MASTER OF ARTS
SOCIOLOGY

CENTRE FOR OPEN AND DISTANCE LEARNING

(CODL)

MSO 102: INTRODUCTION TO FAMILY AND KINSHIP

BLOCK I

Vision

To grow to be a leading centre for human resource development through distance, open and universal learning system.

Mission

To provide quality higher education at door step through barrierless, flexible and open learning mode in conformity with national priority and societal need.

Objective

- To offer degree, diploma, certificate level programme of study through distance learning in various emerging subjects across the disciplines.

- To offer job oriented and vocational programmes in flexible terms in the line of the national and regional level demand of manpower.

- To offer various programmes under lifelong learning contributing to the local and regional level requirements and as per the need of the society at large.

- To undertake various research and academic activities for furtherance of distance education in the region.

- To contribute to conserve and promote cultural heritage, literature, traditional knowledge and environment conducting short programmes, workshops, seminars and research in interdisciplinary field.

MSO 102: INTRODUCTION TO FAMILY AND KINSHIP

CENTRE FOR OPEN AND DISTANCE LEARNING

TEZPUR UNIVERSITY (A CENTRAL UNIVERSITY)

TEZPUR, ASSAM-784028

INDIA

MSO-102: INTRODUCTION TO FAMILY AND KINSHIP

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BLOCK I

TABLE OF CONTENT

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COURSE INTRODUCTION

This course introduces the learners to the universally acknowledged social importance of family and kinship. This course will familiarise the learners with different approaches, issues and debates in studies of family and kinship which will enable the student to understand the social structure of different societies. This course will also look at the changing contemporary nature of family and kinship relations in the modern world. Throughout the course, examples will be drawn from northeast India.

The course is divided into four Modules, each consisting of multiple units. This has been done to discuss the major concepts more elaborately and, in a learner-friendly way.

Module I is about Family, Kinship and Marriage. This Module has four units. **Unit 1** deals with an important debate in Kinship studies, i.e. the Nature versus Culture Debate. Both biological basis and the cultural basis of kinship studies will be elaborately explained in this Unit. **Unit 2** discusses the concept of Family. The definition, types and changing natureof Family are covered in this Unit. **Unit 3**is about Kinship—its definition, basic concepts and terminology. On the other hand, **Unit 4**discussesMarriage, focusing on its types and changing nature.

Module II deals with the various aspects of Family and Marriage. This Module is divided into three units. **Unit 5** will help the learners to understand the concept of Elementary and Extended Families. They will learn about the Family in the context of care of the child and the aged in **Unit 6**.**Unit 7** deals with the Changing Discourse of Marriage.

Module III will explore the concepts of Family and Kinship in the context of India. The module is divided into four units. **Unit 8** discusses Family and Kinship Studies in India while**Unit 9** discusses the Regional Variations of Kinship. **Unit 10** focuses on Family and Kinship in the context of Northeast India.**Unit 11** is about Family and Household. This Unit explores the changing nature of family and relationship in India.

Module IV has three units, each dealing with the Changing Discourse of Family and Kinship. Unit 12 introduces learners to the changing discourse of family and kinship. Unit 13 deals with the Transformations in Kinship, focusing particularly on how Patriarchy is questioned in the recent times. Unit 14 is about Reproductive Technologies and Gay Perspectives which have reconfigured the concept of kinship in contemporary times.

The complete course is divided into two Blocks. Block I contains Module I and II. Block II will have Module III and IV.

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MODULE I: FAMILY, KINSHIP AND MARRIAGE

UNIT 1: NATURE VERSUS CULTURE DEBATE

UNIT STRUCTURE

1.1 INTRODUCTION

Kinship in general means the relationship between individuals categorically termed as 'kins' who are either related by blood or through marriage. Kinship studies had its roots in anthropological research and it formed a central theme in the discipline of anthropology. According to Thomas R. Trautmann, 'kinship as an object of scholarly discourse' is mostly associated with anthropology. For Trautmann (1988), the beginnings of kinship studies in the 1860s and 1870s also mark the beginning of anthropology (Trautmann,1988). Lewis Henry Morgan, a railroad lawyer from Manchester is commonly referred to as the father of anthropology (Parkin, 1997). For Lewis Henry Morgan, kinship was 'a system of

consanguinity' founded on blood ties. In other words, anthropological forays into kinship studies began with a biological understanding of kin and kin-ties. Therefore, for Lewis Henry Morgan, all relations began with the Ego and returned to the Ego. He also advocated the close study of kinship terminology. For him, it was important to study terminologies to understand behaviour. Structural Functionalists like Radcliffe Brown argued that kinship has to be treated like any other system and to understand a system one must follow its workings. For him, kinship was recognition of social relationship and not merely physical relations. Therefore, he argued that kinship is based on the descent which led to a school of descent theory. Following the structural functionalists came a wave of structuralism and Claude Levi Strauss a French thinker was responsible for showing the threshold of binaries of nature and culture in kinship studies. Through a close study of alliance, scholars like Claude Levi Strauss identified a universal feature that of the prohibition of incest as one of the underlying features across societies. David Scheinder's study on American societies paved way for a new lens to study kinship – primarily cultural approach.

In contemporary times, the cultural approach continues to form a crucial part of any kinship studies.

1.2 OBJECTIVES

This Unit will enable the readers to:
- Explain the symbols used in Kinship studies;
- Describe the nature versus culture debate in kinship studies;
- Analyse the different approaches undertaken by various scholars to study kinship;
- Discuss the theories of kinship studies;
- Discuss the current scene in kinship studies;
- Analyse the major problems in defining kinship.

Kinship Diagram Symbols

Male	△	Deceased	△ ◯	
Female	●	Female EGO	●	
Nonspecific gender	■	Male EGO	△	
Married to	=	Connect siblings	⌐¬	
Divorced from	✗			
Connect parents and children	│			

Mother	M
Father	F
Son	S
Daughter	D
Brother	B
Sister	Z
Husband	H
Wife	W
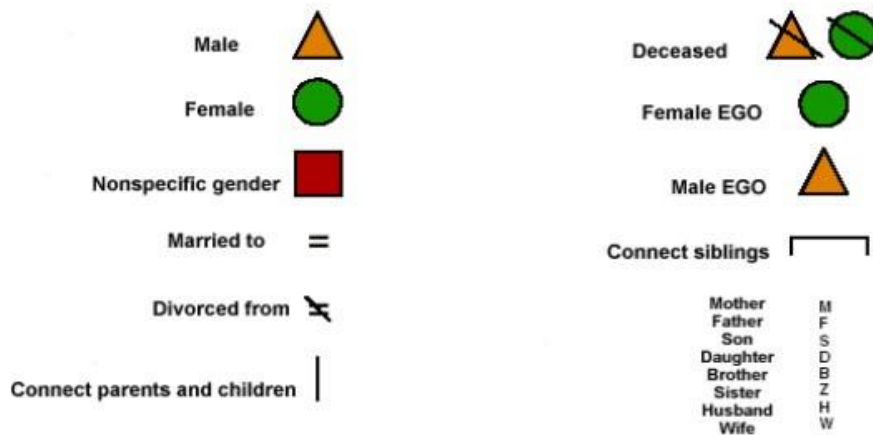
1.3 DEBATE

In this section of the unit, we will look into the debates that formed the backbone of kinship studies in general. There are two major positions held by scholars in regard to the debate—on what basis kinship basically fall on, is it nature or culture? This debate is not a recent phenomenon rather it has its roots well at the beginning of the twentieth century and this debate is still sought as a crucial part of kinship studies.   The opening chapter of Levi Strauss's seminal work *Elementary Structures of Kinship* revolves around this theme. He begins with a proposition that the distinction between nature and culture has been one of the important sociological concerns. Through a discussion on incest taboo as a positive marriage rule, he shows how 'it is at the threshold of culture and culture itself'. A section of the scholars like David Schneider or Marshall Sahlins stress on culture, whereas biologically inclined theorists, stress nature being the foundation of kinship.

In the following sections, two major positions on the nature of kinship will be discussed. Firstly, biological basis of kinship studies and then the

cultural basis of kinship studies will be elaborately explained in the subsequent sections.

1.3.1 Biological Basis of Kinship Studies

This section of the unit will majorly focus on the idea that kinship can be analysed from the biological processes. This argument was basically supported by scholars who argued that the framework of kinship is the result of the biological necessities of human reproduction.

There has always been an intimate connection between kinship and biological processes. The earlier works on kinship were the evidence which showed the study of kinship rested upon the biological foundation of human reproduction. This relationship continues to be expressed even today. A number of scholars (e.g., Fox, Goodenough, Holy, Scheffler) have agreed with Ernest Gellner that the processes of reproduction, birth, and nurturance, in one form or another provide the essential foundation of kinship (Ottenheimer, 2001). This approach is basically backed by revolutionary biologists who argue that kinship has to be studied under the radar of biological process.

While Parkin (1997) pointed out that biological approach to kinship treats mating as means of procreation and regard it as more important than marriage as an institution, this is reversed in the case of social anthropologists. While Gellner (1960) and others tried to balance the biological and social aspects of kinship, Garner argues that social kinship is a function of physical kinship, where the function is a rule specifying the connection (Gellner, 1960 as cited in Jaede et. Al, 2014). Contrary to this, Parkin took a different view, who distinguished the biological from the social in the following manner: all societies have kinship and they impose some cultural privileges over the biological universe of sexual relations and continue with the human reproduction process through birth (Parkin, 1997 as cited in Jaede et. al 2014).

1.3.1.1 Functionalism School of Thought

With the coming of various schools of thoughts in social sciences, there was a particular line of thought that basically laid its foundation on the biological base of kinship studies.

Functionalism[1], as a school of thought in anthropology, emerged in the early twentieth century. Bronislaw Malinowski and A.R. Radcliffe-Brown are the pioneers and the greatest influence on the development of functionalism from their posts in Great Britain.[2]According to Malinowski, the needs of the biological beings result in the formation of social institution. This theory was termed as *Theory of Needs*.

Malinowski insisted that individuals have physiological needs (reproduction, food, shelter) and that social institutions (such as religion, kinship, economy, etc. to name a few) exist to meet these needs. There are also culturally derived needs and four basic "instrumental needs" (economics, social control, education, and political organization), that require institutional devices. Each institution has the personnel, a charter, a set of norms or rules, activities, material apparatus (technology), and a function. Under these premises, scholars like Malinowski suggested that social institutions are constructed to fulfil the needs of human beings.

Apart from Malinowski, there were other British Social anthropologists namely Radcliffe-Brown, Evans-Pritchard and Fortes who advocated the similar trend of functionalist thought. The core idea of functionalism was that every aspect of culture (like the various social institutions), though discreet work together for the viability of the social structure of any given

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[1] Functionalism is the school of thought which made analogy of different parts of society with the organs of living organisms.
[2] Source- Functionalism.
http://anthropology.ua.edu/cultures/cultures.php?culture=Functionalism Assessed on 28 July 2018 23:15 IST

society. As for instance, these scholars saw the social institution, family as a unit which is universal that functioned primarily to rear children[3].

This school of thought was heavily criticised for excessively focusing on the biological aspect of human beings and undermining the cultural aspect of human society.

1.3.2 Cultural basis of kinship studies

In the cultural approach of kinship, the biological processes take the backstage while the social institutions like marriage take the forefront. The biological stand of various scholars of kinship studies was critiqued by many and among them, Schneider's work is worth mentioning. According to him, it is culture and not the biology which forms the 'real' foundation of kinship studies. In his book titled *A Critique of the Study of Kinship* (1984), Schneider argued that the biological framework which was positioned to be the natural foundation for the analysis of family and marriage relationships around the world is, indeed, an ethnocentric construct. Schneider's work was also critiqued for being local-centric which failed to give an overview of general kinship studies.

Though biologists or evolutionary biologists claim that the framework of kinship rely on the biology, i.e. genetics but it fails in many ways to explain the other intrinsic values of social life which are mostly governed by social institutions of any given society. Robin Fox and others have argued that the numerous questions of whom to mate or not to mate with, how to avoid incest, etc. are crucial criteria set by the society which reflect the evolved capacity of kinship to classify. In this regard, kinship is a cultural strategy to tackle survival issues for the species, a strategy which is based on an evolved trait (Jaede et. al 2014). While the behavioural ecologists view culture itself as an adaptation that enhances reproductive success of human population (ibid).

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[3] Source-https://www.britannica.com/topic/kinship#ref1005236 Assessed on 6 August, 2018 21:13 IST

In the nineteenth century, Morgan (1877), the founder of kinship studies stated that the systems of kinship terminology reflected people's understanding of their biological relationships based on their marriage practices. So one cannot deny the biological as well as the social aspect of kinship and encompassing both give a holistic understanding of kinship in general.

REFLECTION SPOT

<u>Situation 1</u>: Image a situation where you are accompanied by a biologist in the field to conduct a fieldwork to determine whether genetic relatedness or social relatedness functions in the inheritance of any given society. Cite examples

<u>Situation 2</u>: If a surrogate mother denies giving up the baby to the assigned parents, what consequences would this situation lead to? Are there laws that safeguard the rights of the surrogate mother?

1.3.2.1 Theories to Study Kinship

In this section, theories to study kinship would be discussed and explained. Kinship, as we know is the study of the relationships. The groups that are created through relationship based on blood are known as descent groups while the groups that are created or formed by marriage are termed as affinal groups. Based on these relationships, there are two theories– Descent Theory and Alliance theory. Though these theories are considered outdated in today's kinship enquiry, they form the building blocks of studying kinship in general.

1.3.2.1.1 Descent Theory

Descent theory is also known as lineage theory. It was in the 1940s that this theory saw its foreground. With the publication of books like *The Nuer* (1940), *African Political Systems* (1940) etc. by scholars like Evans Pritchard, there paved the way for the emergence of this theory. This theory had tremendous influence over anthropological studies till the mid-60s but with the downfall of the British Empire and its loss of colonies, the theory too lost its glory and sort of fizzled out. However, the presence of Descent theory is still prevalent in certain works, like descriptions in ethnographic monographs.

1.3.2.1.2 Alliance Theory

Claude Levis Strauss, a French anthropologist is credited for the alliance theory. The alliance theory in the study of kinship is also known as the general theory of exchange. This theory marked its presence during the 1940s till 1960s. Basically, this theory tries to enquire how society is constituted through the weaving of inter-individual relationships. This theory was introduced in Strauss' book titled *The Elementary Structures of Kinship* (1949).

The theory was developed to study those kinds of kinship systems which represent positive marriage (cross-cousin marriage) rules. However, besides providing conjectures on marriage, it also provides a general theoretical awareness about kinship. The study of marriage rules has been used from the initial days of kinship studies to comprehend kinship terminologies. Scholars like W.H.R. Rivers also used marriage (symmetrical cross-cousin marriage) and terminology (bifurcate merging) and tried to exhibit a relationship between each other.

These two theories though defunct in contemporary times, yet they were crucial in shaping the current anthropological discourse on kinship studies.

1. Look around you to find a case where kinship terminologies overlap.
2. What according to you should be the premises upon which kinship studies be based on?
3. If you imagine yourself as the researcher in the field, what do you think would you first encounter- household or kinship? Explain and elaborate your position in the field as a researcher.

1.4 CURRENT SCENE OF KINSHIP STUDIES: THE DILEMMA

In the plethora of works of literature on kinship studies, a new wave of study has taken over which looks at the field of advanced reproductive aids. This new reproductive advancement in the scientific world has given a different dimension to the kinship studies in contemporary time as the relationship between biology and culture are twisted and overlapped.

1.4.1 The Problematic Scene

1.4.1.1 Test Tube baby

After the birth of first test tube baby in the year 1978, the term motherhood was redefined. The split between the gestation and genetic motherhood has opened up a wide range of new reproductive options. Herein the whole idea of conception and pregnancy has been changed. These two events can be separated and turned into commercialised transactions and professionally managed procedures (Levine, 2003).

1.4.1.2 Surrogate Motherhood

While the surrogate motherhood provides a good example, which showcases the dilemma that kinship studies have right now, it presents a different outlook to kinship as a relationship between 'natural' and socio-

cultural aspects of reproduction and kinship are redefined and rearranged (Levine, 2003).

With the advancement of technology, there has been various manipulation, changes and fragmentation of roles within kinship. The radicalised innovative invention in the medical field has fragmented the paternal roles and has changed the way how one looks at motherhood. Surrogacy is one such instance of innovation in the field of reproduction. The surrogate motherhood, in most cases, leads to a complicated situation as in this case there is the involvement of as many as five individuals in the entire process. The individuals involved are as follows-

i.   The social mother (i.e. commissioning mother)
ii.   The provider of the egg
iii.   The carrying mother
iv.   The semen provider
v.   The social father (i.e. commissioning father)
       (Parkin, 1997)

The biology and the culture behind motherhood get intertwined in the case of surrogacy motherhood.

These new reproductive technologies (NRTs) change the outlook of motherhood and the role of the mother get categorically redefined as the birth mother, the adopted mother and the genetic mother. These advancements in technology have brought in tremendous changes in the whole idea of kinship terminology and structure.

1.5 SUMMING UP

In this unit, we learnt about the nature versus culture debate and along with it, we also looked into the various complications that come up in current kinship studies. The question that arises in the debate to distinguish between biological and social approaches to kinship is not absolute.

According to Ottenheimer (2001) kinship, as the study of the various elements and relationships, must move beyond the absolutistic frameworks of the past and turn to a relativistic perspective. As relationships are redefined and rearranged in accordance with the new reproductive technology development, one has to relook at the composition of the kinship system and break away from the conventional way to study kinship in general.

At last, we can summarize that kinship is an intrinsic amalgamation of nature and culture, and it is crucial to see it as a fusion of these two and therefore there is a need for breaking away from the frame of dichotomous thinking.

> **Glossary:**
>
> - Bronislaw Malinowski- Founding father of Social Anthropology who popularized participant observation as a method of data collection.
> - Test Tube Baby- A baby who was conceived by in vitro fertilization and then implanted in the uterus of the mother.
> - Surrogate mother- A substitute mother who carries the baby but is not the biological mother of the baby.
> - Ethnocentric- The tendency to look at other's world through the prism of one's own culture.
> - Positive marriage (preferential marriage)-When rules are set to marry certain presupposed kins.
> - Descent groups- They are kin groups related by lineages
> - Affinal groups- They are kin groups related through marriage

- Household- A group of people who share living quarters and eat food cooked at a common heart or stove, as a living group of which they are part of their 'house' (Vatuk, 1972)

1.6 QUESTIONS

1. What do you understand by kinship? Explain in your own words.

2. What are the basic premises upon which the nature-culture debate of kinship studies based on?

3. Innovation in the medical field has led to a complicated situation which is redefining the role of motherhood and fatherhood. Explain the statement with appropriate examples.

4. Write a short note on the future of the kinship studies.

1.7 RECOMMENDED READINGS AND REFERENCES

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University of Alabama-http://anthropology.ua.edu/cultures/cultures.php?culture=Functionalism .

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UNIT 2: FAMILY: DEFINITIONS, TYPES, CHANGING NATURE

UNIT STRUCTURE

2.1 INTRODUCTION

In every society, the family is one of the crucial small units of social structure. According to most of the early definitions, a family is a group of people who live together based on common residence, marriage, emotional bonds and some fixed domestic services. Apart from these, some of the important characteristics of the family are reproduction, rights and duties of parenthood, economic co-operation, etc. The family also fulfils the emotional needs of its member.

2.2 OBJECTIVES

This Unit will enable the readers to:

- Explain the concept of family and functions of the family as a social institution;
- Identify various family types based on various parameters;
- Analyse the changing nature of the family: traditional to modern.

2.3 DEFINITION

It is very difficult to define the term "family" with a single definition. Different sociologists define it differently. In common parlance, the family is like an ascribed or primordial feature of human society, but, its meaning is always socially constructed. In other words, "the meaning we attach to family is a matter of collective definition and human agreement" (Newman, 2009). Thus, the meaning and definition of family change with time and space. For example, in the Indian context, the family is defined with an important characteristic i.e. common

kitchen. Further, out- migrations from rural areas have changed the definition of family. It is observed that no longer family lives in a common residence. As in modern industrial society, we observe that most spouses live separately for working condition.

In social anthropology, Levi Strauss (1971) has described family as: "social groups that originate in marriage, they consist of husband, wife, and children born of their union (although is some family forms other relatives are included); they bind members with legal, economic, and religious bonds as well as duties and privileges; and they provide a network of sexual privileges and prohibitions, and varying degrees of love, respect, and affection" (p. 56). Similarly, sociologist Anthony Giddens (2010) defined family as "a group of individuals related to one another by blood ties, marriage or adoption, who form an economic unit, the adult members of which are responsible for the upbringing of children" (Giddens: 2010). Rose (1968) defined a family as "a group of interacting persons who recognize a relationship with each other based on common parentage, marriage and/ or adoption" (p. 9). The above-quoted definition highlighted the significance of biological relationship in defining family membership. Thus, the family is the smallest unit of kinship group.

Robert MacIver (1937) listed a few important characteristics of the family. They are as follows:
1) a mating relationship;
 2) a form of marriage or other institutional arrangements in accordance with which the mating relationship is established and maintained;
3) a system of nomenclature, involving also a mode of reckoning with descent;
4) some economic needs associated with childbearing and child-rearing; and generally; and
5) a common habitation, home or household which, however, may not be exclusive to the family group. [4]
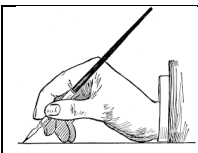
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[4] MacIver, R. M. (1937). Society: A Text Book of Sociology. New York: Farrar and Rhinehart.

While studying 250 societies, George Peter Murdock in 1949 concluded that the family is the smallest unit of society that performs a few important functions very efficiently than the other groups in the society. Murdock identified a few essential functions of the family. They are: (1) sex (socially approved sexual relationship), (2) reproduction, (3) education (enculturation) and (4) subsistence (the sexual division of labour)

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1.   Write one definition of family.

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2. Name the essential functions of the family as identified by G.P. Murdock.

2.4 UNIVERSAL NATURE OF FAMILY

Among the social institutions, the family is universal in nature. There is hardly any human society which is without family as a unit of social structure. The process of procreation of species and the rearing of the young one is a common feature of every human society since time immemorial irrespective of its nature, region and time.

The family is not similar everywhere. There are different types of family with space and time. Malinowski writes "the typical family is a group consisting of mother, father and their progeny. It is found in all communities: savage, barbarians and civilized. The irresistible sex needs,

the urge for reproduction and the common economic needs have contributed to its universality."

2.5 FAMILY AS A SOCIAL INSTITUTION

Most of the sociologists argue that the family is a social institution because it also performs various social obligations like other social institutions. Though families take different forms, yet the family is the central agency of every human society (Newman, 2009). As a result, various social obligations are attached to the family. Talcott Parsons (1902–1979) and Robert Bales (1916–2004) in their work on family: *Family Socialization and Interaction Process (1955)* contended that the family is the primary agency of socialisation and personality stabilisation. It is a matter of fact that reproduction is an inevitable reality of every human society to function as a whole. Reproduction is a way through which society replaces its members. The family performs the functions of regulation of sexual relationships among adults; reproduction and rearing of the new-born; socialisation and protection of its members, etc. (Newman, 2009; Seccombe, 2012). As such, the family is an essential pre-requisite of any human society to fulfil its desired needs.

2.6 FUNCTIONS OF FAMILY

Family fulfils various tasks of its members and even of society. This is the reason for which family is enduring and universal in nature.

The important and universal functions of the family are as follows:

2.6.1 Biological Function

The family is obliged to perform the task of race perpetuation and continue the line of inheritance. Therefore, the reproductive function is one of the important functions of the family. To quote Sutherland & Woodward, "The

basic biological function which family has been performing, is a function absolutely essential to the survival of any human or animal society"[5]

In the Hindu marriage, a groom takes a vow with his wife that he accepts the bride so that she can provide him with a good progeny. The family performs its function of reproduction and rearing of its offspring with utmost care and excellence.

2.6.2 Provision of Food, House and Clothing

Fulfilling the basic amenities of an individual like food, house and cloth is one of the important biological functions of the family. Conventionally, the head of the family or the member who earns for the family arranges these basic needs to the rest of the family members. According to Dennis Chapman, "Each new family establishes an independent home as soon as possible after marriage, the new home reflecting the culture of both husband and wife."[6]

2.6.3 Psychological Function

Ogburn argues that affectional functions are important functions of the family. Family always try to satisfy the emotional needs of an individual by providing love, affection, sympathy and security. Ralph Linton believes that mere satisfaction of the physical needs is not sufficient for a child's growth and development. A child also needs emotional and psychological support for its proper personality development. If a child is unattended, s/he may sometimes start deviating from existing social norms.

2.6.4 Economic Function

Family serves as an economic unit. The family performs various economic functions. These are as follows:

a. Division of Labour: The status and role of an individual in the family is the deciding factor for her/his share of work in the family. The division of

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[5] Sutherland, R.L.; Woodward, J.L. (1941). "Introduction to Sociology", Lippincott.
[6] Chapman D. (1955). "The Home and the Social Status."; London: Routledge and Keegan Paul.

labour helps in sharing responsibilities among the family members for its smooth functioning. It does not overburden an individual; rather it ensures the systematic functioning of the activities of the family. In a family, every member works together and co-operatively.

b. Income Generation: The basic needs of human beings like food, shelter and clothes are fulfilled by family members. The family generates income through its economic activities in order to make arrangements for the basic needs of the family members. The family not only performs economic functions to satisfy basic human needs but it also consumes what its members produce.

c. Organization and Care of Property: The family inherit property in the form of a house, farm, jewellery, money, etc. The family looks after this property and they equally try to share among the family members.

2.6.5 Social Function

The family is the smallest unit of society. As such, the social functions of the family are very important. They are as follows:

a. To Establish Status: In a conventional Indian caste society, family ascribes status to an individual in the society. In such a society, an individual's lineage plays an important role in determining the mode of earning of an individual.

b. Socialization: The family tries to impart value education to an individual so that he can be a part of the larger society. It socialises an individual and teaches various etiquettes like eating habits.

c. Social Control: The family exercises social control over its members. The existing moral norms are inculcated among individuals by family and their code of conduct is controlled by family so that the order of society remains intact.

d. The Transmission of Social Heritage from Generation to Generation: The family accumulates both material and non-material culture and pass that from one generation to another. In other words, the

social traditions, customs and ideas are transmitted from one generation to another.

2.6.6 Religious

The family performs religious functions too. The parents motivate their children to learn various social virtues. According to Hindu scriptures, religious rituals are considered incomplete without both husband and wife.

2.6.7 Educational

One of the basic functions of the family is imparting education to its children. The family acts as an important agency of education. Even today most of the children learn their first letters from their parents. The traditional family was the centre of vocational education because the children from the early childhood were associated with the family task. However, in present times, this task has been transferred to technical institutes and colleges from family.

2.6.8 Recreation

The family provides recreation to its members. But nowadays, the role of the family in providing recreation to its members is dwindling. It is observed that various other recreation facilities are created with the help of science and technology in human society.

2.6.9 Moral Values, Norms and Civic Virtues

The family tries to impart civic virtues to its children. The first lesson of citizenship is taught in the family. The family tries to impart moral values to its children. It not only imparts values but also teaches them basic norms of the society.

2.7 TYPES OF FAMILY

Various parameters like rules of residence, marriage, etc. determine the forms and types of families in the society. The following are the different types and structures of families in society:

2.7.1 Types of Family Based on Marriage

Marriage act as a parameter to distinguish between types of family. As such, the family is classified into three major types based on marriage:

- **Polygamous family**: The polygamous family system is indigenous and practised more in ancient days. A polygamous family is of two types namely polygyny and polyandry. When a man marries more than one wife it is referred to as **polygyny.** For instance, most of the Mughal rulers practised polygyny. While **polyandry** means when a woman marries more than one man; for instance, the character named Draupadi in the Mahabharata is described to have married five brothers at the same time.
- **Monogamous family**: A monogamous family is a family where a relationship exists between two opposite-sex individuals, i.e. one man marries one woman. The size of the family is small. Duties and responsibilities are well distributed among members of the family.

2.7.2 Types of Family Based on Rules of Residence

The nature of residence of a group of people also determines the type of family. As such, on the basis of residence, the family can be classified into three main forms:

- **Family of Matrilocal Residence**: When the husband and wife reside in the wife's mother's residence or in the wife's uncle's residence is known as matrilocal family
- **Family of Patrilocal Residence**: When the newly married bride and groom live in the groom's father's house is known as patrilocal family.

2.7.3 Types of Family Based on Lineage

The family can also be classified into two types on the basis of lineage:

- **Matrilineal Family**: The family whose lineage/descent is traced through the female line. For example, Khasi families found in North-east India are matrilineal families.

- **Patrilineal Family**: The family whose lineage/descent is traced through the male line. Most of the families are patrilineal in nature.

2.7.4 Types of Family Based on Size or Structure

The number of family members and the number of generations living together are also deciding factors in classifying family types:

- **Nuclear Family**: Nuclear family is also referred to as an elementary family or conjugal family. This type of family consists of two opposite-sex adults and their offspring. Nuclear families consist of a married couple, but the number of children varies from family to family. G.P. Murdock defines nuclear family as:

  > "The family is a social group characterized by common residence, economic cooperation and reproduction. It contains adults of both sexes, at least two of whom maintain a socially approved sexual relationship, and one or more children, own or adopted, of the sexually cohabiting adults."[7]

- **Joint Family**: Orenstein and Micklin (1966-67) define the joint family as an extended family arrangement prevalent throughout the Indian subcontinent. It consists of several generations living together under the same roof, all bound by the common relationship.[8]

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[7]Murdock, G. P. (1965) (1949). Social Structure. New York: Free Press.
[8] Orenstein, H.,Micklin, M., (1966-67).The Hindu Joint Family: The Norms and the Numbers. *Pacific Affairs*. **39** (3/4), 314–325.
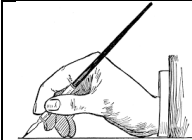
2.7.5 Types of Family Based on the Nature of Relations

The nature of relations between family members is also used to classify family. These are:

- **The Conjugal Family**: The family consisting of two opposite-sex adult members among whom sexual relationship exists.
- **Consanguine Family**: The family consisting of members among whom there exists blood relationship. For instance: the family which consist of relationships like brother and sister, father and son, etc.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. Write two functions of the family

----

2. What are the types of family based on marriage?

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3. What is a matrilineal family?
. --

2.8 CHANGING NATURE OF FAMILY

The family as a basis of social structure is tremendously changing with space and time. It is not only the structure which is changing even the functions of the family is undergoing a lot of changes. In most of the traditional societies, the family plays a vital role in the social and economic life of an individual. It also provides emotional and psychological support

to its members. The family life and family patterns have changed drastically after the growth and emergence of industry and cities. The economic functions of the family are outsourced to various external agencies. However, the family still plays important role in providing emotional and psychological support to its members in the time of distress.

It is very important to identify the factors which inculcate changes in the family structure which eventually bring sweeping changes in the family as a social institution. There are various inter-related factors like economic, educational, legal and demographic which have brought many changes in the Indian family. All these factors have a cumulative effect on different aspects of family living.

Change is inevitable in human society. It has a tremendous effect on the cultural pattern which strongly influences the family life. Family makes an adjustment with every new change which is taking place very rapidly. The factors leading to the disintegration of the joint family in Indian society is discussed. Here, we will also discuss how these social changes are taking place in India since colonial rule.

2.8.1 Economic Factors

The joint family system in India has been affected by various economic factors like the introduction of the cash economy, diverse job opportunities, the growth of technology, etc. Since British opened opportunities for employment in government service, people left their traditional services and migrated to cities or towns for better opportunities. Married ones often took their wives and children, and sometimes, relatives along with them. Role of relationships in the family also affected where both men and women work.

2.8.2 Participation of Women in Economic development

In many developing countries, the policy of open markets with its modus operandi of competition leads to the destruction of traditional markets and traditional economic relationships. In the process of rapid economic

development, the social institutions of developing countries like India found themselves in conflict with the new economic regime. The job opportunities in the labour market determine the economy of family and division of labour in terms of gender within the family. The new economic policy of free market has given a lot of liberty to Indian women to choose their profession. They are no longer absorbed in the household chores. It is observed that with the increase in average standard of living of a family and declining ability of men to earn a 'family wage', there has been a growth in women engaging in economic activities. (Lloyed and Duffy, 1995).

2.8.3 Educational Factors

During British rule, higher education in India made significant growth. The liberal policy of the British Raj opened doors for every citizen to get educated. Earlier it was limited to aristocratic class. As such every section of society was enlightened with education and this brought many changes in the society. The traditional customs and practices were questioned by the new doctrine of individualism, liberalism and humanitarian ideas which flourished with modern education.

2.8.4 Biological Factors

Fertility rate directly influences the annual rate of population growth. The important factor contributing to the reduction of family size is declining fertility rates and increasing age at first birth. During the last two decades, family planning programmes and socio-economic development in India led to declining fertility rates. It has become absurd for many couples to have large families as the cost of rearing a child is increasing. The human labour is no longer a source of strength to the family. Further, the increasing proportion of unmarried adults also contributes to the gradual upward trend of the average age at marriage. The late marriage among females resulted in a reduction of the probability of childbearing. This ultimately reduces the family size.

2.8.5 Legal Factors

Various Indian legislations like Indian Workmen Compensation Act, 1923 and the Minimum Wages Act, 1948, provide economic support to the members of joint family thereby reducing economic reliance. This ultimately leads to the disintegration of the joint family as its members no longer depend upon the income of the family. Further, the Hindu Succession Act, 1956 gave equal rights to both daughter and son to inherit father's ancestral property. This legislation altogether changed the inheritance patterns that prevailed among the members of joint families.

2.8.6 Urbanization

Several studies elucidated that in-migration to cities leads to the rapid disintegration of the joint family system in India. The migrants in cities do not find proper accommodation and space to accommodate a large family. As such, migrants only prefer to bring limited people to the urban spaces with them from rural areas. They bring their kids and wife with them.

2.9 SUMMING UP

This Unit discussed family as a basic unit of social structure which is universal in nature. Further, it discussed the various types of the family which are differentiated based on lineage, rules of residence, number of members in the family, etc. Finally, it also analysed the factors which are responsible for the change in the family system particularly in India.

Glossary:

- Extended Family: When several generations of kin members live together under one roof is known as extended family. Similarly, in India, families which include both lineal and collateral kin but may not include several generations are known as joint families.

- Single Parent Family: The family in which either of the parents lives with their dependent children is known as single-parent family. This type of family may live alone or also in a larger household.

2.10 QUESTIONS

1. Define family. Explain its different functions.

2. Describe the different types and structures of the family.

3. Write a note on the changing nature of family.

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UNIT 3: KINSHIP: DEFINITION, BASIC CONCEPTS AND TERMINOLOGY

UNIT STRUCTURE

3.1 INTRODUCTION

One of the important aspectsof any given society is kinship. It has been recognized as a basic social institution in every society. Organization of any society is based its kinship system. Hence, it is considered an organizing principle of human society. Since society is based on social relations, therefore, kinship helps in the establishment of social relationships between individuals and groups. Kinship is a dynamic cultural system which changes its nature with time and space. Studies have also shown how societies rely on kinship to maintain balance. Kinship consistsof societal ties which relate to real consanguinity or affinity. The set of relationships that form relatives based on both blood (Consanguine) or marriage (Affinal) ties are termed as kinship.

3.2 OBJECTIVES

This unit will enable the readers to:

- Define the kinship system;
- Describe the basic concepts of kinship;
- Explain the principles and types of descent;
- Discuss the major kinship terminologies and usages.

3.3 DEFINITION

The nature and forms of kinship differ from society to society. Therefore, the definition of kinship also varies. The simplest definition of kinship was proposed by Abercrombie et al., i.e."The social relationships deriving from blood ties (real and supposed) and marriage are collectively referred to as kinship."[9]Robin Fox defined kinship as "simply the relations between 'kin'that is persons related by real, putative or fictive consanguinity ". He also argues that "the study of kinship is the study of what man does with these basic facts of life – mating, gestation, parenthood, socialisation,

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[9]Wani I.A. (2011)."The Sociology: The Study of Society", Educreation Publishing, Dwarka, New Delhi, pp.254

siblingship etc." His view was that human society is unique, in that we are "working with the same raw material as exists in the animal world, but [we] can conceptualize and categorize it to serve social ends."[10] According to him, the child socialisation and formation of different groups like political, religious and economic groups in society are the basic social ends in human society. Similarly, A.R. Radcliffe Brown, in his "The Study of Kinship System" defines it as a system of dynamic relations between persons in a community, the behaviour of any two persons in any of these relations being regulated in some way and to a greater or less extent by social usage.[11]

3.4 STRUCTURAL PRINCIPLES OF KINSHIP

According to famous anthropologist Robin Fox, some basic principles guided the Kinship system which he termed as 'facts of life'. Robin Fox highlighted four basic principles of kinship system. They are: (Robin Fox:1967)

1) The women have the children.

2) The men impregnate the women.

3) The men usually exercise control.

4) Primary kins do not mate with each other.

3.5 KINSHIP STRUCTURE (ATOMS OF KINSHIP)

The elementary kinship structures are elaborations on the irreducible social bond intelligible in the relations between a man and his sister, his wife and her brother, and offspring – the avunculate "atom of kinship." (Levi-Strauss1967: 46)[12]

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[10] Fox R. (1967). "KINSHIP AND MARRIAGE: AN ANTHROPOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE", Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

[11] Redcliff A.R. (1941) "The Study of Kinship System", The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, Vol.71, No.1/2, pp.1-18

[12] Boon A.J. and Schneider D.M. (1974). "Kinship vis-a-vis Myth: Contrasts in Levis Strauss' Approaches to Cross-Cultural Comparison" , American Anthropologist retrieved fromhttps://anthrosource.onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/pdf/10.1525/aa.1974.76.4.02a00050

1. The relationship between husband and wife is known as a conjugal relationship.

2. The relationship between parent and children is known as a filial relationship.

3. The relationship between brother and sister is known as fraternal relationship or siblings.

4. The relationship between children and the mother's brother (i.e. sister's children and brother) is avuncular relationship or kinship.

The four basic relationships in the society i.e. conjugal relationship, filial relationship, fraternal relationship and avuncular relationship are known as "atoms of kinship relationship".

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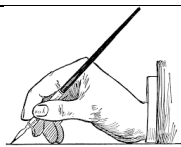
1. Write one definition of kinship.

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2. What are the four basic principles of kinship system according to Robin Fox?

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3. What is meant by "atoms of kinship relationship"?

3.6 TYPES OF KINSHIP

The kinship develops its form within the family and therefore family is the hub for studying kinship system. There are two types of kin ties through which kinship is studied.

3.6.1 Affinal Kinship

The kinship which is based on marriage ties is defined as affinal kinship. The relationship between husband and wife is the most primary affinal kinship. The extended form of affinal kin includes parents and siblings of the couple, their spouses and children. For example, the relationship between son-in-law and father-in-law are examples of affinal kins.

3.6.2 Consanguineous Kinship

The kinship which is based on blood ties/descent system is known as consanguineous kinship. In consanguineous kinship, relationships are formed between parents and children, between siblings, between uncles and nephew/nieces.

The kins may not be always related by blood or marital ties, rather there might be an imaginary or assumed relationship between them. Such assumed relationship between people is known as **fictive kinship**. Actually, sometimes social recognition of biological facts overrides the actual biological connection in kinship. In matrilineal societies, the mother's brother may assume the role of the father as against the biological father.

The adoption of a child is also an example of the establishment of kinship ties between a child and adopter.

3.7 DEGREE OF KINSHIP

The relationship between two individuals is better understood when we analysethe degree of closeness between two kins or distance of that relationship. The closeness between the two kins depends upon how the two kins are related to each other.

A Flow Chart presenting Degree of Kinship

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                    DEGREE OF KINSHIP

    Primary Kin         Secondary Kin          Tertiary Kin

     Primary           Secondary Consanguineal   Tertiary
   Consanguineal Kin         Kin               Consanguineal

   Primary Affinal Kin   Secondary Affinal Kin    Tertiary
                                               Affinal Kin
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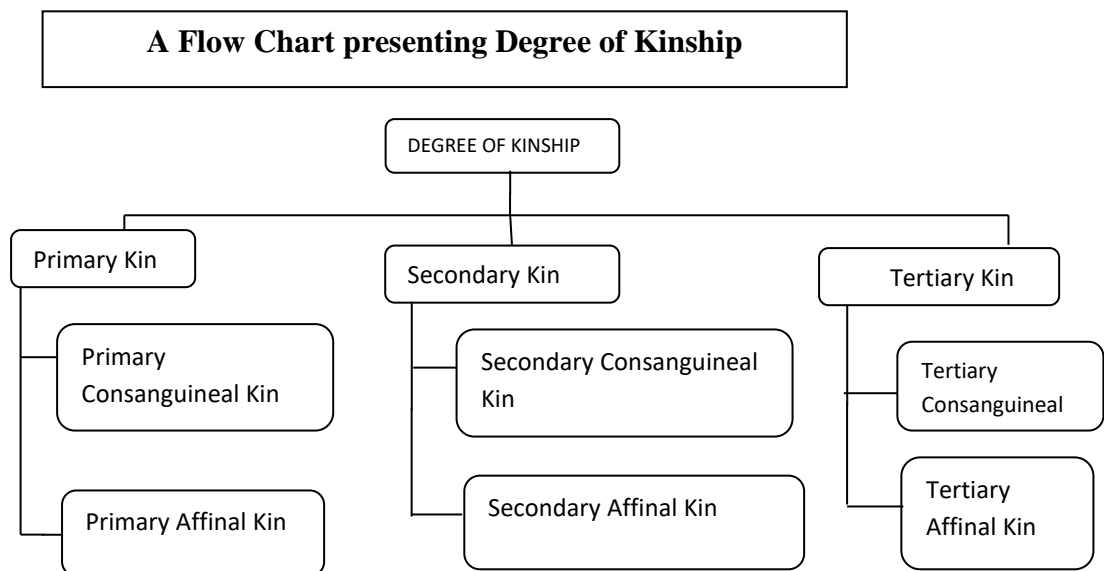
3.7.1 Primary Kinship

Primary kinship is based on the principle of direct relations, i.e. when the relationship between two kins is directly related to each other is known as primary kins. Universally, there are eight primary kins—husband-wife, father-son, father-daughter, mother-son, mother-daughter, younger-elder brothers, younger-elder sisters, and brother-sister.

1. Primary Consanguineal Kinship:

When blood ties determine the relationship between two individuals, it is known as primary consanguineal kin. Consanguineal kinsare directly related to each other. For instance, the relationships between parents and children and between siblings are different forms of primary consanguineal kin.

2. Primary Affinal Kinship:

Primary affinal kinship forms immediately after marriage. The husband-wife relationship is an example of direct affinal relationship which forms just after marriage.

3.7.2 Secondary Kinship

Secondary kinship refers to the primary kin of ego's primary kin. In other words, those who are directly related to primary kin (primary kin's primary kin) become one's secondary kin. There are thirty-three secondary kins.

1. Secondary Consanguineal kinship:

The blood relationship which is established between ego and his/her primary kin's primary kin. For example, the blood ties which is formed between the ego and his/her grandparents are known as secondary consanguineal kinship.

2. Secondary Affinal Kinship:

The relationship which is established after the marriage between the ego and his/her primary affinal kin's primary kin. This relationship is established between an individual and his/her sisters-in-law, brothers-in-law, and parents-in-law.

3.7.3 Tertiary Kinship

Tertiary kinship refers to all relatives of an ego who are related to ego through secondary kin of the ego.

1. Tertiary Consanguineal Kinship:

Tertiary consanguineal kinship refers to an individual's primary consanguineal kin (parents), their primary kin (parents' parents), and their primary kin (parent's parent's parents). Thus, the relationship is between great grandchildren and great-grandparents, and great grand aunts and uncles, and consequently the relationship between great grand uncles and aunts and great grand nieces and nephews.

Ego's primary kins are his parents, their primary kins are his grandparents and his grandparent's primary kins (who are Ego's primary kin's primary kin's primary kin) are his great-grandparents. Thus, tertiary kins are primary kin's primary kin's primary kin.

This relationship can be seen in different ways – Ego's tertiary kins are his primary kins' (parents) secondary kins (father's grandparents), thus showing that tertiary kins are primary kins' secondary kins. Another way of looking at this same relationship is by showing that Ego's tertiary kins are his secondary consanguineal kins' (his grandparents) primary kins (grandfather's parents), which proves that tertiary kins can be secondary kins' primary kin.

2. Tertiary Affinal Kinship:

Tertiary affinal kinship refers to primary affinal kin's primary kin's primary kin, or secondary affinal kin's primary kin, or primary affinal kin's secondary kin. These relationships are many. Tertiary affinal kin can be spouse's grandparents, or grand uncles and aunts, or they can be brother or sister-in-law's spouses or their children.

Besides the above classification of kins, there may be some other classification of kins such as:

(1) Consanguineal Kin:

A relationship established between two persons through blood ties is known as consanguineal kin. The relation between siblings, parents and children are examples of consanguineal kin.

(2) Affinal Kin:

A relationship established between two persons after marital ties are known as affinal kin. The relationships between husband and wife, spouse's parents etc. are examples of affinal kins.
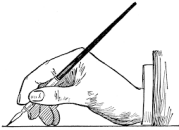
(3) Lineal Kin:

Lineal kinis a person who is related by a direct line of descent such as father, father's father, son and son's son etc.

(4) Collateral Kin:

Collateral kinis a person who is related indirectly through the mediation of another relative such as father's brother, mother's sister, etc.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Match the following

1. Consanguineous Kinship	1. Related indirectly through the mediation of another relative
1. Affinal Kinship	2. Related to ego through secondary kin of the ego
2. Tertiary Kinship	3. Based on blood ties/descent system
3. Collateral	4. Primary kin of ego's primary kin
4. Secondary Kinship	5. Based on marital ties

3.8 DESCENT

The biological relationships between individuals are socially recognised through descent. Descent is used to trace one's ancestry.

3.8.1 Rules of Descent

The principles through which an individual traces his/her relationship with ancestors and predecessors is known as 'rule of descent'.

1. Patrilineal Descent: According to this rule, ego's descent is traced through the father's or the male line. An ego's ancestors or predecessors are recognised only through the male line and male descendants are reckoned as his kin members. The criteria to select descendant is only restricted to male members. They are known as agnatic or patrilineal kin.

2. Matrilineal Descent: According to this rule, ego's descent is traced through the mother's or the female line. Ego's ancestors or predecessors are recognised only through female line and female descendants are reckoned as ego's kin members. The criteria to select descendant is only restricted to female members. They are also known as uterine or matrilineal kin. For instance, Khasi society practisesthe matrilineal descent system.

3. Bilateral Descent: In some societies, an ego can be descendant of both the parents, i.e. father and mother equally, but they borrow their surnames or titles from their father's line. This type of descendent system is recognised as Bilateral or Cognatic. For instance, Dimasha Kachari of Assam, Yako of Nigeria.

4. Double Uni-lineal Descent: In a few societies, ego is affiliated to the kin group of either parent depending on their choice or circumstances. For example, sometimes an individual relates himself/herself to father's line to inherit the property whereas sometimes an individual relates himself/herself to mother's line to inherit ritual or ceremonial roles or vice versa. This is known as double unilineal descent.

3.8.2 Importance of "Rules of Descent"

The rule of descent is very important for two main reasons:

1. Rules of descent establish a network of social positions for every individual in the society according to which he/she play their roles. It also helps an individual to learn his/her rights and obligations.

2. Rules of Descent invariably outline ancestral inheritance rights of an individual. An individual inherits or succeeds his property through the line of descent.

3.9 LINEAGE

A group of people when traced their descendents from a common ancestor or the direct line which connects ancestors and descendants is known as lineage. Lineage can be traced from both the parents' lineage, i.e., mother's line and father's line and even sometimes both the line simultaneously. Both descent and lineage go hand in hand.

3.10 KINSHIP USAGES

The kinship study also requires the study of behavioural patterns between various kin members. A particular set of behaviour is ascribed to a particular relationship. For example: In Indian society, a son or a daughter has to respect his/her parents similarly siblings must show affection to each other. It is also observed that in Indian society, we add some suffix/prefix for elders to show our respect; such as Taiji, Mamaji, Pitaji, etc. There are a few usages which control the set of behaviour ascribed for particular kinship relationship. Such usages are called kinship usages. They are as follows:

(i) Avoidance:

In particular relationship distance or usage of avoidance is maintained between the individuals. This means that two kins must stay away from each other. This means that they should not only avoid physical contact but they must also avoid looking at each other's faces. Thus, in traditional Indian society, a father-in-law (*sasur*) should stay away from daughter-in-law (bahu). The use of the veil (*gunghat)* illustrates the usage of avoidance between *sasur* and *bahu.*

The usage of avoidance has two important explanations: functionalist and psychological. Radcliffe Brown and G. P. Murdock put forward the functionalist explanation of the usage of avoidance. According to the two anthropologists, avoidance helps to prevent further and more severe trouble between the two kins. On the other hand, Sigmund Freud believes that avoidance between two kin is a representation of "institutionalized neurotic symptom".

(ii) Joking Relationship:

It is the opposite of an avoidance relationship. In some relationships, two kins maintain a very cordial relation, making fun of each other. For instance, in Indian traditional society, such a cordial relationship is maintained between *devar-bhabhi*, *jija-Sali*. This type of relationships is known as a joking relationship. The joking may amount to exchange of offensive references to sex. For instance, we have sayings like '*saali aadhi gharwali'*.

(iii) Teknonymy:

The word 'teknonymy' is derived from the Greek word 'teknon'. Anthropologist E.B Taylor first coined the word 'teknonymy'. According to teknonymy usage,an individual is not supposed to refer toa kin directly by his/her name. But, the kin can use the name of another kin to refer the particular kin. Thus, a kin becomes the medium of reference between two kins. For instance, in a traditional Hindu family, a wife is not supposed to take the name of her husband. So, in order to make reference of her husband she used the name of her kids. As such, the husband is referred to by the wife as the father of Bittu and Chotti, for instance.

(iv) Avunculate:

Avunculate kinship usage is a characteristic of matriarchal society. In a matrilineal society, the mother's brother or mama is bestowed very high place and regard. He plays a very important role in the life of niece and

nephews and even performs special obligations towards them. His role sometimes supersedes the father's role.

(v) Amitate:

In some society, father's sister is bestowed with some special role to play. The father's sister is known as amitate. She plays a very important role in the life of niece and nephews even performs special obligations towards them. Her role sometimes supersedes the mother's role.

(vi) Couvade:

This is a surprising kinship usage found among some tribes like the Khasi and the Toda. This usage implies that the husband has to restrain his sexual life during pregnancy of his wife. He has to even maintain a strict diet and abstain himself from active work. He even observes the same taboos which are imposed for his wife. This kinship usage involves both husband and wife.

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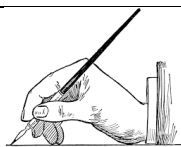
1. What is the difference between patrilineal descent and matrilineal descent?

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2. What is lineage?

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3. What is meant by avunculate?

3.11 KINSHIP TERMINOLOGIES

Kinship relationship is recognized in every human society. Every kinship relation of a society is maintained through aparticular setof kinship terminologies or kinship terms of reference. Kinship terminologies classify the kinship universe which helps every individual to reckon his/her kin members. The kinship terms are the vocabulary of differentiations and classifications of kinsmen. Henry Lewis Morgan was the first anthropologist to used kinship terminologies in his pioneering work *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity of the Human Family*, published in 1871. Morgan in his work formulated a vocabulary of kinship terminologies which are differentiated as classificatory and descriptive systems of kinship.

An individual addresses his/her kins through specific kin terms. The specific kin terms vary according to the degrees of kins – primary, secondary and tertiary. A person directly related to an individual is known as primary kin, secondary kin is the kin related to an individual through a primary kin whereas tertiary kin is the person who is related to a person through a secondary kin. In order to address or refer the various degrees of kins, different kinship terms are used. The kinship term used to express the actual relationship between two kins is known as the term of reference whereas term used by an individual to address a particular relative is known as the term of address. One may address an individual by his/her name, but one cannot refer to the relation between two kins by an individual name. The kin terms function to classify kins into different categories.

3.11.1 Classificatory Kinship

A classificatory kinship system is used to relate an individual to a group of people who are not his/her direct line of descent or ancestry. Here, collateral kins are used to refer with the same kinship terminology used for lineal kin. This means that it uses the same kinship term for a group of people who may or may not be related either through blood ties or affinal ties. For example, Iroquois used same kinship term to refer both father and brother. In traditional Indian society, classificatory kins are even more important than biological kins. In Gujarat, all males are socially considered to be '*Bhai*' or brother and females as '*Ben*'or sister. Similarly, in Dravidian society any elderly female is called '*Amma*' and the elderly male is '*Ayya*'. In Assamese society, father's elder sister and mother's elder sister are both addressed with the same terminology, i.e., '*jethai*'.

3.11.2 Descriptive Kinship:

Descriptive terminology is opposite of classificatory terminology, which distinguishes between lineal and collateral kin. For instance, there is a specific kinship terms for both mother and mother's sister though they belong to the same sex and generation. Descriptive systems are found explicitly in a nuclear family which is socially and economically independent. For example, in Hindi mother's sister is called as '*maasi*' and father's sister is called as '*bua*'.

3.11.3 Kinship Terminological Notation.

Fa/F- Father   Pa/P- Parent   So/S-Son   Da/D -Daughter   Mo/M-Mother

Br/B-Brother Hu/H-Husband Wi/W-Wife Si/Z-Sister   Si/G-Sibling Sp/E-Spouse

e-elder e.g. MeZ = mother's elder sister; e(MZD)= mother's sister's daughter, older than ego.

y-younger, employed in the same manner

♂-male, used to specify the sex of ego, e.g. ♂BS= Male ego's brother's son

♀-female, employed in the same manner

3.11.4 Kinship Symbols

i) The symbol Δ refers to a male and the symbol ○ refers to a female. When these symbols are shown in black or z, it means that the particular male or female is dead.

ii) The symbol [refers to the relationship between sibling. It expresses all the sibling relationships such as the relationship between brother-brother, sister-sister and brother/sister relationships. On the other hand, The symbol] is used to denote the relationship between husband-wife or the affinal relationship.

iii) A horizontal line — connecting the symbols [and] denotes the relationship between the parent/s and child/children or the filial relationships.

3.12 SUMMING UP

In this Unit, you have learnt about the definition of kinship system and then about the main types of kinship and degree of kinship. The unit has focused on descent and lineage. Further, the unit discussed kinship groups, kinship terminology, kinship usages, and terminological notation and kinship symbols.

Glossary:
• Affinity: The relationship which is established between two individuals after marriage is known as 'affinity'.
• Agnate: The relatives or kins which are traced through male descent or on the father's side.

- Consanguinity: The relationship which is established through blood ties are referred to as consanguinity. All kins which are related through blood ties to an ego are his/her consanguine.
- Descent: Derivation from an ancestor is called descent.

3.13 QUESTIONS

1. Define Kinship. Elucidate Robin Fox's 'Facts of Life'.

2. Explain different types of kinship.

3. What is descent? How is it different from lineage?

4. State the importance of 'Rules of Descent' in human society.

5. What role do Kinship Usages serve?

3.14 RECOMMENDED READINGS AND REFERENCES

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UNIT 4: MARRIAGE: DEFINITIONS, TYPES, CHANGING NATURE

UNIT STRUCTURE

4.1 INTRODUCTION

The anthropologists for decades were unable to find any suitable definition of marriage. The definition of marriage varies with time, space and context. It not only varies with region but also with culture. Different

anthropologists used different competing definitions of marriage in an attempt to encompass the wide variety of marital practices observed across cultures. According to K. Gough, various anthropologists tried to call cohabitation, ritual recognition, and definition of sexual rights or stipulation of domestic services as marriage.[13] The word "marriage" was derived from the Old French term "*marier*" which means "to marry".

4.2 OBJECTIVES

This unit aims to analyse the major features of the institution of marriage in India. After going through this unit, you will be able to:

- Explain the universality of the institution of marriage in India;
- Examine the different forms of marriage;
- Describe the alliance theory: asymmetrical and symmetrical;
- Describe the changing nature of marriage in contemporary society.

4.3 DEFINITION

Marriage is a universal social institution which admits two opposite-sex individuals into family life. It establishes the right to sexual relationship between two adults of the opposite sex. It helps human beings to maintain its lineage i.e. to have children. The anthropological handbook *Notes and Queries* (1951) defined marriage as "a union between a man and a woman such that children born to the woman are the recognized legitimate offspring of both partners." But, Kathleen Gough in her study on Nuer people of Sudan and analysis of Nayar's as polyandrous society of South India, suggested a modification on definition of marriage by Royal Anthropological Institute i.e. "a relationship established between a woman and one or more other persons, which provides a child born to the woman

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[13] Gough E.K. (1993). "The Nayars and the Definition of Marriage" in Uberoi P.(1993) (ed) "Family, Kinship and Marriage in India", Oxford University Press, pp.237

under circumstances not prohibited by the rules of relationship, is accorded full birth-status rights common to normal members of his society or social stratum."[14] She argued about Nuer's exemplary behaviour of Ghost marriage where women sometimes act as a husband.Edmund Leach refuted Gough's definition of marriage. According to Leach, "Gough's definition of marriage is too restrictive in terms of recognized legitimate offspring and suggested that marriage be viewed in terms of the different types of rights it serves to establish."[15] In 1955 article in *Man*, Leach argued that there is no one definition of marriage which can be applied to every culture. There he mentions that marriage can be associated with ten rights, including sexual monopoly and rights with respect to children, with specific rights differing across cultures. According to Leach, those rights are as follows:

1. "To establish a legal father of a woman's children

2. To establish a legal mother of a man's children

3. To give the husband a monopoly in the wife's sexuality

4. To give the wife a monopoly in the husband's sexuality

5. To give the husband partial or monopolistic rights to the wife's domestic and other labour services

6. To give the wife partial or monopolistic rights to the husband's domestic and other labour services

7. To give the husband partial or total control over property belonging or potentially accruing to the wife

8. To give the wife partial or total control over property belonging or potentially accruing to the husband.

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[14] Gough, K. (1968). The Nayars and the Definition of Marriage. In Paul Bohannan & John Middleton   (Ed.) *Marriage, Family and Residence*, Natural History Press, New York, pp- 68.
[15]

9. To establish a joint fund of property – a partnership – for the benefit of the children of the marriage

10. To establish a socially significant 'relationship of affinity' between the husband and his wife's brothers."[16]

According to Malinowski, "Marriage is a contract for the production and maintenance of children."

Edward Westermarck in his noted work *The History of Human Marriage* says, "Marriage is a relation of one or more men to one or more women which is recognized by customs or law and involves certain rights and duties both in case of parties entering into the union and in the case of children born of it."

According to H.M. Johnson, "Marriage is a stable relationship in which a man and a woman are socially permitted without loss of standing in the community to have children."

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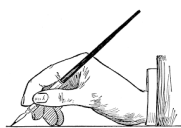
1. Write one definition of marriage.

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2. Who wrote the book, *The History of Human Marriage*?

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[16] Leach, E. (1955). "Polyandry, Inheritance and the Definition of Marriage". *Man*, **55** (12), 183.

4.4 TYPES OF MARRIAGE

Marriage as a type of social institution is universal in nature. It is found across every society, but it may vary with space and time. Marriages of different communities are celebrated according to their own customs, traditions,rituals and practices. Some societies consider marriage as a religious sacrament whereas in some societies it is regarded as a social contract. There are various types of marriage which are differentiated on the basis of the number of mates, choices of mate selection, etc.

4.4.1 On the Basis of the Number of Mates

There are three types of marriage on the basis ofthe number of mates. They are monogamy, polygamy and group marriage. The following flowchart is an illustration of various marriage types:
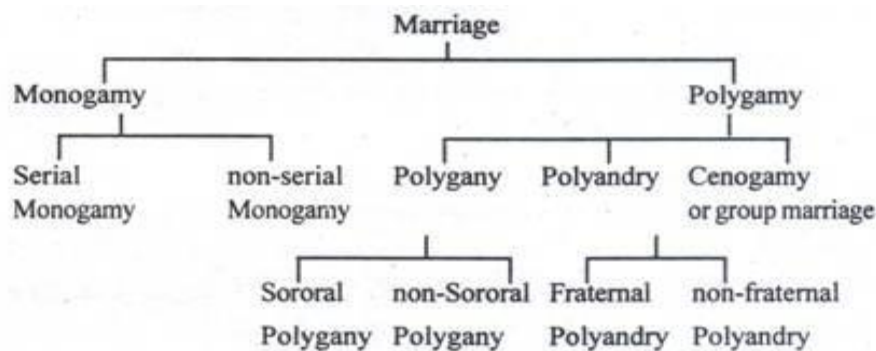
Figure: A

1. Monogamy: When marriage takes place between a man and a woman, it is called monogamy. In modern society, monogamy is the most universal type of marriage. Monogamy is widely prevalent in Hindu society. There are two types of monogamy. They are: 1) Serial Monogamy and 2) Non-serial Monogamy.

(i) Serial Monogamy: A man or a woman remarries when his/her spouse is dead, or the couple is divorced from each other.

(ii) **Non-serial Monogamy**: When a man is married to the same woman throughout his life is known as non-serial monogamy. Unlike, serial monogamy the spouses do not remarry if his/her spouse is divorced or dead.

2. Polygamy: This is a type of marriage occurs when one man marries several women or vice-versa. The word polygamy is derived from a Greek word which means "the practice of multiple marriages". Polygamy is widely prevalent among tribal societies and in traditional Indian society. In India, polygamy is now prohibited by constitutional law. Polygamy is further divided into a few types which are as follows:

(i) Polygyny: It is a type of polygamy where a man has several wives. Polygyny is accepted under certain conditions i.e. bareness or mental retardation of the wife. Polygyny is commonly seen to be practised within the Muslim community.

(a) Sororal Polygyny: In sororal polygyny, the man is husband to all the sisters.

(b) Non-sororal Polygyny: In sororal polygyny, the husband has several wives who are not sisters.

(ii) Polyandry: It is a form of polygamy where a woman marries several husbands.

(a) Adelphic/ Fraternal Polyandry: When a woman marries several men who are apparently brothers, it is known as adelphic/ fraternal polyandry.

(b) Non-Adelphic or Non-Fraternal Polyandry: When a woman marries several men who are not brothers, it is known as non-adelphic or non-fraternal polyandry. She maintains the relationship with each husband and spends some time with each of them. Here, someone of the husbands will be chosen as the father of the child. The paternity here is more legal and social than biological. Here, we also have the concept of visiting husbands. The Nayars of the Malbars, Jaintias of Meghalaya practised non-adelphic marriage.

(iii) Group Marriage: A marital union which involvesa group of women and a group of men. Group marriage is very rare among any living society.

4.4.2 On the Basis of the Choice of Mate or Rules of Mate Selection

On the basis of selection of mate or companion, marriage is broadly divided into two types i.e. endogamous and exogamous marriages. Further, endogamous marriage is divided into four subtypes. They are caste endogamy, sub-caste endogamy, Varna endogamy and tribal endogamy. Similarly, we can also divide exogamous marriage into four sub-categories. They are Gotra exogamy, Pravara exogamy, Sapinda exogamy and Village exogamy. The following flowchart is an illustration of the types of marriage on the basis of selection of a mate.
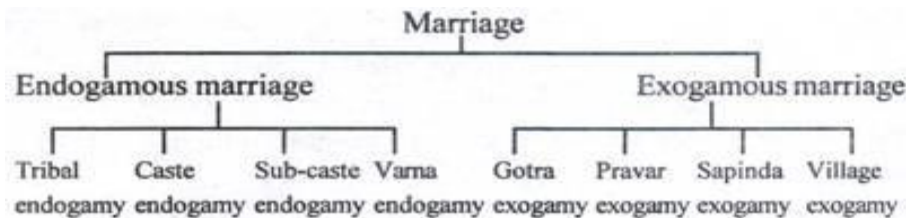
Figure: B

1. Endogamy or endogamous marriage: When a man marries a woman from his own group, it is known as endogamy or endogamous marriage. Endogamy depends on caste, sub-caste, Varna and tribe. For example, when a man marries a woman from his own caste, it is known as caste endogamy. In a traditional caste-based society, endogamy is strictly practised.

(i) Caste Endogamy: Here, a man strictly marries a woman within his own caste or vice versa. Endogamy is strictly followed in the society where the caste system is very rigid.This type of endogamy is seen to be strictly practised in the areas of North India. When a man or a woman fails to marry within one's own caste then *khap panchayat* intervenes and punishes her/him for offending the code of conduct in the caste system.

(ii) Sub-caste Endogamy: Indian caste society is further divided into several sub-castes. Based on these sub-castes, endogamous marriages take place. When a man marries a woman of his own sub-caste or vice versa is known as sub-caste endogamy.

(iii) Varna Endogamy: Varna endogamy is another type of endogamous marriage. In traditional India society, there are four Varnas, namely Brahmin, Kshatriya, Vaisya and Sudra. When one marries within one's own Varna, it is known as Varna endogamy.

(iv) Tribal Endogamy: Like caste and Varna, the tribe is another endogamous unit in society. As such, a man or a woman marries with his/her own tribe, which is known as tribal endogamy.

2. Exogamy or Exogamous marriage:

It is a system of marriage, when a man marries a woman outside his own group or vice versa is known as endogamous marriage. Exogamy may be prevalent as in the form of *gotra, pravara, sapinda* or village endogamy. Just like endogamy, exogamy is also strictly followed in Indian society. There are different forms of exogamy prevalent in Indian society. They are:

(i) Gotra exogamy: Gotra is synonymous with the clan. It is considered that members of the same gotra or clan have blood ties among them as they are believed to have descended from the same ancestor. Hence, traditional Indian society practisesgotra exogamy which means a man, or a womanhas to marry outside his/her own gotra.

(ii) Pravara exogamy: Pravara is another form of social stratification in Indian society. Pravara refers to siblings. When a group of people traced back their ancestry from a common saint, the group is referred to as Pravara. Pravara exogamy also defines the rule of mate selection where a man or a woman has to marry outside his/her Pravara.

(iii) Sapinda exogamy: Sapinda refers to the lineage of an individual. In Indian society an individual shared his lineage with five generations of people belonging to father's side and three or seven generations from mother's side. This group of people who are connected through their lineage is known as Sapindas. According to the rule of mate selection, marriage is forbidden among the members of one's Sapinda. This means a man cannot marry a woman from his own Sapinda and vice-versa.

(iv) Village exogamy: According to the rule of mate selection, in some regions of India the marriage cannot take place within a village. This implies that a man cannot marry a woman from his own village or vice-versa. The restriction on marriage differs from society to society depending on their values, customs and morals.

Stop and Read:

Incest Taboo

A rule prohibiting sexual relations between immediate relatives or kin members like between parents and children and between siblings. The rules remove confusion in relationships. For instance, a man is prevented from being a father as well as a husband to his daughter.

4.4.3 On the Basis of Preference or Prescription:

In certain cases, there is a prescription, or only a preference, expressed for marriage to particular kin. Marriages are divided into four types on the basis of preference of mate selection. They are: cross-cousin marriage, parallel cousin marriage, levirate marriage, ghost and sororate marriage.

1. Levirate marriage: In levirate marriage, the woman marries a deceased husband's brother. Levirate has its origin in the Latin word *Levir*. Levirate stabilises family bondage, reduces the chances of widow remarriage outside the family and ensures that a widow does not split the family property. There are two types of Levirate i.e. Junior Levirate and Senior Levirate. Junior levirate is prevalent among Mishings of Assam.[17]

2. Sororate Marriage: In sororate marriage, the man marries the sister of his deceased wife. Sororate is derived from the Latin word *Soror* which means 'sister'. Sororate is of two types: Junior Sororate and Senior Sororate. Kachari-Dimasha and Ahoms of the Assam practice junior sororate whereas senior sororate is practised by Angami and Aou tribe of Nagaland.

3. Ghost Marriage: The marriage which survives beyond the death of the husband. When a wealthy man dies without any descendants then among some communities, ghost marriage is accomplished. In this type of marriage, the wife of a deceased man has to marry his "ghost" in a customary ceremony. Usually, the brother of the deceased man acts as a proxy groom for the woman or wife of the deceased man. This eventually implies that the wife is married to the ghost of the deceased man, and so she can have children with deceased man's brother. These children are not biological children to the deceased, but a deceased man is their social father and they inherit his property and social status. However, this means that the deceased man's brother is usually left without any children of his own before he dies, and then he must have his children through a ghost marriage, creating a cycle. These practices are most common among the Nuers of Sudan.

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[17] http://shodhganga.inflibnet.ac.in/bitstream/10603/97349/8/08_chapter%203.pdf

4. Consanguineous Marriage: When a marriage takes place between consanguineal kins, i.e. those related by blood, it is called consanguineous marriage. They are of two types of consanguineous marriage. They are 1) Parallel-cousin marriage and 2) Cross-cousin marriage.

(i) Parallel-Cousin Marriage: In alliance theory, a rule or practice of marriage between children of two same-sex siblings is called parallel-cousin marriage. In other words, one marries one's father's brother's child or mother's sister's child. Parallel Cousin marriages are commonly practised among the Muslims.

(ii) Cross-Cousin Marriage: In alliance theory, a rule or practice of marriage between children of two opposite-sex siblings is called cross-cousin marriage. In other words, one marries one's father's sister's child or mother's brother's child.

4.4.4 Anuloma or Pratiloma:

In Indian society, marriage is also classified into two types on basis of caste or Varna hierarchy. They are: 1) Anuloma and 2) Pratiloma.

(i) Anuloma marriage or Hypergamy:

This type of marriage is solemnised between a man of a higher caste or Varna and a woman of a lower caste or Varna. This was prevalent among the rich nobles and kings of traditional society. Kulinism of Bengal is a form of hypergamy practice.

(ii) Pratiloma marriage or Hypogamy

This type of marriage is solemnised between a woman of higher caste or Varna and a man of lower caste or Varna. It is not a very widespread practice.

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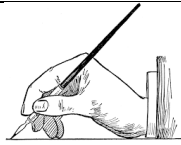
Match the following.

1.Sororal Polygyny	a. Marriage between children of two same-sex siblings
2.Serial Monogamy	b. A man of higher caste marrying a woman of lower caste
3. Endogamy	c. Marriage between children of two opposite-sex siblings
4. Exogamy	d. A woman of higher caste marrying a man of lower caste
5. Parallel-Cousin Marriage	e. A person remarries if the spouse is dead or divorced but has only one spouse at a time
6. Cross-Cousin Marriage	f. Marrying within one's own group
7. Anuloma	g. A man marries more than one woman who are sisters
8. Pratiloma	h. Marrying outside one's own group

4.5 ALLIANCE THEORY

The **alliance theory** or **general theory of exchanges** is a structuralist method of studying kinship relations originated in the work of Levi-Strauss's *Elementary Structure of Kinship* (1949). It was a critique of Radcliffe-Brown's structural functional school of thought. His work raised the question as to how social categories like kinship, race and class had originated. He was profoundly influenced by the work of Marcel Mauss about "gift exchange" in primitive societies. Lévi-Strauss held the view that "the transition from the animal world of 'nature' to the human one of 'culture' was accomplished through the medium of exchange. Thus, the first social categories originated not in the realm of ideas but through the exchange of gifts."[18]

The women's fertility is very important for perpetuation of human race. As such Levi-Strauss viewed that women were the supreme gift. So, exchange of women among groups and individuals was emphasized. The simplest form of exchange in this schema involved men exchanging their sisters. This led to the development of kinship categories and two distinct groups i.e. wife giver (those who gives wife) and wife takers (those who take wife). In the theory of exchanges, two type of exchanges emerged in the society i.e. Symmetrical or Direct Exchange and Asymmetrical Exchange.

4.5.1 Symmetrical Exchange or Direct Exchange:

Direct exchange in its most literal sense is the exchange of women as wives between groups. The symmetrical exchange of women has an advantage in terms of stability. It is only the feasible form of exchange. Amongst the Shoshone, it was the practice for men to exchange sisters. Usually, the senior generation manages such type of marriages, so it is known as 'daughter exchange'. But the model of sister exchange is easier than daughter exchange to explain the phenomena.

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[18] https://www.britannica.com/topic/kinship/Alliance-theory

A   B
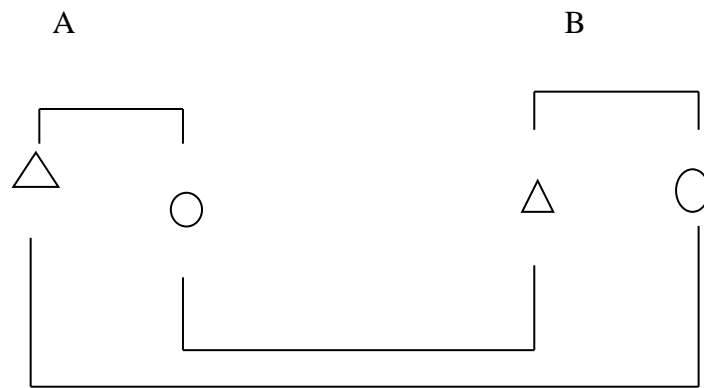
Figure: C

The man of A giveshis sister to the man of B and take the sister of the man of B in return. Now, the Shoshone were constantly splitting up into small nuclear family units, and there was no regular group over and above the nuclear family. But a slight variation in conditions would have produced the patrilocal band. If the exogamic unit were the patrilocal band and not the nuclear family, and the practice of sister exchange was carriedon over generations.
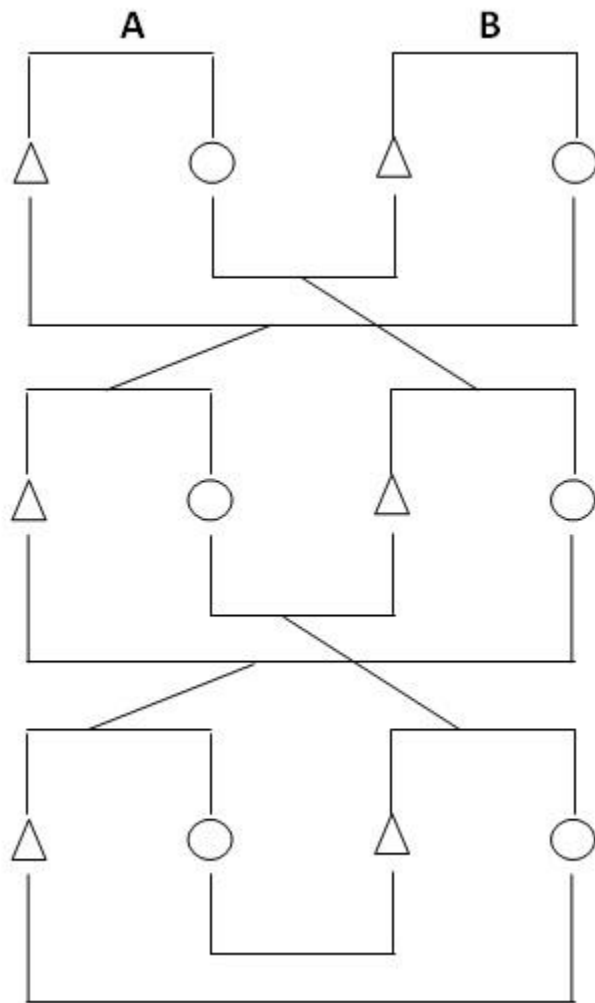
Figure D

Thus, A and B are two patrilocal bands. In each generation the men of A exchange sisters with the men of B. The two local groups then become the men of A plus the women of B and the men of B plus the women of A. the local group situation is illustrated below:
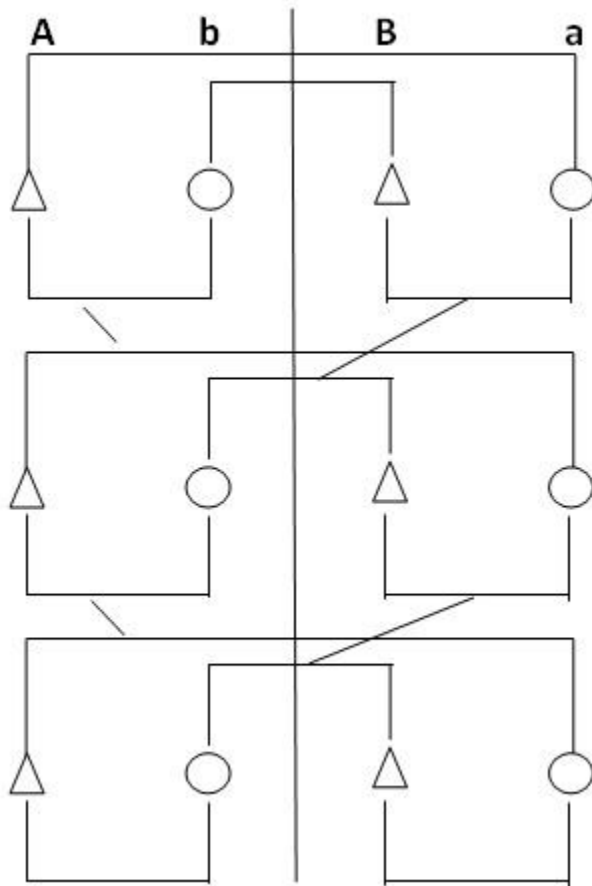
Figure E

There are two local groups of men, A and B, who exchange their sisters a and b. The local groups then are Ab and Ba. If the tribe as a whole is divided into two such groups which exchange women, then these divisions are termed as moieties. Among the Australian tribes, the exchange of women between two patri- moieties is known as Kariera system.

4.5.2 Asymmetrical Exchange:

The asymmetrical exchange is characterized by the indirect exchange of women. It may be simply stated that: wife-givers cannot be wife-takers; a group cannot give women to a group from which it has taken women. This appears to be radically opposed to symmetrical exchange.

In such a system, if group B takes women from group A, then it must give women to group C, which in turn must give women to a group other than

B. It could give them to A and here is where the exchange takes place. The women could 'cycle' round the three groups A- B-C-A…… many more than three group could also join in.

Women move the same way in each generation. If B takes from A, it can never give back to A. For example, the Puram, a tribe of Manipur practised asymmetrical exchange. They were divided into five exogamous patriclans, but these were not alliance units. Alliances were formed between named lineages and there were thirteen of these. Thus, for any one of the lineages, the rest was divided up into 'lineages of our own clan', 'those from whom we take women' and 'those to whom we give women'. For example, In Manipur, Thao-Kung lineage of the Thao clan took women from the two lineages of the Kheyang clan and the Rin-ke-lek lineage of the Marrim clan.

The flow diagram shows asymmetrical exchange:

A⟶B⟶C⟶ A

A⟶B⟶ F ⟶E ⟶A

A⟶H⟶ B ⟶E ⟶A

A⟶H ⟶B ⟶ C ⟶A

Figure: F

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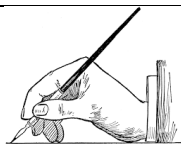
1. Who wrote the book, *Elementary Structure of Kinship*?

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2. What is Direct Exchange in Alliance Theory?

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3. What is meant by Asymmetrical Exchange in Alliance Theory?

Stop and Read:

Marriage among commoner Nayars of South-West India

Nayars are found in the Indian state of Kerala. Nayars residence appears to have been avunco-local even before the British rule where marriages are optionally polygynous but not polyandrous. But, Nayars were polyandrous.

The Common Nayars held land on a hereditary feudal type, tenure from the headman's lineage. Each lineage tended to comprise some 4-8 property owning units, which is called 'property groups.' The members owned the property in common, live in one house and the oldest member of the group who was known as Karnavan is the legal guardian of the members who were residing in the house. Both the "property group" and "lineage group" were called 'Taravad'.

Traditionally, Nayars men were trained as professional soldiers, so they remained absent from the village. In the ancestral home, the women and her children with the Karnavan resided permanently. The Nayars of the two adjacent villages formed a neighbourhood group called as 'Kara' or 'Tara of Six-ten lineages'

Among the Nayars, the pre-puberty marriages rites held a very important place in their social custom. In the pre-puberty marriage rites, the linked lineage playeda very important role. The pre-puberty ritual marriage is known as '*Talikatukalyanam*'. This was a ritual practice among Nayars where a girl who had not attained puberty, aged 7-12 years was ritually married by a boy from her linked lineage. The boy after various ceremonies tied a *Tali* round the neck of his ritual bride. After three days of their

marriage, the couple was purified by a ritual; bath. The ritual marriage was mandatory for all girls to qualify for the 'Sambandham' marriage.

The bridegroom no longer kept any contact with his ritual wife after the ritual marriage. After the puberty of the bride, with the consent from both the party, the ritual groom couldenter into a sexual relationship with his bride. But he had no priority over the men of the neighbouring group. A woman might have had several visiting husbands at a time.

A husband usually visited the wife after dinner and left before breakfast the next morning. He used to place his weapon outside the door of wife's room and if another husband came later then he was free to sleep on the veranda of the woman's house. The husband was supposed togive gifts to the woman in three main festivals of the year. Failure to do so was a sign that he had ended the relationship.

If a woman became pregnant, it was essential for a man of appropriate sub-caste to acknowledge the paternity. This they did by providing a fee of cloth and some vegetables to the wife as a gift. In these circumstances, the exact biological father of the child might remain unrecognised. The guardianship of the children was done at the matrilineal kinsfolk. All the children of the woman called all her husbands as *Aachan* meaning Lord.

Neither the wife nor the children observed pollution at the death of the visiting husband, in fact, they mournthe death of the ritual husband. The Nayar matrilineal society in India does not exist anymore and such practise has been abolished towards the end of the twentieth century.

SOURCE: Excerpted from Gough E.K. (1993). "The Nayars and the Definition of Marriage" in Uberoi P. (ed.) Family, Kinship and Marriage in India, Oxford University Press, pp.237-256

4.6 CHANGING NATURE OF MARRIAGES

4.6.1 Changing Nature of Hindu Marriage

Marriage is an important social institution in Hindu society. Ritual and religion are the main crux of Hindu marriage. The essence of Hindu marriage depends on

the practice of monogamy, the absence of widow remarriage, chastity of women. But with growing urbanization, industrialization, secularization, modern education and impact of Western culture, there has been changes in the core values of Hindu marriage. Following are the changes in the Hindu marriage system:

1. Aims of Marriage are Changed:

The Hindus attach religious sentiments to marriage. To them, marriage is a sacrament which must be performed in order to attain salvation. The rapid economic, social and cultural changes have moulded the needs of people in Indian society. As a result, the aims, functions and motives of Hindu marriages have kept on evolving with the demand of its constituent members. Arranged marriages are replaced by love marriages, divorce rates are soaring, and new paradigms of sex and relationships are being explored. The Hindu marriage has undergone a drastic change from marriage being a *holy sacrament* to a *formal contract*.

2. The Process of Mate Selection is Changed:

The process of mate selection has undergone sweeping changes. Much freedom has been endowed with an individual to select his/her life partner. Parents or extended family no longer play an important role in mate selection. Even, the medium of the internet and third party are involved in mate selection.

3. The Rules of Endogamy and Exogamy changed

The rules of exogamy and endogamy have changed a lot. The Hindu Marriage Disabilities Act, 1964 allowed inter-caste marriage among individuals belonging to different sub-caste. Further, the Special Marriage Act, 1954 and Hindu Marriage Act, 1955 have given liberty to the individual to choose her/his partner irrespective of caste and religion. As such, there has beenan increase in the number of inter-caste and inter-religion marriages in Indian society with the enactment of these laws. Various social reforming institutions like Arya Samaj and Prarthana Samaj promoted inter-caste marriages.

4. The Age at Marriage

The child marriage was very widespread in the 19th century but with various legislative reforms, its numbers have been reduced. The Child Marriage Restraint Act popularly known as Sharada Act approved the minimum age of marriage for girls as fourteen years whereas for boys as eighteen years. But later Indian parliament changed the minimum age of marriage for both sexes. The minimum age for girls was raised upto 18 years whereas for boys it is 21 years. The recent trend in age at marriage has made a tremendous change over a period.

5. Changes in the Stability of Marriage

Marital instability is gradually increasing. With various new legislation and policies, the divorce rates in India has increased. Further, various new forms of family and social institutions came into existence such as a single-parent family, serial monogamy, etc.

6. Changes in the Rites and Rituals

Traditionally, various rites and rituals are associated with marriages. But today we don't see much significance of those traditional customs and rituals associated with marriages. Hindu marriage is always defined as a sacrament, but the existence of live-in relationships has made marriages more a contract. The custom of dowry as a mode of gift exchange between groom party and bride party has almost taken the shape of a social evil. The practice of surrogacy has challenged the traditional definition of marriage i.e. "a union between a man and a woman such that children born to the woman are the recognized legitimate offspring of both partners" by the anthropological handbook *Notes and Queries*.

4.6.2 Changing Nature of Muslim Marriage

The Muslim Sharia regulates marriage and divorce among the Muslim community around the world. Under Muslim Sharia law, there are various types of marriage: Muta Marriage (Temporary Marriage), Nikah

(Permanent Marriage), marriage by agreement, marriage by capture, marriage by Mahr, marriage by inheritance.[19]

The literal meaning of Nikah is sexual connection. But under Mohammedan law, certain legal meaning is attached to it. It is a contract which is legalized to have union between two opposite sexes for sexual intercourse and procreation. In pre-Islamic Arabia, the relationship of sexes was in an uncertain state. The present form of marriage was very rare in those days. Instead, unusual sexual unions between two opposite sexes prevailed like adultery, polyandry and prostitution.[20]

But, Islam reformed these age-old practices which were demeaning for women's dignity. In pre- Islamic Arabia, polygyny was widely prevailed. With the advent of Islam, polygyny was limited by fixing the number of wives up to four. It means that followers of Islam can have four wives at a time but still Quran emphasized on the practice of monogamy.

It is observed that modern Islam followers mostly prefer monogamy. The spread of education, economic distress, and desire to live a decent life are some of the reasons due to which, more and more educated Muslim males prefer monogamy. Now-a day's few Muslim countries like Turkey and Tunisia have already made laws for monogamy.[21] In India, Muslims are allowed to practice polygamy, i.e. keeping four wives at a time. But Muslim who is in a government service cannot contract the second marriage without the prior permission of the government.[22] It strengthened

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[19] Shah, N. (2006). Women, The Koran and International Human Rights Law. Martinus Nijhoff Publishers. pp. 32. ISBN 90-04-15237-7.

[20] Syed Khalid Rashid's- Muslim Law; by Prof. V.P. Bharatiya, 5th edn. 2009, p.51, Eastern Book
Company, Lucknow.

[21] Article 112(1) of the Turkish Civil Code, 1926; and Article 18 of the Tunician Code of Personal Status,
1956; Dr. R.K. Sinha- Muslim Law, 5th edn. 2003, p.39, Central Law Agency, Allahabad.

[22] Rule 18 of the All India Service (Conduct) Rules; Rule 18 of the Central Civil Services (Conduct)
Rules, cited in Dr. R.K. Sinha- Muslim Law, 5th edn. 2003, p.40, Central Law Agency, Allahabad.

the position of Muslim females. It gave females, rights on par with males in relation to the law of marriage, which is a welcome change.

This practice of conservative divorce rules like instant divorce/Islamic divorce among Muslims of India is condemned by modern day society. Unlike India, it is banned in many Muslim-majority countries like Saudi Arabia, Morocco, Afghanistan and Pakistan.[23] But last year on 28th December, Lok Sabha passed "The Muslim Women (Protection of Rights on Marriage) Bill, 2017" to abolish the triple talaq (talaq-e-biddah) in every form — spoken, in writing or by electronic means such as email, SMS and WhatsApp.

4.6.3 Changing Nature of Christian Marriage:

During pre-Christian era, Roman law treated marriage and divorce as private act. But, with the advent of Christianity, the marriage was no longer regarded as private act, rather it was regarded as a sacrament. The Canon Law of Marriage was enforced which was partly based on the Roman law and partly on the Jewish law. The Canon law holds the view that through marriage husband and wife were made of one flesh by the Act of God – Marriage being a holy tie, a sacrament.[24]

The following changes were made in marriage rules with the advent of Christianity. These are:

1) Christianity made the marriage a sacrament and eternal. Separation was accepted among Christians, i.e. the parties of the marriage could live separately from each other for whole life but there was no right to remarry during the life of the other.

(ii) When a marriage is not consummated, it can be dissolved on the proof of non-consummation by both the parties through the order of the church.

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[23] "Triple Talaq". The Times of India. 13 May 2017. Retrieved 2018-10.01
[24] http://shodhganga.inflibnet.ac.in/bitstream/10603/132526/10/10_chapter%205.pdf

(iii) The Church claimed excessive control over marriage. Martin Luther King and other social reformers wanted marriage to come under the jurisdiction of civil courts which got reflected in modern societies since most of countries now opt to place marriage law under civil courts.

iv) The Church prohibited divorce and its sanction was excommunications of those who offended their commands from the community of faithful.

But with impact of the Industrial Revolution and the introduction of English law, there was a change in the concept of marriage among Christians. The renaissance ideas of liberty, equality and pursuit of happiness lead to further changes in marriage laws and it made marriage no longer indissoluble. The Christian world was divided into Catholics and Protestants. The Protestants believe marriage as a human institution based on the free volition of men and women who were undoubtedly responsible though not infallible individuals.[25] Gradually, during the rule of Henry VIII and his son Edward VI divorce was introduced among Christians on the grounds of adultery, desertion, deadly hostility to a spouse and incorrigible violence in the 16th century. Again, during the reign of Queen Elizabeth, the rule of remarriage was introduced for both the parties after divorce because of adultery.

It is observed that there has been a constant change from time to time in the attitude towards marriage among the Christians. The first change appeared when Christians were divided into Catholics and the Protestants. The recognition of divorce made Christian marriage more secular but still few orthodox Christians do not approve of it. The marriages were no longer dissoluble and permanency in marriage is rarely observed among Christians.

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[25] http://shodhganga.inflibnet.ac.in/bitstream/10603/132526/10/10_chapter%205.pdf

4.6.4 The Move Toward Same-Sex Marriage and Live-in Relationships:

In the contemporary times, the whole concept of marriage has been undergoing a gradual change owing to the rise of live-in relationships. In a live-in relationship, two adults live together as spouses without the legal sanction of marriage. Moreover, same-sex marriage has also altered the conventional definition of marriage as a union between a man and a woman. In the context of India, the recent verdict of the Supreme Court on Section 377 of Indian Penal code is worth mentioning. Section 377 of the Indian Penal Code was introduced during the British rule which criminalises consensual sexual activities against the "order of the nature". It was enforced on 1862. The Supreme Court of India on September 6, 2018 decided to announce that the application of Section 377 to consensual homosexual sex between adults was unconstitutional, "irrational, indefensible and manifestly arbitrary", but that Section 377 still enforce upon minors, non-consensual sexual acts, and bestiality. This means homosexuality is recognised as order of nature and upholds the fundamental right to sexuality, sexual orientation and choice of same-sex partners. Now, the doors are opened for individuals irrespective of their sexual orientation to approach the court to legalise same-sex marriages, inheritance, adoption, and reservation in employment.

Stop and Read:

Single Parent Family: The family in which either of the parents lives with their dependent children is known as single-parent family. This type of family may live alone or also in the larger household.

Surrogacy: Surrogacy is a method of reproduction of offspring in the families who do not have biological potential to start a family. These types of parents buy a woman who carries their foetus during the gestational period. These paid women are known as a gestational surrogate. There are two types of surrogacy. They are 1) Gestational Surrogacy and 2) Traditional Surrogacy. In Gestational surrogacy, the gestational carrier (surrogate mother) has no genetic connection with the foetus she carried in her womb. Whereas in traditional surrogacy, the surrogate mother becomes pregnant with her own eggs.

4.7 SUMMING UP

We began with the definition of marriage. We then moved on to the diversity in its patterns. We discussed different forms of marriage, namely monogamy, polygyny and polyandry, and about the patterns of selection of the spouse. In this context, we spoke of endogamy, hypergamy and exogamy. Then we discussed types of traditional Hindu marriages. Then we explained in detail about alliance theory or which is popularly known as 'theory of exchange'. Eventually, we discussed the reasons for the change in the nature of marriage in modern society and how this has led to some new definitions and types of marriage.

Glossary:

1. Clan: A clan is a set of kins whose members believe themselves to have descended putatively or really from a common ancestor or ancestress. It is usually a non-corporate descent group whose link to that ancestor may not even be known or traceable. Clans with patrilineal descent are called patriclans; clans with matrilineal descent are called matriclans.

2. Phratry: Phratry is derived from the Greek word *phrater* which means brother. A phratry is a kin group of brotherhood in which there are several clans combined. Thus, a phratry is a unilineal descent group composed of at least two clans that are supposedly related.

3. Moiety: When a whole society is divided into two kin groups based on unilineal descent, each group is called moiety (after the French word for `half'). The members in each moiety believe to have descended from a common ancestor even though they can not specify how. But societies with moiety systems have relatively small population in comparison to societies with phratries and clans.

4.8 QUESTIONS

1. Define marriage. Explain the different types of marriage.

2. What are the various forms of marriage according to Hindu social order?

3. Write a note on the Alliance Theory of Claude Levi-Strauss.

4. Do you think that there have been changes in marriages in India in recent times? Substantiate your answer.

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MODULE II: VARIOUS ASPECTS OF FAMILY AND MARRIAGE

UNIT 5: ELEMENTARY AND EXTENDED FAMILY

UNIT STRUCTURE

5.1 INTRODUCTION

In the first module, we learned about the nature-culture debate and had a broad overview of the concepts of family, marriage and kinship. Each of these concepts is addressed elaborately as individual units. The unit on family explained how the family is a universal social institution. We studied about the various functions of family and its types based on marriage, nature of residence, descent, size or structure and on the nature of relationships. We read about the changing nature of the family and examined some of the reasons for its changes.

In this unit, we will learn more about two basic categorisations of family, that is elementary and extended family. We will understand the differences

between these two types of family. We will also study the different debates and contradictions within these two concepts.

Out of all human groups, the family can be regarded as the most important primary social group. Being one of the most important primary social groups, it becomes an important concept to study sociologically. Scholars have tried to theorise family from different perspectives. From an evolutionary approach, scholars tried to describe the historical evolution of the forms of the family ranging from the most "primitive" to the most "modern" and "civilized."

Some of the early and most prominent works on family are: *Ancient Law* (1861) by Henry Sumner Maine, *Mother Right: an investigation of the religious and juridical character of matriarchy in the Ancient World* (1861) by Johann Jakob Bachofen, *Primitive Marriage* (1865) by John Ferguson McLennan, and *The Ancient Society (*1877) by Lewis Henry Morgan. These scholars combined ethnology with legal studies.

While Henry Sumner Maine proposed that the earliest form of the family in human history was 'patriarchal family', L.H. Morgan, J.J. Bachofen and McLennan believed that the shift to the patriarchal family is a later development from the matriarchal family. Theywere of the view that human societies are fundamentally promiscuous rather than being based on family. Promiscuity first created the mother/child bond and therefore led to matriliny first instead of patriliny. It was only after the introduction of marriage and legal paternity that patriliny developed. Thus, patriliny developed much later. Works on the origin of the family continued in the 20th century by scholars like J. L. Lubbock, James G. Frazer and R. Briffault who sustained the debate.

Some scholars defined family from a structural-functional perspective whereby they studied kinship systems among different societies and what consists of the family in different cultures. Some of the important sociologists and anthropologist from this perspective are A. R. Radcliffe-

Brown, A.L. Kroeber, Bronislaw Malinowski, George Peter Murdock, Edward Evans-Pritchard, Meyer Fortes, and Claude Lévi-Strauss.

Claude Levis-Strauss's *The Elementary Structure of Kinship* (1949) has been a major influence in the study of family, kinship and marriage over the last four decades. He used the structural analysis whereby his focus was on 'incest taboo' to study kinship. For him, the universality of incest rules acts as a signifier of the transition from a state of 'nature' to one of 'culture'. He also gave the concept of the alliance through which family and kinship can be studied which was adopted by later scholars like Louis Dumont. While Radcliffe-Brown studied kinship from a structural-functional perspective whereby he located the smallest unit of kinship and the functions it plays in the society.

Stop and Read:

Definitions of Family

- "A group of persons united by ties of marriage, blood or adoption; constituting of a single household; interacting and communicating with each other in respective social roles of husband and wife, mother and father, son and daughter, brother and sister; and creating and maintaining a common culture" (Burgess & Locke, 1945, p. 8).

- "Social groups that originate in marriage, they consist of husband, wife, and children born of their union (although in some family forms other relatives are included); they bind members with legal, economic, and religious bonds as well as duties and privileges; and they provide a network of sexual privileges and prohibitions, and varying degrees

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of love, respect, and affection" (Levis-Strauss, 1971, p. 56).

- "Family is a group defined by a sexual relationship, sufficiently precise and enduring to provide for the procreation and upbringingof children" (MacIver & Page, 1949, p. 238)

The existence of different definitions of family by different scholars points out to the fact that there can be no standard definition that is acceptable to all. In fact, it is agreed that a concrete definition cannot capture different types of families that exist in the world. Their work has added an understanding of the family as a social unit. Their studies expose us to different rules of kinship and alliances along with the social norms and values that define family in different cultures and societies. It gave us an understanding of family as a social institution which is universal in its existence.

As having an agreed upon all-inclusive definition of family is not possible, the effort of few scholars has been to categorise different types of families. In the next section, we will learn about two broad categories of family, that is elementary and extended family.

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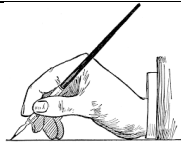
1. What did we learn about family so far?

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2. What are the different perspectives of studying family?

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3. What are some of the definitions of the family?

5.2 OBJECTIVES

In this chapter, we recapthe concept of family as a social institution and social group learned in Unit 2. We will define two main types of family-elementary and extended family and make a comparison between them. We will do this first by defining elementary and extended family as given by different anthropologists and sociologists and then by discussing some of the contradictions given by them to understand different families across the world.

By the end of this Unit, you are expected to:

- Explain the family as a universal social institution and group;
- Distinguish between elementary and extended family;
- Elaborate the various contradictions between elementary and extended family.

5.3 ELEMENTARY AND EXTENDED FAMILY

As learnt in unit 2, we know that there are various types of family based on ownership of property, descent and lineage, nature of relations, authority, size and structure. Based on the size and structure, a family can be classified into two broad categories- elementary or nuclear family and extended family. The generally accepted meaning of 'elementary family' is a group comprising of a husband, a wife and their unmarried children. When two or more elementary families stay together, it is called an extended family.

There is a difference in the use of terminology by different scholars. While some preferred to term it as the elementary family, some others use nuclear, individual or conjugal family. Similarly, the extended family is sometimes synonymously used as the joint family. The elementary or nuclear family is generally presumed to be the dominant form of family in the Western and industrially advanced countries whereas, in many traditional societies especially Asian societies like the Indian, it is the extended family which is considered the basic social institution. The Indian joint family has been extensively studied by different scholars. It is also often seen as the base on which Hindu values and attitudes are built upon.

There are different scholars who have defined and theorized it differently. The following sections would elaborate on some of the scholars and their work.

5.3.1 A.R. Radcliffe-Brown

A. R. Radcliffe-Brown defined elementary family as the first unit of structure from which kinship relations are built up. According to him, elementary family forms the first order of relation that is constituted by three types of social relationship, "that between parent and child, that between siblings, and that between husband and wife"(Radcliffe-Brown, 1941, p. 2). Beyond this first order is the second order of social relationships which are relations connected to the first order. For example,

father's father, sister's husband, brother's wife and so on would belong to the second order of relations. When these relations extend further, it will give rise to the entire kinship network.

His theory of kinship relations was based on studies on the tribes of the Andaman Islands and Australia. He was the first to assert that kinship relations are concrete networks of relationships among individuals which are typified by interlocking interpersonal roles. He argued, it is these relationships that form the social structure of a society and should become an important subject for social anthropology and sociology. Thus, he advanced Malinowski's functionalism and presented a structural-functional perspective to study anthropology.

5.3.2 G.P. Murdock

A similar categorisation of the family was given by anthropologist G.P. Murdock by conducting a cross-cultural study of around 250 societies. This resulted in his work, *Social Structure* (1949) that argued, "the nuclear family is a universal social grouping. Either as the sole prevailing form of the family or as the basic unit from which more complex forms are compounded, it exists as a unique and strongly functional group in every known society"(Murdock, 1949, pp. 2-3). He used the term 'nuclear family' and defined it as a social group characterised by common residence, economic cooperation and reproduction. It includes adults of both sexes at least two of whom maintain a socially approved sexual relationship and one or more children, own or adopted, of the socially cohabiting adults.

Murdock takes a functionalist perspective to explain family and argued that nuclear families are universal in existence and performs four main functions. These are the sexual, reproductive, educational and economic functions. He called the eight kin types (father, mother, husband, wife, son, daughter, sister and brother) connected through 'first order of relationships' given by Radcliffe-Brown as the 'primary relatives'.

Apart from the nuclear family, Murdock categorised two other types of family, the polygamous family and the extended family. The polygamous family can be polygynous when a man has two or more wives and children, or it could be polyandrous, when the family consists of one wife and two or more husbands. He defines extended family as the merger of several nuclear families. A small extended family might include three generations while a big extended family might include more than three generations living under the same roof. For example, a family with parents and their son, daughter-in-law and grandchild can be a small extended family whereas a family with grandparents and great-grandparents, parents and their children can form a large extended family.

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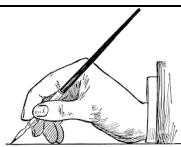
1. Do you think A.R. Radcliffe-Brown's definition of elementary family is inclusive of different types of family? Give reasons for your answer.

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2. Give two criticisms of Murdock's definition of nuclear family.

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3. Do you think Radcliffe-Brown and Murdock accommodate modern discourses on family like queer families, single-parent families, live-in relationships?

5.4 ELEMENTARY AND EXTENDED FAMILY IN INDIA

India being a diverse country, the Indian family has been studied extensively. The family typesin India were formally categorized as nuclear and joint families in many of the studies. (Dube, 1955; Morrison, 1959; Kapadia, 1969). However, Gore (1968) felt that the division of families into joint and nuclear was somewhat crude and arbitrary.He attempted to differentiate between joint and nuclear families on the basis of their behavioural patterns and attitudes. Richard et.al. (1985) and Caldwell et.al. (1988) defined family structure into nuclear, stem, joint, joint-stem and others. Some of the important works on the family in India will be discussed in the following section.

5.4.1 Pauline Kolenda

Pauline Kolenda compared 26 studies of Indian family types by different scholars and found out that no two social scientists use the same definition for family (Kolenda P. , 1968). She discusses nuclear family in India and identified four types(Kolenda, 1970):

A) Nuclear Family: Refers to a couple with or without children

B) Supplemented Nuclear Family: Indicates a nuclear family plus one or more unmarried, separated or widowed relatives of the parents, other than their unmarried children.

C) Sub-nuclear family: is identified as a fragment of a former nuclear family, for instance, a widow/widower with his/her unmarried children or siblings (unmarried or widowed or separated or divorced) living together.

D) Supplemented Sub-Nuclear Family: refers to a group of relatives, members of a formerly complete nuclear family along with some other unmarried, divorced or widowed relative who was not a member of the nuclear family. For instance, a widow and her unmarried children may be living together with her widowed mother-in-law.

5.4.2 Iravati Karve

Iravati Karve has studied the Indian kinship system where she looks at family and household. Her study was based on cultural history and ancient scriptures. She divided the kinship system of the whole nation into central, northern, southern and eastern keeping in mind the languages used, caste and organization of the family.

In her work *Kinship Organization in India*(1953) she tries to define joint family at the outset. According to her, joint family comprises of "three or four generations of males, related to a male ego as grandfather and his brothers, father and his brother's (ego's) brothers and cousins, sons and nephews and wives of all these male relatives plus the ego's own unmarried sisters and daughters" (p. 9). She defines a joint family as "a group of people, who generally live under the same roof, who eat food cooked at one hearth, who hold property in common, and who participate in common family worship and are related to each other as some particular type of kindred" (p. 8). Her understanding of Indian family denied the existence of the nuclear family in ancient India. She asserted that what Indian society had was small or big joint families.

5.4.3 S.C. Dubey

S. C. Dubey explained the composition of household in Indian villages in terms of 'the elementary' and 'the joint' family. He defined elementary family's composition as husband, wife and their unmarried children or one or both parents, unmarried brothers and sisters. He defined 'ideal' joint family as a five generational household with ego, his wife, his parents and paternal grandparents, his brothers and their wives and children, and his unmarried sisters and daughters. But in practice, what is more common in Indian villages are of two types: one composed of parents and their married sons and their wives and children and the other composed of brothers and their wives and children. According to him, 'extended' family comprises of husband, wife, children and all his male patrilineal descendants (Dubey, 1955).

5.4.4 I P. Desai

I. P. Desai critically looked at the various categorizations of family and household in the Indian Census. According to him, different types of families need to be studied to understand the social structure of Indian society. He asserts that there are two types of joint family prevalent in India, patrilineal and matrilineal joint families. Although they differ in terms of descent, they practically function as the same. He defined those households as a joint family which has greater generation depth than individual family and the members of which are related to one another by property, income and mutual rights and obligations. He defined 'nuclear family' as those households "composed of a group of parents and their unmarried children, or of husband, wife and unmarried children not related to their other kin through or by property or income or of rights and obligations pertaining to them and as those mutually related through kinship" (Desai, 1955, p. 148).

According to him, it is not co-residence, commensality or the size of the group alone or together that determine the type of family. For him, the relationship between members of the household in terms of kinship, generation depth, property, income and cooperation should be the main criteria for ascertaining the type of family.

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<td>1. I.P. Desai</td>
<td>A. *Kinship Organizations in India*</td>
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<td>2. Iravati Karve</td>
<td>B. *The Joint Family in India: An Analysis*</td>
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	3. S.C. Dubey	C. *Family Structure in Village Lonikand, India*
	4. Pauline Kolenda	D. *The Indian Village*

As it can be observed that different scholars have used different definitions of family in India. Since it is difficult to define the term family as such, it is often considered easier to look at families in terms of households. In the following section, we will understand the difference between family and household, which would be dealt elaborately in Unit 7

5.5 FAMILY AND HOUSEHOLD

In common parlance, the concept of family can have several meanings. The diversity seen in family life across the world makes the post-modern thinkers suggest that it is better to use a broader definition. It can be a household where people live under one roof, or it can be a group comprising of parents and their children. It can extend to all those who are nearly related by ties of kinship and alliance or even those descended from a common lineage. This brings out the need for sociologists and anthropologists to distinguish between family and household which are used simultaneously.

The Indian census had used household and family synonymously. In 1872, it defined it as comprising of those who lived together and ordinarily cooked at the same hearth including their servants and visitors.From 1891 till 1941 the term 'family' was used in place of 'household'. From 1951 Census onward again the concept of the household was used. It defined the household as *'a group of persons who commonly live together and would take their meals from a common*

kitchen unless the exigencies of work prevented any of them from doing so'. It defined its structure as a single member, nuclear, broken nuclear, supplemented nuclear, and joint families(Chakravorty & Singh, 1991). Along with the demographers, the economists too gave importance to the household aspects as a unit of analysis. According to A.M Shah, "these developments in cognate disciplines increase the responsibilities of sociologists and social anthropologists to sharpen, deepen and widen their studies of the household (Shah, 1998, p. 2)

5.6 SUMMING UP

In this unit, we learned about various definitions of family, the difference between elementary and extended family and nuclear and joint family as given by various scholars. We also learned about the difference between family and household.

Key Words:

Elementary family, Extended Family, Nuclear Family, Joint Family, Household

5.7 QUESTIONS

1. What do you understand by elementary and extended family? Explain with various examples.
2. Is there any difference between elementary and nuclear family? Explain your answer.
3. Is there any difference between extended and joint family? Explain your answer.
4. What is the difference between family and household?
5. Explain the contribution of S.C. Dubey in understanding the composition of household in Indian villages

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UNIT 6: FAMILY IN THE CONTEXT OF CARE OF THE CHILD AND THE AGED

UNIT STRUCTURE

6.1 INTRODUCTION

In the previous units, you must have gathered a fair understanding of 'family as a social unit'. This unit would examine 'family as a caregiving unit' with special reference to children and the aged. The unit will span out through three subunits. The first subunit will talk about the family as a social system and how care gets defined in its arena. The second subunit would look into children and child care. This will be followed by the third subunit which would focus on the aged and

examine the caregiving trends. The unit is interspersed with 'read and reflect' boxes. It is expected that students will read the text in the boxes with care and reflect upon it. The content of the unit has anecdotes to make the concepts clear to the reader.

6.2 OBJECTIVES

By the end of this Unit, you are expected to:

- Explain the concepts children, childhood, aged and the old age;
- Describe the types of care and caregivers of children and the aged;
- Analyse the contemporary families and the changing trends of caregiving.

6.3 FAMILY AS A SOCIAL UNIT

The family is the smallest primary group. The term primary group is defined by close relationships and face to face interactions. Charles Horton Cooley is known to have used this term in his book *Social Organisation of the Larger Mind* in 1909. By primary groups, he meant, "…those characterized by intimate face to face association and cooperation. They are primary in several senses but chiefly in that, they are fundamental in forming the social nature and ideals of the individual". The family helps to learn socialization and social interactions. It also contributes to the construction of social identities in terms of ethnicity, culture, gender, race and religion. It ingrains the values and belief systems, language, mannerisms and social skills.

The families can be largely categorized into two types; one is the nuclear family which consists of a couple and their dependent children and two, the joint family system which comprises of generations living under the same roof. The joint family system has an extended family

arrangement where several nuclear units cohabit together. However, with changing times, the typical categories of families are also changing. In a modern Indian society, any of the following family structure can be seen.

Family type		Habitation arrangement
Joint family		Intergenerational cohabitation
Nuclear family		Husband, Wife and their children
Married but divorced or separated	Single parent	Divorced man or woman living alone with their children.
		Divorced man or woman living with respective parents/extended family along with their children
Unmarried and single	Single parent	Single and living alone with their children.
		Single and living with parents/extended family along with their children
Widowed	Single parent	Man or woman living alone with their children after getting widowed
		Man or woman living with parents/extended family along with children

The family system in India has been of great strength and support to the children and the aged. The transactions involving care within a family is not gauged in economic terms. The values and traditions of Indian society, ingrained in the families, ensures that caregiving remains a necessary function of families. In a typical Indian joint family, the

women are expected to take up the role of 'care' givers. The word 'care' is traditionally associated with the 'nurturing' ability of a woman. However, with changing times, there has been a changing trend in the structure of a stereotypical family where the man is the traditional bread earner or provider and mothers are the nurturers and the primary caregivers.

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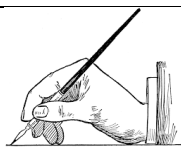
1. Who wrote the book *Social Organisation of the Larger Mind?*

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2. Name the types of family structure as seen in modern Indian society.

6.4 CARING FOR THE CHILDREN

6.4.1 Understanding Children and Childhood

A child goes through several stages of development till it becomes an adult. Various scholars have contributed to identifying these stages. Before going into the domain of care it is important to learn the aspects in which familial care is crucial for the child's overall development and growth. There are four main stages of growth in normal circumstances. These growth stages are accompanied by developmental stages concerning psychosocial and cognition.

Growth stages	Age
Infancy	0-2 years
Early childhood	2-6 years
Middle Childhood	6-12 years
Adolescence	12-18 years

A brief review of the developmental theories thus is necessary to understand this.

1. **Erik Erikson's psychosocial developmental theory** asserts that social interactions and experiences played a decisive role in the development of a child. Each stage of development is marked by a conflict which is instrumental in developing a psychological quality. He talks about seven stages throughout the entire life of an individual. In a nutshell, Erikson believed that social interactions and relationships played a very important role in the development and growth of human beings.

2. **The Behavioural theory propounded by John B Watson and B. F Skinner** says that environmental interaction influences a child's behaviour. This theory deals only with the behaviour which can be observed. Furthermore, it considers that development occurs as a reaction to stimuli, rewards, punishment and reinforcement.

3. **Jean Piaget's theory of cognitive development** emphasized on the stages of development of cognitive abilities in a child. The first stage is the sensorimotor stage (0-2 years) where a child's understanding of the world is limited to its sensory perceptions and motor actions. The second stage, the Pre-operational stage is when a child learns to use language (2-6 years) and becomes egocentric. The third stage is the concrete operational stage (7-11 years) where children begin to think logically about concrete events. The last

stage is the formal operational stage (12 years and above) where the children learnto conceptualize abstract thoughts.

4. **John Bowlby's attachment theory** describes how the growth and development of a child are determined by the attachment of children with their early caregivers. Children who receive constant care and protection during their early childhood tend to develop a secure attachment style. On the other hand, children who do not get to develop that attachment with their caregivers, develop into insecure, ambivalent or disorganized individuals.

5. **Lev Vygotsky's Socio-cultural theory** asserts that learning is largely determined by cultural factors. A child has an innate 'tool of intellectual adaptation', in his words. They use these tools to adapt themselves in the culture they are socialized in and learning takes place in that determined framework. The theory also talks about a concept called the zone of proximal development which includes the knowledge and skills that the child cannot yet perform on its own but can learn by observing or through assistance.

In all these theories, it is palpably clear that the role of a family as a caregiving unit for the children is significant for the physical as well as psychosocial growth and development of the child. As a child grows, the nature of care changes in each developmental stage. The care needed by an infant for its physical and psychosocial growth will be different from the care required by an adolescent. How does a family attend to the different forms of care at each developmental stage of a growing child?

At the stage of infancy, a child receives care largely from the mother. In the case of a joint family system, the women members of the household attend to the immediate needs of an infant. As the child grows the nature of care varies. With passage of time trained care givers are also hired by families to take care of infants. In a traditional Indian family, the women are stereotypically considered as the nurturers, and take up the task of caregivers. However, the caregiving is mostly seemed to be confined to the

growth needs of the child. The psychosocial needs are difficult to comprehend and thus neglected in most cases.

6.4.2 Caregiving as a Gendered Activity

Though families are considered as the primary caregivers for children, caregiving in itself is a gendered activity. The society expects the women to take up the role of a caregiver ascribing caregiving to the presupposed nurturing nature of women. It is assumed that since the women give birth to children, they alone are capable of caring. Terms like 'millennial fathers' hit the popular media highlighting the caregiving abilities of men. Men are now sharing tasks concerning child rearing and caring with the women. The changing structure of families is also responsible for dislodging gender roles in caregiving. For instance, in a nuclear family where both the husband and wife are working, caregiving does not confine itself to the domain of woman alone.

Read and Reflect:

This is the case of a couple from Assam living in Delhi. The husband works as a chartered accountant while the wife is a company secretary at a multinational company. The couple has a one-year-old daughter. Hired caregivers were expensive and was not desirable by the parents. Thus, they came upon an agreeable arrangement. The working hours of the husband were flexible. He spoke to his employers and decided to work in evening shifts after his wife reaches home. The entire day the father used to take care of the child.

Points to ponder:

Did the couple challenge any stereotypes of caregiving here?

6.4.3 Families and Caring for Children

Family in the traditional Indian society is often described as the patrilineal, patrilocal, and extended. Iravati Karve, the renown Indian sociologist considered family to be the third important factor in Indian life, the first two being linguistic region and caste (1965). By family, she emphasized upon the joint family system. The joint family system provided economic, social and emotional security to all its members. In India, the 'transitional families are also largely seen. This refers to the joint families who may stay under the same roof but with a separate kitchen, separate finances and more autonomy. Other may stay in separate households but cluster around. The transitional families are theoretically nuclear in nature but continue to function as the joint family.

In the context of **a joint or a transitional family**, care of the old and the children was ensured. In a joint family, the care of the children is not always entrusted to the biological mother of the child. As all other work, the task of child-rearing and care is also divided among the female members of the family. The grandparents most often take the role of caregivers to their grandchildren.

Nuclear families are composed of the mother, father and their dependent children. A child needs the care of both the mother and father for its growth and socialization. The nuclear family seems like a perfect composite seat to raise a child. In nuclear families, where the husband is working, and the wife is a homemaker, the domain of childcare becomes the woman's responsibility. With transition of time, mostly women are hired to be caregivers which shows the gendered perceptions around caregivers within family and outside family.

A **single parent family** may be an outcome of divorce, separation, the death of a spouse, or single parent adoption. In the case of a single parent child care and rearing becomes very challenging. The single parent family either has to seek help from the extended family members or by paid caregivers.

6.4.4 Caring for the Child- Paid or Unpaid

The care meted out by families for children can be largely categorized into two types- **paid caregiving** and **unpaid caregiving**. Unpaid care has been the norm of caring for children. Unpaid care work refers to "all unpaid services provided within a household of its members, including care of persons, housework and voluntary community work". (Elson, 2000). These works are termed as unpaid work since one could pay a third person to perform these tasks. Care work in families is typically unpaid and carried out mostly by women. Women are 'naturally' entrusted with the task of caring for the children in a family ascribing t to their 'nurturing instincts'.

Paid work refers to hiring a third person to do the task and paying money for the same. The increase in the number of working women has led to a rise in paid childcare. The paid caregivers could be individuals serving individual homes or organized day-care centres. The individual caregivers may come from the neighbourhood low-income locality or from registered agencies. The paid caregivers are largely women, who are then placed in the households and take care of children in exchange for money. The other form of paid childcare is the day-care centres or the crèches which takes care of a group of children for a fixed number of hours. Despite the upsurge of paid services, parents prefer to keep their kin, mostly grandparents, as caregivers for the children. Family, in all circumstances, are still considered to be the best caregivers. Though grandparents are themselves in need of care and protection, they are the ones helping modern families in caring and rearing for their children.

Read and Reflect:

The Borboruahs are a prominent family in Lakhimpur district of Assam. Mr Girija Borboruah was the mouzadar of the largest mouza near Lakhimpur town. He has three sons. The elder two sons work on the family property and live with the aged parents while the younger

one works as a junior engineer with the Assam State Electricity Board. The eldest one assists his father in the revenue collection work in the mouza. The second son takes care of the farmland and the cows. Mr Borboruah, his wife and the two elder sons stay in their ancestral house. The youngest one is posted in a town 250 kms from Lakhimpur. All the sons are married and have two children each. The youngest daughter in--law works in a school while the elder daughters in law earn some money during Bihu season by selling homemade savouries.

The eldest son has a son aged 12 and a daughter aged 9. The second son has two daughters aged 7 and 4. The youngest son has a small daughter aged 2 years. The Bihu season was around the corner and the two elder daughters in law were busy making the rice powder based savouries. They had to work almost 6 hours every day, apart from the daily home-based chores. The grandparents used to take care of the children while their mothers worked

On the other hand, the youngest son staying away from the family was facing many difficulties in taking care of his 2-year-old daughter. They had to hire help from a nearby teagarden to babysit the child while both the parents were away in their respective jobs. The child was growing up to be emotionally vulnerable and insecure.

Points to ponder:

1.Identify the nuclear and the joint family setups in Borboruah family

2. How do the different family structures attend to the needs of the children?

3. Identify the paid and unpaid forms of child care at the Borboruah household. Which form of care is better in your opinion? Discuss.

6.5 CARING FOR THE AGED

6.5.1 Defining Age and Aging

When Mahatma Gandhi's grandson Kanubhai Ramdas Gandhi and his wife Dr. Shiva Laxmi Gandhi moved into the Guru Vishram Vridh Ashram, it caused quite a stir. It was a national news when the country's Prime

Minister along with two ministers paid them a prompt visit. Why did they have to stay at an old age home? Don't they have any children? What about their relatives? These are a few questions which are raised in Indian societies when one hears about old age homes.

Adult children who opt for old age homes for their aged parents are still frowned upon in Indian societies. Old age homes are not considered to be a viable and respectable option for the aged. In the land of Shravan Kumar, where elderly parents are traditionally worshipped and revered, it is still a stigma to send the aged to an old age home. Before we go into the ambit of care and caregiving, what do we understand by 'aged'? What makes one an 'old man'? What distinguishes a person as a senior citizen?

The ageing can be defined in many ways. One may think of ageing as simply the progression of years and the accompanied physiological and psychological changes. Another way of looking at it could be the socio-cultural aspects of ageing. The four main dimensions of looking at age are chronologically, physiologically, psychologically and socially.

Chronological age	Number of years since one was born. Your birthdays mark your chronological age.
Physiological age	The functional ageing (also called senescence) refers to biological events over time which progressively impairs the physiological system
Psychological age	Changes in the mindset, ambitions, feelings, opinions, memory, learning, self-esteem and emotions over time
Social age	A particular society imposes notions of appropriateness in accordance to one's chronological age. For instance, a 60-year-old widower in Indian society is too old to get married.

Ageing can also be divided into three kinds- one is the **primary ageing** which happens due to the progression of age. The gradual deterioration of mental faculties and physiological functioning due to a progressing chronological age could be termed as a primary ageing. For instance, an old man of 95 years old would be 'naturally' a little hard of hearing or slow in taking his steps. His memory also may not be very clear.

The second type is **secondary ageing** which happens due to some physical problems like illness. A person who may be suffering from some disease or physiological disorder, for instance, diabetes, could trigger the ageing conditions far faster than his chronological age. Let us suppose a man of 55 suffering from diabetes and hypertension. He has been taking medicines for his chronic condition which has affected the normal functioning of his body. He has gained weight, he has become sluggish and he started looking old. This is secondary ageing

Tertiary ageing has a lot to do with psychological ageing which could occur due to the occurrence of some grave tragedy or disaster. For example, let's take a 50-year-old mother lost her adolescent son in a road accident. Since then, she has started living a listless life. The event has gradually diminished her will to live. Without the vigour and a life to look forward to, she started living a slow life. She was ageing fast. Her physiological ageing was triggered by her psychological state. This is tertiary ageing.

With such multiple dimensions playing around the word 'aged' or 'elderly' or 'old', it becomes challenging to have a standard definition for the aged. To ease out administrative procedures, it is thus necessary to fix a particular age for considering the aged population. In India, the age of senior citizenship is fixed at 65 years of age. The government has certain social security measures ranging from pensions, lesser travel fare, priority assistance at public places etc. for the senior citizen. The state-sponsored social security measures for the aged in India is not as comprehensive as in the developed nations. For instance, the services accessed by an aged in

Mumbai is far distant from the services available to the old in a district in Jharkhand. Unlike the developed nations, where the state takes over the care and security of the senior citizens, India still adheres to traditional familial caregiving systems.

6.5.2 The Domains of Care

In the Indian society, the responsibility of the care of the old has been traditionally filial. The care of the elderly can be categorized into three domains- **Physical, Social** and **Psychological/emotional.**

The progressing age slows down bodily functions which may cause certain physical problems in the elderly. The elderly, as age progresses, may find it difficult to manage daily chores independently. In developed countries, the physical care of the elderly is taken care of by the state or by institutions. In Indian societies, physical care remains solely the responsibility of the family.

The social needs are important for the well-being of the elderly (Shankardas and Kumar, 1996). A fulfilling social life is responsible to maintain a good psychological health of the aged. The family provides a good beginning to perform a social life. Retirement may cause a sudden loss of role which could have an emotional impact on the person. The family plays an important role in helping them in shifting from the older roles. The shifting of roles helps to a large extent in helping an aged to live a fulfilling life. For instance, an aged may go to the neighbourhood *namghar* (A community hall for prayer, religious activities as well as discussion among the village folk in Assam). every day to sing prayer songs. In the process, he may meet other people of his own age group and get an alternate social life. On another occasion, the aged may find it fulfilling to teach his grandchild. This is how a family pitches in to provide for a role shift. The emotional needs of the aged can largely be fulfilled by the family. The emotional or the psychological needs could be in the form of want of recognition, love, and care. Staying with family, connecting with grandchildren could give the elderly the emotional fulfilment.

The aged are looked upon as harbingers of wisdom, carriers of traditional knowledge and are respected and looked up to in matters big and small. However, the post-colonial Indian family in the era of globalization, liberalization and privatization has gone through various shifts and changes. The rise of the nuclear families has had an impact on the familial care for the elderly.

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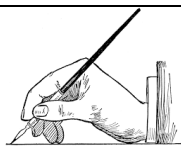
1. Name the three kinds of ageing.

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2. What are the four main dimensions of age?

6.5.3 Habitation Arrangements of the Aged in Contemporary Times

There are five different situations which the aged face in the current times.

i)   The aged live with the adult children under the same roof in the same house and in their native locality. This is an ideal situation for the psychological well-being of the aged. They do not have to face the challenges of adjusting to a new place and they also find the comfort in the old social networks.

ii)   The aged live in their own house while the adult children live in a separate house within proximal distance. The adult children come and meet the aged parents once in a week or fortnightly. They also visit their adult children's homes once in a while for a change.

iii)   In the third scenario, the aged live in their native location while the adult children have migrated to a different city on account of professional demands. They come to visit their aged parents once in a few months. The aged in such scenarios miss the warmth of family and feel lonely.

iv)   In the fourth scenario, the aged move out of their native location to live with their adult children. They would miss the comfort of their home ground and would have to adjust to the changed context. The families of the adult children might find it difficult to cope with the added expenditure and responsibilities.

v)   The aged parents continue to stay in their native location. Their adult children have migrated to a different country. They send money but can visit only once in a couple of years. The financial security is there but the aged feels the emotional void. This may have serious psychological impacts

vi)   In the last scenario, the aged parents are living in a paid institutional care like an old age home, away from the children.

Adult children move out of their parental home in search of jobs. This leads to the breakdown of the joint family system where intergenerational care in families was common. The rise of nuclear families has pushed the aged to vulnerable zones. The adult children leave home in search of jobs and often the aged are left to care for themselves. Incase if they agree to move in with their adult children to be close to family, there are other challenges that emerge. The increase in the cost of living in urban centres has posed the aged as an added economic burden. Physical ailments increase with the progression of age and that adds on to the costs of the household. For instance, a study on the aged population suffering from dementia found that the average annual expenditure on care is estimated at Rs. 45000 to Rs. 202450 in urban areas and Rs. 20300 to Rs. 66025 in rural areas (Rao and Bharath, 2013). Similarly, other ailments like diabetes, hypertension, high

blood pressure, etc. demands expenditure and families increasingly find it burdensome.

Nuclear families settling out of their ancestral locations finds it burdensome to shell out a dwelling space within their home. The cities witness a regular struggle for space. The paucity of space becomes an added worry when the aged moves in with their adult children.

The nuclear families, in their struggle to keep up with the market economy, strive to provide the economic support as well as the emotional and social needs of the elderly. The aged often find it challenging to get uprooted from their ancestral place, where they have invested in social networks for years, and get readjusted in a new place. It becomes too taxing for a senior citizen to cope with the new ways of life in the new context. The aged parents and the adult children often find themselves stuck between the expected traditional roles and the new realities of the modern market-driven society.

Mr and Mrs Bose have two daughters. Both are married and settled in Mumbai. Mr Bose recently suffered a mild pressure stroke. Both the daughters came rushing down to be with their parents. After a few days, Mrs Bose urged them to go back and attend to 'their' families. On their insistence, the Mr and Mrs Bose agreed to go back to Mumbai along with their daughters. They stayed at the elder one's home and could sense that her in-laws were not taking their arrival too well. After a few days, they shifted to their younger daughter's place. They felt suffocated in the small rooms and cramped space. Finally, they cut their trip short and returned to their native place to live a lonely life.

What are your opinions on 'married' daughters being the caregivers of the aged? Have you come across a similar situation?

6.5.4 Care by the Spouse

The spouse taking the role of the primary caregiver of the aged in the familial context is very commonly seen in India. Considering the different habitation arrangements given above, the aged couple is often left to lead a life in each other's company. The spouse assumes the role of the primary caregiver. In the earlier times, the considerable age gap between the husband and wife ensured the wife taking up the role of the caregiver. However, there are limits to which the care by a spouse can compensate for familial care.

6.6 SUMMING UP

The unit attends to care of children and aged in the context of the family. The unit begins by visiting the concept of family as a social unit. In the section dealing with children, we learn how caring for children still remains a largely gendered activity falling into the lap of the fairer gender. The caregiving patterns and issues in the joint family and nuclear family structures are different. The emergence of paid caregiving as an offshoot of the breakdown of the joint family system is an emerging issue. However, the needs of the children at every developmental stage are still believed to be fulfilled by unpaid familial care.

The section on the aged begins by understanding whom do we think is 'an aged'? What are the different aspects of ageing? What are the factors responsible for their wellbeing? The breakdown of the joint family system has brought the care of the elderly into crossroads. Considering that Indian society is still not ready to embrace institutional care for the old, the concerns are yet to be attended. The section considers different habitation arrangements of the aged in the familial context and examines the issues. Caregiving of aged parents by married daughters requires a special mention considering the Indian traditions. The caregiving by a spouse is largely found to be a frequent phenomenon.

Familial caregiving still exists but is undergoing a transition considering rapid urbanization and breakdown of joint family systems. The emerging concerns demand alternative models of caregiving for children and the aged.

6.7 QUESTIONS

I. Caring for Children

1. What are the different types of family structures you see in contemporary Indian Societies?
2. What are the four growth stages in a child? Reflect on the type of care a child needs in each stage.
3. What do you mean by unpaid care? Who provides unpaid care?
4. Enlist a few paid caregivers for children that you have witnessed. What kind of care do they give?
5. Visit a day care centre or a crèche and select three children. Understand their families and analyse the caregiving they are receiving from the family as well as the day-care centre.

II. Caring for the Aged

1. How do you define an 'aged person'? What causes ageing?
2. What are the different domains of caring for the aged?
3. Changing family structure has caused problems for the aged. Discuss.
4. Identify one case in each of the six habitation arrangements listed in the Unit. Analyse the issues and challenges faced by the aged in each situation.
5. Visit an old age home. Talk to at least three aged persons and understand the family background and analyse the circumstances which brought them there.

6.8 RECOMMENDED READINGS AND REFERENCES

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UNIT 7: CHANGING DISCOURSE OF MARRIAGE

UNIT STRUCTURE

7.1 Introduction

7.2 Objectives

7.3 Marriage and Kinship

7.4 Marriage and Companionate Couples

7.5 Marriage in the Middle East

7.6 Pattern of Change

7.7 Marriage and Migration

7.8 Summing Up

7.9 Questions

7.10 Recommended Readings and References

7.1 INTRODUCTION

Marriage is considered to be an important element of our social system and it lies at the root of social organisation. The functionality of this social institution is to provide an heir which involves the processes of mating, childbearing and childrearing. Here, humans as social beings have the choice to alternatively choose from the courses of group formation, succession, mating arrangements, etc. Henceforth, the study of kinship in relation to marriage explains why and which alternative an individual chooses and whatits consequences are. In anthropology, the rules of residence post marriage which prescribe which spouse will move on marriage,are an important feature distinguishing one kinship from another. The traditional kinship studies have not focused on the gendered nature of migration on marriage. While discussing the discourse on changing marriage patterns, the central questions that this Unit engages in are: as to what extent individuals in South Asia are moving away from their traditional system of arranged marriage where the autonomy of spouse selection lies with the parents; how the criteria for evaluating the suitability

of a match either for oneself or for one's child are changing; and lastly,how the traditional rules governing marriages are being relaxed or adhered to. Additionally, the Unit also tries to explore the diverse ways the cultural exchanges and migration have been changing the traditional idea of marriage per se.

7.2 OBJECTIVES

By the end of this Unit, you are expected to:

- Describe marriage in the traditional kinship system;
- Explain the changing nature of marriage as an institution;
- Analyse marriage as an institution for social mobility.

7.3 MARRIAGE AND KINSHIP

The objective of this Unit is not to discuss the structural link between kinship and caste, yet marriage cannot be explained in absence of the caste system since 'endogamy' i.e., marriage within the caste or sub-caste group is one of the essential pillars of Indian society

A.M. Shah in his book, *The Family in India*, mentions that the first-order and the second-order caste divisions which do not have lower order sub-divisions and which practise hypergamy extensively are witnessing a pattern of change in their marriages. In these divisions, an increasing number of marriages are taking place, that seem to replace the traditional hierarchy. According to Shah, the Rajput-Koli observe inter-caste marriages because of the increased Sanskritisation as well as Rajputisation among the Kolis and prohibition of polygyny and the devolution of the princely states and feudal land tenures among the Rajputs (Shah,1998).

In contemporary society, it is pertinent to comprehend that the idea and practice of inter-caste marriages are tied to the idea of creating a casteless society.

G.S. Ghurye pointed out long ago that slow consolidation of the smaller castes into larger ones 'would lead to three or four large groups being solidly organised for pushing the interests of each even at the cost of the others…Further, during the lengthy process of slow amalgamation those who will marry in defiance of the barriers of sub-caste, will still be imbued with caste mentality'(1932:84).

Changes in the internal divisions and organisation of caste need to be emphasised to discuss the changes in the field of marriage. This social institution witnessed internal changes mainly with an increase in the marriageable age of people. Besides legislation, the main factors that can be attributed to such phenomena are education, the time needed to establish oneself in service or entrepreneurship and the idea of late marriage propagated as a social reform. A resultant effect was the younger generation now had an opinion in their marriage. Shah maintains that even though child marriages are things of the past, yet marriages are arranged by parents for their children even before they could assert themselves or could think over the issue. Also, girls do not have the same amount of assertion as compared to the boys. Hence, such arranged marriage alliances are usually within the same caste division, thus conforming to the traditional caste endogamy. He opines that the four factors-legislation, education, employment and social reform have had not much impact on marriages in villages as well as among the lower sections of the population in the towns per se (Shah,1998)

A.M. Shah has lucidly explained that the choice in marriage among the upper castes in towns has a different explanation altogether. During the initial period of change, if the prospective groom or bride violated the rules of caste then they had to deal with a lot of opposition and at times with ostracism and in extreme cases,even suicide by parents. Moreover, the caste Panchayat would also boycott them. This spirit of opposition gradually gave way to the spirit of accommodation and adjustment. To enhance the choice of marriage or the chances of spouse selection, the older

generation created conditions where a young boy or girl of the caste would meet, get acquainted and fix engagements—all under the surveillance of the older generation. Accordingly, the younger generation has also reciprocated this enlargement of choice by the older generation by simply responding to their parents' wishes. As, I.P. Desai says, 'Nobody marries for maintaining caste or for breaking it' (1988:100). For most children, happiness in marriage is directly proportional to the happiness of their parents and other relatives. Most children, therefore, allow their parents to search for suitable partners for them in consultation with them (Shah,1998)

On the other hand, the younger generation, who choose their partners themselves often do so within the limits set by their parents. Many "modern" boys and girls defend their decision to marry for "love" within their caste by saying, 'After all, husband and wife should have the same "culture" (sanskar). Otherwise, they will not be happy'. Marriage across the boundaries of the first-order division is still not the preferred thing. According to A.M. Shah, to assess the impact of inter-caste marriages we need to inquire what happens to the children of inter-caste marriage. In other words, whose caste does the child adopt—the father's or the mother's? Evidence suggests an inclination towards father's caste. He has also found many cases of reversal that is when the children marry, it is either within the father's or the mother's caste. In such cases, the impact of the original inter-caste marriage is nullified.

The patterns of marriage as discussed above, exhibit how freedom of choice in spouse selection as against arranged marriage, is linked to the ideaof creating a casteless society. But we also need to be critical of the fact that while caste has been attacked ideologically; the network of relatives has escaped such attacks. For an individual,her/his network of relatives is the most concrete representation of her/his caste and many "modern" individuals ideologically averse to caste are not averse to the network of relatives and thus they might be deeply involved in it without perceiving the contradiction. Having discussed the importance of the role

of the kin in traditional marriage alliances, we can deduce as far as traditional preferences for close-kin marriages are concerned, the extent of change is minimal in such kin-based marriage alliances (Shah,1998).

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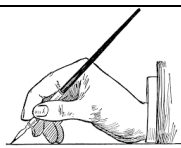
1. Who wrote the book *The Family in India*?

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2. What do you think is the role played by caste in terms of marriages in India in recent times?

7.4 MARRIAGE AND COMPANIONATE COUPLES

Peter Mayer in his study of suicide in the article "Thinking Clearly About Suicide in India" interrogates the sociological fact which may be almost termed as "law", that is marriage provides protection from suicide. In other words, marriage lowers the risk of suicide for individuals. In France, Durkheim found that marriages offered greater protection to men than to women. Durkheim states, that this protection is grounded in the "integration" that marriage provides especially those families with children. Mayer states that India stands as a stark exception to such wisdom. This thread of discussion tries to inquire into the nature of the social transformation in the nature of the family which is occurring in India. After

Independence, the Indian state had set on its endeavour to emulsify itself as a developmental state. Thus, the initiated policies changed the industrial landscape into large state-owned enterprises. These economic reformulations provided a conducive environment for cultural exchanges which had serious social consequences for its people as well. Mayer states that the cultural changes occurring in India have strong parallels to the experiences in Europe in the modern era, particularly in the nature of changes in marriage relationships (Mayer,2016)

Peter Mayer in his article tries to establish that the pursuit of the younger generation to have a companionate marriage, propelled by popular culture, has led to a generational conflict which ultimately culminates in suicide. The 19th-century sociology had a consensus that one of the causes of modernisation was the gradual separation of individuals from traditional social ties. Henceforth, though clear majority acquiesces arranged marriages by their parents, simultaneously there is also a strong desire among the educated youths in the urban areas to settle for companionate marriages. Notions of romantic marriage and individualisation are intertwined and have gained a political importance. They are linked to democracy and modernity- love being viewed as an emotion that is free and an individual choice. In south India, which has an impressive rate of female literacy, high female empowerment and intense media consumption, the tensions that emanate between conforming to the expectations of older social conventions or traditions and the dreams and aspirations of companionate marriage which may lead to suicide. Moreover, the idea of having a marriage based on romantic attraction is presumed to have a weak foundation and which will not last long. These bitter ironies illuminate the changing nature of personal relations and the structure of marriage and family in India (Mayer, 2016).

7.5 MARRIAGE IN THE MIDDLE EAST

In the Middle East, marriage to close kin is very common and preferred by the Muslims even though their religion does not prescribe them specifically. Several ethnographic studies of South Asian Muslim communities have also reported a preference for marriage to consanguine relatives. The practice of marrying within close kin members is a characteristic of maintaining and sustaining their khandan (members of a large extended family). Family genealogies confirm that in the past the khandan was practically a closed, endogamous group. Marriages to first cousins (of all kinds) as well as to second and more distant cousins were common. In earlier generations arranged marriages rarely accommodated marriage of a khandan man or women to a non-relative. And almost never was marriage solemnised outside the Nawwayat fold, but occasionally a man whose first khandani wife has deceased may choose to marry a non-Nawwayat woman to be his second wife. Engaging in a polygynous marriage with a non-Nawwayat woman, while his first wife is alive was rare. In most cases,the second wife in polygynous marriage comes from Muslim families with lower social class or were of Hindu background, converted to Islam before marriage. Children of such women were seldom married to full-blooded members of the khandan; the preferential union was circumscribed to others with similarly mixed descent (Vatuk, 2014)

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. What is 'khandan'?

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2. What is the preferred form of marriage in the Middle East?

7.6 PATTERN OF CHANGE

In contemporary times, among the middle-class marriages within khandan are being encouraged. This is evident in the increase in number of matrimonial web portals dedicated for graduates of educational institutions to specific annual income. These dedicated web portals signify how caste, class continue to shape matrimonial alliances. In arranged marriages, though the families encourage men and women to make their independent choices, yet boys are able to express their opinions and preferences freely compared to girls.   There is also an increasing trend of arranged romantic marriages. In cases such as these, two young people acquainted at school or at work are persuaded by their respective parents to marry. Amidst such changes, there are cases of honour killing due to inter-caste marriages, caste panchayats declaring annulment of marriage to maintain territorial exogamy or families being ostracised due to inter-caste and inter religious marriages. What is significant to note is how local practices have introduced new ritual elements in marriage practices. For instance, a study shows among the Muslim in Gulwar village Mahar, a gift of money or valuables is observed on paper but not in practice. On the other hand, payment of dowry has come prevalent. (Hussain Khan, 2003).   Hussain Khan (2003) argues that this clearly indicates the local influence. Scholars like Prem Chowdhry (2004), Nitya Rao (2005) in their works on village exogamy has shown how women continue to be perceived as objects of 'community' honour be it through marriage rules (in case of North Indian kinship' or through the property rights enjoyed by married women in Jharkhand under Santal Parganas Tenancy Act. This shows how ideas of purity of blood plays an important role determining marriage choices among members in a khandan. Those who are of pure descent has a mark of distinction in symbolic terms, thus maintaining community identity (Vatuk,2014).

7.7 MARRIAGE AND MIGRATION

Migration or voluntary migration is essentially motivated by the desire for upward social mobility or better economic opportunities. In most societies, marriages provide an important arena for the achievement, consolidation and affirmation of upward social mobility and for enhancing a family's "social capital" in both the short and the long run (Bourdieu 1977:70). Additionally, certain motivations and structural restraints like lack of work opportunities and age-related constraints combined with the cultural belief that marriage and economic support from husband are the ultimate blessings for women drive them to opt for transnational arranged marriage (Palriwala,2008)

U. Kalpagam's article 'American Varan' Marriages among Tamil Brahmins: Preferences, Strategies and Outcomes, shows how the Tamil Brahmin families seek status mobility and international migration and match-making preferences such as cross-cousin or uncle-niece marriages are set aside, though kin and other social networks are tapped for information on eligible migrant partners. In the competition for the 'American Boon', the bride's kin must supplement to the gender asymmetric and the traditional hierarchical superiority of the 'bride-takers' over the 'bride-givers'. Grooms are ranked and selected in terms of their likelihood to achieve permanent settlement abroad while brides are selected to fit the traditional requirement of wives to the breadwinner husbands— beautiful, domesticated and familiar with the culinary mores of 'home' with the right sub-caste and sectarian affiliation. Simultaneously the logic behind seeking wives from the home countries among the diaspora communities is the assumption that they would be more docile which would help assert communal identity in foreign lands (Kalpagam,2008).

Katharine Charsley in her article, "Vulnerable Brides and Transnational Ghar Damads: Gender, Risk and Adjustment among Pakistani Marriage Migrants to Britain" explains the recent Pakistani marriage migrants to the UK, male migrants might emigrate by contracting marriages with the

daughters of the earlier migrants in their destination countries. These men who generally belong to the patrilineal-structured societies, i.e. in-marrying women, suffer the emotional and social difficulties of asymmetric adjustments when they have to perform a familial trajectory-that of the Ghar Damad or resident/in-married son-in-law which is belittled in their own cultures. Minimally, they may feel that their masculinity is seriously compromised in their inability to take on the normative male-provider role in societies that do not recognise their qualifications, pushing skilled and qualified workers into menial and manual occupations, if not long-term unemployment. Sadly, as Charsley describes, reassertions of masculinity may be at the cost of their wives, their children and marriage. In simpler terms, it would exacerbate domestic violence on women and children(Charsley,2008).

Ester Gallo's article 'Unorthodox Sisters: Gender Relations and Generational Change among Malayali Migrants in Italy" details that the original "pioneer" migrants, women of the Syrian Christian community from Kerala, India had gone to Italy in the early 1970s under the pretext of becoming nuns veiling the underlying processes of not being able to ensure good marriages and dowries. Subsequently, some of them left convents, married non-Malayali men and sought employment which enabled them to provide remittances to their natal homes and to arrange the marriage of their junior kin in Kerala and transnationally. In this case, Gallo describes while gender hierarchies in conjugal ties are mostly reasserted in transnational traffic of wives, earning migrant daughters may enjoy more freedom in selecting their partners. They provide financial support before and after marriage and gain a say in the selection of spouse for younger kin. It is ironical that once the women who migrated to escape spinsterhood or the burden of dowry, now visibly engage in the "work of kinship" and contribute to their female kin's dowries bringing much prestige to the family as a result. This new found economic independence of women migrations has led to a shift in their models of conjugality and perhaps a renegotiation of gender roles. The author remarks marriage payments

'represent a relatively "traditional" framework through which families can express "modern" achievements in terms of educational, social or geographical mobility and access to consumer goods'. Thus, marriage migration does not merely reflect the individual choice but also family aspirations and mobility strategies (Gallo, 2008).

Ashley Tellis brings into discussion the idea of marriage embedded in same-sex love. The hegemonic nature of the ideology that sexual love is the appropriate kind of love only when embedded in marriage, and that marriage is the basis of social citizenship becomes apparent even when we move to homosexual relationships. Tellis in the article, "Multiple Ironies" finds the aspiration of many of his gay informants as well as gay rights advocates, is of a conjugality embedded in the institution of marriage. It appears that the legality of marriage, the conjugal division of roles and of practices (power relations), indeed the emotional model of marriage, are difficult to question (Tellis, 2008).

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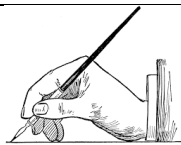
1. Write about some of the factors that lead to transnational arranged marriages in India.

7.8 SUMMING UP

New public imaginations of marriage hastened by modernity, globalisation and individualisation have altered the dynamics of marriage and its practices. Instead of assuming unidirectional change that extended family is increasingly being replaced by nuclear family and arranged marriage has given way to marriages on individual choice, we need to comprehend the dialectics of change in the institution of marriage and the dynamics of marriage practices and the shifts in economy, polity, family, all affected by globalisation processes. Changing opportunities of work propel marriage migration, new institutional structures give rise to new modes of match-making, re-establish traditional norms such as dowry and new imaginations of marriage allows us to draw in new concepts of conjugal and intimate relationships—same-sex marriage. So, is marriage as a social institution withering away? What seems is thatthe traditional form of marriage as discussed above about kinship has not changed much, but its dimensions and its functions have changed. Hence, serious transfiguration in the institution of marriage is debatable.

Contemporary marriages seem to be intertwined with the varied contours of love, materialistic pursuits, emotion and sexuality. The fantasy of marriage and settling down has colonised our sub-consciousness and it is difficult to imagine our lives outside the normative frameworks of heterosexuality, modern marriage and family (Tellis, 2008).

7.9 QUESTIONS

1. "Marriage as an institution is eroding away". Do you agree? Substantiate.
2. Discuss marriage in the Middle-East among the Muslims and its pattern of change.
3. Elucidate how marriage is used as a social capital in contemporary times.

4. What are the various ways and forms of matchmaking in contemporary marriages. Why do you think the traditional forms of arranging marriage by parents has declined?

5. Love is a neo-liberal fantasy. Discuss how the idea of romantic love is a propaganda in popular culture.

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