

The Politics of US Census 2000 (M. Montefiore)

The census is one of our relatively few national, secular ceremonies. It provides a sense of social cohesion, and a kind of non-religious communion: we enter the census apparatus as individual identities with a handful of characteristics; then later we receive from the census a group snapshot of ourselves at the ceremony date.

(William Kruskal, "Research and the Census," CRS Census Workshop, Jan. 1983)

The Constitution of the United States (1787)

ARTICLE ONE Section 2. Representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included within this Union, according to their respective numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole number of free persons, including those bound to service for a term of years (年季奉公人), and excluding Indians not taxed, three fifths of all other persons (奴隷). The actual enumeration shall be made within three years after the first meeting of the Congress of the United States, and within every subsequent term of ten years, in such manner as they shall by law direct.

Census Chronology

By WashingtonPost Online & Mitsuru Yamada

1790

- The nation's first census 650 federal marshals go house-to-house unannounced, writing down the name of the head of the household and counting the other residents. The census costs \$45,000, takes 18 months and counts 3.9 million people.

1810

- First inquiries on U.S. manufacturing capabilities are made. At the time, the need to export agricultural products and import manufactured goods had entangled the U.S. in some skirmishes of the Napoleonic Wars.

1840

- Congress requests new information on social matters such as "idiocy" and mental illness. Many questions on commerce and industry are added, lengthening the form to 80 questions.

[*黒人人口の過大把握の疑いで大論争が起こる。
*1840年センサスで精神病者数の捏造が発覚する。
*1845年：アイルランドでジャガイモ大飢饉]

1850

- Significant census reforms are made. Federal government marshals scientific and financial resources to discuss what should be asked, how the information should be collected and how it should be reported. First time detailed information about all members of a household is collected.

1860

- Data from the 1860 Census is used during the Civil War to measure relative military strengths and manufacturing abilities of the Union and Confederacy.

[*1861-1865年：アメリカ内乱（南北戦争）

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- *1880年代：ドイツ系移民のピーク
- *1880年代～1920年代：イタリア移民の急増
- *1880-1890年代：移民制限運動が台頭]

1890

- Major innovations are made to the "science of statistics" as the Census Bureau introduces mechanical tabulators. Never again is the census hand tabulated.

1910

- Entry into World War I (1917) has agencies and policymakers turning to the Census Bureau for industrial statistics to plan the war effort.

- [*1920年代：都市化と労働者階級の登場と南欧・東欧移民への制限運動
- *1924年：The National Origin Act 成立；National origin Data の必要]

1930

- The onset of the Great Depression prompts the Census Bureau to make inquiries about unemployment, migration and income.

1940

- With the aid of modern sampling techniques, the Census Bureau creates the first "long form" that is sent to only a subset of the population. 最初の「ロング・フォーム」調査（サンプル調査方式；抽出率は5%）。

1950

- First electronic digital computer tabulates figures 1,000 to 1 million times faster than previous equipment. ロングフォームの抽出率が20%に；Evaluation Studies (DAとDSE)がセンサスにビルトインされる。

1960

- 人種選択に自己申告制を導入。

- [*1962年 テネシー州：最高裁が "ONE MAN ONE VOTE" 原則を確認する判決を下し、"reapportionment revolution" が起こる（都市と農村の間での票の重みの違い問題化）。

- *1964年：公民権法成立とアフーマティブ・アクション・プログラムが開始；公民権モニタリングが社会の諸分野で開始される]

1970（ニクソン政権）

- People of Hispanic or Spanish descent asked to identify themselves as such. 郵送調査方式を導入。ニクソン政権の介入によりロングフォームに Spanish/Hispanic/Latino (Ethnicity) の質問項目が追加される。

- [*1972年：America's Uncounted People というタイトルのレポートが the National academy of Science が提出され、センサス局は、この問題への対応を求められる。]

1980（カーター政権）

- After the 1980 count, the Census Bureau faces 54 lawsuits, many by civil rights groups, charging it with improper and unconstitutional methods of counting. Spanish/Hispanic/Latino (Ethnicity) の質問項目がショートフォームの質問項目に格上げされる。

1990（ブッシュ政権）

- Traditional な headcount に基づく結果数値と PES (Postenumeration Survey) に基づく修正数値との二つの結果数値（法定数）が公表され混乱。

- [*1990年センサス以後に、One Number Census が企画されるが1999年1月の最高裁による違憲判決で断念；1990年 Census 的状況へと回帰]

2000（クリントン政権）

- First time professional advertising campaign (\$167 million) is used to promote the count. 人種選択に複数選択を認める。インターネット利用による調査票の配布と回収（約 66,000 世帯が利用）。ロングフォーム調査でプライバシー問題が発生。

- [*ロングフォーム調査は、The American Community Survey に置き変わる方向。
- *2001年3月：ブッシュ政権の下で ACE による結果修正は行わない方針が確定。]

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EMBARGOED UNTIL 10:35 A.M. EDT, SEPTEMBER 19, 2000

"Well Done, America!"

Nation Achieves 67 Percent Response Rate in Census 2000, Two Points Higher Than 1990

Nearly 7 of 10 homes in the United States filled out and returned a Census 2000 questionnaire for a final response rate of 67 percent, 2 percentage points over the rate for the 1990 census, according to the U.S. Commerce Department's Census Bureau. For the first time in history, the response rate improved over the immediately prior census.

Thirteen of the nation's 15 most populous cities equaled or exceeded their 1990 response rates as did 14 of the 15 most populous counties. Five states and nearly 9,300 other governmental units did even better, meeting a Census Bureau challenge to better their 1990 response rates by 5 percentage points or more.

"Well done, America!" said Commerce Secretary Norman Y. Mineta. "This successful once-in-a-decade civic ceremony was a great way to start the new century as the nation came together to participate. Americans from all walks of life heard the call and responded."

Under Secretary of Commerce for Economic Affairs Robert J. Shapiro said, "Census 2000 mobilized and energized over 140,000 civic, religious, business and neighborhood organizations to reach out to tens of millions of families. This census was a model of civic engagement by the government."

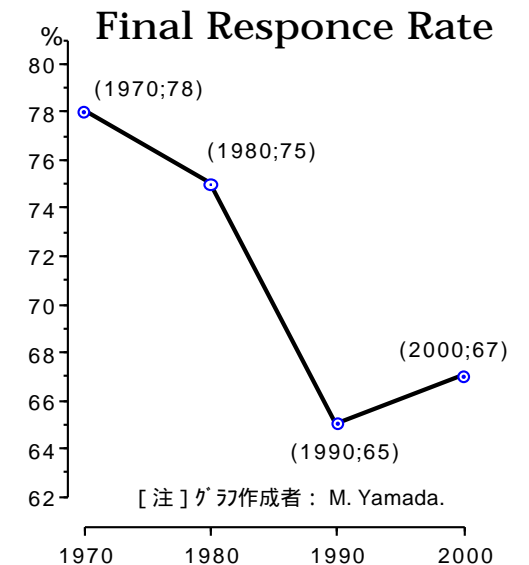
"Civic obligation, contrary to skeptical voices, is alive and well across America's communities," said Census Bureau Director

Kenneth Prewitt. "The nation ended a three-decade decline in response rates; it even reversed that decline. In 1970, the response rate was 78 percent; in 1980, 75 percent; and in 1990, 65 percent. For 2000, the prediction was that it would only be 61 percent. In this context, the 67 percent response rate is an unexpected, extraordinary public achievement."

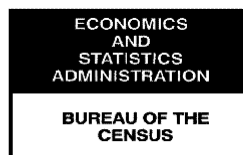
The updated rate represents the percentage of housing units that mailed back a questionnaire, filed it over the Internet, completed a form over the telephone or returned a "Be Counted" form obtained from a neighborhood assistance center. Prewitt noted that the public continued to return questionnaires well past the mid-April cutoff in numbers exceeding anything seen in past censuses.

America's response exceeded the expectations of the Congress, the General Accounting Office and the Census Bureau itself. The higher-than-expected mail return of census forms had a major, positive impact on the follow-up phase of the census in May and June when census-takers went door-to-door to obtain a completed questionnaire for households who did not initially respond.

"Our census-takers had fewer households to contact, allowing us to concentrate our staff and improve our follow-up operations," Prewitt said. "A good census got better when our census-takers found the same public spirit during this phase. People wanted to be included."



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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE
WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 14, 2001 at 9:30 A.M. (EST)

Preliminary Estimates Show Improvement in Census 2000 Coverage

The Commerce Department's Census Bureau announced today that preliminary estimates showed an apparent improvement in the coverage of Census 2000 over 1990, including reductions in the differential undercounts of certain population groups.

The Census 2000 preliminary estimate of the undercount rate for the total population ranges from 0.96 to 1.4 percent. The national undercount rate in 1990 was 1.6 percent. Significant reduction occurred in the undercount rates for non-Hispanic Blacks and Hispanics. For American Indians on reservations, the undercount in Census 2000 will be well below the 12.2 percent figure reported in 1990. Also, while there remains a difference in coverage rates for owners and renters, the undercount of renters appears to have been significantly reduced from 1990 to 2000. And coverage for children under 18 years old improved notably. For American Indians off reservations, Asians, and Native Hawaiians and other Pacific Islanders, there are no comparable data for 1990.

[The attached tables](#) show 1990 net undercount rates and the preliminary undercount ranges for Census 2000 for selected population, tenure and age groups.

"This is important news," said William G. Barron, acting director of the Census Bureau. "Thanks to the cooperation of the American public, the more than 500,000 people who worked on Census 2000, a highly successful advertising campaign and outreach program, and the work of more than 140,000 partners, we think we have results in which the country can be proud. While these preliminary estimates indicate that there are still undercounts for some groups, I believe we have taken a significant step toward improving census accuracy.

"These preliminary numbers will be refined and evaluated over the next several weeks and additional refinements will lead to more precise calculations. In the interest of openness and transparency, we wanted to share these data because they tell an important story about the accuracy of Census 2000."

An Executive Steering Committee for Accuracy and Coverage Evaluation Policy (ESCAP) composed of 12 Census Bureau career professionals will recommend by the end of February whether adjustment is technically feasible and would further improve the accuracy of the counts.

The estimates released today are based on preliminary tabulations from the Accuracy and Coverage Evaluation conducted independently of Census 2000. The Accuracy and Coverage Evaluation surveyed 314,000 housing units across the country and was designed to measure how many people were missed in the census and how many were erroneously included or double-counted.

The preliminary estimates are based on early tabulations done for the ESCAP to assist in their analysis. The ESCAP is still evaluating data and is on schedule to release its recommendation at the end of the month. Additional information and findings will be available when its report is released.

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE
WEDNESDAY, MARCH 28, 2001

Statement of William G. Barron, Acting Census Bureau Director, Regarding Census 2000 Undercount Estimates Released Today

The Presidential Members of the U.S. Census Monitoring Board today released data that they describe as representing Census 2000 undercounts for all fifty states and five U.S. cities.

As part of the policy of transparency for Census 2000, we have provided extensive, perhaps unprecedented, data and other information to our oversight bodies. This is the only way the estimates released today could have been calculated. It appears that both the population counts and the methodology used to calculate them are seriously flawed.

For instance, our review of the data made available to the oversight bodies indicates that the estimated undercount for New York should be below, not above, the national average.

It is important to note that the Census Bureau is not in a position to release a final estimate for any state or city, and believes that the most accurate data currently available are the unadjusted data already released. This is because of the uncertainties discovered in analyzing results of the Accuracy and Coverage Evaluation, including the comparison with demographic analysis, as we examined the Census 2000 undercount.

Our work to resolve these uncertainties continues. Secretary Evans and I testified before the Senate Commerce Committee today that the

Census Bureau would continue its work in this area and expects to make a recommendation this fall as to the future potential uses of adjusted data.

While we have received many requests for the Census Bureau to release the data currently under analysis, I ask for patience in this regard until we can resolve the technical issues the ESCAP committee discovered.

-X-

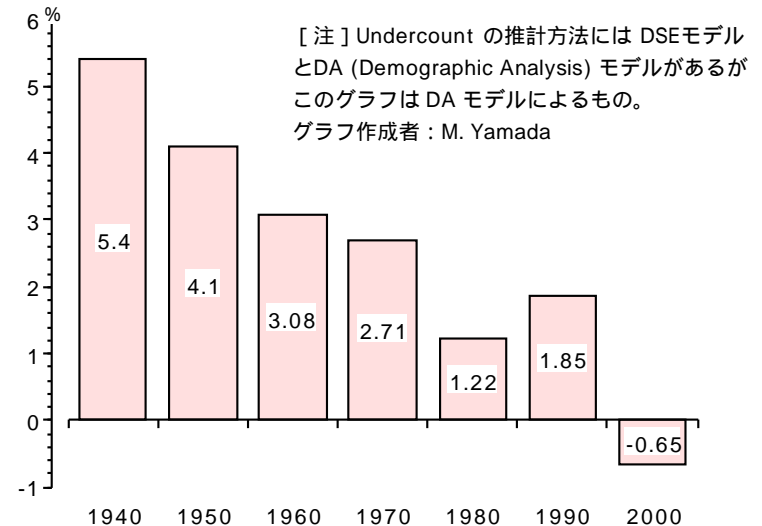
Source: U.S. Census Bureau

Public Information Office

CMBP's Mission:

The U.S. Census Monitoring Board, established by Congress in 1997, is a bipartisan board charged with monitoring Census 2000 operations and with reporting its findings to Congress. The Board is composed of eight Members: four appointed by the President, two appointed by the Speaker of the House of Representatives, and two appointed by the Majority Leader of the United States Senate. The Board began its work in 1998 and issued reports to Congress in February, April and October of 1999, as well as in March and April of 2000. Additional reports to Congress are due in April and September 2001.

[参考] Undercount Rate は歴史的に減少傾向にある



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March 9, 2001
For Immediate Release

Contacts: John Chambers

DESPITE DECLARATIONS OF INCREASED ACCURACY CENSUS 2000 FILLED WITH ERRORS

Errors Match or Exceed 1990 Levels And May
Contribute to Reduced Differential Undercount

Washington, D.C. (March 9, 2001) -- After a preliminary analysis of the Census Bureau's quality control check of the 2000 census, the Accuracy and Coverage Evaluation (A.C.E.), the Presidential Members of the U.S. Census Monitoring Board found that the 2000 count contained 44 million errors and uncertain cases - 9 million more than the 1990 count.

The Census Bureau announced last week that a net of 3.3 million people were missed in the 2000 Census. "How can we accept 36 million errors and 8 million questionable cases as the most accurate census ever but refuse to correct 3 million errors that scientific methods identify with confidence?" asked Everett Ehrlich, Census Monitoring Board Member and former Undersecretary of Commerce.

As defined by the Census Bureau, census error consists of three components -- the numbers of omissions, erroneous inclusions and non-data defined persons. Omissions are people who are missed in the census and erroneous inclusions are people who were counted twice, counted in the wrong place, or shouldn't have been counted at all, such as fictitious people, children born after April 1st and people who died before April 1st. Non-data defined people, sometimes referred to as "whole-person imputations," are computer-generated estimates of the number or characteristics (such as age, sex or race) of people in a household. There were 5.7 million of these in the 2000 Census and 2.2

million in 1990. Uncertain cases include counts where there is a high probability of error, or where there is so little information that we can not tell if it is erroneous.

Re-instated possible duplications refer to the 2.3 million persons for whom the Census Bureau could not definitively determine whether or not they were counted twice.

Errors and Uncertain Cases in the Census, 1990 and 2000

	Omissions (errors)	Erronious Inclusions (error)	Non-Data Defined Persons (Uncertain)	Re-instated Possible Duplications (Uncertain)	Net Undercount	Total Error and Uncertain Cases
1990 Census	19.9 million	13.0 million	2.2 million	---	4.0 million	35.1 million
2000 Census	23.7 million	12.5 million	5.7 million	2.3 million	3.2 million	44.2 million

The Census Bureau would not be able to say that Census 2000 is the "most accurate census in history" without reviewing the results of the A.C.E. Moreover, the A.C.E. tells us how many people were missed and how to adjust the census accordingly. In an operation as large as the decennial census, there are bound to be problems. The 2000 Census unfortunately includes a massive number of errors. The following chart depicts the errors and uncertain cases in the 2000 count.

"Should we accept the Census Bureau's relative definition of accuracy when we know that the 2000 count contained as many errors as 1990," asked Gilbert F. Casellas, Presidential Co-Chair of the Monitoring Board. "If you're one of the millions of Americans not included in the final count, the answer is no."

It is possible that the same person could be included in more than one error or uncertain case category. However, despite possible offsetting of errors, the vast numbers clearly indicate a massive census error rate. Furthermore, the effects of errors in the census are differential

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by race as evidenced in the chart below.

Errors and Uncertain Cases in the 2000 Census, by Race					
	Omissions	Erroneous Inclusions	Non-Data Defined Persons	Re-instated Possible Duplications	Net Undercount
Whites, non-Hispanic	6.9%	4.0%	1.5%	0.8%	0.6%
Blacks, non-Hispanic	13.0%	6.6%	3.3%	0.9%	2.2%
Hispanics	12.6%	5.1%	3.8%	0.9%	2.8%

Dr. Eugene P. Ericksen, a decennial census expert and professor of statistics at Temple University added, "The results from the 2000 Census show us that the differential undercount was reduced, not eliminated, but doesn't tell us how. It is very possible, for example, that the level of omission in the 2000 Census was the same as or greater than the corresponding 1990 level. The reduction in the differential undercount could very well have been achieved by increasing numbers of erroneous inclusions and non-data defined people. Moreover, there are additional questions such as how did the so-called re-instated possible duplications contribute to reducing the differential undercount? It is likely that these re-instated possible duplications contributed to increased error in the raw census count. For example, why is the racial differential undercount less in the rural South than in the rest of the country? Does the fact that many Blacks in the rural South were counted twice offset the missing of others who were harder to count?"

"Now that we have information about census error, we still need to know how many people were missed, how many people were counted twice, or how many people were included by mistake. Until we have the answers to these and other key questions, we can not determine the accuracy of Census 2000," added Casellas. In 1990, 8.4 million people were missed and 4.4 million were counted twice, or incorrectly included for a net undercount of 4 million.



[右写真]
2000年センサスでの「フォローアップ（戸別訪問）調査」の様様。

[下写真]
1950年センサスでの面接調査の様様。



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Racial Classifications in the US Census: 1790-1880

	1790	1800	1810	1820	1830	1840	1850	1860	1870	1880
Free White Males	*	*	*	*						
Free White Females	*	*	*	*						
Free White Persons					*	*				
White									*	*
Slaves	*	*	*	*	*	*				
Free Colored Persons				*	*	*				
Black							*	*	*	*
Mulatto							*	*	*	*
All Other Free Persons	*									
All Other Free Persons, except Indians Not Taxed		*	*	*						
Indian									*	*
Chinese									*	*
センサス調査員による記入							White:B	White:B Taxed Indian: C_ind.		
備考									1866年から1875年にかけての一連の憲法修正と公民権法により奴隷制廃止	

作成者：M. Yamada。この表は、Sharon M. Lee (1993) のアイデアに基づき M. Yamada が作成。Thanks Sharon.

[注] 1. White と Black との混血の扱いは、面倒な問題になったが、1930年までには、“One-Drop Rule” が各州で適用されるようになる。

2. アメリカ・インディアンの扱い：合衆国に併合された「税を納めるインディアン」は合衆国国民扱いとなるが、それ以外は「外の人」扱い。インディアン全体に米国市民権が付与されるのは1924年（併合の完了）。



Racial Classifications in the US Census: 1890-2000

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	1890	1900	1910	1920	1930	1940	1950	1960	1970	1980	1990	2000	*2000_変更項目	OMB_1997	
White	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*		White	
Black	*	*	*	*									Black, African Am., or Negro	Black, African Am., or Negro	
Negro					*	*	*	*							
Black/Negro									*	*	*				
Mulatto	*		*	*											
Quad,Octeroon	*														
Indian	*	*	*	*	*	*							American Indian or Alaska Native	American Indian or Alaska Native	
American Indian							*	*							
Indian(Amer.)									*	*	*				
Aleut								*		*	*				
Eskimo								*		*	*				
Chinese	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	Asian		
Japanese	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*			
Filipino					*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*			
Hindu					*	*									
Korean					*	*			*	*	*	*			
Vetnamese										*	*	*			
Asian Indian										*	*	*			
Other Asian or Pacific Islander															other Asian
															other Pacific Islander
Hawaiian								*	*	*	*				Native Hawaiian
Part Hawaiian								*							
Guamanian										*	*		Guamanian or Chamorro		
Samoaan										*	*	*			
Mexican					*										
Other(write in)			*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*		some other race	

[注] "Ethnic Classifications" については、Hispanic/Spanish/Latino であるか否かを問う質問項目がニクソン政権の強権によって1970年にロング・フォームに初めて採用された。その後、1980年からは、ショート・フォームの質問項目に格上げされ、今日に至っている。

作成者：M. Yamada。この表は、Sharon M. Lee, "Racial Classifications in the U.S. Census: 1890-1990," Ethnic and Racial Studies, vol.16 no.1, Jan. 1993, p78. に掲載の表に加筆・修正を加えて、2000年の項目を追加したものである。

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[参考] UK 2001年人口センサス (2001年4月29日に実施) における「民族グループ」に関する質問項目 (England, Welsh 共通)

8 What is your ethnic group?

Choose ONE section from A to E, then ✓ the appropriate box to indicate your cultural background.

A White

British Irish

Any other White background, please write in

B Mixed

White and Black Caribbean

White and Black African

White and Asian

Any other Mixed background, please write in

C Asian or Asian British

Indian Pakistani

Bangladeshi

Any other Asian background, please write in

*「エスニック」は、「カルチュラルなもの」として定義され、「多文化社会」を肯定する。

基本分類：

- A. White
- B. Mixed
- C. Asian or British Asian
- D. Black or Black British
- E. Chinese or other ethnic group

*1991年保守党政権下で調査項目に導入。

*"Mixed" 範疇は 2001年から。

*ひとつ選択方式。

*Scotland は少し簡略化されたものを使用。

*North Ireland は、1997年の人種関係法に基づき今回が初めての実施： "White, Chinese, Irish Traveller, Indian, Pakistani, Bangladeshi, Black Caribbean, Black African or Black Other, Mixed, Any Other"

D Black or Black British

Caribbean African

Any other Black background, please write in

E Chinese or other ethnic group

Chinese

Any other, please write in

[参考] カナダ・人口センサス (2001年5月11日) における「民族グループ」質問項目

18 Is this person an Aboriginal person, that is, North American Indian, Métis or Inuit (Eskimo)?
If "Yes", mark "⊗" the circle(s) that best describe(s) this person now.

19 Is this person:
Mark "⊗" more than one or specify, if applicable.

*複数選択方式を採用している。

This information is collected to support programs that promote equal opportunity for everyone to share in the social, cultural and economic life of Canada.

*質問の意図は公民権法的利用 (機会均等) と明記される。

分類：

White Chinese South Asia Black Filipino Latin America
Southeast Asia Arab West Asian Japanese Korean Other

- No → Continue with the next question
- Yes, North American Indian → Go to Question 20
- Yes, Métis
- Yes, Inuit (Eskimo)

- White
- Chinese
- South Asian (e.g., East Indian, Pakistani, Sri Lankan, etc.)
- Black
- Filipino
- Latin American
- Southeast Asian (e.g., Cambodian, Indonesian, Laotian, Vietnamese, etc.)
- Arab
- West Asian (e.g., Afghan, Iranian, etc.)
- Japanese
- Korean
- Other — Specify

ONE NUMBER CENSUS について

1990年センサスでは二つの結果数値がセンサス局から発表された。

- (1) 従来からのHeadcount に基づく結果数値と
- (2) PES (Postenumeration Survey) によって補正された修正数値

こうした事態は、政府が諸決定を行う根拠となる法定数値が複数あるという混乱を招く事態を引き起こすこととなった。

そこで 2000年センサスに向けて企画されたのが “One Number Census” である。このプロジェクトの特徴は、1950年の人口センサス以降に事後的に行われてきた調査結果の正確さとカバレッジの大きさを評価する調査を本調査に組み込み、最終的に補正された数値のみを結果として公表することにある。

方法論的には “One Number Census” は、DSE (Dual-System Estimation) という推計方法を用いるが、センサス局が提起した案をまとめると次のような調査ステップを踏むことになる。：

- (1) 先ず、従来通りに郵送方式で調査票の配布と回収を行う。
- (2) 次に、従来通りに MailBack されなかった世帯（ないし住居単位）にたいして “FollowUp” 調査（個別訪問調査）を行う。
- (3) 次に、“FollowUp” 調査での回収率が各 County（郡）にたいして90%まで達成したら、そこで調査を終了する。
- (4) 次に、回収できなかった残りの10%に関して、抽出率10%でサンプル調査を行う。
- (5) 最後に、75万住居単位をサンプルとしたセンサス精度評価調査（ICM: Integrated Coverage Measurement）を行い、最終的に、DSEの方法論に基づいてセンサス結果の補正数値を作成する。

しかし、こうした “One Number Census” の企画は、全住民にたいしてヘッドカウントを行うように定めている合衆国憲法の規定に違反しているという訴訟が共和党保守基盤から起こされた。連邦最高裁は1999年1月に違憲判決を下し、企画は

取りやめとなった。

だが、最高裁の違憲判決は、代議制議員の定数配分に係わる事案に限定したものであり、それ以外の目的に補正数値を法定数として用いるケースについてはいかなる言及もしなかった。そこでセンサス局は1990年センサスの PES と基本的には同様のものである ACE (31万4千 住居をサンプルとして調査) を実施し、その結果を踏まえて結果数値の補正を目論んだ。しかし、これを用いた結果補正についても主に共和党保守基盤が執拗な反対運動を行った。クリントン政権は2000年11月に、この件についての判断を行う権限はセンサス局長にあるとする見解を示したが、新に政権の座に就いたブッシュ政権は、2001年2月16日にセンサス局の決定権限を商務省長官 Don Evans に移す決定を行った。その決定を受け、センサス局は3月1日に結果数値の補正は行わないというセンサス局の見解を商務省長官に報告した。センサス局の見解は、「補正数値が元の生のままの数値より正確であるという確かな保証はない」という真当ものであったが、そのような結論が政治的な圧力によって下されるというところに「統計のインテグリティ」の危うさを見ることが出来る。

*なお、2001年4月29日に実施されるブリティッシュ住宅・人口センサスは、DSE方式の推計方法を採用した “One Number Census” 方式で実施される。

[右図] England Census 2001 への参加（調査員が配布した調査票に記入し、黄封筒に入れてポストバックしてね！）を呼びかけるポスター

