

Dynamics of inter-religious and inter-caste marriages in India

Kumudin Das, K. C. Das, T. K. Roy and P. K. Tripathy

Abstract

Caste and religion are integral components of Indian society since the time immemorial. 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 is 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 is to understand the spatial patterns and determinants of inter-caste and inter-religious marriages in India. The study uses the data of third round of National Family Health Survey(2005-06)) having sample size of 43102 ever married couples. It is found that about 10 percent of the total marriages in India takes place between different castes while only 2.1 percent marriages are inter-religious.

Key Words: Caste, religion, marriage, India

Introduction

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 inter-caste 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 inter-caste 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-caste 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).

Kapadia (1966) in a study of inter-caste marriages in India interviewed 513 university graduates. It was found that 51 percent parents expressed their willingness to cheer children marrying outside their own caste. Only one-third were against this departure from custom. Post graduate students were only moderately in favor of inter-caste marriage (Saroja, 1999). Urbanization and industrialization have certain effect in braking down the barriers of caste (Prasad, 1957; Banerjee et.al, 1978). An article of times of India (1 Feb 2010) shows that in India 4750 marriages are inter-caste involving Dalits in 2008-09 while the number was slightly lower at 4205 in 2007-08 and 3945 in 2006-07. Andhra Pradesh and Maharashtra lead in this direction registering around 1000 inter-caste marriages for three years.

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. This study is an humble attempt in that direction.

The main objectives of the study are,

1. To analyse the extent, pattern and spatial distribution of inter-caste and inter-religious marriages in India.
2. To discuss the determinants of inter-caste and inter-religious marriages in India.

Data and Methods

The data from the recently concluded National Family Health Survey (NFHS-III, 2005-2006) has been used for the present study. The NFHS-3 was a nationally representative sample survey of 99260 ever-married women ages 15-49. It was conducted in all the 29 states of India. Information about caste of the husband and wife were also collected during the survey. 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.

Both bivariate and multivariate analysis has been used for the analysis. In order to examine 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 woman, household structure, wealth quintile and mass media exposure .

Results and Discussion

Table 1 shows that in India the percentage of inter-caste marriages is about 10 percent out of which in 4.97 percent cases women marry to men of lower caste and in another 4.95 percent cases, the women belong to lower caste but husbands belong to higher castes. Generally it is expected that with more development and education, the force of caste factor becomes weak and thereby increases the incidence of inter-caste marriages. The southern region of India is socio-economically more developed than other regions of India. So, applying the same logic inter-caste marriage is expected to be more in the southern region than other parts of India. But our analysis shows that inter-caste marriage is only 9.71 percent in southern part of India. It is found that inter-caste marriage is highest in western region (17 per cent). Some states are showing more than 20 percent inter-caste marriages. For instance inter-caste marriage in Punjab is 22.36 percent, in Meghalaya it is 25.00 percent, in Goa it is 26.67 percent and in Kerala it is 21.35 percent. The states showing very low percentages of inter-caste marriages are Jammu and Kashmir (1.67 per cent), Rajasthan (2.36 per cent), Chhattisgarh (3.38 per cent), Madhya Pradesh (3.57 per cent), Bihar (4.60 per cent) and Tamil Nadu (2.59 per cent). The states having moderate to high inter-caste marriages are Haryana (17.16 per cent), Manipur (18.33 per cent), Tripura (17.81 per cent), Maharashtra (17.79 per cent) and Karnataka (16.47 per cent).

Table 2 shows the percentage distribution of inter-caste marriages in India by background variables. It is found that with the increase in marital duration, there is an overall decline in reported inter-caste marriages India. This may be due to the fact that young women who got married recently might have experienced more inter-caste marriages due to the impact of female autonomy, modernization and development. Husbands who marry more than once experience more inter-caste marriages (11.36 percent) as compared to men who marry only once (9.82 percent). It may be due to the fact those who marry more than one time may find it difficult to find a partner within the same caste as the option may be limited. Place of residence also has an effect on inter-caste marriage. It is high in urban areas than the rural areas as urban population is expected to be more modern and forward looking. Normally it is perceived that education has positive effect on inter-caste marriages. But in our study it is found that women with higher education are more

interested in same caste marriage. This is also true for the husband's education. It appears that education does not influence much the incidence of inter-caste marriages in India. Women having inter-caste marriage are more working than non-working women. Economic condition has effect on inter-caste marriage. With the increase in wealth, inter-caste marriage also increases. For example inter-caste marriage is 8.61 percent in poorest quintile as compared to 10.52 percent in richest quintile. Usually exposure to mass media has a positive effect on the incidence of inter-caste marriage. It is quite interesting to find that women having full mass media exposure are experiencing less inter-caste marriage than those having partial or no mass media exposure.

To find out the controlled effect of socio-economic and region variables on inter-caste marriage, logistic regression analysis is carried out in which inter-caste marriage is taken as the dependent variable. In case of India, inter-caste marriage is high among the couples who marry recently as compared to those who marry before 20 years. This implies that the phenomenon of inter-caste marriage is a recent one. Likelihood of having inter-caste marriage is almost 24 percent high among couples who marry more than one times. In urban areas 10 percent women are more likely to have inter-caste marriages than in rural areas. Education of both wife and husband have negative effect on inter-caste marriages. Husbands with higher education are 16 percent less likely to have inter-caste marriage than illiterate husband and women with higher education are 10 percent less likely to have inter-caste marriage than women with no or low education. Mass media exposure and wealth do not show any significant effect on inter-caste marriage. After controlling all other socio economic variables, it is found that states also has significant effect on inter-caste marriage and there is a spatial variation in the incidence of inter-caste marriage. As compared to Uttar Pradesh and Uttaranchal likelihood of having inter-caste marriage is more than two times in Punjab and Haryana, Assam, Maharashtra and Karnataka which are socio-economically more prosperous. Whereas in Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh, Bihar, Andhra Pradesh and Tamil Nadu which constitute the bulk of the socio-economically backward states, inter-caste marriage is low as compared to Uttar Pradesh and Uttaranchal. However, percentage of inter-caste marriage is high in Orissa and Gujarat by almost 70 percent.

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

References

- Banerjee, A.R. and Banerjee S., 1978, Inter-caste marriage pattern among some caste groups of Calcutta, *Man in India*, Vol. 58 (4): 327-331.
- Banerjee, A.R. and Chowdhuri L., 1988, Caste exogamy and class/Gothra endogamy in the contemporary Bengale society, *Man in India*, Vol. 68 (2): 200-210.
- Chair, L., 1984, Marriage under Hindu law, *Social Welfare*, Vol. 31(1): 4-6.
- Chintamani , L., 1973, Caste dynamics in village India, Nachiketa Publications limited, Bombay, pp. 57-78.
- Ghildiyal, S. and Mathur S, 2010, State tops in inter-caste marriages with Dalits, *The Times of India*, February 1, 2010, Mumbai Edition, Mumbai.
- Kannan, C.T., 1963, Inter-caste and inter-community marriages in India, Allied Publishers Private Limited, Bombay, pp. 37-52.
- Kannan, C.T., 1963, Inter-caste marriages in Bombay, Allied Publishers Private Limited, Bombay.
- Kapadia, K.M., 1966, Marriage and family in India, Oxford University Press, Bombay, pp. 22-34.
- Prasad, N., 1957, The myth of the caste system, Samjana Prakashan, Patna, India.
- Reddy, S. and Rojanna Ch., 1984, Intercaste Marriages: A Study, *Social Welfare*, Vol. 31(1): 10-12.
- Sarkar, B.N., 1970, Casteism in matrimonial engagements in West Bengal, Tech. Report No. Demo. 8/70, Research and Training School, Indian Statistical Institute, Kolkata.
- Saroja, K., 1999, Inter-caste marriage and social Dynamics in India: A critique, *The Journal of Social Work*, Vol. 60 (2):183-192.
- Malhotra S.P. and Trivedi H.S., 1977, Caste-hierarchy and inter-caste relations in an arid zone village, *Indian Journal of Social Work*, Vol. 38 (4): 12-20.
- Saxena ,R K, 2009, Impact of Inter Caste Marriages on Community Relations, *ISS Newsletter*, Vol 8(2), pp. 8-12.

Table 1: Percent distribution of inter-caste marriages in India and states

State	Women marry men			Total inter-caste marriages	Total
	of same caste	of lower caste than her caste	of upper caste than her caste		
India	90.1	5.1	4.8	9.9	30601
North	91.0	5.2	3.8	9.0	3177
Delhi	88.4	5.6	6.0	11.6	536
Haryana	82.7	11.0	6.3	17.3	526
Himachal Pradesh	89.4	6.0	4.7	10.6	537
Jammu and Kashmir	98.1	1.9	0.0	1.9	162
Punjab	77.5	11.9	10.5	22.5	285
Rajasthan	97.7	1.4	0.9	2.3	654
Uttaranchal	91.6	4.3	4.1	8.4	439
Central	92.2	4.4	3.4	7.8	7391
Chhattisgarh	96.8	0.7	2.4	3.2	535
Madhya Pradesh	96.5	1.9	1.7	3.5	1132
Uttar Pradesh	91.4	5.0	3.6	8.6	4968
East	91.4	4.7	3.9	8.6	2710
Bihar	95.3	2.1	2.6	4.7	617
Jharkhand	87.9	5.5	6.6	12.1	346
Orissa	86.1	7.5	6.4	13.9	670
West Bengal	90.5	5.9	3.7	9.5	1040
North-East	82.8	10.0	7.1	17.2	1976
Arunachal Pradesh	81.8	13.1	5.1	18.2	99
Assam	83.2	9.3	7.4	16.8	376
Manipur	82.2	12.7	5.1	17.8	1006
Meghalaya	75.0	10.7	14.3	25.0	28
Mizoram					
Nagaland	84.3	5.1	10.7	15.7	178
Sikkim	86.1	7.7	6.2	13.9	209
Tripura	81.6	10.9	7.5	18.4	293
West	83.0	6.4	10.6	17.0	4592
Goa	71.6	15.8	12.6	28.4	278
Gujarat	86.3	6.3	7.4	13.7	672
Maharashtra	82.3	6.4	11.3	17.7	3157
South	91.9	4.3	3.8	8.1	9236
Andhra Pradesh	92.4	3.3	4.4	7.6	3487
Karnataka	83.5	9.8	6.7	16.5	2138
Kerala	78.7	14.6	6.7	21.3	356
Tamil Nadu	97.4	1.3	1.2	2.6	2991

Table 2: Percent distribution of inter-caste marriages in India by background characteristics

Background characteristics	Women marry men			Total inter-caste marriages	Total
	of same caste	of lower caste than her caste	of upper caste than her caste		
Marital duration					
< 10 years	89.8	5.4	4.7	10.2	11029
10-20	89.6	5.4	5.1	10.4	11156
20+	91.1	4.3	4.5	8.9	8416
Marriage type					
Married only once	90.2	5.1	4.7	9.8	28746
More than once	88.8	5.0	6.3	11.2	1854
Place of residence					
Urban	89.1	6.1	4.9	10.9	10275
Rural	90.6	4.6	4.8	9.4	20326
Education of wife					
No education	91.2	4.6	4.2	8.8	13376
Primary	89.2	4.5	6.3	10.8	4787
Secondary	88.8	6.2	5.1	11.3	10368
Higher	92.0	4.5	3.5	8.0	2071
Education of husband					
No education	90.6	4.6	4.8	9.4	6298
Primary	89.2	5.3	5.5	10.9	6019
Secondary	89.6	5.4	4.9	10.4	14372
Higher	92.4	4.4	3.3	7.6	3905
Caste					
Scheduled caste	91.5	0.0	8.5	8.5	7175
Other backward class [OBC]	91.2	2.8	6.0	8.8	14256
Others	87.3	12.7	0.0	12.7	9171
Household structure					
Nuclear	90.0	5.1	4.9	10.0	15887
Non nuclear	90.1	5.1	4.7	9.9	14414
Wealth index					
Poor	90.9	4.3	4.8	9.1	10687
Middle	90.0	5.6	4.4	10.0	6462
Rich	89.5	5.5	5.0	10.5	13453
Mass media exposure					
No exposure	90.7	4.6	4.8	9.3	10851
Partial exposure	89.6	5.5	4.9	10.4	17115
Full exposure	91.1	5.0	3.9	8.9	2634
Total	90.1	5.1	4.8	9.9	30600

Table 3: Variation in inter-caste marriages in India: A logistic regression analysis

Explanatory variables	Exp(B)	
	Model 1	Model 2
Marital duration		
< 10 years®		
10-20	1.037	.986
20+	.882**	.859***
Marriage type		
Married only once®		
More than once	1.190**	1.236***
Place of residence		
Rural®		
Urban	1.155***	1.209***
Education of wife		
No education®		
Primary	1.238***	1.193***
Secondary	1.343***	1.098
Higher	1.112	.864
Education of husband		
No education®		
Primary	1.078	1.029
Secondary	.894*	.861**
Higher	.596***	.668***
Wealth index		
Poorest		
Middle	1.069	.989
Rich	1.130**	.930
Mass media exposure		
No Exposure		
Exposure	.972	.918
States		
Uttar Pradesh and Uttaranchal®		
Punjab and Haryana		2.491***
Rajasthan		.254***
Madhya Pradesh and Chhattisgarh		.366***
Bihar and Jharkhand		.680***
Orissa		1.644***
West Bengal		1.050
Assam		2.062***
Gujarat		1.670***
Maharashtra		2.270***
Andhra Pradesh		.842*
Kerala		2.940***
Karnataka		2.017***
Tamil Nadu		.261***
Other states		1.484***

Note: Dependent Variable: 0- Marriage within same caste 1- Inter-Caste Marriage

*** $p < 0.01$, ** $p < 0.05$, * $p < 0.1$

® Reference category

Table 4: Percent distribution of inter-religious marriages in India and states

State	Inter-religious marriage		Total
	No	Yes	
India	97.9	2.1	42183
North	97.8	2.2	4469
Delhi	97.8	2.2	634
Haryana	98.1	1.9	591
Himachal Pradesh	98.5	1.5	583
Jammu and Kashmir	99.3	0.7	445
Punjab	92.7	7.3	682
Rajasthan	99.3	0.7	881
Uttaranchal	98.1	1.9	534
Central	98.8	1.2	9354
Chhattisgarh	99.4	0.6	859
Madhya Pradesh	99.2	0.8	1655
Uttar Pradesh	98.7	1.3	6067
East	98.7	1.3	3814
Bihar	98.8	1.2	733
Jharkhand	94.4	5.6	607
Orissa	99.0	1.0	970
West Bengal	99.7	0.3	1589
North-East	96.8	3.2	4581
Arunachal Pradesh	90.8	9.2	357
Assam	97.9	2.1	746
Manipur	92.4	7.6	2048
Meghalaya	93.3	6.7	330
Mizoram	98.8	1.2	330
Nagaland	98.5	1.5	1846
Sikkim	91.9	8.1	406
Tripura	97.3	2.7	403
West	96.6	3.4	6623
Goa	98.7	1.3	541
Gujarat	98.2	1.8	842
Maharashtra	96.3	3.7	4697
South	96.8	3.2	11650
Andhra Pradesh	95.3	4.7	4452
Karnataka	97.2	2.8	2983
Kerala	97.9	2.1	620
Tamil Nadu	98.4	1.6	3347

Table 5: Percent distribution of inter-religious marriages in India by background characteristics

Background characteristics	Inter-religious marriage		Total
	No	Yes	
Marital duration			
< 10 years	97.7	2.3	15490
10-20	98.0	2.0	15360
20+	97.9	2.1	11334
Marriage type			
Married only once	97.9	2.1	39292
More than once	97.6	2.4	2891
Place of residence			
Rural	98.2	1.8	28457
Urban	97.3	2.7	13727
Education of wife			
No education	98.0	2.0	19733
Primary	98.0	2.0	6402
Secondary	97.7	2.3	13489
Higher	97.2	2.8	2559
Education of husband			
No education	98.0	2.0	10266
Primary	97.7	2.3	8568
Secondary	97.9	2.1	18586
Higher	97.7	2.3	4755
Caste			
Scheduled caste	96.3	3.7	8029
Scheduled tribe	97.5	2.5	3845
Other backward class [OBC]	98.9	1.1	16415
Others	97.7	2.3	12584
Household structure			
Nuclear	97.7	2.3	22292
Non nuclear	98.0	2.0	19462
Wealth index			
Poor	98.2	1.8	16016
Middle	97.7	2.3	8538
Rich	97.6	2.4	17629
Mass media exposure			
No exposure	98.3	1.7	16161
Partial exposure	97.6	2.4	22778
Full exposure	97.4	2.6	3244
Total	97.9	2.1	42183

Table 6: Variation in inter-religious marriages in India: A logistic regression analysis

Explanatory variables	Exp(B)	
	Model 1	Model 2
Marital duration		
< 10 years®		
10-20	.849**	.848**
20+	.815**	.810**
Marriage type		
Married only once®		
More than once	1.204	1.256*
Place of residence		
Rural®		
Urban	1.344***	1.342***
Education of wife		
No education®		
Primary	1.015	1.024
Secondary	1.064	1.023
Higher	1.254	1.251
Education of husband		
No education®		
Primary	1.039	1.039
Secondary	.845*	.818**
Higher	.831	.789*
Caste		
Others®		
Scheduled caste	1.540***	1.700***
Scheduled tribe	.891	.977
Other backward class [OBC]	.493***	.529***
Wealth index		
Poor		
Middle	1.325***	1.198*
Rich	1.033	1.037
Mass media exposure		
No exposure		
Exposure	1.347***	1.161*
States		
Andhra Pradesh®		
Punjab and Haryana		1.063
Uttar Pradesh and Uttaranchal		.388***
Bihar and Jharkhand		.907
Manipur		1.885***
Maharashtra		1.018
Karnataka		.800
Tamil Nadu		.693***
Other states		.432***

Note: Dependent Variable: 0- Marriage within the same religion 1- Inter-religious marriage

*** $p < 0.01$, ** $p < 0.05$, * $p < 0.1$

® Reference category