Extended Abstract: EDUCATIONAL HYPOGAMY IN INDIA, Koyel Sarkar

OBJECTIVE AND ORIGINALITY: The prime objective of this paper is to explore why Indian women are increasingly marrying men less educated than them. This paper opens an unexplored dimension of Indian marriages and contributes to the literature the existence of marital bargains in couple formation in India.

RESEARCH HYPOTHESIS: I hypothesize, that women in India are marrying less educated men than them, when they see the marriage as an opportunity to rise in the social ladder (caste hierarchy) and/or the economic ladder (high ranked occupation of the husband).

DATASOURCE AND METHODOLOGY: For the analysis I use the 'couple file' in the DHS 4 (2015-16), India.

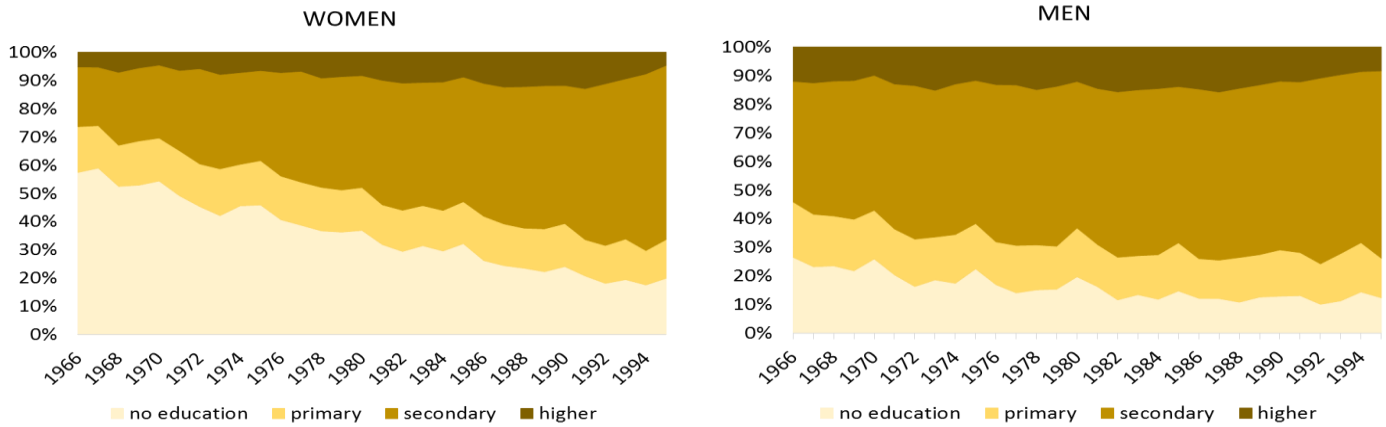
FINDINGS: This is an ongoing research work, so I will produce the main descriptive findings and preliminary multivariate results here. Figure 1 and 2 gives us an overall picture of India where education (secondary and higher levels), is increasing more among the women than among the men, across all birth cohorts. Although men have higher share of secondary and higher education, there has been a huge increase among women's secondary education levels over the birth cohorts. Figure 3 tells us that although educational hypergamy among women is always the preferred option, there has been a huge rise in educational hypogamy from about 10 percent in 1966 birth cohort to almost 30 percent in 1996 birth cohort. On looking further by education levels, we find that the educational hypogamy is highest in the higher educated women category across all birth cohorts[1]. Cross tabulation produce significant results by education and occupation (table 1); and by education and caste (table 2). I find that educational hypogamy is associated with occupation hypergamy as well as caste hypergamy. In India, occupation hypergamy and caste homogamy are the most preferred kinds of marriages. But occupational hypergamy is the highest (70.07 %), when it is an educational hypogamy. Similarly, caste hypergamy (although less desired overall) is highest (5.71 %) when it is an educational hypogamy. On further analysis by using multivariate models, I find that educational hypogamy among Indian women shows significant

[1] Note: Hypogamy and hypergamy has been calculated for husband's and wife's single year education difference or more. Therefore, even for the higher educated category of women, hypergamy is possible (except the highest education group).

association with both caste and occupational hypergamy. However, after controlling for place of residence, wealth index and marriage cohorts, the odds for caste hypergamy increases but the odds for occupational hypergamy decreases. Thus, it seems in India, women marry less educated husbands when they can compensate going down in education level by going up in caste hierarchy of the husband[2]. Additionally, I find that educational hypogamy is significantly increasing over time by marriage cohorts, among families with increasing order of wealth index and in urban areas. Therefore, it seems educational hypogamy in India is more common among women who marry into rich and urban families and who marry in recent times.

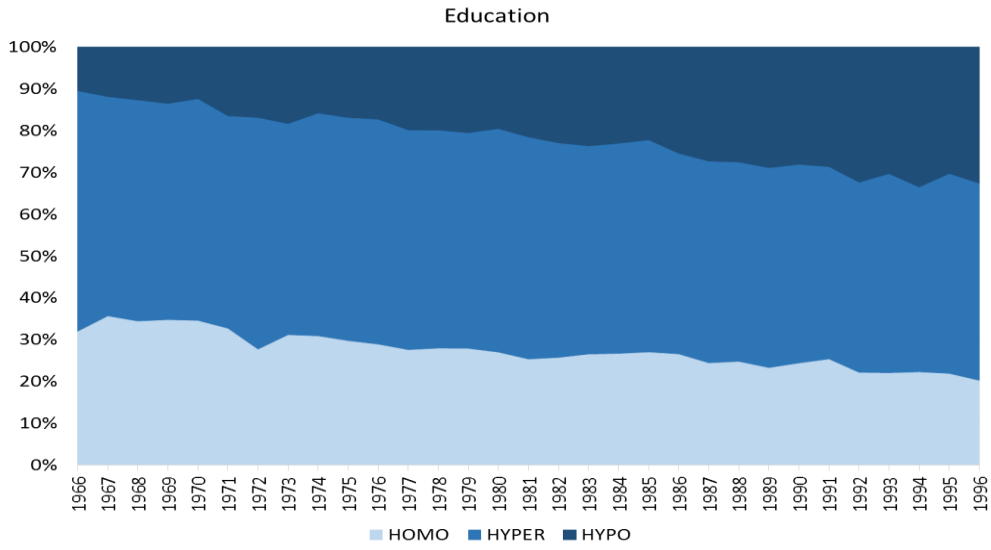
APPENDIX

Figure 1 and 2: Education by Birth Cohorts among Women (left) and Men (right)



Source: Own calculations, DHS 4 2015-16.

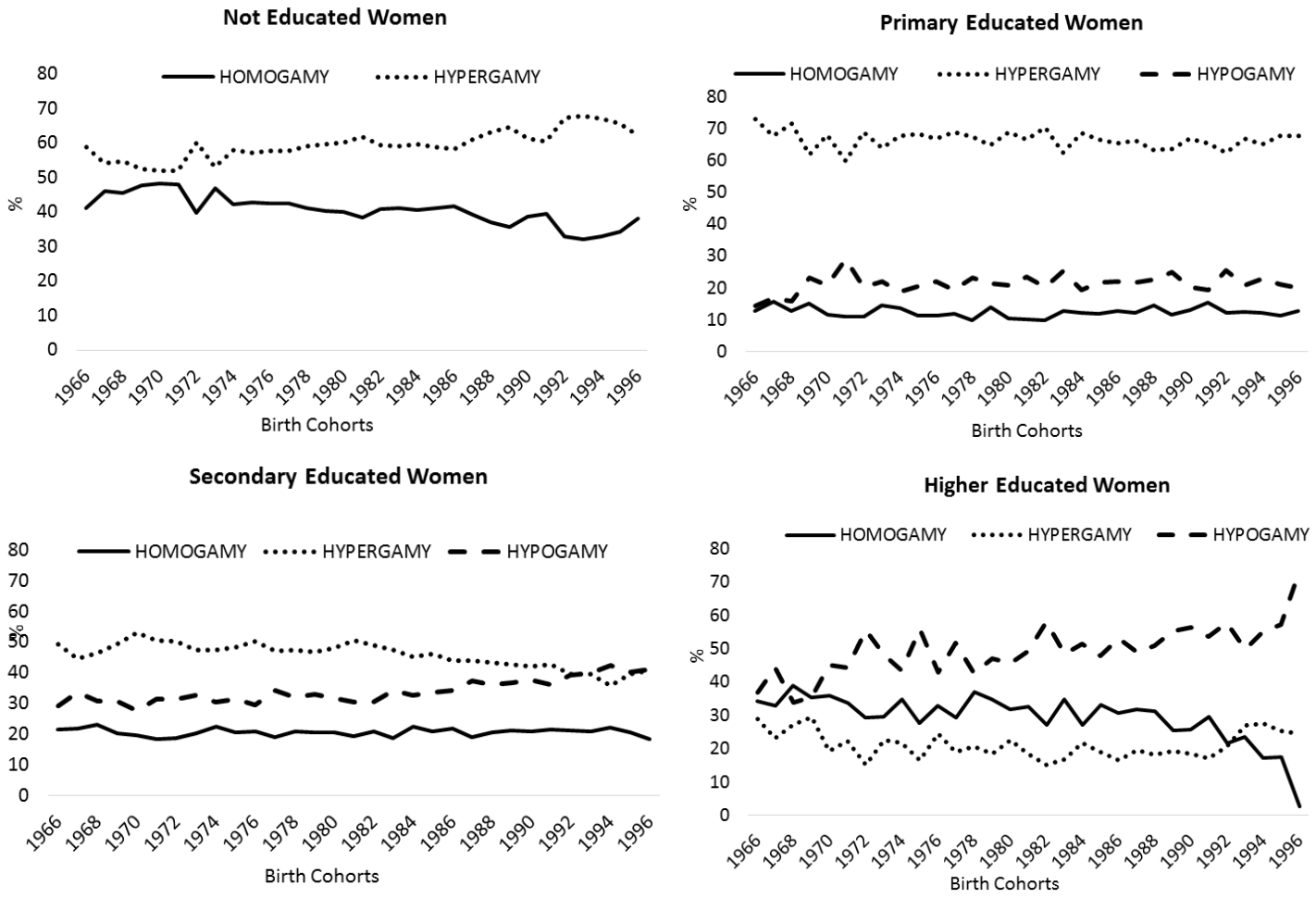
Figure 3: Education Assortative Marriages among Women in India by Birth Cohorts.



Source: Own calculations, DHS 4 2015-16.

[2] However, one of the limitations of the paper is that we are unable to explore the direction of the association, as the causality can be both ways.

Figure 4-7: Education Assortative Marriages among Women in India, by Education Category and Birth Cohorts.



Source: Own calculations, DHS 4 2015-16.

Table 1 and 2: Education Assortative Marriages by Occupation and Caste Groups, among Women in India.

Pearson chi2(6) = 355.7205 Pr = 0.000							Pearson chi2(6) = 22.6523 Pr = 0.001						
	OCCUPATION							INTER - CASTE					
EDUCATION		Homogamy	Hypergamy	Hypogamy	.	TOT	EDUCATION		Homogamy	Hypergamy	Hypogamy	.	TOT
	Homogamy	4,596	11,212	1,129	289	17,226		Homogamy	14,170	919	966	1,171	17,226
	%	26.68	65.09	6.55	1.68	100		%	82.26	5.33	5.61	6.8	100
	Hypergamy	7,102	22,465	1,921	610	32,098		Hypergamy	26,710	1,722	1,682	1,984	32,098
	%	22.13	69.99	5.98	1.9	100		%	83.21	5.36	5.24	6.18	100
	Hypogamy	2,776	10,070	1,252	274	14,372		Hypogamy	11,736	820	812	1,004	14,372
	%	19.32	70.07	8.71	1.91	100		%	81.66	5.71	5.65	6.99	100

Source: Own calculations, DHS 4 2015-16.

Table 3: Stepwise Binary Logistic Regression Model for Education Hypogamy among Currently Married Women above 20 years, in India.

INDEPENDENT VARIABLES		Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
		OR's	OR'S	OR's	OR's
INTER CASTE GROUP	Homogamy	1		1	1
	Hypergamy	1.11*		1.12*	1.12*
	Hypogamy	0.93		0.94	0.95
INTER OCCUPATION CATEGORY (grouped)	Homogamy		1	1	1
	Hypergamy		1.10**	1.13***	0.92**
	Hypogamy		2.12***	2.21***	1.94***
PLACE OF RESIDENCE	Rural				1
	Urban				1.16***
WEALTH INDEX	Poor				1
	Poorer				1.59***
	Middle				1.89***
	Richer				2.32***
	Richest				2.08***
MARRIAGE COHORTS	1986-90				1
	1991-95				1.19
	1996-00				1.68***
	2001-05				1.92***
	2006-10				2.43***
	2011-16				2.79***
Observations		21,081	22,559	20,694	19,922
Log likelihood		-12685.8	-13410.1	-12373.8	-11726
Prob>chi2		0.1	0	0	0
Pseudo R2		0.0002	0.0059	0.0067	0.0327

Source: Own computed from DHS 2015-16 data.
Note: Dependent Variable: 1=Educational Hypogamy, 0= Other marriages. ***p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1