VILLAGE EXOGAMY IN MAHARASHTRA, 1971

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I certify that the dissertation entitled "Village Exogamy in Maharashtra, 1971", submitted by Shri Rajiv Balakrishnan, in fulfilment of six credits out of the total requirements of twenty four credits for the degree of Master of Philosophy (M.Phil) of the University, is, to the best of my knowledge, a bonafide work and may be placed before the examiners for evaluation.

Dated: 25 Aug. 1982

M.K. Sreenivasan
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Dated: 25 Aug, 1982

G.S. Bhalla
CHAIRMAN

To

The Jonathan Livingston Seagull in me

A C K N O W L E D G E M E N T S

I am indebted to Dr.M.K.Premi for helping me to understand the conceptual and methodological aspects of this study, and for making valuable suggestions for the improvement of the first and second drafts of this dissertation.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The geographer's ancient concern with mapping the physical environment has been transformed in recent times into the study of the geographical aspects of the economy. A more recent development has been the focusing of scholarly attention on the geographical patterning of social phenomena.[1] Sopher points out that the geographical approach is particularly appropriate to the study of Indian society, given the strong regional variations in social and cultural patterns in the country. However, due to a dearth of maps showing such variations, it is very often not possible to interpret sociological and anthropological insights in terms of similarities and differences between regions.[2]

The social anthropological tradition of intensive fieldwork, by its very nature, does not permit a regional

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1. Richard L.Morrill and Forest R.Pitts, "Marriage, Migration and the Mean Information Field : A Study of Uniqueness and Generality" in Paul Ward English and Robert C. Mayfield (eds.), Man, Space and Environment : Concepts in Contemperary Human Geography. (London, Oxford University Press, 1972), p.359.

2. David E. Sopher, "Introduction" in David E. Sopher, ed., An Exploration of India : Geographical Perspectives on Society and Culture (London, Longman, 1980), p.27.

view. The geographical perspective, on the other hand, is predisposed to a shallow survey rather than the deeply incisive probe of the social anthropologist. However, while the geographical approach is, in a sense, shallow, it is nevertheless spread over a much wider area, and regional variations studied by the geographer may lead to the discovery of relationships which may not be visible to the social anthropologist.

There is thus a case for the interpenetration of the social anthropological and geographical approaches. The ideal for such an interdisciplinary approach is elucidated by Schwatzberg, who recommends an initial census type survey and preliminary model building, followed by field research, the design of which would partly be based on the census data.[1] Such an approach, by integrating case study insights with patterns of regional variations would, on the one hand, lessen the "uniqueness" problem of the case study and on the other hand lessen the 'ecological fallacy' of the geographical approach (which involves specious inferences from patterns of regional variations).

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1. Joseph E.Schwatzberg, "A Strategy for South Asian Regional Research" in Robert I Crane, ed., Regions and Regionalism in South Asian Studies : An Exploratory study (Duke University Program in Comparitive Studies on Southern Asia, monograph No.5, 1967), pp 232-57.

The interests of sociologists and anthropologists, like those of geographers, have also been changing in recent times. A vast body of traditional social anthropological literature on rural India during the past few decades has focused on the village as the unit of analysis. Within the boundaries of the village systemic links between caste, religion, politics, the economy etc., were studied.[1] However, there has been a growing scepticism about the utility of the village as a unit of analysis, given the wide ranging links that the village has with the outside world. It was felt that the village was not the social isolate that it was made out to be.

For example, Opler lists the myriad links which constitute extensive networks of inter village relations. These links are created by trade, religion, politics, and marriage.[2]

This study is concerned specifically with inter village ties created by marriage in rural Maharashtra. The analysis is undertaken at the district level, and the proportions of married women who have married village exogamously, are estimated. A similar study for the

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1. Bharat L Bhatt, "India and Indian Regions: A Critical Overview" in David E. Sopher, ed., An Exploration of India: Geographical Perspectives on Society and Culture (London, Longman, 1980) P.44.

2. Morris E.Opler, "The Extensions of an Indian Village," Journal of Asian Studies, Vol.VI,No.1.

whole of India, using 1961 census migration data, was undertaken by Libbee.[1] This study uses an improved version of the methodology employed by him.

I.1 Importance and Significance of Village Exogamy

Lewis is particularly impressed by the multiplicity of inter village ties created by marriage.[2] Given the rule of patrilocal residence, a bride migrates to her husband's household, and when the husband's family and the wife's family do not live in the same village, the bride migrates to the husband's village. Lewis notes that in the village Rampur (about 15 miles West of Delhi), 266 married women came from about 200 villages which were, on the average, between 12 and 24 miles away. Also, over 220 girls from Rampur married out into about 200 villages. Thus, a small village of about 150 households was linked by marriage to about 400 villages.[3] In the

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1. Michael J. Libbee, "Territorial Endogamy and the Spatial Structure of Marriage in Rural India," in David E. Sopher, ed., An Exploration of India : Geographical Perspectives on Society and Culture. (London, Longman, 1980), pp 65-104.

2. Oscar Lewis, Village Life in Northern India (New York, Random House, Inc, 1968) pp. 161-2.

3. ibid, p 161.

village Kishen Garhi studied by Mc. Kim Marriott, the villagers recognize marriage ties with 300 villages on all sides.[1] Lewis contrasts such a situation with the situation in a Mexican village, Tepoztlan, which he studied as an anthropologist. In Tepoztlan, over 90% of the marriages take place within the village, and there is a far greater sense of village solidarity than there is in Rampura.[2] This contrast leads Lewis to talk of the "rural cosmopolitanism" of the Indian village.[3]

Lewis's comparative studies lead him to conclude that local exogamy should be a crucial variable in models of folk society and peasant society.[4] The degree of village exogamy, he points out, is a critical variable in determining whether the world view of the community concerned is "inward looking" or "outward looking".[5] The greater the degree of village exogamy, the greater would be the sensitivity of villagers to the happenings in the wider society, and this could have important implications for the study of political behaviour.

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1. Mc. Kim Marriott, "Social Structure and Change in a village", in M.N.Srinivas, ed., India's Villages (Bombay, Asia Publishing House, 1969), pp 111-112.

2. Oscar Lewis, op. cit., pp 318-19.

3. ibid, pp 161-2.

4. ibid, pp 161-2.

5. ibid, pp 325.

Rowe analyzes physical movements of the Noniya caste in a village called Senapur in north India and finds that out of 123 inter village visits, about 86% were to or from the households of marital relations.[1] Mahar finds that 87% of all visits by the Chamars of his village were of a kinship nature.[2] Rowe further emphasizes the importance of the marriage network by illustrating how it is imbued with social, religious, economic and political significance. He also points out that the marriage network is simultaneously a communication network. A visit to a bazar town, for example, involves stoppages en route where marital kin are to be found. Gifts are exchanged and caste and political matters are discussed.[3]

The available evidence thus seems to suggest that the marriage network in rural India is an important personal contact network.

I.2 The Mean Information Field and the Diffusion of Information.

To show the relevance of marriage

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1. William Rowe, "The Marriage Network and Structural Change in a North Indian Area," Southwestern Journal of Anthropology Vol. VI, pp 301-7.

2. James M.Mahar, "Extra Village Visits and Delineation of Unit Boundaries," (Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Anthropological Association, 1959).

3. William Rowe, loc. cit., p. 303.

networks in communication or diffusion studies, the concept of the Mean Information Field is summarised here.

Hagerstrand states that in the diffusion of information, expansion takes place in a manner which suggests that an innovation is more likely to occur in the vicinity of existing adoptions. In other words there is a distance decay in the diffusion of information. Thus, the saturation stage in the acceptance of an innovation may be reached in the central area of dispersal, while in the peripheral areas the degree of absorption is still low. Hagerstand calls this the "Neighbourhood Effect."[1] He interprets the "Neighbourhood Effect" as being indicative of the importance of circles of acquaintenceship and friendship in the spread of information and influence. He states that the Neighbourhood Effect is not surprising in farming populations, but expresses surprise that it "seems also to hold true for population groups which are fully qualified to react on written information alone."[2] The spatial location of family, friends and associates is thus an important dimension in information diffusion.

Hagerstrand calls the average pattern of inter

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1. Torsten Hagerstrand, "Aspects of the Spatial Structure of Social Communication and the Diffusion of Information." in Paul Ward English and Robert C Mayfield, eds., Man, Space and Environment: Concepts in Contemperory Human Geography. (London, Oxford University Press), p. 380.

2. ibid., p.380

personal contact (based on the contact frequencies of several individuals) the Mean Information Field.[1] The greater the geographical spread of the Mean Information Field, the greater would be the Neighbourhood Effect and consequently, the greater would be the potential for diffusion. The direct measurement of the probabilities of contact being difficult, many researchers took to employing surrogate data for the Mean Information Field. Examples of surrogate data used are: Counts of telephone calls, frequency of marketing trips, migration data, and marriage distances.[2]

Mayfield's study of regional variations in marriage distances in India was regarded by him as being "a contribution to a larger investigation of innovation diffusion in Indian agriculture."[3] A study by Pitts of marriage distances in Japan leads him to believe that marriage distance is of value in the simulation of innovation diffusion in Japanese agriculture.[4] However, marriage distance as

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1. Robert C Mayfield and Lakshman S Yapa, "Information Fields in Rural Mysore.", Economic Geography Vol. XV, p 385.

2. Ibid., p 314

3. Robert C Mayfield, "The Spatial Structure of a Selected Interpersonal Contact: A Regional Comparison of Marriage Distances in India", in Robert C Mayfield and Paul Ward English, eds., Man, Space and Environment: Concepts in Contemerory Human Geography, (New York, Oxford University Press, 1972), p 385.

4. Forest R Pitts, "Computer Simulation of Diffusion in the Japanese Rural Economy", (Paper presented at the Northwest Anthropological Conference, Univ. of Oregon, 1962).

a surrogate of the Mean Information Field suffers from the drawback that unlike the level of Village Exogamy, it does not indicate the relative strength of inter village marriage networks.

I.3 Choice of Maharashtra as an Area of Study

Maharashtra is one of the states for which 1971 census migration data is available. This was the sole consideration which prompted the choice of Maharashtra as an area of study.

I.4 The Data Base

This study is based on 'Place of birth migration' data, according to which a person is identified as a migrant if he/she is enumerated in a place other than his/her place of birth. The 'place of last residence' migration data is not suitable for this study since the 'place of last residence' is defined as the place where the person normally resides, irrespective of his/her place of birth.[1] Thus, a female marriage migrant would be considered to be normally residing in her husband's parental home if she is enumerated there, and hence would not be considered to be a migrant.

Until 1961, the place of birth data of the Indian census differentiated only those born within a

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1. Census of India, 1971, Part II D(ii), p.7

district from those born outside the district. In 1961, however, rural places of enumeration called 'revenue villages' were identified and the pre 1961 category 'born within the district' was bifurcated into 'born in the place of enumeration' and 'born elsewhere within the district'. In the 1971 census, further information was provided on inter-district out-migration.[2] These data have been utilised in this dissertation to measure marriage migration. The methodology for the use of these data have been given in Chapter II. It would be germane, however, to examine here some of the assumptions involved.

I.5 Assumptions Underlying the Use of District Level Census 'Place of Birth' Data

(i) The 'revenue villages' identified for Census purposes are not always confined to single agglomerations, but it is assumed that revenue villages are social units within which distance is not significant.

(ii) It is assumed that patrilocal residence is universal or at least widespread. (This means that the bride has to migrate to her husbands household, and it is precisely this factor which makes female marriage migration an indicator of the degree of inter-village marital ties). This is a plausible assumption since there is reason to believe

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1. Census of India, 1971, Part II D(i), Table DI, Appendix II.

that the rule of partilocal or virilocal residence is widespread throughout India. The northern cultural zone demarcated by Karve lies between "the Himalayas to the north and the Vindhya ranges to the south"[1] and includes the following Indian states: Punjab Kashmir, U.P., Bihar, Bengal, Assam and parts of Madhya Pradesh.[2] In this zone, kinship organization is patrilineal and patrilocal.[3] In the central zone (Comprising Rajasthan, part of Madhya Pradesh, Gujarat, Maharashtra and Orissa) the kinship organisation of the northern zone is followed with the difference that in some places cross-cousin marriages, i.e. marriages between the siblings of brothers and sisters, is permitted.[4] In Maharashtra specifically, the family is universally patrilineal and patrilocal.[5] The southern region comprises Karnataka, Kerala, Andhra Pradesh, Tamilnad, and is a region extending "from the forests of the lower reaches of the Godavari river through Bastar and western Orissa into southern Bihar."[6] The patrilineal and patrilocal family is the dominant

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1. Irawati Karve, Kinship Organization in India, (Bombay, Asia Publishing House, 1968), p.104.
2. ibid, p. 104
3. ibid, p. 104
4. ibid, p.165.
5. ibid, p.183
6. ibid., p.211

type for the majority of castes and communities in this zone, but some sections of the population are matrilineal and matrilocal notably the Nayar, Tiyan, some sections of the Mohammedan Mopla of Malabar, and the Bant of Kanara district.[1] Gough, in her study of a village in the Tanjore district of Tamil Nadu feels that among the castes lowest in the hierarchy, matrilocal residence was permitted to a high degree, so that a man could migrate from his natal village to an affinal village where more work was available.[2] Some corroboration for this view is provided by Karve who states "though Tamil Nadu is predominantly patrilineal and patrilocal, there are communities in the southern parts who are partly matrilineal and partly patrilineal. One such community are the Kallars of Tanjore and Madura districts."[3] She says that this phenomenon may be due to acculturation from Kerala, but points out that it may also be indicative of a wider spread of matrilineal institutions in the Dravidian South.[4] Among the tribal population, Mandelbaum notes, agnatic

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1. ibid., p.212

2. Kathleen E Gough, "Caste in a Tanjore Village", in E.R.Leach, ed., Aspects of Caste in South India, Ceylon and Northwest Pakistan (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1969), p 46.

3. Irawati Karve, op.cit., p.308

4. ibid., p.308

ties are fundamental and affinal bonds are accorded a secondary status.[1] One would expect this to be indicative of patrilineal and patrilocal family structure.

Given the available evidence, it seems reasonable to conclude that throughout most of India the family is patrilineal and patrilocal.

(iii) It is assumed that the greater the number of women marrying out of their villages, the greater would be the geographical spread of marriage networks, provided certain conditions are satisfied. These conditions may be illustrated by the following examples.

Region A has four villages, namely C, D, E and F. The total number of outmarrying women from village C is 4, out of which 2 go to village D, and one each to villages E and F. Region B also has 4 villages namely P, Q, R and S and the total number of outmigrating women from village P is 5, out of which two go to village Q, two go to village R and one goes to village S. The number of outmigrating brides from village P is greater than the number of outmigrating brides from village C; but it would be wrong to conclude that village P's marriage network has a greater geographical spread than that of village C. The geographical spread of both networks spans three villages each.

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1. David G. Mandelbaum, Society in India (Bombay, Popular Prakashan, 1969) p 576.

When one deals village level data at the aggregate level, a different problem arises. Consider the case of two regions A and B each of which contains numerous villages. The total number of outmigrating brides in each region is x. It is assumed that no two brides from any one village migrate to the same village. In such a situation, the problem of comparibility arises due to the possibility of reciprocal exchange of brides between villages. If the number of reciprocal exchanges in region A is greater than that of region B, then, since the total number of outmigrating brides is the same, one would have to conclude that average geographical spread of the marriage network in region B is greater than that of region A.

The first phenomenon, i.e. the one arising from more than one bride from a particular village migrating to the same village, may be called the 'repititive ties syndrome', and the second phenomenon, i.e. that of reciprocal exchanges, may be called the 'reciprocal exchange syndrome'. There is reason to believe that the prevalence of either of these phenomena is not likely to be of serious proportions in most of north India. Consider first the reciprocal exchange syndrome. Due to the prevalence of village hypergamy, this syndrome is not likely to be widespread. The principle of village hypergamy is that

> the family and village to which one gives a daughter thereby becomes "respected" or "high"; the family and village from which one takes a wife thereby becomes "low". To a family standing on the high relationship one gives gifts, deference and ceremonial service; from a family standing in a low relationship, one demands these things.[1]

Since the stipulated behaviour towards "high" and "low" groups is contradictory, "an exchange of a sister for a wife, or any other reversal of the direction of marriage is unthinkable."[2] With regard to the repititive ties syndrome, Lewis observes that among the marriage rules of the village Rampura near Delhi is the rule that any village in which one's own clan is well represented must be avoided; further, one should avoid marital alliances with villages in which the other clans of one's own village are well represented.[3]

Another taboo associated with the marriage network which raises problems of comparibility, is the taboo on marrying into contiguous villages. Rowe notes that the Sengapur Noniyas do not have any contact with surrounding villages[4]. This tends to create "a circle of inclusion,"

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1. Mc.Kim Marriott, loc cit., p.112
2. ibid,
3. Oscar Lewis, op cit., p 303
4. William Rowe, loc. cit., p.303

i.e. "an area directly surrounding and including a woman's village which is excluded as a potential source area for spouses".[1] Thus, a "crater effect" in the distribution of marriages around a women's village is created.[2]

In most of south India one does not find evidence of such taboos, or at least existing evidence does not point to their prevalence. Thus region N in north India and region S in south India may have identical exogamy levels, but the marriage network in region N would tend to have a far wider geographical spread than the marriage network in region S. In Maharashtra, since there is a considerable mixing of northern and southern kinship traits,[3] the question arises of the comparibility of exogamy levels in the state. One is constrained by the limitations of data to assume that the repititive ties syndrome, the reciprocal ties syndrome and the crater effect do not vitiate an interpretation of regional variations in village exogamy in the state.

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1. Michael J.Libbee, "Territorial Endogamy and the Spatial Structure of Marriage in Rural India" in David E.Sopher, ed., An Exploration of India Geographical Perspectives on Society and Culture (London, Longman, 1980), p.67.

2. ibid., p 67.

3. Irawati Karve, op.cit., p 175

1.6 Plan of the Chapters

The plan of the chapters is as follows: Chapter II gives the methodological aspects of the study and presents computed exogamy rates. Also, the data inadequacies and model deficiencies are pointed out, and the nature of the likely errors arising as a consequence are discussed. Chapter III explores the social, economic, and political dimensions of village exogamy and presents a socio geographic explanation of the district level variations in the exogamy rates in Maharashtra. Chapter IV gives the summary and conclusions of this study, and indicates future lines of research.

CHAPTER - II

METHODOLOGY, ESTIMATION, DATA INADEQUACIES AND MODEL ERRORS.

In this chapter, the methodology used to estimate exogamy rates is delineated, and the assumptions underlying its use are discussed. This chapter also discusses the nature of some data inadequacies and pinpoints some errors of Libbee's model.

II.1 Methodology

The village exogamy rate (EA) for the purpose of this study is defined as follows:

$$EA = \frac{x}{x + y}$$

where x = inter-village female marriage migration

and y = the number of intra-village marriages.

The village endogamy rate (ER) can be represented by the ratio

$$ER = \frac{y}{x + y}$$

Where x and y are as defined above. Therefore, EA + ER = 1

Village exogamy rates cannot be calculated in a straight forward manner, due to the non-availability of

data which corresponds exactly to the terms x and y above. The present study is based on census data which provide the most detailed information on migration at the district level. These have to be modified in a variety of ways to make them represent the reality of the ratio $\frac{x}{x + y}$ to the extent possible.

The census of India provides information on the number of females born in the place of enumeration.[1] This information may be denoted by the term FBPE. It is a rough indicator or y as defined above. The endogamy ratio, or ER, can therefore be represented as

$$ER = \frac{FBPE}{FBPE + x}$$

Since the exogamy ratio is equal to 1 minus the endogamy ratio, the above can be rewritten as follows:

$$EA = 1 - \frac{FBPE}{FBPE + x}$$

The term FBPE has to be corrected in order to make it more representative of y. The first of these corrections arises from the fact that FBPE does not distinguish

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1. Census of India, 1971, Part II.D(i), Table D-1: "Population classified by place of birth."

between married and unmarried women. The proportion of married women in the entire female rural population can be estimated from census data. This proportion may be called r. If it is assumed that r roughly corresponds to the proportion of married women among the FBPE women, then in order to ascertain the number of married women among the FBPE women, we would have to multiply FBPE by r. The formula for the Exogamy ratio would then become:

$$EA = 1 - \frac{FBPE \times r}{(FBPE \times r) + x}$$

The assumption that r corresponds roughly to the proportion of married women among the FBPE women may be called the correspondence assumption. In order to specify the precise nature of this assumption it would be necessary to specify the component elements of r. This is done below:

$$r = \frac{a + b}{c + d}$$

where a = married rural female non migrant population
b = married rural female migrant population
c = rural female non migrant population
d = rural female migrant population

The correspondence assumption implies that the inclusion of elements b and d above would yield such values of r which would not differ drastically from

those values which would be obtained if elements b and d were excluded. Since the marriage rate is likely to be higher among migrants than among non migrants, the correspondence assumption would involve the use of an inflated rate to ascertain the number of married FBPE women. Thus, (FBPE x r) would be a higher figure than it should be. The correspondece assumption is, nevertheless, used, since it facilitates some improvement of the FBPE figure to make it represent y to a greater degree.

The second adjustment of the FBPE figures arises from the effects of child marriage. In rural India the initial marriage ceremony (called shadi) is followed by a second ceremony called gauna at which time cohabitation begins. Given the universality of the patrilineal and patrilocal family structure throughout India, the gauna ceremony involves the migration of the bride from the home of her parents to the home of her husband's parents. Since the gauna ceremony is not generally held before the bride has attained 15 years of age, all child brides (those who are below 15 years of age) would be recorded by the de-facto census enumeration system as being married and born in the place of enumeration. Some of these child brides, however, may migrate out of their natal villages at the time of gauna. Libbee suggests that child brides, like unmarried women, should be excluded altogether from the analysis. In other words, child brides should be

considered to be effectively unwed.[1]

In order to exclude child brides from the analysis, it is assumed that there is a rough correspondence between the proportion of married women who are above 15 years of age in the entire population and the proportion of such women in the FBPE population. The proportion of women in the entire rural population who are married and above fifteen years of age can be estimated from census data. This proportion may be called rc. In order to modify FBPE to make it reflect only married women above 15 years of age, it would have to be multiplied by rc. The exogamy ratio would now become

$$EA = 1 \quad \frac{FBPE \times rc}{(FBPE \times rc) + x}$$

The third adjustment of the FBPE figures arises due to the phenomena of 'first delivery migration'. This refers to the widespread phenomenon of temporary migration of pregnant women to the homes of their parents for the births of their first child. In Maharashtra this phenomenon is widely prevalent. It is considered to be a matter of great shame for a girl and her family if she has no parental home to go to for her first delivery, and this misfortune, in fact, forms the theme of many a folk tale.[2]

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1. Michael J. Libbee, loc cit. pp 73-4

2. Irawati Karve, op. cit. p 183.

For the purposes of this model, "young brides" (i.e. those who migrate to their parental homes for first delivery) are considered to be between 15 and 24 years old. The actual number of married rural women aged 15 to 24 years can be ascertained from census data. This information may be denoted by the term NRMS. The number of NRMS women who have migrated out of their natal villages can be ascertained by multiplying NRMS by the exogamy rate EA. The justification for this is that the NRMS population which has migrated out for marriage is a component of x and features both in the numerator and denomerator of the exogamy ratio $\frac{x}{x+y}$. Therefore, the exogamy rate for the population as a whole would reflect to some degree the exogamy rate among the NRMS population. It is assumed that the degree of correspondence justifies such an operation. The proportion of (NRMS x EA) women who are first delivery migrants at any point of time may be indicated by the term RMX. Thus the number of first delivery migrants at the time of the census would be indicated by (EA x NRMS x RMX). These women would be identified by the census as being enumerated in the place of birth. For the purpose of this study, however, they cannot be considered as such. Therefore, (EA x NRMS x RMX) should be subtracted from (FBPE x rc) and added to x. The exogamy ratio would now become:

$$EA = 1 - \frac{(FBPE \times rc) - (EA \times NRMS \times RMX)}{(FBPE \times rc) + x}$$

The equation can be solved by an iteration process. This involves substituting likely values of EA on the right hand side of the equation. The values of EA thus obtained are resubstituted on the right hand side of the equation and the process is continued until the difference between two successive EA values is very small. The problem, however lies in estimating the parameter RMX. Libbee suggests a figure of 0.15[1] and this has been used in this study.

The fourth adjustment of the (FBPE) figures arises due to the return migration of female marriage migrants who are widowed, divorced or seperated. Such women would be identified as being born in the place of enumeration. They cannot, however be considered to be non migrants.

The number of rural women who are widowed, divorced or seperated can be ascertained from the census. This number may be indicated by NWDS. An estimate of the number of NWDS women who have migrated out of their villages for marriage can be ascertained by multiplying NWDS by EA. The proportion of (NWDS x EA) women who return to their parental villages may be denoted by the term WDX. The actual number of (NWDS x EA) women who return to their parental villages may therefore be indicated by (NWDS x EA x WDS). This has to be subtracted from (FPBE x RC), and added to x.

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1. Michael J. Libbee, loc. cit p. 76.

The formula for the exogamy ratio therefore becomes

$$EA = 1 - \frac{(FBPE \times rc) - ((EA \times NRMS \times RMX) + (EA \times NWDS \times WDX))}{(FBPE \times rc) + x}$$

The value of the parameter WDX is set at 0.05, in accordance with Libbee's stipulation.[1]

So far, the adjustments of the FBPE data in order to make it more representative of y, have been considered. The census data which would correspond to x, i.e. the nature of the migration data, is now considered. The term x consists of the following three components: (i) intra-district inter-village migration (ii) Intra-state inter-district rural to rural migration out of the district (iii) inter state rural to rural migration out of the district. As far as items (i) and (ii) are concerned there is no problem. Information about the magnitude of these streams can be obtained directly from the census.[2] Item (iii) however cannot be obtained directly from census tables.

For the purpose of this study only migration streams (i) and (ii) are taken into account. Migration stream (iii) is not considered due to lack of data, but

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1. Michael J Libbee, loc cit. p.76.

2. Table DI : 'Population classified by place of birth', and Table DI Appendix II : 'Persons born in the district but enumerated in other districts of the state' (census of India, 1971, Part II D (i)).

an attempt is made to account for it when the rates are grouped into classes. The error arising from the ommission of migration stream (iii) is not likely to be very large, and the probable magnitude of this error is estimated later in this chapter. For the moment, how the migration streams (i) and (ii) can be incorporated into the formula for the estimation of exogamy rates, is explained. The streams (i) + (ii) are indicated by the term FM.

The number of married rural to rural female migrants above 15 years of age whose parental homes are within the district plus the number of married rural non migrants above 15 years of age would approximate to the term (x + y). In order to obtain this value, the number (FBPE + FM) would have to be multiplied by the proportion of such women who are married and above 15 years of age. This proportion may be called P. A rough indication of P provided by rc, the components of which are as defined earlier. Items b and d each consists of two components : (1) intra district rural to rural migration, and (2) inter district migration into the district. The inter district migration stream consists of two components; (i) urban to rural migration <u>into</u> the district and (ii) the rural to rural migration stream <u>into</u> the district. The use of the correspondence assumption with respect to the (FBPE + FM) population implies that the inclusion of the urban to rural migration stream

(items (b 2(i) and d2(i)) and the substitution of the rural to rural immigration stream (items b2(ii) and d2(ii)), instead of the rural to rural outmigration stream, would not result in values of rc which are drastically different from the corresponding values of P. Implicit in this statement is the assumption that the marriage rates among in-migrants does not drastically differ from the corresponding rates among outmigrants.

The formula for the calculation of exogamy rates therefore becomes:

$$EA = 1 - \frac{(FBPE \times rc) - (EA \times NRMS \times RMX) - (EA \times NWDS \times WDX)}{(FBPE + FM) \times rc}$$

As mentioned earlier the values of (FBPE x rc) are likely to be overestimates. This means that the values of EA would be lower than they should be. However, the "accompanying phenomenon" and the "birth migration" phenomenon discussed later in this chapter would tend to inflate exogamy rates above their normal levels. There is thus some cancelling out involved.

Using this formula, the rates for the different districts of Maharashtra are calculated. These rates are multiplied by 100 to obtain percentages. In order to start the iteration process, approximate values of EA were obtained by using the formula

$$EA = \frac{FM}{FBPE + FM}$$

where the terms FM and FBPE are as defined above. These approximate values are called EA (crude) values. The values obtained after the iteration process may be called the EA (01) values. The differences between the EA (crude) and the EA (01) values would indicate the degree to which the EA crude rates have increased consequent upon the adjustments made to account for first delivery phenomenon, and the return migration of widows. The EA (crude) values, the EA (01) values, and the differences between them are presented in Table II.1. The EA (01) values are grouped into the following classes: 35 to 40, 41 to 45, 46 to 50, and 51 to 55. The results are shown in Map III.1.

Table II.1

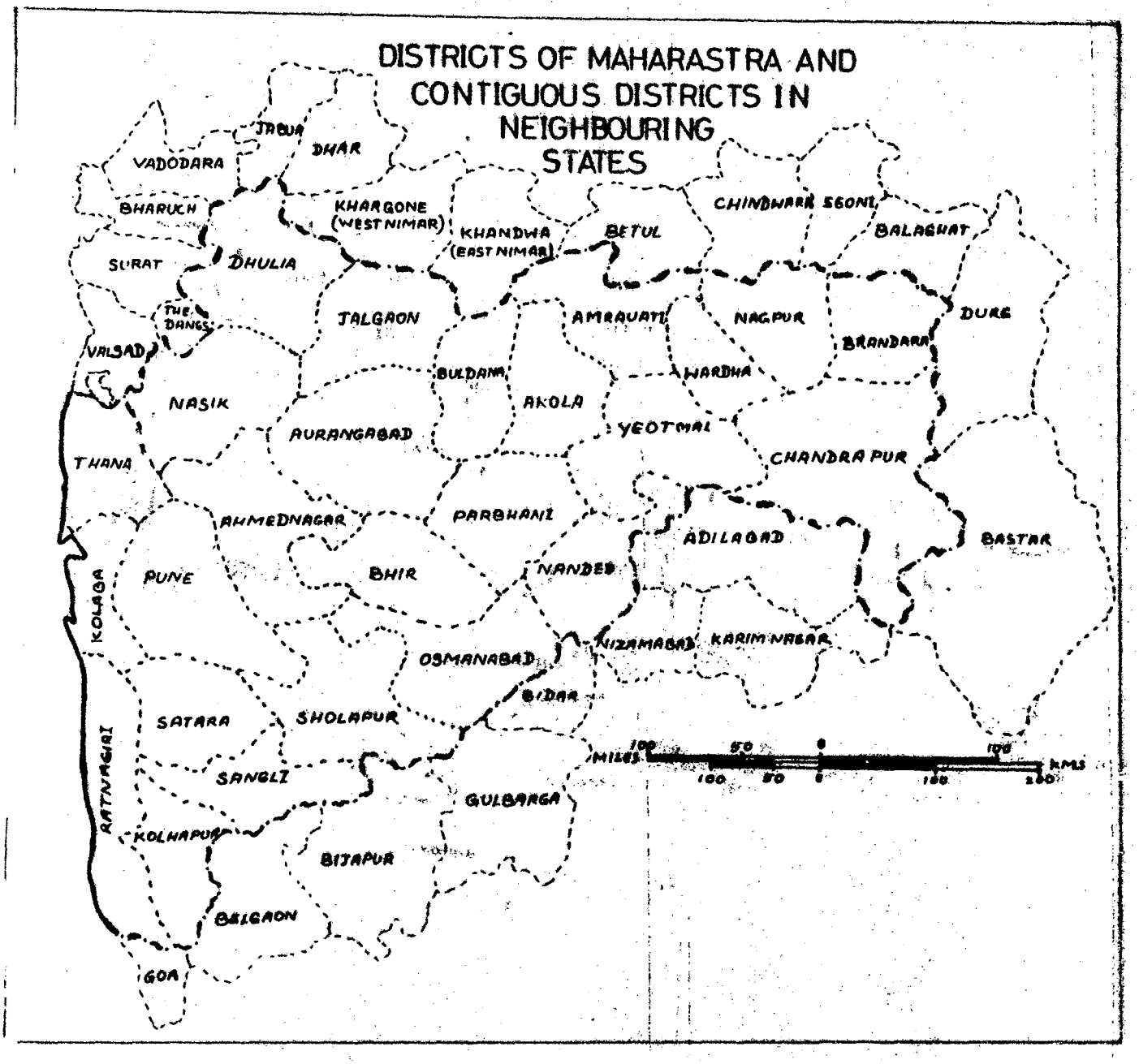
Districtwise EA (crude) and EA(01) rates, Maharashtra, 1971

District Code	District	EA(Crude)	EA(01)	EA (01) minus EA(crude)
2.	Thana	33.00	34.60	1.60
3.	Kolaba	36.68	38.29	1.16
4.	Ratnagiri	40.83	42.38	1.55
5.	Nasik	50.54	52.94	2.40
6.	Dhulia	40.57	42.39	1.82
7.	Jalgaon	48.44	50.74	2.30
8.	Ahmednagar	46.15	48.46	2.31
9.	Poona	44.76	46.85	2.09
10.	Satara	51.08	53.57	2.49
11.	Sangli	46.85	49.21	2.36
12.	Sholapur	43.02	45.23	2.21
13.	Kolhapur	38.53	40.34	1.81
14.	Aurangabad	50.55	53.02	2.47
15.	Parbhani	47.06	49.32	2.26
16.	Bhir	44.41	46.33	1.92
17.	Nanded	44.41	46.67	2.26
18.	Osmanabad	40.7	42.77	2.07
19.	Buldana	50.23	52.61	2.38
20.	Akola	45.04	47.17	2.12
21.	Amravati	45.07	47.04	1.97
22	Yeotmal	47.54	49.69	2.15
23.	Wardha	48.00	50.03	2.03
24.	Nagpur	46.64	48.85	2.21
25.	Bhandara	46.12	48.25	2.13
26.	Chandrapur	46.36	48.62	2.26

II.2 Estimation of Inter State Migration and the Approximate Magnitudes of Error in the Exogamy Rates due to Use of Incomplete Migration Data

It is assumed that inter-state migration is a significant factor only in the case of those districts which are on the state boundary. This implies that rural to rural female migration from the border districts of Maharashtra into the neighbouring districts in neighbouring states accounts for practically all the rural to rural female migration into those states from Maharashtra. The states contiguous to Maharashtra are: Gujarat, Madhya Pradesh, Andhra Pradesh and Karnataka. In addition, the union territory of Dadra and Nagar Haveli borders Thana, and Goa borders Ratnagiri. Information is available on the magnitude of female rural to rural migration from Maharashtra into the union territories of Dadra and Nagar Haveli and Goa, and the border districts of Gujarat and Andhra Pradesh. In the case of Madhya Pradesh, the tables have not yet been printed, and in the case of Karnataka, the tables are not presently available. Hence, the necessary data in the case of Madhya Pradesh and Karnataka could not be obtained. When more than one district of Maharashtra borders a district of a neighbouring state, as in the case of the Dangs (Map II.1) a problem is encountered which is illustrated by the following example.

Map No. II.1



Source : India : Administrative Divisions, 1971 (Census of India, 1971. Based upon the Survey of India Map with the Permission of the Surveyor General of India)

Both Nasik and Dhulia share a common boundary with the Dangs. If it is assumed that all female rural to rural migration from Maharashtra into the Dangs come from Nasik and Dhulia only, the problem arises of estimating the proportions of the female rural to rural migration from Nasik and Dhulia respectively. In order to roughly ascertain these proportions an assumption, which may be called the boundary assumption,[1] is used. The length of the boundary which the Dangs has in common with Maharashtra, (which may be called w), consists of two components: (i) the length of the boundary in common with Dhulia (which may be called p) and (ii) the length of the boundary in common with Nasik (which may be called q). If fm is the magnitude of the female rural to rural migration from Maharashtra to the Dangs, then the number coming from Dhulia is estimated to be equal to $\frac{p}{w} \times fm$. Likewise, the number coming from Nasik is equal to $\frac{q}{w} \times fm$. A set of exogamy rates for selected border districts of Maharashtra is now ascertained taking into account the following components of female rural to rural migration: (i) intra-district migration (ii) intra state inter-district out migration and (iii) inter district migration to neighbouring sates, i.e. migration from each district of Maharashtra to other districts in neighbouring states (which estimated by the above mentioned method). These rates are called the EA(02) rates. The differences between the EA(02) and the EA (01) rates will indicate the degree to which the EA (01)

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1. I am indebted to Dr. M.K.Premi for this assumption.

rates are underestimates. The comparison is shown in Table II.2.

Table - II.2

District wise EA (02) and EA (01) rates, Maharashtra, 1971.

District Code	District	EA(02)	EA(01)	EA(02) minus EA(01)
2	Thana	34.92	34.60	0.32
4	Ratnagiri	42.72	42.38	0.34
5	Nasik	53.30	52.94	0.36
6	Dhulia	44.63	42.39	2.24
17	Nanded	48.81	46.67	2.14
22	Yeotmal	49.93	49.69	0.24
26	Chandrapur	49.46	48.62	0.84

These differences give us some idea of the magnitude of the error arising out of the omission of inter state migration data. In the case of Dhulia and Nanded, the boundary which is in common with the state boundary accounts for substantial proportions of the total boundaries of these districts and this could be the reason why the EA (boundary) estimates in these districts are so much higher than in other districts.

In the case of Thana, Yeotmal Ratnagiri and Nasik, the boundary estimates account for 100% of the lengths of boundaries that these districts have in common with the state boundary. In the case of Nanded, about 98% of common boundary has been accounted for. In the case of Chandrapur and Dhulia, however, substantial portions of common boundary are not accounted for, and therefore the rates could be higher than those arrived at using the boundary estimates.

It could be argued that the 'boundary assumption' is not valid, since a variety of factors other than the length of a common boundary could influence inter state migration. For example, differences in religion and language, or the presence of a river or a mountain range, can be factors which inhibit inter state migration. Thus, the boundary estimates could be higher or lower than they should be.

Another approach to the problem which the boundary assumption tries to solve is illustrated by the following example. Dhulia is surrounded by the following districts in neighbouring states. The Dangs, Surat, Bharuch, Vadodara, Jabua, Dhar and Khargone. Out of these, the Dangs and Khargone share a common boundary with more than one district of Maharashtra. In the case of the Dangs, the districts are: Dhulia and Nasik. In the case of Khargone, the districts are Dhulia and Jalgaon. If it is assumed that <u>all</u> the rural to rural female migrants

from Maharashtra to the Dangs, and to Khargone, come from Dhulia, then a maximum estimate of inter state migration from Dhulia can be obtained. If it is assumed that there is no migration from Dhulia to the Dangs or to Kharagone, then a minimum estimate of inter state migration from Dhulia can be obtained.

Two EA rates can now be ascertained for Dhulia. Both take into account intra district rural to rural migration, and inter district rural to rural outmigration within the state. In addition, one rate takes into account the inter state maximum estimate, while the other takes into account the inter state minimum estimate. The former kind of rates may be called the EA (maximum) rates, and the latter kind the EA (minimum) rates.

Both EA (maximum) and EA (minimum) rates are higher than (01) rates. If it is found that the EA (minimum) rate has to be put into a higher class than the corresponding EA (01) rate, then the EA (minimum) rate is to be preferred to the EA (01) rate. If it is found that the EA (maximum) rate is to be retained in the same class as the EA (01) rate, then it indicates that the probable magnitude of interestate migration is not so large as to require a change in the given classification.

The EA (02) rates are necessarily higher than

the EA (01) rates, and if it can be shown that the EA (02) rates are not so high as to require their classification in higher classes than the corresponding EA (01) rates, then this would be an argument in favour of the present classification (Table II.2 shows that this is the case). If, however, some EA (maximum) rates have to be put into a higher class than the corresponding EA (02) rates, then this would indicate the possibility that the actual EA rates belong to higher classes than the corresponding EA (02) rates. It would not, however, justify the preference of the concerned EA (maximum) rates to the corresponding EA (02) rates.

Given the availability of data, it is possible to calculate the EA (maximum) rates for only the following districts of Maharashtra: Thana, Nasik, Ratnagiri and Yeotmal. It is found that in the case of Thana, Nasik and Ratnagiri, the EA (maximum) rates do not have to be put into higher classes than the corresponding EA (02) rates. In the case of Yeotmal, however, the EA (maximum) rate belongs to a higher class than the EA (02) rate.

II.3 Marriage Migration to Districts beyond the Districts of Origin

The EA (01) rates indicate the number of women,

out of every 100 rural married women, who have migrated due to marriage to other villages within Maharashtra.

In order to estimate the number of such women who have migrated out of their districts of origin, the following procedure was adopted. A set of rates was calculated, taking into account only the intra district component of the female rural to rural migration stream. These rates are called the EA(03) rates. The differences between the EA (01) and the EA(03) rates will indicate the number of females out of every 100 married females, who migrate due to marriage to other districts in Maharashtra. Therefore, the percentage of female marriage migrants within Maharashtra who have migrated out of the districts where their parental homes are located is indicated by:

$$\frac{EA\ (01) - EA\ (03)}{EA\ (01)} \times 100$$

These percentages are shown in Table II.3.

They are found to vary from 2.8% in the case of Thana to 20.0% in the case of Wardha. Thus, four-fifths of female marriage migration is limited to the district of origin alone.

Table II.3

Estimation of Rural to Rural Marriage Migration to Districts Beyond the District of Origin, Maharashtra, 1971

District	District	EA(01)	EA(03)	EA(01) - EA(03)	$\frac{EA(01)-EA(03)}{EA(01)} \times 100$
2	Thana	34.60	33.62	0.98	2.83
3	Kolaba	38.29	36.68	1.61	4.20
4	Ratnagiri	42.38	41.10	1.28	3.02
5	Nasik	52.94	49.38	3.56	6.72
6	Dhulia	42.39	38.49	3.9	9.20
7	Jalgaon	50.74	45.82	4.92	9.70
8	Ahmednagar	48.46	43.46	5.00	10.32
9	Poona	46.85	42.70	4.15	8.86
10	Satara	53.57	49.63	3.94	7.35
11	Sangli	49.21	42.65	6.56	14.14
12	Sholapur	45.23	38.82	6.41	14.17
13	Kolhapur	40.34	37.38	2.96	7.34
14.	Aurangabad	53.02	48.06	4.96	9.35
15	Parbhani	49.32	43.27	6.05	12.27
16	Bhir	46.33	37.64	3.05	6.58
17	Nanded	46.67	42.21	4.46	9.56
18	Osmanabad	42.77	38.07	4.7	10.99
19	Buldana	42.61	45.18	7.43	14.12
20	Akola	47.17	39.94	7.23	15.33
21	Amravati	47.04	40.26	6.78	14.41
22	Yeotmal	49.69	42.31	7.38	14.85
23	Wardha	50.03	40.03	10	19.99
24	Nagpur	48.85	43.50	5.35	10.95
25	Bhandara	48.25	46.57	1.68	3.48
26	Chandrapur	48.62	46.10	2.52	5.18

In order to estimate the percentage of marriage migrants who migrate to villages which lie beyond the districts which surround their district of origin, the following procedure was adopted. The districts of Maharashtra which are completely surrounded by other districts in the state are identified, and a set of EA rates are calculated for these districts taking into account the following two components of female rural to rural marriage migration: (i) intra district migration and (ii) migration to surrounding districts. These are called the EA (04) rates. The percentages of intra state female marriage migrants who migrate beyond the districts which surround their districts of origin is indicated by $\frac{EA(01) - EA(04)}{EA(01)} \times 100$. These percentages are shown in Table II.4. They are found to be microscopic in most cases, the highest value being 2.1%. It may therefore be concluded that marriage migration to districts which surround the district of origin accounts for practically all the intra state inter district female marriage migration.

Table II.4

Estimation of Rural to Rural Marriage Migration to Districts beyond the Districts Surrounding the District of Origin, Maharashtra, 1971.

District Code	District	EA(01)	EA(04)	EA(01) -EA(04)	$\frac{EA(01)-EA(04)}{EA(01)} \times 100$
3	Kolaba	38.29	38.26	0.03	0.08
8	Ahmednagar	48.46	48.29	0.17	0.35
9	Poona	46.85	46.70	0.15	0.32
10	Satara	53.57	53.36	0.21	0.39
14	Aurangabad	53.02	52.89	0.13	0.25
15	Parbhani	49.32	49.13	0.19	0.39
16	Bhir	46.33	45.35	0.98	2.12
20	Akola	47.17	46.85	0.32	0.68
23	Wardha	50.03	49.71	0.32	0.64

II.4 Data Inadequacies

A variety of adjustments of census data were discussed in this chapter for various data inadequacies. The inadequacies which could not be accounted for are of four kinds: - (a) those arising from the "accompanying" phenomenon (b) those arising from female migration for economic reasons (c) those arising from the "birth migration" phenomenon and (d) those arising from the 'repetitive ties syndrome' and the 'reciprocal exchange syndrome.' Since item (d) has been discussed in the introduction, only items (a) and (b) and (c) are discussed here.

(a) Data inadequacy arising from the "accompanying" phenomenon: when males migrate for economic reasons, they are sometimes accompanied by their families which may include wives and daughters. These accompanying females (wives and daughters of migrating men) can be divided into two categories: (i) those who are married and above 15 years of age, and (ii) those who are unmarried, or married and below 15 years of age.

Since those who are married and below 15 years are considered to be effectively unwed (as explained in Chapter II) item (ii) would tend to unduly inflate the female migration stream. However, in chapter II using the correspondence assumption, an attempt has been made to exclude item (ii) from the analysis. Item (i) consists

of the following parts: (a) those who have married within their villages and (b) those who have married out of their villages. Only category (b) would be genuine marriage migrants. Constraints of data, however, lead one to lump together category (a) and category (b). If somehow one could seperate the data of item (1) into its components (a) and (b), then, in order to account for the accompanying phenomenon, item (a) would have to be added to the (FBPE x rc) estimate, and subtracted from the (FM x rc) estimate. This means that while calculating exogamy rates, (using the formula specified in chapter II), the value of the numerator of the exogamy ratio would decrease. This will be the net effect of this operation. Thus, adjustment for the 'accompanying' phenomenon' would cause a decrease in the exogamy rates calculated in this chapter.

(b) Data inadequacy arising from female migration for economic reasons:

Female migrants who migrate for economic reasons may be put into identical categories as those specified for the 'accompanying' stream, and identical operations would have to be carried out to account for it.

(c) Data inadequacy arising from the "birth migration" phenomenon:

Due to the widespread phenomenon of 'first delivery' migration, discussed in Chapter II, a number

of females would be born in their mother's parental villages, but would live and grow up in their own parental villages. According to the 'place of birth' approach for the identification of migrants, such females would most likely be considered as migrants. This category of women may be divided into three sub-categories: (i) those who marry within their parental villages (ii) those who marry into their mother's parental villages and (iii) those who marry into other villages. The women in category (i) would be wrongly considered to be migrants, while the women in category (ii) would be wrongly considered to be non migrants.

II.5 Model Deficiencies

The model employed in this chapter for the calculation of exogamy rates is derived from the model specified by Libee, and involves an identical set of assumptions. However, the magnitude of the exogamy rates obtained using Libee's model are far higher than the magnitudes of the rates obtained using the model specified in this chapter. This calls for an explanation.

Libee states: "The basis of the endogamy estimate is the relationship between the percentage of rural women enumerated in their place of birth, henceforth referred to as locally born women, (or POE, for place of enumeration) and the percentage of rural women who have never married.

(UW, for unmarried women)"[1]

The above definition of POE does not seem to be quite correct, given the object of the study which is to ascertain village exogamy. In order to identify the definitional error, Libbee's definition of POE, is restated as follows:

$$POE = \frac{\text{rural females born in the place of enumeration}}{\text{rural females born in India}} \times 100$$

There are two major objections to this formulation. In order to state them it would be necessary to identify the components of the denominator of the POE ratio. The entire denominator, (i.e. rural women born in India) may be indicated by term k. Two major components of k are:(a) those who are born in the place of enumeration and (b) those who are migrants. Item k (b) has the following components: (i) rural to rural migrants and (ii) urban to rural migrants. The first objection to the POE formulation is that item k(b)(ii) is redundant. Since the focus of interest is on village exogamy, only the rural to rural migration stream should be considered. The inclusion of the urban to rural stream in the POE ratio would tend to make the value of POE lower than it should be.

Item k(b)(i) consists of intra-district migration and inter-district migration. Inter-district migration can be in two directions: <u>into</u> the district and <u>out</u> of the

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1. Michael J. Libbee, <u>op. cit.</u>, p.69

district. In defining POE, one is attempting to define the relative strength of those rural women of the district who marry village endogamously. Since one is concerned with the marital status of the women of the concerned district only, one should not include the interdistrict rural to rural in migration stream in the category x. But this is precisely what is done.

Libbee states that if UW is substracted from POE, "the remainder must be the percentage of the rural female population that is enumerated in the place of birth and has also been married."[1] This turns out to be a wrong assumption. UW indicates the number of unmarried women among the rural female population. These are: (i) non migrants and (ii) migrants (who could be unmarried "accompanying" females, or unmarried "birth" migrants). The correct formulation, therefore is POE - UW (i). However, since data limitations do not permit an identification of elements (i) and (ii), one cannot carry out this operation. A rough approximation of married women among the POE could, however, be obtained by multiplying POE by the proportion of rural females who are married, $(\frac{100-UW}{100})$. This involves the correspondence assumption discussed earlier in this chapter.

Taking the elements UW and POE, Libbee formulates a crude endogamy rate which is as follows:

$$\text{Crude endogamy rate (ER)} = \frac{POE-UW}{100-UW} \times 100^2$$

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1. ibid., p.70

2. ibid., p.70

The numerator of the above ratio is an underestimate on two counts. Firstly, the POE estimate is lower than it should be. Secondly UW is higher than it should be. Both these errors act in the same direction, and the result is that the value of the numerator is lower than it should be. The net effect of these errors would tend to make the endogamy rate lower than it should be. In other words, they would tend to inflate the exogamy rates above their normal levels.

Chapter - III

SOCIAL, ECONOMIC, POLITICAL AND GEOGRAPHIC DIMENSIONS OF VILLAGE EXOGAMY

In this chapter, a review of social, economic and political dimensions of village exogamy is presented, and an attempt is made to interpret the regional variations in the levels of village exogamy in Maharashtra.

III.1 Review of Social, Economic and Political Dimensions of Village Exogamy

III.1(i) The Nature of Kinship as a Determinant of Village Exogamy.

(a) Kinship among the Hindu Population.

Some features of the kinship rules in north India necessiate high levels of village exogamy, while the absence of these features in southern kinship systems permits high levels of village endogamy. A contrast between northern and southern kinship systems is undertaken by Gould, who cites four principles to facilitate his explanation. The first three are: (1) caste endogamy, (2) the territorial stabilization of kin groups, and (3) gotra exogamy[1]. The

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1. Harold A Gould, "The Micro Demography of Marriages in a North Indian Area", Southwestern Journal of Anthropology Vol. XVI, pp 476-91.

fourth is: the tendency to regard consanguinal and affinal ties as mutually exclusive.[1]

Before summarizing his exposition, it would be necessary to elucidate a few concepts, and fundamental relationships between them. A clan is a grouping which consists of "those who trace patrilineal descent from a remote and usually legendary ancestor."[2] It is more of an attributive than a corporate group, its major function being to distinguish between eligible and ineligible spouses. Marriage to a member of one's own clan is not permissible. The relation between the clan and the jati is that the clan is an endogamous grouping within the exogamous jati.[3] Gotra is a name for clan but it is sometimes used to refer to the jati.[4] Gould, however, uses the term gotra to mean clan.

Gould's first principle, the principle of caste endogamy tends to limit the choice of partners at the village level. The second principle, the principle of territorial stabilization of kin groups, states that for a caste system to exist at all, territorial segmentation is absolutely

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1. Harold A Gould, "A Further Note on Village Exogamy in North India", Southwestern Journal of Anthropology Vol. XVII, pp 297-300.

2. David G.Mandelbaum, Society in India op cit P 18

3. ibid., p.18

4. ibid., p 18

necessary. The system could not encourage caste solidarity over a wider area, since this would jeopardise the economic interdependence of castes at the village level. The interpenetrating principles of caste and territorial segmentation, were therefore fundamental to traditional social organization.

The third principle is that of gotra or clan exogamy. The spatial organization of clans is such that within a caste at the village level there are only a few clans and sometimes only one.[1] A variety of taboos operate that place restrictions on inter clan marriage in northern India. For example, among the Dabas Jats of Rampur one cannot marry into ones father's clan, mother's clan, father's mother's clan, or mother's mother's clan (though the last has of late been relaxed).[2] This four clan rule is widely practiced among the upper castes in N.India.[3] The result is that the possibility of inter-clan marriages at the village level becomes highly limited, with the consequence that high levels of village exogamy prevail. In south India by contrast, not only do such taboo's not prevail but some kinds of inter-clan marriages which are prescribed in the north are actually preferred. For example, the preference in south India for material cross cousin marriage, i.e. the marriage

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1. Harold A.Gould, "The Micro Demography of Marriages in a North Indian Area."

2. Oscar Lewis, op cit., p 161.

3. David G. Mandelbaum, op cit., p. 147.

of a man to his mother's brother's daughter involves a man's marriage into his mother's clan - something which is strictly prohibited in north India. Marriage to one's father's sister's daughter (i.e. marriage into one's father's sister's clan) which is prohibited in north India[1] is generally permitted also in south India.[2]

Gould's fourth principle, i.e. the tendency to regard affinal and consanguinal ties as mutually exclusive, is thus not operative in south India. For example, when a man marries his mother's brother's daughter, the mother and the brother, who were previously only consanguines (siblings of the same parents) now become affines (linked by marriage) as well. It is the absence of this principle in the south which distinguishes the northern kinship pattern from the southern kinship pattern.[3] This difference is of significance for north-south differences in village exogamy. The absence of taboos on inter clan marriages in the south removes a restraining factor on intra village inter clan marriages, and hence the levels of village exogamy are low.

In southern India a centripetal tendency governs the creation of marriage alliances as contrasted to the

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1. Irawati Karve, op.cit., p 117
2. David G Mandelbaum, op cit., p.157.
3. Harold A Gould, "A Further Note on Village Exogamy in North India".

centrifugal tendency in the north.[1] In the south the principle of intensification of kinship ties is stressed, an expression of which is the preference for cross-cousin marriages. In the north, by contrast, the principle of extensiveness is stressed.

Karve states that although in the southern zone she did not find any caste or sub-caste divided into only two exogamous intermarrying clans, yet in practice marriages between families belonging to two different clans tend to perpetuate reciprocal exchanges. Thus, if a man of the family x belonging to the clan A marries a woman of the family y belonging to the clan B it is expected that the family x must provide a daughter to family y, or the family x must receive another daughter from the family y.[2] There is a great reluctance to give or receive daughter from a family or clan with which no previous marriage alliances can be traced.[3] The preference for cross-cousin marriages i.e. marriages between children of brothers and sisters, is an expression of this principle; a sister is given away in marriage, and either a bride is received from the sister's clan, or a bride is given to the sister's clan. Thus in the southern zone, more than one intermarrying clan may live in

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1. David G.Mandelbaum, op. cit., p.157
2. Irawati Karve, op cit., p 157.
3. Ibid., p.215

a village and practice intermarriage for generations.[1]

These broad conclusions concerning north-south contrasts should, however, be viewed with caution in the light of the following. Mandelbaum points out that the attitude towards cross-cousin marriage is in the nature of a perference and not a firm prescription, but adds that, brothers and sisters generally have the right of first refusal in the marriage of their children.[2] Berreman finds that in the village Sirkinda in the Tehri Garhwal district of Uttar Pradesh the dominant caste of Rajputs constituted 87% of the population and were organized into 4 exogamous clans. Out of 377 Rajput marriages, past and present, 77 marriages (accounting for about 20% of all marriages) were village endogamous. He states that this percentage probably indicates the maximum percentage of intra-village inter clan marriages possible, in the light of the taboos on inter clan marriages and attributes this preference for intra village marriages to the high status of Pahari Women, an indication of which is the prevalence of the custom of bride price. A woman is economically productive and has a great degree of freedom; she is free to leave her marital home and to return to her natal family. It is felt that this possibility is reduced

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1. ibid, p 214

2. David G.Mandelbaum, op cit, pp 70-1

if her parents live in the same village.[1] Berreman's study indicates that village endogamy is prevalent even when all four of Gould's conditions are met. He however notes that several villages close to Sirkinda had only one exogamous clan in each local caste group, and that in some cases, single caste villages had only a single clan. In such cases, village exogamy was mandatory.[2]

Berreman concludes that it is the clan, not the village, which is exogamous.[3] The point of view, is, however, contradicted by Lewis, who points to the prevalence of fictive kinship in Rampur, according to which for example, the boys and girls of one's own village are called "brother's" or "sister's". This practice even cuts across caste lines, and imbues intra village marriages with an incestous character.[4] It is likely, however, that these sentiments are confined to a large extent to the upper castes, and that the prevalence of this attitude among lower castes arises out of a Sanskritizing tendency.[5]

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1. Gerald D Berreman, "Village Exogamy in Northernmost India," Southwestern Journal of Anthropology. Vol. XVIII, pp 55-8.
2. ibid, p 56.
3. ibid, p 161.
4. Oscar Lewis, op cit., p 161
5. Harold A Gould, "The Micro Demography of Marriages in a North Indian Area.", South-Western Journal of Anthropology Vol.XVI, p.481.

(b) Kinship among the Muslim Population:

Hamza Alavi shows in his study of a village in west Pakistan[1] that the exogamous group among the Muslims is not an ancestor focused descent group as it is among the Hindus. Rather, for each individual, the exogamous group is defined in terms of an ego focused kindred. The biradari, or patrilineal descent group, is the basic institution of the kinship system of the Muslims of West Punjab, and marriage within the tightly knit biradari is preferred. Alavi states: "It is not the rules of exogamy, but rather the norm of endogamy which identifies the kin groups, namely the biradari."[2] Also, patrilineal parallel cousin marriages are preferred especially marriage to the father's brother's daughter.[3]

Thus, the factors which underly high levels of village exogamy in north India do not operate among the Muslims of West Punjab. Alavi indicates that of 287 marriages studied by him of the Duddhi Rajput Biradari, 234 (81.5%) were within biraderi marriages, and 209 were between households of the biraderi in the same village. However, though intra biradari marriages are preferred by public opinion, it is not specifically enjoined by Muslim law, nor are inter biraderi marriages specifically proscribed by Muslim law.[4]

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1. Hamza A.Alavi, "Kinship in West Punjab Villages.", Contributions to Indian Sociology (N.S.), Vol. VI, pp 1-27.

2. ibid, p 6

3. ibid, p 5

4. ibid, p.5

A contrasting situation prevails among the refugees of the Ambala division of east Punjab. Here the 'zat' is the endogamous group within which there are patrilineal descent groups called 'gots', which are exogamous. This contrasts sharply with the biradari organization among the west Punjab Muslims studied by Alavi. Even though the biradari there is divided into sublineages called 'pattis', these are not exogamous groups, and 158 out of 287 marriages (i.e. 55%) were with women of the bridegroom's own patti.[1] Among the East Punjab Muslims of Ambala district there is a tendency to practise village exogamy and networks of kin are widely dispersed. Thus, among the Muslim population we could expect high as well as low levels of village exogamy.

III.1(ii) Inter Caste Differences in Village Exogamy:

Gould's study indicates that village exogamy is likely to be higher among the upper castes than among the lower castes.[2] He states that the Rajputs of the region studied by him came as conquerors, and divided the spoils of war between the clans among them. The result was that clans came to be identified with local regions, or groups of villages. Village exogamy was, therefore a result of clan exogamy, and it enabled the Rajputs to perpetuate their

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1. Ibid, p.5.

2. Harold A. Gould, "The Micro Demography of Marriages in a North Indian Area".

regional dominance. Among the Brahmans, also, a similar situation was found to prevail, and gotra exogamy ensured village exogamy. But the function of village exogamy among the Brahmans is to perpetuate power in its ritual and intellectual forms. Gould states: "Both castes are status paragons in the immediate local area because to a very high degree the base of their power and prestige be beyond it. It is this wider integration of their caste structure which has enabled them to enforce their secular and ritual pretentions vis a vis subordinate castes who lack such integration and are, therefore entirely dependent on the system of ritual and occupational interaction which contains them as a narrow segment and which, therefore, they are powerless to transcend."[1] He however points out that lower caste groups are increasingly endeavouring to raise their position in society by widening their spatial integration through marriage ties.[2]

III.1(iii) Political Dimensions of Village Exogamy.

Among the Hindus, marriage tends to create alliande between the lineages to which the families providing the marriage partners belong. A lineage is "a set of families whose men are related in patrilineal descent - perhaps as sons and grandsons of a set of brothers -- whose households are commonly near each other in the village, and whose

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1. ibid., p 485

2. ibid., p 485

members exchange many kinds of mutual support."[1] It has ritual and juridical functions and is the villager's next larger group for cooperation beyond his family. The rationale for cooperation is provided by the principle of descent; propinquity provides the opportunity.[2]

Mandelbaum states: "A villager's road to power is typically cleared first by mobilizing kin allies and deploying them effectively"[3]. The lineage is almost always an important factor in political alliances and it is rare to find men joining alliances which are different from that of their lineages. Such cases are generally indicative of agnatic estrangement.[4] An alliance within a dominant jati is generally a federation of lineages.[5] If the levels of village exogamy are high, such alliances would tend to span wider area, and this would have implications for the nature of politics in the wider regional arena, in the light of the well established theory that caste and kinship constitute the social bases of politics in India.[6]

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1. David G Mandelbaum, op cit. pg. 17
2. ibid., p 143
3. ibid., p 155
4. ibid., p 143
5. ibid., p 143
6. Rajni Kothari, "Introduction", in Rajni Kothari, ed., Caste in Indian Politics. (New Delhi, Orient Longman, 1973).

III.1 (iv) Economic Dimensions of Village Exogamy.

Epstein's study of two Mysore Villages, Wangala and Dalena[1] highlights the role of the economy in determining the level of village exogamy. Irrigation was introduced into Wangala in 1939. Dalena remained unirrigated but Dalena men shared in the agricultural prosperity of the region by acquiring land in surrounding irrigated villages. This led them to seek marriage ties in the villages where they held land and this enabled them to strengthen the footholds which they had acquired in these villages. Thus, the marriage pattern followed the pattern of landholdings in neighbouring villages.[2]

The agricultural barrenness of Dalena had led Dalena men not only to seek agricultural holdings in neighbouring villages but also to seek employment in nearby towns. This led to Dalena girls being in great demand in other villages whose menfolk considered it to be advantageous to develop marriage ties with people who had influence in the wider economy.

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1. T.Scarlett Epstein, "Economic Development and Persant Marriage in South India," Man in India. Vol.XXXX.

2. ibid, p 199

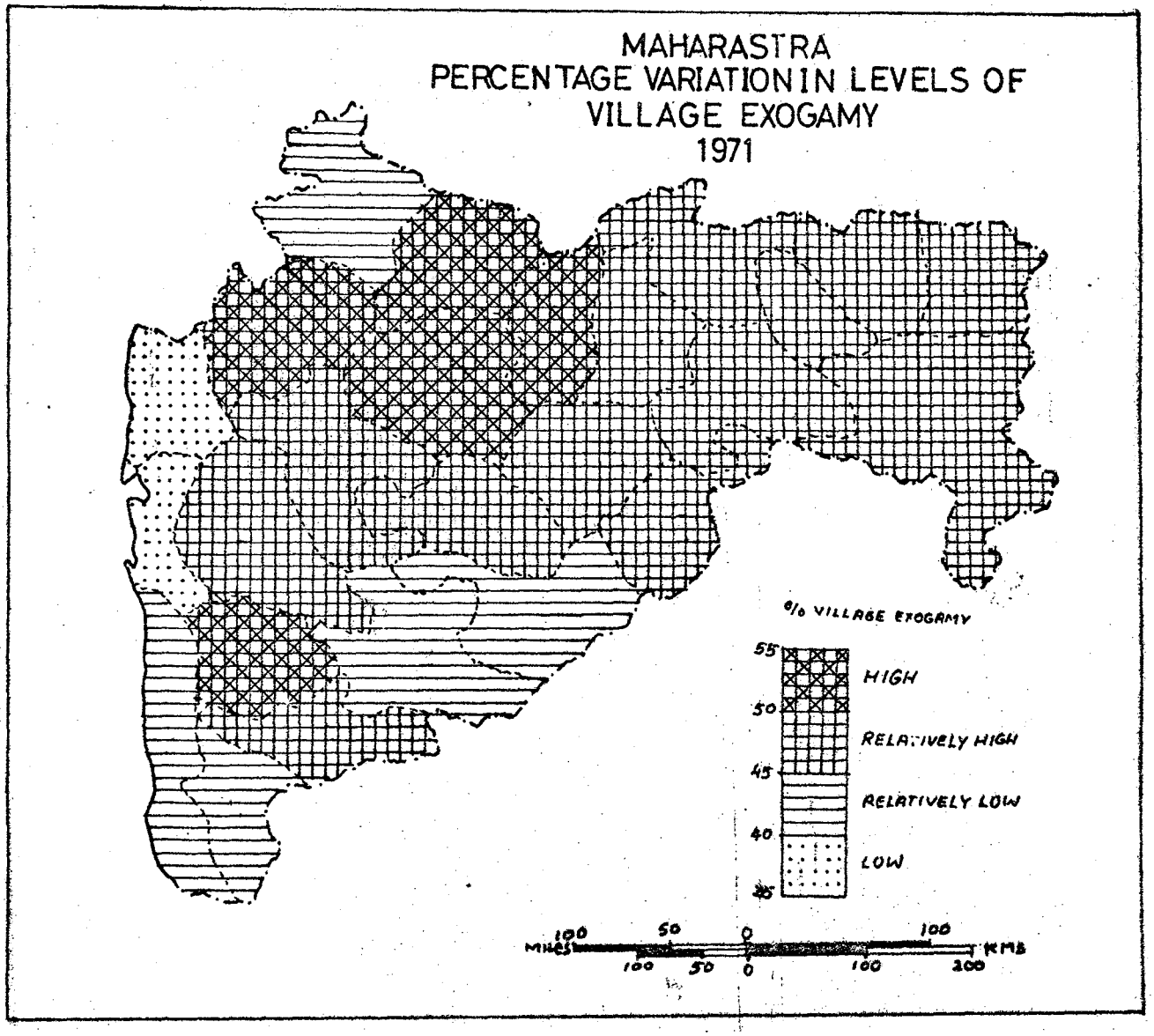
III.2 An Analysis of Regional Variations in the Levels of Village Exogamy in Maharashtra

III.2(i) The General Pattern

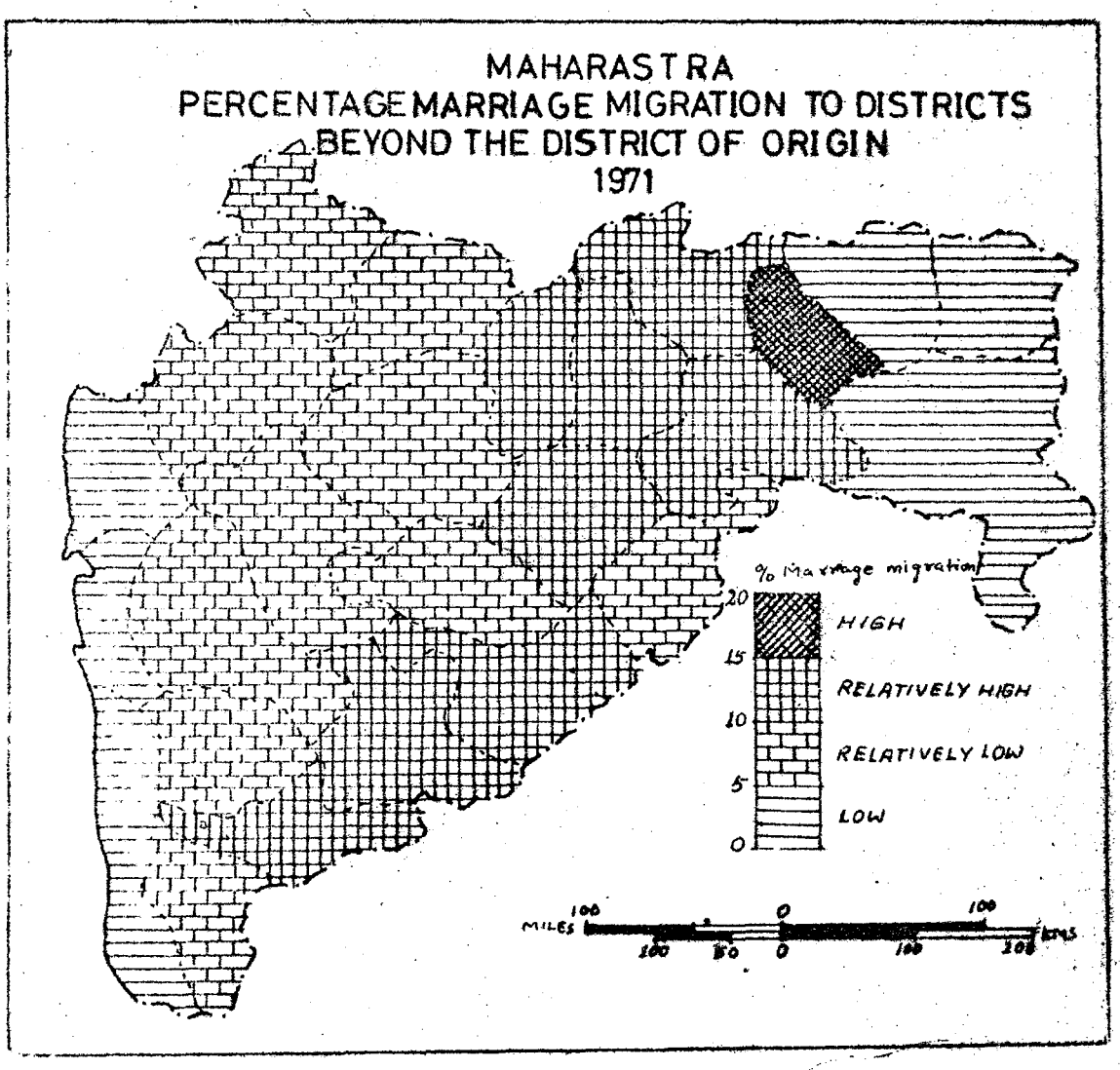
Map III.1 shows that most of the districts which have high levels of exogamy are concentrated in the northern part of Maharashtra. An exception is Satara, which has a high level of exogamy, but is found in the southern portion of the state. The coastal districts have low and relatively low levels of village exogamy. Thana and Kolaba which are northern coastal districts, have the lowest levels of village exogamy. Most of the districts which have relatively low levels of village exogamy (i.e. low but not as low as Thana or Kolaba) are found along the southern border of Maharashtra. The exception is Dhulia, which is situated in the northernmost part of the state. Relatively high levels of village exogamy are found to the south and west of the cluster of districts in northern Maharashtra which have high levels of village exogamy.

Map III.2 shows that the percentage of marriage migration to districts beyond the district of enumeration is the highest in the case of Wardha and is extremely low in the coastal districts, and in Nagpur, Bhandara and Chandrapur. In the rest of Maharashtra, intermediate levels are found.

Map No. III.1


MAHARASTRA
PERCENTAGE VARIATION IN LEVELS OF
VILLAGE EXOGAMY
1971
% VILLAGE EXOGAMY
55
HIGH
50
RELATIVELY HIGH
45
RELATIVELY LOW
40
LOW
35
100 50 0 100
MILES
KMS
100 50 0 100 200

Map No. III.2


MAHARASTRA
PERCENTAGE MARRIAGE MIGRATION TO DISTRICTS
BEYOND THE DISTRICT OF ORIGIN
1971
% Marriage migration
20
15
10
5
0
HIGH
RELATIVELY HIGH
RELATIVELY LOW
LOW
MILES
100
0
100
100
50
0
100
200
KMS

III.2(ii) The Kinship Factor

Within the central zone demarcated by Karve, Maharashtra is unique in that it is an area where "the Sanskritic northern traits and the Dravidian southern traits almost hold a balance, with perhaps a slight predominance for the former."[1] In the case of Rajasthan, Orissa and Gujarat, which also lie in the central region, the mix is heavily in favour of the northern pattern with only a few castes permitting the southern practice of marrying the mother's brother's daughter.[2]

If it is hypothesised that there is a district level distance decay in the diffusion of northern kinship traits as distance from the north increases, then one would expect, cetirus paribus, to find high levels of village exogamy in the northern portion of Maharashtra and low levels in southern Maharashtra. In the light of this hypothesis it appears significant that most of the high level village exogamy districts are concentrated in northern Maharashtra (with the exception of Satara) and most of the districts which have low levels of village exogamy are found in southern Maharashtra (the exceptions being Dhulia, Thana and Kolaba) (Map III.1).

III.2(iii) The Tribal Factor

The anomalies to the diffusion theory mentioned above could partly be explained by the large rural tribal population in Thana and Dhulia (Map III.3), if it is hypothesised that among

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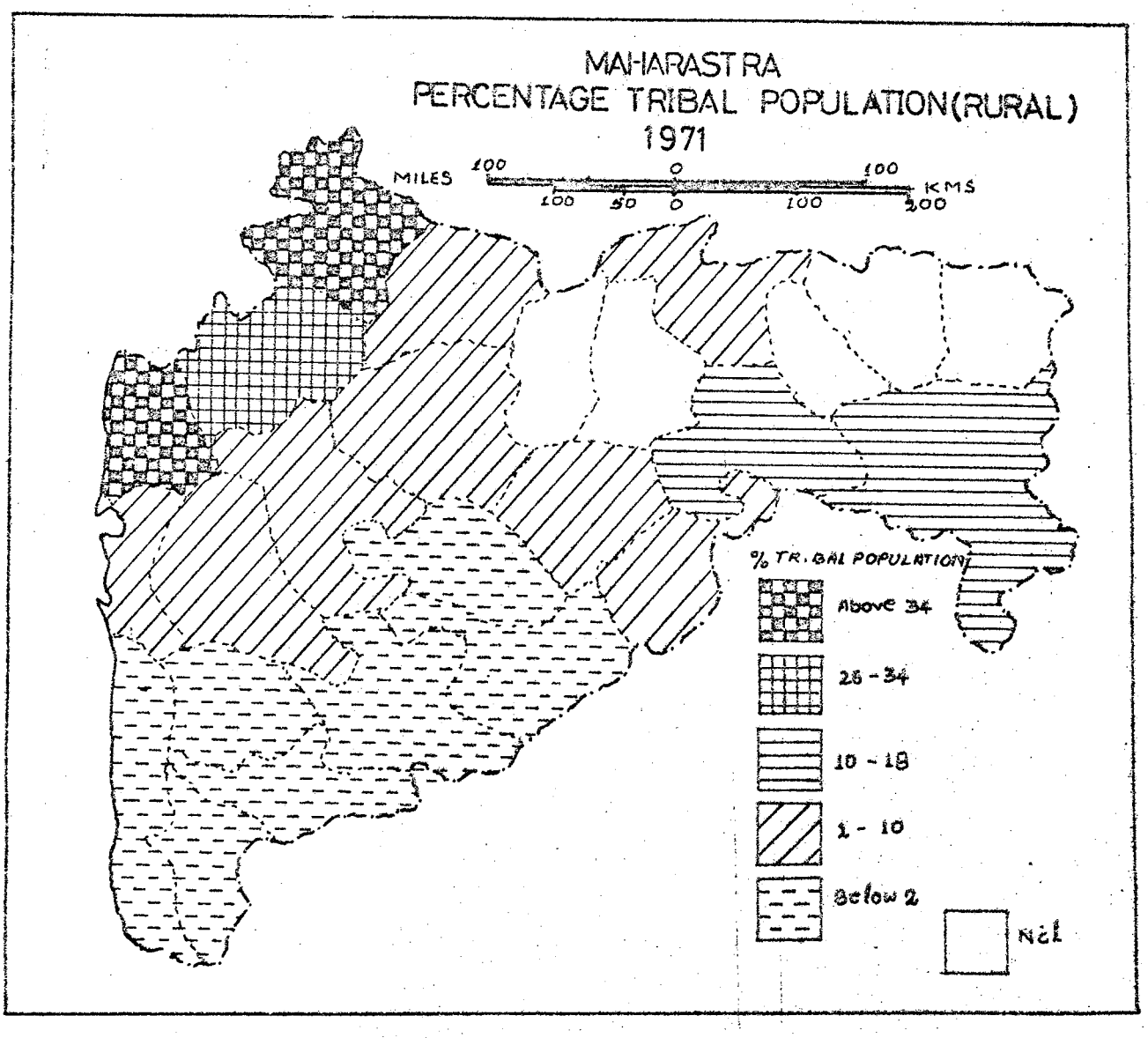
1. Irawati Karve, op. cit., p.175
2. ibid, p 192

Map No. III.3


MAHARASTRA
PERCENTAGE TRIBAL POPULATION(RURAL)
1971
MILES
100 0 100
100 50 0 100 200
KMS
% TRIBAL POPULATION
Above 34
25 - 34
10 - 18
1 - 10
Below 2
Nil

tribals, village exogamy tends to be low. In Nasik, however, a large rural tribal population is found, but the level of village exogamy in the district is high. This could be due to the high degree of prevalence of northern kinship traits among the non tribal population in this district.

III.2(iv) The Geographical Factor

The low levels of marriage migration to districts beyond the district of origin in the coastal districts could be explained in terms of two geographical factors. On the one hand, the sea precludes movement to the west. On the other hand, the Western Ghats act as a barrier to movement to the east. Thus, patterns of village exogamy which developed here were conditioned by the geographic factor.

III.2(v) Economic Prosperity as a Determinant of Village Exogamy

It is hypothesised that high levels of economic prosperity are associated with high levels of village exogamy. For example, if agricultural productivity is high, then the agricultural surplus would tend to integrate the concerned region with the wider society through ties of trade etc. There would be a tendency to reinforce these links through marriage.[1]

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1. I am indebted to Dr. M.K.Premi for this hypothesis.

Agricultural productivity, in terms of rupees per hectare, is estimated for the districts of Maharashtra,[1] and shown in Map III.4. It is found that the coastal districts have high levels of agricultural productivity. Map III.2 shows that marriage migration out of these districts is low. This may be partly due to the geographical factors mentioned above, and partly due to the possibility that in areas where agricultural productivity is high, the proportion of female workers is also high. (The hypothesis here is the one indicated by Berreman,[2] i.e. working women, as a consequence of their high status, prefer endogamous marriages).

An anomaly to the economic productivity hypothesis is indicated by Wardha, which sends out a high proportion of its marriage migrants to other districts (map III.2) and yet has a low level of agricultural productivity (Map III.4).

III.2(vi) <u>The Muslim Factor</u>

The Muslim population could be associated with high or low levels of village exogamy, as was explained in Section III.1 of this chapter. The Muslim rural population in Maharashtra, however, shows no appreciable strength at the district level (Map III.5) and so no conclusions can be arrived at.

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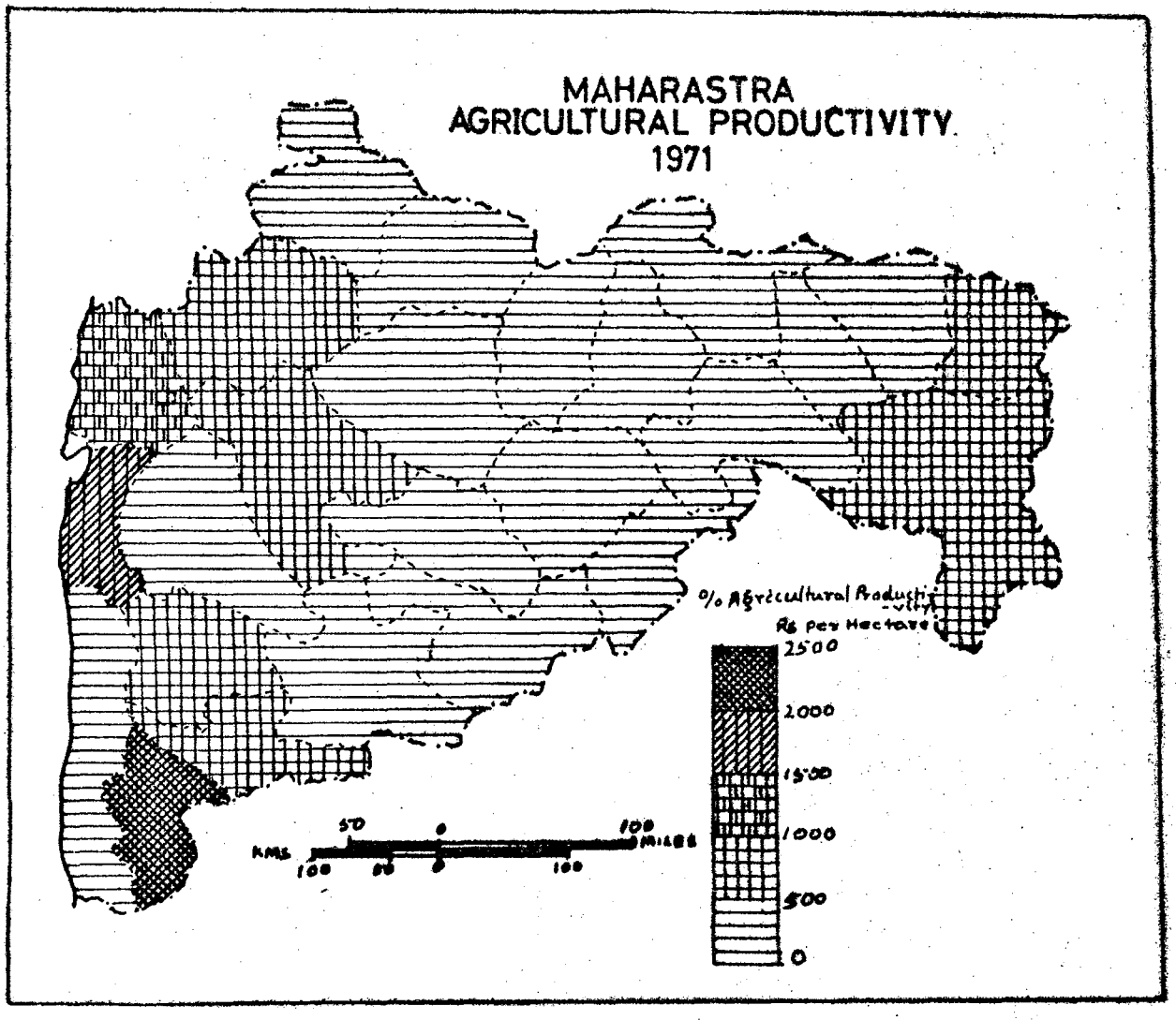
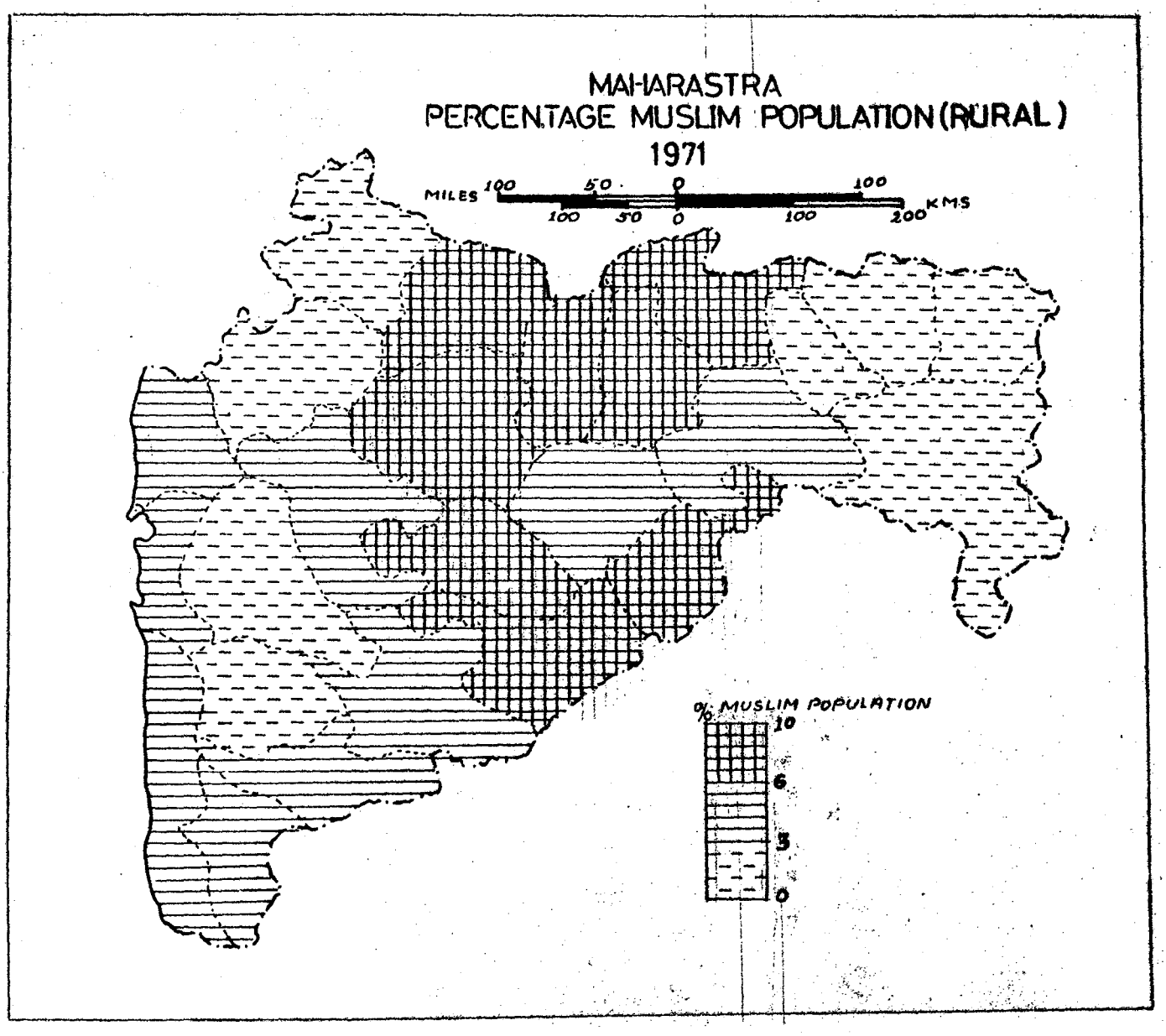
1. These rates were obtained from a Jawaharlal Nehru University Project Report titled "Indian Agriculture: A district wise Profile." (The project was undertaken by the Centre for the Study of Regional Development, School of Social Sciences). The productivity in Rupees (of 19 crops) was divided by the area (in hectares) to obtain the rates.

2. Gerald D Berreman, <u>op. cit.</u>

Map No. III.4


MAHARASTRA
AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTIVITY.
1971
% Agricultural Productivity
Rs per Hectare
2500
2000
1500
1000
500
0
50
0
100
KMS
MILES
100
50
0
100

Map No. III.5


MAHARASTRA
PERCENTAGE MUSLIM POPULATION (RURAL)
1971
MILES 100 50 0 100
100 50 0 100 200 KMS
% MUSLIM POPULATION
10
6
3
0

III.2(vii) The Literacy Factor

It is hypothesised that high levels of literacy indicate a high status of women, and that high status women prefer endogamous marriages (the latter is Berremans hypothesis, which has also been discussed). It could therefore be expected that high levels of literacy are associated with low levels of exogamy. The proportion of rural females who have had some formal education are ascertained from census data,[1] and mapped. (Map III.6) No clear pattern of the relationship between literacy level and village exogamy is, however, discernable.

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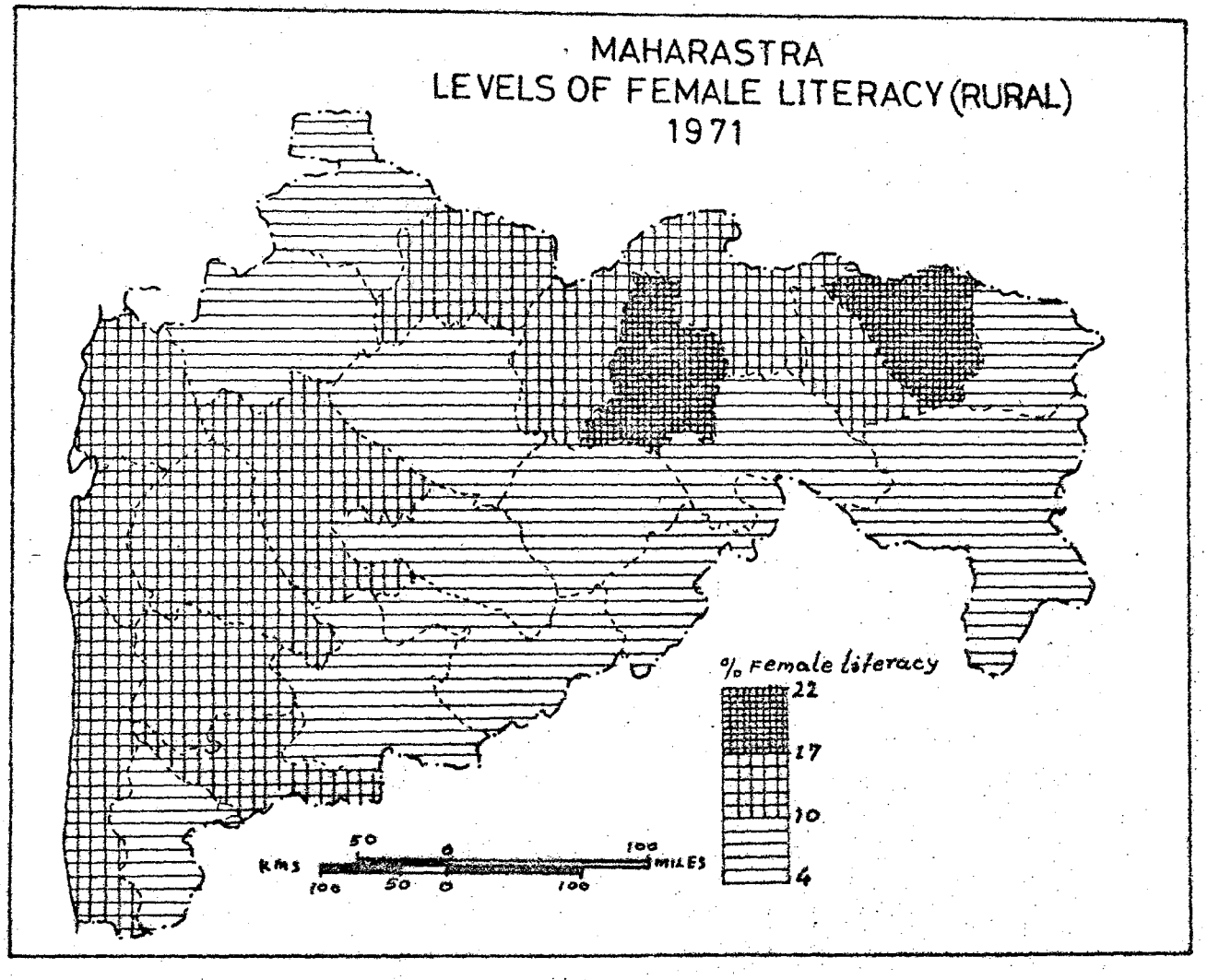
1. Table C-III Part A (Census of India, Part II c(ii)) indicates literacy levels for rural and urban areas for males and females. Table C-III Part B indicates the corresponding figures for urban areas only. By subtracting the relevant figures in Table C III Part A from the corresponding figures in Table C III Part B, the literacy levels among females in rural areas only can be obtained.

Map No. III.6


MAHARASTRA
LEVELS OF FEMALE LITERACY (RURAL)
1971
% Female literacy
22
17
10
4
50
0
100
KMS
MILES
100
50
0
100

CHAPTER IV

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This study has attempted to estimate and analyse the variations in the levels of village exogamy in Maharashtra in 1971. Census data were used, and they had to be adjusted in a variety of ways to make them represent the phenomenon being studied to the extent possible.

The general picture that emerges is that most of the districts which have high levels of village exogamy are found in the northern part of Maharashtra (with the exception of Satara), and the districts which have low levels of village exogamy are found in the southern part of the state (with the exception of Dhulia, Thana and Kolaba). This has been interpreted in terms of a distance decay in the diffusion of north Indian kinship traits as distance from the north increases. The anomalies to this hypothesis which are indicated by Thana and Dhulia are explained in terms of the large tribal population in these districts (It is hypothesised that among tribals, village exogamy tends to be low). In Nasik, however, a large tribal population is found, but the level of village exogamy in the district is high. This could be due to the high degree of prevalence of northern kinship traits among the non tribal population in this district.

An attempt was made to ascertain whether a correlation

exists between the strength of the Muslim population and the levels of village exogamy. The Muslim population in Maharashtra, however, shows no appreciable strength at the district level, and so no conclusions can be arrived at. It is hypothesised that high levels of female literacy are associated with low levels of village exogamy, but no such clearcut correlation is discernible for the districts of the state.

It is found that marriage migration within the district accounts for a minimum of three fourths of all marriage migration. It is also found that practically all marriage migration to districts beyond the district of origin is to districts which are contiguous to the district of origin. It is hypothesised that high levels of agricultural productivity are associated with high levels of marriage migration out of the district. However, the coastal districts, which have high levels of agricultural productivity have low levels of marriage migration out of the district of origin. This could be due to the influence of the Western Ghats and the sea, both of which inhibit movement. However, Wardha, which sends out a high proportion of marriage migrants to other districts, has a low level of agricultural productivity.

The above hypotheses could be tested for districts in other states of India with the help of 1971 census data.

In addition to a macro level study of this kind, it would also be necessary to pursue the investigation at a micro level with the help of field work in order to uncover relationships which would supplement a census based macro study. Caste variations in the levels of village exogamy is a case in point. There is evidence to point to the existence of such variations, but caste enumeration in the census of India was stopped after 1941 and macro level data of this nature is no longer available. It is true that 'scheduled caste' enumeration has been continued, but the scheduled caste population is thinly spread out and does not show any appreciable strength at the district level. Besides, migration tables have not been generated seperately for the scheduled caste population.

Village exogamy as a variable could be integrated into various kinds of social theories. For example, it could be hypothesised that the success of caste based movements depends to a considerable degree on the level of village exogamy in the concerned caste; since the greater is the level of village exogamy, the greater would be the horizontal solidarity of the concerned caste. The level of village exogamy could also be integrated into a study of political behaviour. The greater the level of village exogamy in a given region, the greater would be sensitivity of the villagers to the going ons in the wider

society, as contrasted to a tendency towards a village centric view in regions where low levels of village exogamy prevail. It could be hypothesised that in regions where high levels of village exogamy prevail, one would, cetirus paribus, find higher levels of political consciousness. Further, high levels of village exogamy would provide a potential for a wider geographical recruitment of kinsmen for political ends, and political processes in such areas could be of a different nature from political processes in regions where low exogamy prevails. Another field of study where village exogamy could be a significant variable is the field of diffusion studies, i.e. studies focusing on the diffusion of information and ideas. The greater the level of village exogamy, the greater would be the geographic area of the Neighbourhood Effect. In other words, the higher the level of village exogamy, the greater would be the potential for information diffusion. Village exogamy could therefore be integrated into explanations regarding the diffusion of family planning information in rural areas.

In conclusion, it may be said that village exogamy is likely to be an important variable in the study of society.

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