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PUBLIC AFFAIRS PAMPHLETS

WAR, BABIES, AND THE FUTURE

BY WILLIAM FIELDING OGBURN

What countries will be strong 50 years from now?

Are we holding our own in population?

What changes may we expect in the American family? in whabits of life?

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PUBLIC AFFAIRS PAMPHLETS
No. 83 1943

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WAR, BABIES, AND THE FUTURE

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When War Comes

War seldom comes upon a people unawares. When the coming of war is foreseen, preparations are made. Factories begin to make guns, tanks, and planes; shells, ships, and uniforms. Business becomes very active. Preparation for war has the effect of quickening the upward swing of business preceding a boom. John, who has been out of work for a couple of years, gets a job, and we begin to hear stories of how Willie, who hasn't had a job since he left high school, is making so much money he does not know what to do with it and is not behaving very well. So the coming of war creates a lot of new jobs. The terror of unemployment begins to recede.

The author of this pamphlet is one of America's most noted sociologists. He was Director of Research of the President's Committee on Social Trends and a member of the Science Committee of the National Resources Committee. He is author of the Public Affairs Pamphlet, *Machines and Tomorrow's World.*

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Marriage and War Brides

When good times blossom forth, and everybody has a job and is making good money, the young people begin to marry. When times are hard there is not much business at the marriage license bureau. Young men and young women postpone marrying until better times. The statistical curve of marriages is almost a carbon copy of the curve of the business cycle. After a year's interval, the curve of babies follows the curve of marriages which, in turn, follows the curve of business. So preparation for war, because it brings prosperity, means a sudden growth in population.

If war seems very close and boys are drafted in large numbers for army camps, and if they are being sent far away to Dutch Harbor or the Midway Islands, a real problem is presented to the young lovers. Should Mary and John marry when John is going to war and may never come back? This dilemma never seems to have been solved by logic or science to the satisfaction of everybody. Mrs. Roosevelt advises girls over the radio, "Refrain from hasty marriages contracted in patriotic fervor because your beau is going into the army." The opposite point of view is taken by Fannie Hurst who says, "A girl wins even when she loses, as long as she gets a husband, home, and heir. With the anticipated shortage of eligible young men—the latest figures give the girls a handicap of five to one—the race belongs to the fleet. . . . Marry in haste and repent at leisure? Perhaps. But not to marry at all is to do more than repent. It is to carry through life an aching void."

Though this problem defies solution by social science, it is being solved by the young people themselves. Their answer is "war brides," right or wrong. This is shown by the fact that in the year the Selective Service Act was enacted by Congress, 1940, marriages increased by 200,000 over the number in 1939. The marriage rate continued extraordinarily high in 1941. The young men going to the wars leave behind them offspring to carry on the race. The birth rate nine months after the passage of the Selective Service Act was 11 per cent higher than the preceding month although a year earlier it was only 2 per cent higher. The year 1942, when the records are in, will probably show nearly 3,000,000 babies born, the largest number in the history of the United States. The birth rate in the United States in 1941 was 14 per cent higher than in 1933.

The Increase in Births

This rising tide of births began, indeed, long before the war, back in 1933. Up to then, the birth rate had been declining since its spectacular rise immediately after the last World War. This had led many writers, including Stuart Chase in *What the New Census Means*,* to see a stationary or decreasing population for the United States in the not too distant future. Indeed, we had begun to make adjustments toward a population that would have ceased to grow in numbers. Businesses were beginning to realize that their markets would not be expanding, as they had throughout the whole history of our country. Now, however, for nearly a decade the birth rate has been rising. This has been great news for the many who believe our destiny lies in a large birth rate and lots of young people. They see gains for business and envision the United States as an even greater world power.

This view of the increasing birth rate, though, is based on only an eight-year period. It is too short a period for any such long-time forecasts. The irregularly rising birth rate in the middle 1930's paralleled the zig-zagging improvement of business during those years. Then came the war activities with their great stimulus to births. In other words, the depression and the beginning of war do not necessarily mean a change in the downward trend of the birth rate that began seventy-five years ago, but rather an upward fluctuation around the downward trend.

WAR BABIES

THEN, too, it should be remembered that the increasing birth rate is, in any case, due for a fall. For although war brides have babies, war widows do not; not even when the widowhood is a temporary separation. With several million men in distant camps or at the faraway battle front, the birth rate is bound to decline. During our participation in the last World War, we had only 2,000,000 men over seas and then only for a short time. It was long enough though for the birth rate to fall in 1919 by about 10 per cent.

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*Stuart Chase, *What the New Census Means,* Public Affairs Pamphlet No. 56, 1941. 10c

Naturally, if there had been more men separated from their wives by service in the armed forces, or if more young men had been taken away before marriage, and if we had been in the war for a longer period, the shortage in babies would have been greater.

War Cut the Birth Rate One-Half

France, for instance, was in the first World War for more than four years. Though the front line was not very far from the homes of many of the soldiers, only a little more than half as many babies were born during these war years as would have been born in peacetime.

In Germany the birth rate was reduced during the years of the first World War to about the same extent as in France. In England the effect of the war on births was not so severe. There the extreme reduction in the birth rate was about one-quarter. In France, 1,500,000 fewer babies were born during the first World War than would have been born in time of peace.

What a Shortage of Babies Means

A drop in births has various effects on the national life. It affects, for instance, the number of pupils in school and the number of teachers needed to teach them. The number of pupils in the elementary school shifts after a six- to ten-year lag much as the birth rate does. When the birth rate was declining sharply in the early years of the depression in the 1930's, there was a marked reduction in elementary school attendance several years later. In many cities hundreds of school teachers were dismissed or not replaced because of the vacant seats. Normally we should expect more pupils in the first grade than in the second, and more in the second grade than in the third. But in the late 1930's, after the effect of the business depression, there were many places that had fewer children in the first grade than in the second, and fewer in the second grade than in the third.

If our birth rate drops very much because of a long and hard war, we shall have first a shortage of pupils in the elementary school, then afterward fewer in the high schools. Still later there will be fewer students in college and fewer workers. Thus the war, by decreasing the birth rate, makes a gap in the nation's manpower and womanpower for about sixty years.

THE BIRTH RATE IN WORLD WAR I



U.S.A.

PRE-WAR 25.0

DURING WAR 22.3

POST-WAR 24.2



ENGLAND

PRE-WAR 24.2

DURING WAR 17.7

POST-WAR 25.5



FRANCE

PRE-WAR 18.8

DURING WAR 9.5

POST-WAR 21.4



GERMANY

PRE-WAR 28.0

DURING WAR 13.9

POST-WAR 25.9

Each symbol represents 5 births per 1000 people

SOURCE: CENSUS BUREAU

PICTOGRAPH CORPORATION, FOR PUBLIC AFFAIRS COMMITTEE, INC.

Deficiency Made Up in Part

But some of this deficiency of wartime babies will be made up. It occurs in this way. Although some of the boys took war brides before they went to the front, many others did not. When the fighting is over and the soldiers come home, many will find their girls waiting for them. Postponed marriages will then take place. The marriage rate in the United States rose sharply in 1919 and 1920. So, for one or two years after the battles are over, there will be a boom in marriages. Following these marriages there will be a large crop of babies. The birth rate was high for two and three years after the Armistice of 1918.

But these postwar marriages will make up only a small part of the deficiency of births caused by the war if we judge from European experience after the last World War, for instance. In France, right after the first World War, the bulge in the birth rate for several years meant 200,000 more infants than would otherwise have been born. This contrasts with an annual deficiency of nearly 400,000 during the war.

The United States is a much larger country than France, and many more babies are born here. In fact, two million three or four hundred thousand babies were born each year of the middle 1930's in the United States. If the birth rate in our war years is reduced 20 per cent, we shall have a shortage of nearly 500,000 babies each year.

A Surplus of Aged

Another effect of this scarcity of infants is to increase the proportion of aged in the population. A shortage of births doesn't add any more old people to the population. But it does increase the *proportion* of old people, for if there is a smaller proportion of children, there must be a larger proportion of older people.

We have known for some time that the proportion of the old among us was increasing quite rapidly. This was due partly to the fact that the birth rate fell so rapidly during the late 1920's and the early 1930's. The effect of the war will be to increase the number of elders in relation to the total population.

What effect do a lot of old people have in a community? Perhaps they may increase the collective wisdom, for they have the benefit of much experience. Perhaps also they add a conservative note to the political thinking, since old people are not

noticeably reckless. They also increase the burden on the able-bodied workers, men and women, who carry the load of the support of the young, the old, the sick, the unemployed, and the idlers. This increased dependence of the aged may be offset by the decrease in the number of babies and children; but the war also reduces the number of young adults. Not many old people are self-supporting. Nor have they been able to save up enough to support themselves when industry has dismissed them. In our modern age, advertising encourages us to spend and thus makes it difficult to save against the time when we shall be unable to work for a living. In the past, children have been an insurance against the poverty of old age. On the farm, children looked after their parents in their old age as a matter of course. But a low birth rate, as a result of the war or otherwise, means that many elders will have no children or grandchildren to support them.

Who, then, will support the dependent old people? The state, of course—that is, either our local or national government. This issue has already been presented to us. Out of Southern California, the land of many new ideas and the sunny residence of many old men, came a Dr. Townsend with a plan for caring for our elders. His message was received most enthusiastically by many of the aged and Congress noted its acclaim. Yet in post-war years, when the proportion of elders will be larger, the social atmosphere should be even more favorable to old-age pensions. Perhaps a Beveridge plan for the United States will look adequately after the old people.

DEATHS IN WARTIME

WE have been discussing the effect of war upon births and marriage. The most dramatic influence of war, however, is upon deaths. We begin to understand this when the letter arrives saying: "Your son is missing in action, while engaged in the performance of his duties for the services of his country." The shock of such a letter cannot be softened no matter how it is worded. Death in war is inevitable. The creative genius of man is not able to invent a protection adequate against death in battle. We make guns and bombs that pierce any defense. Mechanized warfare adds both to protection and destruction.

Overwhelming superiority in armament and equipment seems to be the best way to lessen the chances of death in war. Germany's victories in the first year and a half of the present war were won with much less loss of life than were the battles for the corresponding period in the war of 1914–18. Great areas of territory were conquered in the first months of this war with very little loss of life on both sides. For Germany was much better prepared than the countries it attacked, especially with tanks and airplanes. Deaths in the first year and a half after Germany went to war in 1939 were only about one-seventh what they were in the corresponding period of the first World War.

Other nations, however, began to arm themselves, notably the Soviet Union, England, and the United States. When Germany attacked the Soviets, it found them more nearly ready than were Poland, Norway, Holland, Belgium, France, Jugoslavia, and Greece.

The Fury of War Piles Up Casualties

After June 22, 1941, when Germany attacked Russia, casualties on both sides were large, of a size comparable to those in World War I. In 1942 Germany probably had 500,000 military deaths while Russia probably suffered 700,000. These estimates may be in error by several hundred thousand. The numbers wounded, captured, or dying from disease, are much larger. But the United States in its first year of war activity had only 11,000 military deaths. Most of these deaths were of men on ships, for we had only a small force of the army in combat. The situation in 1943 will be quite different. In 1942 the total deaths of all combatants was between 1,500,000 and 2,000,000, about the same number of deaths as in 1917. In World War I the fighting was largely with great masses of men who used trenches for defense positions. In World War II the tanks and the airplanes have made it a war of movement and position. Yet the rate of war deaths is not greatly different.

In 1942 Germany probably had more than 500,000 soldiers killed. But how many are a half million dead? Truly a very large number. But we need some standard or mark with which to compare it. Germany suffered a loss of 500,000 men killed in the war in one year; yet in peacetime there would be about 900,000 persons who would die in a year. The war, then,

increased her deaths by about 55 per cent in 1942. In the first World War Germany's deaths were increased by war about 50 per cent. France's participation in the first World War was as active as Germany's. Her war losses stepped up her normal death rate about 50 per cent, too.

War Increases the Death Rate Only One-Quarter

To read a war dispatch from the front describing how modern weapons of destruction in a battle struck down, say, 5,000 men and left the field covered with dead equivalent in number to the total population of a small town gives the reader a sense of war's terrible destructiveness. On the other hand, it is interesting to note that a nation engaged in the thick of fighting an all-out war loses in war dead only half as many as it loses normally in peacetime. This rate is higher than that for most countries in the last World War.

In fact, countries less close to the center of fighting do not lose so many fighters. In the first World War, there were about 10,000,000 military deaths, an enormous number. We can hardly grasp in our mind how many ten million are. Yet it must be remembered that there were huge numbers of people in all the nations engaged in fighting that war. So large a population would normally have many millions die in peacetime. In fact, if there had been no war in 1914–18, the number who would have died in peacetime for those four and a quarter years would have been 40,000,000. But with a four years' war the deaths were raised by 10,000,000 to 50,000,000. About 5 per cent of those killed in battle would have died in peacetime, but this does not materially affect the figure. In other words, the first World War raised the deaths for all the combatants about 25 per cent.

To say that the 10,000,000 who were killed in battle would have been living, except for natural deaths, had the Archduke Francis Ferdinand of Austria not been assassinated at Sarajevo on July 28, 1914, and that these men would have made their contribution to life, love, and happiness, is to appreciate the enormity of war's destruction of human life. But death goes on all the time. In the countries engaged in World War I, there was normally one death every three seconds in peacetime. War increased the deaths to one every two and four-tenths seconds.

The destruction in war up to the middle of 1943 was at about

the same rate as in the first World War. We have said that the war loss of life in 1942 was around 1,750,000. But in peacetime the countries at war would have lost about 7,000,000 by death. War then, in 1942, meant an increase of deaths by one-quarter. In this calculation China and the United States were not included. If they had been included the increase in the proportion of deaths due to war would have been much less. The number of soldiers killed in China last year was perhaps around 100,000, but the deaths in China normally amount to probably 10,000,000 a year. In the United States, we lose by deaths in peacetime 1,300,000. Our war deaths in 1942 were 11,000. Probably a fair picture of the general nature of the destructiveness of modern wars is afforded by the fact that they raise the death rate by about 25 per cent for those regions that are rather actively engaged in the war; that this increase will be as high as one-half for certain selected countries that are in the thickest of the fighting.

It is statistics like these that make the statistician the butt of the layman's jibes. Although the figures of deaths are true, they fail to give any meaning of death or to convey any sense of its tragedy. While these remarks are being read, there will be reports of thousands of American boys killed in battles in Europe or in other distant lands. As the report of the number dead in each battle is heard over the radio or read in the press, the anxious mothers and fathers, who fear and pray, will hate the statistics that put indescribable death in Arabic numerals, and they will resent any statement which says that war only increases the death rate by 25 per cent. In that 25 per cent was their son, and his death was not necessary if wars could have been prevented.

The Best Are Killed

The reduction of young and middle-aged men in the population may be large after several years of war, particularly in countries like Germany and Russia where the fighting is severe. Germany had 12,000,000 males from 18 to 40 years old. A loss of 500,000 by death from this number reduces the population in these ages 4 per cent. If this rate should continue for several years, an appreciable dent would be made among the young and middle-aged men in the population. A 20 per cent loss of men in these ages would be a severe blow.

These young men are a very choice group of the total population by all standards of selection. They are killed in the "prime of life." It is the prime of life because these are the years of best achievement. The most famous scientific discoveries are made by men of this age. The most famous poems are generally written by men (and women) before they reach middle age. These are the years when men carry on their shoulders the burden of educating the children, of supporting the women, of caring for the old. Years later these men will become dependents, to be supported in their turn. For some years after the war is over there will be a shortage in this choicest group of the population. How many developing inventors, poets, scientists, discoverers, statesmen are included in the death lists, we shall never know. That many future leaders are killed in war we can be sure, and we can also be certain that the world in the crucial postwar years will be greatly in need of leaders.

War takes off the finest physical specimens too. Our draft boards select, leaving behind those physically unfit for war. We called it "selective service." Wars have always done this. But actual combat in the past has selected the very fittest for survival. Throughout history, in fights with swords, lances, battle axes, or clubs, victory generally came to the strongest, the biggest, and the quickest. It was the weaker who went down. Thus the fittest survived. But as Carlyle said, "Gun powder made all men the same height." When the modern bomb explodes with enough force to wreck a city block, the superior physical specimens succumb to its explosion as readily as do the weakest. A machine gun mows down the strong along with the weak. Although a skillful airplane pilot has a better chance of survival than an unskillful one, the death rate among aviators as a group —a highly selected group—is much higher than for other soldiers.

There can be no question that the present war is causing us to lose by death a very select group. This killing of our best does not, however, cause any marked worsening of our racial stock. The superb physically are not wholly the product of heredity. Nurture as well as nature builds strong men. Furthermore, it is only a change in the germ plasm that affects the racial stock. If wars were frequent enough and killed enough men, there might be some effect on evolution. Darwin once attributed much to combat in the struggle for survival in accounting for our evolution

from lower to higher beings. The struggle against nature and other species was, however, much more important than combat between individuals of the same species. But even if modern wars do not seriously hurt the race, they certainly remove an excellent part of our population. Of the many age groups of population from the cradle to the grave, infants, children, adolescents, boys, girls, old men and old women, war takes for elimination the one age and sex group of greatest value to civilization.

War Brings Death to Civilians, Too

Men are not, of course, the only ones to lose their lives in war these days. The airplane brings destruction to women as well, but not in as large numbers. The invention of the bomber has changed the nature of war in many ways. Not the least of these facts is that it brings war to civilians. In the first phase of the present war, the loss of life to noncombatants was about one-third the number of deaths in the armed forces. England lost some 20,000 lives in air raids in five months, which was, however, about one-tenth the number of deaths that normally occur in that time. What the R.A.F. may have done to civilians in the often-bombed German cities we do not yet know. Even when objectives are purely military, many civilians are killed. The ratio of civilian deaths to those in the armed forces has probably become smaller in the second phase of the war since Russia was invaded. What developments may occur before the war is over or in future wars, we do not know. Poison gas might be very destructive of civilian life unless there were adequate protection. Whatever the future may be, the number of women killed in the present war is small in comparison with men.

War also brings heavy losses to the civilian population as a result of disease and undernourishment. It is estimated that Greece has already lost at least 10 per cent of its 7,000,000 population. Diseases such as tuberculosis and typhus are known to have increased greatly throughout Europe although we have no figures on death rates. Although few people have died directly from hunger, tens of millions have been weakened by lack of adequate food and made susceptible to diseases of all kinds. The effect of this slow starvation on the population will continue to be felt months, if not years, after the war ends.

DO POPULATIONS INCREASE OR DECREASE DURING WAR?

ALL warring nations are interested in whether they are gaining or losing in population. With so much death being reported day after day, there is great concern as to whether a country may not bleed to death. Such a fate worried Greece in ancient times. The worry comes in part from the fear of being weakened irretrievably in comparison with the enemy. Since deaths in battle must occur as long as the war goes on, leaders do what they can to encourage births in an effort to maintain manpower. It is true that babies born during a war will be of no use in a military way in that war. But they will be future soldiers if future wars come, and they also bring power in the game of diplomacy that goes on between wars. In the United States there has been no public concern over this question. We have had few military deaths and the birth rate is high. But reports from Germany are different. Illegitimate babies are welcomed by the state. Marriages are encouraged to the extent of having the wedding ceremony performed even if the groom is not present. Furloughs for soldiers are arranged in order that they may become fathers. This policy is not peculiar to Germany. Somewhat the same attitude existed in France in the first World War. The results are certainly not enough to maintain the birth rate at the peacetime level.

During the war years population growth is lessened because war increases deaths and decreases births. It is important to know how much. This question cannot be answered with reference to the present war because we do not have the figures on births, nor very good estimates on deaths—that is, estimates without a rather wide margin of error. It takes time to collect and report figures on births and deaths, especially when a country is at war. There is, however, evidence from the first World War. In Germany before that war the natural increase, the excess of births over deaths, was 8 per thousand per year. During the war this increase was changed into a decrease of 8 per thousand per year. Germany changed from a growing to a declining population. In France, before 1914, births just about equaled deaths

in number. Its population was approximately stationary. During the war, the population of France dropped by 15 per thousand per year. England's population, on the other hand, did not stop growing during the first World War despite her war losses. It was slackened from 8 per thousand to 1.5 per thousand. In the United States in the first World War, the natural increase of 10.5 per thousand was reduced to only 7.7 per thousand. Some countries lose population during war; others continue to gain but at a smaller rate.

War Means a Smaller Population

It will be noted that for all their destructiveness wars do not change the rate of growth very much during the war years. The increase of deaths and decline of births during a war do make a difference, however, in the future size of the population because they cut down the number of marriages and potential parents. If the United States were to lose a half million men in the present war, our population in 1980 would be smaller by two or three million, other factors remaining the same. But other factors may not remain the same, particularly the birth rate. It has been argued by some that populations respond to a shrinkage in population, as in the case of the Black Death in the 14th Century, by an increase in the birth rate. This, however, is difficult to prove. The effect of the war on the future populations of nations depends, though, on how the birth rate behaves in the postwar years. If the birth rate rises to meet the war shortage, the future effects of war losses will be less. If, on the other hand, the birth rate fails to respond, the losses of the war will result in an ultimate loss in population over one or two generations of perhaps four or five times the number of military deaths because wars destroy potential parents.

Shifts in the Sex Ratio

The effect of war on parenthood results from the death of males at their most vigorous age. For 100 wives there are 100 husbands. The fact, however, that war kills more men than women unbalances this sex ratio of 100 to 100. Not as many men as women are left.

In peacetime death cuts down very nearly the same number of males and females. A few more men than women are taken

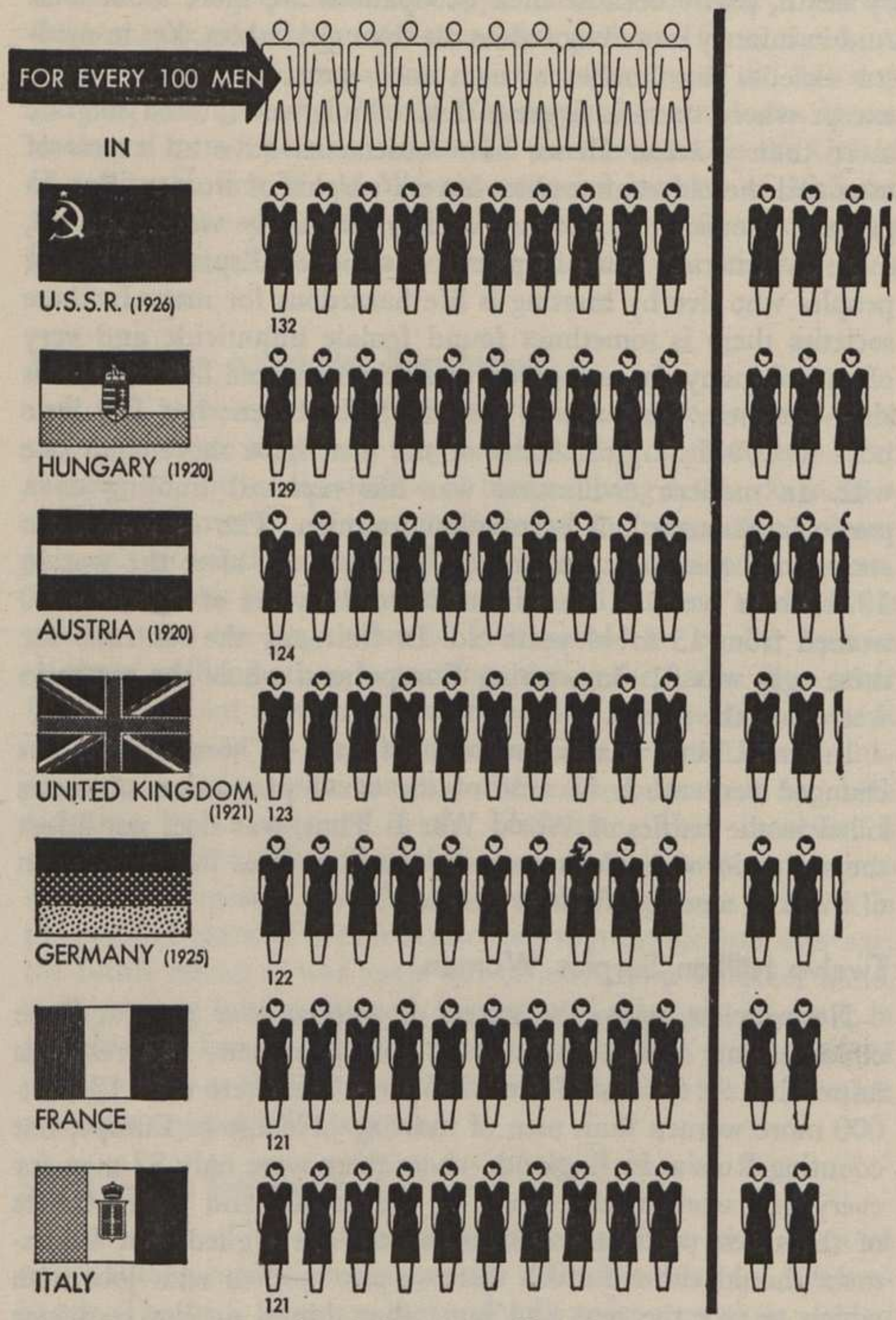
by death, partly because their occupations are more hazardous. And in infancy more boy babies die than girl babies. Yet in modern societies the number of men and women are nearly equal, except where there is a great deal of migration. Men migrate more than women. Hence new settlements have an excess of men and the old communities have a surplus of women. But, in general, the sexes in modern society are fairly well balanced, more so generally than in primitive societies. Especially among peoples who live by hunting is life hazardous for men. In these societies there is sometimes found female infanticide and very often polygamy. In one group of Eskimos, whose hunting life is risky for men, there are 85 men to 100 women; but 173 little boys to 100 little girls. Some of the men have more than one wife. In modern civilization war has replaced hunting as a particularly hazardous occupation for men. The effect on the sex ratio is the same. In France, for instance, after the war in 1921, there were 82 men from 20 to 49 years of age for 100 women from 15 to 44 years old. In Germany the sex ratio for these ages was 81. In warring Europe as a whole the sex ratio was about the same.

In the United States the ratio of men to women was not changed very much because of the small proportion of males killed in the battles of World War I. Thus, war does not affect the sex ratio of modern states as much as does the occupation of hunting among primitive peoples.

Twelve Million Surplus Women

Nevertheless, when the excess of women over men at these child-bearing ages is counted in total numbers, the result is impressive. At the end of the first World War there were 12,000,000 more women than men of marriageable age in Europe, not counting Russia. In England, where there were only 82 men for every 100 women, and fewer in the middle and upper classes of the cities, postwar feminists of that era argued that Parliament should either furnish these surplus women with jobs with which to pay the rent and buy other things, or else recognize polygamy, which would permit a woman to have a man to support her. In time, of course, the sexes are brought back into balance. Yet the effect of the war upon the marriage of women is felt not only during the war, but long afterward.

WOMEN PER 100 MEN AFTER WORLD WAR I



Each symbol represents 10 women

WOMEN: AGES 15-44 MEN: AGES 20-49

SOURCE: STATISTICAL BULLETIN, METROPOLITAN LIFE INSURANCE CO.

PICTOGRAPH CORPORATION, FOR PUBLIC AFFAIRS COMMITTEE, INC.

WHAT OF THE FAMILY?

THE family is the nursery of population. It is the source of supply of the new generations. It also largely determines what sort of people the new generations are, whether they will be better than the old who are passing on. For the family endows us with our heredity, while the home is the environment in which our character is formed. The schools and the church are less important in making our personality, for their influences are exerted late, after our character is nearly formed. What the war does to the family and the home is of great importance for people and population.

Wars scatter the members of the family. Husbands and sons go to war. Women and little children are left behind. War breaks families in two. In the United States we have drafted the unmarried men first. Our policy has been to keep the family intact. This is difficult to do in an all-out war, for the demand for manpower is tremendous. When the supply of men runs out or even begins to run thin, then we dip into the supply of womanpower. Unmarried women are the first to be taken, but large numbers of married women go to work, too. Even before the war, one in eight married women was at work outside the home. Thus the members of the family are still further scattered, at least during factory, store, and office hours. The more bitter the war, the more serious the effect on the family. There are still a great many homes in the United States where the family life has been little disrupted by the war, but the number is being cut down rapidly.

Homes Are Bombed

The greatest disruption of home life comes with the new warfare which brings the bombing of cities. In the early part of the war, the English and Dutch cities were heavily bombed, and later German, Russian, French, and Italian cities have been subjected to more severe air raids than those suffered by British cities. All of this must mean considerable disruption of family life. We do not know at present how much dislocation of families has taken place in the cities of continental Europe, nor

what the nature of the evacuation has been. Perhaps it was better planned than was the case with London, Coventry, and other English cities, when the bombing came so quickly that there was not time enough to plan a very orderly movement of families. Often it was necessary to separate children from their mothers. Indeed, many children were sent to the United States and Canada. Most children, however, were sent to rural England. Rural England is a very lovely countryside, but homes for foster children have to be picked with care even in the country. Usually it takes a good deal of investigation to judge the appropriateness of a home for the adoption or shelter of a child. The sudden moving of several hundred thousand children from London in a week, although it may have saved their lives, could not be done with care. There were often serious conflicts in customs. Observers agree that little children can stand the explosion of bombs and the crash of falling buildings, provided they are not maimed, better than they can the shock of leaving their mothers. Fresh country air is good for children but they also want the emotional security of their own homes. Rural women sometimes do not understand the ways of city children; and city children are not adapted to daily farm or village life.

Juvenile Delinquency Increase

One of the results of this broken family life on children is the increase in juvenile crime. The absence of a father or a mother signifies the relaxing of controls over a youth's behavior. But there are other causes too. Perhaps one is that many social workers go into other work instead of looking after the welfare of children in parks and playgrounds, in boys' and girls' clubs, and in various other ways. Child labor increases in a war, and young boys and girls may make more money than they dreamed they could get. Spending this money sometimes gets them into difficulties away from home.

Then, war is a time when the routine of life and daily customs are broken, with changes taking place everywhere. Routine helps to control our wayward impulses. It is the organization of life that keeps one under restraint and makes one's conduct conform to the "respectable" patterns of life. War unleashes the impulses, and the sexual codes of conduct are less rigid, particularly at the beginning of the war.

New Worlds for Women

War is especially disturbing to the life of many women. They find themselves living a much more active life beyond the confines of the home than ever before. The first World War brought bobbed hair and the "flapper" age of the 1920's. The present war has brought much wearing of slacks and a great expansion of women's activities. The feminist movement is greatly advanced by the war.

During a war, however, there are fewer divorces. Army life in wartime brings separations but not divorces, at least while the war is going on. Divorce from a man who may be about to die in the service of his country is not "done." No doubt, too, home and the personalities of mates are idealized by separated spouses. Whatever the cause, peacetime brings more divorce than wartime.

In these various ways war affects the family. As an institution it is somewhat battered and bruised by the forces of war, and may be terribly shattered under the two-ton bombs from airplanes that leave hardly a trace of the home. But the family as a social institution has never been destroyed by a war, nor has it experienced a serious lasting injury. With peace there is restoration, and the family takes up its task of building the new generations which may make ours a better world.

PEOPLE ON THE MOVE

BIRTHS are not the only source of inflow of population, nor is death the only outlet. For people may come into a locality by migration and go out the same way. War often shuts off much movement of peoples between countries. The stoppage is complete to and from enemy states. It may be quite restricted also between countries where the transportation is by water, for usually the supply of ships is limited. Between allies, however, there may be considerable movement. Germany, according to reports in the daily press, has brought in 6,000,000 workers from France, Italy, Hungary, and other countries to work in its war factories. Americans go to Iceland, England, Ireland, Australia, North Africa, the Solomon Islands, as soldiers, nurses, or Red Cross workers.

The Population Reshuffled

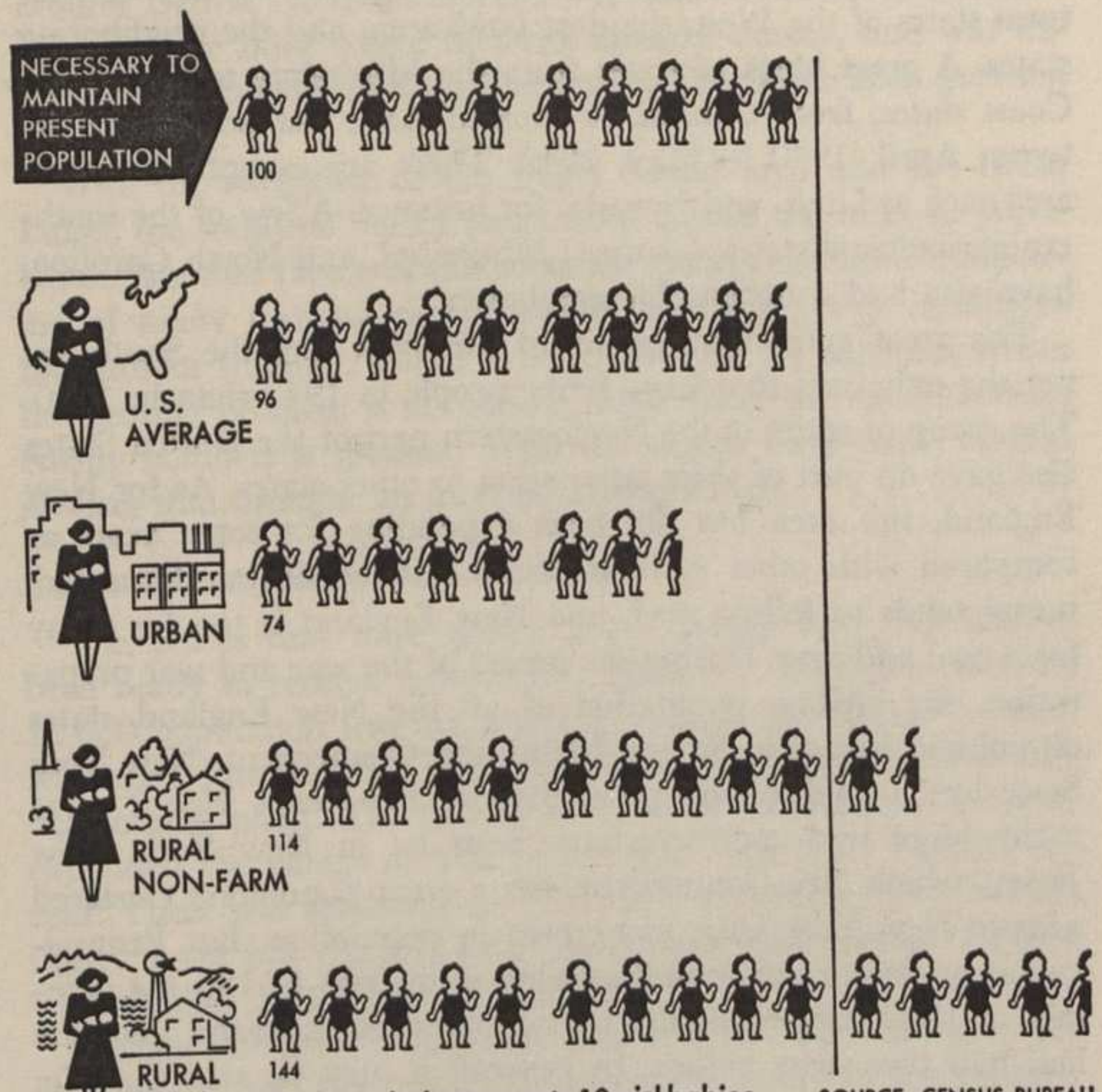
It is within the boundaries of a country, however, that we find unusually large movements of peoples. War reshuffles the population, sending them from old homes into new, from Mississippi to Detroit, from the Atlantic Coast to Los Angeles and Seattle, and from the farms everywhere to the industrial centers. The reason, of course, is war production. War is a great giant with a huge appetite for steel, rubber, chemicals, coal, airplanes, tanks, ships, guns, shells, trucks, locomotives, shoes, clothing, foods. To provide these it takes men and more men, women, and young boys and girls. So the movement of the population is large. The trains are loaded, and the airports, railway stations, and bus terminals are crowded with men, women, and families on the move.

Leaving the Farms

Where are they going? In general, to the factories in the suburbs of cities where these materials of war are produced. Not all of them are produced in factories though, for the farms are the source of food, and soldiers need butter as well as cannon. The movement, however, is not toward the fertile fields but away from them. At first, this was understandable, for the farms were overcrowded and the granaries were overflowing. A million three hundred fifty thousand left the farms in 1941, which was three times the departures in 1939. The high wages in cities continued to pull the men away from the plows so that at harvest time there were so few men to gather in the crops that we began to speak of the food crisis. Some high-school students were dismissed to help with the harvest.

For a long, long time the farms have been furnishing population to the towns and the towns to the cities. The birth rates of cities are not high enough to maintain their population, especially since the death rates in cities are higher than in the open country. Even so, the birth rate is as high as it is in cities because a very large part of their population is of child-bearing age. In the rural communities there are more old people and more little children. Yet in the large cities of the United States 100 girls born now will leave behind them only about 75 girl babies, if conditions of marriage, birth, and death remain as they are now. The cities are not maintaining themselves by natural in-

OUR NET REPRODUCTION RATE IN 1940



SOURCE: CENSUS BUREAU

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crease but must rely on migration from smaller places with higher birth rates. On the farms, however, 100 women are replaced by 150 girl babies. So the farms furnish population to the cities. The southern states in particular are the great breeding ground of the nation, from which people flow to the cities of the North and the West—more in periods of prosperity and war, but a considerable number even in hard times. Only once in the history of the United States have the cities lost population to the farms. That was in the dark days of 1932, when people sought refuge, often in abandoned farms, until the force of the industrial storm was over.

Decline of the Mid-West

Particularly during this war have the people left the agricultural states of the West, the dust bowl area, and the neighboring states. A great block of states from the Mississippi to the Pacific Coast states, from Canada to Mexico, have lost population between April, 1940 to May, 1942. There are exceptions in this area such as Utah, and Nevada, for instance. A few of the southern agricultural states, Georgia, Mississippi, and North Carolina, have also had a decline in population.

The great agricultural states of the West and the South are not the only ones that have fewer people in 1942 than in 1940. The group of states in the Northeastern part of the United States also gave up part of their population to other states. As for New England, this area has not been expanding for some years as compared with other sections of the United States. Manufacturing tends to follow steel, and New England is too far away from coal and iron. During the period of the war and war preparation, the civilian population of all the New England states diminished except in Rhode Island and Connecticut. New York State lost a half million population in two years. Not a great many large war contracts have been let in New York. New Jersey, which, like Connecticut, has a great population clustered near to New York City, has grown in population. But Pennsylvania, an important manufacturing state, also had in the summer of 1942 less population by two hundred thousand than she had had two years before. In general, it may be said that the rural West and the Northeastern states have sent part of their population to other states and regions.

States of the South and Great Lakes Gain in Population

To what places did they go? The regions which gained in civilian population were the states around the Great Lakes, a goodly number of southern states, and the Pacific Coast area. More "Oakies" came to California during the war than during the whole depression of the 1930's. All these regions, although not the largest manufacturing centers except for certain areas around the Great Lakes, have been increasing their manufacturing at a greater rate than other regions. For twenty or thirty years the southern states have been expanding their manufac-

turing quite rapidly. Southern California and the Bay region of California have also developed much manufacturing. The growth around Detroit has been especially notable. War industries have tended to be built where factories already existed, and war expansion has been greatest in the regions that have been growing most rapidly.

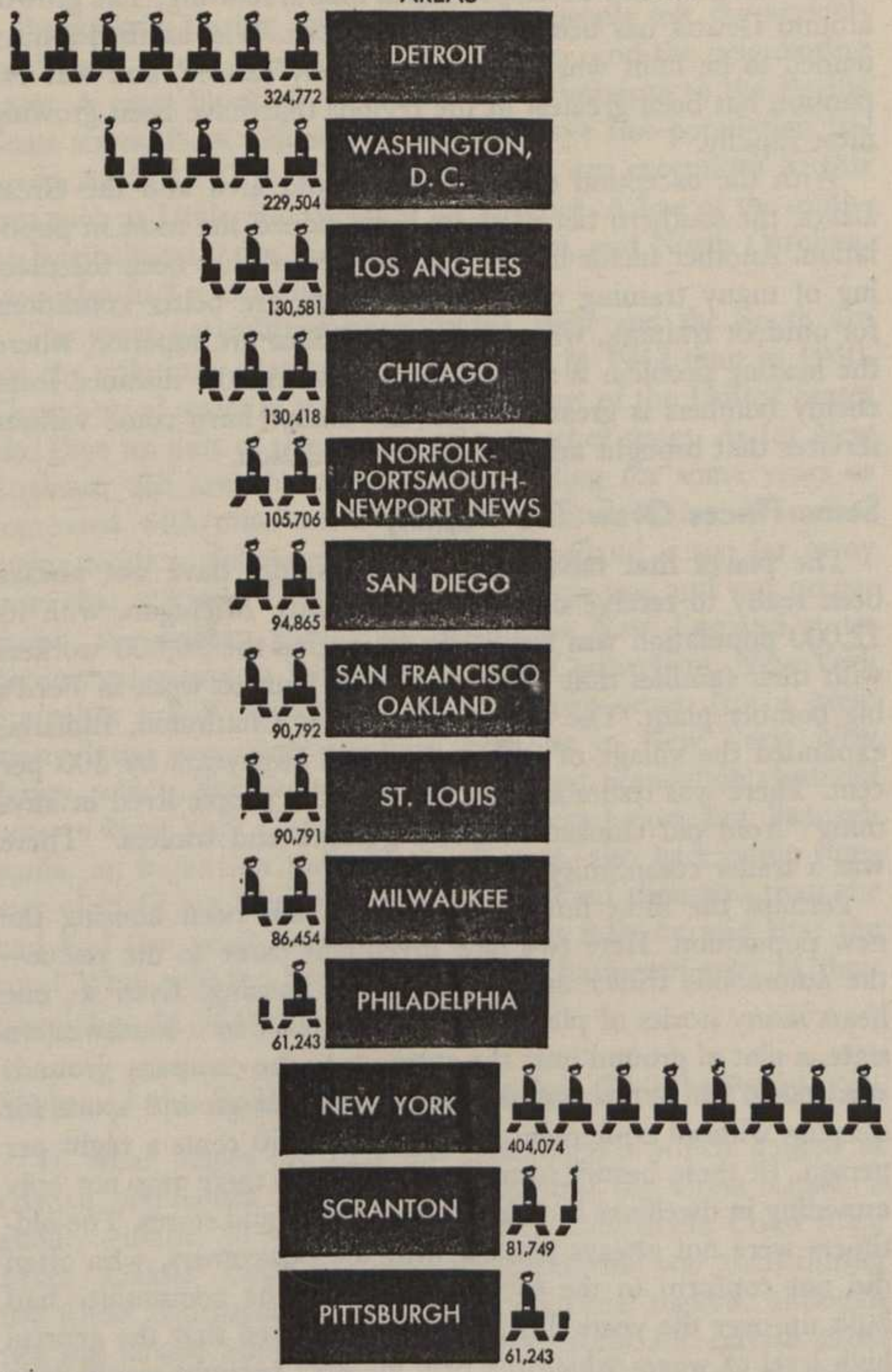
With the exception of the Puget Sound area and the Great Lakes, the southern tier of states have gained the most in population. Another factor in this southern growth has been the placing of many training camps where there are better conditions for outdoor training, where flying conditions are superior, where the heating problem is not serious, and where the distance from enemy bombers is greatest. With the camps have come various services that brought an increase in population.

Some Places Grew Too Rapidly

The places that have grown most rapidly have not always been ready to receive newcomers. Ypsilanti, Michigan, with its 12,000 population was not ready to receive the 30,000 workers with their families that came to Willow Run to work in Ford's big bomber plant. The munitions plant at Charleston, Indiana, expanded the village of 800 in less than two years by 300 per cent. There was testimony in 1941 that the people lived in anything "from old chicken coops to garages and trailers." There was a trailer community of 1,500.

Perhaps the most immediate problem has been housing the new population. Here two new inventions came to the rescue—the automobile trailer and prefabricated housing. Even so, one hears many stories of pioneering. At one place in a southwestern state, a plot of ground near the entrance to the company grounds was staked off by an outside enterpriser, and ground space for sleeping without equipment was rented for 50 cents a night per person. In these hastily formed communities there was not only crowding in dwellings but also in restaurants and stores. The old-timers were not always pleased with the newcomers, who often did not conform to the social values that the community had built up over the years. Local employers feared that the general high level of wages which the new industry brought would raise their own labor costs. Then, there was always the prospect of sudden deflation after the war was over.

AREAS WITH BIG POPULATION SHIFTS, 1940-42



Each symbol represents 50,000 people

SOURCE: CENSUS BUREAU

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Among the new arrivals to a town born overnight there is an absence of any community feeling. Those from the farms feel this more than those from the cities, for city dwellers often do not know their neighbors. The children suffer by these transfers, especially when parents are busy or thoughtless, as in those cases where children have been locked in the trailer a great part of the day while the parents were away. This raises problems for the schools, for the police, and for social workers, as well as problems of health.

Expanding Metropolitan Centers

Besides the boom towns of war, many cities, including their suburbs, have experienced an enormous growth during the period of the war and the preparation for war. San Diego and Washington, D. C. are frequently cited; the former with its airplane factories and its navy personnel, and the latter with its war bureaus. San Diego increased in population 35 per cent and Washington 25 per cent in two years' time from April, 1940 to May, 1942. The region around Norfolk has had a similar expansion as have also Mobile, Montgomery, Charleston, Jacksonville, Corpus Christi, and Wichita. The Detroit, Chicago and Los Angeles areas—that is, the counties of and adjoining these three cities—increased by more than a hundred thousand population each over this period. Other city areas of great growth were Beaumont-Port Arthur, Columbia (South Carolina), Columbus (Georgia), Dayton, Galveston, Johnstown (Pennsylvania), Louisville, and San Antonio. New York City, with little heavy industry and a good bombing target, lost 360,000 population during these two years. Other cities that suffered a considerable loss of population were Topeka, St. Joseph, Oklahoma City, Scranton, Atlantic City, and Asheville.

Moves After the War

War stirs up the population and starts them moving. The question naturally arises, now that we are thinking in terms of the end of hostilities, whether these peoples will stay in their new homes or return to their old ones. It certainly seems probable that a good deal of war industry will be dismantled. Much retooling is expected. Automobiles gave way to airplanes. But

automobiles will come back, and airplane production will hardly continue after the war at a rate of 5,000 to 10,000 planes per month. The rubber factories may remain, however. It looks as though the backward trek of population will not be 100 per cent.

Let us analyze this problem a little further. We have seen that people followed the factories, and we have noted that the factory expansion was often in localities where manufacturing had been growing most rapidly during the past decade or two—the South, the Great Lakes region, and the Pacific Coast. It would seem reasonable, therefore, to expect the localities that previously had a strong trend toward increasing factory production to hold a larger proportion of their new population than areas where manufacturing had been declining or growing at a slow rate. Metropolitan areas like San Diego, Corpus Christi, Dallas, Jackson, Jacksonville, San Antonio, Charleston, Columbia, Columbus (Georgia), Mobile, Washington, Galveston, are very likely to be greater centers in the years to come because of the war.

In Europe

The situation in other countries is somewhat different. The facts are not all known. But the fear of bombing has led to considerable decentralization of industry, especially new industries such as the production of airplanes. Some of these factories are said to be hidden in Germany. Other factories have moved from Western Germany to the regions of Silesia and the borders of Czechoslovakia in Eastern Europe to get farther away from the reach of English and American bombers. But it is a very difficult task to remove such industrial establishments as blast furnaces and rolling mills, although Russia has done it. There is such an economic force as cost price, however, and some plants are more economically located than others with respect to markets and raw materials. Such things will become important again after the war.

In Europe there has been a very great exodus of refugees from the path of war's hurricane. People moved from northern France to southern France, from western Russia toward the Urals. Peace will bring a return for many of these.

This war has seen also another kind of movement of people—a forced mass migration. People have been moved much as herds of cattle are moved by a rancher. From Poland and Alsace-Lorraine, great masses of people have been shifted to make room

for Germans. It is said that, if they win, the Nazis will forcibly move large numbers of non-Germans from lands adjoining the German border and will fill the vacancies with Germans from the homeland or from distant areas. Thus Germany would become a larger continuous area filled with Germans.

No account of the effect of the war on migration would be complete without mentioning the Jews, of whom there are several hundred thousand refugees from Germany in America, England, and other countries. They have been dispossessed in Poland and, when not murdered, herded into ghettos in distant places. They will have to re-establish themselves after the war.

POPULATION AND FUTURE WARS

WE have seen what war does to population by affecting marriages, the sex ratio, births, deaths, and migration. We shall close by asking the question, what does population do to war? For population trends in the future will affect wars. Even the present World War did not come about without population pressure. Italy claimed that it needed Ethiopia and much of Northern Africa for its expanding population. From German sources we have heard much about *Lebensraum* for the *Herrenvolk,* especially in the Ukraine. If belief in population pressure is a factor in bringing about war, will an easing of that pressure bring about a peace-loving people?

The population trends in Europe are of special significance in regard to war, for Europe has been a battle ground for centuries. Germany's population before the present World War was increasing by 8 per thousand, while England's population was increasing by 2 per thousand and France's not at all. Italy was growing by 9 per thousand. Outside Europe, Japan's rate was 14 and that of the United States 6. Thus, the aggressor nations had the higher rates of population growth. Population pressure, however, does not always make for war as, for instance, in India; and there are outlets for rapidly growing countries other than the route of war. This may be seen in Russia today, a country that needs settlement in the East. However, it may well be that population pressure has been a factor in recent European conflicts.

Changes in Europe's Population

With regard to the postwar trends in population in Europe, the differences between states will not be the same as today. Indeed, the increase of population in Northwestern Europe has, for several years, been due to an abnormal age distribution in that area, an age distribution that will not remain in the future. For these countries have an excess of people in the child-producing ages, which is extraordinary. In a country where there is a large proportion of middle-aged adults, there is a high birth rate and a low death rate. Indeed, if the countries of Northwestern Europe had had a normal age distribution, that is, without an excess of population of child-bearing ages, they would not have had increasing populations in the 1930's but decreasing ones. This is shown in the accompanying chart. England had an increase of 2 per thousand in 1939, but if her age distribution had not been favorable she would actually have been losing population at the rate of 8 per thousand. This favorable age distribution is temporary and not likely to exist several decades hence. We may, therefore, predict a decreasing population in England in the future, unless the children's allowances and the maternity grants proposed in the Beveridge Plan* encourage a higher birth rate. Much the same situation exists for all the countries of Northwestern Europe, as shown in the chart. All the countries of Northwestern Europe, except Holland, would be losing population today if their age distribution was not favorable. So we can predict a decreasing population in this region unless the various countries can raise the birth rate.

It may be observed that Germany would have a decreasing population, too, were it not for her favorable age distribution. It is likely then that Germany, also, along with other countries of Northwestern Europe, will have a declining population in the future. In Southern Europe, Italy would have an increasing population even if her age distribution were normal. But her birth rate has been falling for a long time and the Fascists have not been able to stop it, though they may have slowed it up. Italy's birth rate may follow, after a lag, the course of Germany's and Northwestern Europe's.

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*See *The Beveridge Plan,* by Maxwell S. Stewart. Public Affairs Pamphlet No. 79, 1943. 10c

UNDERLYING POPULATION TRENDS IN THE 30's

LOSS	COUNTRY	GAIN
8	SWEDEN	
8	ENGLAND & WALES	
6	BELGIUM	
4	FRANCE	
1	U.S.A.	
1	GERMANY	
	ITALY	4
	NETHERLANDS	5
	YUGOSLAVIA	12
	JAPAN	12
	RUMANIA	13
	U.S.S.R. (UKRAINE)	14

Each cross represents annual excess of 2 deaths per 1000 over births
Each baby represents annual excess of 2 births per 1000 over deaths
Rates are based on the assumption of a normal age distribution

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Italy and Germany will probably be with Northwestern Europe in having a stationary or decreasing population in the future. As Italy and Germany approach the condition of a declining population, will their leaders be as warlike as they have been with population expansion and their search for new lands as outlets? In the game of international politics, large populations often represent power. Is the sun setting for Western Europe as a great power? There is always the possibility that states may successfully combat the falling birth rate and achieve a rising birth rate. However, no state has yet succeeded in doing so, although for a few years this appeared to be true for Nazi Germany.

Rise in Slavic Populations

In contrast to Northwestern Europe, Southeastern Europe not only has a large natural increase but would have even if the age distribution there was not favorable. These figures are a decade earlier than those for Northeastern Europe, but it looks as though this region would have an increasing population for a long time to come. Indeed, if Russia should continue to grow for fifty years at the present rate of growth in the Ukraine for a normal age distribution, Russia's population would then be around 350,000,000, which would make it a very powerful nation.

It is, of course, probable that the birth rate in Russia will follow the course of the birth rate in Western Europe after a lag of several decades. Russia will be engaged for some time in industrializing, however, and industrialization in the past has brought increasing population. So, for several decades after the war, it looks as if the Slavic countries of Eastern Europe will have rapid growth and large populations, while the growth of Western Europe will be slowing up or going downhill.

Population changes shift the power of states. For some it means a decline; for others a rise to new and greater power. In this process wars of world magnitude may come. The final question may be: Will war win over the falling birth rate or will the falling birth rate win over war?

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First Edition, July, 1943

Printed in the United States of America

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