

# UC Irvine

## UC Irvine Previously Published Works

### Title

The Lack of Sex Differences in Declining Endogamy in Hyderabad, India

### Permalink

<https://escholarship.org/uc/item/2wn9r1q9>

### Journal

Journal of Anthropological Research, 38(4)

### ISSN

0091-7710

### Author

Leonard, Karen

### Publication Date

1982-12-01

### DOI

10.1086/jar.38.4.3629893

### Copyright Information

This work is made available under the terms of a Creative Commons Attribution License, available at <https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/>

Peer reviewed

## THE LACK OF SEX DIFFERENCES IN DECLINING ENDOGAMY IN HYDERABAD, INDIA

Karen Leonard

School of Social Sciences, University of California, Irvine, Irvine, CA 92717

*Discussions of Indian social structure that emphasize the patriarchal, patrilineal family system and the maintenance of caste and family purity through arranged marriages have encouraged sweeping assumptions about the control of women by men. Such assumptions underlie predictions that within a given community more men than women will "marry out." Two hypotheses predicting greater control of women's than men's marriages are tested and largely invalidated, utilizing historical data documenting seventy-five years of declining endogamy among members of the Kayasth caste of Hyderabad City, Andhra Pradesh. The empirical data, however, provide two significant findings about exogamous marriages: siblings rather than sisters are the appropriate units of analysis, and there is a progression within families from intersubcaste to intercaste marriages, with both types of exogamous marriages increasing.*

PUBLISHED DATA on exogamous marriages in India—marriages outside one's subcaste, caste, or religion—indicate that within a given community more men than women will "marry out" because of stronger corporate control of women in marriage arrangements (Rakshit and Dasgupta 1971; Wiebe and Ramu 1971; Kannan 1963; Deshpande 1972). This hypothesis is linked to the concept of hypergamy, in which women are given only to higher-ranked grooms, while brides may be taken from lower-ranked groups. Historical data on seventy-five years of declining endogamy among members of the Kayasth caste in Hyderabad City, Andhra Pradesh (Leonard 1978; Leonard and Weller 1980) provide an opportunity to test these assumptions and predictions.

Kayasth caste members in Hyderabad came originally from North India. The Kayasths are known throughout India as a "writing caste"; their traditional occupation has been government service since at least the sixteenth century. A few Kayasths migrated to Hyderabad as part of the administrative entourage of Nizam ul Mulk, governor of the Deccan province for the Mughal empire in the early eighteenth century. Kayasth kin groups developed in Hyderabad City, capital of the autonomous state established by the first Nizam's successors in the late eighteenth century. The Kayasths in Hyderabad City belong to seven different subcastes: Asthana, Bhatnagar, Gaur, Mathur, Nigam, Saksena, and Srivastava. The historical development of Kayasth subcastes and kin groups has been described; some three hundred and twenty *khandans* (Urdu for patrilineage, or family) are presently established in Hyderabad City (Leonard 1978). Families and kin groups were ranked by the positions they held in the Mughal administration.

Members of the seven Kayasth subcastes in Hyderabad City have made significant changes in their marriage patterns in this century. Aggregate data in Table 1 show the striking decline of subcaste endogamy for most of the Kayasths, the rising proportion of intersubcaste marriages (endogamy at the caste level), and the rise even of intercaste marriages for this urban population of 2,233 individuals who married between 1900 and 1975.

The scanty literature on exogamous marriages in India focuses chiefly on intercaste and intercommunity marriages, but it sometimes includes intersubcaste

marriages. It suggests two hypotheses about the control of women which can be tested by examining Hyderabad Kayasth marriage patterns by sex.

TABLE 1  
Marriages of Hyderabad Kayasths Over Time

Time Period	Subcaste Endogamy		Married Other Kayasths		Married non-Kayasths		Totals
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	
1900-25	552	92.30	35	5.85	11	1.83	598
1926-50	497	74.51	145	21.73	25	3.74	667
1951-75	554	57.23	352	36.36	62	6.30	968
Totals	1,603		532		98		2,233

The first hypothesis is that there will be a sex difference in exogamous patterns over time; that a higher proportion of men than women will marry outside subcaste and caste boundaries. This differential is sometimes referred to as "men-based" and "women-based" exogamy; a tighter control of women's marriages within endogamous groups in the caste supposedly results in lower rates of "women-based" exogamy (Rakshit and Dasgupta 1971:89; Wiebe and Ramu 1971:117).

The second hypothesis is that subcaste endogamy is being replaced largely by caste endogamy, so that a hypergamous system of seven ranked subcastes underlies the new Kayasth marriage patterns. This hypothesis predicts that as intermarriages proceed between members of these subcastes, daughters will be given to higher ranking subcastes and taken from lower ranking subcastes. The observation that North Indian castes with this same kinship system do tend to marry hypergamously, lends initial support to this hypothesis (Vatuk 1969:110). For such a system to work there must be a local group of "pseudo," or illegitimate Kayasths to supply the bottom group with wives; there is such a category in Hyderabad. The Srivastava subcaste has an unbounded category into which individuals of doubtful ancestry have moved, establishing claims to be Kayasths (Leonard n.d.). These "Srivastavas" are indeed a source of wives for higher subcastes. Those of the highest status must then be able to marry their daughters elsewhere, perhaps outside the city, to persons of even higher rank; that possibility also exists (Leonard 1978:271).

If these hypotheses should prove to be correct, they would support a view of the caste system which sees women being controlled and used by men in a system of arranged marriages, a system which ranks men. This view of India's caste system appeals to structuralists and others using Lévi-Straussian models of kinship, in which women are passive objects exchanged by men (Lévi-Strauss 1963:47, 1969:136).

This "control of women" position is well summarized for India by Mandelbaum (1970 (1)95-118, 125-42). The general view among anthropologists is that more care is exercised by Hindu parents when arranging the marriage of a daughter and that the preference is for giving a daughter to a higher ranked family, while brides for

sons can come from lower status families. The principle of hypergamy characterizes marriage relationships among North Indian groups whether the ranked segments within the relevant endogamous unit (usually termed the *jati*, or subcaste) are distinguished on the basis of wealth, village (or village location), clan, or lineage. The principle applies to processes of social change in the South as well as in the North, and marriage relations are one of the chief means of achieving or confirming social mobility.

Of course there have been changes in the condition of women in the twentieth century, particularly among urban castes. Until the last generation or two, for example, Kayasth women in Hyderabad were secluded, educated in Hindi if at all, and married young; they did not work outside the home. The increase in education for girls, in their age at marriage, and in their employment outside the home, both before and after marriage, have brought striking changes; but these changes would not necessarily conflict with continuing control of women's marriages so as to construct a hypergamous system among the seven subcastes.

#### INVESTIGATION AND FINDINGS

Table 2 gives a breakdown by sex and subcaste of all Kayasth marriages in each of three time periods from 1900 to 1975. This table is necessary for a careful interpretation of some of the data on women. Instances of marked imbalance by sex are underlined for some of the subcastes in the earlier two time periods, and for the Nigams in all three time periods; subcastes where the sex ratio is imbalanced are in fact the smaller subcastes, the ones which have frequently arranged marriages with members of their own subcaste outside of Hyderabad City. I have interpreted the underrepresentation of women evident in Table 2 as substantiating the reported practice of extralocal endogamy: daughters married and settled outside the city were often omitted from contemporary oral accounts used to construct family genealogies and marriage networks. These undercounts of women who made extralocal, endogamous marriages should be kept in mind when interpreting the following tables.<sup>1</sup>

Table 3 breaks the Kayasth population down into the seven subcastes; it is immediately apparent that the subcastes vary greatly in their marriage patterns. Subcaste endogamy was still 82 percent for the Mathur subcaste, from 1951 to 1975, while it was only 11 percent and 16 percent, respectively, for the Nigams and Asthanas. For most of the subcastes, subcaste endogamy has been replaced by caste-level endogamy (Table 3-B). Only the Nigams have a really high proportion (26 percent) of individuals marrying outside the caste category.

Table 4 should help us address the initial hypotheses predicting differential, hypergamous marriage patterns by sex as subcaste endogamy declines in this urban Indian caste. It appears to me that, in the aggregate, and taking into consideration the undercounts of women evident in Table 2, the proportions of Kayasth men and women marrying within their subcastes and within the Kayasth caste as a whole are not strikingly different. The proportions of each kind of marriage, even when separated into local and extralocal categories, are very similar for men and women. Between 1926 and 1950, for example, 19 percent of the men and 20 percent of the women married local Kayasths of other subcastes, and 2 percent of both the men

TABLE 2  
Marriages of Hyderabad Kayasths by Sex and Subcaste

Time Period	Asthana		Bhatnagar		Gaur		Nigam		Mathur		Saksena		Srivastava		Totals		
	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m + f
1900-25	<u>29</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>20</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>5</u>	120	116	74	71	<u>75</u>	<u>35</u>	343	255	198
1926-50	<u>42</u>	<u>20</u>	24	18	11	14	<u>11</u>	<u>6</u>	127	132	<u>75</u>	<u>70</u>	67	50	357	310	667
1951-75	37	40	23	22	16	19	<u>13</u>	<u>6</u>	250	258	88	100	56	40	483	485	968
	108	74	67	46	40	41	<u>36</u>	<u>17</u>	497	506	237	241	198	125	1,183	1,050	
Totals	182		113		81		53		1,003		478		323		2,233		

TABLE 3  
Types of Marriages made by Hyderabad Kayasths

A. Within Subcaste

	Asthana		Bhatnagar		Gaur		Nigam		Mathur		Saksena		Srivastava	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1900-25	39/43	90.6	18/26	69.23	17/21	80.9	16/17	94.1	235/236	99.1	133/145	91.72	94/110	85.45
1926-50	23/62	37.09	26/42	61.9	10/2	40	7/17	41.1	248/259	95.75	92/145	63.45	91/117	77.77
1951-75	12/77	15.5	10/45	22.2	11/35	31.43	2/19	10.5	416/508	81.89	47/188	25.00	56/96	58.33

B. With Kayasths Outside Subcaste

	Asthana		Bhatnagar		Gaur		Nigam		Mathur		Saksena		Srivastava	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1900-25	1/43	2.3	7/26	26.92	3/21	14.2	1/17	5.8	1/236	.42	11/145	7.58	11/110	10.00
1926-50	34/62	54.84	15/42	35.7	14/25	56.0	9/17	52.9	9/259	3.47	46/145	31.72	18/117	15.38
1951-75	62/77	80.52	33/45	73.3	20/35	57.1	12/19	63.1	68/508	13.39	126/188	67.02	31/96	32.29

C. With Non-Kayasths

	Asthana		Bhatnagar		Gaur		Nigam		Mathur		Saksena		Srivastava	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1900-25	3/43	6.9	1/26	3.8	1/21	4.7	0/17	0.0	0/236	0.0	1/145	.6	5/110	4.5
1926-50	5/62	8.06	1/42	2.3	1/25	4.0	1/17	5.8	2/259	.7	7/145	4.8	8/117	6.84
1951-75	3/77	3.8	2/45	4.44	4/35	11.42	5/19	26.32	24/508	4.7	15/188	7.9	9/96	9.38

TABLE 4  
Marriages of Hyderabad Kayasths by Locality

A. Men													
Partners													
Time Period	Number of Marriages	Subcaste Endogamy				Other Kayasths				Non-Kayasths			
		Local		Extra-local		Local		Extra-local		Local		Extra-Local	
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1900-25	343	245	71	62	18	18	5	7	2	10	3	1	0
1926-50	357	222	62	42	12	68	19	8	2	13	4	4	1
1951-75	483	256	53	25	5	148	31	18	4	29	6	7	1

  

B. Women													
Partners													
Time Period	Number of Marriages	Subcaste Endogamy				Other Kayasths				Non-Kayasths			
		Local		Extra-local		Local		Extra-local		Local		Extra-local	
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1900-25	255	228	89	17	7	10	4	0	0	0	0	0	0
1926-50	310	201	65	32	10	63	20	6	2	6	2	2	1
1951-75	485	249	51	24	5	169	35	17	4	20	4	6	1

and women married extralocal Kayasths of other subcastes. The proportions of men and women who married local Kayasths of other subcastes in the most recent time period are 31 percent and 35 percent, respectively; notice that this differential is not in the predicted direction. It is only in the category of non-Kayasth marriages that a difference by sex occurs which might indicate stronger control of women's marriages; this discrepancy will be addressed after a discussion of the possibility of a hypergamous marriage system by subcaste within the Kayasth caste.

The similar proportions of men and women who marry Kayasths of other subcastes might result from the very large number of Mathur Kayasths, a number large enough to smooth out sharp differences by sex in the smaller subcastes. These aggregate proportions may also disguise patterns of hypergamy within the caste category. When I broke the data in Table 3 down further, by sex, as a partial check on these possibilities, however, the results did not suggest hypergamous patterns of any strength or clarity. But that complicated table (not included) was an inadequate test for such patterns; Table 5 focuses specifically on the local marriages among members of different Kayasth subcastes, and should enable us to discern such patterns, if they are there.

There are in fact some imbalances evident here.<sup>2</sup> In particular, the Asthanas received many more brides from local Kayasths than they gave in the second period, and the Mathurs gave brides but did not receive them in the same period. These figures substantiate local oral tradition: the Asthanas, newly arrived in the late nineteenth century, preferred not to marry in Hyderabad until recently, and the Mathurs initiated intersubcaste marriages only because they had "too many girls." But Table 5 as a whole gives evidence of the general practice of exchange marriage by Hyderabad Kayasths; i.e., they give and take daughters from the same families. They exchange with families of equal status, rather than giving daughters to families of higher rank and taking them from families of lower rank. Both the kin groups of the nineteenth century and the broader marriage networks of this century feature exchange marriages rather than the construction of hypergamous relationships.<sup>3</sup>

On one measure, that of individuals marrying outside the Kayasth caste, there was and is a clear difference by sex (see Table 4). No Hyderabad Kayasth woman (compared to eleven men) married a non-Kayasth in the first twenty-five-year period; the numbers and proportions of Kayasth women who married outside the caste in the other two time periods are still significantly lower than those for Kayasth men.

Table 6 presents specific data for the thirty-four women and sixty-four men who have married non-Kayasths. Kayasth women began to make such marriages later and in lower proportions than did Kayasth men, and the variety of spouse categories for women is not as great—there are no non-Indian husbands, in contrast to the six foreign wives. Reflecting a lingering allegiance to the political culture of the former state of Hyderabad, most of the non-Kayasth partners are from old-city, Hindustani-speaking families. Despite Hyderabad City's current status as the capital of a Telugu-speaking state, no husband is a Telugu speaker and relatively few partners speak South Indian languages. There are more Muslim partners than one might expect. Love marriages constitute an increasing proportion of these marriages outside the caste.<sup>4</sup> Love marriages were attributed by Hyderabad informants largely to school, work, or neighborhood contacts. Not surprisingly, other



TABLE 5  
Local Kayasth Intersubcaste Marriages

	Asthana		Bhatnagar		Gaur		Nigam		Mathur		Saksena		Srivastava	
	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f
1900-25			0	4 Sriv.	0	2 Saks.	1	0 Scriv.	0	1 Scriv.	2	2 Sriv.	1	2 Saks.
			2	1 Saks.	0	1 Sriv.					1	2 Bhatn.	0	2 Bhatn.
											2	0 Gaur	1	0 Math.
													0	1 Nigam
1926-50	5	4 Saks.	3	2 Saks.	4	1 Sriv.	2	2 Saks.	4	0 Asth.	7	8 Sriv.	3	5 Saks.
	1	4 Bhatn.	3	1 Asth.	0	5 Saks.	2	0 Sriv.	4	0 Saks.	4	5 Asth.	2	1 Asth.
	0	6 Sriv.	0	4 Sriv.	1	0 Asth.	0	1 Gaur			0	6 Math.	4	0 Bhatn.
	0	5 Math.	1	0 Nigam	1	0 Nigam		1 Bhatn.			2	3 Bhatn.	0	1 Nigam
			0	1 Gaur	1	0 Bhatn.					2	2 Nigam	1	0 Gaur
											5	0 Gaur	1	0 Math.
1951-75	12	11 Saks.	7	5 Sriv.	5	3 Saks.	1	4 Saks.	23	21 Saks.	24	22 Math.	3	7 Saks.
	3	8 Math.	5	5 Saks.	2	3 Sriv.	1	1 Asth.	12	3 Sriv.	10	12 Asth.	2	10 Math.
	5	3 Sriv.	3	2 Asth.	2	2 Bhatn.	1	0 Bhatn.	4	3 Asth.	19	4 Sriv.	1	3 Bhatn.
	2	3 Bhatn.	0	2 Math.			1	0 Sriv.	1	0 Nigam	3	4 Bhatn.	1	1 Asth.
	1	1 Nigam	2	1 Gaur			0	1 Math.	1	0 Gaur	4	2 Nigam	1	0 Gaur
			1	0 Nigam							6	4 Gaur		

See Note 2 for an explanation of internal discrepancies

studies of marriages outside caste and community find that school, work, and neighborhood contacts explain the majority of love marriages (Kannan 1963:71, 218; Deshpande 1972:62-63). Of the marriages *arranged* outside caste boundaries, nearly half were Arya Samaj marriages, and the rest were allegedly due to parental friendships through work or neighborhood contacts.

TABLE 6  
Non-Kayasth Partners

Partners	1900-25		1926-50		1951-76		Subtotals		Totals
	women	men	women	men	women	men	women	men	
Muslim	1		3	3	4	4	8	7	15
Marwari*						5	0	5	5
Maharashtrian Brahman	1		2	2	1	3	4	5	9
Punjabi					1	4	1	4	5
Khatri			1	1	6	2	7	3	10
Tamilian					1	3	1	3	4
Gujerati						2	0	2	2
Sikh						1	0	1	1
Rajput			1		2	1	3	1	4
Sinha Kayath				1			0	1	1
Anglo-Indian	1		2	1	1		4	1	5
Telugu**	4		6		1		21	0	21
Foreigner	1		0		5		6	0	6
Coorgi					1		1	0	1
Parsi					1		1	0	1
Other	3		2		1	1	6	1	7
Totals	11	0	17	8	36	27	64	34	98

\* Includes Agarwal and Giri

\*\*Includes 2 Reddis, 1 Andhra Brahman, and 18 low-caste Telugu speakers

I would argue, also, that this sex difference in intercaste marriage is explained by different educational patterns by sex. Intercaste marriages result increasingly from study in coeducational institutions of higher education, both in India and abroad, and opportunities for such study were extended earlier and more frequently to sons. The effect on marriage, then, is indirect, rather than being due to direct exercise of control over women's marriages.

The most interesting feature of these marriages outside the caste is that they are not random, individual deviations from a new norm of caste-level endogamy. By tabulating information about the thirty-four women from thirty-one families who have made intercaste marriages between 1926 and 1975, two patterns become evident (Table 7). The Mathur Kayasths exemplify the "first generation": marriages outside the subcaste really only began after 1950, so that these women are almost all members of the first generation to marry outside the subcaste. Of the eleven sets of Mathur parents, only one set (9 percent) represented a marriage out of subcaste (the wife was a Kayasth of another subcaste). The rest of the Kayasths exemplify

a second generation expansion of the range of partners for children of previous exogamous marriages; 65 percent of these sets of "other Kayasth" parents themselves married out of subcaste. Even more significantly, not only these particular women but their siblings, as well, are marrying outside their subcaste and caste. As the proportion of intersubcaste marriages rises, then, we can expect the proportion of intercaste marriages to rise as well; and when one child of an exogamous marriage marries out of subcaste, the chances are that a majority of the siblings will do so also.

TABLE 7  
Family Characteristics of Kayasth Women Marrying out of Caste, 1926 to 1975

		Mathurs	Other Kayasths
No. of Women		11	23
No. of Sets of Parents		11	20
Type of Parental Marriage	Subcaste endogamy	10	7
	Intersubcaste	1	10
	Intercaste	0	3
No. of Married Children		46	78
Type of Children's Marriages	Subcaste endogamy	12	13
	Intersubcaste	20	30
	Intercaste	14	35

Of the seventy-eight married children from the non-Mathur sets of parents, the great majority (sixty-five, or 83 percent) have married out of subcaste; thirty (39 percent) have married members of other Kayasth subcastes; and thirty-five (45 percent) have married out of caste (twenty-three women and twelve of their brothers). For the Mathur group, of the forty-six children married, thirty-four (74 percent) have married out of subcaste; twenty (44 percent) have made intersubcaste marriages, and fourteen (30 percent) have made intercaste marriages. Clearly, intersubcaste and intercaste marriages are both increasing—and they are related.

The local-extralocal dimension of these marriages outside the caste also differ by sex. Marriages of Kayasth women to non-Kayasths outside of Hyderabad contrast strongly with marriages of Kayasth men to non-Kayasths outside the city. All eight daughters married outside Hyderabad to non-Kayasths from 1926 to 1975 had their marriages arranged; all were married to Indians in northern and western India. Six of these marriages have occurred since 1951 (and of those, three were of sisters married to Arya Samajists in the Punjab). Of the eleven men who made extralocal marriages to non-Kayasths, the four who married before 1951 brought back Indian brides from other parts of India; one of these was an Arya Samaj marriage, the *only* arranged marriage of the eleven. Of the seven who have married non-Kayasths outside Hyderabad between 1951 and 1975, five married foreign women they met while studying and working abroad, while a sixth met and married a Coorgi, in

England. For men, then, marriages with non-Hyderabad non-Kayasths are now almost all love marriages with foreigners, marriages made outside of India. For women, marriages with non-Hyderabad non-Kayasths are arranged, with Indians and within India.<sup>5</sup>

The hypothesis of greater control of women in the arrangement of marriages gains some support, then, from extralocal, caste-exogamous marriages; it applies only to the most limited area of declining endogamy. Furthermore, there is a lack of clear correlation between love, or nonarranged marriages and declining endogamy. While extralocal intercaste marriages for men have almost always been love marriages, those for women have usually been arranged.<sup>6</sup> Here, particularly when the marriages have been extralocal, the postulated greater control of women has influenced marriage patterns. But these results run counter to the hypothesis linking control of women to arranged *endogamous* marriages.

### CONCLUSIONS

Social science literature on India has emphasized the patriarchal, patrilineal family system and the maintenance of caste and family purity through arranged marriages, encouraging acceptance of Lévi-Straussian assumptions about control of women by men. But the historical data analyzed here, documenting seventy-five years of declining endogamy among the Kayasths of Hyderabad, does not bear out the initial hypothesis of greater control of women's marriages. Intersubcaste marriages constitute the majority of marriages outside the formerly endogamous subcastes, but there is no evidence of women being used to build a new system of hypergamous alliances within the Kayasth caste. There are no differences by sex in participation in intersubcaste marriages, and sex differences in intercaste marriages can be attributed largely to educational patterns, rather than to direct control of marriage.

The behavioral patterns analyzed for the Hyderabad Kayasths do show two important trends, however. The data clearly point to siblings rather than sisters as the people whose marriages form patterns, and to families rather than men as marriage decision makers. As MacCormack (MacCormack and Strathern 1980:11-13) argues in a sophisticated critique of the allegedly universal nature/culture/gender equations derived from Lévi-Strauss's model of kinship and marriage, "siblings: spouses" proves to be a more applicable line of analysis than "sisters: wives."

The second important finding is that of the cumulative effect of exogamous marriages—the progression within families from marriages with members of other subcastes to marriages with members of other castes.<sup>7</sup> The first breaches of endogamy in a family lead to the majority of the children or siblings marrying beyond the subcaste and/or caste; there is no sex difference here. Kayasth boys and girls are subject to similar considerations in marriage arrangements: whether by parental arrangement or not, if one's parents or siblings have married out of subcaste, others are more than likely to follow. These data lend empirical support to Sarma's observation (1980:86) that exogamous marriages "run in certain families." Furthermore, changing marriage patterns represent more than a simple redefinition of the endogamous unit, a move from subcaste to caste-level endogamy. It is clear that one

marriage out of subcaste leads ultimately to marriage out of caste for other family members.

## NOTES

1. Increased localization of marriages is the other major change of this century for most of the Kayasths in Hyderabad City. As the geographic range of marriage networks has contracted, the most prevalent pattern has been for local exogamy to replace extralocal endogamy. See Leonard and Weller (1980) for a chart of this change and a discussion of reasons for it.

2. Discrepancies within the table result from my inability to account fully for all Kayasth individuals reported on by informants. For example, Saksena informants reported giving two brides to Srivastavas and taking two Srivastava brides, while Srivastava informants reported taking two Saksena brides but giving only one bride to a Saksena.

3. Called *leen-deen* or *aatha-saatha* ("take-give" or "come-with") in Urdu, such marriages save money; they also reflect, I believe, the old system which allowed bilateral inheritance of positions in the Nizam's government within small kin groups (Leonard 1978:92-112).

4. I have information about type of marriage for about two-thirds of these cases: for women just over half were arranged, while for men just over half were said to be "love marriages."

5. None of these Kayasth women were or are employed outside their homes, in contrast to the Kayasth women in Hyderabad City married to non-Kayasths, who tend to be educated working women.

6. The extralocal intercaste marriage measure more obviously reflects differences in the extent to which daughters are exposed to educational opportunities outside Hyderabad: many unmarried sons study abroad, but only daughters-in-law, not daughters, may do so.

7. This article cannot deal with the basis of these new marriage networks, but I would explain them, as I did the nineteenth and early twentieth-century marriage networks within Hyderabad's Kayasth subcastes, by differential control of economic resources (Leonard 1978).

## REFERENCES CITED

- Deshpande, C.G., 1972, On Intercaste Marriage. Poona: Uma Publication.
- Kannan, C.T., 1963, Intercaste and Inter-Community Marriages in India. Bombay: Allied Publishers.
- Leonard, K., 1978, Social History of an Indian Caste: The Kayasths of Hyderabad. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Leonard, K., n.d., Social Mobility in Urban Hyderabad: An Unbounded Caste Category. In Main Currents in Indian Sociology (ed. by G.R. Gupta). New Delhi: Vikas, forthcoming.
- Leonard, K., and S. Weller, 1980, Changing Marriage Patterns in India: The Hyderabad Kayasths, 1900-1975. *American Ethnologist* 7:504-17.
- Lévi-Strauss, C., 1963, Structural Anthropology. New York: Basic Books.
- Lévi-Strauss, C., 1969, The Elementary Structures of Kinship. Boston: Beacon Press.
- MacCormack, C., and M. Strathern, eds., 1980, Nature, Culture and Gender. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Mandelbaum, D., 1970, Society in India: Continuity and Change. 2 vols. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Rakshit, H.K., and J. Dasgupta, 1971, Aspects of Marriage Pattern in Nine Population Groups of Maharashtra. *Man in India* 51(2):83-91.
- Sarma, J., 1980, Caste Dynamics among the Bengali Hindus. Calcutta: Firma KLM.
- Vatuk, S., 1969, A Structural Analysis of the Hindi Kinship Terminology. *Contributions to Indian Sociology* (n.s.) 3:94-115.
- Wiebe, P.D., and G.N. Ramu, 1971, Marriage in India: A Content Analysis of Matrimonial Advertisements. *Man in India* 51(2):111-20.