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OF AN URBAN POPULATION

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DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILES OF AN URBAN POPULATION

VASANT P. PETHE



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For
**VAIJAYANTEE
AND
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PREFACE

A fairly comprehensive demographic-economic survey of the city of Sholapur was carried out by me a few years back. With the help of the data gathered in the course of this investigation, some demographic profiles of the population of Sholapur have been portrayed in this report.

The political history and census history of Sholapur city have been presented in a summarised form in Chap. II of this report. The materials for this Chapter have been taken from my Ph.D. thesis: "Population and Fertility in Sholapur (1957)" to which reference may be made for fuller and more minute information and details.

The present work has been the result of help and co-operation which I received from numerous persons and organizations.

First, I record, with a deep feeling of gratitude, the help and guidance I received from Prof. N. V. Sovani, Joint Director, Gokhale Institute. This is not just to fulfil a formality; really words are not enough to express my feeling of indebtedness to him.

As in my previous work, viz. *Living and Working Conditions of Primary Teachers* (Popular Prakashan, 1962), in this work also, I received many facilities at the Gokhale Institute. A research grant was given to me by the Institute, which covered the tabulation costs. I feel most grateful indeed to Prof. D. R. Gadgil, Director of the Institute, for this grant. Prof. Gadgil has always been very kind and generous to me, and this can not be expressed adequately in words.

I was fortunate to get maximum help and co-operation from the authorities of the Municipality, Collectorate and members of the Survey Council (which included eminent persons of the city). I am happy to acknowledge that their co-operation was very valuable in the preparatory work of the investigation.

Dr. A. R. Kamat, Head of Applied Statistics Section, and many of my colleagues at the Institute were kind in going through the earlier draft of this report. I am very much indebted to them for their comments and suggestions. However, I alone bear the responsibility for the blemishes that might still be lurking in the report. I am also thankful to Miss Rairkar M.A. for her assistance in many respects.

Thanks are due to (i) the Editor, *Artha Vijñāna* for giving me the permission to reproduce in this report my article entitled: Changes in Economic Conditions of an Urban Community, which was published

in the June, 1961 issue of the Journal and (ii) to the authorities of the Family Planning Clinics of Sholapur for their permission to use the clinic data for analysis and publication.

It may be mentioned that the materials of this Survey, particularly the demographic, were used in a doctoral dissertation entitled: 'Population and Fertility in Sholapur City', Poona University.

VASANT P. PETHE.

Gokhale Institute of
Politics & Economics,
Poona 4.
June 1964.

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CHAPTER I

THE SURVEY : OBJECTIVES AND METHODS

1.1 A demographic – economic survey of the City of Sholapur was conducted by me during January-June 1955. In this report are presented some of the main findings of this investigation.

The Sample

1.2 For the survey, the family was taken as the basic unit for sampling and a random sample of about two per cent of the total number of families in the city was selected for the inquiry. The sample included in all 1,203 families.

1.3 The families in the sample were selected from the National Register of Citizens which was available at the Municipality. The National Register of Citizens gives a complete list of families, (each occupying a given tenement), as compiled on the basis of the census enumeration—in this case, the Census of 1951. It may be said that the representative character of the sample could not be much affected because of the use of the Register compiled in 1951, for an enquiry conducted in 1955. This is because if a family had left a particular tenement between 1951 and 1955, the tenement could be expected, on probability grounds, to be occupied by a family with almost similar, if not identical, demographic and economic conditions.

1.4 Due to some reasons, alterations had to be made in the originally selected sample of the Census tenement numbers. In all, 112 alterations were made. **Table 1.1** gives the number of substitutions made in the initial sample, classified by the reasons for these changes.

TABLE 1.1 : Changes made in the selected tenement numbers.

Causes of change	No. of tenements
1 Untraceable	14
2 Demolished	23
3 Uninhabited or Unhabitable	31
4 Used for non-residential purposes	36
5 Refusal to give information	8
Total	112

The table needs only one comment. As the National Register is a list of families and as such enlists only those tenements which are used for residential purposes, it was rather surprising that 36 tenements selected in the initial sample were found to be used for non-residential purposes (for business, storage, etc.) The probable explanation seems to be that during the intervening period between 1951 and 1955, the use of these tenements might have been switched from residential to non-residential purposes. In such cases, other tenements—(granting that they contained families)—were substituted. The procedure employed in substitution was standardised in all cases. Where a given tenement number was to be substituted, the number immediately preceding it was substituted. If this was not possible for any reason, the number succeeding it was chosen for the investigation.

The Questionnaire Schedules

1.5 The information for the inquiry was collected through two questionnaire schedules, viz. (i) The Family Schedule and (ii) The Fertility Schedule. These have been reproduced (in translation) in **Appendix I**. The Family Schedule elicited information on matters pertaining to individual members (e.g., age, occupation, civil condition, etc.) and the family as a whole (e.g. caste, property, housing, etc.) The Fertility Schedule was designed to record complete marital and fertility histories of all the women enumerated in the sample families. Both the schedules contained questions on the practice of contraception and attitudes towards family planning, though these questions were meant only for the heads of families and their wives.

The Response

1.6 The response on the part of both the male and female respondents was, on the whole, very satisfactory. In order to get ready response, the field work of the survey was done, wherever necessary, with the help of a few male and female investigators selected from amongst the primary teachers. The assistance of the investigators was necessary for two reasons. Firstly, the population of the city is multi-lingual; a number of languages like Telugu, Kannada, Hindi, Urdu, etc., apart from Marathi which is the most predominant language, are spoken. The response was good, and quite naturally, when the informants were interviewed in their own language. Secondly, the nature of the query involved in the fertility inquiry necessitated assistance of the lady investigators so as to get easy response from the women interviewed.

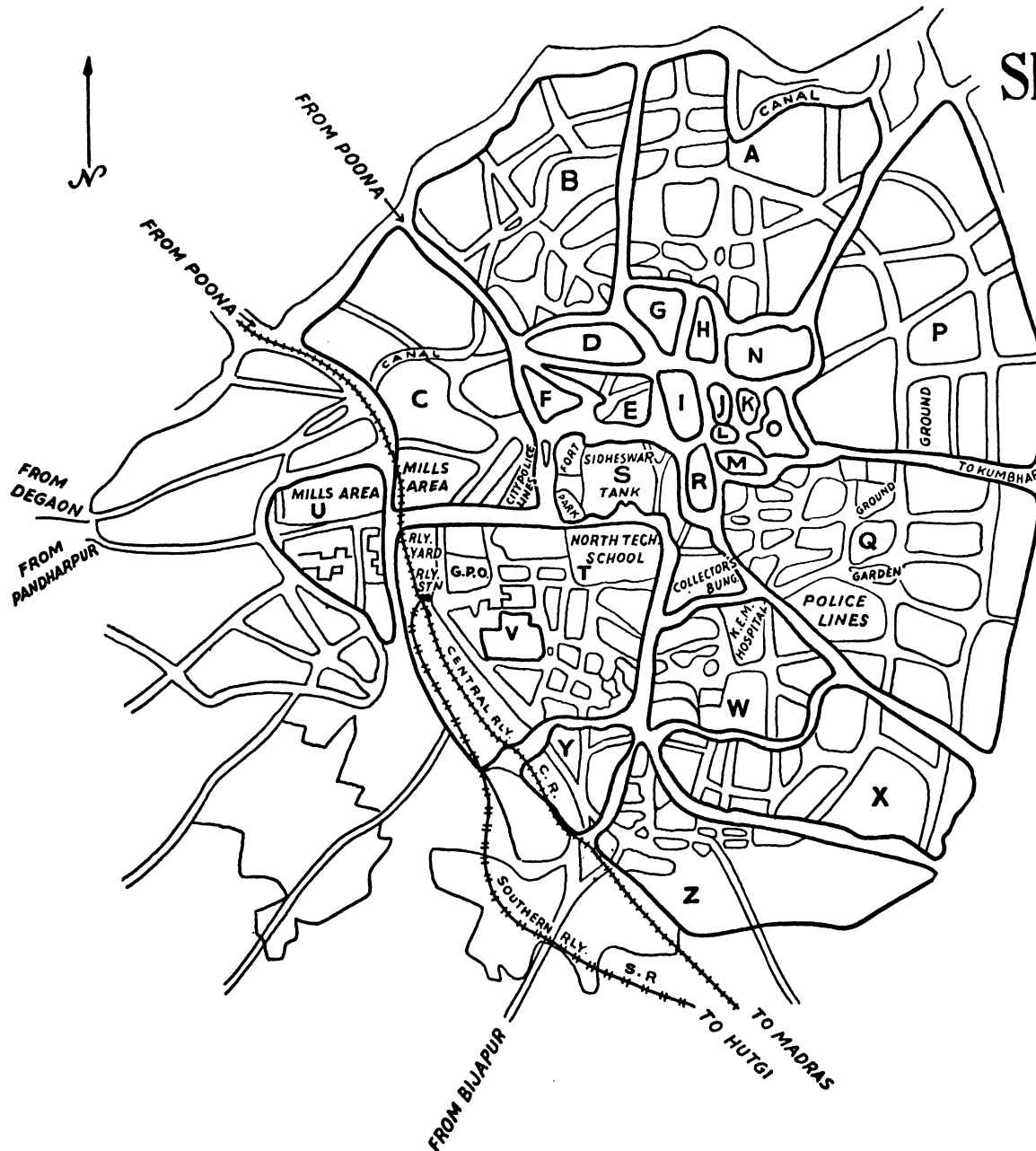
1.7 With a view to creating a suitable climate for the inquiry, or at least to dissolve or dilute any kind of indifferent or resistant attitudes, an appeal explaining the purpose and importance of the survey was issued and given or read out to every respondent before asking him/her to furnish the requisite information. The signatories to the

appeal were the Municipal President, the District Collector and other leaders representing most of the communities, political parties and social and cultural associations. About half of the signatories were eminent women of the city. The appeal had a very favourable effect on the informants in the sample.

Outline of Chapters

1.8 The present report on the survey of Sholapur contains nine chapters. The succeeding chapter is intended to acquaint the reader with the city of Sholapur, of which a few demographic profiles have been depicted on the basis of the field inquiry. Chapter III delineates the demographic and socio-economic characteristics of the families and population selected in the sample. It gives the occupational and community composition of the families and also throws light on the housing conditions and the levels of living enjoyed by them. The chapter studies the general characteristics of the population (contained in the sample families) such as age, civil condition, educational status, etc. Chapters IV and V deal with fertility and reproduction as displayed by the female population of the city. While the earlier chapter deals with the over-all levels of fertility and reproduction, the latter studies fertility as between the different groups of women. The results of the inquiry relating to the use of birth-control devices and the attitudes towards family planning have been set out in chapters VI, VII and VIII. Chapter VI contains the findings regarding the practice of contraception, made on the basis of the sample inquiry as well as an examination of the records of the two Family Planning Clinics working in the city at the time of inquiry. In Chapter VII, the attitudes on the part of both the male and female respondents towards a number of issues relating to family planning have been analysed. Chapter VIII contains a few case studies, which, it is hoped, would give in a lively manner an idea regarding the present debate on family planning amongst the generality of the people. The last chapter attempts to bring together, as succinctly as possible, the main findings of the present survey.

MAP OF SHOLAPUR CITY



A...	BHAVANI	PETH
B...	BUDHAWAR	"
C...	MURARJI	"
D...	NORTH KASBA	"
E...	SOUTH KASBA	"
F...	GOLD FINCH	"
G...	WEST MANGALWAR	"
H...	EAST MANGALWAR	"
I...	SHUKRAWAR	"
J...	GURUWAR	"
K...	GANESH	"
L...	SOMWAR	"
M...	SHANIWAR	"
N...	JODHAVANI	"
O...	SAKHAR	"
P...	RAVIWAR	"
Q...	PACHHA	"
R...	BEGAM	"
S...	SIDHESHWAR	"
T...	RAILWAY LINES	"
U...	LAXMI	"
V...	TIRHEGAON	"
W...	NORTH SADAR BAZAR	"
X...	SOUTH SADAR BAZAR	"
Y...	MODIKHANA	"
Z...	CIVIL LINES	"

CHAPTER 2

SHOLAPUR : FACTORS IN THE CITY'S DEMOGRAPHIC- ECONOMIC EVOLUTION

2.1 Before analysing the data regarding the Sholapur population gathered in the course of the survey, let us first know what sort of city Sholapur is, what are its prominent characteristics, how these have undergone changes during the last 50 years or so and what factors have been responsible in its demographic-economic evolution. The materials for this discussion have been drawn from numerous sources, the main sources being the decennial census reports and the Municipal data.¹

1. The principal sources of information on the political and social history of Sholapur are as follows : (The relevant pages should be consulted.)

(I) For Political History :

1. Annual Report of the Director-General of Archaeology in India, 1919-20, By Sir John Marshall.

2. *Epigraphia Indica* and *Record of the Archaeological Survey of India*, Part V, Vol. XXIII, Jan. 1936, Edited by N. P. Chakravarti, vide article on : "Sangur Inscription of Yadava Mahadevaraya, Saka 1186", by R. S. Panchamukhi.

3. History of the Rise of the Mahomedan Power in India, (Translated from the original Persian of Mahomed Kasim Ferishta), By John Briggs (in 4 vols.), 1829, vide Vols. II and III.

4. The Indian Antiquary, A Journal of Oriental Research in Archaeology, Epigraphy, Ethnology, etc., vide article on : 'The History of the Nizam Shahi Kings of Ahmadnagar' by T. W. Haig, Vol. XLIX (1920) Vol. L (1921), Vol. LI (1922).

5. The History of India (as told by its own Historians), The Muhammadan Period, By Sir H. M. Elliot and Prof. John Dowson, Vol. VI (1875), Vol. VII (1877).

6. Shivaji Souvenir Ter Centenary Volume, Marathi Section, Edited by G. S. Sardesai, 1927.

7. "Shivacharitra Pradeep" (in Marathi), D. A. Apte, 1925.

8. Annual Report of the Bharat Itihas Samshodhan Mandal (in Marathi), Poona, Saka 1837, Vide article on : History of Sholapur Fort, by P. N. Fatwardhan.

9. *Hindi Basatin-U-Salatin* (History of the Kings of Bijapur), Translated by Muhammad Fazalulhaq *alias* Ahamadnia, 1895.

10. Selections from the Peshwa Daftar, 20, The Bhonsles of Nagpur (1717-1774), Editor : G. S. Sardesai, 1931, Art. 207.

(II) For Social History :

1 (a) The Imperial Gazetteer of India, Vol. XII, Second Edition, W. W. Hunter, 1887.

(b) Imperial Gazetteer, New Edition, Vol. XXII 1908.

2. Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency, Vol. XX, Sholapur, James M. Campbell, 1884.

3. Indian Census Reports, especially : (a) Sholapur District Census Handbook, 1951, (b) Cities of Bombay Presidency, Census 1921, Vol. IX, Part I, L. J. Sedgwick (c) Cities of Bombay Presidency, Census 1931, Vol. IX, H. T. Sorley.

(Footnote continued on p. 5)

Geographical Setting

2.2 To begin with, it may be noted that Sholapur City is the Headquarters of Sholapur District, Maharashtra State. It is situated in lat. $17^{\circ} 40' 18''$ N. and long. $75^{\circ} 56' 38''$ E. It lies 1,800 feet above the sea level. Sholapur is a station of the South-East branch of the Central Railways, 165 miles South-East of Poona, 283 miles South-East of Bombay, and 208 miles North-West of Hyderabad. The population of Sholapur was 277,087 in 1951 and, according to the 1961 Census, it has risen to 337,583 persons.²

Socio-Political Background

2.3 If we glance over the social history of Sholapur, we find that the town has grown mainly as a commercial-industrial centre rather than as a nucleus of political, administrative or educational activities. The earlier political history of Sholapur is centred round its fort, but the events occurring there were neither momentous nor decisive in the total context of the Muslim or Maratha History. The fort was conquered by General Munro in 1818 after which the town was soon included in the Poona Collectorate. With political stability attained during the past century, Sholapur showed signs of steady progress. The Municipality was established in 1852. The railway was opened in 1859. A tank for water supply was constructed, numerous schools sprang up and hospitals came to be established in the course of time. However, the most important and perhaps the single contributory factor leading to rapid growth of Sholapur city in recent times has been the establishment and expansion of the cotton textile factories in the city.

Economic Growth of Sholapur

2.4 The growth of Sholapur has been predominantly due to the growth of trade and industry in the town. Sholapur has been a commercial place and a trade centre from the very old times. Goods used to be transported to Sholapur with bulls and camels as the means of transport. Sholapur was situated on the great commercial routes

(Footnote continued from p. 4)

4. History of Sholapur (in Marathi), B. N. Jakkal, 1928.

5. A Socio-Economic Survey of Weaving Communities in Sholapur, R. G. Kakade, 1947, Gokhale Institute Publication No. 14.

6. Sholapur Municipal Centenary Volume, (in Marathi) G. P. Kulkarni, 1953.

7. Living and Working Conditions of Primary School Teachers : A Sholapur Survey, By Dr. Vasant P. Petho, Popular Book Depot, Bombay, 7, 1962. Also: Survey of the Standard of Living of Primary Teachers in Sholapur, an article published in : Educational Studies and Investigations, Vol. I, National Council of Educational Research, Ministry of Education, 1962.

2. Census of India, Paper No. 1, 1961 Census, p. 208.

of the middle ages connecting Maharashtra, Karnataka and Hyderabad. Since 1818, its importance grew gradually. Its convenient situation between Poona and Hyderabad has made it, especially since the opening of the south-east branch of the 'Peninsula Railway' in 1859, one of the chief marts of the Deccan and the centre for the collection and distribution of goods over a large region of this part of the country. Salt, grocery, seeds, grain, oil, sugar and other goods from Humanabad and Gulburga came to the market of Sholapur. To other commercial centres like Gulburga, Bijapur, Bagalkot, Barshi, Latoor, Nanded, Parbhani, Mukhed and Jalna, Sholapur was an important centre of exchange.

2.5 Raw cotton began to come to Sholapur market since 1840 and it soon became the staple trade of the town. The production of dyes had been an important productive activity of Sholapur. The chief industry of Sholapur today is the manufacture of cotton cloth. Palmori, Kongari, Udgiri and other sub-castes of the Salis came and settled in Sholapur after 1820, and contributed a good deal to the development of handloom industry. The first mill belonging to the Sholapur Spinning and Weaving Company was opened in 1877 with a capital of nearly seven lakhs. Mills gradually increased since the opening of the present century. Sholapur has at present numerous mills and handloom workshops. According to the 1951 Census, the cotton textiles absorbed as many as 31,605 persons (29,330 males and 2,275 females)—1,438 as employers (1,398 males and 40 females), 26,761 as employees (25,335 males and 1,426 females) and 3,406 as independent workers (2,597 males and 809 females). Sholapur today is one of the important centres of textile industry in the State of Maharashtra.

Expansion of City Area

2.6 The growth of the city necessitated additions in the area of the town. These were effected from time to time. It is difficult to know from recorded history the original site of Sholapur city. One can be sure, however, that by the 16th century, the Siddheshwar Lake, the fort and the Kasba and Shukrawar Wards constituted the nuclear and inseparable parts of the territory and life of the Sholapur town. These covered an area of about 150 acres. Today, the city extends over vast area. In 1953, there were 26 wards and the city covered a total area of 5,502 acres. A reliable and continuous chronological account of the additions to the city area is available only since 1852, i.e. when the Municipality was established. This is given in **Statement 2.1**. The **Map of Sholapur** given at the beginning also helps us see how the City grew spatially during the last 100 years.

Statement 2·1 : Wards which were newly created and added to the city area since 1852.

	Year	Description of the area/ward added to Municipal area
1.	1864	Goldfinch peth : This was created originally to meet the needs of trade and business. The business community, however, found the area inconvenient. The ward then became a residential area. The peth was named after the collector, Mr. W. A. Goldfinch.
2.	1866	The limits of the Municipal area were for the first time defined and announced in the Gazette.
3.	1869	Jodbhavi peth was created to meet the needs of the trading communities.
4.	1871	Modikhana and Sadar Bazaar were included in the Municipal area.
5.	1881	Area to the south and west of the fort was added. The total Municipal area in 1881 amounted to 852 acres.
6.	1890	Portions of New Cantonment were added.
7.	1893	Tirhegaon was incorporated in the town.
8.	1913	Railway Lines was added.
9.	1927	About 397 acres from the adjoining Shelgi village were added.
10.	1938	About 900 acres to the west and south of the town were incorporated in the Municipal area. This was the largest ever increase in the area of the town.

In 1953, the total area of the city was 5,502 acres.

Factors in Population Growth

2·7. We have indicated above how the town grew in area since 1852. It may be noted, however, that the increase in the area of the town, its growth as a centre of economic activity and the increase in the number of inhabitants are all interdependent phenomena. Population might grow as a result of increasing opportunities of employment and

earnings, which also might make it necessary to expand the limits of the town area to make room for the increasing population.

2.8 The city of Sholapur has witnessed a remarkable growth in its population over the last few decades. **Table 2.1** gives the figures regarding the population of Sholapur as enumerated in the various censuses since 1872. It would be seen that during the last 80 years or so, the population has increased about five times. Compared to the beginning of the present century, the population (1951) has increased over three-fold. Today, Sholapur has a population of over three and a quarter lakhs and it ranks the fourth city in the State of Maharashtra.

2.9 It may be further noted that the population of Sholapur has grown continuously (except in 1911). Of course, the rates of population growth have not been uniform throughout. In **Statement 2.2** are shown some of the factors which broadly account for the varying rates of population growth of Sholapur city between 1872 and 1951. A review of the demographic and social history of Sholapur brings into prominence the fact that the magnitude and direction of population growth of the town have been largely determined by the natural forces of famine and disease (epidemics) on the one hand and by the rate of progress of the cotton textile industry on the other. A verification of this observation can be had in the Census of 1911, when due to plague and the resultant mortality and out-migration, the population showed a remarkable decline, and in the Census of 1941, when due to war-induced brisk textile production, the rate of population growth was the highest. It is interesting to see how these two factors are likely to affect the future trends of population growth of Sholapur. With improvement in public health and sanitation, heavy mortality due to epidemic and other diseases has already been greatly controlled. Population is not therefore likely to decline appreciably in future on this count. As regards the textile industry, it has to be noted that this had made the economic base of Sholapur very highly concentrated in one specific field of production. This is, in one sense, a weakness, for any instability in textile industry is likely to bring the whole of the economic life of the city into serious jeopardy—as it actually happened in 1949-50.³

3. Mr. H. T. Sorley observes in the 1931 Census Report: "...the two chief influences affecting the growth of the city are the prosperity or unsuccess of the cotton textile mills on which so large a proportion of the city's inhabitants are dependent for a living, and the effect of bad seasons on the city's supply of labour. ... In addition, epidemics must always be a source of disturbance to a city like Sholapur dependent on a single industry. ..." Reflecting on the future of the city, Sorley observes: "With the development of Indian textiles, ... it is probable that Sholapur will continue to grow and it may grow considerably. The extent to which it is dependent on a single industry for its well being will, however, constitute a source of danger unless the economic life of the city is put eventually on a broader basis of industry and occupation."—Census of India, 1931, Vol. IX, The Cities of Bombay Presidency, pp. 70-71.

TABLE 2.1 : The decennial growth of the population of Sholapur City (1872-1951)

Census year	Males	Percentage variation	Females	Percentage variation	Total persons	Percentage variation
1872	—	—	—	—	54744	—
1881	31282	—	29999	—	61281	11.94
1891	31734	1.44	30181	0.61	61915	1.03
1901	33163	20.26	37123	23.01	75288	21.60
1911	31891	-16.43	29454	-20.66	61345	-18.52
1921	63115	97.91	56466	91.71	119581	94.93
1931	76837	21.74	67817	20.10	144654	20.97
1941	111470	45.07	101150	49.15	212620	46.99
1951	144545	29.67	132542	31.04	277087	30.32

Statement 2·2 : Natural and socio-economic factors which broadly influenced the movement of population of Sholapur City.

Note : Factors grouped under (A) indicate those which generally tend to increase population, and factors (B) those which tend to decrease it.

Year	Population	Percentage variation	Factors which influenced population movement
1851-52 (A local Census)	30,819	—	—
1872	54,744	77·6	(A) Political stability, opening of railway in 1859, construction of Ekruk tank (1866-70). These factors raised the commercial and industrial importance of Sholapur.
1881	61,281	11·9	(A) Establishment of a Cotton Mill belonging to Sholapur Spinning and Weaving Co. Ltd., in March 1877. (B) Heavy mortality due to famine 1876-78.
1891	61,915	1·0	(A) Opening of Dufferin Hospital in 1890.
1901	75,288	21·6	(A) Further strides in the growth of textile mills. Raja Narsingh Girji Mill and Laxmi Mill started work in 1898; 'Saraswati Mandir' (A Girls' School) started in 1895. (B) Severe famines, epidemics of plague and cholera.
1911	61,345	—18·5	(A) Sholapur Spinning and Weaving Mill : B Section started in 1908. The Jam Mill and Vishnu Mill opened in 1909 and 1910 respectively. The Northcote High School established in 1902.

(Continued on next page)

Statement 2.2 (Contd.)

Year	Population	Percentage variation	Factors which influenced population movement
			(B) Recurrent visitations of plague during the decade led to heavy mortality and out-migration which chiefly account for the decline in population.
1921	119,581	94.9	(A) Return of the population which had migrated due to plague. The following institutions were established : Haribhai Devakaran High School (1918), Civil Hospital (1911), Raja Nursingh Girji Hospital (1918).
1931	144,654	21.0	(A) 'C' section of Sholapur Spinning and Weaving Mill opened in 1921; Sevasadan High School established (1923).
1941	212,620	47.0	(A) Due to World War II, productive activities were at their brim. Mills were working day and night.
1951	277,087	30.3	(A) Influx of refugees from Nizam's Hyderabad State (1948-49). (B) Depression in textile mills leading to some unemployment and out-migration. The Old Mill was closed (1949-50), others reduced their shifts. During 1950-1952, shifts were started again and Old Mill resumed its work.

Urban Growth and Changing Pattern of Population Characteristics

2·10 After having had a glimpse into the overall areal, economic and population growth of the town, we might note some salient features of the population of the city and see how these varied (or remained the same) over the few decades.⁴

4. It may be noted that the population of Sholapur generally comes from its own soil. In other words, the population was born mostly in the town itself and the district. This may be seen from **Table 2·2**. (Compare also **Table 3·6**)

TABLE 2·2 : Distribution (per mile) of population by birth place.

Region by birth*	Census year	
	1921	1931
1. Sholapur district	636	687
2. Hyderabad State	249	182
3. Bombay Presidency (including States & Agencies)	84	108
4. Madras	4	11
5. Elsewhere	27	12
Total	1,000	1,000

The old terminology regarding the territorial divisions is retained.

In the matter of religious composition, there was little change over the decades. Sholapur contained, like most of the other Indian towns, a large majority of the Hindus. About three quarters of the population are the Hindus, 20 per cent Muslims and the rest Jains, Christians, Zoroastrians and others. **Table 2·3** presents the available Census data in this respect.

TABLE 2·3 : Composition of population by religion in different censuses (in percentage)

Religion	Census years				
	1901	1911	1921	1931	1941
1. Hindus	74·5	73·2	78·9	77·0	78·9
2. Muslims	21·3	23·4	18·2	19·8	18·3
3. Christians	2·2	1·9	1·5	1·8	1·2
4. Jains	—	1·0	1·2	1·2	1·1
5. Zoroastrians	—	0·5	0·24	0·2	—
6. Jews	—	—	—	0·008	—
7. Others*	2·0	0·0001	—	0·003	0·5
Total population	75,288	61,345	119,581	144,654	212,620

*Minor and unspecified religions."

It is common experience that urbanization (or industrialization) of a locality leads to the evolution of a certain pattern of population characteristics, which is distinctly different from that of a rural or *quasi*-urban population. For instance, opportunities of employment and earnings in a growing town attract young persons, particularly the young males, which slowly reduces the percentage of old persons as well as of females in the total population. Similarly, under the influence of urban ideas and constraints, the age at marriage might gradually rise among both males and females. Requirements in getting jobs might lead to a great spread of literacy and education. It is in this light that we might study variations in the characteristics of the growing population of Sholapur city, during the last few decades. The analysis has been made chiefly on the basis of the Census data.

Trends in Sex-ratio

2-11 It appears that the growth of Sholapur affected the ratio between males and females in the population to a notable extent. The fall in the sex-ratio and its eventual rise during 1941 and 1951 in Sholapur can be traced from figures given in **Table 2-4**. It would be seen that the sex ratio declined rather steadily and without a break during 1901-31. The chief explanation for this can be found in the urbanization of the town and the progress of the textile industry which led to a steadily growing influx of the male immigrants into the city. The Census of 1941, however, showed an increase in the sex ratio, which continued during the next decade. Thus, these two decades indicated a reversal of the previous trend. A slow rise in the sex ratio following upon a continuous and rapid fall may be looked upon as an index of the process towards the evolution of a fairly stable and well-settled industrial economy and the working population in a given locality. The factory worker ceases to be "a mere bird of passage during the slack season in his village", but comes with his wife, children and other members of the family to settle in the town for good.

TABLE 2-4 : Sex ratio in Sholapur City during 1901-1951.

Census year	Sex ratio
1901	973
1911	924
1921	895
1931	883
1941	907
1951	917

Relative Increase in Young Population

2-12 A change in age-composition of the Sholapur population was quite in evidence, as can be seen from **Table 2-5** which sets out the requisite information. It would be observed that, as the time passed, while the populations in the non-adult and the younger age groups tended to increase, that of the old age group (over 45) showed a decline over the last 50 years (1901-51). Thus, the percentages of the old persons (over 45) decreased from about 17 per cent to 12 per cent between 1911 and 1955. The relative decrease of elders in the population might have resulted from the growing industry in the town which attracted usually young people to the opportunities of employment and earnings.

Rise in Age at Marriage

2-13 In **Table 2-6** is given the distribution of population by age, sex and civil condition for the various census years. The figures indicate two developments during the span of the last 50 years; viz., (i) that the age at marriage both among the males and the females increased to some extent, particularly between 1931 and 1951, and (ii) that there has been a fall in the incidence of widowhood.⁵

Progress of Literacy

2-14 There seems to be little doubt that Sholapur has continuously improved in point of literacy during the five decades between 1901 and 1951. This may be seen from **Tables 2-8-2-10** which present the available census statistics on literacy. It would be noticed that the decline in illiteracy had been more pronounced between 1931 and 1951. The literate population was only 10.6 per cent at the beginning of this century. In 1951, they formed nearly a quarter of the total population.

Conclusion

2-15 To conclude: the Sholapur town, like many other Indian towns, has grown considerably during the last eighty years or so. It has developed more by the stimuli provided by industry and trade than by any other forces such as political or administrative importance or

5. The relative variations in characteristics relating to age, sex and civil condition as between the populations of the major communities, i.e. Hindus, Muslims and the Christians may be seen from figures given in **Table 2-7**, pp. 17-18. On the whole, it appears that the Hindus and the Muslims displayed a good deal of similarity in respect of sex ratio, age composition and the civil status. The Christians, however, differed from these communities. For instance, the sex ratio amongst them has continuously increased over the decades, contrary to the general trend. Similarly, the proportions of the unmarried have remained more or less steady. There has been a notable decline in widowhood amongst persons of this community.

TABLE 2.5 : Percentage distribution of population by age and sex, for the various census years.

Age group	1901			1911			1921			1931			1951		
	Males	Fe- males	Total	Males	Fe- males	Total	Males	Fe- males	Total	Males	Fe- males	Total	Males	Fe- males	Total
0—5	12.0	12.1	12.1	11.7	12.7	12.2	10.6	12.9	11.7	13.4	13.3	14.3	15.6	17.0	16.3
5—15	25.2	25.0	25.4	20.8	20.4	20.7	24.1	23.9	24.0	22.4	23.1	22.7	23.5	25.7	24.5
15—25	15.0	16.5	15.8	18.1	18.4	18.2	17.1	19.3	18.1	21.8	23.1	22.4	18.2	20.3	19.2
25—35	19.4	18.8	19.1	18.9	17.9	18.4	20.7	18.1	19.5	19.2	16.2	17.6	17.4	15.7	16.6
35—45	13.5	12.9	13.3	13.9	13.5	13.7	13.2	11.2	12.3	12.2	10.1	11.3	13.0	10.1	11.6
45—55	8.1	7.8	7.9	8.9	8.9	8.9	7.7	7.7	7.7	6.2	6.5	6.3	7.0	5.9	6.5
55—65	6.8	6.9	6.4	5.2	5.3	5.2	4.8	4.7	4.7	3.3	3.9	3.7	3.7	3.5	3.6
65 & above	—	—	—	2.5	2.9	2.7	1.8	2.2	2.0	1.5	1.8	1.7	1.6	1.8	1.7
Total No. :	38163	37125	75288	31891	29454	61345	60224	53707	113931	72079	63495	135574	13768	12737	26505

TABLE 2-6 : Percentage distribution of population by age, sex and civil condition. (1901-1951)

Age group	Unmarried			Married			Widowed		
	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females	Total
Census Year : 1901									
0-15	78.9	95.0	85.2	4.0	17.0	10.5	2.7	2.7	2.7
15-30	18.0	3.3	12.3	31.9	45.4	38.6	15.9	11.7	12.6
30-45	2.4	1.3	1.9	41.9	29.9	36.0	31.6	34.4	33.8
45-60	0.4	0.2	0.3	15.4	6.2	10.8	25.5	27.8	27.3
60 and above	0.3	0.2	0.3	6.8	1.5	4.1	24.3	23.4	23.6
Total No. :	17253	10987	23240	18711	18403	37114	2199	7735	9934
Census Year : 1921									
0-15	74.5	94.8	82.2	3.1	16.3	9.5	1.5	2.1	2.0
15-30	22.2	3.4	15.2	34.3	49.6	41.7	17.2	10.2	12.2
30-45	2.5	1.2	2.0	40.7	27.0	34.0	32.0	30.5	30.9
45-60	0.5	0.4	0.4	15.2	5.7	10.6	25.3	30.9	29.4
60 and above	0.3	0.2	0.2	6.7	1.4	4.2	24.0	26.2	25.5
Total No. :	26093	15874	42367	29602	27818	57420	3929	10015	13944
Census Year : 1931									
0-15	75.0	95.2	82.9	4.1	15.0	9.4	1.1	0.7	0.9
15-30	22.9	3.8	15.6	41.1	55.7	48.0	15.6	11.7	12.6
30-45	1.7	0.6	1.3	37.6	23.4	30.9	30.9	31.7	31.5
45-60	0.3	0.2	0.2	13.1	4.9	9.1	30.4	36.5	35.1
60 and above	0.1	0.1	—	4.1	1.0	2.6	22.0	19.4	19.9
Total No. :	32273	20292	52565	36587	33014	69601	3219	10189	13408
Census Year : 1951									
0-15	77.2	91.2	83.3	0.5	8.7	4.4	0.2	0.4	0.3
15-45	22.2	8.4	16.2	78.4	84.0	81.1	40.6	34.2	35.9
45 and above	0.6	0.4	0.5	21.1	7.3	14.5	59.2	65.4	63.8
Total No. :	6916	5377	12296	6273	5844	12117	576	1516	2092

12 (Ref: Foot-note 5, p. 14)

TABLE 2.7 : Distribution of population by community, age, sex and civil condition at the various censuses.

Religion	Sex	Age group	1901				1931			
			Un-married	Married	Widowed	Un-married	Un-married	Widowed	Married	Widowed
HINDUS	Males	0-15	9763	635	55	15345	801	51	18136	1336
		15-45	2378	10853	818	4726	18246	1508	5429	23326
		45 & over	98	3073	842	145	5078	1514	93	4656
		Total:	12239	14561	1715	20216	24125	3073	23658	29318
	Females	0-15	7166	2625	193	11232	4009	179	14115	4233
		15-45	281	10428	2759	392	16971	3322	482	20229
		45 & over	29	1044	2948	58	1525	4472	36	1493
		Total:	7476	14097	5900	11682	22503	7973	14633	25957
MUSLIMS	Males	0-15	16929	3260	248	26577	4810	230	32251	5569
		15-45	2639	21281	3577	5118	35217	4830	5911	43555
		45 & over	127	4117	3790	203	6603	5986	129	6151
		Total:	19715	28658	7615	31898	46630	11046	38291	55275
	Females	0-15	3086	106	5	3904	110	9	5259	174
		15-45	920	2524	188	1543	3441	375	2139	4815
		45 & over	21	896	215	35	1220	362	24	1365
		Total:	4027	3526	408	5483	4771	746	7422	6354
Total	Males	0-15	2675	452	13	3370	454	29	4432	692
		15-45	136	2946	679	202	3829	662	210	5170
		45 & over	19	318	304	30	394	1093	10	384
		Total:	2830	3716	1596	3502	4677	1784	4652	6246
	Females	0-15	5761	558	18	7174	564	38	9691	866
		15-45	1056	5470	867	1745	7270	1037	2349	9985
		45 & over	40	1214	1119	65	1614	1453	34	1749
		Total:	6857	7242	2004	8984	9448	2530	12074	12600

(Continued on next Page)

TABLE 2.7—Contd.

Religion	Sex	Age group	1901				1921				1931			
			Un. married	Married	Widowed	Un. married	Married	Widowed	Un. married	Married	Widowed	Un. married		
CHRISTIANS Males														
		0-15	509	6	—	400	8	—	471	10	—			
		15-45	112	174	10	135	237	16	185	340	18			
		45 & over	4	76	10	7	68	16	2	127	16			
		Total :	625	256	20	542	313	32	658	477	34			
Females														
		0-15	397	15	3	373	21	2	508	17	—			
		15-45	55	209	43	108	257	44	178	375	44			
		45 & over	1	19	38	7	28	63	7	45	54			
		Total :	453	243	84	488	306	109	693	436	98			
Total														
		0-15	906	21	3	773	29	2	979	27	—			
		15-45	167	383	53	243	494	60	363	715	62			
		45 & over	5	95	48	14	96	79	9	172	70			
		Total :	1078	499	104	1030	619	141	1351	914	132			

TABLE 2-8 : Literacy by sex in Sholapur during 1901-1951 (in percentage)

Sex	Literacy	Census year			
		1901	1921	1931	1951
I Males	Illiterate	80.9	79.8	74.6	64.9
	Literate	19.1	20.2	25.4	35.1
	Total No.	38163	60224	72079	138857
	Literate in English	3.02	3.41	5.55	Not available
II Females	Illiterate	98.0	96.4	95.2	86.3
	Literate	2.0	3.6	4.8	13.7
	Total No.	37125	53707	63495	127193
	Literate in English	0.47	0.55	0.62	Not available
III Total	Illiterate	89.4	87.6	84.2	75.1
	Literate	10.6	12.4	15.8	24.9
	Total No.	75288	113931	135574	266050
	Literate in English	1.76	2.06	3.24	Not available

Notes : 1. 1901 figures refer to city ; 1921-1951 figures refer to Municipal area.
 2. Literates include literates in English.

TABLE 2-9 : Literacy by age and sex (1901-1951)

Sex	Age group	Literacy	Census Years			
			1901	1921	1931	1951
I Males	0—10	Illiterate	8487	13185	16581	1239
		Literate	516	410	1356	442
	10—15	Illiterate	4360	5835	5743	663
		Literate	1074	1459	2093	885
	15—20	Illiterate	2165	3581	4735	4861
		Literate	907	1488	2729	3536
	20 & above	Illiterate	15879	25468	26686	*
		Literate	4775	8798	12156	*
II Females	0—10	Illiterate	9206	13755	16966	1545
		Literate	109	193	281	203
	10—15	Illiterate	4305	5432	6650	1081
		Literate	168	402	479	419
	15—20	Illiterate	2724	4395	6545	6202
		Literate	98	348	651	1116
	20 & above	Illiterate	20156	28180	30279	*
		Literate	350	1002	1644	*

Notes : (1) *For 1951 census data, the figures indicated against age group 15-20 show numbers for age group of above 15.
 (2) In the 1951 census statistics, males and females in 0-5 age-group have been excluded while indicating literacy.

TABLE 2-10 : Literacy in major communities by age and sex (years : 1901-1931) — Sholapur City.

Community	Sex	Age	Census Year					
			1901		1921		1931	
			Illiterate	Literate	Illiterate	Literate	Illiterate	Literate
HINDUS	Males	0-10	6183	330	10272	251	12516	1039
		10-15	3150	790	4625	1049	4338	1610
		15-20	1549	706	2889	1085	3665	2103
		20 & above	12159	3648	20978	6351	21028	9133
	Females	0-10	6687	33	10749	125	12879	181
MUSLIMS		10-15	3200	64	4309	237	5067	293
		15-20	2054	44	3505	217	5073	434
		20 & above	15242	149	22492	526	23682	989
	Males	0-10	2002	51	2559	68	3615	213
		10-15	1029	115	1143	253	1304	308
CHRISTIANS		15-20	589	99	677	235	1034	454
		20 & above	3481	595	4445	1619	5396	2098
	Females	0-10	2123	12	2556	14	3584	36
		10-15	989	16	1045	38	1464	50
		15-20	601	4	850	26	1403	47
MUSLIMS		20 & above	4376	21	5238	96	6100	138
	Males	0-10	172	102	242	51	281	51
		10-15	147	94	31	84	59	90
		15-20	16	33	13	56	22	81
		20 & above	129	208	81	329	156	429
CHRISTIANS	Females	0-10	246	50	224	40	329	38
		10-15	54	65	29	103	55	103
		15-20	12	31	9	73	10	139
		20 & above	189	133	175	250	191	362

socio-cultural activities. Sholapur today can be characterised as one of the industrial cities of India.⁶ The town, it appears, responded in quite a natural and normal manner to the currents of its development. The decline and eventual rise in sex-ratio, the gradual broadening of the age pyramid at the lower and middle ages, rise in age at marriage, progress in literacy and education, etc. are the features which are quite often indicative of the kind of demographic-economic evolution which Sholapur (and the like cities) has experienced over the last half century. A casual observer of the life in Sholapur would, however, be struck by the fact that inspite of its urban growth, the city lacks in urbanism and the refined and sophisticated ways of life. It is perhaps an unmodernised modern town !

6. Means of Livelihood of City Populations (A Livelihood Classification of the Cities of India), By Dr. V. P. Pethe, Indian Economic Journal, Jan. 1963, p. 323.

CHAPTER 3

FAMILIES AND POPULATION : DEMOGRAPHIC AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS

3.1 In the last chapter, we briefly reviewed the factors in the demographic-economic evolution of the city of Sholapur over the last few decades. This was chiefly to indicate the nature of the changes in the population characteristics and the sort of the urban-industrial growth that has taken place in the city. We may now pass on to study some important demographic aspects of the Sholapur population as revealed by our investigation. To begin with, we may note a few demographic and socio-economic characteristics of the families and population selected in the sample.¹

Characteristics of Families

3.2 An idea regarding the nature of the family and family life in the city can be had by studying the following important aspects :

- (i) Size and composition of family,
- (ii) Community,
- (iii) Occupation,
- (iv) Age, sex and civil condition of family heads,
- (v) Birth place and period of residence in Sholapur,
- (vi) Income, and
- (vii) Housing conditions.

The relevant data have been presented in **Tables 3.1-3.13**.

Size and Composition of Family

3.3 The sample of 1203 families comprised, as may be seen from **Table 3.1**, a total number of 6824 persons, thus giving an average of 5.67 persons per family. Comparatively speaking, the families of medium size were more prominent than others. A family had, on an average, 1.6 earners and 4.1 dependants. The composition of the total population according to the relation categories is given in **Table 3.2**. The relations were obviously defined with reference to the head of the family. Of the total number of persons enumerated in the sample families, about 18 per cent were the family heads, 16 per cent their wives, 26 per cent sons, 18 per cent daughters and the remaining other relations.

1. It may be noted here that these data were collected also with a view to assessing differential fertility and differential attitudes towards family planning and limitation, as done in chapters 5 and 7.

TABLE 3-1 : Size of family.

Size classes	No. of members	No. of families	Percentage
1 Small size	1-3	319	26.52
2 Medium	4-6	504	41.89
3 Large	7-9	258	21.45
4 Very Large	10 and above	122	10.14
Total		1203	100.00

Total sample population—6824, Average family size, 5.67 persons.

Table 3-2 : Composition of the sample population by relation categories.

Relation Category (Relation to family head)	Number of persons	Percentage
1 Heads of families	1203	17.6
2 Wives of heads	1070	15.7
3 Sons	1777	26.0
4 Daughters	1203	17.6
5 Other male relations	683	10.0
6 Other female relations	883	13.0
7 Unrelated persons	5	0.1
Total	6824	100.0

Caste and Occupation

3.4 The prominent communities in the city were the Salis, Marathas, Scheduled Caste Hindus and the Lingayats. **Table 3.3** gives the relevant figures. In the next **Table 3.4** is given a distribution of the families according to the occupational grade of the head of family. The occupational structure was high-lighted by the single largest concentration of families in Grade II which accounted for over 40 per cent of the total sample families. This was chiefly due to predominance of the textile industry which is the mainstay of the city's population. In general, the families were engaged in occupations that were lowly paid and which had a low social status. The lowest occupational grades (Grades I-IV) comprised about 70 per cent of families.

TABLE 3-3 : A distribution of families by religion and caste.

	Community	No. of families	Percent
1	Brahmins	89	7.40
2	Marathas	172	14.30
3	Other Advanced Hindus	37	3.07
4	Lingayats	106	8.81
5	Salis	206	17.12
6	Intermediate Hindus—Artisans	64	5.32
7	Intermediate Hindus—Others	96	7.98
8	Backward Hindus	50	4.16
9	Scheduled caste Hindus	133	11.06
	Total Hindus	953	79.22
10	Muslims	223	18.54
11	Others (mainly Jains and Christians)	27	2.24
	Total	1203	100.00

TABLE 3-4 : Distribution of families according to the occupational grade of the heads of the families.

	Occupational Grade	No. of families	Percent
I	Unskilled Manual Work	136	11.31
II-A	Skilled Manual Work: Workers in non-textile occupations	78	6.48
II-B	Mill Workers	309	25.68
II-C	Handloom weavers: Wage earners	32	2.66
II-D	Handloom weavers: Owners and independent workers	91	7.56
III	Lowest Professions and Administrative Posts	74	6.15
IV	Small Business	130	10.81
V	Highly skilled and supervisory manual work	111	9.23
VI	Clerks and Shop-assistants	62	5.15
VII	Intermediate Professions and Salaried Posts	28	2.33
VIII	Medium Business	49	4.07
IX	Higher Professions and Salaried Posts	18	1.50
X	Owners of factories, large shops, etc.	12	1.00
XI	Pensioners, Beggars, etc.	17	1.41
XII	Unemployed	24	2.00
XIII	Miscellaneous	32	2.66
	Total	1203	100.00

Note : The Scheme of occupational classification adopted here is taken from : Poona (A Socio-Economic Survey), D. R. Gadgil, Part I, Gokhale Institute Publication No. 12, 1945, p. 252-55.

Headship of Family

3.5 The data regarding age, sex and civil condition of the family heads are given in **Table 3-5**. It would be seen that the families were, by and large, headed by the male members and further from amongst those who were married and were between 25 and 45. Among the

female heads, most were widowed. The figures regarding birth-place (Table 3-6) fully endorsed the observation made by L. J. Sedgwick as back as 1921 that "in the matter of birth-place Sholapur is not at all cosmopolitan, in spite of its industrialised conditions."² Many of the heads of families represented the 'home-born' population, about two-thirds of them having been born in Sholapur City and the district. A large proportion of the families were more or less permanently settled in the city. This may be seen from Table 3-7 which showed that about 58 per cent of the family heads had been in Sholapur for more than 25 years, 37 per cent for 5-25 years and only 5 per cent for less than 5 years.

TABLE 3-5 : Distribution of families by age, sex and civil condition of the head of the family.

Age-groups	Males			Females			Total
	Un-married	Married	Widowed & others	Un-married	Married	Widowed & others	
0-15	1	—	—	—	—	—	1
16-20	8	7	1	—	—	3	19
21-25	19	78	1	—	2	1	101
26-30	6	162	6	—	1	6	181
31-35	3	167	1	1	1	10	183
36-40	—	177	9	1	2	16	205
41-45	1	152	6	—	1	7	167
46-50	—	124	5	—	—	9	138
51-55	—	74	5	—	—	5	84
56-60	—	43	11	1	—	4	59
61 & above	—	49	8	—	—	8	65
Total	38	1033	53	3	7	69	1203

TABLE 3-6 : Distribution of heads of families by birth-place.

		Birth-place	No.	Percentage
I Home town or district	1	Sholapur City	617	51.29
	2	Sholapur district	192	15.96
II Neighbouring regions	3	Maharashtra State	209	17.37
	4	A. P.	140	11.64
III Far-off places	5	Rest of India	42	3.49
	6	Out of India	1	0.08
IV	7	Not given	2	0.17
Total			1203	100.00

2. Census of India, 1921, Vol. IX, Cities of the Bombay Presidency, Part 1, Report, By. L. J. Sedgwick, p. 77.

TABLE 3-7 : Distribution of heads of families by period of residence in Sholapur.

	Period of residence (Years)	No.	Percent- age
I Temporary	0-1	19	1.58
	1-2	17	1.41
	3-5	28	2.33
II Quasi-permanent	6-10	68	5.65
	11-15	111	9.23
	16-25	267	22.19
III Permanent	26-50	572	47.55
	51 and above	115	9.56
	Not given	6	0.50
Total		1203	100.00

Poverty and Low Levels of Living

3-6 Having noted the broad demographic characteristics, we may now have some idea regarding the levels of living of the families in the sample. This has been done chiefly in terms of the incomes and expenditure liabilities of the families and the housing conditions faced by them. The general picture regarding the levels of living that emerges from the data is in no way satisfactory. **Table 3-8** gives a distribution of the families according to the total income of the family from all sources, per annum. A word regarding the nature of the income returns may be in order. The accuracy and reliability of income returns was found to decline as we passed from income recipients getting fixed income either in the form of wages or salaries to persons receiving a variable income in the form of business profits. The willingness to supply correct information also declined as the size of the income increased. The scales of payment, common sense, cross-questioning, information about the general conditions and the probable earnings in given scales of business, etc., were some of the devices which were helpful in scrutinizing the income data.

3-7 From the figures regarding the income, it would be seen that about one-fifth of the families received an income of less than even Rs. 500 per annum. About two-thirds got an income between Rs. 500 and Rs. 2000. The *per capita* income amounted to Rs.264.95, which interestingly enough, approximated the average national income for the country as a whole (around 1955). The *per capita* earned and unearned incomes were Rs.223.42 and Rs.41.53 respectively.

TABLE 3-8 : A distribution of families according to total family income per annum.

Total Income (Rs.)	No. of families	Percent
0- 500	244	20.28
501- 1000	475	39.49
1001- 2000	339	28.18
2001- 5000	112	9.31
5001-10000	17	1.41
10001 and above	16	1.33
Total	1203	100.00

3-8 It is obvious that average income is only a rough index of the real standard of living enjoyed by the family, for it equates the expenditure needs of the family without taking into account the age and sex composition of the members. A more precise indicator is given by the concept of 'income per adult male unit'. **Table 3-9** presents a classification of families according to income per adult male unit. After looking into the various items of expenditure and making the necessary calculations, it was estimated that a family in Sholapur in 1954-55 needed about Rs. 600 per adult male unit per annum for bare subsistence.³ Most of the families, i.e. 93 per cent, received less than this income, so that these could be termed as "poor" families. Families which received less than Rs. 250 and Rs. 125 might be regarded as facing conditions of destitution and starvation and these constituted about 53 per cent and 13 per cent respectively. Thus, on the whole, the families in Sholapur appeared to be appallingly poor and getting along with miserably low standards of living. The main reason for poverty and destitution seemed to be the very low levels of earnings in occupations where the majority of earners were employed. This may be seen from para 3-16 and Table 3-21.

3. The minimum necessary expenditure (the Poverty Line) was estimated for the year 1954-55 on the basis of calculations made by the Bombay Textile Labour Inquiry Committee in 1937. The 1937 figures were adjusted for the price changes between 1937 and 1954-55.

Items	Minimum necessary expenditure		Percentage increase in consumer price index Nos. between 1937 and 1954-55
	1937	1954-55	
1 Food	90.00	354.63	294.03
2 Fuel and lighting	10.50	32.45	209.08
3 Clothing	13.00	53.17	308.97
4 House-rent	18.00	18.00	Nil
5 Miscellaneous	36.50	177.32	385.81
Total	168.00	635.57	

Price Index of Feb. 1927 -January 1928=100

Sources: 1. Bombay Textile Labour Inquiry Committee (1937-40), Vol. II, Final Report, pp. 70-78, 382-83. 2. Bombay Labour Gazettes.

TABLE 3-9 : Families classified according to income per adult male unit per annum.

Income per adult unit (Rs.)	No. of families	Percent
0— 125	152	12.64
126 -- 150	96	7.98
151— 200	201	16.71
201. - 250	187	15.54
251— 400	327	27.19
401— 600	155	12.88
601—1000	52	4.32
1001- 2000	22	1.83
2001- 4000	11	0.91
Total	1203	100.00

Housing Conditions

3.9 Generally speaking, the families were faced with poor housing conditions. **Tables 3.10-3.13** present the relevant data. Nearly 7 out of every 10 families in the sample lived in rented houses. Only a few families (about 5 per cent) enjoyed free residential accommodation (**Table 3.10**). As regards the amount of rent paid, nearly half of the families paid Rs. 1-5, 32 per cent Rs. 6-10, and 15 per cent Rs. 11-20 per mensem (**Table 3.11**). A large majority of the families (68 per cent) had to lead wretched existence in one-room tenements, about a quarter lived in two rooms and only 7 per cent enjoyed an accommodation of three or more rooms. On an average, there were 1.4 rooms per family, i.e. 1.4 rooms for nearly six persons (**Table 3.12**). Perhaps, the most revealing part of the data on housing conditions pertained to the various facilities and conveniences enjoyed by families. Nearly half of the families, as may be seen from **Table 3.13**, did not enjoy even one of the various conveniences listed in the Questionnaire. Only seven per cent had the fortune of having at their command all the housing facilities. The figures relating to the specific items enumerated in the list amply speak for the poor conditions of housing under which the families had to lead their lives.

TABLE 3-10 : A distribution of families according to their status as the occupants of their tenements.

	Status of occupants	No. of families	Percent
1	Owners	332	27·6
2	Families enjoying free accommodation	59	4·9
3	Owners but paying Municipal ground rent	12	1·0
4	Tenants	798	66·3
5	Not given	2	0·2
	Total	1203	100·0

TABLE 3-11 : Tenant families classified according to the amount of rent paid per mensem.

Rent (Rs.)	No. of families	Percent
1— 5	370	46·3
6—10	253	31·7
11—20	121	15·2
21—30	33	4·0
31—40	15	1·9
41 and above	7	0·9
Total	798	100·0

TABLE 3-12 : Families classified according to the number of rooms in their tenement.

No. of rooms	No. of families	Percent
1	819	68·1
2	296	24·6
3 & above	88	7·3
Total	1203	100·0

TABLE 3-13 : Families classified according to the housing amenities enjoyed.

Housing amenities	No. of families enjoying the specified amenity	Percentage to total number of families
1 Separate Kitchen	153	12.72
2 Separate bath	195	16.21
3 Separate water tap	134	11.14
4 Separate latrine	45	3.74
5 Tiled floor	280	23.28
6 Electricity	107	8.90
7 Adequate ventilation	240	19.95
8 All of the above mentioned amenities	83	6.90
9 None of the above mentioned amenities	578	48.05

Note : Classification is not mutually exclusive.

Characteristics of Population : Age and Sex Composition

3-10 As seen earlier, our sample of 1203 families contained a total of 6824 persons. We may now study some characteristics of this population, such as age, civil condition, earning status, etc. **Table 3-14** sets out a distribution of the male and female population according to quinquennial age groups. The average sex ratio was 930 females per 1000 males. Among both males and females, about 45 per cent were in the age group 0-15, 50 per cent in 16-55 and the remaining were over 55.

Civil Condition

3-11 **Table 3-15** gives the distribution of male and female population of different ages by civil condition. Of the total sample population, slightly more than half were unmarried, 43 per cent married and the remaining widowed and others. It is interesting to observe the comparative variations, through the different ages, of the percentages of the married males to total males on the one hand and of married females to total females on the other. A study of this variation indicated that there were, relatively speaking, larger proportions of married females at lower ages than the males. Thus the percentages of married to total males were 1.03, 16.57 and 65.41 in the age groups 11-15, 16-20 and 21-25 respectively, while among the females, the corresponding percentages were 21.49, 78.99 and 92.68. These differences are partly natural, for girls generally marry at earlier ages than the boys. The respective variations of the widowed to ever-

TABLE 3-14: Distribution of population by age and sex.

Age-group	Age	Males	Per cent	Females	Per cent	Total	Per cent	Sex-ratio*
I Non-adult	0—5	682	19.29	632	19.82	1334	19.55	956
	6—10	513	14.51	490	14.90	1003	14.70	955
	11—15	391	11.06	349	10.61	740	10.84	892
	16—20	362	10.24	357	10.85	719	10.54	986
II Adult	21—25	292	8.26	314	9.35	606	8.88	1075
	26—30	286	8.09	271	8.24	557	8.16	948
	31—35	223	6.31	178	5.41	401	5.88	798
	36—40	202	5.72	199	6.05	401	5.88	985
	41—45	167	4.72	124	3.77	291	4.25	743
	46—50	140	3.96	128	3.80	268	3.93	914
III Old persons	51—55	100	2.83	66	2.01	166	2.43	660
	56—60	79	2.24	75	2.28	154	2.26	950
	61 & above	98	2.77	86	2.62	184	2.70	878
Total		3535	100.00	3289	100.00	6824	100.00	930

* Number of females per 1000 males.

TABLE 3-15 : Distribution of male and female population by age groups and civil condition.

Age group	Males			Females			Percent- age of married males to total ma- les in each age group	Percent- age of married females to total females in each age group	Percent- age of widowed to aver- married males	Percent- age of widowed to ever- married females
	Un- married	Married	Widow- ed and others	Un- married	Married	Widow- ed and others				
0-5	682	—	—	652	—	—	—	—	—	—
6-10	513	—	—	473	17	—	—	3.47	—	—
11-15	387	4	—	271	75	3	1.03	21.49	—	3.85
16-20	301	60	1	64	282	11	16.57	78.99	1.64	3.75
21-25	96	191	5	13	291	10	65.41	92.68	2.55	3.32
26-30	24	249	13	2	253	16	87.06	93.36	4.96	5.95
31-35	5	214	4	—	158	20	95.96	88.76	1.83	11.24
36-40	—	189	13	1	165	33	93.56	82.91	6.44	16.67
41-45	1	159	7	—	98	26	95.21	79.03	4.22	20.97
46-50	1	129	10	—	74	54	92.14	57.81	7.19	42.19
51-55	1	90	9	—	32	34	90.00	48.48	9.09	51.51
56-60	3	58	18	—	28	47	73.42	37.33	23.68	62.67
61 and above	2	76	20	—	11	75	77.55	12.79	20.83	87.21
Total	2016	1419	100	1476	1484	329	40.14	45.12	6.58	18.15

married persons among males and females brought out another important fact that the incidence of widowed state was greater, and at an earlier age, on females than that on males. For example, the percentages of widowed males were 6, 4 and 7 in age groups 36-40, 41-45, and 46-50, while the corresponding percentages among females were 17, 21 and 42 respectively. Greater widowhood among females might be due to either greater mortality of 'husbands' as against 'wives' (for husbands are normally older than wives) or due to the fact that widowed males remarry while the widowed females do not, on account of social traditions and taboos.

Educational Status

3-12 The information about educational status of males and females is presented in **Tables 3-16 and 3-17**. At the outset, it is necessary to note that the consideration of education is not relevant in the case of persons between the ages 0 and 5, as the education of the child does not normally begin earlier than the age 5. Such children were about 20 per cent in the whole sample population.⁴ **Table 3-16** presents the distribution of the "educationally eligible" population in the sample, by the educational status. About 46 per cent of this population were illiterate, 30 per cent literate and 23 per cent educands. The comparative percentages of the literate, illiterate and educands as between males and females indicated : (i) that illiteracy was greater among the females than among the males, and (ii) that the percentage of educands among the non-adult female population was less than that among the non-adult males. Thus, while only 30 per cent of the adult males were illiterate, among females, they were as many as 77 per cent. As regards the non-adult population, nearly 75 per cent were educands and 6 per cent literate among the males, while among the females, the corresponding proportions were 47 per cent and 6 per cent.

3-13 The details regarding the educational standards attained by educands and non-educands are given in **Table 3-17**.⁵ These data may shed greater light on the state of education of those who had 'completed' their education as well as those who were still in the process of educating themselves at the time of the inquiry. The proportion of persons who received or were receiving higher education was alarmingly low. Thus, not even one per cent among the non-educands and only two per cent among the educands had the fortune of entering the portals of

4. In the present inquiry, a small number of 22 males at the age 5 was returned as learning in the first primary standard. These boys have been included among the educands. There was no female at the age 5 receiving education in the school.
5. The word 'literate' is used in this table in a limited sense. It refers only to those who learnt the art of reading and writing, but who had not received education any time in the school.

TABLE 3-16 : Distribution of population by age, sex, and literacy status.

	Age and sex	Educational Status			Total
		Illiterate.	Literate	Educands	
Males	1 Adult Males	No. 0	581 29.81	1199 61.52	169 8.67
	2 Non-Adult Males	No. 0	183 19.76	55 5.94	688 74.30
	3 Total Males	No. 0	764 26.57	1254 43.62	857 29.81
Females	4 Adult Females	No. 0	1388 77.20	372 20.69	38 2.11
	5 Non-Adult Females	No. 0	396 47.20	48 5.72	395 47.08
	6 Total Females	No. 0	1784 67.65	420 15.93	433 16.42
Age Groups	7 Adult Males and females	No. 0	1969 52.55	1571 41.93	207 5.52
	8 Non-Adult males and females	No. 0	579 32.89	103 5.84	1083 61.36
	Total	No. 0	2548 46.23	1674 30.37	1290 23.40
					5512 100.00

TABLE 3-17 : Distribution of male and female population by education.

Education	Non-educands		Educands	
	Males	Females	Males	Females
	No.	%	Total	Total
Illiterate	764	29.98	1784	2548
			70.02	100.00
Literate	62	55.36	50	112
			44.64	100.00
Primary Standards I-IV	509	70.89	209	718
			29.11	100.00
Primary Standards V-VII	411	77.11	122	533
			22.89	100.00
High School Standards I-IV	62	87.32	9	71
			12.68	100.00
High School Standards V-VII	176	87.56	25	201
			12.44	100.00
College Education	29	85.29	5	34
			14.71	100.00
Technical or Professional Education	5	100.00	—	5
			—	100.00
Total	2018	47.80	2204	4222
			52.20	100.00
			857	1290
			66.43	33.57
			11.11	100.00

a University. As regards education in the High School, the proportions were about 11 per cent and 7 per cent among the educands and non-educands respectively. An examination of the sex-composition of the different categories of persons by the educational standard indicated the usual feature of the comparative educational backwardness of the females. In the illiterate group of the non-educands, the males were about 30 per cent and females 70 per cent. This composition almost reversed itself in the category of non-educands having primary education in the lowest standards. The succeeding classes of education showed sex-compositions which had remarkably higher proportions of males. As regards the educands, the sex-composition in the various classes represented a somewhat better picture from the point of view of the females than what was found among the non-educands. The relative sex-compositions in the various educational classes of the educands on the one hand and of the non-educands on the other may be indicative of the fact that the female education is steadily progressing and that the educational interests of the females are being increasingly catered to, at least in the lower standards of education.

Earning Status

3-14 Table 3-18 presents information regarding the earning status of the population. In **Table 3-19** are given the earner-non-earner ratios in terms of the number of non-educand non-earners and all-non-earners per 100 earners. A distinction has been made between four categories of the earning status which are quite self-explanatory: viz., (i) earners, (ii) unemployed, (iii) non-earners: educand, and (iv) non-earners: non-educand. Of the total adult male population, about 77 per cent were earners, 5 per cent unemployed and almost 9 per cent each 'educand non-earners' and 'non-educand non-earners.' The number of 'non-educand non-earners' and all non-earners per 100 earners were 11.6 and 22.9 respectively. In the case of the adult females, the numbers were comparatively very large, being 540.9 and 554.7 respectively. Among these females, about 15 per cent were earners, 2 per cent 'educand non-earners' and 82 per cent 'non-educand non-earners'. The comparative divergence in the earner-non-earner ratios of adult males on the one hand and of adult females on the other was quite natural. The number of non-earners per earner among the adult females is generally higher, because most of the females in the society we live in are normally engaged in household work. None-the-less, the earner-non-earner ratio of adult females taken by itself indicated quite a larger proportion of earners than what can be generally expected in a population of females. This can be easily explained if we look to the occupational structure of the city. The textile industry including mills and the handloom workshops is the single largest source of employment to females who are helpful in unskilled or semi-skilled types of work and the preparatory processes of production. Among the non-adult males and females, the percentage of earners was naturally very

TABLE 3-18 : Distribution of population by age, sex and earning status.

Age and Sex	Earning Status				Total
	Earner	Unemployed	Non-educand Non-earner	Educand Non-earner	
Males	No. %				
1 Adult Males	1501 77.01	105 5.39	174 8.93	163 8.67	1949 100.00
2 Non-Adult Males	20 1.26	2 0.13	876 55.23	688 43.38	1586 100.00
3 Total Males	1521 43.03	107 3.03	1050 29.70	857 24.24	3535 100.00
Females	No. %				
4 Adult Females	274 15.24	4 0.22	1482 82.43	38 2.11	1798 100.00
5 Non-Adult Females	6 0.40	— —	1091 73.17	394 26.43	1491 100.00
6 Total Females	280 8.51	4 0.12	2573 78.23	432 13.14	3289 100.00
7 Adults	1775 47.37	109 2.91	1656 44.20	207 5.52	3747 100.00
8 Non-Adults	26 0.85	2 0.06	1967 63.93	1082 35.16	3077 100.00
Total	1801 26.39	111 1.63	3623 53.09	1289 18.89	6824 100.00

TABLE 3.19 : The earner-non-earner ratios : Number of non-educand non-earners and all non-earners per 100 earners.

Age and sex group		Earners	Non-Educand Non-Earners	All Non- Earners
Males	Adult Males	100	11.59	22.85
	Non-Adult Males	100	4380.00	7820.00
	Total Males	100	69.03	79.76
Females	Adult Females	100	540.87	554.74
	Non-Adult Females	100	18183.33	24750.00
	Total Females	100	918.93	1073.21
Age Groups	Adults	100	93.29	104.96
	Non-Adults	100	7565.38	11726.92
Total Population		100	201.17	272.74

insignificant. The numbers of non-educand non-earners and all non-earners per 100 earners for the whole population in the sample were 201·2 and 272·7 respectively. This meant that every earner in the city of Sholapur (excluding himself) had to shoulder, on an average, the responsibility of 2·3 non-earners.

The Working Population

3·15 All the earners in the sample totalled 1,912. Of these, 1801 persons were gainfully employed and the remaining involuntarily unemployed, at the time of the inquiry. The nature of the tasks performed by the gainfully employed persons can be noted from the classification of these earners according to industry and occupation,⁶ as given in **Table 3·20**. It would be seen that as between the various divisions of 'industries', the largest single concentration of earners, amounting to over 60 per cent, was in the manufacturing industries (i.e. Divisions 2-3). The earners in these divisions were greater both absolutely as well as relatively—outnumbering earners in other divisions not merely individually but all of them put together. On examining the details, it was found that out of the 1092 earners in Divisions 2-3, as many as 795 earners were absorbed by the textile industry (509 by mills and 286 by handloom establishments). Next to the manufacturing industries, trade and commerce (Division 6) and the Services (Division 8) contained comparatively larger proportions of earners, about 18 per cent and 15 per cent respectively. Thus Divisions 2-3, 6 and 8 together absorbed over 9 out of every 10 earners. The distribution by "occupation" also indicated a few concentrations. The largest single concentration of earners, (63 per cent) was in the subordinate technical occupations (Divisions 5-6). The other occupations which comprised relatively quite a large number of earners were the subordinate sales and related occupations (Division 4) and subordinate administrative and executive occupations (Division 2).

Earnings of the Working Population

3·16 It was remarked earlier that the poverty of families might be largely due to inadequacy and the low levels of earnings of the earning hands in the family. **Table 3·21** sets out a distribution of earners of different occupational grades according to their earnings per annum. It would be seen that a large majority of earners (78 per cent) were in the lowest occupations (Grades I-IV) and that the levels of earnings in these occupations were very low. The condition of the unskilled manual workers and some of the sub-classes of Grade II was possibly the worst amongst all earners. The median earnings of all earners were only Rs. 613.

6. Classification of Industry and Occupation, Indian Statistical Institute, Calcutta, 1954.

TABLE 3-20 : Distribution of earners according to industry and occupation.

Industry Divisions	Occupation Divisions								Total
	0	1	2	3	4	5-6	7	8	
	Managerial, administrative, executive (Non-tech.)	Professional, technical and related occupations	Subordinate, administrative and executive occupations	Ministerial Occupations	Sales and related occupations (Subordinate)	Subordinate Technical Occupations	Service Occupations	Unclassified	
0 Agriculture, Livestock, Forestry, Fishing and Hunting	—	—	—	—	—	38	—	—	38
1 Mining and Quarrying	—	—	—	—	—	9	—	—	9
2-3 Manufacturing	3	10	42	16	6	1015	—	—	1092
4 Construction	—	—	—	—	—	37	—	—	37
5 Electricity, Gas, Water and Sanitary Services	1	—	19	—	—	—	—	—	20
6 Distributive Services (Trade and Commerce)	—	—	—	10	309	—	—	—	319
7 Transport, Storage and Communication	—	—	—	—	—	18	—	—	18
8 Services	3	71	55	36	12	23	64	—	264
9 Activities not adequately described	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	4	4
Total	7	81	116	62	327	1140	64	4	1801

Note : Industry and occupation classified according to ISI classification, 1954.

Unemployed : 111. Total Earners : 1912

TABLE 3-21 : Distribution of earners in different occupations by earnings per annum.

Occupational Grade	Earnings per annum (Rs.)							Total	Median earnings
	1-100	101-250	251-500	501-750	751-1000	1001 and above			
I	82	129	85	38	34	5	73	234	
II-A	3	29	49	29	14	6	130	416	
II-B	5	14	42	96	221	29	407	821	
II-C	1	15	25	3	1	—	45	336	
II-D	—	18	60	34	17	22	151	492	
II (A-D)	9	76	176	162	253	57	733	639	
III	2	3	15	13	44	18	95	856	
IV	3	29	70	57	32	—	191	484	
V	4	16	25	25	30	52	152	800	
VI	2	3	22	13	12	43	95	969	
VII	—	—	—	2	2	27	31	1595	
VIII	—	—	4	—	7	57	68	1712	
IX	—	—	1	1	3	19	24	3000	
X	—	—	—	—	—	22	22	5200	
XI	1	4	4	1	4	3	17	469	
Total	103	260	402	312	421	303	1801	613	

Conclusion

3.17 The population of Sholapur displayed characteristics regarding the age and sex-composition, education, earning status, etc., which are quite common in an urban-industrial population. The nucleus of the occupational structure of the city was obviously the manufacturing industry, specifically the cotton textiles. The living conditions of families were marked by bad housing, and poverty and the low levels of earnings, which again are not very unexpected in an industrial city like Sholapur.

CHAPTER 4

LEVELS OF FERTILITY AND REPRODUCTION

4.1 In the last chapter, we studied the demographic and socio-economic characteristics of the families in the sample and the whole population contained in these families. In this and the next chapters, we shall concentrate our attention on information relating to only a section of this population, viz., the female population exposed to the risk of child-bearing. The data used here were collected through the fertility schedule which was canvassed for every woman in the sample and which gathered complete marital and fertility histories of the woman interviewed. The present chapter is intended to indicate the levels of fertility and reproduction performance on the part of women considered for the purpose.

Women exposed to Risk of Child-bearing

4.2 The total number of females enumerated in the whole sample of 1203 families was 3289. All of these, however, were not relevant for consideration in a study of fertility. For instance, women who were single, widowed or below 13 or above 50 years of age had to be left out of account, for they were not 'exposed to the risk of child-bearing.' A classification of such women according to the factors eliminating any chance of pregnancy is given in **Table 4.1**. Excluding these women, it was found that there were 1337 women who were 'eligible' to have a child during one year preceding the time of inquiry.

4.3 **Table 4.2** sets out a classification of the 1,337 'eligible' women according to their present age. The shortcomings of the age-returns are quite obvious from the figures. The age-returns were heavily concentrated at the multiples of five and at even ages. Hence the derivation of the fertility rates by relating births to women of given ages could not be very reliable. To overcome this deficiency, therefore, women were classified into suitable age groups. **Table 4.3** gives a distribution of the women under consideration according to quinquennial age groups and also indicates the number of children born to them in each age group. This table furnishes the basic raw material from which the fertility and reproduction rates can be derived. It was observed that to 1337 women, a total of 321 children¹ were reported to have been born during an interval of one year preceding the time of investigation.

1. This excludes abortions, miscarriages and still-births, which together were 17 in number.

TABLE 4.1 : A classification of women not exposed to risk of child-bearing.

Factors eliminating risk of child-bearing		No. of women
I Age	(1) Women below 13 years of age	1327
	(2) Women above 50 years of age	227
II Marital status of women in age group 13-50	(3) Unmarried	188
	(4) Widowed	153
III Absence of chance for pregnancy	(5) Divorced, separated etc.	20
	(6) Husbands away for a long time	37
Total No. of women not exposed to risk of child bearing		1952
No. of women exposed to risk of child bearing		1337
Total No. of women enumerated in the survey sample		3289

TABLE 4.2 : Distribution of eligible women by single age-years.

Age	No. of women	Age	No. of women
13	---	33	12
14	19	34	8
15	19	35	94
16	39	36	15
17	26	37	17
18	69	38	20
19	23	39	---
20	116	40	111
21	20	41	4
22	71	42	12
23	29	43	6
24	18	44	4
25	149	45	71
26	34	46	3
27	29	47	4
28	48	48	5
29	10	49	---
30	128	50	61
31	16		
32	27		
		Total	1337

TABLE 4-3 : Distribution of women according to quinquennial age groups and the number of children born to them.

Age group	No of women	No. of births
13--15	38	1
16--20	273	81
21--25	287	91
26--30	249	72
31--35	157	51
36--40	163	20
41--45	97	4
46--50	73	1
Total	1337	321

Marital Fertility Rates

4.4 An idea regarding the levels of fertility performance on the part of 1337 women (who were in the fertile age group and in married state during the year of inquiry) can be had from the age-specific fertility rates as given in **Table 4.4**, as well as from the fertility curve plotted in **Graph 4.1**. (p. 47) The rates given in Col. 4 of the table represent the average rates for the respective age groups and give the number of children to be expected to 1000 women in the given age groups. Col. 5 indicates the total marital fertility rates corresponding to the various age groups computed by multiplying the average fertility rate by the number of years in the given age groups.

4.5 The table displays quite normal features of the fertility performance rates as between the different age groups. The rate in the first age group was very low. In the next age group, it was found to shoot up high to a remarkable extent. The fertility rates then remained quite high in the few succeeding age-groups. In the last three age groups beginning with 36-40, the rates indicated a steady decline, reaching the lowest level in the last age group. Such a fertility pattern through the different ages during the reproductive period of women is quite a usual one.

TABLE 4-4 : Age-specific fertility rates of married females in Sholapur City.

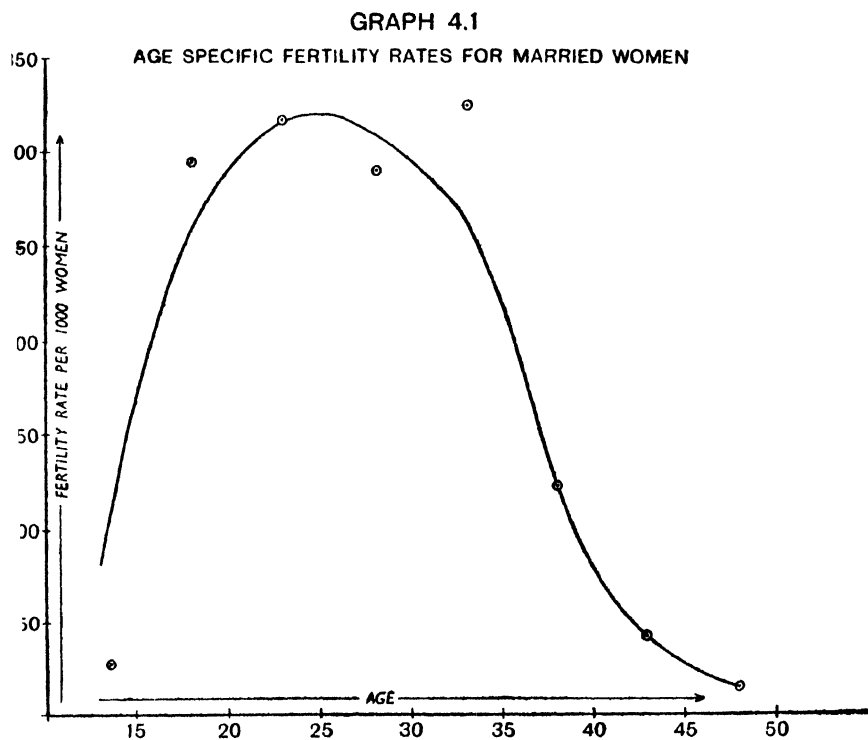
Age group	No. of women	No. of live-births during the year of inquiry	No. of births per 1000 women (average rates)	Total fertility rates
13-15	38	1	26.32	78.96
16-20	273	81	296.70	1483.50
21-25	287	91	317.07	1585.35
26-30	249	72	289.16	1445.80
31-35	157	51	324.84	1624.20
36-40	163	20	122.70	613.50
41-45	97	4	41.24	206.20
46-50	73	1	13.70	68.50
Total	1337	321		7106.01

4.6 The total figures in Col. 5 gives the overall total marital fertility rate for Sholapur women, which comes to 7106.01 children per 1000 women or about 7 children per woman. In other words, the number of children expected of a married woman in her life-time was about 7 children.

Single Age Year Specific Fertility Rates

4.7 As said earlier, it would not have been proper to calculate single age specific fertility rates due to the defective nature of the age returns. These rates, therefore, have been derived in an indirect way. **Graph 4.1** is prepared on the basis of **Table 4.4**. The rates given in this table are attributable to the central ages of given age groups. Rates for the intermediate ages were derived by the method of graphical interpolation and these have been presented in **Table 4.5**.² The last column of the table contains cumulative totals of the fertility rates, cumulated upto specified ages. These cumulative rates represent the total number of

2. The nature of the age specific fertility rates as appearing in Col.4 of Table 4.4 demanded some degree of graduation. Generally speaking, the progression of the rates was satisfactory. There were, however, two considerations which needed some kind of graduation for getting finer results. Firstly, the fertility rate for the age-group 26-30 recorded a fall when compared to that of the earlier age group. Secondly, the gradient of the rise in the rate from 26.32 for age group 13-15 to 296.70 for the succeeding age group was rather too high. For these reasons, graduation was made. Obviously, in graduating the rates, attention was paid to make the graduation agree more with rates which were based on a larger number of observations.



births to be expected to 1,000 women during one year who live and remain married upto the specified ages.

TABLE 4-5 : Single age-year specific fertility rates for married women in Sholapur City as read off from Graph No. 1.

Age	Fertility rate per 1000 women	Cumulative Total	Age	Fertility rate per 1000 women	Cumulative Total
13	80	80	32	277	5338
14	132	212	33	263	5601
15	174	386	34	244	5845
16	210	596	35	219	6064
17	239	835	36	188	6252
18	260	1095	37	154	6406
19	277	1372	38	123	6529
20	291	1663	39	101	6630
21	302	1965	40	85	6715
22	312	2277	41	70	6785
23	317	2594	42	55	6840
24	319	2913	43	41	6881
25	318	3231	44	33	6914
26	317	3548	45	27	6941
27	314	3862	46	22	6963
28	310	4172	47	18	6981
29	304	4476	48	14	6995
30	297	4773	49	11	7006
31	288	5061	50	7	7013

Levels of Reproduction

4-8 The fertility rates given so far referred to the class of married women. The overall total fertility rate of these women might be said to represent the aggregate reproductive potential which the married

women under consideration were capable of. The total fertility potential may not, however, become fully effective. This might happen for two reasons. Firstly, not all women remain alive throughout their fertile life. Secondly, for such part of their fertile life they live, they may not be always in married state due to late marriage, widowhood, separation, divorce, etc. We may first consider the effect of the absence of married life during the reproductive period on the fertility potential of the woman. **Table 4-6** sets out the age specific fertility rates by relating births to all women irrespective of their marital status. The total fertility rate calculated on this basis worked out to be 6065·65 children per 1000 women or about 6 children per woman. The difference between the total marital fertility rate and the total fertility rate of women irrespective of their marital status may be said to measure the loss of fertility potential of the women due to either late marriage³ or such contingencies as widowhood, separation, divorce, etc. This loss came to 1040·36 children per 1,000 women or about one child per woman in the case of Sholapur women as subjected to prevalent conditions regarding the marital status.

4-9 In calculating total fertility rates, children of both sexes are included. To arrive at the reproduction rates, it is necessary to take into account only the female births. The proportion of female births to total births in the sample was 0·4829. The gross reproduction rate for women of Sholapur city came to 2929·10 per 1000 women or 2·9 per woman. This meant that every woman living throughout her child-bearing period and as governed by the fertility schedules of the year of inquiry would be expected to give birth, on an average, to about 3 females in her life time.

4-10 We may now add the consideration of mortality and study the combined effect on the reproductive potential of the contingencies that the women might not remain (a) alive and (b) in married state during the whole of their child-bearing period. The age specific fertility rates given in **Table 4-7** represent the rates which are net of the loss of fertility due to prevalent conditions governing (a) the marital status and (b) the mortality of women of Sholapur City. As the survey did not collect any data on mortality, the Life Tables for the West India Zone (in which Sholapur is located) as given in the 1951 Census⁴ were used to get the proportions of women who survive at the specified ages. The total fertility rates specific to age groups given in Col. 6 of **Table 4-7** were calculated in a way similar to that of Col. 5 in **Table 4.4**. The total fertility rate for women of Sholapur as subjected to prevalent marital and mortality conditions was 3154·44 children per 1,000 women or about 3 children per woman. The loss to reproductive

3. This word is used here in the biological sense to mean marriage after the age of 13 or 14, when the reproductive period of the women usually begins

4. Census of India, Paper No. 2, Life Tables, 1951 Census, 1954, pp. 51-54.

TABLE 4-6 : Age-specific fertility rates of women irrespective of their marital status and the gross reproduction rate.

Age group	No. of women	No. of births	No. of births per 1000 women (average rates)	Total fertility rates
13--15	104	1	6.10	18.30
16--20	357	81	226.89	1134.45
21--25	314	91	289.81	1440.05
26--30	271	72	265.68	1328.40
31--35	178	51	286.52	1432.60
36--40	199	20	100.50	502.50
41--45	124	4	32.26	161.30
46-50	128	1	7.81	39.05
Total	1735	321		6065.65

Gross reproduction rate = 2929.10

TABLE 4.7: Fertility rates of females subjected to probabilities of remaining (i) married and (ii) alive: (Net Reproduction Rate).

Age group	Fertility rates of women irrespective of their marital status (Table 6)	Central Age	Survival rate per person (1951 census)	Fertility rates net of both marriage and survival contingencies (Col. 2x Col. 4)	Total fertility rate
13-15	6.10	14	0.60323	3.68	11.04
16-20	226.89	14	0.58477	132.68	663.40
21-25	289.81	23	0.56030	162.35	811.90
26-30	265.68	28	0.52538	139.58	697.90
31-35	286.52	33	0.47796	136.95	684.75
36-40	100.50	38	0.42454	42.67	213.35
41-45	32.26	43	0.37054	11.95	59.75
46-50	7.81	48	0.31671	2.47	12.35
Total					3154.44

Net Reproduction Rate = 1523.27

potential caused by the contingencies relating to both survival and marital status would be given by the difference between the total fertility rate as calculated in **Table 4.4** and the one calculated in **Table 4.7**. This loss came to 3951.57 children per 1,000 women or about 4 children per woman. In other words, 1,000 women in Sholapur would have given birth to 3,952 more children than what they actually did, if they had remained alive and married throughout the reproductive period of their lives. The net reproduction rate which was obtained by multiplying the total fertility rate (**Table 4.7**) by the proportion of female births to total births was found to be of the order of 1523.28 females per 1,000 women. Thus, one may expect on the basis of the survey data on fertility that 1,000 women in Sholapur would be eventually replaced by about 1,523 females in the next generation.

Comparison of Female and Male Reproduction Rates and Length of Generation

4.11 The above net reproduction rate relates female births to female population and is, therefore, usually termed as the Female or the Maternal Net Reproduction Rate. It is common to use this rate for a forecast of the future trend of population growth. The Maternal Reproduction rate, however, presents only one side of the picture. It is helpful for a well-rounded study of population growth to know also the Male or Paternal Net Reproduction Rate and compare it with the Maternal Net Reproduction Rate.

4.12 In calculating the male fertility and reproduction rates, births occurring during the year of inquiry were related to males in the various age groups instead of to the females. The same computational procedures that were employed for the female rates were used in the calculation of male rates. **Tables 4.8-4.10** give the age specific fertility rates, along with the reproduction rates, for the males, corresponding to the female rates as given in **Tables 4.4, 4.6 and 4.7** respectively. The Paternal Net Reproduction Rate for the male population of Sholapur worked out to be 1748.5736 per 1,000 males. The higher level of the male net reproduction rate as compared to the female rate may be explained by the fact that the length of generation for males is usually greater than that for females. From the data, it was found that the mean lengths of generation were 33.20 years for males and 26.69 years for females. In precise terms, therefore, the paternal and maternal net reproduction rates of 1.7 and 1.5 represented the rates of increase in the male and female populations per 33 years and 27 years respectively.⁵

5. The true rates of natural increase were 0.2522 and 0.3160 per 1000 for males and females respectively.

TABLE 4-8 : Age specific fertility rates for married males.

Age	No. of males	Births during the year of inquiry	No. of births per 1000 males (average rates)	Total fertility ratio
16 — 20	42	4	95.24	476.20
21 — 25	188	53	281.91	1409.55
26 — 30	256	87	339.84	1699.20
31 — 35	206	66	320.39	1601.95
36 — 40	191	51	267.02	1335.10
41 — 45	159	36	226.42	1132.10
46 — 50	134	14	104.48	522.40
51 — 55	83	10	120.48	602.40
56 and above	78	—	—	—
Total	1337	321		8778.90

TABLE 4-9 : Age specific fertility rates for married males irrespective of their marital status and gross reproduction rate.

Age	No. of males	Number of live births during the year of inquiry	No. of births per 1000 males (average rates)	Total fertility rates
1	2	3	4	5
16 — 20	362	4	11.05	55.25
21 — 25	292	53	181.51	907.55
26 — 30	286	87	304.20	1521.00
31 — 35	223	66	295.96	1479.80
36 — 40	202	51	252.48	1262.40
41 — 45	167	36	215.57	1077.85
46 — 50	140	14	100.00	500.00
51 — 55	100	10	100.00	500.00
Total	1772	321	1460.77	7303.85

Gross Reproduction Rate : 3776.82.

TABLE 4-10 : Fertility rates of males subjected to probabilities of remaining (1) married and (2) alive.
(Net Reproduction Rate).

Age group	Fertility rates of males irrespective of their marital status	Central Age	Survival rate per person (1951-Census)	Fertility rates net of both marriage and survival contin- gencies (col. 2 x Col. 4)	Total fertility rate
1	2	3	4	5	6
16—20	11.05	18	0.58403	6.45	32.25
21—25	181.51	23	0.56040	101.72	508.60
26—30	304.20	28	0.53230	161.92	809.60
31—35	295.96	33	0.49531	146.59	732.95
36—40	252.48	38	0.44761	113.01	565.05
41—45	215.57	43	0.39381	84.89	424.45
46—50	100.00	48	0.33840	33.84	169.20
51—55	100.00	53	0.27876	27.88	139.40
Total	1460.77			676.28	3381.50

Net Reproduction Rate = 1748.5736

Trends in Fertility : Past and Present

4.13 The study of fertility done so far referred to children born during the year of inquiry, and as such, indicated the levels of fertility performance during that year. In addition to information regarding children born during the year of inquiry, we had collected data regarding all children born to women in the sample during the whole of their married life. If we calculate age-specific fertility rates of women with reference to the children born to them upto the time of inquiry, they would give us an idea regarding the levels of fertility performance on the part of these women, in the recent past, say for the period over the last 25-30 years or so. Thus it is possible for us to compare the present and past levels of fertility performance on the basis of the two kinds of fertility rates, the one based on the cumulative totals of children born to women during the year of inquiry upto the different ages, and the other based on the total number of children born up-to date to women of different ages. There is, however, one difficulty in this comparison. It should be remembered that all of the married women taken into account here were not in a married state throughout their fertile period. Hence, the way in which the comparison is sought to be made would not be a valid one. The difficulty, however, can be obviated by making a comparison, not on the basis of age-specific rates, but on the basis of rates specific for the duration of marriage. In this case, all the women with given duration of marriage would obviously be in married state and therefore the comparison between the fertility rates based on children born during the year of inquiry and the total number born upto date would be fully warranted

4.14 Table 4.11 presents the duration-specific rates based on (a) births during the year of inquiry and (b) total births to-date. Columns 5 and 7 of this table are to be compared for studying the relative levels of the fertility performance at present and in the past. The 5th column gives cumulative totals of the duration-specific rates based on births during the year of inquiry cumulated upto specified marriage durations and as such indicates the number of children to be expected to women in specified marriage durations. These expected rates are to be compared with the rates based on the actual number of children born to women of the various marriage durations as given in Col.7. For easy comparison the two series of rates have been plotted in **Graph 4.2.** (p. 57)

4.15 It would be seen from the figures and the Graph that the two sets of fertility rates run almost together for durations of marriage less than about 15 years. For higher durations, though the actual rates deviate rather by large differences, still the path shown by the two types of rates is not very different. If we graduate the curve showing fertility rates based on births to-date, it would be found that the smooth

TABLE 4-11 : Comparison of duration specific fertility rates based on
 (i) births during the year of enquiry and
 (ii) total births to-date.

Duration of marriage (years)	No. of women	Children born during the year of inquiry	Children born per 1000 women	Cumulative total of column No. 4	Total No. of children born to date	Total No. of children born per 1000 women
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
0	—	—	—	—	—	—
1	45	3	66·67	66·67	5	111·11
2	55	13	236·36	303·03	19	345·45
3	45	12	266·67	569·70	25	555·56
4	50	23	460·00	1029·70	26	520·00
5	63	11	174·60	1204·30	74	1174·60
6	45	14	311·11	1515·41	82	1822·22
7	82	26	317·07	1832·48	155	1890·24
8	29	7	241·38	2073·86	72	2482·76
9	59	20	339·00	2412·86	143	2423·73
10	62	24	387·10	2799·96	155	2500·00
11	34	10	294·12	3094·08	92	2705·88
12	82	23	280·49	3374·57	268	3268·29
13	31	12	387·10	3761·67	109	3516·13
14	36	14	388·89	4150·56	141	3916·67
15	53	17	320·75	4471·31	255	4811·32
16	29	10	344·83	4816·14	123	4241·38
17	80	19	237·50	5053·64	352	4400·00
18	15	5	333·33	5386·97	76	5066·67
19	26	7	269·23	5656·20	115	4423·08
20	25	5	200·00	5856·20	167	6680·00
21	14	5	357·14	6213·34	95	6785·71
22	72	22	305·56	6518·90	449	6236·11
23	14	4	285·71	6804·61	104	7428·57
24	18	3	166·67	6971·28	148	8222·22
25	25	4	160·00	7131·28	164	6560·00
26	7	—	—	7131·28	51	7285·71
27	78	3	38·46	7169·74	486	6230·77
28	6	—	—	7169·74	51	8500·00
29	11	—	—	7169·74	99	9000·00
30 and above	146	5	34·25	7203·99	1055	7226·03
	1337	321	—	—	5186	—

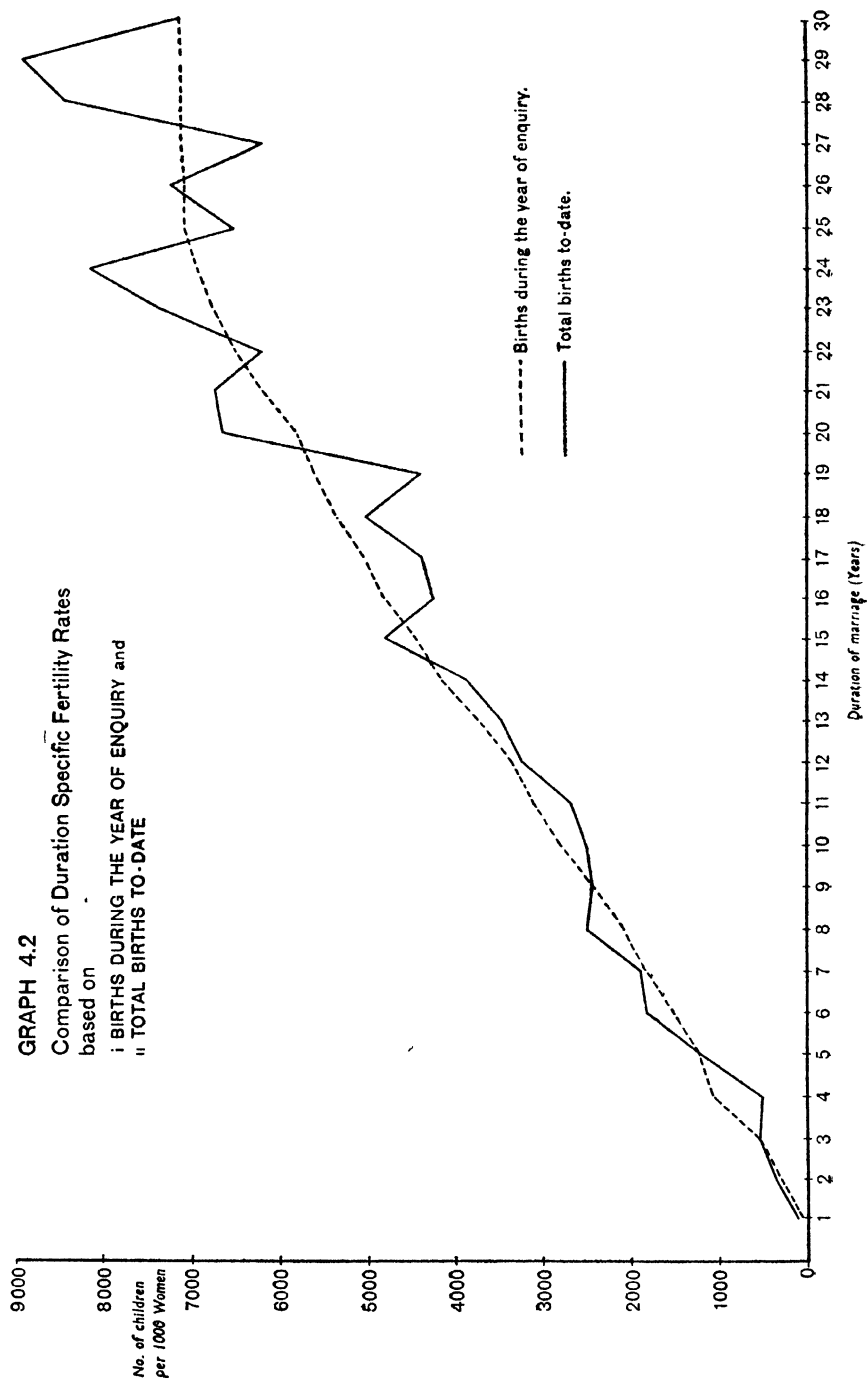
GRAPH 4.2

Comparison of Duration Specific Fertility Rates

based on

i BIRTHS DURING THE YEAR OF ENQUIRY and

ii TOTAL BIRTHS TO-DATE



curve would run very close to the fertility curve showing births during the year of inquiry. This seems to suggest that in the past the women in our sample were subjected to the same fertility schedules at the various durations of marriage as those indicated by the number of children born during the year of inquiry. There was, by and large, little difference in the levels of fertility performance in the past and at present. It might be expected that due to new ideas regarding family planning etc., the present fertility would show a downward trend in the future. The absence of such a trend in the past, however, was quite definite and might be due to the fact that there had been perhaps no substantial change in the habits regarding the married life and reproduction on the part of the persons concerned over the last few years.

Conclusion

4-16 On the whole, the levels of fertility and reproduction as revealed by the survey data were fairly high and indicated a growing community over the past years and prospects of growth in the future. These fertility and reproduction levels represented the levels which were almost entirely unaffected by the practice of artificial birth-control. For, the couples using the contraceptive devices were in extreme minority, as we shall see later in Chapter 6.

CHAPTER 5

DIFFERENTIAL FERTILITY

5.1 So far, we were concerned with the over-all levels of fertility and reproduction of all the women in the reproductive age group taken together. We may now enter into a further problem and attempt to see whether the levels of fertility showed significant variations as between the different groups of women.

Fertility and Social-Biological Variables

5.2 It is commonly believed that fertility is a function of many factors. In the following, we may attempt to verify this hypothesis so far as our data are concerned. The various factors supposed to influence fertility and cause differences in it may be classified into two broad groups : (a) the biological factors and (b) the socio-economic factors. The biological factors refer to those factors which may influence the fertility potential from purely physiological point of view. The socio-cultural factors, on the other hand, embrace all aspects of the conditioning social environment in its most comprehensive sense. Thus in this category, religious ideas, occupation, size of income, education, social status, marital and reproductive habits, cultural surrounding, customs and traditions and a host of such factors may be relevant.¹ In the present study, the following factors have been taken for examination :

(A) Biological factors :

- (i) age at marriage²
- (ii) difference between the ages of husband and wife
- (iii) duration of marriage³ and
- (iv) order of birth of children⁴

(B) Socio-economic factors :

- (i) religion and caste
1. The biological and socio-economic factors need not be classified in watertight compartments. For, a sociological factor like marriage habits may operate *via* the biological factor of age at marriage or widow remarriage which may ultimately influence fertility.
 2. In a few cases, the women were married more than once. In such cases, the age at the time of present marriage has been taken into account.
 3. This has been defined in the biological, not socio-legal, sense. If a woman was married prior to age 13, her duration has been counted from age 13. In other words, the counting of duration of marriage has been done 'within' the fertile period.
 4. This referred to the total number of children, whether dead or living at present, born prior to the time of investigation.

- (ii) family income
- (iii) husband's occupation
- (iv) woman's occupation
- (v) husband's education and
- (vi) woman's education

General Lack of Fertility Differences

5.3 From the age-specific fertility rates, it is found that the present age of the woman accounts for a substantial range of variation in fertility. Hence, in assessing the differential effect on fertility of the various biological and social factors, it is assumed that the age of the woman is the primary factor affecting fertility. Now, if any of the factors—we may take for illustration the age at marriage—causes significant variation in fertility, it should be observable in the group of women of the same age. The number of children to be expected of women of a given age-group classified according to the age at marriage may be calculated on the hypothesis that the present age alone affects fertility and that the age at marriage does not lead to any variation in fertility. The number of children expected in this manner and the number actually born to women may be compared. If there is substantial difference between the expected and observed numbers, there is ground to believe that the age at marriage has an effect on fertility. For testing the significance of the difference between the observed and expected fertility, the statistical technique of the chi-square test of significance has been applied.⁵ The use of this technique with reference to our data is illustrated in one of the Tables, viz. the one in which the effect of the age at marriage has been tested (**Table 5.1**)

5.4 The values of the chi-square given in the various **Tables 5.1-5.10** clearly indicate that the differences between the observed and the expected births are of such an order that they are attributable to chance with a high probability than to the incorrectness of the hypothesis on the basis of which the expected numbers were calculated. In other words, none of the biological or socio-economic factors under consideration was found to hold any differential effect on marital fertility of the women in our sample.

Some Interesting Results

5.5 Before arriving at final conclusions regarding differential fertility solely on the basis of the chi-square value, one of the limitations of this method should be borne in mind. A given chi-square value may indicate that a factor under consideration is ineffective. Nevertheless, we may find that there is some regularity in departures between

5. cf. Survey of Fertility and Mortality in Poona District, By V. M. and K. Dandekar, Gokhale Institute Publication No. 27, 1953, pp. 57-60.

TABLE 5.1 : Test of significance of the effect on marital fertility of age at present marriage.

Age group	Age at marriage				Total
	0-15	16-20	21-25	26 & above	
13-15 No. of women	38	—	—	—	38
Observed births	1	—	—	—	1
Expected births	1.00	—	—	—	1.00
16-20 No. of women	232	41	—	—	273
Observed births	69	12	—	—	81
Expected births	68.84	12.16	—	—	81.00
21-25 No. of women	224	58	5	—	287
Observed births	71	19	1	—	91
Expected births	71.02	18.39	1.59	—	91.00
26-30 No. of women	205	38	4	2	249
Observed births	59	12	—	1	72
Expected births	59.27	10.99	1.16	0.58	72.00
31-35 No. of women	132	17	7	1	157
Observed births	42	6	2	1	51
Expected births	42.89	5.52	2.27	0.32	51.00
36-40 No. of women	140	20	2	1	163
Observed births	16	4	—	—	20
Expected births	17.18	2.45	0.25	0.12	20.00
41-45 No. of women	92	5	—	—	97
Observed births	4	—	—	—	4
Expected births	3.79	0.21	—	—	4.00
46-50 No. of women	60	11	—	2	73
Observed births	1	—	—	—	1
Expected births	0.82	0.15	—	0.03	1.00
Total No. of women	1123	190	18	6	1337
Observed births	263	53	3	2	321
Expected births	264.81	49.87	5.27	1.05	321.00
Chi-square	0.0124	0.1964	0.9778	0.8595	2.0461

Chi-square = 2.0461 with 3 degrees of freedom

Probability = 50.70 per cent.

TABLE 5-2 : Test of significance of the effect on marital fertility of the differences between the ages of husband and wife.

Difference between ages of husband and wife (Years)	No. of women	Observed births	Expected births	Chi-square
0 -- 5	506	139	121.20	2.5828
6 -- 10	581	131	140.46	0.6371
11--15	163	36	39.40	0.2934
16 and above	87	15	19.94	1.2239
Total	1337	321	321.00	4.7372

Chi-square = 4.7372 with 3 degrees of freedom.

Probability = 10-20 per cent

TABLE 5-3 : Test of significance of the effect on marital fertility of the duration of marriage.

Duration of marriage (Years)	No. of women	Observed births	Expected births	Chi-square
0 -- 5	258	62	67.00	0.3731
6--10	277	91	84.89	0.4398
11--15	236	75	70.61	0.2729
16--20	175	46	51.60	0.6078
21-- 25	143	39	31.85	1.6051
26 and above	248	8	15.05	3.3025
Total	1337	321	321.00	6.6012

Chi-square = 6.6012 with 5 degrees of freedom.

Probability = 20-30 per cent.

TABLE 5.4: Test of significance of the effect on marital fertility of the number of children born prior to the time of inquiry.

Number of children born	No. of women	Observed births	Expected births	Chi-square
0	249	54	61.87	1.0130
1	190	56	52.07	0.2966
2	189	46	54.86	1.4309
3	117	31	33.65	0.2087
4	124	30	32.31	0.1652
5	119	42	30.46	4.3720
6	88	20	19.12	0.0405
7	67	14	11.90	0.3706
8	57	14	9.87	1.7282
9	34	5	5.52	0.0490
10 and above	103	9	9.37	0.0146
Total	1337	321	321.00	9.6893

Chi-square = 9.6893 with 10 degrees of freedom,
 Probability = 30.50 per cent.

TABLE 5.5 : Test of significance of the effect on marital fertility of religion and caste.

Religion	Caste	No. of women	Observed births	Expected births	Chi-square
Hindus	Brahmins	74	18	16.84	0.0799
	Marathas	186	49	47.83	0.0286
	Other advanced Hindus	45	10	11.12	0.1128
	Lingayats	109	24	27.53	0.4526
	Salis	287	70	69.16	0.0102
	Intermediato Hindus :				
Muslims	(A) Artisans	76	18	18.37	0.0075
	(B) Others	89	20	22.49	0.2757
	Backward Hindus	62	9	14.16	1.8803
	Schedule Caste Hindus	146	37	33.13	0.4521
		244	62	55.43	0.7387
Jains, Christians and other religions		19	4	4.94	0.1789
Total		1337	321	321.00	4.2173

Chi-square = 4.2173 with 10 degrees of freedom.

Probability = 90.95 per cent.

TABLE 5.6: Test of significance of the effect on marital fertility of total income of the family.

Family Income (Rs. per annum)	No. of women	Observed births	Expected births	Chi-square
0— 500	178	41	42.62	0.0616
501—1000	466	128	116.04	1.2327
1001—2000	448	103	103.79	0.0060
2001—5000	185	38	44.49	0.9467
5001—10000	34	5	7.75	0.9758
10001 and above	26	6	6.31	0.0152
Total	1337	321	321.00	3.2380

Chi-square = 3.2380 with 5 degrees of freedom.

Probability = 50.70 per cent.

TABLE 5-7 : Test of significance of the effect on marital fertility of the occupational grade of the husband.

	Occupational Grade	No. of women	Observed births	Expected births	Chi-square
I	Unskilled Manual Work	119	26	28.38	0.1996
II-A	Skilled Manual work : Textile Workers	502 •	116	125.13	0.5325
II-B	Skilled Manual Work : Workers in occupations other than textile industry	75	21	17.07	0.9048
III	Lowest Professions and Administrative Posts	74	30	20.05	4.9378
IV	Small Business (Earnings upto Rs. 1000 per annum)	137	35	35.24	0.0169
V	Highly Skilled and Supervisory Manual Work	116	32	27.83	0.6248
VI	Clerks and Shop-assistants	78	18	20.12	0.2234
VII	Intermediate professions and salaried posts	25	10	5.68	3.2856
VIII	Medium Business (Annual Earnings Rs. 1001-5000)	55	12	12.03	0.0001
IX	Higher Professions and Salaried Posts	21	3	5.02	0.8128
X	Owners of Factories, Large Shops etc.	19	3	4.39	0.4401
XI	Miscellaneous	116	15	20.06	2.2595
	Total	1337	321	321.00	14.2379

Chi-square = 14.2379 with 11 degrees of freedom.
Probability = 20.30 per cent.

TABLE 5-8 : Test of significance of the effect on marital fertility of the woman's occupation.

Woman's Occupation	No. of women	Observed births	Expected births	Chi-square
Manual Work	156	37	37.45	0.0054
Business, Professions and Salaried Employment	34	4	8.16	2.1208
Household Work	1147	280	275.39	0.0772
Total	1337	321	321.00	2.2034

Chi-square = 2.2034 with 2 degrees of freedom.
Probability = 30.50 per cent.

TABLE 5-9 : Test of significance of the effect on marital fertility of the education of husband.

Husband's education	No. of women	Observed births	Expected births	Chi-square
1 Illiterate	430	95	92.48	0.0687
2 Literate	44	11	10.48	0.0258
3 Primary Education :				
A. Standards I- IV	367	82	92.79	1.2547
B. Standards V- VII	289	68	71.18	0.1421
4 High School Education :				
A. Standards I- IV	47	17	12.70	1.4559
B. Standards V- VII	127	42	33.01	2.4484
5 College and other Higher Education	33	6	8.36	0.6662
Total	1337	321	321.00	6.0618

Chi-square = 6.0618 with 6 degrees of freedom.

Probability = 30-50 per cent.

TABLE 5-10 : Test of significance of the effect on marital fertility of the woman's education.

Woman's education	No. of women	Observed births	Expected births	Chi-square
1 Illiterate	1038	236	243.74	0.2458
2 Literate	26	3	5.46	1.1084
3 Primary Education :				
A. Standards I-IV	158	44	40.01	0.3979
B. Standards V-VII	87	29	24.14	0.9784
4 High School and other Education	28	9	7.65	0.2382
Total	1337	321	321.00	2.9687

Chi-square = 2.9687 with 4 degrees of freedom.

Probability = 50-70 per cent

observed and expected values in certain classes of women distributed according to a given factor. In such a case, the factor will have to be regarded as effective, to a greater or smaller extent, depending upon the magnitude and regularity of the departures between observed and expected values. If we put to close scrutiny the data set forth in **Tables 5-1 - 5-10** from this point of view, we would find that the generalization regarding the complete absence of differential fertility will have to be modified — though only very slightly.

5-6 The following factors appeared to cause differences in the fertility of women :

- (i) religion and caste
- (ii) total family income
- (iii) occupation of husband and
- (iv) educational status of the woman.

Some of these factors are supposed to affect fertility in a particular direction. It was interesting to find, however, that these factors influenced fertility in quite an opposite direction. Take, for instance, the first factor, viz., religion and caste. It is generally believed that fertility is lower in the higher castes and *vice versa*. A glance over the figures given in **Table 5-5**, however, would indicate that the Advanced Castes showed greater fertility than the Intermediate or Backward Castes. Similarly, it is usually supposed that fertility is higher among populations engaged in handloom weaving or business occupations where labour force from amongst the members of the family is welcome. This belief, however, is not categorically corroborated by the figures in **Table 5-7^a**. For example, the observed births reported by women whose husbands were engaged in textile industry (whether in mills or handloom establishments) were found to be actually less than the expected. In respect of the educational status of the woman also, indications are given by the figures which run counter to the popular belief. (**Table 5-10**) In the case of educated women, observed births exceeded the expected number, whereas the converse was the case in respect of the illiterate women. As against the above three factors, the income factor appeared to affect fertility in accordance with the common belief. Roughly speaking, fertility appeared to be less in the higher income groups than in the smaller income groups. (**Table 5-6**)

6. It appears that this belief is true in the socio-economic sense rather than in the biological sense. The families of the handloom weavers or of business classes are larger because of the prevalence or desirability of the joint family system rather than of the large-sized biological families.

5.7 Though detailed examination of the departures between observed and expected births gave slight indications of a few factors holding influence over fertility, the overall drift of the figures indicated that no significant fertility differences obtained between women of different groups. In other words, with the size of the sample we had, all the classes of women grouped according to the various biological and social factors contributed more or less proportionately to the fairly high levels of fertility as exhibited by the whole number of women in the sample. This phenomenon is not something which is unexpected, for there are good reasons to believe that the various social, religious, educational and economic classes in Sholapur do not differ very much in respect of marriage habits and ideas and habits regarding procreation, use of artificial devices of birth-control etc., which might be perhaps ultimately influencing fertility.

CHAPTER 6

PRACTICE OF CONTRACEPTION

6.1 The high levels of fertility and reproduction found in respect of the Sholapur population were quite in keeping with the fertility levels generally obtaining in this country. Unlike most of the countries of the West, Indian fertility is almost entirely unaffected by the practice of birth control. In a relatively ignorant and backward country like India, three layers of population might be distinguished from the point of view of family planning :

- (a) those who practise birth control
- (b) those who have knowledge regarding birth control but do not practise it, and
- (c) those who are completely ignorant of the idea and methods of family planning and limitation.

In Sholapur, as elsewhere, the first two classes of population were found to be in extreme minority. There is, therefore, little wonder that the fertility levels were high in Sholapur, and they also continue to be high elsewhere in the country as ever before.

6.2 In this and the next two chapters are presented some findings of an inquiry into the practice of birth control and attitudes towards family planning and limitation. The investigation covered a subsample of the total sample population, including in all 1071 males and 1141 females.¹ In addition to the field inquiry, an attempt was made to know the nature and extent of the practice of birth-control in the city—population as a whole, by examining the records of the two Family Planning Clinics which had been functioning in the city at the time of inquiry. Most of the data available in the Clinic-records pertained to the use of birth control devices and hence these have been incorporated in this chapter along with the relevant information collected in our investigation.

1. The males chosen for the inquiry were usually the heads of families in the sample and the females the wives of these heads. Unmarried male heads were of course left out of account. In the case of females, where the male head was widower or where the wife of the head was shy or could not dare to answer in the presence of the mother-in-law, or other elderly persons, the senior-most married female was selected for the inquiry. For this reason, it appeared more appropriate to analyse the data separately for males and females rather than couple-wise.

Wide-spread Ignorance of Family Planning

6.3 There is wide-spread ignorance about family planning amongst the Indian masses, whether rural or urban. There is neither much eagerness to get information on the subject. This was corroborated by the inquiry under reference. **Table 6.1** gives a distribution of the male and female respondents according to whether they had full information on birth control, and if not, whether they were desirous of having such information. It would be noticed that about 90 per cent of the males and 95 per cent of the females were completely unaware of the idea or methods of family planning. A large majority of these were quite apathetic towards receiving the information.

TABLE 6.1 : Distribution of the male and female respondents according to knowledge about and desire to get information on family planning.

Knowledge about and desire to get information on family planning	Males		Females	
	No. of males	Percentage	No. of females	Percentage
1 Have full information	93	8.68	38	3.33
2 Have no information; desirous of getting full information	150	16.81	110	12.27
3 Have no information; not desirous of getting full information	783	73.11	949	83.17
4 Not given	15	1.40	14	1.23
Total	1071	100.00	1141	100.00

Practice of Contraception

6.4 If the knowledge about birth control was rare, the actual practice of contraception was rarer still. Only 24 males and 24 females reported that they had been adopting birth-control methods in one form or the other.² A classification of these persons according to the method of birth control is given in **Table 6.2**. It would be seen that about half of the males and females had got themselves sterilized and about one fourth were using mechanical or chemical appliances.

2. 48 males and 6 females said that they were observing, what they called, 'moral restraint' or the abstinence. Few, however, explained what they exactly meant by the word. It appeared that some confused 'withdrawal' with moral restraint.

TABLE 6·2 : Classification of males and females in the sample practising family planning according to the method of birth-control used by them.

Method of birth-control	No. of males	No. of females
1 Mechanical or chemical appliances (condom, jelly, etc.)	6	6
2 <i>Coitus interruptus</i>	1	3
3 Vasectomy/resection tuborum	12	13
4 Unspecified	5	2
Total	24	24

Family Planning in the City :

A Study of Patients of Family Planning Clinics

6·5 Our inquiry already indicated an almost universal absence of the practice of contraception. This finding was reinforced also from the other end, i.e. when an analysis was made of the records kept by the two family planning clinics in the Sholapur City. In a population of about 300,000 persons, only about 56 persons, on an average, took advice and treatment from the two clinics in a year. In the following, we may present some valuable information regarding the cases treated by these clinics.³ The data incorporated here is upto February 1956 and the main items on which information was available were the monthly record of the number of patients advised or treated, the castes to which the patients belonged, the age at which they first came to the clinic for advice, the agency that directed the patients to either of the clinics, their previous trial with birth control methods, etc.

Nature of Services provided by Clinics

6·6 There were two birth control clinics in Sholapur City in 1955. The Christa Seva Mandir clinic, located in the Christa Seva Mandir, Neighbourhood House, Siddheshwar Peth, was opened in 1950 by the American Marathi Mission. The Sholapur Municipality started its clinic at "Bali Ves", opposite the State Bank of India, in 1951. The Municipal Centre is attached to the Municipal R. H. Maternity Home. The association of a family planning centre with a maternity home has this advantage that the doctor can find out proper cases for advice on birth control and the interested patients also come to know easily of the facilities available to them in this matter. According to Reso-

3. I am very thankful to the authorities of the clinics for permitting me to use the data for the analysis. The responsibility for the views expressed is, however, wholly mine.

lution No. 6 which approved the Report of the Health Officer on April 2, 1952, the Municipality decided to charge the patients of the birth control clinic Rs. 4.00 for the pessary and Rs. 1.87 for the jelly. It, however, provided that if a patient were very poor, she should be given, at the discretion of the doctor, these appliances free of charge.

6.7 Both the Municipal and the Christa Seva Mandir centres advise or treat only female patients. The staff in both the clinics includes one lady doctor, a trained health visitor and an *ayah*. The clinics work only for one day in a week. They are equipped with one clinic room, models of female organs, measuring rings, charts, contraceptive devices, etc. The Municipal Clinic advises and supplies only diaphragm and jelly as devices for birth control. The Christa Seva Mandir, on the other hand, recommends only the rice flour jelly, devised by Dr. Clarence J. Gamble, U. S. A. The jelly is prepared by the centre and distributed freely to the needy women of poor families. The work of the clinics comprises advice, treatment, propaganda and follow-up visits by the health visitor.

6.8 Table 6.3 gives the yearly record of the number of cases registered in the Municipal and the Christa Seva Mandir clinics. The total number of cases treated by Municipal clinic between April 1952 and February 1956 was 221, while that by Christa Seva Mandir clinic was 58 between September 1952 and February 1956. Taken by itself, the achievement of the two clinics is not very impressive. The records of the year 1954 and 1955 of Municipal clinic and of the year 1955 of Christa Seva Mandir clinic showed a serious break with the earlier progress.

TABLE 6.3 : The yearly record of the number of cases advised or treated by the Municipal Clinic and Christa Seva Mandir Clinic.

Year	Municipal Clinic	Christa Seva Mandir clinic	Total
1952	56	9	65
1953	67	15	82
1954	50	25	75
1955	40	7	47
1956 (Upto February)	8	2	10
Total	221	58	279

Distribution of Patients according to Community

6.9 Table 6.4 sets out the distribution of the female patients of the two clinics by community. Out of the total number of 279 patients treated by the clinics upto February 1956, the largest proportion (about 41 per cent) belonged to the Brahmin community. About 10 per cent came from the Christians. The patients coming from the Backward Hindus and the Scheduled Caste Hindus were almost exceptional. The number of Brahmin patients was prominent in the Municipal clinic record, while in the Christa Seva Mandir clinic records, the number of the Christian patients was conspicuous. From the figures, it is evident that broadly speaking the differential interest in birth control and in taking advantage of the facilities available in that respect dwindled with the decline in the socio-economic status of the various communities.

Age at which Advice was taken

6.10 It is interesting to note the ages at which the patients first came to either of the clinics for advice on birth control. The data in this regard are given in **Table 6.5**. It would be seen that nearly 60 per cent of the female patients took advice when they were between 21 and 30. About 18 per cent were between 31 and 35 and 13 per cent between 16 and 20. Thus it may be said that, on the whole, a large number of females became cognizant of the need of birth control at quite an early age.

Order of Children

6.11 Table 6.6 presents the distribution of the female patients according to the number of children which were born to them prior to their taking advice at the clinic. If we distinguish between four classes of women—women having (i) 1-3 deliveries, (ii) 4-6 deliveries, (iii) 7-9 deliveries and (iv) deliveries 10 and above – we find that the proportions of women coming for advice declined steadily from the first class to the fourth class. In the first category of women, the proportion was the highest, about 40 per cent, which declined to about 32 per cent in the second class, 22 per cent in the third and 6 per cent in the fourth class. Thus, quite a few patients from amongst those who ever visited the clinics, came for advice even when they had, relatively speaking, fewer children.

TABLE 6.4: Distribution of the female patients by community.

Community		Municipal Clinic	Per cent	Christa Sava Mandu Clinic	Per cent	Total	Per cent
1	Brahmins	111	50.23	2	3.45	113	40.50
2	Marathas	13	5.89	—	—	13	4.66
3	Other Advanced Hindus	22	9.95	—	—	22	7.88
4	Lingayats	14	6.33	—	—	14	5.02
5	Other Intermediato Hindus	13	5.89	—	—	13	4.66
6	Backward and Scheduled Caste Hindus	6	2.71	—	—	6	2.15
7	Hindus but casto unspecified	28	12.67	5	8.62	33	11.83
8	Muslims	4	1.81	11	18.97	15	5.38
9	Christians	—	—	27	40.55	27	9.68
10	Jains	5	2.26	—	—	5	1.79
11	Not given	5	2.26	13	22.41	18	6.45
Total		221	100.00	58	100.00	279	100.00

TABLE 6.5 : Women classified according to age at which they first came to the Clinic for advice on birth control.

Age group	Municipal Clinic	Per cent	Christa Seva Mandir Clinic	Per cent	Total	Per cent
16-20	34	15.39	3	5.17	37	13.26
21-25	74	33.49	5	8.62	79	28.32
26-30	59	26.70	20	34.49	79	28.32
31-35	34	15.38	13	23.86	49	17.56
36-40	12	5.43	12	20.69	24	8.60
41 and above	2	0.90	3	5.17	5	1.79
Not given	6	2.71	—	—	6	2.15
Total	221	100.00	58	100.00	279	100.00

TABLE 6.6 : Distribution of women by number of children born to them prior to their taking clinic advice.

No. of children	Municipal Clinic	Per cent	Christa Seva Mandir Clinic	Per cent	Total	Per cent
1-3	95	42.99	16	27.59	111	39.78
4-6	77	34.84	13	22.41	90	32.26
7-9	39	17.65	22	37.93	61	21.87
10 and above	10	4.52	7	12.07	17	6.09
Total	221	100.00	58	100.00	279	100.00

Agency directing Patients to Clinic

6.12 In respect of certain items, information about the patients of Municipal clinic alone was available. This has been given in the following tables. **Table 6.7** presents a classification of women according to the agency which directed them to the clinic for advice. About 41 per cent of the female patients were directed by the "old patients" i.e. patients who had already taken advice at the clinic. About 38 per cent came on their own, without being guided by any other external agency. In the case of about 10 per cent of women each, the directing agency was the doctor or the health visitor of the clinic and the family doctor. Thus about 8 out of every 10 patients came either on their own or on the advice of old patients of the clinic. The health visitor or the family doctor did not seem to have played any important role in guiding the population in respect of taking advantage of the facilities available at the clinic.

TABLE 6.7 : Women of Municipal Clinic classified by the agency directing them to the Clinic.

Agency	No. of women	Per cent
1 Self	85	38.47
2 Family (or private) doctor	20	9.05
3 Old patients	90	40.72
4 Clinic's Health Visitor or Doctor	22	9.95
5 Private individuals or friends	1	0.45
6 Not stated	3	1.36
Total	221	100.00

Previous Use of Contraceptives

6.13 In **Table 6.8**, some available information about women who tried contraceptive devices before coming to the Municipal clinic for advice is presented. Only 13 women out of a total of 221 women had previously experimented with the methods of birth control. The use of the condom by the husband was reported by five women, tablets by three, pessary by two and jelly and diaphragm by one each. In the case of one woman, the method was unspecified. Only four out of these 13 women had used the appliance regularly. The register recorded that the success in birth control was attained only by one woman. Information about the success or failure of the methods was not given in the case of seven women. The case cards of five women explicitly mentioned the failure of the previous use of contraception.

TABLE 6-8 : Women who used contraceptive methods before coming to the clinic for advice (Municipal Clinic data).

	No. of women
A : METHODS USED :	
1 Condom	5
2 Jelly	1
3 Pessary	2
4 Tablets	3
5 Diaphragm	1
6 Not Stated	1
Total	13
B : WAS THE USE REGULAR ?	
1 Used regularly	4
2 Not regularly	8
3 Not stated	1
Total	13
C : WAS THE METHOD SUCCESSFUL ?	
1 Method successful	1
2 Failed	5
3 Not stated	7
Total	13

The Follow-up

6.14 Table 6.9 sets out information about the follow-up of the cases of the Municipal Clinic. The record in this respect was not satisfactory. In 127 out of 221 cases, no notes giving the necessary information about the follow-up were found. Leaving aside these cases, half of the patients were found to be using the prescribed device regularly. Seventeen patients had left Sholapur due to their husbands' transfer, one had died and two could not be traced due to change of address. Four patients reported that they did not use the device regularly. Four women had stopped the use, one due to menopause and three due to husband's operation (vasectomy). In the case of ten patients, failure had occurred due to the irregular use of the appliance. In other nine cases, failure had occurred, but reasons for that were not given. Due to the deficient nature of the follow-up record, it was possible to assess neither the success or failure of the devices nor the psycho-economic responses on the part of the women and their husbands to the diaphragm and the jelly method recommended by the clinic.

TABLE 6-9 : The follow-up of Municipal Clinic-patients.

	No. of women	Per cent
1 Patient left Sholapur (Husband's transfer, etc.)	17	18.1
2 Death of patient	1	1.1
3 Change of address (Untraceable)	2	2.1
4 Using the method regularly	47	50.0
5 Not using method regularly	4	4.3
6 Use stopped	4	4.3
7 Failure due to irregular use of appliance	10	10.6
8 Failure : reasons unspecified	9	9.6
Total	94	100.00

Conclusion

6-15 The survey-information and the clinic-records together indicate that the practice of birth-control is conspicuous by its almost complete absence in the city of Sholapur. This might be due to the general ignorance or apathy of the population. But this might also be due to the fact that the facilities available in the city fall too short of the requirements of the populace. The provision of only two family planning clinics working for only one day in a week for a population of nearly three lakhs of people is, to say the least, no provision. (This was of course the situation in 1955). It seems that the following minimum necessary steps should be taken to popularise and increase the practice of family planning in the city :

1. The number of family planning clinics should be increased.
2. These should work at least on alternate days.
3. The clinics should be provided with all kinds of contraceptive devices and the devices should be recommended to patients on merits of the individual case. The clinics should be meant for both males and females.
4. The work of propaganda through the maternity homes, hospitals, private dispensaries etc. and by means of printed materials, visits by health visitors and meetings should be intensified.

5. Regular and systematic follow-up of the patients is very necessary. On this depends largely the regularity in use and the success of the birth-control devices recommended by the Clinic. The follow-up information also helps the clinics to assess the responses of the patients and the relative merits and efficacy of the contraceptive devices used by the patients. It should also be remembered that the experiences of the patients who come forward to try contraceptive devices not merely influence their own attitudes towards birth-control but influence also the attitudes of the succeeding generation which naturally takes into account the experiences of their elders.

CHAPTER 7

ATTITUDES TOWARDS FAMILY PLANNING AND LIMITATION

7.1 In the foregoing chapter, we noted how the use of contraceptive devices is nearly non-existent in the city of Sholapur. We further observed that the knowledge regarding birth control was also rare. In canvassing the questionnaire regarding family planning, therefore, it was first necessary to impart to the ignorant informants the requisite information on the philosophy and methods of family planning and limitation. Interested persons were advised to visit the Family Planning Clinics. It was interesting to find that many a respondent, especially old and uneducated men and women, expressed surprise over the idea that limitation or spacing of children could ever be humanly possible.

7.2 The number of males and females who were interviewed for the inquiry into attitudes towards family planning, as noted in the earlier chapter, was 1071 and 1141 respectively. The male and female attitudes have been separately dealt with in the following. Looking into the whole range of data and their drift, it appears that the attitudes of the people were governed by their economic and socio-cultural background. In other words, the attitudes of the respondents were not something absolute, but were often functionally related to, for instance, such variables as the castes from which they came, their educational attainments, the income groups to which they belonged, etc. Only in cases where differential attitudes as between the different groups of respondents were significantly in evidence have the requisite data been presented in detail at the appropriate places.¹

SECTION I

Attitudes of Male Respondents

Views on the Desirability or otherwise of Family Planning

7.3 Let us first deal with the attitudes of the male respondents. One of the basic questions asked to the informants was whether they were in favour of or opposed to the idea of family planning. Contrary to the general belief, quite a few respondents, accounting for nearly half of the total, supported family planning. The factors which seemed to influence the attitudes of the respondents towards the desirability or

1. A chi-square test showed that these factors were significant at five per cent level of significance.

otherwise of family planning were the caste, occupation, income, education and the number of living children. This can be seen from **Tables 7.1—7.5**. Relatively speaking, the progressive attitudes were more common amongst the respondents belonging to advanced communities and to occupational grades of higher status. The proportions of the supporters of family planning also generally increased with income, education and the number of living children.

7.4 In all, 532 males out of 1071 disapproved family planning. In **Table 7.6** are shown the reasons for which these respondents were opposed to family planning. The more common cause for opposition to the idea pertained to religion, as many as 71 per cent denouncing it as irreligious. About 30 per cent branded it as vicious and immoral. A few believed that family planning meant going against the edicts of Nature.

TABLE 7.1 : Percentages of male respondents who were in favour of family planning, in the different community groups.

Community	No. of males who supported family planning	Total No.	Percentages of (Col.2) to (Col. 3)
1	2	3	4
1 Brahmins	56	77	72.73
2 Marathas & Other Advanced Hindus	96	186	51.61
3 Lingayats	52	93	55.91
4 Salis	90	187	48.13
5 Intermediate Hindus	66	136	48.53
6 Backward Hindus	14	45	31.11
7 Scheduled Caste Hindus	42	124	33.87
8 Muslims and other religions	91	223	40.81
Total	507	1071	47.34

Note : Thirty-two respondents did not answer the question as to the desirability or otherwise of family planning.

TABLE 7-2 : Percentages of male respondents who were in favour of family planning, in different occupational grades.

Occupation type	No. of males	Total No.	Percentages of (col.2) to (col.3)
1 Manual work (Grades I, II, V)	284	681	41.70
2 Business (Grades IV, VIII, X)	87	171	50.88
3 Professions (Grades III, VI, VII, IX)	136	219	62.10
Total	507	1071	47.34

Occupational Rank	No. of males	Total No.	Percentages
1 Lowest grades (Grades I-IV and miscellaneous)	341	810	42.09
2 Intermediate grades (Grades V-VIII)	146	232	62.93
3 Highest grades (Grades IX, X)	20	29	68.97
Total	507	1071	47.34

TABLE 7-3 : Percentages of male respondents who were in favour of family planning, in different income groups.

Income	No. of males who supported family planning	Total No.	Percentages of (Col. 2) to (Col.3)
0- 500	118	262	45.04
501-1000	204	499	40.88
1001- 2000	131	228	57.46
2001 and above	43	57	75.44
Not given	11	25	44.00
Total	507	1071	47.34

TABLE 7.4 : Percentages of male respondents who were in favour of family planning in different groups of males classified according to education.

Education	No. of males who supported family planning	Total No.	Percentages of (Col. 2) to (Col. 3)
1 Illiterate	133	397	33.50
2 Literate, or Primary Standards I -- IV	154	312	49.36
3 Primary Standards V -- VII	111	213	52.11
4 High School Standards I -- VII	90	126	71.43
5 College and technical education	19	23	82.61
Total	507	1071	47.34

TABLE 7.5 : Percentages of male respondents who were in favour of family planning, classified according to number of living children.

Number of living children	No. of males who supported family planning	Total No.	Percentages of (Col. 2) to (Col. 3)
0	60	129	46.51
1 -- 2	150	349	42.98
3 -- 4	143	305	46.89
5 -- 6	96	187	51.34
7 and above	58	101	57.43
Total	507	1071	47.34

TABLE 7-6 : The number of male respondents opposing family planning on various grounds.

Reasons for opposition to family planning	No. of males	Percentages
1 Unnatural	83	15.60
2 Immoral	160	30.08
3 Irreligious	376	70.68
4 Reasons not stated	36	6.77
5 All reasons applicable	21	3.95
• Total No. opposing family planning	532	

Note : Percentages are calculated with reference to total no. (i. e. 532 in this table). The classification is not mutually exclusive. This remark is also applicable to Tables 7-18, 7-21, 7-25, 7-37 and 7-40.

Optimum No. of Children

7.5 Whether for or against family planning, one would normally have his own idea regarding an optimum (most desirable) number of children in a family. Opinions on this question were elicited from two points of view, viz. (i) health of the mother and (ii) economic conditions of the family. In the Tables below, separate figures for a desirable number of sons and daughters have not been indicated, because in almost every case, the number of sons given as ideal exceeded that of the daughters. This is perhaps natural for in the social-economic set-up we have, sons are an economic asset to parents, while daughters are a debit, climaxing the burden at the time of marriage (in many communities). **Tables 7-7** sets out a distribution of male respondents according to the number of children desired in a family from the point of view of the mother's health. A preference for a smaller and medium number of children (i.e. 1-3 and 4-5 children respectively) was quite in evidence. As many as 80 per cent of the respondents quoted numbers between one and five. There were a few persons who opined that there need not be any limit and that as many children as are born could be regarded as optimum. The number of children cited as optimum seemed to vary in different age groups of the respondents as well as in groups made according to the number of living

children. This may be seen from **Tables 7·8 and 7·9**. Smaller number was preferred by the younger respondents. Curiously enough, the respondents having a larger number of living children felt a larger number as an optimum one and conversely. This gives some ground to surmise that a few respondents, while answering this question, gave that very number of children as desirable which they already had. Those who answered this way might have possibly feared that if they told a smaller number, that might be ominous and they might lose their children.

7·6 Table 7·10 sets out views on the same item, now from the economic point of view. This consideration seemed to be weightier in the minds of men, for about 36 per cent of the males regarded 1·3 children as optimum, whereas this proportion was only 23 per cent when the question referred to the point of view of the mother's health. As is natural, men of moderate means showed greater preference for smaller families than those in the higher income ranges. (**Table 7·11**). The views also differed according to the number of living children, males having larger number of children mentioning a larger number as the optimum number (**Table 7·12**).

TABLE 7·7 : Male respondents classified according to their opinion regarding the optimum number of children in a family from the point of view of mother's health.

A desirable number of children	Number of males	Percentages
1 — 3	249	23·25
4 — 5	597	55·74
6 and above	121	11·30
As many as are born	17	1·59
Miscellaneous answers	62	5·79
Not given	25	2·33
Total	1071	100·00

TABLE 7.8 : Percentage distribution of male respondents of given ages according to opinion, regarding the desirable number of children in a family from the point of view of mother's health.

Age group	Desirable number of children				Miscellaneous answers	Not given	Total No.
	1-3	4-5	6 and above	As many as are born			
0-35	27.92	53.40	7.76	1.70	6.31	2.91	412
36-45	21.35	57.31	12.57	1.75	4.97	2.05	342
46-55	19.71	56.25	14.91	0.96	6.73	1.44	208
56 and above	18.35	58.72	13.76	1.83	4.59	2.75	109
Total	23.25	55.74	11.30	1.59	5.79	2.33	1071

TABLE 7.9 : Percentage distribution of male respondents having a given number of living children according to desirable no. of children in a family from the point of view of mother's health.

Number of living children	Desirable Number of Children					Total No.
	1-3	4-5	6 and above	As many as are born	Miscellaneous answers	
0	33.33	47.29	7.75	2.33	7.75	129
1-2	24.93	59.03	6.59	1.15	5.44	349
3-4	22.62	58.36	9.84	1.64	5.57	305
5-6	17.11	52.40	18.72	2.14	7.49	187
7 and above	17.83	53.46	22.77	0.99	1.98	101
Total	23.25	55.74	11.30	1.59	5.79	1071

TABLE 7-10 : Male respondents classified according to their opinion regarding the optimum number of children from the economic point of view.

Desirable number of children	Total number	Percentages
1 — 3	389	36.32
4 — 5	524	48.93
6 and above	72	6.72
As many as are born	14	1.31
Miscellaneous Answers	56	5.23
Not given	16	1.49
Total	1071	100.00

TABLE 7-11 : Percentage distribution of male respondents of given income by opinion regarding the optimum number of children in a family from the economic point of view.

Income	Desirable Number of Children				Not given	Total No.
	1 — 3	4 — 5	6 and above	As many as are born	Miscellaneous answers	
0— 500	42.75	40.07	3.82	1.91	9.54	262
501—1000	35.27	50.90	7.22	1.00	4.21	499
1001—2000	32.89	56.14	6.58	0.88	2.63	228
2001 and above	28.07	49.12	14.04	1.75	7.02	57
Not given	40.00	36.00	12.00	4.00	—	25
Total	36.32	48.93	6.72	1.31	5.23	1071

TABLE 7.12: Percentage distribution of male respondents having a given number of living children, by opinion regarding the desirable number of children in a family from the economic point of view.

No. of living children	Desirable Number of Children				Not given	Total No.
	1-3	4-5	6 and above	As many as are born	Miscellaneous	
0	44.96	39.53	5.43	2.33	6.29	129
1-2	45.27	44.71	2.57	0.29	5.73	349
3-4	32.79	55.08	3.61	1.64	4.92	305
5-6	25.13	52.94	13.37	2.15	5.88	187
7 and above	25.74	49.50	19.81	0.99	1.98	101
Total	36.32	48.93	6.72	1.31	5.23	1071

Age after which no child should be born

7.7 Family planning, in a limited sense, means restricting and spacing the number of children: in its true and broader sense, it means proper upbringing and welfare of the family. If the children are to be well-nourished and brought up, there might be a certain age after which burden of the newly born children could not be adequately shouldered by the father. This might happen, because the education and upbringing of children already had might make it financially inadvisable to have more children after that age. Or in some cases, it might happen that the physical and mental energies dwindle to an extent that renders it difficult to take care of the new children. Taking into account these and such other considerations, the respondents were asked as to the age after which they think no new child should be born to them.

7.8 **Table 7-13** sets out the views of the male respondents on this question. About 56 percent of the respondents favoured the ages of less than 45 to be the ones after which there should not be any addition of new children. The views in respect of the question under consideration appeared to be correlated to occupation, age and education of the respondents. The relevant figures giving the differential picture are presented in **Tables 7-14 and 7-15**. Relatively speaking, the younger respondents did not like to have children at later ages than what the older people felt. Similar was the case with more educated and less educated or illiterate groups respectively.

Desire for Last-born Child

7.9 The parental instinct is almost universal. Nevertheless, for reasons of illhealth, economic distress, etc., any more children after a certain number may not be welcomed by the couple. At any rate, when a large number of children is born and is living, the parents might not desire the later children as much as the earlier ones. One of the questions asked to the informants was whether they really wanted the last-born child.² About 88 per cent of the male respondents did desire the last-born child. The variables of income and the number of living children seemed to be significantly associated, and quite expectedly, with the desire for the last child. **Tables 7-16 and 7-17** set out the requisite data. It would be seen from the first table that excepting the last income range, the percentages of males desiring the last child increased with income. Many of the males in the lowest income group said that they did not want the last child because of economic distress. Like poverty, equally natural it is that the desire for the last child should be less common among persons having more children than those having less children. Thus, the proportions of males wanting the last child declined sharply from nearly hundred

2. This question was obviously inapplicable to those who did not have a child born to them as yet. Such persons were 85 in number.

TABLE 7.13 : Male respondents, classified according to their opinion regarding age after which no child should be born.

Age after which no child should be born	Number of males	Percentages
0—35	86	8.03
36—40	270	25.21
41—45	249	23.25
46—50	238	22.22
51 and above	141	13.17
No limit	24	2.24
Cannot answer	40	3.73
Not Given	23	2.15
Total	1071	100.00

TABLE 7-14: Percentage distribution of male respondents of given ages according to view regarding the age after which no child should be born.

Age Group	Age after which no child should be born					No. Limit	Cannot answer	Not Given	Total No.
	0-35	36-40	41-45	46-50	51 and above				
0-35	8.98	27.18	24.03	18.69	11.66	2.67	4.61	2.18	412
36-45	9.65	25.44	24.56	20.76	12.86	1.17	3.51	2.05	342
46-55	5.77	24.99	19.24	29.34	14.42	1.92	2.40	1.92	208
56 and above	3.67	17.43	23.85	26.61	17.43	4.59	3.67	2.75	109
Total	8.03	25.21	23.25	22.22	13.17	2.24	3.73	2.15	1071

TABLE 7-15: Percentage distribution of male respondents of given educational status according to view regarding the age after which no child should be born.

Educational status	Age after which no child should be born					Total No.			
	0-35	36-40	41-45	46-50	51 and above				
1 Illiterate	8.31	20.15	23.43	21.66	17.13	2.02	4.53	2.77	397
2 Literate or Primary Stds. I-IV	8.01	28.20	22.76	23.40	11.22	1.60	3.21	1.60	312
3 Primary Stds. V-VII	3.76	28.17	23.00	23.47	12.68	2.82	4.69	1.41	213
4 High school Stds. I-VII	11.11	26.98	25.40	19.84	8.73	3.97	1.59	2.38	126
5 College and technical education	26.09	34.78	17.39	17.39	—	—	—	4.35	23
Total	8.03	25.21	23.25	22.22	13.17	2.24	3.73	2.15	1071

TABLE 7-16 : Distribution of male respondents according to income and the desire for the last child.

Income	Males who desired last child	Total males in each class	Percentages of Col. 2 to Col. 3
1	2	3	4
0-500	200	230	86.96
501-1000	407	455	89.45
1001-2000	201	221	91.00
2001 and above	45	56	80.36
Not given	19	24	79.17
Total	872	986	88.44

Note : 22 respondents did not answer the question regarding the desire for last child.

TABLE 7-17 : Distribution of male respondents according to number of living children and the desire for the last child.

Number of living children	Males who wanted last child	Total males in each class	Percentages of Col. 2 to Col. 3
0	44	44	100.00
1-2	334	349	95.70
3-4	299	305	98.03
4-5	159	187	85.03
6 and above	36	101	35.64
Total	872	986	88.44

per cent among persons having 4 or less than 4 children to 85 per cent and 36 per cent among those having 4-5 children and 6 or over 6 children respectively.

7.10 About one-tenth of the respondents said that they did not desire the last-born child. For this, they advanced one or more reasons. **Table 7-18** sets out these reasons. A sufficient number of living children was regarded as the sole or one of the reasons by about 80 per cent of these respondents. About 73 per cent attributed their lack of desire for the last child to their poor economic circumstances. A few said that they were too old, and some said that their wives were too weak to bear the strains of the last pregnancy.

TABLE 7-18 : Males not wanting last child classified according to causes for that.

Did not desire last child : Causes		No. of males	Percentages
1	Weak health of wife	14	15.22
2	Economic distress	67	72.83
3	Have sufficient children	75	81.52
4	Too old	25	27.17
5	Reasons not stated	7	7.61
Total No. not wanting last child.			92

Note : See Note to Table 7-6.

Desire for More Children

7-11 The 872 respondents who desired the last child were further asked whether they would like to have still more children to be born to them in future, and if so, for what reasons. Some persons may feel that the number of children born to them is insufficient and may therefore like to have more children. In some cases, it might happen that all the children born are either all sons or all daughters and therefore there might be a craving for the daughter or the son respectively. Some persons might be unfortunate in losing all children that were born to them. The question under reference was obviously relevant only in the case of those who had at least one child ever born to them in their married life. The question was not asked to the few male respondents (85 in number) who were married but did not as yet have a child, for normally these would desire a child to be born to them. From amongst the males for whom this question was relevant, about 53 per cent indicated a desire for more children. It is natural that the desire for more children should have high correlation with the number of living children as well as with the present age (on which also would normally depend the number of children born up to that age). The progression of the percentages of males having desire for more children which generally moved inversely with age and the number of living children is quite apparent from the figures given in **Tables 7-19** and **7-20**.

TABLE 7-19 : Distribution of male respondents according to age and the desire for more children.

Age Group	Number of males desiring more children	Total males in each class	Percentages of Col. 2 to Col. 3
1	2	3	4
0-35	250	331	75.53
36-45	141	284	49.65
46-55	52	165	31.51
56 and above	17	92	18.48
Total	460	872	52.75

Note : 47 respondents did not answer the question under consideration.

TABLE 7-20 : Males desiring more children classified according to number of living children.

Number of living children	Number of males desiring more children	Total males in each class	Percentages of Col. 2 to Col. 3
0	44	44	100.00
1-2	262	334	78.44
3-4	113	299	37.79
5-6	28	159	17.61
7 and above	13	36	36.11
Total	460	872	52.75

7-12 Table 7-21 presents a distribution of males wanting more children according to the reasons for wanting them. Relatively speaking, a large percentage of these males desired more children because they wanted a son or more sons. Almost an equal percentage liked to have more children irrespective of the sex of the child. Only four per cent had a specific desire for the daughter. A few had unluckily lost all of the children born to them until the time of inquiry.

TABLE 7-21 : Males desiring more children classified according to reasons for that.

Reasons	Number	Percentages
1 All children died	22	4.78
2 Want son	232	50.43
3 Want daughter	21	4.57
4 Want more children	226	49.13
5 Unspecified	13	2.83
Total No. desiring more children.	460	

SECTION II

Attitudes of Female Respondents

7-13 After having analysed the attitudes towards the various issues relating to family planning on the part of the male respondents, we may pass on to study the female attitudes as revealed in the inquiry. The nature of the information elicited and the procedures adopted in the inquiry pertaining to female respondents were more or less the same as those of the male respondents. We may therefore present in the following the main findings of the inquiry as briefly as possible, along with the relevant statistics.

7-14 On the question of the desirability or otherwise of family planning, there seemed to be a good deal of similarity of opinion between the male and female respondents. Like the males, nearly half of the female respondents subscribed to the utility of family planning. The female attitudes in this respect appeared to be closely associated with caste, occupation and education. This may be seen from **Tables 7-22-7-24** which set out the requisite data. Many of the respondents who opposed family planning did so on grounds of its being irreligious and unnatural. (**Table 7-25**)

TABLE 7-22 : Percentages of female respondents who were in favour of family planning, in the different community groups

Community	Number of females who supported family planning	Total No. in each group	Percentages of (col. 2) to (col. 3)
1	2	3	4
1 Brahmins	59	81	72.84
2 Marathas and other Advanced Hindus	101	196	51.53
3 Lingayats	58	100	58.00
4 Salis	79	200	39.50
5 Intermediate Hindus	81	150	54.00
6 Backward Hindus	19	47	40.43
7 Scheduled Caste Hindus	51	127	40.16
8 Muslims and other religions	111	240	46.25
Total	559	1141	48.99

Note: Thirty-six female respondents did not answer the question regarding the desirability or otherwise of family planning.

TABLE 7-23 : Percentages of female respondents who were in favour of family planning, in different occupations.

Occupations	Number of females in favour of family planning	Total females in each class	Percentages of Col. 2 to Col. 3
1 Household work	468	926	50.54
2 Manual work	65	171	38.01
3 Business	12	19	63.16
4 Professions	14	25	56.00
Total	559	1141	48.99

TABLE 7-24 : Percentages of female respondents who were in favour of family planning in different groups of females classified according to educational status.

Educational status	Number of females supporting family planning	Total females in each class	Percentages of Col. 2 to Col. 3
1 Illiterate	390	900	43.33
2 Literate or Primary Stds. I-IV	100	147	68.03
3 Primary Stds. V-VII	52	72	72.22
4 High school or college education	17	22	77.27
Total	559	1141	48.99

TABLE 7-25 : The number of female respondents opposing family planning on various grounds.

Reasons for opposition to family planning	Number of females	Percentages
1 Unnatural	155	28.39
2 Immoral	62	11.36
3 Irreligious	368	67.40
4 Reasons not stated	16	2.93
5 All reasons applicable	13	2.38
Total no. opposing family planning	546	

Note : See note to Table 7-6.

7-15 As regards the opinion on the most desirable number of children in a family from the point of view of mother's health on the one hand and from the economic point of view on the other, the latter point of view seemed to suggest for the female respondents a smaller number of children as the optimum number. Income and education were the significant variables which seemed to influence the opinion of the females on this question. (Tables 7-26-7-30).

7-16 Table 7-31 presents a distribution of the female respondents according to their views regarding the proper age after which no child should be born to them. About 30 per cent of the females favoured the ages less than 35, and 37 per cent ages between 36 and 40 to be the ones after which no child should be born to them. Occupation and educational status of the women were the important correlates in respect of the question under reference. (Tables 7-32-7-33).

7-17 As regards the opinion on the desire for the last-born child, about 80 per cent of the female respondents said that they wanted the last child. The relative percentages of the women desiring the last child varied notably as between the different groups made according to occupation, income and age (Tables 7-34-7-36). About 18 per cent of the females who did not want the last child attributed this lack of desire to many factors amongst which economic distress and a sufficient number of children already had were more important (Table 7-37). The female respondents who desired the last child were further asked whether they wished to have more children in future. About 57 per cent of these expressed such a desire. Naturally, the desire for more children was very much correlated with the present age and the number of living children (Tables 7-38-7-39). A large number of the respondents who wished for more children expressed a desire for more sons, though there were a few respondents who specifically wanted a daughter. Some were unfortunate in losing all children that were born to them (Table 7-40).

TABLE 7-26 : Female respondents classified according to their opinion regarding the optimum number of children in a family from the point of view of mother's health.

Desirable number of children	Number of females	Percentages
1—3	162	14.20
4—5	614	53.81
6 and above	297	26.02
As many as are born	18	1.58
Miscellaneous answers	27	2.37
Not given	23	2.02
Total	1141	100.00

TABLE 7-27 : Percentage distribution of female respondents of given income according to the opinion regarding the optimum number of children from the point of view of mother's health.

Income	A desirable number of children				
	1-3	4-5	6 and above	As many as are born	Miscellaneous answers
0-500	13.89	56.59	23.96	1.39	2.43
501-1000	13.83	51.70	27.86	1.80	2.81
1001-2000	17.07	54.64	24.39	1.46	1.95
2001 and above	19.67	54.10	21.31	3.28	—
Not given	6.82	54.55	29.54	—	2.27
Total	14.26	53.81	26.02	1.58	2.37
				2.02	1141

TABLE 7-28 : Percentage distribution of female respondents of given educational status according to opinion regarding the desirable number of children from the point of view of mother's health.

Educational status	A desirable number of children				
	1-3	4-5	6 and above	As many as are born	Miscellaneous answers
1. Illiterate	12.89	53.90	26.99	1.56	2.44
2. Literate or Primary Stds. I-IV	14.29	53.74	25.17	2.72	2.04
3. Primary Stds. V-VII	22.22	51.39	23.61	—	2.78
4. High school or college education	40.91	59.09	—	—	—
Total	14.20	53.81	26.02	1.58	2.37
				2.02	1141

TABLE 7-29 : A distribution of female respondents according to their opinion regarding the optimum number of children in a family from the economic point of view.

A desirable number of children	Number of females	Percentages
1-3	315	27.61
4-5	553	48.47
6 and above	209	18.32
As many as are born	5	0.43
Miscellaneous answers	34	2.98
Not given	25	2.19
Total	1141	100.00

TABLE 7-30 Percentage distribution of female respondents of given educational status according to their opinion on desirable number of children from the economic point of view.

Education	A desirable number of children				Total
	1-3	4-5	6 and above	As many as are born	
1 Illiterate	26.00	50.22	17.99	0.45	2.23
2 Literate or Primary					900
3 Stds. I-IV	29.25	40.14	24.49	0.68	2.04
4 Primary Stds V-VII	36.11	44.45	15.27	—	147
5 High school or college education	54.55	45.45	—	—	72
				4	22
Total	27.61	48.47	18.32	0.44	2.19
					1141

TABLE 7-31: Female respondents classified according to their opinion regarding the age after which no child should be born.

Age after which no child should be born	Number of females	Percentages
0-30	78	6.84
31-35	263	23.05
36-40	422	36.98
41-45	188	16.48
46-50	143	12.53
No limit	5	0.44
Cannot answer	14	1.23
Not given	28	2.45
Total	1141	100.00

TABLE 7-32: Percentage distribution of female respondents of given occupational status according to view regarding the age after which no child should be born.

Occupation	Age after which no child should be born						Not given	Total
	0-30	31-35	36-40	41-45	46-50	No Limit		
Household work	7.56	23.65	34.99	16.74	13.07	0.43	1.08	926
Manual work	3.52	15.21	49.12	17.34	9.94	0.58	1.75	171
Business	5.26	32.64	21.06	5.26	5.26	—	5.26	19
Profession	4.00	32.00	40.00	8.00	16.00	—	—	25
Total	6.84	23.05	36.98	16.48	12.53	0.44	1.23	1141

TABLE 7-33 : Distribution of female respondents according to education and the view regarding the age after which no child should be born.

Education	Age after which no child should be born						Total
	0-30	31-35	36-40	41-45	46-50	No Limit	
1 Illiterate	5.22	20.78	38.78	17.56	13.11	0.44	900
2 Literate or Primary Std. I-IV	10.20	31.97	27.21	14.29	13.61	0.68	147
3 Primary Stds. V-VII	11.11	33.33	38.89	8.33	5.55	—	72
4 High School or college education	36.36	22.73	22.73	13.64	4.54	—	22
Total	6.84	23.05	36.98	16.48	12.53	0.44	1141

TABLE 7-34 : Distribution of female respondents according to occupation and the desire for the last child.

Occupation	Females wanting last child	Total females in each group	Percentages of Col. 2 to Col. 3
1	2	3	4
1 Household work	670	841	79.67
2 Manual work	129	167	77.25
3 Business	13	19	68.42
4 Profession	20	22	90.91
Total	832	1049	79.31

Note : Ninety-two women did not reply the question regarding the desire for the last child.

TABLE 7-35 : Distribution of female respondents according to income and the desire for the last child.

Income	Females wanting last child	Total females in each group	Percentages of Col. 2 to Col. 3
0—500	198	271	73.06
501—1000	371	459	80.83
1001—2000	155	190	81.58
2001 and above	49	51	96.08
Not given	59	78	75.64
Total	832	1049	79.31

TABLE 7-36 : Distribution of female respondents according to age and the desire for the last child.

Age Group	Females wanting last child	Total females in each group	Percentages of Col. 2 to Col. 3
0—35	534	612	87.25
36—45	195	278	70.14
46—50	50	76	65.79
51 and above	53	83	63.86
Total	832	1049	79.31

TABLE 7-37 : Females not desiring the last child classified according to reasons for that.

Causes for not wanting last child	Number of females	Percentages
1 Weak health	52	27.51
2 Economic distress	144	76.19
3 Have sufficient children	138	73.02
4 Too old	49	25.93
5 Reasons not stated	6	3.17
Total no. not desiring last child.	189	

Note : See note to Table 7-6.**TABLE 7-38 :** Distribution of female respondents according to age and the desire for more children.

Age groups	Females desiring more children	Total females in each groups	Percentages of Co. 2 to Col. 3
1	2	3	4
0—35	380	534	71.16
36—45	84	195	43.08
46—50	10	50	20.00
51 and above	3	53	5.66
Total	477	832	57.33

Note : Nineteen females did not answer the question regarding the desire for more children.

TABLE 7-39 : Distribution of female respondents according to the number of living children and the desire for more children.

No. of living children	Wanting more children	Total No. in each group	Percentages of (col. (2) to (3))
1—2	285	324	87·96
3—4	140	265	52·83
5—6	40	155	25·81
7 & above	12	88	13·64
Total	477	832	57·33

TABLE 7-40 : Females classified accordingly to causes for wanting more children

Causes	No. of females	Percentages
1. All children died	25	5·24
2. Want son	273	57·23
3. Want daughter	45	9·43
4. Want more children	181	37·95
Total no. wanting more children.	477	

Note : See note to Table 7-6.

Conclusion

7.18 The above study would indicate that, generally speaking, the attitudes of the people towards the various issues relating to family planning are significantly correlated to a diverse range of variables. Some of these variables seem to hold quite a natural influence on views on certain questions, (e.g. desire for more children, and the present age and number of living children). Other factors appear to have a conditioning influence on the attitudes. Such factors are mainly the caste, income group and the occupation. (e.g. desirability of family planning and caste, education, etc.). Another important finding is that the attitudes of the people were quite receptive and progressive. It is, therefore, safe to say that given appropriate propaganda, education and planned effort, there do not seem to be serious impediments which might vitiate attempts at popularising and intensifying the family planning movement in urban populations.

ATTITUDES TOWARDS FAMILY PLANNING : CASE STUDIES

8.1 The inquiry into the attitudes towards family planning evoked a good deal of interest amongst the interviewees. In fact, many a respondent seemed to be visibly animated by the various issues relating to family planning. They appeared to be arguing and discussing, enlivened both by impulse and by reason. Very often, the discussion would not remain restricted to family planning but would extend to such related aspects as over-population, population and food supplies, unemployment, economic planning, etc. In this chapter are presented some cases of the respondents, which seem to be quite interesting. The variety of the discussion on the subject of family planning and the related questions might give some glimpse into the state of public debate on the subject.

Case Studies :

Case 1 : Mr. R. S. was an owner of a small handloom establishment. He belonged to the Sali community, was 45 years old and had no education. He had six children, all living. The eldest son, aged 13, was in the 4th primary standard. Next to him was a daughter who was studying in the first standard.

Mr. R. S. did not feel that his children were properly fed and nourished. He ascribed the cause of it chiefly to the exorbitant bills of the doctor he had to pay and a rather inordinately larger number of children than what his means could bear. He earned an income of Rs. 1,500 and lived only in one room enjoying no facilities or conveniences of any kind.

In connection with the question on the desirable number of children in a family, he remarked : "What's the use of asking about a matter over which we don't have any control ? To get or not to get children is not in our hands. We are not the Almighty Creators. Even if we want children, we may not get them if He does not will; while He would pour children even if we don't want them ! The question about an ideal number of children is therefore useless and irrelevant. We cannot go against the will of God." He continued: "I would myself not like to have children any further and wish to observe restraint but when one gets sexually provoked, one cannot resist and the consequences naturally follow !" When the possibility of artificial birth control was explained to him in clear terms, he agreed to its desirability and indicated willingness to get necessary information on family planning and limitation.

Case 2 : Mr. V. G. was a Maratha Hindu. He was very young, of 24 years of age, with a wife of 18. He was the head of a big joint family consisting of 17 members. His father and mother were too old to shoulder the family responsibilities any longer. Mr. V. G. looked after the property of the family. Four of his brothers (some of them step-brothers) were employed and earned for the family. Two other brothers and one sister were receiving education. The family had a nephew and a niece to support. The brothers who were working earned in all an annual income of Rs. 2,160 from their respective employments. The house yielded a rent of Rs. 3,000 per annum. Income from landed property and other sources amounted to Rs. 1,000 per year. The family stayed in its own house, having eight rooms and all kinds of conveniences. The respondent had only one daughter.

Mr. V. G. could not mention a specific number when asked about a desirable number of children in a family. He was not also sure about the age after which no child should be born. When direct questions on family planning were put to him, he almost exploded : "Don't you feel anything in asking such questions ? Your questions have put me in an awkward position. Do you think we practise such immoral things ?" It was clear that the person had misconceived the whole thing. It was again made clear that family planning had nothing to do with induced abortion. Fortunately, a friend of the person called on him in the meanwhile. Mr. V. G. told the friend all about the useless things the government had undertaken. The friend, instead of supporting him, scolded him, emphasized the value of the new movement of family planning and asked him to furnish all information. The respondent there-upon seemed to be calmed and he gave answers to all the subsequent queries. He said : "Though your family planning is of that type, still it involves going against the Law of Nature." Mr. V. G. was very critical of the policy of Government. "The Government", he continued, "seem to have taken this new fad in their mind. Do they have no other important business left ?"

Case 3 : Mrs. A. was the wife of a Muslim mill worker. She was 30 years old and her husband 45. She was educated upto the 4th Primary Standard. Her husband earned monthly income of Rs. 60. The couple had in all 5 sons and 2 daughters, all living. One of their sons, aged 16, could not get employment anywhere due to lack of education. The children, according to the parents, were not well-educated, as financially they could not afford it. They also ascribed the lack of proper nourishment to poverty.

The woman seemed to be more judicious than her husband in respect of her opinions concerning family planning. She said that 4-5 children were sufficient and that no child should be born after the age of 35. She was in favour of family planning. She seemed to be very much worried over the possibilities of further pregnancies. She

anxiously asked : "Have you any medicine by which conceptions and deliveries could be stopped ? Give me that, I shall take it, eat it. My husband has a job but absents himself on many days. I have seven mouths to feed. How can I bring up my children ? I want to get relieved of further procreation. Kindly arrange to give me information about family planning." The woman was advised to visit the Family Planning Centre run by the Municipality.

Case 4 : Mr. G. K., aged 45, was a Brahmin and worked as a Customs Inspector in the Municipality. He was a matriculate and earned an annual income of Rs. 1,800. His wife, 36 years old, had 6 living children, four of them receiving education. When asked about the upbringing of children, Mr. G. K. replied : "We are just pulling on. Only one man earns. We don't have any income from property. What could be done ?" Both the husband and wife agreed that family planning was necessary and desirable. Speaking of personal difficulties, the husband said : "Due to economic distress, we keenly desire to adopt artificial devices of birth control. But the idea is rather new to us. It becomes difficult to put it into practice !" The couple gave a satisfactory response and made a frank discussion on the questions of family planning.

Case 5 : Mr. L., aged 55, was a Harijan by caste. He married twice, and his present wife was fifteen years younger than him. He had in all ten children — six sons and four daughters, ranging between the ages of 2 and 25. He had no permanent employment and went every-day to the market in search of some casual job. He hardly earned Rs. 500 in a year. He stayed in a small hut of the dimensions 8 ft. by 10 ft. The place seemed to be full of many old and scrap things. The father appeared to be very much attached to his children, fondling them and answering their innocuous questions. When he was told that there would be some private questions, he persuaded the children to go away.

Commenting upon the questions of birth-control, he said : "It's true, we poor people cannot afford to provide things for children as the rich people can do. Still, I do not favour the idea of birth-control. For one thing, it is against the rule of nature. The most important consideration is that children constitute the one and the only source of happiness for the poor. Take my own case. I do not even have a fixed job. When I go out to seek work, sometimes I do not get anything. At other times, the employer ill-treats me and says hard things. I come home tired and depressed. But my children help me forget all my troubles. Can you imagine, what would be my plight without them ?" Just then, the wife of Mr. L. came out saying that the provisions were exhausted. Mr. L. looked worried. With burden on mind but ease on face, he said he had got only one rupee with him which he had decided to pay to the doctor. But now he could not

help ; he would pay the doctor sometime later. After pausing for a while, he continued, "At such times, I feel, it is cruel to have children when one cannot afford to feed them properly. I admit, it is selfish on my part to want them for my happiness. But what can I do ? I honestly feel, your family-planning would take away the only little happiness that the poor can derive from their children. There is joy not merely in having children but having quite good many children."

Case 6 : Mr. M. T. was a worker in the weaving department of the Narsingh Girji Mill. He was 35, illiterate and Sali by caste. Before joining the mill, he was a wage earner in one of the local handloom weaving establishments. His wife, illiterate and aged 30, was also working in a *bidi* manufacturing establishment. The couple earned together an income of Rs. 1,080 per year. The woman had two occasions of delivery, but every time, it was a still-birth. While giving information, both appeared to be intensely perturbed. The husband was of the view that two children, one boy and one girl, should be sufficient. The woman, however, said that a couple should have at least four sons and three daughters. None of them found any objection to family planning, but for them it was unnecessary. They wished to have children for the obvious reason that so far there was no live birth. The woman was almost moved to tears and, with choked voice, said : "Both of my previous deliveries resulted in still-births. What should be done, please tell us. A home without children looks like a desert. I am very much fond of children. I am mad after children. Life without them appears to be so empty and meaningless ! It has no charm. I want children." The husband asked with moving eagerness and anxiety : "Can you tell us any remedy by which my wife would deliver live children and by which our children would survive ?"

Case 7 : Mrs. N., a woman aged 45, belonged to 'Bhavasari Shimpi' caste. She was widowed ten years back and was staying with her son and daughter-in-law. When in the course of the interview with her daughter-in-law, questions on family planning after recording her marital and fertility history, were asked, the woman intervened and told that such questions should not be asked to the young girl, married as she was. The woman was seriously displeased when her opinion regarding the desirability of family planning was elicited. "Family planning," she said, "is as good as killing the embryo. You do nothing but infanticide." The true meaning of family planning was then extensively explained to her. It was stressed that family planning seeks to prevent conception and not get rid of an embryo by illegal and harmful means. The woman apparently seemed to believe what was said, and agreed that if it were so, there was no harm in family planning. So far as her daughter-in-law was concerned, family planning was not necessary as she was very young and had only two living children.

Case 8 : Mr. A. S. was a 65 year old Muslim worker in the sizing department of the Old Mills. He was married twice. He had not received any education. From his employment in the mill, he was earning an annual income of Rs. 840. He had one son from his first wife. His present wife was also married for a second time. She had two children from her first marriage, none of whom was living. She did not have any child from the present marriage. The woman could not understand anything about the idea of family planning, when its basic information was being imparted to her. She could not therefore tell whether family planning was desirable or not. It appeared that being quite old and uneducated, she could not intelligibly answer the questions. Mr. A. S. was against family planning. He said : "We don't mind having any number of children. The spread of our religion requires as much procreation as possible. Our religion allows four wives. Is it to restrict the number of children ? Why should we restrict pleasure, when religion does not enjoin it ? However large the number, we welcome it in the name of *Allah*."

Case 9 : Mr. B. G., aged 48, came from Lingayat community and was a goldsmith by profession. He had two school going sons (12 and 9) and three daughters (below 9). One of his two married daughters was staying with him because her husband was unemployed. Mrs. B. G. was suffering from anaemia since the last delivery. Mr. B. G.'s business was far from flourishing. He earned an annual income of about Rs. 1,000. Speaking about family planning, Mr. B. G. remarked: "This is one of the foolish Western ideas which has been unfortunately imported into this country. Educated people now-a-days advocate family planning on the ground that it would solve our population problem. But I feel that the practice of birth control may create a number of physical and psychological problems which may prove worse than the disease it seeks to cure !" When asked as to the age beyond which one should not have children, he emphatically declared that there was no such age limit. Having children at an advanced age was, according to him, a proof of extraordinary virility and therefore a matter of pride.

Case 10 : Mrs. P. was a middle aged Harijan. Her husband seemed to be unconcerned about the family responsibility and loved to remain idle and unemployed. Mrs. P. was a sweeper employed by the Municipality. With her yearly income of Rs. 600, she experienced great difficulty in attending to the needs of the family which comprised four children.

She did not know anything about family planning nor did she show any interest in getting the information. She said, "The Almighty looks after everybody. Why should man try to meddle with the divine order of things ? God has given me a proper number of children and I am content with my lot."

Replying to the question on an ideal number of children in a family, she said, "In our community, a larger number of children is desirable. We get very low paid jobs. If there are more children, more persons can earn and all together are able to pool somehow a sizable income."

When she was asked whether she had discussed the problem of the size of their family with her husband, she exclaimed: "You ask such a queer question! Who would ever think of talking such matters to the husband?"

Case 11 : Mr. M. (31) was a Muslim. He was a tailor, having a few customers in the neighbourhood. The varandah of his one-room house was used for working with his old noisy sewing machine. He earned between Rs. 50 and 70 per month. He had four children—three sons and one daughter. The first two sons attended the primary school. The other members of the family included Mrs. M. aged 27 and the widowed sister-in-law (widow of Mr. M's brother) along with her three children.

Mr. M's reflections on the desirability of family planning showed a hesitant attitude. "The idea of controlling the number of children by artificial means," he declared, "seems to be against the teachings of our religion and morality. At the same time, the misery of people around and the hardships to which children are put make me think that it will be good if somehow the number of children was adjusted to the financial resources of the parents." Referring to his children, he said, "I cannot give them good food and proper education. They just play outside and pick up dirty habits. But I do not have any time or energy to look to these things."

Case 12 : Mr. R. K., a Padmasali, was an owner of 4 handlooms. He was 40. He had 3 living sons and 3 living daughters. All of his sons were married and stayed with him. They helped their father in handloom weaving. The family got an annual income of Rs. 1,512 and had to support 11 members. All lived in one room, with an area of about 112 square feet. Regarding the question on the upbringing of children, Mr. R. K. said: "Mine is a large family. My sons are now having sons. You ask about my income. But you don't enquire about my expenditure. Can you imagine how many mouths I have to feed? I have also to take care of my poor little widowed daughter aged 14. Due to poverty, I cannot give sufficient education to my children." Mr. R. K. was in favour of family planning. He said that he had information about it. He did not desire any more children. But he was not practising contraception, because his wife thought it to be against the principles of religion and morality.

Case 13 : Mr. T., a Maratha, of a fairly advanced age of 51, had been a mill-worker for the last twenty years. He had a wife, aged 44, and five living children. The eldest son was married and stayed independently with his family.

When the questions on family planning were asked, he got a little furious. He remarked, "The idea of family planning is not bad, but it is entirely a private matter, not to be discussed openly like that." When asked about the number of children in an ideal family, he put a counter question : "What is the use of asking such questions when you cannot change the number of your children ?" Speaking satirically of his son with independent establishment, he exclaimed : "When young, one likes to have many children, but in old age one begins to repent, because children only bring worries and miseries. When they complete their education and begin to earn, they forget their old parents and care only for themselves."

Case 14 : Mr. H. D., aged 36, was a clerk in Laxmi Mill. He belonged to the C. K. P. community. Though born in Bombay, he had spent most of his life in Sholapur. The age of his wife was 28 years. The couple married at comparatively later ages. They had two sons and one daughter, the sons receiving education in the primary school.

The pair had not discussed between themselves the problem of family planning. Unlike his wife, Mr. H. D. thought that family planning was a right remedy for indiscreet procreation. He said : "For the present, we do not intend to adopt mechanical devices of birth control. We hope to make use of it in our future life. This idea, it seems, would be more acceptable to the future generation." Mr. H. D. could not say whether he wanted the last child. The couple were practising for the present the *coitus interruptus*.

Case 15 : Mrs. K., a young widow of 18, headed a family consisting of her old mother, a younger brother and a two-year old daughter. Finding it difficult to get a job preferably as a domestic servant, the young widow and her mother worked as labourers in a *bidi* factory, earning together about Rs. 700 per annum. Mrs. K. was a good-tempered lady. Though the personal questions regarding marriage and children aroused the painful memory of the recent death of her husband, she readily answered all the questions. She said : "Being a widow, family planning does not concern me. Moreover, I do not have a personal experience of the problem of too many children as I have only one child, and my mother also has only two children. But I see our plight in spite of our being a small family. From the misery of my friends and relatives also, I have come to believe that family planning would make the parents as well as the children happier. What's the use of having ten children when they are all underfed and in rags ? It is much better to have three or four children who are

healthy and well nourished. But we are ignorant. We are superstitious. Government should take a lead and show a positively active interest in the matter."

Case 16 : Mr. S. K., aged 35, was a Lingayat by caste. He was carrying on dairy business on a small scale getting a monthly income of Rs. 50 or so. Previous to this occupation, he had been an agricultural labourer in a near-by farm. Mr. S. K. married only two years back a woman of 18. So far, the couple had no child. 'An advisable number of children in a family' was returned by the husband as 3, while according to the wife, a couple should have 8 children—four sons and four daughters. The husband was against family planning, as, he thought, it did not conform to principles of religion. The wife, however, did not find any objection to family planning as such. Still, she felt, family planning had no importance to them. She remarked : "Children are a gift of God. We don't have any child. Are you going to fetch children for us ? Your family planning has no use to us."

Case 17 : Mr. S. C. was a very old man of 80 years of age. He belonged to the Joshi caste of the Backward Hindu Community. He was born in Sholapur, had lived throughout in Sholapur and was carrying on, for the last 5 years, a broker's business in the sale and purchase of cattle. Previously, he was a beggar. Even today, he said, he had to beg. The pitiable plight of his family may be depicted in his own words : "We are 10 in the family. My sons and their children stay together. One of my sons is a fortune-teller. He carries on his business by the roadside of the mill area and gets about Rs. 30 per month. Another son, aged 23, is unemployed and, despite our effort, he is not getting any work. Three of our female members are eager to do any type of work. But they also don't get work. I am feeding my children by begging. Even begging does not quench the fire of the stomach. We have to starve. Will you be kind to arrange for some assistance for our livelihood from Government ? We are ready to work in mills, in shops, or in fact, in any kind of establishment and for any pittance we can get."

In the discussion on family planning, the old man listened to the basic information that was given to him. But the explanation seemed to have gone over his head. He again insisted : "What you say is not important. At least, it does not concern me now. Instead of your family planning, do something for our subsistence. Government should cater to our urgent needs. We would be greatly obliged if we get work."

Case 18 : Mr. M. A., aged 45, belonged to the Christian community. He was a matriculate and worked as a clerk in the Excise Department. He had only very recently come to Sholapur. He earned an annual

income of Rs. 1,440 out of his salary. Mr. M. A. had 4 sons and 4 daughters.

Mr. M. A. thought that the upbringing of his children was quite satisfactory. The husband and wife had not considered between themselves the problem of family planning. The woman said : "Artificial limitation of family defies everything—nature, health, religion and morality." She, however, did not want any more children. Even the last child was not welcome to her as she was not keeping good health.

Mr. M. A. gave the impression that he was aware of the utility of the limitation of numbers by artificial devices. He remarked : "Family planning is a new invention both as a notion and as a technical device. The present generation seems to have been overpowered by the idea. In the days of the past, people strived to increase population as much as possible. Of course, I don't mean that family planning is all bad."

Case 19 : Mr. Y. D., a Padmasali, was an independent worker in handloom weaving. He headed a joint family, comprising his own family and the families of his brothers. All the brothers jointly carried on the handloom weaving establishment. This was a typical Sali household, managing a small handloom enterprise which brought for the family an annual income of Rs. 1,800. The respondent was 37 years old. He was twice married and had a living son from the first wife. From present marriage, he had four children of whom two were living. The whole family was composed of 13 members.

Mr. Y. D. had never discussed the problem of family planning with his wife. He said : "Family planning is an unnatural, if not an immoral, thing. From the point of view of our profession, we need larger families. That guarantees stable and permanent supply of labour. So, greater procreation is only welcome to us." He neither possessed any knowledge of contraception nor did he indicate any desire to get it. His wife, however, differed from the husband on many points. She remarked : "I do not know anything about artificial methods of birth control, but I would like to get the information. But mind well, we don't want any limitation imposed upon us by government in this respect. The government should not tell us in what numbers we should beget children."

Case 20 : Mr. N. was a peon in the Civil Court. He came of a Goudhali family and was schooled up to the 4th Primary Standard. He was 27 years of age and had a wife of 23. Before coming to Sholapur, he was in lower grade military service. He had two sons and one daughter, all above the age of 5. He earned an income of Rs. 850 per annum. Though Mr. N. had no information regarding birth control devices, he had thought over the problem of family planning and discussed it with his friends. He was practically provoked to a long

discussion. "No religious or moral considerations should ever bar the adoption of the idea of family planning," he declared. "I very much wish to get information about contraception. I have decided to observe moral restraint, until I get detailed and reliable information." Mr. N. appeared sincere in his feelings and he was directed to visit the Municipal Clinic. Speaking on the population problem of India, Mr. N. observed: "The present situation has become very pressing and acute. Population is growing fast but food supply is not keeping pace with it. I am pained to see that we have to suffer from a serious shortage of food and the consequential mortality and morbidity."

Case 21 : Mrs. J., a young woman of 22, was the second wife of a carpenter, aged 45. She belonged to the Muslim Sheikh community. The woman had 6 step-children and one son of her own. Hers was a family of meagre means, the husband getting a paltry sum of Rs. 30 per month. The family lived in one small room, paying a rent of Rs. 3-50.

The woman felt that the upbringing of children was most unsatisfactory because of the expenditure on sickness and an excessive number of children. According to her, three children should be sufficient for a couple. After the age of 30, no children should be born. When personal questions on family planning were being asked, the young woman was blushing all the while. Smilingly she remarked: "My husband has a number of children from his first marriage. Hence I don't want a large number, though I would like to have one more son. If I get children one after another, how can I feed them? My husband does not get even a rupee as his daily wage. Feeding our children, leave aside nourishing and educating them, is a grave problem before us." Curiously enough, neither the husband nor the wife showed any desire to get knowledge about contraception. The man fully favoured the idea of family planning; the woman, however, was opposed to it on religious grounds.

Case 22 : Shri G. N. was big merchant carrying on business as a wholesale dealer in grain. Mr. G. N. was a Brahmin, was 40 years of age and was educated upto the 4th Primary Standard. He had been in business for about 20 years and earned at present an annual income of Rs. 6,000. Besides, he got Rs. 800 as income from his landed property and Rs. 360 as rent from residential houses. His wife was 37 years old and was married to him at the age of 12. The couple had 10 children in all, of which only 4 (2 sons and 2 daughters) were living. Both of his sons were learning in the school.

Mr. G. N. remarked that while from the point of view of the society, a pair should have four children, economic limitations of an average family permitted only 2 children. Both the husband and the

wife agreed that family planning was desirable. Both had some information of artificial devices. Mr. G. N. said : "Six years back, we attempted to limit our family by adopting the usual contraceptive methods. I was using condom. But it failed us. Of course, it was not regularly used. It is very necessary to get full and correct information. I would like to get well-informed on the problem. It is rather dangerous that the idea of family planning is spreading only among the educated. This may create an imbalance in populations of different classes."

Case 23 : Mrs. V., an illiterate woman of the Kuran-shetti Sali caste, was the wife of a handloom worker. Her age was 30. She was married at an early age of 10 and gave birth to 10 children, 6 of whom were living. She was pregnant for 6 months at the time of the interview. The children never went to school probably for financial reasons.

The couple headed the joint family in which the brother and his wife, the mother and some other relatives stayed. The brother was unemployed. His wife was engaged in the preparatory handloom weaving work. Even though three members earned, the total family fund amounted to only Rs. 384 per year for a family of 12 members. The family stayed in a small room with an area of 148 square feet !

The husband endorsed the merits of family planning and evinced interest in getting the necessary information. Penury and indigence, however, did not seem to affect the woman in respect of her ideas regarding the desirability of having a less number of children. The woman opined that a couple should have 9 children—6 sons and 3 daughters. At the time when the woman was being interviewed, a number of neighbouring women had gathered there. When after marital and fertility history, the discussion turned to family planning, all women began to laugh. One said : "We wonder how you don't feel shy or awkward in asking information of this sort. Who is going to answer such questions?" The other woman supported her and remarked : "This time, you ask whether we have discussed the problem of children with our husbands, whether we use contraceptives, etc. Next time, you might ask what should be not asked and what cannot be answered !" When the meaning and significance of family planning was being explained, Mrs. V. said : "We don't want this information. Why do you take this unwanted trouble ? Don't ask us about things which our good ancestors and predecessors never thought or did."

Case 24 : Mrs. S. aged 30, was a lady belonging to the Rajput community. Her husband was in military service at a place out of Sholapur. Mrs. S. was a full trained nurse and was employed. Both the husband and wife earned a total income of Rs. 5,400 per annum. Mrs. S. had in all 5 children, of whom all of her sons died. She now had two daughters who were learning in the primary school. She said : "We

have thought over the problem of family planning. An ideal family should have not more than four children in any case; from the economic point of view, really two children are sufficient. A woman should get relieved of child-bearing after the age of 30." Family planning was necessary, according to Mrs. S. Being a nurse, she had full knowledge of contraception. Previously, she had used the rhythm method of birth control regularly and without failure.

CHAPTER 9

CONCLUSIONS

9.1 So far, we presented some demographic profiles of the population of Sholapur, based on data gathered in the course of the demographic-economic survey of the city. In this chapter, we may bring together and summarize as succinctly as possible the chief results of the studies made in the foregoing pages.

9.2 The city of Sholapur of which the survey was conducted in 1955 is the head-quarters of the Sholapur district. It is one of the important industrial cities of Maharashtra, and specifically speaking, a centre of the cotton textiles. Its history shows that the city has grown considerably in respect of population-size as well as areally and economically over the last few decades. At the recent census (1961), Sholapur had a population of 337,583 persons. (CHAPTER II)

Demographic and Socio-Economic Characteristics

9.3 According to our sample survey, the average size of the family in Sholapur was 5.67 persons. The sex-ratio was 930 females per 1000 males. Among both males and females, about 45 per cent were in the age group 0-15, 50 per cent in 16-55 and remaining were over 55. As regards the marital status of the sample population, more than half were unmarried, 43 per cent married and the rest widowed. There were, as one would expect, larger proportions of married females at the lower ages than the corresponding groups of the males. The information on literacy and education indicated that about 46 per cent of the population was illiterate, 30 per cent literate and 23 per cent educands. Illiteracy was greater among females than among males. About 26 per cent of the population in the sample were gainfully employed and were earning an income. A family had on an average 1.6 earners and 4.1 dependants. The occupational pattern of the city was highlighted by the dominance of "manufacturing industries," particularly the textile industry. A large majority of the earning population (78 per cent) was engaged in the lowest occupations (Grades I—IV) where earnings were relatively very low. The median earnings of all earners were Rs. 613 per annum. The income of the family as a whole from all sources was quite meagre. The *per capita* annual income of the family amounted to Rs. 265 (of which Rs. 223 was earned income and Rs. 42 unearned income). Measurement of the standard of living of families showed that about 93 per cent of the families were below the Poverty Line. About 53 per cent and 13 per cent were actually facing conditions of destitution and starvation, respectively. (CHAPTER III)

Fertility and Reproduction

9.4 In the sample population, there were in all 3289 women. Of these, 1337 women were married and were between ages 13 and 50. These were thus 'exposed to the risk of child-bearing'. To these 1337 women, a total of 321 children were reported to have been born during an interval of one year preceding the time of inquiry. The age specific marital fertility rates indicated quite a normal behaviour—first rising, then remaining steady at high levels particularly between the ages 21 and 35 and finally declining slowly with age. The total marital fertility rate was 7106 children per 1000 women. This meant that the number of children expected of a married woman in Sholapur was about 7 children, during the whole of her life-time.

9.5 Seven children per woman represented the total fertility potential, which might not fructify due to (a) mortality and/or (b) absence of married state. When these exigencies were taken into account, the total fertility rate was found to be 3154 children per 1000 women. To put it differently, 1000 women in Sholapur would have given birth to 3952 more children than what they actually did, if they had remained alive and married throughout the reproductive period of their lives. The Gross and Net Reproduction Rates were of the order of 2929.10 children and 1523.28 children per 1000 women respectively. Thus, 1000 women could be expected to be replaced by a little more than one and half times of women in the next generation. The Paternal Net Reproduction Rate worked out to be 1748.57 per 1000 males. The difference between male and female net reproduction rates could be explained by the fact that the mean lengths of generation for the two sexes were different, viz. 33.20 years for males and 26.69 years for females. The true rates of natural increase were 0.2522 and 0.3160 per 1000 males and females respectively.

9.6 The fertility and reproduction rates considered so far referred to the whole body of women in the sample. There is, however, a common belief that fertility levels differ in the different classes of population. For instance, richer, more educated or better-placed peoples are supposed to have fewer children than others. Statistical testing of our data, however, showed that none of the biological or sociological factors (like caste, income, age at marriage, etc.) affected fertility in any significant manner. This is perhaps not unexpected, for there are good reasons to believe that the various social, religious and economic classes in Sholapur do not differ very much in respect of marriage habits and habits regarding procreation, practice of contraception, etc. which might be ultimately affecting fertility.

(CHAPTER V)

9.7 On the whole, the levels of fertility and reproduction as shown by the survey were fairly high. These must have been high also in the past. For, the fertility rates specific for the duration of marriage

based on: (a) births during the year of inquiry and (b) children born upto date did not show much difference in fertility levels in the past and at present. The high levels of fertility and reproduction might have been due to almost universal absence of the use of artificial methods of birth-control. (CHAPTERS IV and v)

Practice of Contraception

9.8 It is safe to say that the fertility in Sholapur was almost entirely unaffected by the practice of contraception. In fact, only 23 out of about 2212 persons interviewed for the purpose of the inquiry into the attitudes towards family planning said that they were using artificial devices of birth control—and this too not regularly. The ignorance about family planning was phenomenal. About 90 per cent of the male respondents and 95 per cent of the female respondents were completely unaware of the idea or methods of family planning. A study of the family planning clinics in Sholapur also indicated apathy and indifference on the part of the populace, to the question of family planning. In a population of nearly three lakhs of persons, only 56 persons took, on an average, advice from the clinics in a year.

(CHAPTER VI)

Attitudes towards Family Planning

9.9 While the knowledge and actual practice of contraception were extremely scarce, the attitudes of the people towards the various issues relating to family planning were quite receptive and progressive. This gave reasons to hope that a well-conceived programme of family planning can make good progress in urban populations. Nearly half of the male and female respondents subscribed to the utility and importance of family planning. Many of the respondents who were opposed to family planning did so on religious grounds. On the question of the optimum number of children in a family, a preference for a smaller number (1—3 children) and medium number of children (4—5) was quite in evidence. About 80 per cent of males and around 70 per cent of females opined 5 or less than 5 children as desirable. Compared to the consideration of mother's health, the economic consideration seemed to suggest to the respondents a smaller number of children as the optimum number. The respondents were asked as to the proper age after which, they thought, no children should be born. Over half of males and two thirds of females quoted the ages less than 45 and 40 respectively as the proper ages.

9.10 In respect of the query whether the informants really desired the last-born child, about 88 per cent of males and 80 per cent of females said that they wanted the last child. Many of the respondents who did not desire the last child did so on account of economic distress and because they already had a sufficient number of children. As regards the question pertaining to the desire for more children, about

53 per cent of males and 57 per cent of females indicated such a desire. Desire for more children was motivated by a variety of considerations—some specifically wanting sons, some daughters, while some had unluckily lost all of the children born to them until the time of inquiry.

9.11 The attitudes of the respondents towards the various issues relating to family planning seemed to be closely associated with a diverse range of variables. Some of these variables had quite a natural influence on views on certain questions. (e.g. desire for more children, and present age and number of living children). Other factors appeared to have a conditioning influence on the attitudes. Such factors were mainly community, occupation, income and education. (e.g. desirability of family planning and caste, education, etc.) (CHAPTERS VII AND VIII)

CHANGES IN SHOLAPUR BETWEEN 1937 AND 1955

1. The principal findings of the survey of Sholapur which was carried out in 1955 have been delineated in the preceding chapters. It is to be noted that a more or less similar inquiry of the city was done by the Gokhale Institute of Politics and Economics, Poona, as far back as 1938. Of course, there were some differences in the two surveys. For instance, the Institute's survey had not collected any data on fertility and attitudes towards family planning and limitation. Its main emphasis was on the economic and social aspects of the population of the city. In spite of these differences, the two inquiries have many things in common, and as such give an opportunity for enabling us to furnish a few time perspectives on the conditions in Sholapur. The present chapter brings together the comparable data of the two investigations in an attempt to see whether there have been any significant changes in family size and composition, the demographic-economic features of the population, occupational composition of earners, the levels of living of families, etc. in Sholapur during the intervening period of about one and a half decades.¹

2. The 1938-survey of Sholapur covered a sample of 4,437 families with a total population of 20,701 persons. Both the surveys covered only the Municipal area. For a valid comparison of the two surveys, it is necessary that the respective figures refer to the same area. Fortunately, there was no substantial change in the Municipal area; only one small ward, called the A-Area, was the new addition during the period 1938-1955. The sample of families and population from the A-Area has, therefore, been deleted from the figures of the 1955-survey so as to make them comparable to the 1938-survey data.²

Family and Population Characteristics

3. Let us first note changes in family and population characteristics. As regards the composition of families by religion and caste, no remarkable changes were noted between 1938 and 1955. The proportions of the Hindus, Muslims, Christians, and Jains and others were, roughly speaking, 80 per cent, 18 per cent, 1·5 per cent and 0·5 per cent at the time of both the inquiries. As between the different Hindu castes also, no noteworthy changes in the relative strengths were observed. In respect of the distribution of families by size, there was a definite trend towards an increase in the proportion of large-size families. The average size of family was found to have risen from 4·6 persons to

1. Artha Vijñān, Gokhale Institute, Poona 4, June 1961.

2. Due to the deletion of the families of A-Area, the figures regarding the 1955-survey given in this chapter would obviously differ to that extent from the figures given in the earlier chapters.

5.7 persons.³ The earner status of families, defined in terms of the number of adult and non-adult male and female earners, did not undergo any material change; the proportions of families by earner status in the two surveys resembled each other very closely.

4. The average *per capita* income of the city rose from Rs. 85.80 in 1938 to Rs. 266.99 in 1955. The rise in *per capita* earned income was from Rs. 77.40 to Rs. 224.33 and in unearned income from Rs. 8.40 to Rs. 42.66. In interpreting these results, however, it has to be borne in mind that there had been a considerable rise in prices and the cost of living during the intervening period. The average consumer price index for the working class⁴ increased from 73 in 1938 to 267 in 1955.⁵ If this rise in the consumer price index is juxtaposed with the rise in *per capita* money income, we find that far from an improvement in 'real' income, there had been a positive deterioration in the economic conditions of the families. More is said about this in the comparison of findings regarding poverty and destitution.

5. The data on housing partially corroborated the above observation. House-rent forms an important constituent of the cost of living. While the proportion of tenant families paying rent above Rs. 5 per month was only 10.6 per cent in 1938, it was as high as 55.2 per cent in 1955. The figures regarding the number of rooms per family also showed an unsatisfactory trend. Thus whereas in 1938, the percentages of families having one room, two rooms, and three rooms or more were 54.9, 29.4 and 15.7 respectively, the corresponding percentages in 1955 were 67.7, 25.0 and 7.3.⁶

6. Some of the important changes in the characteristics of the population may be noted. It was found that the sex ratio, i.e. the number of females per 1000 males, increased from 920 in 1938 to 930 in 1955. The census statistics also showed a rising trend in the sex-ratio since 1931 when it was 883, and rose to 907 in 1941, and 917 in 1951. As between adults and non-adults, the proportion of the latter was found to have increased from 39.6 per cent in 1938 to 45.3 per cent in 1955. The rise in the proportion of non-adults and fall in that of adults were, by and large, evenly distributed between males and females.

3. A Chi-square test showed that this change was significant. The Poona Re-Survey also noted a similar trend in Poona. cf. 'Poona: A Re-survey', by Sovani, N. V., *et al*, Gokhale Institute of Politics and Economics, Poona, 1956, p. 489.

4. Computed from figures published in the Bombay Labour Gazettes.

5. February 1927 to January 1928=100

6. A Chi-square test showed that this was significant. Hereafter, wherever a change has been noted as significant, it was found to be so on the basis of the Chi-square test at five per cent level of significance.

7. The information on civil condition gave clear-cut evidence of a rise in the age at marriage and also of a fall in the incidence of widowhood in the period intervening between the two investigations. The proportions of married males and females decreased from 46 and 51 per cent in 1938 to 40 and 45 per cent respectively in 1955. In the total population, there was a rise in the proportion of single persons by about 8 points. With regard to literacy and education, there appeared to be distinct progress in the period under consideration. The 1938-survey returned about 19 per cent as literate and 12 per cent as educands; the corresponding percentages at the time of the second inquiry were 25 and 19 respectively. The decline in illiteracy was evenly spread over males and females. As between adults and non-adults, however, the fall in illiteracy was more marked among the adults than among the non-adults and further among the adult males than among the adult females.

8. The comparison of statistics about the earner-non-earner ratios brought out a significant fact that on an average every earner in Sholapur at the time of the 1955-survey had to shoulder a heavier responsibility of non-earners than what his counterpart did in 1938. The number of non-earners per earner increased from 2.0 to 2.6. The proportions of earners among males and among females did not show much change. There was, however, a very sharp decline in the proportion of earners in the non-adult group, the ratio of earners to non-earners changing from 1:37.0 in 1938 to 1:110.1 in 1955. The proportion of male to female earners was found to have remained more or less the same, roughly around 5:1, between the period of the two inquiries.

The Changing Pattern of Occupations

9. The changing pattern of occupations may be appraised by comparing the occupational distribution of earners at the time of the two surveys. The percentage distribution of earners in the two samples by occupational grades is given in **Table 1**. The most remarkable shift of earners in terms of proportions was the one away from Grade II. Thus, while the proportion of skilled manual workers in 1938 was 47.8 per cent, it was 40.4 per cent in 1955. This fall in Grade II was counterbalanced by fairly considerable accretions in the proportions of earners in Grades IV and V. The rise in proportions of earners in Grades VII, IX and X and the fall in proportions in Grade VIII were quite moderate. Grades I, III and VI gave no indications of any notable changes.

10. The data given in **Table 1** may be analysed more meaningfully by studying the shifts in proportions in respect of the three types of occupations, viz., (i) occupations involving manual work, (ii) business occupations, and (iii) the professions and the salariat. There has been some fall in the proportion of earners in the 'manual work' grades

(i.e. Grades I, II and V) and corresponding increases, more or less evenly distributed, in the proportions of the 'business grades' (Grades IV, VIII and X) and the 'professions and the salariat' (Grades III, VI, VII and IX). Turning to specific grades in each type of occupation, it was found that there was a sharp fall in the proportion of skilled manual workers and a considerable rise in that of the highly skilled workers. The fall recorded in the unskilled manual workers was negligible. As regards professions and salaried employments, the relative strength of clerks and shop-assistants remained more or less stationary, whereas earners in the lowest, intermediate and highest professions and salaried posts recorded slight increase in proportions.

Table 1 : Occupational distribution of earners in Sholapur in 1938 and 1955.

Occupational grade	Percentage of earners in	
	1938	1955
I. Unskilled manual work	21.9	20.5
II. Skilled manual work	47.8	40.4
III. Lowest professions and administrative posts	4.6	5.3
IV. Small business	7.1	10.5
V. Highly skilled and supervisory manual work	4.8	8.5
VI. Clerks and shop-assistants	5.5	5.3
VII. Intermediate professions	0.7	1.7
VIII. Medium business	5.5	3.8
IX. Higher professions and salaried posts	0.5	1.3
X. Owners of factories, large shops, etc.	0.4	1.2
XI. Miscellaneous	1.2	0.9
Total No. of earners	6876	1744

11. Taking an overall view of the data, we may say that there has been a movement, though of a small order, towards the diffusion of the occupational pattern of the city. The occupational composition of earners as indicated by the 1955-survey data appeared to be less concentrated than what was found in 1938. The proportions of earners in the 'services' and 'business' appeared to have increased to some extent. Of course, due to the dominance of textile industry, the essential basis of the occupational pattern of the city, viz., the single largest concentration of earners in Grade II, continued to remain as

it had been one and a half decades ago. Sholapur is a city whose urban base is predominantly industrial, and like for example, Poona, it has never been an educational or an administrative centre. Nevertheless, the impact of war and post-war events might have, it appears, broadened a little the occupational base of the city.

12. The comparison of the age and sex composition of earners did not show any material change, except the fact that the proportion of non-adults was slightly less in 1955.⁷ In individual grades also, the proportions of adult and non-adult male and female earners remained, by and large, the same. The data on the educational status showed a considerable decline in the illiteracy of earners. The proportions of illiterates among earners in the two surveys were 60 per cent and 40 per cent respectively. The progress of literacy was particularly marked among the skilled manual workers and earners in small business. The information on the duration of employment revealed a very remarkable increase in the group of earners who were in their present employment for more than 5 years (from 53 per cent in 1938 to 80 per cent in 1955). This may partly indicate lack of occupational mobility or that of alternative employment opportunities available in the city. The rise in the proportion of this class of earners was prominent in Grades I, III and VI.

13. Like family income, in the case of individual earnings also, there was an all-round upward movement of money incomes in all the occupational grades. This, however, as said earlier, has to be set against the rise in the cost of living during the period between 1938 and 1955. In the earlier survey, as many as three-fourths of the earners were found to have been concentrated in income ranges below Rs. 250 per annum. In 1955, this proportion was only 20 per cent. The more precise way of comparing earnings would be to examine the first, second and third quartile incomes in the different occupational grades in 1938 and in 1955. The relevant figures are given in **Table 2**. Comparatively viewed, the increase in median earnings was very prominent in Grade X. In Grades II, and VIII, median earnings rose by more than four times. It appears from the relative values of median earnings of different grades that inequality as between the various occupations increased a little during the seventeen years, the chief beneficiaries of the rise of incomes being Grades X and VIII. Within individual grades, however, there was little indication of rise in inequality. The relative values of quartile earnings of the various occupations indicated that the extent of dispersion of earnings did not increase; in some cases, it actually decreased, though not by a very large margin.

7. The percentages of adult male earners, adult female earners and non-adult earners, at the time of the two surveys, were, broadly speaking, 82, 15 and 3 respectively.

Table 2 : First, second and third quartile earnings of earners in different occupational grades.

Occupational grade	1938 (In Rs.)			1955 (In Rs.)		
	First quartile	Median	Third quartile	First quartile	Median	Third quartile
I	31	71	124	114	234	400
II	102	149	210	400	639	920
III	158	223	295	652	856	979
IV	84	138	197	320	484	667
V	174	284	477	450	800	1305
VI	216	304	492	475	969	1486
VII	703	1286	2476	1110	1595	2592
VIII	170	349	691	1134	1712	2890
IX	806	1091	1818	2168	3000	6225
X	325	430	1102	3430	5100	8475

Rise in Poverty and Destitution

14. It is perturbing to note that the economic conditions of Sholapur families in terms of the levels of living deteriorated between 1938 and 1955.⁸ There has been a general increase in the incidence of poverty and destitution. The comparative distribution of families by income per adult unit showed a movement of the proportions of families from lower to higher income ranges. The rise in money incomes has, however, been coupled with a rise in the cost of living. The amount of income per adult unit that was necessary to maintain the minimum standard of living in 1955 was about four times as high as that required in 1938. The Poverty and Destitution Lines were represented by Rs. 150 and Rs. 60 per adult unit in 1938, and by Rs. 600 and Rs. 250 respectively in 1955. It was found that the proportion of families below the Poverty Line rose from 83.9 per cent to 92.8 per cent and that below the Destitution Line from 32.7 per cent to 53.2 per cent during the period under consideration. The rise in destitution has been both significant and alarming.

8. Cf. 'Poona : A Re-survey' by N. V. Sovani *et al*, "...the situation had not only not improved in 1953-54 as compared to that in 1936-37, but also that it had slightly deteriorated. That this should have happened at the end of a series of years of comparatively uninterrupted brisk economic activity is a matter of concern and provides a challenge to planners and framers of policy." Foreword, by Prof. D. R. Gadgil, pp. iv-v, vide also p. 506.

15. It was noteworthy to find that in the general lowering of the level of living, the bigger families suffered more than the smaller families. This may be seen from Table 3. All the classes of families by size had, of course, to suffer, but the "very large-sized families" (i.e. families with 10 or more members) suffered most. Thus, while on an average the proportions of the 'poor' and 'destitute' families rose by 9 and 20 points between 1938 and 1955, the increase of such families among the 'very large-sized families' amounted to 14 and 33 points respectively.

Table 3 : Percentages of families below Poverty and Destitution Lines in Sholapur, among families of different size, in 1938 and 1955.

Family size classes	Number of members in the family	1938-Survey		1955-Survey	
		Families below Poverty Line (%)	Families below Destitution Line (%)	Families below Poverty Line (%)	Families below Destitution Line (%)
Small	1-3	79.0	21.9	85.3	37.7
Medium	4-6	87.9	39.3	96.7	54.0
Large	7-9	85.4	39.7	94.4	64.0
Very large	10 & above	80.0	32.7	94.3	66.4
Total		83.9	32.7	92.8	53.2

16. The deterioration in the already appalling conditions of poverty and destitution is a matter of deep concern, especially when it is viewed against the background of the industrial and urban character of the city of Sholapur and of the rise in incomes and economic activity during the period of war and later national economic planning.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

The Questionnaires

QUESTIONNAIRE I

The Family Schedule

I Identification

1. Tenement No.
2. Ward.
3. Peth.

II Information regarding the Head of the Family

1. Name.
2. Sex.
3. Age.
4. Marital status.
5. Education.
6. Religion.
7. Caste.
8. Mother-tongue.
9. Occupation.
10. Annual income.
11. Place of birth.
12. Period of residence in Sholapur.

III Information regarding the Earning Members of the Family (including those Involuntarily Unemployed)

(A) Earners

1. Name.
2. Relationship to the head of the family.
3. Sex.
4. Age.
5. Marital status.
6. Education.
7. Occupation
8. Employing agency.

9. Place of work.
10. (i) Duration in present employment.
(ii) Total experience in the occupation.
11. Previous occupation.
12. Rate of payment in the present employment.
13. Method of payment.
14. Income earned during the previous month.
15. Income earned during the previous year.
16. No. of days worked during the last month.
17. No. of days lost during the last month due to sickness, etc.
18. No. of days taken voluntarily as holidays.
19. No. of days for which work could not be secured during the last month.
20. Subsidiary occupation.
21. Income from subsidiary occupation during the last year.

(B) About the Unemployed Members

22. Duration of unemployment.
23. Occupation previous to unemployment.
24. Reasons of unemployment.
25. Has the unemployed person registered himself in the Employment Exchange ? If not, why ?

IV Information regarding the Non-Earners

1. Name.
2. Relationship to the head of the family.
3. Sex.
4. Age.
5. Marital status.
6. Educand or Non-educand.
7. Education.

V Earned and Unearned Income of the Family from All Sources during the Last Year

1. Total income of all earners during the last year.
2. Income from agriculture.
3. Income from house-rent.
4. Interest, bonus, profit, etc.

5. Income from all other sources.

6. Total family income.

VI Housing

1. Is the tenement owned or rented ?

2. If rented, the amount of monthly rent.

3. Total No. of members in the family.

4. Living area (in square feet).

5. No. of living rooms.

6. Do you enjoy the following conveniences ?

(i) independent kitchen.

(ii) separate bath-room.

(iii) separate water-tap.

(iv) separate latrine.

(v) electricity.

(vi) tiled floor.

(vii) sufficient No. of windows for light and ventilation.

VII Attitudes towards Family Planning and Limitation (to be filled in for the Head of the Family)

(A) Introductory Questions

1. Total No. of children born.

(i) No. of sons.

(ii) No. of daughters.

2. No. of living children.

(i) Sons.

(ii) Daughters.

3. No. of sons above the age of 5. and of these, the No. of educand sons.

4. Have the non-educand sons, in your opinion, received adequate education ?

5. If not, why did you discontinue their education ?

6. No. of married daughters.

7. No. of daughters above 5. and of these, the No. of educand daughters.

8. Have the non-educand daughters, in your opinion, received adequate education ? If not, why was the education discontinued ?

9. Are you satisfied with the nourishment and upbringing which you are providing for your children ?

10. If not, what are the causes of your inability to provide proper nourishment and upbringing for your children ?

(B) General Questions relating to Family Planning

1. Have you discussed the question of family planning with your wife ?
2. What, in your opinion, is the desirable No. of children in a family from the point of view of : (i) wife's health, (ii) economic and financial conditions. (The No. of sons and daughters to be separately specified).
3. What is the proper age after which no child should be born.
4. Is family planning desirable ? If not, state your reasons.
5. Do you have information regarding the artificial devices of birth-control ?
6. If not, do you desire to have such information

(C) Personal Questions

1. Do you desire more children ? If yes, why ?
2. Did you desire the last child ?
3. If not, why ?
4. Do you practise birth-control ?
5. If practising birth-control, which method do you use ?
6. Do you use it regularly ?

For those who practised birth-control previously but have now given up the use.

7. When did you use the method ? Specify the period.
8. What method did you use ?
9. Did you use it regularly ?
10. How many times did it fail ?
11. Reasons for giving up the method.

Questionnaire 2

FERTILITY SCHEDULE

(Questionnaire to be filled in for every Woman in the Sample)

I Identification

1. Tenement No.
2. Ward.
3. Peth:

II Information regarding the Head of the Family

1. Name.
2. Sex.
3. Age.
4. Marital status.
5. Religion and caste.
6. Occupation.
7. Annual family income.

III Information regarding the Woman

1. Name.
2. Relationship to the head of the family.
3. Age.
4. Marital status.
5. Education.
6. Occupation.
7. Annual income, if any.

IV Information about the Husband of the Woman

1. Age.
2. Education.
3. Occupation.
4. Annual income.
5. If the husband is dead, his age at death.
6. Year of death.

V Marital History of the Woman

1. If married more than once, woman's age at first marriage.
2. Woman's age at present marriage.
3. Husband's age at marriage.
4. Total No. of children born out of present marriage :
(i) sons (ii) daughters.
5. Total No. of living children : (i) sons (ii) daughters.
6. Total No. of dead children.

VI Fertility Performance during twelve months preceding the Date of Interview

1. Was a child born to the woman during the past 12 months ?
2. If so, sex of the child.

3. Present age (in months).
4. If the child is dead. age at death (in months).
5. Cause of death.
6. If the child was not live-born. was it an abortion, miscarriage or still-birth ?
7. Order of the present delivery.
8. If the woman is pregnant at the time of the inquiry. the month of pregnancy.
9. Age of the woman at the time of first delivery.

VII Details about the total number of deliveries : Information about each delivery

1. Rank of delivery.
2. Nature of delivery (abortion. miscarriage. still-birth or live-birth).
3. Name of the child.
4. Is the child living or dead at present ?
5. Sex.
6. Year of birth.
7. Present age of the child.
8. Marital status.
9. Whether staying with or away from the parents.
10. If the child is dead. year of death.
11. Age at death.
12. Cause of death.

**VIII Attitudes towards Family Planning and Limitation
(To be filled in usually for the wife of the family-head)**

(A) Introductory Questions

1. Total No. of children born : (i) No. of sons (ii) No. of daughters.
2. No. of living children : (i) sons (ii) daughters.
3. No. of sons above the age of 5. and of these, the No. of educand sons.
4. Have the non-educand sons. in your opinion, received adequate education ?
5. If not, why did you discontinue their education ?
6. No. of married daughters.

7. No. of daughters above 5. and of these, the No. of educand daughters.
8. Have the non-educand daughters, in your opinion, received adequate education? If not, why was their education discontinued?
9. Are you satisfied with the general nourishment and upbringing which you are providing for your children?
10. If not, what are the causes of your inability to provide proper nourishment and upbringing for your children?

(B) General Questions relating to Family Planning

1. Have you discussed the question of family planning with your husband?
2. What, in your opinion, is the desirable No. of children in a family from the point of view of: (i) own health, (ii) economic conditions. (Specify the No. of sons and daughters separately).
3. What is the proper age after which no child should be born to a woman?
4. Is family planning desirable? If not, state your reasons.
5. Do you have information regarding the artificial methods of birth-control?
6. If not, do you desire to have such information?

(C) Personal Questions

1. Do you want more children? If yes, why?
2. Did you desire the last-born child?
3. If not, why?
4. Do you practise birth-control?
5. If practising birth-control, which method do you use?
6. Do you use it regularly?

For those who practised birth-control previously but have now given up the use

7. When did you use the method? Specify the period.
8. What method did you use?
9. Did you use it regularly?
10. How many times did it fail?
11. Reasons for giving up the method.

APPENDIX - II

A List of Articles

The following is a list of articles which were based on the data of the demographic-economic survey of Sholapur, published in the following Journals :

- 1 Levels of Fertility and Reproduction and Differential Fertility in Sholapur City. Indian Economic Journal, July 1960.
- 2 A Study of Patients of Family Planning Clinics in Sholapur, Journal of Family Welfare, September 1959.
- 3 Poverty and Many Children as Causes of Inadequate Nourishment and Upbringing of Children, Journal of Family Welfare, June 1961.
- 4 Changes in Economic Conditions of an Urban Community, Artha Vijnān, Journal of the Gokhale Institute of Politics and Economics, Poona, June 1961.
- 5 Occupational Pattern and Dispersion of Earnings in Sholapur, Indian Journal of Labour Economics, July 1961.
- 6 Practice of Contraception and Attitudes towards Family Planning : A Sample Survey, A. I. C. C. Economic Review, Patna Congress Number, January 4, 1962.
- 7 Life Cycle of Families in an Urban Community, Sociological Bulletin, March 1963.
- 8 Poverty and Destitution in an Industrial City, A. I. C. C. Economic Review, Nov. 1, 1963.

APPENDIX III

A Chronology of Important Social Events in the Life of Sholapur

(1880-1955)

- 1881 Completion of water-works. Water-supply from 'Hipparga' tank to the town began.
- 1886-87 Three thousand weavers left the city on account of severe competition from mills.
- 1889-90 Cholera, small pox and influenza epidemics.
- 1890 Opening of the Dufferin Hospital.
- 1891 "Sholapur Spinning and Weaving Mills" was nearly destroyed by a fire, but it was soon rebuilt and named 'A' Mill in 1893.
- 1894 Construction of Rippon Hall began.
- 1895 Railway bridges on the rivers 'Sina' and 'Bori' were swept away by excessive rains. Dislocation of transport, severe famine. A girl's school, 'Saraswati Mandir' by name, was established.
- 1896 Opening of Cheap Grain Shops to meet famine.
- 1897-98 Plague epidemic.
- 1898 'Raja Narsingh Girji' and 'Laxmi' Mills started work.
- 1901-04 Plague epidemic in very grave form, heavy mortality and out-migration.
- 1902 Northcote Government High School was established.
- 1909 'Jam' Mill started work.
- 1910 'Vishnu' Mill started work.
- 1911 Establishment of Civil Hospital.
- 1914-18 World-War I, plague epidemic.
- 1918 Establishment of Raja Narsingh Girji Hospital.
- 1918-19 Influenza epidemic.
- 1922 Mahatma Gandhi's visit.
- 1925 Plague epidemic.
- 1930 Martial Law declared in the city.
- 1931 Execution of the four 'Patriots'. (Messrs Dhanshetti, Shinde, Sarda and Hussen).
- 1935 Celebrations in respect of Jubilee of King George V, a park was named as 'Royal Jubilee Park'.
- 1939 Sardar Patel's visit.

- 1939-45 World-War II, Impetus to textile and other industries
1942 Arrest of local leaders during the "Quit India" movement
1943 Inauguration of Mule Pavilion by the Governor of Bombay
1946 Mill-workers' strike.
1947 Hindu-Muslim riots.
1948 Mahatma Gandhi's assassination. Atrocities of the Raza kars. Phenomenal refugee influx in Sholapur from Hyderabad, Police Action of Government of India in Hyderabad.
1949 Municipal bus-service was started.
1949-50 Reduction of work in 'Old Mill' and other Mills, fear of large-scale unemployment and out-migration.
1952 'Hutatma Park' (Martyrs' Park) was opened to public.
1952-53 Famine. Visit by Shri. Nehru, Prime Minister of India.
1953 Centenary of Sholapur Municipality.

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