Family Planning
CHAPTER - V
FAMILY PLANNING

Small family ensures happy living. Individual care is possible in a family of a few members. Family hygiene, literacy, clothing materials and sheltering are all ensured in a small family. Family planning is defined as planned regulation by a married couple of the pregnancies which are liable to result from their conjugal union, through the adoption of precautions calculated to avoid unplanned pregnancies. At the same time, “Family Planning” does not mean “abstinence” from conjugal union. It has been sometimes stated in ethical principle that conjugal union should not take place except on these occasions when the husband and wife actively desire that the union should result in pregnancy. It is just natural and proper that the husband and wife who live together should desire conjugal union, even when they do not desire pregnancy. Therefore, family planning consists of providing a means of satisfaction of such desire; and at the same time, avoiding the occurrence of an unplanned pregnancy. On the other hand, Birth control is different from family planning even though it is a method of avoiding births. Birth control is the practice of induced abortion which is harmful to the health of the wife. In birth control, married couples terminate pregnancy prematurely by inducing abortion.

In ancient Tamil Nadu, we did not have the census reporting as now. Cities and villages seem to have been sparcely populated. Man either joined the army and served the state or did agriculture and commerce. Women looked after their children and their families. We do not have recorded evidence to talk about the size of the family. Also, there is no material to say whether there was Family Planning or Family Control. But family is called Kudi (Kudumbam) the number of such Kudumbam or the total members of Kudumbam are not known. There was an exodus of North Indians to Tamil Nadu from c.3rd century B.C. The intruders were the Vedists, the Jains and the Buddhists. The early Tamil works called

them Vadavar (North Indian), Aryas, Tartars, Buddhists and Samanars (Jains), Vadugar and Vadakarunakar (North Karnatic). Following them Vangalar (Bengalis), Kalingar (Kalingas), Malwa and Gandharas have also found their way into Tamil Nadu. The process of migration into Tamil Nadu continued during the imperial Pallava, Pandyas, Cholas and the later Pandyas periods. The Nayaks, Naidus from Karnataka, Kalingas and Kammavar and also Reddis from Andhra, Sourashtra from Gujarat, Biharis (Miyar), Marwadis, Arabs and Muslims continued to come to Tamil Nadu for the purpose of trade, textile manufacture, iron objects and they settled in Tamil Nadu. Arabs and Muslims settled in port cities, inland trade centres, and market places thereby, increasing the population of Tamil Nadu. When they came to Tamil Nadu they brought with them their customs and conventions, practices, rites and rituals and implanted them in the Tamil Nadu which until then was mostly profaned and unritualistic.

However, with the advent of the Brahminic ideas family began to gain sacredness and child birth was considered divine dispensation. As a result, it appears that there was no possibility of family planning in ancient India. In the Aryan way of life, joint family was the accepted form, in which many members might have lived together. Another very important imposition of the Brahminic way of life is begetting a son to continue the family tradition to do the last rites to parents and maintain the family property undivided. This contagious disease affected the Tamil Society also. In a society that respected both the sexes, this Aryan practice had made deep impacts in isolating female children from the mainstream of the family. Yet one more practice that made the life of a female child deplorable was its early marriage, i.e. the child-marriage. In the past, population explosion was prevented by two types of checks like the positive checks and the preventive checks. During the British rule the exploitation of the Indian wealth – natural resources and the frequent occurrence of

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catastrophic famine like the one that broke out in the Madras Presidency in 1876-78\textsuperscript{821} and another one was the great epidemic of 1918\textsuperscript{822} which took a heavy toll on life and the non-extension of official support to agriculture-based industries, food production was very seriously affected and its impact affected health and everyday life of the people of Madras Presidency.

During the days of the great poet Bharathi, India’s population was about 30 crores\textsuperscript{823}. In the last ten years, India’s population exploded to 120 crores. Feeding these Indians was a Herculian task. Therefore, there arose the need for population control. Family Planning was suggested as a method of population control. Population of a country could be controlled by various means: by self-control, contraceptives and medical methods. Therefore, reformers, social scientists, economists and scientists have advised family planning as a sure means of population control. Thomas Malthus, the great economist of Britain, who propounded the Malthusian theory of Population in 1798 and says that: The population in a country tends to increase much faster than the food supply, “Population, when unchecked, increases in geometrical progression and food supply increases only in arithmetical progression i.e. population will tend to increase much faster than the food supply of the country”\textsuperscript{824}. So, he advocated celibacy and birth control to check the increase of population.

This chapter analyses the characteristics, size, practices and problems of a family in Tamil Nadu and how it was influenced by the north Indian practices and why and how \textit{Periyar} advocated Family Planning and the measures initiated by the two Dravidian Governments for ensuring micro-families and solving their problems.

\textsuperscript{821} Majumdar R.C., Raychaudhuri, H.C., and Kalikinkar Datta, \textit{An Advanced History of India}, (4\textsuperscript{th} ed.) Macmillan India Ltd., New Delhi, 2008(Rp), p.861.
\textsuperscript{822} The growth of population during 1911-21 was very low i.e. 3.47\% in the last century in the Madras Presidency due to the great epidemic. Census of India 1991, series-23, Tamil Nadu Part XI Directorate of Census Operations, Tamil Nadu, Madras, p.26.
 Causes for over population:

- Early marriage or child marriage, during the young age, the period of fertile union is large and consequently the rapidity is also high.
- The majority of population is illiterate, orthodox and superstitious.
- They are religious minded and considered male child is essential for doing cremation rite of parents after their death.
- Indian family is quite poor and rural based. So, they considered increasing the number of family members is source of income to family.

To safeguard the health and strength of one another and to avoid impairing of the health of the mother permanently and possibly to perish her life in some cases, the practice of family planning is necessary.\textsuperscript{825}

Periyar says birth control means preventing conception but not aborting conception. Periyar contemplated more on sufferings and tyrannies faced by women than any other social reformer. Periyar always wants to liberate women from their sufferings. His though on Birth Control is entirely different form other Sociologists and the Economists that he advocated it for women to achieve liberty and equality. He states that it is because of bringing forth more number of children, both men and women are losing their freedom, happiness and Self-Respect. Atlast, they became slaves to others.\textsuperscript{826} So, women should adopt birth control to reduce her economic burden. Bharathidasan, the revolutionary poet, emphasized birth control following the principle of Periyar.\textsuperscript{827} Periyar suggested that the Government should establish an institute for birth control and it should support financially for the propagation of family planning.\textsuperscript{828} Therefore, steps were taken by the Ministry of K.Kamaraj to constitute the State Family Planning Board in Tamil Nadu on July 18, 1956. The immediate objective of every State Government of India is to propagate the practice of

\textsuperscript{825} Ibid., p.39.
\textsuperscript{827} \textit{தெரியுமா?} Bharathidasan, \textit{Thenaruvu}, p.54. and See also Thangaparakasam, \textit{Periyar Thought in Bharathidasan songs} (TI), Pahutharivu, Perambulur, 2001,p.298.
\textsuperscript{828} \textit{Viduthalai}, Madras, 11.08.1959.
family planning among all the married couples living in that state\textsuperscript{829}. Consequently, three Health and Family Welfare Training Centres were established at Egmore in Madras, Salem and Gandhigram. The faculties of these training centres impart in-service training to medical and para medical staff working in the rural and urban centres\textsuperscript{830}. The Government of India recognized the services of voluntary organizations to move Family Planning Programme from the clinic to the community\textsuperscript{831}.

A **Department of Family Planning** was created in 1966 to evolve effective national family planning and to reduce birth rate\textsuperscript{832}. Moreover, in 1968 the DMK Government sanctioned Orientation Training Camp for each Block and the Collectors who were organizing these camps in the districts. The Panchayats were given a sum of Rs.10/- for each case of vasectomy, salpingectomy surgeries under the sterilization programme\textsuperscript{833}. A new awakening and silent revolution took place in Tamil Nadu when people realized the importance of **planning small family norm**\textsuperscript{834} rather than the **traditional family**\textsuperscript{835}. Due to the undaunted efforts of Periyar, significant social changes took place in Tamil Nadu. The DMK Government introduced Re-organized Family Planning Programme in 13 districts and 374 blocks in the State in 1971-72\textsuperscript{836}.

The **Directorate of Family Welfare** was established in Chennai in 1988 during the AIADMK Government. It is the Head of the **State Family Welfare Bureau** and administers all activities of the Family Welfare Department, all Family Welfare Officers and the staff who come under the control of Director of Family Welfare. The AIADMK Government established a **District Welfare Bureau** in each district. It is headed by the District Family Welfare, Maternity and Child Health Officer in the Cadre of Civil Surgeon\textsuperscript{837}.

\textsuperscript{830} Tamilarasu, Chennai, April, 1988, p. 22.
\textsuperscript{831} Madras Information, Vol. XXI, No. 9 September, 1966, Madras, p. 41
\textsuperscript{832} Social Development in India, Department of Social Welfare, Government of India, 1966, p. 11.
\textsuperscript{833} Madras Information, Vol. XXII, Madras, June, 1968, p. 29.
\textsuperscript{834} Planned Family: A married couple who beget a child undertake a serious responsibility. They are in a position to protect it against premature death, feed it properly and promote its health and welfare and give it the best start in life which it may be in their power to provide.
\textsuperscript{835} Traditional Family: Married couple of Traditional Family beget between 6 and 7 children.
\textsuperscript{836} Tamil Nadu State Administration Report 1971-72, Government of Tamil Nadu, Madras, 1974, p. 182.
\textsuperscript{837} Tamilarasu, Chennai, April, 1988, p. 21.
Schemes introduced by the Dravidian Governments for Birth Control

The Dravidian Governments have introduced various Birth Control Schemes in order to realize the visions of Periyar for emancipating women from the burden of fostering more children and for maintaining their good health. The DMK Government under M. Karunanithi, being trained in the camp of Periyar’s Self-Respect Movement, ordered for the supply of conventional contraceptives like condoms (Nirodh), Foam Tablets, diaphragms and Jelly’s to eligible fathers and mothers at free of cost at all government hospitals, dispensaries and Child Welfare in Municipalities and all the Voluntary Organizations encouraging Family Planning work. As it was the most popular method nearly 63,99,930 pieces of condoms were distributed to 10,66,655 persons during the year 1973-74. The DMK Government introduced a scheme of post partum. To relieve mother from the suffering of IUCD, Government sanctioned 20 bedded sterilization wards under post partum programme in certain medical institutions.

Another novel scheme evolved by the DMK Government was ‘triple alliance’ by which an alliance was concluded among the Government, the husband and the wife as three equal partners together to nourish and nurture the child and at the same time to prevent further child-births.

Green Card System

the AIADMK Government introduced a scheme of ‘Green Card System’ in Tamil Nadu in 1988 on the suggestion given by a member in the Assembly for issuing Identity Cards to a person who had done Family Planning. Accordingly, Green Cards are issued to all the acceptors who had undergone sterilization operation with ‘two living children’.

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838 Tamil Arasu, Chennai, February, 1971, p.11.
839 G.O. No. 1473, Health and Family Planning Department, dt., 26.06.1974.
840 Post Partum Sterilization : The period immediately after child birth is a popular time for women to undergo sterilization by minilaparotomy. It is often less painful and recovery time is shorter than with interval minilaparotomy.
841 Ibid.
842 Ibid.
Nearly, 6 lakhs green cards distributed to all districts and the holders of the green card were given priority treatments in the hospitals\textsuperscript{844}.

**Old Age Pension Scheme**

*Periyar* recommended that the Government should give Old Age Pensions to senior citizens to look after themselves without depending upon their son\textsuperscript{845} whose preference would have increased the population. Hence, in 1975-76 the DMK Government expanded the social security scheme to 10,000 destitute widows of not less than 45 years of age\textsuperscript{846} and it was launched from 1\textsuperscript{st} June 1975. The number of destitute women who received Old Age Pension of Rs.20/- from 1\textsuperscript{st} June, 1975 to 31\textsuperscript{st} March, 1976 was 7,407\textsuperscript{847}. Subsequently, the AIADMK Government increased the amount of Old Age Pension Scheme from Rs.20/- to Rs.35/-\textsuperscript{848}. Added to this, AIADMK Government extended the *Nutritious Noon Meal scheme* to the old age people. Thereby, two lakhs old age beneficiaries received financial assistance as well as \(\frac{1}{2}\) kilo rice per week, Dhoti and Sarees twice annually from the Government\textsuperscript{849}.

**Dr.Muthulakshmi Memorial Maternity Assistance Scheme**

The DMK Government introduced *Dr.Muthulakshmi Memorial Maternity Assistance Scheme* on 3\textsuperscript{rd} June, 1989\textsuperscript{850} for removing the economic burden of women during the time of maternity. (For further details see also Appendix – XI). Accordingly, a dole of Rs. 50/- was given to each pregnant woman for four months to take care of maternal as well as child health after delivery. This scheme was applicable to the beneficiaries who have only two children\textsuperscript{851}. P.C.Alexander, the then Governor of Tamil Nadu, addressed in Tamil Nadu Legislative Assembly on 18\textsuperscript{th} January, 1990 that 65,597 pregnant mothers have been assisted.

\textsuperscript{844} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{845} *Viduthalai*, Chennai, 11.10.1967.
\textsuperscript{847} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{848} TNLAD, Vol. II, Madras, 1\textsuperscript{st} July, 1985, pp. 130-131. Now, it is increased to Rs.1000/- by the AIADMK Government under J.Jayalalitha from 20\textsuperscript{th} onwards.
\textsuperscript{849} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{850} G.O. M.S. No. 516, BC-W-NMP and Social Welfare Department, dt., 31.5.1989.
\textsuperscript{851} Ibid.
with ₹.200 under this Scheme upto 1990\textsuperscript{852}. The chief reason for the introduction of this scheme was to popularize ‘Birth Control’ to a greater level as well as to reduce the infant and maternal mortality rate and to relieve mother from financial shortage.

Periyar suggested that the Government must take steps to increase the marriageable age of girls to 22 and provide them with wider scope of entrance into various fields to avoid women from engaging themselves in the burden-some work of nurturing children and caring husband\textsuperscript{853} and to enable the parents to impart higher education to their daughters till 21 years. Therefore, the DMK Government introduced Moovalur Ramamirtham Ammaiyar Marriage Assistance Scheme in 1989\textsuperscript{854} to insist on small family norm and to avoid earlier pregnancy by preventing child marriage. This scheme can be availed by only one member of a family and she must be above 18 years.

The SHG Programme was also launched by the DMK Government in 1989 to empower women to take independent decisions to limit the family and then to involve in business activities to increase their family income. It encourages women to create awareness among the public about the advantages of small family\textsuperscript{855}.

Periyar considered that the best way to implement family planning was to reserve 50% of job opportunities to women as it prevents women to maintain a big family and to give up the desire for the birth of a son which redeems women from suffering repeated pregnancies\textsuperscript{856}. Hence, the DMK Government issued a Government order in 1989 for the reservation of 30% of vacancies in the Government Departments or Government owned undertakings, corporations and also in local bodies for women candidates\textsuperscript{857}. By this order, a large number of women got employment opportunities in different fields as well as relieved

\textsuperscript{852} Tamilarasu, Chennai, February, 1990, p. 15. Later, this amount was raised to Rs.6000/- during the IV Ministry of DMK in 2006. Now, this scheme extends to six months maternity leave and enhances the amount to Rs. 12,000/- which is given in three instalment during the AIADMK Government. The beneficiaries of this scheme during 2010 to 2011 were 5,43,000.

\textsuperscript{853} Gopalakrishnan. M.D., Periyar-Father of the Tamil Race. Emerald publishers, Madras, 1991, p.73.


\textsuperscript{855} Chief Minister M. Karunanithi’s Speech on 17th March 1990, Budget speech for 1990-91, pp. 39-40.


\textsuperscript{857} G.O. No. 89, Personnel and Administrative Reforms Department, dt, 17.02.1989.
from repeated pregnancies. As a result, they gained economic independence. Nowadays, they
gained much potential to take more care of their parents too. It shattered the traditional desire
to beget a son.

According to Periyar, employment to women would provide self-confidence and
enable them to consider excessive children as a nuisance for attending job which directly lead
to birth control. Both the DMK and AIADMK Governments have been providing ample
employment opportunities to women (It is discussed in the Chapter VIII - Women in
Employment). The scholar has noticed that working women have one or two children
invariably except a few women who have three children. In a technological era, people have
only neutral families and they are unable to bring up more than two children.

Periyar predicted that there would be no need for women to suffer from labour pain
because the scientists would produce Test Tube Baby as a result of the technological
advancement of science. He expressed this idea in his book Ini varum Ulagam (Future
World) by printing that picture in the wrapper of a book as early as 1930. Though the DMK
and AIADMK Governments didn’t take any step for producing Test Tube Baby, Periyar’s
prediction was visualized only in Private Hospitals.

Awards and Incentives issued by the Dravidian Governments

Awards

- The DMK Government introduced the award of Rolling Shield to the Panchayat
  Union Committee who sends the largest number of eligible fathers for vasectomy
during the year 1968. Similarly, the Government awarded silver medal to
  medical officer of the Government hospital and the Public Health Centre who
  performed the maximum number of sterilization operation in the district like
  Chengleput, South Arcot, Trichy, Tanjore and Nilgiris.

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858 Periyar E.V.R.’s Radio Interview in Viduthalai, Chennai, date 17.03.1970.
860 G.O. No. 733, Health Department, dt., 27.04.1968.
861 G.O. No. 1256, Health Department, dt., 14.08.1968.
The Government permits the Director of Health Services and Family Planning to pay ₹ .50/- as compensatory allowance, of ₹ .30/- to the fathers doing vasectomy operation. P. Shanmugavadivu, pioneer in the field of trans-vaginal tubectomy, was awarded in 1971 for performing 3,700 IUCDS and 3,060 tubectomies in 1971; out of these she did 60 transvaginal tubectomies. Due to her persistent and persuasive campaign, the number of women opting for family planning increased slowly.

The Central Government paid the following incentives to the persons who involve in Family Planning Programme.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Payment to Staff Members</th>
<th>IUCD</th>
<th>Vasectomy</th>
<th>Tubectomy</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Doctor</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Individual</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Motivator</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drugs and Drivers</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transport</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: G.O.No. 1730, Health and Family Planning Department, dt., 01.11.1968

The Family Planning Programme in Tamil Nadu during 1972-73 and the first four months of 1973-74 was far below the target due to the reluctance of the GOI to meet the expenditure on payment of enhanced incentive during the current year.

Incentives

However, the AIADMK Government sanctioned incentives to each acceptor of Vasectomy and Tubectomy operations. The amount was raised by the Central Government to ₹ .70/- and the State Government to ₹ .75/- and ₹ .85/- to Vasectomy and Tubectomy operators respectively. Periyar appreciated the Government for encouraging the couples to

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862 G.O. No. 1730, Health and Family Planning Department, dt., 01.11.1968.
864 G.O.No. 1730, Health and Family Planning Department, dt., 01.11.1968.
865 G.O. No. 46, Health and Family Planning Department, dt., 08.01.1974.
accept the Family Planning Operation by giving incentives\textsuperscript{867}. It encouraged the eligible couples to accept Family Welfare Programme in large numbers\textsuperscript{868}. To encourage the people to do sterilization, the Government announced a motivation fee of ₹ 0.50/- per case to the person who motivates a case for sterilization. Therefore, the Government achieved 3,77,681 sterilizations against the target of 4.75 sterilizations during 1985-86\textsuperscript{869}. Thus, the Family Limitation Programme in Tamil Nadu was called a **Total Family Welfare Programme**\textsuperscript{870}.

**Prizes**

In order to popularise *Periyar*’s idea of Family Planning, the Government introduced awards totalling ₹ 0.15 lakhs to different categories of employees who involve in the Family Welfare Programme during 1983-84. The prize amount varied from ₹ 6,500/- for District Collectors to ₹ 1,000/- for field workers\textsuperscript{871}.

**Mukhya Sevikas and Grama Sevikas**

*Periyar* stressed the Government to appoint women to create awareness and for successful implementation on Family Planning as they would approach the ‘mothers of the society’ easily\textsuperscript{872}. So, the Government appointed **Grama Sevikhas** and **Mukhya Sevikas**\textsuperscript{873} and provided them training in the methods of Family Planning for its successful implementation in their field work\textsuperscript{874}. In consequence, there was considerable increase in all methods of Family Planning Programme. For instance,

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\textsuperscript{867} Viduthalai, Chennai, October 11, 1967.
\textsuperscript{868} Tamil Nadu Budget Speech for 1986-87, p. 34.
\textsuperscript{869} Tamilarasu, Chennai, September, 1992, p. 7.
\textsuperscript{870} Tamilarasu, Chennai, March, 1985, p. 30.
\textsuperscript{871} Collected Works of Periyar, PSRPI, Madras, 1981, pp. 219-220.
\textsuperscript{873} G.O. No. 1259, Social Welfare Department, dt., 30.10.1971.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sl. No.</th>
<th>Methods</th>
<th>Progress during the year</th>
<th>1981-82</th>
<th>1991-92</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Target</td>
<td>Achievement</td>
<td>Target</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Sterilization</td>
<td>1,82,200</td>
<td>1,67,912</td>
<td>4,25,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>I.U.D</td>
<td>47,800</td>
<td>32,991</td>
<td>5,00,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Users of Conventional</td>
<td>1,58,300</td>
<td>58,554</td>
<td>3,00,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>contraceptives</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Users of Oral Pills</td>
<td>31,900</td>
<td>4,045</td>
<td>2,00,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

During 1982-83, 72,373 Laparoscopic Sterilizations were also done. Among the various Intra-Uterine Devices, Cu.T., and Lippe’s Loop were familiar and they were accepted by the mothers.

Medical Termination of Pregnancy Programme

Contrary to the ideology of Periyar, who advocated only birth control for avoiding pregnancy but not abortion, the DMK Government implemented the Medical Termination of Pregnancy Act, 1971 for saving the live of mother and this Programme had been launched all over India from 1972. It provides for the termination of certain pregnancies by registered medical practitioners i.e., Medical Termination of Pregnancy is primarily a health measure providing safe and reliable method of abortion through qualified trained doctors in approved and well equipped hospitals. From March 1972 to November 1986, 5,56,762 abortions were performed in Tamil Nadu under Medical Termination of Pregnancy.

Since traditional dais played an important role in villages during the maternity period by maintaining cordial relation with the village people, the DMK Government introduced a scheme to enlist the services of hereditary dais in the extension of Family Planning Programme in the rural areas. It also initiated the training of 1000 dais in 200

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877 Ibid.
878 TNLAD, Government of Tamil Nadu, Madras, April, 23, 1987, p. 279.
Primary Health Centres. The training was given for a period of 40 days by the Medical Officers of Primary Health Centre with a stipend of `.40/- to each dais\(^{879}\).

The AIADMK Government also imparted proper training to dais for decreasing the Maternal Mortality rate upto 1985-86, 1,103 dais got benefits and during the year 1986-87, 1,129 beneficiaries got training\(^{880}\).

Since the success of Family Welfare Programme depends upon the active communication link between the acceptor and the Government staff in the field level, the Government appointed a Village Health Nurse (VHN) or a Multi-purpose Health worker for every 5000 people throughout the country besides dais. So, the Village Health Nurse plays a crucial role in winning the confidence of the people on a day-to-day basis\(^{881}\).

In his opinion, Periyar said that the Government should take steps to distribute pamphlets, magazines and books through the institution of birth control in order to popularize small family norm\(^{882}\). The Congress Ministry took remarkable step for the publishing of Family Planning Manual\(^{883}\) in September 1956 to implement this ideology of Periyar and to provide information about the various methods of Family Planning to every married couple. Also, the Government arranged for the free supply of the Manual to all their employees and all the teachers in the State of Madras\(^{884}\).

Mass Education is an important factor for the successful implementation of Family Welfare Programme.

Periyar suggested to the Government that propaganda on birth control should be done through drama, cinema etc. on the benefits of Birth control for the liberation of women

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879 Dais are the traditional maruthuvachies who attended delivery of baby at their home in villages. Tamil Nadu State Administration Report 1971-72, Government of Tamil Nadu, Madras, 1974, p.183.
881 Chief Minister Speech at the National Development Council Meeting held at New Delhi on 27th August, 1992 and See also Tamilarasi, Madras, September 1922, p. 7.
882 Kudi Arasu, Erode, date 06.04.1930.
883 The Family Planning Manual was an unusual document and was the first book on the subject, by which the married couple was able to know the Family Planning Program easily. It was published by the Government of Madras.
and the nation. The State Government introduced mass education programme in order to reach the FWP to the public effectively. To intensify the Family Planning Programme the Congress Ministry under Kamaraj introduced the Family Planning Propaganda with the aid of posters, pamphlets, group meetings, exhibitions, film shows, cinema slides, drama and plays and orientation training camps. It was continued by the DMK Government who permitted two Dramatic shows and film shows on Family Planning at the exhibitions organized in Coimbatore and Madurai.

The Chief Minister C.N. Annadurai recommended to the Cabinet sub-committee which was held on 20.11.1967 that the Bus-boards of the buses run by the private operators should carry the message of Family Planning Programme for attracting the general public to a great extent towards the Family Planning Scheme. The DMK Government also granted permission for the display of Family Planning advertisements through Movie Light News, Sai Lodge, Madras- 4 on the top floor of lodge in Luzz Corner facing the Royapetta High Road. An amount of ₹1,656/- was sanctioned for advertising the slogans Thittamitta Kudumbam, Thevittatha Inbam in Tamil (திஞ்சித்தா குடும்பம், தேவித்தா இம்பம்) and A small family is a happy family in English for a period of six months.

Again in 1968 the D.M.K Government approved the proposal of ADHS (Additional Director of Health Services and Family Planning) for the display of advertisement for Family Planning through movie light news உள்ளேயே இறுத்து அறி வந்து அரங்கைப்பைக் கேட்டும் விளக்குமுறை and உள்ளேயே இறுத்து அரங்கைப்பைக் கேட்டும் விளக்குமுறை at Madurai and Tiruchirapalli for a period of six months and sanctioned ₹1,410/- for the expenditure of advertisement. In 1969 the Government directed the Family Planning Department to use the Family Planning symbol (red triangle V) and use the Family Planning slogan வெளியே இறுத்து அறி வந்து அரங்கைப்பை கேட்டும் விளக்குமுறை in Tamil and Restrict the Family and Live Happily in English in all its correspondences and letter heads. To sensitize the

885 Meena Kandasamy, Why were Women Enslaved? (Tr), PSRPI, Chennai, 2007, p. 60.
886 G.O. No. 549, Health and Family Planning Department, dt., 02.04.1968.
887 G.O. No. 783, Health and Family Planning Department, dt., 14.05.1968.
888 G.O. No. 597, Health and Family Planning Department, dt., 10.04.1968.
889 G.O. No. 819, Health and Family Planning Department, dt., 22.05.1968.
890 G.O. Ms. No. 8, Health and Family Planning Department, dt., 02.01.1969.
people on Family Planning Programme Red Triangle symbol is adopted also in the sterilization certificate issued by the Government Stanley Hospital. The Government proposed to print the slogans “"அகில இந்திய பொருளாதார வாய்ப்பு” and “"இந்திய பொருளாதார வாய்ப்பு விவேகாராச் சின்னம்” in the rice-ration cards to be newly issued and the first slogan with red triangle in the out patient tickets issued in government medical institutions\textsuperscript{891}.

Moreover, the National Family Planning Fortnight was observed throughout the State in a fitting manner from 6\textsuperscript{th} to 19\textsuperscript{th} December, 1971. Besides, the Government of India sanctioned ₹10/- lakhs towards expenditure on Mass Media Programme during 1973-74. Further, the cabinet sub-committee meeting which was held on 12.09.1973 decided to send the greetings of Ministers and officials with the red triangle and Family Planning emblem\textsuperscript{892}.

The Mass Education and Media activities and inter-personal extension education play a very vital and essential role in creating awareness, motivating eligible couples to adopt small family norms. The Government appointed a State Mass Media Officer, to head mass education and extension education scheme\textsuperscript{893}. The introduction of one family one heir slogan by the AIADMK Government had made commendable impact on the rural Tamil Nadu. The Twenty-Point Programme introduced by Mrs. Indira Gandhi in 1975 has been implemented by the AIADMK Government, in order to spread Two Children Norm concept all over Tamil Nadu\textsuperscript{894}. The following table shows the prevalence of contraception rate in Southern States of India:

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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Andhra Pradesh</td>
<td>25.6</td>
<td>32.0</td>
<td>34.5</td>
<td>35.9</td>
<td>39.0</td>
<td>41.9</td>
<td>42.9</td>
<td>45.3</td>
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<tr>
<td>Karnataka</td>
<td>22.3</td>
<td>32.0</td>
<td>36.3</td>
<td>39.7</td>
<td>42.3</td>
<td>44.2</td>
<td>46.0</td>
<td>46.9</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kerala</td>
<td>28.9</td>
<td>38.1</td>
<td>41.1</td>
<td>44.6</td>
<td>46.4</td>
<td>49.7</td>
<td>54.4</td>
<td>55.6</td>
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<tr>
<td>Tamil Nadu</td>
<td>28.2</td>
<td>36.1</td>
<td>41.1</td>
<td>46.3</td>
<td>52.6</td>
<td>55.0</td>
<td>57.1</td>
<td>57.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All India</td>
<td>22.3</td>
<td>32.0</td>
<td>34.9</td>
<td>37.5</td>
<td>39.9</td>
<td>41.9</td>
<td>43.3</td>
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\textsuperscript{891} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{892} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{893} Tamilarasu, Chennai, April 1988, p. 22.
\textsuperscript{894} Ibid. Chennai, October 1989, p. 19.
Owing to the effective steps undertaken by the Family Welfare Department in Tamil Nadu through mass media, it was able to make its programme easily reachable to the public. Eventually, Tamil Nadu has been awarded the first prize of ₹2.5 crores for the best performance in the implementation of Family Welfare Programme in 1986-87.\footnote{Ibid. Chennai, October 1989, p. 27.}

\textbf{Default in Family Planning Operation}

Though Tamil Nadu was the recipient of National Award for its best performance in Family Welfare Programme, it faced challenges due to the death of Family Planning acceptor during operation. When the Family Planning Operation was done for the unmarried persons in the Government Hospital, it was criticised in the Assembly by Thiru. M. Manimaran.\footnote{Tamil Nadu Legislative Assembly Debates, Madras, 13\textsuperscript{th} May, 1986, Vol. XXVIII, No. 1, p. 32. Family Planning Operations were done for two unmarried persons. One from Musilampur, Vaniampadi Taluk in North Arcot District and another one from Salem Bharathi Nagar had undergone operation in Arakonam Government Hospital and Salem Government Hospital respectively.} So, the Government ordered for rechannelization for these youths.\footnote{Ibid., pp. 32-36.}

Another member raised a question in the Assembly whether the Government or the concerned surgeon would take the responsibility of bringing up the child if the couples give birth to a child even after doing operation. Dr. H.V. Hunde, the Minister explained that in the Laparoscopic operation, 1\% of stylation band was not located properly and it was the cause for dereliction of operation.\footnote{Question No. 8465, Tamil Nadu Legislative Assembly Debates, Vol. XL, Madras, November, 1987, pp. 93-94.} The death of 6 persons in Hospital because of Family Planning Operation in the year 1985-86 was also questioned in the Assembly.\footnote{In Jeyamkondan, a 42 years old widow, had 12 years old son. Yet, she was taken to hospital for undergoing Family Planning Operation on 14.10.1986. But she died while the operation was going on. In Poolampatti, a village in Tiruchirappalli, Rani, aged 27 years old, was taken to Tiruchi General Hospital for doing Family Planning Operation. But, she died within few hours after doing the operation on 08.11.1986. Similarly, in Manaparai, Subramanyan, 17 years old boy was forced to do vasectomy operation by the influence of Health Officer, Thiru.Narayanasamy. Tamil Nadu Legislative Assembly Debates, Vol. XXXX, No. 1-3, Madras, April, 23, 24, 25, 1987, p. 73.} Again the mistake of doctors in doing laparoscopic surgery was also listed and criticized during the year 1986.\footnote{Ibid.}
Problems in the Imbalance of Hindus Population

The successful implementation of Family Welfare Programme created fear among the Hindu fanatics that their strength might be reduced by this programme and it would affect the balance of population among the Hindus, the Muslims and the Christians inspite of India being predominantly a Hindu nation from ancient time onwards.

Thiru.V.Balachandran pointed out that though Family Planning has been accepted on the basis of economic condition we were afraid of the fact that Hindu population would be reduced. Simultaneously, the Government should take steps to make the other religious people too to follow the scheme. The Hindus should not become a scape goat under this plan and thereby the strength of Hindus should not be undermined.\(^0\)

Dereliction of the doctor

Sometimes there was failure in surgery too. Consequently, the couple had a chance to have a child after operation. In the failure of operations due to the negligence of the doctor (operating surgeons), the court awarded the payment of compensation ranging from ₹ 25,000/- to ₹ 1,00,000/- with interest from the date of filing cases.\(^1\) So, to avoid filing of such failure cases, Secretary, Directorate of Family Welfare, suggested that a sum of ₹ 5,000/- may be awarded as solatium for sterilization failure cases.\(^2\) No method of tubal sterilization can guarantee a 100% success rate. When it is total salpingectomy or fimbriectomy with pomeroy technique, the reported failure rates are less than 1% (0.2% to 0.5%). The failure rate with laparoscopic sterilization is some what higher.\(^3\)

It was mentioned in the letter that in doing contraceptive surgery there was failure from 0.2% to 0.5% both in pomeroy and Laparoscopic method. At the same time, Medico-

\(^0\) Tamil Nadu Legislative Assembly Debates, Vol. XXXX, No. 1-3, Madras, April, 23, 1987, p. 189.
\(^2\) Ibid.
\(^3\) K.K. vz.; 19455/vr;3/2000, date 06.11.2000, letter from Directorate of Family Planning, Chennai to Joint Director for Health all District.
legal aspects safeguard the doctor performing the operation under section 88 in IPC. However, Family programme increase the living rate of women.

**Living Rate of Women**

Having followed the FWP, the *life span of females* or women was increased. The ratio of senior citizen women has also increased. As a consequence of *Periyar’s* propaganda on Birth Control, the population of Tamil Nadu was 4.84 crores by the 1981 Census Report. The decennial growth rate of Tamil Nadu during 1971-81 is the lowest in the country i.e., 17.50% while the national growth rate is 25.00%. The birth-rate of Tamil Nadu was 26.1 per 1000 and death-rate was 10.9 per 1000 as against 33.9 per 1000 and 12.5 per 1000 for the nation as per the 1981 census.\(^5\)

*Periyar* advocated women to remove uterus for attaining complete freedom from all sorts of bondages. It is too advanced to be followed now.\(^6\)

In consequence of *Self-Respect Movement* by *Periyar* E.V.R, and the speeches made by other *Self-Respect* leaders, people in Tamil Nadu became responsible parents to adopt small family norms. Due to the efforts of the Dravidian Governments Tamil Nadu became not only the foremost state to launch Family Planning Programme in independent India but also to emancipate women from their burdens. Despite some drawbacks in the implementation level, the special welfare measures very much reduced birth rate. It is true when the Hindu population is getting reduced the Muslim population is getting increased. This is certainly a wrong signal. Another step taken by the Dravidian government towards emancipation of women was education, panacea to all social evils.

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\(^6\) Viduthalai, Chennai, June 23, 2009. Now-a-days, in Tamil Nadu there has been an increase in the number of for *rental mothers* who are used to give birth to a child when a spouse is unable to conceive. Their sperm and eggs are injected into rental mother’s uterus and she delivers a child. The rental mothers in India received the amount from ₹1.15 lakhs to ₹30 lakhs as a rent for delivering a child. The doctors had preferred widows to give birth to a child for rent.\(^6\)