

CHAPTER X

REASONS FOR NOT ADOPTING FAMILY PLANNING

CHAPTER X

REASONS FOR NOT ADOPTING FAMILY PLANNING

10.1 Introduction

This chapter has been designed to test the following hypotheses :

Hypothesis I : Lack of education, culture and lack of adequate outlook for higher standard of living have been identified as some of the many reasons for not adopting family planning by non-adopters.

Hypothesis II : Some self-conceived ideas of the non-adopters of family planning appear to have their impacts on the discussions of non-adopters of family planning.

Hypothesis III : Some of the existing methods of family planning which have been generating some fear complex among the non-adopters of family planning to influence their decisions for not going for family planning, have been identified.

Hypothesis IV : Remarks, gossips, rumours, etc. among some of the rural people of the sample villages against family planning and its methods have some influence on non-adopters of family planning to take their decisions.

Hypothesis V : Some personal considerations have been identified to influence the non-adopters to take their decisions.

Hypothesis VI : The working of the Family Planning Office to

spread ideas of family planning among majority of the rural people in sample villages appears inadequate.

10.2 Methodology

Out of those families who had not adopted family planning at all for various reasons, 30 such families from each village were selected through stratified random sampling technique. Altogether 180 families were selected for this purpose. Heads of these families were only interviewed to gather information to test the hypotheses referred to already.

10.3 Testing of Hypothesis I

10.3.1 Lack of education

General literary standard of the rural people in sample villages was generally very low, vide, chapter II.

It had been found that those sample families who adopted family planning had at least education upto class V standard. But in the case of sample families who had not adopted family planning, it was found that in all the cases they had education below class V standard and out of 180 families, 150 families belonged to illiterate group.

Though in our study we had not established any correlation between standard of education and adoption of family planning but the field results indicated that those who had education at least upto class V standard adopted family planning

while those who had less than that belonged to the group of non-adopters of family planning. This information could be viewed from the following angle : For family planning, certain minimum standard of education perhaps, is required but most of the sample families of non-adopters unfortunately did not possess this standard. One may question whether class V standard could be taken as a standard norm in this regard. To this, it may be said that it may not always be the case and standard may vary from place to place and from time to time. But in the present case, distinctly it had been found that those who adopted family planning had education at least upto class V standard and those who had not adopted belonged to the group of less than class V standard and more particularly they belonged to illiterate group.

During field investigations, the present investigator found that those who had education upto at least class V standard were comparatively in a better position to appreciate the nature and problems of family planning to a certain extent than those who had not adopted family planning with education upto below class V standard. All these taken together may be viewed in the following angle.

In the case of adopters of family planning, a distinctive feature was marked that they had certain minimum amount of educational standard which might give them an opportunity to appreciate and to understand the utility of family planning better

than non-adopters not having that standard. In our case, the minimum standard has been identified as education upto class V standard.

10.3.2 Lack of culture

The following indicators were used in this connection :

1. The propensity to participate in Jatra, Theatre, Musical performance, 'Hari-Sabha' etc. organised within the village ;
2. The will and power to read newspapers, periodicals and to know something about outside world ;
3. The propensity to be friendly with outsiders ;
4. The propensity to have interchange of ideas, thought, belief, expression, etc. with others ;
5. Some propensity to think of local development ; and
6. Some inclinations towards social welfare activities like organising Club, Library and other cultural organisations etc.

The above list of indicators do not claim to be exhaustive. But in all these indicators, the adopters scored better than the non-adopters and this information might indicate that certain amount of culture may be necessary for adopting family planning.

10.3.3 The lack of adequate outlook for higher standard of living

The following indicators were used in this regard :

1. The propensity to earn more ;
2. The propensity to save more ;
3. The propensity to invest more ;
4. The propensity to better the condition of family by making more arrangement for better comforts for the family members for providing more facilities like health, sanitation, clothing, food and lodging etc.; and
5. Special aptitude for identifying certain subsidiary occupations to earn and to save more and ultimately to raise the existing standard of living.

The above list is not exhaustive and it had been found that in the case of all the above indicators, the adopters of family planning scored better than the non-adopters. From this, it may be said that certain outlook for improving the standard of living perhaps, is required for adopting family planning.

10.3.4 Remarks

It is frankly admitted that the list of indicators used for the sections vide 10.3.1 to 10.3.3 should be more broad-based and comprehensive. Moreover, one may question whether the above indicators or some of them can be used purposefully in a scholarly work perhaps because of their promptness to be vague and one

also may question that unless one can minimise the vagueness to a satisfactory level whether any justification to select such indicators to test the hypotheses is there. To this it should be frankly admitted that though the possibility of vagueness in using the above indicators could not be altogether ruled out yet while using them, the present investigator from the very beginning was very cautious in using such indicators and minimising the vagueness to the extent possible. Some of the methods he had used in this connection were : (1) He had combined both observation and interview method and integrated them to the extent possible to derive meaningful result ; (2) Extensive interchanges of ideas or the lack of them were clearly * identified ; (3) Conflicting opinions, observations, remarks by the respondents had been adjusted and balanced as far as possible ; and (4) Sincere efforts had been made to minimise biased elements by recording the average of remarks, sentiments, observations etc. during field investigations. The present investigator was not quite sure of the extent of his success in this regard but what he likes to state is that he made sincere attempts to minimise vagueness in using the indicators used for the present section.

10.3.5 Results

The above information from 10.3.1 to 10.3.4 taken together indicate that Hypothesis I was true. **

* as far as possible.

**The necessity of using more scientific techniques in testing the hypothesis is largely felt.

10.4 Hypothesis II

10.4.1 Indicators to determine self-conceived ideas of non-adopters

The following indicators had been used to determine the self-conceived ideas of the non-adopters of family planning :

- (1) Children are the gift of God ;
- (2) More children means more extra hands for earning in future ;
and
- (3) Fear of accidental chance in case of a few children.

10.4.1.1 Indicator I

It was believed by the non-adopters of family planning that children were the gift of God. God wants that children should come, the people according to them have no right to intervene. They also thought if they stood in the way it might displease God and such a displeasure might ruin their future.

Difficulties actually were there to apply this indicator because the ideas were not systematic and they had very little sequency in their thought and expression in this regard. It had been found that there were conflicting views and thoughts in this regard and actually it was very difficult to isolate this indicator from their other ideas and believes.

Difficulties were, however, minimised through the methodology of making them free and frank as far as possible

so that real picture could emerge in this regard. It was not always a fact that they had expressed their ideas in a systematic manner to enable one to use an indicator in a reasonable manner. During field investigations, their expressions and believes were identified and conflicting views were balanced and such an approach had helped the present investigator to use this indicator as given above.

10.4.1.2 Indicator II

During field investigations, it was found that some of the non-adopters had some idea that if they had more children that would help them in future because more number means more extra hands to work and to earn for their respective families. They also believed that if the numbers were reduced that would affect the scope and opportunity of earning more in future because less number of persons would be available for earning and or working for their respective families. Hence, they preferred more children to less number of children.

This belief was found to have strong footing amongst them and when they put this idea they very seldom fumbled rather they put it in most cases, in a logical manner in their own way and manner. In many cases, they became angry and did not like to listen to opposite views like less number of children ultimately would help them in future. The present investigator had some bitter experience in the beginning in this regard while

trying to put this opposite idea mentioned above, amongst the respondents who even threatened not to co-operate at all in any type of discussion in this regard with the present investigator. Then, in order to overcome this problem a strategy was adopted. To them, opposite views were not put forward in a straight manner rather their ideas and believes in this regard were heard carefully and some pretention was made that they had logic behind their arguments. They found that the present investigator did not stand in their way of putting their own ideas rather he was respecting their ideas. Then finding opportune time, opposite views to their ideas in this regard were put forward in a round about way. But it was found that they did not accept the opposite views rather they preferred to stick to their own ideas and believes which they considered had sound reasons.

10.4.1.3 Indicator III

Some of the respondents believed that there was no guarantee that children would have a long life. They might meet accident and or unnatural death or even natural or pre-matured death. In such cases, who would come to their rescue? They believed that one should not take law in their own hands when one was not sure of the longevity of their children. But if there were more children the risk and uncertainty in this regard could be reduced comparatively.

The idea was not quite clear and it was found that logical sequence was not identified and argument put forward by

them in these regards were in many cases hazy, haphazard, conflicting and ambiguous. The methodology adopted in the case of Indicator I was also tried in this case to overcome the problem and to have meaningful result in this regard. The investigator was not quite sure of his success in this regard.

10.4.2 Remarks

It was found difficult to quantify the respondents' remarks with regard to indicators used in this regard for the reasons stated already. 60 per cent to 70 per cent of the respondents believed the first indicator, 85 per cent to 90 per cent of the respondents believed the second indicator and 55 per cent to 60 per cent believed the third indicator used to test the Hypothesis II.

Thus, it was found that the Hypothesis II was found to be true.

But to what extent they could be said as self-conceived ideas ? Whether these ideas belonged to their own thinking or did they come from other sources ? Whether any water-tight division was at all possible to identify two distinct sources namely internal and external sources ? To this, it should be frankly admitted that it was really difficult to make such a division. Then how can one put the term self-conceived ideas ? To this, it may be said that through conversation with the respondents several times and through observations of their behaviours and

actions as far as possible in this regard, the term self-conceived had been used. Outside influences, however, could not altogether be ruled out.

With these limitations in mind, the term self-conceived ideas should be viewed in this regard.

It was then found that Hypothesis II was true.

10.5. Hypothesis III

The following two factors were identified to know the fear complex of the respondents :

1) Fear of operation ; and (2) Complications regarding external use.

10.5.1 Factor I

This fear originated mainly from the feedback received from some of the families who had adopted family planning. Already in chapter IV, we have stated the various complications that the adopters of family planning had stated with regard to operation both Vasectomy and Tubectomy. So, without repeating these, it may be said that the sample non-adopters of family planning appeared to have been influenced by some feedback from adopters of family planning on the methods of family planning particularly so with regard to operation.

To what extent they were influenced by such feedback was difficult to determine. It was found that they had no systematic ideas regarding these feedback. But through

conversations, it was found that they were afraid of operation and such a fear complex to a certain extent influenced them not to go for family planning particularly for operation. 55 per cent of the respondents appeared to have this fear complex.

10.5.2 Factor II

As in the case of Factor I, similar is the case with regard to Factor II. Therefore, without repeating what has already been stated in chapter IV, it may be said that here also such complications appeared to have motivated them not to go for family planning through external use. The extent and nature of the influence were difficult to determine, but distinct feeling could be identified amongst them that they were afraid of complications out of external use and such fear had influenced them to a certain extent in the line of not going for family planning specially with the external use. About 65 per cent of the respondents appeared to have this fear complex.

10.5.3 Remarks

Information and analysis given under 10.5.1 and 10.5.2 taken together, indicate that the Hypothesis III was true.

But at the same time, more in-depth studies should be undertaken to determine the nature and extent of the influence of these fear complexes and their impacts on their decisions for not adopting family planning. Mere feelings and or observations may not be taken as a sufficient tool in this regard. Moreover, the complex human mind should be more scientifically analysed otherwise, there may be possibility of merely reporting some

information without going for in-depth scientific studies with scientific methodology that may actually reveal the true picture in this regard. But what is interesting perhaps, is to note that the observations were not based on sweeping analysis of facts gathered but these facts were scrutinised critically before putting them in this section. The critical aspect rests on the following methodology :

- 1) During field investigations, it was gathered from the respondents whether they had received any feedback from those who had adopted family planning.
- 2) It was also gathered whether they had given any thought to such feedback.
- 3) Attempt was also made to ascertain whether they developed any particular complex with regard to such feedback.
- 4) Further attempts were made through conversations on several occasions whether such a complex, if any, had motivated them to take their decisions for not going for family planning.
- 5) Information obtained from them were put to critical analysis after balancing the conflicting views if any, efforts had also been made to get rid of biased elements to the extent possible under the circumstances.

The above methodology taken together, may indicate that the results obtained by applying such a methodology may help one to go deep to the problem to a certain extent to get meaningful result in this regard but at the same time,

it is admitted that there is scope for adopting better scientific methodologies to enrich the analysis and contents in this section.

75 per cent to 80 per cent of the respondents had been found to be suffering from the fear complexes listed already. It was then found that Hypothesis III was true.

10.6 Hypothesis IV

10.6.1 Methodology

In order to identify remarks, gossips, rumours etc., the following methodology had been used.

Firstly, the present investigator talked with the respondents on various issues apart from the family planning and according to the situation he initiated some discussions indirectly which might be helpful to know their minds with regard to family planning, what they thought, what others thought, what the adopters thought and how such different inter-changes of ideas had influenced them.

Secondly, he on his own, without initiating any discussion either directly or indirectly, had keenly observed and noted their remarks, gossips, rumours, etc. The above observations and notings were then systematically arranged.

Thirdly, during their different social ceremonies, the present investigator noted whether rumours, gossips, remarks etc. did actually exist with regard to family planning and when he identified these, he made all possible efforts to understand and to appreciate the nature of the same.

10.6.2 Difficulties in the Methodology

As the present investigator found it difficult to quantify the findings of remarks, gossips and rumours, it was difficult for him to adopt any quantitative techniques of research used in social sciences and it is frankly admitted that the possibility of some amount of bias to influence the interpretations may not altogether be ruled out. Every possible effort had been made to minimise such bias but the present investigator was not sure to what extent he was successful in this regard as well as to what extent he was able to remove ambiguities and vagueness in identifying remarks, gossips and rumours for the present purpose.

10.6.3 Remarks, gossips and rumours identified

The following remarks, gossips and rumours were identified apart from those which have already been mentioned in chapter IV :

- (I) Attitudes towards the tents ;
- (II) Apprehension for adverse effect on chastity of women ;
- (III) Doubts about the utility and significance of Bond while going for the operation ;
- (IV) Apprehension about the possibility of illegal sexual relationship ; and

- (V) Doubts about the motive of Government's monetary incentives to those who are going for adopting family planning.

10.6.3.1 Indicator I

Some of the adopters of family planning appeared not to have favourable idea/opinion/attitude towards touts who were engaged in influencing the non-adopters of family planning to undertake family planning in lieu of money which was Rs. 8.00 for vasectomy case and Rs. 6.00 for Tubectomy case. It was pointed out by such adopters that the touts generally exploited them and did not pay their due money after operations. Even complaints were there that touts did not pay the full money to the adopters which was due to them after operations. Even complaints were there about cheating them to take the whole or major part of the money due to them after operations. Even they were not always liked by both the adopters and non-adopters * because an idea was identified that they were brokers of the Government and they were engaged in fulfilling some ulterior motives of the Government. Sometimes, their constant approach for undertaking family planning did vex the rural people, it was alleged. Most of the touts had been found to have very little education (below class VIII standard) and their way of communication was far from encouraging and there was general complaint that they were more or less disturbing fellows who used to knock the door of the rural people even at odd times

* 52 per cent of the respondents.

in day and night when, in fact, they should not approach them. It was also pointed out that their main target was to get more cases and to earn more money.

10.6.3.2 Indicator II

It was alleged by some of the respondents (30 per cent of the total sample) that adoption of family planning method was contrary to their conception of women chastity. According to their conception of chastity, an women should not come into contact with outsiders even indirectly and they should remain at home and they may mix with male persons of their relatives. They should not come outside to greet even male neighbours and it was thought desirable that they should avoid any talks, gossips etc. with outsiders in any way. It was believed by such respondents that the possibility of some contacts between field-staff or doctors connected with the family planning and the women members of their families might be there in case of operation etc. and such a possibility did not fit properly to their conception of chastity of women. It was apprehended by them that the field-staff should not be allowed to talk with their women members. Even the doctors connected with the family planning were included in this category. Of course, this did not mean that their women should not go to doctor for their illness and other diseases. But in the case of the doctors of family planning, the feeling was contrary which had already been referred to.

The feeling was more or less clumsy and there was no uniform pattern in this regard. The overall idea was the apprehension in the line stated already. The magnitude, extent and nature of such apprehension had not been studied in-depth. Serious research scholars in this regard might find it interesting to examine the nature and extent of such a feeling in-depth and such a study might reveal interesting results and information.

10.6.3.3 Indicator III

It was stated by 30 per cent of the respondents that they heard that they had to undertake a bond before operation for family planning and it was apprehended by them that bond was taken because there might be some complications later on for which they could not get any shelter anywhere and in order to prevent from taking any such shelter the Government had planned for such a bond. They also apprehended that there might be diseases and various other complications with regard to the health after the operation was over and the Government had arranged for such a bond so that they could not complain later on and through such a procedure their future might be at stake. The whole affair was not appreciated by these respondents who heard that the bond was taken to resist them from complaining, if required, afterwards after the operation was over. Moreover, they did not feel it easy as pointed out by them to sign something

about which they had no clear idea. Even it was doubted that their land might be taken by such a bond in future. Even some of them apprehended that such a bond would be later utilised to take money from them through various ways.

It was found that various misgivings were there amongst these respondents about the bond and it was found that they had a very critical opinion about the bond. The doubts originated possibly because sufficient time was not taken in many cases to convince them of the utility and significance of the bond by some doctors and even in case of some queries, requisite answers were not available or when answers were given, these were generally given through sophisticated languages which the rural people were not very much familiar with. In most cases, what was said and what was understood, there was a yawning gap between the two.

10.6.3.4 Indicator IV

40 per cent of the respondents observed that family planning would encourage illegal sexual relationship between men and women. They pointed out that when there was no or little fear about the birth to a child, according to them, there was some possibility that the said illegal sexual relationship might be rampant in the villages. By illegal sexual relationship they meant that beyond married couples there might be sexual relationship between men and women, if family planning was adopted

particularly in the case of operation. They pointed out that such a situation might deteriorate the moral standard of the rural community and in the long-run might lead to various social problems that might retard the social harmony in the villages.

10.6.3.5 Indicator V

It was pointed out by 50 per cent of the respondents that the motive of the Government in extending monetary incentives for family planning was not quite clear to them. They pointed out that they had seen from their experiences that the Government generally took money from them through taxes or through other forms. Even when loans are extended by Banks, Co-operative Societies etc., they had to pay it back. They failed to understand why in this particular case the Government was so benevolent that monetary incentives were extended to them while adopting family planning. Thus, they doubted that some ulterior motives which might affect their interest in the long-run might be there with the Government. The whole thing originated possibly because sufficient publicity etc. had not been done to make the rural people understand the significance for such monetary incentives. Even the way they received the grants appeared to them a little bit clumsy and perplexing because they had to sign or to put up their thumb impressions while accepting such incentives in a particular printed form. Languages and meanings of what were written in this form were not sufficiently clear to them in most of the cases. Enquiries with regard to the contents of the form

were not adequately entertained by the personnel concerned and such a state of affair might cause various misgivings about the monetary incentives amongst these rural people. It was then found that Hypothesis IV was true.

10.7 Hypothesis V

Already in Hypothesis II some self-conceived ideas of the respondents have been mentioned. Hence, a question may arise why the present section is not included in the above hypothesis.

First of all, what actually we meant by personal consideration should be mentioned. Here, certain ideas or believes have been identified which have deep rooted feelings and they emerge from such deep rooted feelings. Personal considerations are somewhat different than self-conceived ideas about which we have stated already and therefore, they need a separate statement, it is believed.

10.7.1 Factors identified

The following personal considerations were identified :

- 1) Ego to be father of more male children to project the image before neighbours.
- 2) Some additional benefits like maternity benefits etc., received by tea garden workers at the time of giving birth to the child.

10.7.1.1 Factor I

10 per cent of the respondents who believed that their image before their neighbours would be more enhanced if they had more number of male children, were identified.

This belief or idea differs from self-conceived ideas in the sense that latter appeared not to claim too much deep-rooted feeling whereas, the former ones were more or less inseparable from their selves. It is frankly admitted that no scientific testing had been made to measure the nature and extent of deepness of their feelings but the present investigator had identified the above nature and feelings through observations and interviews during field investigations. Therefore, the success of such identification rests more on the present investigator's interpretation of what he had observed and what he had gathered from interviews. It is also admitted that it is difficult to make water-tight divisions between self-conceived ideas and personal factors and there is every possibility that there may be overlapping between the two. Even knowing all these possibilities, these factors had been separately tested because the present investigator believed that this feeling had come from their deep feelings.

The present investigator in order to be sure of this feeling had passed some days together with such respondents to keenly observe the nature of such a feeling. During different conversations with them, the same belief had been expressed and it was found that it was more or less unalterable* (at least during the period of investigations).

* Before making such a statement, one needs the use of better scientific techniques with the help of inter-disciplinary research team in this regard.

10.7.1.2 Factor II

Some additional benefits like maternity benefits etc. were generally received by the women workers who were expecting child at tea garden.

In order to receive above facility, it was identified that all the female respondents* working in tea garden (in one tea garden only) wanted to be mothers even though they had children which varied between four to five.

When the present investigator tried to impress them the problems of having more children which might offset the temporary monetary benefits received by them at the time of giving birth to a child, it was found that the suggestion was not accepted by them because it appeared to the present investigator that they used to pay greater priority to monetary benefits while giving birth to a child than on long-term benefits to the family due to less number of children in their families. It was pointed out by them that they used to get some rest during this time as well as monetary benefits and they wanted to enjoy both of these facilities. When pointed out that in the long-run they had to face complications for running bigger families, their replies were that they would get monetary benefits as well as more number of children meant they would get more quantities in rationshops as the tea garden used to sell some goods at subsidised rate (e.g. rice, wheat, etc.) and naturally the existing market rates for these commodities were

* Total sample = 10

higher in the usual markets than what they received from these rationshops. Moreover, they knew that they had no or very little problem of providing their children when they would be grown up at their respective tea gardens because it was more or less an accepted policy of the tea gardens that with regard to employment, sons and daughters of the existing incumbents would get the topmost priority.

The above consideration had its deep root at the minds of these respondents and during different conversations it was gathered that they had no or very little ambiguity over their desire for being mother for the above reasons.

It was then found that Hypothesis V was true.

10.8 Hypothesis VI

The following indicators were used to test the above hypothesis :

- 1) Whether the expression of the field-staff during their communications with the village people for popularising family planning programme is adequate or not ?
- 2) Whether the alleged complaints that the same approaches made generally by the field-staff during their field visits and their adverse effects on the mind of the village people towards family planning programme are genuine or not ?
- 3) Whether the visits of the field-staff to the village people are adequate or not ?

- 4) Whether the use of audio-visual aids to popularise family planning programme by the field-staff is adequate or not ?
- 5) Whether the number of fairs, exhibitions etc. for family planning programme by the Family Planning Office in these villages and the sample district is adequate or not ?
- 6) Whether large-scale publicity campaign for family planning programme is undertaken or not ?
- 7) Whether the co-operation from Panchayat, Co-operative Societies etc. by the field-staff for family planning has been more and more taken or not ?
- 8) Whether there are any gaps in the follow-up programmes for family planning by field-staff ?
- 9) Whether there are sufficient will and power of the field-staff to popularise family planning programme ?
- 10) Whether there is lack of adequate co-ordination between different activities for popularising family planning programme ?
- 11) Whether there is lack of adequate reviews of performances of the field-staff by the District Family Planning Office ?

10.8.1 Results

Discussions about the indicators listed above have already been made in chapter VI and from the findings and analysis in this regard in chapter VI, it is found that the respondents do not have encouraging opinion about field-staff

in particular and District Family Planning Office in general. These are, however, not repeated here for obvious reasons.

In the present case, it was found that 85 per cent of the respondents did not have encouraging opinion about the method of working of the field-staff whereas, the remaining 15 per cent had no clear idea of the method of activities of the field-staff for family planning programme.

The above findings indicate that Hypothesis VI was true.

Difficulties in using these indicators were there and the methodology applied in other hypotheses tested in this chapter to overcome such difficulties/problems was also applied in this hypothesis and hence, it is not repeated here. The necessity of using inter-disciplinary research team involving economists, sociologists, psychologists, statisticians, mathematicians, anthropologists, etc. was largely felt to test this hypothesis. There is indeed, much scope in enriching the contents and analysis of this section.