NOTES

INTRODUCTION


3 Third International Conference, 12.

4 Rama Rau, An Inheritance, 262.

5 The IPPF’s predecessor had worked in four countries: the US, the UK, Sweden, and the Netherlands. Rama Rau, An Inheritance, 263. I follow Beryl Suitters in calling the IPPF’s predecessor organization the “International Committee for Planned Parenthood.” Suitters, Be Brave and Angry.

6 Rama Rau, An Inheritance, 256; Rama Rau to Margaret Sanger, September 5, 1951, Margaret Sanger Papers, Sophia Smith Collection, Smith College Libraries, Northampton, MA (hereafter cited as MSP), series III (subseries 1—Correspondence).

7 Rama Rau, An Inheritance, 257.


10 For instance, most of the historical research on birth control in South Asia focuses on the 1920s and 1930s: Sarah Hodges, Contraception, Colonialism and Commerce: Birth Control in South India, 1920–1940 (New York: Routledge, 2016); Sanjam Ahluwalia, Reproductive Restraints: Birth Control in India, 1877–1947 (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2008).


14 Bangladesh has received scholarly attention in studies of transnational population control programs, such as Betsy Hartmann, *Reproductive Rights and Wrongs: The Global Politics of Population Control*, 3rd ed. (Chicago: Haymarket Books, 2016); Murphy, *Economization of Life*.


18 In her ethnographic study, Maya Unnithan takes a similarly expansive view of reproductive politics, which she defines as a concept that “combines the gendered struggles over the body . . . and wo/manhood in the interrelated worlds of families, policymakers, state bureaucrats, legal, medical and health professionals and practitioners, as well as in civil society contexts.” *Fertility, Health and Reproductive Politics: Re-imagining Rights in India* (London: Routledge, 2019), 3–4.


25 Ahluwalia, Reproductive Restraints, 3.

26 Nadkarni, Eugenic Feminism, 4.

27 I follow the terminology of my sources and use both population control and family planning to refer to top-down systems and policies to regulate reproduction. However, family planning has also been used in more grassroots contexts, and my use of terms is context-specific as necessary.

28 For example, Sumit Sarkar and Tanika Sarkar, eds., Women and Social Reform in Modern India: A Reader (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2008).


34 Nadkarni, Eugenic Feminism, 13.

35 Foucault, History of Sexuality, 139.


45 Hartmann, Reproductive Rights and Wrongs, 14–15.


47 Hartmann, Reproductive Rights and Wrongs, chap. 2.

48 Hartmann, Reproductive Rights and Wrongs, ix.

49 Patricia Jeffery and Roger Jeffery, Confronting Saffron Demography: Religion, Fertility, and Women’s Status in India (Gurgaon: Three Essays Collective, 2006).


52 Goswami, Producing India, chap. 7.


56 According to some scholars, the mid-twentieth-century moment represents a true origin point for contemporary conceptions of the economy. Timothy
Mitchell notes that Adam Smith does not refer to “the economy” as a structure or whole, and he traces the “appearance of the idea that the economy exists as a general structure of economic relations” to John Maynard Keynes’s *The General Theory of Employment, Interest, and Money* (1936). Timothy Mitchell, “Fixing the Economy,” *Cultural Studies* 12, no. 1 (1998), 85. For a critique of this periodization, see Goswami, who locates a longer history of this concept. *Producing India*, 335n10. For my purposes here, it seems clear that there were significant changes in the mid-twentieth century. Perhaps, as Suzanne Bergeron suggests, the shift was from population as the object of governance in the earlier period to the economy as the object in the twentieth century. *Fragments of Development: Nation, Gender, and the Space of Modernity* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2005), 7. Nevertheless, following Goswami, I also see key continuities that make it important to trace the history of the concept from the eighteenth century onward.

62 All India Women’s Conference, 6th Session (Madras, December 28, 1931–January 1, 1932), All India Women’s Conference Papers, Margaret Cousins Library, Sarojini House, New Delhi, 81a.

**Chapter 1: Economies of Reproduction in an Age of Empire**


15 Guha, “Politics of Identity,” 156.


18 Famines were not disconnected from the conditions that preceded them. The precise moment when a population living with hunger slipped into “famine” is therefore difficult to pinpoint. In the late nineteenth century, definitions of famine varied, with some focused on widespread hunger within a population and others emphasizing mortality. After the Famine Code of 1880, official designation of an event as “famine” would require an administrative response, which affected when the government declared that a famine was occurring. I follow David Arnold’s insistence that famine represents both event and structure. Famines of the late nineteenth century were distinct events that had a beginning and an end, but were also part of, and contributed to, broader structures of scarcity in agrarian society. *Famine: Social Crisis and Historical Change* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1988), 7–8.


27 Arnold, *Famine*, 125.


31 The Bihar famine affected 21.4 million people, and the government spent Rs. 675.9 lakhs on relief. The three previous famines had affected a total of 112 million people, but only Rs. 275.9 lakhs had been spent for relief. Interestingly, Temple managed Bihar relief efforts as well, but he and Viceroy Lord Northbrook were criticized for the expenditure; Temple was instructed to practice greater economy in 1876. Ambirajan, *Classical Political Economy*, 86–92.

32 Arnold, *Famine*, 110.


35 Davis, *Late Victorian Holocausts*, 284.


37 *Dnyan Prakash*, December 4, 1876, Report of the Native Papers Published in the Bombay Presidency, India Office Records and Private Papers, British Library.

38 Davis, *Late Victorian Holocausts*, 38.

39 Hall-Mathews, *Peasants*, 196; William Digby, *The Famine Campaign in Southern India, 1876–1878* (London: Longmans, Green, 1878), 340–44. The strike occurred in some Bombay districts in early 1877, following announcement of the one-pound wage. Approximately 136,000 laborers left the relief camps in protest, and when the Bombay government refused to yield, only about one-quarter of them returned.

40 For example, *Suthasabhimani*, September 1, 1878, Report of the Native Papers Published in the Madras Presidency, India Office Records and Private Papers, British Library.
41 Paschima Taraka and Kerala Pataka, October 1, 1878, Report of the Native Papers Published in the Madras Presidency, India Office Records and Private Papers, British Library.

42 Arnold, Famine, 96.

43 Hall-Matthews, Peasants, 172.

44 For example: Pros. No. 14 (January 5, 1877), Pros. No. 18 (January 13, 1877), Pros. No. 61 (January 20, 1877), Pros. No. 66 (February 10, 1877), Pros. No. 77 (February 5, 1877), Proceedings of the Department of Revenue, Agriculture, and Commerce (Famine Branch), National Archives, New Delhi.

45 Pros. No. 14 (January 5, 1877), Proceedings of the Department of Revenue, Agriculture, and Commerce (Famine Branch), National Archives, New Delhi.

46 “Famine Narrative no. IV,” Quarterly Journal of the Poona Sarvajanik Sabha 1, no. 4 (1877): 55. In more modern categories, this was less, in caloric terms, than the food given to prisoners at the Buchenwald concentration camp. Davis, Late Victorian Holocausts, 38.

47 Surgeon Major W. R. Cornish to J. H. Garstin, Pros. No. 57 (July 1877), Proceedings of the Department of Revenue, Agriculture, and Commerce (Famine Branch), National Archives, New Delhi.

48 Pros. No. 66 (March 3, 1877), Proceedings of the Department of Revenue, Agriculture, and Commerce (Famine Branch), National Archives, New Delhi.

49 Report by W. J. van Someren, Pros. No. 55 (March 24, 1877), Proceedings of the Department of Revenue, Agriculture, and Commerce (Famine Branch), National Archives, New Delhi.


51 “Famine Narrative no. IV,” Quarterly Journal of the Poona Sarvajanik Sabha, 1 no. 4 (1878): 64.


53 Resolution by the Government of India Department of Revenue, Agriculture, and Commerce, January 16, 1877, Temple MSS Eur F86/177.

54 Resolution by the Government of India Department of Revenue, Agriculture, and Commerce, January 16, 1877, Temple MSS Eur F86/177.


64 Caldwell, “Malthus,” 677.


71 Lord Borthwick to James Caird, November 13, 1880, Caird MSS.


73 Louis Mallet to James Caird, n.d., Caird MSS.


77 “Over-Population and Marriage Customs,” *Quarterly Journal of the Poona Sarvajanik Sabha* 1, no. 7 (1878): 26. In this passage, as elsewhere in the text, there is a slippage between “Hindu” and “Indian,” whereby the prepuberty marriage of upper-caste Hindus stands in for “Indian” conjugality as a whole.
In this conflation, the article anticipates the nationalist politics around the age of consent in the late nineteenth century.


81 “Over-Population and Marriage Customs,” 24. The author thus calls for a “scheme of colonization, organized and supported by the state, to take off all the surplus population” (30).

82 “Over-Population and Marriage Customs,” 25.

83 “Over-Population and Marriage Customs,” 29.


85 “Over-Population and Marriage Customs,” 32.


97 This is not to suggest that bodies were unimportant to *Poverty and Un-British Rule*, which employed gothic narratives about healthy and diseased bodies to make its arguments about the drain of wealth. Sukanya Banerjee, *Becoming Imperial Citizens: Indians in the Late-Victorian Empire* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2010), 36–74.


Notes to Chapter 2


112 For example, Madras Mail, July 12, 1877, July 19, 1877, and March 7, 1878; Pioneer (Allahabad), July 13, 1877.


114 *Malthusian* 6 (July 1879): 131.

115 The League listed fourteen vice presidents in 1880, and Mudaliar was one of four from outside England. He was still listed in 1908 and was the only representative from the British Empire. Ledbetter, *Malthusian League*, 64, 68.


Chapter 2: Fertility, Sovereignty, and the Global Color Line

1 Directory of the City Health and Baby Week, comp. Corporation of Madras (Madras: Current Thought, n.d.).

2 Directory, s.vv. “Rajdosan,” and “Jeevamrutam.”

4. In addition to age categories up to three years, the “best baby of the whole show” was divided into: “Best Musalman baby; Best Adi Dravida Baby; Best Anglo-Indian Baby; Best Indian Christian Baby; Best European Baby; Best Brahmin Baby; Best Non-Brahmin (Hindu); Best Baby of the Corporation C.W.S.; best twins and triplets.” *Directory*, 115.


25. I understand this racialization in the context of the book’s publication in English and Italian by Corrado Gini, an Italian demographer and eugenicist.
Gini, a supporter of Italian fascism and an associate of Mussolini’s, first met Mukherjee at a gathering of the International Union for the Scientific Investigation of Population Problems and provided an introduction to *Migrant Asia*. Bashford, *Global Population*, 141.

26 Mukherjee, *Migrant Asia*, 57.


30 Mukherjee, *Food Planning*, 221.


32 T. S. Chokkalingam, *Piraja urpattiyai kattuppatuttutal* [Restraining population growth] (Madras: Tamil Nadu Power, 1925), 4. Unless otherwise noted, all translations from Tamil are my own.


38 Honorary Secretary of the Women’s Indian Association and the Chairwoman of the All India Women’s Conference to Rai Sahib Harbilas Sarda, December 1927, All India Women’s Conference Papers, Nehru Memorial Library, New Delhi (hereafter cited as AIWC Papers), file 5.

39 Honorary Secretary of the Women’s Indian Association and the Chairwoman of the All India Women’s Conference to Rai Sahib Harbilas Sarda, December 1927, AIWC Papers, file 5.

In practice, the new minimum marriage age was difficult to enforce, and the state showed little political will in doing so.

41 Throughout the 1930s, calls for state-supported birth control clinics were debated and rejected in Karachi, Delhi, and Ahmedabad municipalities; in the Madras Legislative Council; and in the United Provinces Legislative Council. Sarah Hodges, *Contraception, Colonialism and Commerce: Birth Control in South India, 1920–1940* (New York: Routledge, 2016), 22–25. At the all-India level, a resolution in the Council of State calling for the government to “take practical steps to check the increase in population in India” failed in 1935. A similar resolution calling for the government to “popularize methods of birth control” in view of the “alarming growth of population” passed by a single vote in 1940. Ahluwalia, *Reproductive Restraints*, 127.

43 All India Women’s Conference, 7th Session (Lucknow, December 28, 1932–January 1, 1933), All India Women’s Conference Papers, Margaret Cousins Library, Sarojini House, New Delhi (hereafter cited as AIWC Papers, Cousins Library), 90.

44 All India Women’s Conference, 7th Session (Lucknow, December 28, 1932–January 1, 1933), AIWC Papers, Cousins Library, 93.

45 Previous Indian censuses had shown that the population had increased by 13.2 percent in 1881–91 and by 7.1 percent in 1901–11. Nair, “Population in India,” 7n2.

46 Nair, “Population in India,” 178.


52 All India Women’s Conference, 6th Session (Madras, December 28, 1931–January 1, 1932), AIWC Papers, Cousins Library, 81a.

53 All India Women’s Conference, 6th Session (Madras, December 28, 1931–January 1, 1932), AIWC Papers, Cousins Library, 83. Reddi remained critical of birth control throughout her political life, but she acknowledged in 1952 that “limitation of the family” could be achieved by birth control only if “self-control” was not possible. Muthulakshmi Reddi, “Message to the Third International Conference of Planned Parenthood,” Muthulakshmi Reddi Papers, Nehru Memorial Library, New Delhi, s. 197.

54 All India Women’s Conference, 6th Session (Madras, December 28, 1931–January 1, 1932), AIWC Papers, Cousins Library.

56 All India Women’s Conference, 7th Session (Lucknow, December 28, 1932–January 1, 1933), AIWC Papers, Cousins Library, 95.

57 All India Women’s Conference, 7th Session (Lucknow, December 28, 1932–January 1, 1933), AIWC Papers, Cousins Library, 90.

58 Ahluwalia, *Reproductive Restraints*, chap. 3.

59 All India Women’s Conference, 6th Session (Madras, December 28, 1931–January 1, 1932), AIWC Papers, Cousins Library, 86.

60 All India Women’s Conference, 8th Session (Calcutta, December 24, 1933–January 2, 1934), AIWC Papers, Cousins Library, 137.

61 Sanger first learned of Indian birth control efforts through contact with the men involved in contraceptive advocacy, namely N. S. Phadke, R. D. Karve, and A. P. Pillay. In the mid-1920s, she temporarily had another channel to India via Agnes Smedley, a radical activist who had worked briefly with the birth control movement in New York, and who lived intermittently with the Indian revolutionary Virendranath Chattopadhyay in Berlin. Sanger’s link to the AIWC was Margaret Cousins, who had been a founding member of the AIWC, and whom Sanger had met in New York in 1932. Ramusack, “Embattled Advocates,” 37–38, 48.


63 For example, a letter from Sanger on behalf of the US National Committee on Federal Legislation for Birth Control to the Mexican feminist Amalia González Caballero de Castillo Ledón references the AIWC’s resolution on birth control. Sanger to González Caballero, August 27, 1936, Archivo Particular Amalia González Caballero, Secretaría de las Relaciones Exteriores, Mexico City, caja 4, expediente 55. My thanks to Katherine Marino for sharing this information with me.

64 Quoted in Sinha, *Specters of Mother India*, 107.


66 Sanger and How-Martyn addressed a combined total of 105 public meetings. Sanger did not limit herself to women’s organizations but joined forces with the Madras Neo-Malthusian League, which hosted her visit in that city, as well as with A. P. Pillay’s clinic in Bombay. Margaret Sanger, “Newsletter to Friends, March 1936,” MSP, series III (subseries 1—Correspondence). For a record of Sanger’s conversation with Gandhi, as reported by Sanger’s secretary Anna Jane Philips, see “Gandhi and Mrs. Sanger Debate Birth Control,” *Asia* (November 1936), 698–703, MSP, series III (subseries 5—Family/Miscellany).


70 Chattopadhyay, “Women’s Movement in India,” 34–35.
73 Statement of object of the journal Marriage Hygiene 3, no. 3 (February 1937).
74 Wattal, Population Problem in India, 99.
75 “Poverty of Mother India,” Madras Birth Control Bulletin 1, no. 5 (September–October 1931): 51.
76 The clinic aimed to supply a range of contraceptive methods but promoted the Duofoam powder supplied by Margaret Sanger when she visited Madras. “Birth Control Clinic for Madras City,” Madras Birth Control Bulletin 8, no. 3 (July–September 1938): 42. The clinic did not develop a large clientele and failed to obtain a grant from the Madras Corporation. Consequently, it closed just six months after its opening. Hodges, Contraception, Colonialism and Commerce, 72.
80 Ahluwalia, Reproductive Restraints, 38.
81 Krishnamurthi Ayyar, Population and Birth Control in India, 73.
85 See also V. Geetha and S. V. Rajadurai, Towards a Non-Brahmin Millennium: From Iyothee Thass to Periyar, 2nd rev. ed. (Calcutta: Samya, 2008), chap. 10.
87 S. Nilavati, “Kattolikkarum karuttatai etirppum” [Catholics and the opposition to birth control], Kuti Aracu 9, no. 22 (November 19, 1933): 4.
88 Indrani Balasubramaniam, “Karppatatai” [Birth control], Kuti Aracu 9, no. 18 (October 22, 1933): 5.


93 For example, “Opposition to Birth Control,” Kuti Aracu 11, no. 26 (February 9, 1936): 5.

CHAPTER 3: FEMINISM, NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT, AND TRANSNATIONAL FAMILY PLANNING


2 Rama Rau, An Inheritance, 243.


4 Following from this argument about co-optation, scholars of Indian feminism have had little to say about the 1940s and 1950s. For example, Radha Kumar, The History of Doing: An Illustrated Account of Movements for Women’s Rights and Feminism in India, 1800–1990 (New Delhi: Kali for Women, 1993); Mary John, “Feminist Perspectives on Family and Marriage: A Historical View,” Economic and Political Weekly 40, no. 8 (2005): 712–15. However, Mary John questions historiographic assumptions about the “quietism of women’s movements post-independence,” suggesting that this may have been “more apparent than real.” Mary John, “Gender, Development and the Women’s Movement: Problems for a History of the Present,” in Signposts: Gender Issues in Post-Independence India, ed. Rajeswari Sunder Rajan (New Delhi: Kali/ Zubaan, 2000), 108.

5 This assumption underlies accounts of population control that center American and some Indian experts but do not consider women’s activities in organizations like the AIWC and FPAI. These accounts also tend to center policy but do not consider its implementation. For example, Gyan Prakash, Emergency Chronicles: Indira Gandhi and Democracy’s Turning Point (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2019), 260–67.

6 Historians of Indian population control have shown the continuities between the 1950s and later periods. For example, Mohan Rao, From Population Control to Reproductive Health: Malthusian Arithmetic (New Delhi: Sage, 2004); Matthew Connelly, “Population Control in India: Prologue to the Emergency Period,” Population and Development Review 32, no. 4
(December 2006): 629–67. However, the particular status of the Emergency (1975–77), as I discuss in chapter 4, tends to overshadow the specifics of earlier decades, especially in mainstream discourse.

7 Of course, not all women’s activists supported population control, and leftist and peasant movements raised a postindependence “women’s question” in different ways.

8 The question of what motivates historical actors is always complex. Debate about motivation animates feminist scholarship about reproductive politics, most notably in ongoing controversies about whether Margaret Sanger’s willingness to connect birth control to racist and eugenicist ideologies came from sincerely held belief or from political expediency. Here, I draw inspiration from Dorothy Roberts’s considered analysis of Sanger, which recognizes the difficulties of ascribing motivation while also emphasizing the impact of Sanger’s decision to connect birth control to eugenicist motivations. Killing the Black Body: Race, Reproduction and the Meaning of Liberty (New York: Vintage, 1998), 79–81. Similarly, I recognize that Indian feminists’ motivations may have differed from those of some other development planners, but my emphasis here is on the material and discursive impact of their actions, which helped to make top-down family planning that targeted women central to programs of national development.


11 National Planning Committee, Woman’s Role, 119. The “joint family” references a unit composed of generations of patrilineal kin, often parents, their adult sons and spouses, and grandchildren.

12 National Planning Committee, Woman’s Role, 33.

13 National Planning Committee, Woman’s Role, 174–75.


17 “Draft of Indian Woman’s Charter of Rights and Duties,” Roshni 1, no. 5 (June 1946): 24.


Wadia, Light Is Ours, 127, 124.


Mithan Lam was involved in the FPAI from its earliest stages, and in addition to being vice president, she served as honorary treasurer. Wadia, Light Is Ours, 518, 521. She served as AIWC president from 1961–62.

Wadia, Light Is Ours, 522.

Wadia, Light Is Ours, 518.

Rama Rau, An Inheritance, 246.

Wadia, Light Is Ours, 496.

Rama Rau, An Inheritance, 247.


Wadia, Light Is Ours, 133.

Wadia, Light Is Ours, 521.

Rama Rau, An Inheritance, 253, 252.

Wadia, Light Is Ours, 505.

Rama Rau, An Inheritance, 253; Wadia, Light Is Ours, 505.

Rama Rau, An Inheritance, 253; Suitters, Be Brave and Angry, 45.


Wadia, Light Is Ours, 134–35.

Rama Rau to Sanger, September 5, 1951, Margaret Sanger Papers, Sophia Smith Collection, Smith College Libraries, Northampton, MA (hereafter cited as MSP), series III (subseries 1—Correspondence).

Rama Rau to Sanger, December 11, 1951, MSP, series III (subseries 1—Correspondence).


Elfriede Vembu to Sanger, February 21, 1952, MSP, series III (subseries 1—Correspondence).

Rama Rau to Sanger, September 27, 1952, MSP, series III (subseries 1—Correspondence).

Rama Rau, An Inheritance, 261.

Wadia, Light Is Ours, 127, 135.

Suitters, Be Brave and Angry, 48.
Rama Rau to Sanger, September 27, 1952, MSP, series III (subseries 1—Correspondence).

Sanger to Sanger, September 4, 1952. Rama Rau quotes a letter from Dr. Conrad Van Emde Boas to Pillay. MSP, series III, subseries 1—Correspondence. See also Sangers, Be Brave and Angry, 48–49.

Sanger to Rama Rau, September 5, 1952, MSP, series III, subseries 1—Correspondence. The Dutch delegation was not alone in its critique. The Swedish representative (Elise Ottesen-Jensen), who would become the second IPPF president, was a proponent of sex education and critiqued the neo-Malthusian turn of the movement.


Sanger and Rama Rau worked alongside a few others in shaping the agenda, including Abraham Stone and C. P. Blacker. Sanger to Rama Rau, July 1, 1952, MSP, series III, subseries 1—Correspondence.


“Resolutions Passed at a Special Standing Committee Meeting in Delhi,” 1944, All India Women’s Conference Papers, Nehru Memorial Library, New Delhi, reel 20 (files 315–27).

Rama Rau, An Inheritance, 211.


Pranav Jani, Decentering Rushdie: Cosmopolitanism and the Indian Novel in English (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 2010), 56.


Ittmann, Problem of Great Importance, 171.

Ittmann, Problem of Great Importance, 170.

Government of India, First Five Year Plan, 522.


Government of India, First Five Year Plan, 522.


Amrith, Decolonizing International Health, 96.

Amrith, Decolonizing International Health, 97.

Ahluwalia and Parmar, “From Gandhi to Gandhi,” 131–32.

Amrith, Decolonizing International Health, 97.


Ahluwalia and Parmar, “From Gandhi to Gandhi,” 133.

Rama Rau to Sanger, December 11, 1951, MSP, series III, subseries 1—Correspondence; Suitters, Be Brave and Angry, 45.

Ahluwalia and Parmar, “From Gandhi to Gandhi,” 132–33.

Stopes was critical of the rhythm method and was in contact with the FPAI about her contraceptive sponges. Marie Stopes to Elfriede Vembu, June 1952, Marie Stopes Papers, Wellcome Library, London, India, Pakistan, Ceylon, Hong Kong Correspondence 1952–54, PP/MCS/A.315.
Notes to Chapter 4

88 Stone himself shared some of these doubts about the effectiveness of the rhythm method. Stone to Sanger, March 1, 1952, MSP, series III, subseries 1—Correspondence.

89 Rama Rau, *An Inheritance*, 259.


Chapter 4: Regulating Reproduction in the Era of the Planetary “Population Bomb”


3 Gyan Prakash notes the mainstream view of the Emergency as an aberration and highlights the importance of understanding this period within a broader historical sweep. *Emergency Chronicles: Indira Gandhi and Democracy’s Turning Point* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2019).

4 I use the term *subaltern* to reference nonelite women, who were marked as different from the middle-class family planner by virtue of class, caste, religious, and/or tribal/Adivasi identity.


7 Deshmukh, *Chintaman and I*, 37.


9 Deshmukh, *Chintaman and I*, 38.


22 “Role of Voluntary Organizations in Family Planning,” AIWC Papers, subject file 989.

23 Aleyamma George, “Speeches Delivered at the 31st Annual Session of the AIWC (December 1961),” AIWC Papers, reel 42, subject file 131.


26 Rook-Koepsel, “Constructing Women’s Citizenship,” 156.


28 Visakha Dixit, Report, AIWC Papers, reel 43, subject file 146.

29 Aroti Dutt, Report, AIWC Papers, reel 43, subject file 146.


Nayar, “Inaugural Address,” in Roy, Seminar on IUCD.


Connelly, Fatal Misconception, 258–61.


Rao, From Population Control, 32–33, 37.


Takeshita, Global Biopolitics, 16.


“Conference Discussion,” in Tietze and Lewit, IUCD, 124.

“Conference Discussion,” in Tietze and Lewit, IUCD, 125.

70 “Conference Discussion,” *IUCD*, 133.
71 “Conference Discussion,” *IUCD*, 122.
72 “Conference Discussion,” *IUCD*, 128.
81 Connelly, *Fatal Misconception*, 225.
82 Rama Rau, “Family Planning in India,” 272–73.
83 Narain, “India,” 2.
84 Rama Rau, “Family Planning in India,” 272.
85 “Report of the 35th Session of the AIWC” (Balasore, Orissa, 1966), 12, Margaret Cousins Library, Sarojini House, New Delhi.
87 For example, “Report of the 37th Session of the AIWC” (Chandigarh, 1968), 59–60, Margaret Cousins Library, Sarojini House, New Delhi.
89 Narain, “India,” 2.
90 Narain, “India,” 4. India’s abortion law was liberalized in 1971, as part of the overall push for population control.
91 B. N. Purandare, in Roy, *Seminar on IUCD*, 33, 35.
92 Harry L. Levin to Moye Freymann, October 13, 1965, Population Council Collection, RAC, record group IV3B4.3a, box 65, folder 1148.


96 Dandekar argued that raising the age of marriage might be beneficial in itself but should be delinked from population control motivations. Tambe, Defining Girlhood in India, 114–15.


105 Berri, “Scientific Housewife.” For feminist critiques of this approach to agrarian development, see Ester Boserup’s pioneering work, Woman’s Role in Economic Development (New York: St. Martin’s, 1970).


110 Tambe, Defining Girlhood in India, 111.

111 Williams, “Storming the Citadels,” 485.


113 Tarlo, Unsettling Memories, 148.
115 While the government funded and performed the majority of procedures, the FPAI, with financial support from the IPPF and under the leadership of Avabai Wadia, became a major nongovernmental provider of the procedure, sterilizing over 80,000 people in 1976.
117 Connelly, Fatal Misconception, 326.
118 Prakash, Emergency Chronicles, 303.
119 Williams, “Storming the Citadels,” 476–82.
120 Williams, “Storming the Citadels,” 476–77.
121 Tarlo, Unsettling Memories, 176.
123 By 1994, 96 percent of all sterilizations done in India were on women, a ratio that Cecilia Van Hollen ascribes, in part, to the aftermath of the Emergency. Birth on the Threshold: Childbirth and Modernity in South India (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), 144. Deepa Dhanraj similarly connects high rates of female sterilization to legacies of the Emergency. Something Like a War (Women Make Movies, 1991).
125 Dhanraj, Something Like a War.
126 Van Hollen, Birth on the Threshold, 159.
127 Tarlo, Unsettling Memories, 176.

CHAPTER 5: HETEROSEXUALITY AND THE HAPPY FAMILY

1 Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India, Methods of Family Planning (1964), Field Office Files, Ford Foundation Archives (hereafter cited as FFA), Rockefeller Archives Center, Sleepy Hollow, NY, reel 4026, grant 64-303.
3 Foucault, History of Sexuality, 20.


12 Arvind Rajagopal, “Introduction: The Public Sphere in India,” in Rajagopal, *Indian Public Sphere*, 3.


15 Charu Gupta, “Redefining Obscenity and Aesthetics in Print,” in Rajagopal, *Indian Public Sphere*, 108.


17 Rajagopal, “Introduction,” in Rajagopal, *Indian Public Sphere*, 11–12.


“Gandhi and Mrs. Sanger Debate Birth Control,” Asia (November 1936), 700, Margaret Sanger Papers, Sophia Smith Collection, Smith College Libraries, Northampton, MA, series III (subseries 5—Family/Miscellany, Transcriptions of Conversations and Interviews).


Advertisement for Contrafant tablets, Marriage Hygiene 1, no. 2 (November 1934): 184.

Karppatci, allatu cuvatina karppam [Contraception, or control over pregnancy], 2nd ed. (Madras: Vasan, 1931 [1st ed. 1929]), 16, 16, 8. Unless otherwise noted, all translations are my own.


Devidasan, Karppatatai, 49.

Devidasan, Karppatatai, 4.

Devidasan, Karppatatai, 55, 56.


Menon, Sexualities, 11.


Menon, Sexualities, 11.

Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India, Methods of Family Planning (1964), Field Office Files, FFA, reel 4026, grant 64-303.

Kalaniti, Katal rakaciymam, 70–71.


T. S. Janakakumari, Kuzhantai ventum [You want a child], 2nd ed. (Chennai: Star, 1964), 3, 44.

Dr. K. Satyavati, Family Planning (Birth Control), 3rd ed. (New Delhi: Satyavati Family Planning Center, 1955).

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58 As I have argued elsewhere, this attention to the conjugal couple was itself the product of legal, economic, and social changes in late colonial India. Mytheli Sreenivas, Wives, Widows, and Concubines: The Conjugal Family Ideal in Colonial India (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2008).
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71 We Two Our Two, n.p.
72 We Two Our Two, n.p.
73 We Two Our Two, n.p.
74 Connelly, Fatal Misconception, 264.
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83 Centre Calling: A Newsletter of the Department of Family Planning 1, no. 3 (December 1966).
84 Wilder and Tyagi, “India’s New Departures,” 776.
85 Wilder and Tyagi, “India’s New Departures,” 774.
86 Frank Wilder to James F. Farnham, August 12, 1969, Field Office File, FFA, reel 3847, grant 64-303.

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5 IPPF, Climate Change.
6 “Fighting Climate Change with Family Planning,” Sierra, May/June 2012, 49.
7 Sasser, On Infertile Ground, 50.
10 Hartmann, Reproductive Rights and Wrongs, 11.
11 IPPF, Climate Change.
12 NITI, “NITI Aayog to Draft Roadmap.”
17 Betsy Hartmann and Mohan Rao, “India’s Population Programme: Obstacles and Opportunities,” Economic and Political Weekly 44 (October 31, 2015).
25 The interviews were conducted in June and July 2014 by Archana Venkatesh, then a PhD student at Ohio State, who worked collaboratively with me on
designing the research. They took place with women living in two subdivisions, Uthokkottai and Gummidipoondi, of Thiruvallar District. Interviews were conducted in Tamil, and translated to English by me. I use pseudonyms throughout.

26 NITI, “Total Fertility Rate.”
27 Devi, interview.
28 Darshini [pseud.], interview by Archana Venkatesh, July 9, 2014.