

A Test for Market Area Endogamy in the Gulbarga District
of South Central India

Submitted to the Department
of Anthropology, Stanford
University in partial fulfill-
ment of the requirements for
Ph. D. candidacy/a

Theodore E. Downing
5 April 1967
Stanford University

O U T L I N E

I. The Problem

II. The Test

- A. Data
- B. Methodology
 - 1. market areas
 - 2. genealogies

III. The Results

IV. Discussion

- A. The market area as a unit of social interaction.
- B. The market area as a unit of analysis.

I. Objectives

G. William Skinner (1964-5) recently suggested that the marketing areas of rural Chinese peasant communities could be used as a unit of analysis not only in the sphere of economic activities, but also in the analysis of inter-village social behavior and interaction. One of Skinner's ^{NUMEROUS} many hypotheses was that "there is a distinct tendency for the standard marketing community to be endogenous for the peasantry" (1964:36). This paper will test the applicability of Skinner's hypothesis to the analysis of inter-village marriage patterns in the Gulbarga District, southwest of Hyderabad, India.

Derive footnote
or define

To achieve this test, I will isolate one standard marketing community, the Kandkur marketing community, and will compare genealogies taken from nine of the fourteen communities ^{located} within this area. All communities to be compared will be rated on the degree of endogamy within the standard marketing community of Kandkur and the larger central marketing community of Yadgiri. Furthermore, only one caste, the Kabbaru or shepherd caste, will be used in this analysis.

If a statistically significant percentage of the total inter-village marriages in the sampled villages are between members of the same ^{standard} marketing community, Skinner's hypothesis will hold for ^{Indian} this rural peasant area, as it appears to hold in China.

II. The Data

The data for this analysis was collected by Alan Beals during his fieldwork in the Gulbarga region during 1963-66. Genealogies were taken in many villages near the village of Gopalpur, along with other demographic and social data. The data was not collected with this analysis in mind, and therefore is subject to certain limitations.

A major limitation was the lack of adequate maps for the Gulbarga district. A small number of the villages occurring on the genealogies could not be located on the maps available. Likewise, the majority of the genealogies used in this analysis fell within one standard marketing area, therefore not permitting a testing of the hypothesis in more than one market area.

Another limitation to the test is not the result of the data. I have never seen the area under analysis, and thus the paper will be void of the traditional ethnographic details which normally add life to raw data.

Notwithstanding, the data was adequate for a preliminary testing of the Skinner endogamy hypothesis on a limited geographic scale.

III. Method

A. Marketing areas

Skinner notes that three types of markets may occur in rural peasant areas: central markets, intermediate markets, and standard markets, and these form a hierarchy in size and population serviced, with the central market serving a number of intermediate markets. The intermediate markets, in turn, are surrounded by a series of standard market areas. Each market area has one market town: i.e. the central market area has one central market town, etc.

The standard market area, which Skinner finds largely endogamous in China, is ideally a ^{hexagon} hexagonally shaped region (on a pure isotropic plane). Each village within a standard market area trades, usually weekly, at the same town (the standard market town). Goods and services filter down from the higher markets to the standard market

town and it is here that they are distributed among the peasants, as consumers. On the other hand, the standard marketing town serves as the initial point of debarcation for the upward flow of peasant produce. It is also characterised by the periodic visits of "mobile firms", agents which sell periodically at numerous standard market towns and carry their goods and services from market to market.

The central marketing town services a number of standard marketing areas, and, at times, intermediate level market areas. Since intermediate markets do not occur in the region under analysis, I will ignore their characteristics. The central marketing town is characterised by more goods and services than the lower level markets. Wholesale dealers will be found at this level and the market will normally be located on a major line of transportation.

Working with Basal, and a geological survey map, I was able to isolate one standard marketing area and roughly outline the limits of its central market area. The standard marketing area is shown in Map A and is centered about the standard market town of Kandakur.* This market area interconnects with other, as yet only roughly delimited, standard market areas (Balachakra, Saidapur, etc.) to form one central market area with Yadgiri as the central market town. To the east of the Yadgiri marketing area, lies the Narayanpat central market and its area. There is no clearly defined boundary between these two areas because they are competing for peasant clients by providing the same goods at different prices. Some items, like blankets, can be purchased more inexpensively at Narayanpat than at Yadgiri, and vice versa. Likewise, the completion of a paved road between the two

when market towns were linked

*The standard market town of Kandakur services the following villages: Kandakur, Rasool, Gopalpur, Tatalgiri, Mahaburju, Siddapur, Gannapur, Arbhiri Khurd, Gunjaur, Chantalpalli, Mahdampur, Karkal, Yelheri, and Ramasamudra.

towns and the provision of bus transportation has offered certain villages on the border line of the two areas an opportunity to selectively choose between the two central marketing communities. This type of situation has been discussed by Skinner. To summarize, it is not expected that a village located on the central market area border line will market only with one central market town, although it is expected that a village will market with only one standard market town.

In map A, I have isolated the central marketing area of Yadgiri (in purple) which includes as one of its standard marketing areas the Kandakur standard market area (in pink). The western limit of the Yadgiri market area is the Bhima River, which is not navigable and forms a formidable geographic barrier. The southern limit of the Yadgiri central market area was established by comparing its periodicity with other standard marketing communities sharing the same border.* The northern limit was also delineated in a similar way and is partially delimited by a forested region. The exact position of the northern and southern borders did not prove vital to the hypothesis I am testing because only a fraction of the total marriages fell in villages near the northern or southern boundaries.

The eastern limit of the Yadgiri central market area and the Kandakur standard market region were established with the aid of Dr. Basia, who has personal knowledge of most of the villages in this area.

All genealogies were from the Kabberu caste (Shepherds). Each village's Kabberu lineages were highly exogamous with respect to its own village (on the average of 15% endogamy for any given lineage).

The endogamous inter-village marriages were excluded from the analysis. If two markets are near one another and have the same market day, one may assume that they are standard market towns in two separate central market or intermediate market systems.

The endogenous intra-village marriages were excluded from the study. Each village's exogenous marriages, i.e. brides moving to go from a given village, were coded. The exchange of one marriage, either bride giving or taking, was considered "one point" for or against the hypothesis. Thus, the village of Ghintlahalli had 62 exogenous marriages in the Kabberu lineage. Twenty eight of these 62 marriages were between villages of the Kandakur marketing area, while 17 more of the marriages were outside the Kandakur marketing area but still within the central marketing area of Yalgiri. The measure of endogamy for this particular village was thus computed by placing the village on a coefficient of correlation scale with "1" representing complete market area endogamy, and 0 representing complete market area exogamy. Each village was thus coded and rated and a composite average of the endogamy coefficients was taken for the Kandakur standard market area and the Yalgiri central market area.

C. An Additional test

I was fortunate enough to have a few genealogies from outside the standard marketing area of Kandakur. These were mainly located within the Yalgiri marketing region, but a couple were in the Narayanpat central marketing area. These cases were compared to the results obtained in the Kandakur test, allowing further verification of my conclusions.

Results

The results of this test are listed in Table I. It is at once obvious that the standard market area of Kandakur is somewhat, though not entirely endogenous. Skinner has suggested that the standard marketing area could be the culture bearing unit in China. But the possibility that this could be the case in India seems unlikely, if

I am permitted a generalization on the whole from a look at one part.

Results

Village	Total Marriages*	Standard Market Area Endogamy**	Central Market Area Endogamy**
Kandkur	54	.56	.82
Ramakandura	33	.49	1.00
Ghanpur	30	.70	.90
Yelheri	38	.52	.92
Paspool	47	.49	.90
Arikeri	119	.68	.93
Gopalpur	215	.64	.87
Navaburuju (Burju)	45	.90	.90
Chinthanalli	62	.45	.72
Total	<u>634</u>	<u>.60 Av.</u>	<u>.85 Av.</u>

* Marriages within each village were excluded from the sample. The number represents the total number of brides exchanged between a given village and other villages in the standard market area of Kandkur (column 2) or between villages in the central market area (column 3) of Yadgiri.

** Represents the percentage of the total marriages with the unit. Thus, 1.00 means that all the marriages are within the market area and .00 means that no marriages are within the unit.

It could readily be suggested that the 60% standard market area endogamy could be explained by the simple factor of geographic proximity, i.e. villages that are closer together are more likely to share marriage bonds. I would be ready to accept this conclusion, if it were not for the results listed in the third column of Table I, "Central Market Area Endogamy".

A highly significant percentage of the marriages within the sampled villages are with villagers in the same central market area (.85 endogamy). If a percentage this high were found for one village, most anthropologists would proclaim it endogamous. This figure is extremely significant considering the fact that the villages are not located near the center of the Yadgiri market area, but instead are near the periphery.

The villages of Yelheri, Navaburju, Gunjur and Ghintapalli are all located on the very edge of the Yadgiri marketing area but they show a statistically significant tendency to exchange brides with villages inside their central marketing area. If one adheres to a strictly geographic proximity hypothesis, one would expect about one half the marriages of these villages to fall within the Nayanpat market area and the other half to be in the Yadgiri area. This is not the case. A modified Skinner market area endogamy formulation seems appropriate at this time. ~~There~~ there is a distinct tendency for the central marketing area to be endogamous for the peasantry in Gulbarga.

As an alternative proof of this formulation, I pinpointed the market areas of all of the villages with which the village of Tetlur (located in the transition zone) intermarried. Likewise, a village located entirely outside the Yadgiri-Kandakur marketing area was tested for its marriage distribution.

Tetlur showed an intermediate pattern of marriage distribution, as could be expected. Forty-eight percent of all exchanges of brides

were with the villages in the market area of Narayanpat, while fifty-six percent of the marriages in the Yadgiri market region (N 46).

Karanigi is located approximately six miles from Yadgiri central market border. When its 45 marriages were coded, only a mere 11% of them fell within the Yadgiri central market area while the remaining 89% were within the assumed Narayanpat central market area boundaries.

These two cases provide excellent proof that the proximity hypothesis cannot be used as an alternative explanation for the marriage patterns and furthermore, the results support the re-formulated hypothesis that the central market area forms an endogamous unit.

Conclusion

I have shown that the standard market area of Kandakur tends slightly towards endogamy (.60) while the central market area of Yadgiri appears to form a highly endogamous unit (.85). Secondly, I have demonstrated that a simple geographical proximity hypothesis would be inadequate to explain the distribution of marriages in the Gulbarga district of India.

Finally, I would like to suggest how this probable pattern of central market area endogamy functions. People don't marry total strangers. If marriages are to occur between villages then the individuals of different villages must come in contact with one another. One of the most logical areas for communication in a rural peasant community would be the market area. Here, during periodic visits, the villagers have a chance to learn ^{which villages are "poor"} "rich" and "poor", join in gossip circles, and meet potential in-laws. Since the standard market town, Kandakur, is visited more frequently than the central market town it is not surprising that in no case did the marriages outside the standard market area exceed the marriages inside the central market area.

Future work should concentrate upon (1) increasing the number of market areas and castes included in such an analysis, (2) comparing genealogies of other close-by market areas with those of Kandahar and Yagifi market areas, (3) and should focus upon the specific types of marriage patterns (cross-cousin, sister's daughter's marriage, etc.) to see if there is any pattern with the market area distribution.

(4) An attempt should be made to eliminate the transitional zone from the analysis by working with earlier genealogies (before the road was paved). Thus, it appears likely that the standard market areas might have been even more endogenous in earlier times, before the advent of more modern transportation. It might well be the case that the unit of endogamy is in transition from the standard market area to the central market area. Only further fieldwork and analysis can tell.

Acknowledgements

~~We wish to~~
A thank ~~Dr. Alan Boals and Mr.~~ Mike Agar for permitting ~~me~~^{us} to use their data on the Gulbarga district, and for their immeasurable assistance in answering my numerous questions about the peoples of this ~~district~~. Also, ~~we~~^{we} express ~~my~~^{our} gratitude to Dr. James Gibbs Jr. and Dr. Richard Diebold Jr. for their suggestions and comments on an earlier draft of this paper.