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Differential Fertility Behaviour by Education and Residence Status in the Delhi Metropolis

Fertility behaviour is a product of various social, economic and cultural factors including previous residence milieu, current residence environment and education. Several studies have examined the relatoniship of residence background and fertility. Zarate (1967) found an inverse relationship between the size of birth place and average number of children born. Tabah and Samuel (1962), Hutchison (1961), Freedman and Slesinger (1961) and some others reported similar trend. We have also some studies like Macisco's (1969), Goldberg's (1960) and Riser's (1938) which are not consistant with the general trend. It is important to realize the relationship between residence and fertility is not to be studied in isolation and other factors responsible for affecting the fertility behaviour are to be taken into account before we conclude something. Among the other factors responsible for affecting fertility behaviour, education has been established to be an important factor by a number of studies. Bouvier and Macisco in their recent study of Puerto Rico and some others have established an inverse relationship between education and fertility. They concluded that increased education leads to decline in fertility.

Migration is usually selective. The concentration is either among the persons who are economically and educationally weak as a result of which they arc forced to leave their place of birth. The other class which usually moves is the skilled and educated with high aspirations and potentials for upward social mobility. In the Delhi Metropolis, there is another class known as Refugees from Pakistan who migrated due to partition of the country. The present study is to find out the relationship between migration and fertility, education and

fertility and finally to ascertain the fertility differentials by holding other important variables constant.

The Data

This study is based on the data of 1970-71 Delhi Demographic Survey relating to 7211 women who were ever-married, married only once and were below 50 years in age. The respondents have been broadly grouped into three categories namely, non-migrants, migrants coming from urban areas and migrants coming from rural area. The non-migrant respondents are those who are born in the Delhi Metropolis. The term "migrants" refers to women who were born outside but living in the Delhi Metropolis. Since the Refugees from Pakistan have some special characteristics, the migrants have been further divided into refugee migrants and non-refugee migrants. Thus, the respondents have been divided into 5 categories namely, non-migrants, urban refugee migrants, urban non-refugee migrants, rural refugee migrants and rural non-refugee migrants. The fertility is measured in terms of the age-specific marital fertility rates.

This data has certain limitations. The migration status is that of wife and therefore it is only an approximate indicator of the migration status of the household. Also no information on length of residence is available. It is, therefore, not possible to speak of the fertility performance before or after the migration although one can make some inferences regarding this point. Out of total respondents 17 per cent are non-migrants, 21 percent are rufugee urban migrants, 20 per cent non-refugee urban migrants, 12 percent refugee rural migrants and 30 per cent non-refugee rural migrants.

Residence Status and Level of Fertility

It has been observed that 72 to 75 per cent of the total fertility by different residence status is in the age-group 20-34 years; in other words, women complete 86 to 90 per cent of their total family size by the age 35 years. However, we do find differences in the total fertility by residence status. Total fertility is the lowest among refugee migrants from urban areas and the highest among non-refugee migrants from rural areas. Among the respondents coming from urban areas refugee migrants have the lowest fertility followed by non-refugee migrants and non-migrants. Among the rural migrants, refugees have lower fertility than the non-refugees. But the fertility of refugee migrants from rural areas is even lower than non-migrants and non-refugee urban migrants. In other words refugees, both from,rural as well as from urban areas, have low fertility.

The fertility pattern clearly demonstrates differentials by residence status. But

TABLE 1—AGE SPECIFIC FERTILITY RATE BY RESIDENT STATUS

Age	Former Residence Status					Total
	Non-migrants	Non-refugee urban migrants	Refugee urban migrants	Non-refugee rural migranis	Refugee rural migrants	
Below 20	0.81	0.70	0.65	0.87	0.77	0.80
20-24	1.61	1.55	1.37	1.70	1.61	1.64
25-29	1.42	1.33	1.23	1.56	1.28	1.42
30-34	1.07	1,08	0.73	1.19	0,83	0.97
35-39	0.57	0.54	0.33	0.63	0.47	0.52
40-44	0.22	0.17	0.11	0.20	0.12	0.16
45+	0.02	0.00	0.00	0.01	0.01	0.00
Total	5.71	5.37	4.42	6.16	5.09	5.51

such a comparison is not desirable as migrants form a selected group and possess some special characteristics. In order to study these fertility differentials by residence status, it is, therefore, important to control intervening variables Which affect fertility. Among these intervening variables education is the most promising and we will, therefore, consider it in the context of residence status.

Education and Fertility

Our data shows that the level of educational attainment of respondents among the different residence strata is not uniform. But before we examine the composition of respondents by level of their educational attainment in different residence strata it may be useful to study first the relationship between level of education and fertility.

Table 2 clearly demonstrates an inverse relationship between the level of education of wife and fertility. The relationship is significant and holds good in different age groups. Total fertility of illiterate women is 6.5 live births as compared to 5.1 for wives having schooling upto 9 years. Total fertility is the least i.e. 3.3. among the wives having atleast 10 years of schooling. Looking at the age-specific fertility rates we find that not only the total fertility is high among illiterate women but their rates are uniformly high in all the age-groups. The overall impression is quite clearly that increased education of wife leads to decline in fertility. In such a situation we have to study the composition of educational attainments of wives by residence status.

TABLE 2—AGE-SPECIFIC FERTILITY RATES BY LEVEL OF EDUCATION OF WIFE

Age	*Level of Education of Wife*			*All*
	Illiterate	*Below matric*	*Matric & above*	
Below 20	0.97	0.82	0.30	0.80
20-24	1.72	1.69	1.11	1.64
25-29	1.54	1.32	1.07	1.42
30-34	1.23	0.81	0.59	0.97
35-39	0.74	0.37	0.21	0.52
40-44	0.26	0.09	0.05	0.16
45+	0.02	0.00	0.00	0.00
Total	6.48	5.10	3.33	5.51

TABLE 3—LEVEL OF EDUCATION OF WIVES BY RESIDENCE STATUS (PERCENTAGE)

Former residence status of wife	*Education of wife*			*Total*
	Illiterate	*Below Matric*	*Matric & above*	
Non-migrants	45.1	39.3	15.6	100.0
Non-refugee urban migrants	25.2	42.9	31.9	100.0
Refugee urban migrants	11.9	50.2	37.9	100.0
Non-refugee rural migrants	60.6	32.3	7.1	100.0
Refugee rural migrants	24.7	57.9	17.4	100.0

Table 1 clearly shows the total fertility among the non-refugee migrants is the highest. We have also observed that there is inverse relationship between the level of education and fertility. Table 3 shows that the pattern of distribution of respondents by level of education is different for residence strata. It is, therefore, necessary to study the level of education and residence status simultaneously in order to find out whether residence status of the respondent has any independent bearing on fertility.

Residence Status, Education and Fertility

Since the pattern of educational attainment of respondents in different residence strata is not uniform, we can not make any comparison unless we control the level of education in different residence status. Table 4 gives the age-specific marital fertility rates by level of education of wife and former residence.

Table 4 facilitates the study of the relation of fertility by residence strata for different educational categories. It is notable that the fertility differentials among the respondents by residence status are significantly reduced in each group. The inverse relationship between level of education and fertility holds good in all the residence strata. Among migrants, refugee migrants have lower fertility than non-refugee migrants both from rural and urban areas. Refugee migrants from urban area have even lower fertility than non-migrants in different levels of education. Non-refugee migrants, both from rural and urban areas, have higher fertility than non-migrants in all the levels of education except in the case of below matric urban migrants. Total fertility, among the illiterate women, is the least among the refugee migrants from urban area and the difference among the other respondents in different residence strata does not appear to be significant. Among the women having education upto 9th standard, the fertility is again the least among the refugee migrants. The difference in fertility rates appear to be significant among the women with at least 10 or more years of schooling. In this group refugee migrants from urban area and non-migrants have the least fertility and the next is for the non-refugee urban migrants and refugee migrants from rural area and it is the highest among non-refugee migrants from rural area. The fertility of urban migrants from urban areas, refugee migrants from rural areas and non-migrants, with at least some education, is low partly on account of the fact that this whole group is characterised by higher age at marriage. It may be added that adoption of family planning is the highest among refugee migrants. Non-refugee migrants from rural areas have higher fertility than other respondents. Thus, the differentials in fertility exist not only because of residence background but also because of the existance of other socio-economic and environmental characteristics of the different segments of Delhi's population.

Conclusion

The Delhi Demographic Survey data, collected during 1970-71, relating to 7211 married women below the age of 50 years, has been used to find out the differentials in fertility by former residence status of wife. Former residence

TABLE 4-AGE-SPECIFIC FERTILITY RATES BY FORMER RESIDENCE AND EDUCATION OF RESPONDENTS

Age	Former Residence				
	Non-migrants	*Non-refugee urban migrants*	*Refugee urban migrants*	*Non-refugee rural migrants*	*Refugee rural migrants*
Illiterate					
Below 20	0.92	1.16	1.00	0.95	1.01
20-24	1.71	1.89	1.37	1.73	1.89
25-29	1.47	1.56	1.44	1.57	1.66
30-34	1.18	1.25	1.28	1.31	1.13
35-39	0.63	0-77	0.67	0.75	0.83
40-44	0.40	0.31	0.26	0.20	0.26
45+	0.04	0.00	0.00	0-01	0.03
Total	6.40	6-90	6.02	6.52	6.86
Below Matric					
Below 20	0-90	0.75	0.82	0.82	0,83
20-24	1.62	1.66	1.70	1.76	1.63
25-29	1.45	1.29	1.28	1.54	1.14
30-34	1.02	0.79	0.71	1.02	0.73
35-39	0.49	0.53	0.29	0.42	0.29
40-44'	0.00	0.13	0.08	0.20	0.05
45+	0.00	0.00	0.00	0,00	0.00
Total	5.48	5.15	4.88	5.76	4.67
Matric & Above					
Below 20	0.29	0.29	0.30	0.44	0.26
20-24	1.18	1.17	1.09	1.14	1.07
25-29	1.02	1.16	0.98	1.44	1.10
30-34	0.56	0.64	0.50	0.82	0.62
35-39	0.13	0.27	0.10	0.27	0.46
40-44	0.00	0.07	0.00	0.00	0.00
45+	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Total	3.18	3.60	2.97	4.11	3.51

status has been divided into five categories namely, non-migrants, non-refugee urban migrants, refugee urban migrants, non-refugee rural migrants and refugee rural migrants. Total fertility is the highest among the non-refugee rural migrants and the least among the refugee migrants from urban area. The difference appear to be significant. These differences, among different residence strata narrow down when considered in the context of education. Fertility is the least among refugee urban migrants and the differences in other categories do not appear to be significant. However, we do find differentials among the women with education upto 9th standard and significant differences, among the different categories of women, is found over different levels of education. Education appears to be an important and forceful factor in determining fertility. *

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