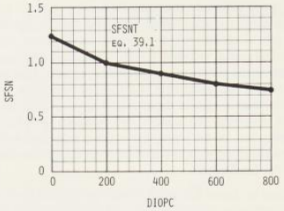

Figure 2-70 Social family size norm table

The social family size norm SFSN was assumed to be a delayed function of industrial output per capita DIOPC, since there seems to be general agreement that social norms, which are expressed through numerous interacting institutions and practices, change only very slowly. We assumed that the delay is third-order in nature, with a delay time (social adjustment delay SAD) of 20 years. This is probably a minimum delay time for widespread social change in a society with high literacy and good communications.

The social family size norm SFSN, when multiplied by the desired family size normal DFSN of 4.0 results in a socially ideal completed family size goal that varies from 5 children to 3 children, with most of the change occurring as the delayed industrial output per capita DIOPC rises to 500 dollars. It may be that the socially defined goal is actually much higher than 5 children in some nonindustrialized societies, but it is difficult to determine whether the few very high goals that have been reported include an allowance for infant mortality. It is also possible that a social family size norm may be lower than 3 children, but as yet there is very little evidence for such a low norm anywhere in the world (individual expectations may well be less than the norm and may lead to a desired completed family size DCFS value as low as 1.5 children, as discussed in the next section). In the most industrialized society in the world, the United States, the family size norm has been consistently higher than 3 children for at least 30 years (Blake 1967). There is excellent evidence (Blake 1965) that a similarly high norm prevails in Europe, although individual families on the average fall short of that norm in their actual reproductive behavior, probably for economic reasons.

It is conceivable that under some economic, environmental, or social circumstances the global society might effectively adjust its complex of sanctions and inducements to encourage the two-child family, with an explicit goal of population stabilization. It must be remembered that such an adjustment implies a consistent goal of two children, voiced and accepted by the majority of citizens, reinforced by government policy and economic sanctions, and systematically transmitted to new generations. As yet, no major society has experienced such a social change. In a few industrialized countries such as the United States and Great Britain, citizen movements to establish a two-child norm have recently arisen, but to date they have received more opposition than approval in the public media (Wallich 1970, Wattenberg 1970) and from governments. In other countries, when actual reproductive performance has temporarily decreased to two or fewer children per family, both governmental and private organizations have acted with alarm to encourage a higher birth rate.*

World3 can easily be altered to represent the evolution of a social norm of two or fewer children, if any subsequent modeler would like to hypothesize the environmental stimulant from the rest of the system and the causal mechanism through which such a development would operate. We have included the switch ZPGT, as already described, to test the effect of such a value change at any specified time in the model run.

In countries where infant mortality is low and birth control is effective, there seems to be a consistent trend for individual families to expect and to have fewer children than the number considered ideal according to the prevailing social norm. This discrepancy between ideal and actual, or intended, fertilities has been noted for all of Europe (Stoetzel 1955), for West Germany (Freedman, Baumert, and Bolte 1959), for Japan (Berelson 1966, p. 658), and for the white population of the United States (Freedman, Goldberg, and Sharp 1955; Ryder and Westoff 1971, p. 29). It seems that in these countries families, comparing their own resources with the balance of costs and benefits of childbearing dictated by the social norm, have often found themselves unable to afford all the children that they consider ideal or desirable. It would follow from this hypothesis that the same families, given more resources, would produce numbers of children closer to the established ideal. If they were deprived of resources, they would presumably fall even shorter of the goal than they already do. Thus one might expect that, in addition to the slowly shifting social family size norm, there would be a more short-term direct relationship between income or wealth and individual family size goals.

The direct association between income and fertility has been observed in the industrialized countries, where infant mortality and ineffective birth control do not complicate the picture. Baby "booms" during times of unusually rapid economic growth and extremely low fertility during economic depressions have occurred regularly in the United States and Europe, despite the fact that, in the United States at least, the stated ideal family size did not vary significantly throughout an entire cycle of fluctuating actual fertility (Blake 1967). Excellent statistical analyses of the relationship between short-term economic trends and birth rates in the United States have been made (Easterlin 1962, 1966).

Thus it seems that the *individual* operational goal for family size, at least among populations of industrialized countries, is that most often found by Rainwater in his

*Examples are Sweden (Myrdal 1941), Japan (Boffey 1970), and Romania (David and Wright 1971).