CHAPTER VII

Summary and conclusions
The problem and its importance.

The study opens with a discussion of the significance of the population increase all over the world in general and in India in particular. The author shows how the very existence of man is threatened by the very force of numbers which he had all along thought as an insurance against wars, epidemics, natural disasters and other pestilences he has through centuries learnt to dread. There used to be a sense of security and safety in numbers. Now in India the same has become a threat to all progress and development.

The population situation of a country depends on three demographic factors - namely fertility, mortality and migration. In case of India since migration has not been numerically important as a factor affecting growth, the problem really comes down to fertility and mortality.

India with 2.4 per cent. of the world's land maintains 14.0 per cent. of the world's population. It has 21 million births and 8 million deaths annually. To-day India's birth rate is 40 and death rate is 18.1. Its population has crossed the 500 million mark (547.9 millions according to 1971 Census) and this is a danger signal it cannot ignore. An examination of the evidence regarding the two variables, fertility and mortality, in India leads a sociologist like Davis also to conclude that the marked decline in mortality plus the maintenance of a high birth-rate have caused the gigantic upswing in Indian population since 1920 till to-day.
Social factors behind demographic situation.

The study examines the social factors behind the demographic situation in India in the past as well as in the present.

(a) In the past:

In the past India had been a dominantly agricultural society setting high value on familial and kinship ties as means of securing socially valued goals as well as certain services. There was, therefore, no social pressure to limit the family size. The traditional forms of social organization such as clan, caste or kin were thus very favourable to high fertility in India. Institutions like early marriage, universality of marriage, preference for male child to maintain family continuity, to serve as a help to parents and perform the after-rites for their liberation after death coupled with the inability to fight successfully disease and infant mortality due to low scientific and technological development must have encouraged high fertility among people.

There were some built-in mechanisms then which might have prevented fertility from reaching the biological maximum, specially among Hindus, who formed the largest bulk of population in India. The organization of society into Varnas and Ashramas contributed some such preventive checks. The married stage of the householder (Grahasthashram) was not to last till the end of the reproductive period as he was expected to give it up and enter the stage of the forest-dweller.
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(Vanaprasthashrama). Widows were not allowed to remarry. Certain customary restrictions on sex-intercourse on certain days (Tithis) in a month, on religious days, during menstruation period and pregnancy and lactation and on the anniversary days of dead parents prevailed. All these must have acted as a check on uncontrolled fertility to a certain extent, though they could not out-balance the factors contributory to high fertility.

(b) In the present:

During the British period as well as the post-Independence period, the modern political, economic, scientific and technological development along with the modern liberal, democratic equalitarian and secular ideology and ways of life have begun to alter the authoritarean and religious Hindu ideology and ways of life.

The closed system of stratification has been superimposed by an open type of stratification based on achievement criteria. The growth of economic institutions and increase in geographical and social mobility have reduced the hold of kinship and caste ties to a certain extent. Literacy and education have developed the individuality of individuals. Children have now less value as they have to undergo long and expensive training before becoming productive citizens. The force of traditions and religion has decreased. Marriage has now not remained universal, age of marriage has gone up considerably, divorce and separation are provided by law and
are now not regarded as tabooed. Emphasis on having a male child has also decreased to a certain extent.

However, these changes are confined to the urban educated higher socio-economic stratum which forms a very small section of the Indian population. The large mass of the rural areas as well as a large proportion of the lower strata of the urban population are not yet sufficiently affected by these forces of change.

Besides these changes themselves are not sufficient to undermine the traditional structure that contributed to high fertility. Though industrialization has developed, India is yet largely an agricultural country. The economic development has not progressed enough to be able to take over some of the important functions of the family such as care of the sick, the aged and the raising and education of children. These non-economic benefits keep the family size higher than is required for replacement.

It seems, therefore, that though the forces that depress fertility have been set in motion, the development itself has generated forces that tend to keep fertility higher.

The problem, therefore, is how to achieve a rise in the standard of living in the midst of a rising population. This can be achieved by planned economic development on the one hand and adoption of birth-control as a policy on the other.

Indian leaders in the government as well as outside have realized the significance and magnitude of this problem.
Consequently family planning has been accepted as a national policy and all-round efforts are made to make people conscious of the need for family planning, provide them with knowledge, develop needed attitudes and persuade them to adopt practices that will lead to family planning. A multitude of influences are operating on the minds of married and unmarried persons—influences of educative agencies like schools and colleges, press, radio, cinema and stage, political and other socio-cultural organizations, family planning doctors and workers, each blaring some message or the other regarding family planning. The question is whether these influences and efforts have created the desired impact on the people and developed among them an awareness for it and necessary attitudes and behaviour favourable to family planning.

**Significance and scope of the study:**

The phenomena of knowledge, attitudes and practices regarding family planning have been found to vary greatly in different categories of population suggesting the possible influence of sub-cultures at work. These sub-cultural categories are residence (region and rural/urban), caste, religious communities, class or socio-economic status, degree of jointness of family structure and gender.

The great majority of studies on population and family planning in India have ignored these sub-cultural variations in their sampling designs and have, therefore, ended up with
with findings which cannot be cross-classified across cultural and social structural lines. Those studies that have taken some of them into account have not isolated each variable holding the other or others as constant.

As it is not possible to cover all the sub-cultural variables in one single study, the present study confines its efforts to finding out differentials on account of three variables only - caste status, class or socio-economic status and sex of the respondents.

The study attempts to examine the caste, class and sex differentials in the knowledge, attitudes and practices of married respondents and in the socialization of the unmarried respondents' knowledge and attitudes with respect to family planning. It attempts to observe each of these variables, caste, class and sex, holding the other two as constant. To the author's knowledge no study has examined all these three variables simultaneously. This makes cross-classification possible and thus significantly adds to the existing knowledge about the knowledge, attitudes and practices of the respondents regarding family planning.

The author explains in details how these three variables are significant as sub-cultural influences. They are considered as more likely to show variations and therefore selected.

The study has been further delimited to urban area in Gujarat and to Hindus only to eliminate regional, rural-urban and religious variables. As the phenomena studied are more
relevant to married persons in their active period, the study is delimited to married persons in the age group of 15 to 49 years. As the persons employed in large or small organizations were likely to be more exposed to urban influences the study was limited to such persons only.

The study also attempts to find out knowledge and attitudes regarding family planning among the unmarried college boys and girls belonging to different caste and class groups and compare them with those of the married.

Objectives of the study:

The main objective of the study is to find out the differences, if any, in knowledge, attitudes and practices of the married respondents belonging to different caste groups, different socio-economic statuses and to different sexes and compare the knowledge and attitudes in this respect of the unmarried with those of the married respondents.

Hypothesis:

It was hypothesized as follows:
(a) The married respondents belonging to different caste groups, but to same socio-economic status and same sex,
(b) The married respondents belonging to different socio-economic groups, but to same caste group and same sex,
(c) The married respondents belonging to different sexes, but to same caste groups and same socio-economic groups -
are likely to differ in their knowledge, attitudes and practices about family planning.

(d) The unmarried respondents are likely to show knowledge and attitudes favourable to family planning more than the married.

A brief history of family planning in India:

The author outlines briefly, the history of family planning in India prior to Independence as well as during the post-Independence period.

A review of researches on fertility and studies regarding family planning in India:

The author gives an extensive review of researches on fertility as well as of studies about knowledge, attitudes and practices (K A P studies) regarding family planning in India. He also includes in the review an examination of those studies that have taken some of the sub-cultural variables into account.

Methodology used:

Two types of respondents were selected for the study: (1) married males and females, and (2) unmarried boys and girls.

Both the samples were selected with purposive sampling technique in order to get a sufficient representation of respondents from higher and lower castes, higher and lower
socio-economic groups and from both the sexes.

The sample of the married urban employed male and female residents was taken from large or small organizations in Ahmedabad (Gujarat) area. The sample of unmarried boys and girls was chosen from the students studying in the last year of the first degree colleges in Ahmedabad.

A sample of 400 married male and female respondents and a sample of 400 unmarried boy and girl students were selected. All the 400 married and 400 unmarried respondents have been covered.

The data were collected with the help of a structured questionnaire from both types of respondents. Where the respondents were illiterate, a schedule was used as a tool to interview them and collect data. The analysis in the study is based on data thus collected from both these samples.

I Findings regarding knowledge of the married respondents about family planning.

(1) Knowledge about different types of family planning methods.

(a) Knowledge about different types of family planning methods is found more among the male than among the female respondents.

(b) Natural family planning methods are known to a very large majority of the male respondents as compared to a small minority of the female respondents.
(c) However, artificial family planning methods are known to a very large majority of the male and female respondents both, though males knowing them are more than the females.

(d) The respondents' caste status is not found correlated with their knowledge about different types of methods.

(e) However, their socio-economic status (S E S) does seem to be correlated as the proportion having knowledge about artificial methods is higher among lower S E S than among the higher S E S group. This may be due to the greater frequency of contacts of family planning workers with the lower S E S or it may also be due to the greater-felt need for it among them, though they may not be yet ready to adopt them in practice.

(2) Knowledge about the use of artificial family planning methods:

(a) A very large majority of the respondents, irrespective of their sex and caste status, have knowledge about the recent use of artificial family planning methods by some people.

(b) The higher S E S respondents show more knowledge about this than the lower S E S respondents.

(3) Extent of their knowledge about artificial family planning methods as indicated by knowledge about one or more methods.

(a) Though a very large majority of them are aware of the existence and use of artificial family planning methods,
fewer of them have knowledge about specific methods. One-fourth of them, male and female, have no specific knowledge about any of these methods, one-third have knowledge about only one and the rest have knowledge about more than one of these methods.

(b) None of the variables, sex, caste status or S E S, is found related with the respondents' extent of knowledge as indicated by the number of methods they know about.

(4) Sources of knowledge about artificial family planning methods.

(a) Sex is found correlated with the sources of knowledge of the respondents about family planning methods; most of the males get their knowledge from mass media, whereas a majority of the females get it from human media.

(b) The impersonal human media like doctors and clinic and family planning workers operate as sources of knowledge much more than the personal human media like friends and near relatives for both male as well as female respondents.

(c) Though higher and lower caste respondents have got their knowledge largely from mass media, the higher caste respondents have utilized mass media much more than the lower caste respondents, whereas human media are utilized much more by the lower caste than by the higher caste respondents.

(d) The S E S of the respondents is not correlated with the sources of their knowledge.
Sources preferred for more knowledge:

(a) Most of the females and a very large majority of males desire to know more about artificial family planning methods.

(b) A large majority of both of them prefer impersonal mass media (reading material) for more knowledge.

(c) Females prefer human media much more than the males.

(d) The lower S E S - lower caste respondents prefer human media much more than the others.

(e) A much larger proportion of the lower S E S - lower caste than the lower S E S - higher caste respondents show unwillingness to have more knowledge about artificial family planning methods. This may be indicative of the greater unreadiness of the lower S E S - lower caste group to adopt artificial methods in practice. They know because they are made aware by the family planning workers, not because they desired to know about them.

(f) In case of the male respondents, their S E S is not correlated with the sources they prefer for more knowledge. However, in case of the female respondents, the higher S E S females prefer mass media (reading material) and the lower S E S females prefer human media much more for more knowledge.
(6) Duration of the respondents' knowledge:

(a) The female respondents' knowledge about artificial family planning methods is of much longer duration than that of the males. This may be because the family planning programme began its work among the females much earlier.

(b) Neither the respondents' caste status nor their SES is correlated with the duration of their knowledge.

(7) Presence or absence of self-initiative in obtaining knowledge:

(a) A majority of the respondents show self-initiative in obtaining knowledge.

(b) The lower caste - lower SES group show absence of self-initiative in obtaining knowledge much more than all the others.

II Findings regarding the attitudes of the married respondents towards family planning:

(1) Attitude towards frequency of sex-intercourse:

(a) A majority of the male and the female respondents favour limited frequency in sex-intercourse. However, the females favour limited frequency much more than the males.

(b) Though the respondents' caste status is not correlated with their attitude towards frequency of sex-intercourse, their SES is. The higher SES group
favour limited sex-indulgence in much larger proportion than the lower S E S group, whereas the lower S E S group favour sex-indulgence at-will in much larger proportion.

(2) **Attitude towards duration of spacing between children.**

(a) A very large majority of the respondents, male as well as female, have not thought about the duration of or are not favourable to a childless period immediately after marriage.

(b) However, in case of duration of spacing between children, a large majority of them favour a period of 2 to 3 years. Some favour even a larger period of more than 3 years.

(c) Neither their sex nor their caste status is correlated with their attitude in this respect.

(d) Though a majority of higher as well as lower S E S group favour a shorter spacing period of 2-3 years, the higher S E S group favours a longer spacing period of more than 3 years in much larger proportion than the lower S E S group.

(3) **Attitude towards having a male child or children:**

(a) Barring a few who are undecided, none of the respondents, whatever their sex, caste status or S E S, thinks that there is no need to have a male child.

(b) The emphasis on having not only one male child but two male children is found still present among a very large majority of the male as well as female respondents.
(c) Neither the respondents' caste status nor their S E S is found correlated with their attitude in this respect.

(4) Attitude towards the number of children in one's family:

(a) A large majority of the respondents favour a family of two or three children and some favour a family of four children.

(b) Sex of the respondents has no correlation with their attitude in this respect.

(c) The respondents' caste status and their S E S are negatively correlated to the number of children they favour in one's family. The higher caste and higher S E S group favour a smaller family of two or less children much more, whereas the lower caste and lower S E S group favour a larger family of three or more children much more.

(5) Attitude towards having more children as reflected in the respondents' beliefs in this respect:

(a) A large majority of the respondents of either sex do not hold the belief that 'children are God's gift, and should not interfere in it'.

A large majority of the males and a majority of females do not believe that a son is necessary for the performance of the after-rites for the liberation of the soul of the dead parents. However, a little less than half the female respondents hold this belief.

A large majority of the male and female respondents neither believe that 'husband should remarry if the wife is
sterile*, nor do they "believe that 'more help would be available to the family if there are more children. They also do not believe that 'more children mean assurance of some support and help to parents in old age.

The lower S E S - lower caste respondents are found to hold these beliefs much more than the others. Thus lower caste status associated with lower S E S seem to make the respondents hold these beliefs and develop an attitude favourable to having more children, whereas the other groups show an attitude unfavourable to having more children.

(b) A large majority of the male and female respondents believe that 'it is not good to have more children as it divides family property in small parts'. Their caste status is not correlated with the presence or absence of this belief among them. However, their S E S is correlated, the higher S E S holding this belief much more than the lower S E S.

(c) Most of the respondents, irrespective of their sex, caste status or S E S, believe that (i) if children are less, they can be better reared up and taken care of, (ii) if children are less the family living standard can be raised, (iii) birth of more children affects mother's health adversely and (iv) there is nothing wrong in attempting to limit one's family one's self.
(6) **Attitude towards the type of family planning methods to be adopted.**

(a) It seems the respondents have realised the risk of pregnancy in adoption of natural family planning methods and have accepted the usefulness of artificial methods in family planning. A very large majority of them, male and female, are favourable to adoption of artificial methods, though quite a considerable proportion are yet favourable to adoption of natural methods also.

(b) The caste status of the respondents does not bear any correlation with their preference for adoption of natural or artificial methods.

(c) The S E S of the respondents also is not found correlated in case of the female respondents with their preference for natural or artificial methods. However, in case of the males, their S E S bears correlation with their preference, the higher S E S favouring more both natural as well as artificial methods and the lower S E S favouring more 'only artificial methods'.

(d) From among those who favour natural family planning methods, none prefer 'abstinence' and a large majority prefer such feasible methods as 'limited coitus'. Very few prefer 'safe period'.

(e) Half the respondents favour temporary artificial methods like 'use of Nirodh' which keeps the possibility of having a child open and only one-fourth favour permanent sterilization (vasectomy + tubectomy).
Temporary artificial method like 'use of Nirodh' is regarded as the first best, whereas permanent method like sterilization is regarded only as second best.

The respondents' caste status is not correlated with their preference for one or the other artificial method. However, there S E S is found correlated with their preference, the lower S E S favouring permanent method like sterilization much more than the higher S E S respondents.

III. Findings regarding the behaviour (practices) of the married respondents with regard to family planning.

(1) Age at marriage:

(a) A very large majority of the male as well as female respondents have married at the age of 23 or less. However, only one-fourth of them both have married between 20-23 years and one-third of the males and two-fifths of the females have married at 19 or less.

(b) The caste status of the respondents is not correlated with their age at marriage. However, their S E S is correlated, the higher S E S respondents marrying at an older age than the lower S E S respondents.

(2) Duration after which the first child is born:

(a) A largest proportion of male and female respondents have their first child born before 2 years of their marriage and one-third of them both have it before 4 years of their marriage.
(b) Neither their caste status nor their S E S is correlated with the duration after which their first child is born after marriage.

(3) Family size of the respondents:

(a) A majority of the respondents, male and female, have a small family of 5 or less, nearly one-third of them both have a medium-sized family of 6 to 8 and a few have a large family of 9 or more.

(b) The caste status of the respondents is not correlated with the size of their family. However, their S E S is correlated, the higher S E S respondents largely having small-sized (5 or less) family and the lower S E S respondents largely having medium (6-8) and large (9 or more) sized family.

(4) Number of living children in the family:

(a) Nearly half the respondents, male and female, have only one or two children. Nearly two-third of them both have three or less and the rest one-third have four or more.

(b) Though caste status is not correlated with the respondents' number of living children, the lower caste status in association with lower S E S has the tendency of producing proportionately more respondents having larger number of living children.
(c) The respondents' S E S is found correlated with the number of living children they have, the higher S E S largely having smaller number of living children (2 or less) and the lower S E S largely having larger number of living children (3 or 4 or more).

(5) Social composition of their living children:

(a) A largest proportion of the male and female respondents have '2 or more male children with/without one or more female children'. The second largest group have 'one male child with/without one or more female children'. Thus more than three-fourth of the male and female respondents have one or more male children.

(b) Their caste status bears no correlation with the social composition of their living children. However, their S E S does - the proportion having 'no child or only female children or only one male child' being much larger among the higher S E S than among the lower S E S respondents.

(6) Observance or non-observance of certain traditional practices prohibiting sex-intercourse on certain days.

(a) A large majority of the male respondents do not observe the taboos prohibiting sex-intercourse (i) on certain days in a month, (ii) on death anniversary of a family member and eclipse days, (iii) after death or delivery in the family as well as on (iv) religious days.
On the contrary, more than half the female respondents do observe the first three taboos and nearly three-fourth of them observe the taboo prohibiting sex-intercourse on religious days.

(b) The caste status of the respondents is not correlated with the observance or non-observance of these taboos.

(c) The S E S of the male respondents is not correlated with their behaviour in this respect. However, lower S E S in association with lower caste status throws up a much larger proportion of male respondents observing these taboos.

(d) The S E S of the female respondents is found to be correlated with their behaviour with regard to first three taboos prohibiting sex-intercourse on certain days (Tithis) in a month, on death anniversary and eclipse days and after death or delivery in the family. The lower S E S females observe these taboos in much larger proportion than the higher S E S females. The taboo prohibiting sex-intercourse on religious days is observed by a large majority of the higher as well as lower S E S females.

(e) Most of the respondents, irrespective of their sex, caste status or S E S, observe the practice of woman going to her mother's place for her first delivery and staying there for a period of about 2 to 3 months.
An examination of the respondents' behaviour with respect to adoption of family planning methods reveals the following.

(a) Self or partner initiated desire to limit family and whether took partner's consent before adoption.

The respondents seem to regard adoption of family planning method as a matter that concerns with the spouses. A large majority of them, male and female, felt the need to limit one's family at the initiation of their partner. A majority of them both took their partner's consent before adoption of the family planning method.

(b) The family planning method adopted:

(i) Most of the respondents, male and female, are adopters of one or the other family planning method.

(ii) Nearly one-fourth of them, male and female, have adopted one or the other natural family planning method such as abortion, abstinence, limited coitus or safe-period.

(iii) Nearly three-fifth of them, male and female, have adopted one or the other artificial family planning method.

A largest proportion of them both, male and female, have adopted Nirodh. Males have preferred it more than the females. Males give second preference to oral pill and least to sterilization and loop. On the other hand, the females give second preference to sterilization and least to loop and oral pill.
The caste status of the respondents is not correlated with type of family planning method (natural or artificial) adopted by them. However their S E S is correlated, the higher S E S respondents adopting natural family planning methods much more than the lower S E S respondents.

It has also been found that though temporary artificial methods like 'Nirodh, loop and oral pill' are adopted by higher as well as lower S E S group, the permanent artificial method like sterilization is largely adopted by the lower S E S respondents and among them, especially by the females.

(c) A large proportion of the respondents have not replied to the query regarding (i) the duration of their adoption of family planning method, (ii) change in the degree of sex-satisfaction after adoption, and (iii) change in their frequency of sex-intercourse after adoption.

(d) A large majority of the respondents, male and female, talk freely with others about the use of family planning methods.

Their caste status or S E S is not correlated with their talking freely with others about the use of family planning method. However, the lower caste when associated with the lower S E S produces a much larger proportion of respondents who do not talk about this freely with others.
Findings regarding the unmarried respondents' knowledge and attitudes regarding family planning:

(1) Unmarried respondents' knowledge about family planning

(a) Though most of the respondents, irrespective of their sex or S E S, know about natural family planning methods, the knowledge about artificial family planning methods is limited to only some of them.

(b) Most of the unmarried respondents, irrespective of their sex or S E S, have got their knowledge about family planning methods from mass-media and only a few have got it from human media.

(c) The duration of knowledge of a majority of them is 1 to 4 years.

(d) Male respondents' knowledge is largely self-initiated, whereas that of the female respondents is largely initiated by others. Their S E S is not correlated with the presence or absence of self-initiation in obtaining knowledge.

(2) Unmarried respondents' attitudes regarding family planning:

(a) A very large majority of the unmarried respondents, irrespective of their sex or S E S, do not favour sex-indulgence at will but show an attitude favourable to limited sex-indulgence.
(b) A majority of them are not in favour of a childless period immediately after marriage but favour having a 2-3 year of childless period.

A large majority of them favour a spacing of 2-3 or more years between children also.

Neither their sex nor SES is correlated with their attitudes in these respects.

(c) In the matter of having a male child, most of them, whatever their sex or SES, think that there is a need to have a male child.

A large majority of them, irrespective of their SES, think that they should have at least two male children. However, the female respondents are found favouring having only one male child much more than the male respondents.

(d) Most of the respondents, irrespective of their sex, favour a family of two or three children. However, the females are found favouring a smaller family of two or less children much more than the males. Their SES is not correlated with their attitude in this respect.

(e) The beliefs most of the respondents hold with regard to having more or less children are also unfavourable to having more children. This corroborates with their attitude favourable to having a family of two to three children.
Comparison of the married and unmarried respondents:

(a) Though a very large majority of the married and unmarried respondents both know about natural family planning methods, only a minor section of the unmarried ones have knowledge about artificial family planning methods as compared to a large majority of the married ones. Neither their sex nor their S E S makes any difference in it.

(b) The main source of married and unmarried respondents' knowledge about family planning methods is mass media, irrespective of their S E S. Only a considerably large group of married female respondents of high as well as low S E S have received their knowledge from human media like family planning doctors and workers and from friends or near relatives.

(c) The married and the unmarried respondents both, irrespective of their sex, largely favour limited sex-indulgence. Their S E S operates only in case of the married male respondents, the higher S E S largely favouring limited sex-indulgence and the lower S E S largely favouring sex-indulgence at-will.

(d) Most of the married respondents, irrespective of their sex or S E S, have either not thought about or are not in favour of a childless period, immediately after marriage. On the other hand, the unmarried respondents are very largely in favour of at least a two to three years of childless period after marriage. They do not wish to have the first child immediately after marriage.
(e) However, in case of spacing between children, most of the married and the unmarried respondents, irrespective of their sex or SES, favour a 2-3 years of spacing between children.

(f) The need to have a male child is found dominant among all the married and unmarried respondents equally. Though a largest group of them both favour having two male children, irrespective of their sex or SES, the married respondents favour having two or more male children much more than the unmarried, whereas the unmarried ones, favour having only one male child much more than the married respondents.

(g) The higher caste - higher SES married and unmarried respondents show a similar attitude favouring largely a family of two children. However, the higher caste - lower SES married and unmarried respondents differ, the married favouring largely a family of 3 children and the unmarried largely favouring a family of one or two children. Thus the unmarried respondents, irrespective of their sex or SES, seem to be more in favour of a smaller family than the married respondents.

(h) The attitude of the married and the unmarried respondents as revealed from their beliefs with respect to having more or less children shows that a large majority of both, irrespective of their sex are in favour of having less children.

In case of the higher SES males, the married and
the married and the unmarried show no difference in their attitude, a large majority holding beliefs unfavourable to having more children. However, in case of the lower SES males, the unmarried are comparatively less than the married in holding beliefs that are unfavourable to having more children.

In case of the females, the unmarried females, irrespective of their SES, are much ahead of the married in holding beliefs unfavourable to having more children.
THE OVERALL PICTURE

The governmental agencies in India have been making extensive and intensive efforts to spread the message of family planning among the people. The mass media like radio, films, newspapers, books etc. as well as human media like doctors and family planning workers, have been utilized by them to propagate knowledge about family planning among people, develop favourable attitudes towards family planning and lead them to adopt it in practice.

Married respondents' knowledge about family planning:

The study has revealed that the knowledge about artificial family planning methods in general as well as about their recent use is quite widespread among the married male as well as female respondents. Mass media have been more useful in spreading this knowledge among the males, whereas human media have been more useful with the females. Impersonal human media like doctors and family planning workers operate as sources of knowledge much more than the personal human media like friends and near relatives for males as well as females.

However, it is found that the extent of their knowledge as indicated by the number of methods they actually know about is not so widespread as their general knowledge about them. This is so irrespective of their sex, caste status or S E S. Besides, though a majority of the males and
females have shown self-initiative in obtaining knowledge, quote a good proportion of them have it because others initiated them to it. The lower caste - lower S E S respondents have shown lack of self-initiative in obtaining knowledge as well as lack of desire to know more about family planning. This means that this group knows about family planning not because it wanted to know, but because it was made to know about it. The felt need for knowledge is found much less among the lower caste - lower S E S group than among the rest.

Married respondents' attitudes towards family planning:

The study of the married respondents' attitudes towards some aspects relevant to family planning reveals several things. Irrespective of their sex or caste status, they largely favour limited sex-indulgence. The higher S E S group favour limited sex-indulgence much more than the lower S E S GROUP. They largely favour a spacing of two to three years between children irrespective of their sex, caste status or S E S. However, the higher S E S group favours a larger spacing period much more than the lower S E S group. The respondents, irrespective of their sex, largely favour a family of two or three children. The higher caste and higher S E S group favours a smaller family of two or less children.
much more, whereas the lower caste and lower S E S group favour much more a larger family of three or more children. The beliefs the respondents hold with regard to having more children also indicate that they largely do not believe that more children are necessary for religious, economic or social reasons and thus favour a smaller family. However, the lower caste - lower S E S group largely thinks otherwise and holds beliefs that are favourable to having more children and thus favour a larger family.

Thus the respondents, irrespective of their sex show attitudes favourable to family planning. Their caste status is not so much operative as their S E S. In some cases the S E S fully operates making higher S E S group more favourable to family planning than the lower S E S group. However, in some cases only the lower caste associated with lower S E S produces an attitude unfavourable to family planning.

Though the respondents largely have attitudes favourable to family planning, in one important respect, their attitude is unfavourable. Most of the respondents, irrespective of their sex, caste status or S E S, think that there is a need to have a male child. The emphasis on having not only one male child but two male children is found still present among a very large majority of them.

It seems the respondents have realised the risk of pregnancy in adoption of natural family planning methods and have accepted the usefulness of artificial family
planning methods. A very large majority of them, irrespective of their sex or caste status, are favourable to adoption of artificial methods, though quite a good proportion of them are yet favourable to natural methods also. In case of males, the higher S E S ones favour more natural as well as artificial methods, whereas the lower S E S ones favour more only artificial methods.

Though the respondents largely show attitudes favourable to family planning and to adoption of artificial family planning methods, in the type of artificial family planning they favour for adoption they show a different trend. The temporary method like 'use of Nirodh' which keeps the possibility of having a child open is regarded largely as the first best and favoured much more, whereas the permanent method like sterilization is regarded only as second best and favoured much less. This is true irrespective of their sex and caste status. Only their S E S makes a difference, the lower S E S group favouring permanent method like sterilization much more than the higher S E S group.

Married respondents' behaviour with respect to family planning:

The study of the married respondents' behaviour in matters that are directly or indirectly relevant to family planning provide interesting result. Though a majority of them have married at the age of 19 or less and though a largest proportion of them have their first child born before
two years of marriage, a majority of them have a small family of 5 or less and nearly half of them have only two or less living children. However, more than three-fourth of them have one or more male children in their family. Thus their behaviour in these respects show that though the respondents largely marry early and do not plan the birth of their first child and though the emphasis on having a male child or children is dominant, they seem to adopt family planning in such a way as to keep their family small with two or three living children.

Though this is true, irrespective of the respondents' sex and caste status, their S E S seems to be correlated with some of these aspects. The higher S E S group has married at an older age, has a smaller family size and has lesser number of living children in the family than the lower S E S group. The proportion having 'no child or only female children or only one male child' is also found much larger among the higher S E S than among the lower S E S group.

A large majority of the male respondents do not observe the taboos prohibiting sex-intercourse on certain days (Tithis) in a month, on death anniversary of a family member and eclipse days, after death or delivery in the family as well as on certain religious days. However, the female respondents differ in this respect, a majority of them observing them. It has been found that the lower S E S female respondents observe these taboos much more than the
higher S E S groups. In case of males also, the lower caste in association with lower status throws up a much larger proportion observing these taboos. However, the practice of woman going to her mother's place for her first delivery and staying there for a period of about 2 to 3 months is observed by most of the respondents, irrespective of their sex, caste status or S E S. Thus it can be said that the hold of these traditional practices prohibiting sex-intercourse on certain days and thus reducing the possibility of conception, has considerably decreased. They seem to have become inoperative more with the males than with the females and more with the higher S E S group than with the lower S E S group. This seems to be one of the reasons why the higher S E S group shows favourable attitude to family planning more than the lower S E S group.

An examination of the married respondents' behaviour with respect to adoption of family planning methods reveals as follows. It seems that the respondents, irrespective of their sex, caste status or S E S, regard adoption of family planning methods as a matter that concerns both the spouses. A large majority of them took their partner's consent before adoption. Most of the respondents are adopters of one or the other family planning methods. A majority of them, irrespective of their sex or caste status, have adopted artificial family planning methods, though a minority of them has adopted natural methods. In this case the respondents'
S E S is found correlated, the higher S E S group adopting natural methods much more than the lower S E S group. This is in keeping with their attitude in this respect.

A largest group of them both, male and female, have given first preference to the temporary method like 'use of Nirodh' and have adopted it. The males have given second preference to 'oral pill' and least to permanent method like 'sterilization'. On the other hand the females have given second preference to sterilization and least to loop and oral pill. It has also been found that though temporary methods like 'Nirodh, loop and oral pill' are adopted by higher as well as lower S E S group, the permanent methods like sterilization is largely adopted by the lower S E S group and especially by the females.

A large proportion of the respondents have not replied to the query regarding the duration of adoption of family planning method, the change in their frequency of sex-intercourse and degree of their sex-satisfaction after adoption. It seems they are more concerned with the result of adoption in terms of limiting the number of their children than anything else. However, the respondents have responded to the query regarding whether they talk freely with others about the use of family planning method. A large majority of them, irrespective of their sex, caste status or S E S, talk freely with others about the use of family
planning methods. However, the lower caste status in association with lower S E S throws up a much larger proportion of the respondents who do not talk about this freely with others.

Unmarried respondents' knowledge and attitudes regarding family planning:

Though most of the unmarried respondents, irrespective of their sex or S E S, know about natural family planning methods, only some of them have knowledge about artificial family planning methods. Mass media are the main source of their knowledge. Male respondents' knowledge is largely self-initiated, whereas that of the female respondents is largely initiated by others.

In spite of absence of knowledge about artificial family planning methods among many, the unmarried respondents have developed attitudes that are favourable to family planning. A large majority of them, irrespective of their sex or S E S, favours limited sex-indulgence, is not in favour of a child immediately after marriage, favours a spacing of 2-3 years between children and would like to have a family of two or three children. However, they do think that a male child is a must and a large majority of them think that they should have at least two male children.
Comparison of the married and the unmarried respondents:

Knowledge about artificial family planning methods is quite widespread among the married respondents, whereas among the unmarried respondents it has reached to only a small section. Both of them had their knowledge mainly from mass media. Both of them largely favour limited sex-indulgence and favour a spacing of 2-3 years between children.

The higher caste - higher SES married and unmarried respondents show a similar attitude favouring largely a family of two children. However, the higher caste - lower SES married and unmarried respondents differ, the married largely favouring a family of 3 or more children and the unmarried largely favouring a family of one or two children. Their beliefs with respect to having more children also indicate that the unmarried are ahead of the married in holding beliefs that are unfavourable to having more children. Thus the unmarried respondents seem to be more in favour of a smaller family than the married respondents.

However, the need to have a male child is found equally dominant among both of them. Though a largest group of them both favour having two male children, irrespective of their sex or SES, the married respondents favour having two or more male children much more than the unmarried, whereas the unmarried ones favour having one male child much more than the married.
Thus it can be said that the unmarried respondents have more favourable attitudes towards family planning than the married respondents.

**Hypothesis - proved or disproved?**

It was hypothesized that variables of sex, caste status, socio-economic status (S E S) and civil status (married or unmarried state) of the respondents would be found correlated with their knowledge, attitudes and behaviour with regard to family planning showing differences in the knowledge, attitudes and behaviour of respondents belonging to different sexes, caste status groups, S E S groups or having different civil status. The study has revealed as follows:

1. **The sex variable has been found to be operative to some extent only.**

   The sex variable has been found to be correlated with only some aspects of the married respondents' knowledge, attitudes and behaviour. It is found correlated with their (i) main source (mass media or human media) of knowledge about family planning, (ii) attitude towards having more children as reflected in their beliefs with regard to it, (iii) observance or non-observance of certain traditional practices restricting sex-intercourse on certain days and (iv) behaviour in adoption of the type of artificial (temporary or permanent) family planning method.
In case of the unmarried respondents, the sex variable has been found correlated with (i) the presence or absence of self-initiation in obtaining knowledge about family planning among the respondents and (ii) their attitude towards the number of male children they would like to have.

(2) The caste status variable has been found to be operative only to a very limited extent.

The caste status variable has not been found correlated with the aspects concerning married respondents' knowledge but has been found correlated with their (i) attitude towards the number of living children in the family and (ii) their behaviour with respect to adoption of the type of artificial (temporary or permanent) family planning method.

In case of the unmarried respondents, the caste status variables has not been found correlated with any of the aspects of knowledge as well as of attitudes.

(3) The socio-economic status (S E S) variable has been found to be operative to a large extent.

The S E S variable has been found correlated with the married respondents' (i) knowledge about the type (natural or artificial) of family planning methods, (ii) knowledge about the recent use of artificial family planning methods, (iii) sources preferred for more knowledge, (iv) attitude towards frequency of sex-intercourse, (v) attitude towards spacing between children, (vi) attitude towards the number of living children in one's family
(vii) attitude towards having more children as reflected in some of their beliefs with respect to it, and (viii) attitude towards the type of family planning method (natural or artificial / temporary or permanent) to be adopted.

It is also found correlated with some aspects of the respondents' behaviour relevant to family planning, namely, (i) their age at marriage, (ii) the size of their family, (iii) number of living children in their family, (iv) social composition of their living children and (v) observance or non-observance of certain traditional practices restricting sex-intercourse on certain days.

It is also found correlated with some aspects of their behaviour with respect to adoption of family planning method such as (i) adoption of the type of family planning method (natural or artificial / temporary or permanent) as well as (ii) whether the respondents talk freely with others about the use of family planning methods.

In case of the unmarried respondents, the S E S variable has not been found correlated with any of the aspects of their knowledge as well as attitudes with regard to family planning.

(4) The variable of civil status (married or unmarried status) has been found operational to a limited extent.

The civil status variable has been found correlated with the respondents' (i) knowledge about the type of family planning methods (natural or artificial), (ii) attitude
towards having or not having a childless period immediately after marriage, (iii) attitude towards the number of male children one should have, and (iv) attitude towards the number of living children in one's family.

In case of some of the aspects examined in the study, it has been found that though the caste status and SES variables are not operative, the lower SES in association with lower caste status brings out a different result for that group as compared to all the rest. In such cases, the higher caste - higher SES, the higher caste - lower SES and the lower caste - higher SES groups show a similarity (favourability to family planning) but they markedly differ with the lower caste - lower SES group (unfavourability to family planning). In case of the former three groups, the higher of the one variable either reinforces the higher of the other or makes up for the lower of the other and helps to throw up a similar result; whereas in case of the latter, the lower of the one variable reinforces the lower of the other and produces a result different from the other combinations of the two variables.

Thus it can be said that of the four variables examined, the SES variable has been found to be most operative. With respect to several aspects it has been found to be operative singly and with respect to some aspects it has been found to operate in association with the caste status variable. The SES of the respondents can, therefore,
be regarded as a distinct sub-cultural influence, variations in which influence the respondents differently in matters like knowledge, attitudes and behaviour with regard to family planning. The higher S E S group shows greater favourability to family planning than the lower S E S group in terms of their knowledge, attitudes as well as behaviour with respect to it.
A few suggestions can be made at this stage for research in future:

(1) A study of the sex, caste and class differentials in knowledge, attitudes and practices of married rural residents can be made. This may include a study of the rural unmarried residents also. This will provide opportunities for comparison with the study of urban residents.

(2) The same variables (sex, caste, class and civil status) can be taken for studying other religious communities like Muslims, Christians, Sikhs, etc., in this area. This can be done with respect to urban as well as rural residents.

(3) A study of the caste and class differentials in knowledge, attitudes and practices of married employed women and married unemployed housewives with respect to family planning will also be worthwhile.

(4) A study of the caste and class differentials in knowledge, attitudes and practices of the married young (below 35 years) and old (between 36 and 50) urban/rural residents, with respect to family planning can also be made.

These efforts, thus, will cover the other sub-cultural variables and will enrich our knowledge about people in this respect by enabling us to make cross-classifications along sub-cultural lines and making cross-cultural comparisons possible.