CHAPTER VI

THE PEOPLE

1. *Physical Characteristics*

MEN OF SCIENCE believe that all the races of mankind belong to a single zoological species. The apparent distinctions in skin-colour, stature, form of the head, character of the hair, and certain chemical constituents of the blood are of a minor order they overlie deeper similarities which unite all men into one biological species.

Yet the question remains: How did these differences come into being ? It is well known that men cannot intermarry so freely as to bring about an average uniformity of physical type. People generally marry within a close-knit social circle in which many points of likes and dislikes are shared. Then there are notions of beauty, and preferences in the matter of physical types. The size of the mating group may be large or small; but if the preferences operate over a long stretch of time, certain characteristics become segregated and one population is marked off from another by visible differences.

Nature also plays a part. People endowed with particular physical characteristics may survive in larger numbers under particular conditions of nature, while others may tend to disappear.

It is in one or the other of several such ways that mankind has gradually become divided into what are popularly called races. Some of the differences lie in the field of anatomy and some in physiology. But once the differences arise and become stabilized in time, they tend to persist. When members of one physical type migrate to the place of another, the two remain roughly distinguishable over a long period of time unless there is free intermarriage.

This is of importance in history. The civilization of a country is built up by various communities and if the facts about the origin and migration of those communities are reliably established through the study of biological characteristics, the study of the history of civilizations will be helped as well.

Systematic study of the physical characteristics of the people of India began about seventy years ago. The present population of India is over 439 millions. If we take into account the number

of deaths in the last seventy years, the total population involved is nearly twice the above number. Out of these vast masses of people, anthropologists have succeeded so far in sampling hardly more than 50,000 individuals. Risley, in his *The People of India*, noted on the basis of census data that there were 2,378 main castes among the Hindus in India; and that number has gone up in the last half-century. In theory, the communities restrict marriage to their own group; in practice, marriage is limited to even smaller groups, so that these are several times more than the number of castes. Besides, the non-Hindus—Muslims, Christians, Pārsīs, and many tribal societies—limit marriages to their own respective communities.

Limitations in data

All these mating groups are not evenly represented in the 50,000 sample which has already been studied in India. Meanwhile, the science of physical anthropology has steadily advanced. Observations made fifty years ago are not always comparable with those which now seem to be of importance.

The present survey of the physical characteristics of the Indian people has to be within the framework of limitations in the available data.

Travelling in India from north to south, or from west to east, one notices that individuals of fairer skin-colour or comparatively tall stature are, generally speaking, more frequent in the north and west than elsewhere. But, asked to draw a line on the map showing where one type ends and another begins, one discovers that there can hardly be any such line because of the overlapping. It will accordingly be more reasonable not to go by personal impressions but depend on measurements of physical characteristics. This survey is limited to a few factors: stature; the proportion of the breadth of the head to its length; and the proportion of the breadth of the nose to its height. Perhaps the character of the hair, certain chemical constituents of the blood and markings on the palms and fingers are genetically more stable and more useful for tracing affiliations; but then, adequate data on those points are not available. Cruder criteria have to be accepted, even though all measurements between the years 1900 and 1960 were not taken according to the same technique.

Physical characteristics chosen

Broadly speaking, stature or St. can be split into the following categories (for males):

Very short	(1,300 mm. — 1,499 mm.)
Short	(1,500 mm. — 1,599 mm.)
Medium	(1,600 mm. — 1,699 mm.)
Tall	(1,700 mm. — 1,799 mm.)
Very tall	(1,800 mm. — 1,999 mm.)

Cephalic index or Cl is obtained by finding out the percentage which the breadth of the head bears to its length. These are divided thus:

Hyperdolichocephal (very long head)	(X—70·9)
Dolichocephal (long head)	(71—75·9)
Mesocephal (medium head)	(76—80·9)
Brachycephal (broad head)	(81—85·4)
Hyperbrachycephal (very broad head)	(85·5—90·9)
Ultrabrachycephal (extremely broad head)	(91—X)

The nasal index or NI is obtained by finding out the ratio in percentage which the breadth of the nose bears to its height; and noses are accordingly classified thus:

Hyperleptorrhine (very long nose)	(X—54·9)
Leptorrhine (long nose)	(55—69·9)
Mesorrhine (medium nose)	(70—84·9)
Chamaerrhine (broad nose)	(85—99·9)
Hyperchamaerrhine (very broad nose)	(100—X)

Classification into categories is not always possible, since average values alone can be obtained. In such instances we have tried to compare findings from classified data or data of Class I with the averages, which has been called data of class II; and it can be stated that the results so obtained are in general agreement with one another.

South India

Madras

In Madras, out of about 30 million people (1951 Census), the Scheduled Castes from 17.95 per cent and the Scheduled Tribes 0·45 per cent. In the classified data of class I, one tribe, the Toda, is represented, while there are only seven castes, namely, Shānār, Parawan, Parayan, Pattanavan, Ve la Ahambāḍian and Sembaḍavan. The Muslim sample is of 11 individuals only,* and can therefore be ignored.

Among the Toḍa, stature is tall in 32% and medium in 59%. 75% are dolichocephalic and 21% mesocephalic. 59% are mesorrhine and 36% leptorrhine. Among the seven castes, stature is medium in over 50%, the head is mesocephalic in above 50%, and except in the case of the Shānār who are 41% brachycephal. The nose is mesorrhine in nearly 60%, the Parawan

*Henceforth, sample sizes will be placed within brackets without any further explanatory note.

having 23% ehamaerrhine; and Shänär leptorrhine 28% chamaerrhine 12%.

Data of class II are available for 8 tribes, 15 castes and 2, communities. Among the tribes, Ceroumas (?), Iruḷa (40), Solaga (20), Pulayan (?) and Kota (21) are short statured and Baḍaga (28), Malasar (50), Paḷḷan (52-?) and Toreya (40) are medium. Ceroumas, Iruḷa, Malasar and Solaga are dolichocephal and Toreya, Paḷḷan and Pulayan are mesocephalic. Except the Malasar and Solaga, who have chamaerrhine nose, others are mesorrhine.

Castes of class II are medium in stature, excepting one, namely, Kammāḷan (40), which is short. Eight castes, namely Palli (40), Paḷḷan (50), Kammāḷan (40), Malayāḷi (50), Cakkiliyan (50), Ambaṭṭan (29), Agamudaiyan (40) and Parayan (40) are dolichocephalic and five are mesocephalic. Only two castes, namely, Sukun Sālē (30) and Suka Sālē (30) are brachycephalic. In nasal character all are mesorrhine.

The two communities, Oḍḍē (40) and Māppilla Mohammedan (40) are medium statured and mesorrhine, but the former is mesocephalic and the latter dolichocephalic.

Kerala

In Kerala, out of a population of nearly 14 millions, the Scheduled Tribes form only 1%. Yet, in the available data for class I, altogether 23 communities are represented; among them are 18 tribes, 4 castes, and 1 formed by the White Jew (22 only).

Short stature is predominant among all communities. White Jew and Sambavan tend to be tall, but the size of the sample is too small. The majority of the people are dolichocephalic; but the Sambavan caste is mesocephalic and so are the Parayan and Malapanṭāram, as well the Paliyan tribe. Pulayan have equal distribution of dolichocephal and mesocephal. More than 50% of noses are mesorrhine, though there are striking exceptions. Broad noses of chamaerrhine character are seen among the following castes : Nāyāḍi 41% (and 5% hyperchamaerrhine), Sambavan 52%, Parayan 33% and the following tribes: Paṇiyan 59% (and 6% hyperchamaerrhine), Ullāṭan 77%, Malakuravan ६0%, Muthuvan 77%, Malaveṭṭan 76%, Mala Pulayan 54%, Pulayan 56%, Mala Arayan 59% and Kaṇikar 55%.

Data of class II yield the following picture. Tribes bearing the names of Veṭṭakuruba, Jēnukuruba and Iḷava are all short statured, dolichocephalic and mesorrhine.

The Nāyar (60) and Nambutri (55) are both very important castes in Kerala; but sample sizes are small. The Nāyar tend to be above medium in stature, dolichocephalic, and mesorrhine. Nambutris are below medium, dolichocephalic and mesorrhine.

On the whole, the people of Kerala are thus short or medium statured, long-headed, and with medium broad noses. Certain tribes and a few castes tend to have broad noses.

There is one interesting point to which attention should be drawn. Dr. B. S. Guha and Dr. W. R. Ehrenfels have both observed curly hair among the Kāḍar of Kerala, Sickle cells have also been observed in the blood of some populations here. It has been argued on the basis of the first observation that there is a remnant of a Negrito population in these regions, perhaps comparable to the Negrito population of the Andaman Islands. Dr. S. S. Sarkar and others have challenged this observation. They say that the west coast of India was subject to small infiltrations of people of African origin, and that may account for the negroid characteristics observed. Evidence of Negrito strain is, according to them, too meagre at present.

In Mysore, out of about 20 million people, the Scheduled Castes form 13.31% and the Scheduled Tribes 0.41%. Three classified data are available; these include one tribe, the Yeruva, and two communities, the Koḍagu and Sidhi. The Sidhi are of African, probably Abyssinian origin.

Mysore

The Yeruva are short in 64% cases; the head is dolichocephalic in 56% and the nose, chamaerrhine in 80%. The sample was of small size (25). The Koḍagu (32) are of medium stature in 53·11%; the head is mesocephalic 56·25% and nose mesorrhine in 68·75%. The Sidhi sample of 100 shows some striking features 2% are very tall, 21% tall and 60% medium in stature. 9% are hyperdolichocephalic, 44% dolichocephalic, and 40% mesocephalic. 51% noses are chamaerrhine, 41% mesorrhine and 4% hyperchamaerrhine.

When we consider data of class II, tribes tend to be predominantly short, with a tendency among the Kuruba and Haṭṭikankana Kuruba towards medium stature. The head is dolichocephalic with a tendency towards mesocephaly among Kuruba, Haṭṭikankaṇa Kuruba and Veṭṭakuruba. The nose is chamaerrhine except among the Kuruba and Haṭṭikankaṇa Kuruba.

Among castes, stature is on the whole medium, except among the Mukri (33) and Ager (34) who tend to be short. The head is, on the whole, mesocephalic. The Ager (34) , Nāḍavara Bant (42) and Solaga (40) show dolichocephaly, while the Havik Brahmin (41), Gangaḍikāra Okkaliga (67), Gauḍa (56), Koḍagu (100), Kunciṭiga (27) and Paṭṭasāli (41) tend towards brachycephaly. Noses are mesorrhine, except among the Ager (34) and Solaga (40) who tend to be chamaerrhine.

Andhra Pradesh

Out of a total population of over 31 millions, the Scheduled Castes form 14·13% and the Scheduled Tribes 3·68%. Classified data only from three castes, Jālāri, Māla and Mādiga, and from one tribe, the Cencu, are available.

The Cencu (15) are medium statured, dolichocephalic and mesocephalic, and mesorrhine. Among the three castes over 50% are medium in stature. The Jālāri (50), an exception, are often short (48% cases). The head is dolichocephalic in over 40%, but among the Jālāri it is 48%. The nose is mesorrhine in over 60%.

The average values relate to 2 tribes and 6 castes. The tribes are medium in stature. The head is not dolichocephalic but mesocephalic among the Kāpu (100) and Boya (50)· The nose however, is mesorrhine. Medium stature is predominant among castes, but the Padma Sālē (30) are short. The head is mesocephalic except among the Telugu Brahmins (50) who tend to be dolichocephalic. Komaṭi (?) are dolichocephalic according to Guha and mesocephalic (50) according to Thurston. The nose is mesorrhine.

There is a large amount of classifiable data in South India obtainable from Ivanovski and Chakladar. In their sample of Hindus, the stature (6,423) is medium in 51% and short in 37%. The head (6,528) is dolichocephalic in 47% and mesocephalic in 36%. The nose (5,904) is mesorrhine in 70%.

Among the Tamil dealt with by the same authors,the stature (86) is medium in 58% and short in 29%. The head (149) is mesocephalic in 44% and dolichocephalic in 39%. The nose is mesorrhine in 76%.

Middle India

Orissa

Out of a population of nearly 15 millions in Orissa, the Scheduled Castes form 17·95% and the Scheduled Tribes 20·55%. Four classified data are obtainable. Among them there are three tribes—the Juāṅg, Khond and Santāl—and one Scheduled Caste, the Nulia.

The tribes are short,the Santāl (100) being medium with a high frequency of short stature. The head is dolichocephalic and the nose mesorrhine in over 60% caste. The Juṅg (46) are chamaerrhine in 67% (and 10% hyperchamaerrhine) and the Santāl in 32%. Among the Nuliā (150), stature is medium in 48%, head dolichocephalic in 51% and nose mesorrhine in 66%.

When we consider data of class II, we find 10 tribes and 11 castes represented. Tribes are short, the exceptions being the

Goṇḍ(51) and Muṇḍā (32) who are predominantly medium. The head is dolichocephalic, but mesocephalic in Bondo Porojā (46). The nose is often chamaerrhine. This is particularly so among the Koya (51), Porojā (52), Bondo Porojā (46), Savara (29), Bhuina (91) and others. Castes are predominantly medium in stature, dolichocephalic and mesorrhine.

In Madhya Pradesh, out of a population of over 26 millions, 15·01% are formed by the Scheduled Castes and 18·58% by the Scheduled Tribes.

Madhya Pradesh

Classified data are available for 9 tribes—the Baigā, Bison-horn Maṛiā, Hill Maṛiā and others. The stature is medium in 50% and short in 40%, while the Baig (64) and Nahāl (47) have short people in over 50% and medium in about 40%. The head is dolichocephalic in about 60% only among the Dhurwā (100) and Dorla (100); it is mesocephalic in about 45%. The nose is mesorrhine in nearly 60% and chamaerrhine in above 30% among the Bison-horn Maṛiā (50), Hill Maṛiā (100), Korkū (87), Kol (127) and Nahāl (47), and chamaerrhine in over 60% among the Baigā (18% hyperchamaerrhine), Dhurwā, Dorla and Goṇḍ (49).

Data of class II are available in the case of 9 tribes and 3 castes. Tribes are on the whole medium or short statured, Dandami Maṛiā (50), Dhakar (50), Gaḍabā (52), Halaba (51), Hill Khaṛiā (70) and Rautiyā (Kol) (95) belonging to the latter group. The head is dolichocephalic, the Halaba and Parja (50) being mostly mesocephal. The nose is mesorrhine, except among the Bhatra (54) and Hill Khaṛiā(70)who have more chamaerrhine individuals.

Among castes are represented Malve Brahmin (50), Baghel Rājput (50) and miscellaneous Rājputs (50). Their stature is medium; the head is dolichocephalic except among the Baghel Rājput who are mesocephalic. The nose is mesorrhine.

West India

Out of a population of over 48 millions, which includes modern Gujarāt and Mahārāshtra, the Scheduled Castes form 10·78% and the Scheduled Tribes 7·75%. Classified data for Gujarāt are available for 13 castes like Nāgar Brahmin, Baniyā, Kāṭhī, Koḷī, Kumbhār and Moci, and one tribe, the Bhīl.

Gujarat

The Bhīl (180) are medium in stature in 58·4% cases, dolichocephalic in 56·7% cases and mesorrhine in 73·9% cases. Data regarding stature are not uniformly available for castes. Nāgar

Brahmin (100) and Baniyā (127) are medium in above 50% cases and short in 26% and 42% respectively. The head is mesocephalic in 50% and brachycephalic in over 30% cases. There are more than 45% brachycephals among Nāgar Brahmin (100), Koḍwā-Kuṇbī (117), Kāṭhī (135), Leva-Kuṇbī (101), Mocī (54), and Rājput (113), while they have nearly 35% of mesocephals. The nose is mesorrhine in over 50% and leptorrhine in nearly 30%. The Kumbhār (53) have 43% leptorrhine and 34% mesorrhine.

Average values are available for 1 tribe, 16 castes and 5 communities like the Bhāṭiā, Baniyā-Jain, Pārsī, Khojā etc. The Mācchi-Khārwā (141), a tribe, is short, mesocephalic and mesorrhine. Stature is medium among the castes, the Bhaṅgī (41) being short. The head is mesocephalic in general; but the Āyar (25) Bhādela (51) and Mīnā (50) are brachycephalic. The nose is mesorrhine on the whole, the exceptions being the leptorrhine Brahmakṣatri (31), Memon (110) and Rabāri (106).

Among communities, the Bhāṭiā (30) are medium statured, brachycephalic and mesorrhine. The Pārsī (137) are medium statured, brachycephalic and leptorrhine. The Baniyā-Jain (99), Oswāl Jain (100) and Khojā (103) are all medium statured, mesocephalic and mesorrhine.

For Mahārāshtra, classified data are available for 16 castes ranging from the Citpāvan Brahmin to Mahār, two tribes, the Khāndēś Bhīl and Kāṭkarī, and two communities, Beni-Israel and Pārsī. The Bhīl (100) in question are medium in 61% with a fair percentage who are tall (20%). Heads are hyperdolichocephalic in 18%, dolichocephalic in 60% and mesocephalic in 22%. 44% are hyperchamaerrhine, 37% chamaerrhine, and 18% mesorrhine. The kāṭkarī (100) are short in 50% and medium in 44%, dolichocephalic in 54%, mesocephalic in 39%; chamaerrhine in over 50% and hyperchamaerrhine in 10%.

Mahārāshtra

Among castes, medium stature occurs in nearly 60% individuals, 25% being short. The Kuṇbī (100) are short in stature in above 50% and medium in 44%. High caste Marāṭhā (100) are tall in 36% and the Citpāvan Brahmin (100) are tall in 22% cases. More than 40% are mesocephalic; while the percentage of brachycephals is as follows: Citpāvan Brahmin 29%; Deśasth Brahmin (100) 25%; Mahār (100) 18%; high caste Marāṭhā 18%; Mar ṭhā Ghāṭi (100) 35%; Prabhu (100) 52%; Sāraswat Brahmin (100) 35%; Kuṇbī 24%; Mādhyandin Brahmin (624) 15%; Son-Kolī (100) 25%; Tāmbaṭ Kāsār (59) 34%; Nāmdev Śimpi (100) 36%; Ṭhākur (90) 35%. The nose is mesorrhine in over 60% Among the Ṭhākur nose is chamaerrhine in 65%.

The Pārsī sample is small (20) and they are brachycephalic in 25% and hyperbrachycephalic in 45% cases. The Beni-Israel (60) are medium statured in 57%, tall in 28%; mesocephalic in 45%, brachycephalic in 22%, and mesorrhine in 57% with a tendency towards leptorrhiny (41%).

When this is compared with the average values available for 60 castes, the picture is as follows: Stature is medium, a few like the Haḷbi (33), Kuṇbī Mana (26), Mahār Bawane (25) or Marāṭhā Lohār (15) having more short ones among them. The head is by and large mesocephalic; some like the Haḷbi or Kuṇbī Mana have more dolichocephals, while castes such as the Pāṭhāre Prabhu (33) or Pāhāre Kṣatriya (26) have more brachycephals among them. The nose is mesorrhine, except in the case of Khatrī (26) who are leptorrhine; and Haḷbi, Koḷī-Mahār (30), Korku (26), Kolām (30) and Bhilla Māvaci (58) are chamaerrhine.

North-western India

Out of 16 million people in Rājasthān (1951), 15·67% belong to the Scheduled Castes and 11·11% to the Scheduled Tribes.

Rājasthān

Classified data are available for the Bhīl (56) and Pamar (65). The former are short in 52% and medium statured in 36% cases. The head is dolichocephalic in 50% and mesocephalic in 30%; the nose being mesorrhine in 62·6% and leptorrhine in 28·5% cases. The Pamar Rājput are tall in 30·7% and medium in 61·5% cases. The head is hyperdolichocephalic in 27·7% and dolichocephalic in 64·6%. The nose is leptorrhine in 27·7%, mesorrhine in 66·1% and chamaerrhine in 4·6%.

Of Punjab's population over 16 millions, the Scheduled Castes form 21·64% and the Scheduled Tribes 0·02%. Classified data are available for castes like the Awāṇ, Arorā, Gūjar, Khatrī, Kulu Kānet, Lāhul Kānet, etc., and for one community the Sikhs.

Punjab

Stature is tall in 30% and medium in 60%; Lāhul Kānet (30) are short or very short. The head is dolichocephalic in over 60%, the Lāhul Kānet being mesocephalic in 70% and dolichocephalic in 23% cases. Noses are mesorrhine in nearly 60%. Some like Gjar (13) and Lāhul Kānet (30) are leptorrhine in over 50%.

The Sikhs of Punjab (156) are tall in 61·5% and medium in 32% cases; 6·4% cases are very tall. 24% are hyperdolichocephalic and 61% dolichocephalic. 63% are leptorrhine and 32% mesorrhine.

Jammu and Kashmīr

Out of Jammu and Kashmīr's 4 million people, 3·54% belong to the Scheduled Castes. Six classified data are available; of these, one is on the Paṇḍit, one on Kulu Lāhulī, and the rest on Kashmīrī, Ladākhī, Muslim and Pahāṛī. The Paṇḍit (206) are medium statured in 66·5%, 20% being short. The head (226) among the Paṇdit is hyperdolichocephalic in 8%, dolichocephalic in 64% and mesocephalic in 26%. Kulu Lāhulīs (27) are hyperdolichocephalic in 74% and dolichocephalic in 26% cases. The nose of the Paṇḍit is leptorrhine in 82% cases.

Muslims (52) are medium in 48% and tall in 28·8% cases. 75% are dolichocephalic, 77% leptorrhine, and 15% hyperleptorrhine. Ladākhī (34) are medium in 61% and short in 29%. 62% are mesocephalic and the rest are dolichocephalic; they are mesorrhine in 42%, the rest sharing equally leptorrhine and chamaerrhine nose.

Average values for Kanawarī (54) indicate that they are medium, dolichocephal and leptorrhine.

North India

Uttar Pradesh

20·72% of the Uttar Pradesh population of over 63 millions belong to the Scheduled Castes. 62 classified data are available, among which there are 3 tribes, namely Kaci, Lodhā and Oraon; 16 upper castes and 37 lower castes. Moreover, 6 communities such as the Bhatū, Pathān, Shaikh etc., are also represented.

In general, the stature among high castes is medium in about 60% cases. The Rājput (520) however, are very tall in 1·2%, tall in 32·5% medium in 55%. The Cauhān and Rathor, two important subgroups of Rājput, are about 30% tall and 60% medium in stature. Brahmin (243) are very tall in 1%, tall in 18% and medium in 63% cases. Baniyā (80) and Chatrī (239) are very tall in 1% and tall in about 15%, Babhan (26) and Kāyastha (125) are tall in 38% and 17% respectively. The head is hyperdolichocephalic in 25% and dolichocephalic in 60% cases. The nose is leptorrhine in over 30% and mesorrhine in over 50% cases. However, Baniyā and Kāyastha have about 25% chamaerrhine nose and 4% and 1% very broad nose respectively. Some communities like the Rājput have leptorrhine noses among 50% of the populaton.

Among lower castes, the stature is medium in 50%, and short stature occurs in over 30% cases. Some castes are extraordinary, the Gūjar (50) are medium in 44% cases, tall in 41%, very tall in 8% and giants in 2% cases. Habru (149) are medium in 54%, tall in 21% and short in 22%. Dolichocephalic heads constitute the majority, being 60%, while 25% are hyperdolichocephalic Bhatū (150) are also mesocephalic in 28%, brachycephalic in 3% and ultrabrachycephalic in 1%. Lower castes can be divided into two groups by the character of the nose. Aghariā (107), Ahir (68), Camār (158), Kolṭā (42) and Thārū (254) are leptorrhine in 30% and mesorrhine in 60% cases. The other group formed by Barhi (33), Cero (100), Kewant (100), Kharwār (194) and others are leptorrhine in 5%, mesorrhine in about 60%, chamaerrhine in 30% and hyperchamaerrhine in 3% cases. Korwā (100), Kurmī (100) and Pāsi (100) are predominantly mesorrhine and chamaerrhine.

Communities like the Jāṭ (52), Syed (33) and Shaikh (105) have been left out of this survey.

Eastern India

Bihār

Bihār's population of nearly 39 millions contains 12·67% Scheduled Castes and 10% Scheduled Tribes. 31 classified data are available, among which 16 are of tribes, 10 of "lower" castes and 5 "upper" castes.

Tribes are on the whole short in 60% and medium statured in 30% cases. Some, like Pahiṛā (80) are short in 68·7% or very short in 26·2%. The Santāl (300) and Oraon (100) are medium in 60% and short in above 30% cases. The Ho (122) are also medium in 47.5%, short in 45%, and tall in 6·5% cases; the Kharwār (100) are equally medium and short. The head is dolichocephalic in 55% and mesocephalic in 30% cases. The Khaṛiā (78) have a small percentage of brachycephals and hyperbrachycephals. This is also true of the Ho and Oraon. The Pahiṛā (80) have 9% brachycephals and the Santāl (300) 5% of the same kind. The nose is mesorrhine in 60% and chamaerrhine in over 30% cases. The Bhumij (100), Khaṛiā, Korwā (21) and Kharwar (100) are predominantly chamaerrhine with a small percentage of hyperchamaerrhine.

The so-called "lower" castes of Bihār are of medium or short stature. The head is dolichocephalic in over 50% and mesocephalic in over 30% cases. Goālā (100) and Maghayā Ḍom (100) have small percentages of brachycephals, including hyperbrachycephals. The nose is mesorrhine in over 50% and chamaerrhine in over 25% cases. Some, like the Musāhar (77), have 58%

chamaerrhine, 14% hyperchamaerrhine, and the Lohār (73) have 48% chamaerrhine, 12% hyperchamaerrhine.

The "higher" castes are either tall (30%) or medium (50%) in stature, excepting Śakadvīpī Brahmin (77), who are more medium and short; and Kanaujiā Brahmin (185) have 13% who are very tall. The head is dolichocephalic in 50% and mesocephalic in 40% cases. Some Brahmin and Rājput show a significant proportion of brachycephals and hyperbrachycephals. Thus, Bhūihār (348) have 11%+1%, Maithil (243) 8%+3% and Rājput (137) 10%+1%. Noses are leptorrhine in 50% and mesorrhine in 40% cases. There are 14% chamaerrhine among the Rājput.

Data of class II, i.e., average values are obtainable for five "upper" castes. The general findings are similar. Stature is medium; the head is mesocephalic and nose leptorrhine, except among Kāyastha (75) who are mesorrhine.

West Bengal

West Bengal has a population of over 26 millions (1951). Out of this 18·03 % is formed by the Scheduled Castes and 5·96% by the Scheduled Tribes. 57 classified data are available, but part of this data belongs to what is now East Pākistān. We shall try to leave them out when they are recognizable, but in many cases this would not be possible. The general statement made here about physical characteristics will not, anyhow, be affected.

The tribes included in Bengal's measurements are either Mongoloid like the Lepchā, Khambū or Gāro or belong to the Muṇḍārī group like the Santāl, Mālpāhāṛiyā, Māle or Lodhā. In general it can be said of both that in stature they are either short or medium with a few very short or tall.

The Mongoloid communities have heads which are predominantly mesocephalic and brachycephalic. Thus, the Lepchā (57) have 51% in the first category and 33% in the second, while 9% are hyperbrachycephalic. The Santāl (50), on the other hand, have 22% hyperdolichocephals, 36% dolichocephals and 32% mesocephals. Noses of the Mongoloid groups are predominantly mesorrhine, with a small percentage of leptorrhine. In contrast, the Muṇḍārī-speaking groups are more chamaerrhine, with the next place occupied by mesorrhine. Santāls have even 15% who are hyperchamaerrhine. The Mālpāhāṛiyā (100) and Māle (100) show nearly the same characteristics with 60% under chamaerrhine and 25% under hyperchamaerrhine.

When we observe castes "lower" in status than Brahmin and Vaidya, the stature is medium and short, with a small percentage of tall. Some like the Bun (200) or Nolu (200) are on the whole shorter. The figures for these two are short in over 75%,

medium in 15%, and very short in above 2%. Baiśya (73) are comparatively taller in stature; medium stature occurring in 45%, tall in 30%, short in 22%, and very short in 3%. The head may be said to be mesocephalic in the majority of cases. Dolichocephals are more numerous among these castes than brachycephals; while some like the Rishi (101) or Śāṅkhārī (136) have about 10% who are hyperdolichocephalic. It is interesting that some, like the Rājbaṁśī of Midnapore (500), show a high percentage of brachycephaly, including hyperbrachycephaly. The Gandhabaṇik (50) have similar proportions. The nose is mesorrhine in the majority (above 60%) and leptorrhine in about 25%. Castes like the Śaṅkhabaṇik (133) are leptorrhine in 66%, mesorrhine in 20% and chamaerrhine in 13%. In contrast, the Bāgdi (199) are mesorrhine in 65%, chamaerrhine in 26% and leptorrhine in 7% cases.

When we come to "higher" caste, the stature is medium in above 55%, tall in about 20% and short in above 15%. There are, of course, relative differences in these percentages between castes like the Vārendra Brahmin or Dakṣiṇ Rāṛhīya Kāyastha; but they can be overlooked for the present purpose. The head in most cases is mesocephal (over 40%). This is followed closely by dolichocephals in the case of Brahmin (320) and Kāyastha (440) and then by brachycephals. The Maithilī Brahmin (50) are either dolichocephalic, hyperdolichocephalic or mesocephalic. In contrast, mesocephals are succeeded in numbers by brachycephals among the Vaidya (134), Dakṣiṇ Rāṛhīya Kāyastha (72), Dākṣiṇātya Vaidik Brahmin (164) and Rāṛhīya Brahmin (380). There is evidently a strong percentage of brachycephaly among higher Bengal castes, as among some castes in Gujarāt. The nose is leptorrhine in over 60% and mesorrhine in about 30%. Curiously, 28% chamaerrhines and 4% hyperchamaerrhines are present among the Maithilī Brahmin. Among some such as Vaidya or Kāyastha, mesorrhine noses are more numerous than leptorrhine.

Muslims (103) are medium in 47·6% and short in 42·7%, mesocephal in 47·6%, brachycephal in 27% and hyperbrachy in 8·7%, leptorrhine in 65% and mesorrhine in 32%.

Assam

Out of Assam's population of nearly 9 millions (1951), 4·69% are Scheduled Castes and 19·48% are Scheduled Tribes. Classified data are available for 12 tribes like the Arleng, Bodo, Khāsi, Gāro and others. They are medium in stature in over 50% cases and short in about 30%. The head is mesocephalic in 50% cases, but there are some interesting deviations. The Koc (88) , Hill Gāro (100) and Plains Gāro (100) have dolichocephals in the following propo-

rtions: 60%, 53% and 47%. This is followed by high figures for mesocephaly, namely, 31%, 44% and 46%. Brachycephalic and hyperbrachycephalic heads are few, though among the Āhom (19) this rises to very high figure (31%+26%). The Khāsi (237) and the Mī-shing (Miri) (25) have more than 16% brachycephals each; the latter have also hyperbrachycephaly in 8% cases. The nose is mesorrhine in over 60%. The percentage of chamaerrhine and hyperchamaerrhine is also fairly high among the Khāsi (25%, 2·5%) Koc (24%, 7%), Hill Gāro (46%, 4%), Mī-shing (Miri) (36%, 4%), Mande (Gāro) (62%, 35%), and Bodo (42%, 21%).

Manipur, Tripura, NEFA & Nāgāland

Classified data are available for the Pūrūm (60) and Thadou Kuki (120) in Manipur, for the Kaipeng (31), Riang (199) and Tiprā (71) in Tripura, and for 11 tribes in the North East Frontier Agency including the Nāgā, Āo Nāgā and Angāmi Nāgā.

In general, one may say that the stature is short in over 50% cases and medium in 20% -30% cases. The head is mesocephalic in the majority; this is followed by dolichocephaly, as among the Pūrūm or the tribes of Tripura or the North East Frontier Agency. The Angāmi Nāgā have, however, 41·08% long heads. Brachycephaly occurs in a small percentage. It is 11% among the Pūrūm, 10% among the Thadou Kuki, 13·5% among Lhotā Nāgā (37) and 26·5% among the Angāmi Nāgā (185). Among the Āo-Nāgā (51), it occurs in 41·2%. The nose is mesorrhine in the majority of cases. This is succeeded by 41·6% of leptorrhine among the Pūrūm and 28% of chamaerrhine among the Thadou Kuki. The Konyāk Nāgā (22) and Lhotā Nāgā also have a fairly high percentage of chamaerrhine including hyperchamaerrhine.

The overall picture

The general picture which emerges from this account is as follows. The major portion of India seems to be inhabited by a medium statured, mesocephalic and dolichocephalic mesorrhine population. This includes the Mediterranean and Palæ-Mediterranean. The population tends to have more dolichocephals in Peninsular India, while occasionally there is also some amount of brachycephaly, as in the extreme south. But samples are small, and it would be unfair to reach major conclusions on their basis. In the north, there is a frequency of leptorrhine among the "upper" castes; while among the "lower" and even some of the middle groups,noses are chamaerrhine. Among tribal populations in Mahārāshtra, or in Eastern India, the frequency of chamaerrhine is clearly high.

It is obvious that all over India there are now areas of a short to medium statured,dolichocephalic, chamaerrhine and mesorrhine population This distinctive group has been given different names

by different authors. It is the "Dravidian" of Risley, "Niṣāda" of Chanda, "Proto-Australoid" of Guha, "Pre-Dravidian" of Haddon, and "Veddid" of Eickstedt. It is likely that elements of the Scheduled Castes have had an infiltration from this population. The opinion has been expressed that this population covered the entire North Indian plain at one time. Remnants of Muṇḍā affiliation have been discovered in the Western Himālayas as well (Konow, 1905); but there the affiliation is of language.

The north-western portion of the northern plains has a population distinct from the predominant Mediterranean and Palæ-Mediterranean stock. This is a tall dolichocephalic leptorrhine population which appears to be in progressively greater concentration as one proceeds through Punjab towards Afghānistān. Various castes in Uttar Pradesh, Bihār and Bengal, which occupy the upper ranks, show similar characteristics. This statement, however, is not true of all the upper castes. Some show a clear element of brachycephaly, or a mesocephaly which comes close to brachycephaly.

In parts of Gujarāt a brachycephalic, leptorrhine element is clearly numerous. Risley held that here brachycephaly was contributed by Scythian invaders, while in Bengal this was due to Mongoloid, infiltration. As the hypothetical Mongoloids do not seem to have left traces of other characteristics like lank hair and high cheekbones, Risley's, views have not found general acceptance. Haddon, as well as Chanda, suggested that this was due to a migration of brachycephalic Caucasoid (Alpinoid) people after the tall, long-headed leptorrhine population had occupied the northern plains.

In the Pamīrs (or Hindu Kush) there is definite evidence of a round-headed population; and it is highly probable that this "Alpine" or "Alpo-Dinaric" also came in waves of migration to occupy the western and eastern outskirts of the northern plains. The distribution of the brachycephal element in middle India is not yet known with certainty.

In the north-eastern portion of India some Mongoloid tribes are predominantly round-headed, while another group is medium or long-headed. Hindu castes in Northern Bengal show clear traces of this infiltration. Tribes who were once outside Hindu society have found a place within it sometimes.

It may be added that the physical characters presented here in very broad terms have not remained quite unaltered. Some modification has undoubtedly taken place through changes in ways of life. Thus, nomads or hill people practising a form of shifting cultivation have settled down in valleys and plains as permanent

cultivators; and that has produced a measure of change in their physical characteristics. Alternations have also been due to intermarriage. There are groups among the Muṇḍā people, for instance, who are known by such names as Khangar-Muṇḍā and Oraon-Muṇḍā. Who knows if castes have always been as strictly endogamous as they appear to be ? It is not quite unlikely that, within the Hindu population of India, changes over and above those caused by environmental influences were brought about by intermarriage.

2. *Cultural Development*

Culture, in Anthropology, is a term almost synonymous with civilization. In general usage, the term civilization stands for the products of the mind which are distinctive of a particular community—the higher forms of thought, the creative arts. While culture, in the anthropological sense, does include these ways of self-expression, it is also deeply concerned with the material arts of life, the productive organization along with the attendant social arrangements by means of which the common needs of existence are met.

Even a casual survey of Indian life and civilization reveals the fact that a kind of uniformity or even unity prevails all over India in respect of philosophical thinking as also the ideals of social organization. But there is great diversity in food, dress, habitations, means of transport and agricultural methods; and that gives colour and attractiveness to Indian rural life. Here we shall briefly outline this diversity and indicate where it has an inner core of unity.

An outstanding fact about India's cultural history has been that even in the remotest past India never became isolated from other countries. Some kind of contact was always maintained over thousands of years. Though there has been no detailed research on the Stone Age in India, it is known that certain tools used in this country in the Palaeolithic period have a striking resemblance with those of East and South Africa on the one hand, and Java on the other. Again, the tools of a certain industry made mostly of flakes have been tentatively identified in India; that seems to indicate kinship with a Chinese and Burman industry of about the same date. Later, in the Neolithic period, a closer relationship between Eastern India and some of the peninsulas of South East Asia seems to have developed.

Language forms one of the main elements in a people's cultural life. India has two broad linguistic families. The Indo-Aryan

family of languages lies roughly north of latitude 18°N. while the Dravidian languages are spoken south of this line. Another family of languages represented by Muṇḍārī Santālī Juāṅg and others lies interspersed over both these major regions.

Elements of cultural unity

But man does not live by language alone. If we observe the food habits of the people, and those arts which are likely to have been invented long before man attained a high degree of civilization, the dividing line in India will seem to differ from that laid down by language. One can presume that the techniques of pottery-making, basketry, the way cereals are eaten (just boiled in water or ground into flour and baked), the methods adopted for pressing oil out of seeds, and the ritualistic associations which cling to certain varieties of food, all go back to a more distant past than the date of diffusion of India's numerous languages or dialects. In some parts of India pottery is still manufactured without the use of a wheel; oil is expelled simply by pressing seeds between two thick planks of wood; casting of brass is done by the lost-wax process; iron is extracted in small waist-high earthen blast furnaces. It is interesting to note that some of these culture elements of Eastern India can be traced in discontinuous distribution across political boundaries, among communities living in Northern Burma and even as far east and south as Indonesia.

These material arts of life indicate that proof of India's cultural kinship can be obtained not only from the history of her languages, but also from objects which are transmitted from one community to another as a result of slow, peaceful contact.

Plans of villages in India, the form of rural dwellings, the grains that are cultivated, and even the function of agricultural implements may have something to do with factors like climate and soil. But the manner in which cereals are cooked, or the way some kinds of food are treated as sacred and others as defiling, is not a matter which is determined by geographical conditions. Certain traditions may have originated in answer to the demands of adaptation; but when customs are perpetuated irrespective of probable needs, when they acquire prestige value, they become non-adaptive elements whose history does not have to be traced to geographical causation.

Recent investigations in India have been concerned with what are known in Anthropology as culture areas. It appears that the areas occupied by distinct languages are not coterminus with the culture areas which are slowly emerging out of these investigations.

Culture areas

For instance, Mahārāshtra has a language belonging to the

Indo-Aryan family. The principal food there is wheat or millet. This is ground into flour and unleavened flat bread is prepared. Oil is the villager's source of fat, sesamum being the most common seed used. In many parts of Mahārāshtra, the oil-press has disappeared as a result of industrial competition; but where it is still in use, a curious thing has been observed. In the whole of Northern India, oil-presses have a channel through which oil trickles out as the seeds are pressed. In the south, on the other hand, the presses have generally no outlet for the oil; after expulsion the mortar is removed and the oil ladled out and eventually wiped off with rags tied to the end of a stick. In some parts of Mahārāshtra, the northern oil-press with an outlet has recently been introduced by the All-India Village Industries Association. But elsewhere, the southern oil-press in still in vogue. It is interesting; however, that when the northern type isused, the channel is plugged first. After the seeds have been sufficiently pressed, the plug is removed and the oil drained out. The operation is thus of the southern type, even though the new instrument is derived from the North.

It is thus held that cultural relationship may be based not merely on linguistic affinities but on other things equally important in a people's life. Further, in the context of affinities other than linguistic, Assam, Bengal and Orissa appear to have come closer to Andhra Pradesh or Madras than to Uttar Pradesh or Punjab, although in the matter of language Orissa, Bengal and Assam belong to the Indo-Aryan family and not to the south. The exact dividing line is still obscure. When separate culture items are indicated on a map showing distribution, there is frequent overlapping. But it is significant that the dividing line does not run east and west as in the case of language; it runs irregularly and obliquely from north-east to south-west.

There is yet another field in which the history of cultural development can be traced with a comparatively fair measure of accuracy. This is the field of art and architecture.

Temple types

If we trace the history of Hindu temples, we find that in the early Middle Ages, from the seventh to the ninth centuries A.D. India was already marked into distinctive parts on the basis of temple types. There was roughly a northern as well as a southern form. Not that the forms were exclusive. There were frequent contacts between the two regions; common elements can be traced in decoration and mouldings, as well as in the nature of ground-plans.

In later times, there was perhaps more of local specialization. However, Central India, North-western Rājasthān, western regions

like Gujarāt and even a part of Karnātaka developed more likenesses between themselves than with parts of Eastern India, such as Bengal. They began to develop peculiarities of their own in regard to the form and internal structure of temples. At the same time, the Tamil-speaking areas developed a distinctiveness which marked them off from Karnātaka in the west and Andhra Pradesh and Orissa in the north.

Yet, in spite of local differentiation, the underlying ideas that guided the symbolic meaning of temple-forms were common between the North and the South. The significance of images continued to be subject to the same ideals as before, though the artistic traditions under which these were executed differed widely.

All this would mean that languages and crafts spread in India in a way that was partly independent of the manner in which basic arts like agriculture and pottery and fine arts like architecture were diffused. One may hope that after methodical investigations it will be possible to arrange these cultural diffusions in their proper sequence.

One fact emerges out of the investigations conducted so far, and that relates to a feature which persistently occurs in the cultural history of the land. It would normally be assumed that, when two arts of life serving the same end come into a kind of competitive relationship, the one that is technically at a lower level of efficiency will tend to disappear. That, at least, is the development which would normally be anticipated in view of what is happening all around in our competitive world. But in India, curiously, various forms of both efficient and inefficient production are permitted as it were to continue side by side.

System of compromises

The social mechanism built up in order to carry on the organization of production supplies a probable answer to this state of affairs. The mechanism is the well known one of caste. Caste was not wholly an economic structure. Yet, undeniably, it was built up on the basis of monopolistic guilds which were endogamous; each of these guilds grew into a separate caste.

The arrangements made for the exchange of goods and services in India's highly stratified society were a deliberate process. And it is of interest to observe that a system of compromises was built up at the level of ideas which gave an additional stability to the economic substructure. In course of time, one caste split into two or more in accordance with industrial specialization. Simultaneously, tribe after tribe was brought under the economic dominance of this system. Each group was assigned a rough kind of monopoly in some occupation. Each was allowed to preserve

its specific characteristics of culture so long as these did not come into direct conflict with the sovereign ideas professed by the Brahminical priesthood. Brahmin priests went on extending their sway over the sheltered communities and tried to bring about a uniformity of rites and practices, while local or family customs were permitted to continue after minor modification.

Material traits have a fairly wide range of variation in India. But when we compare this with differences in the social organization connected with production, the range of variation seems more restricted. The North and the South may differ in language, food, and forms of bullock-carts or oil-presses. But both approximate closely to a common social model.

Common models

Castes are goverened by their own organization of authority. In many parts of India, particularly in the North, political and economic changes have destroyed caste's ancient manner of managing internal local affairs. But where ruin has not overtaken the system, there appears to be a greater similarity between Northern and Peninsular forms of organization than, for instance, in the field of material traits.

Curiously enough, a greater uniformity has been retained at the economic level of caste than perhaps in relation to customs regulating marriage in particular. Marriage is as important in life as food. Yet, while the North and the South were on the whole subject to the same laws of inheritance and succession, and while common Vedic rituals were practised, especially among the upper castes, a larger measure of deviation was permitted in regard to customs regulating the choice of mates.

All over India arranged marriages are regarded as respectable. There are prescriptive and prohibitive rules about the choice of mates. One rule sharply distinguishes the upper castes of the North from the South : cross-cousin marriage is a common practice in the South in contrast to the North. Again, among some southern castes a man may marry his elder sister's daughter, while this is not the practice anywehere in the North. Behind these customs there is the purpose to retain property within a limited circle of kinsmen. That, however, is not the only way in which the purpose can be achieved. Yet, such customs, marking off one part of India from another, must have persisted for nearly 2,000 years. Books of law or secular literature dating back to the early centuries of the Christian era refer to these customs in the South.

One prevailing characteristic of Indian civilization has been the principal of allowing diversities to remain, and this has strongly influenced the cultural evolution. Those who occupied low

positions in a stratified society did not feel the urge to rise in revolt against inequality. The reasons were twofold. First, each socially distinct inbreeding group occupying a particular rank in the caste system had a sense of security, because of the rule of monopoly which all the other communities respected. Secondly, the attitude of "live and let live" satisfied all the groups emotionally; cultural freedom was thereby assured to all, provided there was no conflict with the Brahminical moral code.

Diversities allowed to coexist

This democratic attitude towards different ideals and forms made a strong impact on the cultural development of the land. Hindu philosophical thinking reached the conclusion that no way of life was built upon a realization of the "whole truth". All ways were based on part-truths, and they did not have to give way to one another so long as they were not static or did not come into violent conflict with one another.

This principle of continuous progress in the quality of living experience, and the need of the coexistence of various beliefs suited to individual needs, led to interesting results, as in the field of iconography. In Indian iconography a variety of syncretistic images have been produced through a long period of time. Images of Śiva and Pārvatī, and of Viṣṇu and Śiva joined into one, have been more common than syncretisms between Buddhist and Hindu images. Buddhism started as a protestant movement against Hindu orthodoxy and ritual. Later, the Buddha himself found a place in the Hindu pantheon as an incarnation of Viṣṇu. Elements of Buddhist thought are believed to have been incorporated by Śaṅkara in his Advaita system from the philosphical speculations of Nāgārjuna. There may have been occasional conflicts at the sectarian level in ancient or medieval India; but they cannot be compared with the clashes between Roman Catholicism and Protestantism in Europe or between Shī'ah and Sunnī in the Muslim world.

The spirit of toleration in the supreme thought-systems and religious beliefs of various communities gave Indian civilization an unexampled resilience when it came in contact with alien communities. It is significant that the attitude is shared by various sects born on the Indian soil. Broadly speaking, all India shares certain ideas in common, while social organization shows some variation and material traits marking off one geographical area from another show a larger range of variation.

The success of this civilization was indeed remarkable. India accumulated great wealth through her industrial organization based on a satisfied group of monopolistic guilds. Cultural tolerance led

to intellectual freedom. Those who wanted to make the fullest use of that freedom could do so by surrendering the rights which accrued to them from citizenship : taking to the life of *sannyāsin*, they could be released formally from their previous social obligations. The exploration of higher reaches of thought in India was mostly the work of *sannyāsins* or near-*sannyāsins*.

Under this civilization, India as a land of fabulous wealth attracted not only Pathān and Turki adventurers from neighbouring countries but also explorers and merchants from the European world.

The impact of aliens

Pathāns and Turks first entered India for plunder, but some remained to found kingdoms. The general rural system of production does not seem to have been violently disrupted. New towns and administrative centres connected with fortresses grew up at strategic points. New forms of land management were introduced; a class of soldiers thriving on land rent granted in exchange for services arose. New arts and crafts were introduced. But life in the villages went on as before, except when a territory was subjected to political disturbance. The times were occasionally stormy. The general arrangements for production however, were not violently altered from the form they had attained in course of centuries of sequestered growth.

One result was that, in rural India, the poorer and downtrodden castes of peasants and artisans who accepted conversion to Islām continued to regard their hereditary occupations as high and low, a characteristic of the caste system. This was particularly marked in East Bengal, where Jola (Julāhā) converts to Islām continued to weave coarse textiles, Kulus pressed oil and Nikaris traded in fish.

Cultural fusion

A striking development was the catholicity that now appeared in Hindu religious thought. Significantly, a new *Upaniṣad*, entitled *Allah Upaniṣad*, was composed at one time. The ideal of social equality and an uncompromising form of monotheism began to take root in the Indian soil. Sect after sect grew up in the late medieval ages under the influence of saints like Guru Nānak and Kabīr, so that a happy blending was effected between a resurgent form of Hindu theism and Islāmic social equality.

The mutual reactions of Hindu and Islāmic cultures became particularly fruitful in the world of painting and music. In both these fields enrichment came out of a new delight in the beauties of nature, and a recognition of the value of human love in a form which had been absent in earlier Hindu art. It may be pointed out that these contributions were due not so much to the auster

religion of Islām as to the culture if Irān with which the Muslim courts were permeated.

The development of culture after Muslim influence was introduced into India did not always follow the path of synthesis. Hindu society had suffered politically; but its economic and productive organization still remained more or less unimpaired. The catholicity of Hinduism was for many, more attractive than the rigid monotheism of Islām, or the cultural exclusiveness into which Islām in India eventually drifted for purposes of self-defence. Moreover, Islām had no substitute for the mutual security associated with the caste system.

A revival of Hinduism consequently took place, leading to a kind of puritanic reformation. In Bengal the movement is associated with the name of Caitanya, the great Vaiṣṇava reformer. Under Raghunandan's influence religious practice became more stringent and rites of atonement were prescribed for those who departed from customary observance. Laxity must have begun to prevail, so that drastic remedies were needed for internal purification.

Hindu revivalism

To sum up: After the Hindus in Northern India had lost political power, on the one hand the infiltration of Islāmic ideas led either to conversion or to the creation of synthetic creeds; and on the other, Hinduism recoiled upon itself and lost its earlier resilience.

India's cultural development took a new turn after contact with the Western world. This contact has brought about a progressively accentuated reorganization of the productive arrangements. In the past, production was geared mainly to local needs. Towns were comparatively few. The road system was inadequately developed. With the consolidation of the British power in India, steamships and railways brought about a great change. Production in agriculture adapted itself to the requirements of distant or even overseas trade. Several home industries could not face the challenge of factory production. Masses of men left their hereditary occupation to drift into agriculture or industry. The obligations which held communities together were progressively lost, so that individuals were released for absorption into the new economic system.

One immediate result of this reorganization was the growth of new towns. Village after village became fused with its neighbour to give rise to towns, even though loyalties were not yet fully oriented towards the demands of common civic existence. With selective migration to the new towns, villages became progressively depleted of much of their traditional leadership.

The new forces

Changes in the productive organization are naturally accompanied by changes in social and cultural life. But it is perhaps necessary at this stage to indicate that different parts of India have been unequally affected economically by the new forces, so that social and cultural changes have also been unequal in different regions.

Due to a series of historical accidents, British influence in India became located first in Bengal. Significantly, a strong leadership arose in that Province and decided that life should henceforth be aligned with the new forces rather than with the old. Later, similar changes came in other parts of India. A brief indication of developments in Bengal may serve as a sample of what has been happening in the rest of the country.

The series of influences to which Bengal was subjected were not autogenic in character; indeed they were traumatic. But the decision about the acceptance of Western social and cultural concepts helped to strengthen values which had lain dormant within Indian civilization for a long time past. Some of the best and most progressive minds in Bengal became fully identified with Westernism even in the early stages of its impact. There were many conversions to Christianity. Then followed a new sense of nationalism. Eyes turned to India's cultural heritage. There was an intense desire to regain from the past whatever might serve the needs of contemporary life.

Synthesis with the old

Much of the learning of the past had hitherto been locked up in the Sanskrit language, and the usual form of literary expression both in Sanskrit and the "vernaculars" was in verse. This learning now began to be brought to the common reader through the medium of prose translation. One of the gifts of Western contact was the printing press. This was widely utilized to meet the demands of progress.

Simple books on science and articles dealing with natural history and mechanical inventions became equally popular with tales from the literature of the past. Although an appeal to the past was often made in the struggle to bring about social reform, some of the dominant values in terms of which the past was represented were themselves derived from values which had come in the wake of the politically dominant West.

The Brāhmo Samāj in Bengal, for instance, was one of the early expressions of national revival. But it preached a form of Hinduism from which polytheistic elements had been discarded, and which was close to the monotheism of Islām or Christianity. The organization of the Church under the Sādhāraṇ Brāhmo Samāj, as also of service

Religious reform

performed there, approximated closely to the practices of the Church of England. There was nothing wrong in the introduction of such innovations. It is only necessary for us to note that social and cultural change was often guided by an inward acceptance of the newly introduced values although the outer garment in which these were clothed happened to have been derived from the past as well as the more familiar.

The Brāhmo Samāj, however, did not depart from some of the fundamentals of Hinduism. It stood for an eclecticism whose roots undoubtedly went back to Hindu origins. There was no compromise at the level of idolatrous practice, but the windows of the Church were thrown open to all that was acceptable in the region of thought or religious experience.

A parallel illustration can be drawn from contemporary domestic architecture in Bengal. During the first overwhelming impact of Western culture, the dwelling houses of the poor remained more or less as before. But the new houses of the rich closely followed European designs. Houses are meant for living; and if the modes of living of two communities are not the same, their houses have to be different. Accordingly, adaptations began to be made. Venetian shutters, decorative mouldings and cornices, and composite pillars derived from Gothic churches were added from time to time for utility as well as decoration. Sometimes, the outer apartments of a house and even its interior furnishings were after the European model, while the inner apartments where the women of the household led their secluded life kept on to the old local design. In still later times, when nationalism began to play an increasingly important role, houses whose form had become European were decorated with ornamental elements derived from temples and other structures of pre-British India. In other words, the divided alliances working in the minds of men influenced architecture, as it influenced many other things.

Divided alliances

The outcome was nowhere more vivid than in the field of literature. Bankim Chandra Chatterjee was a pioneer in many respects. He reformed Bengali prose; and while he introduced many ideas from Western philosophers such as Comte, he recast earlier Hindu thinking in terms of the needs of modern times. Bankim Chandra translated the *Bhagavad-Gītā* into Bengali prose and wrote a life of the legendary hero of the *Mahābhārata*, Śrī Kṛṣṇa; both the works were characterized more by the new spirit of humanism and rationalism than by older values. Yet, in spite of this leaning towards European thought, Bankim Chandra kept closer to his Hindu heritage than some of his contemporaries.

Perhaps this was responsible for his partial unpopularity with the Westernists, and for his influence on a later generation which was stirred by the spirit of nationalism.

Revaluation of values

The fertilization of Indian thought, and of Indian culture in general, which began in the early nineteenth century, has not yet run its full course. A large part of India's social heritage has survived from the past. Since the demands of modern life are frequently thwarted by ancient forms of organization, or an attachment to values which are of doubtful utility today, the struggle goes on between the forces of "progress" and of "conservatism" in India's contemporary cultural life. Item after item from the distant past, or even from the folk-culture of hitherto neglected or forgotten communities, is being held up either for acceptance or rejection. There is a demand before the Indian mind to examine and re-examine all such values. As Indian culture becomes comparatively free from the disturbed state in which it is today, it will attain emotional and intellectual maturity and contribute to the enrichment of human life as a whole.

3. *Tribal People and Their Life*

The communities classified by the Government of India as the Scheduled Tribes numbered over 19 millions, in the Census of 1951. This was 5.35% of the population of India at that time. It is difficult to determine the exact number of individually distinct communities, since the same tribe may bear slightly variant names in the States under which they are enumerated in the official list. Yet, perhaps it would not be wrong to place this figure at 22.6 millions.

When the Scheduled Tribes are split up in terms of occupation, it is observed that 90.64% are dependent on agriculture and the rest on other forms of labour. Table I is based on the Census Report of 1951.

Communities which depend on agriculture do not obviously live in isolation. Many of their needs are met by artisans, traders or money-lenders, as in the case of others who do not belong to the scheduled groups. It would perhaps be useful to begin an account of tribal life with a classification of the various ways in which such communities make their living.

The Jarawa and the inhabitants of the Sentinel Island in the Andamans are two of the most isolated tribes of India. Both live

TABLE I

Scheduled Tribes (1951)

(Figures in brackets indicate percentages)

Agricultural classes					Non-agricultural classes				
Cultivators of land wholly or mainly *owned* and their dependants	Cultivators of land wholly or mainly *unowned* and their dependants	Cultivating labourers and their dependants	Non-cultivating and agricultural rent receiving persons and their dependants	Total	Production other than cultivation	Commerce	Transport	Other services and miscellaneous services	Total
I	II	III	IV	(I to IV)	V	VI	VII	VIII	(V to VIII)
12,543,014	1,873,821	2,803,171	64,254	17,284,260	764,984	123,641	62,554	871,243	1,822,422
(65·64)	(9·8)	(14·67)	(0·34)	(90·46)	(4·00)	(0·65)	(0·33)	(4·56)	(9·54)

Note :— The table does not include figures for Ajmer, for which no break-up in different classes is given in the Census Tables.
Total (All-India)=19,116,498 — 9,816 (Ajmer) = 19,106,682 (all agricultural classes and non-agricultural classes).

by hunting, fishing and collecting wild produce from the jungle. Formerly they used no iron but tipped their arrows or spears with sharpened pieces of bone or broken bits of stone. Now the Jarawa at least secure iron or glass from the settlers in the Andamans by means of stealth. The Andamanese do not know how to make fire, although they use it for various purposes and maintain it with great care. The Onge of the Little Andaman are a similar people; and from what is known about them, one can guess that the number of Jarawa or Sentinelese cannot be far from three hundred each; it may indeed be less.

Forest-dwellers

Let us turn from these completely isolated communities to other dwellers of the forests. The Birhor, Mallār and Khaṛiā of Bihār and Orissa, the Kāḍar of Kerala or the Cencu of Andhra Pradesh live in small, nomadic or semi-nomadic bands. They gather wild leaves, roots and fruits, manufacture ropes from wild creepers, and collect honey or beeswax for personal use or for exchange with agricultural produce. Such tribes are neither isolated nor independent. Their economic pursuits are in complementary relationship with those of their neighbours. The total number of these forest-dwellers does not perhaps exceed a few thousand.

A much larger number of tribes who dwell in hills and forests are comparatively more independent. Tribes who belong to this category live in more or less well-defined areas where people from the plains have not yet penetrated. Their settlements are comparatively permanent; but the fields where crops are grown are not the same from year to year. A clearance is made in the jungle with axe and fire, and seeds sown without tilling the soil. One piece of land is used for two or three years when successively different crops are sown, and then it is abandoned for a new clearance made elsewhere. For instance, a particular family among the Juāṅg of Orissa sows in a particular year sesamum in the newly cleared field, rice in the second year's and a poor form of millet in the third year's clearance. A clearance made three years before is abandoned.

Shifting cultivation

Few tribes in India today are wholly dependent on the produce of this form of slash-and-burn type of cultivation. A part of their annual requirement of food may be supplied in this manner; but in a large number of cases, specialized crops like pulses, cotton or sesamum are raised for cash sale. In some instances again, as among the Savaras of Southern Orissa, a field is treated in the above manner only for some years. If the slope of the ground is favourable, the hill-side is terraced with great labour and water drawn from streams for irrigation. Then the field is permanently cultivated with the aid of cattle and plough.

It is difficult to estimate the total number of persons dependent on shifting cultivation, wholly or in part. The amount of land under such occupation is also uncertain. If we rely upon the few, inexact measurements made, we can perhaps hazard the opinion that no more than 4 or 6 persons per square kilometre in the rain-drenched eastern corner of India are generally supported by this form of cultivation. In one instance, the land in use was not measured; but figures were obtained by questioning the heads of families. A rough estimate can also be made from the quantity of seeds sown. All this worked out to nearly 20 or more persons per square kilometre of used land. But this leaves out the total area of hills and jungles which the community considered to be its own, and within which it would not brook any trespass.

The tribes apart from those engaged in such inefficient methods of production are not readily distinguishable from the masses of India's vast agricultural population. They have languages and social customs of their own; otherwise, they are about the same as the other people. For instance, the Santāl of Eastern India is hardly distinguishable from his Hindu neighbour except in the sense that he may prefer a particular type of soil or slope of the ground for his fields or settlements. Tribal folk who are employed as labourers in forests, mines or factories are not different in any way from other communities in the same profession.

It should be pointed out that even when following the same profession as their neighbours, the Scheduled Tribes often have an inferior social status; and they are ruthlessly exploited by their employers and by money-lenders. The latter take full advantage of the tribesmen's ignorance or sense of trust and their general habit of honouring a debt. The contact of these people with Hindu farmers, traders and money-lenders has increased of late because of the penetration of roads and railways into secluded areas. Some of the tribesmen have felt attracted by Hinduism; others have retired into more inaccessible forests so that they may live in their own way. The reciprocal economic relationship has any how brought about a certain measure of give-and-take. Many instances may be cited in which tribal ways of life have given place to Hindu ways. The Hindus in their turn have incorporated things of more humble origin into their composite body of religious and artistic traditions.

We may now pass on to some of the elements of tribal culture which are distinctive. It would be better to present a few illustrative examples rather than make generalizations. One may begin with the land management system prevailing among the Muṇḍās of Chota Nāgpur. In the past, when a new settlement

had to be founded, members of a family marked the selected spot by building fires at each of its four corners. All the land within these limits was then occupied by the kin-group; it was distributed among individual members for clearance and tillage, and the full enjoyment of the produce of their labour. But there was no right of transfer or sale. The kin-group redistributed land whenever necessary. This kind of land tenure has been known as the *Khuntkatti* system.

The *Khuntkatti* system

Such a system is suitable when a forest is first cleared. But it cannot encourage intensive farming. The Muṇḍās may have known that Hindus held land individually, worked hard for its improvement and passed it on to their sons as inheritance. Or, they may have arrived at the idea that personal ownership was more helpful in agriculture than the primitive form which vested ownership in a body of kin. In any case, by 1912, not more than 1·4% of the total area of Rānchi District, for instance, was still under the *Khuntkatti* form of tenure.

When a tribe lives by shifting cultivation, land is naturally managed in a different way. The Juāṅg and Savara of Orissa practise shifting cultivation within village boundaries which are roughly defined, but which seem to be recognized and respected by the inhabitants of other villages. If there is trespass, the aggrieved party pelts the culprit with stones. Elders from several villages are called and they settle the dispute. When a dispute is purely local and internal, the tribes depend on organizations which are of more limited dimension.

Among the Juāṅg inhabiting the central plateau of Keonjhar District where dependence is on shifting cultivation, a village is inhabited by men belonging to the same clan. There is village exogamy because clans are exogamous. Disputes are placed before elders of the clan who are the same as village elders. When, however, the tribe changes its way of life and takes to plough cultivation in permanent fields, the community grows in size and several clans settle down to form a many-clanned village. Even then, each clan tries to restrict itself to contiguous huts in the village so that its solidarity may be preserved as far as possible. In such villages, the territorial, non-clan assembly may function when the interests of the village as a whole are involved. In lesser matters, the clans may continue to exercise their former authority.

Tribal communities have retained their own way of managing internal affairs. And their way differs from that of their Hindu neighbours who are divided into castes. The contrast becomes clearer when we examine certain oth er types of organization prevalent in the tribal world of India.

Types of organization

The Nāgā or the Adī, inhabiting the north-eastern corner of India, are warlike people. They live in stockaded villages under the rule of chieftains who lead the community in war. Most of these tribes practise cultivation in terraced fields on the hill-sides, and leadership in peace vests in the group which leads in war. Such instances are not very numerous in the country. Most tribes manage their affairs by means of institutions which are more intimately concerned with the simpler joys and sorrows of everyday life. And, of course, some of these institutions are not present in the more complex society of their neighbours.

Bachelors' dormitory

One such institution is the bachelors' dormitory which is present in one form or another in Assam, the North East Frontier Agency, Nāgāland, and parts of Bihār, Orissa, Andhra Pradesh and Madhya Pradesh. Bachelors, and sometimes maids also, have a dormitory of their own; there they spend the nights and a good part of the day. The institution functions as a club. But often it also functions as a school where the youths are initiated into tribal tradition and the art of community living. In some instances, the youths receive their first lesson in the mysteries of sex as members of their own dormitory.

These clubs have frequently another duty to perform. If a person is unable to look after his fields, or if help is needed in house-building or in connection with some social ceremony, youths take upon themselves the responsibility of giving the required aid. It is also not unlikely that, when there is an onslaught on the village from hostile neighbours, the first responsibility of defence falls upon the members of the dormitory. Among the warlike tribes of North-eastern India, the bachelors' dormitory functions as the militia of the village. Indeed, many youths continue to be members of the club even after marriage, when they have set up a separate home.

Now that inter-tribal warfare is no longer in vogue within the boundaries of India, the bachelors' dormitory restricts itself to certain picturesque forms of activity. The Oraons of Chota Nāgpur have an annual communal celebration in which villagers from all over the country gather with their local flags and engage in a competitive display of dances. Members of each bachelors' dormitory carry their flag as representatives of the village. Occasionally, quarrels break out and the youths do not hesitate either to take life or lay down their own in defence of their honour.

Territorial solidarity in tribal villages is strengthened by institutions of this kind. There are also other means of achieving the same result. The Santāls in Bengal and Bihār have an annual

gathering during spring-time for a communal hunt. All the men living in a certain area assemble and move through the jungle with implements in hand. Such a festive gathering spread over several days creates a deep sense of unity among the men of the tribe. This is further strengthened by bringing up for decision cases in which the tribe happens to be interested at the time. The elders also make this an occasion when changes in established usages are recommended for general acceptance.

Clan solidarity

The lineage or clan, as a form of organization, is no less important. Among the Ho or Muṇḍā, the clan has a more vital role than *gotra* among the Hindus. In life and in death a Ho belongs to the clan of his fathers. When a man dies, his body may be cremated or buried, but some of his bones are collected in a small earthen vessel and interred under a large flag-stone in the clan ossuary. The country-side in Chota Nāgpur has numerous ossuaries of this kind; they are marked by horizontal or vertical slabs cut and transported at a great expense of human labour. It may be that there are no members of the tribe living within miles from an ossuary; but a man hopes that, after his death, his bones will be carried by loving hands to rest with the bones of his forefathers. And that will be an occasion for a great festive gathering.

Bonds with the past are strengthened in another way. Tribes like the Juāṅg, Muṇḍā and Santāl believe that the world is peopled not only by the living but also by the hovering spirits of the dead. Within the area of a store-room in a Muṇḍā or Ho cottage, there is a sacred spot where the departed ancestors are supposed to have their residence. The Juāṅg mark the spot with pieces of stone, grains of rice, and coloured powder. The spirits are supposed to retain their personal likes and dislikes even after death. So, a few leaves of tobacco may be laid on the door-sill in memory of an ancestor who had a special fancy for it in his lifetime.

This attention bestowed on the departed serves to bridge the gulf between the living and the dead. A person does not feel lonely or lost in a friendless world; surrounding him on all sides are souls tied to him by bonds of kinship and therefore interested in his welfare. However, an ancestral spirit may become unfriendly if proper attention is not paid to him.

Institutions which serve to maintain a feeling of continuity between the present and the past are not restricted to India's tribal world. Hindus, too, share the feeling. That applies also to the Chinese and Japanese. There are variations in the specific institutions by means of which this continuity is achieved.

Certain other institutions are intended to bring together the tribal communities and their Hindu neighbours. The *Dussehra* festival of Bastar (Madhya Pradesh) is an example. There, people of many tribes and castes assemble for worship. Colourful ritual helps to strengthen the feeling of oneness between neighbouring communities. This leads us to the question of the place of ritual and of art in tribal life. India's artistic traditions are well known. The art of tribal India cannot be said to be of a high order, but then it would be unfair to compare tribal or folk art with classical art. The point of distinction is that classical forms are usually the concern of specialists, while the common man or woman contributes to folk art in a free way.

Ritual and art

Tribal art enters into many different aspects of life. The Juāṅg, Savara and Khond carve the door with traditional designs, or in imitation of things which they consider beautiful. Their combs are also done into lovely shapes. Santāl women decorate their house-walls in pretty colour and paint figures of animals, birds and flowers. Basketry and textiles offer opportunities of artistic creation. The way a tribesman wears a garment or head-dress or a woman wears flowers in her hair is in itself an expression of art. Indeed, the life of tribal communities, though full of stark poverty, is copiously enriched in this way.

When a tribe lives in comparative freedom and in close relationship with nature, its sense of joy finds outlet in such ways as music and dancing. The music of tribal India, as it is accompanied by dances in which both men and women, young and old, participate, carries true emotional appeal. On the whole, life is more free and joyous among the tribes than among members of the same economic class in Hindu society.

The tribal folk have their sorrows, apart from those due to productive inefficiency and economic exploitation. They are obsessed by certain fears, the product of a philosophy which impinges on the simple problems of existence. There is the belief, for instance, that everything in life is subject to the control of supernatural forces. If a child falls ill, the father may take recourse to herbal remedies which an experienced neighbour may suggest. The Santls have accumulated a good number of remedies by empirical methods, and some of them have an undoubted therapeutic value. But the main reliance is on the medicine-man. He finds out by "magic" the unseen cause of a disease and prescribes a sacrifice or offering to a particular god or dissatisfied spirit—the illness is then likely to be called back.

The super-natural

This trust in the supernatural and reliance on the dumb signs of nature for counsel is a strong characteristic of most tribal cultures in India. When the Juāṅg of Orissa have to select a new site for a settlement, the village priest digs a hole, goes through a form of worship, and leaves a chicken in the hole overnight, under a basket. If the bird is found dead the following morning, the Juāṅg will avoid the site for the gods do not want him to live there. When the crops fail, it is due not to natural causes but to someone who has cast an evil eye. The causes of many ills are ascertained either by divination or through men who go into a trance and are in communion with an unseen world.

The dependence on the supernatural, and an implied admission of man's helplessness and the futility of trusting to reason marks the behaviour of most tribal people when they are confronted by a crisis. The magic of witchcraft may even lead to crime. When, through supernatural manifestations, guilt is fixed on a man or woman, murder may follow. Such crimes have now become rare, but even their occasional occurrence is suggestive.

What is happening to tribal people and their life in India today? It may be said that the changes to which these communities are subject are mainly of three kinds. Some are due to movements from within. Although the stresses to which a tribe is subject may be caused by forces from outside, the direction of change is largely determined by internal leadership. Some changes are due to external, voluntary agencies working for the uplift of the tribal people. A series of changes may be brought about through laws or protective policies initiated by the Government.

Social changes

Excellent accounts of social change effected through religious movements are available in such works as *The Mundas and Their Country* and *Oraon Religion and Customs* by Sarat Chandra Roy. Roy has described in detail the rise of the Tana Bhagat, Kabīrpanthi Kurukh-Dharam and other sects, as well as the operation of Christian influences on tribal life in Chota Nāgpur. In some of these instances, the transition to Hinduism took place in a simple straight manner. In others, men and women went into a trance, or had dreams or visions in course of which they were ordered to forsake meat and wine and lead an ascetic life. On an analysis of the elements introduced by the Birsa Movement in Rānchi, the Tana Bhagat Movement of Lohārdagā or the similar Rājmohinī Devi Movement of Madhya Pradesh, it becomes evident that the elements of culture which are supernaturally recommended are mostly derived from contemporary reform movements within Hinduism itself, or, in a few rare instances, from Christian contacts.

The general trend in autogenic or spontaneous movements is towards Hinduism, and the line of reform brings the tribes closer to one dominant idea prevalent in Hindu tradition, namely, that the sorrows of life can be overcome by purity and asceticism. This leads the tribes away from the openly joyous, predominantly optimistic attitude with which they generally face some of the problems of life.

One social consequence of this kind of Hinduization is that it often leads to divisions which begin to limit marriage to their own group. In a few instances, where marriage has not yet been debarred, a daughter who has been given in marriage to an "unreformed" family is not allowed to cook or serve rice to her parents when on a visit to her old home. Tribal society thus absorbs something of caste and the beliefs of the tribe are re-oriented in terms of Hinduism.

The influence of Christian missions on tribal communities has been of a different kind. Conversion to Christianity gives an individual a status and dignity which he does not gain under Hinduism. Christian churches have also encouraged medical relief, and technical and other forms of education.

Before India's independence, many educated tribal converts to Christianity tried to align themselves with the British ruling class. The estrangement between these Christian converts and their neighbours became deepened as the struggle for freedom gained in intensity. The situation has changed since independence; all the more, since the Christian Churches have now become oriented towards Indian culture.

It has been the policy of the Government of India to promote education and throw open new avenues of employment to all the Scheduled Tribes. Those who live by hunting, collecting or shifting cultivation are encouraged to settle down as permanent cultivators. Schools have been established for technical and literary education. Hostels have been opened where tribal and non-tribal boys live together. Such schemes have been too recent for a full assessment of their results.

Re-orientation

One notable effect of the educational progress is an increasing desire among certain sections of the tribal people to remain distinct and separate from their Hindu neighbours. Some leaders of the Santāls, for instance, have been experimenting with a newly-invented script designed for languages like Santālī, Muṇḍārī, Ho and others, while many books in these languages are printed in Bengali, Devanāgarī or Roman script. The swing was formerly towards a slow process of Hinduization; the current tendency seems to be one towards a kind of "nationalistic" revival. And it is interesting

that while a constant evolution and reinstatement of tribal culture takes place, certain picturesque customs like the dance of men and women together are given up because the Hindus look askance at them. There seems to be an ambivalent attitude towards the values current in Hindu society; some are inwardly accepted, even while there is an idealization of the tribe's ancient culture.

4. *Population*

The United Nations Demographic Yearbook 1960, estimated a total world population of 2,907 millions for the year 1959. On the assumption of a round figure of 3,000 millions for 1961 and an inhabited land area of 135·16 million square kilometres for the world, India accounts for about 2·4 per cent of the world's land area and 14·6 per cent of its population. As a single country, India holds the second place in the world, the population of the People's Republic of China in 1959 having been estimated at 605-697 millions. But if one were thinking of the Indian subcontinent comprising India and Pākistān, its population would not be very far behind that of China, while in respect of persons per unit of area, this subcontinent would be quite as densely populated as any other comparable area in the world.

What is more significant, however, is the recent rapid rate of growth in this subcontinent. Pākistān has registered a rate of increase of about 2·36 per cent per annum during 1951—61, India closely following with 2·15. With a total population of 533 millions in 1961 (439 for India and 94 for Pākistān), this subcontinent may, therefore, along with the People's Republic of China, be regarded as holding the key to the world's demographic growth. In short, the rate of growth of population in these two areas will be a dominant factor in the world's population growth.

Growth of population

The population of India at the Census of 1961 was 439·234 millions. The census of the new Union Territory of Dādra and Nagar Haveli, taken in February, 1962 has been included, while a Portuguese census, conducted on 15 December 1960, estimated the population of Goa, Damān and Diu at 626,667 (589,997 for Goa, 22,390 for Damān and 14,280 for Diu) which, too, has been included in the above total.

Table II (p. 325) gives the growth of India's population since 1901.

TABLE II

Population of India at each census, 1901-61, showing decennial per cent variations

Year	Population	Decennial per cent variation
1901	238,396,327	..
1911	252,093,390	+5·75
1921	251,321,213	— 0·31
1931	278,977,238	+11·00
1941	318,660,580	+14·22
1951	361,088,090	+13·31
1961	439,234,771	+21·51

NOTE :—In working out decennial percentage variations for 1941-51 and 1951-61 for India, the populations of the following areas have not been taken into consideration :—

(i) The 1951 population of the Tuensang District of Nāga hills and Tuensang Area (Nāgāland)i.e.,7,025 has not been taken into account for 1941-51 as this area was censused for the first time in 1951.

(ii) The 1961 populations of the North East Frontier Agency (336,558) and Tuensang District (134,275) of Nāga hills and Tuensang Area (Nāgāland), have not been taken into account for 1951-61 as there are no comparable figures for 1951.

The magnitude of the increase in the last decade is readily appreciated when one reflects that, with a diminution of over 950,000 square kilometres of territory as a result of the Partition, India more than made up for the population of Pākistān (75·8 millions in 1951, three years and a half after August, 1947) which she had lost on the eve of her independence. One also notes that what is impressive is not so much the rate of increase, which up till now has never been inordinately high, and for past decades even quite low, but the large absolute increments. The Census Commissioner for 1951 aptly called 1921 the great divide, while the last decade may be viewed as a great leap forward. For, the actual count in 1961 surpassed even the most generous of expectations, having exceeded by more than 8 millions the highest estimate ever made before the census. These estimates possibly failed to project the cumulative effects of the elimination of recurrent famines, epidemics and pandemic malaria—these had carved up the country as it were between themselves in two distinct regions. A malaria map of India, reproduced in the All-India Census Report for 1941, must come as a shock to those to whom the era of famines and malaria is already a fading memory, for it describes the whole of North and Central India together with the thick spine of the Deccan plateau down to the northern tip of Tiruchchirāppalli as subject to recurrent malaria, while whatever was left east of this tract, from the easternmost point to the extreme

west and from the northernmost point to the extreme south, was in the grip of an endemic scourge. What was more, the tracts of recurrent malaria were almost contiguous to those of recurrent famines and epidemics and experienced recurrent crises in population growth between 1881 and 1931. It is no accident that it is roughly this tract, formerly ravaged by both epidemic and scarcity, with recurrent bursts of famine, that has shown the highest reaches of increase in 1951-61 (21 to 30 per cent) for already in 1941-61 it had shown a growth rate approaching 2 per cent per year. A much lower rate of increase (up to 20 per cent) is noticeable in the central and eastern tracts, the northern irrigation and the southern coastal belts, formerly in the endemic malaria and cholera zones of varying intensity and therefore subject to spates of recurrent crises, relative stagnation or variable increase between 1881 and 1931. It is possible that this latter area will attain still higher rates of growth before showing a decline.

Whereas in the sixty years 1901-61, India's population has increased by more than 84 per cent, the first twenty years (1901-21) saw a net growth of only 5·42 per cent, the next twenty (1921-41) of 26·79 per cent on 1921, and the next twenty (1941-61) of 37·84 per cent on 1941, while the decade 1951-61 alone has shown an increase of 21·51 per cent on 1951. As against the growth rate of 5·42 per cent in 1901-21, the extent of increase in 1921-51 and in 1921-61 was as much as 43·68 and 74·77 per cent respectively of the 1921 population. At this rate it seems likely that India will double her population of 1901 well before the end of the decade. Thus, while India's population was almost stationary in 1901-21, increases in subsequent decades were beyond anything previously experienced, while that for 1951-61 can well be described as phenomenal.

Appendix I (p. 349) gives the ranking of the States and Union Territories in order of population and area. Already in 1951 the Registrar General indicated that the population of North-west India in the thirty-year period of 1921-51 was increasing at the fastest rate, closely followed by West and South India, while the population of North (Uttar Pradesh), East and Central India was growing by only two-thirds or less of the rates of the former regions. This trend continued in 1961 in North-west, North (Uttar Pradesh) and West India, and even South India with the exception of Madras and, perhaps, Andhra Pradesh. Central India, freed from malaria and scarcity, has shown remarkable increase, caused, no doubt, in considerable measure by immigration from East Pākistān.

Even as there are areas of high density where a greater proportion of the population is concentrated in a comparatively small proportion of area, there are well marked areas of high rates of increase that are generally higher than the average for India. For example, the region of highest density, excepting for Kerala, is still the Indus-Yamuna-Ganga Doābs and the West Bengal basin. Stemming from the narrow strip of Gurdāspur, Amritsar, Jullundur and Ludhiāna in the north-west, the broad belt of Uttar Pradesh merges with North Bihār and finally with West Bengal, the density in the entire region being seldom below 200 per square kilometre and often above 400 in spacious bands astride the river. The central and Deccan plateaus, delineated by Mohindergarh (Punjab) in the north to the Nīlgiris (Madras) in the south, Santāl Parganas in the east and the Arabian Sea in the west, are well under a density of 200 in the entire territory, except for the Districts of Ahmadābād, Kaira, Baroda and Surat in Gujarāt, Greater Bombay and Kolhāpur in Mahārāshtra, Hyderābād, Guntūr, Krishna, West Godāvari and Srīkākulam in Andhra Pradesh and Bangalore in Mysore. Within this territory again, there are three large continuous areas with still lower density (all below 80 per square kilometre), that may be described as the western desert and lowlands, the Madhya Pradesh teak and scrub forests and south-eastern hill and upland forests. The first consists of the desert Districts of Rājasthān (bounded by Gangānagar in north, Sirohi in the south, Nāgaur in the east and Jaisalmer in the west) and the lowland Districts of Kutch and Surendranagar of Gujarāt. The second and central area starts with Tonk of Rājasthān in the north-west and embracing Chitorgarh, Būndi and Kota of Rājasthān stretches across the northern, central and eastern Districts of Madhya Pradesh. The third area straddles four States and covers Ādilābād (Andhra Pradesh), Chānda (Mahārāshtra), Bastar (Madhya Pradesh) and Koraput, Kālāhandi and Baudh-Khondmāls (Orissa). Appendix II (p. 350) gives for each State the proportion of population related to proportion of area in different density ranges. It also shows how although the proportions for India as a whole are well distributed, there are frequent extremes in peaks and troughs.

Population density

Appendix III (p. 352) relates the States and the number of Districts in each which registered more than 21 per cent increase during 1951-61, with their respective densities in 1961, and illustrates how the highest increases have generally occurred in areas of low density.

The State of Jammu and Kashmīr has been omitted from this statement because no census was taken in 1951. It will appear that

176 (or 58 per cent) Districts out of a total of 303 in fourteen States have registered an increase of above 21 per cent in the decade. Out of these 176 as many as 130 have densities below 200, of which 43 have less than 80 per square kilometre, 47 between 80 and 120 and 40 between 120 and 200. In as many as 65 Districts with densities below 200, the population has increased by 21 to 25 per cent during the decade, while 34 Districts have increased by 26 to 30 per cent, and 31 more by over 30 per cent. This means that except for 46 Districts which have either had high densities from before and a few more which have seen fresh colonization in rural areas (e.g., Bastar in Madhya Pradesh) or a sudden onrush of migrants into new industrial areas (e.g., Bhilai in Durg) during the decade, spectacular increases have occurred mostly in sparsely populated rural areas and not in such high density areas as the Indus-Yamuna-Ganga valley, the coastal areas of Andhra Pradesh or the State of Madras. Then again, out of the 46 Districts of high density, increases beyond the average for India are in some due either to immigration (at least 2 in Assam and 9 in West Bengal) or accelerated urban increase (Indore in Madhya Pradesh, Kolhāpur in Mahārāshtra, Ludhiāna, Ambāla, Rohtak and Gurgaon in Punjab, Āgra, Etāwah and Kānpur in Uttar Pradesh, and Burdwān, Hooghly, Howrah and the 24-Parganas in West Bengal All this confirms the view that rural areas previously in the thrall of scarcity or epidemics are now having high spurts of population increase.

The statement further suggests that, although areas of high increase are fairly distributed all over the country, yet there are appreciable variations in the rates of growth among zones and States and even among well-defined areas within a State. The picture is more a mosaic than of a uniform tone. Thus one would have expected Kerala with her high literacy and pressure of population to have grown at a lower rate, as apparently has happened in Madras. The low rate of the latter further suggests appreciable migration to various parts of India, Tamil labour being in the habit of migrating by whole families even for seasonal construction work. Increases during the decade in 11 out of 15 major States, and more spectacularly in the Union Territories, may pardonably conjure up a picture of a basin rapidly filling up, not only in the depressions ike Gujarat, Madhya Pradesh, Orissa or Rajasthan, but even in the rim, like Assam, West Bengal, Kerala, Mahārāshtra and Punjab. The increase in Assam beyond the average for India may be reasonably explained by immigration of labour into plantations, mines, oil areas, railway projects and road projects as well as

immigration of both communities from East Pākistān. The increase in West Bengal may similarly be explained by the acknowledged influx of displaced persons from East Pākistān, Tibet, Nepāl and other places, by the exceptional increase of population in centres of railway and communicational expansion, in the expanding industrial centres around Asansol and Calcutta, in the newly established industrial and multipurpose project centres like Asansol, Durgāpur, D.V.C. and Mayūrākshi basins, all of which have attracted immigrants from outside, and the steady and appreciable perennial trickle of immigrants into the Calcutta Industrial Region. A preliminary examination of the 1961 Census figures of East Pākistān suggests that about 3 million persons may have left that country during 1951-61, mostly for West Bengal, Assam and Tripura, which accounts for part of the extraordinary increases in the latter areas.

The rising expectation of life

The answer to the high population increase over the last four decades is not far to seek. In 1881 the Census Actuary computed a birth rate of 50·5 per thousand for Bombay, 47·9 for Bengal and 50·80 for the Central Provinces and effective death rates of 42·5, 39·9 and 42·8 for the general population. He estimated expectation of life at birth at 23·67 for males and 25·58 for females (24·63 for general). In 1891 the rates did not show any marked change, the overall figures for India being a birth rate of 48·8 and a death rate of 39·6, expectation of life at birth for males being 24·59 and for females 25·54. In 1911 the birth rate for the Indian British Provinces taken together was still estimated at 51·3 and the death rate at 43·1, while the expectation of life at birth had decreased to 22·59 for males and 23·31 for females from 23·63 and 23·96 respectively in 1901. In 1921, as a result of minor epidemics culminating in the great influenza epidemic of 1918, the birth and death rates stood very close to each other at 49·2 and 48·6. These rates diminished to 46·4, 45·2 and 39·9 for births and 36·3, 31·2 and 27·4 for deaths in 1931, 1941 and 1951 respectively. The expectation of life at birth in 1931 was estimated at 26·91 for males and 26·56 for females; for 1951 the corresponding figures were 32·45 and 31·66. The calibration of Vital Statistics and age-sex information collected at the 1961 Census shows that the birth rate during 1951-61 was still around 41 per thousand of population while the death rate was around 22 or still lower, for there is little doubt that the rate of natural increase has been steadily accelerating from year to year. Although the current infant mortality rate is still quite high, the expectation of life at birth in 1961 would be about 42. In other words over the

last decade the expectation of life must have increased by just under a year every year.

All this means that although our agriculture is still greatly dependent on rainfall, a vastly improved network of intelligence and communication together with wise anticipation and laying by of reserves and buffer stocks has banished the scourge of famine which took its last heavy toll even as late as 1943. The Government has also put a stop to internecine strife and banditry, which, along with the disappearance of famine and scarcity, has reduced nomadism or homeless wandering and encouraged settlement and growth in sparse areas. The control of epidemic diseases has made rapid strides since 1918. While plague is now practically a thing of the past, cholera and smallpox, though quickly contained wherever detected, render our hold on the death rate still rather tenuous. Malaria, which up to 1948 constituted the major public health problem in India from the point of view of both morbidity and mortality, began to give way around 1950 and crumple up in 1954. A massive BCG campaign has attacked tuberculosis, but the lack of protected potable water and deficiency of protective foods render the population peculiarly vulnerable to cold and exposure and undermining attacks of diarrhoea, dysentery and typhoid. There is a large group of intermediate illnesses called dietary diseases, one varient of which, nutritional diarrhoea, frequently takes heavy toll of adult lives, while another, which may be called weanling diarrhoea, takes heavy toll of infants from 8 or 9 months to about 2 years of age, and pushes up the mortality rate at age 1 to a startlingly high figure. It seems, therefore, that the country has won only the spectacular half of the battle, viz., reclaiming the population from the jaws of death. The other, slow, dogged, undramatic half still remains: the battle of nutritional deficiency and vulnerability to disease. In short, although our mortality is low by former standards, our morbidity is nevertheless distressingly high.

The decreasing proportion of females

How precarious the improvement in our survival still is can be judged from our steadily decreasing sex ratio (females per 1,000 males) from 1901 to 1961. Barring Kerala where the ratio slowly but steadily improved until 1951, and Punjab and Rājasthān where a fluctuating ratio may have been due to emigration of males to other parts of India, every other major State has registered a slow decline. In former decades famines, epidemics and even internecine strife, and outlawry tended to be selective of males of specific age groups, although it is difficult to say whether this selectiveness was more in the reporting than real. As a result, selective survival at certain ages

would disturb the age structure of the population. But from now on, unless there is a change in the fertility pattern, a mere reduction in mortality will still keep the age structure and sex ratio at the various ages on an even keel. The deteriorating sex ratio reflect on our social health, for it indicates that the risk to female lives at most ages has not improved upon that to male lives; on the contrary it seems to emphasize that demographically we have not yet entered upon the modern industrial age with its complementary characteristics of increased risks to male and reduced risks to female lives. Rather, we seems to be on the reverse as the Table at Appendix IV (p. 353) will bear out. Even allowing for the argument that the differences between the male and female rates are so slight that they may be attributed wholly to defective age returns or computational errors, the fact remains that at each successive census the enumeration of females and their ages have if anything, improved rather than worsened. Whatever the reason the prospects of survival of females seem to have been ever so slightly better before 1921 than after. While the risk of mal deaths at most ages seems to have steadily decreased, especially after 1921, there has been no corresponding improvement in female deaths. In the first place, it is often contended, without much evidence of course, that masculinity at birth obtains to a greater extent in India than elsewhere. Secondly, girls, in the first few years of their life, still seem to suffer from greater neglect than boys, as a result of which nature's balancing action of taking away more boys than girls in the first years of life does not properly come into play, and the survival of girls never seems to draw even with that of boys. Thirdly, a heavy toll of female lives is taken in the earlier period of the reproductive age, that is, between the ages of 15 and 34. The toll is so heavy that the difference between the male and female population grows remarkably rapid and wide and this gap is never made up in middle or old age. What is more, proportionately greater deaths occur among females even between the ages 35 and 54 than is commonly believed. All these factors help to widen the male lead at birth with age, which our still modest expectation of life does not give much of a chan ceto narrow. The following extracts from the Actuarial Reports of 1881 and 1911 will therefore come as a shock to a person who would like to believe that it has been always like this before.

A comparison of the results given for the two sexes will show that emale life in India, as in England, is, on the whole, better than male life The mortality in the first few years is considerably less, during middle of life, it is somewhat more and again, after about age 40 it falls below the male mortality. The average duration of female life is considerably

greater than that of males at birth but falls below from age 4 to page 21 after which female life is better than male to the close of the table.

(*Actuarial Report for* 1881, *para*, 232)

The expectations for female lives in all India are only slightly higher than for male lives, at all ages, the excess being 0·72 years at birth, diminishing to 0·11 at age 60; whilst in England, the superior expectation of female lives is 3·98 years at birth and 1·43 at age 60.

(*Actuarial Report for 1911, para* 246)

Another interesting feature of our sex ratio is its uneven distribution throughout the country, so much so that there are distinct tracts of particular ranges cutting across political and administrative boundaries and forming their own regions. Thus, for example, there are recognizable geographical bands where there are more than 1,000 females per 1,000 males. This is reflected also in the sex ratio of urban areas in the North and the South. Variations in sex ratio are not entirely explained by male selective migration. While very few towns (not certainly cities) in the North have their sex ratio anywhere near par, there are a few towns or even cities in the South, especially in the States of Andhra Pradesh, Mysore, Kerala and Madras where the sex ratio even drops much below 900 females per 1,000 males. This is a matter of great sociological interest to urban planning in India.

Age structure

Let us have a brief look at the age structure of the population. India's age composition lends support to the widely held view that the age ratios of a country with a fairly constant birth rate remain fairly stable regardless of the fluctuations in the death rate. Ratios of population of selected age groups to total population over the last sixty years are given in Appendix V (p. 354). The twin phenomenon of rising expectation of life and a stable age structure has certain obvious implications. A substantial gain in years of working life which a longer span of life offers does not necessarily imply a commensurate economic benefit. Much depends on whether such a decline in mortality is accompanied by a similar decline in fertility, since it is the latter, rather than the former, that primarily determines a population's age structure and hence the relationship between groups, which are likely to be producers and those which are likely to be dependents. One can draw an illustration from the Philippines. Calculations for the Philippines for 1954 and 1977 suggest "that with no decline in fertility but any increase in life expectancy of, say, 7·5 years, the expectancy in working life will go up by 5 years. At the same time male dependency will rise from about 103 to 107, thus putting more burden on the person who is already working to sustain a sizable family". The rise in the proportions at age 0-14 and ages above 59 of our

population in 1961 suggests similar problems confronting India, not to speak of the compulsion of increasing outlays on child health and maternity services and on primary school education at the expense of higher or technical and vocational education and the diversion of scarce resources of trained manpower from productive activity to teaching jobs and numerous other infructuous branches of national expenditure.

This brief account of India's population would be incomplete without mention of one of its most important social and cultural characteristics: the mother tongue. The number of mother tongues returned in the Indian census runs to several hundreds. The Constitution lists fourteen languages in the Eighth Schedule. Appendix VI(pp. 355-56) gives, on the basis of the 1961 Census, Statewise population figures in respect of these languages, and Appendix VII (p. 357) the proportion of persons speaking them within each State.

Mother tongue

While the general rate of increase during 1951-61 has been 21·51 per cent, that of the rural population has been less, and of the urban population more, than this figure. Following the inauguration of the Five Year Plans and the reorganisation of States in the last decade, it was considered desirable, on the eve of the 1961 Census, to apply a few uniform tests throughout the country for defining places which could be considered as towns. It was necessary, first, to fix the number of places which could be regarded as possessing urban characteristics as distinct from swollen villages, and, secondly, to start a base line to determine India's growth of urban population in the future, particularly in the context of our Five Year Plans. The application of these tests disqualified 803 places with a total polpulation of 4·386 millions and reckoned as towns in 1951 from being regarded as towns in 1961, as they did not posses predominantly non-agricultural, urban characteristics. On the other hand, 497 places with a total population of 4·807 millions which were not towns in 1951were treated as towns in 1961, as they exhibited the qualifying characteristics. Although the urban population in the Census of 1951 was estimated at 62·444 millions, the true figure according to the 1961 definition would be 62.444 less 4·386 or 58·058 millions. The urban population for 1961 is 78·937 inclusive of 4·807 millions added for the new towns in 1961. Thus, the comparable decennial increase in urban population is really 78·937 less 58·058 or 20·89 millions, the reason being that the towns newly added in 1961 did not obviously have urban or non-agricultural characteristics in 1951 and may be considered as mainly the product of urbanizing

Rural and urban growth rates

forces set in motion in the last ten years, while those which have been eliminated in 1961 have justified their exclusion by having failed to develop non-agricultural and urban characteristics. So the real increase in the last ten years has been 35·96 per cent or about twice that of the rural population (18·90).

This figure of 35·96 per cent, high as it is, falls in between the 1931-41 and 1941-51 rates of 31·97 and 41·43 per cent respectively, and has, therefore, belied the widely held belief that the rate of urban increase in the last decade would exceed all previous records. Again, it is the absolute increase in the rural population with its very large base which has held the rural-urban ratio of population almost constant during the last ten years.

Cities and towns

Accordingly, at the 1951 Census, while the number of cities and towns was reckoned at 3,060, that in 1961 was reduced to 2,700. In spite of the decrease in the number of towns, the total urban population of 1951, estimated at 62,443,934 for the 3,060 towns, increased to 78,936,603 in 2,700 towns. There was thus an increase of 16.493 millions in the urban population despite the elimination of more than 300 places formerly regarded as towns. The Indian census grades urban areas into six classes according to population. Table III (p. 335) gives the distribution of the urban population among the six classes and compares the number of cities and towns in each class with that of 1951. It will be remembered that the diff erences are due mainly to four causes: movement of a town of a particular class to a different class; elevation of a formerly rural area to a township in 1961; elimination in 1961 of places regarded as towns in 1951; and amalgamation of a number of satellite towns with big towns.

Space will not permit an elaborate discussion of the phenomenon of urban growth. But one cannot help observing that even if none of the 1961 Census towns were eliminated, the rate of urban growth during 1951-61 would still have belied the widely held expectations of unprecedented increase. In fact, even if the 1951 Census towns had all been retained, the resultant population would just have fitted the historic trend of urban rates between 1931 and 1951, whereas what was expected was a sudden sharp rise during 1951-61. Brief mention has been made later in this section of the outlay of the First and Second Five Year Plans in the various sectors of the economy, which will help partly to explain the pattern of urban growth. It is significant that about two-thirds of the decennial increase in urban population have occurred in cities of more than 100,000. Eighteen per cent of the urban population live in cities of over 1 million, 27 per cent in cities of between 100,000

TABLE III

Number and population of towns in 1951 *and* 1961

Class	1961 Census		1951 Census		Increase(+) Decrease (—) in number of towns	Increase(+) Decrease (—) in population of class
	Number	Total population	Number	Total population		
Class I (Over 100,000)	107	35,124,940	76	23,729,785	+31	+11,394,182
Class II (50,000-99,999)	139	9,529,812	111	7,624,667	+28	+1,905,145
Class III (20,000-49,999)	518	15,749,144	374	11,114,671	+144	+4,634,473
Class IV (10,000—19,999)	820	11,300,075	675	9,379,101	+145	+1,920,974
Class V (5,000-9,999)	848	6,343,670	1,195	8,510,277	—347	—2,166,607
Class VI (Under 5,000)	268	889,962	629	2,085,460	—361	—1,195,498
TOTAL	2,700	78,936,603	3,060	62,443,934	—360	+16,492,669

NOTE:—In the case of Jammu and Kashmir towns which have continued as towns during 1941 and 1961, have been treated as towns in 1951. 7 towns of 1941 which do not appear as towns in 1961 have been treated as deleted in 1951. The 1951 population is the arithmetic mean of the population of 1941 and 1961 of the continuing towns.

and 1 million, 12 per cent in towns of 50,000 to 100,000, 20 per cent in towns of 20,000 to 49,999, 14 per cent in towns of 10,000 to 19,999, and 9 per cent in towns of less than 10,000. This, implies that these large centres are still expanding in industrial and commercial activity, claiming at the same time a comparatively large share in construction activities, public amenities and transport services. But the remarkable growth of Class I cities also indicates their capacity to absorb fresh investments, thus blocking their more equitable dispersal among the smaller towns. Of 107 places regarded as Class I, only 7 have populations of more than one million each and account for a total of 14,232,513 persons.

These seven cities are: Greater Bombay, Calcutta, Delhi, Madras, Hyderābād, Ahmadābād, and Bangalore. During the last decade, these seven places alone have had an increment of 3,388,989 persons on their 1951 total, which means that they alone have claimed a substantial portion of the decennial increase in Class I, indicating there by a further concentration of the country's investments. But the looming dominance of primate cities, regarded by some demographers as a sign of backwardness, seems to have been broken, particularly in view of the increments in the number and population of Class III and Class II towns. It may be noted in passing that Class III (20,000-49,999) has in 1961 accounted for an increase in 144 places with a corresponding share of more than 28 per cent of the net urban increase during the decade.

The reasons for this not more than the usual rate of urban increase are many. In the first place, an analysis of the plan outlays would not encourage larger expectations. Secondly, incomes of local bodies governing towns and cities have not generally measured up to the investment that would be required for providing amenities to attract large populations from the country-side. Thirdly, except for a few notable exceptions where housing activity has been more than rewarded by increases in population, the investment in construction and housing in cities and towns has not been of a high order. This is indirectly corroborated by the fall in urban sex ratio throughout India, except in Class I cities (100,000+) as a whole, and more notably in Class I cities in Mahārāshtra, Punjab, Uttar Pradesh, West Bengal and Delhi. The ratio has fallen not only in the North, but also in the Peninsula, traditionally a high sex ratio stronghold. There would be other contributory factors, such as the natural growth of urban population having a first claim on new jobs which thus reduces the "pull" of towns, the dissemination of Agricultural Extension Service, a general improvement in crop production and irrigation, extension of electricity to rural areas, success of the Community Development and National Extension Service programmes, the investments in small scale industries, khadi and village industries, handicrafts, handloom, sericulture, coir and special agricultural commodities, and the general improvement in plantations, fisheries, orchards, mines and quarries, transport in rural areas, and rural trade and commerce. It would be remembered that it was the Second Plan which aimed at stimulating fresh industrial activity, while the First Plan mainly directed its attention to bringing existing capacity to full working order. At the same time, much of the investment in the First Plan was directed not towards urban areas but towards the country-side.

Villages

There were 567,351 inhabited villages at the Census of 1961. These were mostly survey villages as defined in revenue records and not rural communities or hamlets, the number of which would be very much more. The total rural population was estimated at 360.298 millions, the average sex ratio in rural areas being 963 females per 1,000 males, against the urban ratio of 845. Table IV below gives the proportion of the rural population according to the size of villages, and also the sex ratio, for the whole of India.

TABLE IV

Distribution of rural population by size of villages, 1961

Size class of villages	Proportion of villages	Proportion of rural population	Females for 1,000 males
Villages with population :			
1. Less than 200	3,145	495	959
2. 200—499	3,059	1,600	962
3. 500—999	2,101	2,329	961
4. 1,000—1,999	1,153	2,486	962
5. 2,000—4,999	468	2,129	962
6. 5,000—9,999	60	620	973
7. Above 10,000	14	341	993
Total	**10,000**	**10,000**	

It is curious that only about 5 per cent of the rural population live in 31 per cent of all villages, while a little more than 64 per cent live in a little over 63 per cent of all villages. The 2,000-4,999 size class seems to reciprocate in reverse the less than 200 range, with 21 per cent of population in less than 5 per cent of villages. It is also striking how the sex ratio seems to increase with the size class of villages. There were as many as 776 villages over 10,000 each in 1961 with a population of about 12.29 millions as compared to 219 only in 1951 with a population of 3.19 millions. Some of the increase in this range has been due to declassification in 1961 of places with agricultural characteristics but reckoned as towns in 1951.

Until the details of industrial and occupational tabulations of 1961 are available, discussion on the characteristics of this growing population at work is liable to be broad. The abstract at Table V below compares the indices over 1901-61 of (a) growth of total population, (b) population of working age 15-69 and (c) population recorded as at work in each census, the year 1901 having been taken as base with a value of 100 for persons, males and females.

The working force

TABLE V

Indices of general growth, working age and population at work, 1911-61

(*Base* 1901+100)

Year	Sex	Total population	Population of working age 15—59	Total workers
1911	P	105·62	107·75	108·94
	M	106·06	108·61	107·44
	F	105·17	106·89	111·94
1921	P	105·14	106·22	105·82
	M	106·06	107·69	105·04
	F	104·20	104·73	107·37
1931	P	116·57	118·84	108·30
	M	117·59	120·90	112·13
	F	115·52	116·75	100·69
1951	P	150·70	144·37	126·50
	M	152·71	147·74	135·16
	F	148·62	140·91	109·34
1961	P	183·40	169·0	169·14
	M	186·36	173·3	174·22
	F	180·37	164.7	159·08

It will be seen that while population has gained nearly 83 points in sixty years, the population of working age has gained only 69 and population at work 69 points during the same period. In other words, the proportion of population of working age and

the proportion of population at work, have been trailing behind general population growth. It also appears that 1961 marks a sharp departure from the historic trend. It is possible that the upswing in the 1961 participation rates, especially among females, may be due partly to the definition of work adopted for 1961 which brings the 1961 figures remarkably close to those of 1901-21. the definitions for which years were similar to that of 1961, while for 1931 and 1951 concepts of self-sufficiency in terms of earnings were introduced. It may be also due partly to a real increase which holds the mirror up to the investments of the two Plans. The great economic crisis of 1929-31 would seem to have depressed the 1931 figures, while the great influenza epidemic of 1918 would certainly have removed by death an appreciable proportion of the working population. The year 1901 would seem to have suffered, too, from the aftermaths of regional famines and a general plague epidemic, so that 1911 and 1961 seem to be the two years in the series when "normal" economic conditions were not unduly disturbed. It is well to remember these relevant landmarks, especially when one is looking for graduated trends, for even those economies that are believed to have made uninterrupted progress have betrayed unsuspected irregular peaks and troughs with level stretches. What is striking, however, is the slow change that the figures reflect and the fact of a real increase in 1961 among both sexes. A picture of this change may be obtained from the statement of indices contained in Apendix VIII (pp. 358-59).

It has been observed before that the broad sectorwise outlays in the First and Second Plans would hardly warrant more marked departures. The actuals and proportions of outlays in the First and Second Plans are given in AppendixIX (p. 360). If figures are compared with the indices of increase from 1951 in each industrial category of workers and among non-workers, with 1951 taken as base or 100 (*vide* Appendix VIII p. 358) it will be noticed that the proportion of rise in values of participation during the decade seems to correspond generally to the proportion of investment in the different sectors.

The abstract at Table VI (p. 340) looks at the historic series further by grouping the industrial categories among the primary, secondary and tertiary sectors of industry. Except for 1961, mining and quarrying have been placed in the secondary sector while, for a number of plausible reasons, construction, too, has been regarded as secondary. The primary sector is, therefore, composed of industrial categories, I, II and III (excluding mining and quarrying), the secondary sector of categories IV, V, VI and mining and quarrying and the tertiary sector of VII, VIII and IX. It should be

remembered that neither of the two sectors, primary or secondary is mutually exclusive because much of III goes into II. The total share of workers has been taken as 100.

TABLE VI

Percentage distribution of workers by sex, 1901-61

Census year	Sex	Total workers	Primary sector (I+II+III)	Secondary sector (IV+V+VI)	Tertiary sector (VII+VIII+IX)
1901	P	100	71·76	12·61	15·63
	M	100	70·37	12·31	17·32
	F	100	74·46	13·25	12·29
1911	P	100	74·86	11·13	14·01
	M	100	73·66	10·97	15·37
	F	100	77·14	11·45	11·41
1921	P	100	75·99	10·41	13·60
	M	100	74·54	10·51	14·95
	F	100	78·80	10·21	10·99
1931	P	100	74·75	10·21	15·04
	M	100	74·08	10·43	15·49
	F	100	76·23	9·74	14·03
1951	P	100	72·12	10·62	17·26
	M	100	69·08	11·59	19·33
	F	100	79·57	8·26	12·17
1961	P	100	72·28	11·70	16·02
	M	100	67·98	12·68	19·34
	F	100	81·58	9·59	88·3

On the assumption that participation of males is a steadier and more reliable index, the statement at Table VII (p.341) shows the distribution of male population among workers and non-workers, workers being further classified by industrial categories.

TABLE VII

Distribution of male population among workers, workers being further classified by industrial categories, 1901-61

Year	Total	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	Total of workers (I to IX)	Non-workers X
	Male population											
1901	100·00	32·52	7·57	2·97	..	6·95	0·51	3·75	0·97	5·87	61·11	38·89
1911	100·00	32·94	9·46	3·35	..	5.95	0·68	3·43	1·01	5·08	61·90	38·10
1921	100·00	34·11	8·18	2·99	..	5·65	0·55	3·55	0·80	4·69	60·52	39·48
1931	100·00	29·59	10·46	3·28	..	5·24	0·68	3·39	0·83	4·80	58·27	41·73
1951	100·00	28·05	8·08	1·51	..	5·32	0·64	3·36	1·10	5·99	54·05	45·95
1961	100·00	29·41	7·67	1·77	3·26	3·17	0·80	3·02	1·30	6·72	57·12	42·88

It appears to make a coherent and consistent series in spite of obvious difficulties. Category IV for household industry was an innovation in 1961. In previous years manufacture within the household and outside formed only one category—Manufacture, which explains a single figure under V for each decade preceding 1961 in Appendices X and XII as well as in Table VII. Categories I and II together have registered a small but noticeable decline, while IV and V together exhibit an upward trend from 1951, having steadily declined from 1901 till 1931. This may have been due to several reasons; the one that most readily comes to mind is that part of what used to be included in this category may have been claimed by category IX; the other is that rationalization and organization of scale have also slowly displaced the lone fabricator. The caste system may have also contributed to refined enumeration of economic functions in the earlier years which tended to be blurred subsequently. Mining and quarrying have steadily gained ground with construction activities and transport, storage and communication. Trade and commerce have fluctuated within narrow limits perhaps for the same reasons as manufacturing, while services have registered a sharp and substantial rise between 1951 and 1961.

Regional patterns of the working force

It is in the ratio of workers among the male and female populations that sharp regional patterns are noticeable. These patterns cut across political and administrative delineations and seem to follow the outlines of culturally homogeneous areas, even overriding similarity of geology, soil, terrain, crop, rainfall and irrigation. If male participation in work were arranged in several ranges, most of India would seem to fall in either of two in 1961; (a) Districts where male participation in work is more than 600 per 1,000 males, and (b) Districts where it is between 500 and 599. The great central tract of India, bounded roughly by Bānda (Uttar Pradesh) in the north, Tiruchchirāppalli (Madras) in the south, Sambalpur (Orissa) in the east and the Yeotmāl-Coimbatore line in the west, shows a participation rate of more than 600. The tract of 500-599 occupies practically the rest of India, with the exception of small strips in the western coast and Kerala where the ratio drops below 500. It is, however, in the matter of female participation that smaller but distinct zones emerge. Only six of the northernmost Districts of Uttar Pradesh along with Lāhul and Spiti of Punjab indicate participation of above 600 females per 1,000 of female population. Similarly, there is only one small compact tract where participation ranges between 500 and 599; this is the east-central forest country comprising Surguja, Rānchi, Raigarh, down to Bastar in the south

and Chānda in the west upwards to Mandla and Surguja again in the north. The areas of participation 400-499 are more numerous while the participation range of 300-399 seems to have the maximum distribution throughout India. Only the east-central areas of Uttar Pradesh, the southern zone of Punjab, the north-western Districts of Rājasthān, and the coastal areas of Mysore have contiguous stretches of participation ranging between 250 and 299. Most of the remaining country except for isolated Districts have a participation rate below 250. Such a distribution may be due to and responsible for the complex cultural fabric of India.

The differences in the rural and urban patterns of the working force as presented in the Table at Appendix XII (p.362) may help in the understanding of what is happening in the town and country areas as a result of the Five Year Plans. It is well to bear in mind that the ratios given in this table as well as those in other tables are not strictly comparable, being subject to a certain amount of definitional and conceptional chiselling for successive census years. Nevertheless, it appears that so far as the total of all workers is concerned, there has been an appreciable increase in their population, both male and female, in the rural areas, the increase recording much higher proportions in 1961 in every case than the decennial population growth. Further, the substantial increase in total workers of all categories together (I—IX) in rural areas is both absolute and comparative. It should be borne in mind that in rural areas the working force tends to be the same as the labour force, that is, most persons able to work are returned as working. The urban areas have not fared even half as well by comparison. Although the proportions of population growth in the urban areas are higher than in the rural areas in both male and female, yet the ratios of urban workers in 1961 in each case are behind those of population growth in the rural areas. Thus, the argument that India, despite its very small urban ratio is over urbanized, a distressing paradox, is perhaps to some extent valid, and this again may be at the root of the none-too-rapid rate of urban growth.

Cultivators (I) in rural areas show substantial increase, both absolute and comparative. But it is significant that the increases in catogary I are markedly less than in household and non-house hold industry and manufacture and even in VI and IX (except for females) in rural areas. Notwithstanding the fact that the absolute base of category I is very large compared to those of other categories and, therefore, overshadows in absolute terms much steeper and more spectacular increases in others, the increase unmistakably points to achange in relationships in rural areas. The decrease in

the urban proportion for males in category I and the more marked falls in the comparative ratios may be due partly to land reforms the shrinking of agricultural land in the neighbourhood of towns by the latter's extension, and partly to the elimination of a large number of agricultural towns classified as such in 1951.

Agricultural labourers (II) show a generally low index of growth in rural areas, category VII alone registering a still lower. rate. The ratios, substantial and all in the negative, indicate genuine decline in proportions. This trend is reflected in the urban areas also in a far more decisive manner.

Forestry, fishing, hunting, etc., (III) record a substantial increase in rural areas, but an almost equally substantial decrease among females in urban areas, considering the low female base. The decrease in the female ratios does not admit of a ready explanation, but it is possible that the manufacturing or processing part of the operations connected with activities such as forestry, hunting, fishing, horticulture, plantations and even small-scale quarrying, which would formerly have been appropriated by category III, has been separated and claimed in 1961 by category IV which shows high increase.

Household industry and manufacturing have shown striking increase in both rural and urban areas, surpassed only by construction and transport, storage and communication (VI & VIII) in urban areas which undoubtedly have much lower absolute bases. Increases in these categories have doubtless been assisted by the definition of "family worker", especially when one considers the phenomenal rise among female workers in rural areas; but male increases have been markedly high, too, in both rural and urban areas. Of particular interest is the high increase among females workers in household industry and manufacturing, in urban areas.

The statement reflects in a truer measure the character of the increase among males in both rural and urban areas in construction, and a countervailing stagnation among females again in both rural and urban areas. The increase in male construction workers in rural areas has been even more pronounced than in towns, testifying to the common experience of an unprecedented spate of building and construction activity all over the land.

Trade and commerce (VII) present an intriguing state of affairs. Common experience, borne out by figures of investment turnover, shipment, carriage and sale of goods, seems to assure us that there is now more of buying and selling than ever before, whereas, although the rural and urban indices testify to some absolute numerical increase among males, the rural and urban indices show appreciable declines.

Transport, storage and communication (VIII), as observed before, show high increase among males in both rural and urban areas, but a disturbing decrease in the female indices and ratios in urban areas, and even more so in rural areas.

Services (IX) again bear out the generally observed prosperity and better distribution of national services and institutions in the rural areas, while urban ratios bear testimony to the way services are lagging behind the rate of population increase in city and town.

Non-workers (X) show how there has been an appreciable, comparative rise in employment in the rural sector, which has surpassed even the rate of decennial population growth, and how a contrary process has been in operation in urban areas, where the proportion of male non-workers has been on the increase both in absolute and comparative terms. The high proportions of non-working males, are an index of our sluggish decennial urban growth.

The progress of general literacy presents a paradox. While the absolute increase over 1951 may, on any showing, be regarded as gratifying, the proportionate increase during the decade has been sluggish throughout the country having increased at an average of 0·8 per cent per year for the general population, 1·0 per cent for males and 0·5 for females. Not excluding Madhya Pradesh and Rājasthān among the States which show an appreciable rise, none has even doubled its 1951 rates except perhaps Himāchal Pradesh and Manipur where this achievement was possible because of the low population base and the inordinately low rates prevailing in 1951. The statement at Appendix XIII (p. 363) ranks the States in literacy rates for 1961 and 1951.

Progress of literacy

The more distressing has been low progress of female literacy. Although for the whole of India the female literacy rate is slightly more than half of the general rate, yet there are large regions in the map where it is less than a quarter of the general literacy rate, i.e., less than 60 per 1,000 females. When we remember that even this low rate would have been still lower but for a higher rate in towns and cities situated in these areas, the state of literacy can be properly comprehended. A high order of waste still occurs in the first few years of the primary stage of education, since boys and girls are drawn away to help in cultivation and shepherding in the middle of term. Vacations in many places are not synchronized with the heavy agricultural seasons of sowing and harvesting. School hours fail to accommodate the rush hours in a cultivating household. The persistently large number of single-teacher schools makes school going dull and often unprofitable, while the tardiness in enforcing compulsory primary

education and a minimum school leaving age in most areas fails to inject urgency into the community and militates against family limitation, children being regarded as a reserve pool of cheap man-power.

How concentrated literacy is in urban areas, which stil further reduces the rural rates, will appear from Table VIII. The figures will also make it clear how even urban literacy tends to con centrate in bigger and still bigger cities.

TABLE VIII

All-India literacy rates for cities, towns and rural areas in 1961 *(excluding NEFA, Goa, Damān and Diu)*

Description	Rate per cent		
	P	M	F
Literacy rates in :—			
1. Cities over 1 million	56·40	63·85	46·36
2. Cities of 0·5 to 1 million	49·60	58·38	38·43
3. Cities of 0·1 to 0·5 „	48·52	58·51	36·78
4. Cities above 100,000	51·81	60·74	40·65
5. Non-city urban population	42·99*	54·69*	29·73*
6. Urban India	46·94*	57·46*	34·48*
7. Rural India	19·00	29·07	8·54
8. All-India	**24·02**	**34·44**	**12·95**

*Excludes Union Territories except Delhi.

Religious communities

Brief mention should be made of the distribution of the majo religious communities in India. Appendix XIV (p. 364) shows th populations of Buddhists, Christians, Hindus, Jains Muslims and Sikhs in 1961, and Appendix XV (p. 365) gives their proportion to the total populatio in 1951 and 1961. It is significant that while the proportion c Buddhists in 1951 was about 1 per 1,000, in 1961 it grew to a much as 7, not wholly by a process of biological increase but als through the vigour of the Neo-Buddhist movement during th decade.

The decline in the proportion of Hindus is obviously explain ed by a corresponding increase in the proportion of Buddhis along with small but perceptible increases in the proportion c Christians, Muslims and Sikhs. Christians seem to have improve their proportion at the expense of populations professing trib

and indefinite beliefs. The increase in the proportion of Muslims suggests accretions and fresh influx of members of this community from Pākistān in Assam, Tripura, Bihār, Rājasthān, Uttar Pradesh and West Bengal. The strength of Zoroastrian community was 100,687 in 1961.

An important sociological as well as constitutional classification is that of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. The President by a special order scheduled particular castes among Hindus and Sikhs in particular areas for special treatment; that also applies to tribes, irrespective of their religious persuasion. With notable exceptions, members of the Scheduled Castes and Tribes are regarded as culturally and economically less advanced than the general run of population. The 1961 count gives the figure of the Scheduled Castes throughout the country as 64·4 millions in round figures or 14·7 per cent of the total population Scheduled Tribes account for 30·1 millions or 6·9 per cent of the population. Together they comprise 21·5 per cent of India's population. The States of Assam, Bihār, Madhya Pradesh, Orissa, Rājasthān and West Bengal and the Union Territories of the Andaman and Nicobar Islands, Himāchal Pradesh, Laccadive, Minicoy and Amīnidivi Islands, Manipur, Tripura, Dādra and Nagar Haveli, and NEFA account for much of the high proportions of members of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, than the all-India average. Only a little more than ten per cent (10·7) of all members of Scheduled Castes in India live in urban areas, making up for 8·7 per cent of India's total urban population, while as few as 2·6 per cent of all members of Scheduled Tribes live in cities and towns accounting for less than 1 per cent (0·98) of India's total urban population, thus lending an edge to the country's programme of social and economic development.

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APPENDIX I

Ranking of States and Union Territories in terms of population and area, 1961 and 1951

Rank in population 1961	Name of State or Union Territory	Percentage of Union's population	Percentage of Union's area	Rank in area	Rank in population in 1951
1	2	3	4	5	6
States					
1.	Uttar Pradesh	16·79	9·27	4	1
2.	Bihār	10·58	5·45	8	2
3.	Mahārāshtra	9·00	9·63	3	3
4.	Andhra Pradesh	8·19	8·63	5	4
5.	West Bengal	7·95	2·78	14	6
6.	Madras	7·67	4·08	11	5
7.	Madhya Pradesh	7·37	13·76	1	7
8.	Mysore	5·37	6·01	6	8
9.	Gujarāt	4·70	5·78	7	9
10.	Punjab	4·62	3·85	12	10
11.	Rājasthān	4·59	10·74	2	11
12.	Orissa	4·00	4·90	9	12
13.	Kerala	3·85	1·22	16	13
14.	Assam	2·70	3·85	13	14
15.	Jammu and Kashmīr	0·81	4·37*	10*	15
Union Territories and Other Areas					
16.	Delhi	0·61	0·05	24	16
17.	Himāchal Pradesh	0·31	0·87	17	17
18.	Tripura	0·26	0·34	20	18
19.	Manipur	0·18	0·70	18	20
20.	Goa, Damān and Diu	0·14	0·12	23	19
21.	Nāgāland	0·08	0·52	19	22

1	2	3	4	5	6
22.	Pondicherry . . .	0·08	0·01	26	21
23.	NEFA	0·08	2·56*	15*	..
24.	Andaman and Nicobar Islands	0·01	0·26*	21*	25
25.	Dādra and Nagar Haveli	0·01	0·02	25	24
26.	Laccadive, Minicoy and Amīnidīvi Islands . .	0·01	0·001	27	26
27.	SIKKIM	0·04	0·23	22	23

*Based on the Surveyor General of India's figures.

APPENDIX II

Proportion of population related to proportion of area in different density ranges in India, 1961

Density Ranges : Persons per sq. mile (2.59 sq. km.)

		0—200	201—350	351—500	501—750	751—1,000	1,000†
1		2	3	4	5	6	7
INDIA							
(*a*) Percentage of Population to total population.		8·59	23·49	13·20	22·98	14·73	17·01
(*b*) Proportion to total area		30·67	32·90	11·89	13·73	6·42	4·39
Andhra Pradesh . .	(*a*)	5·75	44·26	10·87	39·12	..	..
	(*b*)	11·65	57·24	9·21	21·90	..	..
Assam . . .	(*a*)	11·08	13·17	36·57	39·18	..	..
	(*b*)	48·10	10·61	22·90	18·39	..	..
Bihār . . .	(*a*)	..	12·32	10·17	13·58	29·01	34·92
	(*b*)	..	28·29	15·90	12·87	24·57	18·37
Gujarāt . . .	(*a*)	6·94	38·17	15·31	39·58	—	..
	(*b*)	29·81	40·55	9·93	19·71	..	..
Jammu and Kashmīr .	(*a*)	26·32	41·18	14·52	17·98	..	..
	(*b*)	84·89	10·54	2·33	2·24	..	..

1		2	3	4	5	6	7
Kerala . . .	(*a*)	..	..	..	10·25	21·04	68·71
	(*b*)	..	..	..	16·37	27·80	55·83
Madhya Pradesh . .	(*a*)	39·01	56·68	1·98	2·33	..	..
	(*b*)	53·75	44·42	1·02	0·81	..	..
Madras . . .	(*a*)	..	..	1·21	81·06	9·64	8·09
	(*b*)	..	..	1·96	89·20	7·46	1·38
Mahārāshtra . .	(*a*)	3·13	49·61	32·72	4·04	..	10·50
	(*b*)	8·53	60·87	27·77	2·69	..	0·14
Mysore . . .	(*a*)	2·92	46·78	39·68	..	10·62	..
	(*b*)	5·38	59·00	31·39	..	4·23	..
Orissa . . .	(*a*)	21·54	31·65	21·30	25·51	..	..
	(*b*)	38·30	35·97	14·57	11·16	..	..
Punjab . . .	(*a*)	5·33	7·59	30·22	33·36	23·50	..
	(*b*)	21·13	11·34	29·57	25·36	12·60	
Rājasthān . . .	(*a*)	43·91	40·95	15·14	..	..	..
	(*b*)	68·88	24·66	6·46	..	..	..
Uttar Pradesh .	(*a*)	2·85	6·32	4·02	23·78	38·42	24·61
	(*b*)	13·57	14·50	6·48	22·77	28·45	14·23
West Bengal . .	(*a*)	..	..	1·79	16·34	22·99	58·88
	(*b*)	..	..	3·68	27·78	28·37	40·17
Himāchal Pradesh .	(*a*)	59·81	28·44	11·75	..	..	..
	(*b*)	80·67	15·14	4·19	..	..	..
Goa, Dāmān and Diu . . .	(*a*)	..	..	94·15	..	2·28	3·57
	(*b*)	..	..	97·41	..	1·05	1·54
Pondicherry . .	(*a*)	..	..	..	..	..	100
	(*b*)	..	..	..	..	..	100·0
Nāgāland . .	(*a*)	100·0	..	..	..	..	..
	(*b*)	100·0	..	..	..	..	..

APPENDIX III

Number of districts in different density ranges which recorded increases of 21 per cent and over during 1951-61

States	Less than 80			80—119			120—199			200 and Over		
	a 21—25	b 26—30	c Over 30	a 21—25	b 26—30	c Over 30	a 21—25	b 26—30	c Over 30	a 21—25	b 26—30	c Over 30
1. Andhra Pradesh	1	..	1	1	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..
2. Assam	..	2	2	..	..	..	1	..	3	1	..	2
3. Bihār	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	1	2
4. Gujarāt	1	..	2	2	2	1	1	3	1	2	1	1
5. Kerala	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	2	3
6. Madhya Pradesh	10	7	2	11	3	2	4	..	..	1	..	..
7. Madras	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	2	..	..
8. Mahārāshtra	..	..	..	5	3	..	4	3	..	1	..	1
9. Mysore	..	..	1	..	1	3	4	..	..	..	..	..
10. Orissa	..	..	..	1	1	1	..	..	..	1	1	..
11. Punjab	..	..	1	..	..	1	1	2	2	..	3	2
12. Rājasthān	5	5	3	4	..	2	2	2	..	..	..	..
13. Uttar Pradesh	..	..	..	2	..	1	2	..	..	5	..	..
14. West Bengal	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	4	9
India	17	14	12	26	10	11	22	10	8	14	12	20
TOTAL		43			47			40			46	
								GRAND TOTAL —176				

APPENDIX IV

Expectation of male and female lives at 0, 10, 20, 30, 40, 50, and 60 for All-India, 1881-1961

Year	0		10		20		30		40		50		60	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
1881 . .	23·67	25·58	34·00	33·42	28·55	28·44	23·80	24·48	18·90	20·03	13·93	14·96	9·25	9·79
1891 . .	24·59	25·54	35·46	34·40	29·24	29·28	23·66	24·69	18·75	20·20	14·28	15·59	10·12	10·87
1901 . .	23·63	23·96	34·73	33·86	28·59	28·64	22·90	23·82	17·91	19·12	13·59	14·50	9·53	10·02
1911 . .	22·59	23·31	33·36	33·74	27·46	27·96	22·45	22·99	18·01	18·49	13·97	14·28	10·00	10·11
1931 . .	26·91	26·56	36·38	33·61	29·57	27·08	23·60	22·30	18·60	18·23	14·31	14·65	10·25	10·81
1951 . .	32·45	31·66	38·97	39·45	33·03	32·90	26·58	26·18	20·53	21·06	14·89	16·15	10·13	11·33
1961 . .	41·89	40·55	45·21	43·78	36·99	35·63	29·03	27·86	22·07	22·37	16·45	17·46	11·77	12·98
			10-19		20-29		30-39		40-49		50-59		60-69	
1921 . .	19·42	20·91	29·64	29·21	25·46	25·41	21·64	21·78	17·93	18·31	14·30	14·95	10·67	11·67
1941 . .	32·09	31·37	41·20	38·56	35·02	33·11	29·03	27·89	23·27	22·91	17·77	18·17	12·59	13·69

APPENDIX V

Percent distribution of India's population, 1901-61

Age Group	1961		1951		1941		1931		1921		1911		1901	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
0— 4 . .	14·7	15·5	13·1	13·7	13·2	14·0	14·7	16·0	12·1	13·2	13·3	14·3	12·5	13·3
5— 9 . .	14·6	14·9	12·6	12·9	13·6	13·6	13·3	12·8	14·8	15·0	13·8	13·8	14·0	13·8
10—14 . .	11·6	10·8	11·4	11·3	11·3	10·8	12·0	11·2	12·5	10·8	11·7	10·0	12·7	10·9
0—14 . .	40·9	41·2	37·1	37·9	38·1	38·4	40·0	40·0	39·4	39·0	38·8	38·1	39·2	38·0
15—24 . .	16·3	17·1	18·9	19·1	18·1	18·3	17·9	19·2	16·0	16·8	16·7	17·6	16·5	17·2
25—34 . .	15·2	15·5	15·4	15·3	15·9	16·3	16·4	16·2	16·9	17·3	17·2	17·5	17·2	17·5
15—34 . .	31·5	32·6	34·3	34·4	34·10	34.6	34·3	35·4	32·9	34·2	33·9	35·1	33·7	34·7
35—44 . .	11·4	10·6	12·0	11·3	12·1	11·6	11·9	11·0	12·6	11·9	12·6	11·9	12·6	12·2
45—59 . .	10·7	9·8	11·1	10·6	10·9	10·5	9·9	9·4	10·1	9·5	9·9	9·4	9·9	9·6
35—59 . .	22·1	20·4	23·1	21·9	23·0	22·1	21·8	20·4	22·7	21·4	22·5	21·3	22·5	21·8
60 . .	5·5	5·8	5·5	5·8	4·9	4·9	3·9	4·2	5·0	5·5	4·8	5·5	4·6	5·5

NOTE :—1961 figures are based on unsmoothed population count and exclude the population of NEFA and Goa, Damān and Diu. Percentages of 1901-31 are based on unadjusted and those of 1941 and 1951 on adjusted data. The proportions for 1961 on data smoothed by the Census Actuary are :—

	M	F
0—14	40·6	41·7
15—44	44·3	43·6
45—59	10·4	9·7
60†	4·7	5·0

APPENDIX VI

The main languages of India, 1961

State	Total Population	Total of Cols. 4-17	Assamese	Bengali	Gujarātī	Hindī	Kannaḍa	Kashmīrī	Malayālam	Marāṭhī	Oṛiyā	Panjābī	Sanskrit	Tamil	Telugu	Urdū
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
All States	431,293,661	365,504,862	6,795,580	32,972,470	20,052,469	120,792,275	17,302,082	1,907,799	16,935,978	32,741,654	15,597,803	9,530,863	2,460	30,109,724	37,614,768	23,148,937
Andhra Pradesh	35,983,447	34,962,654	122	3,346	20,467	136,069	381,860	104	23,348	276,968	189,497	10,125	25	434,713	30,932,257	2,553,753
Assam	11,872,772	9,556,213	6,784,271	2,061,533	712	511,818	206	41	2,204	5,452	145,488	8,938	...	4,501	19,786	11,263
Bihār	46,455,610	26,342,285	224	1,164,041	20,068	20,567,755	674	186	7,559	5,074	302,951	70,988	129	16,177	37,214	4,149,245
Gujarāt	20,633,350	19,705,003	37	3,393	18,671,562	192,279	5,192	122	7,709	191,260	379	14,627	99	13,264	10,542	594,538
Jammu and Kashmīr	3,560,976	2,041,521	5	400	79	22,323	14	1,896,149	156	226	26	109,174	3	349	172	12,445
Kerala	16,903,715	16,743,885	14	670	6,927	7,327	62,068	17	16,065,468	18,570	59	1,147	7	527,613	44,838	9,160
Madhya Pradesh	32,372,408	23,982,368	595	52,813	127,613	21,686,140	4,454	552	19,816	860,318	304,297	103,291	384	26,173	55,824	740,098
Madras	33,686,953	33,357,578	70	2,498	17,929	38,974	853,211	89	399,206	51,431	399	3,473	117	28,011,099	3,363,579	615,503
Mahārāshtra	39,553,718	36,753,226	272	29,114	1,067,509	1,088,927	629,583	658	90,459	30,233,034	3,385	101,317	82	159,396	623,803	2,725,689
Mysore	23,586,772	21,758,976	121	2,583	27,944	81,500	15,361,051	23	290,586	1,056,498	252	5,336	125	854,227	2,044,249	2,034,481
Orissa	17,548,846	15,370,751	..	125,687	9,436	174,011	584	2	4,832	1,084	14,434,887	6,966	...	6,918	393,453	212,891
Punjab	20,306,812	19,927,965	1,196	4,811	1,852	11,297,838	604	8,124	6,387	4,851	532	8,336,787	124	6,789	2,410	255,660
Rājasthān	20,155,602	1,630,181	71	8,807	41,833	650,554	371	317	2,213	9,183	1,408	401,115	31	3,443	1,181	509,654
Uttar Pradesh	73,746,401	70,841,912	303	104,528	12,831	62,442,721	1,527	1,316	7,715	14,466	1,355	345,181	1,330	12,399	4,530	7,891,710
	34,926,279	32,530,344	8,279	29,408,246	25,707	1,894,039	583	99	8,320	13,239	212,890	12,398	4	32,663	80,930	832,847

NOTE :—1. The table includes only those languages which are mentioned in the Eighth Schedule of the Constitution.
2. The data is incomplete and subject to correction.

APPENDIX VII

Proportions of persons speaking major languages in each of the States, 1961

State	Total speakers	Total columns 4-17	Assamese	Bengali	Gujarātī	Hindī	Kannaḍa	Kashmīrī	Malayalam	Marāthī	Oṛiyā	Panjābī	Sanskrit	Tamil	Telugu	Urdū
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
All States . . .	10,000	8,475	158	764	465	2,801	401	44	393	759	362	221	N	698	872	537
Andhra Pradesh . .	10,000	9,716	N	1	6	38	106	N	6	77	52	3	N	121	8,596	710
Assam . . .	10,000	8,049	5,714	1,736	1	431	N	N	2	5	123	8	..	4	16	9
Bihār . . .	10,000	5,670	N	251	4	4,427	N	N	2	1	65	15	N	4	8	893
Gujarāt . . .	10,000	9,550	N	2	9,049	93	3	N	4	93	N	7	N	6	5	288
Jammu and Kashmīr .	10,000	5,733	N	1	N	63	N	5,325	N	1	N	307	N	1	N	35
Kerala . . .	10,000	9,905	N	N	4	4	37	N	9,504	11	N	1	N	312	27	5
Madhya Pradesh . .	10,000	7,408	N	16	40	6,699	1	N	6	266	94	32	N	8	17	229
Madras . . .	10,000	9,902	N	1	5	12	253	N	119	15	N	1	N	8,315	998	183
Mahārāshtra . . .	10,000	9,292	N	7	270	275	159	N	23	7,644	1	26	N	40	158	689
Mysore . . .	10,000	9,225	N	1	12	35	6,512	N	123	448	N	2	N	362	867	863
Orissa . .	10,000	8,759	..	72	5	99	N	N	3	1	8,226	4	..	4	224	121
Punjab . . .	10,000	9,813	1	2	1	5,564	N	4	3	3	N	4,105	N	3	1	126
Rājasthān . . .	10,000	809	N	4	21	323	N	N	1	4	1	199	N	2	1	253
Uttar Pradesh . . .	10,000	9,606	N	14	2	8,467	N	N	1	2	N	47	N	2	1	1,070
West Bengal . . .	10,000	9,314	2	8,420	7	542	N	N	3	4	61	4	N	9	23	239

NOTE :—Data is incomplete and subject to correction.
N=Negligible.

APPENDIX VIII

Indices of workers in each industrial category and non-workers 1901-61

Base 1901-100

Year	Sex	Total population	Population in labour force age group 15—59	Total workers	Cultivators	Agricultural labourers	Workers in plantations, forests, mining & quarrying etc.	Workers at household industry	Workers in manufacturing other than household industry	Workers in construction	Workers in trade & commerce	Workers in transport, storage & Communication	Workers in other services	Non-workers
					I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X
	P	105·62	107·75	108·94	107·10	132·71	119·70 (255·05)		92·13	134·81	90·09	108·51	95·03	102·72
1911	M	106·06	108·61	107·44	107·44	132·54	119·50 (278·68)		90·89	141·26	97·23	108·86	91·86	103·90
	F	105·17	106·89	111·94	106·32	132·87	120·28 (218·09)		94·39	118·69	102·92	103·18	104·79	102·04
	P	105·14	106·22	105·82	113·65	109·04	109·69 (279·88)		83·77	114·55	100·21	88·31	86·71	104·55

1921	M	106·06	107·69	105·04	111·24	114·58	1 6·7[illegible] (293·66)	86·24	113·57	100·58	88·37	84·65	107·66
	F	104·20	104·73	107·37	119·23	103·78	818·56 (258·29)	79·30	116·98	95·44	87·48	93·96	102·73
	P	116·57	118·84	108·30	96·33	158·97	129·97 (272· 3)	82·22	144·43	100·06	98·99	107·*9	123·78
1931	M	117·59	120·90	112·13	106·99	162·64	329·80 (320·34)	86·67	155·19	106·41	031·27	96·24	126·16
	F	115·52	116·75	100·69	71·63	155·58	130·4J (198·23)	70·55	117.54	88·96	64·00	143·35	122·40
	P	150·70	144·37†	126·50	125·58	146·34	86·20 (684·97)	96·96	170·23	108·89	1J1·66	156·57	171·82
1951	M	152·71	147·74†	135·16	132·34	161·71	77·24 (783·00)	116·61	191·28	136·28	172·37	156· 9	180·29
	F	148·62	140·91†	109·34	109·92	131·83	112·94 (531·60)	61·40	117·65	52·34	160·77	152·04	166·86
	P	183·40	169·0*	169·14	176·38	167·36	107·92	152·92	237·64	113·33	239·94	207·40	195·86
1961	M	186·36	173·3*	174·22	168·50	188·74	111·13	172·64	292·75	150·32	250·09	213·45	205·43
	F	180·37	164·7*	159·08	194·66	147·15	98·34	117·24	97·88	37·04	84·45	188·78	190·25

NOTE :—Figures in brackets denote mining and quarrying.

†For 1951 the age group was 15—64.

*Estimated population in age group 15-59 is P (238·5), M (123·7) and F (114·8) millions in a population of 439 millions in 1961. (*See Third Five Year Plan* p. 751).

APPENDIX IX

*Outlay in First and Second Five Years Plans**

(Rs. lakhs)

	First Plan	Second Plan	Total	Percentage
1. I, II, & III (excluding mining & quarrying)				
(a) Agricultural programmes, I,II & III (*minus* mining & quarrying)	20,586	27,146	..	..
(b) Multipurpose projects & irrigation and flood control	23,661† 19,744‡	42,017	..	..
	63,991	69,163	133,154	20·3
2. III, IV and V Mining and manufacturing.				
(a) Industry and mining	9,683	107,555	..	..
(b) Power	14,883	44,549	..	..
	24,566	152,104	176,670	26·9
3. VI Construction				
(a) Community development including Panchāyats & local development works.	7,903	21,873	..	..
(b) Housing	3,348	8,033	..	..
	11,251	29,906	41,157	6·3
4. VIII Transport, storage and communication				
(a) Transport and communications	51,781	129,975	..	..
(b) Co-operation including warehousing, marketing and storage	500	3,881	..	..
	52,281	133,856	186,137	28·4
5. IX Other Services				
(a) Social services	37,843	64,991	..	..
(b) Miscellaneous	6,068	9,980	..	..
	43,911	74,971	118,882	18·1
	196,000	460,000	656,000	100

**Third Five Year Plan*, pp. 738-9.

†Outlay on Multipurpose Projects (First Plan).

‡Outlay on Irrigation and Flood Control (First Plan).

APPENDIX X

Indices of increase in industrial participation
1951-61

Base 1951=100

	P	M	F
Total Population	121·69	122·02	121·34
Categories of workers :			
I Cultivators	140·86	127·52	178·20
II Agricultural labourers	114·21	116·56	111·57
III Workers in plantations, forests, mining & quarrying etc.	125·05	143·76	86·91
IV Workers at household industry V Workers in manufacturing other than household industry	157·97	148·13	192·18
VI Workers in construction	139·04	152·89	83·10
VII Workers in trade and commerce	103·87	110·13	70·40
VIII Workers in transport, storage & communication	139·75	145·09	52·17
IX Workers in other Services	132·35	136·69	119·26
Total workers	133·81	128·96	145·70
Non-workers	113·90	113·87	113·93

APPENDIX XI

Proportion of total outlay in First and Second Plans

I,II & III (excluding mining & quarrying)	III (mining & quarrying), IV & V	Construction VI	VIII	IX
20·3	26·9	6·3	28·4	18·1

APPENDIX XII

Percentage distribution of population into workers and non-workers, workers further classified into nine categories—1951-61—Rural and Urban

Rural

Sex	Total Population (I—X) 1951	1961	Total Workers (I—XI) 1951	1961	I 1951	1961	II 1951	1961	III 1951	1961	IV+V* 1951	1961
P	100	100	40·28	44·95	23·11	27·17	9·04	8·50	1·01 0·16	1·64 0·19	2·55	2·80
M	100	100	54·27	58·04	33·39	35·55	9·52	9·18	1·37 0·25	2·37 0·29	3·41	3·53
F	100	100	25·79	31·37	12·47	18·48	8·54	7·79	0.65 0·06	0.90 0·07	1·66	2·04

VI 1951	1961	VII 1951	1961	VIII 1951	1961	IX 1951	1961	X(Non-workers) 1951	1961
0·25	0·30	1·15	0·93	0·25	0·25	2·76	3·17	59·72	55·05
0·41	0·52	1·72	1·53	0·44	0·47	3·76	4·60	45·73	41·96
0·09	0·08	0·56	0·31	0·05	0·01	1·71	1·69	74·21	68·63

Urban

Sex	(I—X) 1951	1961	(I—IX) 1951	1961	I 1951	1961	II 1951	1961	III 1951	1961	IV+ V* 1951	1961
P	100	100	33·54	33·14	2·68	2·19	1·40	1·16	0·54 0·19	0·59 0·27	8·46	9·50
M	100	100	53·16	52·03	4·06	2.91	1·64	1·16	0·89 0·31	0·04 0·41	13·72	14·87
F	100	100	10·74	10·76	1·08	1·34	1·11	1·17	0·14 0·06	0·05 0·09	2·34	3·15

VI 1951	1961	VII 1951	1961	VIII 1951	1961	IX 1951	1961	X(Non-workers) 1951	1961
0·96	1·22	6·31	5·46	2·26	2·69	10·74	10·06	66·46	66·86
1·55	2·02	10·72	9·43	4·06	4·85	16·21	15·34	46·84	47·97
0·28	0·28	1·19	0·75	0·17	0·13	4·37	3·80	89·26	89·24

*IV & V stand for the entire field of manufacture, IV for manufacture in household industry and V in non-household industry. IV and V were separately censused in 1961 but not in 1951. To achieve comparability of 1961 with 1951 the two have been clubbed together.

APPENDIX XIII

General literacy rates in 1961 & 1951

Rank 1961	State, Territory, Area	Rate per 1,000		Rank 1951
		1961	1951	
1.	Delhi	527	384	2
2.	Kerala	468	407	1
3.	Pondicherry	374	N.A.	N.A.
4.	Andaman and Nicobar Islands	336	258	3
5.	Madras	314	208	8
6.	Goa, Damān and Diu	308	229	6
7.	Gujarāt	305	231	5
8.	Manipur	304	114	17
9.	Mahārāshtra	298	209	7
10.	West Bengal	293	240	4
11.	Assam	274	183	10
12.	Mysore	254	193	9
13.	Punjab	242	152	13
14.	Laccadive, Minicoy and Amīndīvi Islands	233	152	14
15.	Orissa	217	158	11
16.	Andhra Pradesh	212	131	15
17.	Tripura	202	155	12
18.	Bihār	184	122	16
19.	Nāgāland	179	104	19
20.	Uttar Pradesh	176	108	18
21.	Himāchal Pradesh	171	77	22
22.	Madhya Pradesh	171	98	20
23.	Rājasthān	152	89	21
24.	SIKKIM	123	73	23
25.	Jammu and Kashmir	110	N.A.	N.A.
26.	Dādra and Nagar Haveli	95	40	24
27.	NEFA	71	N.A.	N.A.
	INDIA	**240**	**166**	..

APPENDIX XIV

Population of major religions, 1961

	Buddhists	Christians	Hindus	Jains	Muslims	Sikhs
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
INDIA	**3,256,036**	**10,728,086**	**366,526,866**	**2,027,281**	**46,940,799**	**7,845,915**
States						
Andhra Pradesh	6,753	1,428,729	31,813,944	9,012	2,715,021	8,563
Assam	36,513	764,553	7,884,921	9,68	2,765,509	6,686
Bihār	2,885	502,195	39,345,517	17,598	5,785,631	44,413
Gujarāt	3,185	91,028	18,356,065	409,754	1,745,103	9,646
Jammu and Kashmīr	48,360	2,848	1,013,193	1,427	2,432,067	63,069
Kerala	228	3,587,365	10,282,568	2,967	3,027,639	822
Madhya Pradesh	113,365	188,314	30,425,798	247,927	1,317,617	65,715
Madras	777	1,762,954	30,297,115	28,350	1,560,414	2,567
Mahārāshtra	2,789,501	560,594	32,530,901	485,672	3,034,332	57,617
Mysore	9,770	487,587	20,582,853	174,366	2,328,376	3,287
Orissa	454	201,017	17,123,194	2,295	215,319	5,030
Punjab	14,857	149,834	12,930,045	48,754	393,314	6,769,129
Rajasthan	759	22,864	18,132,690	409,417	1,314,613	274,198
Uttar Pradesh	12,893	101,641	62,437,316	122,108	10,788,089	283,737
West Bengal	112,253	204,530	27,523,358	26,940	6,985,287	34,184
Union Territories and Other Areas						
Andaman and Nicobar Islands	1,707	17,973	32,781	3	7,398	241
Delhi	5,466	29,269	2,234,597	29,595	155,453	203,916
Himāchal Pradesh	6,308	592	1,310,019	95	25,619	8,437
Laccadive, Minicoy and Amīndivi Islands	—	56	263	..	23,789	..

1	2	3	4	5	6	
Manipur. .	325	152,043	481,112	778	48,588	523
Tripura . .	33,716	10,039	867,998	195	230,002	49
Dādra and Nagar Haveli .	2	799	56,576	120	443	...
Goa, Damān & Diu . .	189	227,202	384,378	68	14,600	..
Pondicherry .	25	33,946	311,223	76	23,470	14
NEFA . .	5,809	1,713	25,599	14	1,008	745
Nāgāland .	42	195,588	34,677	263	891	255
Sikkim . .	49,894	2,813	108,165	19	1,207	72

*Excludes that area of NEFA where simplified census Schedule instead of All India Census Schedule was canvassed.

APPENDIX XV

Proportion of major religions of India, 1961

	Buddhists		Christians		Hindus		Jains		Muslims		Sikhs	
	1951	1961	1951	1961	1951	1961	1951	1961	1951	1961	1951	1961
1	2		3		4		5		6		7	
INDIA .	1	7	23	25	850	840	5	5	99	102	17	18
States												
Andhra Pradesh	N	N	40	40	882	884	N	N	77	75	N	N
Assam . .	3	3	55	64	667	664	N	1	226	233	N	1
Bihār . .	N	N	11	11	853	847	N	N	113	125	1	1
Gujarat .	N	N	5	4	881	890	23	20	89	85	1	N
Jammu and Kashmīr .	..	14	..	1	..	284	..	N	..	683	...	18
Kerala . .	N	N	209	212	616	608	N	N	175	179	N	N
Madhya Pradesh	N	3	3	6	948	940	7	8	40	41	2	2
Madras . .	N	N	47	52	904	899	1	1	48	46	N	N
Mahārāshtra .	N	71	14	14	895	822	11	12	76	77	1	1
.	N	N	22	21	870	873	7	7	101	9	N	N

1	2		3		4		5		6		7	
Orissa . .	N	N	10	11	978	976	N	N	12	12	N	N
Punjab . .	N	1	6	7	623	637	3	2	18	19	350	333
Rājāsthān .	N	N	1	1	905	900	23	20	62	65	9	14
Uttar Pradesh	N	N	2	1	850	847	2	2	143	146	3	4
West Bengal .	3	3	7	6	789	788	1	1	195	200	1	1
Union Territories and Other Areas												
Andaman and Nicobar Islands . .	52	27	307	283	300	516	N	N	154	116	4	4
Delhi . .	N	2	11	11	842	841	11	11	57	58	79	77
Himachal Pradesh . .	N	5	N	N	981	970	N	N	14	19	5	6
Laccadive, Minicoy and Amindivi Islands .	O	O	N	2	1	11	O	O	999	987	O	O
Manipur .	N	N	119	195	601	617	N	1	64	62	N	1
Tripura . .	24	30	8	9	752	760	N	N	215	201	N	N
Dādra and Nagar Haveli . ..	N	21	14	975	976	O	2	4	8	O	O	
Goa, Damān and Diu .	N	N	392	363	584	613	O	N	23	23	O	O
Pondicherry .	...	N	—	92	—	843	...	N	—	64	—	N
NEFA . .	..	150	..	44	..	661	..	N	..	26	..	19
Nāgāland .	N	N	461	530	41	94	N	1	2	2	1	1
SIKKIM .	286	308	2	17	711	667	N	N	1	7	N	N

NOTE:—(1) To enable comparison with 1951 figures, Jammu and Kashmīr, NEFA and Pondicherry have been excluded from 1961.

(2) The figures of Jammu and Kashmīr, NEFA and Pondicherry are not available for 1951.

(3) The figures of NEFA relate to that portion where All-India Census Schedule was canvassed and not to the whole territory.

(4) 'N' denotes negligible.

(5) 'O' indicates that there are no figures at all.

(6) '..' indicates that figures are not available.