

## Socio-Economic Differences of Fertility in Hungary

It is a generally accepted fact in the demographic literature of the world that fundamental social and economic changes taking place in the individual countries influence greatly the demographic processes and their character in the given countries. This applies especially to fertility which depends directly on the decisions of individual women and families. Naturally the contents of this decision, the size of the family or its realization possibilities are strongly dependent on the level of economic development in social, economic, cultural sense, and this reacts upon the way the members of the society form the size of their families.

Besides the general socio-economic relationships, development modifies also the way the individuals of a society form their fertility habits at the corresponding levels of economic development. We have in mind here not the changes of the behaviour types of individuals but how the fertility habits of the individuals living under various social conditions differ from the actual realized family size. In every society one can observe that the fertility of families belonging to different places in the social hierarchy is different but its formation, differentiation and change depends strongly on the general level of fertility as influenced by the generality of family planning and birth control but even more, on the differentiated character of the society or on the economic occupational stratification of the society.

Simplifying the historical process, characteristic of the most developed but perhaps also of the developing countries, it can be established that when fertility was very high and family planning was hardly used, the differences of fertility levels were insignificant among the various social strata. The slight decrease in the family size which was due to the slow spread of birth control created important fertility differences. Urban strata, being at a higher cultural level, first recorded a decline in the number of births while the fertility of rural, peasant strata did not change or declined slightly. This development stage covers a period which varied greatly by country; and its existence was determined by the slower or faster rate of economic development, of industrialization in the first place and then of the resulting urbanization. The third stage of fertility differentiation is reached when a relatively low fertility level is stabilized and when differences by social strata are again not significant. Here the practice of birth control by families in every stratum produces a balanced, small family size in the whole society. This has not been realized totally perhaps in any country but the fertility of highly developed countries of Western Europe and North America approaches this stage.

In Hungary, where fundamental social changes took place in the last decades, with the establishment of the socialist society, followed by industrialization and urbanization and by increasing employment of women, the modification of the fertility differentiation, in partial realization of the process described above, can be very well observed. A survey of the Hungarian fertility situation in its historical context, based on available relatively abundant information, is of interest not only in appraising local conditions but also in its international aspect, in relation especially to the fertility development of the developing countries.

We have here attempted to approach differential fertility by the occupational position of the individuals. In our opinion it is the character of the job — the occupation, sphere of activity and capacity, that determines the socio-economic position of the individuals and it is this factor that reacts upon the fertility behaviour. We do not intend to consider the detailed social strata because we believe that the stratification in our country is much better illustrated by an analysis carried out for large aggregated groups.

In line with the Hungarian demographic practice, we categorize the three social strata as follows.

#### 1. PERSONS OF AGRICULTURAL AND MANUAL OCCUPATIONS:

Every such employed, co-operative member and independent person and their family helpers whose activity is connected with agricultural production, including persons engaged in plant cultivation, animal husbandry, gardening, etc.

#### 2. PERSONS OF NON-AGRICULTURAL MANUAL OCCUPATIONS:

Those employed, co-operative members and independent persons and their family helpers whose activity is of industrial, building industrial service, or transport character, and whose work demands physical effort. This group includes skilled and semi-skilled workers, and helpers performing non-agricultural activities and also persons of auxiliary occupations, office attendants, day labourers etc.

#### 3. PERSONS OF NON-MANUAL OCCUPATIONS:

Those whose work does not, in general, require physical effort, including technical managers; engineers and similar occupations; persons performing scientific or educational activity; physicians, medical personnel; artists; leaders of institutions, of the state, and state administration; and persons engaged in office work, etc.

The classification is based on the occupation of the individual. For example, in the majority of our fertility investigations, it is the child bearing or married woman who is the basis of observation; if this woman is economically active (this is true of 69 per cent of the Hungarian women in child-bearing age according to the 1970 population census and 74 per cent, according to the birth statistics of 1970). We take her occupation as the basis of the classification. If she is a dependent person then the occupation of the supporter, father or husband, is taken.

We have considered two types of data in our analysis (i) current vital data provided by birth statistics based on vital events of a given year; and (ii) population census or representa-

tive surveys which present information about the number of children born up to the time, of the investigation in a cumulated manner.

### Social restratification in Hungary

With the help of population census data we can sum up, in respect of the three social strata noted earlier, the main characteristics of changes in social structure in the course of the past decades in Hungary. Our analysis of these data reveals that two social strata of non-manual workers and non-agricultural manual workers have increased considerably while the number of agricultural manual workers decreased greatly. In 1930, 54 per cent of earners performed agricultural manual work; today their share is only 18 per cent. Over these forty years, the share of persons performing non-agricultural manual work increased from 39 to 56 per cent and that of (those with non-manual occupations jumped from 7 to 26 per cent.

The greatest decrease took place in the number of persons with agricultural manual occupations. Between 1930 and 1949 the number of agricultural manual workers had, however, shown an increasing trend. Thereafter, the average annual rate of decrease remained below 2 per cent between 1949 and 1960. Between 1960 and 1963 the decrease was the most pronounced, the annual average being 7 per cent; this was due to the socialist transformation of the agriculture, young persons choosing to live in the towns and aged peasants getting old age pensions. The rest of the decade recorded a decline of 5 per cent.

Development of the other two strata was different both in respect of the periodicity and direction. There appeared first a slow increase followed by a slight decrease in the number of non-agricultural manual workers between 1930 and 1949. The earners of this stratum increased at an annual rate of over 4 per cent between 1949 and 1960. This growth rate diminished slightly after 1960, but since 1968, it has been showing a revival with average annual growth rate of 3 per cent.

The annual rate of increase in the number of persons with non-manual occupations was still around 2 per cent between 1930 and 1949; in the period between 1949 and 1960, it jumped to 9 per cent. Between 1960 and 1970, the number of non-manual workers increased by 6 per cent per annum.

The active earners, their number and distribution in the three main social strata developed in the following way.

**TABLE I**

<b>Stratification of Active Workers, 1930-1970</b>				<b>(persons in Thousand)</b>			
Year	Active earners	Agricultural manual	Non-agricultural manual		Non-manual		
	total	workers	workers		workers		
	No.	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1930	3,737	2,025	54	1,440	39	272	7
1949	4,085	2,190	54	1,495	36	400	10
1960	4,760	1,751	37	2,211	46	798	17
1968	4,791	1,014	21	2,641	55	1,136	24
1970	5,001	912	18	2,802	56	1,287	26

We can deal with the restratification process on the basis mainly of the 1968 micro-census, as the requisite data of the 1970 population census are not yet available. In this, we examine the proportion constituted, in a given social stratum, by persons who changed the stratum during their life time, i.e. they changed their occupation so that they went through the process of restratification. Accordingly, 23 per cent of the 18 year old and older active earners of the country have taken part in social mobility in their lifetime i.e. they have changed their basic social strata.

More than three quarters of the mobility show two main directions: 48 per cent have turned from agricultural manual work to non-agricultural manual work and another 29 per cent, from non-agricultural manual work to non-manual work. For the rest, it may be noted that 11 per cent of those involved in social restratification moved from non-agricultural manual work into agriculture and another 7 per cent from non-manual occupations into non-agricultural manual jobs.

Examining the so-called emigration mobility rates of the various strata in relation to the first earning occupation, we observe that this figure is 41 per cent for the agricultural manual, 17 per cent for the non-agricultural manual workers and 9 per cent for the non-manual workers.

The same picture is presented, although with reverse sign, by the arrival mobility rates; here 13 per cent of agricultural manual workers, 22 per cent of the non-agricultural manual workers and 32 per cent of non-manual workers arrived from other strata. Selecting the two main restratification types, we note that 19 per cent of the non-agricultural manual workers had agricultural jobs, 27 per cent of non-manual workers, non-agricultural manual jobs, as the first earning activity.

**Table II. Intragenerational mobility for the first social stratum**

(Based on 1 per cent sample of economically active persons in the 1968 micro-census)

1968 social strata	The first social stratum		
	Agricultural manual	Non-agricultural manual	Non-manual
	As percentage of the social stratum in 1968		
Agricultural manual	59	5	1
Non-agricultural manual	37	83	8
Non-manual	4	12	91
	As percentage of the first social stratum		
Agricultural manual	87	12	1
Non-agricultural manual	19	78	3
Non-manual	4	27	69

#### **Fertility differences on the basis of annual vital statistical information**

The decline in the number of births set in later in Hungary, as in other East European countries, than in most countries of Western Europe. The reason mainly is the relatively late

arrival of the modern industrial revolution and resulting delay in the change of socio-economic structure. However, the general downward trend of fertility could be traced to the middle of the last century and it had assumed significance even prior to the First World War. The number of births continued to decline between the two World Wars; following the upswing of the early 1920's to compensate for the birth shortage of war years, there was in fact an acceleration of the downward trend. In the years prior to World War I, Hungary, with a birth rate of about 20 per 1000, occupied a middle position among the European countries. This meant also a relative decline, since before the turn of the century, with a live birth rate of about 40 per 1000, Hungary had occupied a much higher position amongst the European countries.

In contrast to the belligerent countries, Hungary did not witness, in the period following World War II, a steep rise of births such as the one experienced after the World War I. However, fertility reached a relatively high level of about 21 per 1000 between 1947 and 1950, in non-compliance with the general declining trend of births experienced since the end of the last century. In the two years following this, the "regular" decline in the number of births set in, and in 1952 the live birth rate was 19.6 per 1000. The fertility of the subsequent years was greatly modified by population policy measures. First, as a result of the introduction of ban on induced abortion, the number of births increased, reaching in 1954 a level of 23 births per 1000 inhabitants. Thereafter, in 1956 followed the provisions of the law permitting induced abortion and the decline in the number of births started again.

The period starting with 1956 cannot be separated clearly from the general history of Hungarian fertility. The annual rate of decline in the vital events was higher in this period than the rate observed over the century. We must not, however, forget the high number of births reached, in the preceding 3- year period, on account administrative measures. Going back to the 1920's, we can say that the substantial decrease in the number of births observed following the mid-1950's do not considerably modify the historical process of our fertility decline. What seems different from the experience of the West European countries is that while fertility stagnated around some given level in these country, in our country it has shown a progressive decline touching the bottom in 1962. At any rate, our country has a uniquely low live birth rate; in 1962 there were only 12.9 live births per thousand inhabitants, the lowest ever birth rate in the Hungarian history.

Between 1963 and 1966 minor stagnation was observed in the number of live births; for these years the rate was 13.1 live births per 1000 inhabitants. Then in 1966 began an upward trend which became more pronounced from 1967 onwards. The increase in the number of births during 1967-1968 may be ascribed to several factors. The most important among these is the Government programme, which tended to increase the propensity to bear children. In 1967 the working women's benefit for child care was introduced; this ensured first a leave with pay for the woman upto 2 and a half years of the child's age; this period was increased to a maximum of three years in 1968. Apart from this, the increase was promoted by the improvement in the share of child-bearing women in the total population; between 1965 and 1968, while the number of live births increased by 16 per cent and the crude birth rate, by 15 per cent, the general level of fertility i.e. live births per 15-49 year old women, had increased only by 10 per cent. This means that one third of the increment in births was caused by the shift in the age distribution of the population.

A relatively higher birth rate, of around 15 per 1000, was maintained only in 1968-1969. This was followed again by a decrease and since 1970 our birth rate seems to have stabilized at a level of around 14.5 per 1000.

We have been able to observe the development of differential fertility of women belonging to various social strata since the beginning of the century.

**Table 3. Fertility by social strata**

Year average of Years	Live births per 1000, 15-45 year old women in social strata			
	Non-agricultural manual	non-agricultural occupations manual	Manual	Total
1900-01	171	142	104	156
1910-11	165	122	82	144
1920-21	141	101	56	118
1930-31	112	72	37	88
1948-49	80	77	53	76
1960	53	68	50	59
1963	50	61	46	53
1966	53	59	48	55
1967	54	63	51	58
1968	51	64	57	59
1969	48	63	58	58
1970	47	60	58	56

Note: Data of 1900-1901 and 1910-1911 refer to Hungary's territory before 1919. From 1900-1901 to 1948-1949 on the basis of the occupational branch and type of the supporter from 1960 on the basis of the individual occupation of the earning mother and on the basis of the occupational branch and type of the supporter in case of dependant mothers.

It was characteristic of the period upto World War I that the birth frequency of the agricultural population was extremely high; their fertility exceeded that of the other strata by 30-40 percent. This difference increased in the period between the two world wars; that time the fertility of women in agriculture was by half or third higher than that of non-agricultural ones. Since World War II, this difference has disappeared and was later reversed; in the late 1940's the fertility of the two strata was practically the same. Since then the fertility of non-agricultural women has exceeded that of women in agricultural occupations.

The difference in the fertility of women between manual and non-manual occupations is also significant. In the early years of the century the fertility of the stratum constituted by non-agricultural manual workers was higher by 40-50 per cent than that of the non-manual workers. These differences have diminished, considerably after World War II.

The recent period has carried forward the above general trend. The fertility of women in agricultural manual occupations further declined; at the same time, the fertility of women in

non-agricultural manual occupations became smaller; between 1960 and 1970 the former recorded a decrease of 11 per cent and the latter, of 12 per cent. In contrast, the fertility of women belonging to the stratum of non-manual workers increased by 16 per cent.

A better indicator of the process is the fact that over the 20 years between 1949 and 1970, the fertility of women in agricultural manual occupations decreased by more than two-fifths, and that of women in other manual occupations by 22 per cent, while that of non-manual workers rose by 9 per cent. Thus, in 1949, while the fertility of peasant women was one and a half times that of women in non-manual occupations, in 1970 it was the fertility of the latter group that was higher; the birth frequency of the non-agricultural manual worker women is nowadays one quarter higher than that of agricultural ones.

These trends are more clearly manifested in the birth wave of the last few years. Since 1966 only the fertility of the two non-agricultural strata has increased, the increase being conspicuous for non-manual workers and significant also for the manual workers.

The analysis of fertility by age groups indicates that fertility differences are caused, to a certain extent, by the variation in age distribution of women between social strata. The fertility of women, under 24 years, in agricultural manual occupations, exceeds that of the corresponding group in non-agricultural manual occupations; the difference gets smaller only in later age-groups. As compared to those with non-manual work, women with manual occupations in agriculture show surplus fertility for every age-group. The lower fertility figures for all women in agriculture result from their higher average age.

**Table 4: Fertility by age-group and social strata**

Years	Live births per 1000 women in age-groups					
	15-19	20-24	25-29	30-39	40-49	15-49
<b>Agricultural manual</b>						
1960	43	163	108	41	4	53
1968	56	195	113	37	3	51
1970	62	202	97	34	3	47
<b>Non-agricultural manual</b>						
1960	71	179	109	42	4	68
1968	65	182	120	39	3	64
1970	59	177	109	37	3	60
<b>Non-manual</b>						
1960	24	122	92	30	2	50
1968	22	131	113	32	2	57
1970	27	131	115	31	1	58
<b>Total</b>						
1960	52	159	106	39	4	59
1968	52	164	116	37	2	59
1970	50	159	109	35	2	56

In the most recent period of 1960-70, we find an increase in fertility rates for the first three age groups upto 1968 and a decrease in the rates for the remaining two groups. This

was followed by a decline between 1968 and 1970, which is the most pronounced for the age group 25-29.

For women in the stratum of non-agricultural manual workers, there was a substantial increase in fertility upto 1968 only for the 20-29 years old women, while births in younger and older age groups had declined.

In the remaining stratum of non-manual workers, the birth frequency of the youngest group had declined between 1960 and 1968, and of the oldest group, between 1968 and 1970. The birth rate of the 25-29 group had, however, increased by 25 per cent, and that of 20-24 group, by 7 per cent during 1960-70.

The rates standardized for eliminating the effects of varying age distribution show that the fertility of women in agricultural workers, is still above that of non-agricultural workers.

Table 5 : Standardized fertility rates by social strata  
Live births per 1000 15-46 years old women

Social stratum	1949	1960	1968	1970
Agriculture	76	59	64	63
Non-agriculture	75	59	58	56
Of which:				
Manual	—	66	64	61
Non-manual	—	44	47	48
Total	76	59	59	56

Using the average national age distribution as standard, the rate for the agricultural manual workers comes to 63 per 1000 as compared to that of 61 per 1000 for the non-agricultural manual workers. In contrast, the rate for the stratum of the non-manual workers, is only 48 per 1000.

Ten years earlier, the standardized fertility rate of 66 per 1000 for the non-agricultural manual stratum exceeded the corresponding rate for agricultural manual workers, of 59 per 1000, by 12 per cent and both figures were substantially higher than the rate of 44 per 1000 for the non-manual workers. The fertility surplus of the two manual strata is thus common to 1960 and 1970. However, the fertility of the non-agricultural manual workers as compared to that of non-manual workers was higher at the earlier date by a half but at the later date by only over a quarter as much. The standardized indicators thus show that the improvement was the greatest for the non-manual workers. The present situation is notably different from the situation 20 or 10 years earlier; at the earlier dates, the standardized indicators of the agricultural and the non-agricultural population were about the same, but now the fertility of the agricultural population is significantly higher.

Additionally, we may refer to rates of the average parity as reflecting the real social differences in fertility.

Table 6 : The average parity by the social stratum of the supporter

Social stratum	1960	1968	1969	1970
Agricultural manual	2.54	2.22	2.20	2.18
Non-agricultural manual	2.13	1.94	1.93	1.90
Non-manual	1.65	1.54	1.53	1.53
Total	2.18	1.93	1.90	1.88

According to the 1970 data, the agricultural manual workers show highest rates of average parity; the average parity was 2.2 in this group, as against the corresponding rates of 1.9 and 1.5 for the non-agricultural manual workers and non-manual workers respectively. In 1952, the average parity of the agricultural workers exceeded by 19 per cent that of non-agricultural and by 56 per cent that of non-manual workers. The same figures for 1960 were 19 and 54 per cent; however, in 1970 they were still 15 and 42 per cent, respectively. It is also notable that during the most recent birth wave the average parity of the non-agricultural manual workers remained unchanged, while that of agricultural population showed a slight decline.

Summing up the socio-economic differences in fertility, we can establish that the process of both the relative and actual decline of the fertility of the peasantry, starting after World War II, has continued upto the most recent years. This, however, is rather illusory since it is a consequence of the ageing of women belonging to the stratum of agricultural occupations. The increase in fertility of the non-agricultural manual and non-manual populations is a consequence of the introduction of the benefit of child care. This does not mean an actual increase in fertility since it appears mainly with childless families or families with one and, to a smaller extent, with two children.

#### **Social differences indicated by "census" fertility**

We have been able to observe the cumulative number of children by social strata at the time of the census, since 1930, i.e. altogether for four census dates or for four decades.

These census fertility rates show better the changes in the fertility history of different social strata over the past decades than the statistics of vital events for the given current years. These data, on the whole, support the above conclusion; namely, that fertility differences characteristic of the past, showing the number of children to be the highest in the peasant families and the lowest in families of the non-manual workers, are also present in Hungarian society of today, though they are much smaller in size.

Table 7: The average number of children of 15-49 year old married women at the time of the census

Social strata	Children born per 100 married women			
	1930	1949	1960	1970
Agricultural manual	311	260	246	218
Non-agricultural manual	242	193	199	181
Non-manual	153	146	148	133
Total	271	220	198	175
		Standardized rates		
Agricultural manual	317	257	243	205
Non-agricultural manual	238	195	199	183
Non-manual	147	145	149	138

The decline in the differentials is attributed mainly to the fact that the fertility of the agricultural manual workers has decreased over the past forty years more than that of the other two strata. In the most recent decade, the trend of development was hardly different for the three strata; the fertility of peasants, non-manual workers and non-agricultural manual

workers, declined by 11, 10 and 9 per cent, respectively. If this trend continues, we can look forward to a progressive reduction in the size of fertility differentials.

A reference to standardized rates makes this clearer. In 1930, the standardized fertility rate of the agricultural manual workers exceeded that of the non-agricultural manual workers by one quarter; this difference was reduced to 22 per cent in 1960 and to 12 per cent in 1970. Similarly, the average number of children of the peasantry was 2.2 times the figure for the non-manual workers forty years ago; by 1960 this difference fell to 60 per cent and in 1970 it did not reach 61 per cent. The relative difference of the two non-agricultural, manual and non-manual strata dropped from two quarters in 1930 to a quarter by 1949, and it has been at this level since then.

Fertility differences between the social strata are reflected also in the rates for different age-groups. An outstanding fact here is that in the younger and older age-groups the predominance of the fertility of the agricultural manual workers is greater.

**Table 8: Average number of children by social strata at the time of population censuses**

Children born per 100 married women in age group

Years,	Social strata	15-19	20-24	25-29	30-39	40-49
1930						
	Agricultural manual	45	121	221	339	482
	Non-agricultural manual	48	106	176	250	352
	Non-manual	33	66	102	153	225
1960						
	Agricultural manual	53	121	195	266	325
	Non-agricultural manual	42	100	165	220	256
	Non-manual	28	69	123	171	186
1970						
	Agricultural manual	57	118	169	224	252
	Non-agricultural manual	49	97	151	203	224
	Non-manual	24	65	113	152	174

Especially interesting is the analysis of the fertility differences of women over 40 with completed fertility. The average number of children of the agricultural manual workers at the end of the reproductive period was near to 5 in 1930, one quarter higher than that of non agricultural manual workers and 2.1 times that of non-manual workers. By 1970 the completed fertility of the peasants had dropped to above 52 per cent of the 1930 level, that of non-agricultural workers, to nearly 64 per cent and that of non-manual workers, to 70 per cent. Thanks to these differentials in the quantum of fertility change, completed fertility of women in the stratum of agricultural manual work is now higher by only 13 per cent than that of the non-agricultural manual workers, and by 45 per cent, than that of the non-manual workers.

Similar differences obtain for the "middle" of the reproductive period. The average number of children of the 25-29 year old women in the stratum of agricultural manual workers decreased from 2.2 to 1.7 between 1930 and 1970. In case of the non-manual workers there was, however, an increase of 10 per cent.

To sum up, we can say that fertility differences in the present Hungarian society as shown by the indicators of cumulative fertility are not divergent in direction from the traditional sequence formed long ago. The differentials show a decreasing trend and we can expect they will gradually vanish in the future. This would be so especially if the birth control behaviour of the three strata gets closer to each other; that is, if the women of the first two strata apply the modern methods of birth control to the same extent as those in the third stratum of non-manual occupations, and consciously form the size of their families preventing unwanted pregnancy.

### **The effect of restratification on fertility**

After the above general review presenting changes in the fertility history of different social strata leading to a relative decline of the socio-economic differences, it seems worthwhile to conclude with direct effect of the restratification process on the number of children born

The effect of social mobility on fertility can be presented in its two different aspects: (i) one relating to change in basic social stratum in the life time of a person on the basis of 1962-63 data of the Gratification survey on intragenerational mobility and (ii) relating to the position where the social stratum is not the same for both spouses when the wife too is an active worker, on the basis of the 1970 census data on marriage mobility

Data on intragenerational mobility suggest that mobility as a general process does not have any direct influence on fertility. The number of children in families where the father remained in the same social stratum between 1949 and 1962 is identical with the corresponding number for the families where the father took part in the restratification. This does not mean that restratification has no influence on fertility but only that movements differed in character and direction in such a way that on average they balanced each other.

The picture gets more interesting if we consider the direction of movements. Here we observe that the number of children in families where the father came from agriculture is only slightly lower than in those where the father did not take part in the restratification the average number being 2.6 in the latter and 2.5 in the former group. The fertility of the small number who moved in the opposite direction, from workers to peasants is also similar. Restratisation between these two strata does not influence fertility; all those who have had something to do with peasantry, whether they came from or entered the stratum maintained, or adopted, the higher fertility habits of the peasantry. Thus among the families now in non-agricultural manual stratum, the fertility of those coming originally from the peasantry is about one fifth higher than that of the rest of the stratum.

In the case of those absorbed by the non-manual workers, the process is of the opposite kind. In the case of non-manual workers who come from the stratum of non-agricultural manual workers, the fertility is essentially identical with that of original non-manual families

The newly arrived persons appear thus to adopt the lower fertility habits of the new stratum, unlike the behaviour of those turning from peasants into workers, where the old high fertility orientation is retained.

A similar trend appears in respect of the intergenerational mobility i.e. where the social stratum of the family heads under study is not the same as that of their fathers. Here also the fertility of those who had come from the peasantry is the highest; it exceeds even the rates for immobile peasants. Further, the average number of children in non-manual families of non-agricultural manual worker origin is identical with that of those where the father was already in the stratum of non-manual occupations.

**Table 9: Average number of children of married men by their own 1949 and their 1938 father occupations compared with their present social strata.**

Present social stratum	Average number of children of			Total
	agricultural manual	non-agricultural manual	non-manual	
	(1949 social strata of the workers)			
Agricultural manual	2.6	2.4	3.6	2.6
Non-agricultural manual	2.5	2.1	1.3	2.1
Non-manual	2.0	1.6	1.5	1.6
Total	2.6	2.1	1.5	2.2
	(1938 social strata of the fathers)			
Agricultural manual	2.5	2.8	1.5	2.5
Non-agricultural manual	2.3	1.9	1.4	2.1
Non-manual	1.7	1.5	1.5	1.5
Total	2.4	1.9	1.5	2.2

Source: Data of the 1962-63 social restratification survey carried out by the Demographic Research Institute.

The effect of marriage mobility on fertility is nearly of the same character as of the intra-and inter-generational mobility.

**Table 10: The average number of children of 15-49 year old, economically active, married women by their own and their husband's social strata (based on one per cent sample of census data)**

Social stratum of the wife	(Standardized rates)			Total
	Social stratum of the husband			
	Agricultural manual	Non-agricultural manual	Non-manual	
Agricultural manual	1.95	1.97	1.81	1.95
Non-agricultural manual	1.91	1.63	1.50	1.62
Non-manual	1.87	1.31	1.27	1.29
Total	1.93	1.62	1.35	1.57

The 1970 census data relating to this subject, and age standardized indicators derived therefrom, show that the average number of children of women whose own or their husbands' occupation is of non-agricultural manual character is relatively high. This is dependent on whether either or both of the spouses belonged to the peasantry. Thus, for example the average number of children in families where the wife is in an agricultural and the husband in a non-agricultural manual occupation, or the reverse, is hardly different from the figure for those families where both spouses are of agricultural manual occupation. At the same time, the fertility is significantly lower in families where both parents are in non-agricultural manual occupations. Similarly, the low fertility level of non-manual workers becomes dominant in every such family where both or one of the spouses belong to this stratum. Thus, while the average number of children in families where both parents are non-manual workers is 1.27, in families where the wife is a non-manual and the husband a non-agricultural manual worker, 1.31, and in the reverse case, 1.50.

Summing up, it can be established that mobility, in whatever aspect we approach it, strives for extreme values of fertility, whether the maximum of the peasantry from where a significant emigration has taken place over the last years, or the minimum for the stratum of non-manual workers, into which a substantial immigration has taken place.