Exploring the Concept of Mixed Marriages in Indian and selected states: First Time Evidences from Large Scale Survey

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Abstract: *Marriage system in India is virtually endogamous; however, few historical evidences disclose the mixed marriage custom in India. In recent times, rapid change in socio-economic and cultural values, western education and socio-economic diffusion led to enormous changes in existing customs of marriage system in India. This paper presents the first time assessment of mixed marriages by using IHDS data. Results from bivariate analysis evident that still inter-caste marriages and marriage outside same economic group are not well-known phenomena in India. However, most of the Indian marriages are outside the same blood relatives. However, evidences show substantial differentials in mixed marriages by state. Results of multivariate analysis reveals significant socio-economic differential in inter-caste marriage. However, marriage outside same economic group and blood relatives are also considerably influenced by socio-economic status. Results also suggest that in India, very fewer women have freedom to make decision on marriage and selection of spouse.*

Introduction

Interracial marriages have garnered attention periodically since the turn of the century. Social scientists have shown great interest in the study of different kinds of mixed marriages. From time immemorial, men and women of different nationalities, race, and religion have intermarried. The frequency of mixed marriages has often been considered to be the most conclusive and objective indicators of the degree of assimilation of a minority (Coleman 1994)**.**

However, some evidence does exist in United States of America (USA) which suggests that the rate of interracial marriage has decreased in the first half of the 20th century and prior to the 1954 Supreme Court decision declaring unconstitutional segregated public schools (Panunzio 1942; Wirth and Goldhamer 1944; Drake and Cayton 1945; Burma 1963; Lynn 1967). Contrastly, data from California indicated that the rate of interracial marriage had increased slightly following the

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court decision of 1954 (Barnett 1963). There are other fragmentary statistics which suggest racially mixed marriages may be on the increase in the United States (Powledge 1963; Heer 1966: 273; cf. Mayer and Smock 1960).

Similarly, evidences from cross-sectional surveys showed that attitudes of blacks prior to the seventies indicated a lack of eagerness for intermarriage (Pittsburgh Courier 1958). Later on, in 1960s and into the 1970s, the emphasis on black pride and racial solidarity has contributed to similar attitudes (Staples 1974). Inter-ethnic marriages between European men and Indian women were very common during colonial times. However, evidences from other western part of the world suggest increase mixed marriages (Aldridge 1973).

Accordingly, some evidences also found in Asia: an investigation into mixed marriages between Arabs and Jews in Israel, discussed the efforts that are made by the religious authorities, in co-operation with the ministries concerned to prevent mixed marriages between Arabs and Jews in Israel (Institute of Palestine Studies 1972). Interracial marriage in Southeast Asia dates back to the spread of Indian culture, including Hinduism and Buddhism, to the region. From the 1st century onwards, mostly male traders and merchants from the Indian subcontinent frequently intermarried with the local female population. From the 14th to 17th centuries, many Indian traders settled down within the maritime kingdoms of Southeast Asia and intermarried with the local female populations. Many Indian traders, merchants and missionaries travelled to Southeast Asia (where Indianised kingdoms were established) and often took local wives from the region.

The Indian subcontinent also has a long history of inter-ethnic marriage, dating back to ancient history. Various groups of people have been intermarrying for millennia in South Asia, including groups as diverse as the Dravidian, Indo-Aryan (Indic), Iranian, Austro-Asiatic and Tibeto-Burman peoples. This was particularly common in the northwestern and northeastern parts of the subcontinent. In the northeast, Northern Indian men (of largely "Indic" stock) often intermarried with North-East Indian women (of largely "Mongoloid" stock). There are even cases of Indian princesses marrying kings abroad. For example, the Korean text Samguk Yusa about the Gaya kingdom indicates that in 48 AD, King Kim Suro of Gaya (the progenitor of the Gimhae Kim clan) took a princess (Princess Heo) from the "Ayuta nation" (which is the Korean name for the city of Ayodhya in North India) as his bride and queen.

However, in contemporary India, interracial marriages are more likely to involve spouses from the same social class (Pavela 1964). Previous studies are evident that Marriage in India is still predominantly endogamous than exogamous: within same caste, same religion, and same economic group. One of the critical aspects of mixed marriages in Indian context is inter-caste marriages. The concept of caste system discrimination is like a bane on the path of India's progress. In India, lower castes are not only deprived socially but also economically too. For centuries, Indian society has been divided on the basis of caste system. 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 (Malhotra *et al.* 1977). And when we talk about Indian marriages, which are inter-caste and inter- religious, it seems like a taboo to most of the people.

However, in India, marriage among different economic groups is not a regular custom. Existing socio-economic customs work around in the marriage proposals among the families. Another important custom of Hindu marriage system in India is marriage among blood relatives. This system is operates differently in North and South Indian states. In North India, virtually, the marriage among close blood relation is prohibited. Contrastly, in South India marriage among blood relatives is a common practice.

However, with the recent modernisation and western education, there has been change in traditional marriage system in India. Further, socio-economic development and globalisation of Indian economy has a consequence in change of marriage pattern in India. However, Literature on mixed marriage in India is mostly theoretical; those studies based an empirical evidence are mostly case studies (Kannan 1963; Corwin 1977). Therefore, there is an imperative need to measure mixed marriages by using large scale survey data. Thus, present study aim to re-explore the concept of mixed marriage in India and states and provide empirical evidences.

Data Source and Methodology

In this study, we have used Indian Human Development Survey (IHDS) data, 2005 to explore the concept of mixed marriage in Indian context. IHDS data for the first time asked the direct questions on different form of mixed marriages. All India level, 41157 household's were

interviewed in the survey and in all the households; questions were asked regarding husband's family background characteristics. All India sample size of women who have reported that husband's family is not belonging to same caste as natal family are 1843. Similarly, sample size of women, those reported that husband's family is not related by blood and not belonging to same economic group are 20103 and 8746 respectively. At all India level, the sample sizes in the study are enough to carry out any robust estimates. However, at state level, the sample size is not adequate to multivariate estimates by background characteristics. Therefore, multivariate analyses are restricted to only all India level.

Mixed marriages are in wide varying form but it is not possible to deal with all the varied questions which may arise in connexion with such marriages, therefore, we confine our self to the case of most frequent and ordinary occurrence based data convenience, i.e. We propose to consider such a marriage in three aspects: (I) Inter-caste marriage; (2) Inter-economic group marriage; and (3) Marriage outside same blood group. These are assessed based on the questions: Is your husband's family is from the same caste as your natal family? Whether your husband family and natal family are blood relatives? Whether your husband family and natal family belong to same economic status?

SPSS 15 version of statistical package is used in the analyses. Bi-variate analyses are carried out for India and states. However, the multivariate analyses are carried out for only all India level to assess the relation between the concept of mixed marriage and different socio-economic groups. State wise analysis has been done to see the spatial distribution of mixed marriage in India.

The present study followed a standard definition of mixed marriage: a mixed marriage is the term often applied to a marital union of two individuals from different race or religion. The term mixed marriage can also describe the marriage of a couple who has different cultural, ethnic, or national heritages or backgrounds (Rodman 1965). Since, the question is asked for women, the mixed marriage estimates in the study are individual rather mixed marriages estimates for marriages.

Need for the study

Mixed marriages are of great interest not only for a sociological point of view but also from demographic point of view. Mixed marriages are having many demographic consequences. First,

the demographic effect of the mixed marriage appears in the generations which follow, mainly via the classification of the children of such marriages into sub-population. In the case of language groups, this classification is not necessarily predetermined. Second, it raises the questions like 'what is going to happen to demographic and health outcomes when parents of the children come from different socio-economic and cultural background' where all population indicators are majorly controlled by social-economic and cultural factors.

On other hand, till today in India, there is no authentic all India and state level estimates of magnitude of different types of mixed marriage rates. So far, very little research has been done in this respect and virtually, there is no major study based on large scale survey data. Most of the earlier studies are case studies on small sample size and assessed only either one form of mixed marriages (Kannan 1963; Corwin 1977).

Understanding of the determinants and consequences of mixed marriages are critical for planning demographic and health surveys. Additionally, rapid changing societal and individual behavioral pattern can lead to increase the number of mixed marriages in the coming days. However, practically, there is no empirical evidence to support this postulation. Therefore, the present study is a first time effort to estimate mixed marriages and marriage choice for women for all India and major states.

Results

Mixed marriages by state. Table 1 presents the state level estimates of selected type of mixed marriages. Evidences reveal that women, who reported their husband household caste is other than the natal household caste, are highest (12 percent) in Punjab, followed by West Bengal (9 percent) and Gujarat (8 percent). On the other hand, marriages outside the same castes are lowest in Rajasthan (2 percent). Overall, among 19 major states only four states show the higher percentage of inter-caste marriages than national average (5 percent). Table 1 also shows the percentage of women married outside their economic status and blood relation. The economically backward state such as Jharkhand shows the highest percent of women (43 percent) marrying outside their own household economic status. In contrast, women belonging to economically advanced state such as Haryana, show the lowest percentage of women marrying outside their own household economic status. Accordingly, the percentage of women marrying outside the blood relation shows the highest percentage in Assam. However, the lowest

percentage of women marring outside the blood relations is evident in Maharashtra. Except marriage outside blood relation, results presented in table 1 are not evident any consistent regional pattern. In case of marriage outside blood relatives, evidences suggest that marriage outside the blood relatives is more among north than south India. This is mainly because high prevalence of cross-cousin marriages in south India.

Marriage choice for women by state. Marriages choice is a critical determinant of mixed marriages. In order to assess the consistence of occurrence of mixed marriages with marriage choice in selected states; in the present study we have estimated marriage choice by states. Evidences show that Gujarat having highest (12 percent) of women taking decision alone on their marriage and spouse selection, followed by Assam (9 percent) and Tamil Nadu (8 percent). Punjab, where status of women is very low, shows the lowest percentage of women taking decision alone on their marriage choice. However, Uttarakhand depicts the highest percentage of parents (92 percent) involving in marriage decision for their daughter's, followed by Bihar (84 percent) and Rajasthan (84 percent). Overall, in majority of the north Indian state, parents alone taking decision on their daughter's marriage is higher compare to other parts of India. Parent's involvements in marriages of their daughter's are comparatively lower in north east and eastern India states.

Mixed marriages by background characteristics. The occurrences of mixed marriages are not uniform across the socio-economic groups. Therefore, present study assessed the socio-economic variations of mixed marriages. Table 3 presents the result of the estimation of percentage of women marrying outside the same caste by socio-economic back ground characteristics. Evidences reveal that the women married outside the same caste are highest for the age group 25 to 29 years compared to others age groups. Results also demonstrate that the more number of women marrying outside the same caste belongs to urban areas, Christian religion, higher education and higher economic status.

Results also demonstrate evidences for the women married outside the same economic group. By age group, results indicate that more number of women are marrying in the age group 15 to 19 (31.8 percent) and more number of women belonging to schedule tribes are married outside the same economic group compared to women belonging to other castes. Evidences also show that greater numbers of Muslim women (30.6 percent) are married outside their economic status than

other religions. As expected, the highest percent of women belonging to the poor economic status marry outside same economic status (28.9 percent) in comparison to better off.

Table 3 also presents the results for the percentage of women married outside their own blood relation. By age group, evidences show that the highest percentage (84.4 percent) of women married outside their blood relatives are in age group 15 to 19. Among the categories of place of residence, the greater number of women from rural area is married outside the same blood relation than urban. Women belonging to Brahmin caste (95.4 percent) and women belonging to Sikhs religion (96.5 percent) show the greater percentage of women getting married outside the blood relation in comparison to their counter groups. Evidences also demonstrate that women educated for 11 to 15 years marry outside their blood relation. Similarly, by economic status, Women from rich economic status show the highest percentage (84.5 percent) of marrying outside the blood relation in comparison to women belonging to middle (83.3 percent) and rich (83.1 percent) economic status.

Table 4 presents the percentage of women marrying by their own choice. By age groups of the women, the highest percentage of women aged 20-24 years (5.7 percent) married by their own choice than other age groups. Table also evident that women those reside in urban areas and belonging to Christian religion are taking decision alone on their marriage in comparison to others. Results also suggest the highest percent of women who are educated for the maximum number of years married by their own choice compared with women who are no educated or less educated. Evidences show that women belonging to the rich wealth quintile show substantial percent of women marrying by their choice (5.3 percent) in comparison to the women from the middle (4.8 percent) and poor wealth quintile (4.8 percent).

Table 5 presents the Logit analyses (odds ratio) of likelihood of inter marriage by different background characteristics. The result indicates that after controlling to selected background covariates, women belonging to age group 20-24 are more likely to marry outside the same caste with reference to women belonging to 15-19 age group. The same pattern can be observed for other age groups. The odds of marrying outside the same castes are 10 percent more likely among urban than the rural areas. Among caste groups, women belonging to Schedule Castes are more likely to marry outside the same caste compared to Brahmin's. In contrast, compared to Brahmin's, other backward caste, schedule castes and other caste women are less likely to marry

outside the same caste. With reference to Hindus, women belonging to other religion are 27 percent less likely to marry outside the same castes. However, women belonging to Muslim and Christian religion are more likely to marry outside the caste. In comparison to women who are uneducated, the odds of marrying outside the same castes are 24 percent more likely. As expected, women belonging to rich wealth quintile are 59 percent more likely to marry outside the same caste as compared to poor women.

Further the results of regression analysis demonstrates that the likelihood for marrying outside the economic status is less among women aged 20 and above compared with 15 to 19 age group women. The odds of marrying outside the economic status are more in urban areas than the rural counterparts. Among caste groups, women belonging to other backward caste are less likely to marry outside the economic status with reference to Brahmins. However, the odds of marrying outside the economic status are more among Scheduled castes, Scheduled tribes and other castes compared to Brahmins. Women belonging to Christian and Sikh religion are less likely to marry outside their economic status than the Hindus. The table reveals that with reference to the women who are uneducated, the educated women are more likely to marry outside their economic status. Results suggest that women belonging to rich and middle economic status are less likely to marry outside their own economic status compared with the poor women.

Results of marriage outside the same blood groups are evident that women belonging to other age groups are more likely to marry outside their blood relations than the women from age group 15-19 years. Urban women are 12 percent less likely to marry outside their blood relation than the rural counterparts. Among religion, Sikhs women are less likely to marry outside their blood relations than the Hindu women. The odds of marrying outside the same blood group are increasing with the educational attainment. The odds of decision making alone on marriages are more likely to increase as age of the women increases. Schedule tribes women are most likely to marry by their own choice compared to Brahmin's. Compared to Hindu religion, Muslim and Sikh women are less likely to marry by their own choice. The odds of marrying by their own choice are less likely among middle and rich women compared to women belonging to poor wealth quintile.

Conclusion

This paper presents the first time assessment of mixed marriages by using large scale survey data. Study demonstrates some of the critical dimensions of mixed marriage system in India. From the results, we have re-established that still in India, in larger extent, marriage system is endogamous. Results evident that inter-caste marriages and marriage out side the same economic group are not prominent phenomena in India. However, most of the Indian marriages are outside the same blood group. Scio-economic differential are predominant in inter-caste marriage, various socio-economic and demographic factors also affect the pattern of intermarriages in India.

Mixed marriages are typical feature of those who are, by and large, economically, educationally, and culturally advanced. The results of the paper suggest that the incidence of such mixed marriages can be increase with the degree of modernization and socio-economic development. Similarly, marriage outside the same economic group and blood groups are significantly influenced by socio-economic status. Analysis also evident that state level variation in inter-caste and marriages outside the same socio-economic groups are prominent.

Evidences reveal that in India, very fewer women have freedom in selection of their spouse. However, results of the present paper suggest that education and economic status are major factors contributing for women's choice in selection of spouse outside the same socio-economic group. Marriage and spouse selection choice for India is low among north and central India states; this could be mainly because of poor socio-economic status of states in general and women in particular.

Rapid changing socio-economic and cultural values and western education and economic diffusion led enormous changes in existing customs of India. Mixed marriages carry critical changes in demographic composition and outcomes. Broadly, there are two types of consequences: (1) Positive consequences and (2) Negative consequences. Among the positive consequences, socio-cultural assimilation and diffusion of minorities to main stream leads to integrity in the country as whole. Reducing in gap, socio-economic groups leads to socio-economic development. Among the negative consequences, technical difficulties in classification of sub population by their socio-economic characteristics and languages are an important consequence. Additionally, earlier socio-economic effects on demographic and health outcomes are difficult attribute and judge when spouses are from different backgrounds.

Nevertheless, there is need to improve socio-economic status of the people and glorify, give media exposure and encourage such marriages in order to reduce the ethnic barrier prevalent in socio-economic progress in Indian society. India will require long time yet to come for large scale mixed marriage.

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Table 1. Percentage of women marrying outside the same caste among states of India, 2005.

States	Percentage of Women married outside the same caste	Percentage of Women married outside the same Economic Status	Percentage of Women married outside the same Blood Relation
Andhra Pradesh	2.80	24.20	70.40
Assam	6.30	18.10	98.80
Bihar	3.10	17.00	93.50
Chhattisgarh	2.20	34.00	98.70
Gujarat	8.20	33.70	93.70
Haryana	3.30	10.90	97.70
Himachal Pradesh	2.00	36.70	99.00
Jharkhand	5.40	43.30	87.80
Karnataka	1.80	38.00	71.90
Kerala	4.60	16.50	96.80
Madhya Pradesh	1.90	25.90	94.60
Maharashtra	2.80	28.00	71.50
Orissa	3.30	42.00	89.20
Punjab	12.20	13.70	97.10
Rajasthan	1.70	18.30	95.60
Tamil nadu	2.20	20.30	62.00
Uttar Pradesh	5.20	22.70	89.60
Uttarakhand	3.50	32.20	98.70
West Bengal	9.30	40.00	91.70
India	**5.10**	**27.60**	**83.70**

Table 2. Percentage of women with their marriage choice by states in India, 2005

States	Respondent herself	Respondent and Parents together	Parents alone	Others
Andhra Pradesh	5.10	25.90	69.00	0.00
Assam	9.70	52.70	34.70	2.90
Bihar	2.10	13.40	84.40	0.10
Chhattisgarh	1.30	50.30	48.40	0.00
Gujarat	11.70	77.50	10.50	0.40
Haryana	2.10	53.70	42.80	1.40
Himachal Pradesh	8.00	9.00	82.60	0.40
Jharkhand	5.90	19.20	74.60	0.20
Karnataka	5.60	61.80	32.30	0.40
Kerala	6.30	57.30	35.80	0.60
Madhya Pradesh	0.90	40.70	57.80	0.50
Maharashtra	2.90	32.80	63.70	0.60
Orissa	5.50	21.00	73.50	0.00
Punjab	0.40	38.50	61.10	0.00
Rajasthan	0.60	14.90	84.30	0.10
Tamil Nadu	8.10	51.20	40.50	0.20
Uttar Pradesh	2.10	21.20	76.40	0.30
Uttarakhand	0.90	6.90	92.10	0.00
West Bengal	7.90	26.50	63.80	1.80
India	**5.00**	**34.20**	**60.30**	**0.50**

Table 3. Percentage of women married outside same caste by key predictors in India, 2005

Background characteristics	Percentage of women married outside same caste	Percentage of women married outside same economic group	Percentage of women married outside same blood group
Age at marriage			
15-19	3.9	31.8	84.4
20-24	4.3	27.0	82.8
25-29	5.5	27.2	83.4
30& above	5.1	27.7	84.0
Place of residence			
Rural	4.7	27.5	84.3
Urban	6.0	27.9	82.2
Caste			
Brahmins	6.5	26.7	95.4
OBC	3.8	26.6	82.5
SC	4.5	28.1	82.6
ST	6.1	29.3	88.9
Others	7.2	28.4	83.3
Religion			
Hindu	4.5	27.3	85.0
Muslim	7.4	30.6	74.8
Christian	10.7	26.5	91.2
Sikhs	10.1	17.5	96.5
Others	3.8	32.2	84.5
Education			
No Education	4.3	26.4	82.8
1-5 years	5.8	29.7	82.2
6-10 years	5.2	28.3	83.9
11-15 years	6.0	25.6	89.3
Economic Status			
Poor	3.9	28.9	83.1
Middle	4.6	27.3	83.3
Rich	6.4	26.4	84.5
Total	**4.9**	**27.5**	**83.6**

Table 4. Percentage of women with their marriage choice by key predictors in India, 2005

Background characteristics	Alone	Along with parents	Parents alone	Others
Age at marriage				
15-19	3.2	29.4	66.8	0.5
20-24	5.8	32.1	61.6	0.5
25-29	5.7	33.8	60.1	0.5
30& above	4.6	35.2	59.6	0.6
Place of residence				
Rural	4.9	31.9	62.8	0.5
Urban	5.3	39.9	54.1	0.7
Caste				
Brahmins	3.9	33.6	61.9	0.6
OBC	4.4	33.9	61.4	0.3
SC	5.1	32.5	61.8	0.6
ST	10.5	37.6	51.2	0.8
Others	4.5	35.3	59.4	0.8
Religion				
Hindu	4.9	34.2	60.5	0.4
Muslim	3.4	32.9	62.7	1.0
Christian	14.8	43.3	40.3	1.5
Sikhs	1.7	34.6	63.7	0.1
Others	10.7	30.1	58.4	0.8
Education				
No Education	4.1	29.7	65.9	0.4
1-5 years	4.9	33.9	60.6	0.6
6-10 years	5.9	38.1	55.3	0.7
11-15 years	7.6	43.8	47.9	0.7
Economic Status				
Poor	4.8	32.8	62.0	0.4
Middle	4.8	32.6	62.2	0.5
Rich	5.3	36.2	57.9	0.6
Total	**4.9**	**33.8**	**60.7**	**0.5**

Table 5. Logistic regression estimates (odds ratios) for selected mixed marriage indicators by key predictors, 2005.

Predictors	Women married outside same caste		Women married outside same economic group		Women married outside same blood relatives		Women taking decision alone their marriage	
	(Exp ß)	S.E.	(Exp ß)	S.E.	(Exp ß)	S.E.	(Exp ß)	S.E.
Age at marriage								
15-19 ®	1.00		1.00		1.00		1.00	
20-24	1.15***	0.0027	0.82***	0.0011	1.09***	0.0010	1.76***	0.0027
25-29	1.47***	0.0026	0.84***	0.0011	1.13***	0.0010	1.78***	0.0027
30& above	1.34***	0.0025	0.87***	0.0010	1.20***	0.0010	1.48***	0.0026
Place of residence								
Rural ®	1.00		1.00		1.00		1.00	
Urban	1.10***	0.0009	1.04***	0.0005	0.88***	0.0004	1.00***	0.0009
Caste								
Brahmins®	1.00		1.00		1.00		1.00	
OBC	0.60***	0.0017	0.99***	0.0009	1.37***	0.0008	1.32***	0.0020
SC	0.78***	0.0018	1.09***	0.0010	1.09***	0.0008	1.67***	0.0021
ST	1.21***	0.0021	1.13***	0.0011	1.68***	0.0010	3.16***	0.0022
Others	0.99***	0.0017	1.07***	0.0009	1.40***	0.0008	1.20***	0.0020
Religion								
Hindu®	1.00		1.00		1.00		1.00	
Muslim	1.68***	0.0011	1.24***	0.0006	1.56***	0.0006	0.81***	0.0015
Christian	2.06***	0.0018	0.95***	0.0012	1.50***	0.0012	2.43***	0.0016
Sikhs	1.96***	0.0023	0.59***	0.0018	0.38***	0.0015	0.34***	0.0053
Others	0.73***	0.0029	1.18***	0.0012	1.06***	0.0012	1.58***	0.0019
Education								
No Education®	1.00		1.00		1.00		1.00	
1-5 years	1.24***	0.0011	1.18***	0.0005	1.02***	0.0005	1.29***	0.0011
6-10 years	0.98***	0.0010	1.15***	0.0005	1.17***	0.0004	1.59***	0.0010
11-15 years	0.94***	0.0015	1.03***	0.0008	1.17***	0.0007	2.09***	0.0014
Economic Status								
Poor®	1.00		1.00		1.00		1.00	
Middle	1.12***	0.0031	0.92***	0.0014	1.13***	0.0012	0.76***	0.0026
Rich	1.59***	0.0031	0.85***	0.0013	1.06***	0.0012	0.77***	0.0026

Note: ® reference category, S.E.: Standard Error, significance levels: *** p<0.001; ** p<0.01; * p<0.05

States	Women married outside same caste	Women married outside same economic group	Women married outside same blood relatives	Total ever married women
Jammu& Kashmir	324	208	378	715
Himachal Pradesh	27	424	484	1372
Uttarakhand	20	127	161	458
Punjab	195	196	453	1683
Haryana	43	127	1034	1618
Delhi	42	203	411	960

Appendix 1: Descriptive statistics of different types of mixed marriages among ever marriage women in India.

Uttar Pradesh	118	824	1373	3512
Bihar	49	229	952	1430
Jharkhand	42	369	334	924
Rajasthan	36	361	848	2485
Chhattisgarh	25	294	864	1175
Madhya Pradesh	40	542	1593	2805
Northeast	138	192	540	1000
Assam	37	152	651	1017
West Bengal	190	651	765	2380
Orissa	52	455	1172	2064
Gujarat	183	558	734	2198
Maharashtra	82	788	2039	3368
Andhra Pradesh	63	446	1437	2435
Karnataka	50	1051	2033	4021
Kerala	43	235	1024	1731
Tamil Nadu	44	314	823	2203
India	**1843**	**8746**	**20103**	**41554**