

# **CONCERNED DEMOGRAPHY**

**Special Issue**

**on**

**WOMEN**

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*Where we've come from -- a note on Concerned Demography*

Concerned Demography is a periodic publication of Concerned Demographers, a nonprofit national organization of scholars interested in relating demographic research and training to the larger society. We first came together during the annual meeting of the Population Association of America in April, 1969, at a time when academic rebellions and widespread opposition to the war in Vietnam had given rise to dissident caucuses in many professional associations. As demographers we were interested in examining the political implications of our work. To this end we have presented formal papers and published 11 issues of Concerned Demography, each issue being edited by a different group, normally graduate students at different universities. However, Concerned Demography has no official ties with any university.

*Where we are -- Special Issue on Women*

At its 1973 meeting the Women's Caucus of the FAA agreed to edit an issue of CD. Gretchen Condran, Julia Ericksen, Eileen Gardener and Barbara Wolfe, working at the Population Studies Center, U. of Pennsylvania have served as editors: Diana Kaneshige was the typist. We gratefully acknowledge their contributions.

*Where we are going -- Special Issue on World Population Year and Beyond*

Coinciding with the arrival of population to "special year status" at the UN is the founding of another dissident organization -- Emerging Population Alternatives (EMPA). Michael Carder of EMPA and Reid T. Reynolds are editing the next issue of CD which will include a variety of dissident views on the international politics of population as well as book reviews and an annotated bibliography.

We invite original manuscripts and reviews as well as copies of articles and other material of potential interest to concerned demographers which might not normally come to their attention -- e.g., material published outside the "mainstream journals", in the Third World, etc., as well as criticisms of material in previous issues.

*How to get there -- a note on subscriptions*

Since its inception Doris Schlesinger, Julie Redding and others at the Center for Demography and Ecology, U. of Wisconsin, Madison, have devoted considerable time to maintaining subscription lists, etc. In the transition of editorial duties there has been an unfortunate lapse in this area which we hope to rectify. Those who have moved or whose subscription requests have been misplaced are requested to notify the managing editor. Those who have received four issues since their last payment are requested to renew (\$3 for individuals, \$4 for institutions). Those who would like to begin subscribing, please send a check (payable to Concerned Demography).

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CONTENTS

Articles:

Toward a Non-Sexist Demography  
Susan Ellis, Sharon Kirmeyer, and Hazel Moir . . . . . 1

Urbanization and the Employment of Women  
Sandra Retert . . . . . 5

The Parable of the Excess Canoes  
Emily C. Moore . . . . . 8

The 'Woman Issue' and Fertility  
Nancy Birdsall . . . . . 11

Comment  
Barbara Wolfe . . . . . 15

Woman, The Hunter  
George Morren . . . . . 16

Editorial, Reprints, Reviews, etc.:

On Women in the Population Association: An Editorial  
The Editors . . . . . 21

Time Use Studies Reveal Plight of Working Women  
Institute for Social Research . . . . . 23

Emerging Women?  
Population Reference Bureau . . . . . 26

Review: Women and Child Care in China (Ruth Sidel)  
Nancy Birdsall . . . . . 28

Since You Ask...  
Jean Brand . . . . . 30

Women's Caucuses and Committees in Professional Associations. . 32

## TOWARDS A NON-SEXIST DEMOGRAPHY.

Demography has much to say about men and women - in what the concepts and substantive areas do say and what they neglect, because of current perceptions of the roles of the two sexes. The forms of demographic measures and types of research may aid the status of women by thorough inspection of inequalities, but may also tend to crystallize this status. We take the approach of looking at measures and research areas to point out deficiencies in our field due to differential perceptions of women and men. Some of the major areas of demography are biased towards the study of women (e.g. fertility) and others towards the study of men (e.g. migration).

Demographers have a common verbal system in their measurement concepts. Because measurements are quantified, they are falsely believed to be value free, ('pure' descriptions of human aggregates), when in fact they contain strong assumptions. Here we will be specifically analyzing these various measures with some attention to their results as expressed in population policies.

### Census definitions.

A blatant example of the effects of measures chosen is the 'head of household' concept - still alive and well at the U.S. Bureau of the Census. The head of the household is the presiding male: no married woman who lives in the same domicile as her husband can ever be enumerated as the 'head', regardless of her differential occupational or educational status. Words of dissatisfaction concerning this concept have been heard in the Census policy committee. But in the interest of facility in coding and presentation of information, 'head of household' retains its clearly sexist connotations of implying centralized authority and decision making.

To be fair, the Bureau of the Census is sensitive to its definitions. This year, the Bureau changed its occupational titles in order to remove the male/female connotations. In most cases, this was a natural evolution - dropping the suffix '-man', adding '-er' or '-worker'. This was a welcome move in classification schema. Perhaps the imaginations utilized in some of the more far-out changes could be put to the task of attacking other such problems of classification.

### Labor force.

One of the major problem areas in labor force studies is the lack of international comparability in labor force participation data for men and women. We all recognize the greater difficulty in measuring female participation because of the often less observable nature of their contribution and the greater likelihood of exit and re-entry, but this does not excuse the evident shortcomings. This problem of comparability is worst in studies of the agricultural labor force, and an all too frequent strategy for dealing with it is to analyze only the male agricultural labor force. To do this is to bias one's research, and to make the results useless insofar as they neglect what is frequently (especially in the less developed countries) a major input into the agricultural sector.



-7-

The solution is not to ignore women but to: 1) put serious efforts into obtaining better data, and 2) where data have already been collected to spend more time investigating them, and making corrections for different procedures of collection and definition. Results will still not be entirely comparable, but then neither are results where only the male labor force is analyzed - as women contribute differentially to the agricultural labor force in different countries - and at least the former procedure eliminates a source of gross bias.

Another area for consideration is why unpaid female work in agriculture is considered a topic of labor force study while unpaid female work in the household (food processing, raising the next generation, etc.), is considered part of family studies. Even the most conservative of economists will allow that not counting female work inside the home in national accounting systems is an arbitrary procedure.

#### Migration.

Another area of research in demography where women are largely neglected is the area of migration studies. Here the problem is more one of how the measures are utilized in actual research than an inherent bias in the available measures themselves. It is true that since Ravenstein, women's migration has been compared to that of men at an aggregate level, but the major American opi have in general paid little attention to women. The usual excuse is lack of data. Again we appreciate the grave problems here, but suggest that in fact not too much effort is put into trying to improve the data.

In migration studies in which the family is the unit studied, discussion usually deteriorates into the study of the characteristics of, or the factors the (male) head of household took into account in, the decision to move. But perhaps studying the role of the spouse in the migration decisions of single-career families might help increase the variance explained by the several migration models.

#### Fertility, family planning, and marital status.

Fertility measurement is quite salient to the study of the status of women. However, the measures of fertility need not be confined exclusively to women. The neglected paternity indicators would provide knowledge of such things as: at what age and how often men become fathers, and during what social and economic states of their lives such an event occurs. This information would be best obtained by additional questions on the birth certificate, and would be valuable in understanding the composite picture of both parents. While some of this desired information is presently available on the extended form of birth certificates, the material has certainly been underutilized if not completely neglected. A more frequent focus on 'fatherhood' is particularly called for, at least in the more developed countries, with high divorce rates, in that a man can 'father' two or more separate families, or a divorced father may assume custody of children, developments which affect the composition of families and ultimately the entire population.

-3-

Just as 'head of household' has lost its social usefulness, illegitimacy measures are no longer appropriate descriptions. Essentially, to label a child as 'legitimate' or 'illegitimate' is not ethically justifiable - how can a human being not be legitimate? The entire legal and morally stigmatized position of illegitimacy needs to be eliminated, and should not be sustained through institutionalized demographic measures. Also, illegitimacy has diminished as an indicator of social concern. Persons do not necessarily bear a child outside a sanctioned union as a default option in sorry circumstances. The acceptance of the right of parenting as an option to single, married or homosexual persons has grown. Thus we hope to see the elimination of the illegitimacy classification in vital statistics. Instead, there would be an expansion to include all marital statuses, thus providing more information for many purposes of analysis. Further, in all censuses, surveys, and registration systems, questions on childbearing should pertain to both men and to women.

Following from the female bias of most measures of fertility, there is also a similar concentration of measures of family-planning effectiveness on women. This imbalance in measurement mutually reinforces the female bias of most contraceptive research and family-planning programs. As both men and women are parents, any family planning program that aims to reduce family size should consider the needs and desires of both sexes as regards their sexual, parental, and familial roles. Alternative roles provided by society for both men and women are important here, and policies to deal with high male unemployment which keep women in the home have considerable negative effects on efforts to reduce family size. While the role of demographers may be limited in family planning programs to that of evaluator or director rather than policy-maker, the alternatives available in both measures and policy should be recognized by any participating demographer.

Recognizing the implications of continued population growth, demographers recommend that each individual only, on the average, replace him or herself. But this quickly becomes a prescription to limit the options of all human beings. This is contradictory to the ultimate feminist goal of expanding options to all persons, and of removing barriers to these options. Thus, we feel that the role of demography in realizing the average individual replacement, in addition to effective, accurate, and thorough communication with the population (and more specifically with the media), is to explore the related alternatives: singlehood, childlessness, one-child 'family', two-child 'family', and the impact of large families, collective families, and household goods as economic surrogates.

#### Mortality and morbidity.

Mortality and morbidity measures may well be the area of demography most free from the underlying assumptions and obvious implications concerning sexual roles. After all, mortality and morbidity rates, except for diseases biologically limited to one sex, are usually calculated and presented for both sexes. Thus, while little fault can be attributed to the measures themselves, one must always be careful about the use to which they are put in the unstated establishment or deliberate enactment of policy. For example, is biomedical research funding allocated for those types of cancer that affect great numbers of people because they are killers of the total population or the male population that is making the policy?



Finally, a note on one aspect of demographic inquiry in morbidity which is given too little attention; the topic of aging. It is true that some social demographers have invested increasingly intense efforts in this area, but must the analysis of aging in women, particularly in the middle years of life, first begin with an overstatement of the biological determinants? After all, for women with access to competent gynecologists, menopause is a relatively painless, if not asymptomatic, part of the aging process. Then in the examination of the social aspects of aging research is concentrated on the 'empty nest' syndrome. Conversely, for men, why deemphasize the biological aspects, that if not completely understood physiologically are accepted to exist, and attribute all social aspects to the attainment of a plateau and subsequent retirement in one's employment career?

#### Final thoughts.

As a practical guide for seeing if your work is free of sexual stereotypes, we suggest the following test: wherever you have a 'male' pronoun or noun, substitute a 'female' one and vice versa. If doing this makes your work sound ridiculous, or incomprehensible, then you are probably making strong assumptions about the respective roles of women and men, and these need to be checked for their functional validity.

We are well aware that it is very difficult not to reflect in research or the composition of the field the current values of our (patriarchal) society. However, society is changing very rapidly, especially in regard to the attention paid to various minority groups. If demographers are to pick up these trends as they occur, and are not to be left in the position of regretting past data deficiencies, their concepts and measurements must be broadened so that these changes can be studied over time and as they are occurring. This does not mean that there should be an immediate change-over to new techniques. Perhaps during periods of rapid social change we need two sets of concepts and measures: one for the old (sexist) society, and one for the new, emergent (egalitarian) society. From here interesting analyses could follow using both sets and comparing the findings.

#### Note.

We would like to thank G.E. Hendershot for very helpful comments and suggestions on the above paper.

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#### URBANIZATION AND THE EMPLOYMENT OF WOMEN.

Women have been active participants in the labor force "only in urbanized societies....The increasing percentage of persons living in cities is usually paralleled by an increasing proportion of women in the total labor force." (Gist and Fava, 1964:317) Adams suggests that the women's liberation movement can be explained in part by "the growing awareness of females that they could make a living in urban, industrializing society," for "modern industrial society is the first in which women have had the right to enter the labor market on their own, to obtain jobs and promotions independently" (1971:71, 250). Female employment rates have been shown to vary with size of place (Duncan and Reiss, 1956), metropolitan-nonmetropolitan residence (Sweet, 1971), rurality of county (Fuchs and Marshall, 1968), and distance from metropolitan area (Tarver, 1969; Tarver et al., 1970).

Industrialization and technological advancement have, of course, played a direct and an essential role in the increased proportion of women in the work force. According to Marx:

In so far as machinery dispenses with muscular power, it becomes a means of employing labourers of slight muscular strength ....The labour of women and children was, therefore, the first thing sought for by the capitalists who used machinery. That might substitute for labour and labourers was forthwith changed into a means for increasing the number of wage-labourers by enrolling, under the direct sway of capital, every member of the workman's family, without distinction of age or sex....  
(Capital, 1967:394)

Before and around the time that the U.S. census first recorded numbers of employed women in 1870, most women (four fifths in 1870) who were employed were doing farm and domestic work (Baker, 1964:53). In the early twentieth century, women were still heavily employed in domestic service (Abbott, 1919:1). Since then, the percentage of women employed in agriculture and domestic service has declined, a trend which has also been noted internationally (Commission on the Status of Women, 1970:11). The extent and nature of domestic employment can be related to the different stages of economic development. (Collver and Langlois, 1962) In early stages, women do the cooking and cleaning within their own homes. Later, these tasks become commercialized and are undertaken by paid servants, to some extent. Cafeterias and other "domestic" services emerge at a higher level of development, until in industrial societies, the number of actual servants declines still further. (Boserup, 1970:103)

Along with the decline of farm workers (due to machinery reducing manpower needs in agriculture) and the decline of domestic workers, industrialization has made it possible for women to enter new occupational areas. New jobs are created; work is less physically demanding and does not require much skill. Industrialization has shortened and regularized work hours, and technology has reduced the time required for completing household tasks (International Labour Conference, 1963:20). In addition, in an industrial society, living costs rise and it becomes necessary for more than one family member to work (Marx, Capital, 1967:395).

While a high degree of industrialization is not a necessary condition for urbanization (countries can be urbanized without having high levels of economic development), rural-urban migration is important to economic development. Rural-urban migration and the "occupational migration from agricultural to nonagricultural activities" are manifestations of economic development (Boserup, 1970: 158, 174). According to Collver and Langlois (1962:385):

...employment opportunities have to some degree motivated women to migrate to the cities. This migration increases the absolute size of the metropolitan labor force; but more significantly, it draws off a portion of the rural population and contributes to an increased rate of urbanization.

Women have entered other areas than industrial production, however, for urbanization itself, apart from industrialization, brought new opportunities for female employment. Large cities, as well as large businesses and other organizations, require large administrative centers that must be staffed. Women have been sought to fill the needs of maintaining the "elaborate structure of paper-work" accompanying complex organization. New facilities such as department stores and restaurants have developed within and near the city (Shevky and Williams, 1949:45). Bakeries, food stores, clothing stores, cleaners, beauty shops, drive-ins and restaurants all require semi- or unskilled workers. The jobs are often part time and are low paying, and consequently are held most often by women. Women's willingness to work for low wages, along with less concern with and desire for the long term and high prestige employment, make them attractive as office help (Baker, 1964:215).

Interest in the relationship between urbanization and female employment has led to the development of an index of urbanization which has rate of employment of women as one component (Bell, 1959; Shevky and Williams, 1949). "Any area within the city," Shevky and Lewin assert, "in which there is a high proportion of women in paid employment can be considered a highly urban area" (1949:8).

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Sandra Retert



## THE PARABLE OF THE EXCESS CANOES.

Once upon a time there was a lovely peaceful island, a tranquil place known as "Canuvia." Life was pleasant. Food was abundant. The climate was gentle. While the women of Canuvia attended to a large variety of tasks, all the men of this island culture spent most of their time making canoes. They were beautiful canoes, hand-fashioned from the materials found easily in abundance on the island. In the course of a lifetime, each man would create about eight to ten such works of art for himself and his family. Much of the men's activity on the island centered around the making and using of these canoes. Each boy learned at a very early age that his position in the community depended almost entirely on how many canoes he made, how well, and how he cared for them. He was given miniature canoes as a very small boy, and as a toddler was allowed to help his father in small ways. It was a long apprenticeship, but since so much depended on his skill at making canoes, every boy child gave it great attention and devoted many of his childhood hours to watching and imitating his father.

Each boy was welcomed into adult society on the successful completion of his first full-sized canoe. With this accomplishment, he could be considered a "man" and no longer a child, and thus eligible for marriage. A poor canoe-builder was considered quite ineligible for marriage, while the best canoe-builder was rewarded both with prestige and the prettiest girl for his bride.

There are, of course, some males (we cannot call them "men," whatever their age) who are unable to make canoes. They are in some way disabled, as there are apt to be a few in every society. While in earlier days such males were either killed or driven from the island, presumably to die, nowadays they are tolerated, but everyone feels very very sorry for them and they do not participate fully in any of the ceremonies of the islanders.

Canuvians can all remember long ago when there was a male who, although not physically disabled, actually refused to make canoes. He was a very strange fellow; he wanted to do something else instead, and said so--out loud. First the islanders could not believe it, but when he grew older and still had not completed even a single canoe, the islanders one by one stopped talking to him. Some laughed at him as he went along the path, and eventually when no one was left who would speak with him, he went away from the island. No one knows what became of him. His case is told in hushed tones even now, and no one would ever dare to follow the same course as he.

For as long as anyone can remember, the men spent a great deal of time working on their canoes. When they were not actually carving or smoothing their canoes, they usually sat or squatted around the center square where the water well was located and talked about their work. Though most of the canoes were quite similar, there was room for individual artistic expression, and the canoes did vary in size and navigability as well as in ornamentation. Sometimes the talk became quite animated as the men argued over the "best" way to make a canoe.

But then one day, a strange thing happened. A technical assistance expert, on his way to another island in the vicinity, happened to land on Canuvia by mistake. Before he left, he made the islanders a great present--a remarkable new substance, something the expert called "plastic," which when used to treat a raw canoe resulted in a wonderful change in the durability of that canoe. The islanders were all very excited, for this surely was "progress." Now their canoes would last much longer.

But after the expert had left, and after some years went by while the Canuvian men had been using the new plastic coating with considerable satisfaction, it began to become apparent that the men would no longer have to make as many canoes as they once had done. In fact, perhaps only two or three in a lifetime by each able-bodied man would be sufficient to supply his family. In fact some began to become quite alarmed, for the island really was not very large, and the prospect of large stockpiles of many extra canoes did not seem very appealing.

And so a meeting was called of the governing council. The first few meetings were rowdy indeed, with suggestions and countersuggestions being placed before the assembly as they occurred to the council members. First it was suggested that the extra canoes could simply be given to nearby islands. "After all," the proposer said, "we have always sent a few each year to our neighbors. Why not send many more?" But someone pointed out that the islands nearby were now producing all the canoes they needed and probably wouldn't want more. There were quite a lot of other suggestions. For example:

- all the men should take off a year, call a moratorium on canoe-making, then resume again;
- a third or a half of the men should stop making canoes, while the others continue, this being an indefinite arrangement;
- each of the men should take longer to make a canoe, making fewer over the course of his lifetime, with longer spacing between;
- the island policy should encourage each man to make only two canoes, and then by various means of persuasion be convinced that it was in the interests of all that he retire, even if he should be only 30 or 32, for example;
- one council member said that she didn't think that would be very effective, so she proposed instead that men who made only two canoes should be rewarded in some way, such as with tax benefits or cash payments;
- but another council member said she didn't think any such voluntary program would work at all, and proposed that after each man had made two canoes, he have the fingers of his hand sewn together so that it would no longer be possible to make canoes. And so on.

When the men's representative, who had been invited to attend these special council meetings, reported back to the rest of the men what suggestions had been made during the lengthy council discussions, the reaction was pretty strong, although not uniform. There were a few men who thought the crisis presented a wonderful opportunity for some change; some even openly admitted that they had never been too keen on making a lot of canoes after all, and they'd be quite happy to make fewer (the other men were shocked by such outspoken admissions of dislike for the activity they had always done, and done so well). In fact, friends took these few men aside and quietly warned them that they'd be better off not voicing such opinions, whatever the current crisis, if they hoped to hold their wives and maintain their positions in the community. A few others among



the men, while not expressing disfavor with the task of canoe-building, said they also welcomed the opportunity for change/ for they felt that it would be more satisfying to spend more time on each canoe; they felt that the intense competition to produce many canoes was not really best for the quality of the product. But these two types of reactions were in the minority. Most of the men were either very very angry, or were very very sad (depending on their personality-- though it was a simple society, there was room for some individual variation in personal expression, even for men). They pointed out, first in meetings among themselves, then through their representative to the council, that they were not happy to be asked to or required to retire in their thirties (that would leave many years of idleness). They said that they have always found their greatest satisfaction from canoe-building; the pleasures of design, creation, and care were in fact all they had ever known, and it frightened many of them to think about change. How else would their status in the community be determined, after all, some of them demanded. Some of them said that if they had to give up this, their major activity at an early age, or if they had to curtail it greatly, then they should be given other work to do, other sources of skill-development, prestige and status satisfaction, but the governing council told them there was nothing else for them to do and that it would be much too disruptive and expensive to train them and create jobs for them.

And there the situation remains today, with the crisis unresolved, the men anxious and afraid of the future, and the island in great conflict over what should be done.

Moral: Does the parable need an explanation? Can we substitute women for men, public health measures for longevity-producing technical "improvements," and babies for canoes, and see what we can learn?

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## THE 'WOMAN ISSUE' AND FERTILITY.

1. Will better-educated women have fewer children? Though a direct causal link has not been established, impressive data point toward an inverse relationship between education of the wife and fertility. Better-educated women utilize contraception more effectively. They are probably more receptive to the idea of planned fertility.<sup>1</sup>

Further, it appears that as education of the woman increases, fertility becomes lower. Women with primary schooling have fewer children than those who are illiterate; women with secondary schooling have fewer children than those with primary education.<sup>2</sup>

UN statistics indicate that in most parts of the world, where schooling is a privilege for anyone, it is rarer for girls than for boys.<sup>3</sup> The lower rates of schooling for women both contribute to and reflect their limited role in society. Young girls are kept home to help their mothers with smaller children and to learn domestic arts; this limits their expectations and restricts their abilities even if their expectations expand. The childbearing cycle continues.

Resources in less developed countries are already strained by attempts to expand education. Even so, further expansion of education could be biased in favor of girls. International aid agencies can be influential in encouraging countries to break down the rigid sex stereotyping that tends to restrict opportunities for women in fields such as technical and agricultural education. With more flexible scheduling and provision of child care, more women might attend literacy classes and other non-school education programs.

In general, however, reducing population growth by increasing educational opportunities for women is a long-term, expensive, and indirect proposition. Reduction of sex-linked differences in schooling will be more likely the result than the cause of a changing perception of women. Only when women's work opportunities expand, will parents and nations invest in preparing girls for productive labor. Education's most important effect may, indeed, be indirect in that it prepares women for work.

2. Will involvement in the means of production reduce women's desire for children and lower the fertility rate? Can women's energies be diverted from reproduction to production? Women have always worked. The common wisdom is that woman has gathered and cultivated and man has hunted. In many parts of the world, women still have primary responsibility for providing the family's sustenance, and are active on the family farm, in home crafts, and in the public market.

Studies relating female work to fertility have, however, normally viewed work as participation in the modern labor force.<sup>3</sup> There is evidence that modernized work lowers fertility. Woman's traditional work does not lower fertility; those tasks have proved to be perfectly compatible with childraising.<sup>4</sup>

Unfortunately, in the less developed countries where birth rates are highest, opportunities for women in the modern section of the labor force are the most restricted. It is doubtful that policy-makers in these countries, already unable to provide a job for one member of every family unit, would be able to create a job for a second family member. To lower fertility by this method,

# FOOTNOTES

1. For example, Minkler, M. 1970. Fertility and female labor force in India: Survey of workers in Old Delhi area. Journal of Family Welfare. 17:1.
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Nancy Birdsall

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# COMMENTS ON NANCY BIRDSALL'S ARTICLE

Nancy Birdsall's article "The 'Woman Issue' and Fertility" raises interesting questions on the interaction between improvements in women's status and fertility. It can be little doubted that education opens up choices and that greater numbers and variety of jobs offer women more choice. Education can also be a means to provide more contraceptive knowledge and to change the psychic costs of contraceptive use in a way that also permits a woman greater choice.

The difficulty with this approach, however, is that the motivation for opening these choices appears to be reductions in fertility rather than increases in personal freedom. If instead of reducing fertility, better education should lead to a preference for more children, would the objective then call for less education for women?

Traditionally, a negative relationship has been observed between women's labor force participation and family size. Part of this may be due to 1) subfecundity, 2) part to preferences toward work and 3) part to economic considerations. Presumably policies toward women's education will not affect the first or will do so in a way to increase fertility. Education will affect both the second and the third in the following ways: Education may change attitudes both toward children and the home and toward work. This may either work in an inverse or direct way. It is not safe to assume it will only work to reduce family size and increase women's labor force participation. Women with higher education may take an increased interest in child development and as my preliminary results using data on approximately 5000 families showed, actually increase family size when controlling for income, family background and labor force participation.

Additional education and additional work opportunities presumably increase women's wage rates. This means that the cost of having children in terms of foregone earnings is increased. Women should then substitute away from children - have fewer children. Another effect of higher wages however, is to raise future income which may make it possible to "afford more children" - and so have more children. But higher education may lead to a new peer group with higher standards of living. This generally means higher material aspirations and consequently a substitution away from children.

Thus, while it is highly likely that increased work opportunities are correlated with smaller families, the evidence is not completely clear. More questionable, is the suggestion of a negative relationship between education and fertility. The effect of increased education may not reduce fertility, except through opening job opportunities and providing contraceptive knowledge. There really are two goals: 1) increasing opportunities including education for women and 2) population policies. The first goal is compatible with giving individuals increased ability to control their own family size. Is it not a goal strong enough to stand alone regardless of its implications for fertility?

Barbara Wolfe



### Woman, The Hunter

The basic argument of this paper, concerning the effect of sex role stereotypes on the field data collecting activities of anthropologists, was originally propounded in a paper (Morren, 1973) written for presentation at a symposium on sex roles in the New Guinea Highlands.

The hypothesis that the original symposium was responsive to the Women's Movement or, at least, operating in an environment shaped in part by it, is compelling, notwithstanding the objectivity we like to associate with our professional activities. On the one hand our consciousness of the issues at hand has been raised by events in our own society and profession; on the other hand we have carried that experience along in our encounters as aliens with the people of New Guinea. This has resulted for me in conflicts and surprises. For one thing, the real opportunity for the alien anthropologist to define his or her own role in the field work situation is not exploited. For example, anthropologists who are men are unlikely to think of defining themselves as women. Contrarily, women anthropologists in the field--if the familiar kind of anecdotes have any validity--willingly accept the white male roles thrust upon them by the perhaps not completely naive male New Guinean. The result seems to have been that relatively few ethnographic reports have successfully reflected either a New Guinea woman's perspective or presented comprehensive descriptive and quantitative information on woman's role in the life support of the group.

In presenting this phase of my argument I will first briefly discuss and rework the stereotyped concepts. I will then cite a few examples of conclusions that I believe may have gone astray as a consequence of following the stereotypes. Finally, I will discuss some data on subsistence from the Miyanmin people with whom I worked between 1967 and 1969, data that are surprising only in relation to the stereotypes.

Keeping in mind the characteristic that is vital to the persistence of all stereotypes, the possession of more than a grain of truth, we can list the following elements for investigation:

- (1) Women gather and/or produce large quantities of vegetable foods and make a relatively insignificant contribution of animal foods, whereas men hunt the larger animals and are the major source of meat;
- (2) The subsistence activities of women are unexciting, gentle, steady (even monotonous or repetitive) whereas male activities are heroic, violent, energetic though sporadic;
- (3) The resources exploited by women are regularly distributed in predictable locations and consist of numerous small individual plants and animals (which if vertebrates can't run very fast) whereas resources exploited by men are patchily distributed in somewhat unpredictable locations with few, large, and highly mobile individuals;
- (4) The production of women is reliable, nutritionally basic, but (from the standpoint of society) taken for granted whereas the produce of men is unpredictable, nutritionally important (as meat is) and highly prized;

(5) Woman's hunting technology is meager, often an ad hoc creation whereas the technology employed by men is elaborate and specialized;

(6) Women operate the least expensive strategies (or the lower level ones in a hierarchy) while men operate the more expensive (or higher level) strategies.

While perhaps redefining the stereotype, these points may also serve as a "laundry list" or outline of the problem from an ecological point of view. These are the points that need to be investigated and one would expect that the picture would be different for each ethnographic case examined in these terms. In other words, none of these points can be taken for granted.

The folk stereotype then, as contrasted with the anthropological one, can also be mentioned. All of us who have done fieldwork in New Guinea have been exposed to one or another version of the themes which one way or another maintain the public separation of men and women, affirm male political dominance over women, and signal male preeminence in those temporal and spiritual matters which are accorded the most social recognition. I'm particularly concerned here with the effect of some of these in casting a veil over women's performance in or control of certain important subsistence or adaptational processes. I don't think that any of us have ever been misled (or misled for long) by the fact that invariably it is the men who get to shoot or slaughter the domesticated pigs, or that gardens are "owned" by men, into under-rating the amount of labor women expend in perfecting these objects. I do think that the flashier aspects--the paint and feathers associated with male dominated domestic pig slaughters and pork distributions, and the noise surrounding the hunting of wild pigs, marsupials, birds, and eels, have deflected us from paying similar attention to the perhaps cognate (from an ecological standpoint at least) activities of women. A lot of this color and bias is spoon fed to us by male informants.

In taking up the Miyanmin case I first will zero in on one principal aspect of women's work, differential hunting returns and selected aspects of male ideology related to this.

More than half of male labor is devoted to hunting with women also making a substantial contribution of animal foods. The prey include feral pig, cassowaries, numerous bird species, at least eleven species of marsupials, various rats, snakes, lizards and invertebrates. In retrospect the Miyanmin are more like South American Indians than they are like New Guinea Highlanders.

The Miyanmin conform to the pattern that is Universally recognized as characteristic of hunting peoples in that they claim that hunting, like warfare, is the exclusive male sphere. Hunting by men occupies some 60 per cent of working days and is a full-time pre-occupation. No other work is pursued with such regularity and persistence; other male work such as garden clearing, house building and the like are nothing more than interludes between variable periods of intensive hunting. It is enthusiastically performed, competitive, individualistic (in tracking), and the prime focus of the local status hierarchy. It, along with warfare and gardening, is also the focus of ritual attention and belief. Group welfare is associated with an abundance of game and this in turn is seen as coming from the ancestors. This has been, of course, an essentially male oriented characterization.



The claims concerning women's provenance in the gardens are strong also. Men "own" the gardens but women perform somewhat more than 70 per cent of all garden work and 94 per cent of the harvest of garden produce is by women. Men perform the rough clearing while women clear the undergrowth, pile rubbish, and plant, with weeding shared equally (the latter occurs only once in the life of a garden). When women leave the village for purposes of work it is always characterized in the vernacular as "going to the garden" regardless of the kind of productive activity anticipated (I'm talking about a stereotyped figure of speech comparable to our own 'Daddy's going to the office').

The division of labor by sex in most spheres is a relatively flexible one. Miyanmin men do not seem to have as rigid a view of their prerogatives as that reported for other parts of New Guinea. For example, married men spend as much time weeding gardens as do their wives. The widely reported taboo on women handling bows and arrows is absent among the Miyanmin. On the long trip women are often to be seen carrying their husband's weapons while he carries the baby on his shoulders. Men also like to tell rather condescending stories of the "ain't that cute" variety about women hunting small mammals with bow and arrow or accompanying their husbands into bird blinds. Nevertheless, women are notoriously bad shots.

The question of women's hunting technology has a more serious side to it but also surrounded by male bias. The craven, starved, mangey, noisy New Guinea dog is a prominent inhabitant of every Miyanmin settlement. It is a persistent scavenger and thief and is the subject of frequent beatings by people, especially around mealtimes, and assaults by village pigs with which it competes for garbage rather than affection. Male informants in the area where I lived claim that their dogs are useless in the hunt, and for a long time I accepted this opinion at face value. But there are a number of facts and observations which finally lead me to question the statement, or at least my interpretation of it.

First of all, when men talk about hunting in this connection they mean hunting the most important game animal, the wild pig. In a sample of 128 kills of terrestrial mammals dogs figured in 65. But in this respect they are mainly the hunting tool of women, as important to them as the bows and arrows of men.

Given the sorry state in which dogs in my area were maintained, and notwithstanding the quantitative data already cited, I was always rather surprised at the joy with which a litter of puppies would be greeted. After all, what do they need more of these things for? The following is the pattern I discovered.

Each domestic unit tends to maintain one dog, usually a bitch, with each hamlet having only one male dog. The latter is--and this may be hard to believe--even skinnier and mangier than all the others. It is nothing more than a barely ambulatory penis, maintained just this side of death's door for one purpose. Whenever a bitch is in heat he services her. Once the bitch has her pups she is ready to do her job: this is to go hunting in the bush at night and bring part of her prey back to her pups, something she would not otherwise do. The women of the household will then capture her catch. Some retriever!

In any event the male version of hunting by women is belied by the substantial contribution of animal foods women make to the diet of the group. It is true that the pattern of harvesting fauna pursued by women is different than that of

men. Most such activity is carried out with or on the same day as gardening or the foraging of wild vegetable foods and other materials; less time is spent at it and it is often an adjunct to these other activities. Moreover, the kinds of fauna are different from those exploited by men: small rats (*Melomys* sp., *Rattus* sp.), bandicoots (*Perrhoryctes raffrayanus*), frogs, land crabs, and various insects and insect larvae. These are also the kinds of foods which are least visible to the outside observer otherwise interested in subsistence for the reasons already discussed (one might not think to look). A certain portion of this produce tends to be consumed by a group of women and children at mid-day away from the residence hamlet with only the surplus being returned to the various hamlets (there perhaps to be seen and weighed by the ethnographer).

Roy Rappaport (1968:78) provides one example of how our understanding of the quantitative dimensions of this might possibly be open to question:

No records were kept of the intake of nondomesticated animal foods, for a greater part of the consumption, particularly of the smaller forms, takes place away from the houses. It is clear nevertheless that for certain categories of the population--married women and prepubescent children--small items such as rats, frogs, nestling birds, and insects form a part of the daily protein intake. The amounts are small, however, and probably do not contribute more than a gram or two to the daily protein intake.

Similar problems appear to be implicit in other quantified work on New Guinea Highland subsistence. Non-domesticated animal foods appear to be completely unreported in Hipsley and Kirk's (1965) nutritional survey of a Chimbu group although these researchers do report the eating of a number of kinds of wild vegetable foods (61-65). Oomen and Malcolm (1958) go out of their way to denigrate these potential nutritional inputs, "Many small animals are consumed from time to time but represent 'pot luck' rather than items of dietary importance. It would be wrong to consider them as imponderables of real significance (21)."

Clearly the only way to counter such conclusions or arguments is to present contrary data.

The data I have to bear on the problem include the following:

- (1) The hunting bag for terrestrial mammals of a nonrepresentative sample of 23 male and 12 female members of one parish (Kometen) for a 3 week period;
- (2) Production of invertebrates and other small animal foods by 8 of the 12 women residents of one hamlet for the same 3 week period. This has been used to estimate parish wide production.

These data show that during the first 3 weeks of February, 1968 12 women of the parish killed 66 mammals and 28 men killed 53 mammals. In terms of meat produced the male contribution is the greater, amounting to 183.6 kgs as compared with 43.9 kgs produced by women. Using operations defined elsewhere (Morren, 1973; Dornstreich and Morren, 1974) to calculate the minimum daily requirement

(MDR) for protein of the entire group, and converting the undressed weights of meat into accessible protein, the male harvest of terrestrial mammals meets 22 percent of the group MDR and the female harvest meets 7 percent of the group MDR.

As noted, I was also able to monitor women's production of animal food from smaller fauna on a more restricted basis. Estimates based on these observations suggest that as much as 12 percent of the group MDR may be met by women's production of this kind of animal food.

Women's production of animal foods thus comes to meet some 10 percent of the group MDR compared with 22 percent met by the production of men. It should be emphasized for purposes of assessing the importance of these inputs to the diet of the group that foods of high biological value are involved and that the remaining part of the MDR may be readily met from vegetable foods of lesser value. These too, of course, represent in large part the production of women.

A preliminary conclusion that can be drawn from this section of the paper is that from the standpoint of human ecological studies, the problem presented by sex roles in New Guinea is one of measurement: both the anthropological and the folk version of the stereotype result in 'low counts' or 'no counts' when it comes to assessing the objective roles of women.

Dornstreich, Mark and George E.B. Morren (1974), Does New Guinea cannibalism have nutritional value? Human Ecology 2(1):1-12.

Hipsley, E.H. and N.H. Kirk (1965), Studies of the dietary intake and expenditure of energy by New Guineans. South Pacific Commission Technical Paper No. 147, Noumea, New Caledonia.

Morren, George (1973), "Woman the hunter", paper presented at the Symposium: Sex Roles in the New Guinea Highlands: Behavior and Belief. 72nd Annual Meeting of the American Anthropological Association, New Orleans, 28 November - 2 December, 1973. (202)

Oomen, H.A.P.C. and S.H. Malcolm (1958), Nutrition and the Papuan child. South Pacific Commission Technical Paper No. 118, Noumea, New Caledonia.

Rappaport, Roy (1963), Pigs for the ancestors. New Haven, Yale University Press.

George Morren

# On Women in the Population Association: An Editorial

The women's caucus of the Population Association of American first met in 1970 in Atlanta, Georgia. That first meeting resulted from the concern of some members of the PAA with two issues. The first was discrimination against women in the profession. The second concern was the oppression of all women in society especially in those areas where the knowledge and research skills of demographers were particularly relevant.

Both of these concerns were reflected in motions put forth at the meeting of the association the following year. These motions called for the PAA to advocate access to all forms of birth control, to encourage research which would point out the disadvantaged position of women, and to actively work against the discrimination of women in the association.

From these beginnings it is hard not to get the feeling that the activities of the women's caucus in the last few years have departed substantially from the original goals. Several recent trends in thinking about the women's movement in general and the women's caucus of the PAA in particular are in need of reappraisal. First, we firmly believe that the time for symbolic action is long past. Crossing out the word "Men's" from the menu of the Men's Grill at the Monteleone, while it may have some symbolic value hardly reflects the kinds of concern which warrant the time and attention of most of us. We must be careful that we are not satisfied with changing symbols. We are all no doubt aware that changing the Census Bureau's classification of the head of household does not change the basic structure of the U.S. household. While the changes called for in the article by Ellis, Kirmeyer, and Meir may have significance for the kinds of research undertaken, we must keep in mind that the sexist categories as used by the Census Bureau are fairly accurate reflections of the society from which the data are collected. Changing these categories has a very limited effect on changing the society.

The categories as suggested do influence the kinds of research which can be done. We would like to suggest an extension of the Ellis, et.al. paper which would deal not only with the kinds of categories used, but also with the very serious problem of what data are published. Severe limitations on the comparisons which can be made of the status of men and women are imposed by the lack of publication of appropriate data for women.

Another needed type of research evaluation is suggested by the paper by George Morren. While his example is taken from field work in anthropology, this kind of analysis of effects of the sex biases of researchers on their results is, it seems to us, essential in all social science, including demography. All of us, men and women alike, need the kind of careful look at our biases which Morren suggests. It is especially incumbent on those of us in the women's caucus and in Concerned Demography who have spent much time and many pages criticizing demographic research to be engaged in carrying out and publishing research which is better from the point of view of traditional sexist, racist and middle class biases. We have done little if we are critical one day and the next day obtain



grants and do the same things we have criticized others for doing.

Several of the following articles are concerned with family planning. There is no question that the status of women and the family planning movement are intimately intertwined. A woman, in order to have even minimal control over her life, must have control over her childbearing. However, when the issue of family planning becomes involved in the question of population control, the relationship with the women's movement becomes more tenuous. Indeed, any non-volitional aspects of these proposals are diametrically opposed to the key issue of the women's movement -- namely the right of women -- indeed of everyone -- to some individual freedom to make life choices. The judgement of the women's movement on the basis of its demographic consequences is inappropriate. The oppression of any group of people calls for a moral stance which, although it may be blasphemous for a demographer to say, overrides its demographic consequences. For example, whether improvements in the status of women will lower their fertility, is, we believe, a very interesting question to pursue as long as one keeps in mind that advocates of improvements in the status of women cannot change their position if the results of such studies do not coincide with the goals of some members of the demographic community who wish to advocate particular family sizes or rates of population growth. We feel very strongly that those people who have supported improvements in job opportunities, pay, etc. for women only because they are concerned with reducing birth rates in the U.S. and around the world, are not our real allies.

Finally, we wish to make a plea for putting the women's movement and the women's caucus in its proper perspective. If we as professional women cannot see the problems of all women as our concern, if we cannot see that our concerns must be cast with the concerns of all people who have been systematically denied the rights of individuals, if we do not ally ourselves with our sisters in other jobs and with our brothers who suffer from similar kinds of discrimination, we are not worth much attention. If our concerns are in getting on 'executive flights' or into the men's grill, we are at best engaged in activities which are trivial and at worst are a detriment to any real revolutionary change.

It is with these ideas in mind that we have put together this issue of concerned demography. We hope that it will be read in this context.

The Editors

Footnote: This editorial was written prior to the 1974 PAA meetings in New York City. We felt that there was an improvement in the quality of this year's session and that the women's caucus appears to be moving in the direction suggested above.

We, the editors, found this article from the Institute for Social Research particularly interesting. We reprint it in full for our readers.

Time Use Studies Reveal Plight of Working Women; Everyday  
Life in 12 Countries Has Common Design

Modern working women share a common plight: too much work, too little time. When their formal workday is done, employed women turn to take up the added burdens of a household. While it is true that, on the average, employed women don't work as long a day as men do, when the time devoted both to their jobs and to their households is combined, working women end up with about 10 hours less free time per week than either housewives or employed men.

Surprisingly, this pattern has been documented in countries separated by enormous cultural, economic, and political differences, according to a comprehensive international undertaking called the Multinational Comparative Time-Budget Research Project. This unique research inquiry into how time is spent surveyed persons in urban-industrial centers of twelve countries in order to understand more about the ways in which industrialisation leaves its mark on people's daily lives.

The twelve countries participating in the project were Belgium, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, East Germany, France, Hungary, Peru, Poland, U.S.A., U.S.S.R., West Germany, and Yugoslavia. In each country at least one urban center with a population of 40-200,000 was selected and a representative sampling of its residents was asked to fill out diaries detailing all of their activities during a 24-hour period. The study findings, based on an extensive analysis of these diaries, are reported in the recent volume The Use of Time, written under the general editorship of a Hungarian sociologist, Alexander Szalai.

Working women in each society, the study reveals, are in a double bind. Although they participate extensively in the formal, paid work force, their responsibilities at home remain sharply defined by their sex role. Whereas women are responsible for 32 percent of all time registered in formal work over all the study sites, they contribute 78 percent of the total time taken up by housework and related family obligations.

In an analysis of everyday life in the twelve countries the directors of the American portion of the project, John P. Robinson and Philip E. Converse of the Institute for Social Research, report along with Project Director Szalai that these discrepancies in work roles show up most noticeably on the weekend. It is then, they say, that employed men "...indulge themselves in relatively large amounts of leisure activity. The housewife also shows a universal tendency to employ Sunday as a day of rest; while cooking is something of a residual necessity, her time spent on housework generally falls off almost 50 percent on that day. The employed woman, however, just about doubles the amount of time spent on housework on her days off from work; clearly she must use them to catch up on these obligations rather than profit from them for rest and recuperation."



"All told," the study directors conclude, "the time budget data form a rather compelling social document suggesting that problems faced by the working woman have not been adequately solved in any of the countries surveyed and substantial inequalities in the division of labor by sex remain everywhere."

#### Travel Time

Such widespread inequalities are especially remarkable in light of the dramatic differences in economic development which separated the survey sites. For example, in one site - Kragujevac, Yugoslavia - nearly two out of every three dwelling units lacked running water, while such a basic convenience is taken very much for granted in nearly all homes in such sites as Osnabruck, West Germany or Jackson, Michigan.

Sexual inequalities were not the only constancy that impressed the researchers. They were also struck by the constant allocation of time to certain activities regardless of how sophisticated a technology was available. Take the time spent traveling to work as an example. Widespread use of the automobile should be expected to reduce greatly the time needed to travel to work. The research shows, however, that travel time decreases only a small amount compared to the substantial increases in the distance from work that people with automobiles choose to live. So rather than use the time that could be "saved" by the automobile for other activities, people elect to live farther from their work and use the time traveling greater distance.

#### Tedious Labors

It is much the same with housework. The average woman in Osnabruck, West Germany, has at her disposal an array of modern conveniences and technological "time savers" that might only be dreamed of in Kragujevac, Yugoslavia; yet the total amount of time spent on housework varied by an average of only one minute per day between the two countries. The researchers suggest that the time saved through the use of labor saving devices is quickly absorbed by a household which is more complex and to which a much higher standard of upkeep is applied. The woman who must draw water from a well is likely to tolerate a little more dirt than the woman whose kitchen is run largely by push-button appliances. What sophisticated technology does appear to do is provide some release from the more physically taxing and tedious labors.

An interesting parallel appears among American homemakers over the last several decades. Joann Vanek, lecturer in The University of Michigan's sociology department, has analyzed the time-budget data collected in the U.S. part of the international project and has compared them with several other time-budget studies done by researchers from land-grant colleges as early as 1926. She has found that today's non-employed homemakers, supported by a veritable army of electric appliances and convenience products, spend no less time on household work than housewives did in earlier, more primitive times. What has changed, Vanek says, is the nature of the work being done. While the routine maintenance aspects of household work such as cooking and cleaning have become simpler, today's housekeeper has turned the extra time not to leisure but to the managerial aspects of household work-family care, shopping, and travel. The American homemaker, Vanek says, now helps to create and maintain a life-style-or consumption style-through such activities as gourmet cooking, directing children's play, or shopping for household furnishings.

#### Human Design

What then do the researchers conclude about the study's basic issue-the imprint of industrialization on the pattern of people's daily lives? Perhaps the most prominent revelation of the study, Robinson, Converse, and Szalai believe, is how people's daily activities are little altered by the incursions of industrialization. There appears to be, they say, a force or "push" that confines certain activities within rather rigid time spans regardless of the level of industrial growth a people have experienced or the social, cultural, and political forces pulling at them.

There is one major exception to this general trend and that is television. Here is one technological innovation which has readily and consistently stolen time from other activities and changed the basic contours of everyday life. "Television," the study directors state simply, "appears to have had a greater influence on the structure of daily life than any other innovation in this century."

With the introduction of a television set, the time people spend in contact with the mass media nearly doubles; television owners spend almost an hour more per day in contact with the media than nonowners.

Contrary to popular stereotype, Americans do not emerge as the most inveterate television viewers in the multinational study; they watch only a little above the average amount of television-95 minutes per day compared to the multinational average of 86 minutes-despite the greater variety and longer duration of the programming available in the U.S. Here again, the researchers suggest, there is a "constant saturation" point beyond which viewing does not increase. In any event, the present data clearly show that no other modern technological device-not the automobile nor the mixmaster-has had so profound an effect on our daily lives.

(This article is reprinted with the permission of the Institute for Social Research at the University of Michigan.)

#### Related publications:

- 1) Alexander Szalai (ed.), *The Use of Time*. (Mouton)
- 2) Joann Vanek, "Keeping Busy: Time Spent in Housework, United States, 1920-1970." unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Michigan, 1973.
- 3) J.P. Robinson and P.E. Converse, "Social Change Reflected in the Use of Time," in A. Campbell and P.E. Converse (eds.), *The Human Meaning of Social Change*, (New York: Russell Sage, 1972).

We are happy to learn that the December, 1973 issue of Interchange (Population Education Newsletter--written for junior and senior high school teachers) is focussed on the topic of women. Kathryn Houseley has called our attention to the issue, which is available from the Population Reference Bureau. The articles provide interesting studies for young people. We have included the lead article on Third World women from the issue. What's good for our junior and senior high school students is long overdue for most of us.

### Emerging Women?

In January 1974 a Report on the Status of Women and Family Planning will be submitted to the United Nations Commission on the Status of Women. The study, based on information gathered from over 50 countries, will reveal the strong relationship between human rights and population change. This relationship involves education, employment, and the civil and political rights of women on the one hand and family planning, family size, and the spacing of children on the other. The study indicates that although access to family planning enables women to realize their basic human rights more freely, there must also exist opportunities in the family and in society for responsible and equal decision making by men and women if family planning is to have an impact on reproductive patterns.

In most societies women, who constitute half of the population, still do not have opportunity to fully develop their individual potential. They often are denied the right to determine whether and at what age they will marry and if and when they will have children. Women also do not have equal access to the education and job opportunities essential for greater participation in national economic and political processes.

Many of the underlying causes of women's marginal role are similar in developed and developing countries. But the barriers to improving the status of women, such as traditional expectations, prejudices, and taboos, are sometimes more resistant in the developing countries where resources for both men and women are scarce. In these societies limited education represents the most important obstacle. The vast majority of the world's illiterates are females. Because males are viewed as the breadwinners for the next generation, they are generally given priority for advanced education and technical training. The traditional tasks of females as wives and mothers are not seen to require formal education. In Mexico, for example, rates of male enrollment in higher education programs are ten times that of women. Such barriers are not confined to the developing world. In Sweden, which is considered one of the most advanced and socially oriented countries, women still form only 34 percent of university and college graduates.

The low level of women's participation in the labor force also reflects a demand for predominantly male labor. In Latin America, only 23 percent of the employed population are women. Participation rates may be misleading however, unless the kind of work is also examined. In general, few women are hired for the professional positions requiring responsibility and higher education. In Chile, for example, where 22 percent of the women work, they account for only 2 percent of the country's architects and engineers, 10 percent of the lawyers and

and only 18 percent of the doctors and dentists. In contrast 71 percent of Chile's public service workers, including domestic servants, are women. In this respect Chile isn't so very different from the United States where only 4 percent of the lawyers, and only 8 percent of the doctors and dentists are women. Teaching, nursing, and social work are the professional sectors which employ a majority of women in the United States.

In Africa 60-80 percent of the agricultural labor force are women. And in some West African countries over 80 percent of those employed in trade activities are women. Despite their prominent role in the economy, West African women have little opportunity for technical and agricultural training. Most are trained for subsistence production in their own homes -- cooking, child care, sewing, embroidery, etc. If training for agricultural or craft work occurs within the family, male and female productivity is about the same. But when boys receive formal training in schools or workshops, while girls continue to be educated in the home, the gap widens. Evidence from Brazil, Egypt, and the United States (see table above) shows that greater employment opportunities are available to women with more education.

Theoretically, employed women have a potential alternative to the traditional role of mother. When a woman's responsibilities as a mother conflict with her work outside the home, and if she has a choice in these matters, a significant relationship between fertility and employment might be expected. A study of women in three Latin American cities offers some support to this relationship. Non-employed women aged 20-50 in Rio de Janeiro, Panama City, and San Jose, Costa Rica, averaged 3.5, 2.5, and 3.7 live births respectively, while employed women averaged 3.0, 1.8, and 1.9.<sup>1</sup> (This difference, however, may be directly due to other factors such as higher education, a later age of marriage, and more women who never marry.) It is possible that certain types of employment -- for example, subsistence agriculture -- may increase the advantage of a large family. In general, however, women whose work requires skills, takes them out of the home into an organized work setting, and pays a decent salary, will tend to have smaller families.

The UN Commission concludes that there is a strong relationship between the exercise of women's rights in the family and society and their reproductive behavior. Couples in societies with a greater degree of equality between men and women generally have smaller families. A policy of raising the status of women and promoting equality should be pursued as an end in itself, however, regardless of its impact on a nation's fertility or economic growth. The central purpose remains the full use of the talents of all of society's members and the creation of a new basis for free and happy relations between men and women.

<sup>1</sup>Carmen A. Miro and F. Rath, "Preliminary Findings of Comparative Fertility Surveys in Three Latin American Countries," Milbank Memorial Fund Quarterly, no. 2, part 2, vol. 43. (April, 1965)



REVIEW OF WOMEN AND CHILD CARE IN CHINA: A FIRSTHAND REPORT,  
BY RUTH SIDEL, NEW YORK, HILL AND WANG, 1972.

Day care for pre-school children is a controversial issue in the United States. It is a central concern of women seeking new roles in American society. Yet for many Americans, it remains an unacceptable concept that raises disturbing economic, social and psychological questions. Its unfortunate treatment, dramatized in the Nixon administration's retreat from social welfare programs, may well reflect this society's attitude toward its children, its attitude toward women, and its attitude toward itself.

The premise of Ruth Sidel's book is that a society can be measured by the concern it demonstrates of one generation for the next. The author spent a month in China in the fall of 1971, visiting hospitals, factories and child care centers. She uses her reflections on China's child-rearing practices to permit the reader a brief and fascinating glimpse of Chinese society as a whole. Her report on women and child care in China is at once dispassionate and sympathetic. Her style is appealing. She does not attempt a learned approach nor a comprehensive review. She provides some facts and many anecdotes.

Her primary professional interest is in child care. Her interest as a woman is in how child care reflects society's view of women. Yet the genius of her book is that it goes beyond children and women to the heart of the new China, providing a setting for insightful comment on the present Chinese social system. It is a system, she suggests, with a sense of mission, in striking contrast to the ennui and impotence characterizing many Western societies today.

Women in this society must be freed to serve alongside men. Thus the liberation of women in China is linked to the building of a new society.

Chinese women do not seem to see the liberation of women in terms of a conflict between men and women. They see the conflict in their society rather as one between new ideas and remnants of feudal thinking.

Going beyond a technical report on the nurseries, nursery school and kindergartens she visited, the author discusses the concepts involved. She posits, for example that multiple mothering can work in a nation with a common value system and a commonality of attitude on child-rearing methods. Where patterns of child-rearing are highly diverse, and where values are not universally shared, as in the U.S., clearly other child care systems must be available. The author also demonstrates how the daily routine of learning to "help each other" in the nursery and "serve" in kindergarten conform to and extend the Chinese revolutionary ethos, encouraging cooperation and group achievement rather than competition and individual achievement.

The author is particularly impressed that Chinese women are free of the oppression implicit in the Western view of women as sexual objects. She wonders to what extent sexual attitudes in the West have been influenced by consumerism and its supporting advertising, by the commercial exploitation of sexuality.

Still she points out that Chinese women, though freed from the "bitter past" of virtual enslavement and bound feet, have a long way to go. Pre-Liberation attitudes persist in the rural areas, and in the country as a whole. Women (90% of whom now work) are still the first fired in bad times. Though they constitute 50% of doctors, they are heavily concentrated in fields such as pediatrics and obstetrics. And though male professions are being opened to women, traditionally female professions, such as teaching and nursing, are still virtually all held by women.

The author cites several examples of Chinese professional women who because of their work, live apart from husbands and children in other cities or in the countryside, seeing their families at best one day a week. Freed of family responsibility by the government support of and acceptability of birth control and the societal provision of child care, the women are proud to place service to the nation above service to the family. Left unanswered is the question of non-professional women's views. Do Chinese women in the factories and in the fields share this view of their "liberation" from family? Would every American woman prefer work in the factory to work in the home? And is liberation the switch from family to work, or the ability to choose and have society support either choice?

This book will appeal to every American working woman who has or may have children, and who, under our present non-system, suffers the inconvenience and the anguish the dual responsibility entails. The author does not suggest we adopt the Chinese answer. She does suggest that like the Chinese, we turn our attention to the problem. If women in the West are to be free to pursue their own potential and indeed to serve their own societies, alternatives to present child-rearing patterns will have to be made available.

Nancy Birdsall



Women are basic, to say the least, to one of the most important of all demographic factors--birth rates. But the world's male population planners are blithely proceeding to set up family planning motivational programs with no advisory input from women where it counts most--at the highest administrative and organizational levels.

In this letter to one of the male institutional directors who had the temerity to ask for a woman's viewpoint, the author describes the problem and what can be done about it.

Dr. Lyle Webster  
East-West Communication Institute  
The East-West Center  
Honolulu, Hawaii 96822

Dear Dr. Webster:

Since you ask, yes, I have some ideas that grew out of my family planning research, that I believe apply equally to Asia, Africa, or South America. First, I am convinced that women everywhere want birth control, but cannot accomplish it without the approval and cooperation of the male. The respondents in my study did plead for such education for the men in the low-income families they work with. The same message came through as I visited the homes of my own native (if middle class) friends in Cairo, Tehran, Jaipur, Bangkok, Hong Kong, Taipei, and Kyoto. Those women were all talking family planning. They wish the men cared more.

As you know, many studies reiterate the need for family planning education for the men in various societies. This important aspect of communication does need attention. Furthermore, I believe it soon will be receiving proper attention, because men, who understand the motivations of men, are administering all the family planning programs in the world.

Now can you imagine a national family planning education program for men, all planned, directed, administered, and operated by women at the national level, with a corps of male village workers under them to work with the clientele? Even the most radical women's libber would never propose such a system! Yet the analogous opposite situation is now accepted without question everywhere.

This leads to my chief suggestion. That is simply that more women must make the family planning organization decisions at administrative levels. Not a token woman. Not two or three women, but a fifty-fifty representation of women. I maintain that only a woman, who has grown up with a gut knowledge of the fear-born deviousness required to survive in a male-dominated society, can possibly know what motivates the vital female half of our family planning audience. Only a woman, conditioned through a childhood of hearing--or overhearing--woman-talk on the subject of marriage and pregnancy, who senses the shadings of non-verbal communication, has the kind of tribal understanding to know the real attitudes motivating her sisters in any part of the world.

Yet men place men in charge of motivational programs to influence women in family planning, and women are used as tools of communication only at the lowest village level. The "social distance" between male administrators and the female clientele is too great.

I doubt that these administrators even understand their own women. The obedient Asiatic wife, I know, is not always as respectful of her lord and master as he may believe. In the privacy of the women's quarters I've heard some of the most bitter mockery of the spouse's intimate personal characteristics. What male could guess the depths of subversive thought existing within the "beloved enemy" in his own household?

I read articles based on scientific studies by men; I hear talks by well-educated men of good will, and I want to pluck a sleeve and ask, "Don't you know? Do you really not know what's motivating your women?" The women village workers could tell them, if anyone would listen. Housewives from Maine to Montana could tell them. I could tell them. Most important, women administrators on their organization staffs could tell them.

What male administrator anywhere could ever divine the extent to which women regard pregnancy almost as a preventable disease, of which the male is a carrier? Sometimes women want babies. Never do they want pregnancies!

Male administrators go on applying their textbook psychology and survey-based research just as if economics and social systems were important to the producers of babies. Any woman unafraid of speaking the truth could tell them that a family planning campaign based on the simple hope of freedom from pregnancy--pain-relief--would have the greatest appeal for all women, East or West. For some reason, this basic motivation seems to have become unmentionable. The Jamaican campaign, with its blatant billboards announcing, "You don't have to get pregnant!" is the most realistic appeal I've seen used anywhere.

My suggestion, then, is that family planning programs all over the world should--must--include at least 50 percent women at the highest administrative and planning levels. Without such input, I think no family planning program can ever completely succeed. But would the present administrators consider such a threatening idea? Would even American men listen? Notice the highly qualified list of gentlemen running Planned Parenthood, the Population Council, Carolina Population Center, etc. (Dare I also mention the East-West Center?)

In our universities we see only male professors, teaching male communicators, to influence--whom? Males?

Perhaps it actually has not occurred to family planning organizations that at least half their decision-makers should represent such an important half of the audience. Otherwise, I cannot imagine what they are thinking of.

Sincerely,

Jean Brand  
Washington, D.C.

# WOMEN'S CAUCUSES AND COMMITTEES IN PROFESSIONAL ASSOCIATIONS\* /

We thought it would be a useful service to publish the following list of women's caucuses in professional organizations, for anyone who is interested in contacting women in other fields.

## ACADEMY OF MANAGEMENT

Committee on the Status of Women in the Management Profession  
Chairperson: Dr. Kathryn M. Bartol  
 Dept. of Mgt., School of Business Administration  
 University of Massachusetts, Amherst, MA 01002

## ADULT EDUCATION ASSOCIATION

Commission on the Status of Women in Adult Education  
Chairperson: Ms. Yvonne Rappaport  
 Consortium Bldg., George Mason U., Fairfax, VA 22030

## AMERICAN ACADEMY OF RELIGION/

TF on the Status of Women - The Academic Study of Religion  
Chairperson: Ms. Elizabeth Schussler Fiorenza  
 1223 N. Lawrence St., So. Bend, IN 46617

## AMERICAN ANTHROPOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION/

Committee on the Status of Women in Anthropology  
Co-Chairpersons: Prof. Carol Vance, Dept. of Anthropology, Columbia U.,  
 New York, NY 10027; Prof. Lucie Wood Saunders, Dept. of Anthropology,  
 Lehman College, Bronx, NY, NY 10467

## AMERICAN ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF SCIENCE

Women's Caucus of the A.A.A.S.  
Chairperson: Ms. Virginia Walbot  
 Dept. of Biochemistry, U. of Georgia, Athens, GA 30601

## AMERICAN ASSOCIATION FOR HEALTH & PHYSICAL EDUCATION

Committee on Women  
Chairperson: Prof. Ione G. Shadduck  
 Drake U., Des Moines, IA 50311

## AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF IMMUNOLOGISTS/

Committee on the Status of Women  
Chairperson: Dr. Helene C. Rauch  
 Dept. of Medical Microbiology, Stanford U.  
 School of Medicine, Stanford, CA 94305

## AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF UNIVERSITY PROFESSORS

Committee on the Status of Women in the Profession  
Chairperson: Dr. Alice S. Rossi  
 Dept. of Sociology, Goucher College, Towson, MD 21204  
AAUP Contact: Ms. Margaret Rumbarger, Assoc. Sec., AAUP  
 One Dupont Circle, Wash., DC 20036

\*Including some independent organizations

/These groups all have a known roster of women. Others have channels through which women may be referred or print listings or job openings in their newsletters.

## AMERICAN ASTRONOMICAL SOCIETY

Working Group on the Status of Women in Astronomy  
Chairperson: Dr. Anne P. Cowley  
 Research Associate, Astronomy Dept.  
 U. of Michigan, Ann Arbor, MI 48103

## AMERICAN CHEMICAL SOCIETY

Women Chemists Committee  
Chairperson: Dr. Susan Collier, Research Lab.  
 Eastman Kodak Co., Rochester, NY 14650

## AMERICAN COLLEGE PERSONNEL ASSOCIATION

Women's Task Force  
Chairperson: Dr. Mary Howard  
 Federal City College, 425 Second St., NW, Wash., DC 20001

## AMERICAN ECONOMIC ASSOCIATION

Committee on the Status of Women in the Economics Profession  
Chairperson: Dr. Carolyn Shaw Bell  
 Wellesley College, Wellesley, MA 02181

## AMERICAN EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH ASSOCIATION

Women's Caucus  
Chairperson: Ms. Noele Krenkel, Researcher  
 San Francisco Unified School District  
 135 Van Ness, San Francisco, CA 94102

## AMERICAN FEDERATION OF TEACHERS

Women's Rights Committee  
Chairperson: Ms. Marjorie Stern  
 1012 14th St., Wash., DC 20004

## AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION/

- a. Committee on Women Historians  
Chairperson: Dr. Jane deHart Matthews  
 U. of North Carolina, Greensboro, NC 27412  
 (Staff Liaison: Dr. Charlotte Quinn  
 400 A St., SE, Wash., DC 20004)
- b. Coordinating Committee on Women in the Historical Profession  
Chairperson: Dr. Sandi Cooper  
 Richmond College, CUNY, Staten Island, NY 10301

## AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF PLANNERS

Women's Rights Committee  
Chairperson: Ms. Diana C. Donald  
 1776 Mass. Ave., NW, Wash., DC 20036

## AMERICAN LIBRARY ASSOCIATION/

Social Responsibilities Round Table  
 Task Force on the Status of Women  
Chairperson: Ms. Lynne Rhoads  
 4004 Whitman North, Seattle, WN 98103



AMERICAN MATHEMATICAL SOCIETY - ASSOCIATION FOR WOMEN IN MATHEMATICS/  
(Independent group)

Chairperson: Prof. Mary Gray  
Dept. of Math., The American Univ., Wash., DC 20016

AMERICAN PERSONNEL AND GUIDANCE ASSOCIATION

Women's Caucus  
Correspondent: Ms. Beverly B. Clark  
10649 Weymouth St., Bethesda, MD 20014

AMERICAN PHILOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION

Women's Caucus  
Chairperson: Prof. Sarah B. Pomery  
Hunter College, Box 1264, 695 Park Ave., New York, NY 10021

Committee on Status of Women  
Chairperson: Prof. Mary R. Lefkowitz  
Dept. of Greek & Latin  
Wellesley College, Wellesley, MA 02181

AMERICAN PHILOSOPHICAL ASSOCIATION

- a. Women's Caucus  
Chairperson: Prof. Mary Mothersill  
Dept. of Philosophy, Barnard College, New York, NY 10027
- b. Society for Women in Philosophy (Independent Group)  
Chairperson: Prof. Hannah Hardgrave  
Dept. of Philosophy, Western Illinois U., Macomb, IL 61455

AMERICAN PHYSICAL SOCIETY/

Committee on Women in Physics  
Chairperson: Dr. Esther Conwell  
Physics Research Lab., Xerox Sq. W-114, Rochester, NY 14644

AMERICAN PHYSIOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION

Task Force on Women in Physiology  
Chairperson: Dr. Elizabeth Tidball  
Dept. of Physiology, George Washington U. Medical Center  
2300 Eye St., NW, Wash., DC 20037

AMERICAN POLITICAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATION/

- a. Committee on the Status of Women in the Profession  
Chairperson: Ms. Carole Parsons  
2400 Virginia Ave., NW #1102, Wash., DC 20037
- b. Women's Caucus for Political Science  
Chairperson: Dr. Marie Rosenberg  
School of Business, U. of Wisconsin, Eau Claire, WI 54701  
Permanent address of caucus: Mount Vernon College  
2100 Foxhall Rd., NW, Wash., DC 20007

AMERICAN PSYCHOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION

Ad Hoc Committee on Women in Psychology  
Chairperson: Dr. Martha Mednick  
Dept. of Psychology, Howard U., Wash., DC 20001  
(Staff Liaison: Dr. Brenda Gurel, APA, 1200 17th St., NW, Wash., DC 20036)

AMERICAN PUBLIC HEALTH ASSOCIATION

Women's Caucus  
Correspondent: Ms. Mary Plaska  
APHA Women's Caucus  
1015--18th St., NW, Wash., DC 20036

AMERICAN SOCIETY OF BIOLOGICAL CHEMISTS

Subcommittee on the Status of Women  
Chairperson: Dr. Loretta Leive  
Bldg. 4, Rm. 111, National Institute of Health, Bethesda, MD 20014

AMERICAN SOCIETY FOR MICROBIOLOGY/

Committee on the Status of Women Microbiologists  
Chairperson: Dr. Mary Louise Robbins  
School of Medicine and Health Sciences  
George Washington U., 2300 Eye St., NW, Wash., DC 20037

AMERICAN SOCIETY FOR PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION/

Task Force on Women in Public Administration  
Chairperson: Mrs. Joan Fiss Bishop, Director  
Career Services, Wellesley College, Wellesley, MA 02181

AMERICAN SOCIETY FOR TRAINING AND DEVELOPMENT

Women's Caucus, ASTD  
Steering Committee: Dr. Shirley McCune, Center for Human Relations  
NEA, 1201 16th St., NW, Wash., DC 20036;  
Ms. Althea Simmons, Director of Training  
NAACP, 200 E. 27th St., New York, NY 10016

AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION

- a. Ad Hoc Committee on the Status of Women in Sociology  
Chairperson: Cora B. Marrett, Dept. of Sociology  
Western Michigan U., Kalamazoo, MI 49001
- b. Sociologists for Women in Society (independent group, formerly a caucus)  
Chairperson: Dr. Joan Huber  
Dept. of Soc., U. of Ill., Urbana, IL 61801

AMERICAN SPEECH AND HEARING ASSOCIATION

Subcommittee on the Status of Women  
Chairperson: Ms. Dorothy K. Marge  
8011 Longbrook Rd., Springfield, VA 22152

AMERICAN STATISTICAL ASSOCIATION

Caucus for Women in Statistics  
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Dept. of Statistics and Biometry, Emory U., Atlanta, GA 30322

Committee on Women in Statistics  
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Col. of Commerce and Bus. Admin., U. of Alabama, University, AL 35486

AMERICAN STUDIES ASSOCIATION

ASA Committee on Women  
National Coordinator: Ms. Joanna Schneider Zangrando  
501 Mineola Ave., Akron, OH 44320

ASSOCIATION OF AMERICAN GEOGRAPHERS

Committee on Women in Geography  
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Dept. of Geography, U. of Mich., Ann Arbor, MI 48104

ASSOCIATION OF AMERICAN LAW SCHOOLS/

Committee on Women in the Legal Education  
Presiding Members: Prof. Ruth B. Ginsburg, Columbia Law School  
435 West 116th St., New York, NY 10027; Prof. Shirley R. Bysiewicz  
U. of Connecticut School of Law, 1280 Asylum Ave., W. Hartford, CN 06105

ASSOCIATION OF ASIAN STUDIES

Committee on the Status of Women  
Chairperson: Prof. Joyce K. Kallgren  
Center for Chinese Studies, 2168 Shattuck Ave., Berkeley, CA 94705

ASSOCIATION OF WOMEN IN ARCHITECTURE/

President: Ms. Dorothy Gray Harrison  
2115 Pine Crest Dr., Altadena, CA 91001

ASSOCIATION FOR WOMEN IN PSYCHOLOGY/

(Independent group, initially a caucus with APA)  
Public Relations Editor: Dr. Leigh Marlowe  
Manhattan Community Col., 180 W. End Ave., New York, NY 10023  
Correspondent: Dr. Dorothy Camara  
700012 Western Ave., Chevy Chase, MD 10023  
Liaison: Dr. Dolores Muhich  
516 S. Univ. Ave., Carbondale, IL 62901

ASSOCIATION OF WOMEN IN SCIENCE (Independent group)/

President: Dr. Estelle Ramey  
1818 R. St., NW, Wash., DC 20009

BIOPHYSICAL SOCIETY/

Professional Opportunities for Women of the Biophysical Society  
Caucus of Women Biophysicists  
Chairperson: Dr. Daphne Hare  
School of Medicine, SUNY, Buffalo, NY 14215

CHURCH EMPLOYED WOMEN/

Contact: Ms. Mildred G. Lehr  
The Westminster Press, 900 Witherspoon Bldg., Phila., PA 19107

COLLEGE ART ASSOCIATION

- a. Commission on the Status of Women in Art  
Chairperson: Prof. Linda Nochlin Pommer  
Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, NY 12601
- b. Women's Caucus  
Co-Chairpersons: Prof. Ann Harris, 560 Riverside Dr. #17P  
New York, NY 10021; Ms. Judy Patt, 2429 Vallejo, San Francisco, CA 94123

College Music Society

CMS Women's Caucus  
Co-Chairpersons: Dr. Carolyn Raney and Dr. Adrienne F. Block  
Dept. of Performing & Creative Arts  
Staten Island Community College, SI, NY 10301

GRADUATE WOMEN IN SCIENCE (Sigma Delta Epsilon)

President: Ms. Hope Hopps,  
1762 Overlook Dr., Silver Spring, MD 20903

LATIN AMERICAN STUDIES ASSOCIATION

- a. Women's Coalition of Latin Americanists  
Co-Chairpersons: Dr. Elsa M. Chaney, Dept. of Pol. Sc., Fordham U.,  
Bronx, NY 10458; Dr. Asunción Lavrín, 8501 Manchester Rd., Silver  
Spring, MD 20901.
- b. Women's Committee  
Chairperson: Dr. Nancie L. Gonzalez  
Dept. of Anthropology, Boston U., Boston, MA 02215

LINGUISTIC SOCIETY OF AMERICA

LSA Women's Caucus  
Correspondents: Ms. Lynette Hirschman, Ms. Georgette Ioup  
162 W. Hansberry, Phila., PA 19144

MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION

- a. MLA Commission on the Status of Women in the Profession  
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Towson State College, Baltimore, MD 21204
- b. Women's Caucus of the MLA  
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R.D. 3, Slippery Rock, PA 16057

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR WOMEN DEANS, ADMINISTRATORS AND COUNSELORS

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1028 Connecticut Ave., NW, Wash., DC 20036

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF BANK WOMEN/

Asst. Exec. Dir.: Ms. Sharon Pierce  
NABW, 111 E. Wacker Dr., Chicago, IL 60601

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF STUDENT PERSONNEL ADMINISTRATORS

Task Force on Women  
Chairperson: Ms. E. Susan Petering, Asst. Dean of Students  
Framingham State College, Framingham, MA 01701



NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR THE SOCIAL STUDIES  
Committee on Social Injustice for Women  
Chairperson: Dr. Dell Felder  
U. of Houston, Houston, TX 77004

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF ADMINISTRATIVE WOMEN IN EDUCATION  
President: Ms. Frances Hamilton  
1201 16th St., NW, Wash., DC 20036

NATIONAL COUNCIL ON FAMILY RELATIONS  
Task Force on Women's Rights and Responsibilities  
Chairperson: Dr. Rose Somerville  
Soc. Dept., San Diego State Col., San Diego, CA 92115

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF TEACHERS OF ENGLISH  
Women's Committee  
Chairperson: Dr. Janet Emig  
Dept. of English, Rutgers U., New Brunswick, NJ 08903

NATIONAL EDUCATION ASSOCIATION  
Women's Caucus  
Chairperson: Ms. Helen Bain  
NEA, 1201 16th St., Wash., DC 20036

NATIONAL VOCATIONAL GUIDANCE ASSOCIATION  
NVGA Commission on the Occupational Status of Women  
Chairperson: Ms. Thelma C. Lennon, Director  
Pupil Personnel Services, Dept. of Pub. Instruc., Raleigh, NC 27602

PHILOSOPHY OF EDUCATION SOCIETY  
a. Women's Caucus  
Chairperson: Dr. Elizabeth Steiner Maccia  
Dept. of Hist. & Philosophy of Ed., Indiana U., Bloomington, IN 47401  
  
b. Committee on the Status of Women (same)

POPULATION ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA  
Women's Caucus  
Chairperson: Prof. Nancy E. Williamson  
Brown U., Providence, RI 02912

PROFESSIONAL WOMEN'S CAUCUS  
P.O. Box 1057, Radio City Station, New York, NY 10019  
President: Ms. Margaret Anderson  
Rockland City Guidance Center for Women  
10 Broadway, Nyack, NY 10960

SOCIETY FOR CELL BIOLOGY  
Women in Cell Biology  
Chairperson: Ms. Virginia Walbot  
Dept. of Biochemistry, U. of Ga., Athens, GA 30601

SOCIETY OF AMERICAN ARCHIVISTS  
Ad Hoc Committee on the Status of Women in the Archival Profession  
Chairperson: Dr. Mabel Deutrich, Director  
Military Archives Div., National Archives & Records Service, Wash., DC 20408

SOCIETY OF WOMEN ENGINEERS/  
Executive Secretary: Winifred D. White, 345 E. 47 St., New York, NY 10017

UNITED PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN THE USA  
Task Force on Women  
Co-Chairpersons: Ms. Patricia Doyle and Ms. Elaine Homrighouse  
Board of Christian Education, United Presbyterian Church  
Witherspoon Bldg., Phila., PA 19107

WOMEN ARCHITECTS, LANDSCAPE ARCHITECTS, AND PLANNERS  
39 Martin St., Cambridge, MA 02138

WOMEN IN COMMUNICATIONS/  
President: Ms. Fran Harris, WWJ Stations, Detroit, MI 48231

A number of these organizations have recently formed a federation to coordinate their efforts, share resources, and promote professional career opportunities for women:

FEDERATION OF ORGANIZATIONS FOR PROFESSIONAL WOMEN  
Chairperson: Steering Committee: Dr. Irene Tinker  
1818 R. St., NW, Wash., DC 20009

CONCERNED DEMOGRAPHY  
Reid T. Reynolds, Managing Editor  
Dept. of Sociology  
Ithaca College  
Ithaca, NY 14850



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# CONCERNED DEMOGRAPHY

**Emerging  
Population  
Alternatives**

**vol.4, no.2**

**Winter 1974**



About Concerned Demography: Concerned Demography is a periodic publication of Concerned Demographers, a nonprofit national organization of persons interested in relating their study of population to the larger social and political context. We first came together during the annual meeting of the Population Association of America in April, 1969, at a time when academic rebellions and widespread opposition to the war in Vietnam had given rise to dissident caucuses in many professional associations. Since then we have published thirteen issues of Concerned Demography, each prepared by a group of graduate students or other professionals in the field of population. Concerned Demography, however, has no official ties with any university or other organization. Editors for this issue are Michael Carder, Reid T. Reynolds and Barbara Segal.

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Back issues: Extra copies of all back issues are available from the managing editor at a cost of \$1 each. The following table is a guide to back issues.

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vol.II, no.3	1/71	24	Gretchen Condran, Alfredo Lattes & Eric R. Weiss-Altaner (Penn.)
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vol.IV, no.2	W/74		Michael Carder, Reid T. Reynolds and Barbara Segal (EMPA)

Address all correspondence to: Concerned Demography  
c/o Reid T. Reynolds, mg. ed.  
Dept. of Sociology  
Ithaca College  
Ithaca, NY 14850

CONTENTS

Introduction

2

ARTICLES:

A Family Quarrel? "Developmentalism" or Family Planning

Michael Carder

3

The Ideology of Population Control

Mahmood Mamdani

13

CONFERENCE REPORTS:

The International Youth Population Conference

Barbara Segal

23

A Feminist Response to: Journalists' Encounter on Population

Lolly Hirsch

28

Non-Malthusian Coalition Group:Tribune Statement

Erland Hofsten

34

Food as a Weapon: Bucharest, Rome and the Politics of Starvation

Barbara Segal

36

Bertrand Russell Tribunal Considers Population Control

Bonnie Mass

40

Population Growth and Social Development

43

REVIEWS:

The Myth of Population Control, Mahmood Mandani

Reid T. Reynolds

46

"The Politics of Population," Linda Gordon

Barbara Segal

49

Bogus Psychology -- two articles by Donald J. Bogue

Michael Carder

52

EMERGING POPULATION ALTERNATIVES:

As We See It (EMPA)

54

Annotated Bibliography III

55

About EMPA

64

KAP Survey

65

\* \* \* \* \*

CONCERNED DEMOGRAPHY: Emerging Population Alternatives.

vol.IV, no.2 Winter, 1974



## INTRODUCTION

World Population Year was conceived by the population establishment to draw attention to the purportedly fundamental role of high fertility in maintaining the poverty of much of humankind. The World Population Conference, meeting in Bucharest, was to ratify a World Plan of Action which would legitimize the expansion of the population control movement. The year was marked by special issues of numerous periodicals which more or less subtly attempted to disseminate this line of the population establishment to their various audiences.

In the wake of the Bucharest Conference, however, it is clear that World Population Year has not produced the desired consensus for the escalation of population control. Reflecting a broader change in the international climate various forces from both the Third World and the developed countries succeeded in preventing the international consecration of neo-Malthusian ideology. Instead of a call for centralized population control programs, the Conference stressed the importance of creating a New Economic Order while observing the principles of national sovereignty and individual freedom of choice in birth control related policies.

In keeping with its principle of publishing critical material relevant to the study of population, this special issue of Concerned Demography commemorating World Population Year contains a variety of articles and reviews which we hope will prove helpful to our readers in understanding the significance of Bucharest. Most of the work for this issue was done by Michael Carder and Barbara Segal of Emerging Population Alternatives (EMPA), working in collaboration with the managing editor. EMPA is a new research collective in the field of population and is described more fully in their statement on page 64.

Aside from collaborating with a new group, this issue marks two other departures from our previous status. Rather than relying primarily on original articles written by our readers we have decided to place greater emphasis on reprinting useful articles which might not otherwise be seen by our readers as well as including more reviews and reports of significant events and trends in population studies and related fields.

The other new departure is that the publication of this issue marks the incursion of a debt of several hundred dollars by CD. Further issues will only be possible with the liquidation of this debt. Hopefully this will be achieved by increasing the number of subscribers, prompt renewals by current subscribers and the sale of back issues. Contributions of \$5-10 from a hundred faithful readers would put CD on a sound financial footing. Soliciting subscriptions from colleagues and having your library order back issues would also help.

While finances are crucial at this point, it takes more than money to make CD. The continued interest in new subscriptions, requests for back issues and the favorable reception of our recent "Special Issue on Women" suggest that CD is worth the effort. We would, however, like to obtain greater feedback from our readers. Thus, we have appended a short questionnaire on the back page which we hope you will fill out and return.

Reid T. Reynolds, managing editor

## A FAMILY QUARREL?

"Developmentalism" or Family Planning  
by

Michael Carder

Despite strenuous efforts to cover up, the recent World Population Conference was a serious setback for the population establishment. Instead of endorsing global population control, the Conference, dominated by a coalition of anti-imperialist and pro-natalist countries virtually rewrote the World Population Plan of Action drawn up by the United Nations. And while the final document retains most of the positions previously adopted by the UN, the main emphasis is now on the need for much greater efforts to promote development in the Third World. The Plan explicitly states that neither the reduction of rates of population growth nor the small family norm are universal objectives.<sup>1/</sup>

This setback was due not only to the continuing militancy of Third World governments, but also to the disarray of the population control movement itself. Observers of the population scene have been aware of the existence of serious splits over strategy for some time. The Conference brought these splits out into the open. The 'debate' centres around the role of family planning programs in reducing birth rates in the Third World. Originally sold as a cheap way of short-cutting the demographic transition, family planning has encountered growing opposition and only minor success as an instrument of population control.

When western ruling circles first became alarmed at the implications of their own success in reducing death rates in the Third World, the idea that birth rates could be manipulated in the same fashion was as yet new and untried. The experience of North America, Europe and Japan suggested that fertility decline was the result of modernization, in particular industrialization and urbanization. Despite all the rhetoric about 'foreign aid', the advanced capitalist countries were both unable and unwilling to promote real development in the Third World. On the contrary, the 'development' promoted by the West distorted and subordinated these economies, producing industries without industrialization, sprawling cities but not urbanization and, in the process, marginalizing large segments of their population. When Coale and Hoover<sup>2/</sup> set out to show that India's population growth was too high, they based their calculations on the assumption that India would remain a dependent capitalist economy. KAP studies were eagerly seized on to show to governments that development was not necessary for birth rates to fall.<sup>3/</sup> And if poor women really did want fewer children and would use contraceptives if they were available, programs could be presented as voluntary, thus deflecting criticism that they were imposed from outside.

During the sixties, a number of governments in the Third World began to develop family planning programs with support from private bodies and, later, western governments and international organisations. In some cases the reason given was to improve



maternal and child health but for the most part the stated purpose was to bring down birth rates. After an initial surge, however, in country after country the number of new 'acceptors' began to tail off. With the exception of a few isolated areas, there was no significant impact on fertility.

Various remedies were suggested. The family planners blamed inadequate funds and called for greater commitment by political leaders. Others wanted better contraceptives or pressed for the integration of family planning into health services of one kind or another. The 'social engineers' were split: 'doves' favoured education, which in practice seemed to mean adapting Madison Avenue techniques to sell the idea of small families while 'hawks' proposed rewards for childlessness and removing tax and welfare benefits from parents with more than two or three children. None of these remedies however came to grips with the central question of why poor people in Third World regions were not interested in having fewer children.\*

A 1967 paper by Kingsley Davis, one of the leading US demographers, went to the heart of the matter: Why, he asked, should the millions of decisions made by individuals in their own self-interest produce a birth rate deemed appropriate by their rulers? He proposed a series of measures 'beyond family planning' aimed essentially at breaking up traditional family structures.<sup>4</sup> Others, like Paul Ehrlich and Garret Hardin, went even further and called for 'involuntary' measures, like putting anti-fertility agents in the water supply. A long response by Bernard Berelson, head of the Population Council, rejected these ideas on the grounds that they were politically and technically unworkable.<sup>5</sup> Frank Notestein, former head of the Council and one of the architects of population control through family planning, warned that any attempt to go beyond voluntary programs "would be more likely to bring down the government than the birth rate".<sup>6</sup>

Other critics, including some US radicals, argued that the reason why poor people were not interested in smaller families was due to lack of motivation. Prevailing economic and social structures, coupled with high infant mortality, made large families a necessity. They decried the hypocrisy of western attempts to promote population control, while monopolizing the bulk of the planet's resources for wasteful and ecologically unsound purposes. Population growth, they observed, was too high only within the context of western imperialism. The distortions in development produced by dependence not only prevented Third World countries from realizing the productive potential of their large and pre-

\* One well known and highly respected sociologist attributed the slow progress to "new psychological variables". These included deceit by overzealous fieldworkers, poor quality of services and follow-up and lack of satisfactory contraceptives! See review of D. Bogue elsewhere in this issue.

dominantly young populations but also perpetuated the very conditions which hindered fertility decline and thus rendered family planning programs ineffective. The only solution was to end imperialism.<sup>7</sup> Feminists were somewhat ambivalent about state support for family planning. Most, however, drew attention to the contradiction of pushing birth control in situations where women's status depended on their ability to produce children while obstacles to alternative roles were not removed.

Mounting evidence of the failure of family planning to bring down birth rates, whether the approach was aggressive or moderate, forced a reconsideration of the determinants of fertility decline. At the Asian Population Conference at the end of 1972, Rafael Salas, head of the fast growing UN Fund for Population Activities (UNFPA) drew attention to poor performance of family planning programs and argued that insufficient attention had been paid to the effects of various social policy measures on fertility.<sup>8</sup> The speech had caused considerable controversy within UNFPA. The original version had been written by a group of younger, radicalised officials working directly with Salas, and had been somewhat more explicit in its critique of prevailing approaches. It was opposed by senior officials who managed to water it down just before delivery.

A few months later there was further proof that a rethink was under way. Summarising the results of the third 'summit' meeting heads of population control agencies held at the Rockefeller retreat in northern Italy, David Bell, vice president of the Ford Foundation, candidly admitted "we must accept the fact that we don't know very much about the problems and that they appear increasingly complex the more we study them."<sup>9</sup> The uncertainty covered not only how to 'engineer' a decline in fertility but also what to do about the growing backlash to western attempts to export this knowledge to the Third World. Whatever we do, said Jarold Kieffer of USAID, "we should arrange this thing so that we can't be considered a population mafia."<sup>10</sup> In the published version this was changed to read "so we can't be considered as being dictatorial on population matters."<sup>11</sup>

There were, however, "rays of hope" being offered by James Grant and William Rich.<sup>12</sup> The latter was the author of a study published in January 1973 arguing that a better distribution of the benefits of development, especially towards the impoverished rural masses, would not only speed up economic growth but also increase motivation for smaller families. The former was the head of the Overseas Development Council, a liberal foreign aid think tank, sponsored by some of the leading US multi-national banks and corporations, which had funded and published the research.

The study, appropriately entitled, Smaller Families Through Social and Economic Progress,<sup>13</sup> compared a wide range of capitalist developing countries to show that where the benefits of progress were less narrowly concentrated in the hands of the urban well-to-do and the large landowners, birth rates had fallen



substantially. This was true even in countries where per capita incomes were low and even where family planning programs were rudimentary. Rich does not question the need for population control or family planning. He explicitly states that the study is in no way intended to justify a cutback in family planning programs: on the contrary the aim is to make them more effective. Despite this, 'developmentalism,' as the new approach soon came to be called, was seen as an attack on family planning.

Rich had got most of his ideas from research carried out by James Kocher, a radical agricultural economist. Kocher's research had been funded by the Population Council.<sup>14/</sup> The Council, however, seemed more interested in proving that 'program effects' were more significant than 'social setting.' At an IPPF conference marking twenty one years of IPPF and the beginning of World Population Year, Berelson acknowledged the importance of economic and social development in the declines in fertility that had occurred and the disappointing results produced by family planning programs, yet argued that "there was room in the transition for an earlier rather than later intervention." After all, he concludes, there are worse ways of spending money!<sup>15/</sup> In his annual report he took a somewhat different approach. Although opposition to population control was "part of the natural history of any new idea emerging into practice," it should not be dismissed lightly. On the contrary, the critics should be drawn into the "debate", provided of course they did not introduce "extrinsic issues of an unduly political nature," in the interests of obtaining a "persuasive restatement of the 'population problem' suitable for the seventies and beyond." What should the new consensus be? Family planning and development.<sup>16/</sup> Although this manoeuvre was partially successful among western critics, as the World Population Conference soon showed, something more was needed to co-opt the growing Third World and anti-imperialist opposition.

But if 'developmentalism' was threatening to those who had a vested interest in the success of family planning programs, those with a broad interest in the Third World were more receptive. For the would-be managers of empire, Rich's thesis provided a way out of the impasse identified by the left wing critics of population control that capitalist underdevelopment was both the cause of high fertility and the obstacle to its decline. Family planning programs could be made to work, without any major change in the relations between rich and poor countries, by reorienting development strategy and giving more aid to the needy. The fact that this meant a complete turnabout -- ten years ago high fertility was an obstacle to development, now development was a precondition for fertility decline -- was conveniently ignored.

Robert MacNamara, who had given top priority to population control when he took over as head of the World Bank in 1968, set up an in-house study group to check out the new approach. The group endorsed the idea of "redirecting socio-economic policies to take into account their impact on fertility." At the same

time, most attention was given to ways of revamping family planning, including greater use of abortion and sterilization as well as incentive and disincentive schemes.<sup>17/</sup> Spreading the benefits of development had also been the theme of MacNamara's address to the Bank's governors in Nairobi in 1973. For the first time since he had become head of the Bank he did not dwell on the 'population problem'.<sup>18/</sup> Even USAID, where Ray Ravenholt continued to acclaim each new contraceptive as the solution to the population problem, quietly began to fund research on socio-economic policies that would encourage smaller families while radical critics found themselves invited to conferences and, in some cases, offered jobs in establishment institutions. The radicals quickly took advantage of the opportunity. Groups in North America and Europe issued statements critical not only of the western obsession with reducing the numbers of the poor, but also of the deluge of Malthusian propaganda put out by population agencies for World Population Year.<sup>19/</sup>

One partial exception was a kit of materials prepared by the New Internationalist, a pro-Third World magazine printed in the UK.<sup>20/</sup> The Action Pack, as it was called, had been sneaked through the UNFPA funding mechanism. The main thrust was basically the same as that of Rich and the other 'developmentalists'. Although the Action Pack was more challenging in its style -- "there is no way that the old order can contain twice as many people when it is already overflowing into pools of hunger, unemployment, homelessness and unhappiness" -- its World Population Year slogan was a patronising "Take care of the people and the population will take care of itself."<sup>21/</sup>

Although essentially reformist, the Action Pack caused a spate of red-baiting in some sections of the population establishment. At an IPPF meeting shortly after the appearance of the Action Pack, western donors demanded to know why UNFPA was funding 'marxist' viewpoints on population. In a letter to the Fund's Executive Director, David Wolfers, one time head of the Singapore family planning program and former director of the population unit in the British Overseas Development Administration, raved that the Action Pack was based on the "infantile delusion that anarchist revolution, de-schooling society and dethroning the over-thirties" was the way to solve the world's problems.

A more coherent attempt to dismiss the Action Pack came from Joe Stycos, fashionable head of the Cornell International Population Program. In "Demographic Chic at the UN"<sup>22/</sup> he relates how he changed his mind about going to Bucharest when he saw the Action Pack. Stycos, of course, has seen it all before. But he must warn the population movement because "many nonsocialist intellectuals in the Third World are beginning to espouse such arguments." In the end his main concern seems to be to defend the validity of KAP surveys -- of which he is a leading practitioner -- and to disassociate himself from the "glossy effusions" of Malthusian "publicists and fund raisers". These, he says, have "about as much to do with discrediting serious population researchers or actionists as tooth paste ads have to do with discrediting academic or industrial chemists." The metaphor is revealing. "Publicists and fund raisers" can only refer



to wealthy American businessmen, like Hugh Moore or General William Draper, who raised money and lobbied governments and foundations to support institutions like the Cornell program and research like KAP. But if the latter were disturbed by Stycos' biting the hand that fed him, they did not show it.

The article first appeared in Planet, an IPPF-sponsored newspaper put out at Bucharest. Despite the obvious attempt to give the impression of spontaneity, it had in fact been written following the IPPF meeting at which UNFPA had been criticised. A longer version which appeared later in Planned Parenthood's Perspectives contains a footnote thanking Angela Molnos, like Stycos a <sup>237</sup> IPPF consultant, for her help in clarifying his thinking. IPPF was, however, by no means united on the question. At the twenty first anniversary conference in November 1973, there had been criticism of the central office in London for allowing IPPF to become subservient to the population controllers and for its disregard of the views of national associations. Top officials had reacted strongly: discussion leaders were instructed to play down a paper by Thorsten Sjoval, head of IPPF's dissident European region while a junior official in the Latin American section was dismissed for "conduct unbecoming of an IPPF official." (He had disagreed with IPPF's 'eminence grise', George Cadbury.) Despite this, at Bucharest, a majority of the almost 100 IPPF delegates were reportedly in favour of the "Declaration on Population and Development". At the end of the Conference Julia Henderson, head of IPPF, cautiously welcomed the emphasis placed on economic and social development in the World Plan of Action which, she said, could help family planning. <sup>247</sup>

The day before Stycos rejected the Action Pack line as 'marxist', a leading figure in the population establishment, John D. Rockefeller, announced that he had "changed his mind" about family planning. Giving one of a series of key lectures put on by IUSSP, he called for a "deep and probing reappraisal" of the problem. This, he said, should be based on placing population policy in the context of economic and social development, which should be guided by a moral purpose rather than the pursuit of economic growth. He placed particular emphasis on improving the status of women to give "alternatives to prolonged child-bearing." <sup>257</sup>

Rockefeller's speech, which came as a surprise to most of his audience, caused considerable dismay among the faithful. Ray Ravenholt said that Rockefeller could be turning away <sup>267</sup> from family planning just as it was on the brink of success. The US had gone to Bucharest to obtain UN endorsement for a global population policy. Earlier, however, Sweden, Canada and several other countries which had previously supported family planning, had sided with the Third World in an attempt to save the Plan of Action from outright rejection. Although Caspar Weinberger, head of the US delegation, continued to insist that the conference was going according to plan, Rockefeller's speech was a final blow for the embattled advocates of global population control. Officials of the Population Council complained of being "stabbed in the back." Rockefeller had called not on them, but on a

group of predominantly young, non-specialist outsiders for assistance in preparing his speech. Berelson himself was badly shaken; as he said later, somewhat ruefully, he was a man of the sixties trying to face the realities of the seventies.

To what extent does 'developmentalism' represent a real shift in policy and how much is it simply a more sophisticated rhetoric designed to deflect the growing opposition to population control? John D's endorsement of the line, and the fact that he chose the World Population Conference to do it, is clearly significant. Although billed as no more than a 'concerned citizen', Rockefeller is the leading figure in the population establishment. This would also tie in with the critique of growth as the primary goal of development and GNP as the measure of progress which both the Overseas Development Council and MacNamara have recently espoused. <sup>277</sup>

On the other hand, the changes which implementation of 'developmentalism' would entail seem irreconcilable with present political and economic structures both within Third World countries and between them and the rich countries. The reorientation of health and education towards the needs of the mass of the population, the use of labour-intensive employment strategies in agriculture and industry, economic and social security, agrarian reform and changes in the position of women are clearly essential in themselves, quite apart from any impact on fertility. But if capitalism has so far been unable to produce economic development or social progress in the Third World, and no change is envisaged in the basic structures, it is difficult to imagine how it can do so in the future. Especially since such changes would run counter to the interests of key groups such as large land-owners, urban elites and patriarchal institutions in general on which imperialism relies to maintain its control. Moreover, although the 'developmentalists' do not envisage any basic alteration in the present world order, their recommendations would involve an increase in the flow of resources to the Third World. At the present time, the opposite would seem more likely.

But whether it is for real or just another smokescreen, 'developmentalism' is neither as progressive as its advocates pretend, nor as threatening as some reactions to it would suggest. It challenges none of the assumptions on which the need for population control is based. Although its basic insights originated in the radical analyses of the opponents of population control, it is in fact a prescription for enhancing the effectiveness of family planning through 'social engineering': a sort of 'revolution' from above. All its advocates talk of the need for social justice and for fundamental changes in the international economic system in order to ensure that not too many of the people whose births cannot be prevented do not starve to death. However, the proposals offered -- more aid, more investment and a better trade deal -- all involve increasing the western role in the Third World. If past experience is any guide, this will serve only to further disrupt traditional social and economic structures, leaving in their place more 'plans' and technologies but with them increasing poverty and foreign control.



Another possible explanation is that 'developmentalism' is really a cover for the creation of 'bantustans'.\* One of the main threats to political stability in the Third World is the growth of shanty towns. If the flow of migrants to the cities and industrial areas could be slowed down or even reversed, foreign capitalists and their local allies could develop the growing middle class market unhampered by the 'marginalized'. Under the guise of 'rural development' schemes, the marginalized would be put to work for their 'welfare'. The reallocation of resources which this would entail would mean forcing ruling elites in the Third World to be less greedy or even the formation of new class alliances.

In the end 'developmentalism' may be shortlived. Pressures to step up birth control programs continue. Third World governments are being urged to legalize abortion and sterilization and to make pills available without prior medical check-up. Under a program called 'contraceptive inundation', USAID is hoping to persuade countries to build up one years supply of pills and condoms for every couple of child-bearing age, to be displayed in every village store where their colourful packaging will attract immediate attention! Another scheme involves paying field workers in contraceptives as an incentive to hard work. Various agencies, including the Population Council, are experimenting with chemical sterilization techniques<sup>28</sup> while, in Bangladesh relays of western doctors had a dress rehearsal for a crash abortion program on women raped by retreating Pakistani soldiers.

Meanwhile, as John D. Rockefeller was converting to 'developmentalism', his brother Nelson was beginning his campaign to become Vice President of the US, against a background of worsening depression and growing calls for a get tough policy towards the Third World. At the World Food Conference in November another Rockefeller protege, Henry Kissinger, told the well-fed representatives of a starving Third World that the US would continue to use food as a political weapon. As he<sup>29</sup> spoke, agri-business salesmen waited in the corridors outside. In the United States, Malthusian hard-liners such as Garret Hardin and Jay Forrester joined right wing politicians in proposing that the US simply<sup>30</sup> "forget" the Third World and "let nature take its course." In practise this is already happening. Not only has foreign aid been cut, but the amounts going to health and other social services (other than family planning) have been reduced substantially. As a result, outbreaks of malaria and other tropical diseases are occurring with increasing frequency. The present 'food crisis' is due not to bad weather nor the high price of oil, and even less because the earth's capacity to produce food is being stretched, but because food is a commodity produced for profit. While complaining that the 'Arabs' are causing inflation by rising the price of oil, the US itself has gained more from increases in food prices than have the Arabs. But if the Paddocks and the other prophets of doom are proved right, it will not be because of a 'malthusian' crash, but because, whether through indifference or through conscious choice, the Malthusian checks of famine, pestilence and war will have become the instruments of population control.

\*Black labour reserves in South Africa. Africans are returned to these areas when their labour is not needed in the cities and industries as part of the government's so-called 'separate but equal' policy.

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# THE IDEOLOGY OF POPULATION CONTROL\*

by

Mahmood Mamdani

In the last decade, population theories have become widespread over large sections of the globe, particularly in their neo-Malthusian version. Neo-Malthusian overpopulation theory seeks to establish a relation between national resources and national population by projecting into the future the existing development of each. Shorn of its particular trappings, substantially the argument is: the rate of population growth is outstripping the rate of resource development; the result: imminent catastrophe - hunger, starvation and social conflict - both at the national and the international levels.

The left critique of neo-Malthusian thought has sought to argue that its very presentation of the problem has been ideological: that the national societies are class societies and in class societies appropriation has a dual aspect. It is both the appropriation of nature and of the producers, natural appropriation as well as social appropriation. The so-called national resources would then best be conceptualized as the economic surplus whose control is not national but by particular class(es) whose objective interests dictate its mode of utilization and thus its future growth in size and composition.

Secondly, the appropriation of the economic surplus is not just within a national, but primarily in an international context and thus analysis must situate itself at the level of the totality: the international capitalist system.

A critique at the level of ideology, however, is only a first step. It is a necessary step that must be followed by a scientific explanation of what is a real phenomenon: the rising rates of natural increase in population in most underdeveloped capitalist countries. It is the purpose of this essay to contribute to the development of such an explanation and thereby deepen the critique of neo-Malthusian thought as well as attempt a redefinition of what has been called the "population problem".

A scientific explanation is possible only if a phenomenon is located in its specificity, in this case both social and historical. Birth rates are not territorially specific as much as specific to particular social groups. Anybody familiar with the demography of a town or village knows that the reproductive practice of landlaborers is different from that of the landlords and of the petit-bourgeois from that of the proletariat or the unemployed. Reproductive be-

\* This is a revised version of a paper presented at the Population Tribune, the World Population Conference, Bucharest, Romania, August 22, 1974. It is also forthcoming in Monthly Review.



haviour is not a natural but a social phenomenon. Territorial birth rates or rates of natural increase are an abstraction that do not advance our understanding as much as mystify it. Secondly, this same behaviour is neither idiosyncratic nor accidental but is substantially reproduced over time. The "population problem" would only exist if there was a certain uniformity over time of the reproductive behaviour of social groups. In other words, our concern with reproductive practice is not in its individuality, as a subjective phenomenon, but as one both social and objective. The question that must be posed then: what are the social relations that underlie these practices?

Furthermore, the social relations themselves did not always exist but were historically created. The very relations must then be understood in their historical specificity. This essay will attempt an analysis of the reproductive practices of two social groups that form the bulk of the population in most underdeveloped capitalist social formations: the working peasantry and the unemployed.

### The working peasantry<sup>1/</sup>

What are referred to as the underdeveloped countries today were incorporated into the world capitalist system in the last four centuries. The incorporation, however, was universal but uneven. The capitalist mode of production was implanted in only those territories that capitalism populated; in the territories that it dominated (1), however, capitalism did not simply destroy the existing pre-capitalist modes by appropriating the peasants and making of them wage-laborers. The process, on the other hand, was far more complex. The pre-colonial modes of production were partially destroyed, restructured and then incorporated into the world capitalist system as subordinate to the capitalist mode of production internationally. The tendency here, as Charles Bettelheim pointed out, was dual: towards both the dissolution and the conservation of the pre-capitalist mode. (2) Their movement was henceforth not autonomous but derived from their dependent relation to what was the dominant mode in the international capitalist system. While within the colonies the capitalist mode was confined to small pockets, it dominated the pre-capitalist mode through the agency of the state: at first colonial, later neo-colonial.

1/ The formation, "working peasantry", excludes that section of the peasantry which was proletarianized and refers only to small commodity producers on land. I am aware that an analysis which makes a strict separation between the two, failing to analyze the relations between them, is unscientific. For example, in Africa, large sections of the proletarianized peasants are migrant laborers who return to their families after a period of wage-labor. The wife here becomes the petty commodity producer and the structure of the "peasant family" itself is altered. Partial observation leads me to think that this alters the relation between the husband and the wife but does not alter the parent-child relation. The point is that in this social group as in others, only a "concrete analysis of concrete (social) conditions" can clarify to us the laws of population growth.

For our purpose, it is not necessary to go into all the ramifications of the above process, resulting in the creation of underdeveloped capitalism. Suffice it to note here that in underdeveloped capitalist social formations, capitalist production was confined to small pockets. Outside of these pockets whatever the relations of production on the land - whether it be the hacienda-community or the plantation-small holding relation dominant in Latin America, the landlord-tenant relation dominant in large parts of Asia, or the domination of peasant commodity production by merchant capital characteristic of large parts of Africa - the unit of production remained the family.

That the family is the organizational form within which social production takes place has very important implications. It means that socialization for productive labor is also carried on within the family: The relations of work are reflected in the relations within the family and the discipline of work becomes the discipline of the family. Family relations among the working peasantry remain rigid and hierarchical. The parent is the head of the family and exercises absolute control.

The child-parent relationship is simple: the parent commands, the child obeys. Age and experience are the yardsticks of merit and claim to authority. Parental chauvinism flourishes but is not simply an attitudinal phenomenon. The point here is that the family relations, sustained by the nature and relations of work, make it possible for adults to control the time and labor of children, including the fruits of that labor.

The qualitative differences with developed capitalism should be quite clear. There the unit of production is no longer the family but the capitalist enterprise. Similarly, socialization for work is carried out not as much within the family as within the school or the prison. The producer is not as much a family member as a wage-laborer, a salaried worker or a capitalist. The family here remains but a unit of consumption and procreation, no longer a unit of production. Thus emerges the bourgeois family, its relations being part of the material basis of the ideology of individualism and individual freedom. The ideology of the "underdeveloped" family, on the other hand, is that of loyalty and unity; it forms the ideological basis of parental authority over children.<sup>2/</sup>

Control over children's labor, however, can be of material consequence only if the structure of production allows for the productive use of the child labor. In other words, what use can the family make of children's time? Another characteristic of underdeveloped agriculture is that, outside of the small pockets of capitalist production, the forces of production remain backward.

2/ Certainly the "bourgeois family" can be found in underdeveloped social formations. Its existence, however, is class specific, located within the bourgeoisie or the petit bourgeoisie.



The technology of production in agriculture remains low. In fact, all throughout the colonial period, there has been little change here. Unlike developed capitalism, underdeveloped capitalism does not revolutionize the forces of production: most of the African peasantry still uses the hoe as the basic tool for cultivation, and the Asian peasantry the plough. Given its low technical basis, the process of production is characterized by activity which includes within it numerous tasks that are both simple and repetitive: from taking care of the grazing, cleaning and feeding of farm animals to the laborious tasks of weeding, and to some extent sowing and harvesting. Outside of productive labor, the presence of children in the house can also assure a certain ease in life. The youngest may massage the parent when the latter returns from a day's toil in the field or simply bring water for a bath or make a drink for relaxation. The smallest children perform a variety of tasks that the adults regard as tedious, time-consuming and tiresome. When too small to do any work, they will be cared for by older children who include them in their play or carry them on their hips when doing work such as tending to farm animals. As a north Indian farmer put it:

A forest is not made of one tree

A Jat (farmer) is not made of one son.

It is precisely because children's activity can be of considerable gain to the family that their time and their life are closely regulated by the family, more so as they become older. The very nature of childhood is affected: there is no adolescence. Adolescence is a category specific to advanced capitalism. In the underdeveloped formation, on the other hand there is only childhood and adulthood. When they grow up, children become, not youths, but young adults.

It might be pointed out that the extremely high levels of unemployment and underemployment in the agricultural sector must limit the access of children to productive labor. Unemployment, however, is much more characteristic of entire families, not of individuals. In the agricultural sector, adult and child unemployment go hand in hand as family unemployment. Without access to means of production, the family moves. The movement of the pauperized and appropriated poor peasantry is characteristic of underdeveloped capitalism and we shall deal with it in the next section.

Nonetheless, in the case of the working peasantry, the petty commodity producer on the land, it is necessary to keep two factors in mind. First, given the low technical basis of production, the rhythm of work corresponds to the rhythm of nature and is highly uneven. Periods of intense work alternate with periods of low employment. Harvest, weeding and sowing times - covering over half the year - are the peaks of productive activity which correspond with an acute need for labor. For example, in District Ludhiana in the Punjab region of India, with a tractor and all the necessary implements, it takes three people to work fifty acres of land. Without a tractor, the same land requires at least fourteen people around the year, and at least twenty at sowing, weeding and harvesting time. In these periods of high employment, while it is the family that works and saves, it is the parents who control the savings.

Secondly, the social relations of production, however reminiscent of pre-capitalist relations, derive their notion from their subordination to the capitalist mode of production internationally. Peasant production which used to be petty commodity production for use is now petty commodity production for the international capitalist market. The domination of this market is expressed at the level of the national economy as the subordination of peasant production to monopoly-based merchant capital. The result is the appropriation of the peasant producer that leaves him with no more than his bare subsistence needs and certainly no surplus to expand the technical basis of his production. There is neither a movement from manual to mechanized labor nor a rise in the productivity of labor as agricultural surpluses are siphoned off into the commercial sector and not reinvested in agriculture. When there is the added oppression of the landlord, the result is competition for tenancies among producing families. Whatever the form of appropriation of producers - by landlords, merchant capital or international monopolies - and whatever the form of competition between producers, the only means by which the individual producing unit - the family - can increase the physical product at its disposal is by increasing the labor-power at its disposal, i.e., through high rates of reproduction. High birth rates are not the cause of present impoverishment, they are the response of an impoverished peasantry. Furthermore, the hierarchical relations within the family and adult control over children's labor means that for the producing family, with each additional child, the cost of having a child declines and the benefit rises. In the absence of a class organization of the exploited, the only possible (not necessarily effective) form of security for peasant producers - not only against social but also against natural calamities such as famine or floods - is the family. As a middle peasant in northern India put it:

A rich man has his machines

I have my children, It's that simple.

The ideology in peasant social formations incessantly emphasizes the virtue of child-bearing. It is considered one's dharma (religious and social obligation) to have children: to desire as many children as possible is not only in the natural order of things, but also an indication of virtue. Marriage vows and blessings put emphasis on the good fortune of having many children, Folk songs, usually sung on occasions such as marriage, childbirth, or the harvest, sing praises of the prolific mother and the fertile soil. A popular theme running through many stories is the love of the mother for the son: it is considered the purest form of love. Sanctions against childless women further underline the necessity of children. In other words, ideology reinforces the demands of reality.

#### The appropriated masses

One important characteristic of an underdeveloped economy is that unproductive capital dominates agricultural production, reflected in the primacy of commerce over agricultural production. Hence, the surplus takes primarily the form of merchants' profits: agricultural



surpluses are not ploughed back into agriculture through expanding its technical basis but are siphoned off into the commercial sector where they take the form of merchant's profit or landlord's rent, or externally as the profits of metropolitan export-import firms. The result for the domestic agricultural economy is two-fold: a limited differentiation in the countryside coupled with an increased pauperization of the lower sections of the peasantry. While the poor peasantry is appropriated, a rural bourgeoisie which could employ the appropriated peasantry fails to emerge. In the countries where a landlord class does not exist in the countryside, the social consequence of the underdeveloped economy is that the rich peasant does not grow into a capitalist farmer but branches off into trade. The rural unemployed, unable to locate work in the countryside, flock to the cities. The high figures of rural-urban migration in underdeveloped capitalist formations is testimony to the existence of this process.

The ranks of these appropriated masses are swelled by another social group: the pre-capitalist craftsmen whose material base was undermined with the expanded import of metropolitan imports during the colonial era. The craftsmen and artisans provided not only consumer goods for the cities but also the basic tools for production such as the hoe in Africa. Metropolitan imports of both consumer goods and means of production made these skilled laborers redundant; in the first phase of colonialism in fact reducing all labor to the lowest common denominator, unskilled agricultural producers engaged in the production of cash crops for export to metropolitan markets. All that remain are a few skilled craftsmen, carving souvenirs for tourists. The bulk of the skilled crafts and artisanal workers join the ranks of the unemployed, a process of varying significance from one underdeveloped economy to another, far greater importance in a place like India than one like Tanzania.

Certainly, this same process - the appropriation of the poor peasantry and the redundancy of skilled pre-capitalist craftsmen - occurred in early western capitalism. There was, however, one critical difference. In advanced capitalism this process was followed by another: proletarianization. What we find in underdeveloped capitalism, on the contrary, is appropriation without proletarianization. In order to understand this, we must turn to both the nature of industrialization and the structure of urban employment in the underdeveloped economy.

With the creation of an export-import economy comes the formation of those social groups that act as "conveyor belts"<sup>3</sup> in the economy: they are the unproductive, intermediate classes that manage and service the export-import economy. It is these social groups - landlords, merchants, bureaucrats - that exercise dominant control over whatever part of the national economic surplus is retained internally. Their lifestyle, revolving around the consumption of luxury goods of metropolitan origin, puts a firm stamp on the structure of consumption of the underdeveloped economy. As Fanon put it, the "national middle class" finds its point of unity

3/ The phrase is from Samir Amin.

with the metropolitan bourgeoisie at the level of consumption, not production.

This very structure of consumption determines the choice of product for industrialization when the first phase of import substitution begins. Import substitution is nothing but the production within the internal market of those commodities that used to be imported before: consumer durable goods. Samir Amin's 4-sector model shows the qualitative difference between the structure of an underdeveloped and that of a developed economy (3):

Export production	Capital goods production	Mass consumption	Luxury consumption
1	2	3	4

The determining relationship in a developed economy is between capital goods production and mass consumption (2 and 3); in an underdeveloped economy, between export production and luxury consumption (1 and 4). Even when the capital goods sector does develop in such economies as India, Brazil, Mexico, etc., it does so in relation to the sector for producing luxury consumption goods, not in relation to the sector for producing mass consumption goods. Finally, it is production for luxury consumption - the production of durable consumer goods - that forms the objective basis for the collaboration of the national ruling classes with multinational corporations for the latter provide the necessary technology. In return, the independent neo-colony provides the multinational corporations anything from tax holidays to high tariff protection to freedom from workers' strikes. What is important for our purposes is to understand the consequences of this kind of industrialization, utilizing the capital-intensive technology of the multinational corporations, for the structure of employment in the urban economy.

Factories multiply as do machines but not the workers in them. The real meaning of industrialization, the creation of a skilled proletariat - the social embodiment of technical advances - evades the underdeveloped economy. The development of the working class is but a trickle compared to that of industry, in some cases even negative. In India, according to official statistics, the percentage of working population living by modern industry fell from 5.5 per cent in 1911 to 4.3 per cent in 1931, registering an increase only in the 1950's! Correspondingly, the percentage of population dependent on agriculture for its living was higher in 1950 by 10.9 per cent than in 1891! (4) The 1960 I.L.O. report on India remarked that "during the period of the first five-year plan, urban unemployment increased in spite of the rise in industrial production....from 117 (index) in 1951 to 161 in 1956...." (5). In Mexico, Sofia Mendez Villareal estimates that between 1965 and 1975 Mexico will have a net loss of industrial employment of 1,861,000 workers, "part of this resulting from a decline of employment in labor intensive



this resulting from a decline of employment in labor intensive industries.....but most of it resulting from increasing productivity in a manufacturing sector that has not been matched by a commensurate growth in demand."(6) The I.L.O. case study on "Employment Problems and Policies" in Brazil concluded (7):

"Such scanty data as are available on employment in manufacturing industry indicate a surprisingly slow growth throughout the period 1945-57 of the number of employees in industry, despite an annual average rise of about 10 per cent in the value of industrial output."

In fact, in Latin America as a whole, whereas the share of industrial production in the regional gross domestic product increased from 11 per cent in 1925 to 19 per cent in 1950, 22 per cent in 1960 and 23 per cent in 1967, the proportion of the total labor force employed by industry remained constant at around 14 per cent over the whole period. (8)

The dominant process in the underdeveloped economy undergoing dependent industrialization is not proletarianization but appropriation without proletarianization. An entirely new social group emerges in the urban areas, the appropriated masses, living on the fringes of respectable society, at best marginally employed. It would be a mistake to see them as a lumpenproletariat or even as Marx's relative surplus population necessary to the smooth functioning of a capitalist labor market; quite the contrary, this is a new historical formation, specific to underdeveloped capitalism, what Utsa Panaiik calls a "chronic surplus population" in the case of India and M. Hussein "the proletarianized masses" in the case of Egypt.(9) To return to the I.L.O. report on Brazil (10), "Unable to find employment in manufacture, the migrant workers swelled the ranks of the urban population engaged in petty trade and services or remained as casual laborers, part-time construction workers and unemployed, living usually in shanty towns on the fringes of the big cities."

Not only the slums of Sao Paulo and Santiago, but those of Bombay and Calcutta and the growing slums of Dakar and Nairobi, are testimony to the rise of this social group - the appropriated masses - in the urban centers of underdeveloped capitalism. Some of the highest rates of natural increase of population are registered in this social group. Why does marginal employment and high population growth go hand in hand in this case?

The marginal employment available to the appropriated masses is daily casual labor: in construction, in hawking, as restaurant waiters or cleaners - in what is euphemistically called the "service industry". But the most important characteristic of the structure of employment as it affects this social group is precisely that it is skewed in favor of child "employment." Children take to shoe-shining, to opening car doors or cleaning cars, and most of all, to begging. In fact, begging becomes a regular occupation; it is organized. Denied productive employment by underdeveloped

capitalism the poor make demands on the "conscience" of local ruling classes and their metropolitan tourist friends. For a member of the affluent classes it is difficult to walk a hundred yards in any of the urban centers of underdeveloped capitalism without hearing a call for "bakshish." The younger and more "innocent-looking" the caller, the better the chances of being rewarded. Here, unlike in agricultural work, the girl-child is as much an asset, if not more, than the male-child. Of course, once they grow up, these children may leave their families. But as long as they are young and physically unable to desert their families, these "innocent ones" in fact support their adults. In slum populations, it is not quite unusual to find families where children support adults.

### The Ideology of Population Control

The decision to have a number of children by a family located within the working peasantry or the appropriated masses is essentially a rational decision, a judgement of their social environment. Rationality does not exist in the abstract; it is the product of a particular social context. The pit-fall of neo-Malthusian liberalism is precisely its "rationalism", that it assumes a universal rationality and forgets that in a class society there exists class rationality.

The demand for population control may be rational in one class situation, but not necessarily in another. The "rationalism" of the neo-Malthusian universalizes the situation and thus the rationality of a particular class: What is good for the propertied classes is good for all!

Ideological thought is not simply false. It is thought that presents an aspect of reality as reality and obscures the relation between the aspect and the totality. The specific historical relation between high rates of population growth in particular social groups and their social oppression is obscured. When the phenomenon is defined as the "population problem", its core assertion is that people are poor because they are too many. Exploitation is reduced to poverty and the explanation of poverty becomes the poor themselves!

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## THE INTERNATIONAL YOUTH POPULATION CONFERENCE

by

Barbara Segal

The International Youth Population Conference (IYPC) was held in Bucharest from 10-16 August 1974. It was organised by a committee representing eight international youth non-governmental organisations in collaboration with the Communist Youth Organisation of Romania. The Conference was attended by about 200 participants from over 80 countries. There were three days of plenary sessions and two days of discussions in smaller "commissions" focusing on "population and development," "population and resources" and "population, the family and human wellbeing." The Conference adopted an Appeal, a Statement and a Youth Action Program.

The population establishment has attached great significance to "involving young people in population activities." Young people are seen as a key target group, in part because as future parents they should be won over as early as possible, but more importantly because of their political weight in underdeveloped countries. Prior to the World Population Conference there was strong non-governmental pressure on the United Nations Population Commission to urge proportional representation of women and young people on national delegations. Already shaken by growing Third World and liberal opposition to the draft World Population Plan of Action, the Commission suggested instead a separate conference to be held before the governmental conference, but in a different city. The idea of a separate "youth" conference was picked up by the international youth organisations affiliated with the United Nations. After much pressure it was conceded that the youth conference could be held in Bucharest immediately before the World Population Conference, and that its results would be fed into the government conference, although the mechanisms for this were not specified. The United Nations also issued a rather lukewarm recommendation that governments should include women and young people in their official delegations but very few countries took this up.

The issues that were to characterise the government conference the following week quickly emerged in the IYPC. Those of us who had come prepared to do battle with neo-Malthusianism, and to resist what we saw as a co-option attempt by the population establishment, soon realised that our arguments were redundant. No more than a handful of the participants thought that population growth was a major problem. Indeed the majority agreed that it was not a problem at all, but that poverty, underdevelopment and the relative overpopulation in certain parts of the world were the result of "exploitative and repressive social, economic and political structures and institutions, often the legacy of prolonged colonial oppression." It was also generally accepted that birth rates could only fall in the context of a type of development which would require an end to the continuing dependency of the Third World on developed countries



and the overthrow of the oppressive regimes governing many underdeveloped countries. This theme -- essentially that imperialism was responsible both for the creation of the population "surplus" and for the conditions which maintain high fertility -- was repeated by speaker after speaker. In addition, the African and Latin American delegates, clearly aware of the political nature of the conference and the dangers of cooption, immediately organized themselves into regional groups. The initial excitement of the few Western radicals over the massive rejection of Malthusian ideology soon gave way to frustration as we found that all North Americans and Western Europeans were automatically lumped together by the Third World and Eastern European participants into a homogeneous bloc presumed to share the views of our governments. This polarisation along regional lines was so strong as to make any Western proposal suspect, however much it appeared to support the dominant anti-imperialist position. It was not until the final plenary session, when the IPPF and United States-sponsored participants from Africa and Latin America abruptly changed their positions, that political, rather than regional groupings emerged.

Further frustration came from the failure of most Third World people to distinguish between birth control as an individual right and population control. In Commission III, for example, the topic "contraception and abortion" defied almost any rational discussion. The problem was intensified by the Eastern Europeans who had obviously come prepared for attacks on their own repressive birth control policies. Delegates from Poland, Romania, Hungary and Czechoslovakia were armed with long, prepared speeches which carefully avoided contraception, but focused on the benefits available to women with children in socialist countries and the dangers to health of abortion.\*

What little discussion there was (after the more militant Africans and Latin Americans had decided to dispense with population altogether and had gone off to write anti-imperialist statements) revealed that most Third World delegates did not consider birth control a priority issue for women in their countries, and were strongly opposed to abortion, except "as a last resort" under extreme medical or social circumstances. Both these views were endorsed at the women's meetings held during the youth conference. And even those women who thought that abortion should be available, felt that in the present context of inequality and dependence to campaign for it might well be counter-productive as the demand could easily be coopted and used as an excuse for intensifying population control programs.

A further difference between the views of the Third World and Eastern European participants and those from the West (in this case particularly western radicals and feminists) was the blanket acceptance by the former of the nuclear family as the basic unit of society and the only valid context for reproduction. In fact, no less than

\*The statements on abortion were a clear contradiction of statistics coming out of Eastern Europe before the change in policy, which showed that abortion there was safer than in Western Europe or the United States.

one fifth of the draft report of Commission III consisted of recommendations for supporting and strengthening the family.

But while the "Third Worldism" and the lack of any feminist consciousness were frustrating, they were overshadowed by the many positive aspects of the conference. The anti-imperialist stand taken by the majority of participants was far stronger than we had expected.

It was also clearly right outside the expectations of the organisations who had funded the conference! Their plan to get "the Youth of the World" to acknowledge the urgency of the "population problem," and to endorse the necessity of measures to deal with it, was doomed from the opening session. Their response was to level accusations of "manipulation," "lack of democracy" and "political posturing" at both organisers and participants. Such accusations have a familiar ring in light of recent U.S. reaction to democracy in the U.N. General Assembly! It is true that many Western participants were at first dismayed by the overly bureaucratic format for discussions -- 187 rules of procedure in all -- and the way in which some members of the steering committee seemed to have been pre-selected. A statement to this effect was drafted by several Americans and signed by about 70 participants, mostly from Asia, North America and Western Europe. However, most of the signatories later realised that many of the accusations made in this statement were untrue and that others were unimportant compared with the many positive aspects of the conference. By far the most serious manipulation occurred in the few days immediately following the conference when there were repeated attempts from a section of the U.S. population establishment to discredit its conclusions and prevent their presentation to the United Nations Conference. The USSR delegation supported these attempts because the Conference had refused to distinguish between them and the capitalist countries regarding the destruction of the environment and relations with the Third World. But perhaps the biggest indication of the threat posed by the IYPC to the population control movement is the way it has been almost completely ignored in reports of events at Bucharest. UNFPA, for instance, covered the highlights of the Government Conference and the Tribune in both its post-Bucharest World Population Year Bulletin and its staff magazine, Populi, but did not even mention the Youth Conference. The Population Council gave it half a page in a 40 page edition of Studies in Family Planning devoted entirely to Bucharest. Most insulting was the IPPF policy that young people could be "seen but not heard." The cover of its 52-page conference issue of People features "young faces at Bucharest" but their views are relegated to the last half of the last page.

Because of this, we are reproducing below extracts from the Statement adopted by the IYPC and presented to the World Population Conference. This is the text actually adopted by the conference. Published versions have been variously edited according to their source. Copies of the Statement are available from EMPA.



Excerpts from the Statement of the International Youth Population Conference

Analysis of Fundamental Problems

5. The contemporary world is characterized by conditions of abject poverty, mal-nutrition, widespread disease, massive unemployment and shameful inequality and injustice. These are the realities of daily life for millions of people in many parts of the world. These are the fundamental problems which concern us and which we consider that the world population conference should confront and begin to solve

6. The primary causes of these conditions are the exploitative and repressive social, economic and political structures and institutions, often the legacy of prolonged colonial oppression, rather than overpopulation as some people falsely claim.

7. However, a high rate of population growth in some countries adds to their existing social and economic problems. Measures to reduce a high rate of population growth will only be effective if they are part of a comprehensive and integrated strategy for rapid social and economic development.

8. It is essential, first of all to carry out far-reaching socio-economic changes, to liquidate the after effects of colonialism and neo-colonialism, to combat the continuing and increasing dependence of developing countries on developed industrialized countries, to accelerate industrial and rural development and to promote social progress.

World Population Plan of Action

13. It is clear that the draft WPPA is one huge series of compromises between the many divergent opinions on population questions. We therefore do not believe that in its present form it will lead to effective solutions to present and future problems related to population and development.

14. The draft Plan contains a number of serious omissions..... there is no mention of the effect of overconsumption by industrialized countries, especially in plundering the resources of the developing countries.

15. While the Plan contains a number of inappropriate and unrealistic targets for developing countries it totally omits any sort of target for industrialized countries, either in the field of population policies or reduction of consumption.

16. It finds no place for a condemnation of the wastage of valuable resources consumed by the arms race and by wars of imperialist aggression.

19. Finally, we would say that the whole draft plan is not really a plan of action at all, but more a statement of truisms and general principles. It is very remote from the burning problems faced each day by millions of people.

Conclusions and Recommendations

22. Intensify efforts to aid survival from infancy to old age, while at the same

time recognising the impact of this on population patterns, and this on employment, housing, education, health and other welfare measures.

23. Place particular emphasis on the advancement of the status of women and importance of universal health services, especially those concerned with maternal and child health, as urgent and necessary measures, with major implications for population and development.

24. Make appropriate information, education and services universally available so that all people can freely choose the number and spacing of their children in accordance with their own values, recognising the need for all children to lead a full and healthy life.

25. We further recommend:

I. That governments provide for the effective participation and collaboration of youth in the social, economic and political life of their countries, encouraging the maximum participation in the formulation and interpretation of development policies appropriate to their situation, needs and aspirations;

III. That governments and the United Nations promote the active participation of women in the preparation and execution of national development strategies, especially during 1975 World Women's Year;

IV. That the UN condemn the use of Third World and minority women in contraceptive experimentation and the forcible sterilization of such women without their knowledge or consent;

VI. That the UN discontinue specific aid to family planning programmes in under-developed countries and that these programmes should be supported only within the context of broader economic and social development programmes;

VII. That the member governments of the UN give aid freely without the strings which further increase the dependence of the underdeveloped countries on the donor countries;

VIII. That this conference (WPC) promote the establishment of a new economic order by eradicating the causes of world poverty, by ensuring the equitable distribution of world resources, by eliminating the injustices of existing world trade systems and exploitation perpetrated by capitalist multinational corporations;

IX. That this conference (WPC) support the right of each country to control its national resources and the rational use of them in keeping with the requirements of a balanced natural environment;

X. That this conference (WPC) promote the right of each family to determine its size and facilitate the related responsibility of governments to provide both the information and means for the determination of family size, taking into account the specific conditions of each country and the aims of its social and economic development.



# A FEMINIST RESPONSE TO:

## JOURNALISTS' ENCOUNTER ON POPULATION

United Nations sponsored WORLD POPULATION CONFERENCE

(delegates from 136 patriarchal nations)

Foundation sponsored POPULATION TRIBUNE  
(delegates from non-governmental organizations)

BUCHAREST, ROMANIA August 15 - 30

by  
Lolly Hirsch\*

You've read the reports of Bucharest in the US media, distorted in transition from men's minds to newsprint. When I saw the cover of Newsweek with people squashed together in a sardine can, I realized that the people in the United States would read only the US government position at the conference.

The United States government position is that the population growth of other parts of the world must be controlled. The United States has tried to control specific populations by various means:

- 1) Hydrogen bombs over Hiroshima and Nagasaki
- 2) Destruction of food sources by defoliation of hundreds of acres
- 3) Vast projects of birth control; for instance: India and Thailand.

Methods #1 and #2 have not worked since there has been a gradual recognition that using bombs anywhere in the world contaminates the natural resources of the United States. The billions spent on stockpiling impotent bombs and missiles has paralleled a rise in Man's personal impotence (though they would like to credit their personal impotence to Feminism.)

Concerning #3, John D. Rockefeller III whose Foundation has provided heavy funding for research and experiments in population control via contraception, admitted very definitely in his speech to the Tribune that the years of frantically pushing US birth control in specific countries has abysmally failed to contain those populations. "During those 40 years, world population has increased 86%, ...absolute number of people in poverty has continued to grow,..... family planning programs have operated in relative isolation from the mainstream of national life," therefore "the only viable course is to place population policy solidly in the context of general economic and social development."

\* Lolly Hirsch was the sole representative of feminist gynecological self-help at Bucharest. These extracts are taken from her report in Volume 3, Issue 3 of The Monthly Extract - An Irregular Periodical, published by New Moon Communications Inc., Box 3488, Ridgeway Station, Stamford, Connecticut 06905.

These were the equally weighed issues at Bucharest: concentrations of runaway populations AND world wide social and economic development for ALL people.

however

There was another issue at Bucharest equal to the two sides of the above patriarchal coin: THE STATUS OF WOMEN.

I met an American student who was not involved in the Conferences. When she arrived in Bucharest she picked up releases, the little newspaper, Planet and the bulletins. Her impression of the conference to me, "The women must really be a powerful force!"

It's true. We were.

We were dynamiting the whole place: every seminar, panel, working committee, every statement written and issued, everywhere, everyplace, all the time.

Women were working as individuals, for the most part. Because the effort to bring women together failed. But that didn't matter. Because the individual women at Bucharest were such unique powerhouses that each created waves wherever she was.

I've associated exclusively with Feminists for so long that the first day when the verbiage was old-fashioned sexist, it was difficult to contain myself. I took the mike: "How can population experts be qualified to speak who refer only to Man and Mankind when 53% of the world's population is women? How can we listen to experts speak who obviously don't comprehend that there is a biological difference between the male and the female?"

The question helped Feminists identify each other after the session.

One of the panelists, Lester Brown, spoke the US scare-position that the world was polluted and the fault of the pollution is people and if you get rid of the people, you get rid of the problem. His point was to stress the shortages of land, water, energy and fertilizers and describe the accompanying problems of misuse of the oceanic fisheries; that the Sahara Desert is moving at the rate of 30 miles a year toward the south engulfing the land used to feed Africa; that India's deforestation is causing the flooding; and meteorologists forecast changes in the earth's cooling processes that could bring about "ecological overstress".

I had resolved not to speak at the mike that day but when Brown stated with smug aplomb, "The United States has no population policy. But what we are doing is obviously right," I blew my stack:

"The United States definitely does have a population policy and that policy is an unwritten gentleman's agreement. The policy is decided by the male-dominated medical profession who make all decisions concerning women's reproductive selves. While Planned Parenthood and International Planned Parenthood Federation with government support export ideas directly ripped off the Women's Movement - specifically Menstrual Extraction - export them to all "the peasants in the rice paddies," they simultaneously deny these ideas and procedures to American women, by means of licensing."

American women are harassed for doing preg... what they are teaching and giving women abroad equipment to perform.

Brown answered very limply, "But the United States is in the process of increasing the availability of medical degrees to 20% more females."

I then proceeded to describe the difference between health maintenance which can be performed without medical degrees and the practice of medicine for the injured and diseased. It was a perfect platform to describe the arrests of Carol Downer and Colleen Wilson and the three midwives in Santa Cruz for "practicing medicine without a license."

Notes on the 16th: the panelists keep talking about TO BREED OR NOT TO BREED, THAT IS THE QUESTION. They agree that couples must be allowed choices. They forget that couples in all societies are bound by marriage and that marriage is a patriarchal institution. Marriage means that the female is property, chattel, particularly in the USA where the laws and customs reinforce each other. A couple decision means that it is a male's decision and from the immediate past performance, men's decisions have led to world chaos. There must be an alternative to marriage as the basic unit of society. One of the many problems with professionals is that they forget that in most marriages women have NO rights of any kind. When the female is not channeled into marriage from birth, SHE will look for alternatives.

It's amazing to see the calibre of some of these men who are being funded and travel VIP. I'm accustomed to associating with dynamite Feminists and some of these guys are creeps. There was one guy who would bring up the ruckus created by the Maud TV show where a woman needed an abortion. The Right-to-Lifers and the Industry Liberals evidently staged a mock battle so they would each get free publicity, on the rights and wrongs of Maud having an abortion. Well, this jerk would bring the subject up and then puff himself up with pride and say, "I'm the guy who got Maud pregnant." It was so disgusting that I said, "You mean you're not gentleman enough to wear a condom? What kind of a man are you? At your age, you should have had a vasectomy."

Notes from August 20, New Directions in Contraceptive Technology and Research

A big tight-lipped Finn who looked like a Viking, a Moderator and a smart-alecky, brash, slick black-haired Brazilian.

The blond Viking showed slides with graphs of effectiveness of loops and pills and the rates of continued use. Then a slide of a cartoon depicting a woman in bed with a man looked outside looking in the window. I guess this was meant to be a new direction in technology. A fourth slide: Reason for dropping the pill: irregular bleeding, absence of bleeding, headaches, nausea, vomiting. Series of meaningless statistics. Trying to improve existing methods, though

this guy's "thing" is steroids.

Then the Brazilian.

Aim: not to improve the pill because the pill is 100% effective

Aim: to increase the USE

Methods to increase women's use:

1) injectable - not going forward but going backward. USA - not acceptable. Other countries, more acceptable because lasts several months longer.

2) subdermal implants - plastic capsule inserted in arm, buttocks or thigh. No rejection of plastic which is based in silicone; releases progesterone slowly and continuously. By increasing capsules, decreases statistical chance of pregnancy. Operation can be performed with women cued up and standing since it takes no time at all. Not more than a minute. Women say whether or not they want to menstruate. They're given one thing if they do; another if they don't.

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At some point in this man's presentation, which was filling me with unspeakable rage, he mentioned the words, "male contraceptive". Now everyone had been sitting in this classroom of tiered desks and lecterns with academic attitudes of gravity and note-taking. I was sitting front row and center. With the words "male contraceptive" I broke into raucous applause.

Dynamite.

There was shock. The doctor looked bewildered, then bypassed the moderator and engaged me in direct dialogue, which was his error. We exchanged ideas on male contraception and I said, "Everyone knows that raising the temperature of the testicles precludes sperm," and then two doctors behind me got hot and raised their voices saying that I was speaking out of order and besides the researchers were discussing chemical not thermal contraception and then everyone was yelling and the moderator said that we each had to go through him. So I shrugged. And then the questions started.... through the moderator. And a doctor from Holland told of the rise in thrombosis, embolism, and more big words and the doctor from USA who had told me, in essence, to keep quiet, started to tell of his testimony against the pill in 1962.

So much for advances in contraceptive technology.

Some comments from men:

"In past generations the father would breed three children with three wives, but then Christians brought monogamy and now one wife is bred nine times."

Discussing the extending life expectancy: "...until we get to the white American female who refuses to die." You better believe it, buddy! And just hope we don't choose to die like a Kamikazi!

Harvey Karman is said to have been there. I didn't see him. I saw



him once in his bodyshirt and tight pants and once was enough for a lifetime. It was my privilege to set several women straight on his record.

I understand a woman asked Chris Tietze, who is supposed to be the final authority on abortion statistics, what he thought of the Self Help women. He is said to have drawn a picture of a square and said, "Now hold a mirror up to the picture. It's all backwards." We really bug them. They can't stand us looking at our other end with a mirror. They also confuse the issue of Menstrual Extraction by saying that we do it on ourselves, refusing to recognize that we have Self Help groups of women who help each other and learn together. They are doomed dinosaurs and know it.

A British general practitioner/journalist who heard my accounts of the reality of women's experiences said, "I have never in all my professional experience heard a woman complain about her obstetrical/gynecological care." I pointed out that that is NOT what British women have told me. There are aspects of child delivery that are better there but that the trend is toward the hospital and the diabolical "standard obstetrical procedures." Then he described to me the time he was preparing to do a pelvic on a woman in labor and she said that someone had just done one. He said, "I questioned every person in that hospital and none had done a pelvic on her. She was obviously hallucinating." I said that the woman was obviously telling the truth and someone in the hospital was lying. He said, "Impossible!" I suddenly found myself with my face next to his screaming, "Are you telling me that all women lie and all doctors tell the truth? Well, I'm telling you that ALL women tell the truth of their personal experience and doctors lie by withholding information, telling half truths and telling lies," as I was grabbing my stuff to get out. So then he wanted to talk serious talk. Yeaahhhh.

Two women abortion professionals were curious about Menstrual Extraction, Self Help and me. "But you must curettage because of the danger of tissue retention," they pontificated.

This is the problem of professionals in that male world: 98% of the women may not need curettage but because of the 2% who do, all are curetted, a trauma which may cause later uterine problems, later d and c's, hysterectomies. 98% deliveries are normal but all women are given an episiotomy, suffering the agonies of the damned while they heal.

#### August 23, Donors and Recipients: Problems in Population Program Assistance

At each session there are earphones with the selection of five languages. Before a person speaks, the language is announced to alert the translators. It was painful to me to hear people struggling with English, particularly since I have no second language. One man read a long paper in English under obvious duress. He was followed by an American who said, "I'll try my best to speak English !..." These men are as sensitive as steamrollers. One of them had said at the Hawaiian Menstrual Regulation conference, "peasant

women don't know when they are menstruating."

I directed my question to him:

"I am Lolly Hirsch, a representative of the Feminist Women's Health Movement in America. There is growing outrage in the United States concerning women's obstetrical and gynecological care. With contraception, we now learn that the birth control pill which was foisted on us has fifty side effects including death. There is a rise in the incidence of rape with women having little recourse to our legal system. Venereal disease is epidemic #1 outside the common cold. Women are forced into hospitals to deliver their babies where they are subjected to procedures that are physically and psychologically damaging to both mother and infant. Yet those of us who want to change the health care for women are arrested. Five women have been arrested and charged with 'practicing medicine without a license'.

"Then I come abroad to this conference and see slides from International Planned Parenthood Federation of women in Thailand who hand out USA pills as they sell fruit and vegetables, after having received one day's training."

I then described the charges against Carol Downer, Colleen Wilson and the three midwives and wound up with the question: "What are you men doing to legalize for American laywomen the methods and equipment and procedures you are exporting abroad to laywomen?"

A man from India wanted to know more. I proselytized the idea of Gynecological Self Help as the perfect method for informing village women. He demurred and said with a saintly attitude that the women of India are more reticent and self conscious than American women and I said, "But we're just barely out of Puritanism and Victorianism! We're just like Indian women!" He conceded.

One day I wandered over to the Sala Palatului Republicii where the UN conference held its plenary sessions. The huge entrance had wide staircases stretching up on either side. As I walked in I was greeted by scores of Indians in varying costumes, poses, of all ages. They were lifesize photographs, mounted and exhibited by a young artist Rajeev Sethi, each with a printed message. The exhibit had total impact. But the message I carefully copied in my notebook was that of Mahadeviyakka, a woman mystic of 12th. century Mysore: "Her poetry reveals her struggle with her condition, both as a woman, 'a social being tyrannized by social roles', and as a human being subject to the human condition.

'Monkey on a monkeyman's stick  
puppet at the end of a string

I've played as you've played  
I've spoken as you told me  
I've been as you let me be

O engineer of the world  
lord white as jasmine

I've run  
till you cried halt."

Statement at the concluding session of the World Population Tribune, Bucharest, 30 August 1974, by Erland Hofsten, representing the Non-Malthusian Coalition Group

The Non-Malthusian Coalition Group considers that the World Population Conference and the Tribune have implied an important break-through and a considerable step forward to a correct understanding of what are the main problems facing humanity today. Only few people still maintain that family planning measures in isolation should be given top priority and that they imply any solution to development problems. Family planning policy is only meaningful within the framework of an all-round plan for the social and economic development of a country. Alas, only few countries have such plans, more than possibly on paper.

However, many people still argue in malthusianist terms and maintain that population is the major problem. The arguments are formed in terms of population and population increase, which is given the blame for the fact that so many people are deprived of the right to a meaningful life. Social reform is considered important, not for its own sake, but only in so far as it may influence fertility.

All families and all individuals should, in accordance with UN principles, be given the right freely to decide about the number and the spacing of their children and should consequently be given access to contraceptives and other means of family planning. However, the very way in which many family planning programmes are administered have in fact been against this principle, as they have been concentrated on birth control at all costs. Reports about coercive measures are frequent and all categories do not get access to contraceptives.

The main contradiction in the world of today is the division into rich and poor countries. In addition, there is also the contradiction inside the countries. There are many countries where the cleavages between the rich and the poor are enormous, and there are too many cases - not least in the Third World - where these cleavages are widening. Poor people, both in the rich countries and in the countries of the Third World, are exploited by the rich. Not least are women exploited.

We live in a period when many of the countries in the Third World have discovered that the political independence which they achieved after the Second World War has not been followed by an economic independence. On the contrary, they are becoming more and more dependent on the developed world. There is a relationship between the centre and the periphery, there is a relationship between the richness in the developed world and the poverty in the Third World.

However, there is also a growing awareness that this relationship must be broken, and that political independence must be accompanied by economic independence. In addition the power structures inside the countries must also be broken. Societies in which a small elite has all the political and economic power and where the gap may even be widening, can never be accepted.

Some people speak about the necessity of a New Economic Order, organized by the United Nations. Although it is a healthy sign that such questions are raised and that the countries of the Third World express demands in a loud voice, we have our suspicions. The economic forces which govern the world are too strong for the UN to be able to cope with them. Until the forces of production are organized not for profits but for the benefit of the people, no real change will take place.

Time is short and we must hurry on. In many countries of the Third World poverty is so widespread and the living conditions among the great masses of the population so intolerably bad, that severe catastrophes are always threatening. We are in specific thinking of some Asian countries, where a high population density adds to the difficulties and where a stop of the present rapid growth of the population would no doubt be beneficial. But it is only meaningful after a thorough-going change of the economic and social structure has taken place.

A growing awareness among the poor people that they must liberate themselves through their own efforts is the great hope for the future. During the years to come we will witness how one country after the other liberates itself from the external and internal forces which at present govern its economic life. This is a necessary but at the same time also a difficult and painful process. An increasing amount of cooperation among the countries in the Third World may help to eliminate these difficulties. Solidarity from the developed countries or from groups in these countries could also be of great importance. There is a far cry from such solidarity to the now all too common philanthropic attitude towards the so-called developing countries. Such an attitude can only be accepted in cases of floods and other catastrophes where immediate action is imperative.

The prospects for the immediate future are uncertain. In the next few years or decades to come the developed countries may have to face severe economic crises, as well as conflicts of a different character, and in the countries of the Third World growing mass unemployment, poverty or even famines on a mass scale may make the picture look more and more sombre. The growing awareness in all corners of the world that the problems can be solved, that the unemployed can be given work, that mass poverty can be eliminated, that slums can be replaced by proper housing, that schooling can be given to all children, that women can be liberated, and that this whole process will lead to a solution of the so-called over-population problem, implies the great hope for the future.



Bucharest, Rome and the Politics of Starvation  
by

Barbara Segal

While generally accredited to Henry Kissinger, the convening of a World Food Conference was originally proposed at the meeting of nonaligned states in Algiers by Houari Boumedienne who saw it as a further opportunity for Third World countries to press for changes in international trade relations. Kissinger was quick to pick up on the idea. He realised that such a conference would, among other things, provide an ideal forum for linking food shortages to overpopulation, particularly if it could be timed to follow the World Population Conference.

Events in 1974 were to force both to reconsider these objectives. The resounding defeat which the U.S. had suffered at the hands of the Third World in Bucharest made an official position blaming the food crisis on population growth politically impossible. For the Third World, the dimensions of the projected famine in Asia and East Africa dictated that emergency food aid would be the priority issue.

United States position at the Food Conference

Third World hopes that the conference would produce a plan for immediate relief to the worst-stricken areas - India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka and Tanzania - were soon dashed. From Kissinger's opening speech it was obvious that the primary U.S. concern was to shift all responsibility for the crisis away from profiteering by American agribusiness. With population a delicate issue, the "energy crisis" and its effects on fertilizer supplies and prices became the main scape-goat. He emphasised the importance of increasing food production in the Third World and other long-term solutions, and proposed the establishment of three new bodies: an Exporters' Planning Group; a Food Production and Investment Coordinating Group to include the World Bank, the U.N. development Program and F.A.O.; and a Reserves Coordinating Group.

As far as short-term relief was concerned, Kissinger made it clear that the United States no longer intended to foot the bill for the majority of food aid, as it had done in the past. He implied that more of this responsibility should be shifted to other Western capitalist countries and that the oil exporting states had, above all, "a special responsibility" to help finance the food imports of other Third World countries. As the bulk of these grain supplies would in any case need to be purchased in the U.S., this would be a way of ensuring that a significant portion of the foreign exchange made on oil sales would end up in the coffers of the giant U.S. grain corporations. Aware of government policy, many of them had even sent sales representatives to Rome to compete for potential customers.

Food and Oil

United States attempts to link food and oil and to blame the current crisis on the oil-exporting countries did not fool the Third World. Rather, Third World countries applauded the achievement of the OPEC states and saw its actions as a model for future strategy. Even India, one of the countries reputedly most badly affected by fertilizer shortages, has attacked the U.S. and maintained its support of the Arabs. The dominant Third World position at the conference was perhaps best summed up by Mexican President Luis Echeverria Alvarez, who claimed that "the rise in prices, the confrontation of markets and the crisis of raw materials cannot be attributed to the Third World. In the final analysis this situation has been determined and brought about by the inability of the great industrial nations to submit their production model to a system of international solidarity and shared development and interdependency based on equity and justice." He continued, "The famine that today is paralyzing the activities of entire nations has been manufactured with the same detachment as that employed in the construction of the atomic bomb."

Most discussions of the effect of increased oil prices on Third World food supplies have conveniently ignored the fact that the United States dominates a far greater proportion of the world grain market than the Arabs do of the oil market, and that the rise in food prices has contributed far more to the U.S. balance of payments than the OPEC countries have gained from the rise in the price of oil. So far, the United States has gained \$10 billion from the increase in grain prices alone! Conversely, Third World countries have been hit far harder by rising food prices than by increases in the price of oil<sup>1</sup>. India, for example, has since independence imported 4-5 million tons of grain annually at a cost of \$200-300 million. It is currently importing 7 million tons at a cost of \$1.4 billion, almost half its \$3 billion foreign exchange earnings. Bangladesh has in recent years imported approximately 1.5 million tons of grain at a concessionary price of \$20 million. With the effects of the shortage on U.S. grain reserves it has this year had to increase imports to about 2 million tons at the world market price of \$400 million. The strain has been intensified by the floods, which have reduced the production of jute, the principal source of foreign exchange. For countries such as these, where the marginal return on fertilizer input is much greater than in the United States, it would obviously be economically advantageous to purchase fertilizer, even at vastly inflated prices.

1. Although increases in energy prices have indirectly affected food production costs, this is not a major factor, especially in the United States, which is a net exporter of fertilizer, and where domestic fertilizer prices are controlled; at the end of 1974 U.S. fertilizer prices were still only half the world market prices.



### Food as a Weapon

The most serious aspect of the current food crisis is the power which its monopoly of food supplies gives the United States over dependent countries. U.S. Secretary of Agriculture Earl Butz admitted prior to the Rome conference that "food is a weapon. It is the principal tool in our negotiating kit."

The use of food as a tool of foreign policy is not new. While the U.S. has traditionally been the largest overall donor of food aid, the major recipients of supplies under its "food for peace" program have always been politically determined. In recent years political use of food has increased in an effort to offset other aid funds cut by Congress. In 1973, for example, South Vietnam and Cambodia received 70% of all U.S. food loans and in 1974, 80% went to these countries together with Chile, Egypt, Syria and Jordan.

Occasionally grain supplies have been used as a much more overt form of blackmail. In 1967, for instance, after a major drought in India, large shipments of U.S. wheat were held up until the Indian government agreed to sign concessional agreements with U.S. fertilizer corporations. More recently, in 1973, the U.S. refused credits for wheat purchases to the Allende government in Chile, only to approve several months later a sale to the fascist junta worth more than eight times the total commodity credit offered to Chile during the Allende regime.

### Linking Food to Population Control

With the growing dependency of the Third World on the United States for its basic supplies, food could become an even more powerful weapon, and there is increasing talk of its being used to blackmail countries into adopting population control programs. While the rejection of Malthusian ideology at the World Population Conference has led official U.S. representatives to be wary of too much emphasis on birth control, unofficially pressure for linking food aid to family planning seems to be building up in scientific as well as government circles. One such proposal at Rome came from Professor Richard Gardner, deputy Assistant Secretary of State for International Organization Affairs in the Kennedy and Johnson administrations and an original architect of the United Nations World Food Program. He suggested a "global survival pact" under which the rich countries would conserve food, energy and raw materials in return for commitments by the Third World to change their "suicidal" demographic, agricultural and environmental practices. He warned that the Arab countries would be unwilling to exhaust their oil reserves in a few years simply to support wasteful U.S. energy practices, but claimed that neither would the United States be willing to "give endless amounts of food to an Indian government that cuts its family planning budget, mismanages food production and distribution, and invests scarce resources in the testing of nuclear devices." Another proposal has been made by

Representative Jerry Litton. In reply to a statement by an African delegate at the conference who said that family planning was considered "indecent" in his country, Litton reportedly said that the idea of helping countries which refused to help themselves was becoming indecent in the United States. He then promised to introduce legislation banning food aid to any country with above average population growth and which was not trying to reduce it by family planning. Johnson C. Montgomery, a California lawyer and member of Zero Population Growth, was more specific. In a Newsweek article he claims that "famine is one of nature's ways of telling profligate peoples that they have been irresponsible in their breeding habits" and adds that "until those asking for handouts are doing at least as well as we are at reducing existing excessive population growth rates, we should not give away our resources - not so much as one bushel of wheat." The recent approval of the 1975 Foreign Aid bill containing an increased allocation of \$150 mil. for population, when viewed alongside the cuts in overall development aid and the concurrent veto of a bill to extend funds for domestic family planning, confirms that despite lip-service to the "developmentalist" approach to population at Bucharest and since, U.S. commitment to population control in the Third World is not only still strong, but growing. However, United States refusal to make any firm commitment of emergency food aid at Rome suggests that in the current food crisis they have found a cheaper and more effective way of cutting down the world's "surplus" population.



# BERTRAND RUSSELL TRIBUNAL CONSIDERS POPULATION CONTROL

The Bertrand Russell Tribunal II concerning Repression in Latin America with special emphasis on Brazil and Chile will be held in Brussels, Belgium in January 1975. Just as the 1967 Tribunal brought world attention to bear upon American war crimes in Vietnam, so the second Tribunal will focus world emphasis on the outstanding and long-term crimes against humanity which persist today in Latin America. The 1975 Tribunal session has been convened in order to weigh accumulated evidence of systematic repression against individuals and entire peoples. Evidence of the origins and abuses of systems of exploitation which dominate much of Latin America will also be examined. Testimony before the Tribunal will take several forms: personal testimony by victims of physical and mental torture, witnesses to individual and mass repression, and scientific reports of the social and economic conditions which perpetuate crimes of mass exploitation and oppression. Witnesses and reporters will come to Brussels from Latin American countries under the most difficult conditions, in order to present evidence before the presiding jurists who represent many countries.

A scientific report on the development and implementation of population control in Latin America has been prepared for the Tribunal by researchers in the United States and Canada. The population document contains secondary testimony taken from Senate subcommittee hearings on Foreign Aid Expenditures (Population Crisis Hearings, 1966-1968). Key scientific and U.S. government testimony expresses the political intentions and motivations of population control. The hearings show evidence of American military and economic interests utilizing theories of population control as a solution to deteriorating material conditions in Latin America. Imperialist policy-makers, in support of population control, give testimony of the need to reduce or stabilize birth rates in countries where unemployment and misery abound, citing "explosive populations" as a cause of political instability. A chart on the Congressional subcommittee testimonies in "Participation and Conflict in Making American Population Policy: A Critical Analysis" by Peter Bachrach and Elihu Bergman<sup>1</sup>, ties a majority of witnesses to either "the population control movement" or sympathetic and supportive agencies such as the Agency for International Development or the Council on Foreign Relations. The population movement itself is defined in two forms:

- 1) The network of specific foundations and private or government agencies which finance the different population control agencies,
- 2) The parallel inter-relationship which exists among the directors of these same agencies.

As an example of multi-leveled control and influence over population control activity, the Rockefeller Foundation is cited. It is not only the creator of agencies such as the Population Council (established in 1952), but has been a significant financial backer of other population agencies such as the Population Reference Bureau and the University del Valle's population research center in Colombia. John D. Rockefeller III has himself functioned in a decision-making capacity in at least five population control agencies and/or advisory committees.

In their report, the research contributors show the widespread use of coercive and misleading birth control propaganda which distorts cultural and economic factors determining personal choices available to Latin American families. Mass publicity programs, both on a government and private scale, project family-planning stereotypes of the desirability of small families. The concept of free choice in reproduction has been adapted into the slogan of IPPF and its world affiliates: "Every child a wanted child". As the report emphasizes, the key question is who is controlling whom, who is wanted and who is not. Radio, T.V. and other news media are also used to promise Latin American women that birth control will lead to economic betterment for themselves and/or their families.

For a broader social perspective, the report's evidence reveals how theories of overpopulation are also presented through films, radio, newspapers, comic books and certain educational systems in Latin America. High birth rates are portrayed as a major cause of poverty, slow growth of national product and scarcity of precious raw materials.

The contributors point to evidence of dangerous clinical testing of birth control products in Latin America, beginning in the 1930's in the impoverished U.S. possession of Puerto Rico. These programs on poor and third world women are shown to manifest attitudes of racism and sexism among technicians and population "experts" who call for large-scale fertility reduction through genocidal measures such as mass sterilization. (Documentation of indiscriminate sterilization will be revealed for Latin America).

The report draws attention to the World Bank's population policy which grants priority to population control requests by issuing "no interest" loans through its Population and Nutrition Projects Department. The Bank's population theories rely heavily on the Coale and Hoover thesis in Population Growth and Economic Development in Low-Income Countries<sup>2</sup>. In essence, the Bank states that investment in population control gives much greater returns than investment in other development projects.

1. U.S. Commission on Population Growth and the American Future, Part 6, Aspects of Population Growth Policy.

2. Ansley J. Coale and Edgar Hoover, Population Growth and Economic Development in Low-Income Countries, Princeton University Press, 1958.



Besides the presentation of selected evidence and testimony, the report contains a broad chronology of the historical development of overpopulation theories beginning in the 1930's and 1940's when the birth control movement incorporated into its ideology ideals of the eugenics movement - notions of the biologically "fit" and "unfit", the "wanted" and the "unwanted". The chronology brings out the entry of American industrialists and financiers as the major developers of today's official US birth control policies, and to the development of population control as a significant military and economic consideration in official US policy. Historical emphasis will be placed on the change in foreign assistance programs in Latin America, of which one result has been a reduction of technical assistance to health care. The political role of the population question within the Alliance for Progress is also significantly developed in the report.

The report will be presented orally by a member of the research team on January 15 in Brussels.

For the research team,  
Bonnie Mass

## POPULATION GROWTH AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

Statement of the International Working Group on Population Growth and Social Development on the occasion of World Population Year.

The United Nations have designated 1974 as World Population Year. The activities during this year, and especially the World Population Conference, will make people aware of the necessity to take demographic factors such as the size, the distribution and the age and sex structure of the population as well as the change of these factors through fertility, mortality and migration into account when planning for the future. In particular, they will help to stimulate creative thinking on policies suitable for dealing with problems arising from an unprecedented growth of world population.

We recognise that in some of the United Nations documents relating to World Population Year population growth is properly viewed as a dependent variable within the social, economic, political and cultural development context. At the same time we cannot ignore the danger that neo-Malthusian views, inherent in current birth control strategies of powerful governmental and non-governmental agencies and propagated by numerous organisations, politicians and scholars in Western industrialised countries, may dominate the world wide debate initiated by the United Nations; there is a risk that "misunderstandings" regarding the true character of the problems presently facing humanity may be spread.

According to the neo-Malthusian position, "overpopulation" -- interpreted either as a too dense population or as a too rapid population increase -- is the major single problem facing the countries of the Third World and it is held responsible for many evils, such as unemployment, poverty, high mortality rates, malnutrition, starvation and illiteracy; in the developed countries, according to this position, the growth of population is a primary cause of increasing environmental deterioration and depletion of resources. A drastic reduction of birth rates is considered the essential condition for solving these problems. That reduction, it is argued, can and must be achieved by "direct measures", i.e., propaganda for birth control, increase in the number of family planning clinics, distribution of contraceptives, legalisation of abortion and sterilisation, etc.

We consider this approach to be wrong. Population growth must not be blamed for diseases of society. It is a deception to make people believe that it is possible to solve problems of society through birth control measures.

In the past two decades there has hardly been any considerable progress in most of the developing countries measured in the rise of levels of living of the broad masses; wealth and land have remained concentrated in the hands of small elites, in a number of countries the disparity between rich and poor is increasing. Even in those Third World countries where economic growth has been fairly rapid in recent years, it has taken forms



which do not benefit, and even worsen the conditions of life of the poorer strata which make up the vast majority of the population in these countries. For example, industrial technology, and to an increasing extent new agricultural technology, is seldom designed to meet local conditions; it is generally capital intensive rather than appropriately labour intensive and tends to increase the already heavy burden of unemployment and poverty. The political, economic and cultural elites in many developing countries are being supported by Western capital which keeps them subordinated to the interests of the Western industrialised countries.

These national and international power structures play an essential role in the perpetuation of poverty, unemployment, illiteracy and lack of social and political participation among the masses in the developing countries. From the perspective of these power structures, the real issue is not that population growth exerts pressure on the means of subsistence, as the neo-Malthusians assert, but rather that population growth tends to threaten the institutional framework safeguarding the unequal distribution of economic and political power. Insisting on population increase as a major cause of underdevelopment can therefore serve, on the level of theory, to furnish an ideological legitimisation of the existing order of things; on the level of politics it serves to distract attention from the real political-economic issues facing the Third World.

This standpoint does not imply that we are opposed to family planning. On the contrary, we are of the opinion that free access to efficient contraceptives and other means of birth control should be a human right and available to all, and we recognize the importance of effective family planning to health and well being. Neither do we believe that on a finite earth with finite resources there can be an infinite growth of population; there is no doubt that the stabilisation of world population is an urgent task. We maintain, however, that population policy and family planning become meaningful only if they are conceived within the framework of an all-round economic and social development plan. As the demographic history of the now industrialised countries and of some economically advanced regions in the Third World indicates, social development on a comprehensive scale is a necessary prerequisite for the decline of fertility. On the other hand, there is much research confirming the view that peasant populations and the new urban sub-proletariat in the underdeveloped regions of the world want many children and will continue to give birth to many children. As long as the material conditions under which the majority of the people in the Third World have to live are not drastically improved, reproductive behaviour is likely to remain unchanged and birth control programs are bound to remain inefficient. Therefore, the existence of plans and planning authorities cannot solve the population problem unless basic structural changes take place: unless institutions permitting large scale political participation of the masses replace the existing repressive systems which prevail in most of the developing countries; unless inequalities in the distribution of wealth and opportunities are removed and strategies of social and

economic development are implemented that benefit all strata of society; unless the countries of the Third World free themselves from economic exploitation and political domination by foreign interests.

In Western industrialised countries an increasing number of politicians and scholars maintain that population growth is a major cause of the depletion of resources, of environmental destruction and the decay of urban centres. We consider this argument both wrong and dangerous. The deterioration of the natural and social environment is not primarily a function of population size or population growth but it is essentially an emanation of an economic system based on the principle of the maximisation of profits which implies the rude exploitation of natural and social resources by the few that are economically powerful. A solution to the ecological problems facing many economically developed countries can only be found if present economic structures are democratised. In particular, the multi-national corporations wielding inordinate economic and political power in many Western industrialised countries as well as in large parts of the Third World must be subjected to effective democratic control.

In view of the hundreds of millions of people in the underdeveloped countries living in utmost poverty, in view of the social and ecological problems facing large parts of the world it is time to take action towards the necessary changes.

Berlin, July 12, 1974.

The statement was signed by over 200 economists, sociologists, demographers and others from all parts of the world. These included - Samir Amin, Dipak Bhatia, Ashish Bose, Nora Federici, Johan Galtung, Barry Commoner, Avery Guest, Yaropolk Guzevaty, Jurgen Heinrichs, Erland Hofsten, Jan Myrdal, Marios Nikolinakos, Pierre Pradervand, Harry Raullet, William Ryan, Thorsten Sjoval, Paul Sweezy and Landing Savane. The statement was presented at the World Population Conference in Bucharest.



# REVIEWS

The Myth of Population Control: Family, Caste and Class in an Indian Village, Mahmood Mamdani. New York: Monthly Review Press, 1972; 173pp., \$2.65pb.

A Jat farmer, gently stroking his young son's hair, told me: "These Americans are enemies of the smile on this child's face. All they are interested in is war or family planning."

In the past twenty years population specialists have succeeded to a remarkable extent in redefining the problems of poverty and exploitation as a "population problem." At the macro-level they argue that rapid population growth impedes economic development; at the micro-level, poor families are said to have too many children for their own good. A plethora of KAP surveys were the basis for the guarded optimism among family planners in the late 1960's. These sample surveys were essentially an adaptation of market research techniques. They purported to show that significant proportions of the poor wanted fewer children than they actually had and were willing to adopt modern birth control techniques to reduce their fertility. In much of the Third World, however, fertility remains high and the proffered birth control has not been widely accepted. In the face of this situation some argue for escalation of fertility control programs while proponents of the new "developmentalist" approach argue that rural development, income redistribution and improving the status of women is needed to reduce fertility. Mamdani's The Myth of Population Control suggests that the contradictions are deeper than proponents of either of these positions are willing to admit.

The Myth, however, is not merely another bit of KAP-type data with different findings. Rather it is an indepth analysis of the implications for fertility behavior of family, caste and class in the agricultural economy of an Indian village. Mamdani's work is the type of research which thousands of students of family planning have no doubt fantasized -- a critical observer returning to the site of a family planning experiment to independently assess what actually took place. What he found was that new agricultural technology had increased the need for labor: since the cheapest source of labor was children, the farmers rejected birth control.

From 1954 to 1969 Manupur, a relatively prosperous village in the Punjab, was the site of one of the more sophisticated family planning pilot projects. Funded by the Rockefeller Foundation and the Indian Government, and directed by John Wyon and John Gordon of Harvard's School of Public Health, the Khanna Study went to considerable lengths to avoid the shortcomings of other family planning research. The study extended from an exploratory phase in 1954 to the follow-up in 1969 and included control villages which were not exposed to the birth control campaign. In the end, however, the project neither increased the adoption of birth control nor was it able to adequately explain the high fertility of the villagers.

Mamdani's explanation of the failure of the Khanna Study is based on analysis of study documents made available by the original researchers and interviews with both researchers and respondents. He traces the failure to two sources. First, the funding for each stage of the project depended on the "promise" shown in previous stages. This of course was a built-in bias. Moreover, since the evaluations were carried out by the same researchers, the results tended to overrate the success of the project. The Khanna Study team only gradually and partially appreciated the villagers' resistance to family planning. More fundamental than the bias due to research design was that the researchers failed to bridge the gap in understanding between urban scientist and villager. This gap was not so much because the Punjab was "foreign" to the researchers -- two of the three American directors had extensive experience in India and native Punjabis constituted most of the research team -- but due to their inability to perceive the interplay of changes in caste and class on the family.

The second and longer section of the book is an analysis of reproductive behavior in terms of the class nature of the village economy, focusing on the technological advances which have created a greater demand for labor for most farm families.

The greatest attraction of the book is the insights it gives into the reality behind such social science categories as "acceptor" and "resistor." Mamdani describes the case of Asa Singh, a Villager who soon realized that resisters were subjected to monthly lectures on "the benefits of family planning" by program staff: on the other hand, acceptors were shown gratitude. When Mamdani asked him whether he used the tablets or not, he replied:

Certainly, I did. You can read it in their books. I didn't take them for the first few months. Then they explained to me all the advantages of using these tablets. You know, we villagers are illiterate. Well, after that, from 1957 to 1960, I never failed. ...

Asa Singh, however, had a son who had been born sometime in "late 1958 or early 1959." At our third meeting, I pointed this out to him and confessed I found it hard to believe his wife had been using foam tablets all the time if she had conceived a son during the same period. His face assumed a rather distant look, he scratched his beard with his forefinger; finally he looked at me and responded: "Babuji, someday you'll understand. It is sometimes better to lie. It stops you from hurting people, does you no harm, and might even help them."

The next day Asa Singh took me to a friend's house. We went in, squatted on the floor, and sipped tea. Gradually, my eyes got used to the faint light, and I saw small rectangular boxes and bottles, one piled on top of the other, all arranged as a tiny sculpture in a corner of the room. ... This man had made a sculpture of birth control devices. Asa Singh said: "Most of us threw the tablets away. But my brother here, he makes use of everything." (32-33)



The lie is also given to an apparently convincing argument for family planning which appears in all the text books: high fertility is not in the interest of Indian farmers because it leads to land fragmentation. Since land fragmentation is well-advanced in Manupur, Mamdani asked the farmers about it. One responded:

Of course I am worried about the fragmentation of land. But even before I worry about my land being divided up tomorrow, I must worry about making a living on it today. Just look around: no one without sons or brothers to help him farms his land. He rents it out to others with large families. Without sons, there is no living off the land. The more sons you have, the less labor you need to hire and the more savings you can have. If I have enough maybe we will buy some more land, and then fragmentation will not matter. (78)

Material such as this makes the book appropriate for a much larger audience than population specialists. The views the villagers hold on farming, family and fertility should be of interest to many students of development. The book will certainly provoke useful discussions in undergraduate social science courses.

Using class as his fundamental analytical category, Mamdani breaks new ground in fertility analysis. This is not because previous researchers have ignored socio-economic differences, but because of their failure to use class in terms of the relations of production. Mamdani has shown how political and technical developments have led to the decline of some classes and the rise of others. He describes the rise of a class of small farmers who need the labor of their children to get by. Among agriculturalists this need for many children is absent only among the few farmers who are prosperous enough to have tractors. For the non-agriculturalists, we might expect that they would resort to family planning in an attempt to shore up their deteriorating position in the village economy. Indeed, some are forced into a "contraception of dispare" yet for many the situation is quite the opposite: a larger family represents one of the few hopes for security.

Thus, class analysis is the key to understanding how high fertility persisted in Manupur despite the efforts of the Khanna Project. This study demonstrates the applicability of Marxist methodology to population studies. Non-Marxists will no doubt be reluctant to recognize The Myth of Population Control as a pioneering work and to reorient their own work accordingly. The major barrier is the anti-Marxian bias of much contemporary social science (and its total absence from the education of many population specialists). A problem of this magnitude can only be noted, but not analyzed in a short review.

There are several other critical points worth noting. For those threatened by Mamdani's thesis these will be seen as grounds for dismissing the book. They are, however, questions which must be raised.

First, there are questions regarding the extent to which we can generalize from the findings. Manupur is only one village, visited by one researcher for one summer. Also, if the outsiders of the Khanna Study team were misled by the villagers, how do we know they were forthright with Mamdani? At one level these questions can only be answered in the normal scientific manner -- replication. Failing this, however, Mamdani does present a more convincing analysis of high fertility and the rejection of birth control than the frequently cited "ignorant peasant hypothesis."

Secondly, Mamdani does a masterful job in elucidating pronatalist forces in Manupur. But is it true that so few couples want to limit their fertility with modern birth control as one would surmise from a reading of The Myth of Population Control? Here, especially, the population specialist would like a much more detailed treatment of the interaction between the villagers and the Khanna Study field workers who were trying to "sell" family planning. Clearly the most important point is that there is a strong economic basis for high fertility. Mamdani has even gone beyond this to analyze sex roles and family in the changing village economy. In doing so he penetrates many blind spots in the conventional wisdom about Third World fertility. Nevertheless, the reader is left wondering what is behind the pro-birth control responses to the KAP studies, the sporadic attendance at family planning clinics and the not infrequent resort to abortion in the rural Third World.

Considering the weakness of much population research and the current disorganization of the population control movement, The Myth of Population Control should go far in revolutionizing the field. Since agricultural modernization produces similar class relations in many villages, more case studies of this type would certainly be worthwhile. The theoretical framework used by Mamdani also holds promise for the development of a more adequate understanding of fertility behavior. Mamdani himself has recently sought to further elaborate this theory in a paper presented at the Population Tribune in Bucharest and reprinted in this issue.

Reid T. Reynolds

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"THE POLITICS OF POPULATION: Birth Control and the Eugenics Movement", Linda Gordon, Radical America, Volume 8, No. 4, July-August 1974.

One factor in the politics of population, common to sections of both the feminist movement and the left, is the failure to distinguish clearly between birth control - the control of his or her fertility by an individual - and population control - a large scale policy for reducing or increasing birth rates. This confusion leads many feminists to ignore the repressive aspects of population control programs and sections of the left to withhold support from demands for birth control. Linda Gordon, by describing the origins and development of both movements, makes an important contribution to understanding their differences and also explains why they have so often been confused.



The early birth control movement grew up around socialists and anarchists like Margaret Sanger and Emma Goldman and was run almost entirely by women. Most of the birth control groups saw themselves as feminist and in many instances they were also connected with socialist organizations. At this stage Margaret Sanger still saw birth control primarily in terms of its liberating effect for working class women and as an important weapon in the class struggle. However, with the decimation of the American left during World War I the feminists lost their left wing and this, Gordon suggests, was partly responsible for the transition of birth control from a radical to a largely reformist movement.

The early eugenics movement, based on the pre-Mendelian theory that acquired characteristics could be transmitted genetically, had developed alongside the birth control movement, and it too was originally radical, supported mainly by "radical reformers of the pre-Marxian socialist tradition for whom the genetic transmittal of degeneracy was merely another argument for the necessity of social justice." At the same time, a theory that postulated that the "unfit", "criminals" and "degenerates" were products of heredity also appealed to certain professional and business men. The rejection of the theory of inheritance of acquired characteristics in favor of newer theories with their possibilities for predicting, and therefore controlling reproduction, led to a rapid transition of the movement to one dominated by ruling-class men.

While the conservative, predominantly male, eugenics supporters were not favorably inclined to the feminist birth controllers (after all, the eugenicists favored the rapid reproduction of the "superior" while the birth controllers demanded reproductive freedom for all women), many of the leaders of the birth control movement thought that they could gain from the popularity of eugenics and joined the campaign. However, once they had joined, their own demands became less and less radical.

Similar attempts at cooption are taking place in the birth control movement today. While a strong feminist movement campaigning for reproductive self-determination for all women has met with stony opposition, individual feminists are supported by, and encouraged to work with, population control organizations.

Linda Gordon suggests two possible reasons why the birth control campaigners of the 20's were so easily sucked into the eugenics movement. One was the traditional endorsement of eugenics ideas by the left in the first two decades of the twentieth century. The other was the lack of sympathy for the birth control movement on the part of the male-dominated left. Gordon quotes Margaret Sanger's autobiography, in which she says of the socialists that their reply to her demands was always "Wait. Wait until women have more education. Wait until we secure equal distribution of wealth. Wait for this and wait for that. Wait! Wait! Wait!"

By the late 30's the birth control movement had lost most of its feminist and radical traditions. At around the same time the policies of Nazi Germany had robbed eugenics of all vestiges of respectability. Many of its supporters found refuge in population control, which Gordon describes as being, on an international level, what eugenics had been in the United States. The merger of the more powerful, ruling class interests from both led to the strengthening and rapid growth of the population control movement. Leaders of the eugenics movement were instrumental in setting up the Population Council, Planned Parenthood - World Population, the Office of Population Research at Princeton and the Population Reference Bureau, and many of today's leading U.S. demographers came directly from eugenics work. Gordon's documentation of the links between eugenics and population control, and the ruling class ties of both, is a valuable addition to the work already done by Steve Weissman, Bonnie Mass and Barclay, Enright and Reynolds (see EMPA bibliography, page of this issue).

In view of her careful distinction between the birth control and population control movements, it is rather surprising that Gordon concludes that "population control and women's reproductive self-determination are not inevitably at odds." I have even more trouble in accepting her subsequent statement that "If women's desire for children interferes with a reasonable and democratic social plan to keep birth rates down, the problem ought to be solved as far as possible by offering women other alternatives for meaningful work and economic independence, not through coercion." (my underlining). Although she rightly points out that historical evidence suggests that women's control over reproduction automatically produces a population limitation effect, this evidence is based largely on European experience. Her definition of population control seems also to be limited to policies to reduce the rate of growth. What of those countries like Eastern Europe where population growth is considered too low? There the state's attempts to control women's fertility raise the same questions of reproductive freedom. As long as human reproduction depends on women carrying and bearing babies they should have absolute control of this process. Of course women, as well as men, should be offered meaningful work and economic independence, but these should be rights in themselves, not tools to influence the birth rate.

Barbara Segal

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# BOGUS PSYCHOLOGY!

"The end of the population explosion", Donald J. Bogue, The Public Interest, No. 7, Spring 1967.

\*Population Perspectives: Some Views from a Sociologist", Donald J. Bogue, Population Dynamics Quarterly, Vol. 2, No.2.1974

Among the explanations offered for the poor showing of family planning programs, first prize for inventiveness must surely go to Chicago's Donald Bogue. In an article in Population Dynamics Quarterly recently, Bogue explains the "KAP - GAP", (the divergence between actual reproductive practice and what KAP surveys predicted), in terms of "the emergence of new psychological variables that were not considered previously and which have been generated by the family planning program itself."

Bogue will be remembered as the person who, in 1967, predicted that the world was "on the threshold of a contraception adoption revolution". As a result, he said, "the world population crisis.....will be largely a matter of history when humanity moves into the 21st. century", by which time the rate of population growth "would be zero.....except in isolated and small 'retarded' areas."

He based this optimistic assessment on widespread "grass roots" approval" of family planning; growing high level political support; an ambitious international fertility control program that was beginning to show results and the development of new contraceptives like the 'pill' and IUD. In addition there were, he said, "a variety of sociological and psychological phenomena, previously unknown or unappreciated" which were hastening the spread of family planning. These included "privation" and the possibility of "mass-producing" opinion leaders.

Writing in 1974, he finds that these psychological factors are less formidable than had been feared. Knowledge about contraception is widespread, religious and moral opposition has not materialised and parents of many children are beginning to be viewed as "old fashioned, anti-social, unintelligent and animalistic". Above all, family planning is now seen as part of a "grand package of modernization" that no responsible adult would want to be without.

Why, then, have people not flocked to the family planning clinics? According to Bogue, the explanation, once again, is new "psychological" variables: "as is often the case, the very act of rapidly trying to deal with one set of problems through technological innovation has led to the direct creation of new and equally serious problems." What are these new "psychological" factors? Bogue identifies five - malaise; fear; mistrust; misinformation; and disappointment.

The improved contraceptives which in 1967 were "highly acceptable after only short periods of instruction and familiarity" make their users sick: so much so that large segments of the population are convinced that using the pill or IUD will lead to permanent bodily damage. If this were not enough, poorly trained motivators spread misinformation. As a result suspicions of those who work in family planning is rising. Those that overcome their mistrust are frequently put off by "mistreatment" and "bureaucratic indifference" at the hands of the "case-hardened missionaries" of the family planning programs.

In part at least his analysis is correct. But in what sense are these factors "psychological"? The factors he identifies are perfectly valid and sensible reasons for not going anywhere near a family planning clinic, even assuming that a person wants to avoid or delay further pregnancies. The use of the term "psychological" appears to be little more than a crude attempt to divert attention away from the roots of the problem - lack of demand for birth control and poor quality of services - and transfer the onus of failure onto the individual.

He laments the fact that motivators deceive people (in fact they frequently do much more than deceive) and that family planning workers come from outside and are seen as "manipulators with ulterior motives." Yet it is clear that Bogue, at least, does have ulterior motives: for him family planning means people having fewer children (as opposed to the number they would like to have). Those that are put off by misleading propaganda, lousy contraceptives and poor services are categorized as "hard core resisters" and "turncoats"!

Family planning programs operate on the assumption that attitudes towards childbearing and family size can be altered independently of the material basis for these attitudes. Recent research has confirmed what should have been obvious from the beginning - namely, that social and economic conditions for a sustained decline in fertility do not exist in most of the underdeveloped world.

People are neither stupid nor ignorant as Bogue seems to believe. They will have fewer children if they see it in their interests to do so.

Michael Carder



1974 is World Population Year. Millions of dollars are being spent to publicize "overpopulation". Population growth is blamed for everything from hunger, poverty and underdevelopment in the poor countries to unemployment, pollution and war in the so-called developed countries. And yet there is no scientific proof for any of these supposed relationships.

Such notions are being spread by the ruling classes in the United States and elsewhere to divert attention from the real causes of these problems and to justify population control programs aimed at the poor in the Third World and in the United States itself.

The capitalist system works on the basis of making profit for a privileged few, not meeting everyone's needs. For the capitalists, people are instruments for creating wealth, as consumers and producers. At an earlier stage of development armies and businessmen needed more people. Then the problem was said to be not "overpopulation" but "depopulation" and governments denied women contraception and abortion and rewarded those who bore many children. Now, however, there are more of us than the system can either use or support, especially in the underdeveloped parts of the world.

The Third World is underdeveloped because for hundreds of years the West has robbed them of their raw materials, destroying traditional agriculture and industries and disrupting the local way of life. Instead of being used to grow food for local needs the best land was taken to grow tea, coffee and other products for export to the developed countries. The small number of industries that have been set up provide few jobs and produce goods that only a rich minority can afford. The continuing domination of the Third World by the advanced capitalist countries thus not only makes it almost impossible for their economies to support their population, but also perpetuates the conditions that make large families necessary.

People in these countries and poor people in the developed countries are now demanding an end to this exploitation and the right to control their own resources and lives. Those who benefit from the existing system are afraid. They know that for these demands to be met they would have to give up their wealth and power. And so instead they try to limit the numbers of the poor. But since large families are the result not the cause of poverty and underdevelopment they cannot succeed.

While we are against organized population control programs, especially when they are promoted from outside, we do not say that there should be no family planning services at all. We are just as concerned by the denial of contraception and abortion for so-called moral reasons in countries with pro-natalist policies. Contraception and abortion should unquestionably be freely available to all who want them. And while the majority of people in the Third World have good reasons for wanting large families, the large number of illegal abortions shows that there are large numbers of women who do sometimes choose to avoid births. However, most existing programs do not offer women a real choice. Behind a pretended concern for maternal and child health and, recently, the liberation of women, the way in which they actually function makes it clear that their main purpose is simply to reduce births.

We reject the notion that population -- that is people -- can ever be considered a problem. People are the source of wealth and the basis of all social progress. The problem is not that there is not enough to go around, but that the rich monopolize the available resources for their own selfish and wasteful ends. \*We don't think this is the last word on the subject and look forward to discussing these ideas with others.

The following bibliography is a revised and updated version of an earlier list prepared by Michael Carder, Michael Henry, Kathy Horsley and Pierre Pradervand in March 1974, with additions from a second EMPA list prepared by Jørn Boye Nielsen, Lise Drewes Nielsen, Vivian Ponniah and Kresten Storgaard. Most of the items in the second list are written in Scandinavian languages or German. Copies are available from EMPA Copenhagen, c/o Jørn Nielsen, Norrebrogade 36, DK 2200 Copenhagen N, Denmark.

# I. GENERAL CRITIQUES OF PREVAILING APPROACHES

Hofsten, Erland, "The Family Planning Controversy," Monthly Review, vol. 26, no. 6, November, 1974, pp. 17-30.

Straightfoward, well argued and comprehensive critique of the neo-Malthusian position. Deals with the 'overpopulation' myth, the notion that rapid population growth is an obstacle to development and that the destruction of the environment in advanced countries is due to too many people with too high consumption levels and why family planning is not the answer. Concludes that without meaningful economic development in the Third World there will be no rapid decline in fertility and that unless imperialism is neutralized and eliminated no proper development will take place. Ends with reference to the 'new' approach outlined by John D. Rockefeller at Bucharest but asks what kind of 'development' is offered by the multi-national corporations and the 'aid' of the rich countries.

Park, Robert M., "Not Better Lives for All, Simply Fewer People," Science for the People, vol. VI, no. 1, January 1974.

One of the best analyses of the ideology of population control and its function within the existing world order. Argues that in attacking the symptoms -- rapid population growth -- instead of the problem -- a social order allowing no hope for a better future -- population control is not only futile but reactionary.

Pradervand, Pierre, "The Best Pill is Development," CERES (FAO Review), Special Population Issue, Nov.-Dec. 1973, pp. 6-9.

Given the relative failure of Western-inspired family planning programs to have any significant impact on the population growth of most developing countries, a growing number of specialists have been recently stressing the fact that the main problem is not more or better contraceptive services, but creating new antinatalist motivations by widespread structural changes in economic, social and political structures of developing countries. In this paper, one of the proponents of this line of thought summarizes arguments in favor of this approach. (Available in French, English and Spanish).



Segal, Aaron, "The Rich, the Poor and Population," in Demography India, vol. II, no. 1, June 1973. Also published in Spanish in Comercio Exterior, (Mexico) April 1973, and in French in Cahiers de CERAG (CERAG, P.O. Box 70, Fort de Prince, Martinique).

Liberal critique of the current campaign for population control in the Third World. Argues that population problems can only be understood in the wider context of relations between the rich and the poor. The rich see birth control as a cheap substitute for sharing their wealth more equitably. The poor see the problem differently, "We ask for bread and they give us loops." Traces emergence of a network of population control agencies and exposes the contradictions of the 'quick technological fix' which they promote.

Weissman, Steve, "Foward" to Marx and Engels on the Population Bomb, edited by R.L. Meek, Ramparts Press, 1971.

Picks up the classic debate between Marx and Malthus on the causes of poverty. Dismisses claims of ZPG and other modern neo-Malthusians that population growth is the cause of Third World poverty and environmental degradation in the rich countries. Shows that it is the irrationality of the world economic system which makes population growth 'excessive' and hinders its decline. Argues that the current wave of 'demographic desperation' could well lead to the emergence of increasingly coercive population control measures.

## II. FEMINIST PERSPECTIVES\*

Gordon, Linda, "The Politics of Population: Birth Control and the Eugenics Movement," Radical America, vol. 8, no. 4, July-August 1974, pp. 66-97.

Discusses the fundamental differences between the feminist-initiated campaign for birth control and the much more conservative population control movement. Claims that lack of support for their demands from the male left and the general political swing to the right during World War I led the feminists to ally themselves with the eugenicists and population controllers, an alliance which led to the cooption of many of their demands and to the subsequent confusion of the two movements. The article also demonstrates the links between eugenics and population control and traces the growth of ruling class and imperialist involvement in both.

Hamelstein, H. and Segal, B., "Women and the Population Issue," World Citizen/Federalist Newsletter, vol. XX, no. 6, July-August 1974. (Also available as an EMPA fact sheet.)

Sharp, concise expose of the hypocrisy of the male-dominated population establishment which now seeks to present efforts to reduce population growth through family planning as a means



Bondestam, Lars, Population Growth Control in Kenya, Research Report No. 12, The Scandinavian Social Services Department, Uppsala, 1972. The head of the Social Service Department of Uppsala, 1972. The article takes the dangers of a population of 60 million as a basis for the Western doomsday preachers in the field of population. Shows historically how Europe underdeveloped Africa and concludes that only through massive development efforts and industrialization of people might Africa catch up and stand on par with the rest of the world. The article is a good point for the narrow-mindedness and weaknesses of the West on population control. The basis of the whole Kenyan effort and which made extravagant claims for family planning with the clear view of influencing political decisions (which is what was achieved). Mahmood, "The Ideology of Population Control." Paper given at the Population Tribune, Bucharest, August 1974. Reprinted in Some Aspects of the Population Problem in India, 1975. Banaili Readership Lectures, Patna University Press, Patna (India) April 1974. reproductive behavior of different classes

in terms of changing economic conditions and social relations. These in turn are due to the presentational and subordination of the population in the capitalist world system. The statement, not only written twenty years ago by the author, is clearly as valid as and collaborative, the author analyses the situation in English by terms, showing clearly that the ruling over the machine have made any the of the basic 'and elementary' reforms that's of the Third World Development, (like family reform, which limits has never been completed) in the forced to adopt a new phase of development over the early the machine, in the world, children, the former as baby producing machines, the latter as a cheap source of slave labour, resulting from the uneven development of capital and modes of production. The text is extremely difficult to find. A French introduction. Introduction aux Problemes du Planning Familial et de la limitation des Naissances dans le Tiers Monde Development, 1974, in the University of International, Henry, and North Services, 4804, USA, has a copy of the original English text.

Argues that economic development requires not only economic growth, but also progress in structural change. Monthly Review Press: New York, 1972, 173 pp. of labour." Traces historical population trends in Latin America in relation to economic development and shows that population can be a positive factor organized by the Indian Government, Harvard University and the Rockefeller Foundation on the effect of an intensive birth control program. Family Planning and Growth in India argues that the program forced, because of gross errors in assumptions by the organizers in 1950, the nature of Indian village life and structure. Shows how the economic realities of village life made birth control extremely unattractive in Latin America and how these realities have not only been a barrier to family planning but also an improvement in the social well-being of the village. It will radically affect fertility used to the book is a point of growth in the general world what is the real world is like.

Barclay, W., J. Enright and R. Reynolds, "Population Control in the Third World," NACLA Newsletter, vol. IV, no. 8, December 1970.

One of the first coherent critiques of US-supported population control programs in the Third World. Shows how the US ruling class played up the population issue to serve its own ends, both as an alibi for its own inadequacies and because it feared that the large poor countries would be a 'fertile breeding ground for communism unless population growth were reduced. Traces the development of the population establishment through the Hugh Moore ad campaign and 'scientific' studies by the Rockefeller-sponsored Population Council culminating in a network of academic, foundation, government and international agencies. Exposes the distortions of current propaganda techniques and argues that the 'overpopulation' of the Third World is the result of the dependent capitalist pattern of development foisted on them.

Weissman, Steve, "Why the Population Bomb is a Rockefeller Baby," Ramparts, May 1970.

Very readable article tracing the growth of the population control movement in the late 1950's to the involvement of the Rockfellers and other powerful U.S. business families. Argues that the real reasons for family planning -- the threat to imperialism posed by 'rising expectations,' increasing proportions of young people and growing nationalism in the Third World -- were deliberately obscured by 'scientific' studies of population and its relationship to economic development. Shows how big business succeeded in rousing enough public pressure to involve the U.S. government: then, when domestic reaction to the Vietnam war created an adverse climate they quickly joined the move to transfer all development aid, including population programmes, to international agencies.

Mass, Bonnie, "An Historical Sketch of the American Population Control Movement," International Journal of Health Services, forthcoming.

Links together the eugenics and population control movements by showing the similarities of origins, aims and support from the U.S. ruling class. Traces the growth of the eugenics movement in the 19th and early 20th centuries, it shows how the decline in respectability of eugenics in the 1930's promoted



many leading eugenicists and eugenics organizations to shift their emphasis to population control and how they subsequently built up the powerful population establishment which exists today. Contains much detailed information on the development of the population control movement.

## V. FAMILY PLANNING AND POPULATION PROGRAMS

Bondestam, Lars, Population Growth Control in Kenya, Research Report no. 12, The Scandinavian Institute of African Studies, Uppsala, 1972. Available from the author, Kristinagatan 26A, 602 26 Norkoping, Sweden.

This is a most scathing -- but also well documented study -- of the foreign-inspired, mainly foreign-funded and in great part foreign run Kenya population control program. Among the good points of this paper is a critique of the Population Council report which formed the basis of the whole Kenyan effort and which made extravagant claims for family planning with the clear view of influencing political decisions (which is what was achieved).

Chand, G., Some Aspects of the Population Problem in India, Banaili Readership Lectures, Patna University Press, Patna (India), March 1954.

This little known but truly prophetic analysis of the population situation in India, a short series of five lectures, was written twenty years ago by one of Nehru's first advisors and collaborators. Chand analyses the situation in class terms, showing clearly that the ruling elite, not wanting to take any of the basic and elementary reforms indispensable to development, (like a land reform, which India has never accomplished) is forced to adopt the palliative of population control. A remarkable, lucid analysis.

The text is extremely difficult to find. A French translation composes one of the annexes of the book by P. Pradervand, Introduction aux Problemes du Planning Familial et de la limitation des Naissances dans le Tiers Monde (Montreal, 1971); the University of Michigan Library, Ann Arbor, Michigan 48104, USA, has a copy of the original English text.

Mamdani, Mahmood, The Myth of Population Control, Monthly Review Press: New York, 1972, 173 pp.

Analyses the failure of a six year, \$1 million field study organized by the Indian Government, Harvard University and the Rockefeller Foundation on the effect of an intensive birth control program in Punjab, India. Mamdani argues that the program failed because of grossly incorrect assumptions by the organizers as to the nature of Indian village life and structure. Shows how the economic realities of village life made birth control extremely unattractive; poverty and powerlessness leave no option but for large families, and only improvement in the social well-being of the villager will radically affect fertility. The book is rare in its attempt to describe what the real world is like.

Marino, Anthony, "K.A.P. Surveys and the Politics of Family Planning," Concerned Demography, vol. III, no. 1, Fall 1971, pp. 36-75. Available from Concerned Demography c/o Reid T. Reynolds, Dept. of Sociology, Ithaca College, Ithaca, NY 14850.

Shows many governments appear to accept the very questionable evidence suggesting that there is a "market" for birth control and that reduced fertility would boost economic growth. Careful and precise analysis of how the data is collected, interpreted and used. With excellent referencing demonstrates numerous contradictions, blatant distortions and extensive misuse of data. The paper is rare in its academic precision and thoroughness, and convincing in its somewhat damning conclusions.

Chen Pi-Chao, "The Largest Nation on Earth," New Internationalist, no. 15, May 1974. Special issue included in the Action Pack.

Informative report on birth planning in the People's Republic of China, but, like virtually all such reports available in the West, written by an observer basically unsympathetic to the present political system in China. Traces the emergence of an official policy to limit births and describes the current strategy which includes not only the integration of family planning services in a health system which covers the whole country, but also a grass roots campaign to increase understanding of the underlying issues. Shows how the reforms carried out since the revolution, e.g., land reform, emancipation of women and their wider participation in social and economic life, social and economic security, have produced conditions in which people want/need fewer children.

Pradervand, Pierre, "Realistic Approaches to the Acceptance of Family Planning in Africa," 1974. Available from EMPA Copenhagen or New York.

Summarizes author's first-hand experiences in Africa. Gives a clear picture of the obstacles to family planning in Africa which are rarely taken into consideration by family planning experts. Criticizes the Western approach characterized by insensitivity, heavy-handedness and little or no understanding of the cultural and socio-economic environment in which Africans live. Concludes that investments in employment opportunities, basic health and security systems, education, women's liberation, and better distribution of income and wealth must be seen as family planning investments.

Dyck, A.J., "The Need for an Ethical Response to the Report of the Commission on Population Growth and the American Future," in E. Bergman, ed., Population Policy-making in the American States, Lexington, Mass.: D.C. Heath, 1974.

Very clear analysis of the failure of the Commission to deal adequately with population policy in relation to the total welfare of populations affected, not just in the United States



but also in its policy toward developing countries. The Population Commission does virtually nothing to reverse the present policy of the government, but perpetuates the tendency to provide large sums of money for contraceptives while refusing aid to better care for children, mothers and families. The paper aptly concludes -- "The welfare of this country requires social justice; it is not enhanced by policies that do nothing substantial to save the lives and spirit of those who suffer from existing racial and economic inequities."

## VI. CONTROLLING OUR OWN FERTILITY.

Birth Control Handbook. Available from Medicine for the People, P.O. Box 1000, Station G, Montreal, 130, Canada.

The best complete, yet short handbook to provide women, and men, with the information they need to control their own bodies. Includes sections on male and female anatomy, hormones and the menstrual cycle, sexual intercourse, conception, contraceptives, abortion and venereal disease. Introduction makes clear their position on population control which is seen as a danger to human rights in the U.S. and the Third World.

Our Bodies, Ourselves, Boston Women's Health Collective, 1973, Simon and Shuster, New York.

Came out of the frustration and anger of a group of women towards their doctors who were condescending, judgemental and non-informative. They discovered that by sharing their knowledge about their bodies and by working together they were able to collect, evaluate and understand medical information. Covers physiology of reproduction, sexuality, nutrition, exercise, rape, lesbianism, birth control, child-bearing, menopause and the American health system.

## VII. "POPULATION"

R. Slater, Doug Kitt, Dave Widelock and Paul Kangas, The Earth Belongs to the People: Ecology and Power, 1971. Available from Peoples Press, 968 Valencia St. San Francisco, Ca. 94110. Single copies 75¢; 10-50 copies 50¢.

Probably the best short, non-technical critique of the notion that "pollution is the price of progress." Demonstrates that industrial corporations are the major source of pollution and traces their disregard for the environment to an economic system in which both human beings and nature are seen as commodities to be exploited and manipulated for the benefit of a few. Deals mainly with the U.S. and other over-developed countries but also explodes the myth that poverty and hunger in the Third World are the result of 'overpopulation.'

## VIII. STATEMENTS

"China -- A Policy Statement, Reprinted in People (IPPF, London), no. 1, October 1973, p. 22.

At the 29th session of the UN Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East, (Tokyo, April 1973), the Chinese delegate, Chi Lung, put forward his country's views on the population question -- the first such official statement. It opens with the following beautiful words: "We hold that, of all things in the world, people are the most precious. People are the decisive factor in the social productive forces. In our view, it is erroneous to say that the poverty and backwardness of the developing countries stem mainly from 'overpopulation' and that a population policy is of fundamental significance and plays the main role in solving the problem of poverty and backwardness."

Bahri, Ahmed, Maaza Bekele, Anita Bensaid and others..."A New Approach to Population Research in Africa: Ideologies, Facts and Policies," Paper presented at the first African Population Conference, Accra, December 1971. Available (in French and English) from Pierre Cantrelle, Directeur de Recherches, ORSTOM 24 rue Bayard, 75008 Paris, France.

At the African Population Conference, a group of delegates, deeply dissatisfied with the total lack of any conceptual framework in which to present ideas, and concerned with the Malthusian bias of the meeting, 'upset' the conference by banding together and presenting an alternative viewpoint. Erroneously termed "neo-Marxist" (one of the co-authors was a well-known Ford Foundation family planning specialist and the nine authors represent a very wide ideological background), the paper attempts to raise some epistemological and methodological issues which are important for the population field.

"Young Scientists, Population and the Environmental Crisis," final report of a UNESCO meeting, Paris, May 1972. Available in English, French and Spanish from UNESCO; Document Code ED-72/CONF. Young Scientists/3.

Summary of a three-day meeting of fourteen young scientists from developed and developing countries and from social and natural sciences. The report is critical of current fragmented and technologically oriented approaches to problems of population, environment and development. Argues that no solution can be found to these so-called crises unless it is realised that they are but convergent aspects of a more fundamental problem of unequal distribution of wealth and power in the world and that this is essentially a political, not a technical problem. Special attention is given to the MIT/Club of Rome Study, The Limits of Growth -- "the product of a scientific tradition based on the exploitation of man and nature by an imperialist technology." Concludes with a short discussion of the implications for scientists of recognising the political context within which science and technology evolve.



This statement was circulated by a group of social scientists in Europe and North America. It collected almost 300 signatures among professional demographers, sociologists, and economists as well as intellectuals working in population and development fields. The statement is sharply critical of prevailing approaches which, despite their recent sophistication, remain essentially neo-Malthusian. "The real issue is not that population growth exerts pressure on the means of subsistence, but that population growth tends to threaten the institutional framework safeguarding the unequal distribution of economic and political power." Free access to contraception and other means of birth control are endorsed but should not be expected to be widely used in the Third World until there is some improvement in the material conditions which the majority of the people live. This requires fundamental changes in the existing world order.

Emerging Population Alternatives (EMPA) is an international network of individuals and groups seeking to develop alternative approaches to understanding and action on population. It grew out of a shared dissatisfaction with prevailing theories and programs and a felt need for some way of exchanging information and ideas, and coordinating research and action, on a continuing basis. There are affiliates in North America, most European countries and in several countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

EMPA-New York is also responsible for putting out a newsletter, hopefully at about quarterly intervals. This will contain information that people feel deserves wider circulation: reports on research, new articles and books as well as major developments in the field. Contributions are invited. In addition we are trying to put together study groups to develop research and analysis in three specific areas -- reproduction, birth control and the role of women; population control, imperialism and Third World development; and the population establishment.

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a) yes (a brief description of content and date it will be available would be appreciated.)  
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Reid T. Reynolds  
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