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Child Marriages in Haryana

DESPITE the Child Marriage Restraint Act XIX of 1929, as amended by Act 19 of 1938, and the Hindu Marriage Act of 1955 which raised the minimum age of marriage of female to 15 years, child marriages are still predominant in certain parts of India. According to the above Act, the marriage of a male under 18 years of age or a female under 15 years of age is punishable by fine or imprisonment, or both. In spite of these possible legal consequences, the incidence of child marriages has been reported by Jorapur (1972) for certain rural areas of Shimoga district in Mysore State, by Driver (1963) for the Nagpur district of Maharashtra State, by Balakrishna (1971) for the Rajendranagar Block of Andhra Pradesh and by Hussain (1970) for the Lucknow city. Kapadia (1958) reviewed a number of studies of age at marriage in small selected groups and the prevalence of child marriages is also noted by him. Incidence of marriages below 15 years in the case of girls and below 18 years in the case of boys is indicated by age distributions of married persons in 1961 published by the Registrar General of India (1962).

The statistics regarding the urban and rural mean age at marriage in India are given in the National Sample Survey Report (No. 7) entitled "Couple Fertility", by Das Gupta, *et al.* (1955). These show that although the age at marriage has risen slightly both for males and females, the finding is true only for the urban sector. In the rural stratum, the age at marriage has not changed significantly.

The present median age at marriage among females in India is estimated to be nearly 16 years according to Prasad (1967) and Chandrasekhar (1967). This average implies that a large percentage of females still marry before attaining the minimum legal age.

Against this background, this paper reports the extent of child marriages among males and females in the rural and urban areas of Haryana. It attempts further to indicate the differentials in the age of marriage according to socio-economic factors such as religion, educational level, individual occupation, and family structure and to test the significance of the correlation between these factors and the age at marriage.

Methodology

The present report is based on data from the Family Planning and Fertility Survey in Haryana conducted by the Population Council of India, New Delhi, from August 1971 through March, 1972. The data analysed here were collected in the course of a KAP Survey of 70 villages and 35 urban blocks covering a total of 6,534 respondents from all the seven districts of Haryana. For the purpose of sampling the eligible married couples,¹ the population was divided into three major strata, namely, (a) the Class I city of Ambala from which only three urban blocks were sampled, (b) the urban stratum from which 22 urban census blocks were drawn and (c) the rural stratum from which 70 villages were sampled. In the rural areas, a two-stage sampling design was employed, the sampling unit in first stage being the village and in the second stage the eligible couples. In the case of urban areas and the city, a uni-stage design was used, the sampling unit being the census block as constructed by the 1971 census.

For the rural sample, the villages were first selected systematically (linear) with probability proportionate to their total population. Slightly over one per cent of the inhabited villages (70 villages) listed by the 1961 census (6,670) were chosen on grounds of feasibility and budget constraint. In the second stage of rural sampling a two-phase scheme was followed for the selection of eligible couples. In the first phase (round), the proportion of eligible couples to be interviewed from villages of different sizes was decided on a priori basis. Thus, it was decided to interview 10 per cent of the eligible couples in a village having a total population of 3000 or above; 20 per cent of eligible couples in a village with a population between 2999-2000; and 33 per cent from one with population between 1999-1500; and so on. For each sampled village, a list of eligible couples was prepared from which a specified fraction of eligible couples was selected (linear) systematically with equal probabilities. On finding that the resulting sample size was not sufficiently large, a second round of sampling was undertaken whereby an additional sample of eligible couples was obtained in the same manner from the same frame after first excluding the samples previously sampled.

The survey began with a self-weighting sampling design. But the incidence of non-availability differed significantly between villages and between urban blocks, and so on. A series of weights was developed for different villages and urban blocks in order to obtain unbiased estimates of the population characteristics. For developing these weights, it was necessary to obtain the total number of eligible couples in each of the 70 sampled villages and 35 urban blocks. The later information was obtained by house to house enumeration completed with the help of field investigators at the time of preparing the sample frame. The total number of eligible couples listed in the sampling frame was the figures used for determining the weights.

1. Eligible couples are those in whose case all the following three conditions must be satisfied: (a) Both husband and wife live in the same household, (b) wife should be in the age range of 15-45 years, and (c) the male/female respondent is available during the interview period.

The Interview Schedule and Interviewing

A pre-coded interview schedule was used for collecting information on the respondent's demographic characteristics, marriage and pregnancy history, knowledge and practice of various contraceptive methods etc. In the present survey, only one of the members, either husband or wife (but not both) formed the ultimate sampling unit. Every even number of cases selected from the sampling frame was assigned to female interviewers for canvassing interviews from wives and every odd number of cases were assigned to male interviewers for canvassing interviews from male respondents. A total of 7,580 interviews (5,225 rural and 2,355 urban) were planned; only 6,534 of these respondents (4,547 rural and 1,987 urban) could be interviewed.

The modal age-group for all male respondents ($N_m=3242$) is 30-34 years (19.2 per cent) closely followed by the age group 25-29 years (18.7 per cent). For all the female respondents ($N_f=3292$) the modal age-group is 25-29 years (20.8 per cent). The modal age for male respondents remains unchanged irrespective of whether they come from city or rural strata. A similar statement can be made for the female respondents. In the case of urban respondents, the modal age is higher for the males and lower for the females as compared to their respective counterparts belonging to city and rural strata.

The female respondents sampled in the survey were married, on the average, at about the age of 13 years in rural areas and about 16 years in urban areas, the median number of years married being almost 13.5 years. The oldest of these female respondents (30-49 years) have carried on the average nearly six children, while their youngest counterparts (15-29) have given birth to about two children. Other descriptive statistics for most of the important socio-economic and demographic characteristics are given below.

TABLE 1
SELECTED SOCIAL AND DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SAMPLED
RESPONDENTS CLASSIFIED BY SEX AND MAJOR STRATA IN HARYANA

Characteristics	Male			Female		
	Rural* (2267)	Urban (904)	City (71)	Rural (2280)	Urban (946)	City (66)
Median Age@	33	36	32	30	30	28
Median Age at Marriage@	18	21	21	13	16	16
Median Age at Consummation	20	21	21	16	17	17
Percentage of illiteracy (self)	35.9	23.1	22.5	91.4	53.4	69.7
Percentage of illiteracy (spouse)	91.6	56.2	62.2	60.1	21.6	34.9
Percentage of cultivators	62.2	6.7	14.5	13.4	2.6	13.8
Percentage of nuclear family	30.4	59.0	37.8	42.6	59.4	43.8
Percentage being Hindu	90.3	86.7	88.9	91.1	85.4	97.0
Percentage who never migrated	90.0	35.9	62.4	1.0	3.3	21.4
Percentage sterilized	6.7	8.3	9.9	6.8	9.9	6.1
Median Monthly Expenditure	246.58	245.78	200.50	239.78	241.72	140.78

* Sample size in each strata appears in the parentheses.

@ All figures are rounded to the nearest integer.

The sample of women respondents drawn from 70 villages and 35 urban blocks of Haryana cannot be thought of as a representative sample of all Haryana eligible wives. It provides, however, a fair selection of women in the reproductive years living in neighbourhoods that range over the lower and middle parts of the spectrum of the socio-economic scale. The preliminary results, in any case, indicate that the samples selected portray the manner in which KAP and fertility related variables are distributed among the various socio-economic strata in the general Haryana married population.

Results

The ever-married 3,242 male and 3,292 female respondents are distributed according to age at first marriage in the following table.

TABLE 2
CHILD MARRIAGES* AMONG EVER MARRIED PERSONS IN HARYANA: BY SEX AND MAJOR STRATA

Age At Marriage	Rural Male		Urban Male		City Male		Rural Female		Urban Female		City Female	
	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%
Below 6	12	0.5	0	0.0	0	0.0	37	1.6	9	1.0	1	1.5
6	6	0.3	0	0.0	0	0.0	20	0.9	2	0.2	0	0.0
7	10	0.4	0	0.0	0	0.0	72	3.2	9	1.0	1	1.5
8	18	0.8	3	0.3	0	0.0	58	2.5	8	0.9	2	3.0
9	11	0.5	2	0.2	0	0.0	44	1.9	7	0.7	1	1.5
10	41	1.8	7	0.8	1	1.4	180	7.9	37	3.9	2	3.0
11	15	0.7	1	0.1	0	0.0	64	2.8	22	2.3	2	3.0
12	58	2.6	12	1.3	1	1.4	220	9.7	40	4.2	4	6.1
13	58	2.6	10	1.1	1	1.4	234	10.3	67	7.1	6	9.1
14	82	3.6	13	1.5	3	4.3	375	16.5	122	12.9	2	3.0
15	213	9.4	30	3.3	2	2.9	500	21.9	174	18.4	10	15.2
16	230	10.2	49	5.4	4	5.7	237	10.4	122	12.9	10	15.2
17	225	9.9	39	4.3	1	1.4	94	4.1	85	9.0	5	7.6
18	340	15.0	122	13.5	9	12.9	76	3.3	104	11.0	2	3.0
19 and above	945	41.7	616	68.2	48	68.6	68	3.0	137	14.5	18	27.3
Total	2264	100.0	904	100.0	70	100.0	2279	100.0	945	100.0	66	100.0
Child Marriage	979	43.3	166	18.3	13	18.5	1304	57.3	323	34.2	21	31.7

*In this and in all subsequent tables, the term "child marriage" refers to marriage before the age of 18 years among boys and below 15 years among girls.

About 43.3 per cent of the male respondents from the rural stratum married before the age of 18. In the urban and city strata, the corresponding percentages are 18.3 and 18.5 respectively. Among females, the incidence of child marriage (i.e. marriage before 15 years of age) is found to be 57.3 per cent in rural areas. For the towns and Ambala city, the corresponding proportions are 34.2 and 31.7 per cent.

There is some tendency for the age at marriage, particularly in the female group, to cluster around a specific point below 19 years. For example, leaving out the highest open age interval of 19 years, the modal age at marriage for females is 15 years and for males, it is 18 years in all the three strata.

This is further a marked difference in the distribution of age at marriage not only between males and females but also between rural and urban strata. The difference between urban and city strata is not marked. An increasing trend in the age at marriage as one moves from rural to urban and from urban to city stratum is reflected in the following table.

TABLE 3
DESCRIPTIVE STATISTICS ON AGE AT MARRIAGE, AGE AT CONSUMMATION, AND
YEARS SINCE CONSUMMATION FOR RESPONDENTS OF HARYANA STATE
CLASSIFIED BY SEX AND MAJOR STRATA

Characteristic	Statistics	Male (N=3242)			Female (N=3292)			Total (N=6534)
		Rural	Urban	City	Rural	Urban	City	Combined
Age at Marriage	Mean	18.28	20.68	20.79	13.46	15.39	15.68	16.51
	Median	18.07	20.68	21.39	12.60	15.90	16.50	16.61
	Stand. Devn.	4.98	4.9	5.03	3.11	3.17	4.05	4.88
Age at Consummation	Mean	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	Median	19.63	21.38	21.24	16.35	16.68	17.07	—
	Stand. Devn.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Years since Consummation	Mean	12.80	14.20	12.15	13.68	11.72	11.77	13.14
	Median	12.21	14.00	10.25	13.43	14.01	10.93	—
	Stand. Devn.	8.75	8.71	7.49	7.62	14.69	6.55	9.52

Besides mean and median, the above table gives the standard deviation of age at marriage for all the three strata. The same set of descriptive statistics are also given for the duration of effective marriage (consummation). The difference between the mean and the median age at marriage is not sizeable, except in the city stratum, where the sample size is quite small.

Child Marriages Among Young and Old Respondents

The following table gives a classification of male respondents according to the present age and age at marriage for each stratum.

TABLE 4
FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION OF AGE AT MARRIAGE AMONG EVER MARRIED MALE
RESPONDENTS AGED 15 YEARS AND ABOVE: BY AGE AND MAJOR STRATA
IN HARYANA STATE

Age at Marriage (In years)	Rural Males			Urban Males			City Males		
	Young (15-24)	Middle (25-39)	Old (40+)	Young (15-24)	Middle (25-39)	Old (40+)	Young (15-24)	Middle (25-39)	Old (40+)
Above 20 years	28	215	183	23	239	133	1	22	8
20-18 years	118	486	255	38	170	135	3	18	6
17-15 years	147	392	129	15	57	46	0	5	2
14-12 years	32	129	37	7	18	00	0	4	1
11-9 years	21	33	13	4	4	2	0	1	0
8-6 years	8	17	9	0	1	2	0	0	0
5-3 years	5	4	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
2 years and below	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Sample Size (N)	360	1276	628	87	489	328	4	50	17
Proportion of Child Marriage (Marriage before 18)	0.5944	0.4506	0.3025	0.2989	0.1636	0.1829	0.0000	0.2000	0.1765
Mean Age at Marriage	16.33	17.81	20.37	18.32	20.92	20.99	59.25	2.041	22.24

When age at marriage is thus related to current age, a significant fall in age at marriage is observed in respect of males in all the three strata. Contrary to the expectation, it is found that for males the age at marriage, instead of rising, has significantly decreased over recent years. If we assume that males over 40 years of age and those under 25 years of age represent two different generations, it would appear that the mean age at male marriage has fallen by about 4 years in the course of a generation. It is also evident that the proportion of child marriage among males in the rural areas have increased significantly during the recent ages.

Such a variation in age at marriage is not reflected in the data for females given in Table 5 (on page 244).

The mean age at marriage for females in the rural stratum is about the same for the three broad age groups. The urban stratum shows a slight rise in the mean age at marriage; over a generation it appears to have risen by almost one year (14.84 to 15.8} years). The percentage of child marriages for this stratum is the lowest for the youngest and highest for the oldest of the three groups. An opposite trend is observed for the city females; but this result is not statistically significant ($r = .17$ between age at marriage and respondent's age which for 64 d.f. is not significant even at the .05 level; one-tailed test).

TABLE 5
FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION OF AGE AT MARRIAGE AMONG EVER MARRIED FEMALE
RESPONDENTS AGED 15 YEARS AND ABOVE BY AGE AND MAJOR STRATA IN
HARYANA STATE

Age at Marriage (In years')	Rural Female			Urban Female			City Female		
	Young (15-24)	Middle (23-39)	Old (40+)	Young (15-24)	Middle (25-39)	Old (40+)	Young (15-25)	Middle (25-39)	Old (40+)
Above 20 years	0	5	1	8	18	11	1	5	2
20-18 years	41	75	22	72	111	21	0	11	1
17-15 years	233	480	118	108	220	53	9	16	0
14-12 years	242	474	113	51	143	35	4	8	0
11-9 years	74	170	44	18	33	15	2	3	0
8-6 years	45	78	27	2	12	5	1	1	1
5-3 years	8	18	4	3	4	2	0	1	0
2 years and below	4	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Sample Size (N)	647	1302	330	262	541	142	17	45	4
Proportion of Child Marriage (Marriage before 15)	0.5765	0.5699	0.5727	0.2824	0.3549	0.4014	0.4118	0.2889	0.2500
Mean Age at Marriage	13.44	13.48	13.44	15.83	14.34	14.84	14.35	16.00	17.75

The product moment correlation of .01 (given below) between age at marriage and chronological age at the time of survey for the rural females also substantiates the above inference. No appreciable difference in the proportion of child marriages among the younger, the middle-aged and the old groups of rural females is noted.

TABLE 6
PRODUCT MOMENT CORRELATION BETWEEN AGE AT MARRIAGE AND VARIOUS
SOCIO-ECONOMIC AND DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS : BY SEX AND MAJOR
STRATA IN HARYANA

Demographic Variable	MALE						FEMALE					
	Rural		Urban		City		Rural		Urban		City	
	N	Corr.	N	Corr.	N	Corr.	N	Corr.	N	Corr.	N	Corr.
Education (self)	2264	.04+	904	.23*	71	.24*	2279	.16*	945	.45*	66	.42*
Education (spouse)	2263	.08*	902	.34*	71	.36*	2279	.16*	945	.23*	66	.41*
Monthly Expenditure	2130	.00	879	.10*	68	.16*	2273	.04+	944	.16*	64	.32*
Migration Status"	2264	.10*	904	.19*	71	.34*	2279	.02*	832	.06	66	.22+
Family Type"	2264	.06*	904	.09*	71	.03	2279	.08*	945	.09*	66	.05
Respond. Age	2264	.34*	904	.19*	71	.37*	2279	.01	945	-.08*	66	.17
Years since consum- mation	2264	-.11*	904	-.25*	71	-.21*	2279	-.38*	945	-.23*	66	-.26*

* Significant at the .01 level.

+ Significant at the .05 level.

« The variable was dichotomously scored, i.e. 1 for permanent residents and 2 for migrants, intra-state as well as inter-state.

* Nuclear family was scored as 1 and joint family scored as 2.

Age at Consummation

Analysis of the data on age at consummation for the 6,534 respondents classified by sex and major strata shows that 63 of 3,242 male respondents had consummation at the age of 14 or earlier. The corresponding proportion for female respondents is 22.3 per cent. From Table 3 given earlier, it will be seen that the median age at marriage is smaller than median age at consummation by nearly 4 years for rural females; that is the "Gauna" ceremony was performed after about four years from the time of marriage. For urban and city females, the marriage was consummated when they were about 17 years old. Thus, though the practice of child marriage is extensive, effective marriage starts in most cases only after the girl attains puberty.

Age at Marriage and Education

Age at marriage is directly related to the respondents' educational attainments as is seen from Table 6 given earlier. The product moment correlation between these two variables for the total sample of 6,534 respondents turned to be 0.35 which is significant at the .001 level. A similar result is found between respondents' age at marriage and the educational level of their spouse.

Child Marriage by Religion

We give below some measures of the incidence of child marriages for different religious groups represented in the sample.

TABLE 7
CHILD MARRIAGES AMONG FEMALE AND MALE RESPONDENTS BY INDIVIDUAL RELIGION IN DIFFERENT STRATA OF HARYANA STATE

Religion	Total Frequency			Frequency of Child Marriage			Percentage of Child Marriage		
	Rural	Urban	City	Rural	Urban	City	Rural	Urban	City
Females									
Hindus	2097	822	64	1209	282	23	58.4	35.2	32.9
Muslims	78	36	0	65	23	0	69.2	61.2	0.0
Sikhs	105	80	1	18	13	0	16.9	16.2	0.0
Others	0	19	1	0	1	0	0.0	5.8	0.0
Males									
Hindus	2051	779	69	1327	246	21	64.7	31.6	30.4
Muslims	106	32	2	57	19	1	53.9	60.0	50.0
Sikhs	112	76	7	39	23	2	34.8	30.3	28.5
Others	2	3	0	1	0	0	50.0	0.0	—

Child marriages are somewhat more prevalent among the Muslims than among the Hindus; and much less prevalent among the Sikhs. The percentage of child marriage among Muslim girls is nearly 67.1 as compared to 51.1 for the Hindus, when the data are combined across the three strata.

For the male respondents, the comparative picture is more or less similar. The percentage of child marriage was highest among the Muslim males and least among the Sikhs.

Statistical significance of the association between religion and age at marriage was tested by applying the Chi-square test. The results indicate that the association is statistically significant at the .02 level only in the case of female marriages. The religious differentials are not found to be statistically significant so far as male respondents are concerned.

As expected, a similar result is obtained when the association between child marriage and religion is studied. In the case of female marriages, the Chi-square of the rural stratum turned out to be 79.94 which for 3 *d.f.* is significant at the .001 level.

Child Marriage by Individual Occupations

Since the occupation is one of the important indicators of one's socio-economic status it was expected that occupation would be associated with age at marriage. However, when a Chi-square test of association was run, the results indicated no significant association between the two variables.

Migration Status and Age at Marriage

Because of the greater exposure to urban ideas and change proneness, it was expected that age at marriage would be higher in the case of migrants as compared to old settlers. The hypothesis was verified by calculating correlation between age at marriage and migration status by assigning a score of two to migrants, irrespective of whether they were inter-state or intra-state migrants and a score of one to those permanently settled. The analysis reveals that migration is correlated with age at marriage, but only in the case of male respondents as seen from Table 6 given earlier. Male migrants tend to marry at a higher age than non-migrants. In the female groups, no such trend is seen except possibly in the case of city females.

Child Marriages in Joint Families

"Do joint families 'marry off' children younger than nuclear families?" In order to answer this question, point biserial correlations were run by assigning 1 to joint families and zero to nuclear families. In general, the correlations (see Table 6 given earlier) turned out to be quite low and statistically non-significant, in two out of six

samples classified by sex and major strata. On the basis of the obtained results, it does not seem to be justified to say that joint families marry-off children younger than nuclear families. However, we get the impression that the joint families tend to go for early marriages in the case of boys and slightly delayed marriages in the case of girls.

Discussion

The data relating to Haryana, thus show that child marriage is especially prominent in the villages and among females belonging to Muslim and Hindu faiths. Although child marriages in India are on the decline, the proportion of marriages below 18 years in the case of boys and below 15 years in the case of girls, is still high. Surprisingly, in the case of males of the rural and also of the urban stratum, the proportion of child marriages was found to be significantly smaller for the older age group (40 years and above) as compared to middle age (25-39 years) and younger groups (15-24 years). Among the females, no significant difference is noticed in the proportion of child marriages between these three age groups in the rural stratum. For urban females, the percentage of child marriages increases as current age increases; but the mean age at marriage, is higher by about a year for the youngest as compared to one for the oldest age group.

The mean age at which rural females in Haryana marry has remained more or less constant at around 13.5 years over the last twenty years. Confining attention to the same period, it is notable that there has not been any significant change in mean educational levels of the rural female respondents who had married before 15 years of age. For rural males, there has, however, been a substantial increase in the level of literacy and education. Married males of 15 to 24 years in age had definitely a higher level of education than the male respondents aged 40 years or above. In spite of this advancement in literacy level, the mean age at marriage among young group of males seems to be considerably lower than the mean marriage age of those in 40⁺ age group.

Analysis according to religion indicates that for Hindus in the rural areas the mean age at marriage for all child marriages is around 14.5 years commonly for the three age groups. While for Muslims of the same stratum, it is significantly lower for the youngest group than the one for those in the next age group of 25-39 years (see Appendix Table 2).

The present study has identified a number of interesting socio-economic correlates of child marriages among females in Haryana. Variables such as education, place of residence, religion, sex, age, family type and migration status were found to be significantly associated with age at marriage. Although no cause and effect relationship is implied in reporting the correlation between educational level and age at marriage, it does indicate that the tendency to be married when quite young is strong among those who are illiterate or have no formal education. It is to be expected, therefore, that increasing opportunities for education may lead to an increase in the age at marriage also.

The present study also demonstrates variation in age at marriage between different strata. Female respondents from the city marry, on the average, at 15.68 years whereas those from the towns and villages marry at 15.39 and 13.46 years of age, respectively. The average difference between the towns and city, however, is not statistically significant. A similar finding emerges from the analysis of male ages at marriage. The mean ages at marriage for males in towns and cities are 20.68 and 20.79 as compared to 18.28 years for those in the villages.

An interesting finding emerging out of this study is that in spite of the prevalence of early marriages, the median age at consummation for females is almost 16.50 and thus comparable to age of effective marriage in many other states of India where child marriages are not prevalent, such as, Tamil Nadu, Kerala, etc. Therefore, so far as fertility is concerned, it seems pertinent to question the gain that may accrue from merely raising the age at marriage.

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APPENDIX

TABLE 1
MEAN LEVEL OF EDUCATION AMONG MALE AND FEMALE RESPONDENTS WHO
MARRIED BEFORE 18 AND 15 YEARS RESPECTIVELY BY AGE AND STRATUM

Age Category of Respondent	Type of Marriage	Number			Mean Educational Level		
		Rural	Urban	City	Rural	Urban	City
Females							
Young Group (15-24 Years)	Child Marriage	373	74	1	1.19	2.05	1.86
	Adult Marriage	274	188	10	1.64	4.15	2.80
Middle Aged (25-39 Years)	Child Marriage	742	192	13	1.15	1.73	1.31
	Adult Marriage	561	350	32	1.40	3.43	3.19
Older Group (40 Yrs. and Above)	Child Marriage	189	57	1	1.03	1.46	1.00
	Adult Marriage	141	85	3	1.04	1.96	2.00
Males							
Young Group (15-24 Years)	Child Marriage	214	26	4	3.70	3.54	2.50
	Adult Marriage	146	61	10	4.37	6.20	3.20
Middle Aged (25-39 Years)	Child Marriage	575	80	1	2.57	3.89	6.00
	Adult Marriage	701	409	40	3.19	5.81	5.50
Older Group (40 Yrs. and above)	Child Marriage	190	60	3	1.97	2.98	3.33
	Adult Marriage	441	268	14	2.09	4.68	5.14

TABLE 2
MEAN AGE AT MARRIAGE OF RURAL MALE RESPONDENTS OF THREE BROAD AGE
CATEGORIES CLASSIFIED BY RELIGION AND PRACTICE OF CHILD MARRIAGE

Religion	Practice of Marriage	Unweighted Frequencies			Mean Age at Marriage		
		Young (15-24)	Middle (25-39)	Old (40+)	Young (15-24)	Middle (25-39)	Old (40+)
Hindu	Child	204	537	182	14.44	14.65	14.54
	Adult	135	607	397	19.13	20.38	22.94
	Total	339	1144	579	16.31	17.69	20.30
Muslim	Child	6	19	8	12.50	14.53	13.00
	Adult	4	35	18	18.25	19.94	22.72
	Total	10	54	26	14.80	18.04	19.73
Sikh	Child	4	18	0	16.00	15.67	—
	Adult	7	58	23	19.71	20.67	22.83
	Total	11	76	23	18.36	19.49	22.83