etc., from the Controller; but I have arranged with him to repeat the concessions obtained in 1941; broadly you will be able to sanction direct printing charges incurred subject to the general conditions set out in a separate sheet.

9. *State/Province Association.*—You will find among the papers a list of the Provincial Superintendents and the areas under their charge. You will all meet I hope at our conference. And thereafter I hope you will be able to keep in touch with each other, particularly with your neighbours. The census is primarily a social effort and where convenience or efficiency or economy indicate a degree of association beyond the political boundary this possibility should be followed up. Thus fertility enquiries might well serve different groupings from the political boundaries of Provinces. And Kerala is distinct in this regard from Tamil Nad. Sometimes intricate mother tongue boundaries indicate another line where another Provincial collaboration might yield fruitful results.

Census is a list I subject and therefore theoretically central. Where tabulation is concerned, a matter of limited office staffs gathered at particular places under specific direction, it is in effect central. Enumeration however is quite different; it is and always has been an All-India effort in the truest sense of the word. See the letter of 1938 sent by the Central Government to Provinces of which a copy should be in your records. The principle stated there still applies. It is characteristic of India's practical approach to administrative problems that this solution, highly creditable to the commonsense of our people, should have been reached and preserved. It is in fact an advanced concept. Any insistence on theory might wreck the census as an operation and would in fact change its expense aspect altogether. There is no reason why within limits the citizen should not himself play his share in fundamental efforts like the census. And this is all the more incumbent on citizens who are also members of Government staffs and in a particular position of knowledge, experience, etc., to play a modest part.

9. *Conference.*—I expect you take over at New Year 1950. The first thing is to read the papers, study, make contact with Ministers, Secretaries, etc., who will be associated with census operations in your Province, acquaint yourself thoroughly with the stage reached by housenumbering, get your mind clear on

any points or suggestions that occur to you. I shall call a Conference at New Delhi towards the end of February 1960. At that Conference we shall go over the whole ground, exchange ideas and make mutual acquaintance. During the year I shall visit every Province, etc., for discussion and advice.

10. *Finance*.—See the "Auditor-General's Rules and the financial powers of Superintendents" among the papers awaiting you. These rules and your powers are the same as at the last census and the cardinal principle is that nothing is taken as a debit to the Central fisc without your sanction.

Economy is important. The enumeration side of any census anywhere but particularly in the largest census in the world, takes its colour and efficiency direct from the officer on its head. No members added to the office staff can replace the personal touch. Do not regard it as incumbent on you to keep a steady output of elaborate material in print.

11. *Publicity*.—It takes two to make a census, the citizen and the enumerator; and of the two the former is the more important. In all social matters, the sound approach is to look on the citizen as part of the enquiry, not as merely its subject or victim. A census in fact is impossible without him and the more we get him as an ally the better. Start from the approach point mentioned above; that the citizen has a role to play and a duty to do, namely: to know his householder, to know the answers to the questions and to help our enumerators to get answers down quickly and accurately. In your enumeration tours you must visit every district and as far as possible every tehsil. You personify the census in your Province and if you yourself penetrate to a remote tehsil you will find that you have taken the census with you. This is an arduous, but you will find a rewarding effort.

Apart from this take every opportunity of speaking to university or senior school classes, newspaper editors and your local broadcasting stations.