# ATTITUDES OF FEMALES TOWARD FAMILY PLANNING IN A MAHARASHTRIAN VILLAGE

WILLIAM A. MORRISON[1]

THIS paper[2] reports part of a study of family planning attitudes and practices,[3] made in Badlapur Village, Bombay State, India, during 1954. In this report[4] only those factors are delineated which were associated with the expressed willingness of the married women of the village to limit size of family and to use birth control techniques to achieve that end.

Badlapur, a Maharashtrian Konkan village,[5] has a population of approximately 3,200 persons, comprising forty-five caste groups, who also represent the Hindu, Muslim, Christian, and Jain religions. The principal crop of the area[6] is rice, which is grown during the monsoon period when an average rainfall

[1] Demographic Fellow, The Population Council, Inc., at the Department of Rural Sociology, the University of Connecticut.

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[4] Morrison, William A.: Attitudes of Males Toward Family Planning in a Western Indian Village. The Milbank Memorial Fund *Quarterly,* July 1956, xxxiv, No. 3, pp. 262–286, for a study of the attitudes of the married males of Badlapur on this subject. Both the males and females interviewed for these two studies came from the village of Badlapur. The men of the male sample are not necessarily the husbands of the women of the female sample, although there are some husband-wife combinations in the two samples.

[5] Maharashtra is the cultural-linguistic area of Western India in which Marathi is spoken. The Konkan is the geographical region lying between the Indian Ocean and the Sahyadries or Western Ghats in Maharashtra.

[6] The area, consisting of the two administrative districts of Thana and Kolaba, is still predominantly agricultural, for approximately two-thirds of the persons in the area are dependent upon agriculture for a livelihood.

of over one hundred inches comes within the short period of three and one-half months.

## The Female Sample

Two women interviewers[7] were instructed to interview married women who considered themselves to be of the child-bearing age. If the subject indicated strong unwillingness to discuss the matter, the interviewers did not persist. The great majority of the village women had not discussed this matter before, not even with their spouses. The interviewers did have great difficulty in contacting two caste groups, the outcastes or Harijans and the tribals.[8] The women of these castes, who are very poor in general, work as house servants, as day laborers, and at other menial tasks to secure funds for their daily sustenance. In addition the tribal women are not to be found in the village for weeks at a time, for they go with their families into the jungle on seasonal work. Because of these factors, the Harijan-Tribal group is not represented in the universe population under discussion, a universe which consists of married females, 15–44 years of age, of Badlapur, exclusive of these two lower caste groups.

The sample population, 126 married females 15–44 years of age, constitutes 25.5 per cent of the universe population, 494 females. The degree of correspondence of the sample and the universe populations with respect to the four variables of caste, age, occupation, and education are presented in Table 1. The

[7] The author is indebted to Miss Chandrakala Orpe and Miss Suman Orpe who were the interviewers on this project. Both young ladies were residents of the Badlapur area and knew many of the village women. Without their great persistence and interest this study could not have been made, for many women in the village did not at first understand the study's objectives, which had to be patiently and clearly explained to each interviewee. The author is also indebted to Mr. Hari C. Bhagwat, Mr. Manavant N. Ghatwal, Mr. Sakharam D. Thasal, Mr. Vinayak P. Marathe, Mr. Madhukar G. Gandre, and Mr. Manohar G. Orpe who translated the original material from Marathi into English, and to Judge Narayan G. Chapekar, retired, of Badlapur, who opened his home to the author when he came to Badlapur. Without the guidance, counsel, and friendship of Judge Chapekar and his son, Dr. Lakshman N. Chapekar, the author's work in Badlapur could not have been accomplished.

[8] The three castes of Harijans, or Outcastes, Mahar, Chambhar and Bhangi, and the two tribal castes, Thakur and Katkari, were very difficult to contact. Rather than to expend valuable time in a seemingly fruitless effort to establish rapport, it was decided to exclude them from the sample.

| Variable | Chi Square | Degrees of Freedom | P Value |
|---|---|---|---|
| Caste | 1.2347 | 2 | 55.1 |
| Age | 2.3460 | 2 | 31.6 |
| Occupation | 12.0733 | 6 | 6.1 |
| Education | 46.3322 | 2 | nil. |

Table 1. Correspondence of the sample with the universe population in terms of several variables indicated by the chi square test of goodness of fit.

degree of correspondence between the sample and the universe distributions are shown by the values of P. With respect to caste and age the P value is high and is moderate with respect to occupation. The educational status of the sample is uniformly better than that of the universe, for 46.8 per cent of the sample and 70.6 per cent of the universe population were illiterate. This is the major difference between the sample and the universe. In all other respects, the moderate to high values of P here indicate that the sample does mirror the universe population, that it is representative.

## Desire for Offspring

In this section several demographic and socio-cultural variables which can be assumed to be associated with desire for offspring are tested for their statistical significance of association with the attitude toward family planning. In reply to the question: "Do you wish to have more children?", forty-eight women, 38.1 per cent of the sample population of 126 females, answered "no." Although these women seemingly constitute a small group numerically, they are almost four out of ten of the sample population. They possess several important characteristics significantly differentiating them from the remaining women of the sample.

The data presented in Table 2 show that a direct relationship exists between age and desire for no additional offspring. The women aged 35–44 are almost unanimous in their attitude, with 92.9 per cent wanting no additional progeny, compared with 7.7 per cent of those 15–24 years of age who held a similar

| Age Group | Total | Desire More Offspring | Desire No More Offspring | Per Cent Desire No More of Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Total | 126 | 78 | 48 | 38.1 |
| 15–24 | 39 | 36 | 3 | 7.7 |
| 25–34 | 59 | 40 | 19 | 32.2 |
| 35–44 | 28 | 2 | 26 | 92.9 |
| Chi Square 51.7499 | | | Chi Square Probability Nil | |

Table 2. The sample population by age and by desire for additional offspring.

opinion. The unanimity of thought and desire on the part of the married village women over 35 years of age on this subject negates the often stated "truism" that the "silent, suffering" village women willingly bear as many children as fate should decree. That appears not to be true.

The association between number of total offspring, including living and dead progeny, and desire for no additional offspring also proved to be statistically significant. A direct relationship exists, as Table 3 indicates, for 10.5 per cent of those with 1–2 total offspring and 78.6 per cent of those with 7–13 total offspring desired no additional progeny. The critical level for change in attitude from desire to no desire appears to be the five total offspring level, for 58.5 per cent of that group were not desirous of additional progeny. The great majority of those with less than five total offspring desired more while those with five or more desired no additional children.

Table 3. The sample population by number of total offspring and by desire for additional children.

| Number of Total Offspring | Total | Desire More Offspring | Desire No More Offspring | Per Cent Desire No More of Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Total | 126 | 78 | 48 | 38.1 |
| 1–2 | 38 | 34 | 4 | 10.5 |
| 3–4 | 33 | 28 | 5 | 15.2 |
| 5 | 17 | 7 | 10 | 58.2 |
| 6 | 10 | 3 | 7 | 70.0 |
| 7–13 | 28 | 6 | 22 | 78.6 |
| Chi Square 46.4656 | | | Chi Square Probability Nil | |

| Number of Living Offspring | Total | Desire More Offspring | Desire No More Offspring | Per Cent Desire No More of Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Total | 126 | 78 | 48 | 38.1 |
| 0–2 | 54 | 47 | 7 | 13.0 |
| 3 | 24 | 17 | 7 | 29.2 |
| 4 | 15 | 6 | 9 | 60.0 |
| 5 | 12 | 3 | 9 | 75.0 |
| 6–11 | 21 | 5 | 16 | 76.2 |
| Chi Square 38.1691 | | | Chi Square Probability Nil | |

Table 4. The sample population by number of living children and by desire for additional offspring.

To investigate further the importance which number of progeny plays as a factor associated with this attitude, associations between number of living offspring as well as between number of living male offspring[9] and desire for additional offspring were computed. The data are presented in Tables 4 and 5. In each case a direct relationship was found to exist. An important generalization emerges from a comparison of Tables 3, 4 and 5.

Table 5. The sample population by number of living male children and by desire for additional offspring.

| Number of Living Male Offspring | Total | Desire More Offspring | Desire No More Offspring | Per Cent Desire No More of Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Total | 126 | 78 | 48 | 38.1 |
| 0 | 24 | 21 | 3 | 12.5 |
| 1 | 48 | 35 | 13 | 27.1 |
| 2 | 30 | 16 | 14 | 46.7 |
| 3–7 | 24 | 6 | 18 | 75.0 |
| Chi Square 23.9204 | | | Chi Square Probability $<.001$ | |

[9] The desire for male progeny in the Hindu is very strong. A son is absolutely essential if the traditional-orthodox obsequies are to be performed. The Shastras, sacred religious literature, stress the importance of male progeny. In the Laws of Manu, it is written:

"28. By the study of the Veda, by vows, by burnt oblations, by (the recitation of) sacred texts, by the (acquisition of the) threefold sacred science, by offering (to the gods, Rishis, and manes), by (the procreation of) sons, by the great sacrifices, and by (Srauta) rites this (human) body is made fit for (union with) Brahman." 11, 28.

Buhler, G. translator: The Laws of Manu, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1886, 11, 28, p. 34.

| Number of Years Married | Total | Desire More Offspring | Desire No More Offspring | Per Cent Desire No More of Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Total | 126 | 78 | 48 | 38.1 |
| 0–10 | 41 | 36 | 5 | 12.2 |
| 10–14 | 29 | 20 | 9 | 31.0 |
| 15–19 | 17 | 9 | 8 | 47.1 |
| 20–24 | 10 | 3 | 7 | 70.0 |
| 25 and Over | 29 | 10 | 19 | 65.5 |
| Chi Square 26.4099 | | | Chi Square Probability $<.001$ | |

Table 6. The sample population by number of years married and by desire for additional offspring.

The number of progeny born by a majority of the women who desire no additional offspring is successively reduced from five total offspring to four living offspring to three living male offspring. In other words, as the tabular data illustrate, a majority of the women of the sample who possess these number of offspring desire no additional progeny. Even though these three associations may measure much the same thing statistically,[10] the lowering of the critical level at which desire for more offspring becomes desire for no additional offspring in each association is very important.

The traditional cultural veneration and acceptance of the large family ideal clearly is not operative[11] in the group studied. Satisfaction with three male progeny or four living progeny indicates a small family norm held by these village women and a definitely non-passive attitude concerning additional offspring.

[10] The author is now engaged in treating the data with multiple variable techniques to ascertain the validity of the hypothesis that these variables may be measuring to some degree the same thing. However it is felt that the insights provided by the use of the present technique are enough to warrant their presentation at this time.

[11] Several sources delve into the traditional ideal patterns at length. Apte, V. M.: Social and Religious Life in the Grihya Sutras. Bombay, Popular Book Depot, 1954, pp. 46–8 describes the preference for sons and the desire for large family in the Rig Vedic period; Srinvas, M. N.: Marriage and Family in Mysore. Bombay, New Book Company, 1942. Chapter xv "Desire For Children" also stresses the orthodox abhorence of childlessness and the longing for children, pp. 171–6; Meyer, Johann: Sexual Life in Ancient India. New York, Barnes and Noble, 1953, pp. 151–3 illustrates from the ancient texts the absolute necessity of marriage and progeny, particularly male.

| Caste Group | Total | Desire More Offspring | Desire No More Offspring | Per Cent Desire No More of Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Total | 126 | 78 | 48 | 38.1 |
| Professional and Trading | 64 | 32 | 32 | 50.0 |
| All Others | 62 | 46 | 16 | 25.8 |
| Chi Square 7.8163 | | | Chi Square Probability .005 | |

Table 7. The sample population by caste and by desire for additional offspring.

Number of years married, as a variable, was also statistically significant in its association with desire for additional progeny, Table 6. A majority of women married twenty years and more desired no additional children, while those married less than twenty years were of the opposite opinion in the majority of cases. Actually, only 12.1 per cent of those married less than ten years desired no additional children, but 65.5 per cent married 25 years or over were so inclined.

Caste serves as a general indicator of socio-economic status in the village. To know a woman's caste is to know generally her husband's occupation, and the level and standard of living of her family.[12] When caste, considered as a variable, was tested for its association with desire for additional offspring, it was found to be statistically significant too, as Table 7 indicates. One-half of the women of the professional and trading castes, which constitute the middle and upper class castes of the village, desired no additional offspring, while only one-quarter of the remainder were of that opinion. Caste, the variable least significant statistically in its association, reflects the differences between the more non-traditional milieu of the professional and trading castes as compared with the more traditional orthodox milieu of the agriculturalists.[13]

[12] Within the village, caste does serve as an approximate determinator of socio-economic position. The author is engaged in the development of socio-economic index which will serve to indicate class—caste correlation.

[13] Traditional orthodox milieu is here defined as the more rigid adherence to the cultural norms of village Hinduism, as well as less contact with and interaction in

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| Variable | Chi Square | Degrees of Freedom | P Value |
|---|---|---|---|
| Education | .9100 | 3 | Greater than 80.0 |
| Age at Marriage | 1.0537 | 3 | 79.0 |
| Occupation | 6.3435 | 4 | 18.0 |

Table 8. Summary tables for those variables found not to be significantly associated with the desire for additional offspring by the chi square test of goodness of fit.

Three other variables proved not to be statistically significant in their association with the desire for additional offspring. They were education, age at marriage, and occupation of husband. As the data of Table 8 indicate, the level of probability associated with these indices is much higher than that customarily accepted as statistically significant.

In summary, the indices shown to be statistically significant reflect a strong and important sentiment among the village women for a limited number of offspring. Whether this sentiment is or is not a component element in a non-traditional value orientation will be investigated at a later point. First the indices significantly associated statistically with attitudes toward the use of contraceptives must be analysed.

## Attitude Toward the Use of Contraceptives

When asked: "If you wish to avoid pregnancy or limit the size of your family, would you be willing to use contraceptives to do this?", fifty-one women answered in the affirmative.[14] They comprise 40.5 per cent of the sample, a slightly larger percentage than the 38.1 per cent who desired no additional offspring. This difference in numerical representation is quite understandable, for some who wished to achieve spacing between pregnancies are included here, although they may not

the urban industrial cultural milieu. The low rate of literacy as well as the low rate of non-agricultural employment serves to isolate this group from the non-traditional urban-industrial cultural influences.

[14] In conjunction with this study, The Family Planning Association of India established a clinic in the village which was staffed by a trained midwife-nurse and by a medical doctor who provided the medical supervision and examinations. As part of the services made available by the clinic, chemical and mechanical contraceptives were provided without cost to those women who desired to use them. The result of this phase of the study will be reported upon at a later date.

| Educational Status | Total | Not Willing To Use | Willing To Use | Per Cent Willing To Use of Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Total | 126 | 75 | 51 | 40.5 |
| Not Educated | 60 | 44 | 16 | 26.7 |
| First–Fourth Grade | 32 | 20 | 12 | 37.5 |
| Fifth–Seventh Grade | 23 | 6 | 17 | 73.9 |
| Eighth and Higher | 11 | 5 | 6 | 54.5 |
| Chi Square 16.1505 | | | Chi Square Probability $<.001$ | |

Table 9. The sample population by educational status and by attitude toward the use of contraceptives.

have been included in the group which desired no additional offspring. In addition, some of those who desired no additional offspring were not willing to use contraceptives.

The relationship of education and attitude toward use of contraceptives is presented in Table 9. A highly significant statistical association exists between education and willingness to use contraceptives. The great majority, 67.6 per cent, of the women who were educated beyond the fourth standard of the primary school were in favor of contraceptive usage, while approximately seven out of ten, 69.6 per cent, of those with four standards of education or less were not in favor. Education, it will be remembered, was not significantly associated with desire for additional offspring, Table 8. In contrast, education is the most significantly associated variable with attitude toward the use of contraceptives. It would appear that willingness to use contraceptives involves a component of a non-traditional value orientation, a component which differs from the widespread desire among the village women for a limited sized family.

The association between age at marriage and attitude toward the use of contraceptives was also highly significant (Table 10). The group of women who were 15–19 years of age at marriage were the most favorably inclined, 58.5 per cent, while those who were less than 10 years of age at marriage were the least, 22.2 per cent. This difference is partially explained by the fact

| Age At Marriage | Total | Not Willing To Use | Willing To Use | Per Cent Willing To Use of Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Total | 126 | 75 | 51 | 40.5 |
| 0–9 Years | 9 | 7 | 2 | 22.2 |
| 10–14 Years | 61 | 43 | 18 | 29.5 |
| 15–19 Years | 41 | 17 | 24 | 58.5 |
| 20 and Over | 15 | 8 | 7 | 46.7 |
| Chi Square 10.0770 | | | Chi Square Probability .018 | |

Table 10. The sample population by age at marriage and by attitude toward the use of contraceptives.

that those marrying after pubescence are apt to have had more education. At the same time in a society in which pre-pubertal marriage was the orthodox and customary procedure, post-pubertal marriage reflects a non-traditional cultural orientation congruent with the expressed willingness to use birth control.

The association between the variables of number of years married and the attitude toward use of contraception was also significant, statistically, as the data in Table 11 indicate. An inverse relationship appears between length of time married and favorable attitude towards contraceptive usage. The majority of those married less than fifteen years were willing to use contraceptives; while the majority of those married fifteen years or more were unwilling to use them. Apparently the most recently married women, whose families were not yet com-

Table 11. The sample population by number of years married and by attitude toward the use of contraceptives.

| Number of Years Married | Total | Not Willing To Use | Willing To Use | Per Cent Willing To Use of Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Total | 126 | 75 | 51 | 40.5 |
| 0–9 Years | 41 | 20 | 21 | 51.2 |
| 10–14 Years | 29 | 13 | 16 | 55.2 |
| 15–19 Years | 17 | 11 | 6 | 35.3 |
| 20–24 Years | 10 | 7 | 3 | 30.0 |
| 25 and Over | 29 | 24 | 5 | 17.4 |
| Chi Square 11.6961 | | | Chi Square Probability .020 | |

| Number of Total Offspring | Total | Not Willing To Use | Willing To Use | Per Cent Willing To Use of Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Total | 126 | 75 | 51 | 40.5 |
| 1–2 | 39 | 24 | 15 | 38.5 |
| 3–4 | 32 | 21 | 11 | 34.4 |
| 5 | 18 | 5 | 13 | 72.2 |
| 6 | 10 | 6 | 4 | 40.0 |
| 7–13 | 27 | 19 | 8 | 29.6 |
| Chi Square 9.4009 | | | Chi Square Probability .05 | |

Table 12. The sample population by number of total offspring and by attitude toward the use of contraceptives.

pleted, realized the value of birth control usage in planning their families.

Number of total offspring was also found to be significantly associated with willingness to use contraception, as Table 12 illustrates. Two suggestions emerge from the data; first, a majority (13 out of 18) of the women with five children ever born favored contraceptive usage; second, number of offspring, per se, appears to exercise relatively little influence in the matter of the determination of attitude toward contraceptive usage. It is realized, however, that a relationship of these variables may be obscured by the factor of age differences, i.e., the women with few children tend to be younger than those with many children. The former may tend to have more modern attitudes toward contraception. Unfortunately, the sample is too small to permit adequate control of the variables considered. The

Table 13. Summary table for those variables found not to be significantly associated with attitude toward use of contraceptives by the chi square test of goodness of fit.

| Variable | Chi Square | Degrees of Freedom | P Value |
|---|---|---|---|
| Number of Living Offspring | 1.5938 | 4 | 80.6 |
| Age | 1.3199 | 2 | 53.0 |
| Number of Living Male Offspring | 1.3560 | 3 | 72.0 |
| Occupation | 7.8287 | 4 | 9.9 |
| Caste | .0389 | 1 | >70.0 |

data of Table 13 reinforce the second conclusion, for both of the variables, number of living offspring and number of living male offspring were found not to be significantly associated with this attitude. In contrast to the value orientation reflected by the variables significantly associated with desire for additional offspring, those significant in their association with attitude toward the use of contraceptives reflect a completely different value orientation. For example, the factors of education, older age at marriage, and fewer years of marriage all reflect non-traditional cultural elements.[15] The variables of age, number of total offspring, number of living male offspring, years married and caste all significantly associated with desire for additional offspring do not reflect a non-traditional value orientation but a universal value orientation postively valuing offspring, found in all agrarian cultures.[16] This universal value orientation here also includes a desire for a limited number of offspring, a component erroneously thought not to exist in the traditional value orientation of the Indian village women. It does exist. Willingness to use contraceptives is a non-traditional value, reflecting a level of awareness of the possibility of positive action to achieve the desired sized family.

## Comparison Between Variable Significance in the Male and Female Samples

The variables found to be statistically significant in their association with desire for additional offspring in both the

[15] Education for girls beyond the primary level is still relatively uncommon in village India. For the daughters of agricultural caste families to be educated is still more uncommon. The continuing efforts made by the government to increase the minimum age for marriage indicate the tenacity of the old customs of prepubertal marriage. Finally, the increasing tempo of cultural and social change fostered by the Government of India since independence all combine to fortify the tenet that education, older age at marriage, less years of married life all reflect non-traditional cultural and value orientations.

[16] *See* Sorokin, Pitirim A.; Zimmerman, Carle C.; and Galpin, Charles, J.: A Systematic Source Book in Rural Sociology. Minneapolis: The University of Minnesota Press, 1931, Vol. II, Chapter X, pp. 3–48; Zimmerman, Carle C. and Frampton, Merle E.: Family and Society A Study of the Sociology of Reconstruction. New York, D. Van Nostrand Company, Inc., 1935, pp. 103 ff for the European studies of Le Play. *See* Levy, Marion J., Jr.: The Family Revolution in Modern China. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1949, pp. 66–9 for the joy and happiness in the Chinese family over children.

| Variable | Significant in Association | Not Significant in Association |
|---|---|---|
| Age | Male and Female | |
| Number of Total Offspring | Male and Female | |
| Number of Living Offspring | Male and Female | |
| Number of Living Male Offspring | Male and Female | |
| Years Married | Male and Female | |
| Caste | Female | Male |
| Education | Male | Female |
| Age at Marriage | | Male and Female |
| Occupation | | Male and Female |

Table 14. Variables associated with desire for additional offspring in the male and the female samples.

male[17] and the female samples are remarkably uniform as Table 14 illustrates. The importance of number of offspring is clearly evident in the determination of desire for additional offspring among both males and females. The notion that the villager, male or female, desires an unlimited number of offspring was found to be mistaken. In both groups the data provide incontrovertible evidence to the contrary.[18] This does not mean that

[17] Morrison, *op. cit.*

[18] The critical level at which desire for additional offspring changed to desire for no additional among the males was seven total offspring, six living offspring, and three living male offspring, while among the females it was six total offspring, four living offspring, and three living male offspring. Apparently, the women were satisfied with a smaller family than were the males, with the exception of number of living male progeny. When the critical levels associated with willingness to utilize contraception are compared, the males were more concerned with offspring than were the females, for the critical levels for change of attitude from unwilling to willing to use contraceptives were nine total offspring, six living offspring, and three living male offspring but for the females only total offspring was significantly associated, with five offspring group only majority in favor. Here too, the male concern with progeny appears quite clearly, much more so than with the females. In both cases the data provide clear evidence of the existence of a desire for a limited number of offspring.

In The Census of India, 1951, volume I, India, part I–A, report, the concept of "improvident maternity" is developed. Improvident maternity is defined as "a child-birth occurring to a mother who has already given birth to three or more children, of whom at least one is alive." (p. 217) There it is pointed out that approximately 17 out of every 40 births per 1,000 persons in India are of this nature. If this number of improvident births can be reduced greatly or eliminated, the population of India can be stabilized in a fifteen-year period at about 450 millions. The implications of this figure are brought out in the discussion. Birth control in conjunction with maternity and child welfare centers is the approach suggested to achieve this goal. The data presented in this paper indicate that a realization of

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| Variable | Significant in Association | Not Significant in Association |
|---|---|---|
| Education | Male and Female | |
| Years Married | Female | Male |
| Number of Total Offspring | Male and Female | |
| Age at Marriage | Female | Male |
| Number of Living Offspring | Male | Female |
| Number of Living Male Offspring | Male | Female |
| Caste | Male | Female |
| Occupation | | Male and Female |
| Age | | Male and Female |

Table 15. Variables associated with willingness to use contraceptives in the male and the female samples.

the positive evaluation of children found in agrarian village cultures is non-existent. It does exist, but together with it exists the cognizance that too many offspring may be as undesirable for the parent as too few offspring.

There is not uniformity in the male and female samples of variables significantly associated with willingness to use contraceptives (Table 15). Only two variables, education and number of total offspring, were significantly associated in both the male and the female samples. Education is the key apparently, reflecting the non-traditional value orientation associated with the willingness to utilize non-traditional devices, chemical and mechanical contraceptives, to control birth. Among the males, however, number of offspring, total, living, and living male, were very important considerations in making manifest willingness to use contraceptives, but they were very much less so among the females. In the previous paper it was shown that many educated males, with fewer than the critical number of progeny, indicated that they would be willing to use contraceptives once they had attained their desired number of offspring. Number of progeny does not play such an impor-

the implications of improvident maternity exists among the villagers. That a willingness exists to reduce improvident maternity is also evident. Given the means to implement their desires, considerable segments of the population would utilize birth control. The complete report is recommended to those who wish to become familiar with the current demographic situation and its implications for Indian society, reference: Census of India, 1951, volume I, India, parts I–A and I–B report and appendices, New Delhi, Government of India Press, 1953.

tant role with the females. Apparently among the females progeny is not as ego-involving a factor as it is among the males. This is congruent with the culture's emphasis as well.[19] Among the women, the non-traditional value orientation is a reflection of an active rather than a passive viewpoint toward life engendered by exposure to the values, mores, and world view of an anti-traditionalistic educational process. With such an exposure the latent desire for limited offspring can become manifest and operational, within the framework of the more non-traditional value orientation of the educated village women.

[19] The male attained full adult status only with the birth of a son. The man, in the *Shastras,* was thought to be the provider of the seed, whereas the woman was the field in which the seed grew. The man could seek another wife if his present one was childless. All in all, the factors surrounding the need and desire for offspring were more male oriented than female. *See* Buhler, *op. cit.,* pp. 332–5, and Meyer, *op. cit.,* pp. 146 ff.