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Spatial Dimensions of Marriage Network in Rural India: An Analysis of District Level Variations Estimated from Census Data on Female Migration

MALE blood kin traditionally coreside in rural India even after they marry, or, consequent to marriage, continue to live in close proximity even when they no longer live together. For women, marriage traditionally means that they leave their natal homes to join the households of their husbands, in the process engendering inter household mobility patterns which depict *marital scatter*, or the scatter of households linked by marriage ties. The paper's focus is on marital scatter in rural India, and more specifically, on one aspect of marital scatter — its spatial extensiveness, as revealed by patterns stemming from the marriage induced migration of women from natal to affinal settings. The analyses undertaken center around these mobility patterns aggregated into a macro measure of the extensiveness of marital scatter, namely, district level variations in the proportion of inter village marriages among all marriages, intra village as well as inter village.

Characterising marital scatter in rural India are distinct variations which stem from regional differences in kinship organisation and practice. Pertinent in this context is an aspect of north Indian kinship organisation wherein an endogamous caste is constituted a single exogamous unit at the village level. Evidence of this has been reported, for instance, by Berreman (1962 : 550 and Gould (1960:481). In such instances, inter household female mobility precipitated by marriage necessarily involves the migration of women across village boundaries, thereby stimulating a diffusion of marital kinship beyond the village. Also involved in kinship determined village exogamous marriage in north India is the kinship taboo wherein intra village marriage is prohibited on account of its incestuous connotation (Lewis, 1958:160f; 111; Gould, 1960:480). Unlike north Indian kinship, South Indian kinship does not prohibit marriage within village. Besides, South Indian marriage practices tend to favour marriages between traditionally inter-marrying clans. This makes for marriage within village if the clans involved are located within village boundaries, a pattern that is not unusual in the South (Karve, 1968:214f).

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1. Evidences from micro studies have been reported in Berreman (1962: 176); Epstein (1960: 174); Gough (1956: 831); Karve (1968: 8f, 183, 212); Mayer (1970: 6); Mayfield (1972: 391); Caldwell, Reddy and Caldwell (1982: 700f).

2. The term 'marital scatter' was suggested to me by Professor M. N. Panini.

Conditioned by kinship organisation and practice, marriage patterns in rural India are shaped by the seeking out of potentially profitable affinal contact. This is strikingly illustrated by a micro study of rural Karnataka in which Epstein depicts marriages that were likely to have been substantially determined by perceptions of economic advantage. The backdrop is one in which the village Dalena had found itself without access to the benefits of irrigation introduced in contiguous regions, a misfortune to which Dalena's farmers responded by buying 'wet' (irrigated) lands in villages nearby. Geneological data presented by Epstein suggest that Dalena's entrepreneurial farming community had sought marital alliances with families residing in the villages where land had been acquired, seeking, through marital contact, to access spheres of influence embedded in the local contact networks of the villages where newly acquired landed interests were located. Epstein argues: "As Dalena's farmers bought wet lands in neighbouring villages, they wanted to strengthen their footholds in these villages with marriage ties" (Epstein, 1960:199).

In the context of a social setting which is such that impersonal institutional arrangements do not adequately regulate societal functioning, transactions in rural India are facilitated extensively by person to person contact. The prominence of kinship contact in India being what it is, this involves a significant enmeshing of social transactions within a kinship milieu. A distinction between agnatic and affinal kinship can be made in this context in that entrepreneurs like the farmers of Dalena, seeking to promote extra local interests, are more likely to seek out far flung affinal kin links rather than engineer a diffusion of kinship via a strategy of relocating male agnates. The reason: social circumstances make for the residential proximity of male blood kin and thereby militate against their dispersal.

The residential clustering of male blood kin in rural India, a characteristic feature of traditional and persisting social organisation, stems in part from conditions which make for a collaboration of fathers and sons in the cultivation of agricultural land. The proximity to family landholding that is required runs counter to the dispersal of male agnates (Rosenzweig and Wolpin, 1985; Rosenzweig, 1988 :1151). Also contributing to an explanation for the clustering of agnates in rural India is the societal perception of income entitlement as a function of a male agnate's contribution of labour on the patrilineal landholding. It has been argued that in such a context, when the right to income from land depends on the labour contributed, migration has an opportunity cost; an individual who migrates away and is consequently not able to work on the land forfeits an income entitlement (Sen, 1975).

Constraints of social structure thus come into play so that diffusion of the kinship network tends to gravitate around the dispersal of agnatic links via the exchange of women in marriage. The seeking out of distantly resident potential affines as a strategy of establishing personalised kinship contact between distant places makes eminent sense in this context. It is postulated in this paper that the necessity for transactions between far away places in rural India has increased with the agricultural productivity increases that have come about in the wake of the 'green revolution' in the country and that, given the transaction and opportunity costs of impersonalised functioning in an underdeveloped country setting, the demand for spatially diffused personal contact networks has concomitantly increased. Since kinship in rural India tends to be seen as a favoured mode and via media of personal contact, and given

that male' blood kin tend to be immobile, this has translated into a preference for distantly resident affines. A strategy of this kind can, for instance, entail the use of affinal links to tap local contact networks in a far away place so as to gain preferential access to a distantly located and unknown job market via personalised contact (Epstein, 1960:194f, 199;Rowe, 1960 : 305). With agricultural productivity change over the early green revolution years 1962/65 - 1970/73 taken as measures of the integration of the local with the regional economy and of the imperative for transactions between far away places, it is hypothesised that rural Indian marriage networks had diffused outwards over space in response to agricultural productivity increase.

Data from secondary sources are analysed in this paper to test the hypothesised relationship between agricultural productivity and the acquisition of distantly resident affinal kin. Multiple regression models are used. The paper is organised as follows. A list of hypothesised determinants of the spatial distribution of marriage related households is presented in Section 1. Section 2 deals with (i) the use of census data to estimate the extensiveness of marital scatter and (ii) the derivation of 'explanatory' variables from district level data. Section 3 specifies effects expected in the regression models used. Section 4 contains multiple regression models in which estimated variations in the extensiveness of marital scatter are sought to be explained.

Hypotheses

1. Marital scatter in rural India is a positive function of the incidence of 'northern' kinship.
2. Marital scatter in rural India is a positive function of agricultural productivity change over the 'green revolution' period between 1962/1965 and 1970/1973.
3. Marital scatter is a positive function of productivity in agriculture aggregated for the base period 1962/1965.
4. Marital scatter in rural India varies positively with occupational diversification. By contributing to social heterogeneity in a modernising society, occupational diversification, as measured by the incidence of non-agricultural occupations in the rural work force, adds to the gamut of marriage constraints and preferences such as those associated with caste, *gotra*, class and educational attainment, thereby delimiting possibilities of spouse selection. At the local level, the marriage possibility constraint engendered translates into a more widespread search for an appropriate marriage partner. Marriage networks can be expected to diffuse outwards as a consequence. Consistent with an interpretation along these lines is an anthropological-demographic study of rural Karnataka in which Caldwell, Reddy and Caldwell report the accentuation of marital scatter resulting from wealth and education induced social heterogeneity (Caldwell, Reddy and Caldwell, 1983: 347).

3. While 1962-65 were pre 'green revolution' years, 1970-73 "... refers to a period when the new technology in Indian agriculture had made a big headway" (Bhalla and Alagh, 1979 : 7).

4. I am indebted to Professor M. K. Premi for introducing me to the hypothesis that marital scatter is a positive function of agricultural productivity change.

Occupational diversification can be seen to have a bearing on the diffusion of marriage networks also in the light of evidence indicating that a potential husband employed outside of agriculture tends to be sought after in a modernising society, being valued as a personalised conduit to the urban milieu (Epstein, 1960 : 199; Caldwell, Reddy and Caldwell, 1983: 357f).⁵ Given the relative scarcity of marriageable males employed outside of agriculture in a rural setting, this can be expected to engender a competition for advantageous marital connection and a resulting consideration of a greater number of potential marriages than might otherwise be the case. An increase in the possibilities of marriage ties with families not resident in one's own village can be expected to come about as a consequence. Inter village marriages are likely to increase in this context.

5. Marital scatter in rural India is a positive function of educational attainment among married women. Educational attainment among marriageable females tends to delimit the choice of a suitable spouse in that families of educated women, apart from weighing criteria such as caste and *gotra*, would tend to seek educated husbands for their daughters. To a certain extent, it could be expected that a marriage requirement of educational attainment among husbands would overlap with the criterion whereby husbands in white collar occupations are deemed desirable. But educated husbands do not necessarily have to be in white collar occupations. Thus, evidence from rural India suggests that educational attainment is widely sought for its own sake, as a source of personal betterment and gentility, rather than as an avenue to white collar status (Caldwell, Reddy and Caldwell, 1985: 360- Educational attainment, by imposing marriage constraints that are independent of white collar employment, can thus independently engender a heightened impetus to marital scatter.
6. Marital scatter in rural India is an inverse function of Muslim representation in study populations. Within village marriages, prevailing on a significant scale among Muslims, result in a containment of marital scatter. Confirming this, a micro study of Muslim kinship in North India shows within *biraderi* marriage and a substantial convergence of *biraderi* and village territory. It was found that of 287 marriages in the Dudhi Rajput *biraderi*, as many as 234 were of the intra *biraderi* type and 209 were village endogamous (Alavi, 1972: 6).
7. Marital scatter in rural India is an inverse function of 'Scheduled Caste' representation in study districts. In rural India, one way kinship comes to bear to induce village exogamous marriage is via the structures associated with the Brahmanical patrilineal kin group, the *gotra*. The maintaining of the *gotra* tends to involve the perceiving of the caste fellows in one's village and in neighbouring villages as *rishtedar* (related). Since marriage with *rishtedar* is prohibited, *gotra* exogamy

5. In a study of a drought prone region, Caldwell, Reddy and Caldwell (1985) found that husbands employed outside of agriculture were desired in the context of parental concern in the matter of settling an unmarried daughter in an affinal household not subject to the insecurity of income fluctuations characteristic of primitive agriculture. A daughter's marriage to a man employed outside of agriculture is desired also in that the daughter would be free of the drudgery she would have to undergo in an agricultural household.

tends to translate into village exogamy (Gould, 1960: 480f). Among the lower castes, marriage prohibitions are less stringent, the critical difference being that the patrilineal elements of the kinship of the upper castes, exemplified, for instance, by the maintaining of the *gotra*, tend to prevail less among the lower castes whose kinship extends to incorporate matrilineal elements (Gould, 1961 : 297; Gough, 1971:46). The circumstance translates into a higher proportion of village endogamous marriages among the lower castes in a context wherein patrilineal kinship organisation tends to induce village exogamy and kinship attesting to matrilineal principles does not (Gould, 1961 : 297). Village exogamy would thus tend to be an inverse function of the proportion of lower castes in study populations.

8. Marital scatter is an inverse function of tribal representation. This can be expected in the light of evidence of cross cousin marriages among the country's tribals. According to Mukherji (1974), cross cousin marriages occur among 59 per cent of India's tribes. Since cross cousin marriages are reflective of restricted constraint on within village marriage (Gould, 1961), the incidence of village exogamy is likely to be contained by tribal representation in study districts.
9. Marital scatter is a positive function of the size of village populations. As a consequence of restricted marriage choice in relatively small villages, possibilities of within village marriage are likely to be greater in the larger villages.

Data Sources and Variable Derivations

The variable VILEX, a measure of marital scatter, estimates the incidence of inter village marriages among all marriages, intra and inter village, and is measured with proxy data on *marriage migration*—migration which occurs when, consequent to marriage, women leave their parental homes to cohabit with their husbands. VILEX is defined as the proportion of inter village marriage migrants among *all* married women enumerated in rural areas of study districts, among them (i) marriage migrants—those who have married village exogamously, and in doing so, have crossed the administrative boundaries of the village, thus becoming migrants, and (ii) those who, having married village endogamously, are not marriage migrants (Table 1). To compute values of the variable VILEX, census data on the migration of married women, obtained from Table D VI of the 1971 census of India, were used as proxies for data on marriage migration.

This proxy use of data on the migration of married women can be justified on the grounds that marriage migrants account for a substantial proportion of female migrants in rural areas. Attesting to the prominence of marriage migrants among married female migrants in rural India, the 1981 census shows that as many as 82 per cent of the female migrants in rural areas had migrated for reasons of marriage (Premi, 1984: 276). Data on marriage migration available in the 1981 census of India were not used as these data were aggregated lowest at the state level.

6. The variable VILEX is the inverse of the 'endogamy rate' defined by Libbee (1980).

7. Table D VI does not distinguish between rural to rural and urban to rural migration. Since the focus of this study is on marriage migration in *rural* India, the inclusion of the urban to rural stream is a source of potential statistical 'noise'—but the 'noise' effect involved is unlikely to be substantial because the magnitude of migration in the rural to rural stream makes urban to rural migration negligible by comparison (Premi, 1984 : 276).

TABLE 1: VARIABLE DERIVATIONS

<i>Variable</i>	<i>Derivation</i>
VILEX =	$\frac{\text{Married Female Migrants in Rural Areas}}{\text{Married Rural Female Population}} * 100$
APLBNG =	$\frac{\text{Value of Agriculture Output (Rupees per Hectare), 1962-1965}}{\text{Net area Sown (Hectares), 1962-1965}} * 100$
APLDIF =	APLEND — APLBNG, where
APLEND =	$\frac{\text{Value of Agricultural Output (Rupees Per Hectare), 1970-1973}}{\text{Net Area Sown (Hectares), 1970-1973}} * 100$
NONAG =	$\frac{\text{Rural male workers above 20 years of age in work Categories IV IX of the 1971 census.}}{\text{Male workers above 20 years of age in rural areas}} * 100$
FELIT =	$\frac{\text{Females in rural areas aged 15 years and above with primary or higher educational attainment}}{\text{Females in rural areas aged 15 years and above}} * 100$
MEVILSI =	Median size of village populations computed from villages distributed by population size categories 'Less than 200', '200 to 499', '500 to 999', '1000 to 1999', '2000 to 4999', '5000 to 9999' and '10,000 +'.
PSCH =	$\frac{\text{Female rural 'Scheduled Caste' population}}{\text{Female rural population}}$
PTRB =	$\frac{\text{Female rural tribal population}}{\text{Female rural population}}$
PMSL =	$\frac{\text{Female rural muslim population}}{\text{Female rural population}}$
NORTH =	If a study district is in the 'Northern' Kinship Zone and 0 if otherwise
CNTRL =	If a study district is in the 'Central' Kinship Zone and 0 if otherwise.

Two variables were specified as measures of kinship effects— the variables NORTH and CNTRL.⁸ NORTH takes on a value of 1 if a study district is in the 'northern' kinship zone and a value of 0 if otherwise. CNTRL takes on a value of 1 if a study district is in the central kinship zone and a value of 0 if not.⁹

To study the effects of agricultural productivity on the extensiveness of the marriage network, measures of agricultural productivity were derived from data compiled from a Planning Commission sponsored study of Indian agriculture. Of the two agricultural productivity measures specified, APLBNG measures district level agricultural productivity in rupees per hectare, computed with data on the estimated value of agricultural productivity change over 1962/1965-1970/1973, and is derived by subtracting the values of APLBNG from values of APLEND, a measure of agricultural productivity aggregated for 1970-1973.¹⁰

8. I am indebted to Dr. John Bauer for suggesting the variables NORTH and CNTRL as measures of kinship effects.

9. See Appendix for kinship zone demarcations.

10. The agricultural productivity data used to compute values of APLBNG and APLDIF were initially compiled for 19 selected crops. Data on the value of agricultural output were subsequently inflated to arrive at estimates of the rupee value of the total volume of agricultural output. I am grateful to Dr. R. K. Sharma for making the estimation detail known to me. The estimation formula used was : $INF = (V19/GCA19) * GCA(ALL)$, where V19 and GCA19 refer to the rupee value and the gross cropped area of the 19 selected crops, GCA(ALL) is the total gross cropped area and INF is the inflated value of agricultural produce. A source of inaccuracy involved in the estimation is that while the area under the 19 selected crops constitutes a substantial component of the area under crop in most districts, this is not so in certain cases. Since these area variations could detract from data comparability, cases of this kind were 'weeded out' for purposes of this study.

To test the impact of occupational diversification on marriage patterns in the context of constraints imposed by data available from secondary sources, occupational diversification among married male workers was measured by the variable NONAG, defined as the proportion of males employed outside of agriculture among rural male workers aged 20 years and above. Census data on work force participation are not classified by marital status and data on male workers below 20 years of age were excluded so as to obtain a better approximation of occupational diversification among married male workers.

Values of the variable NONAG were computed with data from Table B-I, part A, of the 1971 census of India. The table provides data on work patterns classified by sex, age group, rural/urban place of enumeration and work category. Data on male workers aged 20 years and above in rural areas were obtained by subtracting the number of rural male workers in the age groups 0-14 and 15-19 from the total number of male workers in rural areas of study districts. The results were used in the NONAG denominator. Data on the number of workers in 'primary' occupations were then subtracted from the NONAG denominator and the results used in the NONAG numerator.

To measure the impact of educational attainment on the extensiveness of marital scatter, the incidence of educated females among rural married women was approximated, in the context of district level data available from secondary sources, by the variable FELIT, a district level measure of females educated up to at least the primary level as a proportion of rural women aged 15 years and above. (Since the data were not classified by marital status and since most females below 15 years of age are likely to be unmarried, data for females below 15 were excluded in order to make the data used better represent educational attainment among married women.)

Values of the variable FELIT were obtained with data from Table C-III of the 1971 census. The table provides data on age, sex and education. Part A provides data for 'all areas' and part B for rural areas only. Data for each educational 'level' were obtained for women in the age groups 10-14, 15-19, 20-24, 25-34 and 35+. The data were aggregated to obtain figures on 'primary' or higher schooling attainment among women above 15 years of age. This was done separately for 'all areas' and for urban areas only. Figures for rural areas, derived by subtracting urban from 'all areas' data, were used in the FELIT numerator. Data on female rural populations above 15 years were similarly obtained from Table C III (parts A and B) and were used in the FELIT denominator.

To measure the impact of Muslim identity on the extensiveness of marital scatter, the variable PMSL was defined as a measure of the incidence of Muslim women among married women in rural areas. Limitations of census data necessitated a closest approximation in terms of the percentage Muslim among rural female populations. 'Scheduled Caste' and

11. The work categories specified are : I Cultivators; n Agricultural Labourers; III Livestock, forestry, fishing, hunting and plantations, orchards and allied activities; IV Mining and quarrying; V Manufacturing, processing, service and repairs; VI Construction; VII Trade and commerce; Vffl Transport, storage and communications; and DC Other Services.

12. Work categories I, II and III of Table B I, part A, of the 1971 census of India.

13. Education levels specified in Table C-IH are: 'primary', 'middle', 'matriculation or higher secondary', 'non-technical diploma or certificate not equal to degree', 'technical diploma or certificate not equal to degree', and 'graduate and above'. Data for urban areas are additionally disaggregated for subsets of 'graduate and above'.

tribal representation among rural married women were estimated by the variables PSCH and PTRB as the percentage 'Scheduled Caste' and tribal components of rural female populations. Data for computing the values of PMSL, PSCH and PTRB were obtained from the 1971 Census of India.

Variations in village size were measured by the variable MEVILSI, a district level measure of the median size of village populations. Values of the variable MEVILSI were computed from district level census data on the number of villages in the population size categories 'less than 200', '200 to 499', '500 to 999', '1000 to 1999', '2000 to 4999', '5000 to 9999' and '10,000+'.

Hypothesised Effects in Regression Models

Since a north south contrast in village exogamy was expected in the light of the differences between 'northern' and 'southern' kinship, and given that the dummy variable NORTH compares 'northern' kinship with kinship in the 'southern' kinship zone, it was expected that in multiple regression incorporating village exogamy as the dependent variable, the NORTH regression coefficient would be significant and positive. Since the 'central' kinship zone incorporates regions of 'northern' as well as 'southern' kinship organisation and given that the dummy variable CNTRL compares 'central' with 'southern' kinship, it was expected that the CNTRL regression coefficient would be significant and positive in multiple regression with village exogamy as the variable explained.

It was expected that the agricultural productivity variables APLDIF and APLBNG would be significant and positive and that FELIT and NONAG coefficients would be significant and positive as well. Since village endogamous marriages were hypothesised among Muslim, 'Scheduled Caste' and tribal women, significant and negative PMSL, PSCH and PTRB regression coefficients were expected. Given that the extensiveness of marital scatter was hypothesised to be an inverse function of the size of village populations, it was expected that in multiple regressions with village exogamy as the dependent variable, MEVILSI coefficients would be significant and negative.

The Extensiveness of Marital Scatter in Rural India: Regression Models

In multiple regression incorporating village exogamy as the dependent variable, roughly 21 per cent of variation in data for 237 districts was accounted for. The outward diffusion of the marriage network in response to agricultural productivity increase was corroborated by a significant and positive APLDIF coefficient. In this regression model, the coefficient of determination after adjusting for the loss of degrees of freedom was 17.9 per cent.

Consistent with the expectation that the relationship between agricultural productivity and marital scatter would be stronger in regions where district level agricultural productivity increases occurred between 1962/1965 and 1970/1973, a restricted data base inclusive only of cases with positive APLDIF values yielded an APLDIF coefficient that was higher than the coefficient for a non-truncated data set. The truncation of the data base yielded an increase in the adjusted coefficient of determination from 17.9 to 20.1 per cent.

Table 2 : VILLAGE EXOGAMY AS A FUNCTION OF SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC VARIABLES, INDIA, RURAL AREAS, 1971 : REGRESION COEFFICIENTS COMPUTED WITH DISTRICT LEVEL DATA

Variable	Agricultural productivity (Rupees per hectare)			
	All Values	Above Zero	O to 253.71	255.77 +
APLDIF (Agricultural productivity, 1962/1965 to 1970/1973)	.279* (4.181)	.349* (3.962)	.031 (.350)	.404* (2.842)
APLBNG (Agricultural productivity, 1962/1965)	-.106 (-1.325)	-.248** (-2.315)	-.153 (-1.243)	-.438* (2.576)
NONAG (Male workers aged 20+ in non-agricultural occupations as a percent of male workers aged 20+)	.123*** (1.683)	.086 (.980)	-.153 (-1.188)	.160 (1.184)
FELTT (Females aged 15+ with at least primary schooling as per cent of all females aged 15+)	-.061 (-.766)	.038 (.375)	-.017 (-.123)	.130 (.850)
PMSL (Muslim women as a percent of all females)	-.204* (-2.981)	-.114 (-1.403)	-.237** (-2.277)	.051 (.359)
PSCH (S.C. women as a percent of all females)	-.199** (-2.309)	-.214** (-2.370)	-.358* (-3.100)	.116 (.968)
PTRB (Tribal women as a percent of all females)	-.139*** (-1.666)	-.110 (-1.168)	-.310** (-2.476)	.120 (.847)
NORTH ('northern kinship')	.358* (3.652)	.496* (4.450)	.185 (.953)	.577* (4.189)
CNTRL ('central kinship')	.259* (2.827)	.362* (3.376)	.180 (1.111)	.414* (2.865)
MEVTLSI (village size)	-.150*** (-1.890)	-.027 (-.289)	-.113 (-.893)	.177 (1.114)
Constant	74.309	71.178	94.117	51.661
Sample size	237	174	119	55
Adjusted R ²	.179	.201	.140	.437

* Significance = 1%; ** Significance = 5%; *** Significance = 10%

Districts where agricultural productivity increased between 1962/1965 and 1970/1973 were divided into two subsets, one inclusive only of cases with APLDIF values less than 253.71 rupees per hectare,¹⁴ and the second inclusive only of data for those districts where agricultural productivity increases were greater than 253.71 rupees per hectare. Data for the first group of districts were designated data set 1.1 and data for the second, data set 1.2. It

14. The APLDIF mean computed from data from districts where district level agricultural productivity increases occurred between 1962/1965 and 1970/1973.

was expected that the APLDIF coefficient, when computed from data set 1.2, would be stronger than the APLDIF coefficient computed from data set 1.1.

Although data set 1.1 did not yield a significant APLDIF coefficient, the APLDIF coefficient computed from data set 1.2 was positive, significant and higher than the APLDIF coefficient computed from either data for all districts with APLDIF values greater than 0 or from the non-truncated data base (Table 2). The adjusted coefficient of determination was as high as 43.7 per cent. The explanatory potential of the variable APLDIF was thus higher in successive data sets characterised by APLDIF values greater than those in preceding ones. It may be inferred from this that village exogamy was more a function of agricultural productivity increase in regions where productivity growth in agriculture was comparatively high.

Coefficients attached to the variables NORTH and CNTRL were significant and positive, indicating that when all other specified effects are controlled for, variations plausibly attributable to kinship continue to persist. The MEVISLI regression coefficient was consistent with postulated causality, indicating that a greater proportion of within village marriage occurs in large as compared to small villages.

The coefficient attached to the variable NON AG was significant and positive, indicating that occupational diversification imparts a significant impetus to marital scatter in rural India. The PMSL, PSCH and PTRB regression coefficients were all significant and negative, attesting to village endogamous marriages on a significant scale among Muslim, 'Scheduled Caste' and tribal populations.

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APPENDIX

Kinship Zone Demarcations

The 'northern' kinship zone "... lies between the Himalayas to the north and the Vindhya ranges to the south..." and includes Punjab, Kashmir, Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Bengal, Assam and "... part of Madhya Pradesh..." (Karve, 1968:104). The 'southern' zone is constituted of Karnataka, Andhra Pradesh, Tamil Nadu, Kerala and a region which "... extends north of Andhra Pradesh from the forests of the lower reaches of the Godavari river through Bastar and western Orissa into southern Bihar" (Karve, 1968 : 211,265-312).

The 'central' kinship zone is constituted of 'linguistic regions' which include Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh, Gujarat and Kathiawad, Maharashtra, and Orissa (Karve, 1968:163). The basis of this linguistic demarcation: "Rajasthani, Hindi, Gujarati, Kathiawadi, Marathi, and Uriya are all languages of Sanskrit origin and so from the point of view of the languages spoken this zone has affinity to the northern zone. But within this zone there are large pockets of people speaking languages of the Dravidian family..." (Karve, 1968:163- Corroborating this delineation of 'mixed' kinship, evidence points to 'southern' kinship practice in the 'central' kinship zone (Karve, 1968 : 166,170,172,175,182, 192,194).

While the inclusion of Rajasthan in the 'central' kinship zone might appear anomalous, evidence indicates that the numerically well-represented Rajputs of Rajasthan practise the characteristically 'southern' custom of cross cousin marriage (Karve, 1968 : 160,170). Karve states, "The cross cousin marriage by which a man marries his mother's brother's daughter is not a compulsory form of marriage among Rajputs but is quite frequent and is mentioned in many stories about the ruling houses of Rajasthan, Kathiawad and Gujarat" (Karve, 1968:170).

The grouping of states on the basis of these kinship zone demarcations: 'Northern Kinship zone'—Punjab, Haryana, Himachal Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh and Bihar. 'Central Kinship Zone'—Rajasthan, Gujarat, Orissa and Maharashtra. 'Southern Kinship Zone'—Karnataka, Kerala, Andhra Pradesh and Tamil Nadu.