CHAPTER IV

FERTILITY DIFFERENTIALS
Importance of the Study of Differential Fertility

Study of fertility patterns among different groups in society is one of the most important areas of research on fertility. During the 1930s declining fertility in the western countries was a matter of much concern to demographers. The main item of fertility research at that time was the identification of those groups among which fertility was low and thus to obtain some clues to guide the policy regarding fertility encouragement. Such kind of studies were also necessary in order to find out how the small family ideals had diffused in different strata of western societies.

In the present situation of India and other developing countries where excessive population growth is the most important pre-occupation of demographers, planners and policy-makers, the identification of the groups of higher fertility, along with the underlying causes, would be of great utility from the point of view of the family planning programme. It is good for planners to see where exactly the impact of family planning is greatest and to locate groups which would need greater attention. The knowledge about fertility in various groups of population might, in addition, help the demographers in forming some idea regarding the
proportions of different groups in the population in future. Moreover differentials between sub-groups supply clues to future trends for the entire groups.

The groups for the study of differential fertility are usually differentiated by variables like rural-urban residence, educational attainment of husband and wife, economic status of the family, occupation of husband and wife etc. Besides, some ascribed qualities like place of birth, race, religion, caste and language are also important factors in the study of differential fertility.

Religion and Fertility

Religious affiliation is an important social characteristic differentiating human behaviour. The various socio-cultural and environmental factors influencing fertility, religion have been considered very important. Religion prescribes a code of life which refers to a system of beliefs, attitudes and practices which individuals share in groups, and through this, orientation towards life and death is supposed to affect one's fertility behaviour. There has been resistance to human interference with fertility from all pro-natalist religions. Yet it was less persistent where central authority was lacking in its decision-making.
Religion has been quite an important factor in the causation of fertility differentials. Almost all religions have some sort of injunctions which are directed towards unrestricted reproduction. We can find the echo of the injunction of Genesis in "Marry, be fruitful, multiply and replenish the world," and that of the Koran in "Marry a woman who holds her husband extremely dear, and who is richly fruitful." Similar stress on unlimited procreation can be observed in Hindu religion, where the bride is blessed to have given birth to eight sons and thus become prosperous. In the good old days such high fertility was very much necessary to counter the heavy loss of population due to high mortality. In view of the fact that in those times when only numerical expansion contributed towards the might of the community, the emphasis on high fertility can be understood.

Hinduism and Fertility

One gets the impression that fertility cults are an integral part of Hinduism. This impression results mostly from the elaborate sex manuals of ancient India, exotic temple sculptures, and literature on aphrodisiacs, devadasis and tantric cults. However, it would be erroneous to form an idea of the general sex life of ordinary Hindus, particularly of the contemporary period, from the above (Zinkin, 1958).
The sex manuals and erotic sculptures of a few centuries ago do not seem to have a significant influence on the sexual attitudes and behaviour of contemporary Hindus and it is doubtful whether these have had any influence in the past. Tantrism, which involves excessive sexual indulgence was practised by a few in a limited area of India in the past and is quite remote from the sexual behaviour of contemporary Hindus. The Devadasi system by which parents consecrated their daughter to the deity and allowed them to become temple prostitutes, was not widely practised and is now illegal, and the popularity of aphrodisiacs in India lies not in over-indulgence in sex but in over-anxiety regarding the loss of strength through coitus (Carastairs, 1967). Alleged over-indulgence in sex by Hindus is disproved by a study of Nag (1972) who found higher coital frequency in almost every age group among American Whites than among Indian Hindus. The example of fertility cults in Hinduism is also evident in son preference among Hindus. Hindus set great store by the birth of sons who have a part to play in religious ceremonies and duties like igniting the father's funeral pyre. However, this role is somewhat over-emphasized. The memorial rites can be performed by a surrogate son and moreover, are not of imperative consequence among many of India's people, particularly the poorest (Mandelbaum, 1974).
So far we have discussed the alleged pro-natalist traits of Hinduism, but one also finds practices among Hindus which are anti-natal in character. These are as follows: (a) Late consummation of marriage, (ii) abstinence from sex during certain religious days, (iii) prolonged abstinence from sex following child birth due to confinement of wives in their parents' homes. (iv) other restrictions regarding sex. Moreover there is very little organized movement against birth control among Hindus and it appears that religion does not necessarily promote a high fertility norm.

Examination of empirical data also does not provide conclusive evidence of high fertility among Hindus. The fertility in India, a predominantly Hindu country, is one of the highest in the world and the use of contraception low. Moreover, studies in India have shown higher fertility for Hindus in comparison with other religious groups with the exception of Muslims. On the other hand, the fertility of the Hindu majority in Mauritius and the Fiji islands has declined sharply over the preceding decade from the level of 40-42 births per thousand in 1960 to the lower thirties in 1970 (Greig, 1973; and Hull and Hull 1973). Moreover the fertility of Hindus in the above countries is lower than that of their Christian counterparts (Greig 1973, Hull and Hull 1973; Fiji Fertility Survey 1974). According to the 1974 Fiji Fertility
Survey, 63 per cent of Indian women were found currently practising contraception as opposed to 44 per cent among the Fijians.

A Comparison between the majority of Fiji and Mauritius Hindus, on the one hand, and their counterparts in India, on the other indicates that the former are more educated, urbanised, economically better off and have higher life expectancy than the latter. In short, fertility decline is experienced in those Hindu dominated countries which have also experienced a general improvement in the standard of living of the people. That an improvement in the quality of life has a depressing effect upon fertility can also be found in the Indian experience both at the macro and micro levels. At a macro level we find the birth rate of Kerala is way below the national rate. Births per 1000 for Kerala and India as a whole were estimated to be 31.9 and 38.8 respectively during the decade 1961-70 (Mitra, 1978). The lower fertility in Kerala is attributed to an improved quality of life, better health-care and sanitation and reduction in infant mortality, accelerating expansion of education, especially among women, higher age at marriage, (the average age at marriage for women in Kerala and the nation as a whole are estimated to be 20.9 and 17.2 respectively in 1971, Goyal, 1975), and a more egalitarian distribution of income. At the micro level we find evidence
confirming improvement in socio-economic status, measured by level of education and its negative impact on fertility (Mukherjee, 1975; Dandekar, 1965; Rele, 1977; Balasubramanian, 1977; Mitra, 1978). It, therefore, appears that it is not one's affiliation with Hinduism per se but one's socio-economic status which determines fertility. Evidence of better health care facilities in Kerala, in comparison with the nation as a whole, is reflected in the following indices of physical health. The death per thousand population and death per thousand live births were estimated to be 9.24 and 61 for Kerala during the decades 1961-70. The corresponding figures for the nation as a whole are 17.3 and 122 (Mitra, 1978). There have been efforts in Kerala to improve the standard of living of common people by minimizing the concentration of wealth in fewer hands. This could be traced to the breaking up of large estates in the last century and long evolving land reforms. Several studies also confirm much lower income disparities in Kerala (Mitra, 1978).

**ISLAM AND FERTILITY**

The religion of Islam is often considered to be pro-natal in character, and some adherents maintain that children are among the richest blessing that Allah bestows.

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He will provide for the souls. He permits to come into the world - and therefore any attempt to curtail fertility is contrary to the wishes of God. According to this view, one would expect that Muslims, the followers of Islam, would be pronatalist in their attitudes towards fertility. This hypothesis seems to be sustained by a large body of data collected from different places of the world. Studies have shown higher fertility among the Muslims in comparison to their non-Muslim neighbours in the Middle East, Central Asia, South East Asia and the Indian sub-continent (Davis, 1951; Sinha, 1957; Yaukey, 1971; Nag, 1962; Driver, 1963; Rizk, 1963; Saxena, 1965; Mazur, 1967; Krik, 1968; Stoeckel and Choudhary, 1969). However, the findings are not at all uni-directional. There are some other studies which have either shown no difference in fertility between Muslims and non-Muslims or that the difference is due to some other factor. A study conducted in Bangladesh by Chaudhury (1971) found no difference in fertility between Muslims and caste Hindus but the fertility of Scheduled Caste Hindus was found to be the lowest. The latter belong to the lower stratum of Hindu social hierarchy and lower fertility among them is attributed to high infant mortality, greater observance of Hindu practices such as abstinence from sex during religious days and longer post-partum separation between couples. The observed differences in fertility are mostly due to
socio-economic differences between Muslims and other religious groups. Once these differences are accounted for, the fertility differentials between Muslims and other religious groups will largely disappear. This has also been supported by data. Yaukey (1961) found lower age adjusted fertility for the Muslims in comparison to Christians among the rural labour. Dandekar and Dandekar (1953) did not find any Hindu-Muslim differences when some other socio-economic variables are controlled. Rele and Kanitkar (1977) utilizing data from Greater Bombay also observed greater reduction in fertility differentials between Muslims and other religious groups once the socio-economic variables were controlled. He found little difference in fertility between religious groups for those who were married at age 20 and above. From this evidence it would be rather hasty to conclude that religion and high fertility are more closely related among Muslims than any other religious groups. Moreover, Islam does not expressly forbid the voluntary restriction of birth: there is no provision in it for a central supreme authority corresponding to the papacy which proscribes birth control. Instead, the authority for Muslims is the Quran, which makes no such prohibition (Hoque, 1974), nor does it prohibit any method of contraception although it does prescribe abortion.

There are clear authoritative statements made by experts in Islamic law that would permit the practice of
birth-control. Imam Al-Ghazzali, a highly respected medieval Muslim theologian mentioned the scope of birth control in Islam in the form of coitus interrupts (Khan, 1961). Similarly, the Grand Mufti of Egypt, an expert in Islamic jurisprudence, after reviewing Islamic law with respect to family planning concluded "it is permissible for either husband or wife by mutual consent to take any measures to prevent semen entering the uterus in order to prevent conception" (Khan, 1961). While the conclusion hasn't gone unchallenged, the preponderance of religious authority has not been unfavourable to birth control (Kirk, 1969).

Although Islam per se is neutral as regards birth control, yet some of the cultural practices of Muslims may be pro-natal in character, for example (i) universal marriage and (ii) the low status accorded to women. Marriage is almost universal in Muslim countries. In those countries for which data are available only less than 3 per cent of women remain unmarried by the end of their reproductive period. Age at marriage is also low in Muslim countries (Kirk, 1969). However, there is evidence of rising age at marriage in some countries like Pakistan and Bangladesh in recent years (Rabbani et. al, 1976; Alam, 1976; Pakistan Fertility Survey, 1975). Secondly Muslim women, particularly those of the Middle East countries remain almost secluded from the outside world and their access to modern education and participation
in modernization processes is almost negligible (Youssef, 1974). The low status of women in Muslim countries may also be a contributory factor to high Muslim fertility. But these pro-natalist traits are not necessarily Muslim specific, they are mostly the symptoms of under development and/or a traditional culture. As the socio-economic condition of a person improves, they tend to limit fertility, though Muslim, as the studies suggest. The higher fertility of Muslims is found to be associated with less economic activity and the scant education of Muslim women (Honna and Nadarajah, 1975). Chaudhury (1977b) in a study conducted among a cross section of married women in Decca city found a strong positive relationship between measures of socio-economic status (SES) and use of contraception, and a negative relationship between SES and fertility. An absolute majority of the respondents were Muslims. Yaukey (1963) also found the highest (83 percent) use of contraception among educated Muslim married women in Beirut. A study in Cairo also confirmed the positive relationship between education and the use of contraception (Khalifa, 1973). The relationship between improvement in socio-economic status and response to family planning can also be found among the Muslims in Fiji and Mauritius (Greig, 1973; Hull and Hull, 1973; and Fiji National Fertility Survey, 1974). Several Indian studies also confirm the inverse relationship between socio-economic
conditions and fertility among Muslims (Rele, 1977; Mitra, 1978; Balasubramanian, 1977). From the above studies, it appears that fertility differentials will disappear once socio-economic differentials are eliminated. One may, therefore, say that it is not mere affiliation with Islam, but one's socio-economic status that determines fertility behaviour.

Christianity and Fertility

Christianity, particularly Roman Catholicism, has a definitely negative attitude towards birth control, other than the rhythm and withdrawal methods. For centuries, the attitude of the Roman Catholics towards deliberate family limitation was clear-cut. According to them, the aim of sexual intercourse in marriage is the pro-creation of children. Any artificial interference with the natural process of coitus and conception was contrary to the laws of God and must be condemned as gravely sinful. According to them the pro-creation of children was not only the object of marriage, but a God given boon to enable people to love one another. Their attitude towards abortion is equally uncompromising, for, according to them, it is tantamount to the killing of life. In sum, Roman Catholics are opposed to family limitation through artificial means and Catholic
Church leaders have historically resisted the introduction of artificial contraception in various parts of the world (Smith, 1973). Given the above, one would expect to find higher fertility and less use of contraception among Catholics compared to other religious groups.

Studies have shown higher fertility among Catholics in comparison with other religious groups in the United States, Canada, Australia, United Kingdom, New Zealand, Netherlands and Switzerland (West-off and Potvin, 1966; Blake, 1966; Day, 1968). On the other hand, there is evidence to suggest that Catholicism doesn't stand in the way of restoring to the most prohibitive measure, abortion. It is reported that the practice of abortion is quite common in some Latin American countries even though it is illegal and forbidden by the dominant religion of the area (Nag, 1973; Brown and New Zealand, 1976). For example, in Chile between a quarter and half of all women reporting fertility control specify abortion as the method used and, curiously recourse to it was commonest among the most intensely Catholic (Romero, 1966). Abortion as a method of birth control is also widely practised in a predominantly Catholic country like Hungary (Tietze, 1964). Despite the Vatican's absolute ban in late 1976 on sterilization to prevent pregnancy, an increasing number of female sterilizations are being
performed in Latin America, particularly in Colombia (Population Reports, 1978).

Determination to use contraception is also noticed among the Maltese, for whom Roman Catholicism is the state religion and all artificial means of contraception are strictly outlawed. Despite all these restrictions, the fertility of the country has declined from 36.0 per thousand in 1948 to 16.7 in 1967. During this period there was considerable improvement in the overall socio-economic development of the country as indicated by a drastic fall in infant mortality and a significant increase in the level of literacy (Epstein and Jackson, 1975). There is also evidence of the illegal infiltration of artificial contraceptives in the market to meet the demands of the married couples. This indicates that with an improvement in socio-economic conditions, Roman Catholics also restrict their fertility, if necessary through religiously prescribed means. This testimony is enough to the dramatic decline in birth rates in such predominantly Catholic countries as France, Italy, Spain, Malta, Belgium, and others, and the decline in fertility among the minority Roman Catholics in Mauritius. Fertility among Roman Catholics is also found to be the lowest among different religious groups in Kerala (India). One also finds that the fertility level of Catholics in the
more developed countries is low compared to that of less
developed countries. This difference may be attributed to
overall differences in the socio-economic status of Catholics
living in developing and developed countries, it being
generally higher in the latter. The above fertility
differences could also be attributed to overall differences
in the socio-economic status of developed and developing
countries. From the preceding discussions, it appears that
mere identification with Catholism does not necessarily lead
to higher fertility and lower use of contraception.

In the present study, the fertility differentials
for Hindus, Muslims and Christians show the following
characteristics, which more or less commensurate with that
noticeable in the studies quoted earlier.

| TABLE 4.1 |
| RELIGION AND NUMBER OF LIVE BIRTHS OF RESPONDENTS |

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Religious Group</th>
<th>No. of live births</th>
<th>Total No. of live births</th>
<th>Average No. of live births</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hindus</td>
<td>55 30 15</td>
<td>226 100</td>
<td>2.26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muslims</td>
<td>38 41 21</td>
<td>272 100</td>
<td>2.72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christians</td>
<td>65 23 12</td>
<td>204 100</td>
<td>2.04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>158 94 48</td>
<td>702 300</td>
<td>2.34</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[
X^2 = 14.95, \quad X^2 \text{ table value at } 0.05; \quad L.O.S. = 9.49
\]
Distribution of respondents by religion and number of live births presented in Table 4.1 indicates that fertility is significantly different for the three religious groups. The Muslim respondents had a higher average number of live births (2.72) than the Christians (2.04) and Hindus (2.26). This gives a general picture that there are differences in the fertility rates among the three religious groups. The hypothesis formulated in this study is that, "there is no significant difference in the fertility performance between religious groups and the number of live births". A Chi-square test to determine the significance of the relationship between these variables reveals the calculated value of the Chi-square is being 14.95 and Chi-square table value at 0.05, the level of significance is 9.49. Since Chi-square calculated value is greater than that of the table value, the hypothesis formulated is rejected and it can be concluded that, there is significant relationship between religious community and number of live births in this study.

The percentage analysis shows that 52.7 per cent of the respondents from all religious communities are having 1-2 live births, 31.3 per cent of respondents are having 3-4 live births and 16 per cent of respondents are having 5 and above live births. The findings tabulated clearly show that
a majority of the respondents (52.7 per cent) are having 1-2 children. This shows that they are aware of the small family norm and the importance of family planning.

Education and Fertility

Education is one of the important variables in the studies of differential fertility. Historically, many studies have shown strong inverse relationship between education and fertility (Driver, 1960; Desai, 1969; Hussain, 1970; Mahadevan, 1979). Kiser (1942) using the data collected in urban communities in the National Health Survey (1935), found an inverse relationship between educational level and fertility of whites but no pattern among non-whites.

Several studies conducted in India have confirmed the existence of strong inverse relationship between education and fertility (U.N. Mysore Population Study, 1961; Saksena, 1973; Mahadevan, Rele and Kanitkar, 1980). In Dharwar Survey, Jorapur (1967) found an inverse relationship between education and fertility in the urban areas of Dharwar. Bhargava Saxena (1987) has found their survey in Bombay city that women's educational status was the main factor associated with fertility differentials followed by age at marriage.
TABLE 4.2
EDUCATIONAL LEVEL AND NUMBER OF LIVE BIRTHS OF HINDU RESPONDENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Educational level</th>
<th>No. of live births</th>
<th>Total No. of live births</th>
<th>Average No. of live births</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1-2</td>
<td>3-4</td>
<td>5+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Illiterate</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>08</td>
<td>04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary</td>
<td>05</td>
<td>03</td>
<td>02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>07</td>
<td>03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intermediate</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>08</td>
<td>04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Graduation &amp; above</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>04</td>
<td>02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

$X^2 = 18.81$, $X^2$ table value at 0.05; L.O.S. = 15.51.

The number of live births against the literacy level of Hindu respondents was examined and presented in Table 4.2. The data shows that the illiterates exhibit higher average of 2.22 live births compared to literates who have 2.01 live births on an average. It can be observed that as the level of education increases among women, the average number of live births decline. But it rises to 2.23 for respondents with graduation and above.
The hypothesis was formulated in this regard that, "there is no relationship between level of education and the number of live births among Hindu respondents." The validity of the hypothesis is determined by using Chi-square test. The calculated value of the Chi-square is being 18.81 and Chi-square table value at 0.05, the level of significance is 15.51. Since the calculated value of the Chi-square is more than that of the table value, we can reject the above hypothesis and conclude that there is relationship between the level of education and the number of live births among the Hindu respondents of this study.

The percentage analysis shows that 55 per cent of respondents have 1-2 live births, and 30 per cent have 3-4 live births and 15 per cent have 5 and more live births.

The inference from the table shows that the literacy levels and number of live births among the literates point out slightly lower level of live births compared to the illiterates.

The educational level and number of live births of Muslim respondents presented in Table 4.3 shows that illiterates have higher average of 2.85 live births, compared to literates having 2.64 live births on an average. It can
TABLE 4.3
EDUCATIONAL LEVEL AND NUMBER OF LIVE BIRTHS OF MUSLIM RESPONDENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Educational level</th>
<th>No. of live births</th>
<th>Total No. of live births</th>
<th>Total No. of women</th>
<th>Average No. of live births</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1-2</td>
<td>3-4</td>
<td>5+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Illiterate</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>05</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>08</td>
<td>08</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>08</td>
<td>06</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intermediate</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>03</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Graduation &amp; above</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>02</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>272</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

$X^2 = 8.67$, $X^2$ table value at 0.05; L.O.S. = 15.51.

It can be observed that the level of education increases in women, the average number of live births declines. The trend of the average live births is dipping steadily up to secondary level and it climbs higher from the intermediate level onwards and again dips slightly from the graduation and above level. The hypothesis formulated in this regard is that, "there is no relationship between the educational level and the number of live births among Muslim respondents". This statement is verified by Chi-square test. The calculated value of
Chi-square is being 8.67 and the table value at 0.05, the level of significance is 15.51. The calculated value of Chi-square is less than that of the table value, the hypothesis formulated is accepted and it can be concluded that, there is no significant relationship between the level of education and the number of live births of Muslim respondents in this study.

If the live births are analysed further, 41 per cent of respondents have the highest number of 3-4 live births, and 38 per cent had 1-2 live births and 21 per cent had 5 and above live births.

The point of inference from the table is that literacy levels and number of live births show that the literates have slightly lower level of live births compared to the illiterates.

The educational level and number of live births of Christian respondents presented in Table 4.4 clearly indicates that, illiterates have predominantly higher average number of live births (2.91), compared to literates (1.92) on an average. It can be observed that the trend of the average number of live births is dipping steadily upto secondary level and climbing steadily upto intermediate level and dipping further steadily with their educational levels
### Table 4.4
EDUCATIONAL LEVEL AND NUMBER OF LIVE BIRTHS OF CHRISTIAN RESPONDENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Educational level</th>
<th>No. of live births</th>
<th>Total No. of live births</th>
<th>Total women</th>
<th>Average No. of live births</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Illiterate</td>
<td>06 02 04</td>
<td>35 12</td>
<td>2.91</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary</td>
<td>01 01 03</td>
<td>20 05</td>
<td>4.00</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary</td>
<td>20 04 02</td>
<td>40 26</td>
<td>1.53</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intermediate</td>
<td>02 03 02</td>
<td>20 07</td>
<td>2.85</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Graduation &amp; above</td>
<td>36 13 01</td>
<td>89 50</td>
<td>1.78</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>65 23 12</td>
<td>204 100</td>
<td>2.04</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[ X^2 = 26.42, \quad X^2 \text{ table value at } 0.05; \quad L.O.S. = 15.51. \]

-reaching graduation and above levels. A Chi-square test was done to test the hypothesis that, "there is no relationship between level of education and number of live births of Christian respondents". The calculated value of Chi-square is being 26.42 and the table value at 0.05, the level of significance is 15.51. Since the calculated value of Chi-square is more than that of the table value, the hypothesis formulated is rejected and it can be concluded that, there is a significant relationship between the level of education and
the number of live births of Christian respondents in this study.

If the live births are analysed further it is understood that 65 per cent of respondents have 1-2 live births, 23 per cent have 3-4 live births and only 12 per cent have 5 and more live births.

The point of inference from this table is that the literacy levels and number of live births show that the literates have lower level of live births compared to the non-literates. It is also found that as the literacy levels increased the average number of children decreased.

A careful glance at the literacy levels and the number of live births among all the three communities bringforth the following facts.

The literacy levels and the number of live births show that the literates have slightly lower level of live births compared to the illiterates. The live births rising from 3 and above are the lowest among the Christians (35 per cent) followed by the Hindus (45 per cent) and the Muslims, the highest (62 per cent). If we analyse the number of live births further, the Christians have the highest 1-2 live births (65 per cent) followed by the Hindus (55 per cent) and the Muslims the lowest (38 per cent).
The literacy level of women no doubt, seems to be influencing the number of live births per woman in all the communities. The trend of the live birth averages are dipping steadily up to intermediate level for Hindus and up to secondary level for Christians.

The average number of live births of Hindus climbs steadily with their educational levels reaching graduation and above levels and for Christians it climbs steadily at intermediate level and again dipping steadily with their educational levels reaching graduation and above levels. In the case of Muslims, the average number of live births dips only up to secondary level and it climbs higher from intermediate level onwards and again dips slightly from the graduation and above level. Hence, it can be concluded that the literacy level is not the only factor which influences the live births of women in all the communities.

Women Employment and Fertility

In India, women have been occupying no social status for a long time. It was only during the British rule that efforts were made to give women access to education and employment. After Independence, due to the equality of the opportunity provided through the constitution of India, real emancipation of women started. Women's employment in
numerous sectors on par with men began after late seventies. Today women are virtually in all occupational fields on par with men.

Employment enhances the status of a woman because her economic status determines her access to privileges. She is seen in decision making and more than all, it gives her a sense of equality and dignity. High fertility among the Indian women was the resultant of her illiteracy, economic dependence on men and other social factors. Education and employment are the main eye openers of women towards the hazards of high fertility in which she was the ultimate victim. These two factors have contributed to the declining of fertility among women. The employment, in particular, makes women to be more cautious about child birth, spacing and adoption of family planning. It has been confirmed that women in occupation tend to have lower fertility. This fact was also confirmed by the studies of Mysore Population Study (1961), Desai (1970), Penelli (1971).

An attempt was made to examine whether there is relationship between the occupational status and the number of live births of Hindu respondents. The data presented in the Table 4.5 indicates that the house wives who are around 69 per cent have an average of 2.10 live births. The manual
TABLE 4.5

OCCUPATIONAL STATUS AND NUMBER OF LIVE BIRTHS OF HINDU RESPONDENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupational Status</th>
<th>No. of live births</th>
<th>Total No. of live births</th>
<th>Total women</th>
<th>Average No. of live births</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1-2</td>
<td>3-4</td>
<td>5+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>House wife</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>145</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manual labour</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employee</td>
<td>06</td>
<td>03</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self-employed</td>
<td>07</td>
<td>09</td>
<td>02</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>226</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

$X^2 = 5.45$, $X^2$ table value at 0.05; L.O.S. = 12.59.

labourers have a higher average of 3.66 live births. The employees and self-employed possess an average of 2.40 and 2.55 live births respectively. The hypothesis was formulated in this regard that, "there is no relationship between the occupational status and the number of live births of Hindu respondents". The validity of the hypothesis is determined by using Chi-square test. The calculated value of the Chi-square is being 5.45 and the Chi-square table value at 0.05, the level of significance is 12.59. Since the calculated value of the Chi-square is less than that of the table value,
the hypothesis formulated is accepted and it can be concluded that, there is no significant relationship between the occupational status and the number of live births of Hindu respondents in this study.

The point here is that occupation doesn't seem to be having any relationship between the number of live births in the case of Hindu respondents. The manual labourers seem to be having higher number of live births because of the low levels of income and that they tend to have an idea that more number of members in the family can get more income to the family. Hence, it is observed that poor people, particularly manual labourers, have more number of live births irrespective of the communities.

The data on occupational status and the number of live births of Muslim respondents presented in Table 4.6 shows that the house wives, who are around 80 per cent, have an average of 2.62 live births. The manual labourers have a higher average of 3.75 live births. The self-employed and employees show an average of 2.71 and 2.60 live births respectively. A Chi-square test was done to test the hypotheses that, "there is no relationship between the occupational status and the number of live births of Muslim respondents. The calculated value of the Chi-square is being
**TABLE 4.6**

**OCCUPATIONAL STATUS AND NUMBER OF LIVE BIRTHS OF MUSLIM RESPONDENTS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupational Status</th>
<th>No. of live births</th>
<th>Total No. of live births</th>
<th>Total women</th>
<th>Average No. of live births</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1-2</td>
<td>3-4</td>
<td>5+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>House wife</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>210</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manual labour</td>
<td>02</td>
<td>03</td>
<td>03</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employee</td>
<td>02</td>
<td>02</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self-employed</td>
<td>04</td>
<td>02</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>38</strong></td>
<td><strong>41</strong></td>
<td><strong>21</strong></td>
<td><strong>272</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[ X^2 = 2.60, \text{ } X^2 \text{ table value at } 0.05; \text{ } \text{L.O.S.} = 12.59. \]

2.60 and the table value at 0.05, the level of significance is 12.59. Since calculated value of the Chi-square is less than that of the table value, the hypothesis formulated is accepted and it can be concluded that, there is no significant relationship between the occupational status and the number of live births of Muslim respondents in this study.

The point of inference from the table is that occupation doesn't seem to be having any relationship between the number of live births of Muslim respondents. The manual
labourers seem to be having higher average number of live births because they feel that the more the number of members in the family, the greater can be the income levels. Hence manual labourers tend to have higher fertility rate.

TABLE 4.7
OCCUPATIONAL STATUS AND NUMBER OF LIVE BIRTHS OF CHRISTIAN RESPONDENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupational Status</th>
<th>No. of live births</th>
<th>Total No. of live births</th>
<th>Total No. of women</th>
<th>Average No. of live births</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1-2</td>
<td>3-4</td>
<td>5+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>House wife</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>06</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manual labour</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>03</td>
<td>02</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employee</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>05</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self-employed</td>
<td>06</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>03</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>65</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>204</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

$X^2 = 24.19$, $X^2$ table value at 0.05; L.O.S. = 12.59.

The occupational status and number of live births of Christian respondents presented in Table 4.7 indicates that the employees who are around 45 per cent have an average of 1.77 live births. The manual labourers have a higher average of 4.0 live births. The self-employed and housewives have an average of 2.40 and 1.94 live births respectively.
The hypothesis formulated here is that, "there is no relationship between the occupational status and the number of live births of Christian respondents". This statement is verified by Chi-square test. The calculated value of Chi-square is being 24.19 and the table value at 0.05, the level of significance is 12.59. The calculated value of Chi-square is greater than that of the table value. Hence we reject the above hypothesis and conclude that there is inverse relationship between the occupational status and the number of live births among Christian respondents. The employed women tend to have lesser number of live births compared to the housewives. Among the employed, manual labourers have the highest number of live births.

The point of inference here is that the occupation seems to have inverse relationship with the number of live births of Christian respondents. The manual labourers seem to have higher number of live births because of the low levels of income and people tend to have more number of children in the family assuming that additional income levels can be achieved.

The educational levels and the number of live births of spouses of Hindu respondents were examined and presented in Table 4.8 which indicates that the illiterates
### TABLE 4.8

**EDUCATIONAL LEVEL OF SPOUSES (HUSBANDS) OF HINDU RESPONDENTS AND THEIR NUMBER OF LIVE BIRTHS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Educational level</th>
<th>No. of live births</th>
<th>Total No. of live births</th>
<th>Total Men</th>
<th>Average No. of live births</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Illiterate</td>
<td>01 04 04</td>
<td>33 09</td>
<td>3.66</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary</td>
<td>02 02 02</td>
<td>18 06</td>
<td>3.00</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary</td>
<td>07 07 03</td>
<td>47 17</td>
<td>2.76</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intermediate</td>
<td>07 05 04</td>
<td>43 16</td>
<td>2.68</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Graduation &amp; above</td>
<td>38 12 02</td>
<td>85 52</td>
<td>1.63</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>55 30 15</td>
<td>226 100</td>
<td>2.26</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Exhibit higher average of 3.66 live births, compared to the literates who have 2.12 live births on an average. It can be observed that as the level of education increases for men the average number of live births tends to decline.

The inference from the table is that the literacy levels and the number of live births show that the literates have lower level of live births compared to non-literates.

The educational level and the number of live births of Muslim spouses as presented in Table 4.9 indicates
TABLE 4.9

EDUCATIONAL LEVEL OF SPOUSES (HUSBANDS) OF MUSLIM RESPONDENTS AND THEIR NUMBER OF LIVE BIRTHS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Educational level</th>
<th>No. of live births</th>
<th>Total No. of live births</th>
<th>Total Men</th>
<th>Average No. of live births</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1-2</td>
<td>3-4</td>
<td>5+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Illiterate</td>
<td>04</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>04</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>03</td>
<td>02</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>09</td>
<td>106</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intermediate</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>09</td>
<td>05</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Graduation &amp; above</td>
<td>04</td>
<td>03</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>272</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

that illiterates have higher average number of 3.2 live births compared to literates who have 2.6 live births on an average. It can be observed that, as the level of education increases for men, the average number of live births is slightly higher at primary level and then it dips slightly from the secondary onwards up to graduation and above level.

The point of inference from the table is that, the literacy levels and number of live births show that, the literates have slightly lower level of live births compared to non-literates.
The number of live births against the literacy levels of Christian spouses (Husbands) was examined and presented in Table 4.10. The data indicates that, illiterates have predominantly higher average number of live births (3.87) compared to literates on an average of 1.88 live births. It can be observed that the trend of the average number of live births dipping steadily up to graduation and above levels. Hence it can be concluded that the literacy level is the only factor influencing the live births of men in Christian spouses.
A careful glance at the literacy levels and the number of live births of the spouses of respondents of three communities reveals the following facts:

The literates have slightly lower level of live births compared to non-literates. The live births rising from 3 and above births are the highest among Muslims (62 per cent) followed by Hindus (45 per cent) and the lowest among Christians (35 per cent). If the live births are analysed further by community-wise, Christians have the highest 1-2 live births (65 per cent) followed by Hindus (55 per cent) and the lowest among Muslims (38 per cent).

The literacy levels of men, no doubt, seem to be influencing the number of live births per family in all the communities. The trend of live birth averages for Hindus and Christians dip steadily their primary educational level upto graduation and above level. In the case of Muslims the average number of live births is higher for illiterates and primary educational levels only and dips from secondary level onwards to graduation and above level. Hence it can be inferred that the literacy level of men influences the number of live births in all the religious communities.

Occupational status and the number of live births of Hindu spouses is examined and depicted in Table 4.11,
TABLE 4.11

OCCUPATIONAL STATUS OF SPOUSES (HUSBANDS) OF HINDU RESPONDENTS AND THEIR NUMBER OF LIVE BIRTHS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupational Status</th>
<th>No. of live births</th>
<th>Total No. of live births</th>
<th>Average No. of live births</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1-2</td>
<td>3-4</td>
<td>5+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manual labour</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>03</td>
<td>03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Business</td>
<td>04</td>
<td>02</td>
<td>04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employee</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self-employed</td>
<td>07</td>
<td>05</td>
<td>06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>55</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

which shows that the employees who are around 65 per cent, show an average of 1.5 live births. The manual labourers show the highest average number of 4.0 live births. The business men and self-employed show similar live births (3.5 and 3.5).

The point of inference from the table is that occupation seems to have relationship between the number of live births. The business men show more than that of the employees because of their better economic condition and status affordability. The manual labourers seem to have higher average number of live births than employees because
of low levels of income, they tend to have more number of live births in the family for greater income levels.

TABLE 4.12

OCCUPATIONAL STATUS OF SPOUSES (HUSBANDS) OF MUSLIM RESPONDENTS AND THEIR NUMBER OF LIVE BIRTHS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupational Status</th>
<th>No. of live births</th>
<th>Total No. of live births</th>
<th>Average No. of live births</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1-2</td>
<td>3-4</td>
<td>5+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manual labour</td>
<td>05</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Business</td>
<td>07</td>
<td>08</td>
<td>05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employee</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self-employed</td>
<td>02</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The data on occupational status and the number of live births of Muslim spouses presented in Table 4.12 shows that the employees who are around 40 per cent have an average of 2.17 live births. The self employed have a higher average of 3.8 live births. The businessmen and the labourers show an average of 3.2 and 2.9 live births respectively.

The inference from the table is that occupation doesn't seem to have any relationship between the number of
live births among Muslim spouses. The self employed seems to have higher number of live births because of the low levels of income, and that they tend to have an idea that more number of children in the family will be get them increased income levels as well as support to them in their work.

The overriding factor in the case of Muslim respondents is that, the overall average number of live births is the highest among Muslims (2.72). In the case of self employed men and men in service occupations, the live births are the highest compared to the same occupational categories in other two religions.

In terms of number of average live births between 3-4, 5 plus, are the highest per cent among Muslims compared to other communities. This leads us to conclude that occupational status with number of live births doesn't have any significant relationship among the Muslim respondents.

The number of live births against the occupational status of Christian spouses examined and presented in Table 4.13 clearly depicts that the employees who are around 80 per cent have an average of 1.5 live births. The manual labourers show a higher average number of 4.0 live births, followed by businessmen (3.8) and self employed (3.5).
TABLE 4.13

OCCUPATIONAL STATUS OF SPOUSES (HUSBANDS) OF CHRISTIAN RESPONDENTS AND THEIR NUMBER OF LIVE BIRTHS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupational Status</th>
<th>No. of live births</th>
<th>Total No. of live births</th>
<th>Average No. of live births</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1-2</td>
<td>3-4</td>
<td>5+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manual labour</td>
<td>02</td>
<td>03</td>
<td>04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Business</td>
<td>02</td>
<td>02</td>
<td>03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employee</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self-employed</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The inference from the table is that occupation seems to have a relationship between number of live births among Christian spouses. The manual labourers seem to have higher number of live births because of low levels of income and so they tend to have more number of members in the family to have greater income levels.

**Income and Fertility**

Income is closely correlated with other socio-economic variables which are associated with fertility. A wide array of results are found in studies that attempt to relate income to fertility. Some found positive, others
negative and still others a curvilinear relationship as family income raises and in a few studies no relationship at all is found.

A number of studies had found negative relationship between farm income and fertility (Kocher, 1973; Samper, 1988; Khuda, 1988). Driver (1963) in the Central India found similar fertility in the lowest and the highest income groups indicated the absence of any direct or indirect association between fertility and income. Jorapur (1967) in the Dharwad study observed higher fertility in the higher income group strata than in the lower strata.

TABLE 4.14
MONTHLY FAMILY INCOME AND NUMBER OF LIVE BIRTHS OF HINDU RESPONDENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Income (in Rs.)</th>
<th>No. of live births</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Average</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1-2</td>
<td>3-4</td>
<td>5+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Below 5,000</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>07</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5,001-10,000</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10,001 +</td>
<td>02</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

$X^2 = 8.29$, $X^2$ table value at 0.05; L.O.S. = 9.45.
The study also examined whether there is any relationship between income level and the number of live births of Hindu respondents. The data on Table 4.14 shows that the average number of live births are less among the families having monthly income range of Rs.5,001 - 10,000 and it is around 3.0 for families having monthly income of Rs.10,001 and above.

The hypothesis framed here was that, "there is no relationship between the income level and the number of live births". This statement is verified by Chi-square test. The calculated value of the Chi-square is being 8.29 and the table value at 0.05, the level of significance is 9.49. The calculated value of the Chi-square is less than that of the table value. Hence we accept the above hypothesis and conclude that there is no relationship between the income level and the number of live births of Hindu respondents.

The point here is that, the families with higher levels of income have higher average number of live births because of economic condition and affordability.

The number of live births against income level of Muslim respondents is examined and presented in Table 4.15, which clearly indicates that the average number of live births are higher among the families having an income below
TABLE 4.15
MONTHLY FAMILY INCOME AND NUMBER OF LIVE BIRTHS OF MUSLIM RESPONDENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Income (in Rs.)</th>
<th>No. of live births</th>
<th>Total No. of live births</th>
<th>Average No. of live births</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1-2</td>
<td>3-4</td>
<td>5+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Below 5,000</td>
<td>09</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5,001-10,000</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10,001+</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>02</td>
<td>01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[ X^2 = 6.20, \quad X^2 \text{ table value at } 0.05; \quad L.O.S. = 9.49. \]

Rs.5,000, and it is less among the families having monthly income range of Rs.5,001 - 10,000. Further it is around 3.0 the average number of live births for families having monthly income of Rs.10,001 and above.

To test the hypothesis that, "there is no relationship between the income level and the number of live births". Chi-square was calculated. The calculated value of the Chi-square is being 6.20 and the table value at 0.05, the level of significance is 9.49. The calculated value of
Chi-square is less than that of the table value. Hence we accept the above hypothesis and conclude that there is no relationship between the income level and the number of live births among Muslim respondents.

The point of inference from the table is that, the families with lower levels of income and higher levels of income have more or less similar average number of live births.

TABLE 4.16
MONTHLY FAMILY INCOME AND NUMBER OF LIVE BIRTHS OF CHRISTIAN RESPONDENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Income (in Rs.)</th>
<th>No. of live births</th>
<th>Total No. of live births</th>
<th>Total No. of women</th>
<th>Average No. of live births</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Below 5,000</td>
<td>02 05 07</td>
<td>45 14</td>
<td>3.20</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5,001-10,000</td>
<td>60 17 04</td>
<td>148 81</td>
<td>1.82</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10,001 +</td>
<td>03 01 01</td>
<td>11 05</td>
<td>2.20</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>65 23 12</td>
<td>204 100</td>
<td>2.04</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

X² = 28.21, X² table value at 0.05; L.O.S. = 9.49.

The data on family income level and the number of live births of Christian respondents is examined and presented in Table 4.16 vividly shows that the average number
of live births are higher for the families having an income below Rs.5,000 and it is less (1.82) for the families having monthly income range of Rs.5,001 - 10,000. The average number of live births for all the income groups is 2.04.

The hypothesis formulated here is that, "there is no relationship between the income level and the number of live births". This statement is verified with the help of Chi-square test. The calculated value of Chi-square is being 28.21 and the table value at 0.05, the level of significance is 9.49. The calculated value of Chi-square is greater than that of the table value. Hence we reject the above hypothesis and conclude that there is relationship between the income level and the number of live births among Christian respondents.

The inference from the table is, that the lower income group has higher average number of live births because the people feel that the more the number of members in the family, the greater can be the income levels. Hence people with low levels of income tend to have higher fertility rate.

A careful glance at the income levels and the number of live births among all the three religious groups brings forth the following facts:
The income level of respondents in all the communities shows that 38 per cent of Muslim, 28 per cent of Hindu and 14 per cent of Christian families have an income of Rs.5,000 and below. The average number of live births in this group are 3.20 for the Christians, 3.18 for Muslims and 2.42 for the Hindus, and the average number of live births for all communities 2.93. This shows that the poor people seems to have an opinion that the more the number of children, the greater can be the income of the family viewed from the community angle, the Muslims and Christians within this income bracket of below Rs.5,000, show more or less average number of live births. Hindus have the lowest average number of live births in this income bracket.

The middle income group having Rs.5,001 to 10,000 for members have the lowest average of 2.11 live births for all the communities. Analysed by community-wise, the highest averages are recorded among Muslims (2.39) followed by Hindus (2.13) and Christians (1.82). The fact is that 68.67 per cent of respondents of the study figure in this income bracket. Another notable fact is that the overall average of 2.93 live births for the first income bracket dips to 2.11 live births for middle income group and it climbs to 2.73 live births for the next income bracket.
Among the 4.66 per cent of the respondents whose figure in this income group Rs.10,001 and above, the average number of live births recorded are 3.0 for Muslims, 3.0 for Hindus and 2.22 for the Christians.

The points of inferences on the income level and the number of live births are the people in the lower levels of income and the higher levels who have more or less similar average number of live births. The middle income groups have the lowest average number of live births.

The second point is that the Muslims irrespective of the income groups show higher level of average number of live births (2.7) followed by Hindus (2.26) and Christians the lowest (2.04) average number of live births.

The higher income group seems to be having higher average number of live births obviously because of affordability. This is observed in all the communities.

Age at Marriage and Fertility

Age at marriage has been considered as an important determinant of fertility, as late marriage reduces fertility, because it shortens reproduction period, besides other social psychological advantages to the individuals. It has been pointed out by Blake (1961), that, if contraception
is not widely and expertly practiced, postponement of marriage may contribute substantially to lowering birth rates. Moreover, Duza and Beldwin (1977) also observed that in situation of limited control of fertility within marriage, a negative association between age at marriage and family size is generally considered almost inevitable. The Mysore Population Study (U.N. 1961) shows that completed family size diminished with the rise in female age at marriage. Female age at marriage has been studied widely in demographic literature showing strong inverse relationship to fertility (Driver, 1963; Peel, 1970; Khan, 1979; Rele and Kanitkar, 1980; Patnaik, 1981; Karkal, 1983). Several studies have shown that an increase in the age at marriage or decline in the percentage of ever married women in certain age groups was an important factor in the decline of fertility in the developing countries (Caldwell et. al, 1982; Smith, 1980; McCarthy, 1982).

The age at marriage and the number of live births for Hindu respondents as presented in Table 4.17 shows that the average number of live births are higher for the age group of below 19 years and it tends to decline for those who are married in the higher ages. The average number of live births show that, who are married before 19 years have the higher average of 2.30 live births which declines only
## Table 4.17

### Age at Marriage and Number of Live Births of Hindu Respondents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age at Marriage</th>
<th>No. of live births</th>
<th>Total No. of women</th>
<th>Average No. of live births</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1-2</td>
<td>3-4</td>
<td>5+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Before 19</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 - 24</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25 +</td>
<td>03</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>01</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

$X^2 = 6.63$, $X^2$ table value at 0.05; L.O.S. = 9.49.

marginally by 0.08 points and it declines by another 0.02 points for the highest age at marriage (viz., 25 years and above).

The hypothesis formulated in this regard was that, "there is no relationship between the age at marriage and the number of live births". Chi-square was calculated. The calculated value of Chi-square is being 6.63 and the table value at 0.05, the level of significance is 9.49. The calculated value of Chi-square is less than that of the table value. Hence we accept the above hypothesis and
conclude that there is no relationship between the age at marriage and the number of live births among Hindu respondents.

The general point of inference from the table is that, earlier the age at marriage, higher the fertility and the higher age at marriage the lower the fertility.

**TABLE 4.18**

AGE AT MARRIAGE AND NUMBER OF LIVE BIRTHS OF MUSLIM RESPONDENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age at Marriage</th>
<th>No. of live births</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Average No. of live births</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1-2</td>
<td>3-4</td>
<td>5+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Before 19</td>
<td>06</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 - 24</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>07</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25 +</td>
<td>06</td>
<td>03</td>
<td>02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

$X^2 = 14.27$, $X^2$ table value at 0.05; L.O.S. = 9.49.

The number of live births against the age at marriage of Muslim respondents is presented in Table 4.18, it shows that the average number of live births are more for the age group of below 19 years and it tends to decline as for
those who are married in the higher ages. The average number of live births show that, who are married before 19 years have the higher average of 2.80 live births which declines only marginally by 0.16 points and it declines by another 0.10 points for the highest age at marriage (25 years and above).

The Chi-square test conducted to verify the validity of the hypothesis reveals that, "there is no relationship between the age at marriage and the number of live births among Muslim respondents". The calculated value of the Chi-square is being 14.27 and the table value at 0.05, the level of significance is 9.49. Since calculated value of Chi-square is greater than that of the table value, we reject the above hypothesis and conclude that there is relationship between the age at marriage and the number of live births of Muslim respondents.

The point here is that earlier the age at marriage, higher the fertility and the higher the age at marriage the lower the fertility.

The data on age at marriage and the number of live births among Christian respondents presented in Table 4.19 depicts that the average number of live births are higher for the age group of below 19 years and it tends to decline for
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age at Marriage</th>
<th>No. of live births</th>
<th>Total No. of live births</th>
<th>Total women</th>
<th>Average No. of live births</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1-2</td>
<td>3-4</td>
<td>5+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Before 19</td>
<td>06</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>07</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 - 24</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>08</td>
<td>03</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25 +</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>05</td>
<td>02</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>204</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

X² = 24.74, X² table value at 0.05; L.O.S. = 9.49.

those who are married in the higher ages. The average number of live births of those, who are married before 19 years have the higher average of 3.08 live births which declines only marginally by 1.08 points and it declines by another 0.5 points for the highest age at marriage (viz., 25 years and above). The hypothesis here that, there is no relationship between the age at marriage and the number of live births among Christian respondents, was validated with the help of the Chi-square test. The calculated value of the Chi-square is being 24.74 and the table value at 0.05, the level of significance is 9.49. The calculated value of Chi-square is
greater than that of the table value. Hence we reject the above hypothesis and conclude that there is a relationship between the age at marriage and the number of live births among Christian respondents.

The general point of inference from the table is that, earlier the age at marriage, higher the fertility and the higher the age at marriage the lower would be the fertility.

**TABLE 4.20**

**DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONDENTS BY MIGRANTS AND NON-MIGRANTS AND THEIR NUMBER OF LIVE BIRTHS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Religious Groups</th>
<th>Migrants</th>
<th>Non-Migrants</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total live births</td>
<td>Average live births</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hindus</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muslims</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christians</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>87</strong></td>
<td><strong>218</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(29%) (71%)

The live births were also compared in terms of whether it varies for the migrants and non-migrants. The data presented on Table 4.20 depicts that the average number
of live births are more for the migrants in all the religions when compared to the average number of live births of non-migrants. If analysed by community-wise, the Muslims show the highest average number of live births (2.86) for migrants and 2.66 for non-migrants. Among the Hindus, the average number of live births are 2.40 for migrants and 2.17 for non-migrants. Christians show the lowest average of 2.19 live births for migrants and 2.0 for non-migrants. Evidence of higher fertility for migrants and lower fertility for non-migrants in urban areas, is due to the fact that the rural migrants to urban areas bring with them the high fertility values and behaviour characteristics of their place of origin (Kiser, 1938; Macisco, et. al, 1970; Ritchy and Stokes, 1972).

The point of inference that can be drawn from the table is that the migrants in the sample are only 29 per cent, who are born and brought up in rural areas and moved to urban areas and semi-urban areas after their marriage. The non-migrants predominantly born and brought up in urban and semi-urban areas constitute 71 per cent. The average number of live births shows only a slight variation for migrants and non-migrants in all the communities. The important fact is that religion seems to be a major factor influencing the fertility rates compared to the place of birth of respondents. Irrespective of urban or rural place of birth,
Muslims show a higher fertility average number of live births compared to Hindus and Christians. Christians show the lowest average number of live births irrespective of their places of birth. Hence it can be concluded that basically the number of children a person desires to have and the number of children actually has are largely determined by religious factor and value.