

# The Transition to Lower Fertility in the West Bank and Gaza Strip: Evidence from Recent Surveys

Marwan Khawaja & Shireen Assaf

American University of Beirut





### **Outline**

- Background
- Data sources
- Trends
  - Total (& age specific) Fertility Rate
  - Contraception
  - Marriage
- Conclusions



### Background - Palestinians in the WB & Gaza

- Prolonged occupation
- ...since '67 –
- Massive socio-economic changes
  - Wage labor & expansion of the market economy
  - Land expropriation for Jewish settlement & road networks
  - Social fragmentation dispersed families
  - Economic dependence one-way trade
  - Individual affluence ...

Higher income -- & consumerism

Mass education

Better health

- Mass mobilization & cycles of violence --
  - -Intifada I 1987 until the '93 Oslo accords
  - -Intifada II 2000 until ?





## Palestinian fertility remained high ... especially in Gaza

- Despite substantial decline in mortality
- ... relatively high maternal education
- ... and other favorable social and economic conditions (urbanization, relative affluence)
- Sudden rise in fertility during Intifada I

TFR 8.3 in Gaza in 1991

Especially among the educated & young





### Two arguments

#### Political fertility thesis

- High desire for children because of the Arab-Israeli conflict
  - "Children are weapons against occupation"
- Pro-natalist ideologies (Palestinian nationalist movement)
- Persistent of early marriage

#### Demand for labor

- ...men in the Israeli labor market and spell over
- One wage earner is enough
- Low opportunity costs for women



 Describe recent changes in Palestinian fertility – in the context of prolonged conflict, rising impoverishment & economic hardship

#### Questions:

- Has there been a transition to lower fertility?
- Was the change mainly due to contraceptive use or marriage?
- Has there been a convergence of Gaza/West Bank fertility regimes?





## Data from 4 Household surveys undertaken by the Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics

	Year	Number of Households interviewed	Number of ever married women (15-54)	Number of live births	Response Rate (%)
Demographic Survey (PCBS, 1997)	1995	15,683	16,204	78,49	97.2
Health Survey (PCBS, 1996)	1996	3,934	3,349*		98.2
Demographic & Health Survey (PCBS, 2000)	2000	6,349	5,729	26,07	94.0
Demographic & Health Survey (PCBS, 2004)	2004	5,799	4,972	22,48	88.2

<sup>\*</sup> In this survey, women aged 15-49 were interviewed





### Data for fertility estimation ---

- Retrospective birth history
- Problems in
  - Omissions by mothers
  - Age misstatements by mothers
  - Shifting children birth dates backward by interviewers
- Fertility rates calculated for 5 years preceding the survey



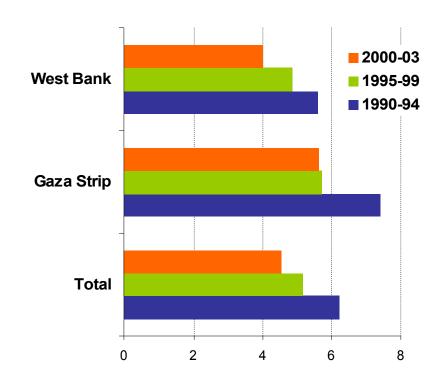


## **Fertility Trends**





## Fertility began to decline, especially in West Bank

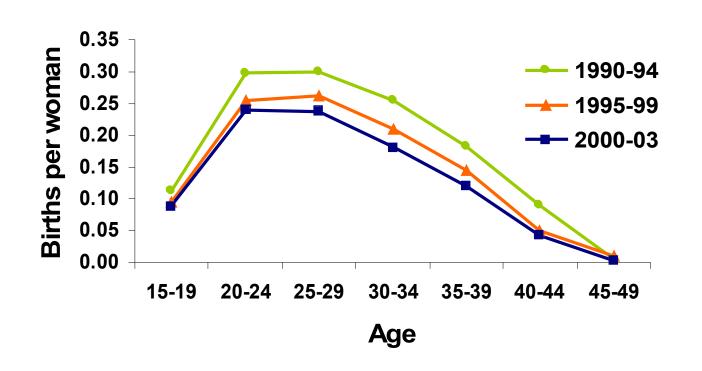


- Total decline in fertility from 6.23
  birth per woman in 1990-94 to 4.56 birth per woman in 2000-03
- But, stalled in Gaza during the second Intifada





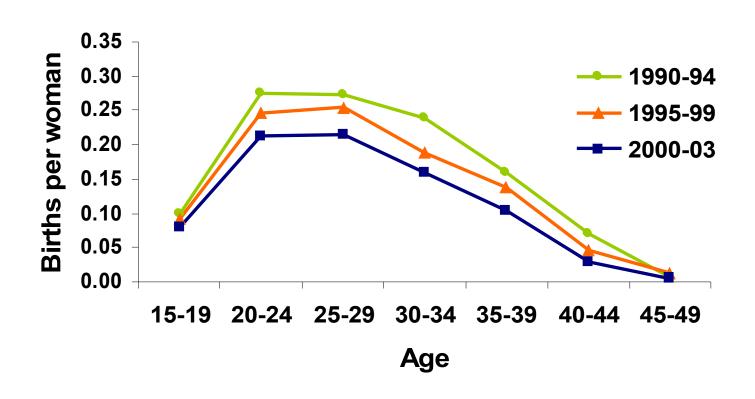
## The overall decline was consistent across age groups







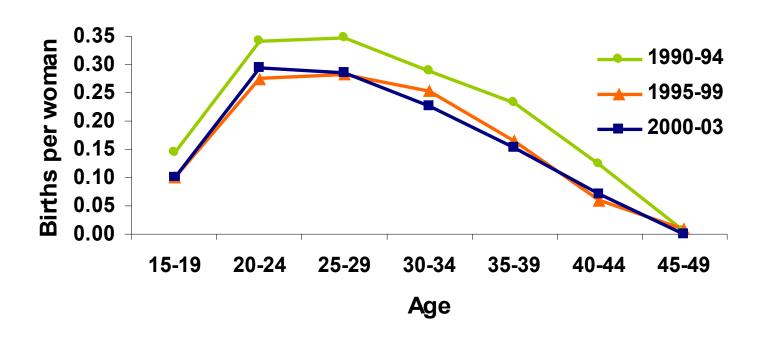
### ..especially in the West Bank







## Gaza Strip – a story of no change?





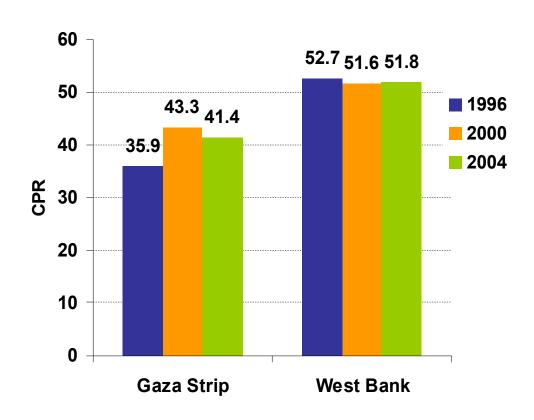


## Contraceptive Use





### CPR – higher in WB; no change

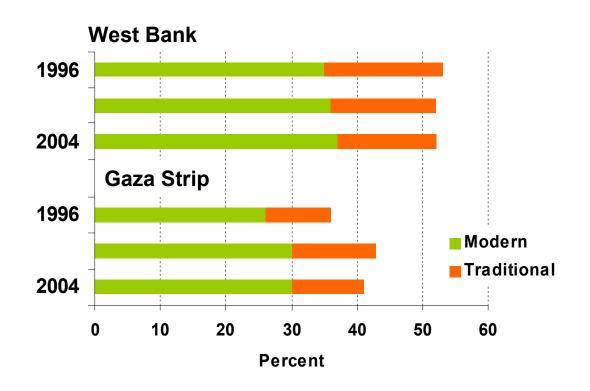


- In Gaza Strip overall contraceptive rate increased from 37% in 1996 to 43.3% in 2000 then decreased again to 41.4% in 2004
- In the West Bank overall contraceptive rate remained constant at about 52% during the period from 1996 to 2004





#### Traditional methods high – little change

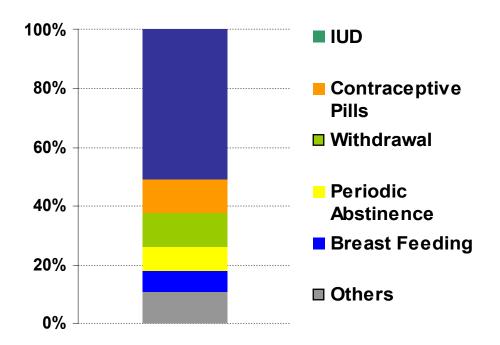


- Both modern & traditional methods are used at a higher rate in the West Bank
- Constant use of modern methods in West Bank
- Modern methods in Gaza only 4% increase since '96





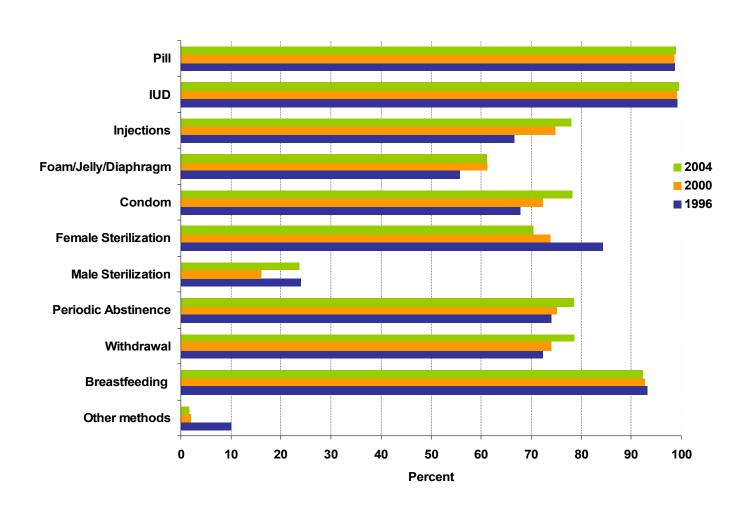
## The majority (51%) use IUD







### Knowledge is high – and increasing







#### Conclusions ---

- Although fertility decreased, contraceptive use remained fairly constant
- Not a question of knowledge/education



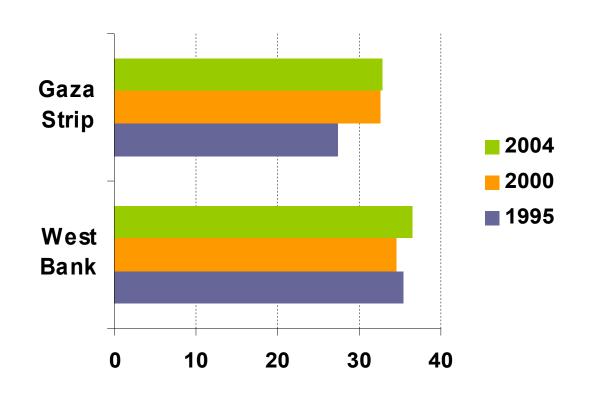


## Marriage leading to lower fertility?





### More single women in West Bank



- West Bank 1 over 3 women has never been married (8% more than in Gaza Strip)
- Gaza Strip: Increased from 27.5% in 1995 to
  33% in 2000, then remained stable

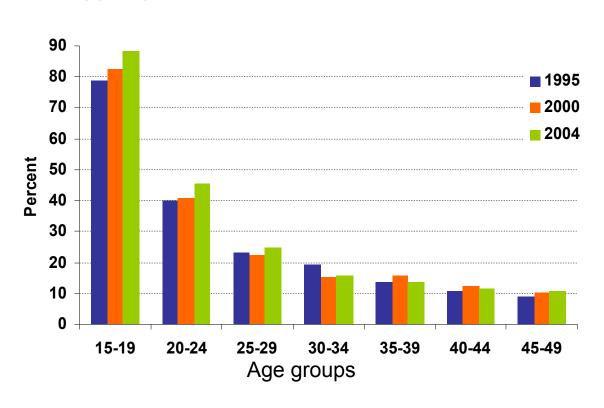
Percent of never married women





## Evidence of marriage postponement, especially for younger women (15-24 years)

#### West Bank



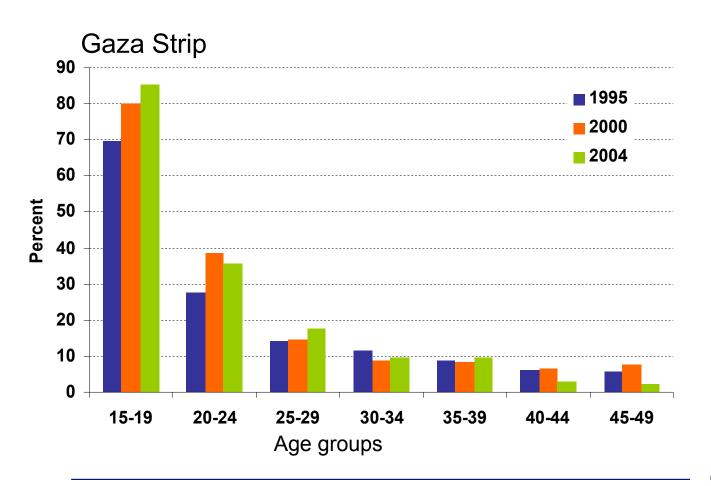
 10% increase in the proportion of never married in the teen years

..and 5% for those aged 20-24





#### The increase is larger in Gaza...



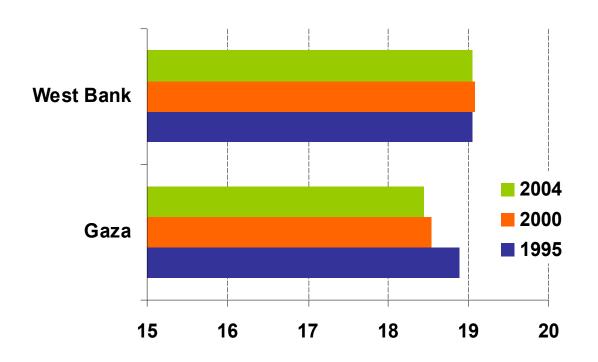
...but Gaza
has lower
proportions
single at
younger ages

...and 15% of teens were married in 2004





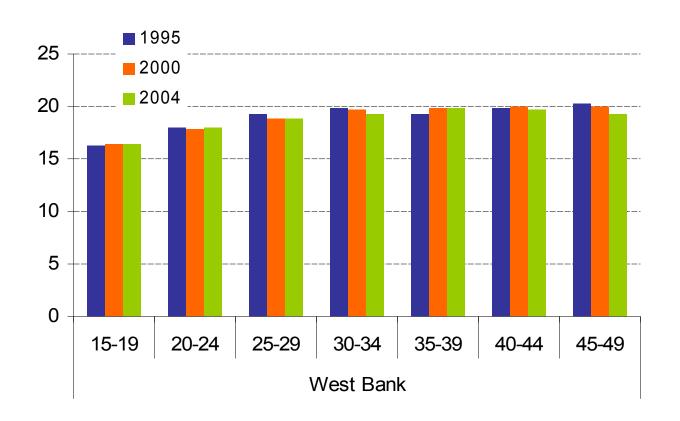
## Mean age at first marriage – no change; decreased in Gaza







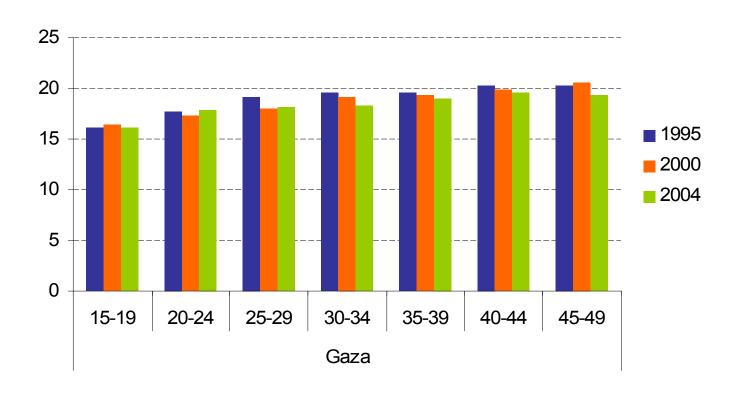
#### Little change in the West Bank







#### Age at marriage -- Gaza





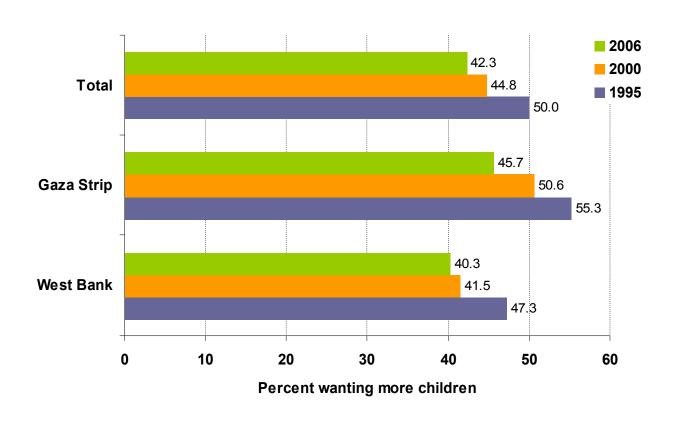


### Less desire for children?





#### Yes -- both Gaza and West Bank

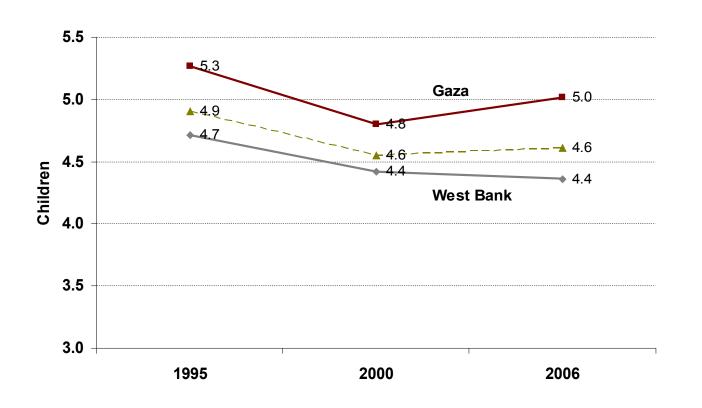


- More than half of women do NOT want any more children
- More desire for children in Gaza than the West Bank
- •...but faster change in Gaza





#### High mean ideal family size – but declined



- •...slightly from 4.9 to 4.6 children
- Increased in Gaza to 5 during Intifada II
- '95: half wanted up to 4;'04: 62% did.





#### Conclusions

- Fertility began to decline, especially in the West Bank
- The decline stalled in Gaza during Intifada II
- The decline was achieved by manipulation of nuptiality rather than marital fertility
  - Little change in contraceptive use
- High desire for children persists,
  - ...but less and less want more children
  - ...there is considerable unwanted pregnancy (50%) & high unmet need for family planning (one fourth of women)
- These data indicate that the fertility decline may accelerate in the future





## Thank you!

