

SECOND DEMOGRAPHIC TRANSITION AND DIVORCE IN INDIA

Monika Yadav^{1*}, Dr. Shailesh Yadav²

Abstract

Divorce is defined as the termination of marriage or marital union and it is also known as the marital dissolution. Divorce is common to all the societies including developing countries like India. Divorce has existed at all times in known history. The Indian divorce rate is still low compared to other countries. Thus it can be concluded that the demographic changes coupled with modernization has an important role to play in enhancing the divorce rate. The second demographic transition process led to major changes in the society including increased divorce. Divorce is not a problem for all societies currently but definitely has been a major issue in developed parts of the world. But for most developing societies like India divorce can have adverse impacts because increasing trends in the divorce effect to adults and children alike. So there is need to study changes in the pattern of divorce consequent to the development. Divorce may be one phenomenon, which is pushing India into the SDT.

Keywords- SDT, Divorce, Separation, Pattern, Trend, NFHS, Census.

1. Introduction

1.1 Demographic transition theories and the first demographic transition

Population, its growth and its size play an important role in the process of economic development of an economy. India is witnessing an increase in population but a decrease in growth rate of population. While some regions of India are in the second demographic transition some regions are still undergoing first demographic transition. This present study, Second Demographic Transition and Divorce in India, is an attempt to understand the process of transformation from the first demographic transition to Second Demographic Transition in the nine selected states. Demographic transition theory explores a detailed description about the mechanisms of change in mortality and fertility with considerations on how this would affect the

¹ Author, Research Scholar Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, Email_address monikayadavjnu@gmail.com

² Author, Assistant Professor (Geography), RL Sahariya Govt. College, Kaladera, Email_address 13Shaileshyadav@gmail.com

demographic development of the world in the future and what would be consequences of it. (Notestein,1945; Davis,1945). The first demographic transition is the precondition for the second demographic transition. First demographic transition defines the shift from high mortality or high fertility to the low fertility and low mortality. Thus, over the time population growth will gradually decline. The endpoint of the first demographic transition (FDT) was supposed to be a stationary population corresponding to replacement fertility rate 2.1 i.e., just over two children on average, zero population growth, and life expectancies higher than 70 years. Because there would be an ultimate balance between deaths and births, there would be no “demographic” need for sustained immigration.

1.2. Second demographic transition

After the first demographic transition, a new demographic phenomenon has developed in the western countries. This new demographic phenomenon is termed as second demographic transition by various scholars. Lesthaeghe defined the second demographic transition (SDT) in 1986 (Lesthaeghe, 1995). In the same line in 1987 Van de Kaa formulated the Second demographic transition (SDT) (Kaa, 1987). At the macro level, the SDT provides a view of how societies evolve over time, stressing the role of ideational change in bringing about a package of demographic/family behaviours (Kaa,2002). This transition explains new and emerging characteristics such as baby bust, the systematic postponement of marriage and parenthood, sub-replacement fertility, disconnection between marriage and procreation, the multitude of living arrangement other than marriage, parenthood outside marriage, the rise of “higher order” needs: individual autonomy, expressive work and socialization values. It also explains the role of rising levels of female education, greater female economic autonomy and multiple lifestyles. The application of this theory was carried out mainly in the western countries. It remains as a phenomenon of the western world. It perhaps takes time to spread in the developing countries.

1.3. Second demographic transition in Developing and developed countries

In case of developing and, developed countries pattern of demographic transition is different. Since it is not easy to differentiate fertility transition at the global level, demographers have tried to find out “unifying” definition of fertility transition at the global level.

After the Second World War, Western countries became modernized and economically developed. At the same time, fertility declined and reached below the replacement level. Most of the European countries witnessed the second demographic transition accompanied by the low-growth rate of population and fertility rate below the replacement level (Kaa, 1987). However, there is a huge variation in this transition from first demographic transition to second demographic transition among the developed and developing countries. The transition from high birth and high mortality rates to low birth and low mortality rates in developing countries started only in the second half of the twentieth century; it was more rapid but was also accompanied by higher growth rates of the population, up to three to four per cent per year and it is still underway. Developing countries are still in the process of demographic transition. For example, Nigeria's fertility rate is very high and the death rate is also high. If we take the example of another developing country like India, in the state of Odisha, mortality pattern is still high and the fertility rate is declining. There are contrasting evidence of demographic transition in developing countries.

1.4 India and Second demographic transition

After independence, India experienced high population growth. To control the population growth, India became the first nation to formulate the family planning in 1952. Despite this programme being in operation for more than half a century, India's population growth is continuing. However, the pace of population growth has slowed down in the last few decades.

After the globalization, remarkable changes have been observed in socio-cultural, economic and technological development in India. These changes have in turn affected the fertility rate in some of the states of India. Characteristics of demographic transition vary from state to state. While some states have witnessed signs of second demographic transition with a fertility level below 2.1, there are also other extremes in the country with very high fertility. Thus the demographic transition in India does not have homogeneity across country. Thus the second demographic transition, in case exists in India, are only in some pockets of the country.

1.4 Divorce and second demographic transition in India

Divorce is defined as the termination of marriage or marital union and it is also known as the marital dissolution (Stevenson and Wolfers, 2007). Divorce is common to all the societies including developing countries like India. Divorce has existed at all times in known history. The Indian divorce rate is still low compared to other countries. The idea of divorce as a process of dissolving and releasing the partners from marriage has been present in both pre-industrial societies as well as in advanced social order. The term divorce signifies an end of marriage using legal formalities. Indian society is predominantly patriarchal. There are rigid gender roles, with women having a passive role and husband an active dominating role. In recent years, however, there are changes with increasing divorce rate at least in some parts of the country. Divorce is still not common in India as it is in western countries.

The concept of second demographic transition explains how a new way of life affects behaviour, belief and attitude of the population, which in turn affect their traditions, customs and norms (Caldwell, 1976). It is caused by a wave of socio-economic change including revolutionary changes in family standards and values. Women are more autonomous today than they were earlier. This can be seen in their participation in greater numbers in labour force, in higher education and in decision-making positions that affect their lives as well as the lives of others (Dyson and Moore, 1983). It is widely assumed that because of this empowerment of women, fertility has gradually fallen, the divorce rate has become higher and the character of marriage has changed. It is often seen that development in society leads to higher expectations from marriage and family, which leads to divorce. This idea is mainly associated with urban areas. Lesthaeghe (2011) says that the decline in birth rate and low level of fertility are a consequence of an increasing tendency towards “self-realization”.

It has been noted that divorce differs according to the social system. Human societies always welcome change and modernize themselves. Such practices have had a great and effective impact on family values and structure. Divorce can be considered as one such example of change. In this process, divorce has appeared as a new phenomenon of the development process and modernization. Increasing urbanization and industrialization has led to rising divorce rates, because these are processes associated with decline in religious belief; breakdown of traditional norms, including reduced social pressure to maintain relationship established through marriage;

pursuit of individual self-interest, increasing economic independence of women, and increased levels of stress in family life (Goode, 1963). Early empirical studies that have attempted to analyse the impact of marital instability on the lifetime fertility of individuals have shown that marital dissolution results in an overall loss in fertility (Lesthaeghe and Moors, 1994).

Thus it can be concluded that the demographic changes coupled with modernization has an important role to play in enhancing the divorce rate. The second demographic transition process led to major changes in the society including increased divorce. Divorce is not a problem for all societies currently but definitely has been a major issue in developed parts of the world. However for most developing societies like India divorce can have adverse impacts because increasing trends in the divorce effect to adults and children alike. So there is need to study changes in the pattern of divorce consequent to the development. Divorce may be one phenomenon, which is pushing India into the SDT.

2. Need of the study

In recent years, steady increase in the divorce rate is noticed in developed cities of India (Dommaraju & Jones, 2011). In a study done by Dommaraju (2016), it was found that the divorce rate was very high in the northeastern states compared to the rest of India. As compared to the northeastern part of India, the general divorce rate in northern and western part is slow.

Factors affecting the divorce rate vary from state to state. For instance, Northeastern part of India is considered to be educationally advanced with changes in the values and attitudes. It is also argued that they are accepting or following the pattern of western culture, which is responsible for high divorce rate (Ghosh, 2011). According to the researchers in Mumbai, cultural differences between the couples and sexual dissatisfaction among the partners have been observed as important reasons for divorce (Singh and Sinha, 2005).

Thus there is need to study the general divorce rate, their trends and patterns, in different regions of India. It is also important to consider places with high and low divorce rate so that a good understanding of the reasons for divorce can be assessed. The relationship between divorce rate and second demographic transition is also important to understand.

3. Study area

The general divorce rate is computed for all the districts of India. However, the detailed study of the divorce trend, factors affecting divorce rate and the role played by divorce rate in the second demographic transition is restricted to the nine states of India. The states are chosen based on high and low prevalence of divorce. Northeastern states, Madhya Pradesh and Maharashtra are chosen for the study. Moreover, variation in fertility transition is also considered while choosing the states. Madhya Pradesh is in the early stages of fertility transition while Maharashtra is in the advanced stages but with low levels of divorce rate in both the states.

The present study includes seven Northeastern states namely, Assam, Arunachal Pradesh, Manipur, Tripura, Meghalaya, Mizoram, Nagaland and the other two states includes Maharashtra and Madhya Pradesh.

4. Research question

This study seeks to understand divorce both at the macro & micro level in the context of second demographic transition. The research questions of the study are as follows:

- What are the trend and the patterns of the divorce rate in India?
- What are the major factors affecting the divorce/separation across states in India?
- What is the interconnection between divorce and second demographic transition in India?

5. Data and Methodology

The present work is based on secondary data. In India, direct data on marriage dissolution suffers from underreporting. Registration data suffers due to the inadequate registration of marriage and divorce cases, along with misreporting of ages. Hence, census data is the only available source to provide information of entire population by marital status. It provides age-sex specific data on marital status for each census. Therefore, present study utilizes census data to estimate the parameters responsible for the dissolution of marriage. Along with census data, the present study also uses National family health survey data (NFHS). Fourth Round of National family health survey (2015-16) has been used for the present study. This study provides information at the

household and individual level and therefore it is important to understand the micro-level determinants of divorce in India.

The present study computes the proportion of divorced/separated females out of the total married females. The divorce rate used for the present study is calculated by dividing divorced/separated female population (age 15 and above) by the married female population of the same age.

$$\text{General divorced/separated rate} = \frac{\text{Divorced/separated females (15+)}}{\text{Married females (15+)}} \times 1000$$

Using GIS mapping, district-level analysis of the general divorce rate has been done for all the districts of India. District level performance and trends have been assessed with the help of choropleth maps.

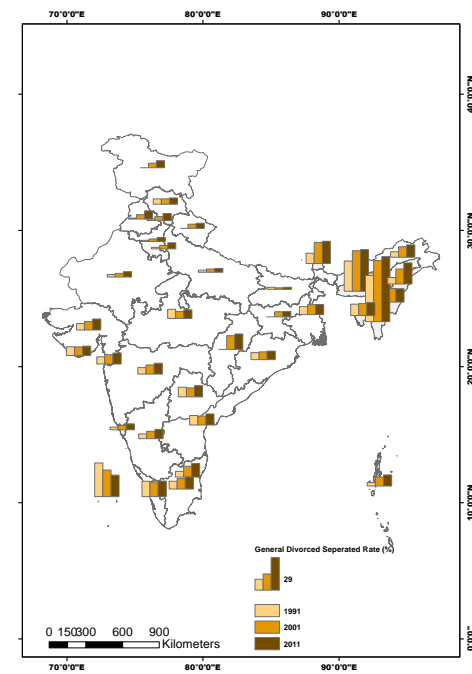
To find out the determinants of divorce, a panel data method is used and a fixed effect model is adopted for estimation. Census data based on 1991 to 2011 across districts are used for the model. Also, the binary logistic regression has been carried out to understand the factors associated with the high general divorce rate at the micro level using NFHS data.

6. Summary and Results

6.1 Trend analysis of the General divorced/separated rate for India, 1991-2011

Map 1.1 shows that among the North Indian states, Jammu & Kashmir and Punjab reported the highest divorce/separated rate in the year 2011. Among the married population in Jammu & Kashmir, the general divorce/separated rate was 7.57 per 1000 and among the married population in Punjab, the divorce/separated rate was 7.43 per 1000. In the eastern part of India West Bengal has the highest general divorce/separated rate. In 1991 West Bengal had the general divorce/separated rate of 7.34 per 1000 among the married population whereas the rate increased to 8.93 per 1000 among the married population in 2001. In 2011, this figure rose to 9.20 per 1000 among the married population.

Map 1.1 The trend of the General divorced/Separated rate for India, 1991-2011

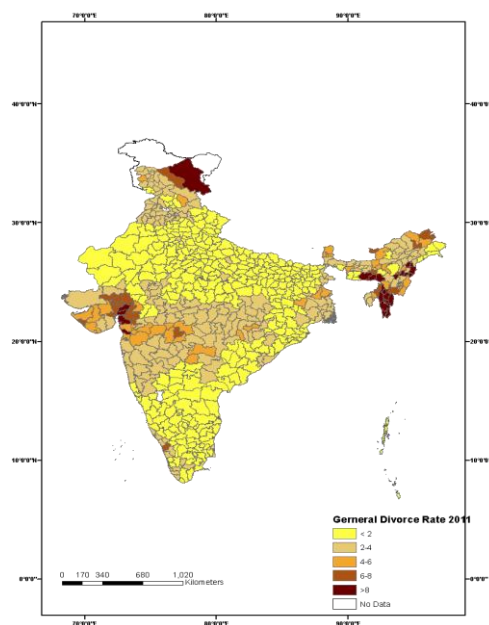


(Source: computed from the Census of India, 1991; Census of India, 2001; Census of India, 2011)

Among the states in the eastern region of India, Bihar reported the lowest general divorced/separated rate for all the three years under study: 1991, 2001 and 2011. The general divorced/separated rate for 1991 in Bihar was 1.78 per 1000 among the married population. In the year 2001, this figure decreased to 1.31 per 1000 among the married population but in the year 2011 Bihar reported a slight increase in the general divorce/separated rate. The general divorce/separated rate for the year 2011 was 1.84 per 1000 among the married population.

6.2. The general divorce rate in India, 2011

Map 1.2 presents the district wise divorce scenario in India. The general divorce rate is categorized into five groups: Lowest general divorce rate (less than 2 per 1000 among the married population), Low general divorce rate (2-4 per 1000 among the married population), medium general divorce rate (4-6 per 1000 among the married population), High general divorce rate (6-8 per 1000 among the married population) and Highest general divorce rate (above 8 per 1000 among the married population).

Map 1.2 District wise distribution of general divorce rate for India, 2011

(Source: computed from the Census of India, 2011)

With the help of Map 1.2, we know that there is variability in the general divorce rate across the states as well as across the districts. A concentration or clustering of general divorce rate is also observed in some parts of India. For instance, concentration and clustering of high general divorce rate is seen in some districts of Jammu & Kashmir. Similarly, such concentration can also be seen in some districts of Nagaland, Manipur and Meghalaya in the northeastern region. Also, some districts of Gujarat had such concentration. The comparison of general divorce rate for all the districts of India shows that Aizawl district of Mizoram had the highest General divorce rate of 42.89 per 1000 among the married population. Whereas Jaisalmer district in the state of Rajasthan reported the lowest divorce rate of just 0.23 per 1000 among the married population.

The divorce rate varies from state to state and there is also clustering in the divorce rate. Himachal Pradesh, Rajasthan, Bihar, Haryana come under the low divorce rate. Arranged marriage may be the main reason for low divorce in these parts along with the patriarchal structure of the society. Khap Panchayat is prevalent in Rajasthan, Haryana and Western Uttar Pradesh. Khap defines the cluster of village united by caste, culture and geography. Over the pass of time, many couples have been killed on the account of unmodified rules of Khap, which is used in the case, refusing an arranged marriage, marrying a person outside the caste, religion and also engaging in a lesbian and Gay relationship. So in these regions, most of the people do not go for the love marriage (Singhal, 2014).

There is still a negative perception of divorcees and a lot of people prefer to stay in a loveless marriage than face the stigma of being divorced due to their societal stigma (Savaya and Cohen, 2003). For the Indian society, divorce is socially and emotionally much more adverse for women than for men. The social pressure and stigma attached to divorce are so huge that many women, even under the most adverse condition, continue to suffer and stay married rather than separate and seek a divorce. (Booth & Amato, 1994).

Another most important reason for divorce is dowry system. North Indian states are more likely to participate in the dowry system. This is the general concept of North Indian states like Haryana, Punjab, Rajasthan that the “wife-givers” are socially and ritually inferior to the “wife-takers”. The size of the bride’s dowry may be a matter of particular concern. The various studies show that the practice of the dowry is a social curse to women contributing to marital tensions and divorce (Singh, 2013).

Other important reasons for low divorce rate in northern India are due to social support, spirituality, employment status, less workforce participation of women, less educational attainments etc. If we see the overall marriage and fertility culture in a northeastern part of India, women are empowered like a man at every aspect of life. In northeastern part If women are married and if they are not happy with their marriage, the woman can go for the divorce. In the Northeast part of India, there are more freedom for women to go for inter-caste as well as inter-religion marriages. Since the women in the northeastern states enjoy the freedom of marital decisions, the mean age at marriage is also very high in this region. The societal and economic

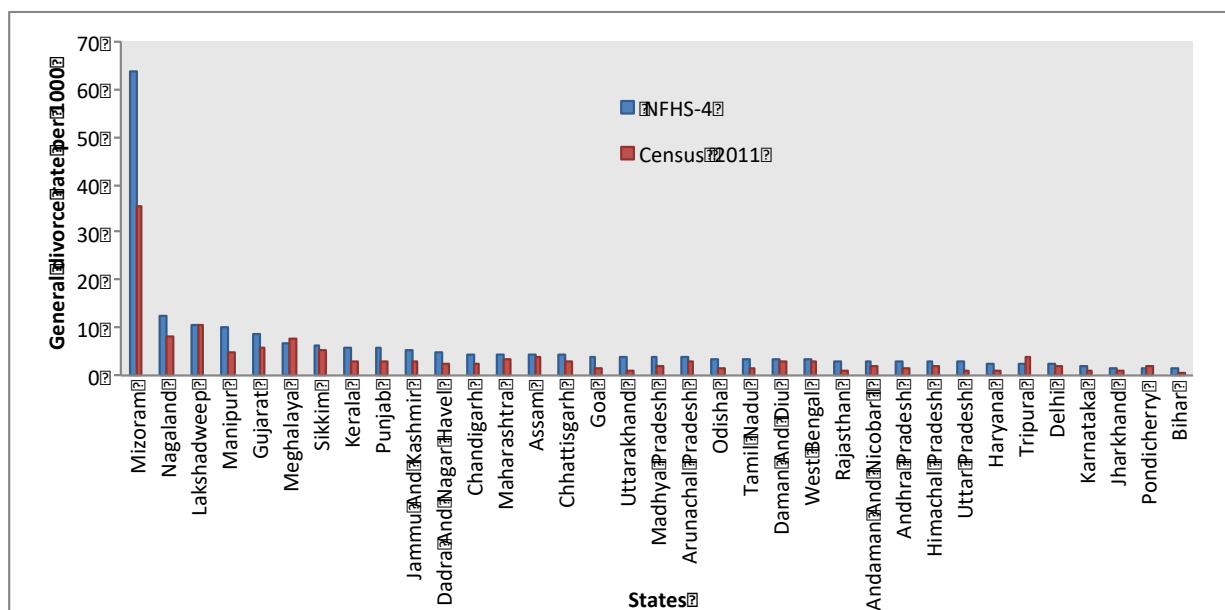
status of the women is high because of the matrilineal practices. (Das, 2013) Especially Employed women are more likely to go for divorce when there are issues than those who are not working. Most of the people are tribal in northeastern part and they are confronted with modernization and western values (Ghosh, 2011).

In South India also women has better education and empowerment as compared to north of the country. The data on domestic violence show low incidence in south Indian states. Women participation in labour market is also high in these states except in Kerala. Consanguineous marriage is also prevalent where female marry to their close relatives who are known to them. In south India, there is a less social restriction on female occupational choice (Dyson and Moore, 1983).

6.3 A comparative study of National family health survey-4 (2015-2016) and Census of India, 2011

A comparative study has been done for computing the general divorce rate for all the states and union territories of Indian states using NFHS and Census data.

Figure 1.1 General Divorce rate in different states of India: Census of India, 2011 and National family health survey-4 (2015-2016)



Source: computed from the National family health survey-4 (2017) and Census of India, 2011

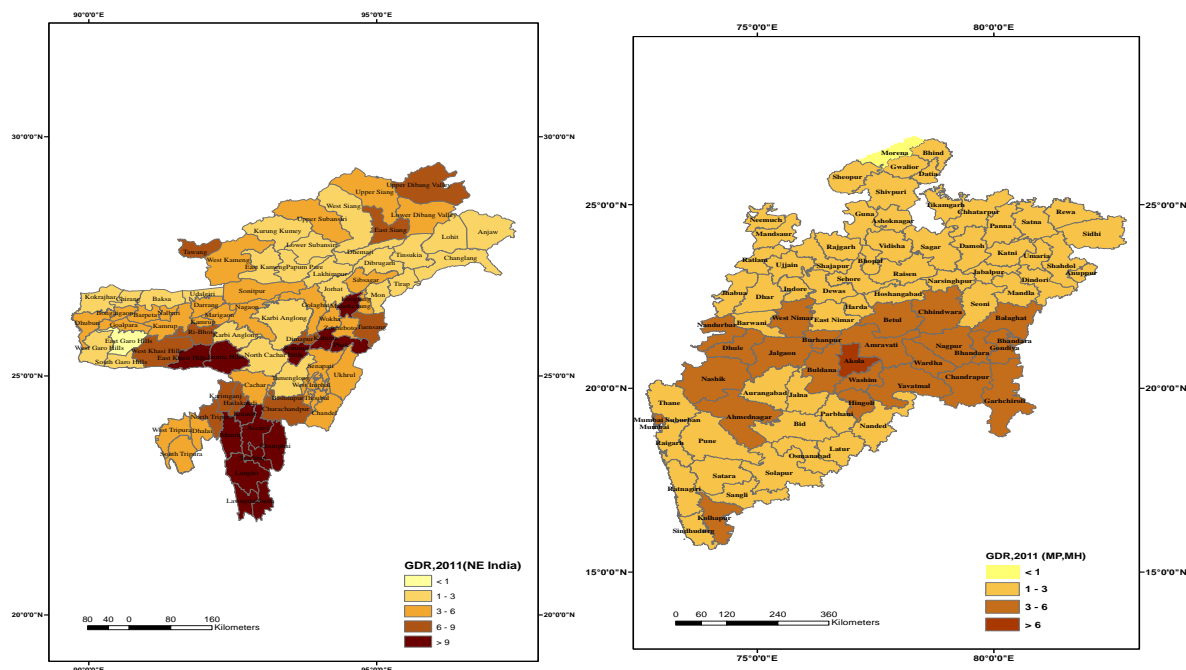
The NFHS estimates of general divorce rate are higher as compared to the divorce rate based on the census at all India level. According to NFHS4, the general divorce rate for India is 3.7 per 1000 and according to National census 2011, it is 2.12. According to NFHS, the highest general divorce rate is reported from the state of Mizoram while the lowest general divorce rate is reported from Bihar. The general divorce rate in Mizoram was found to be 63.70 per 1000 among the married population. Bihar, on the other hand, reported only the general divorce rate of 1.2 per 1000 among the married population.

Like in NFHS, as per census 2011, though the general divorce rate is highest in the state of Mizoram and lowest in the state of Bihar, there is the difference in the magnitude of the divorce rate. While Mizoram had the divorce rate of 23.71 per 1000 among the married population, Bihar had 0.33 per 1000 among the married population.

6.4 Detail analysis of the District wise general Divorce rate in North East India, Maharashtra and Madhya Pradesh, 2011

As we have seen that the general divorce rate of the northeastern states is higher as compared to the rest of the states in India. This section will try to make an effort to understand the district wise general divorce rate in the northeastern states. Along with the northeastern states, the district-wise general divorce rate in the state of Maharashtra and Madhya Pradesh will also be analyzed in this section.

Map 1.3 The general divorce rate in India (Northeastern states, Madhya Pradesh and Maharashtra), 2011



(Source: computed from the Census of India, 2011)

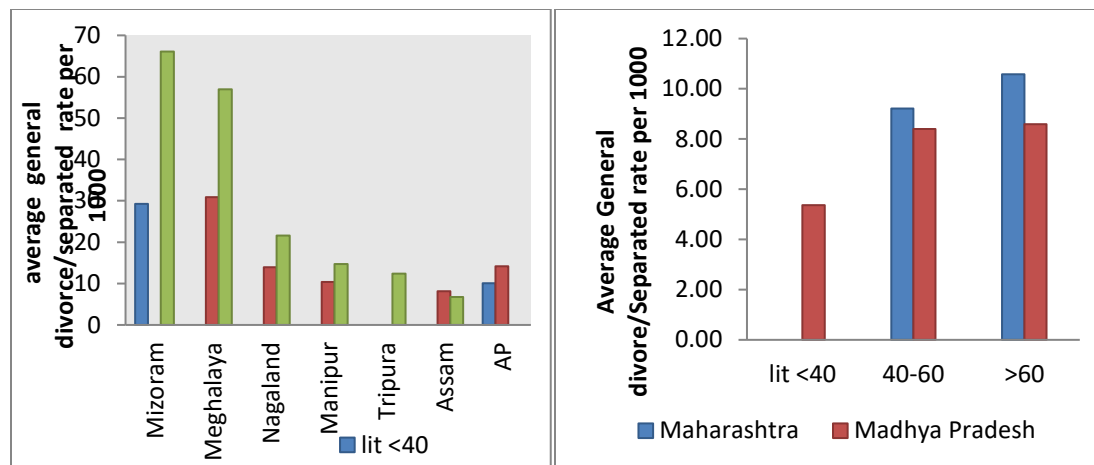
Because of the greater difference in the general divorce rate, the general divorce rate has been grouped into five categories. The five categories are: very low general divorce rate (less than 1 per 1000 among the married population), low divorce rate (1-2 per 1000 among married population), medium divorce rate (3-6 per 1000 among the married population), high divorce rate (6-9 per 1000 among married population) and very high general divorce rate (above 9 per 1000 among married population).

6.5. Major Determinants of Divorce/Separation in the selected nine states of India, 2011

6.5.1. Female literacy

In India, the literacy for the female is low as compared to the male. But over the time the literacy of female is increasing. Because of the increasing educational status among women, they are becoming more autonomous and independent. The study observes a positive relationship between female literacy and divorce.

Figure 1.2 Average general divorce/separated rate by Female literacy level across districts of selected Northeastern states, Madhya Pradesh and Maharashtra, 2011



Source: computed from the Census of India, 2011

From Figure 1.2, it is found that the general divorce /separated rate is 29.30 per 1000 among the married population for the districts of Mizoram when the female literacy rate is below 40 per cent. For the literacy rate above or equal to 60 percentage, the share of average general divorce/separated rate is as high as 66.09 per 1000 among the married population. Similarly, for the states of Mizoram and Meghalaya, the average general divorced/separated rate associated with high literacy rate is relatively very high. When the female literacy rate is above or equal to 60 per cent, the general divorced /separated rate is found to be 55 per 1000 among the married population. For the literacy rate greater than or equal to 40 per cent but less than 60 per cent the average general divorced/separated rate was 30 per 1000 among the married population.

The average general divorced/separated rate corresponding to different literacy levels for the rest of the northeastern states is much less as compared to Mizoram and Meghalaya. Arunachal Pradesh recorded very low divorce/separated rate. The share of the average general divorced/separated rate for the literacy level of less than 40 per cent was found to be 10 per 1000 among the married population. For the literacy level greater than or equal to 40 per cent but less than 60 per cent, the average general divorced/separated rate was reported to be 14.16 per 1000 among the married population. In the districts of Maharashtra, for the female literacy rate above or equal to 60 per cent, the general divorced/separated rate is 10.58 per 1000 among the married population and it is 8.59 per 1000 among the married population in Madhya Pradesh. However, the lower literacy level is associated with the lower divorced/separated rate.

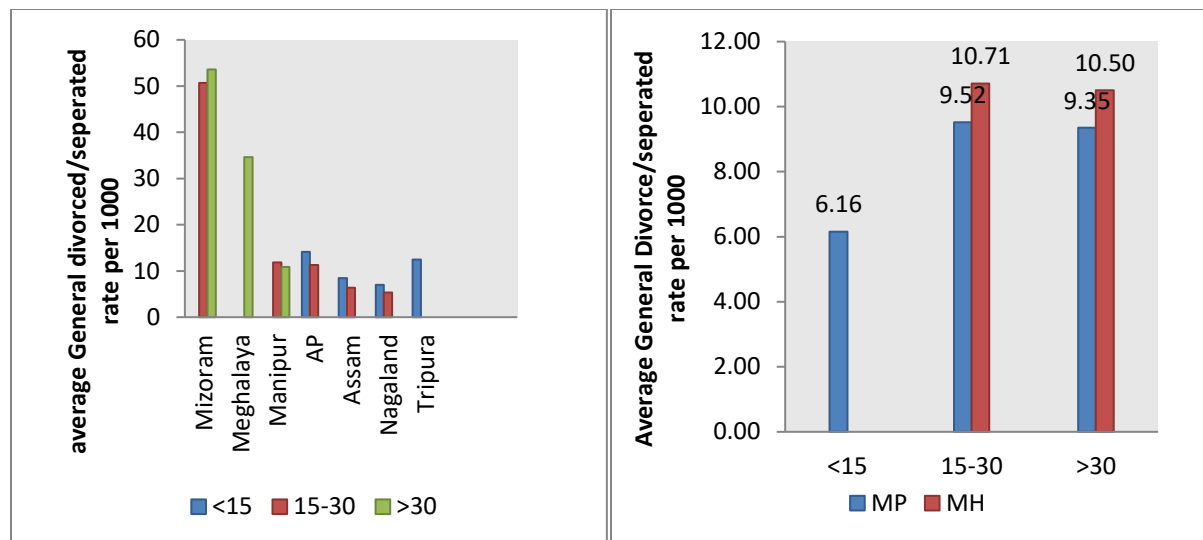
Comparison in above figure 1.2 reveals that except Assam and Arunachal Pradesh, the general divorced/separated rate for rest of the five states in the northeast: Mizoram, Meghalaya, Nagaland, Manipur and Tripura are higher than Maharashtra and Madhya Pradesh. We also saw that with an increase in the literacy level, there is increasing tendency of higher divorce or separated cases. This positive association is shown with the help of Figure 4.3.

The study conducted by Matysiak, Styrac and Vignoli (2014) take Educational attainment as a broad measure to capture individual autonomy, independence, economic potential, social status, and wider social changes. It has also studied the impact of these changes on the marital stability. According to Baker (1991), women's educational attainment is a road towards more female economic independence. It is also pointed out that highly educated women have more socio-economic resources than others to handle divorce and life after divorce (Blossfeld et al. 1995). Moreover, highly educated women are less traditional and more willing to terminate the unhappy marriage, even if doing so involves the violation of social norms (Levinger, 1979). Nevertheless, some researchers argue that more educated women may have a stable marriage because they are more likely to find a matching partner and have higher communication skills, which are an important ground for marriage stability (Hoem, 1997).

6.6. Female workers

This section tries to find out how far the female workforce participation rate is responsible for the divorce.

Figure 1.3 Share of average General divorce/separated rate according to main Female workforce participation rate among northeastern states, 2011



Source: computed from the Census of India, 2011

The share of average general divorced/seperated rate in the districts of Mizoram with main female work participation rate greater than or equal to 15 but less than 30 per cent is found to be 50.69 per 1000 among the married population. The share rose to 53.58 per 1000 among the married population for the districts with main female workforce participation rate greater than or equal to 30 per cent. Thus it can be seen an increase in average general divorced/seperated rate with the increase in the main female workforce participation rate in the state of Mizoram. But such increase is not found in the rest of the four states: Manipur, Assam, Arunachal Pradesh and Nagaland.

A similar pattern is observed in the state of Maharashtra. The districts with main female workforce participation rate greater than or equal to 15 per cent but less than 30 per cent had a higher share of average general divorced/seperated rate as compared to greater than or equal to 30 per cent main female workforce participation rate.

Thus we found that for the first two groups of main female workforce participation rate i.e. up to 30 per cent, the average general divorced/seperated rate is increasing but after that, the female work participation rate slightly declines except for the state of Mizoram. Such pattern in the divorce rate could be due to the fact that higher women workforce rate may not imply higher

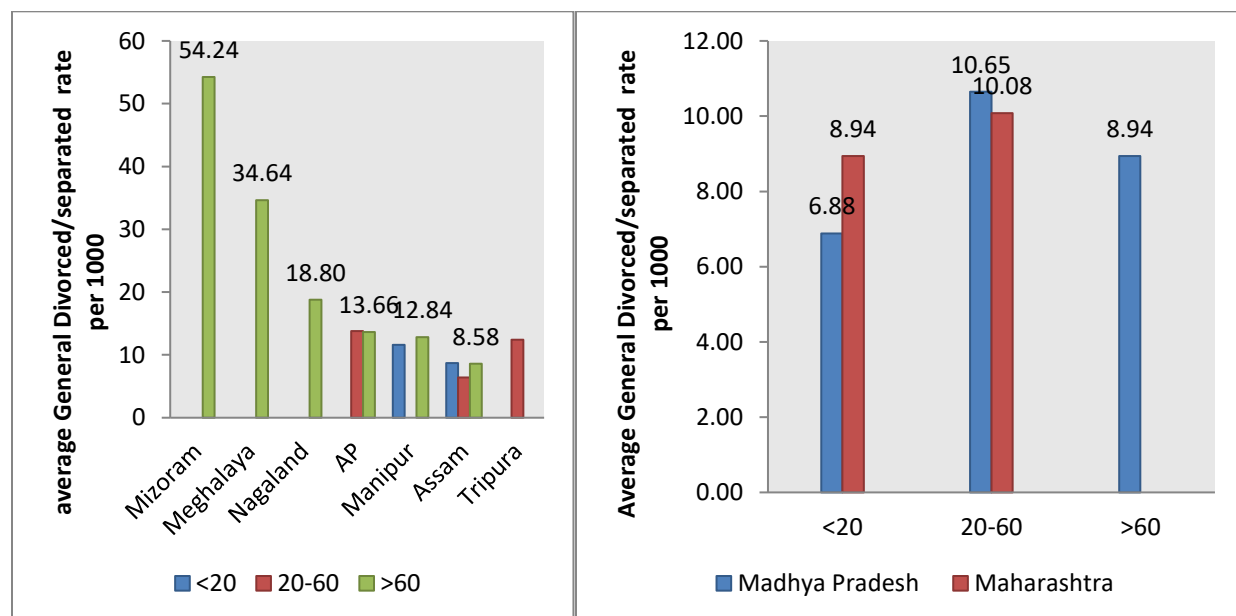
income for the women. The relation between main female workforce participation rate and the average general divorced/separated rate is also shown with the help of figure 1.3. The figure shows a positive relationship between main female workforce participation rate and the average general divorced/separated rate in general.

To some extent, an increase in the earning ability of women is a consequence of a higher divorce rate (Becker 1981). Sander (1985) infers that the divorce rate is significantly and substantially affected by the earning capacity of women in the marketplace. Joesch and Smith (1997) also find that higher women earnings were positively related to divorce rates.

6.7. Schedule Tribe

Figure 1.4 Average general Divorce/separated rate in the Schedule tribe in India northeastern states, Madhya Pradesh and Maharashtra), 2011

Divorce and separation rate cannot be studied as a consequence of only one factor. There are different factors leading to divorce and separation. Among such factors, caste affiliation could also contribute to divorce and separation. Since the large number of population in the northeastern states belongs to ST category, the social group wise average general divorced/separated rate is analyzed only for ST category in this section. Figure 1.4 gives us the ST wise average general divorced/separated rate for the seven northeastern states of India.



Source: computed from the Census of India, 2011

In the state of Madhya Pradesh and Maharashtra, the districts having less than 20 percentage of ST population reported the average general divorced/separated rate of 6.88 and 8.94 per 1000 among the married population respectively. In both the states, the average general divorced/separated rate increased for the districts having ST population greater or equal to 20 percentage but less than 60 percentage. While none of the districts in Maharashtra had more than 60 per cent of the ST population, the districts in Madhya Pradesh having greater than 60 percentage of the ST population had the average general divorced/separated rate of 8.94 per 1000 among the married population.

The research study of Nongbri (2003) suggested that the states of India's Northeast: Meghalaya, Mizoram, Tripura, Nagaland, Arunachal Pradesh, Manipur and Assam, the patterns of marriage are different. The tribal customary laws allow for unions, which are informal, and where cohabiting couples are deemed married (Nongbri 2003; Xaxa 2004). Goode (1951) supports the statement that when legal and administrative barriers to divorce are lifted, then divorce is more accessible to all social classes.

6.8.Socioeconomic factors associated with the general divorced/separated rate: Fixed effect model

To understand the socio-economic factors associated with the general divorced/separated rate, panel data regression has been run for the selected nine states for the year 1991, 2001 and 2011. Here the general divorced/separated rate is considered as the dependent variable. Different independent variables included in the analysis are Religion, Female Literacy, male literacy, male main workers, female main workers, marginal male workers and marginal female workers.

After confirming through the Hausman test, a fixed-effect model was found to be suitable than the random effect model. The result of the fixed effect model is given in Table 4.1.

Table 1.1 fixed effect model

General divorced/separated rate = dependent variable,

Independent variables	Coefficient	Std. Error	t-statistic
Hindu	0.0626322	0.082206	0.76

Muslim	0.0446049	0.0869561	0.51
Christians	0.192173**	0.0841727	2.28
Buddhists	0.1234886	0.0967176	1.28
Other	0.1066347	0.0898103	1.19
Male Literacy	-0.6492656***	0.1282826	-5.06
Female literacy	0.7502088***	0.1094011	6.86
Male main workers	0.426232***	0.0999601	4.26
Female main workers	0.0122478	0.0600754	0.2
Marginal male workers	-0.5828693***	0.1565013	-3.72
Marginal female workers	0.3909376***	0.0898296	4.35
Constant	-12.23096	10.54768	-1.16

Level of significance (P) <0.001*** <0.01** <0.05*

R-square = within 0.4522, Between= 0.3138, Overall= 0.4484

Source: Computed from the Census of India, 1991; Census of India, 2001 and Census of India, 2011.

From the above table, it is clear that religion does not play an important role in determining divorce except among Christians across districts of northeastern states, Maharashtra and Madhya Pradesh

In case of the Christian population, divorce rate is much higher than the other religious groups. The female literacy shows significant relationship with divorce/separation rate. An increase in the female literacy will increase in the divorce/Separated rate substantially. Whereas, in case of male literacy it is opposite i.e. if the male literacy increases, the probability of getting divorced/separated rate decreases. But the probability of getting divorce or separation increases for the main male workers.

If we compare the female main workers and female marginal workers there is a higher probability for the marginal female workers to get divorce or separated. But the coefficient for the main female workers is not significant.

6.9 SECOND DEMOGRAPHIC TRANSITION AND DIVORCE

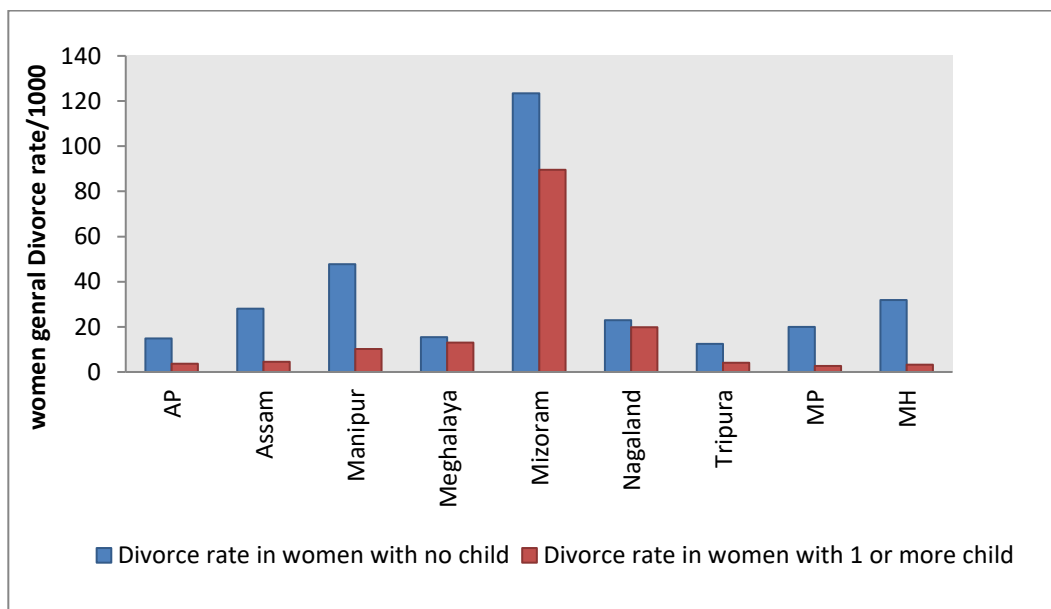
6.9.1 Women general divorce rate the factors associated with it, 2015-2016

The main factors considered to understand the second demographic transition for the current study are a number of children, type of residence, exposure to mass media. There is tried to study the association between these factors and the divorce.

6.9.1.1. Association between the children and divorced women

One of the important factors leading to second demographic transition is very low fertility. The average number of children considerably comes down which has potential influence on divorce. Figure 6.1 shows the relation between the number of children and the women's general divorce rate in the selected nine states. For this purpose divorced women have been divided into two groups. The first group includes women divorced but with no children and the second group includes women divorced with one or more than one children.

Figure 1.5 General divorce rate by number of children among women, India: 2015-2016



Source: Computed from the National family health survey-4, (2017)

It is clear from Figure 1.5 that for all the nine states, women general divorce rate is higher for women with no children than the women with one or more than one children. The general divorce rate among women with no children is highest for Mizoram and lowest for the divorced women of Arunachal Pradesh. For women with no children, the general divorce rate is 124 per 1000 among the married population in Mizoram. In Arunachal Pradesh, the general divorce rate is 15 per 1000 among the married population. The general divorce rate for the women with one or more than one children is highest again in Mizoram but lowest for Madhya Pradesh.

Demographers earlier analyzed the relation between the children and the divorce, for example, Backer (1973) concluded that Couples with children are less likely to divorce. Jacobson (1978) also favoured the Becker's statement and noted that divorce is evidently correlated with childlessness. Children are not only the most important investment in a marriage but can also enhance the emotion and interdependence between husband and wife. Therefore, couples with children have a lower divorce risk (Waite and Lillard, 1991).

In the dynamic process of children growing up, children's effect on the stability of marriage changes (Heaton 1990). Finally, the impact of children differs by gender. Studies have found that having sons is more protective of the stability of marriage (Morgan et al., 1988). Empirical studies have found that couples with children have lower marital satisfaction (Belsky et al., 1983). Most studies suggest that the number of children has a linear relation with divorce risk indicating that greater the number of children, the lower the risk of divorce (White 1990).

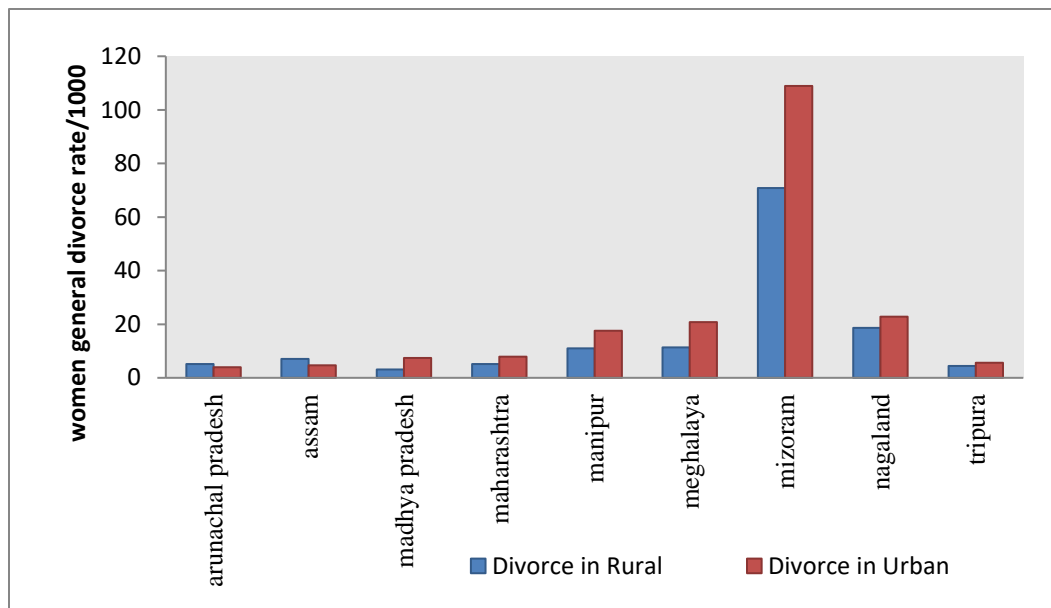
Some researchers have found that the number of children and divorce risk has a U-shaped nonlinear relationship and that either too many or too few children are not favourable to the stability of a marriage (Xu and Yu, 2015). Children's age has an impact on the risk of divorce (Heaton 1990). Studies have found that younger children can lower the divorce risk. The probability that mothers of two or more children would divorce after separation was significantly lower than for childless women, or those with only one child (Helen, 2011) and Barrington in 2013 also suggested that divorce is more common among childless.

6.9.1.2. Association between residence type and women general divorce rate

The general divorce rate among woman gets affected by the place of residence. Peters (1986) and Jalovaara (2010) found that the divorce risk is lower in rural areas compared to the urban areas. Dommaraju (2016) analyzed that the urban women have a higher risk than rural women, and those whose husbands have the lowest level of education have a higher risk. Sonawat (2001) also found relatively higher risk of divorce in urban areas.

Figure 1.6 demonstrates the residence wise general divorce rate among women for the nine states. The general divorce rate in all is found to be higher for the ever-married women in urban areas as compared to the rural areas except for the state of Assam and Arunachal Pradesh.

Figure 1.6 residence wise general divorce rate among women, India: 2015-2016



Source: Computed from the National family health survey-4

However, it is also found that the difference in the general divorce rate between the rural and the urban area is less expect for Mizoram and Meghalaya. While the urban area of the Mizoram had general divorce rate of 109 per 1000 among the married population, the rural area had a general divorce rate of 71 per 1000 among the married population. The general divorce rate for the rural areas is highest in Mizoram and lowest in Madhya Pradesh. Thus we see that general divorce rate is higher in urban areas as compared to the rural areas.

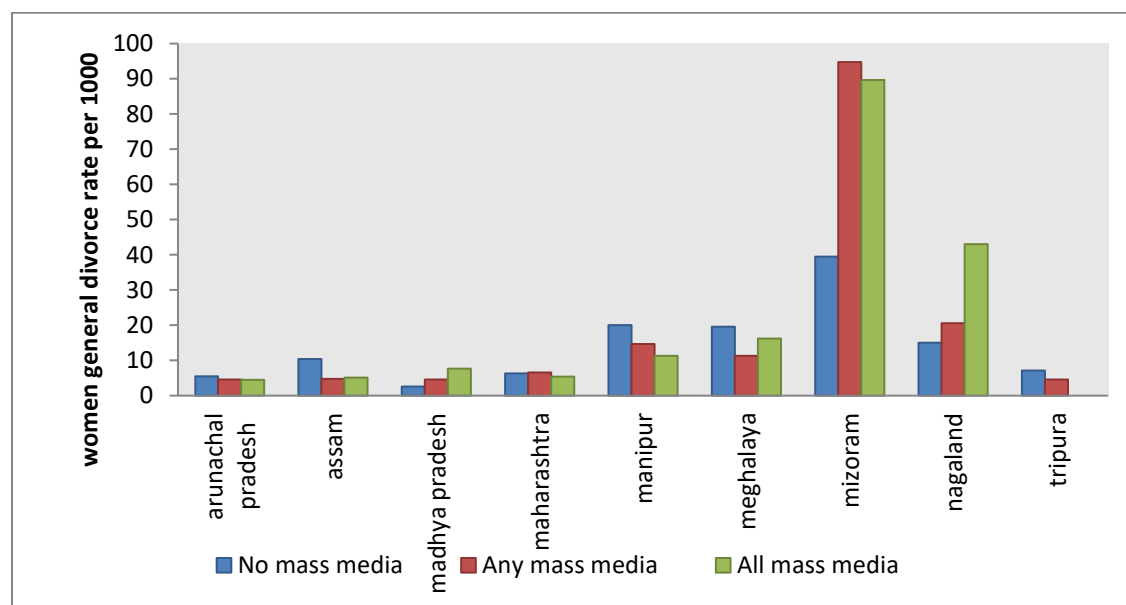
6.9.1.3. Association between mass media and general divorce rate

Media plays an important role in influencing particularly in changing the attitude of the people towards marriage as an institution. Media has not only played a role in shaping cultures but also pushed societies into a united globalized culture (Bouziane, Ibrahaine, 2011). Singh (2012) suggested that media is portraying divorce in normalizing effect. Stories and movies seen on TV

every day show that when reconciliation between spouses doesn't work, the first thing that should be considered is contacting the divorce court. According to Yasmina (2016), as expected, the media effect is positively related to the divorce rate among both females and males.

Figure 1.7 will thus help us to understand the relation between the general divorce rate and the exposure of mass media on divorce among women. Three classification of exposure to mass media is made. The first group involves those women who were not exposed to any mass media and the second includes those who are exposed to any kind of mass media and the third includes those who are exposed to all mass media.

Figure 1.7 General divorce rate among women as per mass media exposure, India: 2015-2016



Source: Computed from the National family health survey-4

6.10. Binomial Logistic regression

In order to find the association between divorce rate and the factors associated with the second demographic transition, a binomial logistic regression has been used. For the binomial logistic regression, the general divorce rate has been used as dependent variable and the different independent variables used for this regression are provided in Table 1.2.

Table 1.2. Binomial logistic regression on the divorce with other second demographic transition indicators for nine states of India, 2015-2016

Independent Variables	Odds Ratio	Std. Err.	Z
No children@			
At least one child	0.3215159***	0.0193921	-18.81
Rural@			
Urban	2.100267***	0.111152	14.02
No Mass media@			
Mass media exposure	1.331781***	0.098889	3.86
Northeastern@			
Madhya Pradesh	0.2237085***	0.0166316	-20.14
Maharashtra	0.279451***	0.0250656	-14.21
Constant	0.0307621	0.00256	-41.83

*p<0.05, **p<0.01, ***p<0.001

Source: Computed from the National family health survey-4, (2017)

The result of the binomial logistic regression in the above table shows that as compared to the married women having no children, women with at least one children have less likelihood of getting divorced. For the women with at least one child the likelihood of getting divorced decreases considerably. The residence wise data show that urban women are more likely to get divorced than rural women. The probability of getting divorced for the urban married women increases by odds 110. There is also a positive relation between mass media exposure and divorce. The Exposure of women to mass media increases the general divorce rate by odds of 33.

As compared to married women of northeastern states, the married women of Madhya Pradesh and Maharashtra are less likelihood to get divorced. For the married women in Maharashtra and Madhya Pradesh, the probability of getting divorce decreases by odds 27 and 22 respectively.

7 Summary of the chapters

This study aims to understand the relationship between second demographic transition and divorce in the context of selected states in India using available data. The study presents an

analysis of the district wise general divorce rate for the year 2011 and looks at the trend of the general divorce rate in selected nine states of India from 1991-2011. To get a clearer picture of divorce age and gender wise analysis is also undertaken.

It is evident from the study that modernization and other similar changes will have significant effect on the decision on divorce. The second demographic transition mainly signifies such changes, which will have ramification for the marriage patterns and living arrangements including divorce. The family has been recognized as a basic unit of the society and a link between individual and community. Though the structure of the family continues to be patriarchal, a number of changes have been observed in the pattern of marriage such as age at marriage, proportions remaining single, divorce etc. Therefore, divorce needs to be understood in the larger context of changes taking place in a society.

A relative increase is noticed in the marriage age in urban India where fertility level reached below the replacement. The present study also found that the trends of the divorce and the separation rate are increasing in India. And the decadal growth of divorce is also faster than the earlier decades in recent times. Therefore, it implies that there is a possibility of increasing divorce in the country in the coming decades and the country needs to prepare for such changes.

Various socio-economic factors as discussed earlier like religion, social group, residence type, number of children, household size, wealth of the family, education of women, mass media was found to be having significant effect on enhancing divorce in the country. The socio-economic changes are faster in the country which is likely to have a major effect on marriage patterns as well. The regions with low divorce rate currently are also progressing in demographic, socio-economic patterns faster. Thus, the changes in divorce may also be likely to be faster in future which needs to be taken into account by the policy makers and planners.

Finally, it is observed that the increasing divorce rate will can lead India into a deeper levels of second demographic transition. Some parts of the country like the northeastern states have relatively higher levels of divorce rate and those states may also be showing increasing signs of the second demographic transition. Thus policies need to be different as the country also

signifies considerable changes across regions in terms of demographic and socio-economic changes.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Dyson, T., & Moore, M. (1983). On kinship structure, female autonomy, and demographic behavior in India. *Population and development review*, 35-60.
2. Barrington, D. S., Adeyemo, A. A., & Rotimi, C. N. (2013). Childhood family living arrangements and blood pressure in black men: the Howard University Family Study. *Hypertension*, HYPERTENSIONAHA-113.
3. Becker, G.S. 1981. *A Treatise on the Family*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
4. Booth, A., & Amato, P. R. (1994). Parental marital quality, parental divorce, and relations with parents. *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, 21-34.
5. Caldwell, J. C. (1976). Toward a restatement of demographic transition theory. *Population and development review*, 321-366.
6. Davis, K. (1945). The world demographic transition. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 237(1), 1-11.
7. Das, I. (2013). Status of Women: North Eastern Region of India versus India. *International Journal of Scientific and Research Publications*, 3(1), 1-8.
8. Dikshit, K. R., & Dikshit, J. K. (2014). Natural hazards in the North-East region of India. In *North-East India: Land, People and Economy* (pp. 175-191). Springer, Dordrecht.
9. Dommaraju, P., & Jones, G. (2011). Divorce trends in Asia. *Asian Journal of Social Science*, 39(6), 725-750.
10. Dommaraju, P. (2016). Divorce and separation in India. *Population and Development Review*, 42(2), 195-223.
11. Ghosh, B. (2011). Cultural changes and challenges in the era of globalization: The case of India. *Journal of Developing Societies*, 27(2), 153-175.
12. Goode, W. J. (1951). Economic factors and marital stability. *American Sociological Review*, 16(6), 802-812.

13. Goode, W. J. (1963). *World Revolution and Family Patterns*. New York, NY: Free Press.
14. Heaton, T. B. (1990). Marital stability throughout the child-rearing years. *Demography*, 27(1), 55-63.
15. Hoem, J. M. (1997). Educational gradients in divorce risks in Sweden in recent decades. *Population studies*, 51(1), 19-27.
16. International Institute for Population Sciences (IIPS) and ICF. 2017. *National Family Health Survey (NFHS-4), 2015-2016: India*. Mumbai: IIPS.
17. Jacobson, D. S. (1978). The impact of marital separation/divorce on children: II. Interparent hostility and child adjustment. *Journal of Divorce*, 2(1), 3-19.
18. Joesch, J. M., & Smith, K. R. (1997). Children's health and their mothers' risk of divorce or separation. *Social Biology*, 44(3-4), 159-169.
19. Kaa V, D. J. (1987). Europe's second demographic transition. *Population bulletin*, 42(1), 1-59.
20. Lesthaeghe, R. (1995). The second demographic transition in Western countries: An interpretation. In Oppenheim M., K. & Jensen, A-M. (Ed) *Gender and Family Change in Industrialized Countries* (pp. 17-62). Oxford: Clarendon Press.
21. Lesthaeghe, R. (2011). The "Second demographic transition": A conceptual map for the understanding of late modern demographic developments in fertility and family formation. *Historical Social Research/Historische Sozialforschung*, 179-218.
22. Lesthaeghe, R. (2014). *The fertility transition in sub-Saharan Africa into the 21st century*. Ann Arbor, MI: Univeristy of Michigan.
23. Lesthaeghe, R., & Neels, K. (2002). From the first to the second demographic transition: an interpretation of the spatial continuity of demographic innovation in France, Belgium and Switzerland. *European Journal of Population/Revue européenne de démographie*, 18(4), 325-360.
24. Lesthaeghe, R. (1983). A century of demographic and cultural change in Western Europe: An exploration of underlying dimensions. *Population and development Review*, 411-435.
25. Lesthaeghe, R., & Moors, G. (1994). Living arrangements and parenthood: Do values matter?. *Centrum Sociologie, Vrije Universiteit Brussel*.
26. Matysiak, A., Styrc, M., & Vignoli, D. (2014). The educational gradient in marital disruption: A meta-analysis of European research findings. *Population Studies*, 68(2), 197-215.

27. Morgan, S. P., Lye, D. N., & Condran, G. A. (1988). Sons, daughters, and the risk of marital disruption. *American journal of sociology*, 94(1), 110-129.
28. Nongbri, T. (2003). *Development, ethnicity and gender: select essays on tribes in India*. Rawat Publications.
29. Notestein, F. W. (1945). International Population Readjustments. *Proceedings of the Academy of Political Science*, 21(2), 94-102.
30. Registrar General of India (RGI). (1991). *Census of India 1991: General economic tables (B-series)*. Registrar General and Census Commissioner of India, Ministry of Home Affairs, New Delhi, India.
31. Registrar General of India (RGI). (2001). *Census of India 2001: General economic (tables B-series)*. Registrar General and Census Commissioner of India, Ministry of Home Affairs, New Delhi, India.
32. Registrar General of India (RGI). (2011). *Census of India 2011: General economic (tables B-series)*. Registrar General and Census Commissioner of India, Ministry of Home Affairs, New Delhi, India.
33. Registrar General of India (RGI). (1991). *Census of India 1991: Social and cultural (tables C-series)*. Registrar General and Census Commissioner of India, Ministry of Home Affairs, New Delhi, India.
34. Registrar General of India (RGI). (2001). *Census of India 2001: Social and cultural (tables C-series)*. Registrar General and Census Commissioner of India, Ministry of Home Affairs, New Delhi, India.
35. Registrar General of India (RGI). (2011). *Census of India 2011: Social and cultural (tables C-series)*. Registrar General and Census Commissioner of India, Ministry of Home Affairs, New Delhi, India.
36. Savaya, R., & Cohen, O. (2003). Perceptions of the societal image of Muslim Arab divorced men and women in Israel. *Journal of Social and Personal Relationships*, 20(2), 193-202.
37. Sander, W. (1985). Women, work, and divorce. *The American Economic Review*, 75(3), 519-523.
38. Singhal, V. (2014). *Honour Killing in India: An Assessment*.

39. Singh, A. K., & Sinha, R. K. (2005, July). Growing incidence of divorce in Indian cities: a study of Mumbai. In XXV International Union for the Scientific Study of Population Conference, July (pp. 18-23).
40. Singh, M. (2013). Dowry as a factor of violence in Marriage: A study of Women seeking help in Family Counseling Centers in Chandigarh. *International Journal of Advancements in Research and Technology*, 2(6), 40-52.
41. Singh, M. (2012). Divorce and the media. Retrieved from http://www.divorcemag.com/articles/News_and_Views/divorceandmedia.html
42. Sonawat, R. (2001). Understanding families in India: A reflection of societal changes. *Psicologia: Teoria e Pesquisa*, 17(2), 177-186.
43. Waite, L. J., & Lillard, L. A. (1991). Children and marital disruption. *American Journal of Sociology*, 96(4), 930-953.
44. White, L. K. (1990). Determinants of divorce: A review of research in the eighties. *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, 904-91.
45. Xaxa, V. (2004). Women and Gender in the Study of Tribes in India. *Indian Journal of Gender Studies*, 11(3), 345-367.
46. Xu, Q., Yu, J., & Qiu, Z. (2015). The impact of children on divorce risk. *The Journal of Chinese Sociology*, 2(1), 1.
47. Yasmina F and Hamelin N, (2016). The effect of media and economics on the change of divorce rate is Morocco. *International journal of academic research and reflection*. Vol. 4, No. 3,2016