

Report on a Census Enumeration

KAROL J. KROTKI*
AND
SULTAN S. HASHMI*

The enumeration conducted for the purposes of the Second Population Census of Pakistan, 1961 was carried out, with some minor exceptions¹, between January 12, 1961 and January 31, 1961. An earlier housing census provided a frame for the population census. The housing census was carried out, depending on the area of the country, some two or three months before the population census. This note is concerned solely with the observations made during the field enumeration conducted for the purposes of the population census. It discusses no aspects of the housing census unless immediately relevant to the observations carried out. It is further limited in as much as it discusses practically no aspects of pre-enumeration preparations including problems of questionnaire design, and not at all the question of analysis of results.

The taking of a decennial population census is a big event in the life of a nation under any circumstances. It is particularly important when it is a second census, which, apart from the interest, in its own findings, will also enhance the value of the first census due to the inter-censal comparisons which can be made. Furthermore, it is of outstanding importance in the circumstances of an economy with sights fixed far and high on the horizon of better future, but the hopes of which can be fulfilled or broken by the size of this one variable: population growth. Its results are likely to provide the main source of information for demographic research in the next decade. It was not possible to consult with the census authorities on the carrying out of an independent post-enumeration check². In the circumstances the somewhat unusual alternative of observing the enumeration by the two of us was decided upon.

*Dr. Krotki is Research Adviser to the Institute of Development Economics, Karachi. Mr. Hashmi is Senior Demographer at the Institute.

¹. For details of these exceptions, see, Census Commissioner, Government of Pakistan, Ministry of Interior (Home Division), *Population Census of Pakistan, 1961, Census Bulletin No. 2. Final Tables of Population. Sex, Urban-Rural, Religion*. Final release by *thanas* in East Pakistan and *tehsils* in West Pakistan. (Karachi: Manager of Government Publications, 1961. Published on 30th November, 1961. Distributed in second half of January 1962), p. 3.

². A non-independent post-enumeration check was planned and carried out by the census authorities. However, it was merely a repetition of the main census procedure in one out of every 500 enumeration blocks by the "best" enumerator.

The observations were carried out by both of us together during the first two days of the enumeration and separately afterwards. In preparing ourselves for the enumeration, we have discussed between ourselves and with our professional colleagues the experience of similar attempts at assessing other censuses as well as relevant points directly concerned with Pakistan. We have summarized the conclusions of our preliminary discussions in a special questionnaire, which is given in the Appendix.

With the exception of the first two days, one of us (Krotki) travelled exclusively in East Pakistan and the other (Hashmi) travelled in West Pakistan. The questionnaire used during the enumeration and the completion of which we were watching during the field operations was the English version of the official Individual Population Census Schedule, 1961 (*See, Appendix B, Population Census of Pakistan, 1961 Bulletin No.2, op. cit.*). We travelled with the knowledge and the encouragement of the Office of the Census Commissioner and are much obliged to it as well as to the provincial census organizations, for their help accorded to us during this self-appointing task.

Enumerators, block supervisors, charge superintendents and district census officers, who spent a great deal of time with us during this busy enumeration period, were never slow in coming forth with explanations and were invariably hospitable. We would like to extend to them our thanks and thanks of those who may find notes from that kind of direct observation of use and of interest.

STATISTICAL SUMMARY OF THE OBSERVATION AREAS

Census Officials Met and Time Spent on Observations

During the observation, 16 questionnaire forms were completed in respect of East Pakistan and 19 in respect of West Pakistan, including the questionnaire completed by us jointly during the first two days of observation in West Pakistan. The 16 forms from East Pakistan were spread over 7 administrative districts and 8 census districts. The 19 questionnaires for West Pakistan were spread over 9 administrative districts and 10 census districts. The number of census officials below the level of District Census Officer and the time spent with block enumerators can be summarized as follows:

	East Pakistan	West Pakistan
Charge superintendents	15	18
Circle supervisors	20	23
Block enumerators	29	39
Hours with block enumerators	48	62

The figure of 62 hours in West Pakistan includes 13 hours of joint checking at the beginning of the observations, but it excludes the time during the last night (31.1.61—1.2.61), which was earmarked for an intensive observation of the enumeration of the floating population in Karachi and in another urban area. With this aim in mind the observations in East Pakistan were purposely curtailed. Unfortunately a torrential rain broke out in Karachi, flooded the streets, parks, squares and public places. An attempt was made to carry out the task, but the town was deserted. All vagrants and transients disappeared and the question of observing their enumeration has not arisen.

Languages

Of the households visited, the following languages were spoken by the members of the household. Only one language was recorded in each household.

	East Pakistan	West Pakistan
Bengali	16	nil
Burmese	3	nil
Chakma	2	nil
Hindi	1	nil
Kashi	1	nil
Sindhi	nil	4
Punjabi	nil	11
Pushto	nil	3
Urdu	1	8

Ethnic Characteristics

The religious and tribal make-up of the households visited represents in a large measure the various segments of Pakistani society. In East Pakistan, of the households visited, the majority were Bengali Muslim, but there were also a few Bengali Hindus, two Buddhist households and three households following animistic beliefs. In West Pakistan the religious uniformity is more complete and only Muslim households were visited, but it is worth noting that the ethnic composition of the households observed was as varied as that of the West Pakistan population itself.

Type of Area

In East Pakistan, of the areas visited, 6 were urban. In West Pakistan 7 were urban, or 9 if rural sophisticated households with some urban characteristics are included. One or two were in rather remote areas with difficult access. One or two contained population living under government development schemes. One or two were in flooded rice fields or in uncultivable sea

tide flood lands. The rural areas visited by us represented, broadly speaking, the various modes of cultivation and the various types of products grown in Pakistan. Rice, jute and fish areas predominated in East Pakistan, but tea and betel leaves were also grown there. Cotton and wheat areas were found in West Pakistan.

Type of Dwellings

The type of dwellings inhabited by households visited by us can be summarized as follows:—

East Pakistan		West Pakistan	
Bamboo huts	5	Bamboo huts	nil
Pucca*	5	Pucca*	10
Bamboo and bricks	6	Mixed	6
Mud	2	Katcha*	10
Juggi*	nil	Juggi*	1

**Pucca*—brick with doors and windows

Kutchi—a solid mud structure, but without masonry work or use of cement

Juggi—shelter made out of mats, cloth, petrol tins, with possibly some mudding.

Standard of Housing

We have graded the standard of cleanliness, general health conditions and sanitary arrangements into six grades. The households in areas visited by us distribute themselves between these grades as follows:

	East Pakistan	West Pakistan
Very good	1	2
Good	5	5
Quite good	4	1
Fair	2	10
Poor	2	1
Repulsive	2	nil

METHODOLOGICAL REMARKS

Response and Day of the Week

In East Pakistan no difference in the quality of the response between the days of the week has been noticed. In West Pakistan, a difference in effectiveness of response has been noticed in ten cases. On five occasions, a larger number of male respondents has been noticed on Fridays and they

also seemed to have had more time on their hands to talk to the enumerators. However, it should be noticed that all the areas where these observations have been made were urban. A similar comment has been made with regard to Sunday in three areas (rural, but two of them somewhat urbanized) and with regard to both Friday and Sunday in two areas (urban).

Response and Time of the Day

In East Pakistan, in a quarter of the cases the actual hours of the day in which the enumeration was conducted was of importance. In West Pakistan, the importance of the hours of the day was considered of importance in more than half of the cases. In East Pakistan, in areas where hours were of importance, a preference was registered for late afternoon or early evening hours, except in one case where the respondents were working in shifts in an industrial establishment and the preference was governed by the shift system. Again, similarly to the problem of the "best day" strength of preference, it seems that the preference for a definite time of the day is also a direct function of the degree of the sophistication of the area concerned; the higher the degree of sophistication the stronger the preferences for evening hours. In the case of West Pakistan, the preference was, without exception, in favour of late afternoon and early evening hours in those cases where it mattered (more than half).

Respondent-Interviewer Similarities

With one exception, in East Pakistan no difference in response has been noticed relatively to language, dialect, tribe, occupation and educational differential between the respondents and the enumerators. The exception was of a positive kind when in an area subject in the past to rather notorious communal disturbances, the great ease with which Hindu enumerators were able to enumerate Muslim households and *vice versa* was noticed. In West Pakistan, there were three exceptions. In one case, it seemed that enumerators working in a frontier town and born in it had a better chance to enumerate the population adequately than those born outside the town. In the second case, a religious leader (a Maulana) even though of adequate education for census purposes, acting as an enumerator, had difficulties in enumerating the more sophisticated households particularly in grouping the more intricate differences between industry and occupation. In the third case, a direct comparison of the work of enumerators working in identical background and social situations has shown that four enumerators who had higher educational background and general ability and intelligence had a greater chance of success in dealing with the population, irrespective of whether the population was or was not of similar sophistication. However, as will be seen later this finding in connection with establishing rapport

is not paralleled when it comes to the more clerical and more specific parts of the enumerator's responsibilities.

Scripts

In East Pakistan in two cases were difficulties noticed in connection with the similarity of certain numerals in Bengali, English and Urdu. In an urban area where the numbering for the purposes of the housing census was done in Bengali, corrections for the purposes of the population census were made in English and some mental jumping was required, even though no actual confusion and mistakes were noticed. In West Pakistan house numbering was done both in Urdu and English, but no confusion has been noticed in any locality. Questionnaires although printed in Urdu and filled-in in Urdu had numerals entered in English by almost half of the enumerators. It would be interesting to obtain reports from the 22 or so sorting centres in West Pakistan on the extent to which this has caused difficulties at the sorting stage.

Prodding and Assumed Answers

Enumerators were encouraged in their instructions and during the training to assist respondents in formulating their answers to an extent which would be considered excessive and consequently distorting in conditions of higher interview sophistication. Though expectedly inevitable in the circumstances of the insufficient familiarity with interviewing techniques in Pakistan, it did produce some unexpected results. In East Pakistan it was noticed in three quarters of the cases that the religion was not being asked but assumed from the name. In one quarter of the cases the language was not being asked but assumed from the name. In some cases (almost half of the illiterates) the answers to the question on educational qualifications were assumed in households or with regard to persons of outwardly limited sophistication. The assumed answers in the field of educational attainments were found, on checking, to have been arrived at invariably without a mistake. This was, no doubt, due to the order, in which questions were arranged in the questionnaire, before the question on education was reached³. In West Pakistan two enumerators prodded the memories of respondents to an almost tantalising extent in respect of the age question. No such prodding was noticed or even found necessary for the obtaining of age answers in East Pakistan, where ages were given with considerable assurance. This may be a function of the higher literacy level in East Pakistan in comparison with West Pakistan and of the higher proportion of Hindus with their interest in astrology, horoscopes, and recording of birth dates for the purposes of foretelling the future.

³. But this also suggests that no recurrent illiteracy will be shown.

Enumerators' Standard and Morale

We were generally impressed by the willingness and enthusiasm of enumerators and their immediate supervisors. We must admit that in the majority of cases we were accompanied by senior officials and prevented in this way from discovering the darker, if any, aspects of the operations. However, we doubt whether our generally favourable impressions could be more than marginally wrong. We do think that the period between the end of the training and the beginning of the enumeration was too long (three weeks). It is not only that things taught are forgotten, but some enumerators drop out and untrained ones have to be recruited and employed instead. It is difficult to gauge the importance of this because after the first two days there is no outwardly discoverable difference between the trained and the untrained enumerators, but we can state that in at least six areas of East Pakistan out of 16, and seven areas of West Pakistan out of 19, some enumerators had no formal training. The apparent lack of difference between trained and untrained enumerators must no doubt be a depressing observation to believers in training. Some of those who claimed to have had formal training were not aware of the existence of dummy questionnaire forms and other training material. All those who claimed to have had formal training claimed to have been exposed to practical enumeration as part of the training programme, but in some cases this practical enumeration was not very much more than trainees enumerating each other just outside the classroom. One or two enumerators were of such low educational standards that they could not understand the simple questions on the questionnaire and left some answers, as a rule, blank. Generally enumerators with better educational background made more successful enumerators, but a negative correlation was also noticed between the educational level, particularly in the case of university students, and the attention to clerical detail and the less important, but more specific instructions.

In some areas, particularly urban areas, considerable attention was paid to the competition for prizes announced by the census authorities, other government departments, local authorities and various civic bodies. We feel that this is a misdirection of attention in circumstances where no objective means are provided to assess the work of individual enumerators. It is more directly effective to design the system and operate it in such way that nobody can become very much better (or very much worse) than anybody else.

Some rumblings of dissatisfaction reached us from the lower echelons of field workers, who were appealed to do work honorifically, while senior officials were in receipt of a substantial census allowance. However, these complaints were in the nature of an impersonal dissatisfaction with "this wicked world" rather than a more direct disappointment, which would, but did not in this case, reflect itself in the quality of the work performed.

COVERAGE

Numbering of Houses

Houses were numbered for the purposes of the housing census during a period ranging between two or three months prior to the enumeration for the purposes of the population census. These houses were then listed in duplicate. One copy of the resulting lists served as a frame during the population census. We have come across a number of localities where new (unnumbered) houses were erected and old (numbered) houses were destroyed. The enumerators were applying in all such cases the correct adjusting procedures.

We are less certain that the original numbering itself was comprehensive and unambiguous. We think that the definitional boundary between structures to be numbered and not to be numbered was of necessity vague and inasmuch as the definition of those to be numbered was interpreted restrictively, it had presumably some effect on coverage or at least threw the burden of completeness of enumeration onto the procedure, such as it was, designed to enumerate that part of the population, which lived in unnumbered dwellings. Tents were not to be numbered, but more permanent structure even if partly constructed out of cloth, jute and other similar material were sometimes numbered. Grass and bamboo huts, where the painting of numbers presents technical difficulties, were numbered with remarkable perseverance in East Pakistan, where they constitute the majority of human habitations, but largely ignored in West Pakistan. On the very doorsteps of Karachi the whole township of Ibrahim Kheir was left unnumbered, because its type of dwellings was somewhat inconvenient to number, though in East Pakistan that type of dwellings was numbered as a matter of routine. However, be that as it may, Ibrahim Kheir was apparently enumerated.

In the absence of recognizable addresses the census authorities were right to attempt to number houses, but they should have been more determined precisely in those types of houses where the confusion was greatest and where the numbering was most difficult. More rigorous uniformity is required including a more definite provision as to the scripts to be used for numbering houses.

Without a very rigorous attitude the situation becomes paradoxical. The numbering is successful in well laid out areas, where the identification task is not difficult. In difficult areas, precisely where identification is ambiguous, effective numbering is also difficult and almost proportionately less effective. In short, the more important it is, the less effective it becomes.

No unnumbered houses were found in East Pakistan, except those built since the housing census. In West Pakistan 22 unnumbered houses built

before the housing census were found. Some numbered houses were found missing from the list of houses. Some listed houses could not be found in the field: The practice of following the number of a house with obliques and sub-numbers to provide for out-lying houses with some connection to the main house caused surprisingly no apparent confusion. Some houses on the lists and found in the field had no painted numbers: their numbers were probably washed away. (No blame need be attached to the house owner who objected to the ugly, large and hurriedly splashed dark blot on his house).

Households

Separate difficulties arise because of the confusion of courtyards, lanes, multiplicity of entrances and sex-reserved destination of entrances. We ran into courtyards with as many census numbers as there were entrances and we found courtyards without numbers, though in the latter case the claim was sometimes advanced that the courtyard in question is just another household of a neighbouring and numbered courtyard. We have not found any household with more than one house number enumerated more than once. In our experience respondents invariably reported to the enumerator calling for a second time that at a different door or to a second enumerator calling at the same or different door that the household has already been enumerated.

Anybody who ever stood on the roof of an at least two-storeyed building and looked at the ant-like maze of human habitations at his feet will appreciate the seriousness of the problem. It is compounded in large towns where a similar confusion reigns on each floor of a multi-storeyed house with its maze of habitable corners under the stairs, in cellars, sub-divided flats, under the roof and in any darker passage, often—if not always—in conditions of considerable squalor, over-crowding, noise, constant movement and changeability almost from minute to minute.

Coverage Inside Households

We found no case of omission of persons in households enumerated. We think that the question about persons temporarily absent from the household was not pressed with sufficient vigour while in the case of two enumerators in East Pakistan and four enumerators in West Pakistan it was not asked at all, the explanation apparently being that, contrary to the instructions, persons temporarily absent will be caught on the Big Night.

In several cases in East Pakistan when the temporarily absent person was an adult a promise was made to return another time. No note was made to that effect, but also no tick, suggesting "all completed" was made on the housing census list of houses. It is not certain how effective such reminders for call-backs were. Call-backs of this kind were arising even when there was

another adult present and ready to answer questions, especially when it was a woman.

We feel even stronger that there were really no questions penetrating enough directed towards finding persons not present at the interview. Even in areas where children were allowed to flock around the enumerator and listen to the interview, the enumerators made no attempt to relate them to the few reported children on their questionnaires. We believe that the kind of communal questioning which is possible in some African villages is not possible in the circumstances of a Pakistani community. But we do think that one can go a long distance much longer than the advice of townees whose knowledge of the vast rural areas of the country is often rudimentary, would suggest—without running into trouble. The villagers are basically much more friendly and without prejudices than townee advisers were making them out to be. We, therefore, consider it a pity that there was not more perseverance in ferreting out more children and women. We admit, we have not found any missed ones ourselves, but then we were working under considerable response disadvantages. It may be that the atmosphere of haste and the desire to qualify for a reward on grounds of speed reinforced an enumerator's, any enumerator's, natural tendency not to increase the household size and consequently his work load.

Block Maps

In West Pakistan in most rural areas there were no block maps. Maps were available in all areas of East Pakistan and in most urban areas of West Pakistan visited by us, but they never resembled those superior achievements of the cartographic art which visitors to the Census Commissioner's Office used to admire. Sometimes they were no more than four lines, straight and uniform although they were meant to represent, say, a metalled road, a mud road, a river bank and a deep ditch between two villages, twisted as such things usually are in nature. Nevertheless, we must report that, however inadequate the block boundaries from a formal standpoint may have been and however hard we tried to find areas of omission or duplication, we have not found any.

Occasionally the block maps were of outstandingly high standards when produced with the assistance of municipal or other local authority draughtsmen or those of a nearby industrial establishment. However, whether good or bad they were little used. Block enumerators displayed intimate knowledge of their areas and whatever purpose the maps may have served initially they were of no prolonged operational use during the enumeration.

The Big Night

All the enumeration prior to January 31, 1961 was only preparatory to the check on this day when all omissions were to be caught, all itinerant

people were to be enumerated and all the other information collected during the previous nineteen days was to be brought up-to-date. We see in this arrangement a basic logical flaw. If an enumerator needed nineteen days to enumerate his block for the first time, it is unreasonable to expect that in addition to his other two Big-Night duties he will be able to visit nineteen times as many households as he did during the first enumeration. In fact, we have not seen even a single case of actual checking on 31 January or of visiting an area for a second time and we feel that the census date is an average date somewhere between 12 January and 31 January and not the Big Night.

In some areas there was a distinct lack of urgency on this last day. The census staff would assemble at 09.00 to discuss their task and disperse at 12.00 for the purpose of bringing the information up-to-date with births and deaths since the first enumeration took place. They would assemble again at 19.30 in order to start enumerating transients at 21.00. In the meantime, the proceedings would be interrupted by a tea party given by the Basic Democrats in honour of the national census enumerators and other officials present in the area.

In one city, there was no sign of enumerators in the city area after 21.00 except that two out of five beggars encountered were enumerated by some of the enumerators between 21.00 and 22.00. The enumerators were instructed by the Census Supervisor to knock at every door and get the latest information, but no enumerators were seen knocking at doors during a several hours walk in the city. People in the streets were asked if there were enumerators visiting their houses and all of them said 'no'. Twenty Powindas⁴ were met at 22.45 in a small "hotel" which belonged to a Pushto-speaking man. They were not enumerated till then. At the Railway Station, three enumerators were found who were members of the Railway staff. They were being helped by policemen. The policemen were standing at the exits and the enumerators were by their sides. The policemen were catching passengers as they were approaching the gate and asking them: "Were you enumerated or not?" If somebody did not answer or said 'no', he was being passed on to the enumerator. Such persons were being enumerated on the regular slips. As after the arrival of a train more persons were passing through the exit gates than the three enumerators managed to enumerate probably no more than a third of those who should have been caught were caught. Those who were caught were not selected randomly, because the laggards who were approaching the exit gates slowly, not in a crowd, had a greater chance of being caught.

⁴. Powindas are nomadic people who have the right of unmolested movement on the tribal belt on both sides of the Afghan-o-Pakistan border. Those who come from the Afghan side of the border are called Afghan Powindas. Sometimes nomads from outside the tribal belt are also called Powindas.

Nomads

As pointed out on an earlier occasion no specific arrangements have been made to enumerate the nomads⁵. It may very well be that they would have been substantially enumerated in the enumeration blocks if they stayed in them throughout the period of enumeration by virtue of the general instruction to enumerate everybody in the block, if he had no intention of going back to his permanent area before the end of the enumeration. Additionally, block enumerators were somewhat indirectly⁶ told to enumerate them during the Census Night (from 31 January, 1961 to 1 February, 1961). That this was a somewhat vague arrangement we confirmed on a number of occasions. Several enumerators and at least one supervisor thought that nomads were to be enumerated in their homelands, there, however, having been no definition of nomadic homelands provided. These findings come from an area which is very popular with nomads in January. When we assessed the likely omissions in the areas we visited and then multiplied our guesstimates by the number of similar areas, we obtained, depending on our multiplicands, figures going as high as 3 million omitted nomads. This figure is surely unrealistically high, but does suggest that a substantial number of nomads were missed by the enumerators.

In some other areas the enumerators took the problem into their own hands, listed the tents just like ordinary houses (148 of them in one case) and proceeded to enumerate them one by one. We were rather surprised to see more than one family in one tent. It also seemed to us that there was a higher proportion of polygamous marriages than in settled areas. In some other areas, in the old Sind Province, we were able to check a number of nomads (209⁷ to be precise in five groups) on the morning of February 1, 1961 who claimed to have never been enumerated. Some arrived in the area only two days ago, but others have stayed in the area during the previous two months.

In fairness it must be admitted that this lack of arrangements for nomads is not new. It is in the sub-continental tradition, which in this respect was different from the usual attitude of census-takers in the Middle East and Africa, where either specific arrangements were made to enumerate nomads or the problem was faced squarely and an estimate/guess was inserted into the census report without the suggestion that the nomads were enumerated.

⁵. Karol J. Krotki, "First Release from the Second Population Census of Pakistan, 1961," *The Pakistan Development Review*, Autumn 1961, p. 73.

⁶. Census Commissioner, Govt. of Pakistan, Ministry of Interior (Home Division), *Population Census of Pakistan, 1961. Manual of Instructions. Part II: Enumeration Period.* (Karachi: Manager of Government Publications, 1960), p. 6, para 3.5.

⁷. This figure includes 36 wandering untouchables.

As is only to be expected in this sub-continent we became aware of large numbers of people, who though non-nomadic did not live in any permanent or even semi-permanent structures. It was somehow expected that they would be enumerated during the Big Night. However, we doubt whether for reasons described and for others that they were.

ADMINISTRATIVE ARRANGEMENTS

Distribution of Forms

We were impressed by the accounting system which controlled the distribution and collection of questionnaire forms and formed the opinion that the likelihood of large numbers of forms being lost or misplaced was rather remote. The treatment of spoiled forms was uniform, except for one enumerator in West Pakistan who was re-using them instead of crossing them out, but was immediately stopped from doing so when the case came to the notice of his superiors.

Public Relations

The propaganda campaign carried out for the sake of the census was even more efficient and effective than other aspects of the census. This came as no surprise in a society which has a flair, particularly in the case of Bengalis, for meetings, social gatherings, parties, symposia, speeches, even if the cause is less grateful for publicity-like treatment than a national census.

The main means through which households learned about the census prior to the visit by the enumerator were as follows:

	East Pakistan	West Pakistan
Radio	1	8
Films and slides	—	7
Press	1	6
Posters	5	2
Basic democracies and other local bodies	4	3
Housing census	3	4
Census and other government officials	4	6
Beating drums and public songs	1	2
Loud speaker and public processions	1	1

Secondary and further means are not included in the above summary.

Personally, we felt occasionally discomfited when confronted with somewhat exaggerated and difficult to justify claims (e.g., "the census in X

is 100 per cent accurate", "in Y 98 per cent of people were enumerated by such and such a date"), but they probably had the desired publicity effect. They may also have had a relaxing effect on the census personnel and the lack of urgency recorded in the earlier sub-section on "The Big Night" could possibly be traced to the extreme, in cases, confidence effused by authorities through newspapers and radio.

Training of Enumerators

We were surprised to find in some areas that inadequate numbers of enumerators were trained in the first instance; surprised in comparison with the high efficiency standards found otherwise in the census, because elsewhere we would not expect as a rule the number of trainees to be related to the number of enumerators required.

CONSISTENCY AND MEANINGFULNESS OF DEFINITIONS

Only a few of the characteristics are given attention in this section. With regard to characteristics not discussed it can be assumed that we either were uncertain of our findings or found nothing worth reporting. With regard to characteristics discussed it is necessary to state that the discussion is not intended to be comprehensive. Only unusual aspects are reported and then only provided we were reasonably certain about our findings.

Nationality

One enumerator did not record the Afghan Powindas as such in the nationality answer, whereas others did.

Religion

As reported in the sub-section on "Prodding and Assumed Answers" religion in East Pakistan was assumed from the name.

Age

We wish we could have formed views about the accuracy of age reporting, but we cannot go beyond what we already said in the sub-section on "Prodding and Assumed Answers". We did watch with suspicion the backside of the questionnaire which was to be completed only in the case of persons aged ten and over. In the 1951 census a similar provision was made with regard to those aged twelve and over and there was some evidence⁸ that enumerators had a tendency to assess some older ages just below twelve to save themselves work. We expected a similar tendency in 1961 with regard

⁸. Karol J. Krotki, "A First Glance at Pakistan's Age Distribution," *The Pakistan Development Review*, Summer 1961, graph 1.

to ages ten and more. However, our observations were too limited to enable us to form views in this connection. Aware of the 1951 distortion we would not have arranged for this new division. We would have insisted on everybody being treated in the same way, however wasteful otherwise this attitude would be.

Literacy and Education

One enumerator refused to make a tick against ability to read in Arabic when the respondent was able to read the Holy Quran without understanding whenever he had no formal training. Circles were intended for a truer literacy, while the tick was to denote "without understanding". This enumerator's insistence on formal education was thus quite illogical. We believe this type of aberration to have been uncommon.

As reported in sub-section on "Prodding and Assumed Answers" half of the illiterates were not asked in East Pakistan about their educational qualifications, thus providing no information on recurrent illiteracy.

Unemployment

In only one area in East Pakistan and in only two areas in West Pakistan were enumerators aware of the technicality involved in the definition of unemployed. In three areas in East Pakistan and in three areas in West Pakistan were students marked as such in question 12 also recorded as "working" or "looking for work" in question 15.

Languages

As stated in the sub-section on "Prodding and Assumed Answers" one quarter of the answers in East Pakistan was assumed from the name. The people of D. G. Khan Division objected to their language being classified as Punjabi. They thought it was Multani. In the course of the enumeration instructions were issued that the entry should be Multani Punjabi, rather difficult with the type of questionnaire used. There may also have been a tendency to overstress the frequency of Urdu as the secondary language. Small children in non-Urdu speaking areas born in non-Urdu speaking families were credited with speaking Urdu, merely because they started going to (a non-Urdu teaching) school with Urdu as one of the subjects. Generally, there seemed to have been a tendency to exaggerate claims in the field of linguistic achievements, particularly in East Pakistan. The large numbers who claimed to speak English did not venture on testing beyond "What is your name?"

Secondary Occupation

The question on subsidiary means of livelihood was not always pressed with the same vigour. In almost all cases in East Pakistan and in five cases in

West Pakistan it was not asked at all. No poultry keepers were recorded. In two areas people were reluctant to admit to any additional means of livelihood sensing in it a fiscal intention.

Duration of Marriage and Total Number of Children Given Birth to

We thought that in about half the cases the duration of previous marriages, in cases when there were any, is not included in the answer to question 22b: Total years remained wed. In cases where it was included women enquired themselves about the need to include it. Somewhat illogically they had no doubts in the previous question (22a: Total no. of children born alive) and included those born in previous marriages. It seemed to us that the placing of question 22b after 22a avoided some of the underreporting in question 22b which would have otherwise occurred in question 22b. There was also a counterbalancing tendency, though presumably much weaker in its total effect on the calculated marital fertility inasmuch as the duration of the marriage was often reported from the time of the *Nikah*⁹ rather than from the time when spouses start living together (*rukhsati*). This may be of greater importance in the case of those refugees from India (e.g., Marwari in Hyderabad, Sind), who through long exposure to the surrounding Hindu world developed the tradition of early *Nikah* even though without advancing *rukhsati* to before physical puberty.

Physical Disabilities

In East Pakistan, no case of hidden physical disability was found during our observations, that is disability which was not immediately visible. No doubt a number of disabilities hidden under the country cloaks worn in January escaped recording. In respect of persons enumerated who were not present during the enumeration, this question was asked very seldom.

In West Pakistan there was, we feel, more interest in these questions, but even so we have the impression that any statistics arising out of these questions must be grossly underreported, though more so in East Pakistan than in West Pakistan.

INTERVIEWING TECHNIQUES

Some Comments on Interviewing Response

In most cases women were not interviewed, but on those occasions when they were interviewed, they would report the names of their husbands. In a few cases, they were shy to say the name or would refuse to say it altogether.

⁹. Signing of the marriage contract before a religious dignitary which may not be followed by the setting-up of conjugal life until years later when the girl leaves formally the house of her parents (*rukhsati*),

ther. One or two asked someone else in the household to say the name of the husband even though in their presence. While an initial awkwardness we do not feel that it reacted unfavourably on the following interviewing response.

Frequently in rural areas, and not only in Pathan areas, men were reluctant to give the names of their womenfolk. Quite rightly they were not pressed and the relationship of their womenfolk to the male head of household, usually the respondent, was entered instead. This difficulty appeared quite strongly in the case of female infants.

We found practically no such difficulties among the more sophisticated people of urban areas. While we have the impression that there are no urban-rural differentials, fertility- and mortality-wise, one may feel inclined to see in the pronounced urban-rural differentials in the interviewing response, the first swallows of the "population transition".

Questioning of Women

In East Pakistan out of the 16 areas visited, women could be questioned almost without embarrassment in four cases. They could not be questioned at all or only with considerable embarrassment in eight cases. In West Pakistan, of the 19 areas in respect of which questionnaires were made out by us, women could not be questioned or questioned only with some embarrassment in two cases. In all the remaining areas, women could be questioned easily. Not for the first time in this report, the question arises of the reason for the great discrepancy between the observations from East Pakistan and West Pakistan. One can hypothesize a number of explanations, such as the fact that East Pakistan was visited by a foreigner. On the other hand for each such hypothesis an at least plausible counterhypothesis could be advanced in the examples available. It could be said that in the prevailing circumstances, the belief in the need to protect the female against the native is greater than that against the stranger and the East Pakistan observer was accompanied by larger numbers of natives than the West Pakistan observer. Only one enumerator (in West Pakistan) considered females unsatisfactory respondents due to the limited amount of information which they have, but then it must be remembered that enumerators have a vested interest in avoiding "call-backs", i.e., in obtaining information from the most readily available member of the household, even if an ignorant female.

Unorthodox Enumerators

Two female enumerators were observed at work in East Pakistan. They had no interviewing difficulties irrespective of the sex of the respondent and seemed generally to be more efficient than their male colleagues. Some teacher-enumerators in West Pakistan used school boys in the absence of male

respondents to ferret information out of households observing *purdah*. This no doubt speeded up the work, but may have had unknown and unmeasurable effects on the accuracy and adequacy of information collected.

Attitude Towards Census Taking

No conscientious or habitual objectors of any kind have been encountered by us. The very favourable and only mildly favourable attitude of the respondents watched by us during actual interviews can be graded into the following categories:

	East Pakistan	West Pakistan
Very favourable	6	2
Favourable	9	16
Not very favourable	1	1

A female respondent in West Pakistan claimed that judging from the experience of the 1951 census, children die as a result of being enumerated. She was able to quote examples from the experience of her neighbours.

Leading Questions

In a few cases enumerators had the tendency to suggest answers and even write them down before getting them confirmed. However, this seems to have been the result of individual impatience rather than the influence of the official instructions¹⁰ to assist respondents in choosing answers.

Effectiveness of Written Instructions

We have seen no one case of these instructions being consulted. In cases of doubt the problem was discussed with the supervisor, with other enumerators, even with us, but no reference back was made to the printed instructions. We do not wish to suggest that they can be abolished. We feel that they are needed by senior officials, by leaders of training courses and perhaps one in a hundred enumerators uses them, but we do think that their effectiveness must not be overrated. Training is much more important, either during a formal training course or on the job during the first few days of the enumeration.

SOME CONCLUSIONS

In the course of this report we might have created the impression, particularly in the section on "Statistical Summary of the Observation Area" that we believe that we have conducted our observations

¹⁰. Census Commissioner, Govt. of Pakistan, Ministry of Interior, *Population Census of Pakistan, 1961. Enumerator's Booklet*. (Karachi: Manager of Government Publications, 1961), p. 1, para 1.

as a representative sample. This would have been a quite unjustified claim in view of the purposeful way in which we selected our areas. In any case our sample, if this word can be used for non-randomly obtained material, was more in the nature of a quota sample or even purposive sample than a random sample. All we would claim for our "sample" is that we had a pretty varied cross-section, representative in an unweighted fashion of most conditions prevailing during the Second Population Census of Pakistan.

There is one important qualification to this last claim. For practical reasons we were very much in the hands of census officials and may have been shown rather the brighter sides of their work than the darker ones. To make ourselves more independent would have been uneconomic in terms of the number of enumerators found actually at work. However, we were throughout, because of this handicap, in a very suspicious frame of mind and on the few occasions when we branched off on our own we found nothing markedly different.

It is in the nature of the kind of activity represented by our observations and of this kind of reporting that one brings out the rougher edges and plays down the vast smooth areas, where everything is done according to plan. The latter is of limited "news value", while presenting a balanced picture would require a too long and tedious article. We would, therefore, like to state very clearly that on the whole we were very much impressed by the organizational quality of this census. We had frequently the impression of being confronted by very efficient machinery working with considerable precision. We formed further the view that the work in East Pakistan was done even better than in West Pakistan. Before we arrived at this opinion we questioned each other thoroughly, lest we applied different standards to the two wings, but we are so confident in this view that we expect in the case of East Pakistan greater internal consistency and greater consistency with 1951 in the census finding when the census reports are published.

Our major *adverse* (the positive findings would take too long to list) comments can be listed as follows:

1. no attempt at an independent quality check;
2. no specific emphasis to enumerate women more completely;
3. no specific emphasis to enumerate children more completely;
4. no specific arrangements for the enumeration of nomads;
5. misplaced emphasis in numbering of "easy" houses and not numbering of "difficult" dwellings;
6. illogical belief that the work of the previous nineteen days can be brought up-to-date on the last day in addition to the other tasks allotted to the last day;

7. inadequate understanding of the rather difficult *de jure- de facto* provisions with regard to temporary absentees and temporary visitors;
8. too long an interval between training and enumeration; occasionally insufficient numbers of enumerators were trained;
9. too much attention focussed on prizes to the detriment of less spectacular raising of general standards; a concentration misdirected in the absence of objective standards of finding the "best" enumerators;
10. general tendency among respondents towards inflated claims in the field of educational attainments, literacy, ability to use languages, styling of occupations;
11. a general impreciseness in some of the definitions used, never disastrous but sufficiently marked to render correspondingly imprecise categories.

We do not wish to suggest that these problems, present in many other censuses to a greater extent, are all subject to easy solutions, but some are. Even the last but one difficulty, seemingly insoluble can be tackled through a quality check and has been so tackled with regard to some characteristics in Yugoslavia through actual examinations in a class room of selected groups of respondents¹¹. The radical step towards improving quality would of course be recourse to sampling and the first question responsible authorities have to answer is why should anybody go to the trouble and expense of attempting to enumerate 100 million people with uncertain quality, if with lesser expense, by enumerating a fraction only, higher quality could be achieved. In the publication plans of the Census Commission¹² there are no proposals to publish information with regard to units where unduly large sampling errors would vitiate the usefulness of results with the exception of the village list, which if really required could be obtained by other means. This is a many-sided discussion and it is not the purpose of this article to do justice to the importance of this topic, but the question must be asked lest through a force of habit the answer is assumed.

¹¹. M. Macura and V. Balaban. *Yugoslav Experience in Evaluation of Population Censuses and Sampling*. Mimeographed report. (Beograd: Federal Statistical Institute. January 1960).

¹². Census Commissioner, Govt. of Pakistan. *Population Census of Pakistan, 1961. Publication Programme*. (Karachi: Office of the Census Commissioner, Ministry of Home Affairs, 1961).

APPENDIX

THE INSTITUTE OF DEVELOPMENT ECONOMICS DEMOGRAPHIC SECTION

(for internal office use only)

Form DEM. 8 (10.1.61)

(The original questionnaire consisted of eleven pages, there being suitable spaces between questions.)

The 1961 Second Pakistan Population Census

Direct Observations by Senior Personnel

QUESTIONNAIRE

"Things to be on a lookout for"

Section 1. Identifying Information

	Code	Name of officer incharge	His occupation outside census duties
1.1.1. Admin. Distt.	<input type="text"/>
1.1.2. Census Distt.	<input type="text"/>
1.1.3. Charge	<input type="text"/>
1.1.4. Circle	<input type="text"/>
1.2.1. Block	<input type="text"/>
1.2.2. Block	<input type="text"/>
1.2.3. Block	<input type="text"/>

1.3.— Time visited Block 1
Block 2
Block 3

From		To	
Day	Hour	Day	Hour

- 1.4.— Accompanied by all.....the time/most of the time/at the beginning only/part of the time.
- 1.5.— Means of transport used
- 1.6.— Specific comments on the area
 - 1.6.1 Local language/dialect
 - 1.6.2 Tribe
 - 1.6.3 Topography
 - 1.6.4 Type of cultivation
 - 1.6.5 Prevalent type of housing
 - 1.6.6 Cleanliness, general health conditions, sanitation
 - 1.6.7 Can women be questioned?
 - 1.6.8 Prevalent religion
 - 1.6.9 Attitude towards census taking
- 1.7.— Specific comments on the enumeration
 - 1.7.1 Have you noticed any difference in response between the days of the week?
 - 1.7.2 Have you noticed any difference in response between the hours of the day?
 - 1.7.3 Have you noticed any difference in response depending on language, dialect, tribe, occupation, educational differentials between the respondents and the enumerator?
 - 1.7.4 In particular is there a risk for certain numerals in Urdu (so-called Arabic) or Bengali to be mixed up with English numerals?
 - 1.7.5 How useful were the ball-point pens?
 - 1.7.6 Were the enumerators encouraged to ask leading questions by the inviting sentence to "assist respondents who have difficulty in

- choosing their answers" (Enumerator Booklet 1.1.1)? If 'yes' in what way were they leading?
- 1.7.7 Was the treatment of spoiled schedules uniform? If 'yes' what was the uniformity?
- 1.7.8 Is it your impression that the enumerators still remember well what they were taught nearly a month ago or even longer?
- 1.7.9 Do you think or know whether enumerators were using or otherwise familiarizing themselves with their service books and dummy questionnaire forms in the interviewing period between their training and the actual enumeration?
- 1.7.10 Was a practical enumeration actually part of the training period? Did you notice a difference between those enumerators who did and those who did not have such practical experience?
- 1.7.11 Were all the enumerators trained during the training period or was it necessary to recruit some hastily because insufficient numbers were trained or because some of those trained did not report for enumeration work?
- 1.7.12 Which were in your opinion or in the opinion of other persons (state who) the most effective means of propaganda? Did decimal coinage interfere with census interests?
- 1.8.— Specific questions on the questionnaire
- 1.8.1 Have you come across any discrepancies between the instructions and the enumerator's booklet, within the instructions of the same language?
- 1.8.2 State in which version: whether English or Urdu or Bengali.
- 1.8.3 Have you come across any inconsistencies between the English, Urdu and Bengali versions?
- Section 2. Connection with Housing Census**
- 2.1.1 Any houses without "C 1961" numbers?
- 2.1.2 Were they all built since the housing census?
- 2.1.3 If built since the housing census are they being treated by the enumerators in accordance with their instructions?

- 2.1.4 Were there any omissions or confusion on account of oblique numbering of outlying houses?
- 2.2.1 Any houses with "C 1961" numbers but not on the enumerator's list?
- 2.2.2 Any houses on the enumerator's list which could not be found in the field?
- 2.2.3 Were they known to have been demolished since the housing census?
- 2.2.4 Any houses included on the enumerator's list which were without painted census 1961 numbers (but could be otherwise identified)?
- 2.2.5 How were enumerators dealing with houses which had two numbers? How many such cases have you come across?
- 2.2.6 Were the housing census takers aware of such double numbers, i.e., was their awareness indicated on the housing census schedule?
- 2.2.7 Were houses numbered in more than one script? Did this cause any confusion?
- 2.3.1 Have you met any nomads?
- 2.3.2 Were they being enumerated at the time of the visit?
- 2.3.3 Were they enumerated prior to the visit?
- 2.3.4 What arrangements were made to enumerate them?
- 2.3.5 Note here details of their tribal organization which you were able to find out. Quote your source.

Section 3. Coverage

- 3.1.1 Were households being omitted in spite of the fact that their houses were provided with "C 1961" numbers?
- 3.1.2 Were houses being omitted in spite of the fact that they were provided with "C 1961" numbers?
- 3.1.3 Were one-person households being omitted in spite of the fact that their houses were provided with "C 1961" numbers?

- 3.1.4 Were the Urdu-reading enumerators influenced by the instruction to visit each house in their blocks ONCE (only—at least?).
- 3.1.5 What views have you formed about the quality of the enumerator's maps? In particular are the enumerators as conterminous at all points with neighbouring areas? (E.g., suspected trouble in Manora Island).
- 3.1.6 Do enumerators identify correctly the ground with the maps? Register in detail any cases of omission or double-coverage.
- 3.2.1 Have you met any non-nomadic (nomads were dealt with in question 2.3 above) persons not living in houses (i.e., in accommodation visited during the housing census)?
- 3.2.2 Are they being enumerated?
- 3.2.3 How? When?
- 3.2.4 What is their likelihood of being enumerated during the *last night*, if they are not being enumerated during the enumeration of the surrounding areas?
- 3.3.1 Are all present members of the family included?
- 3.3.2 In particular, are infant babies and small children included?
- 3.3.3 Can you form a view about the inclusion of women, particularly daughters?
- 3.3.4 Is there anything unusual about the interpretation of "present regular normal residence or lodging place"? Particularly in view of the fact that the Urdu translation refers to "permanent" residence which opens in the case of travellers, nomads, etc., interesting interpretive possibilities.
- 3.3.5 Anything which would cause a bias, as distinct from unusualness and erraticity?
- 3.3.6 Are temporary absentees included?
- 3.3.7 Are temporary visitors included in spite of their having being enumerated elsewhere or in spite of their being likely to be enumerated elsewhere during the remaining days of the enumeration?

- 3.3.8 Are refugees being deliberately concealed?
- 3.3.9 Are there any motives to report more than the actual number of members of household (rationing, apportionment of irrigated land, etc.)?
- 3.4.1 Is the inconsistency between "present normal residence" and "present regular residence" of any significance in the field?
- 3.4.2 Anything interesting about the peculiar "residence" cases registered by enumerators, but referred by them to supervisors?
- 3.4.3 Supposing the supervisors have a tendency to say "no" are the persons concerned being informed that they have not been enumerated?

Section 4. Questionnaire

4.1.1 *Name*

- 4.1.2 Can in this area males be asked to give the names of their women-folk, without causing offence?
- 4.1.3 Are they willing without prodding to give the names of their women-folk?
- 4.1.4 Can in this area women be asked to give the names of their menfolk, without causing offence?
- 4.1.5 Are they willing without prodding to give the names of their menfolk?
- 4.1.6 Does the tribal question appear to be sensibly answered in the Quetta and Kalat Divisions, in the area between the Durand Line and the settled districts in the Peshawar and Dera Ismail Khan Divisions, in the Chittagong Hill Tracts?
- 4.1.7 Would it be a useful question, that is an illuminating one, in other areas?

4.1.8 *Relationships*

- 4.1.9 Do enumerators limit themselves in the alternatives, on account of only four (and 3 for non-relatives) possibilities suggested?

- 4.1.10 Are there any linguistic or anthropological peculiarities having a bearing on the interpretation of this question?
- 4.2.1 *Sex*
- 4.2.2 Are eunuchs being reported/asked about?
- 4.3.1 *Age*
- 4.3.2 Is the number of months *completed* in the case of infants interpreted as meaning completed at the time of enumeration or 3rd January 1961?
- 4.3.3 Are infants born between the time of enumeration and 1st January 1961 enumerated?
- 4.3.4 Do enumerators follow the suggestion that ages should be estimated by enumerating children starting from the youngest child?
- 4.3.5 Comment on age assessment by any or all enumerators you have met in this Circle.
- 4.4.1 *Marital Status*
- 4.4.2 How many husbands did you see? How many were married to your knowledge polygamously?
- 4.4.3 How were polygamous husbands recorded if they divorced a wife or if one of them died?
- 4.5.1 *Were you born in this district?*
- 4.5.2 Were the boundaries of this district changed during the last 50 years? How?
- 4.6.1 *Are you a Pakistani?*
- 4.6.2 Are any Afghan Powindhas not registered as such?
- 4.7.1 *Religion*
- 4.8.1 *Disabled*
- 4.8.2 How extreme is the definition of deafness?

- 4.8.3 Is 2 being encircled when a person is deaf only or dumb only?
- 4.8.4 How extreme is the definition of "crippled"?
- 4.8.5 Have you seen any cases in this category and ~~any entries made~~ under this heading?
- 4.9.1 *Mother tongue*
- 4.10.1 *Other languages you can easily speak*
- 4.11.1 *Literacy*
- 4.11.2 Can you form any views about the literacy of persons who can "read only"?
- 4.11.3 Is the question about "reading the Holy Quran without understanding" asked as often as other questions?
- 4.12.1 *School or college attended now*
- 4.13.1 *Education*
- 4.13.2 Comment separately on "grades passed"
- 4.13.3 Comment separately on "field of education"
- 4.14.1 *Owners of agricultural land*
- 4.15.1 *Economically active, unemployed and inactive*
- 4.15.2 In the case of unemployed, is the definition "during last week" considered?
- 4.15.3 Do those with positive entries in question 12 have "1" or "2" encircled?
- 4.16.1 *What is your main occupation?*
- 4.16.2 Are occupations being entered against persons with 3 encircled in question 15?
- 4.16.3 Is there an uplifting tendency in the description of occupation?

- 4.17.1 *Name and type of industry, business or service*
- 4.18.1 *Agricultural status*
- 4.19.1 *Status in business, trade, industry or service*
- 4.20.1 *Have you any subsidiary means of livelihood? If so, What?*
- 4.20.2 Is this question asked with sufficient vigour particularly in rural areas?
- 4.20.3 Are all poultry keepers recorded? Even those with one hen?
- 4.21.1 *Details of inactives*
- 4.21.2 Are pensioners, but gainfully employed, being recorded?
- 4.22.1 *Total number of children born alive*
- 4.22.2 Have you noticed any unmarried women who should be asked this question?
- 4.23.1 *Total years remained wed*
- 4.23.2 Are previous marriages being included/asked about?