Population and Society

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Lecture No. # 18
Population of India-II

Friends, so this our second lecture on population of India, in the last lecture I gave figures of growth of population as revealed by successive decadal censuses of India. I told that, the first synchronous census of India was conducted in 1881 before that in 1871; it was a non synchronous census. And after that every decade, we have census uninterrupted. It is a matter of great pride for us, not many countries in the less developed realm have uninterrupted decadal censuses. And I also gave you figures, populations of India starting from 1901- 2001.

We saw that the population of India increased nearly four times in the last century. I also told something about, how to estimate population for ancient times, like using Mahabharat's data on armies. Krishnan estimated that population of India about 5000 thousand years ago was thirty to forty million, then it increased to about hundred million in the beginning of the Christian era. And then grew slowly, it was after 1921. We can divide history of population growth into four parts up to 1921. Population was growing sometime, growing sometime declining; means fluctuating overall long run tendency of population was to remain stable. Then between 1921 and 1951 population of India grew at rate 1 percent per year.

After 51 population started growing at 2 percent, after 1971 it is still growing on at 2 percent, but the rate of growth started declining. Then, I said that although the decadal growth rate of India's population is above 2 percent per year. But the S R S bulletin of 2009 shows that in year 2008, difference in birth rate and death rate of India was around 1.5 percent. So, that means in recent times our growth rate has declined to nearly 1.5 percent per year. I also mention some, something about changing sex ratio and you saw that in 2001, overall sex ratio of India's population improved a bit, but there was a decline in juvenile sex ratio or sex ratio in age group 0-6.

The reason is increasing practice of female feticide, more people going for sex determination, when women become pregnant and in case, they detect that the child to be born is girl then they are going for feticide.

We have also seen that, this problem of female feticide is not connected with backwardness or poverty or remoteness, rather it is in the more developed areas more developed states Punjab, Haryana parts of Delhirajas than Himachalpradesh. In this part of the country and as one study done by I I T Kanpur, also shows this problem is more in upper caste and upper classes, among religions you find differences. The lowest juvenile sex ratio is found among 6 and after that among gents; also you have a low juvenile sex ratio. So, this is what we learn about size growth and sex ratio of India's population, today we will talk about some other aspect of composition of India's population. We will particularly talk about age composition, marriage, work and income distribution or wealth distribution.

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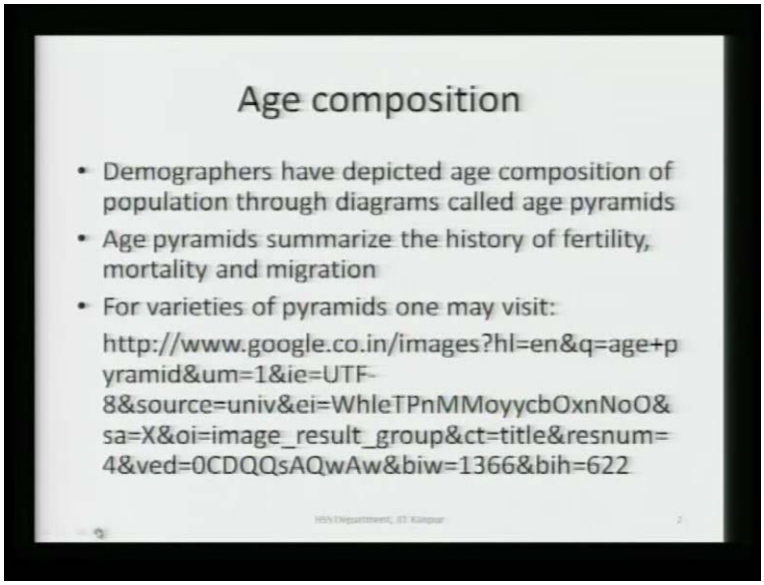

To tell you something about age composition of population. Let me begin with the idea of age pyramids. What is age pyramids, age pyramid is a graphical or diagrammatic representation of age distribution of a population.

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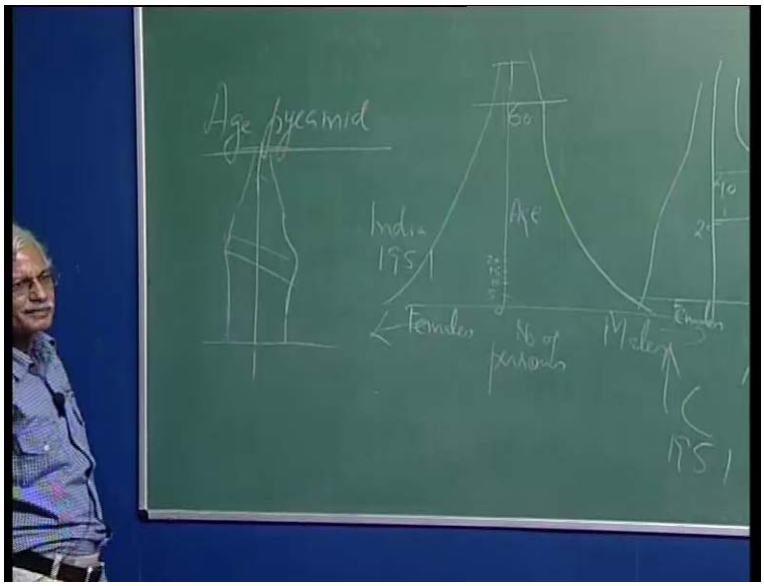

If you take on x axis number of persons and on x axis this side as well as this side on, on y axis you take age, this age may be in single years or it may be an age group like 0 to 5 5 to 10 10 to 15 then 20 and so on. And you draw a number of males, on one side and number of females on the other side, there is no rule that male should be shown on right hand side and females on left hand side, it can be anywhere. On one side of this line you show males and on the other side you show females. Then you will get a picture, like this for most of the developing countries, in the early stages of demographic transition. Say India in 1951 you will get a picture like this, above the age of 60 you have a small number of people. So, number of persons above 60 declines in at some age, may be age 85 or 90 then the number become almost 0.

This part is of greater concerned to us. This kind of figure is called age pyramid, because it los like pyramid, age on y axis and number of males and females on x axis. Now, it is a simple diagrammatic representation of age distribution of population. But it tells a lot about demographic history of a country, because you see, suppose the age pyramid los like this, what does it show, what does this part show. Now, this part shows that fertility is declining; if fertility is declining and number of birth rate is going down, then there will be some contractions at the base of the age pyramid. If you find that a pyramid los like this males, females why should there be this kind of bulging, say between 25 and 40, suppose there is a bulging, what does this bulging explains, this bulging explains the effect of in migration.

So, you can very well imagine that, if you draw age pyramid of an industrial city, in which because of the pool factor of jobs employment, better employment opportunities, better wages, either employment rate is high or wage rate is high. There is more in migration from rural areas, then you will find that there is bulging here, that shows there is no such bulging among women, because women are not migrating from rural to urban areas in search of job, if this is the case. Similarly, if there is some war or some epidemic or something because of which at some age or during some ages there is contractions then as times passes, this contractions moves up. So, if say 1951 there is contraction here 20 years later in 1971, this contraction will move upward.

So, by looking at the age pyramid, we can tell the history population history or demographic history of a country. Age pyramids of different countries therefore, will look very differently. Normally, in the first stage of demographic transition or in ancient society, an age pyramid would lo like this. In advanced countries, where fertility has declined and mortality has also declined. So, we expect that the number of children is small. And in mortality has gone to a very low level, infant mortality in our countries still infant mortality is above 50 per 1000.

But there are country like Japan, where if 1000 children are born in a year hardly 2 or 3 die during infancy and anybody then, who is born and who has cross infancy is almost sure of surviving up to the age of 50. So, in such cases you will have a picture like this, if number of men and women is same, a picture like this and then at very advanced stages. Actually, you can also say that this number remain same, for a much longer time say 60 and only after that ah.

And the height of the age pyramid should also be more, because people are living for longer period of time. So, I have a doubt about this at the shape of the pyramid initially, you mentioned about the fertility, the change in fertility being shown in the first graph and then in the second graph, you are talking about in migration. So, how do we ascertain this causes of which are affected in the change in the shape? So, by looking at the shape of the age pyramid, then we developed hypothesis. Our usual method of social scientific enquiry by looking at the age pyramid, we develop some hypothesis and verify that, with the help of existing data or history. You will have a pyramid like this, we are almost sure that, this pyramids shows age distribution of a population when this fertility

is low and mortality is also low. So, small number of children are born, but all of them survived and.

And what about in migration? There is no in migration, if there is in migration during working ages, then it will show like this. And sometimes what happens [FL] there is in migration of males. So, there is bulging after some time may be at the gap of 5 years or 10 years, these migrates start bringing their family their wives and children from rural areas or other countries wherever they are from. So, there will be some bulging among women, also at a gap of say 10 years something like that. So, age pyramid tells us the history of population processes, fertility, mortality, migration epidemics, diseases, wars and so on on.

So, regarding age composition, then demographers have developed age composition of population through diagrams called age pyramids, these are age pyramids. Age pyramids summarize the history of fertility, mortality and migration. For varieties of pyramids I have given you a link, if you go to this link you will find hundreds of age pyramids. Ah I have copied some of them and I will show how age pyramids looks so different, depending on demographic history of a country.

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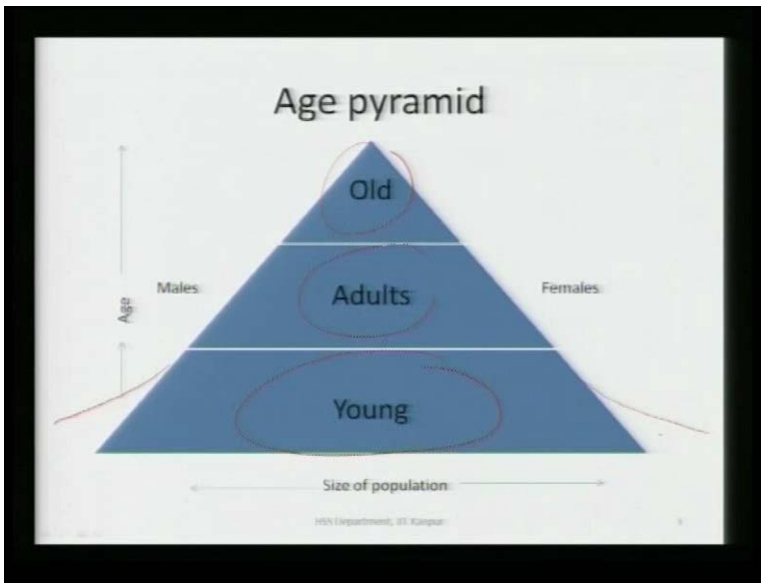

Typical age pyramid is this, you know the base shows the number of births then this is the young population, adult population and this is old. You know initially when mortality improves, what is the effect on age distribution, if fertility does not decline or does not

increase, does not decrease, but mortality only improves, means more people are surviving, when mortality improves although mortality improves at all ages. But initially small children and old people are the major beneficiaries, because in those countries where mortality is high, infant mortality is particularly high. So, in countries like Afghanistan, say 10 years ago the life expectancy was 35-40 years, infant mortality was as high as 250 out of 1000 children born, 250 would die during infancy itself and not celebrate their first birthday.

When mortality starts improving, that means more children are enjoying their first birthday. So, the base of the age pyramid expands so initially when mortality improves, you find enlarge base on the age distribution. But gradually, when fertility also start declining, then the base start shrinking this is the logic.

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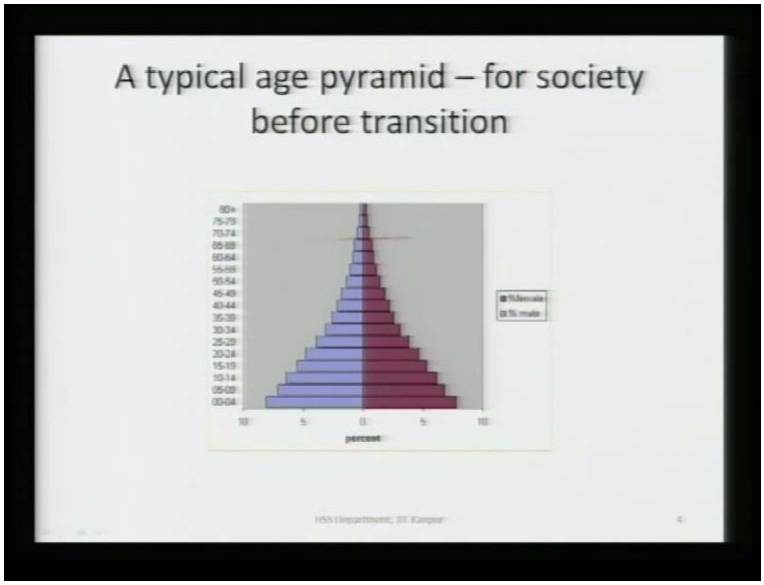

This is a typical age pyramid for society before transition, before transition means that birth rate is high death rate is also high, in this pyramid females are shown on the right hand side and males on the left hand side, actually it does not matter. Once you know that these are females, these are males you can make the comparison. And the age goes from 0-80, by enlarge most find that, people survive till the age of 69 and beyond 69 there are very few survival. And this is a typical age pyramid of populations in transitions stage one, means before the demographic transitions begin or before mortality or fertility start declining.

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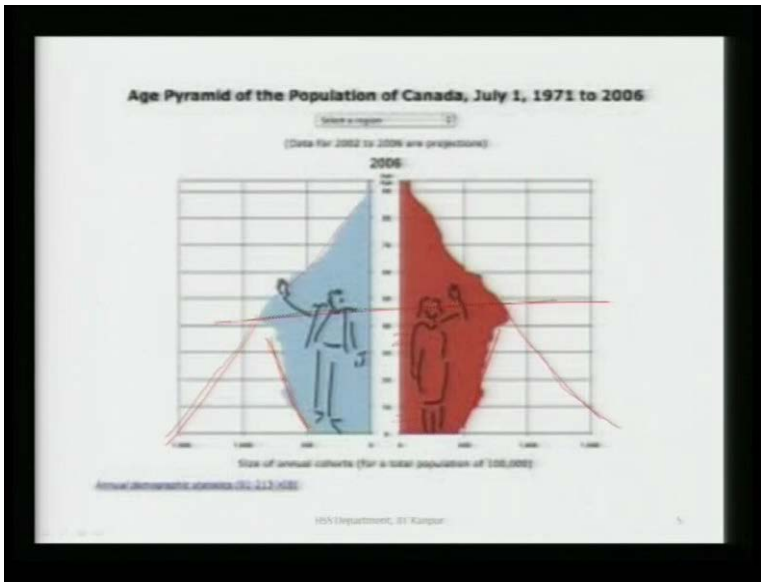

Now, these are some other interesting age pyramids, which I have taken from the link shown this is the age pyramid of the population of Canada, July 1 1971- 2006. Obviously, this pyramid shows that the fertility is low. And it is constantly declining, fertility is not only low, but it has been constantly declining. So, number of children is declining, so as age increases so normally, before transition your pyramid was like this, but here your pyramid is like this. This is because fertility has declined and 5 ago 10 years ago 20 years ago more children were born. So, as age increases number of children also increases.

And after the age of this, then they start dying. And now look at this age pyramid of population of Canada July 1 1971-2006. An interesting aspect of this is that normally, in populations before transition, your figure should be like this. But here what you find that, as age is declining number is also declining; this is just opposite of what happens in age pyramid of populations before the transition begins. And this is because in Canada fertility has been declining. Because fertility is declining so at lower ages means at deep ages, you have lesser number of children than at higher ages. And later on after this age, then you find the effect of mortality.

And you know this effect of mortality; can be natural effect of mortality. And sometimes this can also get confounded with the impact of mortality due to wars or epidemics or conflicts or civil war or those kinds. And the number starts, declining sometimes it has to

become 0 at some age later on it does become 0. So, this is age pyramid of a population, in which fertility has been declining for several decades, a fertility has been declining for several decades then this will be the picture.

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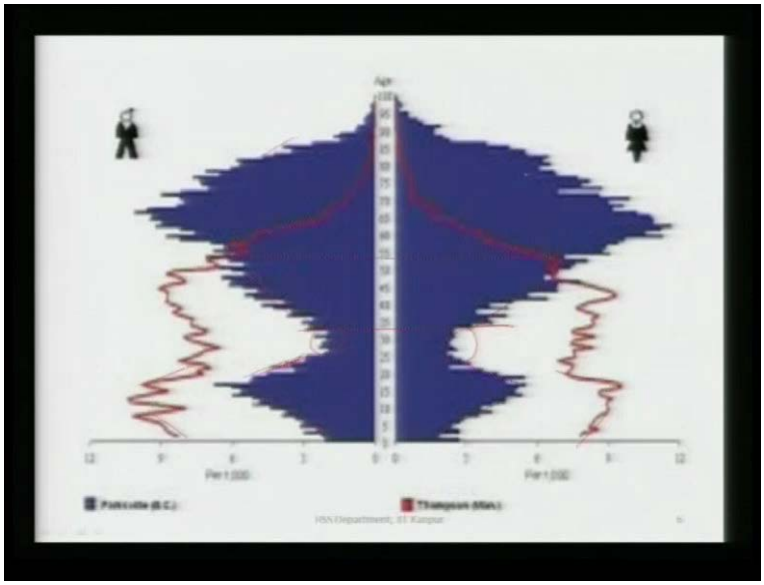

This is another interesting picture what does it show, it actually, it shows pyramids of two different populations, one is red another is blue in both cases, there is a decline in numbers at younger ages from high to low for ages 0 to 5 5 to 10 number is less. Then for ages say 15-20. So, same thing here in red this shows declining fertility, then the number start declining and the number is declining at a very high rate, there is a very high slope of this. This high slope of this, this decline in numbers shows that around 15-20 or after that, there is a sudden reduction in numbers. Now, this sudden reductions in numbers can be either, because the people children belong to this cohort were either affected by migration, external migration, emigration or out migration because of some socio economic climatic some reasons.

Or because there was some disease, which affected children belonging, adults belonging to this cohort particularly, those who are in age group 20-30 to that group of persons at some point of time in their life, not necessarily today, it may be 5 years back it may be 10 years back. But the point is that the size of the cohort has depleted, this is either due to some rapid out migration or some epidemic or some other disease. Then again number starts increasing, this increase again may show the impact of declining fertility. That

during this time you know that in this country or in this population fertility decline, may have started 50 years ago. So, the number here is much less than number at 55, that show the effect of declining fertility and then as usual as age increases, number of persons decline.

So, it can also happen that in those countries, where mortality has improved a lot, nobody dies or very few people die say up to 50 or 55, but after that then, they start dying suddenly for older people cardio vascular diseases, cancer neoplasm or other diseases related to old age. They can take a heavy toll of life, after a certain age is this may be 65 or 70 and there is a sudden depletion in number.

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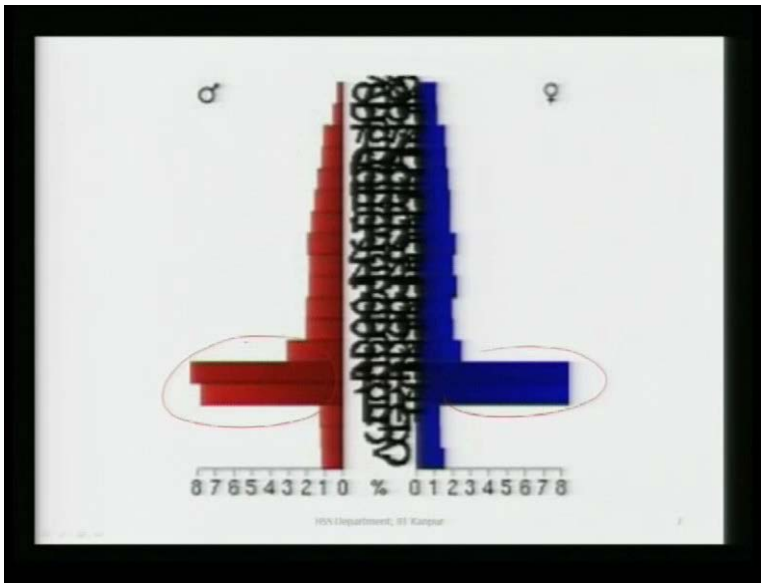

This is another interesting age pyramid, which can be explained in the same manner, low fertility low mortality, but during this time. There is a effect of in migration from outside, this in migration may be from within the country. If the pyramid is for urban area, then it can be from within the country or it can be from other country, the pyramid is for national population.

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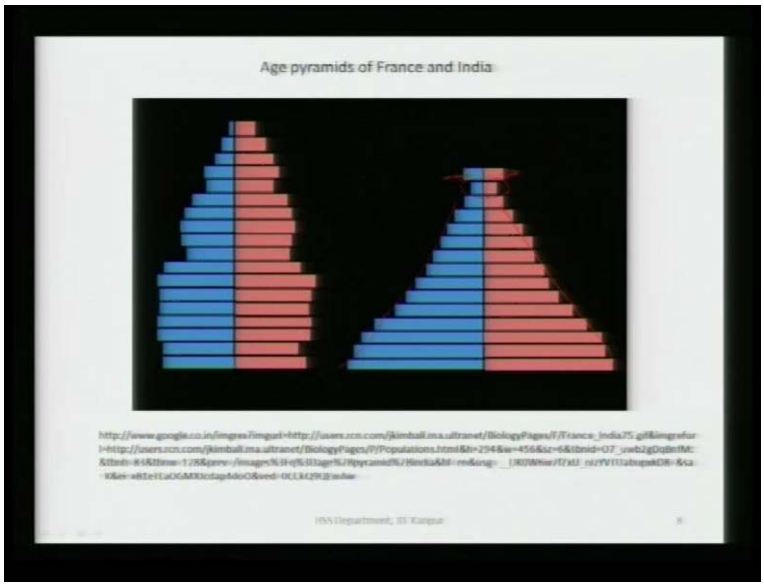

Compare the age pyramids of France and India. This effect of fertility and mortality is very clearly; seen when you compare France and India, in India large number of children were born and they started dying mortality is high. So, there is a steep decline in the number of persons, as age increases. And very few people remain in the age group say 60-65 something, this bigger bar actually, does not show that this bigger bar actually, does not show that mortality here is low than here, but it shows that the last age group may be of the form 65 plus or 70 plus combining two or three age groups.

In this case, you find that fertility is low and declining, it is low and declining. So, the base is smaller and the base is further declining. And then mortality is also low and you see at the higher ages, you have more people as compared to India, because mortality is low so at higher ages you have more people. Now, in terms of numbers I want to show you age distribution of India's population in terms of numbers also, in a table or form of 6.6. So, the age composition of population of India, I will show that table. It shows that India has a very young age structure, in one of the last lecture; I was saying that India is one of the youngest population of the world. It is younger than even some of the national countries like China.

And 35 percent of the of the total population of India, is found in age group 0-14. Thirty years ago when I was a student, like you then we used to say 44 rule that in age group 0-14 we had 40 percent population.

Today in 0-14, we have 35 because in India after 1971 fertility started declining. So, there is a 5 percent decline from 0-4, earlier it was higher this was our thumb rule, that in pre transitional society marked by high birth rate. And death rate 40 percent population is in the age group 0-14.

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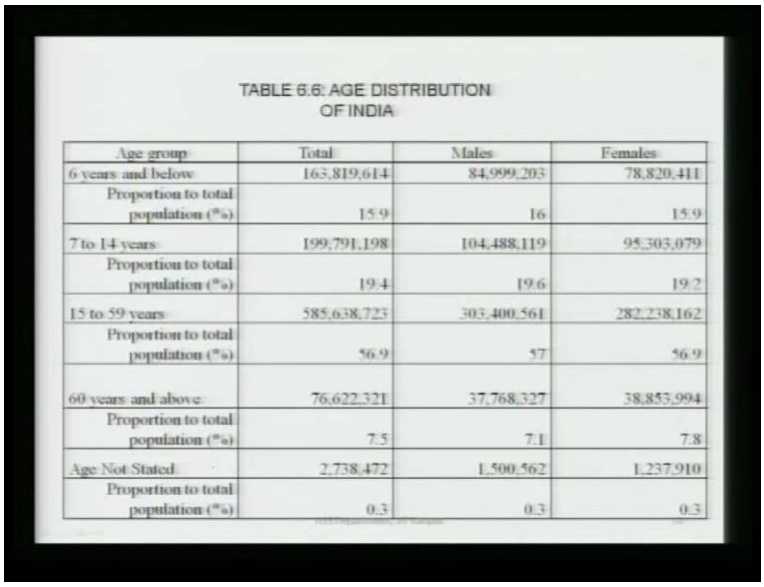

TABLE 6.6: AGE DISTRIBUTION OF INDIA

Age group	Total	Males	Females
6 years and below	163,819,614	84,999,203	78,820,411
Proportion to total population (%)	15.9	16	15.9
7 to 14 years	199,791,198	104,488,119	95,303,079
Proportion to total population (%)	19.4	19.6	19.2
15 to 59 years	585,638,723	303,400,561	282,238,162
Proportion to total population (%)	56.9	57	56.9
60 years and above	76,622,321	37,768,327	38,853,994
Proportion to total population (%)	7.5	7.1	7.8
Age Not Stated	2,738,472	1,500,562	1,237,910
Proportion to total population (%)	0.3	0.3	0.3

So, these are the numbers 6 years and below in the total population 15.9 percent 7-14, 19.4 percent. So, overall 35 15 to 59 you have 56.9 percent slightly more than half of India's population within age group 15-59. And above 60 years, we have only 7.5 percent, we expect that as time passes and our fertility declines and mortality improves this proportion of population in age group 60 plus will be more.

Today, it is 7.5 earlier it was 6 percent and in the future, it can become 10 percent, 12 percent, 15 percent, as the time passes there will be greater and greater percentage of population in the age group 60 plus.

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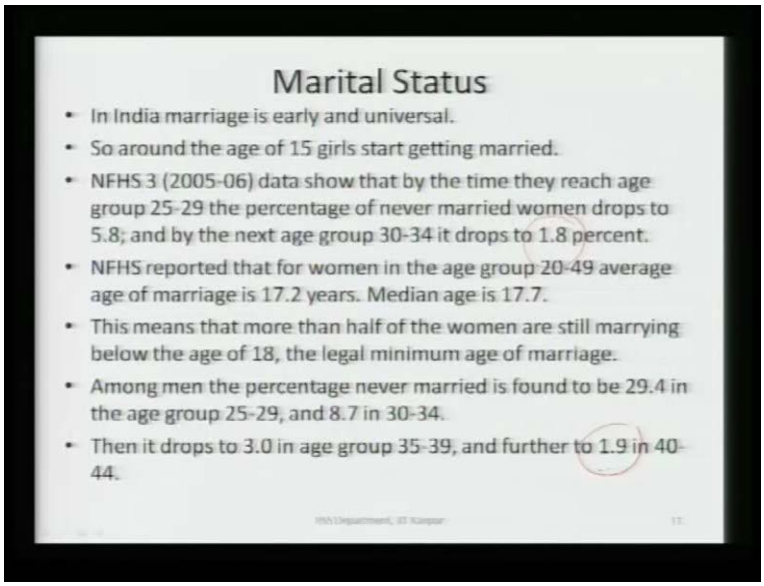

Which is referred as a problem of ageing developed countries, already have problem of ageing. Sir with reference to this status can you throw some light on the demographic window concept. Yeah demographic window, demographic window concept was that in our country for 25 years, there is opening of demographic window, that thing cannot be so clearly told by this table alone. The demographic window means, that the proportion of population at younger working ages, say 20-25 something or 25 to or 25-39, at lower working ages proportion of population is more, that means proportion of population of children. And population of the old or older working ages is less that happens, because of three reasons one decline in fertility, second lack of significant improvement in life expectancy at older ages.

And third that the generation of baby boomers those born in early 80s or during 80, they are now above 25 in 2010. So, because of combined effect of three factors, recent decline in fertility lack of improvement in mortality above 60. And baby boomers entering working ages, you have demographic evident which is there for about 25 years. Because after 25 years, these people will become old one who is 22, there will be of 45 25 years. Later and less number will enter 20 and more number will enter 45. So, the advantage of demographic window will go off. Now, some other characteristics of population in which students of population are interested are marital status and working, working population.

Regarding marital status, you know that in India, you know that marriage is early and universal, everybody's marriage people marry early and everybody marries. So, around age of 15 girls start getting married. I analyzed fertility data of census in 1971 census for the first time the question on fertility was added. So, when I was a student like you in 75 76 fertility data from census, became available and I started looking at them. I found that many girls had many women had produced child, at the age as low as 14 at the age of 13 and 14 in India. We find that women are producing children, but by the age of 15 certainly, women start getting and producing children.

N F S H 3 data show that by the time they reach 25-29, the percentage of never married women drops to 5 point 8 percent, in means by the age 25-29 95 most 95 percent girls are already married, only 5 point 8 percent remains unmarried. And in the next age group 30-34 only 1 point 8 percent remain unmarried. So, in India marriage is virtually, universal everybody marries. N F S H reported that for the women in age group 20-29, average age of marriage is 17.2 years. And median age 17.7, interesting you know what is our legal minimum age of marriage 18. In our country, marriage of girls below the age of 18 it is illegal. And what is the extent of illegality in India, 50 or more in media it is 17.7 that means 50 percent or more marriages in India are illegal.

Illegal not in the sense of sexual corruption, but in the sense of they are performed below the legal minimum age, among men the percentage never married is found to be 29.4 percent in age group 25-29. And 8.7 percent in 32 and 34. This is because in our country at the time of marriage, there is usually a gap of 4 or 5 years between girls and boys. So, proportion of men remaining unmarried declines to lower level at relatively older ages. Then it drops to 3.0 in 35-39 and 1.9 in 40-44. So, this 1.8 and 1.9 if you compare by a 30 to 34 almost all women are married. And by the age 40-44 all men are married. So, there is a gap of 10 years of age at which they reach this low level of 1.8 or 1.9.

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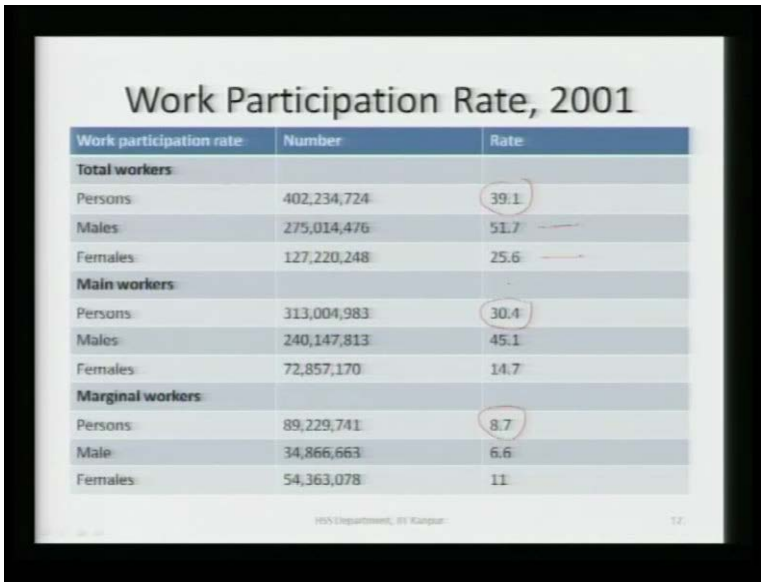

Another interesting aspect of India's population is work participation rate, you know this 2001 census make this distinction between workers and non workers and main workers and marginal workers. Workers are all those people, who did some kind of work during the previous time before the census. In 2001 this previous reference period was 1 year main workers are those, who work for more than 6 months and marginal workers are those, who worked for less than 6 months. Now, what do the figures show, these figures are quite interesting that of the total population of India 39.1 percent consist of workers, both main workers plus marginal workers. 30.4 percent are main workers, means who worked for more than 6 months and 8.1 percent are marginal workers, who work for less than 6 months total is 39.1

So, 39.1 percent of Indians are working and that means they are supporting the other 61 percent population, 39 people in India are supporting 61, by large this 39 belongs to working ages. But there may be some people below the working ages say children of age 14 or 15, who are working. Similarly, there may be some persons say age 25 23 22, who are not working they are students or some are physically challenged not working, there are different categories. So, not everybody in the working ages works, but everybody outside the working ages is non workers, overall 39 percent people are working and they are supporting 61. These 61 consist of children, women, homemakers and old populations. Now, there is a gap between work participations rates of males and females among males 51.7 percent are working among females only 25.6 percents are working.

So, work participations rate among men are nearly double, the work participation rate among women, because most women are home makers, house wives, there is another interesting thing that main workers are 30.4 percent and marginal workers are 8.7 percent, that means near this 8.7 of 39 nearly 20 percent 1 in 5. Nearly, 1 in 5 is a marginal worker, what does it mean that there are 20 percent people, who are marginal workers, who work for less than 6 percent during the preceding year why did they work for 6 months or less. Because in most cases work was not available so you can safely draw the conclusion, that in India the rate of under employment is nearly, 20 percent 1 in 5 in India works for less than 6 months.

And can be called an under employed person. This extent of under employment, you see is much higher among women, among men out of 51.7 percent 6.6 percent are marginal workers, 6.6 out of 51.7 very less. But among women out of 25 11 means about 40 percent about 40 percent women are marginal workers, that means this casual work, informal work, contractual work or under employment, discontinuous, disrupted work or low quality jobs you know they are much more common among women among men. Mainly partly, because women are confined to home making that is their pre dominant activity. And partly because there is may be discrimination against women in the labor market. This is the combined effect of both that culturally or traditionally women are home makers, but there is also, some discrimination against women in the labor market. So, in contractual part time work, you find a higher proportion of women than in regular one.

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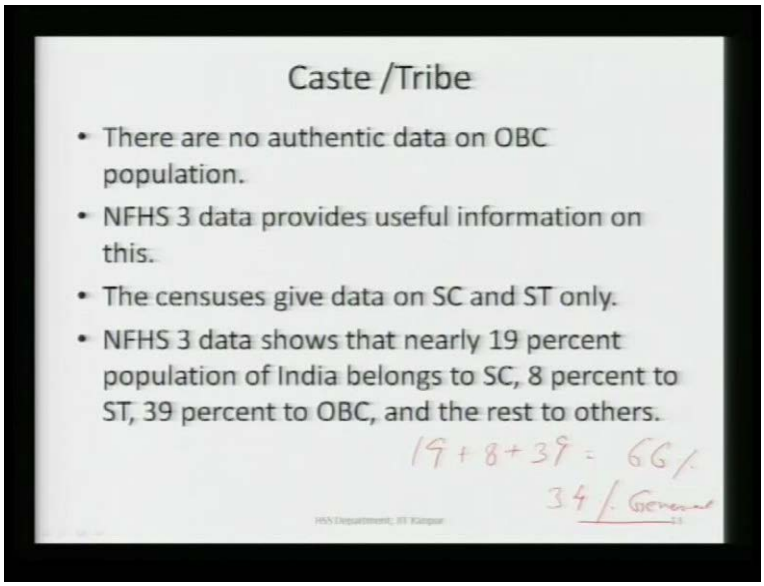

We have some data on caste and tribe. So, much of human tribe was made when government wanted to include caste in census of India 2011. And after a lot of heated debate on the subject, now it has been decided that we will not ask a question on caste in 2011 census. Let the census be completed first and after gap of one year or one and a half years, there will be another enumeration, that enumeration will be solely confined to caste, there are apprehensions on government, but I do not know why so much of human crime made, national family survey, national family health survey these surveys have already given us. A good approximation of what must be the ground reality in India with respect to caste. N F S H 3 national family health survey 3 data provides, useful information on that censuses have given us information on S C and S T only.

They do not tell us about O B C or they do not also tell us about specific castes of schedule caste, schedule tribe. They only tell that this much is the percentage of schedule caste, but what is the composition of schedule caste with respect to specific caste, there are thousands of schedule castes designated as schedule castes. That composition is not known from census N F S H 3 data shows that in India, overall 19 percent population of India belongs to schedule caste. It is a very high figure and this may be correct also, this figure is much higher than the figure given by census, but if you keep on increasing the number of caste, in the list of schedule caste it is quite likely.

And moreover, because schedule caste, have relatively lower standard of living. So, among them level of fertility is higher. So, because of higher fertility and also because number of caste included in schedule caste is constantly increasing. So, 19 percent of India's population consists of schedule caste today. 8 percent belongs to S T so I look at this figures from national family health survey, the percentage of schedule caste in entire population of India is 19 higher than census figure, percentage of schedule tribe that is also higher than census figure. And percentage of O B C is 39 percent, the rests are others. So, how much that makes 19 plus 8 plus 39 66, 66 percent of India belongs to S C's S T's and O B C's and the rest 34 percent belongs to general.

But the general does not mean generals of Hindus, these generals consists of generals of all religions, there are interesting variations in classifications of populations, you know only few years ago, when I was handling applications of candidates for m tech program here. I came to know that in Kerala all Muslims come under O B C's irrespective of caste or anything. Even those Muslims who are descendent of rulers or those who belong to training community, they have lot of money affluence political power all of them come under O B C. So, this general O B C and general they belong to all religion.

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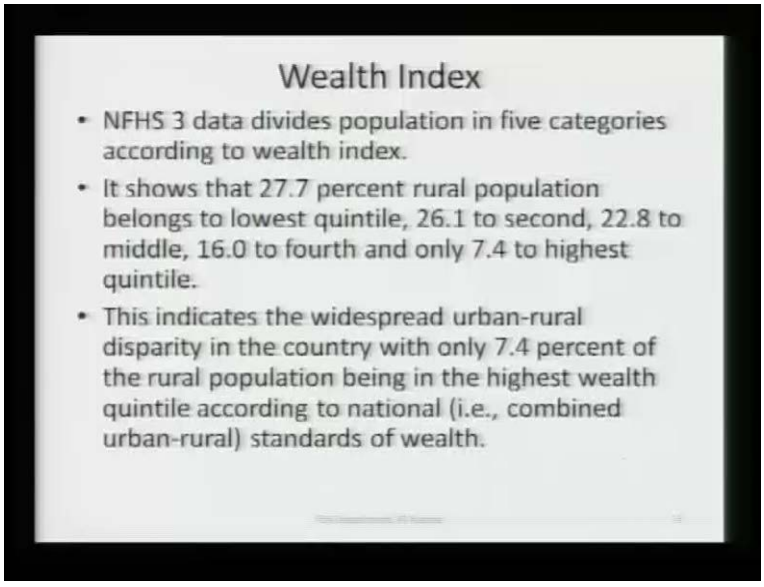

We also have data on wealth index, to have some idea of distribution of wealth distribution of income in India, national family health survey three collected data on wealth. One of the purposes was to see whether, there is relationship between wealth and

fertility and mortality etcetera or family planning. Now, if you broadly divide population of India into 5 categories 20 percent at the top 20 percent at the bottom. And in between you make 3 categories each of 20 percent is called quintile, when you find that 27.7 percent rural population, belongs to lowest quintile. Means 27.7 percent of India at the lower level, has access to 20 percent wealth in India

Actually, if all these percentages got 20 20, that will show that there is perfectly, equality in distribution of wealth, but because 27.7 percent own only 20 percent wealth of India at the lower level. Then 26.1 percent own 20 percent wealth max to them. Then you have 22.8 and then 16 and finally, in the highest quintile 7.4 percent that means only 7.4 percent population has 20 percent wealth of India. 20 percent at the top 20 percent wealth of India is held by 7.5 percent, at the bottom 20 percent wealth is held by 27.7 percent. So, this is the accident of inequality in distribution of wealth in India. This indicate the wide spread urban rural disparity in the country, also with only 7.4 percent of the rural population being, in the highest wealth quintile according to national standards of wealth.

7.4 percent of the rural population, rural population of India is around more than 70 percent, I think the last census gives us a figure of 24 percent as percent urban. So, say while 76 percent population of India, lives in rural area in the highest wealth category means, in the top 20 percent wealth category only 7.4 percent rural population is represented. That shows the disparity between urban and rural area in distribution of wealth is tremendous.

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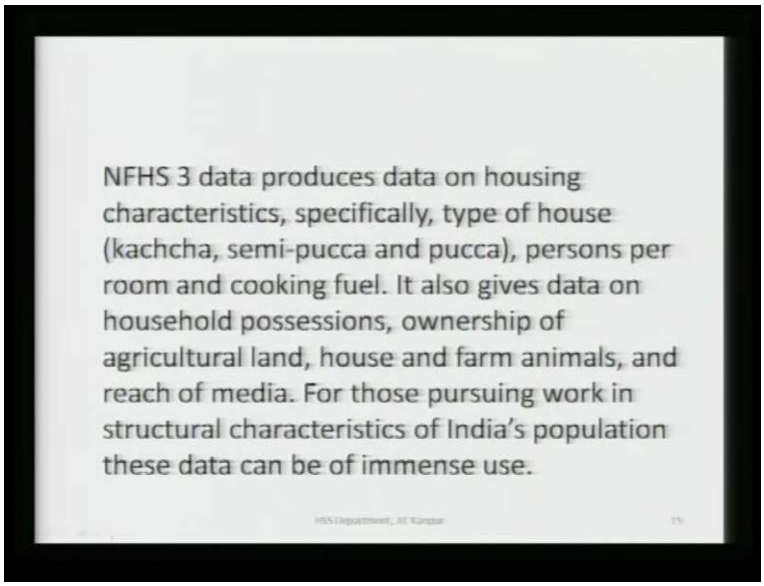

N F H S 3 data produces, data on housing types of house kachcha, semi pucca,pucca these are the questions, commonly used in surveys persons per room and coing fuel, it also gives data on household possessions, ownership of agricultural land house. And farm animals reach of media. For those who are pursuing structural characteristic of India's population, these data can be of immense use. I did not bring those data I just wanted to tell you that, if you are doing research after doing the graduation, if you are doing research on topics connected to these things. Then national family health survey is a good source a secondary source of data on them. National family health survey collects data not only on fertility and family planning, it is also a good source of data, on caste O B C's S C S T's general, type of house ownership of agricultural land house. And farm animals many other amenities and reach of media. Reach of media tells us what is access to radio, television how frequently people watch them or see them.

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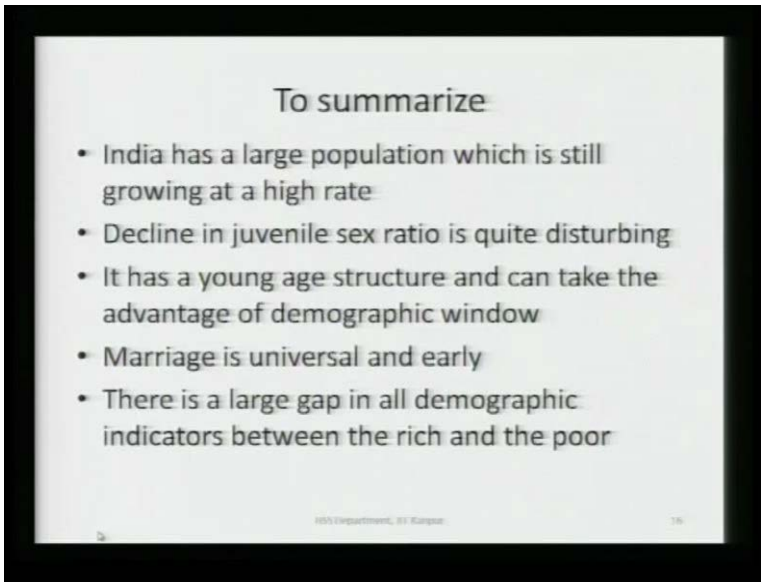

To summarize India has a very large population, which is still growing at a high rate, we have already crossed 1 billion mark may be, we are close to 1.2 billion today. And we are growing at a high rate 1.5 percent per year. Where in decline in juvenile sex ratio, which is quite disturbing something has to be done about it, we have a young age structure and can take the advantage of demographic window, but that is only for 20 years or 25 years. After that, we will also start ageing like industrially advance economy of today, marriage is universal. And early and there is a large gap in demographic indicators, between the rich and the poor urban and poor and, if you lo at the data closely then between upper classes, upper caste and lower classes, lower castes.

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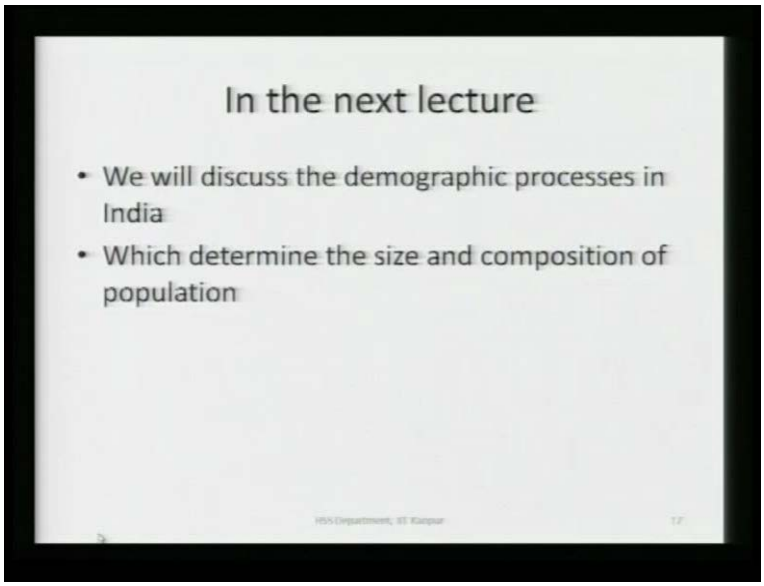

In the next lecture, we will discuss the demographic process in India, which determine the size and composition of population. Means death rate, birth rate, migration rate and related issues, I think we have several interesting questions, on you can ask the question on anything that, we covered today or in the previous lecture growth of population age, composition marital status or caste. If I am able to answer your question I will answer today otherwise, I will answer those questions in the next lecture. Sir I have a question, thank you for such an interesting insight on today's topic, my question is that is in certain state, we have certain caste which are counted as S C S T or O B C, but outside that state it may be counted as a general caste or vice versa. So, why is this discrepancy in acknowledging certain castes?

Actually, you sociologists understand this issues very well, that caste in India was never an all Indian phenomena, M N Srinivasan has particularly, written on this social change in modern India And he said that, this was an error on that part of orientalist and Indian academicians to use Varna model, to study Hindu social organization. Varna was all India and number of Varna's was four, if you include others also then five hierarchy is clear all India and immutable. But when it comes to class, caste did not have an all India kind of error. Actually, caste was not an all India phenomenon; caste was local small endogamous units, confined to a small geographical place. Usually, to small linguistic regions, in each linguistic region you have a sub caste that means even if the same name is used for caste Yadav, it does not refer to the same caste.

Caste, if caste is different as an endogamous unit, local in character having association with one or two occupations, then Yadavas of Bihar and Yadavas of eastern U P's. And Yadavas of western U P and Haryana they are not same caste. You know fifty years ago a Yadava of Bihar, would not marry a yadava of Haryana, there were different endogamous units. Similarly, Brahmins you have hundreds of varieties of Brahmins, hundreds of varieties of Kayastha and all these varieties were local in character. A mathur of U P did not have the same socio economic cultural political status, in all parts of the country wherever found. So, mathur of U P and mathur of Rajasthan, were not same thing. A mathur of U P would not marry a mathur of Rajasthan, it is only after independence, when fusion and vision of caste started. And in fusion then different sub categories of caste or caste holding similar occupation are coming together.

Now, all caste becomes one and if you are not a very traditional person, then a bhatnagar can easily marry a mathur, a mathur can marry a saxena, a kanogia Brahmin can marry a gaur brahmin and a gaur brahmin can marry a south Indian Brahmin. It is a new phenomenon. Earlier this was not the case so this means that the position of a caste, varied from place to place, district to district not only state to state, even district to district. So, when the issue of classification or caste into general O B C S C and S T comes. So, this kind of confusion is natural. You find that there are castes or community, with similar name in some state; they are put in the schedule tribe, in other state they are put in the schedule caste.

Gujjar's problem, rajasthan'sgujjar's problem gujjars of rajasthan belong to O B C category, but gujjar in some other state belong to schedule tribe. So, that is why gujjars of rajasthan have an additional claim.One thing they, say there is hardly any difference between minhas and gujjars. So, minhas can be put in a category of schedule tribe why not gujjars. Gujjars in O B C category are to compete with advanced community like jaths, who should not have been in O B C category. Now, if you put jath and gujjars in the same category, then all the benefits of seats and positions are enjoyed by jaths. And nothing by gujjars that is why gujjars are saying that as other states, if you had included if you had not included jaths and O B C's then the case was different.

But if you had included jaths and O B C's then gujjars are the loosers. So, they are saying that you include us in the category of schedule tribe. So, that is the problem that because of relative, because of differences in socio economic, educational, political

status of people of caste, having similar names or sometimes even same names, that they have been classified differently in different states. Sir, secondly you talked about marriage being an universal concept in India, universal and early, but what about today's current scenario? As far as my knowledge this N F H S data is current data 2005-2006. So, if N F H S is saying that the median age of marriage is less than 18 17. Something then it means this is a current situation. But this is not an over overall picture not this is not throughout India.

This is throughout N F H S 3 this is throughout India, N F H S 3 data. Then why does media only focus on affluent classes and talk about late margins. This is this late marriage etcetera, this is a phenomenon confined to metropolitan, urban areas. And higher classes highly educated people. Usually, even in urban areas, when we talk of rise in marriage, we think of those working in software or universities or big traders or big businessman. In urban areas a sizable proportion of population lives in slums. And in slums situation often is very much like in rural areas. So, when we talk of rising this is true that marriage age is rising.

Even 7 if median age is 17.7 this does not mean that our age of marriage is not rising. Actually, at one time age of median age of marriage in India, say 100 years ago must have been 12 years I do not have record. But perhaps, the median age of marriage 100 years ago was only 12 years, when sarda act was passed and age of marriage was raised. So, that times we have child marriages 11 years 12 years 13 years. So, atleast we have come out of that age. And our age of marriage, average age of marriage has risen from nearly, 12-13 years to 17.7, so these are big achievements. Everywhere in all regions, all castes, all communities, average age of marriage is going up, very few people are marrying at 12 or 13.

Now, in most community people are marrying 15 16 17. And in educated communities in urban areas or close to urban areas, people are girls are marrying at 18 or more. So it is a combined effect of a but you see India, total India does not live in Delhi. In India you also have Jharkhand, Bihar rural areas of West Bengal, Chhattisgarh, where age of marriage is still around 16 so it is a combined effect of our. And in India as a whole 50 percent marriages are taking place, below the legal minimum age of marriage, this is what N F H S is saying.

So, sir should not there be any laws to curb this factors. There is a law. No but how, how to bring it in action. We have a law and arranging for marriage of daughter below 18 is a cognizable offence in our country. So, if your neighbor is marrying his daughter at age below 18 and you go to police [FL]. And report then your neighbor can be arrested, but we are good people. You students of sociology know, that if there is a conflict between most of society or norms of society or law enacted law, norms of society and enacted law then norms of society prevail not the law, that is a problem.

So, we will not go we know that, our neighbor is marrying his daughter at less than 18, but we will not go to court, we will not go to police [FL] and report the matter, you must have seen pictures of ministers in some states particularly in Rajasthan You can seen pictures of ministers attending child marriages. And also arranging for their daughter's marriage at, a age 15 16 ministers are doing. So, that is because traditionally our norms were of one time type. And now this 18 is part of elected law. But how effective enacted law is if enacted law is something about tradition. The law is prevailed, but if there is something about which you have a long tradition. And there is a conflict between tradition and law then obviously tradition prevails. And it will prevail for some more time. Thank you