

DEMOGRAPHIC DESTINIES

Interviews with Presidents of the Population Association of America

Interview with Conrad Teauber PAA President in 1948-49



This series of interviews with Past PAA Presidents was initiated by Anders Lunde
(PAA Historian, 1973 to 1982)

And continued by Jean van der Tak (PAA Historian, 1982 to 1994)

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CONRAD TAEUBER

PAA Secretary in 1939-42 (No. 4) and President in 1948-49 (No. 12).

This "interview" with Conrad Taeuber for the PAA Oral History Project was constructed by Jean van der Tak in May 1990 from the following materials:

Transcript of interview with Conrad Taeuber by Anders Lunde for the PAA Oral History Project at the National Center for Health Statistics Developmental Laboratory, Research Triangle Park, NC, December 5, 1973. (Side one of this two-sided tape is defective but was "reconstructed" by Conrad Taeuber in March 1987.);

Four chapters written during 1988-89 from Dr. Taeuber's (unpublished) autobiography entitled: "Minneapolis, Heidelberg, Madison, South Hadley"; "Washington-Potomac Fever"; "BAE to FAO"; and "Census";

Taeuber notes of March 30, 1987, in response to the query, "What accounts for the Taeuber 'Demographic Dynasty'?"

Dr. Taeuber's written responses to supplementary questions posed by Jean van der Tak, April 27, 1990.

CAREER HIGHLIGHTS: Conrad Taeuber was born and grew up in Hosmer, South Dakota. He received his A.B. degree in 1927, the M.A. in 1929, and the Ph.D. in 1931, all in sociology and all from the University of Minnesota. For some nine months in 1929-30, he studied sociology and collected data for his Ph.D. dissertation at the University of Heidelberg in Germany. He was a research assistant at the University of Wisconsin in 1930-31 and on the faculty at Mount Holyoke from 1931 to 1933. He then shifted to Washington, D.C., where he was first an economic analyst at the Federal Emergency Relief Administration in 1934-35. From 1935 to 1946 he was with the Bureau of Agricultural Economics of the Department of Agriculture as agricultural economist and administrator. From 1946 to 1951 he was with the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization, then located in Washington. From 1951 to 1973 he was at the Bureau of the Census as Assistant and then Associate Director for Demographic Fields. And from 1973 to 1985 he was at Georgetown University, where he was Director of the Center for Population Research (1973-76) and Joseph Kennedy Professor of Demography.

He is the author of many articles and book chapters on a variety of demographic topics and coauthor with his wife Irene Taeuber of two famous census monographs on the U.S. population, The Changing Population of the United States (1958) and People of the United States in the Twentieth Century (1971). He and Irene Barnes Taeuber formed a rare couple, both with distinguished careers in demography. They met as graduate students at the University of Minnesota and were married from 1929 until her death in 1974. Conrad Taeuber married Dorothy Harris in 1979.

Dr. Taeuber has also been President of the Inter-American Statistical Institute. His awards include the Exceptional Service Award from the Department of Commerce (1963), the Distinguished Career Award for the Practice of Sociology from the American Sociological Association (1986), and the Robert J. Lapham Award from the Population Association of America (1991) for "contributions to population research, the application of demographic knowledge to improve the human condition, and service to the population profession."

QUESTION: How and when did you first become interested in demography, and especially in rural to urban migration?

TAEUBER: During two years that I took off from my undergraduate work at the University of Minnesota, I took college-credit extension courses, taught by the high school principal in Tripp, South Dakota. These were my first social science courses and I was especially taken with one on immigration; I could relate bits of my family history to the story of immigration to the United States. This course was my first exposure to the study of population matters. There was no formal undergraduate demography course at Minnesota, but sociology courses that I took upon my return to the university got into a number of areas which would now be covered in courses called demography.

As for my interest in rural-urban migration, the shift in population to urban areas was all around us in the 1920s. The depopulation of some rural areas caused concern, as did the rapid growth of some cities. The U.S. had crossed the 50 percent urban line between 1910 and 1920. I was a rural-urban migrant myself. I was brought up in a very small town which was a service center for the farm families. Everything there was related to agriculture. My father was a Lutheran minister, whose parish initially included five congregations; later that was reduced to three.

Migration and population characteristics were more easily grasped than the field of community organization or some of the more cultural subjects which drew some of my fellow students in the graduate program in sociology at Minnesota, in which I continued after getting my AB in 1927. At Wisconsin, where Irene and I spent an academic year as research assistants while writing our dissertations for the PhDs from Minnesota, much of my work had to do with efforts to find the boundaries of informally organized rural areas. But this seemed much harder to grasp than numbers like population totals. The rural sociologists seemed to have their feet more firmly on the ground than some of the others in the sociology departments.

I had initially intended to do a doctoral dissertation based on a special study of some aspects of the movement of people from rural to urban areas in the U.S. Then in 1929 I won an International Institute of Education scholarship to study sociology at the University of Heidelberg in Germany. (Both my father and mother had come from Germany and I knew the language.) I went there in September 1929 after completing my MA and the oral examination for the PhD at Minnesota and two months after Irene and I were married. In the library at Heidelberg, I discovered a series of municipal statistical reports based on the records of Germany's population register. By law, a person moving from one place to another was required to report that fact to the central administrative office of each place. This series, which went back to 1900 in some cities, provided a body of information on migrants and their characteristics which went far beyond what any small field study in the U.S. might have accomplished. My advisers at the University of Minnesota approved of my using these data. I spent endless hours copying these data by hand to carry back in the summer of 1930 (Xerox hadn't been invented yet and photostat copies were expensive) and these became the basis of my dissertation. The title of the dissertation, completed the following year while Irene and I were at Wisconsin, was "Migration to and from Selected German Cities: An Analysis of the Data of the Official Registration System (Meldewesen) for 1900 to 1927." (The nine months in Germany also produced my first published article--a description of traditional "Fastnacht," or pre-Lenten, festivities in Black Forest villages, written to Irene, who sent my letter to the Journal of Folklore on the recommendation of a professor of anthropology.)

When I came to Washington in January 1934, I worked in the Federal Emergency Relief Administration. Our first task was to start a series of studies of the rural population and to encourage and assist workers in rural sociology at the state colleges of agriculture to carry on such studies in their respective states.

QUESTION: Frank Notestein in his last published article, "Demography in the United States: A Partial Account of the Development of the Field" (Population and Development Review, December 1982), noted that: "The Federal Emergency Relief Administration and [its successor] the Works Progress Administration of the Depression years, with such outstanding scholars as Thomas Woofter and Conrad Taeuber, directed public attention to the problems of poverty and public relief in the Depression" (p. 683).

Now describe some of your subsequent work in the Department of Agriculture where you were, chiefly in the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, from 1935 to 1946. Notestein in this same article said: "The Department of Agriculture, particularly the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, was constantly studying and calling public attention to the problems of the agricultural population."

TAEUBER: I held a variety of positions in the Department of Agriculture. I was responsible for the annual series of estimates of the flow of population from and to farms. (Today you think of that as the work Calvin Beale is handling so ably.) That developed into liaison with the Census Bureau relating to the Censuses of Population and Agriculture. We also worked closely with research workers in the states, setting up and carrying out a variety of research projects. For a time, we in Washington were in a position to provide funds for small projects. We also entered into cooperative projects with people at the state colleges. In 1942-43, I was designated as Acting Head of the Division of Farm Population and Rural Welfare while the Chief of the division, Carl Taylor, spent a year studying the agricultural population in Argentina.

Later I became the liaison with the Office of Statistical Policies and Standards in what is now known as the Office of Management and Budget. The Federal Reports Act of 1942 provided for a system of review for all inquiries originating in the federal government which sought identical information from ten or more persons. I became the focal point for review of proposals (questionnaires) that originated in the Department of Agriculture. The ingenuity of the people who initiated data-gathering projects and who wanted to avoid clearance was in itself a matter of interest. In that position, I reported directly to the Chief of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, Howard Tolley. When he became involved in FAO (the UN Food and Agriculture Organization), he frequently called on me for a variety of tasks, including the preparatory work which led to the establishment of FAO.

QUESTION: How did you collect the Bureau of Agricultural Economics data on "the movement of people to and from farms"?

TAEUBER: The data on the movement to and from farms were initially secured through a mailed questionnaire sent to a group of crop reporters. Through fieldwork, we found problems with that approach. Later the survey was reorganized and the findings of the Current Population Survey [begun during the 1940s] were incorporated in the development of the estimates.

QUESTION: What did you do with the FAO, where you were from 1946 until it moved to Rome in 1951?

TAEUBER: I had participated on loan from the Department of Agriculture in the three conferences that set up the FAO [Hot Springs, Virginia, 1943; Quebec, 1945; Copenhagen, 1946]. The dynamic leader of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, Howard Tolley, left to join the FAO and also Congress had placed restrictions on the work of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics. So my move to the FAO was hardly surprising. There I was Chief of the Statistics Division, responsible for the collection and publication of data needed by FAO. In our data collection, we were concerned not only with the traditional topics of agricultural production and marketing, but also with all aspects of rural

life around the world. Worldwide, the rural population constituted the majority of people and FAO had a responsibility to keep up with the situation and trends. Our data were collected from the official national statistical agencies. At first the Forestry Division and the Fisheries Division in FAO carried on their own statistical programs. Over time, the sharper distinctions were modified and cooperation became the mode of operation. In the course of my work, I traveled extensively--in Asia (especially Pakistan, India, and China--in the summer of 1948), northern Africa, and Latin America, as well as to Europe.

QUESTION: Why did you leave FAO when it moved to Rome in 1951?

TAEUBER: It is a common experience that it is difficult to sort out the various considerations that entered into a specific action. There were several reasons for leaving FAO, or for not agreeing to move to Rome. I would not try to rank them in order of importance. FAO had changed and I assumed that under the new Director General it would be a less interesting organization. The office managers had taken hold. A minor incident played a role in this evaluation. One day I found a memo on my desk criticizing a cable I had sent. I had worked hard on that cable, trying to anticipate the reaction of the person to whom it was addressed. I was annoyed enough to take the memo back to the office from which it had come and persuaded the author of the memo that I knew what I was doing. But who would want to spend time that way?

There were two other elements. One was the fact that Irene was well established in a position which could only be carried out in the Washington/Princeton/New York area [as editor of Population Index and involved in research, writing, and consultation for Princeton's Office of Population Research, the federal government, and the Rockefeller Foundation, etc.]. Changing that career pattern for a situation in which women could expect discrimination was not appealing. The other element was the fact that our two boys were at an age when high school and college needed to be considered. While a brief exposure to a non-American educational system could be viewed as beneficial, we felt that identification with the American school system would provide the best entry into the American labor market. Perhaps we were overreacting to the memory of the Depression of the 1930s.

QUESTION: How did you come to join the Bureau of the Census and what positions did you hold there?

TAEUBER: When I was in the Department of Agriculture, I worked very closely with the Bureau of the Census, especially with Leon Truesdell who was head of the Bureau's Population Division. I also had frequent contacts with Ross Eckler and Phil Hauser, who were on the staff of J.C. Capt, the Director. They tried to recruit me to the Bureau but at that time I was not ready to leave the work I was doing. But when it became known that I was not going to go to Rome with the FAO, Ross Eckler, Deputy Director of the Census Bureau, approached me again. The Bureau had been reorganized and the new job I was offered as Assistant Director for Demographic Fields was attractive. I took it in 1951. In 1960 that position was reclassified to become Associate Director for Demographic Fields. The fields included the Population, Agriculture, and Housing Divisions. The Statistical Surveys Division, the Foreign Demographic Analysis Division, and--for a short time--the Geography Division were also within my area of responsibility.

QUESTION: What innovations did you introduce at the Census Bureau? For example, in the Petersens' Biographies of Demographers, you are described as "a major architect of the 1960 and 1970 censuses." Also, Notestein in the article cited above said that if you (or Philip Hauser or Arthur Campbell) had been writing that article on the development of demography in the U.S., you "would do

more justice to the innovative role of governmental organizations." What were some of the innovative contributions of the Census Bureau to the development of demography in your time?

TAEUBER: I like to think that the Bureau's communications with the public were improved with the attention I was able to give. I would like to think that releases from the Bureau improved in clarity and with more rigorous attention to the underlying statistics.

Two major surveys received early attention within the Bureau, prior to the time when a separate staff could take over: the National Health Survey and the Crime Victimization Survey. The Bureau provided advice and assistance in the early stages of the World Fertility Survey. We experimented with surveys of consumer intentions to buy. We were sued by a private research firm which claimed that we had trespassed on their property. The Court upheld our view that if the government needed statistical data it was empowered to collect them. However, we eventually concluded that the results of this survey were not commensurate with the cost. The Survey Research Center of the University of Michigan has developed the survey and apparently found ways of using such data to chart the future of the economy.

You ask what would not have happened if I had not been there. The members of the Bureau's Executive Staff worked together very much as a team. All major actions, presentations to the Office of Management and Budget and to the Congress were taken up in meetings of the Executive Staff before leaving the Bureau. I was not the first to propose, for example, that the Census of Population and Housing should move forward to a mail-out, mail-back procedure instead of having enumerators knock on every door. That procedure was introduced in the 1960 census in all but the least densely settled areas of the country. I was a strong supporter of steps taken to apply the best methods to the Current Population Surveys and the decennial census.

Two proposals during my time failed to bear fruit. Much time was given to a proposed mid-decade Census of Population. Congress passed a bill to that effect but since then it has been quietly vetoed when no Secretary of Commerce included it in the Department of Commerce's budget requests.

Unlike the Census of Population, the Census of Religious Bodies is not required by law; the decision of whether or not to take it rests with the Secretary of Commerce. Such censuses were conducted in 1906, 1916, 1926, 1936, and begun but not completed in 1946. There were endless meetings with the Association of Statisticians of Religious Bodies about undertaking it in 1956 but no agreement and that census was never put forward during my time. We experimented in a sample survey with a question on religious affiliation or preference. We found that John Q. Citizen did not object to answering such a question if put on a voluntary basis but that important organizations would raise major objections to putting the question on a mandatory basis, as are questions in the decennial Census of Population.

QUESTION: What part did you play in launching the 1950 and 1960 census monograph series in which yours and Irene Taeuber's two monographs featured (The Changing Population of the United States, 1958, and People of the United States in the Twentieth Century, 1971)? As the Petersens said, in these monographs "the social implications of the data were analyzed in far greater detail than was possible in the main [Census Bureau] volumes." Why was there no monograph series for the 1970 census?

TAEUBER: Strictly speaking, the credit for the modern monograph programs should go to William F. Ogburn. He was on a Census Bureau Advisory Committee and at one meeting asked in an accusatory tone when there would be a monograph program, like that which followed the 1920 census. The Bureau had professionally trained social scientists who could write such analyses but no funds for such a program. We began discussions with the Social Science Research Council. This led to formation of a small committee to aid in selecting topics and writers for the 1950 program. Paul

Webbink of the SSRC and I became the administrative officers. I was editor of both the 1950 and 1960 series.

Because of funding cutbacks that increased the staff's regular workload, those preparing the 1950 monographs had to do so on their own time and received no royalties because any such monies that might have accrued from sales of the monographs, published by the private firm John Wiley and Sons, were plowed back into the program to reduce the sales prices to the public.

The program for the 1960 series was similar, although this time the SSRC received funding from the Russell Sage Foundation and the Equitable Life Assurance Program and the books were printed and distributed by the Government Printing Office.

By 1970 government employees' names were appearing on the technical reports they had prepared and staff members were encouraged to publish in professional journals. So it was clear we could no longer expect Bureau staff members to rush forward with their knowledge of the data, eager to get credit for a published book into their CVs. Also, they were too deeply involved with their daily tasks to make it feasible to take an extended leave in order to prepare a census monograph. The 1980 census monograph program was developed with independent funds [and only a few Census Bureau authors], which gave it more flexibility. The ability to have all the books in the hands of readers before the next census does not appear to have improved.

QUESTION: Could you give examples of "thorny" issues you dealt with at Census, such as the feminist flap over "head of household" in the 1970s?

TAEUBER: The Census Bureau reports play a seldom recognized role in our society. The desire to be recognized as a member of an important group then leads to appeals or demands for recognition in the census. Before the 1970 census--and again before the 1990 census--it was debated whether persons with dark skins should be reported as Negro, black, Afro- or African-American, or some other term. A bill was introduced in the House of Representatives to require the 1970 census questionnaire to use the term "Afro-American." Fortunately the bill died and the matter was left to be worked out by the Bureau. That questionnaire gave people the option of designating themselves as black or Negro. Other groups were involved in similar discussions: Should persons with brown skins be known as Brown, Mexican, Chicano, Mexican-American, Hispanic, or by some other name?

Traditional use would classify an adult male as the head of the household where he lives. Feminists in the 1970s argued that this was an unjustifiable assumption and the earlier practice was dropped. People now are left free to designate who is to be listed on the first line of the census forms as Person 1--the householder or any adult household member. The question of relationships of household members then becomes one of relationship to the person listed on line 1.

QUESTION: What roles did you play in the Federal Statistics Users Conference and the Council of Professional Associations on Federal Statistics?

TAEUBER: The Federal Statistics Users Conference (FSUC) was organized by business people who felt the need for action when the Secretary of Commerce indulged himself in the belief that the Census of Manufactures and the Census of Business should be dropped as part of the "get the government off our backs" campaign. They were successful in getting Congress to call for these censuses as essentials in our whole economy. The FSUC continued to exercise review and liaison functions for some years but support for it fell off as the threat of "know nothing" receded from the scene. I was part of the informal group which formally dissolved what was left [in the mid-1980s?].

I had an active hand in developing the Council of Professional Associations on Federal Statistics (COPAFS) in the early 1980S. It was an outgrowth of discussions in a small group which agreed that

professional associations had a stake in the program of federal statistics. As the discussions developed, it was clear that a formal structure was needed because of the Reagan Administration's virtual elimination of the Statistical Standards Branch from the Office of Management and Budget and thus from the federal government. Earlier, there had also been an attack on the Census Bureau's Advisory Committees, which downplayed the need for technical competency of committee members. The discussions led to establishment of the Joint ad hoc Advisory Committee on Federal Statistics (JACOFS). I was vice chair of the group which arranged for studies of the situation and eventually recommended establishment of COPAFS. I was designated as PAA's representative to COPAFS and served on its executive committee.

COMMENT: You left the Census Bureau on January 6, 1973. You and Walter Ryan had been informed a month earlier that your positions as Associate Director for Demographic Fields and Associate Director for Economic Fields had been abolished "as part of a forthcoming reorganization" of the Census Bureau. (Both positions were later reinstated.) In the "Census" chapter (dated August 1989) of your "Memoirs," you describe the actions leading up to your departure, which evidently were an attempt by the Nixon Administration to gain political control of federal statistical agencies, particularly the Census Bureau, and steer them away from their "New Deal" (Democrat) "concern over social problems"--i.e., "pushing statistics on poverty, unemployment, racial segregation, and other social problems." You quote from a February 1981 Fortune article, titled "Behind the Bad-News Census," which included a review of actions of the early 1970s regarding the Census Bureau: "Taeuber, whose liberal views on poverty and social policy made him, he guesses, not acceptable to the forces that were then being exerted to make the Bureau more responsive to the White House, was axed in 1973."

I won't ask you to repeat here what can be read in your excellent (unpublished) "Memoirs." You conclude this chapter on the Census Bureau graciously and with your (and everybody else's) certain knowledge that "We knew that our work [at the Census Bureau] was important and that it led to actions which ultimately affected every person in the country . . . After more than twenty years in the Bureau of the Census, I can say to my erstwhile colleagues: Thanks for the good years."

In 1963 you had been presented with the Exceptional Service Award of the Department of Commerce "for outstanding contributions and leadership in directing the 19th Decennial Census of Population, Housing, and Agriculture." I'd like also to put on this PAA record this observation from your "prized" clipping from the New York Times of March 30, 1970, stating that all of the activity in connection with the 1970 census came together in your office: "There in the heart of it all, like the Wizard of Oz behind a curtain in the Emerald City, sits a small, bald, kind, quiet, and expert man named Conrad Ferdinand Taeuber."

QUESTION: Now, please tell something of your time at Georgetown University, where you were Director of the Center for Population Research from 1973 to 1976 and the Joseph F. Kennedy Sr. Professor of Demography at the Kennedy Institute from 1973 to 1985. Shortly after you went to Georgetown you said in your December 1973 interview with Anders Lunde for the PAA Oral History Project: "At Georgetown I hope to develop a program of research relating to policy for the United States. I have a feeling that population centers around the country have paid far too little attention to the United States. We are developing a seminar next semester to take off from the Report of the Commission on Population Growth and the American Future. We hope to take advantage of our location in Washington to perhaps provide some stimulus to full utilization of the material. At a meeting earlier this week we discussed what the federal agencies were doing in relation to birth expectations, the current fertility situation. Are we with the present fertility rate virtually at the long-term replacement level; are we headed for zero population growth; are we headed for decline? Are we

at a point where the fertility rate shortly will be rising again? What can be deduced from the available data? It will give us something as to where we are and if there is any governmental action that might be appropriate to provide the basis for it. We're not going to recommend to Congress what to do. But we would like to think it's possible to develop analytical material that will be helpful in policy."

TAEUBER: My attention was first drawn to the Center for Population Research at Georgetown when I was asked by the Ford Foundation to take part in a review of the work being done at the Center. Although the work being done was rather limited, it represented an important breakthrough for a Catholic institution. On the recommendation of that review, the Foundation made a grant as had been proposed.

Some weeks after my retirement from the Bureau of the Census, I received a phone call from Andre Hellegers and we met. Further discussions led to an offer. I always felt that Dorothy Thomas and Jeanne Clare Ridley [then on the staff of the CPR] were the moving forces behind Hellegers. He offered full-time appointments for Irene and myself, with full freedom to carry on research work. I was to take over as Director of the Center. Irene died before she could take on any duties at GU. Hellegers, who was the moving spirit behind what is now the Kennedy Institute of Ethics, envisioned a relationship under which the Center for Population Research would provide the facts for the world in which the ethicists would explore matters of policy and ethics.

It never worked out fully that way. One effort that attracted attention was a conference on "Death and Dying," in which we presented some data which showed that the elimination of cancer as a cause of death would add little to the span of life. With instant immortality ruled out, it seemed quite clear that those who were spared death by cancer were prime candidates for heart attacks and strokes. The study was really the outgrowth of a query raised at a meeting of doctors where someone ventured the guess that the elimination of cancer would not reduce the costs of medical care for the population. The question and the answer attracted a good bit of attention.

One day we presented the story at a colloquium of students in the medical school. As we walked out of the room, I was next to the chief of oncology. He invited me to accompany him on his hospital rounds. When I responded that I had watched a sister die of cancer and had another who would die of that disease in the near future, he decided that I was not arguing for the elimination of research and care relating to cancer.

QUESTION: Did you start the move toward a separate department of demography at Georgetown, one of the rare such departments in the U.S.?

TAEUBER: The Center for Population Research had been established outside Georgetown's Department of Sociology, although some of the staff members had their appointments there. The Department of Sociology was not a strong department and Georgetown had very little interest in a graduate department. We at the Center felt handicapped in that we could not offer more than an MA. The future, it seemed to us, lay in developing a PhD program in demography. We put a great deal into that effort, but there was neither support within the university nor any indication that the needed funding from outside sources was available. Later, when the university had appointed a Dean of the Graduate School, the situation changed. With the support of the Dean of the Graduate School, a Department of Demography was established for a trial period.

QUESTION: Looking back over your long career, what would you say has given you the most satisfaction?

TAEUBER: That's a hard question to answer. I think I would have to put two experiences in that

category. The early years in Washington were satisfactory. There was the New Deal; there were crises. There was rather frenetic activity at the Federal Emergency Relief Administration, which became the WPA (Works Progress Administration). We felt we were doing important research, research that would be used. We had a hard time keeping up with the demand from the administrators. We had the resources to do the work that was needed and we also had the resources to stimulate a good deal of research in the states. With relatively small funds, we were able to keep alive some of the research activities that were threatened by the drying up of state and federal funds. We were able to stimulate a considerable number of people who subsequently did very important work.

The other satisfactory experience would be with the Bureau of the Census to have had the opportunity to develop a program of demographic statistics which has meant an ability to provide much of the information which is needed in a form which is needed and to make the data available to researchers in developing countries in a way that has enabled them to take advantage of the data sources.

QUESTION: Who have been some of the leading influences on your career? Presumably that would include Pitirim Sorokin, the eminent Russian-born sociologist at the University of Minnesota who, as you describe in a chapter of your "Memoirs," was a "dynamic lecturer" and often would drop by the graduate students' "bull pen" in the basement of Folwell Hall to engage you in exciting discussion. Presumably it includes Irene Taeuber as well.

TAEUBER: I was in contact with some remarkable individuals in the course of my career. Yes, I would include P.A. Sorokin. Also Carl C. Taylor, Howard Tolley, Andre Hellegers, Ross Eckler, and Lowry Nelson.

The relationship with Irene provided not only the normal interaction of individuals but also the broader stimulation resulting from the fact that she was much more tied into the academic world than I was and I had the benefit of many of those contacts.

COMMENT: In your 1973 interview with Anders Lunde, you indicated that you and Irene worked quite separately on your own research, aside from the times when you collaborated, as on the two census monographs. It's interesting that two people, with worldwide reputations in the field of demography, developed their skills and reports and texts rather independently within the same family.

TAEUBER: Well, the organizational ties were different and the organizational responsibilities were different. I spent much more time on the administrative end, whereas she was tied in with Princeton's Office of Population Research where she had a relatively free hand to carry on research projects.

QUESTION: Your children are also outstanding in the demographic area. What accounts for the Taeuber "Demographic Dynasty"?

TAEUBER: Of course, the two boys knew that their parents were into something called "demography." Their mother was affiliated with the Office of Population Research. Their parents, singly or as a pair, were always going to or coming from a meeting which involved population. For a number of years, when I was Secretary of the PAA [1939-42], there were mass mailings which could be done with the help of youngsters moving around the dining-room table, stuffing envelopes, stamping them, and sorting them.

Richard showed an early interest in mathematics, manifesting a real appreciation for some of the elegant proofs in plane geometry. His major in college was in economics. At some stage when he expressed an interest in statistics, we went to Raleigh, NC, to talk with Gertrude Cox who headed the

program there. When he returned from his stint in the Navy, he took statistics as his major field. At one point he was working at Oak Ridge and the work there involved population projections and other work in population.

Cynthia [as of 1991, in charge of statistics on the homeless within the Population Division, Bureau of the Census] did graduate work at the University of Georgia, where she worked with Everett Lee. Some time after she was married to Richard, she worked at the Southern Regional Demographic Group. By the time that she and Richard were divorced, she had developed some standing in the field under the name Taeuber and decided to keep it as her professional name.

Karl [Professor of Sociology at the University of Wisconsin, Director of Wisconsin's Center for Demography and Ecology, 1980-85] did his undergraduate work at Yale with some concentration on sociology. There was very little emphasis on demography there but he took the one course that was available. His graduate work at Harvard was also in sociology. At that time, there was little work in demography at Harvard. His dissertation was on residential segregation in the United States. He spent some of his graduate student time at the University of Chicago at their population center. There he and a fellow graduate student were married. That accounts for the entry of Alma [Senior Scientist, Center for Demography and Ecology, University of Wisconsin] into the family.

QUESTION: What do you see as leading issues for U.S. demography in the future?

TAEUBER: Population growth overall and differential rates of growth will continue to be matters of concern. Whether it is a call for increasing the birth rate to assure stability and perhaps slow growth, or a call for a negative growth rate, or something in between, the rate of population growth will continue to be an important topic for the U.S.

There is continued need for analysis of the rates of increase in subgroups. Analysis of growth rates in other parts of the world will become more important. We will be much more concerned with the broad relationships between population change and social and economic change, both here and elsewhere in the world. The shift of non-Hispanic whites from a majority to a minority of the U.S. population--recently highlighted in Time magazine--will draw much interest.

QUESTION: What do you see as the future for U.S. demographers? Are all the jobs now for applied demographers, in government and business? Are there still jobs for demographers working on basic research?

TAEUBER: The business community is not the only target for trained demographers. We have just begun to see their growing role in our everyday life. Changes in the structure of families will continue to require analysis. The structure of metropolitan areas will receive much attention.

QUESTION: Now on PAA. When did you first join the PAA?

TAEUBER: I recall attending a meeting in 1933; it was held in a small room. [On May 12, 1933, PAA held a joint dinner meeting with the New York chapter of the American Statistical Association in New York City. There were 17 in attendance.] I probably became a member of PAA in the late 1930s. There were not many members. I remember we met at the Princeton Inn and held the dinner meeting in their dining room. [Earliest Princeton meetings of PAA were in fall 1936 and May 6-8, 1938. The next one was May 16-17, 1941.]

The OPR [Office of Population Research] at Princeton was the center for PAA activity during the early years of the organization. The meetings were easily accommodated at the Princeton Inn. Though it was small, the Association needed a Secretary. I was asked to assume that role [1939-42].

Governmental regulations on such a role for persons in civil service were less rigorous than they are now. There was no problem in finding space for that activity and in recognizing that some of my time and that of my secretary would be devoted to that work.

Later, I was also Secretary of the American Sociological Society (now Association), which involved my also being Managing Editor of the Society's official publication, the American Sociological Review. After the U.S. entered World War II, we put out a special issue of the Review with information about our wartime ally, the USSR. The Soviet-American Friendship Society informed its members of the existence of this publication and that it could be ordered from Conrad Taeuber at the Department of Agriculture. In 1951 when I was to join the Census Bureau, my necessary clearance by the FBI took much longer than expected. From my FBI files, which I obtained years later under the Freedom of Information Act, it was clear that the special issue of the Review had been the focus of their extra-long investigation. Lowry Nelson, in describing the McCarthy era in Washington in his autobiography, wrote of being questioned in his office by an FBI agent on the loyalty of Conrad Taeuber to the U.S. Lowry had no doubts on that score. The FBI finally sustained that judgment.

QUESTION: What do you recall of the major figures in PAA during the early years?

TAEUBER: Louis Dublin [President, 1935-36] was a fascinating figure. I read his autobiography a few years ago. He arrived in New York penniless. From the ship, his father brought the family to a boarding house where he had rented space and they walked there from the ship, carrying the luggage. Louis took full advantage of the educational opportunities that were available to immigrant groups in New York City. Louis was a short person, very earnest, very friendly, very human. He was deeply devoted to the work he was doing and very competent. He was devoted to the improvement of public health and improvement of living conditions, especially of the poor. He worked very closely with Alfred J. Lotka.

Lotka [PAA President, 1938-39] was also a short person. He seemed very much more reserved. He worked closely with P.K. Whelpton [President, 1941-42] in the development of methods of measuring deaths and births and the "true" rate of natural increase, recognizing that current birth and death rates were not necessarily good measures of the long-run trends.

During the planning phase of the 1970 census, we conducted a series of meetings in various parts of the country to learn what users felt they needed from that census. One meeting was in Florida. When we found that the meeting was to be held not far from the retirement community where Dublin was living we invited him to join us and he did. He spoke to the group, with special attention to his services on advisory committees for earlier censuses and placed the whole development of census content and techniques into historical perspective, which was a very useful contribution to the meeting. It was another illustration of his devotion to the cause of federal statistics.

Another person who played a major role in the early days was Halbert Dunn, who was the first chief of what was then known as the Office of Vital Statistics, now the National Center for Health Statistics. Harold Dorn [PAA President, 1957-58] of the National Institutes of Health was very active in the Association, a very effective member. There was O.E. Baker of the Department of Agriculture.

There were a number of people who were in and out. Howard Tolley, who was Chief of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics for a number of years, was concerned at one time. A person who was quite active was Margaret Hagood [President, 1954-55], who was at the University of North Carolina and later in the Bureau of Agricultural Economics. Henry Shryock [President, 1955-56] and Paul Glick [President, 1966-67], who were at the Bureau of the Census, have been active members for a long time. There was Regine Stix of the Milbank Memorial Fund. Frank Boudreau, who was head of the Milbank Fund for many years, provided very active support, not only to the demographic work at the Milbank Fund but later to the work at the Office of Population Research.

Other names from PAA's past include Leon Truesdell [President, 1939-40]. He was Chief of the Population Division at the Bureau of the Census for many years.

Frederick Osborn (President, 1949-50) was a phenomenon, physically a giant, mentally a giant, with wide-ranging interests and an innovative mind.

W.F. Ogburn was again a very outgoing person, worked closely with his students [at the University of Chicago and Columbia University] and took an interest in many things. He served at the Bureau of the Census on an advisory committee. I guess the fact that we had a series of census monographs goes back primarily to the push that W.F. Ogburn gave for many years.

Then there were Raymond Pearl and Lowell Reed. Lowell Reed [President, 1942-45] came to us through a concern with public health. He had worked with Pearl in formulating the logistic curve, which at the time was believed to provide a model for human population development. There were Reed and his assistant Margaret Merrell, a very quiet person who somehow was always in the background. Reed was also a very outgoing, friendly, delightful person; very much concerned with his students, pushing his students. He served for many years as chairman of a roundtable which the Milbank Fund ran every year on a variety of issues, some of them demographic, in the health field. Reed was always the charming chairman of those meetings.

Raymond Pearl was a somewhat more forbidding presence--tall. He was one of a group that frequently met with H.L. Mencken in Baltimore; he and Mencken were close personal friends. Pearl was very fond of good food, good drink, good conversation. He was a mental giant, of course, and active in the Association.

QUESTION: What were the principal concerns of members of PAA in the late 1930s when you first joined?

TAEUBER: The National Resources Planning Board set up a Committee to review the population situation. This was done in the report, The Problems of a Changing Population [1938]. Frank Lorimer directed the technical staff. With the trend toward replacement fertility, there was much concern over the prospect of a cessation of population growth and possible population decline if then current trends continued. The U.S. situation was paralleled in northern and western Europe. The Committee recommended no action by the government of the United States. In the Association, as in public discussions, there was concern over the prospects and a good deal of skepticism about the ability of governments to affect such trends, as well as questioning of the desirability of having governments make such attempts.

There was a strong element of eugenics at that time. The differentials in fertility, with poorer families having more children than economically favored groups, were noted with a good deal of concern over the possibility that there would be a dysgenic effect and a lowering of the level of intellectual ability. The development of new measures of the underlying trends and the possibility of eventual population decline led to much discussion of population quality.

QUESTION: What other issues do you recall as being of particular interest in PAA meetings over the years?

TAEUBER: There were some rather intriguing methodological developments in measuring population growth, many of which can be attributed to Pat Whelpton. Lotka also brought them up; they worked very closely together. The whole development of demographic methodology came up again and again.

The Indianapolis Survey, which was a pioneering effort to interview women and their husbands in relation to contraceptive practices, family size, and the like, occupied a good deal of attention. The

need for and eventual development of the Population Council occupied a certain amount of attention at one stage.

Of course, in more recent years [the early 1970s], there has been a broadening to the rest of the world. There has been a good deal of concern with development in other parts of the world-- evaluation of family planning activity, family planning programs, with the development of population policies. I think in the early years there may have been a bit more of that when the issue was: Can government policies, as in Germany, France, Belgium in particular, actually bring the birth rate back up?

This interest in the rest of the world, particularly the developing world, of course, has been reflected in the program in recent years. In the forthcoming meeting [1974], there is the money to bring participants from other countries. We've always taken advantage of participants from other countries [who were in the U.S.]. But in developing this program, we will invite a number of participants from other countries, hopefully one from mainland China.

QUESTION: Going back to the years when you were Secretary (1939-42) and President (1948-49) of PAA, what were some of the activities and issues that would be of interest today?

TAEUBER: From the very beginning, there was a continuing concern with the possibility that the organization might become not a scientific organization but be taken over by family planning and other activist groups. This concern was parallel to the concern in the International Union which brought into its title "for the Scientific Study of Population." There was concern in the drafting of a constitution for PAA and setting qualifications for membership. Though it was recognized that both the national and the international organizations owed a major debt to Margaret Sanger for providing the impetus that got them started, she recognized the validity of the desire to have an organization that would objectively review data and policies and trends.

The early group did have a variety of backgrounds and interests. Henry Pratt Fairchild [first PAA President, 1931-35] had been especially concerned with immigration and had written one of the early texts on that subject. Osborn had a strong interest in human genetics. Frank Lorimer [President, 1946-47] first came into the field through his collaboration with Osborn in the preparation of their book, Dynamics of Population [1934]. Lorimer might be considered one of the first full-time professionals in the population field. Irene and I met Frank and Faith (Williams) Lorimer soon after we were established in the Washington area. Faith held a high position in the Department of Labor. Frank did some teaching at American University. He was elected Secretary of PAA early on and decided that PAA could serve its members with a current bibliographic service. Research reports of interest to demographers were then scattered among many journals, including foreign-language journals which were not readily available to most research workers in the U.S. He began this service to the field with the modest Population Literature, asking Irene to help him. This was taken over by the newly established Office of Population Research at Princeton and Irene became editor of the renamed Population Index, with an appointment on the staff of OPR, although she could do most of her work in Washington in the Library of Congress, which has a long policy of providing space to outside scholars.

Frank Notestein [President, 1947-48] and Clyde Kiser [President, 1952-53] were at the Milbank Foundation, engaged in demographic research, when PAA was established in the early 1930s. These studies included early studies of the use of contraceptives and also of migration from the U.S. South to the North. Frank Hankins [President, 1945-46] at Smith College had a strong eugenics bent. O.E. Baker of the U.S. Department of Agriculture was an early student of the movements of rural and especially farm population. He was concerned that the movement of persons from high-birth-rate rural backgrounds into the city environment with its tendency to low fertility would have dysgenic effects.

The interest in population trends in other countries came very early. It was stimulated in a major

way during World War II.

QUESTION: The fear that the wrong kind of people might be brought into the Association has re-emerged from time to time throughout PAA's history. It was in evidence, for example, when a small committee including you and Forrest Linder debated possible changes in the constitution and procedures of the Association [See: Paul Glick, "PAA Committee on Organizational Management: 1966-67," PAA Affairs, Summer 1982]. Do you think that attitude has changed?

TAEUBER [from 1973 interview]: I am not aware that that has continued. The membership has grown rapidly [to the early 1970s] and there are members who are decidedly activist. But it is my impression that they are a smaller proportion of the membership than was the case in the earlier years. There was a group that called itself "Concerned Demographers" which functioned within the organization [late 1960s; early 1970s]. And there have been efforts to shape the programs of the annual meetings more in the direction of action programs. But I feel that there is much less of a feeling of "us" and "them," and no real pressure to keep people out of membership.

QUESTION: You were among those who recommended that PAA action on policy issues of interest to members should no longer be determined by votes taken among those present at the business meeting held during the annual meeting. Why was that?

TAEUBER: When we recommended that [in the early 1970s], we were moved by the fact that the Association had grown so much that its affairs could not be handled by the actions of the membership who were present at an annual meeting. The Board of Directors, which meets oftener than once a year, can become familiar with the background of issues and give thoughtful attention to proposals which come from members of the Association. An informational membership meeting such as we now have provides an opportunity to present some proposals for reaction by the assembled group and also an opportunity to bring to attention matters which the Board of Directors considers of sufficient interest or merit to warrant such exposure. [See, Constitution of the Population Association of America, Inc., revised July 1974, Article XI, Section 2: "The annual meeting shall include a general membership meeting as a forum for open discussion of the affairs of the Association."]

It is no longer possible to whip up a resolution at the last minute and have it adopted at the general membership meeting. [This meeting, held on the first day--Thursday--of the annual meeting has been officially the "membership" meeting since the constitutional revisions of 1974, although informally still called the "business" meeting.] Whether it is war in Central America, the hazards of nuclear energy, or opposition to a decennial census, there is provision for bringing this up for appropriate action, and also for assuring that the Board of Directors does not avoid taking appropriate action. The provision for initiative referendum provides a means of checking any Board that deviates widely from the views of the membership. [See, Constitution, *ibid.*, Article XIII, "Initiative Referendum."]

QUESTION: You gave no presidential address at the annual meeting held during your presidential year [Princeton, May 28-29, 1949]. Why was that?

TAEUBER: The problems of feeding the world population had been the focus of public discussion, highlighted perhaps by William Vogt's alarmist statements in his book, Road to Survival. At the dinner meeting where ordinarily I would have given a presidential address, we arranged for statements by a panel of speakers, specialists in a number of the fields that were affected. These papers and those of the other four sessions of the meeting were later brought together in a booklet issued by the Office of Population Research, with George Mair serving as editor [George F. Mair, Editor, Studies in

Population: Proceedings of the Annual Meeting of the Population Association of America at Princeton, New Jersey, May 1949, Princeton N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1949].

I had originally thought that it might be useful to have Vogt as a member of the panel. But when a leading soil scientist made it very clear that he would not participate if Vogt--with his propaganda and alarmist disregard of fundamentals of scientific method--were to participate, the focus shifted from a confrontational event to statements of scientific knowledge which was fundamental to any consideration of the possibility of increasing food supplies at a rate which would at least keep up with the prospective rate of population growth.

QUESTION: It has been suggested that publication of the proceedings of this meeting--the only time PAA meeting papers have been published in full in a separate monograph--was viewed as a way of getting the Roman Catholic position on fertility and birth control into print--that is, the paper by Reverend William J. Gibbons, S.J., "The Catholic Value System in Relation to Human Fertility," in the session on "Value Systems and Human Fertility." Is that your recollection?

TAEUBER: I am not aware that publication of the papers of the 1949 meeting was done to get a Catholic position into print. It would have seemed an unusual bargain to print a larger volume in order to get a minority statement into the record. My recollection is that the imbalance between population growth and the growth of resources, as had been put forward by Bill Vogt and others, sparked an interest in the whole relationship. My effort was to get a more reasoned statement into public view.

QUESTION: Other interviewees in this series have said that Kingsley Davis, the discussant in the session on "Value Systems and Human Fertility," attacked Father Gibbons, or the Roman Catholic position, sharply at the session. What do you remember of that confrontation?

TAEUBER: The mention of Kingsley Davis's attack on Father Gibbons arouses only the picture of a young, unusually fervent person attacking a mild-mannered priest who had stated the position of his Church. Kingsley was not then noted for mild-mannered behavior, nor would that be listed among his strong points today.

QUESTION: What do you see as the outlook for PAA?

TAEUBER: The field of demography has grown so rapidly that the Association has had to change its character. The Association has grown rapidly, which is a reflection of what's been happening at universities and research institutions and government agencies around the country and undoubtedly this will continue. And I think the Association will need to continue to make room for the wide variety of viewpoints of people dealing with population. After all, we're talking about people and human beings have a wide variety of interests.

QUESTION: Although PAA has grown, its membership is still only about 2,700 [2,752 at the end of 1990]. That is small compared with other professional organizations. Do you feel PAA should actively recruit members among, for example, business demographers?

TAEUBER: The rise of the role of demography in the business world is probably only the beginning of a movement that will grow rapidly. It has its dangers to the field and PAA will need to watch this carefully. PAA has not worked out an effective, judicious pattern of relationships. Without full-time professional leadership, there will be less effective action by PAA than would be desirable.

Conrad Taeuber Looks Back Over 50 Years of Demography

by Carla B. Howery

Fifty years ago, Conrad and Irene Taeuber came to Washington, DC on a short-term assignment as government statisticians. Whether his is a case of chronic "Potomac Fever" or devotion to policy-related questions on population, Conrad Taeuber has stayed in Washington for half a century. His work at the Bureau of the Census and now at the Center for Population Research at Georgetown University has persevered through several administrations and he and his colleagues have made major contributions to demographic analysis. Taeuber puts in a full day at his office in the Center, with shelves and shelves of books and printouts, and a bulging desk held together with a paperweight that says: "A Cluttered Desk is the Sign of Genius." ASA Assistant Executive Officer Carla B. Howery recently interviewed Taeuber about his current projects and the changes he has seen in social demographic work over the last 50 years.



lived while attending college, not back home to the family that may be supporting them. In the armed forces, we're talking about where they're stationed, not where their families, if they have families, might be living. Migratory workers pose the worst classification problem about legal residence and "real" residence. Actually, in a census, the legal residence concept does not play a role. When I say residence, I mean a family structure, not necessarily a household. For example, there are a lot of single, young people with very low incomes, but they are separate households. Economically, they all may have one income source, getting support from parents. We need to attempt to get a better sense of what the concepts mean and how they can be made more clear.

CBH: I'm glad you brought up the example of the concept of "residence," because seemingly straightforward concepts are muddled by definitional problems like the ones you described, such as when the Bureau of Labor recently redefined the idea of households. Are there other concepts that you would like to see redefined or that, in your view, have been poorly redefined in recent years?

CT: I think the terms "rural farm" and "rural non-farm" are obsolete. The concept of "metropolitan areas" has been badly mangled and it needs redefinition. It's become too much a ploy for politicians; too much rides on it in terms of government dollars spent.

CBH: In the 22 years that you worked at the Census, did you find the Census coming under pressure to use certain statistical definitions or under pressure in other ways?

CT: I think the most striking case of that was the definition and identification of Hispanics. This has been a problem for many years. Back in 1930, the Census recognized a category called "Mexicans" and the Mexican government objected. That word was no longer used in that sense as a racial designation. Someone came up with the bright idea to identify people with Spanish surnames. So, for a number of censuses, the Hispanic population was separately identified by surname and that was used for administrative purposes as well. Then as we were planning for the 1970 Census, the word came

from the White House that there must be a separate category of what we now call Hispanics. At the time, there was some confusion over the terminology to be used: In one part of the country you say Mexican, in another part you say Chicano, some places you say Mexicano, some places you say Mexican-American, and other places, Puerto Rican. Puerto Ricans were never the same kind of problem, but the group that's identified as Mexican is, of course, a very mixed group because you have people there who are descendants of the original settlers. And pretty much until World War II, they managed to maintain their culture and their language. They were a separately identifiable group until 1970. Because the questionnaires had been printed, we pulled the one form and put in a new question which gave a person a chance to identify himself/herself as Mexican or Chicano; we used several words because we were dealing with a population that didn't have the same kind of self-identification as Cubans, for instance. But the only form to which we could add the question was a 5% sample. It was still statistically powerful, but pressure groups felt the small sample was an insult. By 1980, it became a question used throughout the Census forms.

CBH: Does the Census take a lead in policy-making to the extent that it anticipates the consequences of certain definitions or certain types of questions? Or does it by and large just proceed with questions of scholarly measurements removed from those implications? In other words, do you anticipate resistance and dissension among groups? Was that a source of discussion among you and your colleagues?

CT: Before the 1980 Census, there were some 50 or 60 public meetings scheduled around the country for people to tell us what they felt should be in the Census and how the Census data should be made available. Those meetings are going on right now for the 1990 Census. There are advisory committees of people nominated by the American Statistical Association, the Population Association, the American Marketing Association, the American Economic Association and in 1980, there were three committees added specifically for blacks, Hispanics, Asians, and Pacific Islanders. That undoubtedly will be done again for 1990. So we spent a great deal of time in the field, trying to find out what they wanted. We not only ran these meetings in the field, but also there was a good deal of interchange between members of the staff who went to the professional associations to sound out sentiment.

CBH: The Census, then, is a much more dynamic document than people perceive.

CT: I would think so.

CBH: Now you work in a different type of environment.

What are some characteristics of its organizational pressures and opportunities?

CT: The thing that strikes one most immediately in moving from the one environment to another is the matter of support staff; in the government service you have secretaries, research assistants, accountants. This is a very small organization. We've arranged for secretarial help, but we find ourselves doing a good many things that an administrative assistant could do. There's not the organizational hierarchy; there's a hierarchy but it doesn't work the same way. One concern that came up was that we need to know the detail of the courses that the other person is giving, in general, what is being taught. There isn't the kind of review of course content or review of papers. At the Bureau of the Census, nobody in my division gave a paper at a professional meeting that I hadn't cleared. Nothing went to the printer without being cleared; we don't do things that way here.

CBH: If you could affect the graduate curriculum in demography or sociology what types of things would you like students to learn?

CT: I want them to have enough information about the techniques used to produce the data. I think most of us when we see a white page full of little numbers take them as gospel. We should pay much more attention to what lies behind them. The concepts may be misleading, or the terminology may suggest to people that the concepts have one meaning when they have another. I would like to see scholars much more involved in fieldwork, learning first hand how data are patterned. Unfortunately, the academic world seems to be going the other way.

CBH: Going toward less fieldwork and less involvement?

CT: Fieldwork is expensive and you can buy printouts cheaply, and spend your time analyzing them without ever really knowing what happened.

CBH: So people are becoming secondary analysis scholars.

CT: Right. Computers make it easy.

CBH: You've been in this field for half a century and what kinds of changes are particularly striking to you, in demography and sociology?

CT: The development of methodology. In the early years, we had hand-cranked tally machines! You have so much more technical capability today and quantitative methods that make it possible to extract meaning from data that we just couldn't do then.

CBH: You were based here at the Kennedy Institute of Ethics and are separate now. Does that affiliation, or at least sharing the building, have an impact on your work?

CT: In one sense, yes. Until July 1, 1984, we were members of

the Kennedy Institute of Ethics. That was an outgrowth of the first director of the Institute who felt that he needed a factual base; he saw us as providing the factual data for ethical analysis. Then, for a variety of reasons internal to the university, we were split off. We are now a Center for Population Research and a Department of Demography.

I know in my course and two of the other courses, it's very clear that we've been exposed to the ethical issues, we bring those sensitivities into the courses which probably doesn't happen in too many other places. I raised the question of constraints before coming here. I was told, "Be sure you have the facts. If you want to take a position, be sure you have the facts." Of course, we're not an activist organization, but we have no difficulty in doing analyses of data. I got involved, at one point, in putting together some data on female sterilization. They wanted the facts and some of the "ethics people" are interested in the data on abortion as part of the population debate. Of course it's up to them to take whatever position may be consistent with their basic views.

CBH: Some people think that demography is the most cumulative of the specialties in sociology, that it has undergone the most rapid and successful science building. Do you feel that way?

CT: I have a very limited view, but it certainly is true that demography has matured as a science.

CBH: And that it is one of the most used specialties in terms of public policy. How has your work been effectively used?

CT: We've made presentations to a variety of business groups and public policy groups. We have graduates scattered over a wide range of activities in Washington and elsewhere. Quite a recent development, led by a number of our graduates, is getting an understanding of the use of demographic data for business purposes. This has grown very rapidly and I think we could safely say that the training we have provided to students has made that possible.

CBH: They are going into whole new careers other than what your students previously did. They're working in for-profit companies that have research wings?

CT: Some of them are doing exactly that and that field is growing.

CBH: Can you think of any examples where your work has been misused? Or used inappropriately?

CT: Well, the whole push of what is called business demographics. Some of the marketers are segmenting the population, telling advertisers where they are likely to find prospects, by identifying very

Call for Papers

CONFERENCES

International Society for the Comparative Study of Civilizations, May 30-June 1, 1985, Antioch College, Yellow Springs, OH. Send papers by March 1, 1985 to: Caroll Bower, Program Chair, Box 10, Fisk University, Nashville, TN

ISA XI World Congress of Sociology, August 18-23, 1986, New Delhi, India. Papers on theoretical, empirical, historical, and comparative issues of the function of religion in contemporary society are invited for the Research Committee XXII Session on "Religion-Oppression-Liberation." Abstracts are welcomed until March 15, 1985. Complete papers must be submitted by December 1, 1985. Send abstracts and inquiries to: Karol H. Borowski, Director, Massachusetts Institute for Social Studies, 15 Fendale Avenue, Boston, MA 02124.

Social Theory, Politics and the Arts 1985 Annual Conference, October 25-27, 1985, New School for Social Research and Adelphi University. Papers are solicited on arts and society, especially but not exclusively dealing with the fine arts, politics and art, artists in suburban and urban settings, the sociology of aesthetics, and theory. Titles and abstracts are due by April 15, 1985; completed papers will be due June 1. Contact: Vera L. Zolberg, Graduate Faculty, New School for Social Research, 66 West 12th Street, New York, NY 10011; (212) 989-8189/741-5767; or Sally Ridgeway, Adelphi University, Department of Sociology, Garden City, Long Island, New York, NY 11550; (212) 768-8611/(518) 294-7579.

Conference on Computers and Society, June 21-22, 1985, University of Rochester. Papers are solicited on the relation between computer technology and social phenomenon, the psychosocial effects of computers on individuals, the effects of computers on social relations and the culture of industrial society, and the influence of society on the development and use of

computer technology. Deadline for papers or abstracts: March 15, 1985. Contact: Dean Harper, Department of Sociology, University of Rochester, Rochester, NY 14627.

American Society of Criminology 37th Annual Meeting, November 13-17, 1985, Town & Country Hotel, San Diego, CA. Theme: "Taking Stock: Current Knowledge and Future Priorities." Deadline for papers is March 1, 1985. For program information, contact: Marc Riedel, Center for the Study of Crime, Delinquency and Corrections, Southern Illinois University, Carbondale, IL 62901; (618) 453-5701/549-0660. For registration information, contact: Sarah Hall, ASC, 1314 Kinnear Road, Columbus, OH 43212; (614) 422-9207.

Society for Social Studies of Science 1985 Meetings, October 24-27, 1985, Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute, Troy, NY. Strong preference will be given to short (5-10 pages) or complete papers. Abstracts must be long enough for effective approval and must include a clear problem statement, an account of the methods used and a statement of results and their significance for their field. Preliminary papers or abstracts should be sent not later than March 1, 1985 to: Edward Manier, Chair of the Program Committee, Program in the History and Philosophy of Science, 314 Decio Hall, University of Notre Dame, Notre Dame, IN 46556.

Society for the Study of Symbolic Interaction, August 27-28, 1985, Washington, DC. Sessions on identity and self-concept, gender and ethnicity, applied research, health care and aging, and new empirical research. Send papers by March 15, 1985 to: Ruth Horowitz, Department of Sociology, University of Delaware, Newark, DE 19716; (302) 451-1563.

American Public Health Association Annual Meeting, November 10-14, 1985, Washington, DC. Papers are invited for the sessions of the Association for the Social Sciences in Health which present a significant social science perspective on broadly defined topics of public health. Submit six copies (one camera-ready copy, five photocopies) of abstract on standard abstract form for the 113th APHA An-

nual Meeting accompanied by a stamped self-addressed envelope by April 1, 1985 to: John F. Newman, Director Research and Development, Blue Cross and Blue Shield Association, 676 North St. Clair Street, Chicago, IL 60611.

Association for Social Economics Annual Meeting, December 28-30, 1985, New York City. Proposals for papers are invited on the theme, "Economics in Interdisciplinary Perspective." Papers on the relation to any of the following disciplines are invited: political science, psychology, sociology, anthropology, philosophy, theology. Send a one-page abstract by April 1, 1985 to: Daniel Rush Finn, Department of Economics and Business Administration, St. John's University, Collegeville, MN 56321.

National Historic Communal Societies Association 12th Annual Conference, October 3-5, 1985, Point Loma, San Diego, CA. Proposals for papers, sessions and panels on communal groups of California and the West Coast will be given priority, but ones on communes across the United States and abroad, past and present, are solicited. Abstracts for proposals and brief personal resumes should be sent by April 1, 1985 to the program chair: Jeanette C. Lauer, Department of History, United States International University, 10455 Pomerado Road, San Diego, CA 92131.

Student members of the Medical Sociology Section of ASA will sponsor an evening session, "Dissertations in Progress," during the ASA Annual Meeting. Graduate students in medical sociology, medical anthropology and related health sciences are invited to submit papers for 15-minute talks on substantive and process issues related to their doctoral research. Eligible students should have received their degrees no earlier than December 1984. Include student's name, year of study, departmental affiliation, and address. Deadline for submissions is March 1, 1985. Send one copy each to: Janet Gans, NORC, 6030 S. Ellis, Chicago, IL 60637; (312) 926-1200 or (312) 493-6330 and Adele Clarke, 136 Whitney, San Francisco, CA 94131; (415) 821-4162.

Other Organizations

The International Sociology Association (ISA) has established an official Working Group in Clinical Sociology. The ISA Ad-Hoc Committee in Clinical Sociology was delighted to have its application for working group status favorably received. The ISA has awarded the new Working Group in Clinical Sociology five sessions at the next ISA World Congress, which will be held in India in 1986. Anyone interested in the activities of this international working group or in taking part in the World Congress sessions should contact the President of the ISA Working Group in Clinical Sociology: Dr. Robert Sevigny, Université de Montréal, Département de Sociologie, Case postale 6128, Montréal 101, Canada H3C 3J7.

Qualitative Research Consultants Association, Inc. (QRCA), a not-for-profit professional association in New York City, has been formed by independent focus group moderators and qualitative researchers. QRCA expects to develop training materials, handbooks and guides for professional conduct. It also will provide a forum in which individual research consultants can discuss and act upon common concerns. For more information, contact QRCA at P.O. Box 6767, 909 Third Avenue, New York, NY 10022, or call Board Member Hy Miranpolski at (212) 499-4690.

Taeuber from page 7

small areas of upwardly mobile people, high income people, low income people, black people or Hispanics, or whatnot. There is a great deal of that being done and not all of it is good. The people who are making a living doing it will argue that this cuts down marketing costs, makes the advertising much more effective, whether it is done by TV, newspapers or radio. There may be something in that.

CBH: What is the agenda you would like to set forth for your colleagues and yourself in demography for the next five years? What are the important questions?

CT: The biggest question is the relationship between population growth and economic and social development. United States policy officially announced at the world population conference in Mexico City

Deaths

Anita Kassen Fischer, Columbia University, died on August 10, 1984 after a seven-year fight against cancer.

The ASA extends its sympathy to Dr. and Mrs. Robin Williams Jr. on the death of their son, Robin III. Memorials may be made to the American Heart Association.

Linda Keller Brown, U.S. Information Agency, died of cancer on September 20, 1984.

Rex M. Johnson, Springfield, OH, died on August 26, 1984 at the age of 84 after a two-year illness.

Bell Boone Beard, Sweet Briar College, died on October 1, 1984.

Dorothy D. "Dee Dee" Vellenga, Muskingum College, died recently of cancer.

James S. Davie, Timothy Dwight College, Yale University, died on November 16, 1984.

Janina Adamczyk, formerly of University of Toledo, died on November 8, 1984 in Sylvania, OH.

Contact

Census Bureau Training Courses

The Census Bureau is offering training courses, to be held March-June 1985, including Population Projections Methodology; An Introduction; Statistical Resources for Librarians and Information Specialists; An Introduction; 1980 Census Computer Tape Files; 1980 Census Data: An Intermediate Workshop; and Census Bureau Economic Statistics: An Introductory Workshop. For further information, contact: Data User Services Division, User Training Branch, Bureau of the Census, Washington, DC 20533; (301) 763-1510.

Reviewers Needed

Book reviewers are sought for the *Quarterly Journal of Ideology*, an interdisciplinary journal with a qualitative/theoretical orientation. Interested persons should send a vita summary (including a list of areas of interest) to: Richard A. Wright, Book Review Editor, *QJI*, Department of Sociology, McPherson College, McPherson, KS 67460.

(1984) was not quite but almost a repudiation of the policy they had set forth in 1974 at the first world population conference. Julian Simon, the most vocal spokesman for the view that population growth is good for a country, argues that there is no population pressure. I think the whole area needs a great deal more attention than it's had. In part, we also need to have a much broader picture of the social setting in which decisions about family size actually are made. What so frequently happens in this kind of a situation, for example in so much of the activity of Agency for International Development some years ago, is the quick, medical, technical fix to population: "Get the contraceptives out there and they'll be used." Although birth control is absolutely necessary if you really want any kind of development, devices don't do it alone. I think enough is known now to deal with people in their settings, in the mindset in which they have their traditions and their folkways. You've got to recognize that and find ways in which the cultural change will go forward without the kind of disruptions that you've had in China, for instance, or the African countries.

CBH: Let me give you a last question, a last shot at the ASA as an organization. When I read the history of the ASA your name runs through it as a person who was on one committee or another. What agenda do you think is necessary for our profession in the next 10 years and for ASA as the major association that represents that profession? Do you have a committee you're dying to see formed or work?

CT: The one item that, in my mind, is very important, is knowing what our data are and what they mean. It is frustrating that concepts get bandied about when it is very clear that people are using them quite differently. People are allowed to be misled by concepts that aren't what they pretend to be. The other issue is to find ways of persuading the legislators, business leaders, political leaders, that we're talking about facts. When a claim is made that poverty and the need for welfare is transmitted from generation to generation or when we're talking about the so-called breakdown of the family or adolescent pregnancy, that we're dealing with factual situations and not with emotional situations. I was just looking through an annual report of the Australian Institute—Research on Family Problems in Australia—the broken family, the one-parent family, the effect on children, the reasons for the marriage break-ups, the extent of remarriage, and the interaction between the stepparents and children, that sort of thing. We (American sociologists) seem to be shying away from some of those problems. We can't, because otherwise people will be making decisions without the facts.

New Insurance Coverage Available to ASA Members

In the fall of 1984, ASA signed a new three-year contract with Albert H. Wohlers & Co. Under it, the group insurance administrator will continue to offer ASA members those types of insurance to which they had access in the past, as well as making a number of new plans available.

The three new offerings include: Major Medical, Professional Liability Insurance and Medicare Supplement. The first is available now and is offered to assist un- and under-employed sociologists who do not have access to employer health insurance plans. It is discussed in more detail below. The Professional Liability plan will become available early in 1985 and may be of interest to a variety of sociologists working in academic settings. The Medicare Supplement plan will be launched later this year and may prove attractive to members over 65.

In addition to the three new offerings, Wohlers will continue to offer ASA members Term Life Insurance, In-Hospital Insurance, Disability Income Insurance, and Catastrophic Major Medical Insurance.

Wohlers' Group Major Medical Insurance Plan provides ASA members and their families broad, comprehensive coverage. The plan provides up to \$1 million dollars protection for most health care costs. There is a choice of three deductibles (e.g., \$250, \$500 or \$1,000) designed to minimize the cost of the plan. The higher the deductible selected, the lower the premium rate. Once the deductible has been met, the plan pays 80% of all covered expenses. After the insured has paid \$2,000 above and beyond the deductible, the plan pays 100% of all covered expenses for the rest of the year.

All ASA members and their spouses under age 60 are eligible for the Wohlers' Major Medical plan, as are unmarried dependent children under 19 (or 25 if full-time students). Once accepted, coverage can never be cancelled because of age. Upon retirement, benefits are coordinated with Medicare. For further details about the Group Major Medical Insurance Plan, complete the coupon below or contact Albert H. Wohlers & Co., ASA Group Insurance Plans, 1500 Higgins Road, Park Ridge, IL 60068; (800) 323-2106.

PAA HONORED MEMBERS (Posted on the PAA website)

CONRAD TAEUBER

Con Taeuber (1906-1999) lived a long professional life and made a significant contribution to the demographic field in every stage of it. He even contributed in his personal life, where he nurtured his wife Irene's equally distinguished career in the population field, as well as establishing what some have called "the Taeuber demographic dynasty" through two sons and a daughter-in-law.

Conrad Taeuber was born and grew up in rural South Dakota. He received his A.B. degree in 1927, M.A. in 1929, and Ph.D. in 1931, all in sociology and all from the University of Minnesota. For some nine months in 1929-30, he studied sociology and collected data for his Ph.D. dissertation—"Migration to and from Selected German Cities: An Analysis of the Data of the Official Registration System (Meldewesen) for 1900 to 1927"—at the University of Heidelberg in Germany. He was a research assistant at the University of Wisconsin in 1930-31 and on the faculty at Mount Holyoke from 1931 to 1933.

In 1934 Con began a long and varied career with the Federal Government in Washington, DC. As an economic analyst with the Federal Emergency Relief Administration (which became the Works Progress Administration), he started a series of studies of the rural population. In the process, he worked to encourage and assist workers in rural sociology at the state colleges of agriculture to carry on similar studies in their states. As Frank Notestein noted in his last published article,^[1] this work "directed public attention to the problems of poverty and public relief in the Depression."

In 1935 Con joined the Department of Agriculture to continue his study of the problems of the agricultural population, now at the Bureau of Agricultural Economics as agricultural economist and administrator. Here he was responsible for the annual series of estimates of the flow of population from and to farms. While at the department, Con became involved with the preparatory work for what became the United Nations Food and Agricultural Organization, and became the first Chief of its Statistics Division.

In this position he was responsible for collecting and publishing data not just on the traditional topics of agricultural production and marketing, but also on all aspects of rural life around the world. (Worldwide, the rural population still constituted the majority of people.)

However, he left the FAO when it moved to Rome in 1951, in part because of his wife's career. In a typically understated way, he told his PAA Presidential interviewer: "Irene was well established in a position which could only be carried out in the Washington/Princeton/New York area [as editor of Population Index and involved in

research, writing, and consultation for Princeton's Office of Population Research, the federal government, and the Rockefeller Foundation, etc.]. Changing that career pattern for a situation in which women could expect discrimination was not appealing."

So, Con went to the Bureau of the Census as its first Assistant (then Associate) Director of Demographic Fields. This gave Con the opportunity to develop a program of demographic statistics, focused not just on the United States but the world. As essentially the Bureau's chief demographer, Con focused particularly on improving the Bureau's communications with the public. He said later, "I would like to think that releases from the Bureau improved in clarity and with more rigorous attention to the underlying statistics." Anyone who has worked with or at the Bureau knows how important this contribution was, and how hard it was to make it happen in an agency that is essentially focused on data collection, not data dissemination or analysis. Con played an important part in the development of the modern census monograph reports, which had been abandoned after the 1920 census, and was editor of both the 1950 and 1960 series.

Notably, with Irene Taeuber, he wrote two important monographs ("The Changing Population of the United States," 1958, and "People of the United States in the Twentieth Century," 1971). Both sets of monographs drew on the analytical capabilities that Con fostered at the Bureau by hiring analysts with graduate-level training in demography.

In 1970, the New York Times reported that all of the activity in connection with the 1970 census came together in Con's office: "There in the heart of it all, like the Wizard of Oz behind a curtain in the Emerald City, sits a small, bald, kind, quiet, and expert man named Conrad Ferdinand Taeuber."^[2] But Con's career at the Census and with the federal government ended with the intrusion of politics into the statistical agencies during the Nixon Administration. Con wrote in his unpublished memoirs that the Administration felt that the agencies were "pushing statistics on poverty, unemployment, racial segregation, and other social problems."

In 1973, Con moved to Georgetown University, where he became the director of the Center for Population Research, with a focus on the policy aspects of population study. After Irene's unexpected death in 1974, Con continued his work at Georgetown until 1985, where he contributed to the next generation of demographers. As Chris Bachrach (a student at Georgetown from 1972-74) remembers, Con's arrival at the Center not only added to the outstanding faculty (many of whom had also worked at the Census Bureau) but also provided an impressive role model for leadership in the population community. And Marty Riche (Director of Policy Studies at the Population Reference Bureau from 1991-94) recalls how she and her colleagues benefited from Con's contributions to the discussions at the monthly policy-related seminars. Indeed, some at PRB hold that the organization's move from its building on M Street at the end of 1990 was in part a desire to have an accessible conference room so Con could continue to attend.

Con served as the President of PAA in 1948-49. In a typically unselfish way, instead of giving a presidential address, Con arranged for statements by a panel of speakers, specialists in a number of the fields that were affected by contemporary concerns about problems of feeding the world population. A controversial book had highlighted these problems in what Con felt was an alarmist way. The event he organized, he said in his PAA Presidential interview, focused on “statements of scientific knowledge,” which he felt were “fundamental to any consideration of the possibility of increasing food supplies at a rate which would at least keep up with the prospective rate of population growth.”

Con also served as Secretary of PAA in 1939-42 and as a member of the Committee on Population Statistics during the 1970s. He was awarded the Robert J. Lapham Award in 1991 for “contributions to population research, the application of demographic knowledge to improve the human condition, and service to the population profession.” His awards also included the Exceptional Service Award from the Department of Commerce (1963), and the Distinguished Career Award for the Practice of Sociology from the American Sociological Association (1986).

Con remarried in 1979 and he and Dorothy had an active life together for nearly two decades. Late in life they moved to a retirement community in Nashua, NH. They were much missed regulars at PRB’s monthly population seminars, where Con’s contributions were to the point and much appreciated by the attendees.

[1] “Demography in the United States: A Partial Account of the Development of the Field” (Population and Development Review, December 1982, p. 683).

[2] New York Times, March 30, 1970.

List of Donors

Christine Bachrach
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Paul Voss

Conrad Taeuber did not give a presidential address at the PAA Annual Meeting in 1949 at Princeton University. Instead, he presented a program organized around the topic "Resources for the World's People." This would have been a good follow-up to this paper published that same year with his wife, Irene Taeuber (PAA President in 1953-54) .

World Population Trends

Author(s): Conrad Taeuber and Irene B. Taeuber

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WORLD POPULATION TRENDS*

CONRAD TAEUBER AND IRENE B. TAEUBER

VIEWING with alarm is almost as characteristic of demography as of the "dismal science" of economics, for each generation tends to project the rates of population change that then exist into the indefinite future and to foresee dire consequences therefrom. With Malthus' famed Essay on Population there began a century and a quarter of demographic pessimism, even though he wrote at the beginning of an era that disproved his gloomy forebodings for the Western cultural area in which he lived. In the recent interwar years a new pessimism developed, for improved statistics and more powerful analytical tools revealed that current population increase was illusory and that population decline was imminent in the Western world. Population projections for Europe and the Soviet Union, published by the League of Nations in 1943, traced through to 1970 the effect of a continuation of the trends toward decline in fertility and mortality that had characterized the interwar period. These projections indicated that, even in the absence of any losses from World War II, Europe excluding the U.S.S.R. would reach its maximum population by 1960, and would then enter a period of slow decline, with a reduction of about 1% between 1965 and 1970. The decrease would come primarily in Northwestern and Central Europe which would grow slightly between 1940 and 1950 and by 1970 would have declined 4 % below the 1940 levels. Southern and Eastern Europe would continue to grow, though soon these countries too would follow the pattern of decline that seemed so obviously present in the remainder of Europe. In the U.S. a careful set of estimates seemed to indicate the indigenous population growth would come to an end by the end of the twentieth century, perhaps as early as 1970. A number of European countries developed population policies to avert the threatened declines. In some countries militarism dictated the drive to maintain numbers, while in others

* Paper given at the Annual Meeting of the American Farm Economic Association, Green Lake, Wis., September 13, 1948.

economic motives predominated. This was the period when Keynesian economics united with population predictions to justify the maintenance of increasing populations. In other quarters the questionings of the future were based on the belief that cultures themselves could not hope to survive if the people who were their carriers failed to survive biologically. Pro-natalist population policies and programs were developed in countries with widely divergent political orientation, but in all there was deep scepticism as to whether any trend as deep as that toward population decline could be arrested, let alone reversed.

Thus by the end of the first quarter of the twentieth century the Western world appeared to have resolved the dilemma which Malthus had posed at the end of the eighteenth century, though in doing so it had created problems equally grave. Food resources had increased more rapidly than population, thanks in part to improved production techniques, to increase in the available area, to an ever growing commerce with other parts of the world, and in part to a decline of rates of population growth.

Concern with the prospects of population decline would seem strange indeed to most of the world's peoples, could they comprehend the arguments. While Europe's growth was slowing, the large populations of Asia, the natives of Africa, and the peoples of South America, were increasing rapidly. The world's population problem was illustrated dramatically in the reports of the 1931 and 1941 censuses of India, which indicated that in a single decade its population increase alone amounted to more than the total population of the United Kingdom.

World War II, great catastrophe that it was, did not reduce the world's population. Battle casualties were high in many countries. In some the disruptions of war increased civilian mortality, and China and India suffered famines. The victims of genocide numbered in the millions. Forced population transfers, large scale movements of refugees, and the extension of the battle front to include civilians added still further to war's toll. The total human cost of World War II, though large, cannot yet be estimated with even approximate accuracy. It is possible, however, to compile the official estimates of nations as to their own populations at comparable time periods before and after World War II. Such a compilation, based on the years 1936 and 1947, reveals that the world's population increased nearly two hundred million in the eleven

years that included World War II and its aftermath of want and dislocation (Table 1). Half the reported increase is in Asia. The rates of increase for Central and South America are high, some 24 percent, while Africa, Oceania and North America are reported to have increased by about 14 percent. In much of Europe, as in the Western world in general, war losses were mitigated by the relative maintenance of birth rates during the war and the extraordinary spurts in fertility in the postwar years. Europe's net gain for the eleven year period was four percent. Official estimates for the present boundaries of the U.S.S.R. are not available, but the information that can be assembled indicates that some increase probably occurred there also.

TABLE 1. WORLD POPULATION: PROVISIONAL ESTIMATES
FOR 1936 AND 1947
(Populations in millions)

Area	1936	1947	Percentage Increase ¹
Asia (excl. postwar area of USSR)	1,130	1,236	9
Europe (excl. postwar area of USSR)	371	384	4
North America ²	139	157	13
Latin America	123	153	24
Oceania	10	12	15
Africa	161	184	14
<i>World Total</i> (incl. all areas) ³	2,120	2,320	9

¹ Percentages computed before rounding.

² Excluding Central America.

³ Estimates contain an approximate allowance for the population of the postwar area of the USSR.

Note: Estimates are based mainly on data furnished by the Statistical Office of the United Nations.

The Trend of World Population

Population increases have been a regular feature of the modern period. In the pre-modern era population growth had been generally irregular. Normal death rates were high, and the population surpluses of good years were periodically wiped out by famine, epidemic, and war. But gradually as economies expanded and statistics developed, the fact of a generally upward trend of the world's population became indisputable, although the date of the beginning of the increase and its magnitude remain debatable. The most widely accepted estimates of the trends in world population from 1650 to the present are presented in Table 2. They indicate

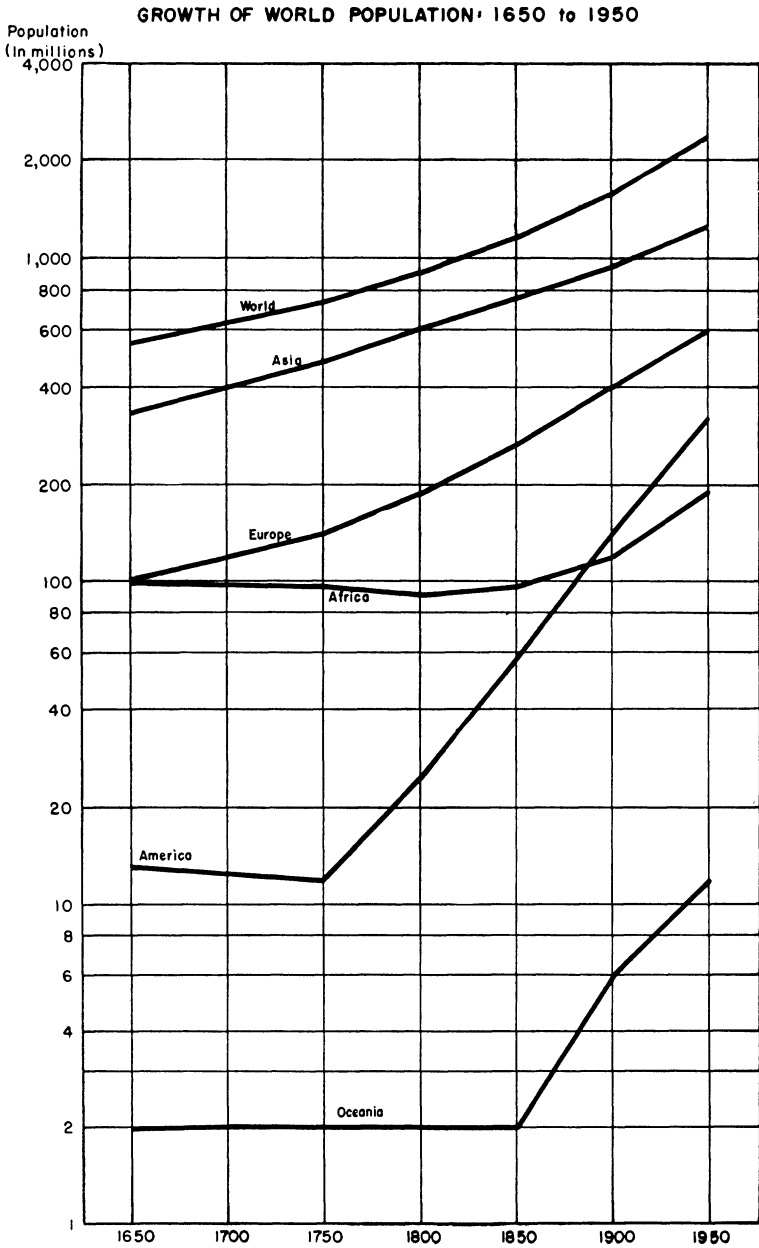


FIG. 1

that the population of the world has increased approximately four-fold in the last three centuries, from 545 million in 1650 to 2,400 million in 1950. Population doubled in the two hundred years from 1650 to 1850, doubled again in the century between 1850 and 1950.

Practically all parts of the world participated in the population increase of the modern period. The most rapid rate of increase is that of the Americas, due to the coincidence of heavy immigration and high rates of natural increase. The increase for Europe is one of the striking phenomena of the period. During these three centuries Europe not only increased its own population six times but also supplied the bulk of the migrants to the Americas and Oceania. Asia more than trebled in numbers to reach 1.3 billion people by 1950.

A simple projection of the rates of increase of the world or the continents into the future would be most fallacious, for as Table 2 shows clearly, the rates of change of the world and its areas have been changing over time.

TABLE 2. WORLD POPULATION GROWTH: 1650 TO 1950
(Population in millions)

Area	1650	1750	1800	1850	1900	1950
Africa	100	95	90	95	120	194
America	13	12	25	59	144	324
Asia	330	479	602	749	937	1,270
Europe	100	140	187	266	401	600*
Oceania	2	2	2	2	6	12
TOTAL	545	728	906	1,171	1,608	2,400

* Including the Asiatic part of the USSR (population about 20 million in 1897; about 40 million in 1939).

Source: Estimates for 1650 to 1900 from A. M. Carr-Saunders, *World Population—Past Growth and Present Trends* (Clarendon Press, Oxford 1936) figure 8, p. 42. Estimates for 1950 are based mainly on data furnished by the Statistical Office of the United Nations.

Analysis of the dynamics of change in the various areas and time periods is clearly needed. The factors at work may be illustrated by two contrasting situations: that of the Western world, consisting primarily of Europe and Europeans overseas, where population growth has slowed so much that declines may occur in the near future, and that of the rice areas of Asia, where continued or even increasing rates of natural increase in already densely peopled areas offer a challenge to human engineering so great that many regard it as insoluble.

The Western World

The modern growth patterns of the Western peoples is the resultant of a number of historical developments. The early results of the agricultural and industrial revolutions were decreases in mortality. The large family pattern which had been an essential element in group survival in the subsistence agrarian economies of the ancient and medieval worlds was not immediately affected. Later the changing pattern of working and living in urban industrialized areas, and the growing realization of the fact of mortality control, led to changing individual and group values. Agricultural innovations in the old world combined with the opening up of the large resources of the new world to provide the food supplies that supported continued increases in population. Industrial innovations brought increases in production and provided employment for a population that would have been redundant in the agriculture of the period. Sanitary and medical advances brought under control the diseases that had previously produced high levels of infant and adult mortality. In short, the whole process of modernization in the western world brought rising levels of living and new controls over mortality.

Fertility was much less responsive to the new patterns of development. Gradually, however, new individual and group values developed in response to the changed conditions of working and living in industrialized and urban areas. The small family pattern became not only the ideal but also a goal realized by an increasing proportion of the population. Birth rates fell, first and most rapidly in the cities, later in the surrounding rural areas. The modern increases in population were a function of the time lag between the control of mortality and the control of fertility.

The control of mortality is achievable through increased and regularized food supplies, improved knowledge and application of the principles of health and nutrition, and sanitary and medical programs designed to control disease. Moreover, the limitation of mortality fits in with the major values of virtually all cultures. Death is generally abhorrent to the individual, as to the group, though there are widespread differences in the degree to which this is true. Techniques and activities that are intended to prevent death and to prolong human life have generally triumphed with relative ease over beliefs and practices that they challenged. Furthermore, some of the major advances require relatively little

active participation by the individual. The application of DDT to large areas that were previously infested by insects or using large machines to clear the brush that harbors the tsetse fly require little more than acquiescence of the people affected. Stringent quarantine regulations to prevent the spread of cholera and plague do not require active participation of large segment of the population. Even immunization requires only a small amount of activity by most of the individuals affected. And to a large extent the individuals who resist such activities can still be the beneficiaries of the fact that the community as a whole sanctions them and participates in them. Religious sanctions generally are on the side of mortality control; on the whole, the great religions of the world have obliged their adherents to practice cleanliness and sanitation. The control of fertility, unlike that of mortality, involves deep transformation of human values and relatively complete reorientations of the role of women and the structure of the family. The conditions which tend to create a favorable psychological and moral climate to family limitations are varied. They include such factors as a growing awareness of the potentialities for economic improvement and a desire for such improvement, a realization that control of mortality, especially of infant and child mortality can be achieved; the disruption of older family patterns that accompanies industrial and urban developments; education, especially the education of women; and the growing tensions between the standards of living (representing the aspirations of people) and the levels of living (representing the actual achievements).

The means by which such reduction occurs are not identical in all cultures. They include an increase in the age at which women are married, especially a reduction in the proportion of teen age girls who marry; an increase in the employment of women outside the home; a high ratio of celibacy; and the spacing of births through a variety of techniques, some of which are generally accepted as "natural."

In the Western world, Ireland offers an illustration of family limitations within a cultural setting that is opposed to most techniques to limit fertility. In Ireland, where the fertility of married couples is relatively high, the rate of natural increase in the last 70 years has been relatively low. This is due in large measure to delayed marriage; in 1941, three fifths of the women 25-29 years old were single, and even among women 45 years old and over one

fourth had never married. Despite the late average age at marriage the illegitimacy rate is very low. The result is that this largely rural country has birth rates that are consistent with those of other countries in northern and western Europe.

The Rice Areas of Asia

The problem of achieving a new balance of deaths and births that shall secure efficient human reproduction without an overproduction that threatens to negate economic progress is at once more and less difficult in the East than it was earlier in the West.

The large family pattern is deeply rooted in the agrarian rice countries of Asia.¹ Permanent rice agriculture within a given region requires the continuing cooperation of the generations in a stable pattern of relationships. The strong familial social structure which has such high group survival value in creating continuity and stability is also essential to individual survival. The cultivation of rice by hand techniques has heavy seasonal requirements for labor, and these can be met within the traditional social structure only by members of family groups. The population of a village or a region may be too large for the available resources in terms of western standards, but the individual couple without either the help of a larger family group or the labor of their children is in a hopeless economic situation. Here familial and group patterns throughout the area are oriented toward the reproduction of the population. Traditional behavior, the identity of past, present and future as an eternal and unchanging process, the repudiation of the deviant, the abhorrence of change, these are the psychological characteristics that have accompanied the familial social structure and in conjunction with it, have facilitated survival in the rice deltas for hundreds or even thousands of years.

In a period of high mortality, high levels of fertility were essential to the survival of the group. Cultural changes, such as those involved in industrialization and urbanization create a climate favorable to positive steps toward reduction of traditional fertility levels, as the rapid decline of fertility in an industrializing Japan has so clearly indicated. In much of the western world individual measures to control fertility run counter to religious and

¹ Irene B. Taeuber in "Migration and the Population Potential of Monsoon Asia." Milbank Memorial Fund, *Postwar Problems of Migration*, pp. 8-11, and in "Trends of Population in Non-Soviet Asia," *Social Science* 21 (4): 306-309. October, 1946.

traditional values and may even meet with formal prohibition. There is no reason to believe that the Muslim, the Buddhist, or the Confucian religions would impose prohibitions on the use of contraceptives as such, but the areas where they are prevalent are generally agrarian areas with strong familistic traditions. In many of these areas a woman's position in the family and in the community is rated by the number of sons she has. To be childless is a disgrace. Moreover, in these areas there are economic and other limitations to the utilization of conventional contraceptive devices. How quickly such values yield to considerations of personal health and well-being of mothers or to other criteria for establishing a woman's position in her community is not easily predicted. But although infanticide is no longer widely practiced, methods for inducing abortion are found in virtually all cultures. Moreover, the resort to techniques, such as prolonged breast feeding of infants, which are believed to reduce fertility, is so common in all parts of the world as to suggest that other means would also be applied if they become readily available. What might happen to birth rates if a simple, inexpensive and effective contraceptive were to be placed within the reach of the world's large agrarian populations can only be guessed at the present time. In most high fertility areas, there already are some social groups which effectively control their fertility.

Growth Potential of Regions

A description of the growth of the world's population by continents and a contrast of two types of areas, the technologically advanced and urbanized West, the backward and rural rice areas of Asia does not adequately portray the wide variations in demographic characteristics of the countries of the world. Actually, the world's peoples may be regarded as occupying a continuum from the relative population stagnation of uncontrolled fertility and high mortality to the population decline that ensues when births are inadequate to maintain numbers even under maximum conditions of controlled mortality.

One fifth of the world's population lives in areas in which the shift from high mortality and high fertility to low mortality and low fertility is largely completed. Despite large wartime and postwar increases in fertility in some of these countries, the control of fertility is firmly established in the value systems of these people.

In fact, the recent increases in fertility reflect the extent to which controlled fertility responds to economic and social changes. Relative stability in numbers during the latter half of the twentieth century appears the most likely prospect though there may be some actual declines. These are the economically advanced industrial and urbanized nations, including all Europe except the extreme east and south, the United States, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and the white population of South Africa.

Another fifth of the world's population lives in areas which are well advanced in the demographic transition from high to low fertility but appear likely to continue to increase their number at relatively rapid rates in the next generation or two. These areas include the U.S.S.R., Japan, Eastern and Southern Europe and parts of Latin America. Wartime population losses may temporarily lead to measures to stimulate or retard the rate of its decline, but the long time trends toward lowered fertility are likely to be continued.

Three fifths of the world's population lives in areas where famines and epidemics, chronic malnutrition, and debilitating diseases are major forces in controlling population numbers. The people of these areas generally have high levels of fertility, high levels of mortality and therefore a potential rate of population growth which is very high. As these areas achieve greater political stability, improve their agriculture, develop industry, and secure minimum standards of epidemic control and famine relief, mortality levels will probably be reduced. These areas include most of Asia, except Japan; Africa except South Africa; and parts of Latin America.

The Prospects

Today the world's population is increasing at approximately one percent per year. It may be slightly more; it may be considerably less. Many of the statistics, especially those for areas which appear to be growing rapidly, are open to considerable doubt. As improvements are made in the completeness and adequacy of a statistical series, differences between current and earlier levels are easily exaggerated. This can and does affect many of the population statistics that are currently in use. However, caveats on the interpretation of numbers that are put forward by countries as intelligent could not alter the fundamental fact that the increase of the world's population is continuing and sizeable. Moreover, the three fifths of the areas in which fertility control has not yet been widely adopted

is making rapid strides in the direction of taking one of the major steps in mortality control, namely the control of infectious diseases. To what extent there will also be an increase of political stability, thus favoring agricultural and economic development, remains to be seen.

Projections of the future populations of Asia, Africa or parts of Latin America is not possible on the basis of demographic history alone, nor on the basis of the theoretical rates of growth. Neither the analogy of the experience of the industrialized west or of an industrializing Japan are any reliable guide to the future of these regions. In the industrialized west the transition from high mortality and high fertility to low mortality and low fertility required approximately 300 years; Japan carried through a similar process of industrialization and urbanization that should terminate the period of growth in less than a century and half. But in Asia, very large numbers would be added if mortality falls as rapidly as it has in other areas and the process of the diffusion of the small-family pattern from the city to the countryside proceeds as slowly as it has in other areas. In the case of China, for example, it has been estimated that if the declines in mortality and fertility were to duplicate those in Japan between 1870 and 1940, the Chinese population would reach one billion by the year 2000.

Food supply is obviously one of the major factors in current levels of mortality, and in the prospects for rapid extension of mortality control. In terms of the prewar situation the relationship was quite clear.² Half the world's total population then lived in countries which had available less than 2250 calories per person per day at the retail level, and over ninety percent of these people lived under conditions that produced crude death rates of 30 per thousand or above; at least three times as high as the 1947 rate in the United States. The exceptional ten percent of this group are accounted for either by the fact of better balanced nutrition in spite of lower calories values or through the extension of modern health and sanitation programs imposed from the outside, as in Formosa, Korea, Philippines and Puerto Rico. At the other extreme, so far as food is concerned, is that less than one eighth of the world's population for whom food available at the retail level, if evenly distributed, would have provided 3000 calories or more,

² "Food, Income and Mortality," *Population Index* 13 (2): 96-103, April, 1947.

per person per day. In all those countries but one, the death rates were below 15. Between the upper eighth and the lower half, there is a wide range of conditions both of nutrition and of mortality. Here too there is some freedom of decision, in the sense that at a given food level and health, social and educational policies may be adopted to control mortality if the people so wish. This group also includes a wide diversity of economic conditions, ranging from those still largely dependent on subsistence agriculture to the semi-industrial and industrialized countries.

Two major elements in the western European transition from high mortality and high fertility to low mortality and low fertility are not likely to be repeated as the similar demographic development takes place in other parts of the world. The one is the large scale emigration to unoccupied areas—then the Americas and Oceania—which came at a time when population was growing rapidly due to the more rapid reduction in death rates than in birth rates. The other is the expansion of the resources base through exploration and colonial development. Today it is difficult to visualize a situation in which large surplus areas could produce and ship enough foodstuffs to fill the gap in the needs of the densely populated deficit countries. Increasingly feeding the native population in exporting countries constitutes a first claim on available supplies.

These areas can be counted on insofar as the application of scientific methods provides a far greater output than has hitherto been available. Then they might provide a surplus for export over and above satisfying the needs of improved living levels of the native workers. That is the assumption underlying some of the current large scale development programs in Africa and Latin America.

Changes in the “state of the arts” are obviously a major factor in any consideration of the relation of population and resources. To project demographic calamity on the basis of present population trends assuming that the “state of the arts” remains static is to overlook the history of the last three hundred years. Neither can projections safely be based on the easy optimism of the interwar decades in which it was assumed that fears of over-population and the resultant disaster would be proven wrong within a short period of time by some immutable “progress of the arts.”

The limits on the world's supply of good soil and water must be reckoned as a hard fact. But there are social facts which are equally real. And one of the major social facts is that no responsible govern-

ment will voluntarily reduce its population numbers. Prime Minister Nehru of India at the opening of the recent meeting of the Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East expressed the situation in the following words: "A great deal has been said about the population of India and how it overwhelms us and we cannot solve any problem at all till this Indian population is checked or decimated. I have no desire for the population of India to go on increasing. I am all in favor of the population being checked, but I think there is a grave misapprehension when so much stress is laid on this population of India and every evil that India has is supposed to flow from this excess of population. I entirely disagree with that."

Whether the motivation is national pride, the basic desire for national survival, or a desire for manpower to fill potential military needs, voluntary decline of a nation's population does not seem likely. It is almost an inevitability that any nation which is faced with decline will take drastic steps to correct the situation. Moreover, governments will continue to be concerned with finding the resources needed to supply their peoples with basic necessities.

There appears to be little possibility for minimum living within agriculture for the increased population that would result in Asia and Africa from the introduction of the agricultural improvements necessary to adequate nutrition and other elements of living. There must be rapid transfer of people from agricultural to non-agricultural employment. If industrialization occurs and if population growth follows the patterns of areas that have undergone such a transition, fertility will fall as urbanization and its correlated habits of living and thinking are accepted by increasing numbers. These processes are almost certain to occur, but the real demographic need in Asia is to devise ways by which the diffusion of the small family pattern among the peasants may be quickened.

The problem is not alone agricultural, susceptible to solutions within the framework of agriculture. Land resources everywhere are limited, and population pressure on the land is itself one of the major depressants of agricultural productivity. Rural over-population means rural underemployment and inefficiency. Human abilities stagnate during a large part of the year and the rewards for human labor fall far short of what they might be. Unless some way is found of reducing the number of people trying to gain a livelihood from an underdeveloped agriculture, the way to achieving desirable levels of production and nutrition may be barred.

The future population growth of any area is inextricably bound up with its economic and social resources and characteristics and the rates at which they change. To neglect any element in that complex of factors would lead to errors in projections into the future, and yield results that are too "optimistic" or too "pessimistic" as the case may be.

The increase in political self-consciousness of some of the rapidly growing population groups means that among their claims will be an urgent one to secure the maximum possible results from the opportunities which modern science and technology have to offer. Developing the opportunities that lie ahead calls for rapid large-scale developments of agriculture, industry and trade, and educational and other services, and requires large investments of capital and technical skills. This new situation, if it eventuates, may so quicken social change as to reduce drastically the length of the period in which the gage between declining mortality and a still high fertility produces rapid population growth. Half measures and efforts at amelioration are not enough. They are likely to serve in the future, as so often in the past, only to increase the numbers of the poverty stricken and ignorant. Demographic catastrophe is not necessarily the outcome of the forces now at work, but it may be the result if the problems are not faced and attached squarely and realistically.