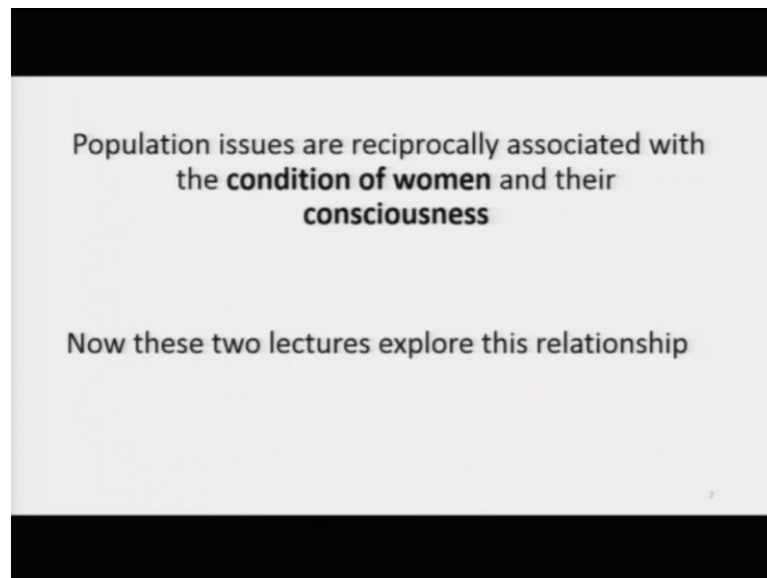


Population Studies
Prof. Arun Kumar Sharma
Department of Humanities and Social Sciences
Indian Institute of Technology, Kanpur

Lecture – 17
Population Growth and Women-1

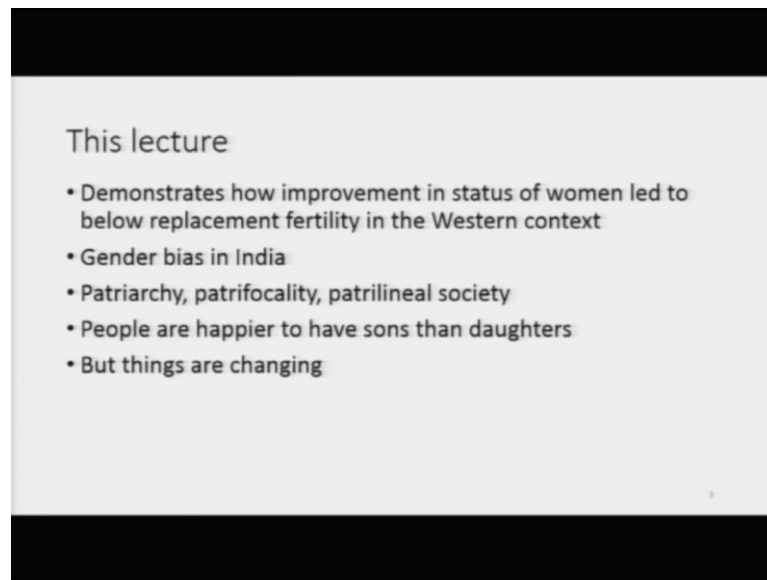
Friends, now in 2 lectures we will talk about the relationship between population and social characteristic like sex for issuance of population age and sex composition of population are two important issues in substantive theories. And now we will devote sometime to population and sex and this will be followed by population and age.

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Now, this is important to note that population issues are reciprocally associated with the condition of women and their consciousness, which means that the condition of women and their consciousness affects population processes and in turn population processes also affect the condition of women. So, the relationship is symmetrical both ways.

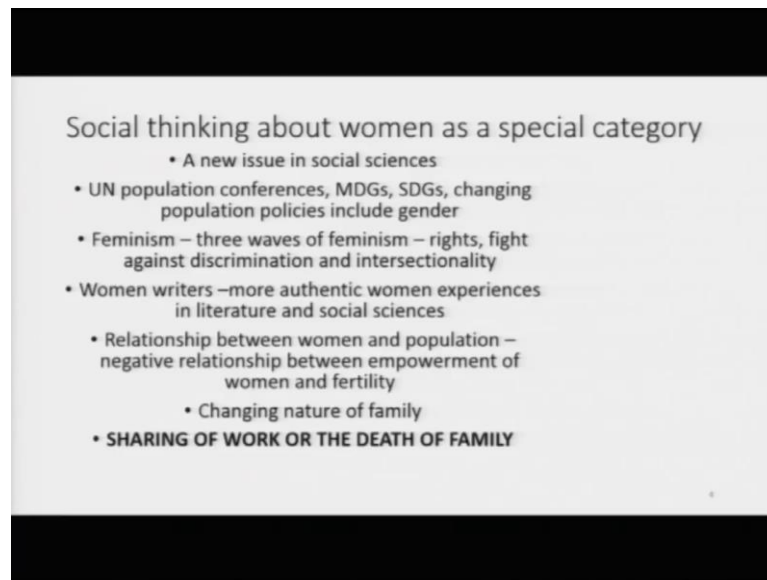
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Now, this lecture demonstrates how improvement in status of women led to below replacement fertility in the western context. In our own case demographic transition is producing a gender bias; we will talk about gender bias and its indicators and consequences. The Indian society from sociological point of view is marked by patriarchy, patrilocality and patrilineal characteristics. Patriarchy, archy means power. So, in patriarchal society power lies with male patriarch, mostly the senior most male member of the household or family. Patrilocality means that after marriage it is women who join husbands place not the husbands who join wives place.

Only in some very rare cases of matrilineal society among Nair's in Kerala there maybe matrilocality. But now that is also declining. At one time matriarchy prevailed in certain specific castes like Nair's in Kerala, but now under the impact of religion and modernization, urbanization, education and world system; matriarchy and matrilineal society of Nair's is also replaced by patriarchy and patrilineal society. No wonder that people are happy, happier to have sons than daughters, dowry and cultural social economic significance of children especially male children is responsible for this. But yes things are changing and in urban areas and in families where women are working, things have certainly changed.

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Social thinking about women as a special category is a new issue in social sciences, the whole feminist move post colonial literature. The origin of postcolonial literature with respect to women's movement is of quiet recent origin and UN population conferences, millennium development goals, sustainable development goals and changing population policies have included gender at one of the variables. So, we talk of gender gap in education, in health, in income, in poverty, in wage rates etcetera etcetera. There have been three waves of feminism starting with women's rights and fight for voting behavior in the western countries, then came the second wave and fight against discrimination in all walks of life.

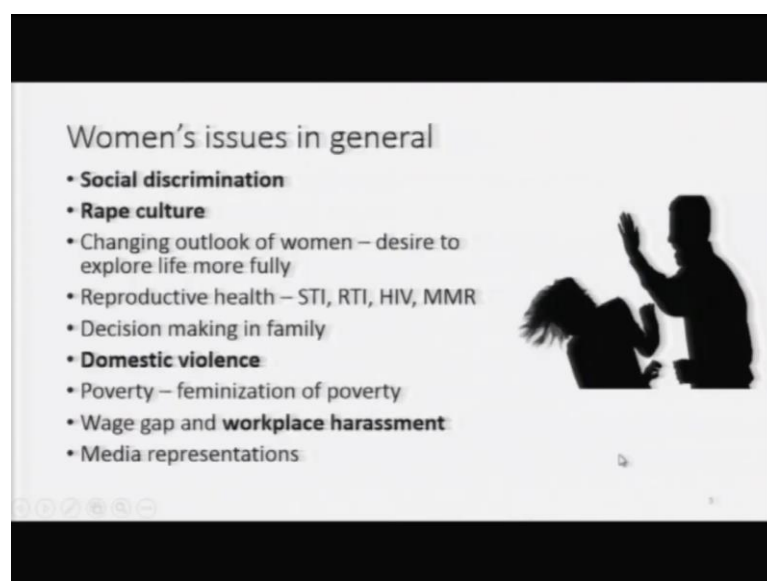
And, now the focus maybe you can say because of post modernization or post colonial influences the focus is now more on intersectionality. So this intersectionality adds to literature on women in the sense that it says it creates an imagery that imagine that there is a cross road and a large number of roads are meeting at some place. Some coming from East side, some West side, South, North, North East, North West from all sides may be 10 or 12 roads are meeting at some place. And at that place there is an accident, now it becomes extremely difficult then to pin point from the fault of which vehicle coming from which direction this accident has taken place. So, likewise in post colonial feminist literature researchers focus on women's condition as an accident.

And they say that the reasons behind women's condition is not one there are several and condition of women in several in different categories region, linguistic groups, culture economic class castes community are not same. So, women are fighting their battle separately in separate caste class communities, urban rural areas, educational groups and so on. Women writers have contributed a lot to present more authentic women experiences in literature and also in social sciences.

So, that one of the charges against conventional sociology is that this is produced by males and this concerns males issues only. Relationship between population and women is often negative. Negative relationship between empowerment of women and fertility wherever women have been empowered fertility has declined. And family is changing everywhere, so much changing that in sociology classes we find it difficult to evolve a definition of family with which we can say that this is what the family institution is.

Family is large, family is a small, family is single parent, family is double parents, family is consensual, family is legally married, you know all aspects with, without children and singles, lesbian, gays all kinds of families are present today. And therefore, to evolve a one single definition of family becomes difficult. And, it is written in the recent past that the future of society depends on whether work outside home can be shared by both males and females or not.

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Women's issues in general

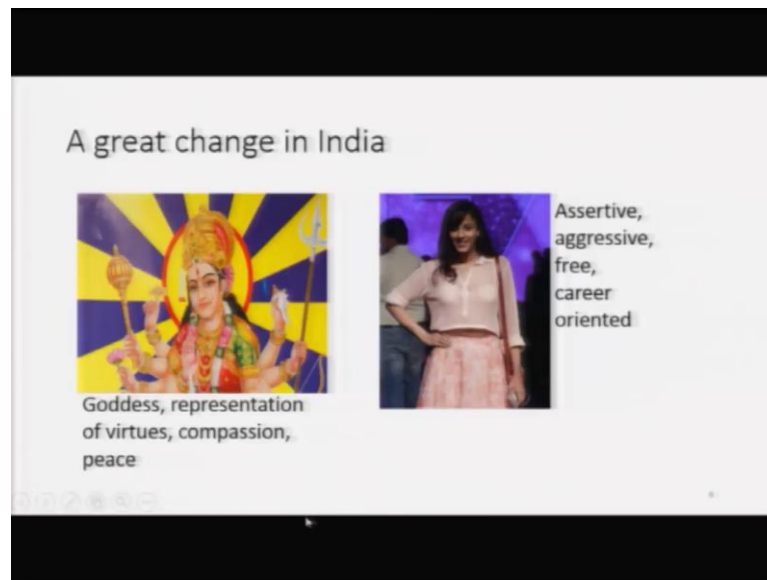
- **Social discrimination**
- **Rape culture**
- Changing outlook of women – desire to explore life more fully
- Reproductive health – STI, RTI, HIV, MMR
- Decision making in family
- **Domestic violence**
- Poverty – feminization of poverty
- Wage gap and **workplace harassment**
- Media representations

In general women issues are several, first of all there is discrimination against women. In society there is rape culture, at least in the context of less developed countries like India, also in other countries African countries, Latin American countries, the problem of rape exists even in the developed countries. Then changing outlook of women, desire to explore life more fully also creates problem for women. There are reproductive health issues, sexually transmitted infection, reproductive tract infection, HIV and MMR. India is particularly high on MMR. Decision making in family is highly unequal with greater power in the hands of male patriarchs.

Then there is domestic violence and our famous NFHS has produced lot of data on domestic violence in the country. Domestic violence is often divided into physical, emotional and sexual. And NFHS has given us figures of what percentage of women have faced physical, emotional and sexual violence separately or any form of violence. Economic surveys have shown that there is a wage gap in agriculture, non-agriculture, informal sector, formal sector except may be in government sector in all kinds of jobs women are getting less than men.

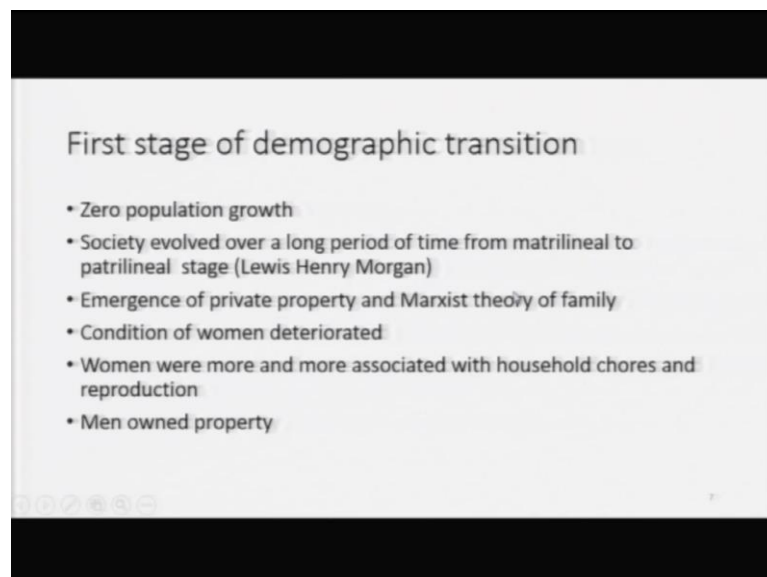
And there are so, many excuses for this, so many reasons assigned to these wage gap, promotions for women are difficult, getting administrative positions in organizations are difficult and then the issue of workplace harassment. Media representations also produce a lot of biases against women and it produces a certain kinds of stereotypes separate roles for men and women; however, things are changing and the images of women are changing.

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Earlier women were represented as goddess, they were represented as virtues, compassion peace, but now there are more assertive, aggressive, free, career oriented women. And this is an example of how a onetime porn star in the west has become an established and respectable artist in Indian cinema.

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Demographic transition this is the key theory of population studies, shows the relationship like this. That in the first stage of demographic transition we are 0 population growth society evolved over a long period of time from matrilineal to

patrilineal stage according to famous anthropologist Lewis Henry Morgan whose work has been followed by Karl Marx no less than Karl Marx in theorizing about women's issues.

This, so there is and why did matrilineal society change to patrilineal society following Lewis Henry Morgan's idea Karl Marx attributed this to emergence of private property. Society was matrilineal as long as there was no surplus and society was undifferentiated or was in the early stages of development of mode of production. But gradually as society developed and more surplus was generated, it became a class society.

And the moment it becomes a class society it becomes a patriarchal society, out of the desire on the part of male members who are the owners of the private property, landed property, machine property, money property, knowledge, organizational skills that their wealth the wealth that they have should be inherited by their own biological sons. And therefore, they started putting lot of restrictions around women so that they can be sure that their sons are really their own biological sons, condition of women deteriorated, under this condition when society started putting restrictions around women condition of women deteriorated.

And women are now more and more associated with household chores and reproduction. So, outside jobs, work, education, development, bread winning, responsibilities; they go to males and reproductive roles and the role of raising children they that goes to women, because men own property. And, according to Karl Marx in a future socialistic society it will become an equal society with respect to gender because the property will be owned by the entire state or by government on behalf of all the people. Then to all the people according to their needs and from all the people according to their ability this communist slogan can be actualized.

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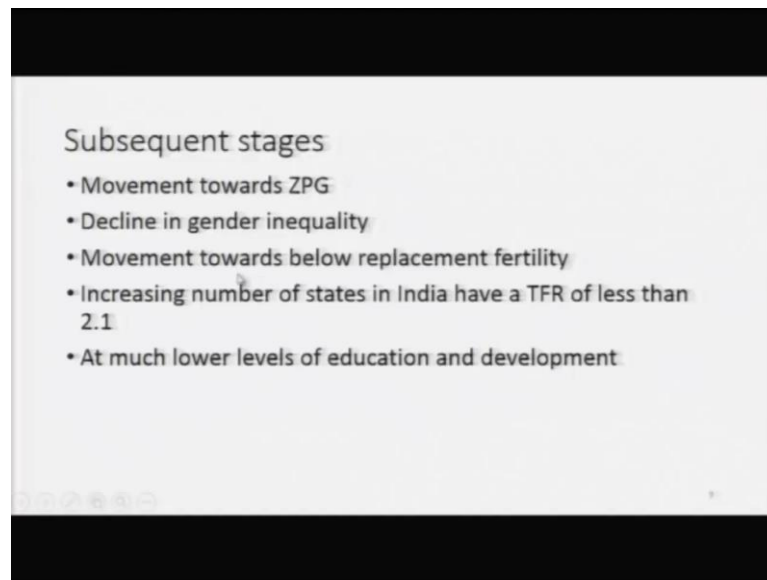


In second stage of demographic transition we have industrial society, population starts rising empirically or otherwise rapid population growth is considered to be associated with fall in status of women. This patrilineal emergence of patrilineal society from matrilineal society is responsible for fall in the status of women. Nuclear family is more conducive to new work conditions and in nuclear family none less than Ulrich Beck in his famous book *Risk Society* which became best seller in Germany.

Now, we have its translation and students of post modernization particularly are following this book. Modernization gave freedom to men, but it practiced a feudalism of women. So, modernization according to Ulrich Beck did not make everybody free, it was a kind of semi feudal society. Modern and advance and free and liberal for men, but feudal for women this is a concept actually on which lot of time is required if you want to explain it properly, but it shows that there is gender bias and discrimination. In subsequent stages there is a movement towards zero population growth again or negative population growth there is decline in gender inequality.

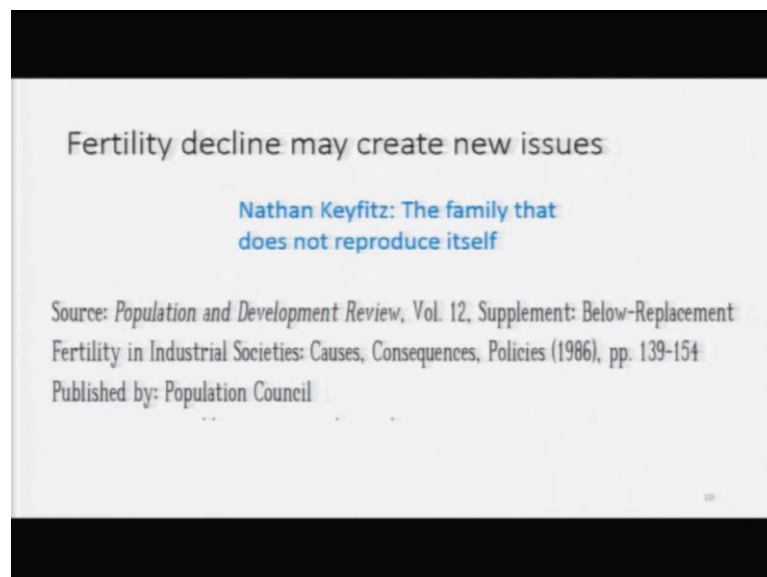
We often referred to Kuznets curve in economics. According to which a society develops in the early stages along with the development degree of inequality and often expressed in terms of Gini coefficient increases and after reaching a certain point in development then inequality or Gini coefficient starts declining.

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And in this society there is a movement towards below replacement fertility and increasing number of states in India, also have a total fertility rate of less than 2.1 at much lower levels of education and development as was predicted by demographic transition theory in the name of threshold hypothesis.

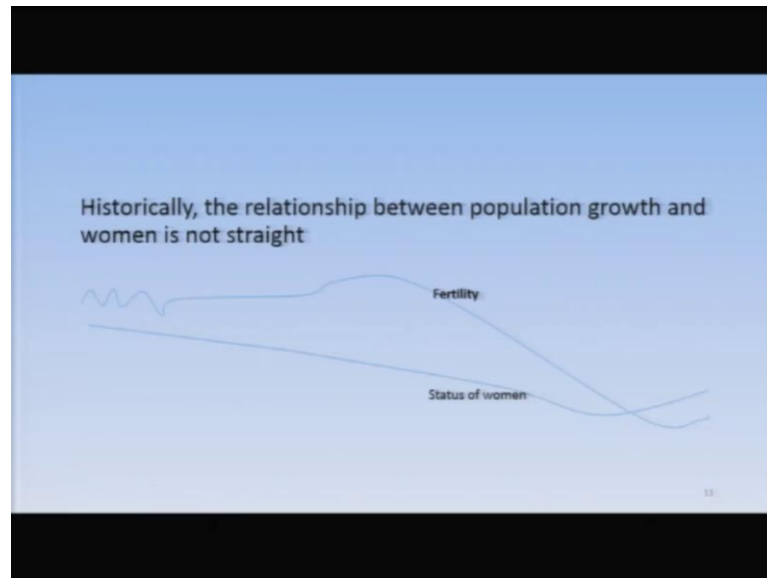
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This fertility decline is going to create new issues. Earlier also I referred to this article, but I thought that because this is a central article linking demographic transition to women's condition and fertility economic development and women's status.

So, I must give the complete reference of the article you can read yourself, this is by Nathan Keyfitz the title of the paper is the family that does not reproduce itself. And, the source it was published in population and development review in 1986 in volume 12 supplement below replacement fertility in industrial societies causes consequences and policies. The journal is published by population council.

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So, historically the relationship between population growth and women is not straight. Status of women declines, as development takes place, modernization, industrialization economic development status of the women declines. And after reaching a certain point, it starts improving along with industrialization and development; very similar to predictions of Kuznets curve.

During this time fertility initially fertility is fluctuating then maybe there is slight increase, some more increase and then it starts declining and goes to below replacement level. So, when status of women is high fertility goes below the replacement level because women are not willing to take up the responsibility of children.

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Demographic transition in India and sex ratio

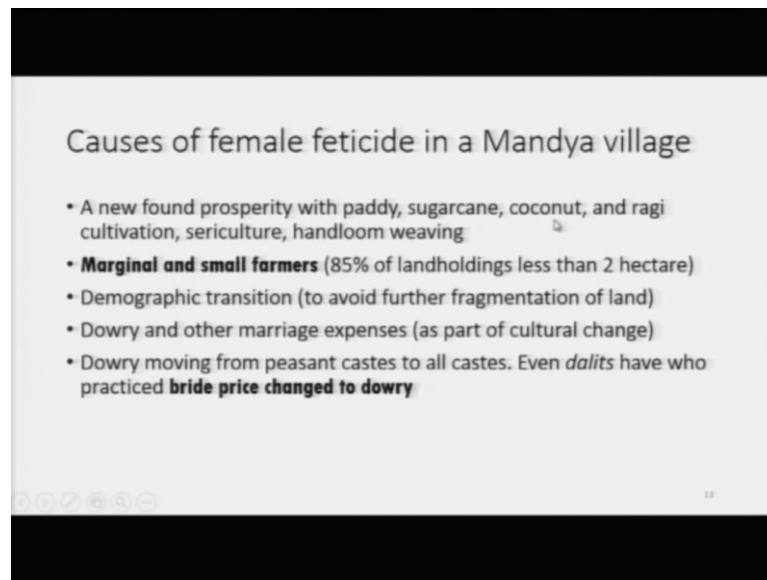
- Female foeticides and fall in juvenile sex ratio
- **Parity effect** – neutralizes bias
- **Intensification effect** – son preference to daughter discrimination
- Multiple causes: development, aspirations, decline in child mortality, need for a son but not for many, medical facilities, dowry, violence against women and safety and security issues, ... (T. V. Sekher and Neelambar Hatti, *Sociological Bulletin*, 59(1), 2010)
- Daughter unwanted but daughter in-law wanted (Ravinder Kaur, *EPW*, 39(25), 2004)

12

Demographic transition in India also creates other issues female feticide issue, now normally we expect that when demographic transition takes place and people want to produce only 1 or 2 children then the gender bias should go. But, actually there are two types of effects of transition parity effect which neutralizes bias and intensification effect according to which son is preferred over daughter and this leads to discrimination.

There are multiple causes of this development aspiration, decline in child mortality need for a son, but not for many medical facilities, dowry, violence against women and safety and security issues. Daughter are unwanted, but daughter in-law is wanted. According to Ravinder Kaur a sociologist associated with IIT Delhi says that daughter in-law wanted daughter unwanted, therefore fertility goes below the replacement level. And daughter in laws are purchased from outside Punjab, this article focus on Punjab.

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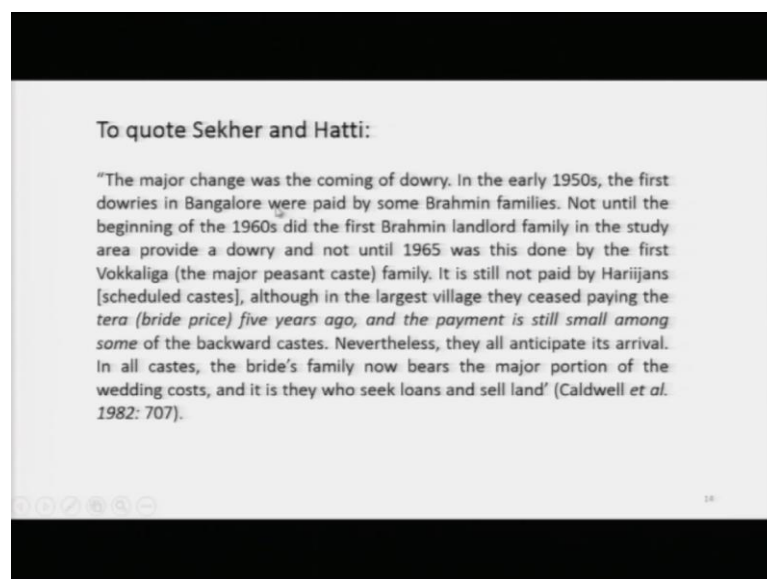
Causes of female feticide in a Mandya village

- A new found prosperity with paddy, sugarcane, coconut, and ragi cultivation, sericulture, handloom weaving
- **Marginal and small farmers** (85% of landholdings less than 2 hectare)
- Demographic transition (to avoid further fragmentation of land)
- Dowry and other marriage expenses (as part of cultural change)
- Dowry moving from peasant castes to all castes. Even *dalits* have who practiced **bride price changed to dowry**

13

An article by Sekher of IIPS focused on two South Indian villages where there is a new found prosperity among marginal and small farmer, demographic transition and dowry and other marriage expenses are going up. Dowry is a new phenomenon there and expenses are going up. Dowry is moving from peasant caste to all castes, even Dalits have started practicing dowry and earlier they practiced bride price, now they have changed to dowry.

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To quote Sekher and Hatti:

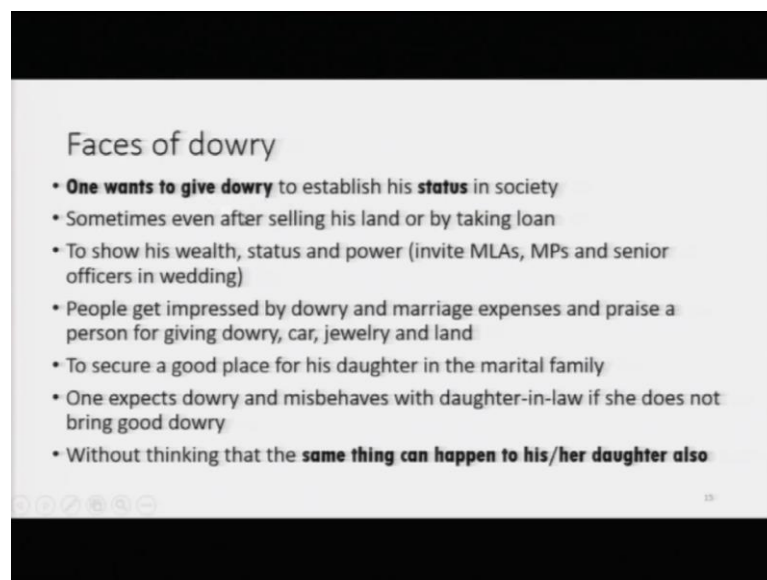
"The major change was the coming of dowry. In the early 1950s, the first dowries in Bangalore were paid by some Brahmin families. Not until the beginning of the 1960s did the first Brahmin landlord family in the study area provide a dowry and not until 1965 was this done by the first Vokkaliga (the major peasant caste) family. It is still not paid by Hariijans [scheduled castes], although in the largest village they ceased paying the *tera* (bride price) five years ago, and the payment is still small among some of the backward castes. Nevertheless, they all anticipate its arrival. In all castes, the bride's family now bears the major portion of the wedding costs, and it is they who seek loans and sell land' (Caldwell et al. 1982: 707).

14

To quote Sekher and Hatti: “The major change was the coming of dowry. In the early 1950s, the first dowries in Bangalore were paid by some Brahmin families. Not until the beginning of the 1960s did the first Brahmin landlord family in the study area provided a dowry and not until 1965 was this done by the first Vokkaliga, the major peasant cast family.

It is still not paid by Harijans schedule caste, although in the largest village they ceased paying the tera bride price five years ago, and the payment is still small among some of the backward casts. Nevertheless, they all anticipate its arrival in all costs, the bride’s family now bears the major portion of the wedding cost, and it is they who seek loans and sell land.

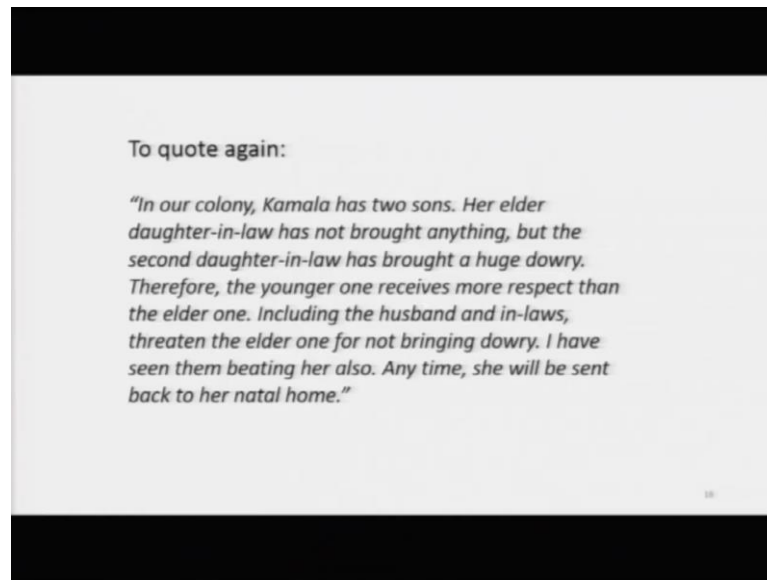
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One wants to give dowry to establish status. Sometimes even after selling his land or by taking loan; to show his wealth, status and power, to invite MLAs, MPs and senior officers in wedding. People get impressed, so dowry becomes an institution of society. To secure a good place for his daughter in marital family one expects dowry and misbehaves with daughter in-law if she does not bring good dowry without thinking that the same thing happen to his her daughter also. The interesting point is that dowry in this form generally believed to be a part of Indian religious tradition was not practiced in the past.

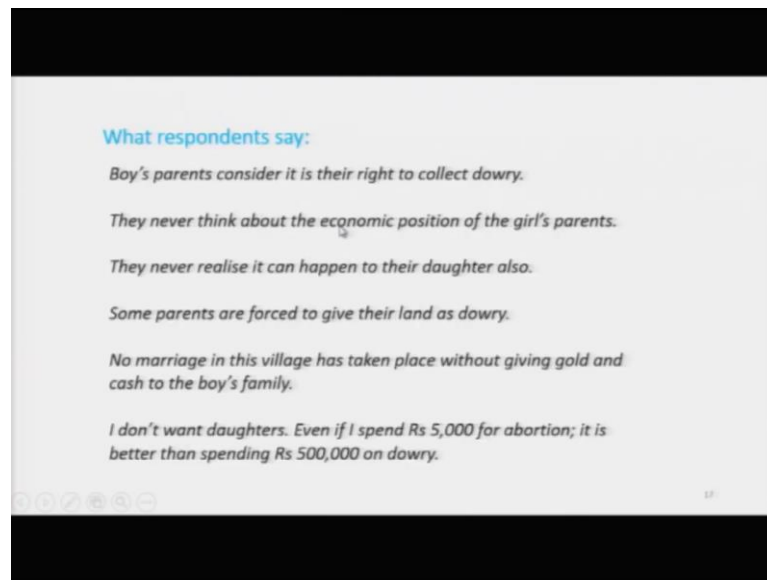
At least this is study by Sekher shows that it is of recent times after independence, after independence when demographic transition starts that is the time when the condition of women also deteriorates and we start practicing dowry.

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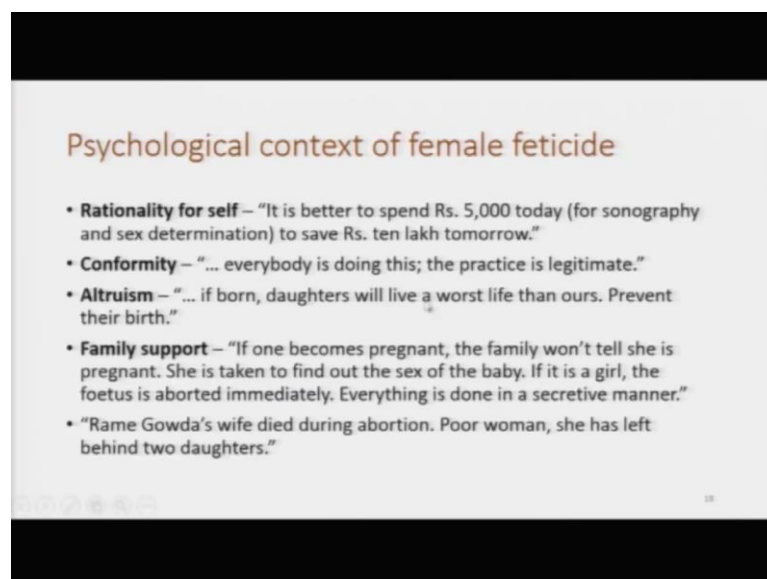
To quote again: look at the reasons reason why people do not want daughters and therefore, they go for female feticide. "In our colony kamala has two sons. Her elder daughter in law has not brought anything, but the second daughter in law has brought a huge dowry. Therefore, the younger one receives more respect than the elder one. Including the husband and in-laws threaten the elder one for not bringing dowry. I have seen them beating her also. Any time she will be sent back to her natal.

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Respondents make the following comment in this study, that boys parents consider it is their right to collect dowry. They never think about the economic position of girl's parents. They never realize it can happen to their daughters also. Some peasants are forced to give their land as dowry. No marriage in this village has taken place without giving gold and cash to the boy's family. I do not want daughters even if I spend rupees 5000 for abortion; it is better than spending 500000 on dowry subsequently.

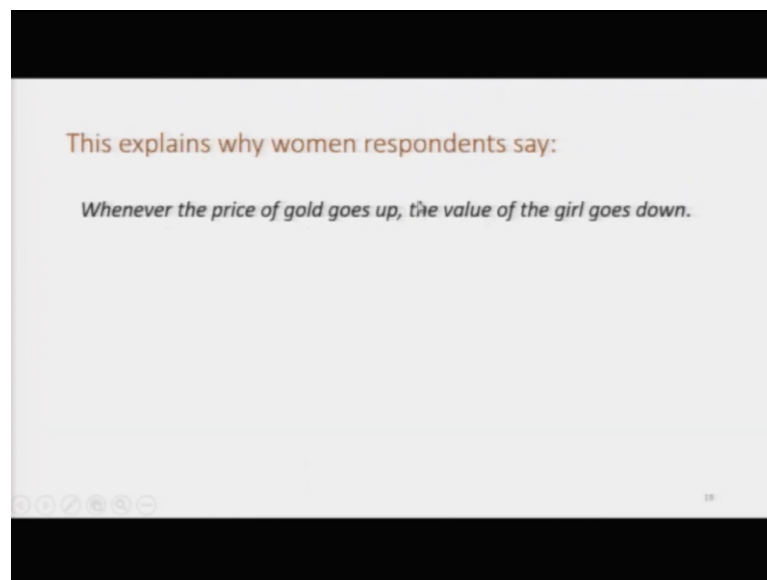
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The psychological context of female feticide is interesting, its rational for oneself, it confirms to norms of society, there is an altruism because if daughters are born they will live a worst life than ours. So, prevent their birth some kind of altruistic sense is also preventing birth of daughters. Family support to quote a respondent if one becomes pregnant the family will not tell she is pregnant she is taken to find out the sex of the baby, if it is a girl the fetus is aborted immediately.

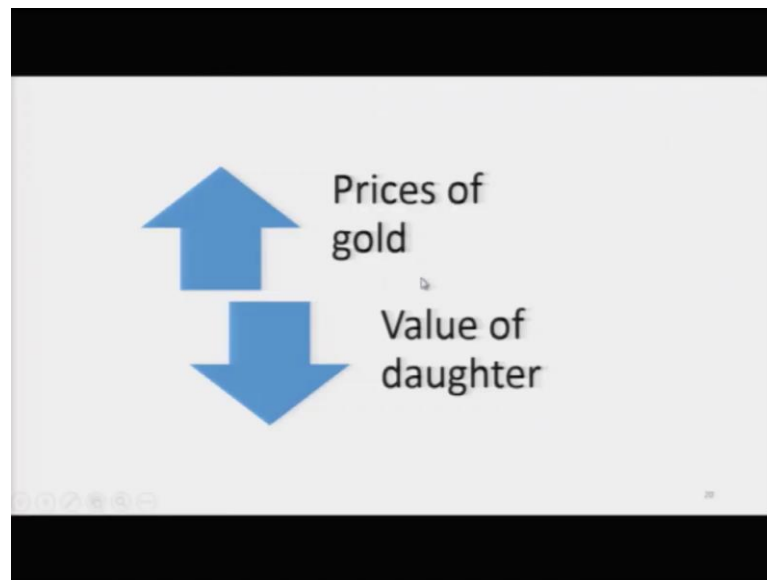
Everything is done in a secretive manner, Rame Gowda's wife died during abortion. Poor woman she has left behind two daughters.

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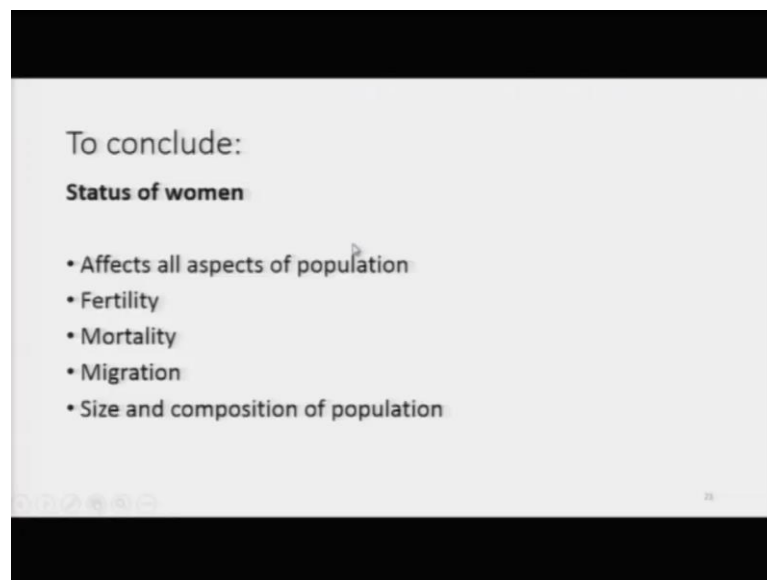
This explains why women respondents say in general that whenever the price of gold goes up the value of the girl goes down. I would recommend you to read the article by Sekher and Hatti and you will know lot more things about discrimination against women in South India and its consequences for sex ratio at birth.

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There is a saying that when the prices of gold go up then the value of daughter declines. The obvious connection is made with the dowry.

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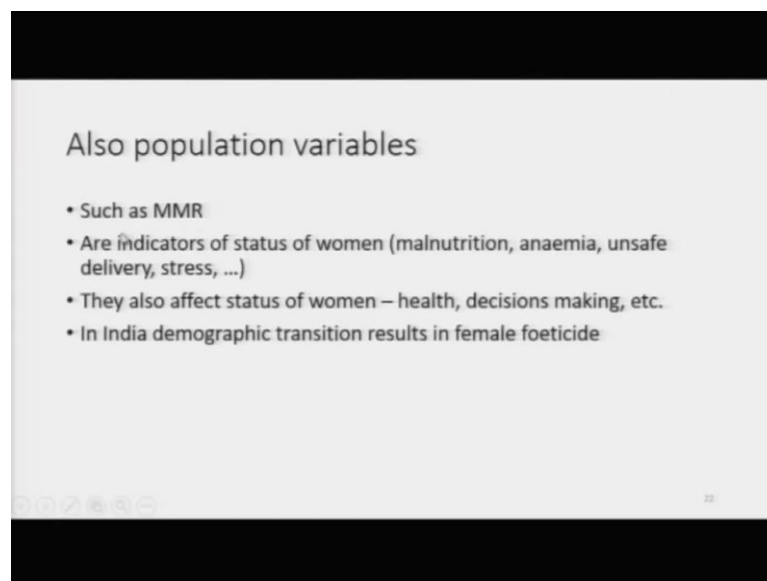


To conclude status of women affects all aspects of population, all aspects means it affects fertility, it affects age distribution, it affects sex distribution, it affects migration, it affects social mobility and it also affects marriage. If status of women goes up then age of marriage also goes up, if a status of women goes up then fertility declines.

If status of women goes up infant mortality, maternal mortality, child mortality, mortality under 5 they will go down stunting and other issues with children, malnutrition, anemia, decision making, abuse, physical, sexual, emotional abuses. They will go down, it also affects migration, because migration as in one of the previous lectures. I was mentioning Ravenstein's laws of migration and the data also show, Indian data also show that there is a gender in explaining patterns of migration. Rural to urban, rural to rural, urban to rural, urban to urban and thus size and composition of population are affected.

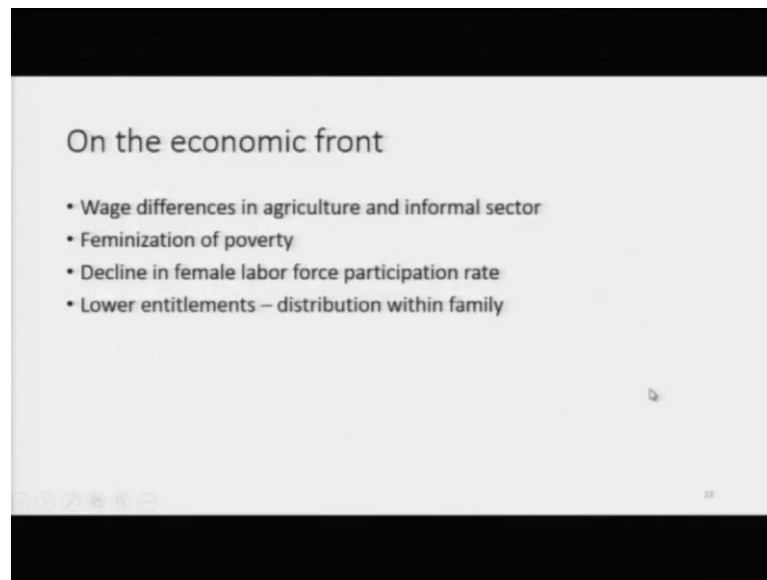
We will have some more discussion on the connection between population processes and gender in the next lecture. Now; that means, this is a serious issue not only on the ground of social justice, equality and human rights we have to pay attention to women's issues even from demographic point of view. From the point of view of implementing population policies it is important to pay attention to women.

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And you cannot intervene in MMR, indicators of status of women, malnutrition, anaemia, unsafe delivery stresses or other indicators health decision making etcetera. And you cannot complete demographic transition in several states like UP, Bihar, Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh and stop female feticides unless status of women improves.

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On the economic front also there is gender bias and we hope that as condition of women improves problems of transition are solved and these problems of wage differences in agriculture informal sector feminization of poverty, an important concept in studies of poverty, decline in female labor force participation rate in the recent past. And lower entitlement means using Amartya Sen's concept you can say that not only they are inequalities between castes, classes and households within households also there is an unequal distribution of entitlements with respect to sex and these things must decline and to some extent they are declining also.

Thank you very much.