Case Study On Inter Caste Marriage in Urban and Rural Areas of Andhra Pradesh: Patterns and Causes Faced By Women

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ABSTRACT:

In India all caste groups are thought to share an equally strong preference for endogamy. Through a field experiment in the arranged-marriage market involving 1070 women participants, conducted across multiple matrimonial websites, we compare the revealed preferences for inter caste of Upper-Castes (“ucs”) and Scheduled-Castes (“scs”), two groups situated at the opposite ends of a ranked social order. We find that 70.7% of scs, but only 53.9% of ucs express an interest in inter caste for marriage. We also find that, among ucs, Socioeconomic (“SE”) status is inversely related to boundary-crossing preference, while among Scs the opposite is true. These two systems create water tight compartment between communities and bring division, hatred and tension among various social groups. Marriages within the same caste and same religion are the norm of the Indian society. To think of marriages between different castes and different religions is a difficult and socially unacceptable proposition. Recently the process of modernization, democratization and development has brought lots of positive changes in Indian society. The major objectives of the present paper are to understand the spatial patterns and determinants of inter-caste Marriages in India. The study uses the data of third round of National Family Health Survey (2013 – 15) having sample size of 43102 ever married couples. It is found that about 10 percent of the total marriages in India take place between different castes while Only 2.1 percent marriages are inter-religious.

Keywords: Socioeconomic, multiple matrimonial, inter caste, boundary-crossing preference, socially unacceptable proposition

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM:

Our findings suggest that arranged-marriage markets in urban India operate on the principle of exchange. Participants who can benefit from inter caste, and Have high caste or SE status to exchange, are more likely than other participants to express an Interest in doing so. These findings imply that if ucs and scs go on to exchange caste and SE Status through marriage, we may, over time, observe a weakening of caste boundaries.

OVERVIEW OF LITERATURE:

The concept of caste system and religious discrimination are like a bane on the path of India's progress. For centuries Indian society has been divided on the basis of caste system and religion (Malhotra et al, 1977). The problem of caste system was so deep rooted that it Took years for the Indians to...
come out of that idea. Even today also India is struggling to come out of this social menace. History reveals that efforts have been made by various Social reformers and individuals whose name doesn't appear in the pages of history to make India free from the clutches of caste system, untouchability and race discrimination. And when we talk about Indian marriages, which are inter-caste and inter-religious, it seems like a taboo to most of the people. But in order to eradicate the caste system and race Discrimination, it is important that there should be inter-caste and inter – religious Marriages. Marriages are regarded as the most important social custom and the best means to remove the barrier of caste system. Today in Indian society though we can see intercaste Marriages but mostly it is part of the city culture and they constitute a minor Proportion of the total marriages. The rural parts of the country is by and large dominated by the same caste marriage and still have a long way to go in terms of accepting inter-caste Marriage.

Kannan (1963) studied 149 inter-caste marriages in the city of Bombay. He found that Inter-caste marriage is steadily increasing only recently and that has assumed a significant Component since 1956. The age of the women at the time of her marriage, the freedom Given to her to choose her partner, the range of female education are some of the important Factors influencing the inter-caste marriages in Bombay (Kannan, 1963). A study based on Matrimonial advertisement data shows that, in a section of the families, the caste barrier is Being changed and people come forward for inter-caste marriages. The friends and relatives In most cases play all foul means to stop such unions; but this tendency to oppose intercaste Marriages registered in West Bengal, have increased from 700 in 1955 to 5800 in 1969. Brahmins which are at the top of the caste hierarchy are most opposed to inter-cast Marriages. Kayasthas, Baidyas and other Hindus are increasingly becoming more liberal Towards inter-caste marriage. Also post graduates are most liberal for inter-caste marriage As compared to under graduates and graduates (Sarkar, 1970).

A study conducted in rural areas of Andhra Pradesh found that as many as 936 people in The sample favored marriage of their sons and daughters only within their caste, while only 29 people were not very particular about marriage within the caste. This rigid or Conservatism with regard to inter-caste matrimonial alliance was not confined to the few Influential castes groups alone. It was uniformly prevalent among all caste and among the Different level of society. On the whole it can be seen that castes both at the top and at the Bottom as well as those who are trying to improve their social status are keen on confining Their marital relations only to their own caste, excepting for few people who are Insignificant in their numbers (Chintamani, 1973).

Another study on inter-caste marriage (Reddy et.al, 1984) shows that the scheduled caste Has exhibited the highest tendency for inter-caste marriages than the other castes.
The urban residence, education, employment in modern occupation and middle class economic background have tended to be a set of attributes affecting the incidence of inter-caste marriages. He further observes that inter-caste marriage takes place at fairly advanced age. Rather than at the young age (Reddy et.al, 1984).

For years Indians had an orthodox mindset. They couldn't imagine marriages beyond the same caste, community and religion. They had a conception that marriages are only possible in the same community and caste. Those who dared for the inter-caste marriage by violating the social norm had to face the consequences in terms of violence, social boycott, family boycott and death of the boys and girls (honour killing). Even in this twenty first century, honour killing is still practiced in most parts of northern India when there are cases of inter-caste marriages against the wishes of the family members. Caste is such a rigid and water tight compartment in Indian society that it is almost next to impossible to think of a marriage between a higher caste and a lower caste. It is expected that with modernization, development and increase in educational level etc., the impact of various divisive social forces like caste, religion, various taboos etc. would become weaker. The society is expected to become more broad minded, forward looking and tolerant. India has already embarked on the path of modernization, development, and globalization etc. Against this background, therefore, from the researcher's point of view, it will be quite interesting to analyze the pattern and spatial distribution and the changes in inter-caste marriage patterns in India. The available literature on the subject is also scanty. Hence, there is a need to study the changes in the pattern of inter-caste marriages in India. The recently conducted national level survey in India (NFHS-3) gives the information on marriages of couples and their castes with all other background information.

What explains Inter-Caste marriages?

While inter-caste marriages are assumed to be uncommon in India, they do occur. The National Family Health Survey reports 13% of its respondents to be in an inter-caste marriage. Meanwhile, survey evidence also points to acceptance for intercaste marriage. For instance, in the 2004 Indian National Election Study conducted by the Center for Study of Developing Societies New Delhi, when respondents were presented with the assertion that inter-caste marriage should be banned, 40% of Hindu respondents opposed it. Yet, the literature on caste and marriage has not systematically explored the interest in or preferences for boundary-crossing through marriage. As a result we turn to the literature on interracial and interethnic marriage that has both proposed and tested theories on boundary-crossing behavior.

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK FOR THE STUDY:

In order to address the study objectives, a model is being suggested that represents the
contribution of various cities of Andhra Pradesh that may assist in measuring its association with the performance indicators used in the model.

**RESEARCH METHODOLOGY**
COVERAGE: For the purpose of the study, it is proposed to take a sample of 10 urban and rural areas of Andhra Pradesh and collected the details of their inter-case and inter-religious figure and the research work was carried out by the areas with reference to Andhra pradesh.

SAMPLE SIZE AND TECHNIQUE:
In order to collect the opinion of people in the community, a sample of 500 respondents will be selected from Andhra pradesh, from different age groups from both the genders by using convenience sampling technique. For the purpose of secondary data analysis, It is proposed to take a sample of 10 cities at random from different sectors and collected the details of their marriage.

SOURCES OF DATA COLLECTION
To conduct the proposed study both secondary and primary data will be used. Secondary data can be collected through the annual reports of 10 cities. The data relating to intercaste marriage will be collected from various annual reports of state. Primary data have been collected from the relevant community who will be directly benefited from the projects. Personal interviews with selected people in the community with the help of structured questionnaire.

HYPOTHESES
Caste-status exchange individuals seek out partners who are as similar to themselves as possible on all applicable criteria. If an individual is well-educated, moneyed, and from a high social rank, she will look for a partner who is the same. In India, for many individuals, would involve finding a partner from the same caste. Importantly, predicts the absence of inter-caste preferences. Those hierarchical societies in which social and economic status are fused, endogamy allows for the replication of both caste and SE status across generations. In such societies we would expect marriage markets to be multiple and particular to each ranked group.

Hypothesis 1: Both SC and UC women will restrict their partner preference to members of their own caste category.

Hypothesis 2: SC women will be more likely to prefer boundary crossing than UC women.

Hypothesis 3: UC women from higher SE status backgrounds will be less likely to express a preference for boundary crossing than those from lower SE status backgrounds since they have little to gain, in terms of status, from boundary crossing; however, UC women from lower SE status backgrounds can still trade their higher caste for higher SE status and will be more likely to express a preference for boundary-crossing.

Hypothesis 3: Similarly, SC women from lower SE status backgrounds will be less likely to express a preference for boundary crossing than SC women from higher SE status backgrounds since they have little to exchange in the way of status endowments.
DATA AND METHODS

This study analyzes caste information of 32160 Hindu couples. Caste system is mostly prevalent among Hindus though this information was also collected from other Religious groups. The couples belonging to other religious groups have been removed from the analysis though their caste information is also available. The information collected on Caste is grouped into three categories namely Scheduled Caste (SC), Other Backward Classes (OBC) and Others (which includes all the higher castes). The ascending order of Class hierarchy in India is SC, OBC and Others but schedule tribe (ST) is not included in this hierarchy. ST is excluded from this study as it reflects more of a community rather than a caste. If a woman belonging to higher caste marries to a man belonging to lower Caste and a woman belonging to a lower caste marries to a man of higher caste, then it is considered as inter-caste marriage. In other words if a woman marries to a man other than her own caste is considered as an inter-caste marriage. Similarly, all the religions are divided into 5 categories namely Hindu, Muslim, Christian, Sikhs and Others. In order to examine the effect of socio-economic factors on inter-caste and inter-religious marriages, logistic regression analysis was carried out in which dependent variables are inter-caste and inter-religious Marriages. The independent variables are marital duration, residence, education, Working status of women, household structure, wealth quintile and mass media exposure.

IMPLICATIONS:

Marriage can comingle family and social networks of spouses (Romano 2003). Since caste is reproduced through marriage, an inter-caste marriage may result in weaker adherence to norms related to maintaining caste separation in the next generation. Anecdotal evidence suggests that, in India, marriage of women is policed more strictly by families and communities and marrying into a lower caste is strongly discouraged. The willingness to cross ranked caste boundaries by women then signifies a weakening of these boundaries. Since caste in India has historically been a source of social exclusion and serious discrimination (Mendelsohn & Vicziany 1998; Viswanathan 2005; Deshpande 2011), boundary-crossing among the UCs, especially toward the SCs, is a sign of social inclusion of a severely marginalized group. Our findings on preferences in the private sphere compliment recent work on changing caste relations in the public sphere in the wake of both rising literacy and income indicators among SCs in India.

DATA ANALYSIS:

Hypothesis 1:
Null Hypothesis: There is no association between gender and types of incentives provided.

Table 1: Chi-square test for association between gender and intercaste marriage

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>intercaste marriage</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Chi-square Value</th>
<th>P value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Urban areas</td>
<td>Rural areas</td>
<td>Both</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>115 (36.3%)</td>
<td>91 (28.7%)</td>
<td>111 (35.0%)</td>
<td>317</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[72.3%]</td>
<td>[75.8%]</td>
<td>[78.7%]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>44 (42.7%)</td>
<td>29 (28.2%)</td>
<td>30 (29.1%)</td>
<td>103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[27.7%]</td>
<td>[24.2%]</td>
<td>[21.3%]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>159</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>141</td>
<td>420</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: 1. The value within ( ) refers to Row Percentage
2. The value within [ ] refers to Column Percentage
3. ** Denotes significant at 5% level

Since P value is less than 0.05, the null hypothesis is rejected at 5 percent level of significance. Hence concluded that there is association between gender and intercaste marriage provided. Based on the row percentage, both males and females prefer intercaste marriage.

This shows that even today intercaste marriage is seen irrespective of the areas.

Hypothesis 2:

Null Hypothesis: There is no association between age and intercaste marriage in urban and rural areas of AP

Table 2: Chi-square test for association between age and types of incentives provided

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Incentives Provided</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Chi-square Value</th>
<th>P value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Urban areas</td>
<td>Rural areas</td>
<td>Both</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bel</td>
<td>15 (51.7%)</td>
<td>5 (17.2%)</td>
<td>9 (31.0%)</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ow 25</td>
<td>[9.4%]</td>
<td>[4.2%]</td>
<td>[6.4%]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Available online: https://edupediapublications.org/journals/index.php/IJR/
Table 4.3.5 Chi-square test for association between educational qualification and types of incentives provided

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Educational Qualification</th>
<th>Intercaste marriage</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Chi-square Value</th>
<th>P value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Urban areas</td>
<td>Ruban areas</td>
<td>Both</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diploma</td>
<td>20 (40.0%)</td>
<td>15 (30.0%)</td>
<td>15 (30.0%)</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Graduate</td>
<td>65 (40.1%)</td>
<td>58 (35.8%)</td>
<td>39 (24.1%)</td>
<td>162</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Post Graduate</td>
<td>49 (32.9%)</td>
<td>47 (31.5%)</td>
<td>53 (35.6%)</td>
<td>149</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional</td>
<td>25 (42.4%)</td>
<td>0 (.0%)</td>
<td>34 (57.6%)</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: 1. The value within (  ) refers to Row Percentage
2. The value within [   ] refers to Column Percentage
3. ** Denotes significant at 1% level

Since P value is less than 0.01, the null hypothesis is rejected at 1 percent level of significance. Hence concluded that there is association between age and intercaste marriage in urban and rural areas of AP. Based on the row percentage, comparatively more no. of respondents between age groups of 25 to 45 prefers intercaste marriage in urban and rural areas of AP.
Since P value is more than 0.01, the null hypothesis is accepted at 1 percent level of significance. Hence concluded that there is association between educational qualification and intercaste marriage in urban and rural areas of AP. It is also observed from the table that the more no. of Professional respondents prefer both marriages. It is also found that with 99% percentage of significance, based on the educational qualification the preference changes and it shifts to the intercaste marriage in urban and rural areas of AP.

### FINDINGS AND SUGGESTIONS

Outcasts in rural and urban areas resulted to different reasons. In urban areas outcasts were those marrying out of their castes and their children while in rural areas outcasts existed due to certain imposition of control or disciplinary action against a particular member of family of the caste or social groups. Outcasts in rural areas could return to their original castes after some period or removal of sanctions by the larger caste societies however in urban areas it become very difficult for them to get reentry into their original castes. In this manner, outcasting in urban areas is a permanent phenomenon. During the survey of almost 138 out of caste marriages, we find no any single evidence that any kind of reentry was possible into their original caste through any means. Although some talks about the caste of father would be the basis of determination of caste of the children due to patrilineal system in practice, however mere writing or mentioning father’s caste as their caste reentry into the bigger caste set was never possible for and they remained outcastes as possible.

### CONCLUSION

India is still by and large a traditional society with rigid caste system. Caste plays a very important role in the selection of mates in marriages. To most Indians, it is difficult to think of marriage beyond the own caste. But it is quite heartening to notice that the force of the caste in marriage selection is gradually loosening over time as about ten percent of the marriages in India are reported to be inter-caste marriages. This is a good beginning to completely eradicate the caste system in India. This change in the marriage pattern in India is a very recent phenomenon due to the impact of modernization, socio-economic development and globalization of Indian economy. Various socio-economic and
demographic factors also affect the pattern of inter-caste marriages in India. There is a significant spatial variation in the pattern of inter-caste marriages. There seems to be higher inter-caste marriages in socio-economically developed states like Punjab, Haryana, Assam, Maharashtra and Karnataka in comparison with the socio-economically backward states of northern India namely Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Bihar and Rajasthan. It is expected that the incidence of such inter-caste marriages will increase with degree of modernization and socio-economic development. There is need to glorify, give media exposure and encourage such marriages in order to reduce the caste barrier prevalent in Indian society. India will require long time yet to come when the marriage system in India will be completely free of caste discrimination. Therefore in andrapradesh, the intercaste marriage in urban and rural areas is often take place with support of

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