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Sociology of Kinship

BASCC303

CENTRE FOR DISTANCE AND ONLINE EDUCATION



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**SOCIOLOGY OF KINSHIP
(BASCC303)**

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SYLLABUS

Sociology of Kinship

Objectives

- To demonstrate to the students the social importance of kinship ties and familiarise her/him with the rich diversity in the types of networks of relationships created by genealogical links of marriage and other social ties.
- To show to the students how the study of kinship systems in different ethnographic settings can facilitate a comparative understanding of societies and social institutions.
- To expose the students to the different approaches, issues and debates in studies of kinship, marriage and family.

Sr. No.	Content
1	Sociology of Kinship: Nature and significance of the subject
2	Basic terms and concepts: Lineage, clan, phratry, moiety, kingroup, kindred, incest, descent, Inheritance, succession, consanguinity and affinity.
3	Approaches to the study of kinship: historical and evolutionary, Structural functional, Cultural, gender perspective
4	Kinship terminology, Kinship as an organizing principle: descent- patrilineal, matrilineal, double and cognatic descent
5	Kinship as an organising principle: descent groups, corporate groups and local groups, Changes in Land and Lineage Structure.
6	Concept, forms, significance, Monogamy and polygamy, Mate selection in India and the West, Bride-wealth and Dowry
7	Changing trends in marriage, Divorce, widowhood and remarriage, Rules of residence: virilocal, uxrilocal, neolocal and natolocal residence, The genealogical method
8	Family & Household, Definition of Family, nature of family, Forms and functions of family, Development Cycle of family in India.
9	Joint Family: Forms and functions, Impact of Industrialization, Urbanization and Modernization on Joint Family, Future of Family: Emerging alternatives- Singlehood, cohabitation, Female headed households
10	Family Problems: Violence in families, Desertion & Divorce, Dowry death & Bride Burning, Family and marriage in India: Regional diversities, Forces of change, family in the context of care of the child and the aged. Demographic dimensions of family and marriage

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Unit 1: Nature and Significance of the Subject

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Objectives

Introduction

- 1.1 Role and Importance of Kinship in Social Structure
- 1.2 Summary
- 1.3 Keywords
- 1.4 Review Questions
- 1.5 Further Readings

Objectives

After studying this unit students will be able to:

- Understand the meaning of Kinship.
- Know the characteristics and importance of Kinship.

Introduction

Kinship is also known in Hindi language by the words 'Sangotrata', 'Bandhutv' and 'Swajan' etc. Kinship and marriage are the basic facts of life.

The concept of marriage arises due to desire for sex and marriage in turn creates family and Kinship. With the origin of the words, financial welfare and security are those feelings which have played an important role in uniting individuals. The feeling of community security only inspired man to make small organizations which range from family to nation. A person feels more secured among people belonging to same religion, language and nation and more so among his kins with whom he shares his social, moral and financial welfare. A person can change his nationality, religion, state but not his kinship.



Notes

Kinship involves blood relation. Therefore it is considered a confirm and trust-worthy in wild and uncivilized tribes to civilized societies.

Meaning and Definition of Kinship: Charles Winick has defined kinship as "Kinship system may include socially recognised relationships based on supposed as well as actual genealogical ties".

According to **Redcliff Brown**, "Kinship is the approved relation of lans for social purposes which is the basis of traditional relations in social institutions."

According to **Dr. Reverse**, "Kinship is that relationship which can be fixed and described by genealogical medium".

Notes

According to **Lucy Mayor**, "Social relations are expressed by live words in kinship".

According to **Robin Fox**, Very lasy definition of kinship is, "Kinship is the relation between only the kindered i.e. relation between real, known, imagined or people.

It is clear from the analysis of the definitions stated above that we include those people in kinship who have the same lineage as owns, co-lineage relations occur due to family and is also dependent on family such relations need acceptance by society. Sometimes some relatives who are not biologically related but have been accepted by Society are also considered as kin. For example an adopted son is not the real son of a father but as their relation has been accepted by the society so they are considered as kin to each others.

In polyandry toda tribe, anyone can be the biological father of a child but socially only that person will be considered father who has performed the ritual named "Porcupine. The same thing can be observed in the marriage with brother-in-law, a man is allowed to marry a widowed wife of his brother in law & sister in law in marriage with brother in law, a man is allowed to marry a widowed wife of his brother. The offspring from such a marriage are also considered to be those of the deceased brother only. In marriage to sister in law, a man is allowed to marry the sister of his dead (deceased) wife and such a sister obtains the post of her sister. So, in kinship it is not required to be related biologically or by blood for the attainment of social goals. The reason for this is that kinship is a social fact in which acceptance by society is important. Rules of social acceptance are different at different places and societies. There is no universal way for it. In kinship we include both, blood relatives and of final relatives (relatives by marriage). Blood relatives can be said to be the internal system and so final relatives to be the external system of kinship.



Notes

In India, during olden times, if a lady give birth to a male child before marriage or after marriage by the consent of the husband but through another man that child was also included in kinship and called as 'Kishetraj'.

1.1 Role and Importance of Kinship in Social Structures

After understanding the principles of kinship a person also becomes able to understand the other aspects of the society. Kinship is a real institution in simple and primitive societies. **Firth's** belief is that kinship is an axle around which the life of a person ratites, it controls his behavior in innumerable conditions. Study of kinships not only thrilling but also useful. The role and importance of kinship in the social structure can be expressed under the various headings described below:

- 1. Determination of Family and Marriages:** It is kinship which fixed the area of marriage of a person. Which type of marriage is banned, which type is recognized and which type has been given preference. In other words, internal marriage, external marriage, parallal cousin and cross cousin marriages etc. are decided only on the basis of kinship. Members based in blood relation and of final relations are found in a family. Both the members are called kins. Expansion of family is basically expansion of kinship too. Types of family depicts the differences in the roles of family members. For example, in a matrilineal family, the role of brother is important in his sister's family. He is the one who directs the family and he is the centre of all types of financial activities. The power and control of the family lies in his hands. The husband does not play an important role in such types of families. On the contrary, in patrilineal families the role of a brother in the family of sister in negligible. Anthropologists such as Redcliff brown has practically analysed the system of kinship. He believes that marriage and kinship create arrangement between each other.

2. **Determination of Descent, Inheritance and Succession:** Kinship determine geneology. The family, descent clan, phratry are the elaborated forms of kinship only. By gaining knowledge about the decent relatives of the past a person feels that he is not without a historical background and he too has his roots which all people will have right to transferred, all this gets decided on the basis of kinship only. The initial studies of kinship was done by advocates and legal experts to probably gain knowledge about grihts, claims, duties, paternal rights, contracts etc. and give them a statutory sanction (Legal form). They also wanted to create such rules that who would inmerit whom and what would one obtain. If someone else other that the kin gets the right of inheritance then kinship is analysed and the order of preference among them is decided. The rules of desecent inheritance and sucesion are different in patrilineal and matrilineal families. In all types of societies kinship ties are used to define the relation between the master of the property the successors, inheriters and the relation between them. According to **Lucy Mayor**, "in the societies of easy and adoptable methodology the place of any person in the society, his rights and duties, his claim on property almost depend with other members on the basis of his kinship and birth relations. In such a societies irrespective of the prevailing organisational principles the primary groups are generally associated with the fraternity".
3. **Safeguard of Economic Interest:** Mardock writes –kingroup does not represent an individual but second line of defence. When a person is an a difficult situation or when he needs to complete a financial or cultural duty, in short, when outside the family he needs some help, then he can look upon his vast kingroup for help. Therefore in comparison to community or complete caste, the kin have the utmost duty to help him. Similarly he is also attached to his relatives by traditional importance because a person feels that his blood relatives are more close to him in comparison to affinal relatives. **Lucy Mayour** writes," In various societies, the accepted bonds of kinship provide rights to people on fields and property, help in the attainment of equal rights and dominance on others. The affluent people have a duty that they should work for the welfare of the dependent people. It is the duty of all the people that on such occasions when there is a question of kinship and brotherhood, they should mutually co-operate". In this way only the kith and kins provide refuge and help to person at the time of economic crisis.



Task

What do you know about the role and importance of kinship in social structure?

4. **Fulfilment of Social Responsibilities:** **Lovy** says that a relative provides free services to the other relative without expecting any profit whereas for such services we have to pay an external person/a person outside. A relative is a natural advisor. He is helper in difficult situation of war and being a victim. In a similar way the ladies of relatives do agricultural work together, help in domestic chores and look after the children.

In the present era of industrialisation and bureaucracy, a person's evaluation is on the basis of eligibility and not kinship. A person is expected to be dutiful towards his post and nation but kinship is prejudicial and in developing nations, the concept of bureaucracy gets defeated by duties towards kinship. A senior officer gives importance to his closeness to relatives in place of eligibility at the time of choosing his junior officers. To us this is a case of supporting Kith and Kin but to him this is a moral duty. In the present dynamic society, expansion of the relations of kins is not more important than the father-son relationship and they also lack closeness. Still the case of old parents living alone or keeping them in security houses appears astonishing and immoral to villagers and tribals. Modern society can be called a society which is deficient in kinship relations. Still the duties and emotions of kinship are present in them. If the son of our real paternal or maternal uncle or paternal or mother aunt comes to us in a state of misfortune, then it is our duty to help him. Every

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person of Victoria family was dutiful towards the others only because 'They were of the same blood'. On this basis to avenge the death or insult of a kin is considered a duty. This principle was found in Anglo Saxon people that the kins of a tribe of Philippines should take revenge of the matter of a person of its group. Who will fulfill this duty was related to the closeness of kinship.

5. **Mental Satisfaction:** The emotions of kinship provide mental satisfaction to a person. A person hangs pictures of his ancestors at home, collects them in albums, probably the cauterized kinship centered experiences are behind all this. It is evident from human history that mankind has been living in groups based on kinship since a long period of time. A person's health, safety life everything was in hands of his kins. A person devoid of kinship used to consider himself without any social reputation and as wretched as dead. Fearing the unknown and believing the known individuals is a human nature. Blood relatives are our most known people because they are considered to be parts of our own organs. A person feels extreme humanly himself between his kins.



Did u know?

The demands of our industrial culture is forwarding us to the construction of an inhuman and wise bureaucratic social structure.

6. **Basis of Anthropological knowledge:** Knowledge of kinship has an important place in the study of anthropology. The primary anthropologists started the majority of studies from kinship only. Studies of main anthropologists like Morgan, Mc Cleanan, Henary Men, Lovi, Frazee Boas, Malenivoski, Redcliff Brown, Evans Prichard, Reverse, Saligmay etc. was related to study of kinship arrangement, family and marriage etc. of one or more than one tribe. They wanted to understand the social structure on the basis of studies of kinship. In addition they also had interest in the development of society and institutions. Study of kinship proved very helpful in this direction. After much study it has become clear that there had been basic political, religious, economic and regional units of descent in early societies.

Mc Cleanan has quoted those conditions from which the kinship of whole mankind and institutions of marriage have gone through. He believes that initially kinship was accounted through the medium of women, development through the medium of men developed later. Prior to Mc Cleanan, Henary Men has studied the Indo-European families and told that patrilineal jointed family was the family of joint rights of father and sons on property and in India such family was the backbone of kinship. **Morgan** studied the 'Eroquvees' tribes of Newyork on the basis of class based system. He did believe that development of family and marriage accrued due to traditional Sex Communism. Other anthropologists kept studying the kinship glossary for a long time by getting inspired by Morgan. This is the reason that more than half of the kinship literature is filled with the terms of kinship glossary only.

Lovi and **Boas** were against the evolution plans. Malenivoski has given a new life to the studies of kinship by studying the people of Trobeiyanda island. He has studied the feelings and emotions between kinship. Redcliff Brown showed interest in the glossary of kinship and developed comparative approach. He laid emphasis on the study of social structure and kinship system to give a clear concept of rights and duties.

In 1940, **Evans Prichard** published a book on the Nyur people of South Suddan in which studies on groups based on kin groups was included. In 1945, Mayor Fortess published a book after studying marriage, descent and kinship of Tollensy people. **Mardock** has shown interest in evolution in his book 'Social Structure'. **Levi stauss** has described the vocabulary of kinship, marriage alliance, law and about position of women through marriage.

Dr Reverse and many Indian anthropologists have enriched the knowledge of anthropology by studying the various aspects of kinship on the basis of kinship. Various models have also been developed to study anthropology which are used to understand the system of kinship.

Notes

Neils Grevarn has described some reasons for the importance to studying kinship in various societies which have motivated anthropologists for such studies. These reasons are as follows:

1. Kinship systems are universal.
2. Kinship arrangements are always important in all the human societies with a little bit of differences.
3. In majority of the societies which have been traditionally studied by anthropologists, kinship system has been an important principle in social organization.
4. Kinship arrangements system can be clarified easily & their analysis can also be easily understood comparatively.
5. In anthropology, it has become evident from the study of various societies that kinship is a very important organisation and this organisation is different from the organisation of society. This attracted the attention of social anthropologists towards the study of kinship.
6. Before the birth of social anthropology, other social scientists have studied the various aspects of society. These people did not pay attention towards the study of kinship system. Social anthropologists showed interest towards this ignored topic of study. In this way the study of kinship has played an important role in human development and in understanding the social structure. From the above whole discussion, it is evident that the importance of studying kinship is increasing day-by-day.

Self Assessment

Fill in the blanks:

1. According to Redcliff Brown _____ is the accepted descent relation for social purposes which is the basis of traditional relations in social structure.
2. According to Dr Reverse, definition of _____ is that relation which can be determined and _____ by the medium of genealogy.
3. Mayor Fortess study was _____ based.

1.2 Summary

- Sexual desire give rise to marriage and marriage gives rise to family and kinship.
- In kinship system accepted relations based on imagined and real genealogical relations are included.
- Kinship determines genealogy.
- Kinship decides the field/area of marriage.
- Kinship occurs in creation of all human societies with little bit changes.

1.3 Keywords

1. **Kinship System:** The arrangement of rules and circumstance according to the customs which controls and directs the behaviors of nearest kith and kins is called kinship system.
2. **Safeguard of Economic Interest:** Kin group does not represent one individual but second line of defence.

Notes

1.4 Review Questions

1. What do you understand by kinship?
2. What is the importance and role of kinship in social structure?

Answers: Self Assessment

1. Kinship
2. Kinship, described
3. Kingroup

1.5 Further Readings



Books

Encyclopedia of Sociology – Harikrishana Rawat.
Social Anthropology – Majumdar and Madan.

Unit 2: Kinship: Basic Terms and Concepts: Lineage, Clan, Phratry, Moiety, Kingroup, Kindred, Incest, Descent

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Objectives

Introduction

- 2.1 Lineage, Clan, Phratry, Moiety, Descent
- 2.2 Kin group and Kindred
- 2.3 Summary
- 2.4 Keywords
- 2.5 Review Questions
- 2.6 Further Readings

Objectives

After studying of this unit, students will be able to:

- Understand the meaning of Lineage, clan, phratry and moiety.
- Know about concept of kinship group and kindred.
- Understand the determination of descent in kinship arrangement.

Introduction

If you say in hypothetical way, any stage of pre-family must be a stage, lacking culture as well as social organisation. Moreover, family in form of social group is neither an only institution nor a group based on kins relation. Hotel, restaurant, creche, school, college, hospital, club, bank etc. secondary groups based on personal benefits popular in city society also fulfill our several needs. In an ancient societies, these types of needs were fulfilled by family and other types of kinship groups. These kinship groups were liked by secondary security row.

Family is based on unitary relations of kinship. The expansion of this unity is in two directions all over –

The direction of family is related to the birth of father and family is related to birth of mother.

2.1 Lineage, Clan, Phratry, Moiety, Descent

According to modern tradition, the use of Lineage or clan of the family related to birth of mother is not done by the offsprings. Moreover, a woman leaves the lineage and clan of the family of her birth after marriage as well as adopts the lineage name of her husband's family. And no family can ignore both of these parties in a high degree. Therefore, a family is called a bipartite group. A special example of this bipartite character is seen in Kadar tribes. Kadar gives equal importance to both the parties or also neglects both in similar way. There is no specific example which

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proves that family is recognized as unilateral group. The description of Moris Oplre is totally wrong that a family is a unilateral group in villages of northern India.

Unilateral Group: Generation, Lineage

Many other type of kinship groups are also there. These are different from a family in meaning of that, in this either of party is totally ignored. Thus such groups are unilateral. These groups are not ancient than family on historical point of view, therefore these are not found in ancient and common societies of the world. Such groups are neither found in Kadar nor in Andaman Islanders. These are found essentially in rarely developed Kumar, Baiga and mostly other tribes of India. Even though, where it is found, the family neither gets extinct nor loses its importance. Unilateral group is based on differentiation between two categories of kinships. Every person selects any one of them for him. This type of differentiation and selection is an introduction of people, progressive in social view and developed in intellectual view. In functional view, these groups based on unilateral principles fulfill those several needs by means of the recognition of social relations which do not come in the working region of a family. This avoids mutual struggle and co-existence is possible between family and unilateral groups.

The simplest type of unilateral group is Lineage. All possible unilateral blood relatives are its members. When expansion of such group includes all the members in its related to common descent than such expanded group is called a clan or lineage. In this way a clan or lineage is an organisation of some dynasties whose descents can ultimately joined with a pseudo ancestor which may be a man or animal, tree or plant or any non-living objects. Redcliff-Brown defines dynasty differently in that meaning in which we have defined lineage.



Notes

Dynasty group is used for those members of dynasty which are alive in a specific period. Clan is also a blood related group but its members are not joint dwellers.

In unilateral groups, commonly the most comprehensive group is Lineage. This is constructed of those unilateral blood relatives who are grouped in the form of exogamous group. Formally, joint dwelling (uni-regional) and peculiar relation with any animal, plant or physical object (Totemism) are the two unanimous characters for establishing the Lineage. In this way, according to definition of Reverse, Lineage is that exogamous part of a tribe whose members are tied on the basis of the belief in common descent and they own one totem or uni-regional dwelling. Lowy hadn't given place to totemism in his definition, because it is absent in American, African and Asian Lineages. He also abandoned the uni-regional dwelling from his definition without giving any reason. Lowy had possibly done that because due to base on pseudo kinship generally Lineage may be expanded in a broad region, as it is applicable on Australian Sib or Hindu Clan. Mordock had called Lineage, common kinship group because in this, principle of blood related kinship and uni-regional dwelling are included. It is different from Sib or Lineage of Lowy and for this Mordock has used the term "Unilateral Blood-Related Kinship Group" whose most comprehensive character is exogamy (94.4% of sample of Mardock). In support of indisensible relation between exogamy and lineage Lowy had given a strong reason. He told that if people started marrying in their kinship group then a time may come when to differentiate unilateral and bilateral descents will become impossible because all people will become related to one another in bilateral form. Therefore, it is the exogamous character of lineage, which makes lineage an special group. It may be very true principle but there is doubt that whether ancient people may so much logical like educationists? All the members of one age group were called by a word means uterine brother; it means that all are like uterine brother, thus marrying among themselves is felt as proximate relation which is difficult to establish.

Phratry and Moiety

Notes

When due to any reason many Lineages get joined as a bigger group then such group is called **Phratry**. All the lineage of a tribe when divided into two Phratries, then the social structure so form is called **dual** organisation and every phratries among this is called **Moiety**. Phratry may be exogamous or may not be. Two Toda Phratries i.e. Tarathral and Teyevaliole are endogamous, though these are divided in many exogamous liniages. It is said that **Moiety** of Nagas were endogamous in the past but later on became exogamous. Social organisation of Bondo is divided in two Moieties—Ontal and Killo. These became region exogamous and lineage exogamous by coming in contact of their neighbour's culture. Due to this endogamy also developed in their Moiety.

One phratry has many lineages. How phratry is formed, its knowledge is important in itself. In this reference **Lowy** has described four possibilities –

First, many lineage can mix together without losing their all residues of earlier separation.

Second, a lineage may so big or comprehensive that it may divide in many small groups. In these groups the earlier precepts of unity is not get broken totally. The example of addition or subtraction of lineages is seen in Uranv, Ho and Munda tribes of common origin.

Third, is the interesting possibility of extinction of lineage. **Reverse** had given such information about extinction in Toda tribes. According to him, earlier lineages were popular in Todas but later on they all got extinct and only two remained safe on which its dual organisation is based. In this process, a lineage grown so much that its member started taking their spouse from all other lineages. As a result, it became difficult to marry between other lineages and stages arrived that they all mixed and became a lineage. The dual organisation popular among Gond's may also developed in this way.

Fourth, **Lowy** had told that the origin of lineage and Moiety may be by separate ways and due to separate reasons. Further, they can mix together and form a big organisation of social arrangement. The base of this possibility of Lowy is American Dutt.

Paternity and Maternity

Morgan and his followers had tried to find in their studies the origin and preliminary types of social institutions. Their belief was that the social evolution is a fixed law and truly applies on all social institutions. In this way **Morgan** tells that the ancient form of kinship group was lineage or flock and the development of family occurred comparatively afterwards. Carrying this further **Morgan** believed that in view of evolution, maternal lineage was of earlier period in comparison to paternal lineage and therefore it is the most ancient kinship group of human society. For description of the origin of family, **Morgan** had established some reasons which are hypothetical random.

It is a belief of **Morgan** that free sex is the first stage of the sexual relation of early humans, thus paternal fixation was difficult. As a result, inheritance was decided in form of matriarchy. In course of time, free sex was replaced with controlled sexual relations and even collection of property also started. In this situation, fathers may have opposed the entity of mothers in which they were deprived of their rights of paternity as well as their descents from the succession of their property. According to **Morgan**, due to this revolt of fathers, paternal sibs were established. In the situation of free sex, reproduction among blood relatives may be popular generally. It is a belief of **Morgan** that the health of related persons may has affected adversely by such endo reproduction. Therefore the exogamous sib may be a result of reformative act. Thus, no medical or historical evidence is available to prove true or false to the hypothetical side effects of reproduction. The argument of Morgan can also be not accepted that under sib exogamy even the marriage is prohibited among the biotically unrelated people but it is permitted among the people related with blood.

Notes

The interpretation of **Morgan** regarding primitiveness of maternity in comparison to the origin and paternity of exogamous sibs is more at random and less historical. The claim of **Morgan** seems false on the basis of the example of sibs popular in the then human society. According to **Morgan's** principle, its distribution is not universal, but on the basis of reality the principle of **Morgan** proves false automatically.

There was no lineage in primitive society. A special example of it is residents of Andaman. We had already discussed about no lineage in Kadar tribes. Sib is found in Australian tribal society, whereas families are also found popular with sibs on other places. It should be cleared that Australian tribal are not more primitive than Andaman residents in any form. In African primitive tribes, sibs are not found in Hottentot whereas found in Baantu and Masaai. Such examples can also be obtained from the social life of North American Indians. Simultaneously, property enhancement has not created problem in all situations of maternity. In India also, there is no effect of property enhancement due to potato like commercial agriculture on Khasi succession arrangement. Yes, many problems evolved as a result of Christening. The position of Garo tribe is also like that. In North American Navaho, Koh and Hidasta tribes, the popularity of maternal succession continued after compilation of property in form of animal property. As it is already discussed above, the useful results of lineage exogamy in biotic view cannot be supported by adequate research. Simultaneously, it cannot be overlooked that lineage exogamy is applied on one party only not on both. **Morgan** has told the lack of knowledge of the role of father in pro-creation is also an evidence to prove the primitiveness of maternity. But **Malinosky** and others had shown that the sociological role of father is very important in social view and is unanimous. In many societies, there are traditional ways of adoption and establishment of paternity. In this reference, description of celebration of gifting arrow and crossbow in polyandrous Toda tribes is done. The immateriality of biotic paternity in comparison to functional and sociological paternity becomes evident by this. The man called father has to perform many social functions. Till these functions are fulfilled the society doesn't pay any heed that the biotic paternity and sociological paternity are in accordance or not. Possibly, as result of the awareness of these facts two words in Latin language has been adopted i.e. **Pater** and **Genitor** whose meanings are sociological and biological father respectively. Therefore, the ignorance of genitor should not be considered as supporting argument to primitiveness of maternity.

Toyler has presented a description like **Morgan** in his one article. He said that like geological level is alike on earth everywhere, in the same way cultural level is also alike and universal and remain unaffected from diversity of caste, language and cultural specificity. **Toyler** believes that on thorough examination such stratification of these cultural levels is found whose ancient, medieval and modern levels are maternal, maternal-paternal and paternal respectively. In support of such argument, widow succession marriage (adopting step mothers or mothers by son in succession after death of the father) and indicating institutes named **Kuved** told that it is found in the maternity-paternity and paternity respectively. In paternity situations, as kuved became fainter, the proximity of maternity is proved by it. Under the definition of maternity situation the main characters told are maternal inheritance, supreme power to mother (maternal right) – which generally conducted by brother of the mother (maternal entity), feminist succession of property and position etc. No such society is known yet in which these factors are available with ancient purity and ascendance. Khasi tribe is its nearest representative only.

The principle of **Toyler** is true in logical view, but unsuccessful due to factual evidence. Some of its limitations are already discussed above. In this regard, the objection of **Lowy** cannot be overlooked. He says that only on logical basis such unbending ordinals of cultural institutions cannot be accepted because expansion of culture demolish such development. The hypothesis of the development of paternity from maternity cannot be accepted on the pure logical basis because the development held in independent form or by expanding is totally reverse the last tradition and totally opposite principle is acknowledged. These two stages of social organisations are not periodical stages. Thus as **Lowy** says, two different principles are needed to describe them. This matter is proved with fact that many paternal primitive tribes remained as such from ancient period whereas many developed tribes are maternal even now. Two clear conclusions come out

from this. First, that family is found in all types of societies and all cultural levels whereas sib is neither so primitive nor so developed but is present in the medium class societies. Second, relation between maternal sib (Maternity) and paternal sib (Paternity) is neither reasonable functional type and nor stably sequential type.

Discussing about the possible reasons of the origin of the maternity and paternity **Lowy** has told that the way that one-sidedness emphasized in both of these, seeing which it may be enough reason to consider their origin due to the combined effect in one direction of the ways of succession of house and property. The unchangeable nomination unaffected by marriage is the introducer of its permanent membership and lineage is its carrier. Even though, daughters in paternity and sons in maternity cannot transfer further the property got as their share from their ancestors. In this way, the only linear succession of the property maintains its one-sided importance. In Reddy lineages an exception came to see that the female doesn't adopt the family name of her husband. This system is also popular in Todas.

Notes

Lineage Organisation in Indian Tribes

All the tribes of India including backward tribes like Kumar, Chenchu and Birhor has lineages. Several neo-descriptors had described about the different tribes of India related to two main tribes namely Mangol and Proto-Australian. The Kadar and Baiga tribes are notable main exceptions of Andaman Island residents. In this the Baiga tribe is one of the gond group tribe and because the tradition of lineage is found in this, thus it may be possible that the description of Baiga may be dropped.

Pigmis of Andaman are the most backward people of the world. **Mane** and **Redcliff Brown** has found many popular tribes. Both have described the married couple and the nuclear family evolved from their children. **Portman** had told that generally the situation calling "sept" was popular (**Reverse** has used the word "sept" with clan and sib). Redcliff Brown has not seen sept but expressed his view that these septs are some local groups to get together and to deal friendship on the occasions of festivals.

In other Indian tribes, no such special example is available about anyone by which the absence of lineage is proved in it. In situation of the lack of vocabulary used in such studies and general absence of the definition of words used by every neo-descriptors, it is very difficult to reach on any clear conclusion.

Lineage is found in Nagas of Assam also. The local groups namely Khel are regional only and it is not necessary that it may also a kinship group.

According to neo-narrators J. Shakespeare of Kuki tribe, in Lushai kukis, lineage groups are a little bit bigger than a joint family and no clear forms of lineage is seen in their social life. These lineages are divided in family. It is not clear from the description of Shakespeare that the tradition of the unilateral importance in these lineages or not. In same way, it is also not clear what the reality of exogamous character of these lineages is, because from the description of Shakespeare, it is only clear about the limited exogamy like prohibition of marriage among nearest relatives only. Thus, it is confusing that in which meaning; the lineage is used for these people. According to **Gordan**, lineage is found in Khasi tribes also. These lineages are told to be exogamous. In this the need related to definition of lineage is fulfilled in form of satisfaction. Khasi are mother linear people, in this the residence is mother's place, whether it is temporary even. The violation of lineage exogamy is considered dangerous in such meaning that it may lead to destructive socio-religious result. Succession of property was provided to ladies. So, it presents a good example of social organisation based on Khasi lineages.

Korba is an endogenous tribe which is divided in exogamous lineages. Knowledge of exogamous tradition is given about many proto-australian tribes of middle India. In this, lineage is not related to exogamy only but also related to totemism also. There are more than hundred lineages in Santhals which are nomenclated on the basis of plants, animals or physical substances.

Notes

In Ho tribe, Killi is an exogamous family. There number is more than fifty. In this way, Uranv, Munda and Kharia lineage are also exogamous and totemic. **Rai** has told about origin of Uranv lineage in reference of the process of addition and subtraction. Bheel, Kurmi, Kumar and Bhumej are also divided in exogamous lineages. The knowledge of the tradition of Moiety is got in Muria, Maria and other fragments of great Gond tribe.

Classification in two endogamous of Toda tribe is important in itself because from this only the social organisation is developed which is called dual organisation. These both are called bipartitis Tarthoral and Teyaliol. In this, the first is major in comparison to second. These both are divided into paternity and maternity lineages. The discussion about these origin of bipartitis are make carliev also.

Rai has told about the Karias of Mayurbhanj that although nothing is popular in this at present but they must be popular in past – which are ended probably as their language became extinct. In some hilly region, it is unclear conception of Kharias that all hilly kharias are members of Naga gotra. **Rai** had seen, the tradition of unclear totemic relation in these with Saluk (bird), Sal (fish), Ashok (flower), Saroo (xantho chynous), Balia (fish) and Nag (Snake). These hilly Kharias of Mayurbhanj use their totemic names even today. These do eat them and even never use it or never harm it. Nevertheless, these totemis never decided lineage exogamy in these. Probably it is due to the end of totemism and the root lineage organisation and recently they have adopted totemic name from their neighbour tribes. The rowd killy used for ineage by Ho. Munda and Santhal is adopted by Kharias without any common lineage organisation. Prinaply, Kharias are lineage exogamous but in reality they do not follow it as tool above. This is such example which enunciates the historical developmental suspicion of the adoption of culutural facters of neighbour cultural group by a culture.

Self Assessment

Fill in the blanks:

1. Including Kumar, Chenchu and Bhirhor like backwards tribes, lineage is found in almost all the _____ of India.
2. In dhelaki kharias, ten _____ totemic lineages are found.
3. According to Hopikuns, development of faith towards the _____ providing food is obvious.

Inheritance

In modern family, kinship is developed with both origin of mother and father. Such families are called bilateral groups. Otherwise, it also true that in such situations both the parties are not give equal importance. For example, it is not necessary that the name of clan of mother of her unmarried period is joined with the progeny. As it is described in this book somewhere else, in primitive societies other types of inheritance was popular. Such site is also found which totally ignore a linearity of the two. These are called unilateral group. Opposite to it dual inheritance and bilinear kinship group are also found. This second type of group (bilinear) is constructed with those people who are relatd to both the mother and father linearities. In dual inheritance, only some kins represent both the linearities are included.

Persons who are progeny of same ancestus, they are called Sapinda or unisourced brothers. If the common ancestors are males them they are called paternal brother or father linear kins and it the common ancestors are females than these are called maternal kins or mother linears.

The kins who are directly related to inheritance are called unilinear kins or unibrached kins and they who get saperated as a branch from the main group like uncles and cousins, nephew, niece etc are called diverse branched kins.

Totemism

Notes

According to **Goldenwisor**, when we discuss about totemism we mean a special kind of ultramundane related to a social organisation generally like sib of a tribe. The contribution of this ultramundane is done by an special affection towards rare types of animals, plants or natural substance. This affection is expressed in several forms. Such as, establishment of progeny by totemic plants or animals. Prohibition on killing or/and eating of totemic animals; condoling collectively on the death of totemic animal; popularity of mantal and physical relation between totem and toemics; looking a totem as a godly parents by totemics; to wear as an amulet to totem signs and even it is to make tattoos of totemic animals and to make celebration for the growth of totemic organisms, nomenclature of sibs of totemic tribes on the basis of totems etc.

In **Dhelaki Khariaos**, ten exogamous totemic lineages are found. Members of every lineage beleives in one common totem and from this, the emotion of social organisation gets strengthen; their names are –1. Mura (Tortoise) 2. Soren (rocks or stone) 3. Samad (deer) 4. Kage (Quail) – These are the totem of Samad lineage, 5. Karliha (fruits) 6. Chharhad or Chharaha (Bird) 7. Hansada or Dandung (Snake fish) 8. Mail (waste) 9. Keiro (Cheetah) – This is the totem mel lineage and 10. Topno (a type of bird).

Kamar is also divided in many exogamous lineages. Every lineage is also joined with any totem in any way, but gradually this relation is going to an end. The primary function of these lineages are told to be marriage regulation. These are known lineages: Jagat (Their ancestors had traveled world wide); Natum (Tortoise) : Marlcam (This lineage worships tortoise and consider enemy to crocodile); Sori (A wild creper), Baghsori (Cheetah, Nag Sari (Snake), Kanjam (He-goat), Marai (Dead body eater) and Chhedihha (Children). Many false description of these names are found. Such as, members of Kanjam lineage are considered a progemy of a He-goat and a Kamar girl. Natum were saved by tortoise at the time of inundation. Another group was going on the back of the crocodile but some of them were eaten by crocodile in the middle of the ocean. Remaining had prayed the tortoise and were saved by the tortoise. People of Natum lineage were already on the back of tortoise. This second group started calling themselves Markem in people of Jagat and Chediha lineage, there was no tradition of totemic belief. According to local traits, this list can be made more elaborated.

Prior to the publication of the famous article of **Goldenviser** in 1910 on totemism, the researchers were very confused on this subject. Till then **Leng, Durkheem, Frazor, Reverse** etc. had tried there best to explain it. Some of them had not considered Lineage on Totem in peculiar on meaningful form but merely a system of nomenclature. Others have found the economic motivation of prosperity of tracle and cooperative labour devision in reference to the critical type elabole animals and plants vested in it. This second description is of **Frazor**. **Frazor** has also profound another theory on the basis of Australian evidences. He told that primitive people were ignorent of role of cohabitation in pregnancy. When pregnancy gets even in developed stage then only they come to know about it. In such condition, they consider the nearest animal or plants as the reason of pregnancy.

Hopikans had told that development of faith towards the food providing animals is obvious. Faith of Todas towards their buffaloes is an universal fact. **Durkheem** has seen the totemism as a symbol of group representative-social brain. According to **Toyler**, it was belief of primitive people that even after death, the soul of human starts living in an animal or plant and possibly therefore the protection of all organisms is done through totemism. In this way, according to the description of **Toyler** also like **Durkheem**, totemism is a type of religious way of worshipping. In more clear words, according to **Toyler** it is a worship of ancestors and according to **Durkheem** it is a worship of society. According to writers like Boas and Swantun, totemism is an extension of the personal relation of humans with animal and plants.

Simplication of such relation can be done in form of a special type of kinship relation between Totem and Totemics.

Notes

Goldviser has told that no useful solution can be worked out of this middle of Totemism because complicity of totemism is diversific and changes with the change of place. Its all said special characters are not found everywhere. He considered totemism a social religious institution. **Harbort Rizley** has told on the basis of Indian Duths that the religious part of totemism has died here and only social part is active. On the way of simplification we can say that as per as the matter of totemism, the relation of animals and plants are just incidental, but exists. It is proved by many examples. Seeing the totemic septs in Juangs, **Alvin** has told that Totemism way a result of historical incident or follow-up on propagation. For example a person who kills pigeon it becomes blind incidentally then way possible that the local treators link both of these events as a result, the person can develop faith in all pigeons due to fear and a time may come when he starts worshipping and protecting other pigeons.

Generally there are three characters of totemism:

1. Special attitude towards an animal and plants.
2. Lineage organisation and
3. Lineage exagamy.

Even though, it is reamarkable that no reasonable relation is there to show between lineage and totemism and exogamy and totemism. Labour strength statistics law of **Mordock** also not fails to the state the reasonable relation between unilateral group like lineage and totemism.

The most proto-australode tribes living in the middle region belt of India are the best example of totemic region. Totem is also popular in the tribes and castes of other regions also. It is a possibility that the development of totemism in India has been done by protoaustralodes. But now, this is also found in rare form of Mongolode in Naga tribe of Assam. Their popularity also became in many developed groups, the emotional attachment towards the totemic animal or plants.

In India, the totemic peoples are organised in unexceptional form of exogamies lineages. The origin of totemic groups, addition, subtraction and simplification is discussed. Meaning of addition is adoption of a single name by many families in form of a group. Sometimes a lineage becomes so big that in a condition it breaks and divides in small groups, this called **the process of subtraction**. In such situation if the root lineage is Cheetah then the names of new lineages may be kept tail of Cheetah, heal of Cheetah, tooth of Cheetah etc. Sometimes, it is also possible that a person is saved or harmed by any animal or tree. As a result that person started paying special gratitude or afraid towards such animal or tree and later on his progeny can continue the sustainability of such special relation. Thus, the totemism also originates from such simplification. It is also apparent from the stories of folk belief popular regarding origin of lineages. In Ho tribes that the incidental relatives of any person with any animal or plant is simplified after many stages. It is a belief of **Hutten** that totemism in India is possibly based on the factors vested in the conceptual theory of **Frazor** and it is developed due to the result of **Frazor** and it is developed due to the result of coexistence or coalition of subsidiary factors. In other words, sometimes any institution can be started ordinarily but in course of time many types of ordinary factor can contribute to strengthen such institution. In these ordinary reasons, one most important reason is, the need of making ecological balance or adjusting relation between human-nature relation. By this a sympathetic relation can be developed between man and his environment. By this, the totemism is developed on a social level.

With lineage and exogamy, the permanent relation of totemism is needed to describe a little. This is already told above that exogamy is an essential co-existing character of bilateral groups, because without prohibiting endogamy such groups cannot be constructed possible. If a person marries in his own group then a time may come when such group can not remain fully paternal or fully maternal.

Therefore, we can say that relation between unilateral groups and exogamy is of factorial importance. This relation is reasonable and obvious. But this matter cannot be said for the relation of totemism and exogamy. There is no logical, apparent or reasonable relation between totemism and exogamy.

Writing about all types of unilateral groups **Mardock** says that totemism is the common character progency, sib, moiety etc. When such social groups are needed to be nomenclatured then name of animals fulfills its need throughly. Any other reasons can be given for this type of relation, but real experience tells that where there is lineage-organisation, the relation of totemism is fond, **Gardan** has written about the lineage exogamy of Khasis but there is popularity of totemism or not, he never said about this.

From above example it is proved that totemism and exogamy is related due to this fact only that both are tied from lineage organisation in common and foetarial term, though both are independent to one-another.

2.2 Kingroup, Kindred

Kin

Marital or blood relatives are called Kin. Mostly kins belong to different blood family, blood relations are usually recognised by cultural parameter of. This is the reason for recognising persons kin and others not in relationship categories of.

Collateral Kin

Kins which get seperated from the main group as a branch such as uncles and cousins are called Collateral Kin. Simply descents of lineal kins are called collateral kin.

Lineal Kin

Kins which are directly related in succession are called lineal kin. Lineal kins are direct ancestors and direct descendents of a person, like parents, grandparents, great grand parents and their children and grand children etc.

Primary Kin

Persons associated on the basis of direct kinship are kept in the category of Primary Kin. Father-son, father-daughter, mother-daughter, brothers, sisters, brother-sister, husband-wife fall in the category of primary kin. All of these are blood relatives except husband and wife which are marital relatives.

Secondary Kin

Primary relatives of primary kins fall under the category of secondary kin, like brother-in-law, grandfather, maternal uncle, etc. Famous anthropologist **G.P. Mardok** mentioned 33 relatives in this category.

Tertiary Kin

Primary Kins of secondary kins are considered as tertiary kin, like brother-in-law's wife or daughter. Acoording to **Mardok** there are 151 types of tertiary kins.

Kindred

Relatives in a bilateral succession are collectively called as **kindred**. These descendents can be from both sides maternal or paternal. Father's brother-sister and their children as well as mother's brother-sister and their children are considered as kindred.

Notes



Task

What do you know about kingroup and Kindred?

2.3 Summary

- A blood related unilateral kingroup is called **lineage**, whose progamies search their genevational relation through any known ancestors.
- The membership of dynasty is completely based on blood relations.
- When many dynasties or clang are joint as a huge group for some reason, they are called as **Phratry**. It is a sub-division of any tribe.
- When a tribe devides in two parts because of some reason then each parts is called **Phratry**, **Moiety**. It is called 'ambialent or bipetalled' organisation in tribal groups.

2.4 Keywords

1. *Incest*. Sexual relation between two close blood relatives whose marriage is not permitted, is called incest. Sexual relation between father-daughter, mother-son or uterine brother-sister falls in the category of incest.
2. *Incest Taboo*. Prohibition of sexual relation between close relatives is called incest taboo. Like father-daughter, mother-son, uterine brother-sister sexual relation is prohibited.

2.5 Review Questions

1. What is the difference between lineage and dynasty?
2. What does fraternity means?
3. What do you understand by Kinship group?
4. What does Totemism mean?

Answers: Self Assessment

1. Tribes
2. Exogamous
3. Animals

2.6 Further Readings



Books

Encyclopaedia of Sociology – Harikrishana Rawat.
Social Anthropology – Majumdar and Madan.
Indian Society and Social Institutions – Gupta and Sharma.
Family Tour in India – Tremvore Malik, Kalpaz Publication.

Unit 3: Basic Terms and Concepts: Inheritance, Succession, Consanguinity and Affinity

Notes

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Introduction

- 3.1 Types of Kinship
- 3.2 Categories of Kinship
- 3.3 Succession
- 3.4 Summary
- 3.5 Keywords
- 3.6 Review Questions
- 3.7 Further Readings

Objectives

After studying this unit, students will be able to:

- Understand consanguinity under kinship.
- Understand affinity under kinship.
- Know about the concept of succession or inheritance.
- Know the meaning of inheritance.

Introduction

Kinship is very important in a society. Study of coinheritance, pregnancy, fatherhood, socialisation, uterine brotherhood, etc., basic of life as well as human behaviour, is the study of kinship. A man becomes a relative of many people of the society just after taking birth. Blood and marriage based relations are more lasting and close relationships. These are the result of social interaction by humans. We include such relations in kinship by which humans are bound and are accepted by the society.

3.1 Types of Kinship

In social relations such relations are universal and basic relations which are based on reproduction. Two types of relations emerge from the desire of reproduction –

1. Relations between parents and children and brothers-sisters – we call them consanguineous relations.

Notes

2. Relations between husband-wife and both parties, which are called affinal relations.

we will discuss them here in brief –

(i) *Consanguineous Relations*: Consanguineous relation is one of the social relations which emerge due to reproduction, like relations between parents and children. Children acquire genes from parents and it is believed that they have same blood. Similarly brother-sister are blood relatives.



Notes

Parents, brother-sisters, grandparents, uncles, aunties, etc., are blood relatives but zoological relation if not necessary between blood relatives.

If these relations are accepted by the society then they are considered to be actual relations. So the social acceptance is more important than zoological facts. We will find several examples of this in different societies. Among inhabitants of Trobriyenda island of Malaysia, real father is unknown at times but the man will be considered as father who will marry the girl. The custom of adoption is an universal example of this. Adopted person is treated in such manner as he is a biological child. If real blood relation is the only basis of such relations then why we call persons as father or mother who are of the age of our parents. Some people give more importance to the rights and duties done by the relatives than biological relations.

In some parts of Malaysia, child's parents families are not determined by birth but some other social activities. In some Islands, the man who pays the price of parturition to the woman, who has given birth becomes father and his wife becomes mother of the child.

In another Island, a man who transplants the leaf of Sycus tree on his door becomes father. Hence, it is clear that paternity and maternity is not completely dependent on physical activities of parturition, but a social custom. So the social acceptance is more important than biological facts.

(ii) *Affinal Relations*: In reproduction based kinship there is affinal relation also which is established between two persons of opposite sex with the consent of society. Not only husband-wife but relatives of both families are also affinal relatives, like father, mother, sisters and brothers-in-laws, etc. These relations are relevant only in the reference of two persons; like mother-daughter-in-law, father-daughter-in-law, husband-wife, brother-sister-in-law, etc. Marriage is the basis of these relations and not blood.

3.2 Categories of Kinship

We do not keep similar contact or closeness with each kin. Some are close to us and some are distant. We can divide our kins in different categories on the basis of this contact and closeness, like primary, secondary tertiary etc.

Mardock has done intense study of kinship.

Primary Relatives: Persons who are directly related to us and no other relative is lined in between. There can be eight types of primary relatives in which seven are blood relatives and one is affinal relative. Father-son, daughter, mother-sister, sister-sister all of these are consanguineous relative. Husband-wife's relation is based on marriage.

Secondary Relatives: These who are primary relation of primary relatives are secondary relatives. For example a person's grandfather is his secondary relative because grandfather is related to his grandson through father and father's father are primary relatives.

Other examples of consanguineous secondary relatives are, cousin uncle, maternal uncle, grandparents etc.

We can include father-mother-in-law, brother-in-law, sister-in-law in affinal secondary relatives.

Mardock has mentioned 33 types of secondary relations.

Tertiary Relatives : Those who are secondary relatives of our primary relative or primary relative of our secondary relative, are tertiary relatives.

Notes

Great grandfather is our tertiary relative because our father is our primary relative and father's father is secondary relative so grand father's father will be tertiary relative. Similarly brother-in-law's son will be tertiary relative because brother-in-law is secondary relative.

Mardock has mentioned 151 types of tertiary relatives. We can take this series further to fourth, fifth, sixth category.

Self Assessment

Fill in the blanks:

1. A family can have eight type of _____.
2. Grand father's father will be our _____.
3. A continuous process of acquiring a particular land by a species is called _____.

3.3 Succession

This concept is used in two ways. First, this concept indicates an ecological process of acquiring an area by eliminating someone forcefully who owns the land. This process of throwing out one species and acquiring by other is called succession. Succession occurs when an assailant becomes double possessor of an area.

Second, this concept can be used for transfer of rights, seniority, election or on the basis of kinship. Word 'succession' usually used as a synonym of word 'inheritance' which explains the process of transfer of post and property, so it is more appropriate to call it succession to post because succession usually explains the process of transfer of post. Succession to post can be maternal or paternal.

Inheritance

Transfer of legal rights of persons and assets (things) is called inheritance. According to some sociologists inheritance doesn't mean transfer of assets (property) only but includes post, status and social status also.

When state gets transferred then things are also transferred naturally to the successor. So when we talk about transfer of state then not only property but it includes the head's status also. Actually inheritance is a comprehensive concept which included transfer of property and post both. It will be more appropriate to use the concepts of inheritance and right to accession for separate processes of transfer for both. Professor **W.H.P. Reiverse** has shown clear difference among the processes and succession, inheritance and right to accession many years ago while searching the facts related to succession in ancient societies. He recommended to use inheritance for the transfer of property and succession for post and status. The word inheritance is used in English for the transfer of property, but actually it includes both property and post. There are four laws of inheritance – paternal, maternal, bilateral and collateral inheritance.

Bilateral Inheritance

The word bilateral is used for both transfer of property or succession by man and woman, when the property is transferred to a person separately both sides matrilineal and patrilineal, then it is called bilateral inheritance.

Notes

Collateral Inheritance

When the property or post is transferred to brothers instead of sons then it is called collateral inheritance. This custom is found in some tribes like Kikiyu and Kafir.

Matrilineal Inheritance

When the post and property is transferred to children in maternal basis then it is called matrilineal inheritance. This system is a special characteristic of materilineal societies where two main forms of property transfer are seen, one is from mother to daughter and second is from maternal uncle to nephew. In the families where property belongs to women, it gets transferred to daughter in the form of inheritance. Khasi tribe is the best example of it. In many matrilineal societies, this process of inheritance moves from maternal uncle to nephew. **Pidington** has written in this context, 'Matrilineal inheritance' means transfer of post and title from man to man through woman.

Patrilineal Inheritance

When the process of transferring the post and property occurs from father to son following the matrilineal system, then it is called patrilineal inheritance.



Task

What is bilateral inheritance?

3.4 Summary

- Relationship among father-mother-children and brother-sister are called consanguineous relations.
- Sexual relation between two persons of opposite sex is called marital or affinal relation by the acceptance of society.
- Relation between mother-father-in-law, brother-sister-in-law is not consanguineous but affinal.
- Transfer of legal rights related to persons and things is called inheritance.
- There are four main laws of inheritance – bilateral, collateral, matrilineal and patrilineal.

3.5 Keywords

1. **Primogeniture:** It is a law of inheritance according to which the eldest son (daughter in matriarchal societies) inherit the property of the parents.
2. **Ultimogeniture:** According to this rule of inheritance the youngest son inherits the (daughter in matrilineal societies) parents property. This custom is found in Turks and Mongolian breeds in Asia.
3. **Unigeniture:** According to this rule of inheritance one person from uterine group inherits the parent's property.

3.6 Review Questions

Notes

1. Describe the types of kinship.
2. What does succession mean?
3. Explain four laws of inheritance.

Answers: Self Assessment

1. Primary Relatives
2. Tertiary
3. Succession

3.7 Further Readings



- Books* Marriage and Family in India – K.S. Kapadia.
Encyclopaedia of Sociology – Harikrishna Rawat.

Unit 4: Approaches to the Study of Kinship: Historical and Evolutionary

CONTENTS

Objectives

Introduction

4.1 Historical Approaches

4.2 Evolutionary Approaches

4.3 Summary

4.4 Keywords

4.5 Review Questions

4.6 Further Readings

Objectives

After studying this unit, students will be able to:

- Know the historical approaches to the study of kinship.
- Know the Evolutionary approaches to the study of kinship.

Introduction

There is no limit to the use of approaches. Approach can be used in any subject according to the context. Approach is just a way to understand the context. One approach can be used for study and creation of theory in biology, anthropology, sociology according to the context. Similarly struggle approach is used to understand living being in biology and social system in sociology. Hence different scientists use similar or same approach to study, analyze and to make theories according to context.

4.1 Historical Approaches

History is not only the study of 'what happened or existed' but also to know 'how and why' it happened. We can understand the continuity and normal flow of social life by studying history of chronological social, cultural and political events of a society. Today it is believed that no event occurs all of a sudden but it has same past and history, and without understanding it the complete analysis of any event or incident is impossible.

Because of this reason the use of historical method in sociology has increased and many sociologists have used this method for the study of societies, social groups and organisations. Historical method is the only way to understand the origin and evolution of the society. The use of historical method in sociology is prevalent since 19th century.



Notes

Historical method became prominent in sociology and anthropology after publishing of Darwin's book 'Origin of the Species' in 1859, and this method came in use for the study of family, marriage, kinship, religion, politics and economic institution.

Notes

Comet, Spencer, Sumner, Durkheim, Weber, Sorokin, Ogburn, Mins, Raymond Aron, Valah, Narman Virbav, Toynbee, Thomas and Naniky, Kontan, Waster Mark, Radhakumud Mukherji, Ghurieye, A.H. Desai, Kapadia, Karve, Dubey, etc., are few scholars who used historical method in sociology.

The English word 'history' is derived from 'historia' which means acquiring knowledge by learning or discovering. Generally historical method means finding reasons of some incident or problems in the past. The objective of historical method is to describe those factors and specific conditions which are related to the origin, development or change of some incident.

In other words, understanding present with the help of past is the main motto of historical method. Different definitions given by the scholars are as under –

According to **P.V. Young** "Historical method is to find those social forces which have formed the present." This statement explains that the theories are made by discovering past incidents—that means comprehensive conclusions are made on the basis of specification.

According to **Radcliff Brown**, "Historical method is that in which the incidents of present are studied as a series of continuous and gradual development of past incidents."

According to **T.B. Bottomore**, "It concentrates on social institutions, problems of development and transformation of societies and civilisations. It is related to complete coverage of human history and all main institutions of the society or it is related to the complete development of a specific social institution."

Four things are clear about historical method from Bottomore's definition— (i) It is the study of origination, development and transformation of social institution, societies and civilisation; (ii) It studies the total development of human history; (iii) All the main institutions of society are studied in it; (iv) It also studies the development of any specific social institution.

It is clear from the above definitions that historical method is not only the description of incidents or events which a few intellectuals believe but it interprets historical incidents in scientific manner. In this method, social and cultural events of present are interpreted and analysed on the basis of gradual development, regularity and social impacts of past incidents and facts. In short, it is a method to understand present with the help of past.

Sources of Historical Method

Historical facts are the base of historical method which are collected from different sources. Intellectuals have expressed their views about the sources of historical facts. **Lundberg** has mentioned two main sources of historical facts— (i) Written material which is available in the form of description given in the documents, scriptures, (ancient books), inscriptions, ancient coins and buildings. (ii) Things found by geologists in excavation such as statues, utensils and other remnants, etc., **Vincent** has mentioned three sources of historical facts— (i) Written material like stories, descriptions, diaries, pedigrees, paintings-pictures, coins and artistic articles, etc.; (ii) Memorials like human skeleton, instruments, trade records, things of institutional nature and handicraft. (iii) Different inscriptions which are related to ancient philosophy, events, and folk literature.

Notes

P.V. Young has mentioned three types of historical sources –

- (i) Those documents and other historic material which is in the reach of the historian himself.
- (ii) **Cultural and analytical history:** This includes diaries, scriptures, autobiographies, secret documents, trade agreements and traditions, etc. However, **Howard Becker** considers it necessary to be studied.
- (iii) Personal information of faithful inspectors and witnesses: historic material can be collected from all the above sources but it depends on the researcher's decision, problem of study, nature and area that why, when and how much of it should be used?

Steps of Historical Method

These steps need to be followed to use historical method –

1. **Selection of Problem:** First of all the problem is selected by the researcher while studying through this method. the problem should be such that it can be studied through this method. The subject of study should be such (i) which interests the researchers (ii) which we have some knowledge about, (iii) that suits our resources limit means it should suit the available money, labour and time; and (iv) which is useful.
2. **Determination of the sources of information:** After selection of problem the sources are found related to the facts of the problem means it is determined that the historical facts can be collected from which books libraries, museums and other places. This should be enquired before beginning the study.
3. **Data Collection:** After determining the sources of information data is collected related to the sources subject. Historical facts can be found from both primary and secondary sources. Historical facts are scattered in abundance in millions of book, documents, inscriptions and pedigrees, etc., but collection of reliable and authentic sources and date depends on the researcher's ability, experience, foresight and training. Government documents are more reliable than non-government documents. While collecting the data we should consider the limitation of time and money. The only data should be collected which is related to our subject, interrelated and reliable and authentic.
4. **Historical Criticism:** After the data is collected it goes through historical criticism. It means the authenticity and reliability of the sources of data is checked to know whether it is forged. It is also checked that the write ups of those resources are not partial. Hence the checking of authenticity and legality of collected data is called historical criticism.
5. **Classification and Organisation of Data:** The next step of study by historical method is classified the collected data in different categories so that it can be compared with each other. Qualitative and numeric data are separated and organised.
6. **Analysis and Interpretation:** Data is analysed and interpreted scientifically and objectively after classification in which the incident is explained on the basis of cause and effect and the conclusions are made. While this, one should be determined unbiased like a scientist and keep one's own biases away from the study.
7. **Preparing Report:** Last step for study by historical method is preparing the report. While writing the report, simple, understandable, objective and interesting language should be used.



Task

Mention the source of historical method.

Importance of Historical Method

Notes

The importance of historical method is unanimous for the study of the incidents happened in past. **M.H. Gopal** writes, "If any social researcher ignores the past while analysing present, takes a big risk." History informs us about the society of past which can not be ignored by any social scientist. Many sociologists have used historical method in their study. A new branch of historical sociology has emerged in sociology because of the closeness of both sciences. **Howard** also calls history as "sociology of past and sociology as history of present." **John Medge** has also written, "It is not wise to eliminate historians from the class of sociologists and only foolish sociologists do not use documents."

The importance and utility of historical method are as under –

1. **Study of Developing Events:** We can learn about emergence, development and the conditions of emergence of some specific event or institution by historical method. We can understand the present better only through the past. **Whitehead** writes – "Every characteristic emerging in present has a past and carries the seed of future."

Past is a collection of experiences through which we can understand the present better. This is the best method to study the changes in the developing events. This method is very useful to understand the emergence, changes and development of societies, civilisations and institutions.

2. **Study of Socio-cultural Changes:** We can easily understand the process of socio-cultural changes by historical method. Social scientists are keen to learn about changes. When the changes occur in social institutions and conditions then the social structure and organisations also face changes due to its effects. Study of this process of change is possible through historical method only.
3. **Assessment of the Effects of Past:** We can assess the importance of past effects on the society through historical method. No society is free from the impact of past, but the study of traditional societies and societies with ancient culture will remain incomplete until the impact of past on them is not assessed. The society which has a long history also has intense impact of past on itself, which can be studied by historical method only.
4. **Comprehensiveness Sociological Point of View:** The other methods of sociology minutely study the events dividing it into different small units, while historical method looks at the social events in totality. Hence this method makes the sociological point of view comprehensive. Microscopic studies can be done by this.
5. **Study of Social Forces:** We can study those social forces which have contributed in creating the present social system, by historical method. We can only understand the secrets of present by studying the past. English philosopher **Bernard Shaw** writes, "Past is not behind the group but it exists in the group. Though present is different from the past but it is the past that has formed the present and this past and present will surely impact the future." Hence the impact and gradual development of social forces which have created the present system can be studied successfully by historical method.

Limitations of Historical Method

Historical method is useful and important method of study but it has some limitation also and they applicable in the context of kinship. These are as under –

1. **Lack of Reliable Material:** The biggest limitation of historical method is that how to check the reliability and authenticity of the sources by which data is collected. Most of the historical description are exaggerated and biased.
2. **Defective Way of Record Keeping:** In this method, one more difficulty is that the record of historical facts are not kept in arranged manner.

Notes

3. **Scattering of Documents:** This is one of the defects of historical method that in this the documents are scattered here and there and they are not available at one place.
4. **Test or Repeation of Facts or Events Impossible:** Historical events are related to past which can neither be repeated nor can be seen, they can only be understood on logical basis.
5. **Calculation and Measurement not Possible:** Since historical facts and events are related to past, thus they can only be described, their measurement by statistics is not possible.
6. **Lack of Uniformity:** Regarding historical fact, there is no uniformity in the views of different historians. Due to diversity in their views, it is difficult to know the actual state.
7. **Unsuitable for Modern Society:** By historical system we can study the societies of the past, but several problems of modern period related to recent events, cannot be studied through this system.
8. **Vulnerability to Partiality:** In studying by historical method, it is more vulnerable to personal partiality because every historian sees the events in his own view and its description and conclusion is his own.
9. **Use of Hypothetical Facts:** In historical system ancient events, societies, institutions and cultures are studied. Many times, we don't have any evidence about its primitive state. In such situation, a researcher can only predict about them which makes his study unscientific and defective.

Besides, existence of above defects, this method is used in social science to join the present events from past and to know about the origin and development of society, institution and culture.

Use of Historical Method in Sociology : Some Examples

There is a long list of scholars using historical system in sociology, but some of them are as following –

August Comte has joined the development of society with mental development of human by deserving the development of society on the basis of this system and said that each society passes through the three stages of development-religious state, elemental state and scientific state.

Herbert Spensor has also described the development of society, difficulties in them, steps of development and functions on the basis of historical state.

Max Waber has described the origin of modern capitalism and effect of religion on it on the basis of cause and effect through the basis of this reason.

Wastermark has expressed the history of marriage of humans in his book 'History of Human Marriage'.

Openheimer in his book 'The State' and C. Right Mills made historical investigation of white collar courtimind in America and Raymond Aero of struggle and war. Karl Marx has presented the physical description of human history. His dialectical physical theory is based on this system.

Self Assessment

Fill in the blanks :

1. Any social researcher who neglects _____ while analysing the modern period, takes a high risk.
2. At the time of _____ of facts, we should also consider the wealth and boundary.
3. Whitehead wrote: Its _____ exists in each emerging character in modern period.

4.2 Evolutionary Approaches

Notes

When sociology was developing, at the same time (1859 A.D.), **Charles Darwin** had published a book named *Origin of Species*. The evidence of evolutionary approaches and agreements of Darwin which affected the sociologists are as follows – (i) Development takes place from simple to complex stage. (ii) Semics of Development is linear. (iii) Development passes through definite steps. (iv) As development takes place, the structures also develops from micro-labour division to major labour division. (v) As the labour division develops micro-specilisation also develops to major specilisation and micro interdependency to major interdependency.

The sociologist in that period studied the society, culture, social institutions, religion, tradition, family, marriage, kinship, views, economics, art, etc., through evolution system. They also propounded evolutionary theory of the events related to their studies. Remarkable scientists in these are – **Spensor, Durkheem, Toylor, Marse, Morgan, Sir Henry Main and Mc. Milan**, etc. Some scholars had concentrated on art, religious-philosophy and logic etc, whereas some scholars studied on entire society and culture and presented their evolutionary views.

Robert Spensor has defined evolution in this form, “Evolution is a co-ordination of element and a motion related to it during which an element changes from an indefinite-incongrous-similarity to definite-diversity.” According to **Spensor**, the same law applies to the society and culture. It was a concept of primitive evolutionists that social change and development of culture takes in linear form, in definite steps all the societies, culture of the world and its several parts have passed through a definite growth steps. This development takes place in direction or simple to complex, similar to dissimilar and indefinite to definite. For example – It is very primitive era, all people know about themselves only – social law, culture, etc., were unknown to them, all people were generally alike and even they don’t know to work together. This stage can be called “Indefinite incongrous-similarity.” Gradually, their experience, knowledge and view got matured and they started working together, later on, the stage of labour division also arrived. Each person started working that job which he can do properly and in this way, the united and started advancing towards a definite aim. This stage became the stage of definite-congrous-diversity.

This theory of evolution based on the system of evolutionary approach was explained by **Spensor, Morgan, Hedden, Toylor and Durkheem**, etc., in their works. This development are described in economic field – (i) Stage of hunting and gathering fruits, (ii) Stage of pasturage and (iii) Agricultural stage. Three stages of the development of technology are as following – (i) Stone Age (ii) Copper Age and (iii) Iron Age.

Name of **Morgan** is specially worthy in this view. His belief is that the history of human species is one in its origin, experience and programmes. In his view, the theory of “gradual change from simplicity to complexity” of evolution applies truly in the development of human society and culture. According to **Morgan**, “there are three stages of the evolution of Human society – (i) First of all, Human-culture was in Savagery stage (ii) Second, was Barbarian Stage, and (iii) third was Civilized Stage.” He divided each stage in lower, middle and high levels. Man was originated in the lower level of Savagery Stage. In the middle level, he learnt to burn fire and hunting fish and at high level cross-low, arrow, etc., were invented.

At Lower level of Barbarian or uncivilised stage, the art of pottery started. In middle level, animal husbandry and agriculture by irrigation started and in high level use of iron begun. At the lower level of the third civilised stage, language and art of writing begun to use. In middle level, trade and use of machines started and at high level, today capitalist and socialist European civilisation is developing.

Morgan has seen marriage and origin of family and evolution in human history. According to him, there were free-sex in human society in the begining in which sexual relation is made with any one. Thereafter group-marriage, polyandry, polygamy, etc., became popular and gradually the stage of monogamy arrived. Change in family is also seen with marriage. From gotra, there were maternal, paternal, etc., basis of family.

Notes

In fact a family was blood relatives earlier, thereafter group-family, syndersmain family, paternal family and at last stage of monogamous family arrived. From this historical system of **Morgan**, theories of evolution of marriage and family were propounded.

Toyler had told about the evolution of religion. According to him, "Religion was evolved from polytheism to monotheism." **Spensor** was also a supporter of Toyler's view. It was belief of **Spensor** that all rituals, acts, etc., were originated from ancestor-worship and its basis was fear. According to him, "all religions originated due to fear of dead persons and all societies were originated due to fear of living persons."

Toyler considers the origin of religion on the basis of the faith in soul and souls are many therefore, polytheism originated first of all and later on it arrived in the stage of monotheism. More studies were made on the basis of the system of evolutionary approach, the order of their evolution is different, such as – Cyclic Theory of Sorokin.

In social and cultural dynamics, **Sorokin** has tried to understand and explained the description of social and cultural change through evolutionary approach (historical study system). His belief is that evolution of culture in the society is propagated and exchanged from the stages of cultures of ponderable, idealistic and perceptual types. He proved by presenting the historical facts of the cultures of several societies that there are a cycles of cultures also. There exist cyclic ups and downs in cultures continuously. The process of ups and down runs between ponderable and perceptual cultures. In this process of ups and down, the culture has to pass through the stage of idealistic culture in its middle. Sorokin believes that change in society takes place by movement in cyclic order in different forms of cultures.

Contribution of **Spengler** can also be seen in this form of study system as he propounded the cyclic theory of civilisation on the basis of the study of world history in "The Decline of the West". He gave the conclusion that all culture remain changing in regular stages like spring, summer, rainy and winter seasons.

Toynbi had also studied civilisations and described the cyclic change in order of the development, stability and decline of civilizations. Many scholars in sociology have propounded evolutionary approach, evolutionary study system and evolutionary principle. But, there are limitations and shortcomings of this systems also.



Notes

In 1859 A.D., Charles Darwin had published a book named "Origin of Species", in which he propounded the theory of origin evolution through evolutionary approach.

Critical Evaluation of Evolutionary Approach

Many scientist had quoted the shortcomings and limitations of evolutionary approach – some important evaluation of them are presented over here, which are related to the study of kinship also –

1. According to **Redcliff Brown** and **Malinowski** the evolutionary approach cannot be used in those societies for which historical authentic facts are unavailable. Due to this scholars says that evolutionary approach and system are not fully authentic and reliable .
2. It is not possible to test the gathered facts, as well as affected relations and conclusions of them under evolutionay approach. In this system, the conclusion are derived from the help of the facts based on predictions and conjectures, which are not possible to be testified.
3. Some critics say that through evolutionary approach, it is difficult to understand the past of society. Through this, conclusions is not possible also. This approach is quite unuseful

for the study of those societies whose neither any written history is available nor any solid residue of culture.

Notes

4. **Redcliff Brown** had expressed following views in regard to evolutionary approach:
- This approach is quite unuseful for the study of those societies whose no written history exists such as – primitive societies, illiterate societies, etc.
 - The study made through this remains limited to estimates only. In this approach any type of test or inspection is not possible.
 - In this approach, the gathered facts are not possible to be tested experimentally, the test of authenticity of the work, reason, mutual relation is also not possible.
 - Through this approach, scientists can only get knowledge of predictive periodic evolution of historical events related to the society. Through this, scientists can't get true, authentic and reliable in relation to real stages and events.

Self Assessment

Choose right option:

- First of all, who originated polytheism –
(a) Morgan (b) Durkheem (c) Toyler
- Who saw the origin and development of marriage and family in human history –
(a) Durkheem (b) Morgan (c) Karl Marx
- Who propounded the theory of organic evolution through evolutionary approach –
(a) Carl Marx (b) Toyler (c) Charles Darwin

4.3 Summary

- In 1859 A.D., Charles Darwin had written a book named "Origin of Species."
- According to Herbert Spensor, "Evolution, is a co-ordination of element and a motion related to it during which element changes from an indefinite-incongruous-similarity to definite-congravous."
- According to Morgan, there are three levels of the evolution of human society – (i) Man-cultured Savagery Stage (ii) Barbarian Stage (iii) Civilized Stage

4.4 Keywords

- Evolutionary Change:** Regular and successive change in a definite direction is an illustration of evolutionary change.
- Historical Approach:** By serialising and arranging the social, cultural, economic, and political events of the society through history, we can understand the regularity and main stream of the social life.

4.5 Review Questions

- Investigate the historical approach of kinship study.
- Give a critical description of evolutionary approach of kinship study.

Notes

Answers: Self Assessment

- | | | |
|-------------------------|----------------|----------------|
| 1. Past | 2. Compilation | 3. entire past |
| 4. (c) Toyler
Darwin | 5.(b) Morgan | 6.(c) Charles |

4.6 Further Readings



Books

- Families in India, Marriage and Kinship – Shobhita Jain, Rawat Publication.
Development of Family Sociology in India – Alka Rani, D.K. Publishers Distri-
turos
Social Anthropology – Majumdar and Madan.
Indian Society and Social Institutions – Gupta and Sharma.

Unit 5: Approaches to the Study of Kinship: Structural Functional

Notes

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Objectives

Introduction

- 5.1 Structural-Functional Approach
- 5.2 History of Structural-Functional Approach
- 5.3 Summary
- 5.4 Keywords
- 5.5 Review Questions
- 5.6 Further Readings

Objectives

After studying this unit, students will be able to:

- Study the structural-functional approach of kinship study.
- Investigate the functional approach of Comte, Spensor and Durkheim.

Introduction

Approach is a way, entry path, route or access which controls, directs and conducts the study system, its recognition and propounding of principles. According to perspective approach subject inspection, fact compilation, classification, is system of simplification or formation of principle. This is a type of entry path or way by which an event is seen, inspected, testified according to perspective or view point and conclusions are derived. Approach is a system which is used to clarify or study the aims and problems. Approaches are the steps of the process of scientific study system with the help of which a scientist advances in a definite direction to understand an event, to obtain his aim. He propounds theory according to perspective.

5.1 Structural-Functional Approach

This approach is the most important and popular functional approach in sociology. According to **Kingsley Davis**, today this approach is spread over the three-fourth of the sociology. It is known with many names in sociology such as—Structural functional Approach, Functional Approach, Functional Analysis, Functional Theory, Functional Ovention and today the most popular and brief name—Functionalism and it has an important place in study of kinship—

It is a system of study, approach of study and principle all the three. In sociology, scholars had inspected it according to these three forms. **Kingsley Davis** had said even that perception, approach, systems of study, recognitions, problems and limitations of both-sociology and functional analysis are the same and there is no difference between them. Functional analysis

Notes

or functionalism is synonymous to sociology, therefore to give them a different name in sociology is unnecessary. In these above references, a discussion of the several wings of functional approach such as – history, recognition, character, important limitations and critical evaluation etc., is expressed over here.



Notes

There are many followers of functional approach in which August Comte, Herbert Spenser, Durkheim, Malinowisks, Redcliff Brown, Morten, etc., scholars were outstanding.

5.2 History of Structural-Functional Approach

P.S. Kohan, enhancing the history of functional approach, has written in his book that the history of functional system for the study of society is so primitive that the social principle. Some historians consider the beginning of modern theory of functionalism from **Montesque**, but today the virtue of the effect of this principle which is seen, goes to **August Comte** who determined the study of sociological statistics – a part of sociological investigation.

August Comte refers by social statics that the study of co-existence of social events. According to him under this study of those huge institutions and institutional complexity is made which is considered a huge unit of social analysis. In words of **Comte**, “Statics is related to the discovery of mutual action and reaction of different parts in society.” He only diverted attention towards ‘structural-functional’ approach in sociology and provided a new direction. He says that all the institutions of society are mutually related in form of belief and morality. This system aims at the description of any part prevailing in the entire society. Such principle or rules is to be searched from this system which clears that a unit of structure and all other units how affect a particular unit and how get affected and any how the existence of society prevails. In functional system, the study of unit as a whole and whole as a unit and mutual inter-relation of units are made.

Herbert Spenser – After **August Comte**, **Herbert Spenser** has added something new in the functional approach of the study of society. He in “Principles of Functional Sociology” thrown light on the similarities and accordances in processes of society and organism. First of all, **Spenser** had described the fundamental characters of organism like – body structure, construction, mutual dependency of organs, function, etc., and on that basis he analysed the society which proved in the development of functional approach. Construction of body structure takes place by joining several organs. Each organ does an specific function. Their function are mutually unarranged and unorganised which keeps the body arranged, organised and balanced. It is belief of **Spenser** that the body structure in organisms world and its several organs develops in series of simple to complex form, similarity to diversity and low-differentiation to complex-differentiation, the same way, so it has taken place in social arrangement. He consider, society an integral arrangement like organisms. He says that the construction of society is done from different units like organisms. These several units in social structure are mutually in organised form.

Every unit in the society does on specific function. The society remains arranged efficiently due to functions and by the several units. His belief is that the structure in which one type of or similar element are found, all the elements in that are self-reliant. But, the elements vary in structure or existence of internal differentiation in structure is high then more mutual dependency is found in the elements.

Spenser had argued that the aim of more differentiation in structure is to produce more unification overall and to reduce internal imbalance in them and they are more efficient to maintain

their existence because such structures possess more properties of adaptability. **Durkheim** was influenced with his views these functional approach, principle and system.

Notes

Emile Durkheim – The ultra-modern functionalism is more indebted to **Durkheim** than to **Spenser**. Like **Spenser**, **Durkheim** was also very much influenced with biological concept in his preliminary write-ups. His preliminary views were directly influenced by **Spenser**. **Durkheim** has expressed his scientific study system in his book the 'Rules of Sociology Methods' and in his articles. He help in making this principle attractive for sociologists and social humanists. **Durkheim** has made clear differentiation in function of labour division and its reasons in the second chapter of his book on labour division. The function of labour division is a variation of society. Moral density increases as a result of the pressure of population. He had expressed following logics in this regard: –

(i) Where the pressure of population and social interaction will increase, there, the control made of simple segmented society will be shattered and there will be increase in competition which will become a danger to the society.

(ii) To reduce or control of this increased competition and hostility specialised functions are adopted which makes persons more interdependent on one-another. In this way, the situation arrives to adopt the morality of mutual responsibility. The function he told is that the division of labour increase on the increase of population pressure which increases specialisation and internal mutual interdependency increases, due to which the members of the society have to co-operative and which reduces hostility and competition and management establishes in the society. He also established the same in the study of religion also that function of religion establishes unity in the society.

Upto the time of **Durkheim**, functional approaches were not established in social sciences – especially in sociology and Social Humanity but remarkable influence of his views were noticed on its development.



Task

What is the distinction between the function of labour division and its reason?

Contribution of Merton

R.K. Merton had made notable contribution to structural-functional approach, system, analysis and principle through his world famous book 'Social Theory and Social Structure.' First of all, he had made critical evaluation of the views, principles and agreements through this approach of sociologist and social humanists came earlier to him, thereafter he presented an amended form of function system, which is as following –

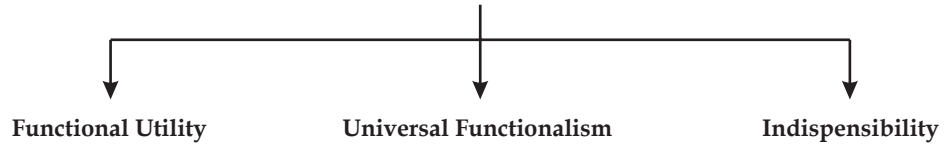
Merton's Critical Evaluation of Predecessor Functionalists

Prior to the presentation of the functional system of himself, Merton had critically evaluated Durkheim, Redcliff Brown, Malinovsky, Davis, Moor and Klukhaun, etc., which are as under –

Merton wrote, "These functionalists had adopted three mutually related postulates mainly in general form of functional approach which are now proved to be useless and controversial." These are as under – (1) Postulate of functional unity of the society (2) Agreement of universal functionality (3) Agreement of Indispensibility

Notes

Postulate Propounded by Predecessor Functionalists of Merton



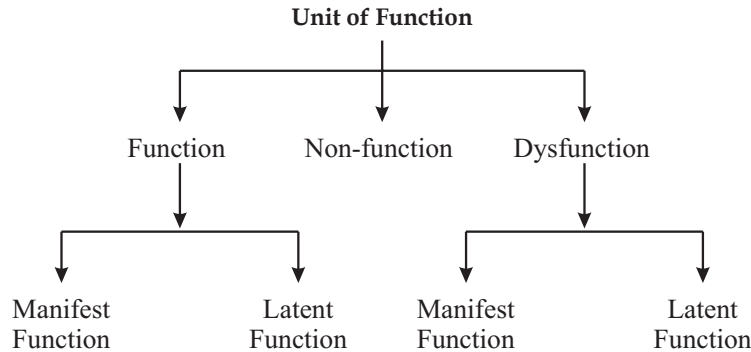
1. **Postulate of Functional Unity of Society:** Redcliff Brown and Malinovisky says about several units of social structure that they maintain unity in the society. The way in which the different organs of an organism are related mutually in form of unity, the same way each unit of the social structure remain related with one-another functioning in organised manner.
 Merton, by giving example of religion evaluated this property. He says that if people practising more than one religion live in a society then communal riot caused in them due to religion. Therefore the belief of Durkheim, Redcliff Brown, Malinovisky, etc., is partially true. Units are functional but they also perform dysfunction or destructive acts.
2. **Postulate of Universal Functionalism:** Earlier to Merton, the sociologists and social humanists believe that where there is human society, social units fulfill any of the need there. Malinovisky who was a strong functionalist says that, "Every unit fulfills any of the important function on every place." He also says that only those units exists in social structure which fulfills any need in social management.
 Merton had evaluated this character giving example of religion. Merton told that religion do many destruction even through it exists as a units in social structure. In Hindu Society, caste-system, child-marriage, Sati custom, untouchability, widow, female-illiteracy, etc., were due to religion., In west, in many societies, religion is a hurdle against many means of family planning and in abortion.
3. **Postulate of Indispensibility:** It is a belief of several scholars that units in social structure or their functions from the structures are indispensable and functions can not be separated from the structures. But Merton studied the view and articles of different scholars and in them clearly it is not found that – (i) Function is indispensable or (ii) Unit is indispensable or (iii) Function and unity both are indispensable. Kingley Davis and Moor had told indispensable to religion, because religion plays to control the society. Merton says that in modern societies, the social control is done without religion also.
 Merton after critical evaluation of his predecessor functionalists told the following characters and properties of function –
4. **Function, Non-function and Dysfunction:** Merton says that the function of units of social structure can be divided in three main parts – (1) Function (2) Non-function or (3) Dysfunction. When units of structure do that work which helps in maintaining social management and adjustment then these units are called functional.
 Some units are such which under the study is not related in an way to the social management. They do not play any role in maintaining management or doing mismanagement. This is called their Non-function.
 Some units of structure, in social management play role of increasing management on reducing adaptation or adjustment. They have destructive effect and this is called their dysfunction.
5. **Manifest and Latent Function:** Merton had divided the main functions of the units of social structure in two sub-functions – Direct and Indirect. Direct functions are those multiple results which in management contributes in adjustment and adaptation and are wanted by the persons taking part in management and are recognised. These direct function can be

seen under organisational or functional and destructional or dysfunction.

Notes

Indirect function are those function of units of social structure which is neither wanted nor recognised.

These indirect functions are in the form of organisational or functional and destructional or dysfunctional. These functions can be presented by following figure—



6. **Adaptability and Adjustment in society:** Function increases adaptability and adjustment in society. It is important for continuity and balance for social management that adaptability and adjustment property should be there in units of social structure. In lack of these property, units become dearranged and imbalanced till these properties exists in units, institutions, agencies, etc., they remain an integral part of the structure.
7. **Accepted by Society:** The functions of elements, units, institutions, agencies, etc., of social structure are accepted by the society. In different societies, units are different and their functions are performed according to the need of the society. These are variable also. The functions which are not accepted by the society was termed unexpressed-function or indirect function by **Merton**.
8. **Fulfils Need: Malinovisky** emphasises specially on this character of functions. He says that each unit plays an important role in every place. He also wrote that the unit which does not function to fulfill need, cannot remain in the structure. **Malinovisky, Redcliff Brown** and **Klukhaun** have criticised bitterly the evolutionist on this basis that no element or part in society are vestigial. In evolutionary theory, vestigial are used as an evidence, but functionalists don't consider this.
9. **Functional Substitutes: Merton** says that there are many units in social structure, they have many functions, we get two types of characters and functions related to it. First-one element and its many function and Second – one function and elements fulfilling its are many. There are many options and equivalents of functions related to a definite need of society. In primitive society the function of social control is religion. In city and metropolitan society, the function of social control is performed by Police, Military, Court, etc., means, there are many options and equivalents.
10. **Other Characteristics:** There are some more characteristics of functions, such as – there are many units in social structures, it is difficult to calculate them. To calculate the functions of units is even impossible. Function is more beneficial for a group, less beneficial for some and also be harmful for some groups. Functions are related with the units forming the social structures. Functions also determine and clarify labour division in society. Every unit does function, non-function, disfunction, direct-indirect, manifest-latent, clear-ambiguous, known and unknown, etc., like varied works in the society which are seen with reference to the study. Management, organisation, continuity, balance, development, etc., of society depends on varied functions of the units of structure. As the units perform a function according to it the balance, imbalance, management and dearrangement of society and culture will be determined and influenced. In this way, function is related to social structure.

Notes

Self Assessment

Fill in the blanks:

1. Units are _____ but they can be dysfunctional and destructive.
2. Each unit perform many of the _____ function on each place.
3. Function are related to the units forming social _____ .

5.3 Summary

- Functionalism is a simple view point to see such an automatic arrangement of interrelated part of the society which has structured in its decisive part of social relation along with a multiple continuity.
- Merton and Parsons played special role among virtue payers to this approach of sociology.
- The use of concept of function is done in two main ways—
 - (i) In the meaning of physical result
 - (ii) In the meaning of special music interrelated between variables.
- According to Merton, the units of social structure can be divided in three main parts.

5.4 Keywords

1. **Functional:** Ability of contributions from its decisive parts in maintaining any social-cultural management is called fuctional.
2. **Functionalism:** A principle based on universal similarity in which it is believed that society is such an organised arrangement in which balance is maintained in situation of hostile families also.

5.5 Review Questions

1. How Herbert Spensor and Durkheem had illustrated the structural functional approach? Explain.
2. Give critical evaluation of functionalist by Merton.

Answers : Self Assessment

1. Functional
2. important
3. structure

5.6 Further Readings



Books Society in India – Virendra Prakash Sharma, D.K. Publishers Distributors.
Family Tour in India – Tremvore Malik, Kalpaz Publication.

Unit 6: Approaches to the Study of Kinship: Cultural

Notes

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Introduction

- 6.1 Characteristics of Culture
- 6.2 Theory Related to Growth of Culture
- 6.3 Evolutionism
- 6.4 Diffusionism
- 6.5 Theory of Cultural – Integration
- 6.6 Summary
- 6.7 Keywords
- 6.8 Review Questions
- 6.9 Further Readings

Objectives

After studying this unit, students will be able to:

- Know the viewpoint of kinship study.
- Study the origin, structure and period of Human Cultures.

Introduction

There is a main and most important perception of culture or cultural leadership. The main career institution of any society or culture is family and family is a kinship group. The word 'Culture' is being used in many meanings. In general, the meaning of the word 'Culture' is used for social elegance and intellectual excellence.

Well known critic and poet **Mathew Arnold** has termed 'Culture' as melody and light in this sense. There are some scholars (sociologists), who use the term 'Cultural Elite' for the strong leadership of the society. Philosophers like **Qaseer** and sociologists like **Sarokin** and **Mac Ivero** have adopted culture in the sense that it is the moral, spiritual and intellectual achievement of man. A philosopher and sociologist name **David Bidney** has defined culture as the self-search of human nature and a resource of geographical environment.

The Sanskrit word 'Sanskriti' is used as the meaning of the English word 'Culture'. Both the words, 'Sanskriti' and 'Sanskriti' have originated from the 'Sanskari', which means 'performance of religious rituals'. Since birth, a Hindu goes through many rituals. As a result, he gets the approval to perform the various roles of his life (like the role of a student or husband). Thus, culture is the informant of such life- aspect which can be obtained by fulfilling various rituals.

Notes

It may be called the rectification process. It is important to note here that 'Sanskrit' was the urban language in ancient India while 'Prakrit' was the rural language. Man is born as an unsocial being. By fulfilling various ritualism he adopts sociability.

Scholars have used the word 'Culture' in a different manner. The first scholar who defined this word and used it widely was **Taylor**. He defined culture in the sense of all beliefs, ideas, customs, laws, values, art forms and forms of efficiency; which an individual adopts as a member of the society. In his definition, **Taylor** has stressed that 'culture' is a social heritage, a gift given to man by the society. Some other scholars including **Malinsky** have presented the same definition by re-arranging and changing a few words. They said that social heritage has a materialistic aspect while the other is non-materialistic. It has no form and is extremely microscopic. In other words, the life-aspect itself is 'Culture'. It is created by mental, social and materialistic equipments. When viewed from one angle, it is 'Social Culture' and when viewed from the other, it is 'Materialistic Culture'. To elaborate this idea, **Bidney** has defined 'Culture' in the sense of origination – the origination of agriculture, the origination of industries, the organisation of society and the origination of language, religion, etc.

The above-mentioned definition of culture is based on the belief that culture is a solid fact, a realistically prevalent thing. Such a definition may be called a sensitive or senset viewpoint. Apart from this, there are other viewpoints too.

Merrott has defined culture as a form of sending intelligence. **Redfield** takes this viewpoint further and defines culture as an aspect of the origination of oral forms (facts of art), social structure and mutual meanings inherent in symbols. This principle definition is produced by the most important role of symbols in sending and receiving knowledge.

Another definition has been presented by **Ruth Banedict**. It has been called the Formalistic and Beauty-listic view point. According to it, culture is not much understood as a content of social life, but chiefly understood as a formalisation and organisation of it. **Benedict** has written about the forms of culture and not on its content.

Malinosky and **Recliff brown's** viewpoint on culture has been instrumental and humane. **Malinosky** considers culture as that aspect of life, by which an individual satisfies his physical and psychological urges and fulfils the other needs and series, and finally achieves independence. **Redcliff-Brown** considered culture as a resource, a process of transfer of customs and rituals and adoptability, which ensures the continuity of sociology. The functionalist scholars use one aspect of culture. They considered the entire culture as a unit of studies, and not as a single cultural traits as **Toyler** had perceived. Unlike **Benedict**, they did not study the more form.

A newest viewpoint has been presented by **Linton**, **Clakhon** and most recently, by **Crowbar**. It is based on the belief that the nature of human knowledge is subjective.

Linton says that the life of people is one thing and the form in which we study and write about them is different. The first thing is reality and the second is sense of reality. If the first is called 'culture', then the second can be called 'culture-created'. It is the formless fact. Fact is the real human behaviour.

Clakhon has termed culture as idea, feeling and the process of action. **Gilin** further clarifies this viewpoint and says that future is not action, but its form which is created not by the people but by the scholar who studies people. Thus, culture should be separated from real life.

The above-mentioned analysis clarifies that though culture has been the most important reference used by cultural scholars, there is no unanimity on what culture is. Every viewpoint has given direction to some useful research. What is culture? It will be the responsibility of the future researchers to provide its final definition. It may be indicated that not a single viewpoint mentioned above is better than the other.

6.1 Characteristics of Culture

Notes

The sociologists have not only occupied themselves with defining culture, but also tried to establish the generalisation regarding the characteristics of culture (through comparative studies).

Ethance and Edance

Crowbar has looked into the two aspect of culture, which he called Ethance and Edance. It's formal expressive form is Edance which comes from the creative elements of culture. Compared to the creative element Edance, Ethance is the culture's that activity which determines its virtues, themes and its interests. **Bateson** says every culture can be divided into two parts. There is one part called Ethance, which is created by a culture's entire adaptation. In the other part called Edance, the adaptation produced by the prevalent terminological process is synthesized.

Explicit and Implicit elements

Crakhon says that everything in the lives of people can neither be understood by mere sensitive survey nor can it be made a part of our knowledge. The realities which can be directly viewed with the help of eyes and ears, are called the apparent elements of culture. There are some indirect elements too, which can be directly viewed after spacial training only. Because these elements are in the form of emotions and motivators of human behaviour, whose doers are mostly not aware of it themselves. They can be called inherent elements of the culture. For the entire representative studies of the behaviour of people of any society, it is essential to synthesize the apparent and inherent element of the culture in it.

6.2 Theory Related to Growth of Culture

Right from the beginning, the cultural sociologists had a problem in knowing the growth and the cultural parallels of culture. The fundamental questions they faced were : How are the cultures born? How do similar cultural subjects and characteristics thrive in different cultures. These two questions were the subject of the primary ideologies related to the studies of culture.

6.3 Evolutionism

As a form of modern science, scholarly studies warekorn in that period when evolutionism was at its peak. Both **Darwin** and **Spensor** were busy deciding that evolutionism is the self elements of all kinds of factors.

Concepts

Influenced by the contemporary evolutionistic ideology, sociologists like **Taylor** and **Morgan** started studying the 'Human Society' and the 'Evolution of Culture' with their entire heart and soul. There were some undivided with supportive attitude too, who helped and motivated their endeavour. During their time, there was a widely prevalent belief that all humans are the same when it comes to mental structure. This idea was expressed as 'Mental Unity of Human World'.



Notes

It has been said that in cases of common problems, humans find out similar solutions. If there is difference in environment, then it is expressed as an institution's institutional difference.

Notes

This evolutionism goes from simple to complex and in different ways. The definition of cultural parallels different ways. The definition of cultural parallels was said to be the result of Mental Unity of The Human World. It was also believed that the development of every institution takes place in the local surrounding of culture, in an independent manner. In case, similar or similar looking institutions are found in two cultures, then they are said to be an example of Convergent Evolution. In this regard, the following examples have been cited – Agriculture: which was developed in South-East and South-West Asia the New World (America) in an independent manner; Zero: which was discovered by Hindus, Babylonians and Mayans independently; Architecture: which was developed by Masinians, Mayans and Eskimoes in an independent way, etc. It is believed that the development of writing too, took place in different parts of the world, on half a dozen occasions, in an independent manner the development of print and the production of paper too, is said to have taken place in East and West independently. The list of such examples is quite long.

Representative Examples

The specific examples, as to how the ideologists of development presented their part can be taken from the eructing of **Morgan, Tylor, Hayden** and **Levi-Bruhall**.

Believing that the development of human-societies took place from low to high, **Morgan** established three stages. In the beginning, man lived in an uncultured stage. This stage had three periods: ancient, mid (The beginning of fishing and use of fire was contemporary) and invention period (when bow and arrow was used).

The second stage was barbaric. With the production of clay objects, man entered the early period of barbarism. When cattle-rearing and the use of irrigation in agriculture began it was the mid-period of barbarism. Starting from the invention of melting metals and the use of iron instruments/equipments to the next change, was the period of barbarism (its peak). After that the period culture rose. It's beginning is believed to be from the period when alphabets and writing were invented. According to **Morgan**, the conditions of the contemporary west European-Society too, fall in the cultural period.

Discussing the objective part of culture, **Morgan**, again uses logic of speculation. He accepts that a legally determined marriage is the ultimate position of development of married relations. **Morgan** presented the evolutionary process of stages (of marriage) in this order starting from the imaginary stage of sexual freedom to group marriages, multiple-husband marriages, self-willed single marriage and multiple-wife marriage. According to the changes unmarried relations, **Morgan** has also presented the order of evolutionary stages of various families. After the evolution of elan, the stages of a family have been termed as Matrilineal, Patrilineal and Bilineal.

Tylor has studied the growth of religion in a similar way. He considered Multi-deityism as the most general and ancient form of religion. The mid-stage in this order showed high multi-deity-ism ideology. **Tylor** believed that eventually un-deity-ism must have developed from it.

In the context of art, **Hayden** termed the primary stage of evolution of the art forms as reality art. He said sketch, symbolic or formless art forms are the later stages in order.

Levi-Bruhall too, considered primitive logic as the evolution of modern logic. He emphatically said that as far as the primitive people were concerned, they were not materialistic radical and contradictory. Thus, their mental state was undeveloped compared to ours. Because of it, he termed the primitive stage as pre-logical mentality.

Criticism and Amendment

Proofs of all such speculative developmentalist establishments were collected from various cultures and periods. While making such efforts, the importance of their cultural context was not specifically taken into consideration. The scholars of the materialistic culture went too far

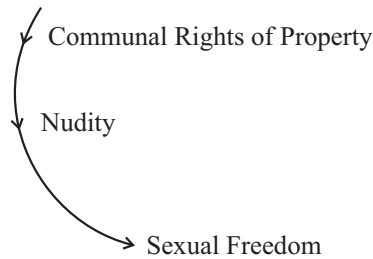
when they collected the examples of the different forms of the various objective facts from the various periods and parts of the world and presented them in a wilfully chronological order of evolutionism. Presenting the evolution of the various forms of the bow and arrow, along with definition, is one such example.

Notes

Though the contribution of these preliminary developments had been important in understanding the cultural activities, they proved to be extremists in supporting the idea of independent evolutionism. They earned quite a bad name when they blindly used the procedure of comparative analysis. They kept on harping about the logical chronological stages but failed to recognise, if they could be supported with historical evidences. They showed absurd ignorance towards the role of cultural exchange. They were mere position adorning ideologists, and were using the descriptions of travellers and missionaries in a simply ignorant manner. Because of their prejudice towards the structural processes of cultural evolution, they became blind towards the other processes of cultural growth and the other definitions of cultural parallel. They openly demonstrated bestism. They believed that the final and fulfilling state of the evolution of society and culture was present in their contemporary Europe of the 19th century itself. Their decisions on the primitive cultures too, were propped by this attitude of bestism.

Many writers have presented the amended forms of developism. One of the ideologies is that the social organisations do not develop in a straight line but in the form of a parabolic curve. This means—in the beginning, an organisation grows in a specific manner; later on at a stage, this development becomes an antonym of the previous form (the original one), and from here again, it goes back (and develops) to its original form, but a new and developed one. For example, the primary property right was of communal type. The organisation of individual or personal property right developed at a later stage. And now again, the development of communal property rights through the medium of a state has already been established by the communist ideology. The other examples have been depicted by the following sketch:

1. **Communal Rights:** By the state through an organised procedure.
2. **Nudity:** In the form of a physical-cultural agitation.
3. **Free Sex:** Lack of stringent, moralistic steps regarding sex and proving its purpose on various basis.
 - (i) Personal Rights
 - (ii) Full body covering or dressing up
 - (iii) One marriage



Self Assessment

Fill in the blanks:

1. They were mere position adorning _____ and were merely using descriptions of travellers and missionaries in a simply ignorant manner.
2. Their decisions on primitive cultures too were gripped by this attitude of _____ .
3. The primary property right was of _____ type.

6.4 Diffusionism

Background

The idea (of the evolutionists) that the cultural scholars' development takes place independently and the cultural similarities are the result of the parallel evolution was widely criticised. It is not that such a process of progress had been rejected, but when the developers totally ignored those examples of rites and rituals and origination of art, which were the proof that they were a part of culture through cultural exchange; then objections were raised against it saying it was on unscientific ignorance of history. No specific regional experience or training was required to know the fact that the order of stages of the unilateral development of the human society (uncivilised stage—barbaric stage—single marriages; occupation—cattle rearing, agriculture—handicrafts—industrial life) should be accepted in the light of the collected knowledge and the available socio-economic life of the general primitive people of the world.

Mendel's research in the rules of genetics/lineage had crossed the line of Darwinism. A similar change occurred in social sciences, when they moved away from Spencer's ideas. No specific training was required to see the fact that the culture characteristics too, are sent by transmission agencies from one group to another. Whenever there is physical intimacy, there is possibility of high inter transmission, which is in the form of words, customs, brides-grooms, objects, services, trust, etc. It is also clear that when people of two diverse cultures stay at a stone's throw from each other, they not only observe each-other's dresses, ornaments, utensils/dishes and external life, but also interact with each other. And that can only be done when they have adopted a few words from each-other's language. More discussion is not required to know the reality and possibility of cultural inter transmission in case of physical contact. The cultural characteristics could be taken by the migrant people to those regions, where they settle temporarily. In this way, these characteristics can be transmitted amongst the original inhabitants of those regions. This is creative criticism of the developmentalist speculations but on the knowledge of real historical incidents. The diffusion which encouraged the growth of culture and cultural parallels came to be known as diffusion.

The critical description of the major ideologies in the field of 'Diffusion' studies, can be presented now.

Ideology of Culture-Cycle German Diffusionists

Writers like **Grebner**, **Anchorman** and **Spid** presented an ideology of diffusionism during the early years of this century. Since then, their followers have been campaigning for it. Their ideology is based on diffused development. They say that cultural characteristics have developed in various periods, in different parts of the world and with time, it is kept on diffusing in other parts as well. Such a diffusion is an orderly process and layers of diffused culture-characteristics can be seen in any culture. Culture-cycle (Culturenees: A German world) means a Documentary on culture.

These writers have been highly dependent on the evidences of physical culture. They did not make attempt to prove their definitions on diffusionism in context with social organisations. Yet, out of them, **Grebner's** contribution is important and permanent in developing the criteria of quality and form. **Grebner** says due to lack of historical proof, similarities on the mere surface are not sufficient in determining diffusion. To prove diffusion, it is essential to see the numerical similarity along with similarity in form and the ultimate make up the creative elements of the characteristics.

For instance, if we want to know whether the Zodiac signs have been diffused from one place to another or not, then it has to be seen that in different place, the prevalent Zodiac signs are similar or not, the number of signs are equal or not and whether the signs are viewed clockwise or anti-clockwise.

As far as the culture-growth part of this ideology is concerned, critics have termed it as mysterious ideology. In fact, this ideology is an effort of studying diffusion, limited to certain regions. The other scholars too, have done the same. The ideology of the culture-cycle has been called the Ideology of Historitative Culture.

Notes

Enculturation

Because of the studies by **Whistler**, which were related to the field of culture and the studies by **Boas**, related to inter transmission the attention of some American scholars was attracted to the studies related to the effect and changes of one culture on the other. When the culture characteristics diffuse, we term this phenomenon as Diffusion but when the entire life-style of one culture undergoes change because of the effect of another culture, it is called Enculturation. **Linton**, **Redfield**, **Herscovits**, **Helovle Beales**, etc., have made a significant contribution in structuring many definitive terms from Enculturation. For example, **Herscovits** says, when a growing child learns to follow his own cultural traditions, then such a phenomenon is called Enculturation. The cultural characteristics and the exchange of schools may be called Trans Enculturation, but the destabilisation of one culture by the other is Enculturation. They can go together, but often this one not happen. First, the effective culture breaks, but later on, in order to compensate for the loss of its personality, to gets reactive. Such a reaction is called Re-Enculturation. One such example, in India has been the Jharkhand agitation. After centuries of exploitation and poverty, the tribes of the Chhota Nagpur region, strongly and consciously stood against it in the form of an agitation and started demanding cultural, social, economic and political autonomy.

The studies on Enculturation are motivated by the sense that in the modern world, no culture is pure or untouched. Another important fact is, that these studies are trustworthy, ideological and an effort to fulfil definitive scientific importance than the speculative studies of the diffusionists on the unwritten history.

6.5 Theory of Cultural Integration

Functionism

After getting satisfactory answers to the questions related to growth of culture and parallels, the next question which the scholars raised was – ‘What is the intimate structure of a culture?’ Is it a scattered and non-interrelated collection of the origination of agriculture, handicrafts, society and humans. Otherwise, what is it that makes the culture totally meaningful.



Did u know? The ideas presented by Malinovsky and Redcliffe-Brown are known as Functionalism.

Malinovsky takes into account the definition of culture given by **Toylor**, but does not consider it a para-biological reality. According to **Malinovsky**, culture is such a medium or equipment, which makes the physical, psychological and high mental-intellectual existence possible. Since all the aspects of culture, be it economic organisation, social organisation or related to religion or-language-human needs, they are mutually inter-related in the same way as man’s needs, which are basically inter-related. Thus, **Malinovsky** does not believe in ruins, unrelated to culture. The developers have directly termed the dysfunctional cultural characteristics as runs of the past. **Malinovsky** condemned them by saying that there was no capability of finding a suitable place for the so called culture specific ruins. Nothing in culture is un-related. All the intimate aspects of inter-related and no single characteristic has any meaning in itself, unless seen in total context.

Notes

In the same manner, **Malinosky** presented the definition of 'Diffusion' in a new manner. He said that a characteristic can retain its basic form, but will be capable of doing that worth only, the capacity of which is present in the culture of its diffusion. In this way, **Malinosky** has specifically mentioned the totality of culture and the characteristics of self help. He also added that if any aspect of the culture undergoes change, then the entire culture gets affected.

Malinosky believes in the multitude of culture. He says that every culture develops according to the local, physical and psychological needs. He deems it fit to consider the development of culture in this context rather than in the form of some ensured values. According to the prevalent knowledge, the most suitable fulfillment of the local needs is said to be the proof of well integrated culture.

Yet, **Malinosky** failed in the sense that he could not step beyond the discussion of the needs and efforts of the human society to present the picture of a well integrated culture.

Redcliffe-Brown emphasize on the existence of society rather than the existence of individuals only. So, he says that the intimate integration of any society is the only way of existence. Such an integration is an ideal and a reality. If such an integration breaks, the society too, ends. The function of every institution is to contribute in ensuring the strength of the entire group, and not only the fulfillment of personal, physical, psychological and socio-cultural needs, as **Malinosky** had said.

Both of these viewpoints are incomplete, because they view integration as a mere objective aspect of the culture only. **Malinosky** considers the patterns of the culture as the followers of function, which is incorrect, pattern has its own independent power. Thus, integration has a formalistic base too.

Patterns of Culture

Motivated by the fields of art and beauty and adopting models from there, **Ruth Benedict** termed such a life style as pattern. In a culture, every big part has its own style. Various such styles of a culture combine together to make a great style, which may be called the life-style of the entire culture. It has also been called configuration. Ruth says, in a culture, all the styles are mutually inter-mingling and thus, structure a well organised pattern. This well organisation is born out of that major attitude, which is seen in all the aspects of every culture. **Benedict** terms this major attitude as the genius for culture. It is the talent of people which evaluates the culture – integrates its form.

Benedict believes that the talent of any society, may be, either of the two possible types – Apollo type and Dionysis type (Apollo: The generous Sun God of the ancient Greeks) Dionysis: (The demon God of the Ancient Greeks). The Apollo type talent represents peaceful behaviour. The integrated culture which is based on this talent, has all the aspects influenced by it. The Dionysis type talent represents disturbance and violent behaviour. It reflects in the culture which has it as the basis of integration and its characteristics are prevalent at that level.

Benedict has presented three major examples and termed the integration of culture of the Dobu and Quaciatal people of the North-Eastern Coast of America as Dionysis type and the integration of culture of the Pueblo people of New Mexico as Apollo type.

6.6 Summary

- Culture is the major and the most important reference of cultural leadership. In any society and culture family is the foremost organisational driving force and it is a kinship group. The word 'culture' has been used for various meanings. The general literary meaning of 'culture' is used for social decency and intellectual excellence.
- **Toylor** was the first scholar to define 'culture' and to use it extensively.

- Another viewpoint has been presented by **Ruth Benedict**. It has been called the formalistic, beautyistic viewpoint.
- Crobar has focussed on two aspects of culture only, which he called Ithance and Idance. The formal form which emerges from the creative elements of culture is Idance.
- In the context of art, **Heydan** called the primary stage of development of the art forms as realistic art. He mentioned the sketch, symbolic or formless art forms as the later stages in order.
- **Malinosky** believes in cultural multitude. He says, every culture develops according to the local physical and psychological needs.

Notes

6.7 Keywords

1. **Cultural Anthropology:** It is a branch of Anthropology under which origin, history, evolution of human culture and structure and function of human culture at each place and period are studied.
2. **Diffussionism:** Such extension which encourages the growth of culture and cultural-parallels are called diffussion.

6.8 Review Questions

1. What is the meaning of Evolution theory? Describe.
2. Which theory is related to the growth of culture?
3. What is diffussionism? Describe in brief.

Answers: Self-Assessment

1. Theorist
2. Castistic
3. Communal

6.9 Further Readings



Books Sociology of a Family – Dr. Sanjeev Mahajan, Arjun Publishing House
Sixteen Rituals (Sanskar) – Swami Avadheshan, Manoj Publication.

Unit 7: Approaches to the Study of Kinship: Gender Perspective

CONTENTS

Objectives

Introduction

- 7.1 Status of Women in Matrilineal Society
- 7.2 Status of Women in Patrilineal Society
- 7.3 Summary
- 7.4 Keywords
- 7.5 Review Questions
- 7.6 Further Readings

Objectives

After studying this unit, students will be able to:

- Understand to concept of 'gender' in reference to social part.
- Know the forms of gender in different societies.

Introduction

There was a difference of opinion for long in theorists regarding position of women in tribal societies. Some says that in tribal societies, women are given high position generally, whereas others supporting the position opposite to it says that in primitive societies, generally women are a backward group.

This difference of opinion exceeding other relations is the result of mistake in the study pattern of generalisation on the basis of limits and specific data. Another reason is the trend of different interpretations about position. In terms of high or low positions the interpretations are oftenly generalised and unclear.



Notes

Malenvoski said, position can be defined only after understanding the responsibilities of men and women for each other and the remedies to save them from each other's despositioness.

Lavy has described four different basis of position and said that it is not necessary that all four should be found together. These are –

1. Actual behaviour of a woman
2. Legal position of a woman

3. Opportunities available to a woman for social participation.
4. Scope and type of work of a woman.

Notes

All of these, and each one of them determines the position of woman in the society in specific term and in specific manner. These four are free from each-other and not related. The co-relation among them is ampirical and not conceptual.

Theory and practice or in other words warm and actions do not always match with each other. Hence, it is not necessary that theoritical or legal position would be seen in social practice.

The theoritical point of view given above can be interpreted with some examples.

Dairy forum has central importance in the economic and religious activities in Toda Tribe.

Their economy survives on milk and milk product. Dairy is their temple and their socio-religious thoughts and activities are inseparably mixed with it. Women are considered to be unholy and not allowed to enter the dairy.

Women are not allowed to milk the buffaloes, nor they can produce milk for local use or exchanging and not even cook the food in which the milk is used. This prohibition obviously lowers the women's legal position as partially expelled. But this is not implanted by force or power. Normally, women are treated gently and it can be considered that they are not deregarded socially. Toda women are treated more affectionately than other tribes. Toda's were polyandrous earlier but now Polygamy is also in practice. This has not affected the position of Toda women in any manner. Umbrellas of Japanese Fashion had been available to Toda's before the second world war. Toda women used to receive these umbrellas from their husbands or lovers as gift and use them with pride.

Women and men in Andaman habitant society participate equally in the religious and economic affairs of life. Still the position of Pigamese women of Andaman is like slave in comparison of Toda women. They are bound to do all those jobs also which are only one by women every where, along with different types of jobs they do with men. Such as domestic work, giving birth to babies and their upbringing etc. Hence, equal opportunity of work is not a boon for them. The division of work between man and woman is certain in Kadar. Women get all the opportunities to perform the jobs fit for women. So that they do not have to do both the jobs, fit for men and women, together. Hence, we can see that the type and scope of work contribute significantly in determining the actual position of women. As far as the difference between theory and practice is concerned, its appropriate example can be seen in the life of rural Hindus. Theoretically they consider woman as Goddess but in reality they treat them as slaves or maids.

7.1 Status of Women in Matrilineal Society

Khashi

After the above mentioned analysis, here we have an important and interesting question – What is it that determines the position of women in any society? A prompt answer that has been given until now is that in the Patriarchy Societies, the status of women is low and suppressed while in the Matriarchy Societies, their status is high.

The world 'Martiarchy' is the creation for reference. We do not know of any region in the world where there is a totally Matri Local Society. The Patri Local Society of the Garo tribe may be considered the nearest type of reaction. The Khasi society is Matrilineal and Matriarchy. They link their lineage to those female ancestors who, in folklore were generally known as tribal ancient princesses. Even the creator of the Universe is mentioned as having female traits. Among the Khasis, lineage is determined by mother, *i.e.*, the lineage has the female structured form only. It is only the daughter who inherits the mother's property. A man's earnings too, are managed

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by his mother, before his marriage and by his wife, after his marriage. The women manage the household, yet Matri-Local residence is not permanent.

Festivals, religious functions and specially, the family functions too are organised by women. The souls of the ancestors are worshipped, which are chiefly in the female form. The divine powers controlling illness, death and security are also established as female deities. All forms of sacrifices are organised and conducted by female priests. The role of the male priests is to assist the female priests.

In some situations, the women are the chiefs of both the religious and the secular fields. For example in the important Khairim Pradesh, the chief priest and the actual chief of the state used to be a woman, who had mingled both the Kingly and the pure roles in herself.

But there is no evidence to prove the absolute power of women. As far as men are concerned, they are neither ruled by women, nor are they ill-treated or suppressed by them. In fact, women respect them and in the new home, established by them after marriage the man holds sufficient powers. The Khasi word used to address the husband too, means 'owner'. Divorce can be obtained only if both the parties mutually agree to it. The marriage contract may be cancelled by one party, in case the concerned party (the one seeking divorce) compensates the other party.

The men are found to be engaged in extreme indulgence. This seems to be the possible reason for the high death rate amongst men. Both the husband and the wife are independent of each other.

Thus we see that the Matrilineal and Marti-Local residence (even if temporary), raise the status of women.

Residence in itself is not that influential so as to determine the status of women. Matri-Local residence does not necessarily raise the wife's status but for her near and dear ones, it is definitely helpful. Yet, a woman does gain security from their status, though indirectly. Residence raises social status only when it includes inheritance of property.

Garos

The Garo tribe is another close example of Matriarchial society. Among them, the mother's sub-clan and motherhood, or the extended family has the right over children. It is important to get the marriage proposal from the girl's family. The Garo people believe themselves to be the descendants of a single ancestor. They get lineage and inheritance from the mother. A property owned by one motherhood can never be taken away. The son does not get the right to inheritance so that he does not give the property to his wife's children; who are members of their mother's motherhood and not his (son or husband) motherhood. Yet, a man is entitled to use his wife's property during her lifetime. Amongst the Garo tribe, woman, in fact, is a medium of transferring the property from one generation to another.

Men are allowed to marry more than one woman. Generally they have been known to have maximum three wives. No bride value or groom value is paid. Women are not allowed to remarry for a long time, so that the property can be retained in the family only and wait till the children reach adulthood. It is a downtrodding situation for women. It is because women are the best and they deserve it. A widows has to marry her deceased husband's nephew (brother's son) in case he (the nephew) wishes so. If the widow refuses to marry him, the nephew gets entitled to compensation. 'Prostitution' is unheard of but sexual indulgence is commonly prevalent. A man is given death sentence if found having illicit relations, while in case of a woman, she is punished by chopping off her ear skin and tearing off her clothes. Repetition of such an act ensures death penalty. Illicit relations are also the cause of divorce. Another cause of divorce is the refusal to work.

Self Assessment

Notes

Fill in the blanks:

1. Family function too, are _____ by women.
2. Only the _____ get the inheritance of property from her mother.
3. The divine powers of illness, death and security are established in the form of _____.

Economic Analysis

Hobhouse has tried to define the status of women on the basis of their contribution in the economic life of the human society. He came to the conclusion that in 87.5% of cattle-rearing tribes and 73.0% of agriculturist tribes, the status of women had been negative, that is, downtrodden. The reason cited was that the cattle-rearing work was male-orient. **Lovie** criticised **Hobhouse** and said that when viewed from the actuality of expansion, such a cultural reasoning is generally impossible and it is only coincidence or correlation which remains. Writing about the status of women in South-Asia, **U.R. Ehrenfales** says that in South Eastern-Asia, four kinds of human societies are found, viz., food compiler, high occupational, crop producer and cattle-grazer. The inheritance of property causes difference in the status of men and women. For example, the food compilers are Kadar, Malpataram, Paliyan, Irual pariyan Chenchu and Bilineal inhabitants of Andaman. They have no laws for inheritance. Thus, the status of men and women is almost equal.

The development of property, which became possible chiefly due to male capability, gave birth of Patri-Local and high status of men.

The Khasi Matri-Local Society is crop producer. The Khasi tribe was recently introduced to the economy of crop production. Because of it, the khasi men are gaining developed business acumen, personal property and power. Yet, the rights of Khasi women are not under threat from men in any way because the rights like family position, name determination and inheritance of property, protect them. However, this is certainly not due to the destiny of men. Other such examples are the Garo, Nair, Menon, Tiya, Muslim Mapillai and some Pillai families.

Because of the emphasis of the Patri-Local ideology on the lives of the cattle grazing Toda, there is complexity in the status of men and women. This has raised the position of men.

7.2 Status of Women in Patrilineal Society

It has already been mentioned that the type of residence plays a sufficient role in determining the status of women, though its effect is not final. It is very unlikely that a woman gets ill-treated in the presence of her primary, instead she is likely to gain position of dominance. This position of dominance may not have any legal or social base and as **Lovie** said, it may be symbol of the superiority of a wives' kin, but the fact that cannot be ruled out is that the general result is to make the status, or at least the position of women dominant. It is another thing not to use such a situation.

The factors which raise the status of women in Matri-Local societies also raise the status of men in Patri-Local societies. We have already told that the female dominated societies do not remain Matri-Local forever like the Matrilineal Khasi tribes. They are also not found to stay in the position of Matri-Local residence forever. A husband, who after marriage comes and stays with his-in-laws, also gets engaged in selling up his separate home, immediately. Mostly, he succeeds in this attempts and it's only his wife and children who stay together with him in his new home. Amongst the Partilineal societies of India, Matrilocal residences have also been found. In Bengal,

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the 'Kulin' Brahmin wife used to stay at her parent's home. Her Polygamy practicing husband used to visit her from time to time, and the children were brought up at the maternal uncle's home. In another custom called 'Ghar Jawai' too, a husband has to leave his father's home and stay with his in-laws.

This too, develops Matri-Local residence. Despite all this, the fundamental life style of these groups remains Patrilineal.



Did u know? In all kinds of societies, specially in Patrilineal, the status of women is saddled with various kinds of restrictions. These restrictions are related to security, abstinence and productively.

The restrictions imposed on Toda women are abstinence-related, in the sense that the impurities caused by menstruation, child-birth, etc., make them unsuitable for the Toda. Socio-religious life, which focuses on the pure dairy. As a result, the diary and the milk are generally saved from being impure through the contact of women.

Such big rules cannot be enforced on all the Patrilineal societies. As is the case with 'Ho', both the kinds of husbands can be equally found-master and servant; even though 'Ho' is Patrilineal. **Grigson** says 'Gond' women enjoy sufficient status and freedom in social life. The Gond women are sufficiently independent in selecting a husband, establishing sexual relations before marriage and obtaining divorce. In other fields, though their position is quite low. They have to labour hard for their husbands. In the Gond society, they are considered so valuable as labour that it is only seldom that a bachelor Gond is found.

The flirtatious '**Tharu**' of the Himalayan region are under the control of their wives. Their women are experts in occult. The Tharu women are infamous for flirting with people from the plains. It is because of their exceptional beauty and charming youth.

The '**Khas**' are Patri-local and have multiple husbands. A **Khas** woman has to face physical, emotional and social hardships regularly. Their position is quite low. But to save the women from such a condition, the Khas society has developed such a social system which can act as a 'Safety Value' This keeps their social stability intact. Khas are famous for double-standards regarding morality of women. In other words, their sexual lives have been found to be complex and dual. When a woman is at her husband's home, her life is that of a maid servant. She has no position, no freedom and no personal desires. Following the prevalent custom, she keeps on visiting her parents' home from time to time. When she is in her father's village, all the rules and restriction – that were imposed on her at her husband's home, are removed. The sadness of her husband's home gives way to radiance in the free environment of her father's village.

From the above-mentioned examples, it is concluded that in order to understand the position of women in any society; it is scientifically wrong to perceive their status as low or high (based on narrow-minded prejudice).

Such a division is generally illusive. In case of 'Khas', it is indeed so. In fact, status may have some mid-level positions or two different pole positions too. Such two pole positions may not be clear like the position of the Khas woman. In the Patrilineal Naga Tribe, sufficient variety is found in their position. The social position of '**Sema**' women is better than the other '**Angami**' women. In case of inheritance of property and sexual freedom, the **Angami** women are in a better, position than **Sema**. The Sema women do not make any decisions regarding selection of husbands, though their approval is sought and generally, accepted too. The best virtue of a wife is said to be her capacity to work and not her looks or beauty. A semma woman gets respect at her husband's home and her children are given affection.

In case of the tribes of Central India, women help men with all the work and share equal rights. But this does not mean that the status of women is good. On the contrary, keeping in view the limits of their physical capacity and their responsibilities related to motherhood, such a condition of woman puts them in a position which proves to be a curse for them. As has been told about the Andaman Island-dwellers, the likelihood of labour and social interaction, in fact, becomes a burden for women.

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The above mentioned reference of the Indian tribes regarding the status of women is not based on inferiority related to women or a blot of incapability. The impure conditions that women have to endure and the restrictions which they fear, are widely known to people too. In the upper-societies, the position of women is quite helpless and slave-like. The position of women from the lower societies is like that of tribal women. The absence of rights does not mean submission, just as their presence does not mean they are active.

Even when we see those women who are said to be independent and who indulge in free sex; we find cruel behaviour of men towards them, who desert them. The women are found compromising with the cruel behaviour of men. Even under such circumstances, when there is the possibility of divorce, they are rarely able to do so. The 'Ho' take care of their 'wives' comforts, yet there have been cases when the wives were compelled to commit suicide.

In some societies, the status of women is linked to child-bearing and bringing them up. They are always respected as mothers, and are taken special care of. Because of it, infertility in women has been considered as a blot in all the castes and tribes.

In some cases, infertile women have been considered as anti socials. The 'Ho' women who are childless and unmarried (because of the prevalence of high bride value) are termed as 'witches'.

In India with reference to the Indian Ethnology, the status of women can be understood when compared to religion. Some writers say that the inferior status of women is due to the dominance of Partilineage over Matrilineage. But in South India, there has been no odd. effects on the status of women due to such a clash. The stringent rules mentioned in the 'Brahmani Shastras' do not effect the women of law castes or tribes. The ideology of 'Ardhangini' for the Brahmin Wives, mentioned in the 'Shastras' is not enforced on the women (tribal and low caste).

7.3 Summary

- In the various societies, the gender relations have different forms in the historical period, caste groups and other groups, social class and generations.
- From sexual labour division at home to the labour market in management of state, in sexual emotion and in many parts of social organisation, sexual relations are created.
- Even today, where maternal societies exist, the women are given some rights such as Khasi and Garo community are maternal.
- In paternal societies, the position of women is not good. Paternal arrangement are found in maximum societies.

7.4 Keywords

1. **Gender:** Meaning of gender is dissimilar division in parallel and social form, in form of female and male.
2. **Intermediate:** In tribes of India, women helps men in every type of work and mere or less they have rights like men.

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7.5 Review Questions

1. Describe the position of females in maternal society.
2. Describe the position females in paternal society.

Answer: Self Assessment

1. Condition
2. Daughter
3. Goddesses

7.6 Further Readings



Books

An Introduction to Social Anthropology – Majumdar and Madan.
Indian Society and Social Institutions – Gupta and Sharma.

Unit 8: Kinship Terminology

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Introduction

8.1 Kinship Terminology

8.2 Summary

8.3 Keywords

8.4 Review Questions

8.5 Further Readings

Objectives

After studying this unit students will be able to:

- Develop the knowledge of Kinship and Kinship indicating words.
- Understand the meaning of word Kinship.

Introduction

An non-existent historical prejudice is vested in the root of **Morgans's** study of kinship-indicating-terms. He always emphasized on the construction of the layers of evolution.

Reverse has presented the illustration of the importance of Kinship-indicating-terms. He says the Kinship-indicating-terms are illustration of those social functions which were popular before the use of these terms. For example, in a special class of Indians, word **Mama** used for a some specific persons directs them for some social works. **Reverse** has tried to describe his theory in predictive form on the basis of extinct but pre-popular rare kinship-indicating-terms. Moreover, this can also be accepted that till when the description of **Reverse** are not been merged with **Morganist** conjectures or predictions, till then they are assumed an useful method illustration of kinship-indicating-terms.

In Oraon, the word '**Tachi**' is used for father's sister, mother's brothers' wife, mother's sister and mother-in-law. It is the symbol of the prevalence of clan Exogamy marriages (marry a kin – father's sister or mother's brother's sons/daughters, which are largely found in this tribe. Some other examples have already been given. Yet, the acceptance of such a definition, has its own limitations.

8.1 Kinship Terminology

According to **Majumdar** and **Madan**, "Kinship addressing words are such terms which are used to mention kinship of various types. When we try to understand the kinship rules and behaviour of any people. We have to necessarily ask how they classify their kin, on what basis do they differentiate them, and what words do they use to address them. The words to address

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kin classify them into various classes and sub-classes. Sometimes this classification harmonises with social reality and sometimes it doesn't.

The studies of kinship addressing words too, is very ancient. In sociology at least half a part of literature related to kinship tells us about the various words we use to address our lineage kin and affinal kin. **Morgan** was the first scholar who contributed significantly to study the kinship terminology. Throughout his life, he studied the Iroquois tribe of the state of New York. He found that the method used by Iroquois people to address their kin is different from the Western societies. For example, the word used to address father is used by them for father's brother, mother's brother, etc. Similarly, the word used to address mother is also used for mother's sister. To define the discovery of this, **Morgan** studied all the kinship addressing words prevalent in all parts of the world. He came to the conclusion that the system of common kinship names is also prevalent in countries which are geographically far away or in different time zones. Some name systems are prevalent in all the countries and societies. **Morgan** said, that the study of Terminology is the highway to understand kinship. He termed 'Terminology' as a process of classification by which we can know how the various systems classify kin. To know the Kinship Terminology, we can understand the rise and development of kinship systems because it provides a link to understand the past system. Today **Morgan's** classification is recognised and used worldwide in sociology.

(i) Special, classificatory or Personal words symbolise reality of Kinship and are used for those people only who are addressed while talking or are used reference while talking. For example, when we say "father", we refer to a special Kin, who is known as father in the society. son, wife, mother, etc., are such special words.

(ii) On the contrary, "According to the classified system, only one Kinship symbolising word is used for affinal kin and individuals from one branch and various other branches. The Kinship addressing words consider them equal as a class.

For example, the **Sema Nagas** of Assam use the word 'Aja' for mother, father's brother's, brother's wife, maternal aunt, etc. (for three kinds of relatives) 'Appu' is used for father, father's brother and mother's sister's husband. The word 'Ami' is used for paternal aunt and mother-in-law. The Kukis use the word 'Hape' for paternal grandfather, maternal grandfather, maternal uncle, father-in-law, maternal uncle's son, brother-in-law, nephew, etc. (for individuals of various age groups and generations). Angami Nagas use the word 'Buri' for elder brother, wife's sister, husband's elder brother and his wife, paternal aunt, etc. Here, we see that for the opposite gender too, only one word is used. In English, the word 'Cousin' is used for paternal uncle's, maternal uncles', paternal aunts', and maternal aunts sons and daughters. Similarly, 'Uncle' too is used for father's brother, maternal uncle, paternal uncle, etc. **Dr. Revers** has mentioned a third system of kinship addressing term which is used by the biological family.

Self Assessment

Fill in the blanks:

1. _____ was the first scholar who contributed significantly in studying the Kinship Terminology.
2. We mean a _____, who is known as father in the society.
3. The word _____ is used for paternal aunt and mother-in-law.

Some other definitions are also available. It has been suggested that the Classified Terminology may be based on imaginary sense of equality amongst the special Kin. **Kober** and some other writers have defined it vaguely, saying that words give a mere name to an individual and the Kinship Terms of Address are mere instruments of introduction. Thus, no serious meaning can be derived from them. It may be true that the more limited or the more developed a language, equally less or equally more is its Classificatory Terminology.

Redcliffe-Brown have brought quite clarification in the field of Kinship studies by scientific approach. Unlike **Morgan**, they studied the Kinship systems without any developmental prejudice. Dismissing every sceptical effort to find the birth of the Kinship custom, they studied it very finely on functional basis. The chief motive of such studies is to understand the entirety of the activities of society with reference to any period or all periods. So, **Redcliffe-Brown** have given the definition of 'marriage' and 'Kinship systems' as such a system which makes the individuals capable of staying together and supporting each other for a systematic social life. They considered the studies of the prevalent 'Kinship Terminology' as the first phase of Kinship systems.

Redcliffe-Brown have created simplifications too. Their ideologies are: The ideology of inequality amongst close generations, unity of sibling group, etc. According to the other ideology, the unity of the group called 'Sib' is expressed by considering all the 'Sib' members of its age group as its siblings and using sibling related words to address them. A Shattered group too, takes the form of a well-organised unit. Like an irreversible rule, it logically results in Exogamy marriage. With reference to the first ideology, when a generation is prepared for the education and training of its following generation, and its essentials to maintain the power of the senior generation, the, with these facts, the ideology of the inequality of the close generations is expressed.

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Morgan studied the Kinship words prevalent all over the world and divided them into chiefly two parts—Classificatory Terminology and Descriptive Terminology.

8.2 Summary

- 'Kinship Term of Address' is such a terminology which is used to mention the Kinship of various Kin.
- Morgan divided it into two parts—(1) Descriptive Kinship, (2) Classificatory Kinship Terminology.
- When many Kin are classified into one class and addressed by one (common) term of address, it is called Classificatory Kinship Terminology. In Oraon, the word 'Tachi' is used for Father's sister, mother's brother's wife and mother-in-law.

8.3 Keywords

1. *Descriptive Kinship Terms*— use of a specific term for every Kin.
2. *Kinship Terms of Address*— use of a specific term by an individual to call or address his kin, (like, Mummy, Papa, Daddy, Baba, etc.)

8.4 Review Questions

1. What does Kinship Terminology mean?
2. Into how many parts has Morgan divided Kinship words?

Answers: Self Assessment

1. Morgan
2. Specific Kin
3. Aami

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8.5 Further Readings



Books

Social Anthropology – Majumdar and Madan.

Society in India – Virendra Prakash Sharma, D.K. Publishers Distributors

Unit 9: Kinship as an Organising Principle: Descent-Patrilineal, Matrilineal, Double and Cognatic Descent

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Introduction

9.1 Descent

9.2 Summary

9.3 Keywords

9.4 Review Questions

9.5 Further Readings

Objectives

After studying this unit, students will be able to:

- Understand the rule of pedigree.
- Knowledge of the methods of the establishment of pedigree.

Introduction

There are more importance of destowed circumstances in primitive and simple societies. In such societies, the post-determination of persons, their rights and rights on incumbent property and relationship with other persons, etc., are based on birth relationship. Here primary social group are attached with brotherhood and mostly their membership is established by pedigree.

9.1 Descent

'Kinship' and 'Descent' are two different words. Though many a times, it is difficult to differentiate between the two. To define Descent; social, cultural and biological basis have been taken into account.

Reverse has used the word 'Descent', with two different meaning. One in a form, by which the membership of any group is determined and the other, by which property position and rights are communicated. Defining 'Descent', Pedington writes— "The rules of Descent are those which regularize the membership (by birth) of an individual in a social group, though such a membership is obtained in case of adoption, in specific circumstances.

In this way, Pedington includes both, the social and the biological basis in the membership of the Descent group. According to **Bohnan**, "When a child is born to a married couple, his relation to both of them is addressed by the Descent kinship." In this definition, **Bohnan** has depicted 'Descent' as a system denoting mother-father and child's Kinship. **Mardoc** writes, "Descent indicates entirely towards a cultural ideology, in which an individual is linked to a socially

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“specific” blood Kinship. According to **Fortes**, “A Descent group is such a system of individuals which helps in achieving valid social and personal motives.”

Riverson, in 1907, at the British Association, defined Descent as follows, “Descent is such a group, the membership of which is by birth; where individuals can decide whether they are from the mother’s or the father’s lineage.

Redcliffe-Brown terms Descent as a Jural Concept.



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Descent is that biological and socio-cultural system which links the children to their parents. Only the Kin by birth or by blood are included; who are linked by original and imaginary Kinship, which is recognised by the society.

Methods of Reckoning Descent

In the various societies, Descent is determined by different methods, which are related to three kinds lineage: (i) Patrilineal (ii) Matrilineal (iii) Bi-lateral

When we count Descent on the basis of one party only (either mother or father), it is called unilateral Descent. Unilateral Descent has two parts— In one, the counting is done by Patrilineal Descent and in the other, by Matrilineal Descent. In the Patrilineal Descent, the Descent counting is done from the side of man, i.e., when an individual’s Descent is counted from his father side, it is called Patrilineal Descent. The Romans were the first to use Patrilineal Descent as they had no term (word) to determine the Descent by women. The Patrilineal Descent has been found prevalent amongst the cattle-rearing societies of ancient Rome, China and East-West Africa. All the Kin, related to the Patrilineal Descent are called Agnates.

When an individual’s descent is counted from the side of his mother, it is called Matrilineal Descent and all such Kin are called utarine Kin. All the blood related Kin of an individual, which includes kin of both the father’s and the mother’s lineage are called Cognates. For example, an individual’s paternal grandfather- paternal grandmother, cousin-brother-cousin sister, who are Patrilineal and maternal grandmother-maternal grandfather, maternal aunt, maternal uncle, who are Matrilineal together are called Cognates. The Matrilineal descent is found amongst the Garo, Khasi and Nair tribes of India, American, Indian, tribes of Australia, Indonesia, Malaya, Central Africa’s Bantu tribe and the Akan tribe of Ghana.

Sometimes, the descent is determined by both the father’s and the mother’s lineage. It is called Bilateral Descent. When the descent is determined by either the mother’s or the father’s lineage it is called Ambilateral Descent. In such a situation, it is not certain from which party the counting would be done. Thus, it is called Ambilateal Descent. Such a descent is found amongst the Hapu maories of New Zealand.

The relation of children belonging to one family, like, brother-brother, brother-sister, etc., in Kinship system is known as Collateral Kin. In this manner, the children of the same parents are Collateral Kin. **Leach** says when the members of one Descent group like close to each other in one place, it is called Local Descent Group. **Fortes** has divided Descent and filiation. An individual’s relation with his parents is called Filiation while his relation with his ancestors is called Descent. In this way, Descent has the depth of generations rather than Patrilineage.

Self Assessment

Fill in the blanks:

1. An individual’s paternal grandfather-paternal grandmother, cousin-brother, cousin-sister are _____.

2. When the Descent is determined by both the father's and the mother's lineage, it is called _____.
3. The relation of children belonging to one family like, brother-brother, brother-sister, etc., in kinship system is known as _____.

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Functions of Descent

In most of the early and the industrial societies of the past, Descent was views as important not because it extends kinship but because it helps in determining how the various aspects of social life can be organised with the other aspects. **Fortes** and **Brown** are of the view that position and property inheritance are determined on the basis of Descent. Descent also determines which kin to include during times of need like attach, security, religious rituals, funeral, incest, residence, etc. To know the political, legal, external and internal aspect, it is important to know Descent. It's on the basis of Descent, that a woman's reproduction power and sexual rights are regularised. Determining the social activities of an individual, the use of the kinship terminology and rules too, include descent. The children to be born in future are also linked to one group, on this basis only.

Fortes says Descent decides an individual's relation and classification. It regularises his social life. As Descent chooses a husband or a wife in a Cross Cousin Marriage, so does Descent and Patrilineage determine an individual's social role, position, rights and duties. **Bohnan** says that the Descent group inculcates, kinship morality in its members. It regulates legal Descent, controls marriage and promotes mutual support in society. It determines many important aspects like politics and government and structures positions. This automatically proves the importance of Descent.

9.2 Summary

- According to Rivers, "Descent means that group, the membership of which is by birth, where people can decide whether they are from the mother's or the father's lineage.
- In various societies, different forms of Descent are prevalent, which are mostly related to three kinds of lineage : (i) Patrilinear, (ii) Matrilinear, (iii) Bilateral.
- Position and property inheritance are determined on the basis of Descent.
- The use of Kinship terminology and rules are also determined on the basis of Descent.

9.3 Keywords

1. **Alternate Descent:** When the daughters get the membership of their father's Descent and the sons get the membership of their mother's Decent, then it is called Alternate Descent. Such a system is rarely found.
2. **Descent:** Descent means that group, whose membership is by birth.

9.4 Review Questions

1. What does Descent mean?
2. State the methods of determining Descent?
3. What are the roles of Descent?

Notes

Answers: Self Assessment

1. Patrilineal
2. Bilateral Descent
3. Collateral Kin

9.5 Further Readings



Books

Treasure of World Sociology – Hari Hrishan Rawat.

The Sixteen Rituals (Sanskar) – Swami Avdheshan, Manoj Publication.

Unit 10: Kinship as an Organising Principle: Descent Groups, Corporate Groups and Local Groups

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Objectives

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Objectives

After studying this unit, students will be able to:

- Describe the rules of pedigree group.
- To explain the functions of pedigree group.
- To explain the cultural specialities of local community.

Introduction

We all are the members of some family. In our family, we have our brothers-sisters (siblings), parents and perhaps grandparents too. In family, we have brother as well as sister-in-law and aunt. They all are our kin.

The fact is, that family is a kinship group. On the other hand, our sister-in-law and aunt have come from some other family. They have their siblings and parents in their families. They too, are our kin. Some of our kin are related to us by blood while some other kin are related by marriage. Our brother and his children are related to us by blood. We call them Blood Kinship. On the other hand, the sister-in-law is our relative but the relation with her is due to marriage. Our brother married her and brought to our home. She is our marital kin. Similarly, there are two kinds of kin in a family – Blood Kin and Marital Kin.

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Our country has a variety of cultures. Thus, the kinship of the North is totally different from the kinship of the South. The nature of kinship is different in both the parts. There has been a lot of important work in social Humanology related to kinship system. Yet, amongst the prominent work, two are worth mentioning. Long time back, **Eravati Karve** presented an authorised study (for the Indian Kinship system) in her book "Kinship Organisation in India." 1965. **Eravati Karve** has been a well known Social Humanologist. By any viewpoint, this book is an important document on kinship. Dividing the Indian society into four regions – Northern, Central, Southern and Eastern, she has described the forms of kinship. By doing so, she has vividly described the inter-relations between geographical regions, language, state and forms of cordial relations.

Some other studies were conducted after the studies by Eravati Karve. Amongst those who conducted studies in the Northern region, **A.C. Mayar** and **T.N. Madan** need special mention. In the southern region, the contribution of Catheline Guff, Lovie duomon and Willam Mackormac is significant. But these studies are limited to their regions only. They were related to only one region or a few villages.

Eravati Karve mentions the diversity of four regions of the country while **Lovie duomon** mentions the equality in a limited area. The other book which we would like to mention regarding the studies of kinship, is the book, "Families, Marriages and Kinship in India," (Rawat, 1966, Jaipur) by **Shobhita Jain**. By profession, **Shobhita** is an expert in Humanology. She had effectively studied the Patrilineal and Matrilineal Kinship in her book, through the Hindi language.

It is true that there is complexity in the Kinship of the North and the South. But it is also true that there is a very big similarity too, in the two systems of kinship. For example, in both the regions, preferential marriage is accepted. This means that there are some kin with whom marriage is preferred.

Secondly, sibling marriage (brother-sister) is prohibited in both the North and the South. Apart from these similarities, there are differences in the systems of kinship. For example, in the Northern region, Patrilineal and Patrilocal, system is extensively prevalent while in the south, despite the Patrilineal system being chiefly prevalent, there are some communities where Matrilineal and Matri-Local system is dominant. In the South, the joint family system is found in 'Tharvad'.

In the **Tharvad** system of the Naires, the Descent runs on the Lineal customs started by the female ancestors. A Tharvad takes into account all the dead and alive member. When a Tharvad expands, it is split into 'Tavazhi'. The word-meaning of Tavazhi is, "Mother's custom, *i.e.*, family unit based on mother" or "mother and her children". The members of Tavazhi separated from the Tharvad cannot marry amongst themselves. At the time of birth and death, they observe all the related rules equally.

10.1 Rule of Descent

That ideology or the synthesis of ideologies, on the basis of which an individual's kin are determined, are technically called the rules of descent or inheritance. Descent has three fundamental rules:

- Patrilineal
- Matrilineal
- and Bilineal

According to the rules of Patrilineal Descent, every individual naturally becomes a member of his father's consanguinal kinship group, but he is not the member of his mother's consanguinal kinship group.

In Bilineal system, an individual is the inheritor of some of the consanguinal kin of his father's lineage, but not all. Similarly, he is the inheritor of his mother's consanguinal kin too. The fact is that no society is entirely based on Bilineal Descent. Similarly, no society is entirely unilineal, in case, we think one can be ignored on account of the other. (Matri-Local or Patri-Local). If on

account of one, some people are linked by kinship on the basis of ancestry, then they are called cognates.

In case, they have a male ancestor, they are called Patrilineal Kin. On the other hand, if their ancestor is a female, they are called Matri-lineal Kin.

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Those kin, who are linked directly, are called Lineal Kin and those who are extended [like paternal uncle, nephew (paternal uncle's son)] may be termed as Co-lateral kin but not Lineal Kin.

10.2 Approaches to the Study of Kinship

Roughly, the studies of kinship in India have two approaches – (1) Ancient Texts, (2) Humanological Viewpoint.

In the Indian society, the social institutions are basically linked to the literary and classical customs.

The sociologists too, have viewed such art work with an approach to Indology. For instance, **K.M. Kapadia** and **P.N. Prabhu** openly used the ancient texts for studying Kinship. **Erawati Karve** and **G.S. Ghuriye** too, used the ancient texts, specially Sanskrit texts. Surely, this approach to the ancient texts have helped us to understand the continuity of kinship.

The humanologists have studied Kinship with two approaches: Descent approach and Marital approach. The humanologists who studied kinship with Descent approach, say, we get help from our consanguinal kin in day to day affairs (work). These consanguinal kin are parents and children. When these consanguinal kin are recognised on the basis of Descent approach, or are defined, then the sociologists term it as Descent group. The Descent group has six forms:

1. **Patriarchal:** Here, the Descent is determined on the basis of a male (man). this means Lineage continues from father to son.
2. **Matriarchal:** In this Descent, the lineage determination follows the custom of going from mother to daughters.
3. **Dual Descent:** This Descent is also called Dual Descent. Here, the Descent is determined by the lineage of both the father and the mother, for various motives. for example, in one lineage system, the property goes away while in the other lineage system immovable property is given for inheritance.
4. **Bilineal Descent:** In this Descent, the lineage of both the parents is taken into account. It is the group of mixed kinship—of both the father and the mother. The membership of this group includes both the Matrilineal and Patrilineal system.
5. **Parallel Descent:** This descent is very rare. Here, the Descent is based on gender. The membership of this Descent passes from men to sons and from women to daughters.
6. **Optional Descent:** This descent is also found rarely. Here, the lineage is passed from men to their daughters and from women to their sons.

Commonly, two kinds of Descent systems are found in our country – Patrilineal Descent and Matrilineal Descent.

The Patrilineal Descent is more common. 'Through the description and analysis of Kinship relations in Descent group, we get sufficient and elaborate socio-classical information on some types of kinship systems in India. For example, **Guff** (1956) has analysed the unity of descent system on the basis of the group rights regarding land. He has elaborately discussed the role of inter-

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personal relations in extensive Kinship. **T.N. Madan** (1965) has studied the role of kinship as a form of organised ideology in the Kashmiri Brahmin society. He has described the ideology of the strong Patrilineal system to define the kinship system of the Kashmiri Brahmins.

Self Assessment

Fill in the blanks:

1. In the Indian society , the social _____ are basically linked to the literary and classical customs.
2. The sociologists too, have viewed _____ with an approach to Indology.
3. K.M. Kapadia and P.N. Prabhu have extensively used the ancient texts for _____ Kinship.

10.3 Marital Approach

Kinship is studied with an approach to marital relations too. In the various studies of kinship in India, the main focus was on the Affinal kinship between two groups. In such studies, the analysis of kinship vocabulary has been done to express the form of Affinal Kinship. **Lovie Duomon** is the chief propeller of this viewpoint. He has stressed upon the role of marriage in the field of Kinship in South India. He showed the negatively between cognate and affinal kinship, as is seen in Dravid Kinship vocabulary and has made an important contribution in giving information about the kinship system in India, in general and South India, in particular, To study the kinship found in the South, he used the structural theory of kinship. He highlights the repetition of Inter-marriages, generations later in the Kinship systems of South India. Studies through the structural theory show two classes—Parallel and Cross (maternal and Paternal) kin relations, which are specifically clear. In the kinship studies, giving importance to the Affinal Kin (through marriage), helps in defining the difference between the bride's and the groom's party. Apart from this, according to the studies conducted with this viewpoint, the ideology of Hypergamous marriage also refers to the inclusion of dowry and ideas of commercialisation.

10.4 Kinship in Indian Culture

The system of Kinship is, in fact a cultural system. There is no specific standard of Kinship, anywhere in the world, which is acceptable to all. They differ in various cultural systems. For example, we can take the variations of the European and Indian society into consideration. A wide difference has been clearly shown amongst the consanguinal kin and the affinal kin. They are poles apart. The words used for kin in these societies clearly show the difference. A married woman and a man uses the word 'Sasural wale (in-laws') for her husband or his wife. The use of the word 'Sasural Wale' or 'the in-laws' itself clarifies that they are not from his or her lineage. In the Western countries, a married woman gets the position of a close relative at her husband's home. On the other hand, in the Indian society, no clear difference has been indicated between kin and affinal kin (through marriage). Sometimes, the difference is so vague that it is difficult to differentiate between the two. After marriage, a woman is equal to her husband's consanguinal kin at his home. She fulfills all the duties of a consanguinal kin and uses all the rights accorded to consanguinal kin of her husband. In the Indian society, apart from the consanguinal and affinal kin, there are others included too, like the individuals living in a family, neighbours, classmates, colleagues and people related by a common faith called 'Gurubhai', etc., who are also included as close relatives. Underlining the prevalent diversity in Indian and Western culture, **Indane** and **Icholas** said that due to the double standards in the Western society, they emphasize on the diversity in a wide range of class and differentiate between those people who are liked either by natural kinship or are mutually related by a mere rule of behaviour. On the contrary, the united

system of the Indian society, gives place as relatives, to those individuals only who are linked by kinship and behaviour.

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Our society moves beyond family and reaches village, not any further. The definite features of such a narrow society and the rights and duties of people of that community and village. Naturally, this creates a strong and close sense of bonding amongst the members of the village. On the other hand, the Western society is stretched beyond family and village. Thus, the informal relations turn into formal, and that naturally. Creates a drift between cognates and close relatives.

Keeping in view that cultural diversity prevalent in the whole of India, we cannot talk of a common kinship. Different rules and behaviour are prevalent in various regions. Based on the diversity in colloquial languages, **Erawati Karve** has divided the country into four parts: Northern, Central, Eastern and Southern.

This has helped in understanding the prevalent differences in the standards of Kinship. The Indian Aryan language is spoken in the North, the Austric and Mundari languages in the East and the Dravidian languages are spoken and written in the South. Thus, it can be said that the standard of kinship in Central and Eastern India is not different from the North, though there are minor diversities not only at the regional level but also from place to place. The Southern region presents a very complicated picture of kinship which is clearly different from North India. Yet we believe that there are areas of cultural generosity and synthesis. For example, in Maharashtra, a suitable blend of kinship behaviour of the North and South is found. This blend is in the form of kinship system, commitment towards caste or community and rules of marriage etc. Because of the development in modes of communication and transport, such exchange has taken place in almost the whole of India. But roughly, we can recognise the culture prevalent in entire India, though it has its own specific identity from place to place.



Did u know? The difference in kinship standards of the Western and Indian societies is because of the ideological differences in the social organisations of both the societies.

10.5 Diversity of Kinship Relations in India

A rural person spends most of his time out side his home (family), in the company of his relatives.

Every family in a village is dependant on relatives in emergency situations, for rites and rituals, on the occasion of festivities, to work in the fields, for solving conflicts, etc. We may include the various categories of kin who are similar to them.

Firstly, we may talk of those families who are close on the basis of residence or Patrilineal system. **Mandelbom** has termed such groups as local lineage. These individuals are brothers, who have set up separate homes where the brother's sons or nephews live. All such people who live in these homes, be they wives, adopted children or sons-in-law lining at their wives homes; are the parts of their respective families despite being from the other Patrilineage.

The families sharing the common lineage, occasionally attend the formed Yajnas (Yagya), specially the last rites and rituals of the deceased (Shradh). Such united functions help in defining the boundaries of the group. They unitedly participate in other functions too.

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Lineage is an extension of family and in that form, it is an Exogamous unit. There is another kind of unity, found in many castes, but not in all. It is called 'Gotra' (Clan) or 'Kul'. Every individual is the inheritor of his father's clan. Marriages within the clan are prohibited as it is believed that people from one clan are all descendants of one ancestor. The people of one clan are spread far their relations are also dissimilar, because of which they cannot protect generally or take united action. Yet, Gotra (clan) has been established to classify the suitable and unsuitable bride-groom in the caste.

Thirdly, there is a class of relatives who provide base to the united action. This classification includes caste groups or families of the same caste, who live in the same village. In this way, they are considered relatives as they are not only the residents of the some village but are also near and dear.

Finally, there is a class of imaginary kin. On the basis of rural kinship, the work relations are considered to be a strong factor of unity. Those people, who are not consanguinal or affinal kin may relate to each-other on the basis of imaginary relations. In this manner, an individual can gain more from the extensively based relations than the biological relations.



Task

Describe the Kinship Relations in India.

10.6 Limitations and Practices of Kinship in North and South India

Marriage is the chief factor of Kinship bonding. But there is a fundamental difference in North and South India regarding marriage. Firstly, a family in south India makes the already existing Kinship, more strong through marriage. On the other hand, a family in North India bonds with a family who has no kinship with it.

The marriage related position of most of the Dravid speaking people of South India is linked to the closeness of marriage. All the lineage people are divided into two categories. There is one category with whom marriages are allowed and there is the other with whom marriages are not allowed. According to **Mandelbourn**, the Kinship positions of the Dravid people are determined by some points. According to one of them, the sons and daughters of siblings (brother and sister) are allowed to marry.

The sons and daughters of cross gender siblings, that is an individual's mother's brother's daughter can marry his father's sister's daughter. To elaborate it further, all the possible couples are maternal-paternal cousins. Support amongst kin is extended through marriages. Analysing the kinship of south India, **Noor Yalman** says, "It is mandatory for the brother and sister to stay away, but their sons and daughter should definitely be allowed to tie the knot."

Keeping this in mind, **Mandelbourn** says, "In most of the regions of North India, marriages are conducted in a manner, which is contradictory to South India. It is a centrally extending attitude and not centrally focussing. A possible couple is viewed as a link between two different groups and not as a link to strengthen the already existing relations".

Secondly, the difference between the uterine and the Affinal families is clearly visible in the North of India but nothing as such is visible in the South.

Thirdly, in North India, the unilineal kin are linked (directly or indirectly), to a specific region. Rural/village Exogamous Marriages are common amongst them.

Fourthly, in South India, emphasis is laid on Bilateral relations. Regional Exogamous Marriages are not prevalent amongst them.

Fifth, in North India, a girl is totally separated from her family after marriages. She visits her parent's home only occasionally. But it is not so in South India.

Sixth, in North India, the Kin are organised according to the nature of the relations. The sense of unity them is important. On the other hand, the kin are organised according to age, in South India. They are divided into two parts according to age: '**Tam Mur**', i.e., more in age than an individual and '**Tam Pin**', i.e., less in age than an individual.

Seventh, in North India, many restrictions are imposed on women, after marriage. For instance, they are expected to cover their heads in the presence of their elders. In South India, there are no such restrictions.

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10.7 Summary

- Irawati Karvey has explained the forms of kinship dividing the Indian society in four major regions— North, Middle, South and East.
- Anthropologist has studied kinship through two approaches— Pedigree Approach and Marriage related approach.
- There are six forms of pedigree group— Paternal, maternal, dual, common, paralleled and optional pedigree.
- Seeing social diversity in India, different rules and behaviors exist in different regions.

10.8 Keywords

1. **Local Community**—Local community having same cultural and language specialities which ties them.
2. **Optional Descent**—Progeny is considered for daughters from males and sons from females.

10.9 Review Questions

1. Describe the rules of descent?
2. Explain the types of pedigree group.
3. Explain pedigree group in northern, middle, eastern and southern parts.

Answers: Self Assessment

1. institutions
2. works
3. study

10.10 Further Readings



Books Families in India, Marriage and Kinship— Shobhita Jain, Rawat Publication.
Society in India— Virendra Prakash Sharma, D.K. Publishers and Distributors.

Unit 11: Changes in Land and Lineage Structure

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Objectives

After studying this unit, students will be able to:

- Describe inheritance of status and property
- Discuss lineage structure
- Explain the kinship network and social change
- Describe continuity and change

Introduction

In the 19th century it was believed (by Morgan, Engels and others) that kinship systems had developed through similar stages in different parts of the world, from matrilineal to patrilineal and cognatic systems, and from "primitive promiscuity" with no proper marriage arrangements, to polygamy and then monogamy. Naturally the 19th century thinkers assumed that European and American kinship patterns were the most advanced. This is for the most part conjecture: it is supported by only some of the evidence from certain parts of the world. It is probably true that in early hominid society, as among chimpanzees, mother-children links were strong and mating may not have given rise to strong male-female relationships. It is also true that among some groups (such as the Nyar) matrilineal kinship has given way to other forms. But otherwise there seem to be few links between type of kinship organisation and level of social development. The Nyar case, and many others, shows that kinship institutions can change quite rapidly when the economic and political conditions are right, and may have done so many times throughout history. Simple hunter-gatherer societies like the Southern African Bushmen and Eskimos have kinship systems rather like those of the modern English or Americans. Kinship systems are obviously linked to the economy, and to labor and property relations.

Lineage structure may be regarded as a branching process, as when two or three founders of small lineages are represented as brothers or sisters. The groups thus constitute a single larger lineage in which the smaller groups are segments. This structure may lend stability to a society; the lineages are considered permanent groups and thus perpetuate concomitant political and religious relationships over time. In societies lacking central political authority, territorial groups often organize themselves around lineages; as these are usually exogamous, or out-marrying, marriage becomes a means of bringing together otherwise unrelated groups.

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Lineage, descent group reckoned through only one parent, either the father (patrilineage) or the mother (matrilineage). All members of a lineage trace their common ancestry to a single person. A lineage may comprise any number of generations but commonly is traced through some 5 or 10.

11.1 Inheritance of Status and Property

From one generation to the next, transmission of status and property takes place according to certain rules. In North India, these generally pass in the male line. In other words, we have a predominantly patrilineal mode of inheritance in North India. For this reason, composition of patrilineage becomes very important. Thus, the lineage fellows cooperate for economic and jural reasons. They share jural rights and therefore they cooperate in order to keep the rights. However, they also fight among themselves about who is to get more benefits from those rights. Pradhan (1965) has described how the Jats and other landowners of Meerut and other districts around Delhi have a certain portion of the village lands and how it cannot be transferred out of the lineage. To keep the land within the lineage, its male members have to remain united. Thus, it becomes a main principle of their social organisation.

Transmission of property is not only the means by which a social system reproduces itself, it is also the way in which interpersonal relationships are structured. Since inheritance generally takes place between close kin and relatives, the emotional links and mutual rights are often influenced by anticipation of inheritance. The modes of inheritance, whether lateral or line agnatic (descendants from same male line) or uterine, (born of the same mother) to females as well as males whether equal or unequal – all these factors influenced family structures and social arrangements. The timing of transmission of property is also of critical importance. An endowment at marriage is more likely to be of movable than of landed property itself. While the division of the agricultural holding may be avoided, both in the case of peasant farms and of aristocratic estates, this preservation is often achieved at the cost of burdening the productive units with heavy debts. Out of future-proceeds of the farm the heir is obliged to service the mortgage entered on behalf of his “non-inheriting siblings”. Despite the norms of primogeniture or the eldest son inheriting land, younger sons and even daughters sometimes received land. The pattern of inheritance and its timing creates a particular constellation of bonds and cleavages between husband and wife, parents and children, sibling and sibling, as well as between wider kin. The mode of tenure and system of inheritance are linked not only to household structure but also to a whole constellation of ‘demographic’ variables, factors that affect growth of population and preferences for male or female children. Moreover, property was not an undifferentiated concept in pre-modern times. Rights relating to material objects constitute a ‘bundle’ that vary over time, vary with the object of rights, with the technology used in the productive enterprise, and with the hierarchy of class or strata that dominates the social system.

One important feature of European inheritance was that even when a certain type of property (such as land) was restricted to males, women were nevertheless seen as the residual heirs in preference to more distant males. This became important because roughly 20% of all families

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would have daughters and no sons, the former would therefore inherit land and could attract men to them as marriage partners and perhaps live with them. Where women received land, the basic means of production, as dowry, it had social implication of re-organising ownership. Large quantities of land may also come under direct or indirect control of women as a result of death of their husbands. Female infanticide was not altogether unknown in dowry systems. However, women were valuable if not as daughters, than as wives since both spouses often brought property into marriage. The surviving partner also enjoyed some kind of continuing right in conjugal estate, whether in terms of widow's free bench or the husband's courtesy. Widow's rights were the most durable and firmly established in the late medieval England.

The attachment of property to women was important not only in making of a match; it was also relevant for a woman whose marriage had ended either by widowhood or by divorce. For if such a woman was young and had control of property, she could increase her attractiveness as a marriage partner. The emphasis on conjugal estate and the making of a match was closely linked to the emphasis on monogamy. The fate of a widow's marriage was of critical concern to the children of her late husband, but there was no prohibition on such marriages. Similarly women in European societies had possibility of succession to office. The entitlement to immovable property could easily be generalised to land or to office. There were intricacies and varieties of local customs that make inheritance systems look different. These local differences centred on the notions of primogeniture or ultimogeniture, partibility and indivisibility, equality and preference and dowry and inheritance. Inheritance is the transmission of rights in material property at death. It is everywhere dominated by kinship and conjugality. Property is usually redistributed among kin-group. In non-literate, pre-modern societies, this was achieved with flexibility of local customs. The concept of a binding testament or a written will, as against the demands of the potential heirs was not a norm, it was rather an exception. It became an instrument for alienation of property not only to 'irregular heirs' (for example mistress rather than wife) but also institutions like church.

The problem of family splitting (fission) is also linked to transmission of family property. Very often this point of family fission was determined by marriage, for sons as well as daughters. It is the time when sons and daughters leave parental home and are endowed. Whether such endowment included landed property also, could change the social-agrarian relation. Under the 'equalitarian' system of Normandy, children received an equal share at the death of their parents. In other systems children were excluded from parental property so as to avoid divisions of estate (parental). Laws of inheritance supported by church and state generally upheld the interests of landlord by not allowing division of their estates. Unigeniture or inheritance by one heir was considered to be more desirable in case of feudal (military) tenures so as to avoid division of parental estate. Of course, 'exclusion' of other children was never complete. It generally meant only exclusion from land; the other siblings have to be paid off in a manner that may insist upon equality in value as distinct from equality of object. There was a marked geographical division between areas where inheritance was shared out equally - putting lineage before spouse and those where one heir took a larger share and other were 'excluded'. The examples of former were Western France, Flanders and England under Norman law. In Southern France, Germany and Latin Europe, preference to one heir laid greater stress on unigeniture, except for a token legacy or fixed portion, children who had received a dowry were excluded. In Latin Europe, state authorities usually favoured primogeniture because it facilitated control over the tax system, military service and rural enterprise. The multiplicity of forms and strategies adopted by families make it impossible to present a single image of the medieval family and show a clear line of its evolution.

11.2 Lineage Structure

Lineage refers to a body of people who are arranged together on the basis of common blood linkage, a special type of blood relationship that is bringing people together. In a patriarchal so-

ciety father and daughter are sharing blood relationship but still daughter is not part of father's lineage group.

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Anthropologists consider that descent or lineage refers to a special kind of blood relationship that unifies people together. Lineage system can be divided into two parts in India i.e.

- Unilineal systems: a system of determining descent groups in which one belongs to one's father's or mother's lineage. Both patrilineality and matrilineality are types of unilineal descent.
- Non-Unilineal systems: a system where there exists multiple forms of relationship.

Classical anthropologist divides descent groups into two fundamental types such as:

- Patrilineal: inheriting or determining descent through the male line.
- Matrilineal: inheriting or determining descent through the female line.

Lineage is considered as the heart and soul of Indian social life. Despite India's exposure to technological and industrial modernity, descent plays a significant role in the life of people. GS Ghurye writes in detail about various descent groups living together in different regions of the country carrying different names and identities. These different lineage groups bringing together a multi-civilisation thereby making India a land of pluralism. However, all these descent groups imbibe common rules of marriage, common food behaviour, common cultural, religious ideology radiating from Hinduism and that made Indian society a land of diversity.

Indologists look into the role of descent in defining marriage, family and kinship in India. In Northern India an individual is not allowed to marry in his father's group or mother's group, father's brother's group, mother's mother group, own group (in one's own village) driven by rules of extended kinship. Ghurye indicated that 'Gotra', 'Charna' brings unity among people who are geographically dispersed and these two groups are exogamous groups. Regional variation in kinship offering different prescriptions for rules of marriage are discussed in detail why various sociologists who consider marriage in case of India is not a matter of preference, rather it is driven by rules of descent and kinship.

Kinship or descent are foundation to caste is the argument forwarded by Gail Omvedt wherein she considers that people belonging to similar descent group are located in a given region where they worship to their common ancestors, follow common way of life and when the size of descent group expands, they migrate to different areas but still carry their identity. Therefore caste is nothing but an expanded descent system that maintains its boundary, distinguishing itself from the other caste.

Andre Beteille indicates association of man and kinship is so strong in India that voting behaviour is driven by kinship rather than on the basis of merit. In all the political parties of India kinship is the primary source of political recruitment. Thus democratic polity in India is engaged in social and cultural reproduction.

Krishna Kumar points out that the influence of kinship on the life of man is so intensive that "behind any corrupt man there is present an ambitious family". He goes on to say that industrial recruitment greatly takes place on the basis of kinship rather than on the basis of merit.

In case of India family/kinship offers ideological, economic, infrastructural support to individual to determine the nature of occupation. In conclusion it can be said that the role of descent and kinship not only determines the private sphere of an individual's life like marriage, family, household, gender role, rituals but also has great influence over his public life like occupational selection, political participation and identity formation. Therefore the role of descent and kinship has changed very little under the influence of modernity in India and so while studying social transformation one cannot afford to ignore the same.

Notes



Did u know? What is a kinship system?

Ans: The kinship system refers to a set of persons recognised as relatives, either, by virtue of a blood relationship technically called consanguinity, or by virtue of a marriage relationship, that is through what is called affinity.

Self Assessment

Fill in the Blanks:

1.may be regarded as a branching process, as when two or three founders of small lineages are represented as brothers or sisters.
2. Classical anthropologist divides descent groups into two fundamental types such as Patri-lineal and.....
3. Both patrilineality and matrilineality are types ofdescent.

11.3 The Kinship Network and Social Change

One of the most important areas of social science is the study of the family as the basic social unit for reproduction, residence and economic life in nearly all societies. But family structures and family relationships (kinship) do have different forms in different parts of the world.

The basis of the family is biological:

- women produce children
- to do so they have to have sex with men
- usually brothers and sisters/parents and children do not mate with each other, so the regulation of sex means establishing links (marriage) with other groups. There are a few unusual cases in which brothers and sisters did mate with each, notably Egypt under Greek and Roman rule from about 300 BC to 70AD – but it is unusual. (The usual explanation is that children who grow up together find each other boring and look for other partners.)
- while children are young they are dependent, and it is the mother who does most of the work of rearing them
- because men are larger and stronger than women, in most historical societies they have tended to control women’s labor and reproduction

However, in addition to these biological factors, there are also problems related to property and how to pass it down between the generations. There are three basic variations:

- (a) Most of the property is controlled by men and is passed down from father to son: women marry men in other groups and so do not inherit property from their fathers. The result is “patrilineal” systems in which closely related men (fathers, sons, brothers) live together with their wives and children. Where these men have a common ancestor they are sometimes called a “lineage”. This kind of system is found in China, the middle east and many parts of Africa. It is particularly found among pastoral societies where men do most of the work of raising the large animals, which involves moving around. This is difficult for women looking after children. Most pastoral societies are patrilineal because men tend to leave their livestock to their brothers or sons.
- (b) The property is divided more evenly between men and women on the death of their parents, so that women control some property of their own. These are called “bilateral” or “cognatic” kinship systems, and are typical of Europe, though they are also found in some

parts of South Asia and Africa. Lineages do not develop, as people have many ancestors, and so the social structure is based on nuclear families related through ties of marriage.

- (c) In a few societies in West and Central Africa and parts of South Asia, property was traditionally passed on through mother-child links, even though it is still controlled by men. This means that usually a man inherits property from his brother mother's brother rather than his father -- whose property will go to his own sister's sons. This kind of system is usually called "matrilineal". There are other problems -- i.e. should women live with their brothers or husbands, and should children live with their fathers or their mothers' brothers? Often residential structures are unstable and both women and children move around between houses frequently. Many of these systems have broken down into cognatic systems as parents and children have increasingly lived together, and as fathers have passed on their property to their own children. A good example is the Nyar of southern India, among whom brothers and sisters used to live together: the Nyar were a military caste, so many of the young men moved backwards and forwards on military service. The result was that women underwent a symbolic marriage ceremony when young, and then had children by lovers. Under these circumstances matrilineal kinship worked quite well, but the system broke down when the military structure changed. Another good example are the Ashanti of Ghana, where, even today in the rural areas brothers and sisters live together, with a man's wives coming to stay with him in rotation. Children inherit houses and land from their mother's brothers. But nearer the towns, it has long been more common for men and their wives to live together permanently with their children.

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11.4 Continuity and Change: The Institution of Kinship

The kinship pattern in Indian society is generally viewed in the context of Hindu joint family and therefore has not received much attention. However, like the studies of family in the urban contact, this area of kinship again suffers from the same dichotomous assertions of opposition between the rural and the urban. But ever since the 'break up' theories of joint family in urban communities have been proved incorrect a few interesting studies on urban kinship in India have reported elaborate network of kinship in Indian cities. Gandhi, R. (1983 : 25) in his study of family, kin group and sub-caste as the realms of primary interactions of the Indian urbanite found that as many as 36.7 percent of the women of the Das Bania sub-caste had their parental or natal kin (parents, brothers, their wives, sisters, their husbands) living in the same city, similarly, the largest proportion, about 55 percent of the respondents were found to interact most frequently with their natal kin, these findings have further implications, according to Gandhi, when we compare them with Vatuk's study of the north Indian city of Meerut.

Vatuk (1972: 140-41) believed that because of the patrilineal emphasis in the north Indian kinship system, a wife is expected to interact most frequently and intensively with her affines, agnates of her husband and their wives. However, in Meerut, she found that the significant number of married women who live near their natal kin (i.e. their own parents) interact more frequently with them than with the affinal kin. It is true that under such circumstances, the bonds between the women and her natal kin could be stronger as such interactions are face to face, primary and reciprocal and they tend to maintain the continuity and solidarity with her natal kin unit.

However, Vatuk assumes that there was a strong patrilineal emphasis in Meerut prior to urbanization. Gandhi believes that traditionally the cities of India have always manifested strong ties with both the natal and the affinal kin of women as it has been possible for them to marry within the city where their parents (i.e. natal unit) lived unlike the situation in the north Indian villages where village exogamy separated the woman from her natal village after marriage.

Vatuk, however, arrives at the conclusion that so far as changes in the kinship system are concerned there is an increasing tendency toward neolocal residence in the city. However the weakness of this interpretation is that she presumes that the neolocal residence for a married couple

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in an Indian city is a new phenomenon. This belief coupled with the belief that earlier most residences in Meerut city were patrilocal have no supportive evidence. Unlike Vatuk, I.P. Desai's study of Mahuva town effectively proves that the cyclical pattern of patrilocal - neolocal - patrilocal residence i.e. joint residence to nuclear and back again to joint residence may continue to exist in any city, village or town and there is no conclusive evidence to prove change in any one direction. This conclusion is again supported by Gandhi's study of the city in Jamnagar in western India, (Gandhi R., 1983: 27)

It is the evolutionary bias in sociology in general and urban sociology in particular that can be observed in the finding or research in kinship patterns. Chekki (1974: 156) studied two caste clusters, Brahmin(Gokul) and Lingayat (Kal yan) from the suburbs of Dharwar city, Karnataka. He discovered that in order to meet the demands of complex modern urban life a modified extended family is emerging and it consists of a series of nuclear families joined together on an equalitarian basis for mutual aid and functioning to facilitate the mobility strivings of its component member families and individuals. Mary Chatterjee (1947: 337-49) in her study of kinship in sweeper(low caste) locality in Banaras city found that the kinship terms were also used not only for persons in the mohalla, whether or not related, but also for most of the persons encountered outside the locality. She found that kinship was the basic principle in structuring of that urban locality, both as a means of conceptualization of relations and as a principle of recruitment to residence. The consanguineal (i.e. blood relatives) and affinals (relatives by marriage) were linked in terms of their relation to the acquisition of cleaning jobs in the municipality.

Gandhi (1983) observes that largely the kinship studies in urban areas go to prove the contention of Pocock (1960) who believed that the presumed dichotomy between 'rural' and 'urban' does not obtain in the Indian situation, at least when we examine such social institutions as family and kinship in urban India. He says that when we think in terms of change in the patterns of kinship in urban India' we observe a strange anomaly between continuity and change. However, increase in neolocal residences, change in the outward forms or observable patterns of kinship, may be change in degree and not in kind. Although urban-rural differences were not found to be statistically significant, the study (Conklin's and other) maintains that urbanization levels and employment of wife of the household outside are major factors in the relative freedom of women

Self Assessment

State the following Statements are True or False:

1. The kinship pattern in Indian society is generally viewed in the context of Hindu joint family.
2. Most pastoral societies are patrilineal because men tend to leave their livestock to their brothers or sons.

11.5 Summary

- Lineage refers to a body of people who are arranged together on the basis of common blood linkage, a special type of blood relationship that is bringing people together.
- Lineage structure may be regarded as a branching process, as when two or three founders of small lineages are represented as brothers or sisters.
- Transmission of property is not only the means by which a social system reproduces itself, it is also the way in which interpersonal relationships are structured. Since inheritance generally takes place between close kin and relatives, the emotional links and mutual rights are often influenced by anticipation of inheritance.
- Most of the property is controlled by men and is passed down from father to son: women marry men in other groups and so do not inherit property from their fathers. The result is

“patrilineal” systems in which closely related men (fathers, sons, brothers) live together with their wives and children.

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- The kinship pattern in Indian society is generally viewed in the context of Hindu joint family and therefore has not received much attention.

11.6 Key Words

- **Lineage:** Lineage refers to a body of people who are arranged together on the basis of common blood linkage, a special type of blood relationship that is bringing people together.
- **Lineage structure:** Lineage structure may be regarded as a branching process, as when two or three founders of small lineages are represented as brothers or sisters.
- **Unilineal systems:** a system of determining descent groups in which one belongs to one’s father’s or mother’s lineage. Both patrilineality and matrilineality are types of unilineal descent.
- **Non-Unilineal systems:** a system where there exists multiple forms of relationship.
- **Kinship system:** The kinship system refers to a set of persons recognised as relatives, either, by virtue of a blood relationship technically called consanguinity, or by virtue of a marriage relationship, that is through what is called affinity.

11.7 Review Questions

1. What do you mean by inheritance of status and property?
2. Write a note on lineage structure.
3. Discuss the relationship between the kinship network and social changes.
4. Write a detail note on continuity and change: The Institution of Kinship.

Answers to Check Your Progress

1. Lineage structure
2. Matrilineal
3. Unilineal
4. True
5. True

11.8 Further Readings



Books

Development of family sociology in India-Alka Rani, D.K.Publishers and Distributors

Marriage and family in India-K.S.Kapadia

Families in India, Marriage and Kinship-Shobhita Jain, Rawat Publications

Unit 12: Marriage: Concept, Forms and Significance

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Objectives

After studying this unit, student will be able to:

- Know the meaning of marriage and its importance.
- Know the types of marriage.
- Know the types of Hindu marriage.
- Understand what are the objectives of marriage?

Introduction

One basis of the marriage is, the desire to become mother by a woman and father by a man, which is only possible by the institution of marriage. Marriage also transfers the culture from one generation to another. In some societies, the economic life depends upon mutual cooperation of opposite sex and division of labour. The need to meet the financial activities by cooperation of male and female has also made the institution of marriage essential. Due to all these reasons, the institution of marriage was present in every era and every society, although it varies in its forms. India has also a vast diversity in the scope of marriage. From ancient period, people of many religions, communities, tribes, languages and views have been living here, in which a vast diversity of customs, traditions, cultures, institutions and living philosophy are found. This diversity has effected the institution of marriage over here. In India, many forms of marriage are found, like vise- monogamy, polyandry, bigamy and polygyny are found. In some societies, marriage is considered as sacrament whereas in some other a social and general contract.

12.1 Meaning and Definition of Marriage

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The literal meaning of marriage in Hindi means “to take the bride to grooms home”. Defining the marriage **Lucy Mayor** wrote “Marriage is defined as the conjugation of male and female due to which the child born by female. It should be considered as the legitimate child of them (mother and father)”. In this definition, the relation of male and female which leads to the birth of child is accepted and considered legitimate. And as a result, the mother-father and children gets some rights and status in the society.

According to **W. H. R. Reverse**, “The means by which the human society regulates the sexual relation of male and female are termed as marriage”.

According to **Westermarck**, “Marriage is a relation of one or more male with one or more female, which is accepted by custom and law and rights and duties of both the parties and the children born coming to this organization are incorporated”. **Westermarck** has accepted the relation of more than one male or female which is recognized by the custom and law. Husband-Wife and their born children are provided with some rights and duties”.

According to **Bogardus**, “Marriage is an institution to enter into a family life by male and female”.

Majumdar and Madaan writes, “In marriage, in the form of legal and ritual celebration, those social acknowledgements are incorporated which provide right of sexual relation to the persons of opposite sex and to participate in the related the socio-economic relations”.

Johnson had written, “The essential term for marriage is that it is a permanent relation. In which a male and a female without losing their status in the community retains social right to give birth to a child”.

According to **Hobbel**, “Marriage is the totality of the Ideal Social Norms which defines and controls the mutual relations of the married persons, their blood-relations, their children and social relations”. As a result of marriage, many rights and duties take birth between mother-father and children.



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Marriage is a social, religious and lawful acknowledgement for two persons of opposite sex to enter into a family life. To make men-women and children follower of different socio-economic activities, to procreate and to nurture and socialize children are the main work of the marriage.

12.2 Main Characteristics and Significance of Marriage

From the above definitions of marriage, following characteristics of marriage came forward:

1. **Marriage is a fundamental and general social institution** which is found in every country, era, society and culture.
2. **Marriage is the relation of two persons of opposite sex.** For marriage two persons of opposite sex i.e. one male and one female is essential. Moreover, somewhere one male marries one or more females or one female marries one or more males, but generally custom of monogamy is mostly found now a days.
3. **Marriage is recognized when it is acknowledged by the society.** This acknowledgement may be by custom or law or in form of religious sacrament. Without social acknowledgement the sexual relation is referred as improper and immoral.

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4. *Sexual relations are recognized on the basis of the institution of marriage.* In other words this institution provides right and permission to husband and wife to make sexual relations with one-another.
5. *Westermarck has considered marriage an economic institution also besides a social institution.* This is because the property right of husband and wife is also defined on the basis of marriage.
6. One characteristic of institution of marriage is that **it fulfills the need of child birth and regulation of society besides fulfilling the desire of sexual relation.** This institution fulfills biotic, psychological, moral and religious need for personality development.
7. *Marriage institution contributes in the determination of the social status of a person.* This characteristic of marriage is important in view of that the children born on the basis of marriage relation are only recognized and acknowledged legitimate. Children born due to illicit relations have a very bad position in the society in comparison to children born due to legitimate relations and their status is low.
8. *Systems regarding marriage are different in different societies.* The marriage systems of a society depend upon the custom, belief and culture of a society and they are different in different societies.
9. *Marriage is a permanent relation.* A permanent relation is established between husband and wife on the basis of marriage. In view of the fulfillment of sexual desire, child birth, proper nourishment and nurturing of children and their socialization and personality development, marriage relation must be permanent. Without establishment of permanent relation, the strength of family life may be in danger.

Self Assessment

Fill in the blanks:

1. For marriage two _____ *i.e.*, male and female are essential.
2. On the basis of marriage _____ is established between husband and wife.
3. Marriage relation contributes for the _____ of social status of a person.

12.3 Aims of Marriage

When we think about the aim of marriage we get that marriage provides social and legal acknowledgement to two persons of opposite sex for establishing sexual relation. It is Marriage which makes the foundation of a family and in a family socialization and nurturing of children takes place. The continuity of society is possible due to marriage and family. This is a basis of other relations also. Many other relations evolve due to marriage. Marriage is also essential for the maintenance and conservation of economic interests. The institution of marriage provides physical, social and mental security to a person. **Mardock**, after studying 250 societies found three aims of marriage in the societies. 1. Sexual satisfaction, 2. Economic cooperation 3. Socialisation and nurturing of children. In brief, we can present the aim of marriage as following:-

1. To fulfill sexual desire and to regulate the sexual activities in the society.
2. To construct a family and expand relationship.
3. To give birth a legitimate child and to maintain the continuity of the society.
4. To nurture and socialize children.
5. To produce economic cooperation between male and female.
6. To provide mental satisfaction.

7. To produce new rights duties in mother-father and children.
8. To transfer the culture from one generation to other generation.
9. To fulfill the religious, social and cultural aims.
10. To provide social security.

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Now it is clear that marriage is not a mean for personal satisfaction, but a social activity by which the structure of society is strengthened.

In the words of **Majumdar and Madaan**, "Marriage provides physical (Sexual) and psychological (child birth) satisfaction on personal level whereas on vast collective level it helps in maintaining the existence of community and culture".



Task

What are the aims of Marriage? Discuss in brief.

Forms of Marriage

There are many types of marriage, if we study the internal culture of marriage practiced in different societies, we will get perception of such rules and regulations which provides priorities, consent and prohibitions to select and establish the form of a marriage.

Before discussing the different forms of marriage, the discussion for the prohibition in sexual relation between mother-father and children is inevitable. It is also called prohibition incest.

On some classification of marriage we can make observation in following ways:

(a) *On basis of the numbers of life partners marriage are classified as-* Monogamy and Polygamy.

The marriage in which husband marries with one wife and when wife marries with one husband is called Monogamy.

The marriage in which one makes more than one life partner is known as Polygamy. Polygamy are of two types: (1) Polygyny and (2) Polyandry.

When a male marries more than one female is called Polygyny. When any male marries to many sisters, it is called Sororal Polygyny.

When any female marries more than one male is known as Polyandry. Polyandry can be made in two ways:- Adelpic Polyandry and Non-adelpic Polyandry.

When any female marries to many brothers, it is called Adelpic Polyandry or Fraternal Polyandry. As example, in *Mahabharat era*, **Draupadi** had married with the five **Pandava** brothers. This marriage is very famous in Toda Tribes. When more than one husbands of a female are not brothers, such marriage is called Non-Adelpic Polyandry.

In this reference we can refer to two type of polygamy, in which a woman marries to younger brother of her husband **Devar-Bhabhi Vihah Levirate** and a man marries to his sister-in-law **Jija-Sali Vivah Sororate**.

The marriage of a person to the childless widow of his elder brother is known as Levirate. In the reference in which real levirate is practiced after the death of the husband. It is a moral duty of one among the brothers to marry with the widow. The child born after such marriage is recognized as the child of the deceased brother.

Where real Sororate is practiced, the husband of the childless woman marries her sister and some of the children so born are recognized as children of the first childless woman. The term Sororate is also used as tradition, in which the widower is allowed to marry to the sister of his

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deceased wife. It is noted that the child so born is recognized as the child of living wife not of deceased.

'Levirate' and 'Sororate' enforces on the acknowledgement of interfamily responsibilities and recognizes marriage as a relation between two families instead of two persons.

We can discuss one more type of polygamy which is called group marriage. When two or more grooms are married to two or more brides simultaneously, it is called group marriage. It is the mix form of polygamy and polyandry which is some times seen in *Kyne Gangu* Tribes and *Markvesno* Tribes of Brazil.

(b) Classification on the basis of the Selection of Life Partner: When the life partners are chosen by one-another for marriage, then it is based on Romance and termed as **love marriage**. When they are selected by parents, relatives or friends then it is termed as **arrange marriage**.

When marriage is confined between one group of people then it is termed as endogamy. In this the marriage out of the people of the group is prohibited. In this reference we can narrate about the Intra-Tribal Marriage, Intra-Caste Marriage, Intra-Class Marriage, Intra-Creed Marriage etc. Because of the deep fear in mind about a peculiar, new and strange object, all Indian tribes only recognize endogamy.

Sometimes marriage with a close relative is given priority or it is preferred. Thus people in *Gond* Tribe shall have to marry to their tertiary relatives. If any people violate this rule then the earning party has to pay penalty to the other side. **Gasam** had found that 54% of marriage in *Gond* is of this category. *Kharia and Utnao* Tribes have also a custom to marry to their tertiary relative. The same is seen in the *Khasi* Tribes also but *Khasi* male can marry to his father's sister after the death of his father only.

(c) Levi-Stras Said that the main aim of marriage based on priority and selection is to strengthen the emotion of unity in any tribe. Thus marrying to the daughter of the brother of mother by a man is seen in reference to the nature of mother localization.

When marriage is prohibited among those which belong to same group then it is called exogamy. Exogamy is practiced in Hindu on the basis of *Gotra and Pravara*. Besides this, exogamy is also practiced on the basis of *pind*. In Hindu society, marriage is prohibited under same *pind*. *Pind* means similar parents. The people of five generation of maternal side and seven generation of paternal side come under *Sapind*. In some Indian tribes there is custom of village exogamy. This rule is practiced in *Munda* and other tribes of Chhotta Nagpur of Bihar. Naga tribe in Nagaland is classed among *Khel*. *Khel* is a name given to the residents of an special place and people of one *Khel* cannot marry among themselves.

(d) Classification according to the Status of the Couple: When the couple are near about equivalent in age, education, character, economic status, social status etc. then the marriage between the couple is known as Even Marriage. On the other hand, when there are many differences in the parameters of the couple then it is termed as Odd Marriage.

Classification of marriage according to the male and female of dissimilar social status also exists. When a man of high social status marries to a girl of comparatively low social status then such marriage is termed as **Descending Marriage**. In this type of marriage, generally the man doesn't have to face any social discrepancy due to his social status that he has married to a woman of low category. On the other hand when any woman belonging to high status marries to a low status man, such marriage is termed as **Pratiloma Marriage**. As a result of such marriage the woman has to face social deploration as well as neglect and even in some society the pain of ousting also. Such discriminating valuation about male and female is seen in all the societies. Thus **Boshum** says: "This discrimination is seen in other societies also. For example: In the time of Victoria if any Royal Blood married to any actress then he seldom faces any deploration or neglect, which was faced by a Royal Woman after marrying to a common man.

(e) Difference between Closed Marriage Arrangements and Open Marriage Arrangements: The society in which it is restricted that the brides or grooms should be chosen from the one or more

recommended categories, are known as Closed Marriage Arrangements. Whereas the societies in which such recommendations have no place are known as Open Marriage Arrangements. In open or liberal marriage arrangement a group of people come who are not considered eligible for marriage and who comes in a ring of neglect and unapproachable.

Besides the classification of marriage mentioned above, other types of marriages do also exist.

For example conjugational marriage can also be discussed "in which two persons marry on such agreement that they can break the relation any time till no child is born only on mutual consent".

The arrangement of sub-wife can also be discussed which is an arrangement of living together of male and female without marriage as husband and wife.

Under arrangement of experimental marriage a male and female can be permitted a married life on temporary basis so that they can understand whether they can live together or not.

Hindu and Muslim Marriage

In Hindus the marriage is a holy religious act. Marriage is essential for every Hindu because without marriage any Hindu male cannot enter into a family life. Ancient religious scriptural persons have defined the four stages of life and the family life (Grihasthashram) is the second stage of life. The need for marriage is due to one-another also. For the emancipation from the bondage of Birth, Death and Rebirth, a son is necessary. This mythology is based on the Hindu beliefs of being immortalism of soul and rebirth.

Hindu scriptural has considered marriage as sacrament. In other words, this is that sacramental act which is necessary for every Hindu. The rituals held under it are aimed to emancipate a man from different boundaries, deficiencies and weaknesses upto a certain extent which is spread in the blood-flesh-cartilage of the human body. Any person cannot escape from such deficiencies and weaknesses. As possible as we have to make efforts to come out of such deficiencies and weaknesses, we should do it. Sacraments and execution of such rituals fulfills such aims. The Hindu legal expert **Manu** has represented the Aim of Sacrament in following words: *Brahmyam Kriyanate Tanuh*. Which means that every person has to keep pure his body, brain and soul so that affection and separation; luxury and renunciation; self-expression and self-sacrifice may dissolve in the life of a man in a balanced proportion and make him able to emancipate from the bondage of life and death. The marriage is a sacrament because newly wedded couple is advised to experience the bond of marriage so that the bondage of body and sexual desire can be broken.

Thus there is no wonder that behind the Hindu-mythology of Marriage there is foundation of a religious sanction. Under the marriage sacrament, there are executions of many rituals and *Yajna* activities. "*Kanyadaan*" or the donation of daughter by his father to the groom, to flame the fire of oblation in a form which makes the sacrament holy and also as a witness of god, holding the hand of bride by the bride-groom (*Panigrahan*) and taking seven round around the fire of oblation by the groom and bride, the groom has to move ahead to the bride (*Saptapadi*) etc. are the important rituals regarding marriage. After completing these rituals the groom takes the bride with him. In Sanskrit the word "*Vivah*" (Marriage) means that to take and carry with.

It is necessary that marriage should be in own caste. But in practice it is done between the sub-castes of a caste. In order to search bride or groom one has to go out of five generation of his mother side i.e. out of *Sapind* and out of seven generations of father side i.e. except *Gautra and Pravar* (same ancestors). In Hindu religious books, many types of marriages are discussed. When any father donates his daughter to an educated person of good character such marriage is known as *Brahm Marriage*. If the person is a priest to whom the daughter is donated then such marriage is known as *Daiv Marriage*. When any probable son-in-law, before getting the bride as a gift from his father-in-law, gifts a bull and a cow to his father-in-law, such a marriage is called *Arsha Marriage*. But this type of marriage is different from the marriage from buying and selling of bride which is called *Asur Marriage*. Asur Marriage is condemned for *Brahmins and*

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Kshatriyas but Manu has told it good for *Vaishyas and Shudras*. When any father after respecting a person with all means and thereafter donates his daughter to him as gift and admonish the newly wed couple for practicing religion together, such marriage is called *Prajapatya Marriage*. The marriage occurs due to love and romance is known as *Gandharva Marriage*. Marriage through abduction is called *Rakshas Marriage* and it is also a lawful marriage. But marriage and conjugation with a girl who is sleeping, intoxicated or in mental disorder is known as *Paishacha Marriage*. Due to violation of the norms of a civilized life, this marriage is strongly condemned.

It is notable that Hindu legal experts had tried to resolve many complicated social problems by recognizing different kinds of marriages. In ancient period, India was attacked many times from its North-West. A large population of non-Aryans has been seen inside the country also. To whom Aryans were connected. Due to groups of local non-Aryans and non-residents one after another illicit sexual relations came into light and as a result children were born to unmarried girls also. The problem arose due to presence of a large number of illegitimate children in the society can be solved only by acknowledging the abduction, running away etc. in a form of marriage, although such types of marriages were not considered at all. **A.L. Boshom** says, commenting of this, "The area of relations were acknowledged in a wonderful way so that girls victim of sexual relation with their lovers or girls forcefully abducted and invigorated can achieve their legal and social right of becoming a wife and the children so born may not suffer illegitimacy.



Did u know? Many **rituals** and **yajnas** are accomplished in the sacrament of marriage.

Muslim Marriage

Muslim marriage is not a religious act but a secular contract. The borderline of prohibition for intercourse is very less. Thus they can marry to their cousins and primary parallel relatives. Some Muslim male marries to many females. The only condition is that two sisters or sister of father and brother's daughter cannot be wife of same person and a person cannot have more than four wives at a time. Muslim can marry to the sister of his deceased wife and mother-in-law and father-in-law of their children. Muslim can marry to a non-Muslim girl if she is related to a community like Jews and Christian who don't worship idols. But Muslim females don't have such privileges as equality.

By signing a legal document marriage is shaped as a powerful contract which can be broken but divorce i.e. (*Talak*) comes under the privilege of the husband. He can divorce his wife without any reason. If the word "*Talak*" is pronounced thrice in presence of at least two witnesses the relation can be broken between the husband and wife. But after this the husband has to pay a prefixed amount to his wife as compensation. This is under a contract that after the death of the husband or in situation of divorce, the wife is claimant of a certain part of her husband's property as compensation. Wife can free herself from the bond of marriage if she had got consent of her husband. This consent is necessary, if the breaking of marriage contract takes place by mutual consent; it is called "*Mubarat*". In some special situations, Islam permits to take one sided step to wife. Remarriage of widow is popular among Indian Muslims.

12.4 Forms of Hindu Marriage

Forms of marriage refer to the way adapted for the bond of marriage. **Manu** had described eight types of marriages, but **Vashishtha** told about only six types of marriages. Manu says that first four types of marriages i.e. *Brahma, Daiva, Arsha and Prajapatya* are best and religious whereas other four i.e. *Asur, Gandharva, Rakshasa and Paishacha* are condemnable. A child born of any of the first four types of marriages is glorious, modest, wealthy and learned whereas

children of the later types of marriages are wicked, atheist and slanderous in nature. Here it must be discussed that Hindu scriptures were very conscious about the maintaining the social status and respect of a woman, therefore they had acknowledged to Paishacha and Rakshasa like marriages. The main eight forms of Hindu marriages are as under:-

Notes

1. **Brahma Marriage:** This is the best kind of marriage of all kinds. Defining "Brahma Vivah" **Manu** had written, "The modest groom with knowledge of Vedas should be called by the father of the bride himself, fascinate him with clothes and ornaments and thereafter donating his daughter in religious manner and by performing Pooja, is called Brahma Marriage". In Dharmasutra, describing Brahmavivah **Gautam** has written, "Donation of daughter dressed with beautiful clothes and ornaments to a learned person of Vedas, with good character, of a good family and modest groom is Brahma Marriage". **Yagyavalkya** writes, "Brahma Marriage is that marriage in which groom is called and fascinated according to the capability and daughter is donated. Son born of such marriage is a person who divines his twenty one generations".
2. **Daiva Marriage: Gautam and Yagyavalkya** had described the character of this marriage in this way-In Vedas, to donate daughter dressed with clothes and ornaments at the time of **Dakshina** to the priest who accomplish **Yajna** is in fact **Daiva Marriage**. **Manu** wrote, "When a daughter dressed with clothes and ornaments is donated to a priest involved in virtue is called **Daiva Marriage**. In ancient period, there were more importance of Yajnas and rituals. The priest or sage who helps in executing such holy rituals, the host marries his daughter with him. **Manu** says that the child born of such marriage salvages seven generations of before and after. Some scriptures had criticized this marriage because there is vast difference of age between the groom and bride. Such marriage is not found in modern period. **Altekar** writes, "Daiva marriage got extinct with the extinction of Vedic Yajnas".
3. **Arsha Marriage:** In this marriage, the groom interested in marriage first gifts a cow and an ox or its two pairs to the father of the bride before getting married. **Gautam** had written in Dharmasutra, "In Arsha Marriage the groom gifts a cow and an ox to bride's father". **Yagyavalkya** writes that when donation of daughter (**Kanyadaan**) is accomplished after taking two cows is called **Arsha Marriage**. **Manu** writes, "A couple of cows and an ox given for religious act for the bride to accomplish the marriage ritually is called Arsha Marriage. The word "Arsha" relates to the word sage. When any sage gifts a cow and an ox to the father of a daughter then it is understood that he has determined to do marriage now. Many preceptors had considered the gift of cow and ox is the price of bride, but it is not fair, gift of a cow and an ox represents the importance of animal wealth in a country like India. Ox is a symbol of religion and cow the earth which are donated to witness the marriage. The pair given to father of the bride is return to the groom afterwards. It is clear by all these facts that in Arsha Marriage, there is no place for bride price. This type of marriage is not popular in modern period.
4. **Prajapatya Marriage:** Prajapatya marriage is also like Brahma Marriage. In this the father of bride says giving order, "You both live together throughout the whole life practicing religion". **Yagyavalkya** says that the child born from such marriage divines the generations of his dynasty. **Vashishtha** and **Apastamba** had nowhere described Prajapatya Marriage. The view of **Dr. Altekar** is that this kind of marriage has given a separate entity to complete the eight kinds of marriages.
5. **Asur Marriage:** **Manu** writes, "To obtain a bride on own wish by giving money to bride and her family members according to the capability is called Asur Marriage". The view of **Yagyavalkya** and **Gautam** is to obtain a bride by giving more money is called Asur Marriage. All marriages held on price of bride come under Asur Marriage. To give a price of bride is an act of respecting the bride and it is the compensation to the family of the bride for their separation from her. The custom of bride price is popular in lower castes, in higher caste it is looked with hatred. Scriptures has denied saying 'wife' to a woman obtained by

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paying price. Such son-in-law is called 'Vijmata'. In marriages of Kaikai, Gandhari and Madri description about payment of high prices for bride to her mother-father is present.

6. **Gandharva Vivah:** **Manu** says, "the marriage done by the bride and groom due to mutual love with emotions of lust and intercourse is known as **Gandharva Marriage**". Yagyavalkya written that the marriage held due to mutual love and affection is called Gandharva Marriage. **Gautam** says, "To make relation on own wish with a girl with the same wish is called Gandharva Marriage". In ancient period, this marriage was very popular among a caste called Gandharva that is why this marriage was named Gandharva marriage. In modern time this marriage is called love marriage in which groom and bride marries due to mutual love and affection. In such marriage rituals are accomplished after making sexual relations. Some scriptures had acknowledged this marriage but some had denied. This was praised in **Baudhayana Dharmasutra**. **Vatsyayan** had acknowledged this marriage as an ideal marriage in his **Kamasutra**. It was the Gandharva Marriage which was held between Dushyanta and Shankuntala.
7. **Rakshasa Marriage:** **Manu** says, "To bring a crying girl by beating, penetrating, breaking her house by forceful abduction is called Rakshasa Marriage". **Yagyavalkya** writes, "Rakshasi Yudh Hararat" means "to abduct a girl in a battle and marry her is called Rakshasa Marriage". This type of marriage was popular in that period when battles were important and woman were considered a reward of battle. Many examples of this marriage is seen in Mahabharata Era. Bhishm had defeated the king of Kashi and abducted her daughter Amba for her brother Vichitraveerya. Marriages of Sri Krishna with Rukmani and Arjun with Subhadra were also of this kind. In Rakshasa Marriage, there is a mutual fight between the parties of bride and groom. Due to popularity of this marriage among Kshatriya, this is also called Kshatra Marriage. Today this marriage seen as exception.
8. **Paishacha Marriage:** **Manu** says, "To make relation with a girl forcefully who is sleeping, emotional, worried, drunken or going in the way and thereafter marrying her is called Paishacha Marriage". This type of marriage is presumed of worst category. **Vashishtha** and **Apastambha** never recognized this type of marriage, but due to no fault of girl in this type of marriage and in order to prevent her from the social boycott due to loss of her virginity and to maintain her social respect, this type of marriage was acknowledged.

In "**Satyartha Prakash**", It was told that the Brahma Marriage is best, Prajapatya is medium and Arsha, Asur and Gandharva are of lower category. Rakshasa Marriage is sinful and Paishacha Marriage is the very corrupt. Daiva, Arsha, Prajapatya and Rakshasa Marriage are completely eliminated now. **Dr. Majumdar** says, "Hindu society recognizes only two kinds of marriage-Brahma and Asur, former in higher caste and later in lower caste are popular respectively. Though, Asur Marriage is not eliminated in higher caste, completely". In modern period, Gandharva Marriage is also called love marriage and is popular among educated people.



Did u know? In modern time, in Hindus Brahma, Asur, Gandharva and somewhere Paishacha Marriages is popular.

12.5 Summary

- Literal meaning of "Vivah" i.e. marriage is "To take the bride to groom's home".
- Marriage is an institution for male and female to enter into a family life.
- According to Mardock, there are three aims of marriage in all societies-Sexual satisfaction, economic cooperation, socialization of children and their nurturing.

- Marriage is considered as a sacrament in Hindu religion.
- There are eight main forms of Hindu Marriage-Brahma Marriage, Daiva marriage, Arsha marriage, Prajapatya Marriage, Asur Marriage, Gandharva Marriage, Rakshasa Marriage and Paishacha Marriage.
- Muslim marriage is not a sacrament but a secular contract. Muslim can marry a non-Muslim girl if she belong to Jewish or Christian girl who don't worship idols. But this privilege is denied to a Muslim lady.

Notes

12.6 Keywords

1. *Levirate*: Marriage of a lady with younger brother of her husband.
2. *Sororate*: Marriage of a man with sister of his wife.

12.7 Review Questions

1. What is the meaning and aim of marriage?
2. What is the importance or significance of marriages?
3. Describe briefly the types of marriage.
4. Describe the forms of Hindu marriages.

Answers: Self Assessment

1. persons of opposite sex
2. a permanent relation
3. establishment

12.8 Further Readings



Books

Marriage and Family in India—K.M. Kapadia.

Indian Society and Social Institutions—Gupta and Sharma.

Unit 13: Monogamy and Polygamy

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Objectives

After studying this unit, student will be able to:

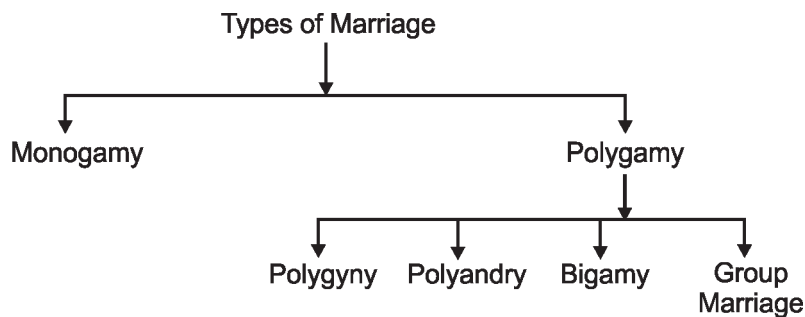
- Know the forms and types of marriage.
- Explain the meaning of monogamy and polygamy.
- Know the reasons behind monogamy and polygamy.

Introduction

The basis of the fulfillment of sexual desire in human is partly physical, partly social and cultural. The satisfaction of sexual desire has gave birth to marriage, family and relations. Sometimes, in same societies sexual relations out of family is acknowledged in institutional form, but it is up to a certain extent. To fulfill sexual desire is also considered necessary for healthy and normal life. In lack of this, many mental disorders take birth. How to fulfill the sexual desire is determined by the society and culture. The aim of marriage is not only sexual satisfaction, but sometimes it is done for the fulfillment of social and cultural aims only. For example, in **Nagas** a son marries to all his step widow mothers except his real mother. The reason behind this marriage is not sexual satisfaction but to get succession in the property to be distributed among the wives.

13.1 Types of Marriage

By the development of the human society many types of marriages also came into existence. **Morgan** and other development preceptors believe that in the civilization of very ancient period marriage like institution was absent; Sex Promiscuity was popular in the society of that period. Gradually, group marriage started and after passing through different stages, custom of monogamy came into existence. On the basis of the numbers of the husband and wife, the main types of marriages found in India can classified as following:



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1. Monogamy

According to **Sri Bookenovik**, a marriage should be called monogamy in which there is not only one wife of a husband and one husband for a wife but also either of them never marry again even after the death of the spouse. In monogamy one male marries to one female only at a time. Many forms of this also are found. **One** form is that a man is marries to a lady and if either of them dies the other never marries again. **Second** form of this is that a man marries only one lady as wife but can enjoy many women as keep. The **third** form of monogamy is that in which second marriage is possible after divorce with or death of the spouse. Monogamy and Polygamy is related to the society not person, means it is not person but the society who is monogamous and polygamous.



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According to Lucy Mayor, "The words monogamous or polygamous are used for the marriage or society, not for persons. To say polygynous to a faithless or lustrous husband is an abuse of language, although some people do like this.

In Hindu society monogamy is considered ideal. Many Vadic Gods were monogamous. The word Dampatti (Spouse) is used for a pair i.e. of one husband and one wife as two combined owner of a home. In religious scripts also, attachment for wife is expected from husband and vice versa. One objective of Hindu Marriage is to fulfill the ritual which should be performed by the husband and wife together. Obtaining son is also considered an important objective for the performance of rituals.

Presently monogamy is considered as the best form of marriage. **Westermarck** believes that monogamy is the ancient form of marriage. **Malinovaski** also believes that "Monogamy is/was and will remain true form of marriage". In modern period, by Hindu Marriage Act, 1955 monogamy is made obligatory for Hindus. By the development of education and civilization monogamy is getting popularity day by day.

1. Causes of Monogamy

There are many reasons for the popularity of monogamy in the world; some of them are as under:

1. The ratio of male and female is approximately equal in the world. Thus, if polygyny or polyandry is practiced instead of monogamy, it means that to deprive some people from marriage.

Notes

2. Presence of more than one husband or wife in the family creates the problem of adaptability and increases the mental tension. For the stability of the social structure it is necessary to escape from family tensions and frictions.
3. In many societies there is a custom of bride-price. It is difficult to make money for buying and maintain more than one wife. Thus custom of monogamy is followed.
4. In order to maintain peace and calm in the family and to get rid of the problems arose due to polygyny, monogamy is considered the best.

Monogamy is mostly found in the societies where polygyny or polyandry is popular because to maintain more than one spouse is difficult. Merits and demerits of monogamy are as following-

Merits of Monogamy

1. Families composed of monogamy are comparatively more stable.
2. There is a good status of wife in monogamous family.
3. In a monogamous family nurturing, socialization and education of children are done in a suitable manner.
4. In a monogamous family, mental tension is less due to lack of struggle.
5. Life-style of a monogamous family is better.
6. Due to less number of children in a monogamous family, the family is small and happy.

Demerits of Monogamy

1. Due to monogamy, sometimes sexual immorality increases and it increases the corruption. This leads to provide opportunity to make extra-marital relation to male and female.
2. The lack of sexual liberty increases the sexual crimes. Nature of monopoly is found in a family produced by this marriage and women are exploited.

In comparison to the demerits of monogamy there are more merits. Therefore, in modern period monogamy is preferred in all the countries of the world.

Self Assessment

Fill in the blanks:

1. Monogamy is considered the best to _____ the problems arose due to polygyny.
2. Number of _____ is found less in a monogamous family.
3. There are more merits in _____ to the demerits of monogamy.

2. Polygamy

When more than one male or female get tied in a bond of marriage, such marriage is called polygamy. There are four main forms of polygamy- Polyandry, Polygyny, Bigamy and Group Marriage. We will discuss here in brief.

(a) Polyandry

Dr. Reverse writes defining polyandry, "Marriage relation of a woman with many husbands is called Polyandry".

Mitchell writes, "To marry other males by a female having a living husband or to marry two or more males at a time is called polyandry".

According to **Kapadia**, "Polyandry is a kind of relation in which a woman has more than one husband at a time or in which all brothers enjoys one wife or wives in a combined way.

It is that in polyandry one woman establishes marriage relation with many men. From very ancient period polyandry is practiced in India, although this was practiced in limited quantity. Polyandry was strongly prohibited in Vedic literature, but some examples of such marriage is found in **Mahabharata** Era. **Draupadi** was married to five *pandava* brothers, but it was considered as an extraordinary event instead of custom. Polyandry is popular in people of Malavahas of Dravin culture. **Dr. Saxena** believes that polyandry was a custom of some Prag-Dravin Culture of South. This custom was popular in Khas Rajputs living in the hilly regions of Jaunsar of Dehradun, Babur, Pargana, Garhwal and Shimla, Toda and Kota people of Nilgiri Hills, Bota of Laddhakh, Tian and Irava of Madras, Nayar, Harawan and Kampala of Malabar, Combale, People of Kurga and till sometimes ago in Santhal tribe of Chhota nagpur and Uraov Tribe of Central India, but in modern period the popularity of this marriage is gradually eliminating.

Two forms of polyandry is also found.

(i) Fraternal or Adelpic Polyandry: When two or more than two brothers marries a woman together or if the eldest brother marries a woman and other brothers automatically considered her husband, then such marriage is called Adelpic or Fraternal Polyandry. Fraternal polyandry is found in Khas, Toda and Kota people and hilly regions of Punjab, Speety and Lahole Paraganas of Kangra District and in Laddhakh. In Khas people when elder brother marries a woman the remaining brothers automatically becomes the husband of the woman. Fraternal polyandry is also popular among Toda people of Nilgiri Hills. **Dr. Reverse** says that sometimes brothers of same races combine to marry a woman instead of real brothers.

(ii) Non-Fraternal or Non-Adelpic Polyandry: In this type of marriage the husbands of a woman are not brothers. The woman lives with every husband by and by for equal periods of time. Both the maternal and paternal side can be joined with polyandry. In Toda, Khas and Kota etc. paternal polyandry is found in which the woman, after marriage, go and live either in the group house of her husbands or by and by with all the husbands for the similar periods. In Maternal Polyandry the woman lives in the house of her mother after the marriage and the husbands comes there by and by to live with her. This custom is found in Nayar's of maternal generation.

Causes of Polyandry

1. **Westermarck** quotes that the main reason for polyandry is unbalanced sex ratio. Polyandry is found in the societies in which males are more in comparison to females. A reason for this is imbalance is that, in many societies, there is custom of female infanticide. Societies in which life is struggling, women are felt burden there. Thus, they are killed at the time of the birth only. The view of **Robert Brifault** is this is not true always because in Laddhakh, Tibet and Sikkim, there is no major difference in the ratio of male and female. In Laddhakh, females are more than males, even though polyandry is practiced there.
2. **Sumnor, Commingham and Dr. Saxena** believe that poverty is responsible for such types of marriages. Due to less production, lack of agricultural land, difficulty in making money etc. are the reasons for hardship in maintaining a family. Therefore many men unite to marry a woman.
3. Polyandry is also practiced to limit the population because less children born from this type of marriage.
4. **Bride Price:** In many societies, there is abundance of bride price due to polyandry. So, people make common effort to manage the bride price and in these circumstances there is a common right of all above people on the bride bought.

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5. *Polyandry is also practiced to prevent the partition of the property.* If all brothers marry separately then the property will be distributed among them and their children. On the other hand, if all brothers live with one woman in a family, then the property will also remain common.
6. *Geographical Conditions:* Where Toda and Khas people live, there is a lack of agricultural land and the whole province is hilly and stony. Thus, they have to struggle strongly with the nature in which a lonely person feels himself helpless. Thus all the brothers unite to maintain their wife and children.
7. *Religious Reason:* Khas people believe them successor of Pandavas. Thus they also practice the custom of "Draupadi Vivah".

In this way, polyandry is a result of different Geographic, Religious, population and Economic Reasons.

Consequences of Polyandry

Several consequences of polyandry has come forward. Its main merits and demerits are as following:

Merits

(1) Fewer children born due to polyandry. Thus this marriage helps in making an ideal family and in limiting the population. (2) The property remains intact due to such marriage. Thus agricultural land is prevented from being pieced due to no partitioned. (3) Polyandry prevents the partition and defragmentation of the family, due to this unity of the family is maintained. (4) Due to such marriage, the family gets cooperation in fulfilling its all needs as well as in performing economical activities. As well as it also helps to struggle with nature in a united way.

Demerits

(1) This type of marriage leads to infertility in females. Due to which biotic factor it happens is unknown yet. But it as a fact that the population of polyandrous society is declining day by day and a time may come when it will be completely eliminated. (2) In polyandry more boys are born in comparison to girls. Thus sexual imbalance is produced automatically; as a result polyandry custom runs steadily. (3) In polyandry a woman has to make sexual relation with many men which leads to sexual diseases and the health of the woman falls. (4) In the societies of such marriage, due to more sexual liberty to woman, sexual immorality increases.

(b) Polygyny

One form of polygamy is polygyny also in which one male marries more than one female. **Kapadia** believes that in India polygyny was popular from Vedic Period to modern period. In ancient period, in India Brahmin, Kshatriya, Vashiya and Shudra four categories were found. Except Shudras, the three categories were permitted to marry a girl of its lower category in addition to his category. In this way Brahmin can marry a girl of four categories, Kshatriya with three categories and Vaishya with two categories. It is said that scriptures Manu had ten wives and **Yagyavalkya** had two wives. The view of **Altekar** is that polygyny custom was common among rich, rulers and noble class people. Two forms of polygyny are also found-Restricted and Unrestricted. In restricted polygyny second marriage is permitted after the death of the first wife. In unrestricted polygyny a male can marry again in situation of the infertility of wife or to increase his status in the society.

In Indian religious books, second marriage is permitted in the situation of no child but to keep more than one wife is not considered suitable normally. **Manu, Kautilya and Apastambha etc.**

had acknowledged polygyny in theoretical view, but monogamy custom is found in Naga, Gond, Baiga, Bheel, Toda, Lushai etc tribes of India. This custom is popular in most proto-australide tribes of central India. In Bengal, due to Anuloma marriage and Hypergamy polygyny is popular. This custom is also found in Nambudri Brahmin of south. Presently, there is legal ban on polygyny.

Notes



Did u know? It is said in Mahabharata that if a person marries again having a virtuous wife blessed with son, then his sin cannot be washed away.

Causes of Polygyny

1. **For getting a son:** There is religious importance of son in Hindu religion. He only performs the oblation and funeral of deceased mother & father. Thus second marriage can be done in condition of childless wife or no birth of a son. Scriptures has given liberty of doing second marriage if no son born by the first wife.
2. **Economic Reason:** The tribes which live in hilly areas, has to struggle strongly with nature for livelihood. Due to odd geographical situation, the fulfillment of economic need can be possible by the cooperation of many family members. The more number of ladies in the family are utilized in agriculture and home industry to get economic cooperation.
3. **Social Status:** Wealthy, Landlords and Luxurious persons keep more wife as their status symbol. Muslim rulers make Haram and Kshatriya rulers have many queens and keeps.
4. **Sex Imbalance:** One reason for polygyny is the presence of more women in comparison to man in the society. In hunting, battle and venturing economic works death of more men occurs in comparison to woman, which declines the number of men and polygyny flourish.
5. **Lust and Sexual Experience:** The desire of lust in man and wish of having change in sexual experience has also given rise to polygyny.
6. **Sororate (Marriage with sister-in-law):** The society in which custom of Sororate is popular, a man has to marry to all the sisters of his wife.
7. **Levirate (Marriage with wife of deceased brother):** In some societies Levirate is popular. Thus when one of the brothers dies the other brother marries to his widow. Due to this number of wife increases of the living brother.
8. **Battle and Attack:** At the time of battle and attack women are brought by abduction and married with.
9. In many tribes, for the proper care of house and suitable nurturing of children having more than one wife is considered good. In African tribes the women often visits his father's place. Thus more than one wife is kept to care children and house.

Westermarck had told following reasons for the polygyny- (1) In forest tribes the pregnant and breast feeding women cannot intercourse. This prohibition has lead to polygyny. (2) In forest tribes women get old earlier in comparison to men, thus the man does other marriage. (3) Due to wish of variation also polygyny is found. (4) Due to difficulty in livelihood more children are considered good which is fulfilled by marrying more women.

Consequences of Polygyny

As a result of polygyny the society faces some merits and demerits which we will discuss over here:

Notes

Merits

(1) By polygyny, the sexual desire of lustrous men is fulfilled in the family itself. Thus the society remains safe from corruption and immorality. (2) Due to several women in the family, the proper care and nurturing of children is done easily. (3) The economic need of the family is fulfilled simply. (4) If there are more women in comparison to men in a society and monogamy is practiced there then some of the women remain deprived of marriage. Due to lack of marriage, many disorders evolve in them. Due to polygyny, women don't have to deprive of marriage in such societies. (5) Polygyny is found mostly in wealthy and prosperous people of a society. Thus child born due to such marriage are physically and mentally perfect.

Demerits

(1) Due to polygyny, atmosphere of struggle, jealous and enmity emerges in a family. There is mutual fight between women on very small matters. The peace and calm of a family comes to an end. (2) Due to many wives, the number of children also increases. It is generally difficult to care and educate more number of children. (3) Due to such marriage the social status of women declines and they are exploited. (4) A man cannot seduce more number of wives. In such situation, sexual immorality in the society increases. (5) The death of a polygamous man increases the number of widows in the society. Keeping vision of such demerits of polygyny, presently monogamy is preferred.

(c) Bigamy

One of the forms of polygamy is Bigamy. In this type of marriage, one male marries two females at a time. Sometimes, second marriage is done due to no child from first marriage. This custom is popular in **Oraygon** and **Eskimo** tribes. This custom is found in some tribes of South India, but such marriages are legally banned now days.

(d) Group Marriage

In group marriage, a group of men marries to a group of women and every male of the group is husband of every women of the female group. It is a view of evolutionists that, this situation may be present at the time of the beginning of family and marriages. This custom is found in the tribes of Australia where all the girls of a family are considered as future wives of another family. The view of **Westermark** is that this marriage is found in the polyandrous societies of Tibet, India and Srilanka. The view of **Dr. Saxena** is that when the males of polyandrous society starts keeping more than one wives due to improvement in economic condition, the polyandry takes the form of group marriage. In Toda people mixture of polygyny and polyandry is taking place because they have renounced the custom of female infanticide. Thus the number of females is increasing among them. If we use the meaning of group marriage which indicates that every man of a group is a husband of every woman of the female group and the children so born are considered the children of the whole group then example of such marriage is found nowhere in the world.

In this way we see that due to variation in the ways of marriage in the different societies, their social, economical and population condition are different. Marriage is considered as a religious sacrament in Hindus whereas a social contract in tribes, Muslims and other people.



Task

Describe the kinds of marriages.

13.2 Summary

Notes

- By the development of the human society, different kinds of marriages came into existence.
- In monogamy, one male marries one female at a time. Monogamy is believed an ideal form of marriage in Hindu society.
- When more than one man or women get tied in a bond of marriage, it is called polygamy.
- There are four forms of polygamy – Polyandry, Polygyny, Bigamy and Group Marriage.
- Polyandry also has two forms – (i) Fraternal or Adelphic Polyandry (ii) Non-Fraternal or Non-Adelphic Polyandry.

13.3 Keywords

1. *Bigamy*: One male marries two females at a time. This custom is popular in Oraygon and Eskimo tribes
2. *Group Marriage*: A group of males marries to a group of females. Every man of the male group is a husband of every woman of the female group. This custom is found in the tribes of Australia.

13.4 Review Questions

1. Discuss the reasons behind monogamy.
2. Explain the meaning and reasons of polygamy.
3. What is the difference between Polyandry and Polygyny?
4. What is the meaning of group marriage?

Answers: Self Assessment

1. get rid of
2. children
3. comparison

13.5 Further Readings



Books Indian Society and Social Institutions – Dr R.N.Saxena
Marriage and Family in India – K.M. Kapadia

Unit 14: Mate Selection in India and West

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- 14.3 Mate Selection in the West
- 14.4 Marriage Ritual among Christians
- 14.5 Summary
- 14.6 Keywords
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Objectives

After studying this unit, student will be able to:

- Know the rules regarding life-mate selection in India.
- Know the ways of selection of life-mate in West.

Introduction

In Dharmasutra and Manusanhita, a long list of characters is given for the selection of life-mate which should be kept in mind during selection of a bride or groom. In ancient period, the right of choice is totally vested in the father and consent of bride and groom is rarely taken but generally the marriage were not painful because mother-father pay a lot of attention to choose bride or groom from better families and social ideals of marriage and organization of joint family, never give chance for emerging of struggle of benefits and views. Even today the selection of bride and groom is controlled according to social tradition.

14.1 Rule of Selection of Life-Mate in India

In every society, there are some rules regarding marriage. During the selection of the life-mate three matters comes in front- Area of Selection, Party of Selection and Criteria of Selection. The area of selection is made limited in two ways- (i) By giving preference to some of the people and this is not only required but considered a duty also. For example in south India and in Maharashtra, maternal and tertiary brothers and sisters are given preference for marriage. (ii) Marrying to some relatives is considered undesirable or prohibited. Besides this, rules of exogamy also direct the selection of life-mates. **Kapadia** and **Prabhu** both has acknowledged this matter. **Prabhu** writes that all rules regarding Hindu marriage can be divided into four parts— Endogamy, Exogamy, Anuloma and Pratiloma marriage. We will investigate them here in brief.

I. Endogamy

Notes

The endogamy means that a person should select his life mate in his group only. Defining this **Dr. Reverse** writes, "Endogamy refers to that exchange in which the selection of life-mate from own group is necessary.

In Vedic and later Vedic period the *Dvij*as (Brahmin, Kshatriya and Vaishya) had one class and people of Dvija class marries in their class only. Shudra class was separate. In Smriti period inter-class marriages were acknowledged, but when a class is divided into castes and sub-castes then the range of marriage became limited and people started marrying in the same caste of sub caste and now this was termed as endogamy. **Kapadia** had discussed many sub-branches of a caste "Bania" of class Vaishya like, Ladh, Modh, Porwarh, Naagar, Srimali etc. Ladh itself is divided into two sub-divisions 'Bisa' and 'Dassa'. 'Bisa' itself divided in Ahemdabadi, Khambati etc. local divisions. Every division is an endogamous. Some sub-divisions like 'Gol', 'Ekra' etc. are there which limits the scope of selection to a local boundary. People of villages marry their daughters with the people of towns, but the town people do not give their daughters to a villager. In this situation a region for marriage has to be established which is called 'Gol' or 'Ekra'. In modern time, a person marries to member of his own caste, sub-caste, species, religion, region, language and class. **Ketkar** had said that, "Some Hindu families are such that they don't out of fifteen families. On one hand we get to see inter-caste marriages and international marriages on the other hand due to endogamy the scope of marriage became limited.

Causes of Endogamy

There are many specific and cultural reasons to limit the scope of marriage, which are as following:

1. **Ban on Mixing of Species:** In different periods of time, many species of people came in India and they had mixed themselves in any of the class. To prevent inter specific marriages, inter class marriages were banned. Specially, this was done to prevent the mixing of blood of Aryans and Dravidians.
2. **Cultural Variation:** There were wider variation in the cultures of Aryans and Dravidians and Brahmin invaders. Due to this there were difficulties in marriage relations. When classes were divided in different castes and sub-castes, the cultural variation also increased. Every caste and sub-caste wanted to maintain its cultural significance. So they preferred the endogamy.
3. **Importance of Birth:** In the beginning a person was accessed according to his deeds, but gradually the importance of birth has increased and the spirit of blood purity was strengthened, as a result endogamy flourished.
4. **Development of Jainism and Buddhism:** Jain and Buddh religion has taken birth due to reaction against Brahmanism. Due to this, the power of Brahmins was declined, but as soon as these religions get fainted, Brahmins made rigid caste rules to regain their lost status and the rules of endogamy were started following strictly.
5. **Muslim Invasion:** Muslim invader had done a cruel assault on the religion and culture of Hindus. They started marrying Hindu girls. To refrain from this situation and to prevent their culture and religion, Hindu had made the rules of endogamy rigid.
6. **Child Marriage:** In medieval period, when child marriage increased the rules of endogamy was started following because when the parents arrange the marriage they cannot think against the rules of endogamy.
7. **Regional centralization of Sub-castes:** Living in the separate regions in geographical view and due to lack of means of transport and communication the mutual contact of sub-castes were not possible. Thus the sub-castes living in a region has preferred to marry in among their members.

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8. Security of Professional Knowledge: There is a traditional profession of every caste. Endogamy was also encouraged due to wish of keeping the professional knowledge secret.

Besides above reasons, strictly following of rules of endogamy had been considerably increased further due to personal attachment towards his own caste, fear of ousting from the caste and strictness of caste panchayat and village panchayat regarding caste rules etc. Due to these rule of endogamy, on one hand some benefits were provided to the Hindu Society whereas some losses also occurred on other hand. Due to this the region of contact of the people became limited, narrow mindedness has revived, mutual hatred, blame and bitterness had increased, the sentiment of regionalism is also developed, nepotism increased, professional knowledge got limited in a group. Due to all these reasons the progress of Indian society was hindered, but in modern time due to development of urbanization, industrialization, means of transport and communication and establishment of solitary families, the rules of endogamy is becoming fainted. The constitution regarding marriage has also acknowledged the inter-class and inter-caste marriages. Even though, the moral strength and social prohibition is so dominating that the rules of endogamy cannot be totally renounced.



Notes

In the view to control the selection of life-mates, Hindu religious scripts had ascertained some rules about endogamy and exogamy to regulate the Hindu marriage.

II. Exogamy

Exogamy means that a person has to marry out of the group that he belongs to. **Reverse** writes, "From exogamy that exchange is perceived, in which it is necessary for a member of one social group to search a life-mate in any other social group". In Hindus according to the rules of exogamy a person should marry out of his family, gotra, pravar, pind and caste. In tribes, it is prohibited for mutual marriage among the people belonging to one totem. The rules regarding gotra, pravar and pind were always indefinite. In this reference **Prabhu** has written, "From the time of its origin to every era, the real meaning and conception of the three words 'gotra', 'pravar', and 'pind' has been so widely changed and modified regarding the rules of exogamy that to say anything about its fundamental meaning became impossible". Here we will discuss in brief about the forms of exogamy popular among Hindus –

A. Gotra Exogamy

In Hindus, marriage in a same gotra is prohibited. The general meaning of gotra is a group of that people who are produced from one ancestral sage. According to "Satyasharh Hiranyakeshi Srotsutra", the progenies of the eight sages *i.e.* **Vishwamitra, Jamadgani, Bhardwaj, Gautam, Atri, Vashishtha, Kashyap** and **Agastya** are called with the name of gotra. In Chhandogya Upnishad, the word 'gotra' is used as in the meaning of family. The word 'gotra' has three or four meanings; gaushala, group of cows, fort and mountain etc. In this way, people living on a place or region are prohibited to marry among themselves. The literal meaning of gotra is Gau + tra means the place where cows are tied, means stockade or the group who serves cows. The people whose cows are tied on a place, a moral relation were established among themselves and probably they may also have blood relations. Thus they do not marry among themselves. **Vigyaneshwar** had said explaining the meaning of gotra, that the name famous in dynasty tradition is called gotra. In this way, marrying by the members of a gotra to a member of some other gotra is called Gotra Exogamy.

How and when Gotra Exogamy was started? Nothing can be said definitely in this regard. The view of Kapadia is that in Vedic period, marrying in a gotra was not prohibited because in that period Gandharva Marriage and Swayamvar customs were popular in which maintenance of prohibition regarding gotra was not possible. In religious scripts it is said to Dvijas to refrain from Sagotra Marriage in Kaliyuga. It means that Sagotra marriage was not prohibited in that period. Aryans came to India from Iran and in Iran there were no rule of Gotra Exogamy. The view of **Dr Altekar** is that in 600B.C. there was no ban on Sagotra Marriage. **Manu** had also not considered a sin to Sagotra Marriage. First of all, Sagotra Marriage was prohibited in **Grihsutra Sahitya**. In Baudhayan Dharmasutra, it is said that if Marriage with a sagotra girl is done by mistake then she should be treated as mother. Scriptures had legislated many punishments, remorse and caste ousting for the people doing Sagotra Marriage. Such persons were termed "**Chandaal**".

The view of **Vigyaneshwar** is that real gotra is found in Brahmins only, the gotra of Kshatriyas and Vaishyas are on the basis of the gotra of their priests. No gotra of shudra is found, but in modern period all castes have gotra and they follow the rules of gotra exogamy. By Hindu Marriage Act, presently ban from Sagotra Marriage is removed but it is still practiced in practical.

B. Saprarvar Exogamy

Related to 'Gotra' a word is 'Pravar', literal meaning of which according to Vedic Index is Invocation or Summon. According to Karvey, "the meaning of 'Pravar' in Kshatriyas is just like ancestor or forefather". The meaning of 'Pravar' is 'great-one'. Brahmins at the time of *Havana*, *Yajna* etc. pronounce the name of gotra vashkar. In this meaning the sense from 'Pravar' was 'The excellent one'. The view of 'Prabhu' is that in ancient period fire worship and Havana were popular and at the time of lighting the flame of fire for Havana, priests pronounce the name of their famous ancestor sages. In this way, the persons pronouncing the names of same ancestors and same sages were believed to be of same 'Pravar'. The people of one 'Pravar' consider themselves related to the common sage ancestors in spiritual and cultural manner, thus they don't marry among themselves. **Kapadia** writes, "Pravar indicates to a community of a culture or knowledge to which a person is related". 'Pravar' indicates to group of related persons with spiritual view but not towards blood relatives.

Earlier 'Pravar' was for Brahmins only, but later on it was adopted by Kshatriya and Vaishyas also. No 'pravar' was there for Shudras. It is believed that at the time of Dharmasutra period and at the time of Manu, there was no strict control on Saprarvar Marriage. The view of **P.B. Kanrey** is that the prohibition of Saprarvar marriage was started in third century and in ninth it form became rigid by advancing till ninth century. In modern time, due to decline of the importance and popularity of Yajnas, no institution like 'Pravar' is there. By Hindu Marriage Act the bans related Saprarvar Marriage is abolished.

C. Sapinda Exogamy

Rules of 'Saprarvar' and 'Sagotra' exogamy prohibits the marriage with the paternal relatives. The rules of 'Sapinda' Exogamy prohibits to marry among some generations of paternal and maternal relatives. **Karvey** tells the meaning of being 'Sapinda' i.e. together +ball of rice, a body, means the who commonly donate 'Pind' to a deceased person or related to his blood particle. In Smriti, 'Sapind' means (i) All persons are 'Sapindi' who donate one 'pind'. (ii) According to **Mitakshara**, all which had taken birth from one body are called 'Sapindi'. According to **Vigyaneshwar**, persons keeping one 'pind' or body, due to having components of one body, there is a relation of 'Sapinda'. Father and son are 'Sapindi' because the component of the body of father comes in the son. In this way, mother and children, grandfather-grandmother and grandson etc. are 'Sapindi'. 'Sapind' marriage has also been prohibited. In Ramayana and Mahabharata period, the rules of 'Sapinda' were applicable to the paternal people living at one

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place. According to Medieval commentators, marriage is prohibited among seven generations to paternal side and five generations towards maternal side.

Self Assessment

Fill in the blanks:

1. Even Manu had not considered sin to _____.
2. At the time of lighting the flame of fire for Havana, _____ pronounce the name of their famous ancestor sages.
3. 'Pravar' indicates to a community of a culture or _____ to which a person is related.

According to **Jimutvahan**, the founder of the division of paternal property, 'Pinda' means the balls of the barley or rice flour which are gratified to the deceased persons on the bank of river or pond at the time of death or funeral. The persons gratifying such 'pinda' to a same ancestor are called 'Sapinda' and they don't marry among themselves. There is a contradiction that people of how many generations should be called 'Sapindi'. **Vashishtha** banned to marry the people of seven generations of father and five generations of mother where as **Gautam** had prohibited eight generations of father and six generations of mother to marry among themselves. **Gautam** had also said to remorse and to oust from the caste to the 'Sapinda' people marrying among themselves.

But the rules of 'Sapinda' were not followed always. **Sri Krishna** had married to her maternal sister **Rukmani** and **Arjuna** had married to her maternal sister **Subhadra**. **Sri Krishna** had also married to girl of fifth paternal generation **Satyabhama**. **Kapadia** writes that the traditions of marrying to fifth, sixth and probably fourth generation was popular in Yadavas also. **Devvarn Bhatt** and **Madhavacharya** had supported to marry to maternal sister. In Karnataka and Mysore, even today it is popular to marry to the daughter of the sister and in south India with the maternal sister. The Hindu Marriage Act, 1955 had recognized Sapinda Exogamy. The marriage is banned among 'Sapinda' of three generations of mother and father. Even though, if any custom and tradition do not consider it prohibited then such marriage is legitimate.

D. Village Exogamy

In northern India, mainly it is near Punjab and Delhi that a person should not marry in his own village. In the villages of Punjab, it is prohibited to marry among the persons of the villages which have a common border. The reasons behind this prohibition have been the limited population of village, inhabitants of one gotra, dyanasty or family in the village etc. This practice came into existence due to ban in Sagotra and Sapinda marriage. In villages, this exogamy is termed as Khera Exogamy.

E. Totem Exogamy

The rules regarding such this type of marriage is popular among Indian tribes. Totem may be any animal, bird, plant-tree or any non-living substance, which is looked with respect or faith by the people of one Gotra, relates themselves spiritually. One 'Gotra Kaas' is a totem and people considering one totem are brothers and sisters together. Thus they cannot marry among themselves.

Some people follow direction exogamy. The direction in which one's daughter is married, they do not bring daughter-in-law from the same direction. In North India a saying is popular that 'daughter from east and son from west' means the daughters-in-law are got from the village of east direction.

Merits of Exogamy

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(i) The view of **Westermark** is that practice of exogamy is started due to incest means to prevent sexual relation among close relatives. (ii) According to biology, the children born of exogamy are of sound health and mind because marrying in one generation may cause physical defect in children. (iii) Due to exogamy social and cultural contact between different society's increases and the possibilities of struggle and differences comes to an end. (iv) Due to exogamy the atmosphere of love, peace and calm in the family remain maintained. If it is permitted to marry in the family then the atmosphere of the family will become tensionized and struggling. (v) **Sumnor** and **Kailer** have termed endogamy as conservation and exogamy as progressing. **P.V. Kaney** had written, "By exogamy, a generation has got opportunity to remove their defect because combination of strange bloods produces new races of better quality.

In this way exogamy makes the society progressive and produces cultural unity among them and maintains the morality and regulation in society.

Demerits of Exogamy

As there are many merits of exogamy, some demerits exists too, like - (i) By this the scope of marriage becomes limited, thus it is difficult to select a life-mate. **Blunt** had told that prohibiting marrying seven generations of father and five generation of mother prohibits marrying 2,121 possible relatives. (ii) Due to limited scope of marriage suitable match is difficult as a result problem of dowry emerges. (iii) Due to lack of dowry the daughters are being married to an older and ugly persons also, this result in the increment of mismatch pairs. This type of marriage raises the problems of widows. In this way the rules of exogamy are responsible for giving rise many evil customs in the society.

14.2 Anuloma and Pratiloma Marriages

In Hindus, many prohibitions are followed in selecting a life-mate and in that the rules of Anuloma and Pratiloma is also important. This rule is followed by all the Hindus. We will discuss them here in brief.

Anuloma Marriages

When any man of higher class, caste, sub-caste, family and gotra is married to such a girl which belongs to a comparatively lower class, caste, sub-caste, family and gotra then this marriage is called as Anuloma Marriage. In other words, in this type of the groom belongs to a higher class society and the bride belongs to a lower class society. For example, if a Brahmin boy is got married to a Kshatriya or Vashya class then it is called Anuloma Marriage. Anuloma Marriage was popular from Vedic period to Smriti period. In **Manusmriti**, it is written that a Brahmin can marry a girl of three lower classes *i.e.* Kshatriya, Vaishya and Shudra in addition to his class, in this way Kshatriya can marry to Vaishya and Shudra girl in addition and Vaishya with Shudra girl in addition to his class, **Manu** had given permission for Panigrahan Sanskar in own class only. **Yagyavalkya** also said for Brahmin to marry among four classes, Kshatriya among three, Vaishya among two and Shudra in one class. **Manu** had told it unsuitable to marry a Shudra girl with a Dwija boy at some other place. By such marriage the class of Dwija gets contaminated and his family status declines. And his children gets status of Shudra. The child born of such marriage is termed 'Parshav' (a living animal) by Manu, he has no right to property. In ancient period, the range of Anuloma Marriage was among classes only, but later on when classes got sub-divided into castes and sub-castes and the feelings of blood purity and upper-lower emerged and birth Jainism and Buddhism had taken place, then Hypergamy became popular.

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The meaning of Hypergamy is to marry a girl of a caste or sub-caste, the groom is obtained from a higher class family of village. It was most popular in Bengal, where higher class boys are married to lower class girls. View of **Dr. Radhakrishnan** is that in India the Anuloma Marriages were popular up to tenth century. The view of **Rizley** is that in the beginning the inter-class marriages were practiced to fulfill the need of woman in Indo-Aryan Breed and as the need was fulfilled they banned such marriages.

Effects of Anuloma

Demerits

Anuloma marriage has gave rise to many problems in the society. Its demerits are as following:

1. **Lack of Grooms in the Higher Class:** The lower class society wants to marry their daughter to a boy of a society which are considered higher, as a result there is lack of grooms for the girls of higher class and they have to remain unmarried.
2. **Lack of Girls in Lower Class:** When all the girls of lower class get married in the higher class, then there is lack of girls for the boys of lower class, and many of the boys have to remain unmarried.
3. **Birth of Polygyny and Polyandry:** All persons of lower class wants to marry their daughters to a higher class boy. In this situation, polygyny will prevail in higher class and on other hand; due to lack of girls in lower class polyandry will take birth.
4. **Groom-price Custom:** Persons of lower class want to obtain a groom of higher class which leads to the lack of boys. In this situation the custom of groom-price (dowry) increases.
5. **Mismatch Marriage:** Due to Anuloma marriage, sometimes the girls of higher class were married to an aged or old persons. In Bengal and Bihar, many men of higher families had hundred wives to whom register is maintained to remember them. Many a time the age of bride is equal to the age of the daughter of the groom.
6. **Increment in Child Widow:** Due to Anuloma marriage, many men of higher class have many wives. Due to death of such men increases child widows in the society.
7. **Birth of Child Marriage:** In Anuloma marriage every father wants to marry his daughter to a higher class boy, thus as he gets a higher class boy irrespective of age he marry his daughter to him. Many time a girl of less than four or five years also get married.
8. **Birth of Bride-Price:** Due to Anuloma marriage, there is a lack of brides in lower classes which results to the birth of bride-price.
9. **Social Evils:** The Anuloma Marriage Custom had given rise to much conservativeness in the society and many problems in social, family and personal life. Due to lack of marriage of girls of lower classes many problems of corruption and decline of morality emerge. Due to lack of arrangement of groom-price by their parents, many girls had suicide feeding up by social condemnation.

Hypogamy or Pratiloma Marriage

The opposite form of Anuloma marriage is Pratiloma Marriage. In this type of marriage the bride is of higher class, caste, sub-caste family or dynasty and the groom is of lower class, caste, sub-caste family or dynasty. By defining this, **Kapadia** writes, "A man of lower class when married to a girl of higher class it is called Pratiloma Marriage or Hypogamy". For example, If a Brahmin girl is married to a Kshatriya, Vaishya and Shudra boy then such marriage is called Pratiloma Marriage or Hypogamy. In this type of marriage the position of girls is lower. Legislators had badly criticized this type of marriage. The children so born of such marriage is called "Chandal" or "Nishad". Hindu Marriage Act, 1949 and 1955, had considered both the Anuloma and Pratiloma marriage legitimate.



Task

What do you know about Anuloma and Pratiloma Marriage?

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14.3 Mate Selection in the West

In Christians, a girl of 13 years and a boy of 16 years is permitted to marry religiously, but generally late marriage is practiced among them. **Sri S.K. Gupta** has said on the basis of a survey that 52.5 % of Christian marries between the age of 21 to 25 and 17.5 percent marries above 30 years, but no marriage is noticed in the age below 20 years. It is clear that in Christians, the persons of 20 years and above are only found married and no practice of child marriage is found among them.

In Christians, marriage is done among all except among blood relatives. Christian males can marry to his sister of deceased wife, widow of deceased brother, daughter of the brother or sister of his deceased wife. There is no prohibition of widow marriage in them, widows are permitted to marry again. In Christians, there is no custom of “dowry” or “bride-price” like Hindus or “Mehtar” like in Muslims.

In Christians, the selection of life-mate is in more independent atmosphere. This selection is made by parents as well as by boy and girl also. In traditional Christian marriage, this selection is made by parents mainly. Youths make love as their aim, in front of which they never pay heed to the relations of family, society, religion and caste. There is no any special region that in marriage relation the youth don't take the property of their parents or don't believe in them. In Christians, in the selection of life-mate, generally the acknowledgement of parents is taken. In modern time, in urban areas, the boy and girls are playing important role in the selection of life-mate. Now days, even parents also give consent to the choice of their sons and daughters regarding selection of life-mate.



Did u know?

In '*Voice of Christ*', it is said that our youths have to take help of their parents. In youth, the emotion of pride and sacrifice is abundant.

14.4 Marriage Ritual among Christians

In Christians, the marriage is considered as a holy bond of whole life, in which no place of divorce is their. This marriage is a holy union of a male and female. In these people, there is no practice of more than one wife or husband. For marriage, when the life-mate is selected finally and when the proposal of the groom side is accepted by the bride side, then the sacrament of engagement is accomplished. On any definite day, the bride side and groom side with their relatives and friends reach Church. The groom side carries sweets, coconut, clothes, ring and money etc. with them. The bride and groom sat side by side and the Christian priest reads some part of bible. Here in a formal way, the bride and groom obtains the acknowledgement for marriage relations. Both of them, exchange ring to each other and the announcement of engagement is done on this occasion. After this, sweet distribution, refreshment etc. followed.

For the marriage sacrament, the bride and the groom or any of them has to give application to the officer of the church, in which there is a brief description of both the families. On receiving such application the officer of the church publishes a notice regarding the marriage so that if anyone has any objection about this marriage, he can make the objection. After 96 hours, from the publication of the notice the marriage can be accomplished. If there is no objection regarding

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the marriage from anyone, the date of marriage is determined. The marriage ceremony generally takes place in that Church to which the girl is a member. If any of the bride or girl if one is member of Protestant Church and other is the member of the Catholic Church, the marriage ceremony will take place in Catholic Church. The marriage has to be accomplished within three months from the date of the application of the marriage; otherwise the application has to be given again.

On the date determined for marriage, both the bride and groom side people reach to Church. The groom side sits on right and bride side sits on left. When the bride reaches to Church, the Church bell rings in her welcome; all the people stand and sing song. Thereafter the Christian priest says to the bride and groom to declare that there is no hurdle in their marriage. Both of them take oath that both will remain tied in the holy bond of marriage throughout the life; always help each other in happiness and sorrow. The priest first asks the groom that, "Do you accept the bride as your wife?" When the groom gives his consent, the priest asks him again that; "Do you promise to live a holy married life, to help and faithful to your wife in every condition, never leave your wife in case of death even?" On getting the consent of the groom, the priest asks these questions with the bride also and takes her consent too. Thereafter the bride and the groom exchange their rings. After this the priest declares that both of them became husband and wife. He pronounces 'Amen' three times and by this the marriage is considered to be accomplished. The priest blesses the bride and groom on this occasion.

In some families, people do civil marriage instead of religious marriage in the Church. The civil marriage is a simple contract with the help of the court, for this the bride and groom have to give an application to the Registrar and follow with the law proceedings. According to the Indian Christian Marriage Act, 1872, the minimum age of groom should be 16 years and bride should be 13 years for marriage and at the time of marriage none of the spouse of any party should be alive. If the age of groom and bride were less than the prescribed age, then the consent of their guardians was needed. The husband-wife after doing civil marriage go to church to get blessings. Mostly, religious marriage is found in Christians, which is accomplished in Church.



Task

Describe the marriage system of Christians?

14.5 Summary

- In every society, some rules are found for the selection of life-mate. During selection of life-mate, three matters come forward- Scope of Selection, Party of Selection, and Criteria of Selection.
- All the rules of marriage can be classified in four parts- Endogamy, Exogamy, Anuloma and Pratiloma etc.
- Endogamy means that a person selects his life-mate in his own group.
- Exogamy means that a person selects his life-mate out of his group.
- In west, the selection of life-mates in Christians happens in an independent atmosphere. This selection is done by parents as well as by the girls and boys themselves also.

14.6 Keywords

1. **Gotra:** A group of persons who are successors of one sage ancestor. Sagotra marriage is prohibited among Hindus.

2. *Totem Exogamy*: There is a totem of every Gotra and people belonging to one totem do not marry among themselves.

Notes

14.7 Review Questions

1. What are the rules or ways for selecting life-mate in India?
2. What are the reasons behind endogamy?
3. What is the difference between Anuloma and Pratiloma Marriage?
4. How life-mates are selected in the west?

Answers: Self Assessment

1. Sagotra Marriage
2. The priest
3. Knowledge

14.8 Further Readings



Books

Society in India – Virendra Prakash Sharma, D.K. Publishers and Distributers.

Sociology of Family – Dr Sanjeev Mahajan, Arjun Publishing.

Development of Family Sociology in India – Alka Rani, D.K. Publishers and Distributers.

Indian Society and Social Institutions – Gupta and Sharma.

Unit 15: Bride-Wealth and Dowry

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Objectives

After studying this unit, students will be able to:

- Tell about the reasons of the birth of dowry system: a problem related to marriage.
- Explain the bad results of dowry system.
- Know about the law prohibiting dowry system.

Introduction

Even from ancient period, marriage is considered as holy sacrament. It is considered as an important duty for every Hindus because by this several debts, pursuit and stages of life are fulfilled. Marriage is the main basis of religion, family, society and caste. In ancient Indian society, both the party tied to the bond of marriage, respect each other mutually and subsist the marriage duty. With the advance of the time, many changes had taken place in social, economic and political region. These changes affected our social institution and the institution of marriage also never remained untouched. The conservation in the society increased and they are accepted by the society without any arguments. In the name of god, many evil customs emerged in the society and religion and our god fearing society had provided strength to them. Due to above situations, many problems emerged regarding marriage in Hindu Society. The main problems are-Dowry System, Child-Marriage, Widow-Marriage Prohibition, Divorce, and Prohibition of inter-caste marriage etc.

15.1 Bride-Wealth and Dowry System

Dowry is still a serious problem in present age. Due to this, the marriage of girls became a curse for their parents. Generally, dowry is that wealth or property which is given by bride side to groom side at the time of marriage. According to **Fairchild**, "Dowry is that property which is given by the parents and close relatives of bride at the time of marriage". **Max Radin** writes, "Generally dowry is that property which is got by a groom by his wife or by her family at the time of marriage". According to Dowry Prohibition Act, 1961, "The meaning of Dowry is that

property or valuable fund, which is given as or acknowledged to give as a necessary condition for marriage, at the time of marriage, before or after the marriage by (i) One party to other party doing the marriage or (ii) Parents or relatives of any person who is a party to the marriage to parents or relative of the other party of the marriage directly or indirectly". The definition of dowry is very broad in which groom-price and bride-price both are considered. Side by side, gifts and dowry are distinguished. Dowry is given as a necessary condition for marriage whereas gift is given willfully.

Sometimes groom-price and dowry are distinguished. Parents of bride give dowry due to affection, this is not pre-determined and depends upon the capacity of the bride-side, whereas groom-price depends upon the personality, character, education, occupation, nobility and status of family etc. and it is pre-determined to marriage.

Dowry is prevailing even from the ancient period. In Brahma marriage father got married his well dressed daughter with ornaments and clothes with an able groom. Dowry was also popular in **Ramayana** and **Mahabharata** era. Description of dowry is also found in marriages of Sita and Draupadi etc. in form of ornaments, horses, diamonds and jewels and many other valuable articles. In that time, dowry was given willfully due to affection with the daughter. The tradition of dowry was started in thirteenth and fourteenth century in Rajputa Period and noble families started asking for dowry according to their social status. Later on, it became popular in other people also. To get a groom with high education, wealth, good occupation or in a good job and of a good family, a father has to give high class dowry even today. By the growth of education and social awareness, the tradition of dowry has rather increased instead of decreasing and it had acquired its worst form.

India has a bad name all over the world due to this custom. Here the daughter is called other's property even from her birth and she is discriminated in nurturing from boys. Parents discriminate their daughter considering her other's property. The daughter has to bear abuses in husband's house if she is married without adequate dowry; also due to dowry the daughters-in-law are burned alive.

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Presently, dowry and groom-price is not distinguished broadly, because in present period mostly the tradition of dowry is pre-determined in form of the condition of marriage for bride and groom.

15.2 Causes of Dowry

1. **Limited Scope of Selection of Life-Mate:** When the daughter has to be married in own class, caste and sub-caste, the region of marriage becomes limited and it becomes necessary to give dowry for an able groom.
2. **Child-Marriage:** Due to child marriage the selection of bride and groom is made by the parents and they demand immense dowry.
3. **Necessity of Marriage:** The marriage of daughter is considered necessary in Hindus. Taking the benefit of this, the groom side demands heavy dowry.
4. **Noble Marriage:** Due to noble marriage, the demand of the grooms from the noble families raise and the bride side has to give dowry to get them.
5. **Education and Social Status:** In present time, due to more importance of education and personal status, every person wants to marry her daughter with an educated and well settled groom, for which they have to pay enough dowry because such boys lack in the society.

Notes

6. **Importance of Wealth:** Today the importance of wealth has increased and due to it the status of the person determined. The person gets much dowry, his status increases. It is not so only, but even the status of the dowry giver also increases.
7. **Costly Education:** Today, one has to spend a lot of money for higher education for which the groom side demands much dowry. Sometimes, even the loan for education is repaid from the dowry money.
8. **Show-off and False Status:** To show-off ones status and pump, people give and take high dowry.
9. **Growth of Dynamism:** Today the means of transport is developed and progressed, urbanisation and industrialisation has increased, as a result the dynamism of a caste and sub-caste has increased and their members has spread to far places. Due to this, it became difficult to search groom in ones own caste. As a result, the dowry system has encouraged.
10. **Social Custom:** The popularity of dowry in the society is found in the form of a social custom. A person who gives dowry for his daughter also wants to get dowry for his son.
11. **Vicious Circle:** Dowry is a vicious circle, the persons who had given dowry for their daughter, they also wants dowry for their son on the occasion of his marriage. In this way, by getting dowry for their son they keep it safe for the marriage of their daughter.



Task

Narrate the reasons of dowry.

Evil Effects of Dowry System

As a result of dowry system many problems have emerged in the society, some of them are as following-

1. **Killing of Daughters:** Many people kill their daughters just after their birth due to dowry system. This is mostly popular in Rajasthan, but today this custom is generally abolished.
2. **Disintegration of Family:** On giving fewer dowries, the bride has to face a lot of atrocities in her husband's home. Tension and struggle arose in both the families and the happy married life of husband-wife is routed up.
3. **Murder and Suicide:** The girls not provided with much dowry, they are not get suitable respect in their husband's home; they are teased in many ways. To get rid of such situation some of the girls commit suicide. In lack of dowry, many girls are not married even so late which leads to their social insult; in this situation also the girl commits suicide sometimes. When the quantity of dowry doesn't meets to the expectation then sometimes the daughter-in-law is burnt alive or she is murdered. 2,912 in 1987, 4,148 in 1990 and 5,157 in 1991 matters of dowry death are registered. 1,160 in 1983 and 15,949 in 1991 matters of cruelty of husband and his family members has been registered. The maximum matters of dowry death are registered in Uttar Pradesh, Maharashtra, West Bengal and Madhya Pradesh.
4. **Debt Obligation:** Parents of a daughter have to take debt for giving dowry or they have to mortgage their property or gold or even have to sell them, as a result the family gets indebted. Due to high rate of interest the repayment of the debt is difficult. If more number of girls is there the economic condition becomes worst.
5. **Low Living Status:** For saving money for the dowry of girls, the family has to cut down there needs. The living status of the family declines in order to save money.
6. **Polygyny:** To get dowry a person marries many times which leads to polygyny.

7. **Mismatch Marriage:** In lack of dowry, a beautiful girl is also married to an old, uneducated, ugly, handicapped or disable person. In this way the girl has to face problems throughout her life.
8. **End of Marriage:** In lack of dowry, many persons divorce their wife. Sometimes the procession returns from the arched gateway in lack of dowry and some girls has to live without marriage.
9. **Immorality:** In lack of dowry, many girls are not married for a long period and they fulfill their sexual needs in immoral way which leads to corruption.
10. **Encouragement to Crime:** To gather money for dowry many crimes are also done, like bribe, theft or embezzlement etc. which leads to suicide and corruption.
11. **Mental Diseases:** Parents always remain worried about gathering money for dowry for their daughters. Due to worry in parents and girls many mental diseases take birth.
12. **Low Position of Girls:** Due to dowry the social position of the girls get declined and their birth is considered an ill omen.

Notes

Self Assessment

Fill in the blanks:

1. In lack of dowry, many _____ are not married even so late which leads to their social insult.
2. When the quantity of dowry doesn't meets to the _____ then sometimes the daughter-in-law is burnt alive.
3. The _____ matters of dowry death are registered in Uttar Pradesh, Maharashtra, West Bengal and Madhya Pradesh.

Merits of Dowry

Some people argue in favour of dowry as following:

1. Ugly girls are also getting married due to dowry.
2. Due to dowry the marriage of girls take place lately and so prevent child marriage.
3. In lack of dowry the parents put their daughter to study in their late ages, which increases the women education.

Suggestions to end Dowry System

Dr Altekar has written that this is the suitable period for Hindu Society to stop the polluted custom of dowry which made many innocent girls to suicide. To stop this, following suggestions can be given-

1. **Women Education:** Women education should be development widely so that they become self-depend after getting educated. Due to this their economic dependency on men will come to an end and as a result the necessity of marriage will be not there also.
2. **Independency in Selection of Life-Mate:** If boys and girls has liberty to select their own life-mate; the dowry system will come to an end itself.
3. **Love-Marriage:** Acknowledged of love marriages in the society will end the dowry system.
4. **Inter-caste Marriage:** If there is liberty for inter-caste marriage there will be wider scope for marriage. As a result, the dowry system will come to an end.

Notes

5. **Boys are made Self-Reliance:** When the boys will start earning after getting educated then the lack of able grooms will be removed, and their demand will decline, as a result dowry will also decrease.
6. **Healthy Referendum:** A referendum against dowry should be prepared. People should be aware widely so that they can discard dowry. All the means of advertisement should be used to advertise for this. Social workers and youth should make special effort in this direction.
7. **Law against Dowry:** To end the dowry system, a hard law against dowry should be constructed, so that people asking dowry should be punished brutally. Presently, the Dowry Prohibition Act, 1961 is in force, but this act due to its many deficiencies is unsuccessful in preventing the dowry system. At present this act is amended and made harder and it is made to give more punishment to two peoples.
8. **Youth Movement:** To end the dowry-system, youth awareness is necessary, so that they discard it themselves. For this firm determination is necessary.

Dowry Prohibition Act, 1961

To resolve the terrible problem of dowry in Hindu Society, the Indian Parliament has passed "The Dowry Prohibition Act" in May, 1961. Its main characteristics are as follows-

(1) Dowry is defined as in this act as, "Dowry is the property or valuable article, which is given directly or indirectly as a necessary condition for marriage, at the time of marriage, before or after the marriage, by one party or person to the other party". (2) The gifts given at the time of marriage will not be considered dowry. (3) The person giving or taking dowry or the persons helping in this will be punished with imprisonment for six months and a penalty of rupees five thousand. (4) Any agreement regarding dowry will be illegal. (5) The gift item given in marriage will belong to the bride. (6) According to section (7) the trial regarding dowry must be done by a first class magistrate and this complaint should be done within a period of one year in writing.

In this reference, one matter is notable that the Dowry Prohibition Act is amended in Orissa, Bihar, West Bengal, Haryana, Punjab, Himachal Pradesh and Uttar Pradesh and made harder. In 1976 Uttar Pradesh has amended this act, according to which no party to a marriage can spend more than rupees five thousand in which gifts are also included. Now, police and first class magistrate can investigate and report such matter without any complaint. In 1984 and 1986, the Dowry Prohibition Act, 1961 is amended and made harder. Now the crime of dowry is cognizable and non-bailable and the accused has to give evidence that he is innocent.



Did u know?

In reference to the Dowry Prohibition Act, 1961, one matter is notable that the governments of Orissa, Bihar, West Bengal, Haryana, Punjab, Himachal Pradesh and Uttar Pradesh have amended it.

15.3 Summary

- The tradition of dowry was prevailing from ancient period. Dowry was also popular in Ramayana and Mahabharata era. In that time, dowry was given willfully.
- Importance of wealth is so increased that now it became an status symbol.
- Dowry system resulted as such that in lack of dowry the daughters are married to uneducated, handicapped, disabled person.

- To resolve the terrible problem of dowry in Hindu Society, the Indian Parliament has passed “The Dowry Prohibition Act” in May, 1961.

Notes

15.4 Keywords

1. *Restitutive Law*: The main aim of such law is to fulfill the damage done by the criminal.
2. *Repressive Law*: The aim of such laws are to prevent the acts against the group awareness and will. This maintains the moral balance of the society and prevents the criminals to commit crime again.

15.5 Review Questions

1. Describe the reasons and results of dowry.
2. ‘Dowry custom is a curse’ How?
3. What are the matters told in Dowry Prohibition Act, 1961?

Answers: Self Assessment

1. girl
2. expectations
3. maximum

15.6 Further Readings



Books Indian Society and Social Institutions—Dr. R.N. Saxena.
Marriage and Family in India—K.M. Kapadia.

Unit 16: Changing Trends in Marriage

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Objectives

Introduction

16.1 Changing Forms of Marriage

16.2 Recent Changes in the Christian Marriage

16.3 Summary

16.4 Keywords

16.5 Review Questions

16.6 Further Readings

Objectives

After studying this unit, students will be able to:

- Know recent changes in Hindu marriage institution.
- Know recent changes in Christian marriage institution.

Introduction

Change is the rule of nature. No part of the society can remain unaffected by nature. There has been a rise in industrialisation and urbanisation since the 19th century. Industrialisation has empowered women financially. Today, marriage is no longer a religious ritual. It is being perceived as a contract, which can be terminated at will. Inter-caste and love marriages are prevalent today. Instead of the parents going in for match making, young stars are themselves coming forward to look for their life partners.

16.1 Changing Forms of Marriage

Following are the factors responsible for the modern changes in the Hindu Marriage:

1. Industrialisation
2. Urbanisation
3. Western Education, Culture and Views
4. Effect of New Laws
5. Women's Campaign
6. Decreased Effect of Religion
7. Increased State Affairs
8. Economic Liberation of Women

Change is the rule of nature. From time to time, changes occur in every sphere of life. Recently there has been a great progress in the fields of science and technology. There has been an

expansion in the field of education. Along with that, individualism has increased instead of communism.

Notes



Notes

Man has started viewing things on a personal level, instead of keeping in view the entire group, community and society. More changes have occurred in the last one hundred years than they did during the last one thousand years. Today, the different societies in the world are advancing forward at a fast pace. The old traditions are breaking and are being replaced by new traditions.

1. **Individual Role in Marriage:** Instead of the importance of religious role in the Hindu Marriage, it is the individual role which is being given importance these days. Until now, the single (unmarried) people were viewed with contempt. Such people did not get a respected position in society. But times have changed now. Today, marriage is considered as an individual matter.
2. **No Compulsion of Marriage:** Today most the youngsters consider marriage as a deterrent in their freedom. Now women being financially independent and the desire to keep population in check, there is no compulsion to get married, until the earlier times. The educated working women prefer to remain single, in case they fail to find a match of their choice.
3. **Change in the Nature of Ritual Marriage:** Today marriage is not considered as a religious ritual but as a social contract. Industrialisation, urbanisation and westernisation has led to the reduction of importance of religious or ritualisation aspects of the Hindu marriage. Now it is being viewed as a form of social contract. The religious base is getting weak.
4. **Changes in the Motive of Marriage:** In most of the societies, the motive of marriage is to fulfill the religious rituals. The Hindu Marriage states the fulfillment of religious or religious rituals as the foremost motive of marriage. But now the fulfillment of sexual desires and having issues feature as the foremost motives.
5. **Equality of Marital Rights:** Presently men and women enjoy equal marital rights. Some ago, polygamy was prevalent in the Hindu society, a man could have more than one wife. But now, Monogamy has been made mandatory by the law. Now, a man cannot remarry, when already having a wife. Similarly, men and women have been given equal separation (divorce) rights too.
6. **Reduced Child Marriages and Increased Late Marriage:** Now the age of marriage is gradually increasing and the prevalence of child marriages has reduced due to education. Today highly educated youngsters prefer to marry, only after establishing their careers. The increasing importance of education and the failure to arrange dowry in time are the leading causes of delayed marriages. Now, delayed marriages are becoming a norm.
7. **Growing trend of Dowry or Groom Value System:** In the present materialistic age, money has become the most prominent factor in determining a person's positions. Today parents demand more dowry or money for their educated son's marriage. The educated men too expect to get a maximum amount of dowry.
8. **Increased Widow Re-marriages:** Until now, widow re-marriage was unacceptable and people who opted for it were viewed with contempt. But now the attitude is changing and people are coming forward in favour of widow re-marriages. Though such marriages are prevalent, their number is less.
9. **Difference in Restricted Marriages:** Today, marriage related restrictions are not given as importance as they were earlier. For example, now, it is not mandatory in the Hindu society to marry within the community or caste. The law does not prevent same-community or same-caste marriages. Similarly, it is no more mandatory to marry within the same caste.

Notes

10. **Freedom to Select Life Partners:** Until some time ago, marriage was between two families and not two individuals. But today, it is perceived as a matter related to two individuals only. Earlier, parents used to select a partner for their sons and daughters.

The parents did not consult them. But today, with delayed marriages, increased education and youngsters coming in contact with each other, they (youngsters) want to opt for a life partner of their choice. They seek their parents content for it. In this manner, the change has occurred from 'parents' to 'joint' selection. According to **B.V. Shah**, a study on (Vadodara) University, out of 200 students, 60% of them wished to seek their parents consent in selecting their bride 32.5% wished to select on their own. According to studies conducted by **Margaret Cormac**, 70% of the students wished to seek their parents consent while 32% were in favour of marrying on their own.

11. **Changes in the Criteria of Partner Selection:** When selecting a match for their sons and daughters, parents keep in view, a number of factors—the reputation of the family, its morality, property, caste, amount of dowry, physical attributes, character, monetary status (income) and job of the prospective bride or groom. But now that youngsters are themselves coming forward to select their partners, they look for physical attraction, education, training, characters, accomplishment in household affairs *etc.*
12. **Increased Romance Based Love Marriages:** Today love marriages are prevalent because of youngsters getting increased opportunities in getting close to each other and thus falling in love. Though such marriages are prevalent in urban areas only, the society is reflecting a flexible approach.
13. **Prevalence of Inter-Caste Marriages:** Caste does not act as a deterrent in such marriages as youngsters are themselves involved in it. Moreover, they are based on love. Today, the number of inter-caste marriages is increasing.
14. **Changes in the Position of Wife:** Today, women too have the same rights as men regarding marriage and divorce. Until some time ago, the position of women was low as compared to men but now, both share equal positions. Now a woman's position is no longer perceived as that of a slave. She walks shoulder to shoulder with her husband.
15. **Changes in Marriage Rites and Rituals:** Now, people consider the traditional rites and rituals as unnecessary. Now, marriage ceremonies are getting simpler. Now marriage ceremonies are completed in a single day or just a couple of hours. In big cities, they are arranged in hotels and banquet halls. Due to lack of time, marriage rites and rituals are cut short and are simplified. This has become a trend now.
16. **Changes the way of Selecting a Partner:** Advertising the newspapers for marriage is a trend that is being increasingly viewed these days, though in India, very few marriages are arranged through this medium. Even today life partners are selected by the parents or in some cases, the youngsters themselves. A new trend is being viewed mainly in urban upper and middle class. After the engagement, the boys and girls are allowed to meet by the parents. They meet in theatres, parties and restaurants. During this time, they talk about their families, education, job, budget, house, liabilities *etc.* They get to know of each other's views and get an idea of how their life would be after marriage. They go in for marriage of their views and ideas match. In case, they don't match, they (boy and girl) may break up.

It is evident that increased industrialisation, urbanisation, westernisation, aggressive education campaign, women's campaign, decreased effect of religion, stress on romance and the flexibility of laws *etc.* have changed the structure of the traditional Hindu marriage. Many changes are occurring now.

16.2 Recent Changes in the Christian Marriage

In the recent times, because of industrialisation, innovation, western education, materialistic views, individualistic ideology, the ideological views related to the Christian marriage are also

changing. In their society the women being independent, both financially and otherwise, a change in the traditional views regarding marriage is being perceived. Compared to followers of other religions, the Christians tend to follow the western society and are more influenced by the western culture. In such a scenario, their traditional ideology regarding marriage is changing.

Notes

The following are the changes viewed recently in the Indian Christian marriage Institution:

1. The religious aspect of marriage is getting feeble. Instead of following religious rituals of wedding in the Church, they prefer to opt Civil Marriage. After the wedding, the bride and the groom do pay a formal visit to the Church to seek blessings. Because of such a trend, the religious base of marriage is getting weaker and it is gaining importance as a contract.
2. Romance has an important role in Christian marriages. Because of the comparatively independent environment in the Christian society, men and women get a fair opportunity to get close to each other. Thus, romance blossoms between them. So, love marriages based on romance are prevalent among Christians. According to a survey, 42% of marriages were found to be based on friendly relations, 28% on introduction during social functions and 20% through relatives.
3. In Christianity, marriages in blood relations are restricted. But now civil marriages between other relations, (except close blood relations) are taking place. Thus, it is evident that marriage restrictions are getting feeble.
4. Though religion does not accept 'divorce', but divorces are becoming a trend. Most of the women are financially self dependent, have freedom and are aware of their rights in the family sphere. For a successful marriage, mutual trust, love, faithfulness, sacrifice, sympathy and supporting each other in every situation and over-looking each others weakness are the factors which are extremely important. Lack of these, results in mental stress and divorce, thereby increasing the number of such cases. Today, in many Christian families, lack of adjustment between the couple leads to divorce. The growing number of divorce cases are acting as a deterrent in the stability of family life.
5. Religion does not view widow remarriage as unacceptable. A widow is allowed to remarry after a year of her husband's demise, in case she fails to suppress her sexual urges. At present, any widow can remarry a few days after her husband's demise. These days Christians are encouraging widow re-marriages.

Because of such changes, the Christian marriage has become a simple contract, which can be terminated at will. A person is free to marry anyone, anytime. In Christians, family stability has become a matter of concern.

Self Assessment

Fill in the blanks:

1. Presently, the number of _____ marriages is increasing in India.
2. Until some time ago, the social position of _____ was quite low, as compared to her husband, but now both of them share a similar position.
3. Now marriages are getting _____.

16.3 Summary

- There are many factors which are responsible for the recent changes in marriage. For example, Industrialisation, Urbanisation, Western Education, Affluence, Women's Campaign, New laws etc.

Notes

- Today, the marital rights are equal for men and women. The number of child marriages has reduced while the number of widow re-marriages has increased.
- There has been an increase in inter caste and love marriages.
- The financial independence of women has increased the cases of divorce.

16.4 Keywords

1. *Marriage by trial*: In many societies, before her acceptance as a wife, the woman has to exhibit her courage and strength. In India, such a kind of marriage is found in Bheel and Nagas tribes.

16.5 Review Questions

1. State the changes occurring in the Hindu Marriage Institution.
2. Discuss the recent changes taking place in the Christian marriage institution.

Answers : Self Assessment

1. Inter Caste
2. Wife
3. Simplified

16.6 Further Readings



Books

Families in India, Marriage and Kinship – Shobita Jain, Rawat Publication.
Society in India – Virendra Prakash, D.K. Publishers and Distributors.

Unit 17: Divorce, Widowhood and Re-marriage

Notes

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Objective

Introduction

17.1 Problem of Divorce

17.2 Restriction on Widow Re-marriage

17.3 Summary

17.4 Keywords

17.5 Review Questions

17.6 Further Readings

Objectives

After studying this unit, students will be able to:

- Aware to the problems of divorce.
- Know Hindu Remarriage.
- Know Hindu marriage Act, 1856.

Introduction

All the evidences indicate that widow remarriage was prevalent in ancient times too. The word 'Dewar' too, is said to mean second 'Var' *i.e.* husband. Gradually widow re-marriage was restricted. 'Niyog' was said to flout the ancient rules and the widow who remarried was considered low. **Vatsyayan** mentioned '**Punarbh**' as an enjoyable woman. **Yagyavalkya** commands widows to survive on fruits, flowers and roots and lead a pure life. 600 years after Christ, historians considered widows as object of condemnation. According to **Aetkar**, after the 11th century, even the child-widow remarriages were banned. But all this was limited to the upper class of the Hindus. Among the 80% of the Hindus who come from lower classes, widow remarriages have been prevalent.

17.1 Problem of Divorce

Here, one of the partners evaluate the other and rejects him/her. The other partner feels humiliated and suppressed, his/her self-esteem is hurt. It is also a legal, social and a family problem.

Hindus expect the woman to be 'Pativrata' and 'Sati'. So, there is no question of the woman deserting her husband. To do so, is considered unacceptable-both socially and religiously, though there were cases of separation (divorce) during the Vedic period too.

Manu, **Narad**, **Vrihaspati**, **Parasher** too allowed widow remarriage in some circumstances. Manu has favoured second marriage in cases, where a woman is infertile, her children are dead, has daughters only or is quarrelsome. Kautilya too, has favoured second marriage for the husband, in such circumstances.

Notes

A woman who remarries when her husband is alive is called 'Punarbhū'. Kautilya allows a woman to desert her husband, in case he has a bad character, living abroad since a long time, is ungrateful to his family and friends, has been outcasted, is impotent or his wife's life is endangered. Enmity too, may be a reason for separation. Narad and Parasher have allowed women to look for a second husband, in case her husband is impotent, missing, dead, renounced the world or has been outcasted. But since the beginning of the Christ era, separation was considered anti religious, impure and an act of hatred, on grounds of immorality, 1000 years after Christ, the notion that 'Kanydan' [the ritual of giving away (donating) daughter in marriage.] Could be done only once, became strong and no matter, how bad character or violent a husband was, he could not be deserted. Out of the eight kinds of marriages, divorce was allowed in case of the last four only. The first four kinds of marriages were considered to be 'Religious obligations; and thus, separation was not possible. The problem of separation is prevalent in the upper castes of the Hindu religions only. In the lower castes, such a separation is possible even today. The Hindu religion allows men to separate but women are refrained from doing so. Male domination and low status of women in society are the reasons for it.



Notes

The legal and the social view, terms the end of marital relations as separation. Separation symbolises the husband-wife's failure to adjust to their married and family life. This proves that the motives of the marriage remain unfulfilled. It is a matter of sorrow, the end of trust, commitment and love.

Causes of Divorce

According to the religious scriptures, divorce (separation) can be allowed in cases, where husband is impotent, the woman is infertile, has daughters only, or is bad charactered or quarrelsome. **Fonseka** and **Choudhary** has studies the reasons for separation:

According to **Damlay**, the main reasons for divorce have been identified as husband-wife conflicts, lack of adjustment (due to misbehaviour by the husband, quarrel, with in-laws *etc.*), wife's infertility, husband or wives' immorality husband not fulfilling family responsibilities due to illness or nature, husband's conviction *etc.*

Fonseka has found that the prominent factors for separation are desertion and violence (69.1%), infidelity (20%) and impotence (8.3%) *etc.* **Choudhary** in his studies has found illicit relations, unsatisfactory married life, physical violence, poverty, wife's working life, initial struggle, terminal disease, impotence, age difference and intimidating nature, as the reasons for divorce.

Arguments Against Divorce

Some people are not in favour of divorce. The reasons cited by them are as follows:

1. **Anti-Religious:** The Hindu Marriage is considered a sacred, religious ritual and a bond to be lasted for ever. Breaching this bond is unpardonable.
2. **Obstructs Family Life:** It increases obstructions in family life.
3. **Creates Problems of Maintenance:** Divorce causes problems of maintenance for women, as they are financially dependent on their husbands.
4. **Creates Problems for Children:** It has an adverse effect on children. Bringing them up becomes an uphill task and it hinders the development of their personality too.

Self Assessment

Notes

Fill in the blanks:

1. _____ has found that the prominent factors for separation are desertion, and violence (69.1%), infidelity (20%) and impotence (8.3%) etc.
2. The Hindu marriage is a sacred religious _____ and a bond forever.
3. Women will gain social and family status, once they get _____ for separation.

Justification of Divorce

1. **Right to Equality:** Today men and women enjoy equal rights in every field. Thus, not only men, but women too should get the right to divorce.
2. **To Make the Family Bond Strong:** For the sake of the family and marital life, the right to divorce should be given to both the partners. In a joint family, there were other members to provide support to her. But the present day nuclear families consist of the husband-wife and children only. There is no support for the wife and children, in case the husband goes astray and gets irresponsible towards them. In such circumstances, divorce should be allowed for the security of the women and the children and for the benefit of the family.
3. **To Improve the Situation of Women:** Women will gain social and family status once they get the right to divorce. Men will perceive women with a different view, the husband and wife will gain the trust of each other cases of inter-caste love will increase. This will also put an end to their dominant ways. When this right was granted to women during the ancient times, then why not today?
4. **To end marital problems:** Today, there are many problems related to Hindu Marriage, Child marriages, unmatched marriages, restricted widow remarriages etc. To put an end to these problems, the right to divorce should be granted.
5. **To balance the social life:** Today, many changes have occurred in our social life. Now, the women are educated, they work alongside men in the fields of finance, politics, society and culture. In such a scenario, denying equal marital rights to them will lead to social imbalance. To avoid such a situation, women should be granted the right to divorce, on humanitarian grounds.

Hindu Marriage Act, 1955

The Hindu Marriage Act was enforced on 18th May, 1955, on all the Hindus, including Jain, Buddhist and Sikh citizens, residing in India (except Jammu and Kashmir). Through this act, all the other acts which were passed earlier, became void. One similar act was enforced on all the citizens. This act recognises the various rituals prevalent in the Hindu Marriage. It also guarantees the right to marriage and divorce, to men and women of all castes. The key features of this act are as follows:

Conditions of Marriage

Following is the criteria for the marriage between a man and a woman:

1. At the time of marriage, the man's or woman's other spouse should not be alive.
2. At the time of marriage, the man or woman should not be mentally ill or stupid.
3. At the time of marriage, the groom should not be less than 18 years of age and the bride's age should not be less than 15 years. But after amendment of this act in 1976, the groom's age was increased to 21 years and the bride's age to 18 years.

Notes

4. Both the parties should not fall into the restricted category, *i.e.*, they should not oppose the customs which control them.
5. Both the parties should not be of the same sib. Their marriage could be recognized, if their customs allow such a marriage.
6. In case, the bride is less than 18 years of age, the consent of her guardians is mandatory. In their absence too, such a marriage is recognized.

Void of Marriage

A marriage could be deemed void in the following cases:

1. At the time of marriage, one of the parties other spouse is alive and divorce has not been obtained.
2. At the time of marriage, one of the party is impotent.
3. At the time of marriage, one of the party is mentally ill or stupid.
4. Within a year of marriage, it is proved that the applicants or his/her guardians' obtained by force or deception.
5. Within a year of marriage, it is proved that the woman was pregnant with another man and the applicant was ignorant of it.

Judicial Separation

Under Section 10 of this act, the husband and wife could be allowed to stay separately on some grounds. If they succeed in sorting out their differences during this period, they can re-establish their marital relations.

Following are the grounds for judicial separation .

1. The applicant has been deserted (without showing an reason) by the other party, since two years before the submission of the application.
2. The other party inflicts violence on the applicant.
3. The other party has been suffering from violence since one year before the submission of the application.
4. The other party suffers from a sexually transmitted disease, which was not acquired through contact with the applicant.
5. The other party has been suffering from mental illness, one year before the submission of the application.
6. The other party had sexual intercourse with another person, after marriage.

If the husband-wife fail to review their relation, within two years after getting the permission for judicial separation, they can apply for divorce, which may be accepted under section 13.

Divorce

Following are the grounds on which the court may grant divorce:

1. The other party indulges in infidelity.
2. The other party has converted to another religion, and is not longer a Hindu.
3. The other party is suffering from terminal disease since three years before the submission of the application.
4. The other party has renounced the world.

5. Since the last seven years, there is no news about the whereabouts of the other party or his/her being alive.
6. The other party has not indulged in sexual intercourse for two years or more, after the judicial separation.
7. After the re-establishment of the marital rights, the other party did not abide by them for two years (no more).
8. The husband accused of rape, sodomy or vestiality.

Notes

This Act clarifies that Judicial separation and divorce are two different cases. But permitting separation, the court gives an opportunity to both the parties to reconcile. If they still do not wish to stay together, they are allowed to dissolve the marriage. Only in some cases, can divorce be granted directly. This act also guarantees alimony to the husband or wife. Alimony is payable until the other party remarries. Under this act, it is not easy to obtain separation and divorce.

17.2 Restriction on Widows Re-marriage

A woman whose husband has passed away and she has not re-married is called a widow. The marriage of such a woman is called widow re-marriage. The Hindus allow a man to re-marry after his wife's death, because he cannot perform the religious rituals without his wife. On the other hand, a woman is refrained from doing so, after her husband's demise. She is deprived of many comforts, is not allowed good food clothes, oil, flowers, perfume and scented objects. In a way, remarriage is a one party facility, secured by the man for himself while the woman is deprived of it.

During the vedic period, there was not restriction on widow remarriage. In the **Rig Veda**, the unit related to the cremations rituals says to the widow seated beside her husband's pyre, "Get up and come back into the world of the alive. He, beside whom you are sitting is non-living. Come, who held your hand and loved you, is over." **Atharva Veda** adds. "Go near the one who holds your hand and loves you. You have entered into a husband-wife relation with him." In **Vrihaddevanta**, a scripture, the younger brother refrains his elder brother's wife from sitting on the pyre. According to **Ashwalayan**, as the husband's representative, his brother, disciple or some middle-aged server should take her away from there. **Rig Veda** figuratively mentions as follows: "As a widow invites her husband's brother on her bed." Widow remarriages were prevalent during the **Mahabharata** period, too. **Saga Vyasa** was invited to impregnate Vichitra-Veerya's wife. The **Ramayana** too, states that after Bali's death, his wife remarried his younger brother Sugreeva and Vibhishana married his brother's widow. **Kautilya** direct women to re-marry after the completion of seven menstrual cycles and in case, having son, to wait a year and then re-marry her husband's brother, in cases, where the husband goes away from home and she gets no support from either her husband or his younger brother or when her husband renounces the world or he dies. Similarly, there was a custom called '**Niyog**', when woman, after her husband's demise, was allowed to have sexual relations with her husband's brother or close relative, in order to bear a son. In **Smriti** and **kamasutra**, such a woman is referred to as 'Punarbhū' and her child as 'Punarbhava'. In Stuti, there are two circumstances in which a woman can re-marry –

She is forcibly married.

The husband dies before the consummation of the marriage.

After the widow remarriage was restricted, the custom of '**Sati**' became strong. With the initiatives of **Raja Ram Mohan Roy** and others the custom of 'Sati' was banned. Then the lives of widows became more miserable. They had to get through a lot of hardships and temptations. Their lives seemed to be cursed and they were like dead. Their presence on auspicious occasions was considered as bad omen. They were not allowed personal grooming and had to shave off their heads. They were deprived of their husband's property. To free women from such miser-

Notes

able conditions, the 'Widow Remarriage Act' was introduced in 1856 with the initiatives of Ishwarchandra Vidyasagar.



Task

Give a description of the widow remarriage prohibition.

According to Crook, until the end of the last century, 24% castes in Uttar Pradesh followed the widow remarriage prohibition. Main says, amongst most of the South Indian castes and Gujjars, Ahirs, Kurmis and Gadarias, widow remarriages are prevalent. According to S.N. Agarwal, they are prevalent amount the low castes in rural Delhi (62%) and Western India (41%). In rural Rohtak, out of 54 Brahmin widows, 3 got remarried, out of 12 Bania widows, 1 got remarried, out of Kshatriya Arora widows, 1 got remarried and in rural Delhi, out of 19 Brahmin widows, not even one got remarried. Widow remarried is prevalent in lower castes. Since it is not prevalent in upper castes, it has become a great problem.



Did u know?

At present, the number of widows in India is 8 million approximately. In lower castes, wow remarriage is prevalent.

Odd circumstances against widow remarriage

Various socio-religious circumstances prohibited widow remarriage. The circumstances are as follows:

1. **The Ideology of 'Kanya Daan' or the 'Donation of Daughter':** In India, Kanya Daan is considered as the supreme donation. Once a thing is donated, it cannot be used for further donation. Thus, widow remarriage was considered unjustified.
2. **The Concept of Purity:** The Hindus consider sexual purity as the supreme form of purity. Women are expected to follow the concept strictly. This is the reason why widow remarriages were not allowed.
3. **Faith in Religious and Social Prohibitions:** Widow remarriages were prohibited by the society and religion. The Indian people, afraid of going against religion, followed it word to word. This deprived the widows of the right to remarry.
4. **The Concept of Blood Purity:** The foreign invader mainly the Muslims married Hindu Widows, So, in order to keep their blood pure and for the safety of the religion, there was strict prohibition of widow remarriage.
5. **Destiny:** People in India, generally believe in destiny. Some people perceive women as ill-fated or unfortunate. They think, she being unfortunate will bring bad fortune in her's husband's life, too. Even she herself cannot be happy. Thus, no one wants to marry her because everyone thinks she will be the victim of her misfortune.
6. **Marriage, a Bond Forever:** Hindus consider marriage as a bond for the entire life, which cannot be broken. The widow should end her life fast and make efforts to meet her husband, who is waiting in heaven.
7. **Un-education Amongst Women:** Generally, women are backward and religion-fearing, because of lack of education. So, they think it is their duty to follow the religious sermons.
8. **Dependence on Others:** Due to lack of education and being financially dependent on men, they are bound to follow the rules set by them.

9. **Caste Prohibition:** In India, caste has been a strong institutions. Any widow, who remarried had been outcasted. In this manner, caste restrictions too, obstruct widow remarriage.
10. **Concept of 'Sati':** Because of the custom of 'Sati', a widow does not opt for remarriage after the death of her husband.

Notes

Favourable Circumstances for Widow Remarriage

At present, the factors which have led to the social acceptance of widow remarriage are as follows:

1. **Arya Samaj and Brahma Samaj:** Both Arya Samaj and Brahma Samaj made great initiatives for widow remarriage which bore good results.
2. **Women's Campaign:** The initiatives taken by women to get their social, religious and financial status uplifted, too made widow remarriage possible.
3. **Expansion of Education:** Because of the expansion of education to, there has been change in the pope's perspective regarding widow remarriage.
4. **Decreasing Effect of Religion:** At present, the effect of religion has decreased, following which, the religious rules are being flouted and thus, widows are getting remarried.
5. Because of the increased social advancement too, youngsters are marrying according to their choice. In such a situation, if a man falls in love with a widow, he is free to marry her.

Self Assessment

Fill in the blanks:

4. Because of the expansion of education, people's perspective regarding _____ has changed.
5. Many _____ converted to other religions, in order to break free from the miserable life.
6. Many a times, widows _____ too, in order to free themselves from the misery of widowhood.

Consequences of Widow Remarriage Prohibition

The prohibition of widow remarriage has led to many ill consequences.

1. The custom of Sati originated because of it.
2. Family conflicts occurred and the lives of widow became miserable. They were tortured in various forms.
3. Many widows converted to Islam or Christianity to breath free from the miserable existence.
4. Due to lack of obstained life, some widows get into illicit relations, which causes corruption and increases immorality.
5. Some widow even take to prostitution, due to lack of financial support and sex.
6. To end their ordeal, some widows even end their lives.

In this way, they are responsible for crime in society.

Justification of Widow Remarriages

The following logical explanations justify widow remarriage:

Notes

1. *The Pathetic Existence of Widows:* The society deprives women of many comforts and restriction are imposed on them. For example-they are refrained from wearing good clothes and jewellery, are not allowed personal grooming, their presence on auspicious occasions is considered a bad omen. They bear family fortune. In order to help them break free from such ordeal, they should be allowed to remarry, on the grounds of morality.
2. *Double Standard of Morality on Sexual Relations:* A man is allowed to remarry after the death of his wife but the woman is not allowed to do so. Widow remarriage should be allowed to end the double standards regarding sexual relations.
3. *Self Abstinence : An Irony:* The Hindu religious scriptures expect women to lead the life of abstinence, which is not possible. Sex is a biological need, the lack of which causes physical and mental illness. Thus, widow remarriage is necessary.
4. *To Prevent Immorality:* It is necessary to allow widow remarriage to prevent sexual immorality.
5. To prevent prostitution and religious conversion, widow remarriages should be allowed as women tend to turn to prostitution or conversion, in order to fulfil their sexual urges and support themselves financially. They convert to other religions as they (Muslims and Christians) allow widow remarriage.
6. *To Prevent Crime:* Widow remarriages will reduce cases of sexual crime, female foeticide and suicide.
7. *For the Development of Personality:* Widow remarriage is essential for the personality development of the widows and their children.
8. *Problem Covers large Part of Society:* This problem is related to 2.5 million widows approximately, which needs to be solved on the grounds of morality.
9. *Accepted by Religious Scriptures:* The ancient religious scriptures too, allow widow remarriage Vashisht, narad and Kautilya also allowed such a marriage. It was prohibited only during the middle ages.
10. *Voice of the Majority:* Most of the people in society favour widow remarriage. Out of the 5/3 students whom Kapadia interviewed, 345 spoke in favour of widow remarriage. Thus the people's verdict should be respected.
11. *Humanitarian Ground:* Men and women should be granted equal rights on the grounds of humanity. Widows too, should be granted the right to live. 'The Right to Live' is the Universal Fundamental Right.

Moved by the plight of widows and because of its justification, many social reformers, Arya Samaj, Brahma Samaj, Sir J.C. Grant and others, took many initiatives for widow remarriage. As a result, in 1856, the Widow Remarriage Act came into existence. But merely passing such laws is not enough. The society has to accept such marriages and view people who go for it, with respect. At present, because of the women's education, increased financial independence.

Feeble caste domination, industrialisation and urbanisation, there is a growing verdict in favour of widow remarriage. The number of such marriages is increasing but youngsters will have to play a creative role in it. They have to forward and break the old beliefs. The social reformers, government and caste groups too, should encourage such marriages. Then only, such a grave problem could be solved.

Hindu Widow Remarriage Act, 1856

Before 1856, the widows were neither allowed to remarry nor have any rights on their dead husband's property. Because of child marriages and unmatched marriages, the number of widows in the society had increased and their condition was pathetic. Many widows converted to Islam and Christianity. Arya Samaj, Brahma Samaj, **Ishwarchandra Vidya Sagar** and **Raja Ram Mo-**

han Roy attracted the attention of the government on this issue. With their initiatives, the Hindu Widow Remarriage Act came into force in 1856. Through this act, the legal hurdles related to widow remarriage were cleared. The prominent features of this act are:

Notes

1. At the time of remarriage, if a woman's husband is dead, then such a marriage is said to be legal.
2. The issue (children) from this marriage are also legal.
3. If, at the time of remarriage, the widow is minor, and did not have any sexual relations with her first husband, then the permission of her father, grand father, elder brother or any other close blood relation is required, for remarriage.
4. If, at the time of remarriage, the widow is an adult and had been in a sexual relation with her first husband, before his death, then she can remarry without the consent of any of her relatives.
5. Widow opting for remarriage has no rights on her first husband's property.
6. In case her dead husband leaves a will or there is an agreement with the family members, then the widow can gain rights on his property despite remarrying.
7. After remarriage, the woman gains all the rights that she had been entitled to, during her first marriage.



Notes

Widow remarriage was prevalent even during the Vedic period. Vashisht, narad and Kautilya too, allowed widow remarriage. It was prohibited only during the Middle ages. Thus, it can be said that widow remarriage is religiously approved.

17.3 Summary

- The legal and social end to relations between husband and wife is known as separation or divorce.
- Manu has allowed women to remarry in case, they are infertile, have daughters only or are quarrelsome.
- Under the Hindu Marriage Act, 1955, Judicial Separation and Divorce are two separate cases.
- The husband and wife may be allowed to stay separately on some grounds. If they succeed in sorting out their differences during this period, they can re-establish their marital relations.
- Hindus allows a man to remarry, in case his wife dies. But a woman is not allowed to do so. She is deprived of many comforts.

17.4 Keywords

1. **Feminism:** Supporting equal rights for women as men, in every sphere of life is known as Feminism.
2. **Causes of Divorce:** The wife's infertility, the man or woman's immoral attitude, illness or violent nature may act as the causes of divorce.

Notes

17.5 Review Questions

1. What are the causes of divorce?
2. What are the features of the Hindu Marriage Act, 1955?
3. What are the consequences of prohibiting the Widow Re-marriage?
4. What is the justification of the Widow Re-marriage?
5. Describe the Hindu Widow Re-marriage Act, 1856.

Answers: Self Assessment

- | | | |
|------------|----------|------------|
| 1. Fonseca | 3. Right | 5. Widows |
| 2. Ritual | 4. Widow | 6. Suicide |

Further Readings



- Books* Marriage and Family in India – K.M. Kapadia.
The Indian Society and the Indian Institutions – Dr. R.N. Saxena.

Unit 18: Rules of Residence: Virilocal, Uxorilocal, Neolocal and Natolocal Residence

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Objective

Introduction

18.1 Rules of Residence

18.2 Summary

18.3 Keywords

18.4 Review Questions

18.5 Further Readings

Objective

After studying this unit, students will be able to:

- Know the rules of residence in kinship organisation.

Introduction

Blood relation or relation by marriage binds people together. Such binding is known as kinship. To understand kinship, we have to start with the known biological fact that mating of a man and a woman produces children. Here, we can also discuss the other aspect. Nature has gifted man with such a memory and speech, that because of it, blood relations are forever in our mind. We define such blood relations as mother, children, father, uncle etc. The kinship based on such relations is called consanguineous kinship. Such kinds of relatives are called close relatives.

18.1 Rules of Residence

In the human society, the rules of kinship are governed by the rules of residence. Generally, the husband-wife and children stay together and they have to set up a residence to live. The rules of residence depend on where the newly wedded couple chooses to live. Because of the restrictions on closeness, one of the wedded partners has to leave his/her family and stay with the others, though it may not be totally accepted.

Mardoc has mentioned six kinds of residences;

1. Patri-local
2. Matri-local
3. Matri-patri-local
4. Neo-local
5. Avuncu-local
6. Bio-local

Notes

Here, we will discuss all of them.

After marriage, if a man along with his wife, lives with his father, or in father's area, it is called 'Patri-local' residence and if he lives his wife's mother or in mother's area, then it is called 'Matri-Local' residence.

German-Australian humanologist **Adam** suggested the words wife-local (Uxori-local and husband-local (Viri-local) instead of these, so that there is no confusion about the generations. But **Mardoc** says that in 'Viri-local', residing with the husband's father and residing with the husband's mother's brother is not clear. Thus, these words are not appropriate.

Micha Titiev came up with the belief of a Uni-local residence, if the newly-wedded couple lives at the residence of either of the two. On his basis, we can term it as 'Uni-local', 'Matri-Local', 'Uni-local patri-local' residence. The same residence could also be termed as 'Neat Matri' and 'Patri-Local' Residence, when the newly-wedded couple lives at the residence of either of their parents. In the **Tiv** community, after the marriage, the man takes his wife to his mother's residence but after the birth of a child, the husband sets up a separate residence for her, which is behind his mother's residence.

Mardoc criticised words such as 'Uxori-local' and 'Viri-local' and suggested the continuity of words 'Matri-local' and 'Patri-local'. When a couple has the option to reside either at the father's or mother's residence, then such a residence is called 'Bio-local'; Such a custom is prevalent amongst the '**Lapp**' people of Sudan. After marriage, when the newly-wedded couple sets up a new residence, it is called 'Neo-local' residence. '**Hausa**' people in Nigeria follow this custom. If the newly wedded couple lives with the bride's mother's brother, then it is known as '**Avuncu-local**' residence. This custom is followed by the trobiyanda Island deweevers. In some societies, the couple lives with the parents till the birth of a child and then move in with the groom's parents. **Mardoc** terms such a residence as 'Matri-patri-Local' residence. Sometimes, it is not clear where the couple would stay after marriage. Until then, the said residence is termed as 'Ambi-local' residence. When, after marriage, the husband resides at his father's residence and the wife at her mothers' residence, *i.e.* each stays with his birth time family, it is called 'Nato-local' residence.

This is found amongst the 'Nayyar' community in India.

The prominent basis which governs the rules of the different kinds of residence are restricted closeness, the importance of agriculture, the importance of man and woman cattle grazing and distribution of property. In the 'Lapp' community, the decision regarding the residence of the couple depends on many factors, such as who amongst both the families has more property, agricultural land and reindeer, which family consists of less number of members and which consists of more, which family needs more people, in which family do the parents hold a high social status, who amongst both is the eldest in his/her family, which family possesses good grazing land *etc.*



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The rules of residence are also affected by the number of family members, gender, occupation, importance of man and woman, property, inheritance etc.

Kinship Organisation In India

Here, we will discuss the Indian kinship organisation. Many studies have been conducted in various regions of India in family, marriage and kinship, for instance – **A. C. Nayyar** and **Madan** studied the Northern Region, **E.K. Guff** and **Macomac** studied the Southern Region. But these studies are limited to a certain village or state only. Recently, **Mrs. Leela Dubey Penned** a book, 'Sociology of Kinship', in which she has commented on the various studies. **Lue Dumont** has

presented comparative studies on some villages of the Northern and Southern regions. Apart from the various studies, a systematic discussion on kinship of entire India was done by **Mrs. Irawati Karve**. In her book, 'Kinship Group In India', she has extensively discussed kinship with a geographical and linguistic viewpoint.

Notes

Self Assessment

Fill In the Blanks:

1. Mrs. Leela Dubey Penned a book called _____ and commented on various studies.
2. Lue Dumont has presented a _____ study of some villages of the Northern and Southern Region.
3. In her book _____, she has discussed kinship with a geographical and linguistic viewpoint.

The following table by **Irawati Karve**, divides India into four regions, based on geographical area and three on language.

Geographical Base			
Northern Region	Mid Region	Southern Region	Eastern Region
From Himalayas to Vindhya-chal Sindh, Punjab, Kashmir, Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Bihar, West Bengal, Assam, Nepal	Rajasthan Madhya Pradesh Orissa Gujarat Maharashtra etc.	Karnataka Malabar Telengana Andhra Pradesh Tamil Nadu Kerala Western Orissa Southern Bihar	Myanmar Tibbet Assam and The Eastern Mountaineous Region

Linguistic Base		
Indo-European Family	Dravid Family	Asiatic Family
Punjabi Sindhi Bihari Bengali Rajasthani Gujarati Marathi Oriya Konkani	Telugu, Kannada Tamil Malayalam Tulu Toda Kodagu Kolami Gopdi	Mundi, Saora Santhali Khasi Godba Bhumia, Juang, Bodo etc.

18.2 Summary

The rules of residence are based on the newly-wedded couples place of residence.

Mardoc has mentioned six types of residence.

After marriage, when a man starts living with his life at his father's place, it is called 'Patri-Local'

Notes

residence.

After marriage when a man starts living with his wife's mother's place, it is called 'Matri-Local' residence.

In the 'Tiv' community, a man lives with his mother after marriage but after the birth of a child, he sets up a separate residence for his wife, which is behind his mother's house.

18.3 Keywords

1. **Avuncu-local:** In some cases, the wedded couple lives with the husbands' mother's brother, such a system is called Avuncu-local.
2. **Matri-Patri-Local:** In some societies, the couple is free to stay either with the husband's family or with the wife's family.

18.4 Review Questions

1. In the human society, how do the residence rules govern the kinship rules?
2. How many types of residences has Mordoc mentioned?

Answers: Self Assessment

1. Sociology of kinship
2. Comparative
3. Kinship group in India

18.5 Further Readings



Books

Marriage and Family in India – K.M. Kapadia.

The Indian Society and the Indian Institutions – Dr. R.N. Saxena.

Unit 19: The Geneological Method

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Objectives

Introduction

19.1 Geneological Method

19.2 Methods of Marriage Found among Different Ethnic Communities

19.3 Hindu Marriage

19.4 Summary

19.5 Keywords

19.6 Review Questions

19.7 Further Readings

Objectives

After studying this unit, students will be able to:

- Know about the key features which determine geneology.
- Know about the various methods of marriage found among the different ethnic communities.

Introduction

In the Indian society, the family is the smallest and significant unit and its existence is based on marriage. The institution of marriage exists in every society. Its aim is to keep the human race alive by the process of reproduction. In the absence of reproduction, the entire human race will come to an end. In the society these are socially accepted norms to select a life partner. India is an ethnic society, with diversity in caste, language, religion and culture. Marriage is associated with all of these factors. As far as recognition goes, it is provided by the society. Today in a secular state, the state too, gives recognition to marriage. The couple could also opt for 'civil marriage.' Arya Samaj, does not believe in the caste system, too, represents a civil marriage.

19.1 Geneological Method

There are many rules and systems on which the geneological method is based. They are as follows:

Descent Rules

The ideology or the unison of ideologies, the basis of which kinship is specified, technical basis are called rules of descent. Descent has three basic rules:

Notes

Paternal Descendant

Maternal Descendant

Bi-Descendant

According to the paternal descendant rules, every individual naturally becomes a member of father's cognate kinship group but not that of his mother's.

According to the maternal descendant rules, every individual naturally becomes a member of mother's cognate kinship group, but not that of his father's.

According to the bi-descendant system, an individual is a descendant of some cognate members of father's descent, not all. Similarly, an individual is a descendant of some cognate members of mother's descent. In fact, no society is based on bi-descendant system. Similarly, no society is totally Uni-descending if this term means ignoring one of them (maternal or paternal descent), on the basis of the other. Some individuals are linked by kinship, on the basis of ancestry. They are called cognates. If their ancestor happens to be a male, they are called paternal kin. On the other hand, if the ancestor is female, they are called maternal kin. The kin, who by descent, are linked directly, are called lineal kin. Those who are extended (*e.g.*-paternal under, nephew *etc.*) from the same family are called collateral kin, but not lineal kin.

Categories of Kinship

Close and distant relationships are categorised as follows:

1. Primary kinship
2. Secondary kinship
3. Tri-kinship

Kins related to the same family are called primary kin. They are eight in number – husband-wife, father-son, mother-son, father-daughter, younger elder-brother, younger elder-sister and brother-sister. Secondary kin are our primary kin's-primary kin's-primary kin, husband's brother, sister's husband, brother's wife, *etc.*, belong to this category. Flumanologists have recognised thirty three secondary kin in all.

Our tri-kin are primary kin of our secondary kin. Flumanologists have found 151 tri kins. The primary kin of tri-kin are called distant kin.

In every society, the rules of descent are significant, because of two reasons:

- (i) It provides automatic social status and respect to every individual.
- (ii) The individual gains the right to participate in the roles and responsibilities of social status. The members of the kinship group support and interact with each other. They are also bound by rights and responsibilities and follow the rules of marriage.

According to the law or the fully established custom, the rules of descent define a few kinds of inheritance. For instance, 'right' which gets established from the time of birth, allows the eldest son or the youngest son or all the sons and daughters of the deceased to inherit his property. In the same manner there is inheritance based on marriage too. According to it, after the demise of the husband, his wife inherits the property.

Secondary Group and Uni-Party Group

Kinship binds the family very strongly. This unity leads to two directions-one towards the base of the father's family and the other to the base of the mother's family. Due to some reason or the other, stress can be laid on one party only. For example, in the modern system, we reject the mother's family name. Not only that, after marriage, women adopt the husband's family name. But the family does not deny any of the supportive parties. So, it is called a secondary group.

There are other kinds of groups which consider kinship as the basis of unity. They are different from secondary groups because they totally reject party. They are called Uni Party-group.

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Lineage

The simplest example of one party group is which includes all the possible kin of a single lineage. The lineage consists of the descendants of one lineage only, whether they are paternal Descends or maternal descends. They know their kin by birth and understand their responsibilities towards each other. Thus, lineages are small local and more active.

Sib

When an ordinary one party group called get so enlarged that all the groups, linked to each other on the basis of a general descent, joint it, it is called a sib or gotra. In this way, sib is formed by the assimilation of some lineage. The birth of their ancestors may be linked to imaginary ancestors, who resembled human beings or animals, plants or non-living things. The Hindu sib, Gome, is an example.

It can be clearly stated that the term Sib is extensive, geographically spread and used for an almost inactive Uni-party group.

Sib is usually linked by a general totemic name. A sib is customarily prohibited to consume meat of animals with totem. Such stories are usually heard that Sib members are descendants of totemic species general ancestor.

Fraternity

When the group of Sib, come very close to each other, then it is called sib of fraternity. Sometimes a sib gets so enlarged that it breaks and separates (without distancing itself from the kinship of the previous sib. Such examples of assimilation or separation can be found in the Oraon and Munda tribes.

If all the tribes of a sib are divided into two fraternities, then such a social structure is called double groups, which is the half of every fraternity.

Expansion-region of Kinship

Based on the number of people, a kinship group is called broadly, expanded region or narrowly-expanded region. The modern kinship system is the narrowly-expanded region, whereas the earlier one was the tribal or Sib, vast region system.

The number of people associated with it are scattered in such an extensive area, that it is not possible to identify their common kinships without bringing in some imaginary ancestor.

Kinship Behaviour

The kinship system has two vital roles. Firstly, it forms specific groups of kinships. In this way, with the social recognition of marriage, every mother has a specific husband, because of which the father's children relate to the mother too. By this, specific groups of mother, father and children are formed, which we call a family. With additional rules and social customs, extensive kinship groups are formed, like an extended family or lineage or gotra or tribe. The kinship behaviour has another specific role. That is to discipline the roles of kinship. Kinship, in a way, sets up a social 'grid'. In any society, people are in contact with each other through kinship by birth or by being a member of the equal kinship group. People of these social groups interact with each other because of kinship. It defines the acceptable

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roles of kinship and relations such as father and daughter, brother and sister, young son-in-law and mother-in-law etc. Thus the social life is regularised by kinship.

As a regulator of social life, the importance of kinship is based on three factors:

- (i) Its role is limited to cognate relations only. If the people or one lineage are spread far and wide, the role of kinship gets limited.
- (ii) The level of development of the standard kinship behaviour. In some people, the social relations are very standardized. In some societies, there is no specific pattern of kinship, so there is a possibility of too much individualistic behaviour.
- (iii) Level of alternate development to specify people's roles.
- (iv) In urban areas, our behaviour does not get affected by the kinship rules because we are usually don't get intimate with kin. This situation is totally different from a simple peasants village-because there, every individual is linked to every other individual of the community. As a result, whatever an individual does, he does so in the presence of his lineage. In a very small society, where there is little or no possibility of geographical activity, it is the kinship behaviour which regularizes special behaviour.

The standard kinship behaviour can be divided into two categories:

1. Rules specifying rights and responsibilities.
2. Rules related to behaviour.

Rules Specifying Rights and Responsibilities:

These rules come into force when the kin are linked with other kinds of services duties or specific rights. For example, there is an emotion of general hospitality between kins. If a kin wishes to go to other place, he expects free food, place to sleep, and other kinds of hospitality symbols, as his right. This expectations and demands seem to be valid because he is a kins. The rules of inheritance provide other examples. These rules can specify that the deceased person's property shall either be divided between his wife or eldest son, or younger son, or his children. Lineage use has other examples, like. Parents bringing up children, taking care of their needs, preparing them for life, and in a society like India, accumulating dowry for daughters. The responsibilities between man and woman are divided on the basis of the prevalent kinship behaviour. In some societies, these rights and responsibilities are equally divided and they are inter-linked. In some they are totally unacceptable. One party is the giver and the other is the receiver; One has the rights and the other has responsibilities. In our country, such factors determine the relations between man-woman, father-mother and children. On the basis of the traditions prevalent in the Indian society since a long period, a husband cannot be expected to lend a helping hand in household chores. On the other hand, a wife is expected to exhibit supreme competence and serve her husband. In the same manner, when an Indian child attains workable age, he is expected to fulfil all his responsibilities in an efficient manner, until the demise of his parents.

19.2 Methods of Marriage Found among Different Ethnic Communities

Vestor Mark has described the various processes of wedding rituals, prevalent in different communities of the world. Here, we do not have any documents related to marriage, which could codify these rituals. Yet **C.S.W.I.** (1974) committee has taken a small initiative. This committee tells us that in different communities, different rituals of wedding are performed. The greatest common factor amongst them is the presence of a priest. The priest could be a pastor, maulvi or Brahman. The priest is the chairperson of the wedding rituals. All the rituals are based on religious methods. Here, we will discuss about he various rituals related to marriage, which are prevalent among the various groups of the country. But rituals are just for the sake of them. In the background of these rituals, there are rules of marriage. It is important for every ethnic group to follow them. The validity of marriage dissolves itself, in case they are not followed. Another

issue related to marriage is the age at marriage, that is normally at what age does a man-woman from an ethnic group marry. The third problem related to marriage is divorce. Here, we will discuss about the various processes of marriage amongst the various ethnic groups, based on these points.

Notes



Notes

In all the groups, there are two important rules of marriage. They are exogamy and endogamy. Another issue related to marriage is the age at the time of marriage.

19.3 Hindu Marriage

The religious rituals of the Hindu Marriage prove that man is superior and woman holds a low position. These religious rituals tell us that the bride goes to her husband's house after marriage. These basic rituals emphasize on their life-long bond and put stress on the wife to follow her husband, to work according to his desires and show love and dedication. In fact, marriage is the first prominent ritual in the woman's life. The man has another ritual before it, known as **Yagyopavit** ritual. (the ritual of the sacred thread). The Sanskrit scholars have elaborately discussed the Hindu Marriage and also the rituals that are followed. In this case, the book '**Hindu social organisation**' by Pindari Nath Prabhu is an important work. **Kapadia** has repeated Prabhu's establishment. He too, mentions such religious rituals which establish the fact that the Hindu Marriage is a religious act. Here, we first define the Hindu Marriage.

K.M. Kapadia: Marriage And Family In India, 1955 is a scholastic book. Here, he refers to the Hindu Marriage as a religious ritual. He says, the Hindu consider marriage as a bond forever. It is a strong bond which normally does not break.

Kapadia has defined the Hindu Marriage as follows: The primary role of marriage is to fulfill the responsibilities. Thus, the fundamental motive of marriage is religion. Unlike the western society, Hindu do not perceive marriage as a means of fulfillment of sexual desires. In the Hindu Marriage, religion holds the first place, producing son holds the second and sexual gratification holds the third position. The Hindus consider marriage as an extremely important religious ritual.

According to Medhatithi: In order to make girl, a wife in the Hindu Marriage, an orderly multi-ritual Panigrahan Sanskar (a ritual) should be performed, the last ritual of which is Saptarshi Darshan.

The completion of all the religious rituals, makes the Hindu marriage valid. In the movies, after the hero runs away with the heroine, their sexual relationship is validated by marriage. They go to some secluded place, where they garland each other in front of the Deity. The Hindu Marriage is performed in front of /in the presence of someone and that is its definition.



Task

Explain the religious rituals related to the Hindu Marriage.

Notes

Rules of Hindu Marriage

In every Hindu caste there are certain rules related to marriage. A man cannot marry just any woman or a woman cannot marry just any man. The caste recognizes those rules, and a life partner is selected according to those rules. Generally, these rules of marriage are known as Endogamy, Hyper gamous, Hypogamy and Exogamy. Whatever the caste, these rules exist, with little dissimilarities. Here, we mention such rules:

1. Endogamy

According to this rule, an individual can marry within his own caste only, not outside his caste. Endogamy means marrying within one's own caste. For instance, a member of the Maheshwari or Agarwal caste, will marry within his own caste. There are many castes in our country and these castes are divided into sub castes. These sub castes are further divided into semi sub castes and each of the semi sub castes follows the rules of Endogamy. Many Hindu sub castes follow the Endogamy unit, which offers selection from a kinship group, residing in a very limited geographical area. The significance of the Endogamy rule is clear regarding regional caste, semi sub caste and religion.

In South India, some castes allow an individual to marry a kin. In Malayalam, Telugu, Tamil and Kannada speaking regions, cousins (father's sister's son/daughter or mother's brother's son/daughter) are given preference. In North India, cousins (paternal uncle's/aunt's or maternal uncle's/aunts sons/daughters) cannot marry. Usually in North India, marriages are arranged outside one's village or within the radius of thirteen kilometres. In every region, there are different local and social boundaries, which limit the area of marriage.

2. Hypergamous Marriage

According to the rules of this marriage, the husband's position is superior than that of his wife's position. People who follow this rule, look for a life-partner having a higher social status than their own, for their daughter's marriage. It is a rule by which the marriage of a girl, coming from a lower strata of society is possible with a boy of a higher social status, within their own subcaste. This rule is more prevalent in subcastes and semi sub castes than amongst different other castes. In almost all the castes, Hypergamous marriage is prevalent. This kind of marriage affects the social status.

It is important to note that the Hindu scholars too, have given preference to such a marriage. According to the scholars a girl should marry a boy of higher caste/higher sub caste than her own. It seems, during the ancient times, Hypergamous marriages within the four castes were allowed. Even today, such a rule is prevalent amongst some castes and in some parts of the country.

For example, Rajputs and Jats, who are from North India, allow Hypergamous marriages. Such a rule of marriage is prevalent in the Anavil Brahmins and Patidars of Gujrat, Maithil Brahmins of Bihar, Radhi Brahmins of Bengal and Kanyakubj and Saryupari Brahmins of Uttar Pradesh. In the Northern region of South India, this rule is prevalent in Nayyars, Kshatriyas and Amba dwellars. In the regions where Hypergamous marriages are prevalent, Sib and lineage related customs are different. Marriage alliance between the Jats and the Rajputs was said to be the main cause of killings. In this kind of marriage, usually a lot of dowry was demanded. The Radhi Brahmins a subcaste of Bengal, for instance, usually married many woman together and also demanded a lot of dowry. That was because they were of the highest sub-caste and the woman of this group had no choice but to marry within that group only.

3. Hypogamy Marriage

Notes

In this kind of marriage, a girl marries a boy of lower caste/sub caste. According to the scholars, Hypogamy marriage is not justified. Normally, people from the upper caste/sub caste do not arrange their daughter's marriage with a boy from a lower caste. But sometimes the circumstances are such that an upper caste boy has to marry a lower caste girl. Today because of education, Hypogamy marriages are on the rise. Sometimes, a boy from the upper caste cannot find an educated match within his own caste, then he turns to the lower caste. Sometimes, in a certain caste, the ratio of man-woman gets unbalanced, then too, an individual is compelled to accept Hypogamy marriage. By the way, Hypogamy marriage is not viewed with respect, according to the Hindu concept.

4. Exogamy

Exogamy to marry in those groups which are outside one's sib's, caste. Marrying in one's own blood-relation is risky. For the sake of the purity of blood, the kings of Greece used to marry in their own sib. But biologists say it is not justified to marry in one's own caste. The Hindu marriage too, recognizes Exogamy. In a way, the rules of Exogamy fulfil the rules of Endogamy. Such a marriage is restricted. In some place, the restriction is so narrow that it includes members of the first family only (*i.e.*, brother and sister, mother-father and son-daughter marriage). In some places, it is so intensive that it includes those individuals too, who are in the line of kinship. In some groups, restricted sexual relations within kinship, is known as Incest. In almost all the groups, marriage and sexual-relations between brother and sister are termed as immoral. But the specification of Exogamy group differs from place to place.

Self Assessment

Fill in the blanks:

1. Endogamy means marrying in one's own _____ .
2. There are some recognized _____ by the caste and the life partner is chosen according to them.
3. In some castes of South India, marrying with _____ is given preference.

A girl born in a North Indian village is considered the daughter of the entire village and thus, she cannot marry a boy from her village. It is called Village Exogamy. In South India, the situation is different. There, the definition of Exogamy covers, one's own generation and one's own brother-sister and cousins (maternal and paternal). Marriage with them is prohibited. Exogamy has two more rules:

1. Bahirgotra marriage
2. Bahirspind marriage

Bahir Gotra Marriage: The rule of this marriage is in fact Exogamy. It means marrying outside one's own caste. Marriage is restricted between the descendants of the same ancestors (generally sages or seers). It is clear that individuals belonging to the common sib cannot marry. **P.N. Prabhu** analysis 'Sib' or 'gotra' as a herd coup of the individuals belonging to the same caste are considered brothers and sisters. Thus, the members of the group cannot marry each-other. Same-sib members are considered to be the descendants of the common ancestors and thus marriage are not allowed between them.

For instance, in Hindu castes, four sib rules or four sib Exogamy rules are prevalent. According to this four sib rule, any individual cannot marry a girl in: "(i) his fathers sib, (ii) his mother's sib, (iii) his paternal grandmother's sib or his father's mother's sib, and (iv) his maternal grandmother's sib or his mothers mother's sib." **Irawati karve** has analysed this rule. She says in all the castes of North India, marriage is restricted between paternal-maternal cousins.

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Bahir-sa-Pind Marriage: This rule of marriage is also restricted. 'Sa-Pind' means the kinship/ relation between the alive members and the deceased ancestors. The word 'Sa-Bind' means: Part of that Body. It means those people who offer cooked rice balls (known as 'Pind') to their deceased ancestors. In the Hindu caste, there is no common definition of kinship groups to know amongst which groups were the marriages restricted. Some people are of the opinion that marriages between the members of seven generations of the father's side and five generations of the mother's side are restricted. In South India, the rules are different. These marriages are allowed between father's sisters son/ daughter or mother's brother's son/ daughter.

According to the Hindu Marriage Act, 1955, marriage is not allowed between five generations of the father's side and three generations of the mother's side. In Hindus paternal lineage family is an important Exogamy unit. It is clear that the prohibition to marry in five generations of the father's side is evident everywhere. In Christians and Muslims, the first or the nuclear family is the Exogamy unit. In Nanyars, who are Maternal Lineage group, a girl can never marry her mother's brother, though amongst the many groups of South India, this group is given preference.

19.4 Summary

- Kinship is determined on the basis of descent.
- Descent has mainly three rules, Paternal descent, Maternal Descent and Uni Descent. Three more rules originate from these three main rules, making them six rules.

19.5 Keywords

1. **Geneological Method:** A working method in the field of humanology, in which geneological methods are systematically compiled. It is used to know the methods of numbering, related to kinship system, method of marriage, as social group, geneological order and descendance.
2. **Hypogamy Marriage:** In this marriage, a girl marries a boy from a lower caste/sub caste.

19.6 Review Questions

1. What do you understand by the geneological method?
2. Give a detailed account of the main geneological method prevalent in India.

Answers: Self Assessment

1. Caste
2. Rules
3. kin

19.7 Further Readings



Books Families in India, Marriage and Kinship – Shobhita Jain, Rawat Publication
Sociology of a Family – Dr. Sanjeev Mahajan Arjun Publishing House.

Unit 20: Family: Family and Household, Definition of Family, Nature of Family

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Objectives

After studying this unit, students will be able to:

- Define a family and its characteristics.
- Study of Muslim family and their characteristics.
- Study of Christian family and their characteristics.

Introduction

Family is the smallest unit of the groups based on human relations. Every human being has been or is a member of some family- "Family is the most significant group in the society" of all the human-made social institutions, family is the basic and universal social institution. In all the cultures, whether advanced or backward, family group of some kind or the other has necessarily been found. Biological needs and the fulfillment of sexual desires is the reason for creation of family. It is the family who takes care of the newly-borns and pregnant mothers, provides social acceptance to sexual relations and conception by regularising them. It provides an environment of emotional bond and helps in bringing up children, making them become sociable and providing education to them. Not only this, the family also helps in fulfilling the social religious, economical, cultural and political needs of the family members.

20.1 Meaning, Definition and Nature of Family

The blanks occurred due to deaths are replaced by the family, in the form of giving birth to new human beings and facilitating the continuity of the society. That is the reason why family has been with human beings right from the very beginning. **Maluionovasti** says, "Family is the only group, which man has brought along with him, since the animal stage." **Mardoc** studied 250

Notes

human families and found that there was not a single society in which the family institution was absent. To clarify the concept of a family, here we discuss its meaning and definition.

The word family has originated from the Latin word 'Famulus' and is used for a group which includes mother-father, children and servant, generally, a married couple is called a family but according to the sociological viewpoint, it is the incorrect use of the word 'family'. A family should essentially have a husband-wife and children. In the absence of any one of them, it should be called a 'household' instead of family. The members of a family and household can possibly be the same. Every family is a household, but all households are not families. The definitions of family will make it more clear. Various scholars have defined family as follows:

According to **Maceywore** and **Page**, "Family is defined as a group-with adequate and regular sexual relations, which arranges the birth of children and nurtures them." According to **Dr. Dubey**, "Family consists both man and woman, where, the two opposite gender individuals have the social permission of having sexual relations, with the children of produced by mating, they create a family."

According to **Mardoc**, "Family is social group whose aim is to achieve a general residence, financial support and reproduction. There are adults of the two genders, who establish permitted sexual relations. They have their own or adopted, one or more children."

According to **Lusie Mayer**, "Family is a household group, in which the parents and children live together. The couple and its child/children are the base of the family."

From the above mentioned definitions, it is clear that the scholars have defined family by various viewpoints. Family is present in the society as a group and as an institution. In every society, the family has two specific parts- One is structural and the other is functional. Fundamentally, a family consists of husband wife and children. According to this view, there are at least three relations in every family:

- (i) Husband-Wife Relations
- (ii) Parents-Children Relations
- (iii) Siblings Relations

The first kind of relation is Affinal relation, while the second and the third are blood relations. On this basis, the family members are related to each other. It is necessary to find affinal and blood relations in the same family. In the absence of these relations, the creation of a family is not possible.

According to the functional view, a family is created for the fulfillment of some basic motives. The motive of a family is to regularize sexual relations, to give birth to children, nurture, educate and make them sociable and provide them financial, social and emotional support. For the fulfillment of these functions, the family members are bound together by rights and responsibilities. The cultural characteristic of a family is that it plays a role in the creation, support and transfer of the culture of society.



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A family can be defined as a social group based on organic relations, which includes parents and children and the motive of which is to arrange general residence, financial support, sexual satisfaction, reproduction, socialisation and education etc. to its members.

Characteristics of the family

Maceywore and **Page** have mentioned some characteristics of a family, which are found universally in every society.

- (i) **Marriage Relation:** Every family comes into existence after marriage only.
- (ii) **Type of Marriage:** In every society, a certain kind of marriage is prevalent, which may be single marriage, multi-wife or multi husband marriage etc.
- (iii) **Family Name:** In a family, there is a system for naming a child. Children are either known by their father's name or mother's name.
- (iv) **Economy:** Every family does some financial activity to support its family members.
- (v) **General Residence:** The members of every family live in one place, which they call 'home.'

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Maceywore and Page have also mentioned some specific characteristics of a family, which are as follows:

- (i) **Universal**—The institution of a family is found in all the periods and in all the place,
- (ii) **Emotional Base**—There is an emotional bond between the members of a family. They have the feelings of love, support, sacrifice and generosity.
- (iii) **Creative Effect**—It is in the family that a child picks up good and bad habits. The role of the family is pivotal in shaping his personality.
- (iv) **Central Position**—The family has a central position in structuring the society. The coming together of many families make lineage, sib, seek caste, sub-caste, community and society.
- (v) **Responsibility of Members**—Instead of other unions and institutions, a family has more and important responsibility towards its members.
- (vi) **Limited Size**—Because of the organic membership of the family, the number of family members is limited and not in thousands little other organizations.
- (vii) **Social Norms**—Every family controls its family members through customs and traditions.
- (viii) **The Permanent and Temporary Nature of the Family**—As an institution, the family is permanent and has been there since the early period but as a committee personal families collapse after the demise of family members.

Self Assessment

Fill In the Blanks:

1. Every family has to do some financial activity in order _____ its members.
2. The family as an _____ has found in every era and all place.
3. A child picks up good and bad _____ from his family only.

20.2 Muslim Family

The basis of the Muslim society is 'Family', which is established through 'Nikah'. The Muslim families are of the paternal Lineage, which gives more importance to men than women. In a Muslim family, the head's power is supreme. In the absence of a male child in a family, the custom of adoption is followed. Like, Hindu marriage, the basis of a Muslim family is Quran. Thus, the Muslim family reflects the effect of religion too. Everything, from the unity of the family, to responsibilities of members and their relations, the inheritance rules have been clarified on the basis of religion. There has been an effect of Hindus on the Muslim society, family and marriage because the Hindus and Muslims have been staying together since a long period. Like Hindus, in case a Muslim family does not have a son, the daughter's husband, *i.e.* the son-in-law stays with his wife's family.

Discussing the effect of Hindus on Muslim, **Dr. Kapadia** writes, "Indian Muslims have more similarities with Hindus than with Arab countries or with Islamic people of other countries. Those Hindus, who converted to Islam did not discard their basic religious beliefs and social customs, despite accepting Islam. As a result, their religious life is full of Hindu customs and beliefs." The custom of a joint family prevalent amongst the Muslims is a result of the Hindu effect.

Notes



Task

What are the characteristics of a Muslim Family? Discuss.

Characteristics of a Muslim Family

To understand a Muslim family clearly, we discuss their characteristics here:

1. **Joint Family:** Like Hindus, the custom of a joint family prevails amongst the Muslims, too. The Quran terms such families as the 'BEST.' In Islam, the older are considered as highly respectable. Thus, all the members of a joint family follow the orders of the 'Head' of the family. In Islam, a man is allowed to have four wives. Thus, the number of family members too, increases. In a Muslim family, there are husband-wife, their sons-daughters and the sons'wives too, apart from a number of relatives from the woman's side. This expands the size of the family. The Muslim joint family has common residence for the members, common property, income and kitchen.
2. **Dominance of Males in the Family:** The Muslim family is male-oriented, is established by various facts. For example, the Muslim family is of paternal lineage. The son adopts the family name of his father and after marriage, a woman stays at her husband's father's residence. In case of property too, men have more rights than women. Man is the 'head' of the family and has more family rights. In case of divorce too, men have more rights than women.
3. **Disparity in Status of Family Members:** In a Muslims family, all members are not considered equal. These inequalities could be viewed on the basis of age, gender and rights. Compared women, men enjoy more respect and rights. It is the men who inherit the property. In case of divorce too, they have special rights. They are the ones who go on to become the 'Head' of the family. The important family matters are consulted with boys rather than girls. In the family, the father holds the first position while the mother holds the secondary position. Similarly, the husband holds the first position while his wife holds the secondary position. In case of boys too, the position of the eldest son is considered the highest.



Did u know?

In A Muslim family, the aged members get more respect than the younger ones.

4. **Polygynous System:** Islam allows, the practice of the 'Polygynous' system and a man is free to have four wives. Having more than one wife is considered a symbol of respect and status in the society. Thus, this system is found in affluent families. The man is expected to treat all his wives equally, in case, there are more than one wives in a family.
5. **Pardah System:** The 'Pardah' System is prevalent in the Muslim families, in order to keep women distanced from men. There are curtains and blinds on doors and windows. Women do not face men, with uncovered faces. They use 'Veil' and 'Burka' when stepping out of the house. In the house too, there is a separate 'Zanaankhana' and 'Mardaankhana' for men and women to stay. Prophet Mohoammed was not in favour of providing social freedom to women. He was also not in favour of women going-out to public places.
6. **Religious Basis of Family:** The Muslim family follows the rules mentioned in the Quran, which is the sacred religious book of the Muslims. The commandments of the Quran, motivate the family members to fulfill their family duties and responsibilities, determine and regulate their relations and help in making the family unity strong. Quran commands

people to offer 'Namaz' (prayer), observe 'Roza' (fast) go for 'Haj' (Pilgrimage) and practice 'Charity.' In this way, the prominence of religion, reflects in the Muslim family.

Notes

7. **Low Status of women In Family:** Ideologically speaking, a Muslim woman has more rights than a Hindu woman. But practically, their condition is pathetic. Because of the prevalent customs of 'Pardah', uneducation and joint families, they have failed to make any progress. Their lives are limited to the 'Zanaankhana' only. In a family, it is the men, who enjoy more rights than women.
8. **Prominence of Traditions:** Muslims are believers in traditions. They feel proud to follow and preserve their language, food, customs, life style, etc., which they had adopted from their ancestors.
9. **Prominence of Rites:** There are a lot of rites observed by the Muslim families. They are as follows:

Satwaan: A rite called 'Satwaan'; is performed during the seventh month of a woman's pregnancy. A feast is arranged for family and friends, and the ritual is celebrated with fun and entertainment.

Hakeeka: This rite is performed on the seventh night of a male child's birth. The 'Mullah' (Priest) names the child on this occasion. 'Namaz' (prayer) is offered and alms are distributed amongst the poor.

Chilla: This ritual is completed on the 40th day, after the birth of a child. On that day, the child's mother is bathed and given new clothes to wear. Relatives offer gifts, Namaz (prayer) is offered and alms are distributed.

Bismillah: This rite relates to the starting of education. On this day, the Mullah (priest) makes the child utter the word 'Bismillah' and makes him write on a slate.

Khatna: This rite is performed when a child is five to seven years of age. It is only after this rite, that the child starts participating in religious activities. During the rite, the barber cuts the skin on the front part of the penis. On this occasion, the child takes some vows and reads some verses of Quran. The child is offered gifts and a feast is arranged.

Nikah: Nikah means marriage. The wedding ceremony takes place in the presence of witnesses. The approval by the bride and the groom, marks the completion of the wedding ceremony.

Mayyat: This rite is related to the deceased person. The barber shaves and bathes the deceased and put new clothes. The body is covered with a sheet and taken to a Mosque. There a 'Janaaza' (prayer) is recited for the peace of the departed soul. Then, the body is buried in a grave yard. Fatiha (a Prayer) is recited at the grave. Later on, the rites related to the funeral are performed on the 3rd, 10th, 40th day and also on the death anniversary.

20.3 Christian Family

Like other families, in Christian families too, mating relationship is found. The family originates, through marriage. There is adoption of family name in a Christian family. The Paternal lineage system is followed. In some Christian families of Malabar, the Maternal Lineage system is prevalent, that is, the children adopt their mother's family name. Every family has some economic provision, by which they support the family member and nurture the children. Every Christian family has a common habitation system. They follow the patri-local system, i.e., the bride stays with the husband's family after marriage. The following are the characteristics of a Christian family:

1. **Patri Dominating System:** In Christians, Patri Dominating families are found. The man has an important position as the bread winner of the family. He holds the family property. In such families, the lineage goes by the father's name. The father's name is prefixed to every individual's name.

Notes

2. **Lack of Common Income:** With most of the Christian families being nuclear, the question of common income does not arise. Though the siblings live with their parents, they are engaged in separate business. Thus, their earnings are individually theirs, which they spend on their wives and children, according to their wishes. In order to run the family, each of them contribute by giving a regular part of his earnings to his father. They have individual rights over their earnings because of which, they rarely have any immovable property.
3. **Lack of Common Property:** Because of nuclear families, there is a general lack of common property. Where a number of sibling stay along with the parents, they demand fast division of property after their parents demise. All the siblings have equal rights on their parents property.
4. **Small Size of Family:** Christian families are usually small in size. After marriage, the couples sets up a new house.
5. **Individualistic Base:** Christian families are based on Individualism. The individuals see their own priorities instead of thinking about the interests of their families. They are so obsessed with their individualistic views that they do not given any preference to their families. Because of such an individualist attitude, they lack possession of common income or common property.
6. **Based on the Ideology of Equality:** The family relations in a Christian family 'head' is a male, but does not act as a dictator. Women and children are also given importance in matters related to the family. They have a tendency of understanding each-other and they possess a friendly view.
7. **Position of women:** In the christian families, men and women have an equal position. Women are allowed to take part in economic political, social and financial activities and they are doing so. Girls are given similar opportunities as boys regarding education and personality development.

Aims of Christian Family

M.P. John has cited four aims of a Christian Family:

1. **Giving Birth:** In every society, giving birth is important. The continuity of the family and society depends on it only.
2. **Safety From Immorality:** Generally, every living being wants the fulfillment of his sexual desires. Immorality will spread in the society, if people are permitted to fulfill their sexual desires outside the sphere of marriage and family.
3. **Mutual Support:** The family gives an opportunity to its members to offer mutual support to each-other. It helps to develop love and generous attitude towards each-other.
4. **Increased Comforts:** The main aim of family is to take care of the comforts of its family, increase them and give an opportunity to each one of them lead a comfortable life.

In a nutshell, a Christian family symbolises the ideologies of the society. It fulfills the various needs of a family and regularizes sexual relations. It provides continuity to the family and society by giving birth and nurturing the children.

Self Assessment

Fill in the blanks:

4. _____ system is found in them, *i.e.*, the bride lives in her husbands family after marriage.

5. His _____ is found on family property.
6. With every individuals name, the _____ of his father's name is added.

Notes

20.4 Summary

- According to **Maceywore** and **Page**, "Family is defined as a group of adequate and certain sexual relations which arranges the birth of children and nurtures them."
- The aim of the family is to provide habitat, financial support, sexual satisfaction, sociability and education, *etc.*, to its members.
- The Muslim families are of Paternal lineage. They are male dominated and have the joint family custom.
- Islam accepts Polygamy. A man is allowed to have four wives.
- In Christians too, Paternal lineage families are found. In Christian families, the family relations are based on equality.

20.5 Keywords

1. **Individualistic Family:** A family in which both the husband and the wife has the right to take decisions, independently and in equal number. It is a form of a modern family.
2. **Christian Family:** They have Paternal lineage. After marriage, the bride lives with her husband's family.

20.6 Review Questions

1. Discuss the meaning of a family and its characteristics?
2. What are the characteristics of a Muslim family?
3. What is the aim and characteristics of a Christian family?

Answers: Self Assessment

1. Support
2. Institution
3. things
4. Pati-Local
5. Central
6. Prefix

20.7 Further Readings



- Books**
- Marriage and Family in India – K.N. Kapadia
 - Sociology – T.V. Botomore
 - Sixteen Rituals (Sanskars) – Swami Avdheshan, Manoj Publication
 - Families in India, Marriage and Kinship – Shobhita Jain, Rawat Publications

Unit 21: Forms and Functions of Family

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21.6 Further Readings

Objectives

After studying this unit, students will be able to:

- Understand the types of families on different basis.
- Understand the functions of a family.

Introduction

A family is main source of self-protection, lineage and continuity in the caste life. Human is mortal but humanity is immortal. Two contrast images of death and immortal clanage emerges only in the family system. Human wants to live forever. For immortalism men tried many herbs, chemicals, searched nuts and did many more experiments but he find no other solution than a family. Marriage forms a family and children expands it and a passion immortalize oneself under the roof of a family clanage. On one side, a man feels unhappy on his death on the other side, by family clanage he turns immortal so he feels happy.

A family protects that, whatever is beautiful are in our life. The family system gives cultural prosperity to humanity. The base of a family is man and woman, they are like two banks of a river in which river of life flows.

21.1 Types of family in India

Various types of families came into existence with the development of human society. The different conditions of places, *i.e.*, geographical, economical, cultural give birth to different family system. A family can be classified on the basis of number of family members, forms of marriage, male/female dominance, housing of family clanage, *etc.* Classification of types of families in India are as follows:

1. On the Basis of Number of Family Members –

- (a) Central family/Nuclear family

- (b) Extended family
- (c) Joint family

2. On the Basis of Home Ownership –

- (a) Father-resident family
- (d) Parent-resident family
- (b) Neo-resident family
- (e) Uncle (Maternal)-resident family
- (c) Mother-resident family
- (f) Both (Parents)-resident family

3. Male/Female Dominance in the Family –

- (a) Fatherly dominated family
- (b) Motherly dominated family

4. On the Basis of Inheritance Law –

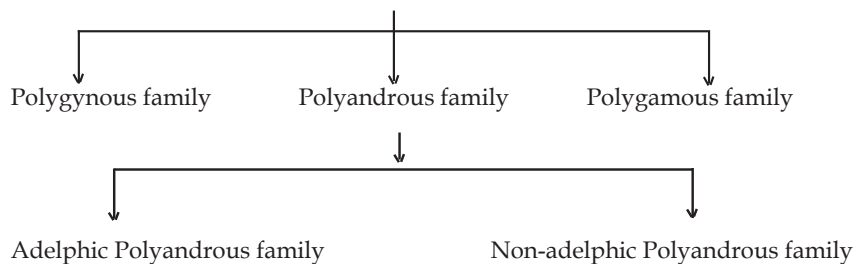
- (a) Family system inherited from father side.
- (b) Family system inherited from mother side.

5. On the Basis of Lineage –

- (a) Patri-lineage
- (b) Matri-lineage
- (c) Common family
- (d) Two surname family

6. On the Basis of Marriage –

- (a) Monogamous family
- (d) Polygamous family



7. Some Other Forms –

- (a) Family of origin
- (b) Family of procreation

- Notes
- (c) Consanguine family
 - (d) Affinal family
 - (e) Rural family
 - (f) Urban family

(I) On the Basis of Numbers

- (a) **Nuclear Family:** This type of family is the main characteristics of modern industrial Societies. The number is increasing due to industrialisation and urbanisation. Where agriculture sector shows joint family system, industrialisation shows nuclear family system. Today's changing scenario makes it difficult to keep family integrated. Modern civilisation and culturalism, materialism and centered views give support to nuclear families. Today a man concerns only wife and children instead all the relatives. This is the reason, many people want to start nuclear family, those lining in joint family system.

Central or Nuclear is the smallest family system in which live, a men, wife and their dependent children, it does not count other family members. Children live until they are unmarried. After marriage they form their own nuclear family. This family system can be found in many castes and tribes. In these families, members ties with each other emotionally. The structure is also very small and it effects creatively on children. Today, family system is changing from joint to nuclear. Many studies in India is reflects this trends.

- (b) **Joint Family:** In joint family structure, three or more than three generations live in one house. They have combined family wealth. They eat from one kitchen, take part in group worship and related to each other in one or another relations, family members perform their duties and obligations. **Dubey says**, "Joint family is, where principle family live with close relations, eat from one place and work for one economic unit," In one joint family there live grandparents, parents, uncle-aunt, cousins their wives and children, widow sisters and daughters. In Hindus, specially those living in rural areas has a trend of joint family. **J.D. Men** wrote in his book, "Hindu law and custom" about joint family of Malabar which is called "Tharward", is an example for joint family system.

Comparision Between Nuclear and Joint Family System

1. Size of family is short in nuclear family because of only husband, wife and their unmarried children live with them. But in joint family three or more than three generations live to fatherly, so size turns bigger.
2. Generally in Nuclear Families family control is not very strong but in joint family eldest men or the family lay strict control over the family so that they cannot behave against the family norms, but sometimes, because of chief member's dictatorship tension spreads in the family.
3. *In Nuclear Family* the children find many opportunities of personality development because parent children enjoy close relationship and parents arrange good education to them as per resources.
But in joint family system, they follow same principle for all even for talented children they do not pay attention.
4. **Dr. S.S. Gore** has adopted a new measure to differentiate between nuclear and joint family system.
5. According to him, in nuclear family husband and wife are closely related. Wife and children are important in such families. In joint family all decisions are taken by the head of the family, after taking, consent of male members only and ladies and children get neglected.

6. Nuclear families can be found among new industrial and Urban Societies, while joint family in agrarian sector and in rural areas.

Notes



Notes

Nuclear family and joint family have different trait even though they are changing into one another. Joint families break and turn into nuclear families which in nuclear families when children get married they keep staying with parents and change it into joint family.

- (c) **Extended Family:** This contains all blood related and some other relatives. It can be one-sided or two sided (Motherly/Fatherly). Family members are many in such families. Their residence and work is the same, they respect head of the family. **Dubey** says, "Extended family is related with many units of one clanage."

Self Assessment

Fill in the blanks:

- One can not get exact _____ between the relatives and kins of the family.
- According to Duby _____ is that family which is related with many units of one clanage.
- After marriage wife lives with husband and his parents, this kind of family called _____.

(II) On the Basis of Residence

The family is classified on the basis of, where husband and wife will live after marriage.

- Patrilocal Family:** If wife lives with husband and his parents they are called patrilocal family. This tradition runs in Hindus, Muslims, Bheel and Khadiya.
- Matrilocal Family:** Opposite to this, when a husband lives with wife and her parents at their place, are called matrilocal family. In India, this kind of family is found in Malabar's Nayyer, Khasi and Garo tribe.
- Neolocal Family:** After marriage husband and wife live neither with his/her parent but built their own home, they are called neolocal families.
- Biolocal Family:** After marriage couple live with either father or mother or any. These are called motherly or fatherly-resident families.
- Avanculocal Family:** After marriage couple live with his (husband's) maternal uncle. This is the custom in Trobriyanda Island. In India, motherly dominated families has such traditions.
- Dualocal Family:** Some families are such, where after marriage man/wife live with their own (paternal) families. In Lakshdeep, Kerala and in "ashanti" tribes you can find such families. In night, husband spent his night in wife's mother house but come back in day time.

(III) On the Basis of Authority

Who will be authoritative either mother or father. On this basis families are divided into two parts—

Notes

- (a) **Patriarchal Families:** In these families the authority remains in the hands of father and men. They regulate the family.
- (b) **Matriarchal Families:** In these type of families, the authrity vests in mother or women and they regulate the family, just opposite to Patriarchy. Sometimes a man can do this on her behalf. At some places these rights are actual while at other places they are just formalities. This type of families are found in Nayyar, Garo, Khasi tribes in India.



Task

Describe the type of family in India.

(IV) On the Basis of Succession

Posts can also be transfered to the descendants from father to son or mother to daughter just like authority. There are two types of families on this basis –

- (a) **Patrilateral Family:** In these families rules of succession are determined on the basis of father side.
- (b) **Matrilateral Family:** In these families rules of succession are determined on the basis of mother side.

(V) On the basis of Lineage

Families are classified on the basis of lineage also. The rules of lineage relates a person to some specific group since birth.

- (a) **Patrilineal Family:** In these type of families lineage and progeny go on the name of father. Son get lineage from their father. Hindu family based on Patrilineal family.
- (b) **Matrilateral Families:** In these type of families lineage go on the name of mother and daughters get lineage from their mother. This system is found in Nayyar of Malabar.
- (c) **Common Family Clanage:** In some families clanage name does not depend on lineage but depends on all the close relations equally. In this type of societies both maternal and paternal family clanage runs simultaneously. In common families a person is equally related to paternal and maternal grand parents.
- (d) **Two Surname Family:** In this family a person is related to his, paternal and grand parents, this is a kind of common family system.

(VI) On the Basis of Marriage System

On the basis of marriage type of the society we can divide families into two parts. Firstly, One marriage family or monogamous and secondly multimarriage family or polygamous. These have subdivisions which are not described here.

- (a) **Monogamous Family:** One marriage family form by one man and one woman. In this, man wife and their unmarried children live. In monogamous family at one times, a man can get married to one woman, but after death of man, wife can marry again and after death of wife, husband can marry again.
- (b) **Polygynous Family:** In these families, multiple life partners are allowed at a time.
 - (i) **Polygynous Family/Wife:** One man is allowed to marry more then one partners at a time. Such families can be found in India in Muslims, Naga, Bega and Gond tribes. They have such tradition.

- (ii) **Polyandrous Family/Husband:** When a woman marries more than one men. Such families are called polyandrous family. It has two part-When all brothers of family marry a woman, it is called Addelphic polyandrous family. Secondly when husbands are not “brothers only” but can be other relations, they are called Non-addelphic polyandrous family. Such families can be found in khus of Johsar Barbar, Roda of Nilgri and Nayyars of Malabar and Tibbet.
- (iii) **Punaluam Family:** When some brothers or many men marriage a group of ladies and all men are commonly husband to them, that family is called punaluam.

Notes


(VII) Some Other Forms of Family

- (a) **Family of Origin or Orientation:** A family where a person takes birth gets brought up is called family of origin. The family have person’s parents and unmarried brothers and sisters.
- (b) **Family of Procreation:** A man forms the family oneself after marriage, it has man, wife and their unmarried children.
- (c) **Consanguine Family:** Linton says, “there are two types of families-Consanguine family and marriage-related family. In consanguine family all the family members are blood related and not marriage related.”

For example: In Nayyar family, which is a Matriarchy, husband rarely stays in his wife’s house. Often the women’s kins stay there.

- (d) **Affinal Family:** Blood relatives and affinal/ marital relatives both stay together but the main focus is on affinal/relatives to maintain.
- (e) **Rural Family:** There is a difference between a rural family and an urban family. Rural families are influenced by rural environment and factors. Importance of agriculture and dependence on nature are the basic characteristics of rural society which influence a rural families also. The smallest form of a rural family consists husband-wife and children. There are different forms of families which emerged with the development of the society. **Dr. Reverse** says that class were popular in the hunting and food collection age. In the age of herdsman and the agriculture there might be mother land joint families. When plough agriculture started with animal husband the father land joint families might be in fashion. Nuclear families consisting husband wife and minor children are emerged due to industrial capitalism.

Joint families are found in all agriculture priority societies in the world. The number of members are more in these families in comparison of a nuclear family and two-three generations live together. Rural environment influenced the rural families and has given them a specific form. This is why the characteristics of a rural family differ from other families.



Notes Rural families have often paternal homes, paternal class and patriarchies. Properties is transferred to son from father, children’s class is identified through father’s family and wife comes to stay in husband’s family after marriage.

- (f) **Urban Family:** Urban families are different from rural families in form and functions. Nuclear families are emerged due to industrial capitalism, that consists husband-wife and minor children.

Notes

21.2 Functions of the Family

Family is a fundamental unit of the society. Man has done many inventions but could not create a system which can replace a family. The reason behind is that functions of families can not be executed by any organisation or institution. We will discuss the functions of a family in brief.

(I) Biological Functions

Biological functions of a family are as follows:

- (a) **Sexual Satisfaction:** Sexual satisfaction is equal important in fundamental human needs. Family is a commune where a person fulfills his/her sexual needs with the system approved by the society. No society can give absolute unregulated freedom for sex because it results in producing babies and relationship crisis, status, succession and class determination are also officiated with it.
- (b) **Reproduction:** Sexual satisfaction simply not the end of one's biological need but it also result as a child birth. Man is mortal hence, it is necessary to fill the vacuum by new members to perpetuate the society. This important work is done by the family. Child birth can be occurred beyond the family but civilized society would not accept this type of child as they are illegal. Only legal child acquire succession and inheritance.
- (c) **Race Perpetuation:** Family has made the society immortal. This is the congregation place of death and life. The family has maintained the firmness and perpetuality of human beings by giving birth to new born. According to Gudey, "The society will be perished if family would not manage sufficiently the whole needs of human life."

(II) Physical Functions

- (a) **Bodily Care:** A family provides production to their members. In case of old age, accident, helplessness, illness or having disabled, the family look after and serve their family member. A family also look after the pregnant mother and new born child.
- (b) **Nurture of Children:** In human being, infancy period is longer in comparison to other species. The family takes care to his new born. There are many creches opened to look after the new born but the emotional and touchy atmosphere which is essential for the growth of a child can be achieved only in the family.
- (c) **Provision for Food:** Family provide food to their members for their existence. The main function of the family has been procuring food to their family member since ancient time. Food is essential for the existence of life and by keeping alive human civilisation and culture can be flourished.
- (d) **Provision for Shelter and Clothing:** Family provide shelter to his family members. The place where man gets complete peace and tranquility is his own house. Our house protect us from heat, cold and rain. We wear clothes to protect us from heat, cold and rain as well. Those are provided by the family.

(III) Economic Functions

- (a) **Inheritance Determination:** The system of transferring property and post from one generation to new generation is found in every society and this work is to be done by the family. There are certain rules in each society in transferring mentioned property: In patrilineal family son get succession in Patrilineal family while daughter get-succession in matrilineal family.
- (b) **Productive Unit:** The family is the mark of consumption and production. In ancient time, the production work was done by family. Total productive work was done by family in

primitive slogan such as hunting, animal rearing and farming. Constructive work was done by the family in earlier industry. Even today, the society having underdeveloped and incomplete industry. This construction work is done by men, women and children of the same family. Hence, we can say that family is a co-operative productive unit.

- (c) **Division of Labour:** The simplest form of division of labour can be seen in a family where work is distributed among man, woman and children. Sex and age both are the basis of division of labour/work in the family. Women do domestic jobs while men work outside and children perform small tasks. Heavy labour jobs done by men. Labour division in family members is a significant important factor for economic support.
- (d) **Management of Income and Property:** We have already mentioned while discussing characteristics of the family that every family has some source of income to feed its members. It gets income from that particular source. Family's economic status is judged by its income. Head of the family decides how the family will spend its income. Every family has land, Jewellery tools, cash, gold, cattle, shop etc. as moveable and immovable asset, which is maintained by the family itself.

(IV) Religious Functions

Every family follows some religion. Family members are also given knowledge about religion, customs, moral, fact and festivals etc. by family. A person learns to perform worship of prayer of God, ancestors worship etc. from families members only. A person also adopts the concepts of vices and virtues, hell and heaven, violence and non-violence from family.

(V) Political Functions

Family does politics also. In the Tribal and simple societies where ruler or the head of the Tribe consults with the heads of families, family plays an important political role. Head is the ruler of the Indian joint families. He is the judge and jury of the family in resolving family disputes and deliver justice. He leads about relationship of the family with other families. He represents the family in village and community meetings.

(VI) Function of Socialisation

Socialisation of a child starts in the family. A living being transforms into social being through the process of socialisation. He learns customs, rituals, tradition and culture of the family and society. Gradually a child becomes a functional unit of society. Family transfers the culture of society generation by generation. Knowledge is gathered, conserved and increased in family.

(VII) Educational Functions

Family is the first school of a child where his personalities is grown. Familiar teachings/preachings remain in heart for life. Biographies of great persons prove that their families played a significant role in creating their personality.

In the ancient age when there were no educational institutes, family was the only institution for education. A child learns the lesson of compassion, have affection, sacrifice, sympathy, obedience, etc., in the family itself.

(VIII) Psychological Functions

Family provides mental security and contentment to its members. Family members love and sympathize with each-other. A child becomes confident by this. Children who did not use privileged to get love and affection of parents become personally of criminal and distractive nature.

Notes Revise, divorce, separation, absence of any of the parents causes inappropriate development of a child in the lack of affection and mental security.

(IX) Cultural Functions

A family conserves the culture of the society and transfers it to the new generation. Family maintains the regularity and stability of culture by handing over it to the new generation.

(X) Transmission of Human Experiences

A family contributes a lot to the society by conserving and transmitting knowledge and experiences gathered by its ancestors. If it does not do so every generation will have to search for knowledge freshly.

(XI) Function of Recreation

A family also entertains its members. Lovely talks of small children and their quarrels, love between husband and wife are the means of entertainment in a families. Festivals, functions, religious functions, wedding ceremony, shraddh bhoj, bhajan-kirtan are recreational activities of a family.

(XII) Placement in the society

A families places its members in the society. A person's status in the society also depends on the status of the family he was born in. An emperor's elder son takes over on his death in a autocracy. In an autocratic society where a person's birth is more important than his virtues, a family plays an important role in acquiring status in the society.

(XIII) Social Control

Head of the family regulates its members and influences them to follow customs, traditions and rules of their caste, class and society. In case of disobedience, he punishes them, scolds and threatens to throw out of the family. Family's atmosphere is such that everyone performs his/her duties. There is less possibility of controlling by power in the family.



Notes

It is clear that a family is an important unit of the society, in the light of its functions mentioned above. Many organisations and institutions are adopting its functions today, but the existence of the family still remains in the society in one or the other form.

21.3 Summary

- A family is classified on the basis of number of members, nature of members, nature of marriage, man-woman's rule, domicile, clan etc.
- There are three types of families on the basis of number of family members- nuclear family, Joint family and extensive family.
- There are two types of families on the basis of power – patriarchy and matriarchy.

- A family where a man is born and brought-up is called a family of origin.
- Division of work in the family is done in various ways. For example, psychological work, Economical work, physical work, religious work, Political work, socialistic work, etc.

Notes

21.4 Keywords

1. **Institutional Family:** According to Verges, such form of family where behaviour of family is controlled by public conduct and public customs.
2. **Social Control** means those provisions by which views of persons emotions, expectations and behaviour are controlled by any social establishment.

21.5 Review Questions

1. Explain the types of family on the basis of institution.
2. Describe the types of family on the basis of residence.
3. Explain the types of family on the basis of marriage.
4. Analyse the function of a family.

Answers: Self Assessment

1. knowledge
2. Extended
3. Patrilocal

21.6 Further Readings



Books Marriage and Family in India-K.M. Kapadia
The Society-Massiver and Page.

Unit 22: Development Cycle of Family in India

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Objectives

After studying this unit, students will be able to:

- Understand the origin of a family in India.
- Understand development cycle of a family in India.
- Understand the changing forms of joint family in India.

Introduction

'The change' is a universal fact. Neither society nor any part of it, can save itself from its effects. Many a changes took place in Europe at the end of 18th century; so is in India, in 19th century many changes took place in Indian family system due to increase in industrilisation and urbanisation. The family was a production unit before industrialisation. After industrialisation work started in the workshops. Everyone whether men, wives and children would go to work in it. It increased indivisualism and freedom of family members, which loosen father's control on the family and gave space for negligence for children. Industrialisation gave economic freedom to women. They freed from economic dependency imposed by men. Now, female started coming out from house for work which effect the domestic administration. The demandrises for "women libralisation" or equality. The states and its extended working system grabbed many functions which were used to be done by a family earlier. The people started living in village due to urbanisation. In cities, nuclear families are maximum, where family members have more freedom and rights. Modern medical and medicine science helped a lot, which cut down the size of a family by helping various family welfare programmes. Western culture, Individualism, means of transport, many associations and organisations affected the structure and functioning of a family and brought various changes in it.

22.1 Origin of Family

Notes

To analyse the historical origin of a family eco-researches and guess helped a lot. Now a student of sociology does not have interest in origin related questions. **Darwin** and **Spenser's** origin theories were dominating the studies of gravel development which is considered a simple process of one-liner development and social institutions were considered opposite to the contemporary western European institutions but this thought is not verified by existed biological civilisation. **Len's Morgan** laid his study on many facts showing that people who live willingly, do wife exchange on festive reasons, wife on debt, use 'father' for many people are uncivilized, they do not form a 'family'. The picture of ancient society presented by **Morgan**, Society was a 'Factual Unit' or it (the group) has "Sib" as "the only group". **Morgan** also told that due to free sex and unknowingness of father, "The father" was not important in such society and he found "Mother Sib" as the early groups.

Morgan's gradual development has only historical importance. It is already pointed out that a family "as a committee" has many types; a student who hurriedly ends up studies fails to look upon.



Notes

Morgan's derivations were right but they were not universal in any form. Alongwith it, Morgan's conclusions were rational and wise but has less historical and real facts. Morgan had also presented the serial development of a family.

It was forcefully advocated, since time of **Morgan** that seeing the accepted factor of broadcast, such unbending, Chiology and linear evolution of institutions are not acceptable introductions.

Morgan described five serial wise development of the family, which related to monogamy system. They are:

1. **Blood Related Family:** This group was based on marriage "in between the group members." They are brethren or collateral, means brother sister or cousins (maternal or paternal).
2. **Palauan Family:** "This group is based on marriage system of many sisters, step brothers and friends." Inter marriages with each other's husbands and husbands inter marry each other's wives. It is not necessary that wives are related to men but in reality. As a groups all wives should be relative to each other, in all circumstances they have to marry a person of opposite sex in the group.
3. **Sindyasmiyan Family:** This family is based on single couple (one husband-one wife) marriage. The couple do not give permission to anyone, to have sexual relationships with others. So this type of marriage sustains only on each others consent.
4. **Fatherly Dominated Family:** This family is based on, one man and many wives. In the family, a wife line separately from other wives.
5. **One Marriage System:** This family is also based on, one man-one wife marriage system, but men and women have freedom of sexual relationship with consent.

In this classification, **Morgan** described many customs of blood related families of ancient and modern societies.

Westermark was the first, who prominently criticised, **Morgan's** scheme and its basis. **Westermark** studies marriage institution vastly, and reached on the conclusion that origin of a family is "male egoism" and jealousy, who did generate and possessed assests. So, the development of a family is centered by men, not by women. It is right, because even **Morgan** co-related a family's growth with men only, whether it is child birth, succession of wealth to its offspring's, not to sister or mother.

Notes

Westmarks's Scheme is an expression of development for the institutions. He made it more one sided. He started learning origin of marriage into marriage system but it is related mainly with the moral values. **Westermarck's** rigidity of these thoughts is a blow on its main basis of theory.

Brefa got motivated by **Morgan's** thoughts, he condemned and criticized Westermarck's thoughts. **Brefa** advocated Motherly dominance on the origin of family and on other institution. Means, 'Mother is supreme'. **Brefa** told, the fatherly dominated family and monogamous family developed late in the course of time.

Modern researchers of "The family", do not keep any relationship with its problems of origin basis. They did not go into this, because either they were rejected by the failure of previous writers or historical outputs are totally re-established, but some writers found comparative studies totally useless and waste. Researchers and discovers on the basis of their detected information told that the family "prevails everywhere in the world, in all parts and cultures and on all levels. In contrast to this, historical facts did not show any definite importance as yet. Early precursors told original Australians has the oldest, but its totally acceptable fact that Andaman people are the oldest. The family system that prevails in Andaman's and original residents of Australians was a socially acceptable unit. In Indian continent too, even socially and economically backward tribes has family organisation. These tribes are – **Kadar, Paniyan, Malapantarian, Checu, Birhor, etc.** **Morgan** told about the trend of "Sib" in uncivilized, "Sib" of any kind can be found in agrarian tribal who depends on agriculture. "Sib" is not exists in Andaman residents and uncivilized tribes like Kadar, but "Sib" represents a big group of Toda and Khasi tribes. The family is based on generalised facts. These family members get recognition only blood related, physically close, co-operative or emotionally connected. Among them, classification and choice do not exists as happens in "Sib." The basic drives, which can be fulfilled and had been fulfilled earlier happens in family like groups only, this shows that 'family' always exists in the human culture. It is also clear, that the family has many old faces because it developed from many references theoretically everywhere. Existence of a family is granted because it feed sex and food desires, helps in economic difficulties and follow the culture and traditions. When the sex-relations established and economic enterprises take a form, "the family" automatically takes shapes.

The child birth makes family life more stable and organised. Although family is the answer to all the challenges such as – physical, physiological, nature and environmental, but we cannot exaggerate this fact much because a family structure determines by local cultural traditions every where. It might happens that only one type of family structure prevails in a society apparently, but in practically life, it can be many types. This is why we find many types of family groups in one socio-cultural surroundings.

Self Assessment

Fill the blanks:

1. Neo-researchers of "a family" do not have any relationship with its _____ problems.
2. Researchers _____ get facts that 'a family' prevails in every culture and everywhere in the world.
3. Tradition of family in Australian origin is very important in _____ and _____ point of view.

The Original Sources of a Family

As a member of mankind, a man's life may affects from the pre-determined circumstances. Taking breath, eat , drink, sleep, reproduction all are a man's necessary needs. Some works, which delt above (first and somewhat of last) a men can do himself or alone, but other works are such

which he cannot do without other's help. If we consider the physical abilities only the man is not perfect. Although he tried to get victory over nature by his organised efforts because he has a brilliant mind.

This is why manmade groups had many functions and principles.

Kinship arrangement is the easiest and the most clear principle.

Means the relatives developed between the family members on the basis of inheritance and marriage.

This type of family relation is trifocal in nature, husband-wife, parents-children, and relation with other relatives. It is not necessary that secondly and thirdly relative are blood relatives only because children can be adopted. It means that, the definition of a family cannot be given on the basis of biological nature of a human. It is now clear from above discussion.

Notes



Task

What are the principle sources of a family?

22.2 Family: As a Process

There are two ways to learn a family. A family can be studied by thinking human-society as a universal and static institution. In other words, a family is a functional unit, which is already discussed above. The second type of family is, a group. Or a constructed society, now we would study, forms of a family and its introduction.

As told before, the family has a biological side pregnant mother and infant need a family's protection a lot. But mother and child does not make a family, mother, her sex partner, their children creates privacy membership in the family. This primary group has many names. Such as – Nuclear, nearest, primary family. Well the words have same meaning. The centre point of all types of family are those people, who relate to each-other with intention of reproduction, with their children parents forms a productive secured society.

This center expands with the contribution of close family. Now, we called it extended family. Extended families are of many types. Firstly, they develop near the centre and secondly, they are very broad Hindu joint family, based on the principles of blood relation.

In the diameter of husband-wife, other relatives comes in the center are called Blood related families. Members are related by birth, there is no place of choice. This is why, it is more stable unit. Blood related families do not destroy when a child grow-up to male or marriage breaks. Blood relatives fulfills each others need except sex needs. The marriage is universally prohibited among close relatives. Because of this reason husband/ wife belongs to other family clad. So, we see that, in blood related family, focus is given on the blood relatives only but not on marriage. It is said that Malabar's Nanyars have these family in the beginning to the millennium. The father and the husband had no social recognition.

The type of family, we are familiar to in our society is the couple, their children and some relatives. This type of family is called nuclear family, this type of family is found in tribes as Kariya. Married or (couple relationship) is the most important in these families. These families are not stable in those societies where marital relations can not be disconnected. This is why some dynamism is seen among the family member because every member's (male/female) loyalty rifts after marriage from the original family to their own. The percentage of change is different. For example – in fatherly- resident family – a daughter-in-law has least relationship with her original family but her husbands relationships does not break with his family.

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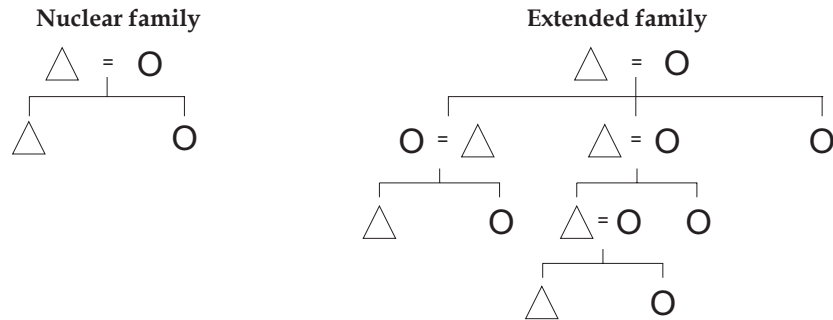
Did u know? “The Family” where a person takes birth, is called family or birth or awakening. After marriage, he creates another family which is called reproduction family.

Expansion of the family has some other types too. In these families some other family members can be included who cannot be placed as yet. “Multiple Wives Family” is a such type of families, in which a person marry more than one wife. This type of marriage system generally prevails in tribal areas of India. Another type of such family “ Polyandrous family”, in which a wife has more than one husband. This family system can be find in the “Khas” tribes of Jonsar Babar area of U.P. In the family, many brother marries a wife and have sexual relations with her. Interesting situation happens when both types of marriages creates “a family”. Recently this type of family developed in Todas, it is called “grout marriage.”

Joint family, is another type of family. It prevails in India a lot though it is based and supported by traditions, history, fake-history, lies and religion.

This is an organization of more than one primary family, living on joint residence and are blood related. In result, they are of two types. Motherly resident- joint family (as prevails in Nayyar) and fatherly resident-joint family (as prevails in Hindus and tribes of middle areas). In both types of family (females in motherly-resident families and male in fatherly resident families) children do not leave their origin family after marriage as a general law. So, we see, joint family system is a mixture, which can be divided into many families by birth or by cause of reproduction. The joint family members who leave their families after marriage (daughters in fatherly-resident family, sons in motherly-resident family) deprived total from their origin family membership. Because of this a kind of dualism creates.

Graphical presentation of Nuclear and Extended families



In the above graphical presentation, we have presented structural classification on the basis of a family’s formation and creations. Along with, forms of family and structure of it does not depend on who and how many are the members, but how husband and wife become members.

In the same way, a different basis, besides classifying families into primary (or nuclear) and diversified (or joint) also classified as monogamous, polygamous, polyandrous and group marriage families.

According to dominance, a family can be classified into, fatherly dominance, motherly dominance, uncles (maternal) dominance. The family can be divided into two – fatherly linear or motherly-linear, on the basis of naming, inheritance law of wealth, cleavage, reputation and status. Likewise, the family can be divided into motherly resident, fatherly resident or uncle’s residence on the basis of residence.

22.3 Western and Indian Family

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One of the characteristics of contemporary western society is, the importance of primary groups (along with family) is reducing and the secondary group is replacing it. Many functions of the family is getting done by many professional institution which are run by the states.



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In such institutions the nursery, kinder gartens, school, trade unions, club, hotels, and restaurants are important. Free sex, changing values of idealism and results of counters emptive techniques supported the family disintegration.

The family and marriage related sanction is getting fiddled with the decline of religion. So the disintegration of family (marital separation/divorce) is being easy.

The changing point of view of female status and role in the family, add the reasons for family disintegration. Individualism is the basis for all contemporary cultures.

Personal happiness can be possible on the cost of full family. "Divorce is a safety volve" on the point of view of a man, which removes mental tensions and safeguard personal happiness.

Some contemporary socialists believes that social and personal neurosis are the main reason of family disintegration. The emotional basis of a family represents prime inspiration of love, co-operation and security and these act as a support system to a men, when he is a teacher or a preacher. Such teacher save their students from unnecessary tensions and worries, along with it, these emotional bases of a family, creates strong secured human structure. A family is the only option for secured and emotional sphere for a person.

Disintegration of a family results in development of individualism and depression of social obligations. Selfishness is dominating social and co-operative benefits.

In dictatorship societies, the family is not in danger because of individualism but from states itself which deprive a family's function of giving education and other strokes to their children? In comparison to China, where preceding of **Confusius** and **Liostasay** are at apex from centuries, "The Family" is not an ideal group in the other societies of the world except India or China, India is only some percent behind it. Presently, Chinease are against those preachings, the news is that they are doing movements against it, because they think them as barriers in bringing social-economical structural changes to the society.

In Indian Tribes, only the "one form of family is not prevail in. One marriage, multiple wives marriage, fatherly domine, fatherly lineage, families exist in far east. The Khashi tribes lives different family system in comparison to their neighbour.

Same type of difference you can find in Nayyar tribes. Toda, Kadar, Kash represent the Parent lineage: most of the tribes of middle India shows male dominance.

Hindu society represents similar family system. The family is a holy institution for the Hindus, which is accepted by ancient social traditions religion and supported by multiple history, lies mythological details. Thousands and millions of people believes in popularity of the Ramayana, Ram as ideal and obedient son, Sita's comparison and love for her husband, Lakshman's love and respect for his brother and even Hanuman a monkeylike-man, his ardent services for his master the Ram are known to every one. These Hindus can not deny or minimize the contribution of these lies, in the structure and protection of Hindu society. Hindu family come in the category of "Extended family", which is called a joint family. "The Father is supreme here. Family lineage carries father legacy. The status of woman had been glorified in the epics and Purans a lot, but reality is different, they are not having any status, not their condition is very happy or good. Females live like a working machine and lives under their husbands dominance, especially in the lower middle class families of towns. Female have dominance and more liberty

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in rural areas, even though here also society has male dominance, female does not get even a single part of property.

Two different trends are prevailing in the urban society now. **First** gradually women-awakening, given space to women in many occupations and socially useful activities. **Second** women are following western trends blindly without any objectives. "The marriage is unbreakable: Hindu Shastras believes, there are stable relations and religions ritual.

In last some decades, it felt that amendment is necessary in the living related laws of Hindu families established by religion because it is the necessity of contemporary social life and changing atmosphere. As indicate earlier, inter gotra marriage law should be loosen now. After 1950, Indian politician/MLAs are discussing on Hindu Code Bill for last 5-6 years, till new constitution had came in effect. A serious debate held on this bill. Some support and some criticised it, this is why main bill broken in two parts many laws came into light from these parts. The main objectives of the bill was to give legal permission for divorce, legally registered marriage should have same recognition as religious marriage get along with it, the property inheritance rights to daughters. Discussions had been arranged to reduce the problems from this decision such as – the children from inter caste marriage – their religion and social stability in case parent had not changed their respective religions. Widow marriage is already accepted by the Hindus as neo reasonable thought. Widow-Marriage Act 1856, is a law already now after the massive efforts of famous social reformer **Shri Ishwerchand Vidya Sagar**.

The Muslims, in India represents similar family system which is the result of interaction between Islamic law and-Hindu impact on it. This is a universal fact that Muslims in India specially in Shiya Community a caste structure has developed. Muslims family is like a Hindu family, Fatherly lineage and Fatherly resident. Most old men runs the family and females, who lives under veils, lives at home. But unlike Hindu Muslims do not keep property combined, according to Muslim inheritance law, it shows father lineage and property distribute after seeing same tribal matters. Like Hindu family system, Muslim family is also a extended (joint) family but they do not count distant relatives.

22.4 Forms of Family

The family is not only a stable functional institution and all time active/effective society but can be seen as "a procedure". The family as a "procedure", can be divided into three or four definable stages, on the basis of available information in India. The first stage is – "Development-Stage". In this stage, a child gets developed into a responsible adult of a society. After that "The marriage-Stage" comes. The child-marriage had an important place into the social structure of rural India, even in cities, it found in some percentages. The "Pre-Marriage" stage comes before "the marriage" stage of the development stages, like western society and in the Indian tribal society.

In the "Pre-marriage stage", boys and girls spend time in the houses of one sex group or two sex groups in the middle India and Naga group, where the people learn all young age related activities along with sexual training. In the community of **Moriya, Gourh, Konyak Nagas**, it is seen that personal contact increases in this stages and so affection and that converted into marriage programmes. In the urban and rural societies where marriage get settled by parents, pre-marriage stage does not occur, so is the courtship.



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The child takes birth after marriage. This stage is called "after marriage stage". This stage is most important for the society. The generation of children, according to their age pass through this procedure. In this way, the family is a continuous process and a society depends on undisturbed continuity and stability of a family.

“The changes” are as follows:

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1. Now, the family is a “consumption unit” only, not the manufacturing or production unit.
2. The family size is now small. The parents and children only, other family members generally do not live with them. The number of children decreased in the family, ‘continuous child birth’ without check is not sensible now.
3. The functions of family has changes now. Firstly, the family was a unit of production and consumption only. All the production had done the family. A persons all economic needs get fulfilled in the family, so is his brought up, education, illness, old age and care also. But these functions of the family has been taken up by other institutions. The child’s brought up is getting done in the nursery and the schools are giving education. The orphans and elderly takes shelter under orphanage, poor home or shelter houses. The hotels are for food and laundry for cleaning stuffs. The hospitals are doing mother-child welfare work and medical help.
4. There is a decrease in the support system of a family. The family members are more individualistic then before, they think about their interest in comparison to others.
5. The relationship of husband and wife has changed. The husband is now a companion or friend instead of a godly man. The female is no more considered as doormat.
6. The changes in the marriage and sexual-relationships—Now marriage is not a religious ritual put a undertaking only. It can be break if needed. Inter caste marriages and love marriages prevails now. Instead of parents, boys and girls choose their life partners.
7. In the family, father’s dominance reduced gradually and other family members started giving their point of view in the family matters.
8. Women got the right of wealth inheritance, before that only men of the family had wealth inheritance rights.
9. Female got freedom from bondage, *i.e.*, “Home only” they freed economically as well as socially. Now wives and daughters got freedom to earn money from their fathers and husbands.
10. Disintegration of the family has increased, numbers of divorces are increasing daily.
11. Importance of relationships has reduced, people started ignoring their relatives.

Above description states that “modern family” is under the era of change. Its structure and functions had been changed by the modern changing forces, yet, the structure of a family will remain intact and will not end.

22.5 Changing Forms of Joint Family

The structure of joint family system change a lot during last some decades. Some socialists believes, that these changes are structural, and are related with family values. Individualism is emerging. Females are advocating “Womanhood” movement. So, here are some reasons responsible for changed joint family system. Some other sociologists believes that these changes are disorganisational for joint family system and it is a cultural heritage for Indian society for any change. Disintegration of joint family system and other changes shows the difference of point of view. The fact between these two point of view is that the family, which was told in books or ancient age, is definitely not show today.

Now, we will illustrate some important points of disorganisation or disintegration in the structure of joint family system.

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1. Circulation of Money

In joint family system, currency was not in circulation before the British period. Everybody's main occupation was "agriculture" only. Barter was a tradition. Guest sum was a custom and through this, people used to feed their needs. It is important that, before, British Period, production unit was a joint family. When Britishers started currencies or exchange of goods and services to money payment system, people started working outside the joint family unit. Britishers started giving employment for their govt. jobs. More interestingly, those who were somewhat literate, got those govt. jobs and started working there, some got work in the workshops. It resulted that the people left joint families. If they were "married", they took their wives, children or some relatives with them. In British period, the money system or economic reason was one of the reasons of disintegration of joint family system.

2. Diversification of Occupations

In the British period, occupations were limited in the country. Most population was into agriculture, rest were artisans, who were into family business. Every caste had their definite occupation and people simply adopted them. British came to India, many occupations started and so did industries – workshops and expansion of market took place and these new products diversified the traditional economic system. This diversification jolted the joint family system. Now joint family was a production unit, but in limited quantity. In fact, production was started in the factories where exchange of goods were been in the family premises. Now it came in the market. As the occupations are concerned, joint family system started shuttering.

3. Employment to women

Now, we are discussing the changes came to joint family in the British period. English were democratic in nature. Their reign effected Indian society too. So far as, employment is concerned, in British India, male and female started to treat as equal.

The female were promoted to take part in freedom movement. Now for the first time, women identified their power, possibilities of getting a job as well as partnership in freedom movement. These type of changes results in, men and women started going out for work which affected the relationships between the family members.

4. Educational Factor

When British rule changed the education system, it affected family system. The persons who got an opportunity of changing education through English medium protested the acts perpetrated against widow customs of child marriage, women education, the law which deprive female from wealth inheritance, bad behaviour towards Indians etc. Educated young men started marrying at an elder age against the family tradition. Moreover, they started to marry educated females as their life partner.

In family affairs, educated females influenced more than the illiterate or less educated females. **Panikkar** says, "Joint family surpassed females. This was British rule that promoted individualism in women for the first time. Now daughter-in-laws had clashes with mother-in-laws. It was inevitable as one was educated and the other was illiterate. So, these thoughts of individualism affected joint family very much..

5. Impact of law

From the British rule to independent India, laws affected joint family system at most in the social concern. It is so that the Britishers made many laws related to joint family matters. After independence, it was definite that women cannot be exploited for long in a family. If we judge

the social laws from the British period to the present, we will find that many laws have affected the joint family system a lot.

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For workers welfare, Britishers made "Indian working-Re-imburement" act 1923, "Minimum Wages Act" 1948 abolished economic dependence on joint family just after independence. "Hindu Education and Wealth Act" 1930 was enacted, which allowed a Hindu, to earn money his own education that would be his personal wealth, irrespective of the burden beared by joint family. This started differences between joint family and personal wealth. In 1937, British govt. made a law, which gave wife a limited power of possession on her husbands wealth. She would inherited all his property after husband's death and had a limited power until he is alive, but after wife's death that property belongs to husband's family.

In 1929, the Sharda Act had banned child marriage. According to this act, the age capability should be 18 years for boys and 14 years for girls. This act had many objectives. But its biggest objectives was to give opportunity of educaton. This act had an impact on personal relationships in the joint family.

After independence, Nehru was intended to prepare a "Hindu Code Bill". If it turned into a law, this would have been affected the structure of joint family system. But it was not a law only a thought.

The proposal, presented by Nehru in that Bill, shaped in various laws but in frictions. For example " Inheritance law" 1956 passed in which boys and girls had equal rights on their father's property. These bills challenged the inheritance system of joint family and dependence of women on others, before it get passed and became a law.

6. Urbanisation

If we look at history of the cities, we would know that civilisation developed near the cities. The cities like Kolkata, Mumbai, Chennai, Delhi developed their civilisation in its reference. People tend to move to cities from villages, this happens always. In the means time, people tend to leave agriculture and craft to other occupations. The density of population is much in urban areas. The population shows diversity, occupations shows big differences and this results into migration of people from rural to urban areas. And it results into – family disintegration. One more character of urbanisation is its limited space to live.

If we look upon years after independence, people left villages to cities for higher education and for business activities too. It is a visible trend that a man takes his wife and children to city and establish his own first family. Another is, man lives in the city leaving behind wife and children in the joint family. Many studies shows that big joint families are being disintegrated due to migration from village to towns or to cities. This result is based on population census. According to it, the cities has big percentage of first family. Residential planning is a big problem in the cities, if it acquired that is to be very little. The survival of a big family in such a small place turns very difficult.

Self Assessment.

Choose right option:

4. Before _____ rule, currency was not in circulation.
 - a. British
 - b. Mugul
 - c. Hindu
5. Occupations were very limited in _____ age.
 - a. British
 - b. Mugul
 - c. Hindu dynamism.
6. _____ Rule changed education system and it affected joint family system.
 - a. Mogul
 - b. British
 - c. Hindu

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22.6 Summary

- Morgan's theory concluded that the simplest and uncivilised people do not have a family system.
- Morgan presented the theory of gradual development of a family.
- According to Morgan "Sib" was the only group in older societies.
- The functions of a family changed due to gradual development of a family, they are structural, relate with values and it has individualism.

22.7 Keywords

1. **Joint Family:** Joint family is a house, where people of more than three generations live together, their members are related to each other with wealth, income, rights and responsibilities.

22.8 Review Questions

1. According to Morgan, how does a family originate? State briefly.
2. Describe the changing structure of joint family under the development cycle of a family, in India.

Answers : Self Assessment

- | | | |
|-------------------|----------------|--------------|
| 1. Origin related | 2. Researchers | 3. Elemental |
| 4. British | 5. British | 6. British |

22.9 Further Readings



Books

Families in India, Marriage and Kinship—Shobhita Jain, Rawat Publication.
Family Tour in India—Tremwore Alik, Kalpaz Publication.

Unit 23: Joint Family: Types and Functions

Notes

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- 23.3 Types of Joint Family
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Objectives

After studying this unit, students will be able to:

- Understand the concept of joint family.
- Know the types of joint family.
- Explain the functions of joint family.
- Understand the importance of joint family.

Introduction

A joint family has been considered as an important feature of Indian social structure since ancient time. Apart from Hindus, joint family system is also found in the non-Hindu family organisations. Normally, joint family system is considered to be a special characteristics of Hindus. Actually it exists all over India, because just like Hindus, it is also found in many non-Hindu communities. The family organisation which we want to describe here may be patriarchal, matriarchal or matrilineal in different communities. The traditional form of family in India is a joint family which is prevalent on this ancient land for hundreds of years as the descriptions of joint family is also found in the sacred books of the Hindu. The meaning of 'family' is the same for Indians as the meaning of "joint family" in English. Nuclear family is not an Indian concept. According to **Karvy**, "(here in India) A family means joint Hindu family." Religion, philosophy, economy system, and caste system are important part of social life in India. Family is an important institution in all these above which has always been a directive force of Hindu culture. Marriage and family is considered to be a part of religion in Hindus as the married life is called the root of all four religious orders referred to the different periods of a persons life. In our holy scriptures, one is advised to renounce the

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life or abandon the world but on the other hand, the importance of married life is also appreciated in a big way. The joint family system has been prevailing in India till date since the Vedic period.

Agriculture was the main occupation in the Vedic period and it needed a number of persons, this is why a joint family system was followed by families. Ancient Vedic families were used to be patri-local, patrilineal or patriarchal. According to **Max Mullar**, "Joint family is an ancient tradition" in India which is provided to the Indians as a social tradition. According to **Panikkar**, "In principle, caste and joint family are not related to each other but still both these institutions are so much interrelated that they have become one institution. The unit of Hindu society is not a person but it is a joint family. As per **Keith** and **Mcdonald**, "Joint family system is very old in India. It is also verified by our Vedic Mantras. At the time of Marriage, the priest blesses the bride and groom as," Stay with each other without being separated, enjoy your whole life at your home, playing with your sons and grandsons and be a queen to rules on your mother-in-law, father-in-law, brother in-law and sister-in-law. It is necessary to understand the family system in India to understand the Indian social life. According to **Mrs. Karvy**, "If we wish to know any cultural fact in India, we must know the three things-linguistic structure, caste system and family organisation. Each one of these three are closely associated with the other two and collectively all three provide a base to other aspects of Indian culture and make it meaningful.

23.1 Meaning of joint family

Joint family as defined by scholars:

According to **Irawati Karvy**, "A Joint family is a group of persons who normally live in one house, have common kitchen, own property jointly pray together, and they must have blood-relations with one another anyway."

According to **R.P. Desai**, "Joint family is a house where member of several generations (*ie*, three or more) lie together as compared to nuclear family, and whose members are related to one-another in respect of income, wealth, duties and responsibilities.

Joint family as defined by **B.R. Aggarwal**, "Members in a joint family live under the authority of the eldest member of family and religion, collective investment of capital, collective use of profit etc. and expenditure made out collective fund on the occasion of birth, death and marriage." According to **Dubey**, "If families of many generations live together, have common kitchen, and work as a economic unit, then we can collectively call it a joint family.

As per **Jolly**, "Not only parents and their children, brothers and step brothers rather sometimes children, ancestor, parallel relatives of several generations are also included in this." Bulletin of the Christian for the study of society has written as, "Joint family means a family in which members of many generations remain attached with one-another to fulfill mutual duty and obligations.



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Joint family means a family in which members of many generations live together or all the brothers of one generation live together with their wives, married children and other relations, who own the wealth and properties collectively. Members of the family have common kitchen and they collectively participate in religions ceremonies, festivals and celebrations, and remain attached with one-another for mutual duties and responsibilities.

23.2 Main Features of Joint Family

Notes

We will describe, here the characteristics of joint family to know its meaning more clearly:

1. **Common Residence:** There are many small families in a joint family whose members live at one place and call it "Big house". Each small family may have one or two separate room for them but kitchen and the place of worship is common for all. If the number of members in the joint family rises, any one of the sons built a house nearby his ancestral house and shift there with his wife and children but they do not consider themselves separate from the members of the big house. All the members gather at the ancestral house on the occasion of festivals, celebrations on to worship. The members who go to town for a job, come back to the village and stay in their ancestral house when on leave or after retirement.
2. **Common Kitchen:** All the members of a joint family have food from a common kitchen. Wives of 'karta' and other adult males of the family look after the work in kitchen. There are certain rules of dinning in such a family which helps in the socialisation of child. Which food is to be prepared on different occasion, is decided by the eldest female member of the family. Food is served, at first, to the children, then to male members and at last to the females. Married women are expected to have food in the same utensils in which their husbands had food:
3. **Common Property:** Wealth and properties are common for all the members in a joint family, shared by all the male members who are descendant of one ancestor. All the members deposit their earnings in the common fund of the family and all the expenditures regarding marriage, birth, death and festivals, etc., are incurred out of the common fund. The whole economic system is handled by the eldest male member of the family.
4. **Common Worship and Religious Duties:** There are many forms of Gods in the Hindu religion. Every family worship a particular god or goddess and also their manes who protect the family members. Religion is an important fact in the Hindus. All the important events start with religious activities and worship. It is also important from point of view of getting the inheritance or succession right in the ancestral property as only the member who perform the rituals like oblation of cooked rice to the manes, libation of water to the manes, offering of water, food, etc., to the Brahmans in honour of manes, etc., gets the inheritance right.

Worshiping fire is also considered to be very important in the Hindus as it protects the family and also provides the family with sons and wealth. Fire is also worshiped in Vedas as, "O fire, provide us with a happy and wealthy house with sons and grandsons." In this way it is important to worship fire and the manes to keep the family together.

Self assessment

Fill in the blanks:

1. All members of the family gather at the ancestral house on the _____ of religions ceremony, festivals and celebrations.
2. Which foods are to be prepared on different occasions, is decided by the _____ female member of the family.
3. The earnings of all the members are deposited in the _____ of the family, and expenditures of marriage, celebrations, birth and death are done out of collective fund of the family.
5. **Related to Kindred:** All members of the family have blood relation with one-another except the wives whose relations are established by marriage. In patriarchal family, the relations are counted from the paternal side while in the matriarchal family, it is counted from the maternal side. The members of three or more generations live together in a joint family.

Notes

6. **Large Size:** A joint family consists of many small families, and members of three generations or more live together. There its size is bigger than that of a nuclear family. Sometimes a joint family may have 50-60 members. A large size joint family will be commonly seen in a village as compared to a city. Grandfather, father, sons their wives, unmarried girls, widows and deserted sisters and daughters, all live together in such a family.
7. **Rights and Obligations:** According to **Desai**, "Members of a joint family remain attached with one-another for duties and responsibilities. In such a family, young members perform their duties towards elders and elder members use their authority. They serve one-another in care of accident sickness and old age. They provide monetary cooperation to one-another in case of birth, death or marriage. If one of the brothers live in a city for the purpose of jobs, he also keeps the children of this brother for education and training. In this way, the members of a family perform their duties and responsibilities.
8. **Common Social Functions:** According to **Kapadia**, "Normal social functions are considered very important in a joint family. It means family is considered as a person for all the social functions and only one person participates as a representative of the family. Who, most of the time, is head of the family, whether it is meeting of panchayat or participating in a marriage, celebration or funeral feast.
9. **Head of the Family:** The head of a joint family is 'karta'. He is the eldest male member of the family in Hindus. He is the person who decides about marriage, celebrations, matter of properties and wealth and all other important matters of the household along with the external matters orders and he maintains the discipline and unity in the family. He remains authoritative but he deals with love, affection and equality with all because these are all the base of integrity of the family.
10. **Co-operative System:** A joint family depends on the mutual co-operation as the family divides in the absence of mutual co-operation. Every member is expected to work his or her capabilities and fulfils his/her requirement from the family. The principle of "one for all and all for one" applies in a joint family therefore it is known as a socialistic organisation.
11. **A Definite Hierarchy:** Members in a joint family have different ranks and authorities. There is a definite hierarchy found in the ranks. On top of it, is 'Karta' then wife of karta and often that comes brothers of karta, elder son of Karta, younger sons and daughters of karta, wives etc. respectively. Widow women have the lowest place in the family.
12. **Comparative Permanency:** A joint family is more stable, compared to other families as it consists a large number of members. Its permanency remain intact even after separation or death of a few members. Member of a family maintains its stability by performing their duties. Monetary co-operation is also a reason of permanency in such a family. At the same time they transferred from one generation to another. Therefore a joint family is more stable and permanent as compared to other families.

23.3 Types of Joint Family

Many forms of joint family exist in India. Joint families, from point of view of authority, lineage, place, generation or, right in property, etc., found in India are as under –

I. On the Basis of Authority, Lineage and Place

1. **Patriarchal, Patrilinear and Patrilocal Family:** Father is the center point in this type of joint family, *i.e.*, the place of father is prominent in this type of family and the lineage of the family is based on his name. In this types of families, wives come to their husband's house and live there, and male members of three or more generations live together. This type of family is transferred from father to their sons. This type of joint family is seen in most of the Hindu families in India.

2. **Matriarchal, Matrilineal and Matrilocal Family:** The place of mother is prominent in this type of family. Mother also has the ownership rights on property of the family and it is inherited from mothers to daughters. The lineage of the family also run-on the basis of mother's name and this name is transferred to daughters. We will find, a female, her brother, her sisters and all the females of the family and their children living together in this type of family. This types of families are found in **nayyar, garo** and **khasi** tribe. We will discuss here the matriarchal family found in Nayyar's.
3. **Nair Family:** Nayyar joint family is known as 'Tarwar' in Malayalam. It consists of a female, her sons and daughters and also sons and daughters of her daughters. In this, way, generations of a family live together in this type of joint family. Children of sons are the member of their wives family and live with their mother. No member of a 'Tarwar' family can demand his/her share in the wealth and property as it remains undivided. The wealth and property is managed by the eldest member of the family known as 'karnwan' who is replaced by someone only after his/her death. As a principle the property can be divided with the consent of all the members it can not take place if any one member oppose the division. In this way, the 'Tarwar' remain undivided. A member gets all the maintenance facilities till he/she be with the family – 1. The permission of karnwan is obtained 2. The behaviour of karnwan is proved to be unfair.

As a manager, 'karwan' cannot mortgage or sell the property at his/her will. He can be removed for violating the rules but practically he/she is so powerful that we can call him/her a dictator.

According to **Kapadia**, "Nowadays development of nuclear family or 'Tawazi' is taking place in the Nayar and the 'Tarwar' is disintegrating. Even the law is encouraging this. As per a new law, "in the event of death of a member in 'tarwar' his/her properties will be inherited by the nearest descendant. So the system of 'Tawzi' or nuclear family is getting strong after getting the right in property. Once tawzi come into existence, it members lose the right in property but they remain a descendant of the lineage. So they consider themselves a member of 'tarwar' and follow the rule of marrying out of family. In case of death of a member, the tawzi members also consider themselves impure for 14 days.

II. On the Basis of Depth of Generations

- (a) **Vertical Form of Joint Family:** Members of at least three generations of the same lineage live together in this type of joint family, e.g., Grandfather, father and sons and daughters. According to **R.P Desai**, only this type of family can be called a joint family.
- (b) **Horizontal Form of Joint Family:** The relation of brothers is more important in this type of family, means nuclear family of two or more brothers live together in this type of joint family.
- (c) **Mixed Form of Joint Family:** It is a mixture of both the forms mentioned above in which all the brothers of two or three generations live together.

III. From Point of New of Right in Property

From point of new of right in property, a joint family can be divided, into two parts – **Mitaakshara** and **Daibhag**.

- (i) **Mitaakshara** joint family is based on the rules of mitakshara tika written by **Vigyaneshwara** and it is found all over India except Bengal and Assam. The main characteristics of this type of family are –
 - (a) Sons get right in father's property by birth. (b) Female members have no right in the property by birth. (c) If a person dies and leave behind no sons, grandsons or great-grandsons, his property will be divided among his brothers. The female members will get only Dowry. (d) Son can demand their share in property even if father is alive. (e) Father has a

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limited right on the property as he can sell the joint property only for a religious ceremony or to pay a specific debt, but the other partners cannot sell the property at their will without the consent of other partners.

(ii) The rules of Daibhag joint family is based on the book Daibhag written by “**Jimutvahan.**” These types of family are found in Bengal and Assam. The main characteristics are:

(a) sons get the right of property only after father’s death. (b) Sons cannot demand the division of property when father is alive. (c) Father is an absolute owner of the property and he can use and spend the wealth and property at his will, sons have no right in property except the general day-to-day maintenance. (d) After death of father, his property will be transferred to his wife if he had no sons. (e) In this type of family, property is inherited by both male and female members.

So we can say that, from point of view of property, both the families mentioned above, differ from each other in the following way:

1. Sons get a right in property by birth in Mitaakshara while they get it only after death of father in Daibhag.
2. In Mitaakshara, female members have no right in property while they have it in Daibhag.
3. In Mitaakshara, father has a limited right while in Daibhag, he has unlimited rights. The Hindu joint families have been divided in these two systems for over a long period of time, but these differences came to an end with the implementation of Hindu succession law-1956 which allows same rights to both male and female members regarding properties and is applicable all over India.



Task

How many types of joint families are there? Give a short description.

23.4 Functions (Merits) of Joint Family

Joint family is a very important and ancient institution in India. It has been in existence for a long time in India. If an institution remains prevalent for a long time, it indicates that this institution is useful for the society. This institution has been particularly useful in the rural society or a society dominated by agriculture. **Karvy** thinks it as a small world where members co-operate each other. Joint families are playing an important role in the Indian society. The important merit functions of a joint family are as under:

1. **Administrative:** Social organisation of Indian villages is not complex. Here importance is given to a family and not a person and family is represented by head of the family. In other words, head of the family is administrator of the family, who is also an absolute ruler of the family. All the functions of the family are performed under his direction.
2. **Religious Functions:** Every family has a family god or goddess and also a family priest. All the members have abysmal faith in him. They pray and worship them properly which promotes the spiritualism. All members of the family gather to perform a religious ritual, to celebrate festivals and religious celebrations. A family is one unit in front of god. Every house has a particular place to worship the God and the God protects the whole family. **Ouplar** has written about Senapur village in U.P. where families perform around forty (40) annual ceremony in one year, out of which 25 are related to objectives and requirements of family. So we get the concept of religion only through family.
3. **Guidance:** Every type of male and female lives together in a joint family. Family has a special place for elderly persons because they have gone through a lots of ups and down

and therefore they are more experienced compare to young members of the family. They guide the future generation on the basis of their experience. In difficult times, when a young member lose patient and goes into depression, these experienced members act like a guide for them.

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4. **Entertainment:** A joint family is cheap and the best place for entertainment as it has so many members in it. There is always an atmosphere of entertainment and remains jollity in the family. **Karvy** says "Some or other things continue to happen in a joint family. Sometimes it is a marriage of a boy or a girl, sometimes there is a celebration of naming ceremony. Some other time the new bride is made to cook as a ritual or, there is a fast or shradth in the family. Sometimes birthday of someone is celebrated in the family. Guests are also frequent in this type of family. One day the brother-in-law has come to get his sister to his house, other day someone goes to bring the girl to her paternal house. Joes between Dever-Bhabhi, taunt of Nannad-Bhabhi. Sound of joy of children, competitiveness between devrani and jethani, it all present an atmosphere of entertainment.
5. **Contribution in the Upbringing of a Child:** Joint family is a right place for upbringing of a child. In a joint family aged male and female members cooperate in the look after of a child and contribute in their education and social action. The child learns the virtue of grace, sacrifice, sympathy, love, cooperation etc. in a family. Nowadays where both husband and wife worries, the child is left with a servant to look after which is more terrible because most of the time good qualities cannot be developed in child in such a situation.
6. **Proper use of Money:** A common fund is maintained in joint family. Money is spent out of it according to the requirement of the member whether they are earning or not. Unnecessary expenses are avoided because of strict control of the karta. No member of the family has a special right on income and wealth therefore they all share the profit equally. They provide income to the family as per their capabilities.
7. **To Uphold the Division of Property:** Because all the members stay together in a joint family therefore the question of division does not arise. So the joint wealth of the family can be used in a business and extended further. A joint family is more useful for agriculture as it has protected the land from being divided into small parts and increased the productivity. Unnecessary expenses has also been avoided because of common wealth. So we observe that property and wealth is protected in a joint family.
8. **Division of Work:** According to **Irawati Karvy**, "A big joint family decides the work and economic activities of a member and protect him. Division of work in a joint family is done on the basis of – first, on the basis of sex and second – on the basis of age. Male members of the family are responsible for external work and female members perform the internal work in a family. Each member of the family does one or another work as per his/her capabilities.
9. **Insurance of Misfortune:** Life is incomplete without its two aspects-joy and sorrow. These two aspects are faced in life by each and every person. The sorrow can appear in any form, like-accident, sickness, mental or physical problems, loosing the job or being widow etc. A joint family provides support in all cases. It is a refuge for orphans, widows and aged who provides them economic security and lets them live without any worry. So a joint family is a insurance of misfortune for its members therefore **Anant Shayan Ayangar** says that, "A joint family is that unprecedented fort in which work is done by adults who are able to do work at the same time children and aged are protected.
10. **Preserving the Culture:** A joint family has been an important chain for continuity and stability of Indian culture. An inspirational power exists only in a joint family which inspires a person to follow the old traditions, customs, conventions and social assumption. A joint family has been against the changes and modernisation from the very beginning so they maintained the stability of culture by transferring it to the future generations as it is.

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11. **Discipline and Control:** A Karta has a special place in a joint family. All the works in a family are directed by him. Therefore all members in the family remain under his control and discipline is maintained in the family. 'Karta' restricts the liberal activities of members of the family through his power. So discipline and control on family is maintained by karta and other elderly members of the family which is not found in a nuclear family.
12. **National Integrity and Serving the Nation:** A joint family has such a structure that it enables a person to learn the virtue of sacrifice, love, sympathy co-operation etc. on his own. These qualities impel in them the national integrity. Some members in a joint family can devote their life to the service of the nation. They can be freed of their family responsibilities because of a large number of members in the family. They can contribute in the public welfare activities, social service and serving the country to such an extent that they do not hesitate in sacrificing their life during war.
13. **Social Security:** A joint family provides social security to its members. In India where child marriage is prevalent in Hindus, a joint family look after the bride and groom till they became self-reliant. A joint family is also a best refuge to orphans, aged, widows and abandoned who are provided social security. It is a moral responsibility of a joint family to look after the members of the family in their hard times.



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Joint family in itself is a community which fulfill all the physical, social and cultural requirement of a person. A joint family is so important in a family that if compared with it, all citizen units (specially a state) becomes valueless. According to karvey, "all the illegal earning of a person is spent on a big joint family or a big group of relative, and it does not matter if the money is obtained in a wrong way from a person or the government.

23.5 Problem (Demerits) of Joint Family

The system of joint family is disintegrating day-by-day in spite of having so many merits because it also has some demerits:

1. **Increase in the Number of Persons Who are Good for Nothing/Indolent:** Every member is treated equally in a joint family whether they are earning or not. They are looked after and their all requirements are fulfilled. In this scenario an indolent does not want to work or he never get encouraged and excited to do something. On the other hand, a hard working person never gets encourager for his works so he starts losing his interest in the work. So his efficiency declines. Therefore in a joint family the number of indolent and dependent persons increase rather than solving the problem of unemployment and destitutes.
2. **Hinderance in the Personality Development:** A joint family has been proved to be an obstacle in the personality development because all are treated in the same way whether he is a fool or a genius, a hard working or an indolent. A genius cannot keep his point of view because of the strict control and discipline of the elder members in the family and so he cannot properly use his abilities. His all hopes and ambitions are (rushed for the interest of family).
3. **Bad Condition/Sorry Pignut of Women:** There is a strong question of women in a joint family. For the first time, when a newly wed bride enters her husband's house, she is treated like a goddess (Godess Laxmi). Mother-in-law, sisters-in-law and other women show their affection and pray for her well being and sing song to welcome her. But all these activities are an ostentation. In reality her position in the family is not more than a maid-servant. She

spend her life cooking food, giving birth and raising children and serving other members of the family. She is considered a source of entertainment. She is forced to have complained from mother-in-law and sisters in law. She becomes a victim of abuse and admonition. She has no relation with education and outside world.

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4. **Center of Dispute:** There is always a quarrel/dispute, over children. Property or behaviour of females in a joint family. It endangers the peace of family. Hatred and antagonism develop among women over issues related to children and personal expenses and the cooperation and attention in the family turns into struggle and entity. The end result of struggle and quarrel lead to division of family.
5. **Producing More Child:** In a joint family a member is neither required to be self-sufficient nor he is required to marry for his maintenance. Every member is looked after in the same way in a joint family. In order to get a son so that the religious rituals are fulfilled and to attain salvation a person may give birth to many daughters. It increases the number of children in the family whose burden is born by the joint family.
6. **Obstacle in Dexterity:** A joint family has exploited a hard working person and encouraged indolents. In a joint family interest of all the persons are taken care of and their requirements are fulfilled whether they are earning or not. As a result work-efficiency of an earning member starts declining because of excess burden and no encouragement at all. His health and life-style also declines.
7. **Obstacle in Movement:** People have a deep affection in their families. They have this concept, "Out of right, out of mind," "Thinking this, a person does not want to go anywhere leaving his family behind. The affection and facilities a persons get in the family, is impossible to act anywhere. Therefore, a person doesnot like to go outside for a job or business even if he is unemployed.
8. **No Secret Place:** The gathering of members in a joint family looks like a small fair, because the number of members keep increasing but the house remains the same. A joint family is buzzed 24 hours by the warbling of its members. There is no private and quiet place. These conditions create a very difficult situation for newly-married couples. In general, it is against the respect of elders and ideology of family if husband and wife talk to each other or they talk in excess to their own children and take extra care of their children. In such a situation husband and wife looks like more stranger to each other rather than being a co-operator. **Dr Rajendra Prasad** has written in his Autobiography that, "In a joint family, meeting of husband and wife are so artificial and unnatural conditions that they do not even have a formal introduction and the development of love is a distant thing. Having no private place is also troublesome for children as sometimes they see undersirable events that proved to be harmful to them.
9. **Discretionary Power of Karta:** 'Karta' has an important place in a family. All functions in a family is directed by karta and his will is done all. The wish of other members are suppressed for karta's wish. So karta is an absolute ruler of the family. This situation of karta is proved to be explosive in the present time as the new generation, who has grown up in a different thought with a new concept, is not ready to accept and adjust with thus discretionary power of one man. As a result, they are turning rebellion. This condition is provided to be total for the integrity of a joint family.
10. **Supporter of Social Problems:** Joint family has been a place for many conservative traditions and useless religious ceremonies. Joint families have given way to and promoted many social problems, e.g., child marriage, dowry system, restriction on widow remarriage, marrying in the same caste, parda system, problem of population, illiteracy, caste based discrimination, exploitation of women, etc. However there are several reasons for these problems but the most important is a joint family because there is an atmosphere of zero knowledge in joint families and members behave like puppet, it wears they cannot differentiate between right and wrong. Joint families have discouraged the modern thought and development and helped in carrying on these problems as it is.

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11. **Dry and Stale Atmosphere:** The absence of intimacy and strength in mutual relationship is visible in a joint family as it has so many members. The intimate relation among members are turning into formalities. The feeling of hatred and antagonism is getting stronger in a joint family members are getting selfish and as a result a conflict of interests is being developed. These conflicts are turning into quarrel and disintegrating joint families.



Did u know? The feeling of hatred and antagonism increases because of having so many members in a joint family. Members of a joint family are turning selfish. Conflicts among members is the reason as why the joint families are breaking away.

23.6 Summary

- Joint family means a family in which members of many generations remain attached with one-another for mutual obligations.
- The size of joint family is usually large and there is a co-operative system among them.
- Many forms of joint family is found in India according to authority, lineage, place and right in properties.
- Administration, guidance, entertainment, bringing up the children, proper use of wealth, protection of property from division etc. are some of the merits of a joint family.
- The classical form of a family in India has been a joint family. It has been prevalent in India since Vedic age.

23.7 Keyword

1. **Trusteeship Family:** According to **Karl Jirerman**, "A trusteeship family is a family in which personal interests are sacrificed for the welfare of the joint family."

23.8 Review Questions

1. What do you mean by a joint family and what are its characteristics?
2. Briefly describe the forms of joint family.
3. What has been written about joint family in "Mitaakshara." and "Daibhaga"?
4. Describe the merits of a joint family.

Answers: Self Assessment

1. Opportunity
2. Aged
3. General fund

23.9 Further Readings



Books Indian Society and Social Problems – Dr. R.N. Saxena.
Encyclopedia of Sociology – Harikrishna Rawat.

Unit 24: Impact of Industrialisation, Urbanisation and Modernisation on Joint Family

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Objectives

After studying this unit, students will be able to:

- Know the impact of industrialisation on joint family.
- Know the impact of urbanisation on joint family.
- Know the impact of modernisation on joint family.
- Get knowledge of impact of new social arrangement on joint family.

Introduction

Indian family is a form of socialist community and joint families have been an important feature of Indian social structure since ancient time. Here joint family appears as an original institution showing the ideals of social life which includes all events after a lot of development has taken place in the individualistic aspect of people. In western countries 'A family' mean a group of husband-wife and their unmarried children. If a group that have husband-wife and their unmarried children is known as a family, then it is better to say 'joint family' to a group which consists more than one couple their sons, grandsons and some more relatives living together. A joint family states the Hindu ideology and presents a beautiful ideal of group welfare.

24.1 Impact of Industrialisation, Urbanisation and Modernisation on Family

There are many factors which brought about changes in joint families. As per Batomore, "the disintegration of joint families is not only the result of several conditions related to industrialisation but the main reason is that the joint families have failed to fulfill the requirements of economic development. According to **Dr. Kapadia**, "spread of education, new judicial system and a changed mentality have played an important role in the disintegration of joint families. Although joint families have been performing important functions in the Indian society and protecting its members for hundreds of years, however, nowadays it is changing fast accord-

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ing to the changing circumstances. Presently the structure of joint family is undergoing some important changes related to family responsibilities, important decisions, mutual relation of its members, and socialisation of children. Now women are more aware of their rights due to modern education. They are doing jobs after getting educated. There has been a change in their conditions and role. Many factors have contributed in establishing nuclear families. All these changes have given birth to new values and mentalities that support the tradition rule of behaviour. The main factors which changed the joint families are as follows:

1. **Industrialisation:** A joint family has been a center of both consumption and production. All the members of a family not only worked collectively in the field they also used to work collectively in cottage industry. At that time joint families were suitable as per the economic conditions of the country but things have changed gradually. In every society economic system is the basis of its structure and if economy changes the related social institutions also change. The changes in Indian economy have resulted in a change in joint families and as generally believed by people, joint family starts distintegrating. Large industries have been established because of capitalist economy system and industrialisation and works have been done by machineries. People started migrating from villages to towns because the land could not sustain the rising population. Cottage industries were destroying and many new business developed. They started living in the cities along with their wife and children. Also it was not possible to bring all the members of a joint family in the city because there was scarcity of houses in urban areas. Industrialisation has provided the job opportunities to women in the economic sectors. Their situation and role has changed, they gained self-confidence and became aware of their right. They started revolting and protesting against the system as also they started contributing actively in the formation of nuclear family. Cash wage system implemented by industrialisation has given an opportunity to measure one's labour in cash to the members of joint families. A member whose income was more than other members in a joint family remained unsatisfied that his earning was being spent on all the members equally whether they are earning or not, earning less or more. As a result, an individualistic approach started developing in them and they wanted to spend all their income on only on their wives and children. They considered it letter to accumulate wealth rather than spending it on their relative as money is considered to be the most important in an industrial system. A man is respected on the basis of money and wealth he has. All these thing have inspired and provided an opportunity to earn and stay in a nuclear family separate from a joint family.
2. **Urbanisation:** Western scientific technology, industrialisation and development in the mode of transports have speed up the process of urbanisation. On one hand, new cities have developed and on the other small cities have grown up in metro cities. Trade, commerce and industries have developed in cities and the opportunities of jobs have also increased. Million of people migrated to cities from villages for job, where they started living in a nuclear family. Different thoughts, ideology and social values exist in a city. Young boys and girls who have got modern education and brought up in a metro culture, usually have a modern view point towards life. They are more individualistic and youthful. They like the modernisation however, parents want to remain traditional. In cities, parents expect from their sons and daughter-in-laws that they live as per the family customs, rituals and traditions but they (sons and daughter-in-laws) want to live according to their choice. In such a condition, tension prevails among parents and young members for their thoughts, ideals and social values. In a house mother-in-law want, her daughter-in-law to follow the rule of 'Parda', however, daughter-in-law wants to move freely with her husband. In this situation, on one hand parents have some expectations from their sons, on the other hand, the expectations of his wife and children tend to be different. There are contradiction in their expectations and son find himself in a fix, that badly affect his mental health. All these factors have helped in changing the status of joint families and inspired to form nuclear family. There is a special importance of personal achievement in cities. Here everyone wants to rise and fulfills his ambition but one does not get a proper opportunity and encouragement for the same in a joint family.

3. **Impact of Western Culture and Education:** Indians started getting English education after establishment of British rule in India. Their thoughts, mentality, and social values started getting affected by the western culture. As a result of British education, elements of European culture is being collected in Indian society and the family related assumptions has started changing. As a result, Indian joint families had also undergone some changes. The equality of men and women has also been recognised here. The implementation of constitutional amendment has given political right to Indian women as they got the right to vote. At this time many womanly professions nursing, doctory, teaching, steno clerical etc. came into existence which provided economic freedom to women. The birth control instruments has freed the Indian women from unwanted pregnancies and they started working in different sectors outside their home. Western, liberal thoughts and progressive philosophy has developed the concept of male-female equality and the concept of independent, natural and subjective love is encouraged. Sex was said to be a natural requirement and marriage was considered to be based on natural love. As a result, the concept of love marriage and civil marriage developed. These ideological changes were so fast that the traditional social thinking called not keep pace with it. These romantic thoughts also affected English literature. The thoughts pertaining to revolt against the social restrictions and unfulfilled desires started appearing through this. It also affected the Indian literature. Here also, the subjective, natural love and women's freedom are given importance in poems, novels and features, it tried to free a man from the shackle of family and cast. These ideological changes affected the male-female relationship which has contributed in changing the joint families. These modern thoughts seems to be against the ideals of a joint family. Now a days women want to live freely away from the restrictions of joint family where the relationship of husband and wife is important, where they can live closely with one another and raise and educate their children as they wish.

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Educating women has made them more aware of their rights, transmitted a new energy in them and provided them with an opportunity to re-examine the rules of social life. They played an important role in national movement. They got rights equal to men, and a change in their social reputation, at this time new revolution has taken place. **Raja Ram Mohen Roy** has started a movement against "Sati-pratha" and gradually the leaders of Navjagriti tried to provide a legal base to widow-remarriage, inter-caste marriage, divorce and restriction on child marriage etc. and at the same time they tried to bring it to public notice and to get a healthy public opinion. All these reasons have contributed in changing the joint families.

4. **New Social Rules/Legislation:** The Hindu customs were treated differently in the British courts, as a result the members in a joint family, gradually started asking for their rights in properties that lead to breaking away the joint families. A number of different laws started taking shape in the country. Since the beginning of 20th century which harmed the base of joint families. The existence of joint families has based on the fact that no member of the family had got a personal right. Now the law has permitted the 'Karta' to sell properties to pay off debts. 'Hindu succession act-1929' had provided family properties to these members who wanted to live separate from the joint family. "Gales of learning Act 1930" had widely extended the limit of wealth and property earned by a person. The right of women in property in a joint family was accepted through the woman right of Property act-1937. The traditional patrilineal system of a joint family destroyed after acceptance of equal rights of wives as of husbands in the family properties. The special marriage act was amended in 1954 and allowed the marriage of man and women irrespective of caste and religion. The dischebancies of marriage is abolished by allowing the equal rights to both male and female related to the rules of divorce by passing the "Hindu Marriage and Divorce act 1955." Women were allowed rights equal to men in properties by passing the "Hindu Succession Act 1955." In the same year, Minor Children Consenate Act, was passed, to protect the economic interest of a minor child in the family. All these social laws provided an opportunity to flourish the changes in joint families which had sprouted as a result of new social and economic conditions.

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5. **Family Disputes:** Family disputes have contributed in the modification of joint families. Difference might exist from new point of thoughts, mentality, and ideology among members of different generations in a joint family may lead to tension and family disputes. Generally the disputes are initiated by women because women in a joint family, mother-in-law and daughter-in-law etc, belongs to different family-roots so they behave differently. Most of the disputes relate, to income and expenses. If the less earner has more children than the more earner of the member, then the wife of more earner has to bear the burnt of words from the wife of less earner frequently. These disputes necessarily affect the male member of the family. Rising disputes and quarrel spoils the atmosphere of a joint family and ruins the joy and happiness of the family. The head of the family is not trusted by other members of the family if he does not treat equally with all the members, if he is biased and does not take care of requirements of all the members equally, as a result a joint family starts breaking away. This situation can be seen in many joint families nowadays.
6. **Reduce of Workload in Joint Families:** In modern time, many of the work in a joint family are transferred to the society. Now family is not the center of production. Some of the work that was performed earlier by the joint families are now performed by different groups such as clubs, associations, educational societies etc. Nowadays we have laundries to wash clothes, tailoring houses to stitch clothes and flour mills to grind the grains. As a result, a person is less dependent on joint family and it also reduced his loyalty towards the family. One started feeling that he can rise in life even after staying separately from a joint family and promote himself in a better way.

It is clear from the above description that many economic and social power, western values and ideology, modern education, women empowerment, family disputes, and social laws have hurted the ideology, structure and base of joint families and brought about many fundamental changes in them. Observing the present situation, it can be said that it will not be possible to continue the traditional form of joint families. Generally, females have a lower place in a traditional joint families but existence of this type of family is doubtful in the future. May be, all joint family do not turn into nuclear families by disintegrating itself but it is certain that some residentiary changes will take place in the structure and ideals of joint families as per the changing requirement of the society.

Normally, observing all these changes in joint families it is said that these are going through the process of disintegration. Many educated persons think that the joint families have already disintegrated by the influence of western culture. Such people call a joint family non-democratic and claim for the properties in a joint family. According to **K.M. Pannikar**, "A joint family represent a tribal condition hence it must cease to exist. He say that, "Re-evaluation of principles of social life by women is the greatest challenge for Hindu society which resulted in the disintegration of aggregating institutions such as-joint families, caste system and villages, etc. In India, joint, families have been modified rather than disintegrating. The changing factors such as industrialisation, urbanisation and migration has taken place in India slowly. Therefore, on one hand social institutions in India have been modified and on the other hand these changing powers and the social changes generated by them have been affected by the Indian institutions.

24.2 Changes in Indian Family

The traditional form of a family in India has been a joint family. Joint family system is suitable to the Indian social and economic system and religion has also contributed in the maintenance of joint family system. As per Davis and Veera mess, "there have been revolutionary changes in civil, social, economic and cultural life, which is affecting the standard of life.



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Today, the family structure in India is affected by education facilities, job opportunities and social and economical changes.

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According to **Dr. A.R. Desai**, “Qualitative changes has been taking place in traditional joint families and family centric rural structure. The rule of customs are being replaced by the laws. Families are turning from unit of production to unit of consumption. The family bond which used to be blood-relation is changing into husband wife relation.” According to **Mrs. Raas**, “Indian family have been going through a quiet social change because the educated women have speared themselves from accepted “family customs” and “family traditions” and reached outside their home for self expression.

Today because of industrialisation and urbanisation not only the business has gained momentum but there is also a huge difference in income and business of the members of same caste and family. Not only their view point is different because of the following reasons –

1. **Modern Thought:** Modern thoughts are accepted slowly by the people and it takes a long time before they affect the pattern of social behaviour. When modern thoughts are accepted by one generation, their behaviour pattern changes a little bit in the next generation it is quite fast. Modern thoughts are accepted by people in a very small quantity. The main modern thought, which has contributed in the changing pattern pertaining to families in India, is that, every person should get complete independence and opportunity for his/her development. Today, the traditional new point related to sex has changed and romantic love is considered more important. Nowadays, religious traditions are losing their importance secularism is getting popularity. People have started following scientific, democratic and socialist view point. As a result, the society is changing from a “secured family” to a “secular family.” Changes are accepted easily by its member in a secular family. Nowadays people is having beneficial view towards the western culture. They think, it is useful to accept the western values according to physical view point.
2. **New Social Sanction:** In last few years, the women have got various rights because of new social customs and laws sanctioned in India. In principle, these have brought the men and women at par. Four acts were implemented in 1955 and 1956 to decide the marriage, bases of divorce, right to property, adaptation and maintenance. All these acts were important from marriage point of view and to bring a change in family pattern.
3. **Social Structure:** The urbanisation is also increasing in the country with the industrialisation. Economic structures are stepping towards numismatism and political structures are getting extended. Members of a family are doing different business in different places because of increased business facilities. There is also a great disparity in their incomes. As a result joint-families have lost their characteristics and differences cropped up among members of a family on the basis of their interest, viewpoint and income. Differences have also arised in viewpoint of parents and children as also one brother and another brother because of our education system, caste structure has also undergone some changes. It is getting weaker and intercaste marriage have become common. It becomes difficult for a newly married couple, who belong to different caste, to adjust in a joint family. In such a case, with a rise in intercaste marriage, it is normal if pattern of family and social relationship also change. Presently an important role is being played by the state to bring the social changes. State is active to provide social and economical security to its people. State is attempting to uplift rural community through different programme and Panchayati Raj institutions. In the same way, the scheme of family planning is also going on from viewpoint of limiting the population. All these planned effort are actively contributing in changing the pattern of family.

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Self Assessment

Fill in the blanks:

1. People are going to follow scientific, democratic and socialist _____.
2. A person easily _____ the changes in a secular family.
3. All these acts are important from viewpoint of bringing _____ in marriage and pattern of family.

24.3 Summary

- Cottage industries were ruined and the villagers started migrating to cities because of industrialisation.
- Women got the job opportunities in economic sectors as a result of industrialization. They gained self-confidence.
- An individualistic feeling started flourishing when all the member of a joint family started working which gave birth to nuclear family.
- Trade, commerce and industries developed to the cities and also the job opportunities so the rural population migrated to cities in search of jobs.
- Urbanisation and industrialisation has certainly contributed in the modification of joint families.

24.4 Keywords

1. **Modernisation:** Modernisation is a mutual process including all political, cultural, social changes and economic development through which historical and contemporary society continue to themselves.
2. **Family Disputes:** Rising quarrel spoils the family atmosphere so joy and pleasure are destroyed.

24.5 Review Questions

1. How industrialisation has affected the joint families?
2. What changes have been brought in a joint family by urbanisation?
3. What changes have taken place in a joint family by modernisation?

Answers: Self Assessment

1. Viewpoint
2. Accept
3. Changes

24.6 Further Readings



Notes

Sociology of a Family – Dr. Sanjeev Mahajan, Arjun Publishing House.
Sixteen Rituals (Sanskars) – Swami Adheshan Monoj Publication.

Unit 25: Future of Family: Emerging Alternatives-Nuclear Family, Marxist and Feminist Approaches

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- 25.3 Is Nuclear Family a Universal Form of Family Relation?
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- 25.8 Further Readings

Objectives

After studying this unit, students will be able to:

- Predict the future of a family.
- Dominance of women in capitalist society.
- Know about the characteristics and future of unitary or nuclear family.

Introduction

For last few years, comprehensive changes have taken place in technical and economical field in the human society which affected the social interests and values. Due to the effect of the increasing power of earning income and consumerist culture, the emotional attachment among the parents and children has declined. This changing structure has also made the role of parents ambiguous. In modern period, the size of a family has shrunken and become small which is termed as 'nuclear' or 'unitary' family.

25.1 Future of Family

George Peter Mardock has presented a model of 280 societies which includes even hunters and nomadic to comprehensive industrialist societies and claimed that a family is present in every society in any of the form and it is cosmopolitan. In this way, besides the **Talkos Parsons** family

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cannot hypothecate any institution which can give birth and adjust the static or stable human personality.

Mardock and **Parsons** both are criticised that they are unable to search the functional alternative of the family. Some functions are not related to the family specifically. This is argued that the views like **Mardock** and **Parsons** sociologists are emerged mainly from their beliefs which is related with the matter that how a family should be. The perusal of **Barington Moor** is apparent: "Today, it is a postulated concept in social scientists that family is an essential social institution in cosmopolitan form and it will always exist in future in this form... I feel so uneasy that besides their labour-means principles and technical researches and investigations the writers cannot do anything more – retrospectively some medium class expectation and ideals".

Ferdinand Lundberg has expressed his doubt in his book "The Coming World Transformation" in these words, "Family is on the verge of its total destruction". Psychologist **William Wolf** comments that, "Family remains alive till one or two years from the birth of the child and it dies totally for the remaining time. This is its only function". The writer of 'Future Shock' **Elvin Toffler** has named one chapter of his book as broken family. In this chapter he has portrayed a very simple and workers family which can develop in the age of super industrialism. He has described this family in the following words- "It was a demand of industrialism that a large number of workers should always be ready and in the search of employment they can leave their land and when it is necessary they should be able to return. In this way, the wider family has reduced its extra weight and gradually the said nuclear family has taken birth which was such minimised and dynamic family unit in which only mother, father and some children were present.



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New type of family was more dynamic than the traditional family, one type of standard became in all industrialised countries. But in the scope of environmental technology, in the form of next step of progress the super industrialism demands high dynamicity.

In this way, in future we can expect from many people that by remaining childless; in the form of male and female will step forward in the process of minimisation and simplification the root of factor the family. Famous anthropologist **Margaret Mead** has also expressed such doubt when he said, "The paternalism will be limited in less number of families whose main function will be producing children and the remaining part of habitation will come in such a position to work in independent form of persons for the first time". These possibilities are not based on idealism. About one or two years back in the newspapers of England an advertisement was published about 'lending foetus' by a volunteer organization. Surrogate maternity is not a myth today. Infact, matter about this type of maternity had come in light earlier also. Who knows that such matter will not come in large numbers in future.

The form of family which is in the Kibuz people of Israel, presents the alternative of the nuclear family. About 4% of the habitation of Israel lives in approximately 240 Kibuzum colonies. Although, there is a lot of difference between one Kibuzum and other Kibuzum, the common system of family is described in these words. Monogamy is popular among these people. The married couple lives in bedroom and other rooms together. Children are kept in community sleeping centers where they live, eat and sleep far from parents. Every day, they are allowed to meet their parents for one or two hours. Parents never give any education to children on the occasion of their meetings. These meetings are termed as recreation. In this way, parents divert their duties to the community. All children are looked as children of Kibuz. In this form they are looked after. In this way, Kibuz is the negative approach in reference to the role of parents in a family. There are more factors in Kibuz which introduces negative approach towards the traditional family management. Nothing is seen between the married couples like coordination

in household duties or economic cooperation. They don't work for family but for Kibuz only.

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They get all the things from Kibuz which are necessary. They eat their food in community mess. The food for all is prepared simultaneously. Washing clothes like essential services are provided in grouped form and no duty of the married couple is there in this reference.

It is clear that in Kibuz of Israel, there is no existence of family in the form of a multifunctional unit. Thus some of the people consider that Kibuz can be seen as a big comprehensive family because it is a unit of production, nurturing of children, Kibuz-culture as well as of socialisation, utilisation and recreation. This is the reason that **Wazda** and **Hailer**, Marxist writers of Hungary present this group of family or commune as an alternative of modern nuclear family. According to them, commune is responsible for nurturing all the adult children. The relation in adults may be of any type from monogamy to free sexual relations because in commune no specific value reference is there in respect to sexual relations. But the family commune in Kibuz of Israel is different in this sense that its activities are limited to the house-hold activities and looking after the children and do not touch the comprehensive scope of production, which is related to the organisation of commercial roles.

Self Assessment

Fill in the blanks:

1. The form of family present in _____ people of Israel presents the alternative of the today's nuclear family.
2. In this way parents divert their _____ to the community.
3. Nothing is seen between the married couples like _____ in household duties or economic cooperation.

25.2 Is Nuclear Family a Result of Industrialisation

We collide with three conflicting views in discussing on above questions. The first most accepted view is that earlier in industrial society of Europe joint and elaborated family was popular. This type of family used to fulfilled the different needs like economic, educational, recreational, social, security, *etc.* to their members but on the arrival of industrialisation the family became deprived of these functions and remained like a sick shadow of its earlier elaborated form. Modern family is a group of nuclear family in its ideal form which is independent of their other relatives and limited to their own home and depends on the salary or wages of husband or father." It is also said further that "declining birth rate, increment in the events of divorce, preparation of food in home, decline in the process of making clothes, *etc.* and decline in the level of livelihood of the family indicates towards inclination of growing individualism and physical values".

The second view is enunciated by **Talcus Parsons** and other sociologists. According to them, the family-management present in the urban world of United States is not a nude form of more common or obvious family-management but it is a such extreme specific form which is more divisional economic and political management and conformable to those institutional values that force to an achievement reference to provision. **Parsons** on the basis of the principle of social evolution looks at origin of the separate nuclear family. Thus there is no wonder in this matter that the group of family and relative do not execute several functions. Besides this, Schools, Hospitals, Commercial Organisations, *etc.* are fulfilling many functions of family in specific institutes. **Parsons** further gives this view that separate nuclear family and economic management have a functional relation in reference to the Industrial society. In response to the needs of the industrial society, it is necessary to establish suitable adaptation for isolated nuclear family. This view is given that the relative separation of the family from other Kinship bonds and its smallness is a type of adaptation which makes possible the local and circum-

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stantial mobility of its members. This mobility is essential for modern industrial management. The persons with special skills have to go to a place where they are demanded. **Parsons** give one more principle in proving his view that in any industrial society the status is not planted but achieved. This means that importance of several persons is assessed on the basis of their achievements of status. According to **Parsons**, the valuation is done on the basis of universal values which apply commonly on the all members of the society. But inside the family the opportunity is provided and this type of plantation is based on personal values which apply on different members of a family on personal basis (For universal and personal values see part centered on Social Activity Approach of second chapter). The argument of **Parsons** is that in any elaborated family these two types of values can be a source of struggle or quarrel in a family. In this way if a father is a mechanic in a workshop and his son is a doctor or an engineer then the personal value of family life gives more high position and status in the family. On the other hand, on the basis of social values the son has got high social status due to which the position of father can be neglected. The quarrel born due to this reason can shock the strength of the family. The isolated nuclear family is a type of adaptation for the need of industrial society.



Did u know? The process of structural separation is vested in evolution of the society. This means that during the process of evolution such social institution takes birth which is specific for scarce functions.

The third view is presented by Historian of Cambridge University **Patter Lancellet**, which cancels out to a certain extent to the importance of the functional description of the nuclear family given by **Parsons** (The World We Have Lost, London Methuen, 1965). The book of Lasslet indicates that under the pre-industrial family management in England existence of such elaborated families were not there who has one dwelling. Contrary to this it seems that in the home of nuclear family a common type of dwelling group was present. Lasslet found that between 1564A.D. to 1821 A.D. only 100 such families were there in which relatives out the nuclear family exists. In 1966 this percentage was maintained in England. The reason for the less percentage of this type of peculiar form is that in Pre-Industrial England people marry very late and their age range was very less. As a result, within a few years of marriage the parents of married couple get back to the heaven. May be any reason for that **Lancellet** did not find any evidence for this that in pre-industrial England the elaborated family in large quantity were present which gave rise the nuclear families in the modern industrial society. Thus it is said in conclusion that in the root of the origin of nuclear family industrialisation was not there. Contrary to this it may be true that nuclear family is one of the factors of many which had encouraged the industrial revolution in England. It senses that if nuclear family is the main form of European family structure for centuries, if this is older than industrial revolution and instead of censorial or other hurdles only birth of social values then modern family in cultural view is may be only the continuity of more desirable form.



Task Is nuclear family a result of industrialisation?

25.3 Is Nuclear Family a Universal Form of Family Relation?

Mardock has given this suggestion that nuclear family is the universal or common form of family relation and "this executes in view of sexual, economical, procreation and education

related very important functions". He further clarifies this view and says: "Nuclear Family is a type of the universal human-group. In form of the only popular type of family, in form of fundamental unit of the intricately family forms are present in every human society as a specific and strong functional group". The views of **Mardock** are criticised from different angles. First of all some people has clarified that many things in the blue print of family presented by **Mardock** is like "multidimensional, unavoidable, boy scout knife". Since it is multifunctional, it is considered as unavoidable and therefore universal. It is believed that in excess of enthusiasm Mardock has not recognised the alternative ways of execution of some functions.

Morgan clarifies through his criticism that **Mardock** is unable to answer that "To a certain extent this foundational function is joined with the institution of nuclear family in unavoidable form".

The conclusion of **Mardock** has forced in the way on the unavoidability and universality of the nuclear family, the decisive evidence lacks in its favour. It may possible that he had reached to such conclusion due to collection of data in Euro-American society. It is explained that the type of families which are popular in anxiety tribes of Nayars in India and in Central Ghana puts a question mark on the truthness of this statement.

In the big anxiety villages of Central Ghana, children carry the basket of food from their mother's house to their father's house. They eat food with their father. After that they return to their mother's place for sleeping. Mother can go to meet her husband at night. Divided home and this system of going and coming is present due to the traditional social arrangement of anxiety people such as important social provisions, like succession of role, succession of reputation-post or political status etc. is based on the maternal stream. Women often pay more or equal importance to the relation with brother in comparison to the relation with husband because their child gets succession from their brother. Since the position of children is determined by their mother or the maternal relatives, the break of marriage relation is not more important for husband-wife or children.

One other factor which induces women to live in their house after marriage is affection between mother and children and mainly between mother and daughters. It is inferred that in drencher of nuclear family there may be the interference of interests and relations. It is difficult to explain that nuclear family in anxiety people is common or essential co-unit. Their hypothesis of family is totally different from the people of Europe or America or Asia.

The most ultimate and best example of maternal descent on family relations is seen in the Nayar caste of South India in the era before the effect of British Rule. It seems that the marriage relation in Nayars is limited to a symbolic level only. This takes the form of contract at the time when a girl gets puberty and after sometime of it, it is broken in a ceremonial way. After this the women have liberty to make informal love relation from the men who reach their home at night. In Nayar families, there was a group of brothers and sisters and children of their sisters. If any woman of the family was born a child then he was become a member of the maternal family. Children are precluded from making strong relations from their father or procreator or any of them. Although, it is impossible to argue that in this type of social arrangement, there was entirely no role of father. But in the favour of the drencher of maternal group, the claimant of property, this role is clearly gets much minimised. It appears that in reference to the development of socialisation and personality, the functions executed by the father is performed by the male members of maternal family.

These illustrations have induced some writers including Radcliff-Brown on the conclusion that the fundamental structural unit of kinship arrangement is the unit of mother and children. On this basis, the nuclear family can be divided into many coupled and paired groups and it can be investigated in several societies that they can establish rhythm with one another and other groups or due to this, there is a probability of getting fainted of included classes in the totality of nuclear family and the search of independent contact source becomes possible. The societies in which the paternal dominance is perceptible clearly in that also the unit formed of mother

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and children makes an independent sub-group and it gets an achievement of special recognition. Simultaneously, very close emotional mutual relation among its members is present in its members. **Talkos Parsons** has given this suggestions that the contrary to explicit or emotional characteristics of the role of mother, the role of father is always helping in its own nature.

Self Assessment

Fill in the blanks:

4. In the big anxiety villages of Central _____, children carry the basket of food from their mother's house to their father's house.
5. Mother can go to meet her husband at _____.
6. _____ often pay more or equal importance to the relation with brother in comparison to the relation with husband.

Kinship in tribal society establishes the social relations and social roles in similar form. The family has to live in contact of other groups and "this becomes a mechanism for continuous production of new kinship bonds."

In the differentiated social-arrangements of rapid labour division where a literary tradition and developed class or caste system is present and example of which is found in India and China, even though it is true that family may be a big and multifunctional units. Certainly, this is contrary to the hypothesis of the nuclear family. The absence of the basis of enough property induces the matured sons to get separate and independent home. "The big joint families are mainly found in landlords and business class people where sons has recreate and nurture the paternal compassion keeping their interest fixed in the heritage continuously. These types of big families are actually descent groups."



Task

Whether nuclear family is the universal form of family relation?

25.4 Family: A Marxist and Feminist Approach

The book of **Levis H. Morgan** "an ancient Sociology" was published in 1877. **Marx** has read this book and commented on it broadly. But after the death of **Marx** in 1884 A.D. **Angels** has published a broad comment on it which was named "The Origin of the Family, Private Property and The State". In this book the mixed form is given of the common principle of Marx on the social and economic history and on the institution related to kinship of predictive history presented by **Morgan**.

In this book **Angels** has argued that during the beginning steps of human evolution there was ownership of community on the powers of production and today the form of family is seen today didn't exist.



Did u know?

In that period of Human Bolshevism free sexual activity existed. It is apparent that there was no rules and regulation to regulate the sexual relations. Thus the whole society was a family.

In this way, due to the reason of corollary thinking of **Angels** was criticised because according to some people this is the symbol of this matter that **Angels** himself was against the any type of family relation and according to him in socialist societies the institution of family should be uprooted. Anthropologist **Cathelin Gakh** says that the picture presented by **Angels** may not be very far from truth. She makes the basis of her view to the popularity of the sexual life of Chimpanzees living in the free sexual relation, the near relative of human beings. She believes that this system can be the life system of humans.

This criticism of **Angel** that she has even in indirect way has taken side of the abolishing of family, seems improper. **Angels** had expressed clearly that the importance of emotional and sexual factors in family relation comes in front when the pollution of money wealth does not affect the relations. He argues that Sarvahara establishes and breaks the marriage relations on the basis of the mutual attraction and repulsion and in Burjua societies the married couple get tied in the knot of marriage in the situation when the male and female has no love for each other in their mind and they have sexual relation with other available people.

On the basis of that book the common conclusion which comes in front is that family management based on permanent relation and monogamy which is male dominated and which has got the legislative direction and support and developed in one of the way of to maintain the continuity of the private ownership of the property. In the words of the **Angels**, "This is based on the superiority of male and its clear provision is to produce the children of indisputable paternity. This type of paternity is important because these children have to become the obvious successor of the property of their father".

The full scheme of evolution of family by **Angel** is more descriptive from this also. But in modern anthropologist researches it is found that many of these descriptions are wrong. For example, in many hunters and nomadic tribes monogamy and nuclear family is popular. This is said that the man had spent 99.9 % share of its entity in hunting and nomadic life groups. Thus **Angels** has presented the form of nuclear family based on monogamy that may the output of the assumption only. This is also explained that although nuclear family and monogamy is present in small societies they organize a part of a elaborated kinship group. When different people marry mutually then they start bearing different responsibilities towards the relatives of their life-mates. In this way a big descriptive family takes birth.

Feminist Approach

One interesting fact is that in capitalist society the Marxist analysis of family is evolved in the last of the decade of 1960 mainly in form of a part of feminist movement. On the basis of the Marxist hypothesis, the feminist writers have made their hit point to man dominated society. This argument was given that the male dominated family is helpful in fulfilling the aims of the capitalist societies in more than one view. In this view first and foremost matter is that in this form of the family labour foundational genes of capitalism are produced in very cheap form. The production is cheap because capitalists have to give nothing for the birth and nurturing of child. Further for giving birth and nurturing child the wife doesn't gets anything. This is cleared that the quantum of labour provided by the women doing household works is abundant and are very beneficial to the owners of the production industries. The wife serves the husband who is a labour in the capitalist arrangement. Thus, a capitalist gets services of two persons one the wages or salary of one person. It is felt that actually this is a type of an exploitation. The thirdly matter is that under the popular family arrangement, the husband is committed to support his wife and children. Thus when there is reasonable cause to revolt his capitalist employer and abstain from selling his labour to him, these reasons come in his way. Probably therefore feminist writer **Margret Benston** says, "In form of a economic unit, the nuclear family is an important power to keep stable the capitalist society". Further, one other feminist writer **Fen Ansaly** puts in front the view of **Talkot Parsons** that family shows the ten-

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dependency of stabilising adult people in Marxist structure. She sees the emotional and affectionate support of wife to her husband as a safety valve for hopelessness. It is the hopelessness emerged due to working in the capitalist arrangement by the husband. A wife tries to absorb the hopelessness of her husband by being soft, sympathetic, comfortable and affectionate towards him. In the words of **Ansaly**, "Since every labour has a sponge to absorb his probable revolutionary wrath, the employer feels more secured to himself". Ultimately, some of the feminist writers had indicated towards the dominance of males in family and joins it with the stability of capitalist arrangement. Most men rules over their wives and children in such a shallow way which gives power to express their anger and wrath that no challenge emerges for arrangement.

As we have seen in the starting paragraphs of this division, **Angels** had accepted the manifestation of property as in form of the dependency of women. Mainly this is true in reference to the private ownership of power of production. It is interesting that **Marx** and **Angels** both had seen the increasing demand of women labour in the capitalist society of 19th century in form of the beginning of women freedom movement. They argues that the employment of woman will get them free to a certain extent from their economical dependency on their husbands and in this way it will reduce the male-dominance on them in the family.

It was a belief of **Marx** and **Angels** that the real equality between both the sexes can be established in a socialist society because there will be no existence of domestic works and faint duty of mother and it will not be maintained by separate women. All the work will be vested in the community. In the words of **Angels**, "The management of home in personal form will be connected into social industry and the birth and nurture of a child will become a social issue".

In capitalist society, on large scale women had entered to the labour market. But women hadn't succeed to get freedom from male dominance which is clear from the writings of the feminist writers in this division above. By the comparative study of working women and housewives, it is clear that the nature of power relation inside a family has not been changed entirely. It is also seen in that positions also where women works outside of home. Some feminist writers says even that in capitalist society, the fulfillment of labour by women on account of wages makes the capitalist arrangement strong because entrance of large number of women labour reduces wages and increases profit.

In socialist societies also, all the things are not held in that way which was predicted by **Marx** and **Angels** even before hundred years. In labour-market of Soviet Union, the position of women is reformed widely. In 1922 A.D., it was 22% of entire labour power. In 1973, the percentage became 91%. Besides this fact that women constitute more than half labour power, the primary responsibilities of household works and caring children are on the head of women only. **David Lane** had reported that in Soviet Union, it is difficult to adjust the domestic and commercial roles for women. Specially, in rural areas the traditional view about the position is not changed yet in reference to the family. **David Lane** reached to this conclusion that the collective ownership on production power is "an insufficient condition necessary for women-freedom". He also says that the cultural view is defined or modified by economic conditions not fully but partially only. **Lane** further says this, "More than thousand years of long history of dependency of women affects the tendency learned by males and where the socialist governments can bring change in those societies also where ladies are accepted in authoritative roles also". **Hilda Scott**, who lived in Czechoslovakia from 1948 to 1973 had given a report, after surveying the position of women in Eastern European families, that house-hold duties of women were like women of Soviet Union. Her conclusion is very important in this view: "Preliminary forerunners of Marxism had not felt that behind this somewhere there is lack of awareness was present as factor to abolish which was more difficult that to get recognition for the rights of labours or blocks or other minorities and depressed class people because the belief of worthlessness of women is older and deeper in which the whole habitation comes. The main

reason behind it is that the women herself **keep her closed in a mirror** which is in the clutches of men”.

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Looking at these facts many feminist writers are agreed that the principle of Marxism is unable to describe sufficiently between the dissimilarity among sexes. They believe this promise very simple and therefore unacceptable that Socialism ultimately will give freedom to women. **Shulamith Firestone** gives this view that sexual dissimilarities are vested in biotic differences and male and female are born with different structures. Women give birth to a child and so they depend on men. This dependency gives birth to dissimilar relation strength inside the family. Thus according to her the dissimilarity between male and female is not started by private property as said by **Angels** but due to the function related to reproduction of women.



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This is argued that women infact get freedom when their slavery for their biotic organization will be eliminated. The answer of this question is not vested only in reliable human-control techniques but also in artificial reproduction. Women can get freedom when child will get birth and develop out of venter.

25.5 Summary

- The introduction of amendments and options in a design of a family according to that the world has changed rapidly. Today, it is not possible to make indication with full strength that what will be the shape of objects in coming future. But we can predict bluntly that the shape of family will be not like this as today.
- View of some sociologists is that human beings are entering into a golden age in view of family relations. To make marriage relations on emotional basis, lack in economic pressure and birth and nurturing of child on willingness and will provide a strong foundation for a stable family in coming future.

25.6 Keywords

1. **Nuclear Family:** That family in which Husband-Wife and their procreated or adopted unmarried sons or daughters included.
2. **Feminist Approach:** The Marxist analysis of family in capitalist society emerged in the last of 1960's mainly as a part of feminist revolution.

25.7 Review Questions

1. Is nuclear family a result of Industrialization? Describe.
2. Is nuclear family a universal form of family relation? Illustrate.
3. What will be the future of family? Represent your own views on this.

Answers: Self Assessment

1. Kibuz
2. responsibilities
3. Coordination
4. Ghana
5. night
6. Women

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25.8 Further Readings



Books

Social Anthropology – Kingsley Davis.

Families in India, Marriage and Kinship – Shobhita Jain, Rawat Publication.

Unit 26: Family Problems: Violence in Families, Desertion and Divorce

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- 26.1 Violence, Sexual Exploitation and Harassment against Women
- 26.2 Measures to Check Violence against Women: Suggestions
- 26.3 Problems of Divorce
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- 26.6 The Indian Divorce Act, 1869
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- 26.10 Further Readings

Objectives

After studying this unit, students will be able to:

- Classify of domestic violence against women.
- Know the problem of divorce amongst Hindus, Muslims and Christians.

Introduction

Women are an integral part of every society and are almost equal to men in number. As far as the Indian society is concerned, the position of women has been quite high. Specially, in the Hindu society, a man is considered incomplete without a woman, so is a woman considered without a man. Thus, woman has been referred to as 'Ardhangini' which means the other half of man. Gradually during the historical period, the socio-religious period and the Middle Age period, the rights of women were snatched away. Compared to man their position witnessed downfall. They were considered dependent, helpless and feeble. During the British rule, awareness about the social and political issues started spreading in the country. It attracted the attention of social workers and leaders. Here, the condition of women has started improving quite a lot, in the last few years.

At the time of Independence, the literacy rate was 18.83% (male literacy 27.16% and female literacy 8.86%). In 2001, the literacy rate in India was 64.8% (male literacy rate 75.3 and female literacy rate 53.7).

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26.1 Violence, Sexual Exploitation and Harassment against Women

Violence and crime against women is not something new. Such incidents occurred in ancient India too. During the Mahabharata period, Yudhishtira pawned his wife Drupadi in gambling and Duryodhana molested her in the present of everyone. During the Ramayana period, Ravana abducted Sita. The widows have been deprived of many rights and have been harassed in many ways. Women are being burnt or killed for dowry. It is an irony in today's age women are being burnt on the name of viture. Every now and then we come across cases of rape through newspapers and magazines. In some cases, the police and the administration too, are involved. In this way, exploitation, harassment, rape, elopement, forced prostitution, abusing battering, burning and killing are some of the major forms of crime against women.

Today, sociologists are showing keen interest in studies related to women and that interest is growing. Radical sociologists who are interested in studies related to the dalits and the downtrodden too, are sensitive to studies related to women. Social workers, state governments, the study cells (related to women) established in universities and college, Psychiatrists, criminologists too, have shown interest in women's studies and are studying the various aspects related to women. Presently, some people have started taking interest in the role of women in crime and the violence and crime against them. Violence against women is defined as that violent behaviour and harassment; caused by the close kin of woman, such as father, mother, brother, sister, mother-in-law, father-in-law, brother-in-law (husband's brother), sister-in-law (husband's sister), brother-in-law's wife or any other member of the family or other persons, which causes physical and mental injury to women.

Nandita Gandhi and **Nandita Shah** have specified it, "Violence against women include rape, dowry killing, wife torture, sexual discouragement and inappropriate projection of women by medium of communication."

The classification, of violence against women has been further categorized into three parts:

1. **Criminal Violence**; like rape, kidnapping etc.
2. **Domestic Violence**; like dowry death, wife battering, gender harassment etc.
3. **Social Violence**; like compelling wife and daughter-in-law to abort female foetus, teasing, compelling a widow to perform the custom of 'Sati', harassing for dowry and denying a woman the right to property, etc.

We get to know about the crime and violence against women through the statistics released by the home Ministry. The police department and the National Institute for social defence department. There has been a rise in dowry related killings, which reached the level of 7026 in 2004 from 6,822 in 2002. In the year 2005, the highest number of cases related to dowry deaths were reported in UttarPradesh, Bihar and Madhya Pradesh. In India, in every 33 minutes, a crime against women is committed. Two-third of the crimes against women are reported from five states of India, namely-Madhya Pradesh (17.6%), Uttar Pradesh (15.7%), Maharashtra (13.9%), Andhra Pradesh (7.9%) and Rajasthan (7.5%). The other 37.4% crimes against women are committed in the other states of India, including the Union Territories.



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These statistics related to crime and violence against women are incomplete as all the crimes committed against them are not reported. In cases of domestic violence against women, the police does not interfere citing it as a domestic matter. Women too, are reluctant to make the matter public.

The major crimes against women are as follows:

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Rape

According to section 376 of the Indian Penal code, rape is a punishable offence and the culprit could be awarded life imprisonment. According to this section, a man is termed as a rapist when he gets into the act of intercourse with a woman, without her consent or against her consent or threatening her of death. The manace of rape is found everywhere, but such incidents are less in India, compared to the West. In case of rape, it is not possible to know the exact number of all the cases, as only a few are reported to the police. It is believed that compared to the official statistics, the actual number of such cases is more than five times higher. According to a survey in London, of the 1236 women, one out of every six was a victim of rape of the remaining five, one fought back. Of all the rape cases, half were committed at woman's place and half at the rapist place (home). Most of the rape victims wished to forget about it. They were reluctant to go for medical checkup and get the investigation done by police and court because the procedure of law is long and tedious. The questions put by the lawyer also cause hurt to the victim. The court attendance causes a sense of fear and she has to confront the culprit in court. The court too, does not prosecute the rape accused merely on the basis of evidences provided by the victim; She has to provide other evidences too, which are difficult to materialise. **Bhanwari Bai** who worked at an 'Aanganwadi' (day care centre) in Rajasthan was raped by some men, but due to the lack of sufficient proof, no strict action could be taken against the accused. Similarly, the women protestors, who were protesting in Delhi for the establishment of Uttarakhand, were raped by policemen, but no strict action was taken against the accused. It is a daunting task to materialize evidence that the rape had actually been committed. To identify the rapist and prove that the incident occurred without the consent of the woman is a tough task. For the crime (rape) committed in a deserted place and at night, it is all the more difficult to collect evidences.

An act of forced intercourse by the husband is not legally defined as 'rape' because it is considered the resulting factor of marriage. If a man rapes his wife during the separation period, that is before the divorce, then too, it is not termed as rape. In marriage, rape is not considered illegal or an offence. In some Western countries like Canada, Denmark, Sweden and Norway, if a married man rapes his wife, it is said to be an offence.

Self Assessment

Fill In the Blanks:

1. It is believed that compared to the official statistics, the number of actual rape cases are more than _____ .
2. Most of the rape victims wished to forget that _____ .
3. The court too, does not _____ the rape accused on the basis of the rape victims she has to provide other evidences too.

The facts related to rape are as follows:

1. Most of the rape victims were from poor family background.
2. The working women are raped by their office boss.
3. The labour women working in factories are raped by their owners.
4. In hospitals, Patients are raped by the hospital staff.
5. The female in-mates (Prisoners) in jail are raped by the jail employees.
6. Women indulged in immoral acts and those found in suspicious state are raped by policemen.
7. Insane, physically challenged, hearing and speech impaired, begging women are also raped.

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The rape victims mutely tolerate the crime committed against them because of the social stigma. Fear of losing the job, concern about supporting the family and children, too, compel them to bear in silence.

Dr. Ahuja studied the rape victims of Rajasthan and found that the incidents of rape do not always occur amongst strangers. The act of rape may be committed by one man or a group of men. The rape victims are lured with money and are pressurized verbally.



Did u know?

Most of the rape victims were in the age group of 15 to 20 years. Most of the rapists were in the age group of 23 to 30years. Thus, it can be said that age has been an important factor in rape cases and the stage of youth has been a motivational factor.

On studying cases related to rape, the social scholars have come to the following conclusion:

1. It is an incorrect notion that a women cannot be a victim of rape if she fights back.
2. It is wrong to think that only good looking women are victims of rape.
3. It is absurd to believe that the rape victims actually enjoy the act.
4. It is not right to say that most of the rapists are mentally disturbed.
5. It is not correct to believe that most of the rapes happen on their own and are not pre-planned.
6. It is not correct to think that rapes happen because of excessive sex drive and also because of sense of superiority and power.
7. There is no co-relation between excessive sex drive and rape.

Since the last few years, the women's organisation in the West have been active in changing the people's attitude and legal approach towards rape. They stress that rape should be considered a violent crime and not a sexual offence. It is not a mere physical assault but an assault on an individual's esteem and dedication.

The campaign had an effect, as a result of which in many Western countries, today rape has been legally accepted as a special form of criminal violence. A women's organisation in America has suggested some ways to avoid rape. They are:

1. Make you home extremely safe. The doors and windows should be in working condition. In case you move to another house, replace/change the locks too.
2. If you stay alone, act as if more than one person stays there. Show as if there are men too, in the house. In case someone knocks at the door, say aloud you stay in the room, I will open the door.
3. Instead of writing your full name on the door, use abbreviations such as S.K. Agarwal instead of Santosh Kumari Agarwal.
4. Stay away from strangers, and do not open the door to them.
5. Don't stay , alone in deserted houses.
6. Don't roam around alone in lanes or universities.
7. Keep with you, objects like arms, lighter, Knife, fork and whistle. Roam around in a group, not alone.

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8. In case you drive, do not leave the car doors unlocked. Before sitting in the care, check the back seat.
9. When assaulted, do not shout 'rape-rape', instead say 'Fire-Fire.'



Task

What conclusion did the social scholars come to on studying rape?

Abduction and Kidnapping

Section 366 of the Indian penal code defines abduction as an act where a woman is taken away by force, by deceit or lure; and compelled to marry. According to Section 361 of the Indian Penal Code, abduction in an act where a minor (girl, less than 18 years and boy less than 21 years) is taken away without the permission of his/her parents or legal guardians.) In an abduction case, the approved of the abducted individual (boy or girl) holds no importance, though his/her approval pardons the culprit.

In India, every year, approximately 1500 women are abducted or are kidnapped. In other words, every day 42 cases of abducting or kidnapping of girls are reported. That is to say, in every one lakh population, there are two cases of abduction or Kidnapping. The highest number of kidnapping cases have been reported in Uttar Pradesh (3,099), followed by Rajasthan (2,018), Bihar (1,219), Madhya Pradesh (1, 202) and Assam (1,010).



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Amongst those who are abducted, 54.8% women are between the age of 18 to 30, 35.3% between the age of 30 to 50, 4.5% of less than 18 years of age and 5.4% of above 50 years of age.

According to a study conducted by **Dr. Ahuja** on abduction and kidnapping we come to know that— (i) Compared to married women, unmarried girls are abducted more. (ii) The abductor and the abducted (women or girl), both are acquaintances. (iii) Because of their families or neighborhood, they get acquainted to each-other. (iv) Mostly, only one individual conspires abduction. (v) The main motive for abduction is sodomy and marriage. In 1/10 cases, it is also done for a financial motive. (vi) The major reasons for abduction are lack of parental authority, lack of warm family ties, etc. (vii) In approximately 80% of the cases, the girl is sexually assaulted.

Murder

Both men and women fall prey to murder, but all over the world, its the men who are the biggest victims, compared to women. In America, of the total number of murder cases reported annually, 20 to 25% are reportedly females while in India, its only 10%. In India, 96.7% male and 3.34% female murders are reported.

Wife Battering: Domestic Violence

In India, woman as a wife had a particular status. She has been referred to as 'Grihalakshmi.' Woman is also known as 'Ardhangini', 'Sah-dharmacharini' and 'Dharmapatni'. In the absence of a wife, the religious rituals performed by man only, are considered incomplete. But this is just

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one part of the picture. There have been cases where wives have been tortured and harassed. After marriage a husband is expected to support, love and provide security to his wife. In India the husband has been referred to as 'Bharta', which means the one who supports. Generally, It is believed that home is heaven for a woman where she enjoys security and happiness. But many women have to face domestic violence. They are kicked, boxed, slapped and beaten with wood. Even their bones are fractured. **Pahal**, in his studies found that men stabbed their wives with knives, hit them with furniture, pushed them off the stairs and nailed on their feet.

Until the 19th century, there was no law in England, which prevented man from abusing, Physically hurting or killing his wife, but today, woman has a lot of legal security. Legally, though women are in a good state today, yet they do not report the cases of domestic violence against them. They do not file a police complain or go to the court. In such cases, the attitude of the police is also unhelpful. They do not take any action, believing, that such cases are personal and related to the husband and wife. Even the police help is sought their interference is limited to receiving the quarrel. They are not keen on pressurising the husband or making allegations against him.

Despite facing violence, a helpless women has no choice but to meekly accept the situation because of financial and social reasons, her duties towards her children and to avoid social stigma. She accepts it as her fate; as a result of her sins during the past life. The society too, advises her to be tolerant. To her, it is said, 'You came to your husband's home in a palanquin, now your coffin only will leave this home. Thus, the helpless woman has no option but to bear the brunt of violence and stay put.

In his studies, **Dr. Ahuja** found— (1) Women, of less than 25 years of age are the main victims of beating. (2) Such incidents occur in families of low-income group. (3) The reasons for wife beating include non-adjustment in sexual relations, emotional imbalance, husband's egotism or inferiority complex, alcoholism, jealousy and woman's inaction against husband's violent behaviour. (4) Compared to educated women, the uneducated ones are the biggest victims. (5) Those wives who are greater than five year of age with their husband, there is more possibility of beaten by thier husband. (6) The wives who the size of the family and its structure has no co-relation with wife beating. (7) Those who were themselves victims of violence during their childhood, are more keen on domestic violence like wife beating, when they grow up. (8) Alcoholic husbands are likely to beat their wives more, because of being in an inebriated state.

Violence against Widows

In India, specially amongst the Hinus, widows face a grave problem because marriage is considered a religious ritual and a bond, which cannot be broken in life. Thus, a woman is not allowed to remarry after her husband's death. Because of this, after the death of husband, the widows miseries start. Her head is tonsured and she is not allowed to wear good clothes. Her presence is considered a bad Omen during festivals and auspicious functions. Her parents-in-law and other members of the husband's family harass the widow, term her as 'Dayan' (Witch) who sniffed out her husband's life. Widows may be of various kinds-like, a childless young widow, a middle-aged widow with one or two children and aged widows. Mostly, it is the young and the middle-aged widows who suffer the most. The aged widow becomes a part of her children's/son's family. She is considered useful in taking care of the grand children, cooking, helping in household chores and providing guidance. The problems faced by young and middle-aged widows are grave. They are harassed in many ways. They are beaten, abused and are attempted to assault sexually. They are deprived of their husband's property. Due to lack of education, they have no knowledge about their husband's business, property, insurance amount savings etc. Taking advantage of her ignorance, the in-laws try to grab the property, over which she has the legal rights. (1) There are three reasons for the harassment of widows power, property and sexual exploitation. Age, education and class too, are closely related to it. (2) The young, uneducated and middle or law class widows are more victimized than the old,

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educated and upper class widows. (3) Inaction on part of the widow too, acts as a major factor in harassing. (4) Though, the 'widow Remarriage Act' 1856 allows widows to remarry, yet there are few cases of remarriage. (5) The major factors which propel harassment against widows are the dominant personality of mother-in-law and lack of adjustment with husband's siblings. (6) There is no co-relation between the family size, structure and harassment of the widow. (7) Mostly, it is the husband's family members who harass the widow.



Task

What are the three major factors of the harassment of widows?

Prostitution

Prostitution is a social evil, which has been prevalent since the ancient times. It is a vulgar and distorted means of sexual satisfaction. It leads to the physical and moral downfall of an individual, causes financial loss and undermines his family and social position. **Elliot and Meryll** write, "Prostitution is non-differentiated and money based establishment of sexual relations, where the emotional factor does not exist." To prohibit prostitution, "Immoral Trafficking of women and girls Prohibition Act" was passed in 1956, yet it is prevalent in India, in both obvious and non-obvious forms. The obvious group includes those prostitutes who are registered and run brothels in an obvious form. In cities, where these brothels are run, are called 'Red light Areas'. The non-obvious forms of prostitution involve those women, who apart from having a job or a business, get into the act of prostitution. Presently, in big cities, girls from educated and upper class families get into prostitution in bars, hotels and dance bars. The hotel owners, cab drivers, dance show organisers and pimps too, provide support in lieu of commission.

Other form of prostitution is the custom of '**Devdasi**,' where girls are offered to temple Gods for serving them. These girls not only sing and dance in temples, they also fulfill the sexual desires of priests and landlords. The major factors which are responsible for pushing girls into prostitution are poverty, desire for lavish life style, financial dependence, ban on widow remarriage, dowry custom, troubled married life, immoral activities, family circumstances, dowry custom, divorce, illicit relations, abnormal sexual urges and religious and sentiments.

Prostitution brings a bad name to womanhood. It increases family, personal and social disintegration and leads to moral downfall, financial loss and increased cases of sexually transmitted diseases. Thus, it is the need of humanity and the call of morality that the prostitutes be prevented from such immorality and women be saved from this menace against womanhood.

Femicide and Foeticide

The Indian society is male-dominated. Here boys are given more importance than girls. From the religious point of view too, it is important to have a son, as he is supposed to be the one, who, by performing rituals like '**Shradh**' and '**Tarpan**', ensures his dead parents entry into heaven. Inheritance too, essentially requires a son. But in some families, if the number of girls is more than they are killed when they are born. This is female infanticide, which is a form of femicide. Killing of females is prevalent in various obvious and non-obvious forms. Female foeticide, battering a female child to death, harassing, to create such circumstances that the female is forced to commit suicide, poisoning, smothering to death are all obvious forms of femicide. A form of non-obvious killing is where a female child is neglected and is not given proper care or medical help, due to which she dies. Scientific progress has provided man with thousands of facilities. Today, through Amniocentesis, we can find out the gender of the foetus in mother's womb. People started misusing this scientific knowledge and now, when they find out that the

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foetus is female, they abort it. This is foeticide. To kill a girl child because of the desire for a boy, is a shame on humanity. In today's age, both boys and girls are equal. In fact, from what we see and hear, girls take more care of parents than boys. The university and competitive examination results, prove that girls are ahead of boys in order of merit. Today girls can be seen working efficiently in every sphere of life. Thus, the attitude of people regarding a son should change. To kill a girl-child because of the desire for a son is not only inhuman but also against morals and the law. Femicide not only involves a male but also a female. Here, we see that a female turns into a foe of another female. Thus, women should first stand up against the prevention of crimes against women.

Teasing

Amongst the crimes against women, cases of teasing are reportedly increasing. In the University campus, trains, buses and markets, some rowdy youths make indecent gestures. Pass lewd comments use indecent and abusive language. They are spiked with nails piercing nails with vulgarity. Sometimes, such men are publicly roughed up by the people or the cops when they land up in police net. Such hooliganism is found in big cities, mainly in North India. Most of the teasing cases are reported in Delhi, Kanpur, Agra, Benaras and a few other big cities. The female organisations have protested against such incidents in Delhi and other cities, police action has been taken against hooliganism. But decent individuals refrain from getting into this mess as the procedure of law is long and tedious. Movies and serials like campus have promoted teasing as people get much easily inspired by evil than good, that is shown. To make themselves safe from such incidents, women have to make martial themselves strong. They have to practice martial art forms like **judo** and **karate** in order to protect themselves. They have to form groups to tackle with the hooligans on their own. Everything should not be left to the government, police and law.

Apart from the above mentioned crimes against women and increased violence; there are other ways of taking advantage of their helplessness. For the promotion of products, nude and semi-nude pictures of women are exhibited, which project them in vulgar and poor light.

Causes of Violence against Women

Here, we mention those factors which promote violence against women –

1. **Male Domination:** Not only in India, male domination is found in almost every society of the world. He is considered the symbol of power. Man tortures women in order to establish and prove his power, superiority and manhood.
2. **Economic Dependency of Women on Men:** In India, women are found to be economically dependent on men. It is the man who supports his wife. In such a situation, she has no option but to bear the torture, fearing that if her husband deserts her, she would be helpless and unable to sustain herself.
3. **Illiteracy:** According to the 2001 census, the percentage of literacy in India is 53.6 amongst women and 75.2 amongst men. Because of the lack of education women are not aware of their rights. They don't even know about the existing laws which protect their rights and the organisations from where they should seek help in case of torture. Illiteracy and they are bound to bear torture.
4. **Hostility Towards Women:** Some men are prejudiced against women. So, they torture women to satisfy their feelings. An individual who had been harassed by some woman in the past or had been ditched by his lover, develops a feeling of revenge against all women. The sense of hatred and jealousy is so strong that female touturting becomes the motive of his life. He derives sadistic pleasure out of insulting women.

5. **Evil Social Traditions:** There are many evil custom practises in India like child-marriage, veil system, dowry system, lack of widow remarriage, etc. It is the women who become a victim of these customs, and bear the torture related to these evil customs.
6. **Family Tensions:** Family tensions too, are responsible for torture of women. When a husband and his wife are unable to adjust with each-other's nature, have different views, then too, man tries to force things on woman. He compels her to mould herself according to his desires and suitability. When the wife shows reluctance to do so or opposes it, she is tortured by her husband.
7. **Provocation by Victim:** Many a times the victim's behaviour is such that it provokes the husband. For instance, if a woman badmouths her husband in the presence of others, if she speaks to those people who her husband dislikes, if she behaves badly with her husband's family, if she does not take care of the household, if she is in an illicit relation with another man, if she does not obey her parents-in-law, if she unnecessarily interferes in the husband's matters or she suspects him, if she uses harsh words or insults him, then the husband losses his temper and beats, abuses and harasses his wife. In some other cases it has been seen that the women who had been victims of rape, were displaying such body language and postures, that the man got eager to rape. In case of killing too, it has been found that during the argument, the woman created such a situation that the man got agitated and committed the offence. Studies too, have shown that in cases of abduction, it was the girl who had approved of it, but when caught, put the blame on man; on the insistence of father, maternal uncle and the police.
8. **Intoxication:** Those men who drink alcohol or do any other kinds of intoxication, torture wife even in that state. In some cases of rape, the rapists had been found in an inebriated state. When a husband comes home in an inebriated state, a verbal life ensues, which results in wife beating. It is because the person is not aware of his actions during an inebriated state. When he comes back to his sense, he repents for his actions. It has also been found that in order to commit a crime, a man drinks alcohol to boost his courage.
9. **Passiveness towards Criminal:** Many a times, the victims (woman) keep on bearing the crime. They neither report the matter to the police nor seek any help from anyone. In such a situation, the culprit (man) gets more emboldened and continues with his wrongdoings.
10. **Situational Urge:** Many a times, the circumstances are such that a man commits an offence. For instance, on a dark night if a woman is found passing a deserted stretch, the man present there gets tempted to rape. If a woman is found alone in fields, mine or factory, there too, she is at the risk of sexual assault.

26.2 Measures to Check Violence against Women: Suggestions

To Prevent violence against women, we can take the following steps:

1. **Arrangement for Shelter:** The government and the self-help organisations should arrange accommodation for such women who wish to leave home because of the harassment by husband and in-laws. The abducted or kidnapped women, when rescued and those who are being threatened or those who are victimized through violence, should be provided a secure, permanent or temporary shelter.
2. **Arrangement for Employment:** The reason why women bear violence is 'financial dependence.' They depend on their husbands and in-laws to get support for their children and themselves. If such women get employment and job opportunities, are provided loan to set up a small scale business, along consultation facility, then they are not going to bear violence and will try to become self-sufficient.
3. **Provide Educational Facilities:** Being uneducated is another reason for harassment of women. For this, women's education programme should be extended. Those who dropped

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out of school but wish to study further, should be provided free education. Vocational and other kinds of training should be provided. This will boost their self-confidence. They will become aware of their rights and oppose harassment against themselves.

4. **Punishment:** Those who harass their wives should be socially condemned and publicly punished, so that others too, learn a lesson and refrain from it.
5. **Establishment of Women Courts:** To hear cases of violence and other crimes against women, separate women's courts should be set up where the judge should also be a female. This will help women overcome the fear, associated with going to the regular courts. They will be able to say their part of the story. The hearing and proceedings of such courts should not be accessible to the public. The judge, the accused (culprit) and the victim, with her supporters are the only ones who should be allowed inside the courtroom.
6. **Legal Aid and consultancy:** To provide legal aid to the victims (women) and to address their issues, self-help organisations should come forward. They should provide free help and guidance to the victims, so that are able to lead a happy life, again.
7. **Formation of Women's Organisations:** To free the victims from torture, to provide them legal and monetary aid, to give them moral support and to boost their self-confidence, maximum number of women's organisations should be set up. Such organisations should talk to the victim's husband, parents-in law and others related to the in-laws, put moral and social pressure to solve the problem. Instead of making personal efforts, if group efforts by women are made, they will prove to be more effective.
8. **Change in Attitude:** To prevent violence and crime against women, the mind set/thoughts of the girl's parents should also be changed. From the very childhood, they (the girls) are socially conditioned in such a matter that they bear everything without ever protesting. Since childhood, it is drilled into a girls psyche that her husband is equal to God and once she goes to her husband's home, only death can move her out of there, women are preached to be tolerant, etc. Because of these teachings and preaching, she silently bears everything and she does not protest. Why do the parents compel their daughters to stay at their in-laws home even when they do not want to? Why do not they call them back home? Why do they make their daughter a scapegoat just for the fear of social stigma?

Self Assessment

Fill in the blanks:

4. One of the reasons for torture at women is _____ of women also.
5. They are dependent on their husbands and in-laws to get _____ for their children and themselves.
6. To prevent violence and crime _____ women, the mind set of the girl's parents should also be changed.



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Women should not remain inactive in the face of violence. They should be aware of their suppression and exploitation and should oppose. They should seek help from the court, law and their own family. When women tolerate violence, it has a bad effect on their children. They become meek and the development of their personality gets obstructed. Thus, women are the one's who have to rise up, raise their voices, become aware and protest then only they can free themselves from dangerous circumstances.

26.3 Problems of Divorce

Notes

The social and legal end of married relations of husband and wife is known as Divorce. It is the symbol of non-adjustment and failure of married and family life. This means, those motives, for which the marriage was arranged, have not been fulfilled. It is a sorry state of affairs, an end to trust, a state of wreckage of vows and attachment. In this matter, a partner estimates the other one and the one who is rejected, feels humiliated and suppressed. His/her ego gets hurt. It is also a legal, social and family problem.

Hindus expect women to be 'Pativrata' and 'Sati.' So, the question of woman deserting her husband does not arise. Doing so is considered unacceptable both socially and religiously, though there had been cases of separation (divorce) during the Vedic period. **Manu, Narada, Vrihaspati, Parashar** too, allowed widow remarriage in some circumstances. **Manu** supported second marriage in case of infertility of woman, death of children or daughters only and quarrelsome woman (wife). **Kautilya** too favoured second marriage for the husband, if he faced similar circumstances.

A woman who remarries during her husband's life is called 'Punarbhū.' **Kautilya** allows a women to desert her husband in case, he is bad-charactered, has been living abroad since a long time, is ungrateful towards his family and friends, is an outcast from society or poses a threat to his wife's life. Enmity too, may be a reason for separation. **Narada** and **Parasher** too, have allowed woman to look for a second husband, in case the husband is impotent, missing, dead, renounced the world or is an outcast from society.

But since the beginning of the christ era, separation was considered to be anti-religious, impure and an act of hatred. After a period, it almost stopped. One thousand years after Christ, the notion that 'Kanyadan' (a marriage ritual where the bride's father gives his daughter's hand to the prospective groom in front of holy fire) can be performed only once, became strong and that, no matter how bad charactered or violent a husband, he could not be deserted.

Causes of Divorce

According to the religious scriptures, separation can be allowed in case, the husband is impotent, the woman is infertile or has daughters only, is bad charactered or quarrel some. **Damley, Fonseka** and **Chowdhary** have studied the reasons for separation.

According to **Damley**, the major reasons for separation have been the conflicts between husband and wife, lack of adjustment in the family, harassment by husband, quarrel with in-laws, infertility of wife, immorality of husband or wife. Husband's irresponsible behaviour towards fulfilling family responsibilities due to illness or nature, imprisonment of husband, etc.

Fonseka has found that the prominent factors for separation are—deserting and violence (69.1%), infidelity (20%), impotent (8.3%), etc.



Task

State the reasons for divorce.

Hindu Marriage Act, 1955

The Hindu Marriage Act was enforced on 18th May, 1955 on all (Hindus-including Jains, Buddhists and Sikks) the citizens residing in India (except Jammu and Kashmir). By this Act, all the previous Acts passed earlier, were dissolved and a single Act was enforced on all citizens. This Act recognises the various rituals performed during a Hindu Marriage. It also guarantees the right to marriage and divorce, to men and women of all castes. The major factors of this Act are as follows—

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Conditions of Marriage

Followings are the criteria for a man-woman marriage –

(i) At the time of marriage a man's or woman's other spouse should not be alive. (ii) At the time of marriage, a man or woman should not be mentally unstable or stupid. (iii) At the time of marriage, the groom should not be less than 18 years of age and the bride should not be less than 15 years. But in May 1976, this Act was amended and the groom's age was increased to 21 years and the bride's age was increased to 18 years. (iv) Both the parties should not fall into restricted category, *i.e.*, they should not oppose the customs which control them. (v) Both the parties should not be 'Sa-pindi'. Their marriage can be recognized, if their traditions allow such a marriage. (vi) In case, the bride is less than 18 years of age, the consent of her guardians is mandatory. In the absence of guardians too, such a marriage is recognized.

Void of Marriage

A marriage may be deemed void in the following cases –

(i) At the time of marriage, the other spouse of one party is alive and divorce has not obtained. (ii) One party is impotent at the time of marriage. (iii) At the time of marriage, one party is mentally unsound or stupid. (iv) Within a year of marriage, it is proved that the applicant's or his/her guardians consent was obtained by force or deception. (v) Within a year of marriage, it is proved that the woman was pregnant with another man, and the applicant was ignorant of it.

Judicial Separation

Under Section 10 of this act, on certain grounds, a husband and wife may be allowed to stay separately. If they succeed in shorting out their differences during this period, they can re-establish their marital relations.

Followings are the grounds for judicial separation:

(i) The applicant had been deserted by the other party without citing any reason since two years, before the submission of the application. (ii) The other party subjects the applicant to violence. (iii) The other party had been suffering from terminal disease, since one year before the submission of the application. (iv) The other party suffers from some sexually transmitted disease, which was not acquired through contact with the applicant. (v) The other party has been mentally unsound since one year, before the submission of the application. (vi) The other party had sexual intercourse with another person, after marriage.



Notes

If the husband-wife fail to revive their relations within two years, after getting the permission for judicial separation, they may apply for divorce, which may be accepted under section 13.

Divorce

Followings are the grounds on which the court may grant divorce –

(i) The other party engages in infidelity. (ii) The other party has converted to another religion, and is no longer a Hindu. (iii) The other party has been suffering from a terminal disease, since three years before the submission of the application. (iv) The other party has become an ascetic. (v) No news about the other party being alive since the last seven years. (vi) The other party

had no sexual intercourse for two years or more, after the judicial separation. (vii) After the re-establishment of the marital rights, the other party did not abide by them for two years or more. (viii) Husband accused of rape, sodomy or bestiality.

Notes

This Act clarifies that Judicial separation and Divorce are two different issues. By allowing separation, the court gives an opportunity to both the parties for reconciliation. If they still do not wish to stay together, they are allowed to dissolve the marriage. Direct divorce may be granted, only in a few cases. This act also guarantees alimony to the husband or wife. Alimony is payable till the other party re-marries. Under this Act, it is not easy to obtain separation and divorce.

26.4 Divorce (Talaq) among Muslims

The Muslim marriage is an agreement, of both the parties, when one does not follow the agreement, then by Talaq (divorce), the marriage is dissolved. In ancient Arabia, the custom of 'Khole' was prevalent. According to this custom, a father could free his daughter anytime from the husband. To do so, he had to return the 'Sadak' or the bride value given by the groom. Later on 'Sadak' took the form of 'Mehtar.' After getting the husband's approval, the woman may return the 'Mehtar' given by the husband and separate from him. In the matter of divorce, the Muslim law favours men.

According to the Muslim Divorce law, a husband has the right to desert his wife anytime he wants. What he has to do is to abstain from physical relation with his wife for four months. In Muslims, divorce can be obtained through the court or outside the court and it can be both verbal and written. The divorce in writing is called 'Talaqnama'. Compared to women, men are the ones who are more free to give Talaq.

The various forms of Talaq or divorce are as follows –

1. **Talaq:** According to the Muslim law, any man who is an adult and has a sound mind, can divorce his wife, without citing any reason. The utterance of the word 'Talaq' (divorce) in an inebriated state in the presence or absence of wife too, is deemed fit for separation. It is called Verbal Divorce, having three forms –
 - (a) **Talaq-e-Ahasan:** According to this form, a husband declares 'talaq' (divorce) once, during his wife's menstrual period (Tuhur). He then abstains from sexual relations with her during 'Iddat', which is the period of three months between four menstrual cycles. If the husband does not have sexual relations within this period, then at the end of this period, divorce is obtained. The main motive of observing 'Iddat' is to ascertain that the wife is not pregnant. Apart from this, it gives him another opportunity to reconsider his decision, and if he wants he is free to change his decision.
 - (b) **Talaq-e-Hasan:** According to this form, a husband declares 'talaq' thrice, in the period of the three menstrual cycles. During this period, if he abstains from sexual relations, then divorce is granted at the end of this period.
 - (c) **Talak-ul-Biddat:** According to this form, at the time of any menstrual period a husband declares 'talaq' thrice, after short intervals. After the end of 'iddat' (abstinence from sexual relations), divorce is accepted.

Self Assessment

Fill In the Blanks:

7. In Muslims, _____ can be granted in or outside courts. It may be verbal or in the written form.
8. According to the Muslim _____, any person who is an adult and has a sound mind, can divorce his wife, without citing any reason.
9. To observe the period of 'Iddat', is to ascertain whether the woman is _____ or not.

Notes

2. **Illa or Vow of Continnence:** A husband swears by god and takes an Oath that he will abstain from sexual relations with his wife till four months or more. If he abstains from sexual relations during this period, then separation takes place.
3. **Zihar:** When a man compares his wife to a kin, with whom marriage is prohibited, like he says, You are like my mother, then the wife asks him to do penance. If the husband does not do so, then, the wife goes to the court to seek justice. The court grants divorce in such a case.
4. **Khula:** A wife requests her husband to free her and promises to compensate by returning the 'Mehtar' (bride value). If both of them agree, divorce is granted.
5. **Mubarat:** This kind of separation gets the approval of both, the husband and the wife. In this case, the wife does not give any money to the husband, unlike Khula. In this kind of divorce, the wife lives with the husband until the period of 'Iddat'.
6. **Lian:** In this case, the husband accuses wife of immorality. The wife denies it and requests in the court, that either he should withdraw his accusation, or declare, swearing by god, that the accusation is true. If the husband's accusation is proved to be untrue the wife gains the right to separate. If the husband withdraws his accusation, the case is dissolved.
7. **Talaq-e-Thafabeez:** Here, a wife demands divorce, a right which she gains from her husband, during marriage.

Judicial Divorce

The Shariat Act, 1937 grants a Muslim woman, the right to divorce, in case her husband is impotent and also if he wrongly accuses his wife of immorality. Apart from this, divorce can also be granted on the basis of Illa and Zihar.

The Dissolution of Muslim Marriage Act came into enforcement in 1939. This Act provides Muslim women, the right to divorce, on the following grounds:

1. In case, there is no trace of the husband since four years.
2. In case, the husband is unable to support wife since two years.
3. In case, the husband is sentenced to imprisonment of seven years or more.
4. In case, the husband fails to fulfill his marital duties since three years, without any reason.
5. In case, the husband is impotent.
6. In case, the husband is mad.
7. In case, the husband suffers from a sexually transmitted disease or leprosy.
8. In case, the girl had been married by her father or other guardians, "less than the age of 15, and she had no sexual relations during that period; and an application had been filed against the marriage, before the boy attained the age of 18.
9. In case, the husband tortures his wife.
10. In case, the husband is in contact with characterless women.
11. In case, the husband compels, wife to lead an immoral life.
12. In case, the husband sells the property of his wife or obstructs her right to property.
13. In case, the husband obstructs her religious activities in case there.
14. In case, the husband does not treat equally in case of one more than wives.
15. Any other basis, which according to the Muslim law is acceptable for divorce.

26.5 Divorce among Christians

Notes

The Christian religion does not allow divorce. Divorce cannot be declared in any church. The Roman Catholic Church is totally against divorce while the Protestants support it in special circumstances. Divorce cannot be obtained in any church. The divorced man and woman too, can't remarry there. After the completion of one year of the first spouse's demise the court allows remarriage. In case a party falls in the prohibited relations category or is mentally challenged, or tortures the other party the Church allows them to separate. Amongst Christians, mutual love is given more importance than child bearing. Infertility is also the basis of divorce.

Jesus Christ says about divorce, "Those two will become one body, so they are not two but one body. Thus, whom God has united, man should not separate." He says, "Any person who divorces his wife on any grounds, except immorality, and marries another woman, acts immorally and the one who marries a deserted woman, acts immorally. It is evident that in Christianity, divorce is not acceptable from the religious viewpoint.

This does not mean that divorces are not found amongst Christians compared to other religions, more divorces take place. Practically, if any hurdle occurs in their mutual love, they do not hesitate to divorce. Since many Hindus converted to Christianity, so the effect of the Hindu attitude is still prevalent and the divorce rate is less than the Christians of other Western countries.



Task

Discuss in brief the reasons which cause divorce.

26.6 The Indian Divorce Act, 1869

This act allows Christians, the right to divorce. According to Section 10 of this Act, a husband can apply in the court for divorce, in case the wife is immoral. The wife can seek divorce on any one basis of the following:

1. The husband converts to another religion and marries another woman.
2. The husband has sexual relations with a woman, who falls in the prohibited relations category.
3. The husband has sexual relations with a woman and has married her.
4. The husband is accused of rape, sodomy or ballistically.
5. The husband has illicit relations with another woman and has deserted his wife since two years.
6. The husband practises polygamy and is immoral.
7. Treats wife cruelly.

According to section 19 of this Act, in the following conditions, a Christian Marriage may be dissolved:

1. At the time of marriage, one of the parties is impotent.
2. The husband-wife fall in the prohibition relations category.
3. One of the parties is insane at the time of marriage.
4. Either of their first husband or wife is alive.

To declare the marriage illegal, there should be an order from the high court. If, for marriage, a party's approval, has been sought through treacherous means, then the High court can declare, such a marriage illegal.

According to Section 22, Judicial Separation can be sought on the basis of torture, immorality or desertion.

Notes

According to Section 23, Judicial Separation can be sought on the basis of rules mentioned in Section 19. According to Section 23, either of the husband and wife can apply for the restitution of conjugal rights. According to Section 34, a husband can ask for compensation from the individual indulged in immorality with his wife. Section 36 allows a woman to ask for maintenance from her husband. According to Section 50 of this act, any party can marry after six months of separation order, provided during this period, no appeal of any kind was made.

26.7 Summary

- Since the ancient times, violence against women has been prevalent. In the Mahabharata period, Yudhishtira pawned his wife Draupadi in gambling. In the Ramayana period, Ravana abducted Sita.
- In categorisation of crime against women, violence has been divided into three parts.
- Criminal violence: rape and abduction, etc.
- Domestic violence: dowry related deaths, wife-Battering, gender Harassment.
- Social violence Harassment for dowry, Teasing, Deny property right to women.
- According to the Muslim Divorce law, man can divorce woman whenever he wishes.
- In Christianity, the Roman Catholic Church is totally against divorce. The protestant church supports it under special circumstances.

26.8 Keywords

1. **Punishment:** Pain inflicted by the State for unpleasant and illegal activities. Such an individual is subject to physical pain or torture to make him realise his crime.
2. **Prostitution:** To stop prostitution, in 1956, the immoral trafficking of women and girls Prevention Act was passed.

26.9 Review Questions

1. Write the types of violence against women in the family.
2. Write short note on "Widows Violence".
3. Discuss the problems of divorce in Hindus.
4. Write the causes of divorce in Muslims and Christians.

Answers: Self Assessment

- | | | |
|---------------|-------------|---------------|
| 1. five times | 2. incident | 3. punishment |
| 4. uneducated | 5. Support | 6. against |
| 7. Talaq | 8. Law | 9. Pregnant |

26.10 Further Readings



Books

Society in India – Virendra Prakash Sharma, D.K. Publishers and Distributors.
Sociology of Family – Dr. Sanjeev Mahajan, Arjun Publishing House.

Unit 27: Family Problems: Dowry Death and Bride Burning

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27.1 Dowry Death and Bride Burning

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27.4 Keywords

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Objectives

After studying this unit, students will be able to:

- Aware the bride from killing due to dowry.
- Aware the bride from burning alive due to dowry.
- Describe the efforts made by the Government regarding dowry death.

Introduction

Dowry system is the most infamous practices among all the evils spread in our society. In ancient time there was a dowry system but like today there were no pre-condition before marriage. The parents of the bride gave dowry happily according to their capability after the marriage. but the evils of dowry today reached to that height, people do not hesitate to torture the bride severely even burn her alive.

27.1 Dowry Death and Bride Burning

Today dowry has become a matter of grave concern. Because of it, the marriage of daughters has become a curse. The give and take of dowry has become essential because of some factors like a limited region for match finding, the compulsion of child, marriage, decent marriage, education, social status, and exhibition of wealth and status. Because of the dowry menace, innumerable women have been burnt, tortured and compelled to commit suicide. We come across such news every day.

Notes



Notes

It is dowry which has given birth to social-evils like child marriages, family disintegration, burden of loan, low life-style, polygamy, mismatched marriages, immorality crime, corruption and various forms of mental diseases. It is because of dowry only that the birth of a female child (daughter) is considered a unfavourable.

Because of the social and economic hardships, Dowry has become a major temptation. The dowry demands include dishes, (Utensils) Jewelry, refrigerator, car, air conditioner apart from money. The parents the dowry, thinking it will raise their daughter's status and give her financial security. But the desire for high social status and security for their daughter, puts the parents in a state of insecurity, where they have to fulfill such demands which are beyond their financial capacity and that burdens them with loan. Today, the dowry system is found to be prevalent in those castes too, in which it never existed. Because of dowry, boys are auctioned and whosoever pays the highest amount gets the best bet.

27.2 Dowry

Dowry poses a major problem for women. In the recent years, there were many incidents of death of young married women, which were termed as dowry deaths. The social service organisations raised their voices against the issue of dowry and protested against it. The new of young married women being killed or their committing suicide became the daily news headlines. Because of the pressure, Dowry prohibition Act, 1961 and 1984 were amended. Another amendment took place in 1986. By this Act, the court had the power to prosecute the dowry accused on behalf of any registered welfare organisation or on the basis of its own knowledge. The dowry related offence were declared non-bailable in order to have a fair investigation. A new article has been added to the Indian Penal Code that is called dowry death. For avoid evidence proof: there are some amendments have been done int he Indian Evidence Act also. In case a married woman dies within seven year of her marriage, under mysterious circumstances, her husband and in-laws are held responsible for providing proof. A dowry prohibition officer should be appointed and a committee should be set up to look into the dowry related issues. To deal with the dowry issues effectively, an antidowry cell has been established.

In this book, we have mentioned elsewhere that the issue of dowry is not related to all the women of the country. Firstly, the fierce form of this custom is prevalent in higher castes only. Amongst the higher castes too, the 'Vaishya' castes are the major victims. There is not doing system in the lower castes. From the regional point of view too, this custom is more prevalent in the Hindu castes of the North. The Southern region is the least affected. In the North East where there is large tribal population, it does not exist. There the bride-value system is prevalent. The dowry custom is not found amongst Muslims, Tribals, Christians and Parsis.

Self Assessment

Fill in the blanks:

1. _____ raised their voices and protested against the issue of dowry.
2. There had been some _____ in the Indian witness Act, so that an individual does not have to take the trouble of producing witness.
3. The issue of dowry is not related to _____ women of the country.

Dowry Deaths

Notes

Though the Dowry prohibition Act, 1961 banned the 'Dowry' custom, yet in reality, the law only admits that the dowry menace still exists. In fact, no one (husband or in-laws) has even been prosecuted for demanding dowry. In the last few years, there has been an increase in dowry demands and deaths related to it. According to a balanced approximation, 5,000 killings take place every year, which are related to dowry or insufficient dowry. According to the 1993 report of the government of India (January 29, 1993), presently, in every 102 minutes, a dowry related death takes place in India. In every day the number of dowry deaths goes up to 33 and annually, 5000 approximately. Most of the dowry deaths take place at the husbands home, in isolation and the family is the conspirator in the crime. Thus, the courts accept that they do not punished due to insufficient of proo. Sometimes the police investigation gets so tough that the courts too, express apprehension on the police officer's efficiency and dedication.

According to my experienced studies, the major observations related to dowry deaths are the following.

1. The rate of harassment against women of middle class is higher than that of lower or upper castes women.
2. Approximately 70% of the victims are in the age group of 21-24 years, *i.e.*, they are not only matured physically, but also socially and emotionally.
3. The menace is found more amongst the upper caste than the lower caste.
4. Before, killing, the young bride is insulted in many ways. That reflects the unruly social behaviour of the victims family members (in-laws).
5. Amongst the reasons of dowry deaths, the major sociological factor is the pressure of the environment on the culprit or the social stress which emerges from the family's internal or external problems. The other prominent psychological factors are the dominate personality of the culprit, his aggressive attitude and personality disorder.
6. There is no co-relation between the girls education standard and dowry death.
7. The structure of the family plays a major role in burning the new bride.

27.3 Summary

- To take and give dowry has become essential dut to selection of life partner in a limited area, marriage in same caste, *etc.*
- Dowry has become a grave problem in India.
- Due to dowry thousands of women have been killed.
- Around 5000 women killed due to dowry every year in the country.
- Dowry Prohibition act has implemented in 1961 by the government in which taking and giving dowry has become punishable offence.

27.4 Keywords

1. **Marriage by Capture:** The process of getting life partner in shcedule tribe community, in which a man get his wife by kidnap her forcefully. It is considered that this will be first method of getting life partner in early time.
2. **Dowry:** The dowry prohibition act amended in 1961 and 1984.

Notes

27.5 Review Questions

1. Dowry is a grave problem. why?
2. How to abolish dowry system?

Answers: Self Assessment

1. NGOs
2. amendment
3. total

27.6 Further Readings



Books Marriage and Family – K.M. Kapadia
Ancient Society – C.H. Morgia

Unit 28: Family and Marriage in India: Regional Diversities

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- 28.10 Further Readings

Objectives

After studying this unit, students will be able to:

- Know the regional inequalities in marriages in the societies of different regions.
- Know the regional inequalities in families in the societies of different regions.
- Know the regional inequalities in families and marriage of India.

Introduction

Marriage and family are the two sides of one social fact. The social fact is – the physical mental emotional and social needs of man. Marriage and family have developed side by side. Both are as old as culture, without family descent and culture cannot be preserved and without marriage, family cannot be created.

The fruition of history is to know why in any society, a certain kind of marriage and family developed, not in knowing how a structure self developed.

In the various states and regions of India, there is diversity in marriages and family functions and rules; though in almost all the regions, the motive of marriage and family is the same. Mar-

Notes

riage is the link between the reproduction family and the re-establishing family. The personal membership between two sole families, is the fact which gives birth to the custom of kinship. Kinship has been defined as follows: "Social relation on family basis (Theodoreson : 1969: 221). Those relations which are consanguinal or Affinal based, determine an individual's rights and duties. Thus, kinship system means: "A structured, system of functions, roles and relations in which kin (primary, secondary, tri-kin and far off kin) are bound together by the complex chain of ties." The mutual behaviour which indicates the relation between kin is named by certain words, by which every kin addresses the other, *i.e.* by personal name or the kinship. (Pitaji, Dadaji, Behenji) or an individual's name and the kinship: combined together (Ram's father, Rita's mother, *etc.*), kinship words (for addressing and referring to), which are either starting words (which cannot be shortened into any other word like mata (mother), Pita (Father), Chacha (uncle), Bhai (Brother), Behen (Sister), *etc.*, or are formed with the combination of the starting words like, Behenoi (Brother-in-law), Mausea (Maternal Aunt's Husband), *etc.*, or alphabetical (which is formed by two or more starting words like mauseri Behen (Maternal Aunt's Daughter). Phuphera Bhai (Paternal Aunt's son), *etc.*, and those which are called isolatives (it refers to one kin only, known by descent, gender and descent relations like brother, sister, husband, wife, *etc.*, or classification words, which refer to two or more kinship classes like sambhrata (cousin), which is used both for father's brother's sons and mother's sister sons. As classification words neglect one or more fundamental basics (like gender, age, descent, marriage related ties, co-relation, division), *etc.*, the thousands of kinship classes are limited to a few only.

The kinship groups amongst the Hindus play the second major role; the first being social functions rituals and family in daily life. It is not only during the hard times that people seek kin's help, it is during the other regular occasions too that they seek their help. After the family, the next major kinship group is: descent (**Vensh** and **gotra**). Descent is a consanguineous unilateral Descent group, whose members consider themselves the descendants of an actual and normal ancestor. This descendant group may be matri-local or patri-local. It is an exogamous unit. The members of this group are considered as brothers and sisters. The descendant ties are bound till a few generations only. The major link between the Uni descent families is the general participation in cultural functions (like birth, death, *etc.*). The descent passes into gotra, which is Unilateral, but is bigger than descent. It is an exogamous group. In an individual's life Matri local and Patri local kin have an equal importance.

28.1 Northern Zone

Characteristics of kinship in South India are different from those of North and Central India. The socio-cultural co-relations of the kinship system are: Language. Caste (Of the Plains and Mountains) and Region. Despite the effect of these three correlations on the kinship relations it is possible to talk about the kinship organisation on the basis of some groups, like caste and region.



Notes

Though the kinship rules in the Northern region differ from caste to caste, yet comparative studies show that it is possible to talk about an 'Ideal' Northern format, specially about the most common attitude and customs prevalent amongst most of the castes.

Irawati Karve (1953:115) has mentioned some prominent characteristics of the Northern Zone kinship organization some of them are as follows:

1. Because of ego, the younger kin are addressed by their personal name while the elders are addressed by their kinship names.

2. All the children of the ascending and descending generations are considered equal to the sibling group and all the children of the sibling group are considered equal to an individual's own children.
3. The ideology of unit amongst generations is followed. (For example, great-grandfather and grandfather are given the same respect as father).
4. The old and the young kin belonging to the same generation are considered separate.
5. The format of behavior and duties of the members, belonging to three generations is followed strictly.
6. In place of some ancient kinship words of the Sanskrit, origin, new words are being used; For example: Pita (Father) instead of Pitamah (Grandfather), 'Ji' for those elder, to the 'speaker' (like, Chacha ji and Tauji (Paternal Uncles). In Bengal, 'Moshai' is used instead of 'Ji'.
7. After marriage are not allowed amongst close kin.
8. After marriage, a woman is not free to talk to her in laws (mother-in-law and father-in-law). After she becomes a mother, she gains the position of respect and power and the restrictions imposed on her are also reduced.
9. A family is structured in such a way that the children, parents and grandparents either stay together or the kinship duties towards them are fulfilled.
10. A part from the joint family, which represents an individual's **radius** of close relations; there is an, extensive radius of kinship, which are significant in his life. This kinship represents his patri or Matri kin, who stand by him and support him, when the support from the immediate family proves insufficient.

Notes

28.2 Central Zone

The characteristics of the kinship organisation in central India are not much different from those of North India. The main characteristics of kinship in Central India are as follows:

1. In every region, the marriage rituals are the same as the North, *i.e.*, Consanguinity is the main concern related to marriages.
2. Many castes are divided into Exogamous clans. In some castes, the Exogamous Clans are established in Hypergamous hierarchy.
3. The kinship vocabulary symbolises closeness amongst the various Kin. The relations amongst the kin are conducted on the basis of the 'gift' giving ritual known as 'Nyota uphar', according to which, cash gift is given in lieu of the cash gift received. Register, known 'Nyota Panji' is maintained and preserved for generations.
4. In some castes in Gujarat, maternal-cross cousin marriage (with mother's brother) and brother-in-law marriages (with husband's brother) are prevalent.
5. In Gujarat, the Custom of 'Periodic' marriage has encouraged child marriages and mismatched marriage. Such marriage are prevalent there till today.
6. The Kinship relations in Maharashtra are influenced by both the regions – North and South. For example, the Maratha Clan organisation resembles the Rajputs, which are established in the form of staps. The clans are organised in divisions and each division is named according to the number of clans it consists of. For example; **Panchkuli: Stakuli**, etc. The clans are arranged in chronological order the highest Panchkuli, and Satkulli, *etc.* The Panchkulis can marry amongst themselves or marry a Satkuli girl, but do not marry their daughter outside Panchkuli.

Notes

7. In some castes of the central region, like the Marathas and the Kunbis, bride value is prevalent, though the custom of dowry is also there.
8. Though the Patrilocal Family system is prevalent in Maharashtra, yet unlike North India, where a wife permanently lives with her husband after 'Gauna', and visits her father's home only occasionally, in the Maratha caste, she visits her father's home very frequently. Once she goes to her father's home, it is hard to get her back to her husband's home. This symbolises the influence of the South on Kinship relations.
9. Though most of the kinship words resemble those by the North. Yet there are some words of the Southern Dravid origin, for example: Anna, 'Nana' or Dada' are used for brother. Similarly for sister, words such as 'Akka', 'Tai' and 'Mai' are used.
10. The Kinship system amongst the tribals of Rajasthan and Madhya Pradesh is a slightly different from that of the caste-Hindus. This difference is found in kinship, vocabulary, marriage rules, inheritance system and the duties of clans.

Thus, it can be said that though the kinship organisation is almost the same in the Northern and Southern regions, yet it could be termed as the 'Region of transition, from the North to the South. The state of Maharashtra is the 'Region of cultural borrowing and cultural synthesis. (Karve; 1953; 176)

Self Assessment

Fill in the blanks:

1. The Kinship system amongst the _____ of Rajasthan and Madhya Pradesh is slightly different from the castes Hindus.
2. Though the Kinship organisation is almost the same in the Northern and Southern regions, yet it could be termed as the region of _____, from the North to the South.
3. _____ can marry amongst themselves or marry a Satkuli girl.

28.3 South Zone

The Southern Zone presents a complex form of Kinship system. Though in most of the castes and communities, the families are mainly Patri local (like, Namboodri), but there are such parts of the population, which are Matrilocal (like, Nair). There are many whose system includes the characteristics of both the Patrilocal and Matrilocal organisation. (like Toda). Similarly, there are castes and tribes which follow the Polygamy custom only (like Asari, Nair), yet there are those systems too, in which both the customs. Multi wives and multi husbands are prevalent (like Toda). Multihusbands is the major patrilocal group too (like Asari) and multihusbands is major matrilocal group too (like, Tiyan, Nayyar), Multiwives is the major Patrilocal group too (like Namboodri) but there is no major multi wives Matrilocal group. Similarly, there are patrilocal. Joint families and Matrilocal joint families too. All this shows the diverse forms of the Kinship system prevalent in the Southern region. Here we will discuss about the few forms/organisations.

In the Matrilocal family, the Kinship relations amongst women are in the form of daughter, mother, sister, mother's sister and sister's daughter. The kinship relations amongst men and women are in the form of brother, son, daughter's son and sister's sons. The Kinship relation amongst men are in the form of mother's brother, brother and sister's son. All these are consanguineous based relations. No relations based on wedlock, have been established. It is so because a husband rarely comes in a family.



Notes

There is a lack of partnership sense amongst husband and wife and lack of closeness amongst father and children. As far as husband income is concerned, women are totally free. In this respect, the south Indian families are totally different from the North Indian families.

Notes

The Matrilocal joint families known as 'Tarwad' are found amongst the Nairs of Malabar in Travancore and some other groups. The main characteristics of Tarwad families are as follows:

1. The property of Tarwad belongs to all men and women.
2. The unmarried sons are the members of mother's Tarwad while the married sons are the members of their wives' Tarwad,
3. The oldest family member manages the Tarwad property. He is called **karnavan** and his wife is called **Ammayi**.
4. Karnavan is the absolute dictator. After his demise, the next senior/eldest member becomes the karnavan. He can invest the money in his name, can pawn the property, can loan the money, can gift the land and is not accountable to any member regarding income and expenditure.
5. When a Tarwad takes a large form, it is split into Tavanzhi. With relation to women, Tavazhi is the group of those individuals, which includes women, their children, and all the inheritors of the woman's descent.

The Tarwards before 1912 and those after 1912 are two different groups, with different characteristics:

- (a) Earlier, the Tarwad property was indivisible but now, it is divided.
- (b) Earlier, the karnavan was the absolute dictator.
- (c) Earlier, the Tarwad members were not entitled to family support until and unless they lived in the ancestral house, but now they are entitled to family support even if they live away from the ancestral house.
- (d) Earlier, worshipping the karnavan ancestors was a normal thing, but not anymore.
- (e) Earlier, the relation between husband and wife was formal, but now this relation has become more informal, personal and more cordial and close.
- (f) Earlier, after the demise of a Tarwad member, his property would go to the Tarwad, but now this property goes to his widow and children. In the absence of children, It goes to the mother and mother's mother. **Kapadia** (1947:348) has also written that it is a fact that there is only are Tavazhi in more than 90% veevus (homes). This shows that in the last few decades, the atomization of Tarwads has increased.



Notes

The Tarwad of the Nair caste has been dissolved after the Travancore Act, 1912; the Cochin Act, 1920 and their enforcement in 1933. Now, a woman's property goes to her sons and daughters and then to her father and husband.

28.4 Clan Organisation and Marriage Rules

A caste is divided into five Exogamy clans. The prominent characteristics of clan organisation are as follows:

Notes

1. Every clan, (which consists of many families) has its own name, which is based on some animal's, plants or object's/thing's name.
2. An individual can select a wife from any clan, except his own. But this selection is ideological, as there is a rule of exchange of daughters, too.
3. In marriages, not only is the rule of clan Exogamy followed, but the exchange of daughters also takes place.
4. Because of the rule of exchange of daughters, many Kinship related words are similar, for example: the word used for 'Nanad' (Sister-in-law or husband's sister) is also used for 'Bhabi' (sister-in-law or brother's wife). The word used for wife's brother (Sala) is also used for sister's husband (behnoi). The word 'Sasur (father-in-law) is also used for sister-in-laws (Bhabis) father too.
5. Parallel cousins from the mother's lineage, *i.e.*, marriage amongst, sons and daughters of two sisters is not accepted.
6. Marriage with sister-in-law (wife's younger sister) is prevalent. Two brothers and two sisters can marry in a single family.
7. In the South the preferential mating custom is also prevalent. In many families, the first preference is given to elder sister's daughter, the second preference is father's sister's daughter and the third preference is given to mother's brother's daughter. But today, cross cousin marriage, specially between paternal uncle and niece is unprevalent and considered a matter of shame, among those groups, who come in contact with two North Indians or with the Western culture.
8. The marriage related taboos, which are prevalent are:
An individual cannot marry his younger sister's daughter a widow cannot marry her husband's elder or younger brother. Marriage with younger brother of husband (Devar) is prohibited. No individual can marry his mother's sisters daughter.
9. Like the North, marriage is not based on the ideology of general division but on the actual age difference. An example is paternal grand father's and grand daughter's marriage.
10. In the South, Kinship and marriage have one more characteristic. These marriages are not arranged with the intention of expanding the kinship group. Instead, every marriage is arranged to make the already existing bond, more stronger. Such an idea brings the kin more close.
11. A girl has to marry that individual only, who is from the elder age group called 'tam mum' and also from the group, younger than her parents' group. In other words, a girl can marry an elder cross cousin. The boy has to marry in the 'tam pin' group only. He has to marry a girl who is from the 'tam mum' group.
12. Unlike the vocabulary of the North like, Kanya (daughter), Bahu (daughter-in-law), Peehar (daughter-in-law's father's home), Sasural (daughter-in-law's husband's home), which suggests dual emotions and situations; the South does not do so. It is so because in the South, a girl does not enter an unknown home after marriage, like it happens in the North. Any girl's husband is either her mother's brother's son or a similar relative. In the South, marriage does not symbolize separation from her father's home. She is free in her father-in-laws home too.



Task

Describe in detail the rules of clan Organisation and marriage.

28.5 Comparison, of Kinship Systems of North and South

Notes

1. In the South Indian family, there is no clear division between the 'Family of Orientation' and the 'Family of Procreation,' unlike the North. No member of the orientation Family (*i.e.*, father, mother and sister) can become the member of the procreation family, but it is possible in the South.
2. In North India, every word related to kinship clarifies that the individual being referred to is a consanguinal or Affinal Kin, but it is not so in South.
3. In South India, some of an individual's Kin are his consanguinal Kin and there are some others, who are his consanguinal as well as Affinal kin.
4. In South India, the Kinship organisation is divided into two groups, according to the chronological age. *i.e.*, elder to an individual is 'tam-mum' and younger 'tam-pin.' 'Tam' means 'self', 'Mum' means 'before' and 'Pin' means 'after.'
5. The kinship organisation in the South depends on the difference in chronological age, while in the North, it depends on the ideology of general divisions.
6. In South India, the married women are not required to follow any standards of behaviour while in North India, they are burdened with many restrictions.
7. In South India, marriage does not signify an end to her relationship with her father and family, but in North India, the married woman occasionally visits her father's home.
8. In North India, marriage is meant to extend the Kinship group while in South India, it is meant to make the pre-existing bonds stronger.

28.6 Eastern Zone

In Eastern India, the Kinship system is different. There, in comparison to casteist Hindus, there are more tribals (in parts of Bengal, Bihar, Assam, and Orissa). The main schedule tribes are: Khasi, Virhod, Munda and Oraon. They do not have any Kinship system. Mundari-speaking people are Patri-Local, but in this area, joint families are rarely found. Opposite gender cross-cousin marriage are found rarely. Paying money for the bride is common. The woman is addressed as 'Do', like (you Do). The Kinship vocabulary has been adapted from Sanskrit and Dravid languages. Khasi and Garo people have Matri-Lineage, joint families. (*e.g.*, Nayars in the South). After marriage, a man rarely lives with his family. He sets up a separate home.

It may be concluded that the kinship system in India is affected by caste and language. In today's age of competition and circumstances, a man's family should play a supportive role. Caste and language related group may help an individual from time to time, but his die-hard supporters, trustworthy and faithful people exist in his family only.



Did u know? It is important for an individual to keep the kinship bonds strong and extend them as well.

28.7 Summary

- In South India, a family strengthens the Kinship relation by marriage while in North India, a family establishes a relation with whom it was not previously related.
- In Central India (*e.g.*, Gujarat), the custom of periodic marriage is prevalent, which encourages child marriages and unmatched marriages. Such marriages are prevalent till today.

Notes

- Mundari speaking people have Patri-Lineage families. In the Eastern region, joint families are rarely found.
- In South India, a marriage does not signify an end to relationship with father and family. But in North India, a married woman occasionally visits her father's home.

28.8 Keywords

1. *Primitive Society*: It is a term used for a society which might have been present before the beginning of History, *i.e.*, before the invention and development of the art of writing.
2. *South Zone*: In this region, in most of the castes and communities, the form of family is Patri-local.

28.9 Review Questions

1. What are the characteristics of family and marriage in the Northern region?
2. What are the characteristics of family and marriage in the Southern region?
3. What are the characteristics of family and marriage in the Central and Eastern region?
4. What are the difference found in family and marriage in the Northern and Southern regions?

Answers: Self Assessment

1. tribals
2. sankarnti
3. Panchkuli

28.10 Further Readings



- Books* Society in India – Virendra Prakash Sharma, D.K. Publishers and Distributors.
Sociology of Family – Dr. Sanjeev Mahajan, Arjun Publishing House.

Unit 29: Family and Marriage in India: Forces of Change, Family in the Context of Care of the Child and the Aged

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Objectives

After studying this unit, students will be able to:

- Understand the factors responsible for bringing a change in modern family.
- Tell the security and development of children and aged in an urban modern family.

Introduction

The transfer of production from family to investing societies was an important thing for a modern family. The activities related to production, inculcated the seeds of unity in a rural agriculture based family. The seen in an urban family is totally different. As far as the economic activities are concerned, a family, to a large extent, limits itself to consider the income of those members who work out.

After industrialisation, many important changes have been viewed, which effect the family. Prominent amongst them is the new position of women. It is true both of the Western and the Indian society.

The Rise of Modern Urban life

Unlike a residence, a family is not a stationary or non-living things. It is an amalgamation of a number of activities, which focus on child bearing and nurturing. A group of people does not make a family. A family consists of those people who stay together in a home. Thus, family life could be viewed as a social behaviour. It is natural that the family life gets affected by the behaviour of men, women and children, with regard to the other social relations. Yet, it is a fact that if a family limits itself to "the strict sphere of self satisfaction, it becomes impossible for it to

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accomplish its motives. It is essential, for a family to remain constantly sensitive to the changing circumstances of the society and to adopt them in a suitable manner.

Factors Affecting A Family

“The allegations of changing family trends are more than the changes in the family itself. It is in a state of infection because the culture itself is in a state of infection.”

First, let us discuss the effects of Applied science. Science has started bringing about revolutionary economic changes in the Industrialisation area. “Instead of home the factory has become the unit of production” because the steam boiler was too big for home. Moreover, the quantity of power it generated, required, a bigger space.

Another effect of Applied Science that has been visible is in the form of improvement in birth control techniques and their expansion. It is true that earlier too, there had been efforts to find out effective measures to control birth rate. So, this is not a new thing. But still, going by its high skills and extensive appeal, it is indeed a new thing. It is being talked everywhere and is being campaigned and advertised aggressively. Publicly, standard of a small family is supported in a logical language, amidst the masses.

The reason behind the dominance of urban culture is the making of a mark on family by bringing about extremely pivotal social changes of the various aspects of urban life, which affect the family, we discuss about two, here. On one hand, because of the soaring of population, there is the need to create opportunities for specific services related to public recreation, health, etc. On the other hand, the male members of certain urban families spend most of their time outside homes due to work. As a result, the father in an urban family, Plays a little role in the education of his children as compared to the father who comes from an agriculture based economy. At times the mother too, has to go out to work. People living in such circumstances have thus developed pre-school agencies like creche, nursery, Kindergarten, etc., to take care of small children.

But the urban effect is not limited to people who are in its geographical boundaries. The fact is that its effect is very extensive and it interferes in every level of society.

Finally we have to keep in mind the fact that the complications of modern life have burdened the state with various social and economical duties. Earlier these duties were related to the family only. To provide examples, we can mention the various socially secure measures, which have been activated by the modern states.

Because of the various such effects, every characteristic of a modern family indicates that the long established fundamental standards, which were based on agriculture or household are fast depleting.

Structure of Modern Family

In this respect it is important to note that nuclear families have, destabilized the blood-related families. Such changes are increasingly visible in the urban areas of India. As a production unit, the depletion of economic importance of a family, has shaken the unity of the family group. When a certain individual secures a job in a factory and frees himself from his parents and brothers, his intention to support the joint family does not remain as strong as it was, when he and his brothers worked together on their land.

Second important aspect to be noted is the change which occurs in the husband-wife’s relation. The financial independence achieved by a women has affected her entire view point on marriage. Now, she does not need a “provider” to that extent. Her choice of marriage is determined by factors such as love, affection, interests or similarity in nature. Since a modern family is no more a production unit, men too, choose a wife on similar basis rather than her skills or working capacity. Not only this, the financial independence of man and women has now set them free of

“that ancestral control/ dominance, along with the other forms of pressure, which dictate whom they should marry and when.”

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In a modern family, the relation between husband and wife should be viewed from a different angle. Since the family based on agriculture was an economic arena, it required some kind of leadership. Usually this responsibility was fulfilled by men. But in a modern urban family, the need for leadership or control is not that great. Today, the husband and wife discuss things with each-other and try to reach a mutual agreement.

The **third** aspect which demands attention is the comparatively instable structure of the modern family. Thus in the modern urban families, there are more conflicts between the husband and wife, compared to the earlier families, where the roles of husband and wife were marked. Various factors, including the depletion and end of economic and secured efforts of a family have increased motivation for role struggle. Not only in the west, but in India too, the rising rate of divorce cases amongst the urban families are an indication of the stress and pressure, these families are burdened with.

The **fourth** aspect is the size of the modern families, which is comparatively smaller than the agriculture based families. There are two prominent factors responsible for it. On one hand, because of the transfer of family to production, the big-sized family who used to work in the fields as additional work force, has become spineless. On the other hand, the advancement in the birth control techniques have made planned parenting possible.

Activities of Modern Family

The modern family has deserted the various traditional activities related to agriculture. We have seen earlier that the responsibility to accomplish the activities of production have transferred from family to economic arena, outside the periphery of home.

Similarly, education too, has stepped out of the confines of home. Various kinds of education is being provided in schools. Earlier, it was never possible for any family to provide such education to their children. With the rising trend of nursery schools and kindergartens, most of the responsibility of a child's primary education has now reached in the hands of the experts. Along with that, the urban cities have facilitated children living in cramped houses, who were deprived of playgrounds, to play in lanes, roads, public parties and play grounds during holidays. As a result of this, the children move away from the influence of parents and siblings. The fact that the father, and in some cases, mother too, go out to work, has undoubtedly limited their role in their children's education.

To take care of the sick, old and unemployed people, earlier the family itself used to take care of their needs. Now, taking care of them has become the prerogative of the hospitals, old age homes, clinics or the state, which provides the social security efforts like old age pension, unemployment fund in the interest of its citizens.

The recreational facilities are mostly available outside the sphere of the family. Cramped residential quarters, the high number of family members, the difficulty in bringing them together, lack of these facilities at home, the development of comparatively cheaper facilities like theatre, movies, easy availability of modern transport-all these are the factors which motivate family members to step out of the periphery of home for recreational opportunities. Again, the basis of age, obstructs the possible participation of the entire family as a unit.

In this way, deprived of most of the traditional activities, the modern family mainly plays three roles, **Macaivor** and **page** refer to as the essential activities of family:

- (i) Bearing children and nurturing them. But in this arena too, some 'agencies' like 'Matri Sad-an' and 'Ante Natal clinic' have shouldered some of the family responsibilities.
- (ii) Provide a regular base to satisfy the sexual urges of the couple. The Institution of marriage not only provides them an opportunity to satiate their biological appetite, but also motivates them to come out of this biological pleasure and deepen their mutual love.

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- (iii) To provide home to the family members. These members not only stay together under one roof, but also create an atmosphere of cordiality, togetherness and the warmth of relations, which is not possible for any other arena.

29.1 Factors Responsible for Changing or Disintegrating Joint Family

Many changes have taken place in the traditional Indian joint family. It is going through an infectious phase. Some scholars are of the opinion that the changes occurring in joint families due to new circumstances are the result of disintegration of the joint family system. Others say it is only the form which has changed. **Dr. R.N. Saxena** has categorised into three parts, the powers responsible for the change.

1. **Economic Powers:** Which mainly include industrialization and investment system.
2. **Emotional Powers:** which mainly include liberalism, individualism and western ideology.
3. **New Social Laws:** Which include new laws related to marriage and property.

Dev Anand and **Thomas** have categorized, the factors of change into three.

1. **Innovative Ideas** like utilitarianism, individualism, romance, sexual Freedom and the Decreasing Effect of religion.
2. **New Sanctions** like family, marriage, property and laws related to social security.
3. **New Social Structure**, in which the gained merits are more important than the given function. **Battomore** writes, "The disintegration of joint families is not the result of industrialisation or its effects in various directions. The main reason is that the joint family has failed to develop economically." **Dr. Kapadia** has held the new judicial system, the easy availability of new means of transport, industrialisation, expansion of education and changed attitude as factors responsible for disintegration. **Paniakkar** says the cause of disintegration is more than required control or dominance on family members and the resultant limited scope for relations.

The factors changing or disintegrating the joint family are as follows –

1. **Industrialisation:** The Industrial revolution came in the 18th century. The credit to introduce it to India, goes to the British. To fulfill the industrial needs of the country, there was a rapid growth of rail, roads and means of transport and communication. New business ventures came up. Alongside, the rural industries were destroyed. Families were no more units of production. People started moving to cities from villages in search of work. This hampered the unity of the families. The agricultural economy was replaced by industrial and investment system. The members of the joint family spread far and wide in search of jobs and business opportunities. In cities people started living alone or with their wives and children, in the form of small families. In the cities too, lack of housing compelled people to stay in the form of small families, instead of staying in the joint setup. The joint family was based on agriculture and the increased importance of industries disintegrated the joint families. In the rural industries, people worked together. But after the depletion of the rural industries and the springing up of factories, people working in the rural industries, started moving towards the industrial centres in search of work. Thus, it was not possible for the rural joint families to exist. Industrialisation increased the employment opportunities, people started venturing out in search of new job opportunities. Industrialization brought along, a new form of economy, which provided employment to women too. Employment made women self sufficient and aware. They started agitating against the suffocating and dominating environment of joint families and stressed upon the establishment of nuclear families. Industrialisation enforced the cash system, which facilitated the members to identify work with money. Feelings of superiority and inferiority started cropping up between members who earned more, and those, who earned less. That led to the sense of

individualism because of which they deemed fit to spend the money earned by them on their wives and children.

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In an industrialised system, the importance of money and personal attributes are more visible. The social status of an individual depends on his personal merits. All these circumstances encouraged people to move away from joint families and gave them opportunities to set up nuclear families. That led to the disintegration of joint families.

- 2. Urbanisation:** The new means of transport and industrialization gave birth to cities. Gradually, cosmopolitan cities came up and with that, rose the cosmopolitan culture. In cities, various beliefs, ideologies and social values are found. People living in cities love innovations believe in individualism, materialism and have progressive views. The women in cities believe more in independence and they want freedom from the slavery of mother-in-law. So, they persuade their husbands to live separately. Because of high rentals and lack of housing in cities, it is not possible for big families to stay together. People move to the cities because these places provide them with various business opportunities. There, they stay alone or with their wives and children in cramped homes. The socio-economic environment of the city is more active than the rural environment. In cities, an individual spends most of his time outside the shadow of his family, thereby encouraging the sense of personal freedom.
- 3. Impact of Western Education, Culture and Ideology:** Because of the British rule in India, the Indians got introduced to Western education, culture and ideology. The Indians too, adopted their philosophy and social values. Individualism, liberalism, naturalism utility and existence along with western literature and education, etc. Influenced the Indian Social Institutions. The Indians adopted the views of the West on man-woman equality. **Voltaire and Rousseau** said, man is born with some individualistic traits; safety should be provided to them. The United states of America announced 'Human Rights.' All of these resulted in love marriages and intercaste marriages. Marriage became a mere 'contract.' The laws restricted the dominance of the Head of the family. As a result, the joint families started disintegrating.
- 4. Impact of Legislation:** Since the British rule in India, the laws that came into force, attacked the unity of the joint family. The fundamental reason of unity was that the family members did not have any individual rights over the family property. But the 'Hindu Inheritance Act', 1929 allowed this right even to those members too, who desired to stay separately from the family. The 'gains of Learning Act,' 1930, extended the limits of the self acquired property. The 'Hindu women's Right to property Act' introduced in 1939, allowed women, the right to inherit the family property. That too, divided the property of the family. **Agarwal** is of the opinion that the Income Tax accelerated the disintegration of joint families. To save brothers (siblings) divide their property.

The high number of members in a family was the result of child Marriages. But the 'Child Marriage Prevention Act', 1929 to prevent the child marriage. Widows re-marriage Act, 1856 allowed widows to marry which they moved to their new homes, leaving their deceased husbands's families. That too, hampered the unity of joint families. The 'Special Marriage Act' introduced in 1954 granted the freedom to marry outside the caste and religion. That encouraged inter-caste marriages, which were against the ideologies of the joint families. The 'Hindu Marriage Act' of 1955 allowed men and women the right to divorce. This too, disintegrated the joint families. According to **Dr. Ralf's** opinion, the effect of this law was more visible in cities. The 'Hindu inheritance

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- Act,' 1956 allowed the daughters and women the right to inherit the family property. The 'Dowry Prevention Act' of 1961 diminished the dominance of the head of the family. As a result of all these Acts, the joint families started disintegrating.
5. **Family Quarrels:** Because of the frequent family quarrels in joint families, which were related to property, children and women, the members started living separately in quest for peace.
 6. **Reduction of Family Functions:** Today, the work which was done by the joint families earlier, has been undertaken by other unions and institutions. Thus, their utility has diminished. Teaching is being ensured by educational institutes. Family entertainment is ensured by business recreational institutions, clubs and movie theatres. The washing job has been taken up by the laundries, grinding of grains is being done by flour mills and the stitching work is being done by tailoring units. This has put an end to the individual's dependence on joint families.
 7. **Feminist Movement:** The expansion of education and economic independence, has brought about awareness in women. Today, they are trying to free themselves from the exploitative environment of the joint families. They have started stepping out of their homes. In order to boost their personality. They have started supporting nuclear families. This changed attitude of women is another cause of disintegration of the joint families.
 8. **Growth of Population:** The population in India has grown rapidly. As a result, the pressure on land has increased. When it became difficult to sustain big families by the cultivation of small portions of land, the people started moving to cities in search of jobs. This caused disintegration of families.
 9. **Means of Transport and Communication:** The new means of transport and communication made the people active. During the ancient times, it was difficult to commute due to the lack of such means. So on their own people stayed at one place, in the form of joint families.
 10. **Social Security:** Until some time ago, the joint families took care of the old, and the sick and provided security and support in times of need. But today, health insurance, employee compensation laws, maternity leave laws, provident fund, gratuity fund, etc., provide economic and social security. Thus the utility of joint families has definitely diminished in the cities, if not the villages.

Studies Regarding Joint Families

Because of the effects of various powers, the joint families started disintegrating. What form are the joint families taking in the changed circumstances? What, are its new tendencies and how are they different from the previous ones, etc. To find out the answers to such questions, the census officials and the sociologists conducted various studies in different parts of the country. Hence, we mention them briefly:

1. **The Statistics of Census:** Commenting on the census report of 1911, conducted in different cities, **Gait** said, instability is visible in joint families. Commenting on the census report of 1951, the census official wrote, "Such a great proportion of so small families (33% in villages and 38% in towns) gives an indirect hint that now the families do not run according to the traditional rituals and customs of joint families. The desire to set up a new home is strong." Commenting on the census of 1901, **Gait** said, that joint families are visible only amongst the higher castes. The lower castes and scheduled tribes, hardly follow this custom. After marriage, men set up separate homes.
2. In 1930-1932, studies related to changed attitude regarding marriage and family were conducted by **T.K. Merchant**. About 446 graduates were surveyed and it was found that the educated preferred to stay in joint families. The number of women who were against joint families outnumbered men.

3. **K.M. Kapadia** surveyed 513 graduates and found that 60% of the educated Hindus still live in joint families and only 1/8 the part of them are dissatisfied with it. Against one individual who opposes joint family, there are 3 or 4, who are in favour of it. **Kapadia** surveyed 246 families of Navsari town in Southern Gujarat and 1099 families of the 15 villages around it and found an equal number of nuclear and joint families.
4. **B.V. Shah** surveyed 200 students of Baroda (Vadodara) to know about their opinion on joint families. Only 16% of the students opposed it while the rest supported it.
5. **Sudha Kaldete** studied the old Bombay state and found that the joint families were getting disintegrated because of the influence of urbanization.
6. In 1958, **Edwin D. Driver** surveyed 2314 couples of Nagpur district of Bombay (Mumbai). He found that the educated people were more in favour of living in joint families than the uneducated people and those who were above 36 years of age.
7. **I.P. Desai** studied 410 families of Mahua town of Saurashtra. According to him, there are 28% nuclear families and 72% joint families in Mahua. Property and financial interests have strengthened the joint system. There was one nuclear family against every three individuals living in joint families.
8. **P. M. Kolinda** studied the Lonikhand village of Puna (Pune) district, in Maharashtra and found a high number of joint families. Moreover, there were more joint families who belonged to the upper castes than the lower ones. On the basis of regions, he found varied proportions of joint families in India. The number of joint families in the Gangetic plain and the North-Western castes of Mysore was found to more than west Bengal and central India.
9. **Alan D. Ross** interviewed 157 men and women of middle and upper classes in Bangalore. He mentioned the powers which brought the changes in the joint family system and said that the technological powers were causing the changes in joint families.

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Did u know? Many sociologists like Rolf, Dev Anand, and Thomas, B.R. Agarwal, Yogesh Atal, A.M. Shah, Gunday, Lembart, B.G. Desai, Jyotirmei sharma, R.K. Mukherjee etc. have, in their studies confirmed the changes which are taking place in joint families.

10. **M.S. Gore** surveyed 499 Agarwal families around Delhi and Haryana, living in rural and urban areas. He Presented two results:
 - (i) People still support joint families.
 - (ii) The urban effect and education has changed the form of joint families.
11. **B.K. Ramanujam** is of the opinion that nuclear families are being preferred because of financial reasons. He believes that on structural basis, the families are disintegrating but functionally, They are still intact.



Task Analyses the studies related to joint families.

29.2 Recent Tendencies and Changes in Joint Families

Because of the attacks of various powers, there have been many changes in the structure and functions of joint families and some new tendencies have been visible. Here we discuss about them in brief.

Notes

(I) Changes in the Structure of Joint Family

- (i) *Changes in Size:* The size of the joint family was big as the members of three or more generations stayed together. But now because of the expansion of education, family planning and the desire for the upliftment of life etc, the size of family has reduced, which now consists of the husband-wife and their unmarried children.
- (ii) *Depletion in Power of Family Head:* Earlier, the decision of the family head was supreme. But now the new educated generation, who believes in equality and democracy, refuses to accept the dictatorial power of the father. They have started making their own decisions regarding marriage and personal matters.
- (iii) *Increased Power of Women:* Education encouraged women to step out of the confines (boundary walls) of their homes and work. They became financially self dependant. The new laws provided them equal social, economic and political base. Their status and esteem rose and with that, the power of men diminished. The women started visiting clubs, because of which there were changes in family functions.
- (iv) *Changes in the Form of Marriage:* Earlier, parents and kins played an important role in selecting a match, but now youngsters have started looking for a match on their own. Today marriage is a matter related to two individuals and not two families. The end of child-marriage, widow remarriage, love marriage and delayed marriage, all have changed the form of family.
- (v) *Instability:* Today, families face increased activation and instability. People have started moving out because of jobs and business. This lessened the control of family, neighbours and kin. Thus, divorces started becoming prevalent. Innovative ideas regarding sexual relations have also reduced the importance of joint families.
- (vi) *Changes in Family Relations:* The mutual relations between the members of the joint families have weakened. The cordiality and warmth of relations have been replaced by mere formality. The family control too has become feeble. Now, family is nothing more than a formal institution.
- (vii) *Lack of Groupism:* To preserve the unity of the traditional joint family, joint possession, like residence property and joint activities like worshipping and dining have played an important role. Presently, it is not possible, as family members stay separately at different places. The property too, is being divided. As a result, the family group-ism came to an end and the nuclear tendency strengthened.

Self Assessment

Fill in the blanks:

1. Because of female education, women stepped out of _____. They started working.
2. In selecting a match, the parents and kins had an _____ role. But now the youngsters have started selecting their own partners.
3. The mutual relations of a joint family have _____.

(II) Changes in the Functions of Joint Family

- (i) *Changes in Education and Cultural Functions:* Earlier the joint families provided education to its members, made them sociable and introduced them to customs, rites, rituals, religion and culture. But now that role is being played by educational and cultural institutions.
- (ii) *Changes In religious Functions:* Earlier, the joint families would perform the religious rituals like Yajna (Yagya), Huwan, Puja (worship), Fasts, Festivals and Religious Functions. But due to the diminishing importance of religion, the need of such role play has diminished too.

- (iii) *Changes in Economic Functions:* A joint family was the production and consumer unit where labour division was prevalent. It fulfilled all the economic needs. but today it is nothing more than a consumption unit, Now, economic security is being provided by the government and other institutions.
- (iv) *Changes in Forms of Entertainment:* Earlier, it was the joint family, who provided entertainment to its members. But now cinema, radio, television, clubs and business recreation institutions have taken up this job.

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By the structural and functional viewpoint, the traditional families were joined, but now both have changed. **Gore** and **Desai** are of the view that on the structural level, their number has reduced but on the functional level, there, number has still not reduced.

29.3 Future of Joint Family

Because of the various changes in the joint families, the question that arises is will there be an end to joint families in future or will they disintegrate totally. Optimists are of the view that it is not the disintegration of joint families but their changed form. It is in the process of adjustment to the new circumstances. Those supporting disintegration are of the opinion that reduction in the size of the family, the diminished power of the head of family, increased power of women, property rights granted to family members, feeble family control and reduction of roles, *etc.*, are indicators of disintegration only. They are of the view that as urbanization and industrialisation grow; and the newer means of transport come up, joint families will face disintegration and nuclear families will increase, as they did in Europe. On the other hand, optimists are of the view that industrialisation and urbanisation in India may not create the same effect as in Europe. Here, it is not disintegration of families but their form. **Prof. Kapadia** says even today, a joint family provides total social support to its members. Because of the prevalence of child marriages, it is the joint family which supports the newly-wedded couple. Because of the lack of health facilities in villages, it is the joint family who takes care during illness and delivery. Apart from that, the widowed and deserted sisters and daughters are also provided support by the family. Last few years, social efforts like insurance, Provident fund, gratuity, health, support, bonus, *etc.*, have been made but these facilities are limited to people in industrial and government services only.

Almost 70% of the population who lives in villages and depends on agriculture, still get social security from joint families only. Thus, the future of joint families is knotted with the villages. There is a cordial relation between joint family and agricultural work. The disintegration of a family means division of fertile agricultural land. It is the joint family which fulfills the need for workforce which is required for agricultural work. **Dr. Kapadia** says the future of joint families depends on two factors. He writes that families today face financial and ideological crisis. The reason for financial fail to save money to send to the family back home, thus turning the relations sour. The ideological crisis is that the new generation refuses to accept the dominance of family. Now, the rift between the mother-in-law and daughter-in-law has deepened. The mother-in-law can neither tolerate the new position of the daughter-in-law nor can she accept the sympathetic attitude of the husband towards her. If a family survives such crisis, there is no likelihood of family disintegration. **Kapadia** admits that the Hindu attitude still supports joint families. **Dr. R.N. Saxena** too, has confirmed the financial and social support provided by joint families. He says, "Today, the mutual relations amongst the members of a joint family are its real form; not the joint residence property or kitchen. It is definite that the number of disintegrated joint families has gone up and every such family gives birth to many new joint families, in due course of time. **Dr. Indra Dev** is of the opinion that the disintegrated families have not taken the form of simple and pure personal families. The form they are taking could be termed as intermediary types. **I.P. Isai** and other sociologists believe that nuclear family is a phase in the joint family structure. At the initial stage, the parts which separates from the joint families are in the form of nuclear families. In due course of time, they transform into joint families. **Ram Krishna Mukherjee** writes, "The central

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tendency of the Indian society is to continue with the joint family system as there is no evidence of either the breakage of parallel branches of the joint structure or any other form replacing the paralleled tendency.”

The above-mentioned discussions clearly indicate that the future of joint families in India is not dark. Though many changes have occurred with time, they are not a symbol of its disintegration but of its changed form.

Since time immemorial, family has been considered the basic unit of society. A family is not only essential for the human society, it is a safe and ideal institution. Since the last few years, the roots of this institution have shaken. Sensing the danger, the United Nations Organisation declared 1984 as the International Year of the family. Now, it has become a trend to celebrate a ‘Day’ or a ‘Year’ in the name of something, which is in danger. In India, there is the need to celebrate ‘Hindi Diwas’ (Hindi Day) so that the Indians do not forget that it is only Hindi which has the capacity to be their National language.

In today’s materialistic age, every individual is so engrossed in his own interests that he has no time to think about others and even if he does so, he does it as if he is doing a favour. The fact of the matter is that today neither do the relations, nor do the joint families have any meaning. Most of the Indians are moving far away from their families. Most of the people living in modern families look up at joint families, where an individual’s happiness and sorrows were shared by his parents, grand parents and siblings. Even today, this happens in joint families. Joint families have their own merits. Joint families provide a full opportunity for the growth of physical, mental and other capabilities. Most importantly, it provides an extremely healthy environment for the social growth of children. But the rise of the industrial society and the structure of economic activities related to it have limited the size of the joint families. The major reason for the disintegration of joint families is the stepping out of women work, because of the law age of some family members. Such hard circumstances are enough to disintegrate families. They perceive their own parents as guests when they visit them. But these threads of relations have not shredded totally as there is still a sense of shame left in some families.



Did u know? Today man has become completely self centred and self-occupied. Today a family means a husband, wife and children.

The technical and economic changes which occurred in the last few years have affected the society and extensively changed the values. On the one hand, there are pre-established beliefs while on the other hand, there is a mesh of a few modern forms of economic progress, which have not brought any positive change in the interests of people or their customs, rites or rituals. There is a contradiction in circumstances here, because of which the family unit is continuously disintegrating. Now, the relations do not have warmth. A brother does not miss his siblings. Parents are having a hard time. Change is the nature of times. There was never a time when the process of change stopped. But the changes that have taken place in the last few years have shattered everything. **Dr. Rajendra Prasad** in an article, gave an example in context with the Indian culture. He says, “If we wish to lead a happy and peaceful life, then we should adopt the teaching of the Vedas, which say ‘**Indulgence with Sacrifice.**’ Now, an example here, proves how to use it in family life. He says, “Suppose there is a joint family where every member wants each one in the family to be happy. For that, they make endless efforts to earn the maximum, beyond their capacity. Every member of that family wants to earn the maximum for himself. Their total earnings will be the same as in the first stage. In this manner, the total property will be equal in both the cases. Now, if that is divided, everyone will get an equal share. But there will be a difference in both the stages. In the first stage, there is no concern for struggle as the individual is not doing it for himself, the involvement of others is also required in the struggle.

Our culture needs us to step onto the first stage. The present will always be there, whether, it is the struggle between people or nations of the world.”

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In the beginning the parents are delighted. They proudly say that their children (sons/daughters) work abroad and have settled there permanently. But with time, this happiness changes into sorrow. Their children get busy in their own world and the old parents keep on waiting for them. In the metropolitan cities, the problems of the old have multiplied. The old affluent parents live alone in houses. They have domestic helps to do the house hold chores and one day, these very domestic helps kill them and vanish with the valuables. Today, the children’s attitude has changed. They do not wish to follow their parents blindly. As long as they are small, they listen to their parents out of fear, as they are small and helpless. But as soon as they become self-sufficient, they don’t deem fit to listen to the elders as it is against their self esteem. Their inflated egos refuse to listen to elders. In this way, the natural human values in the families, have vanished. The moral values of the lovely stories told by grandmother seem to have gone into the trashbin. Even if, there are elders in the family, they are there, merely to look after the small children.

The working women, who have small children, openly say to their colleagues, that as long as their children are small, they have to live with their in-laws. But when their children grow up, they would live separately. How can such a dangerous downfall of moral values make the family system meaningful? The modern age is the age of freedom and curiosity. The only thing that matters is extreme individualism. Earlier, the family members used to sit together and share the joys and sorrows. They would also talk about a family member who stayed far away from them. As a result, the children used to get acquainted with them indirectly. But now, there is nothing of that sort. It is not that nobody has the spare time for all this. When they wish to spare time, they do so despite being busy. The fact is that total nobody feels the need for all this. The old generation is pained to see this. They remain silent as they do not have the right to expression. Perhaps, because of this, in India too, old age homes have mushroomed, like in the West. The children are the ones who are getting ill affected by the disintegrated families. It is the old who have to bear the brunt of it.



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There is no place for emotions in this age of scientific progress. It is interesting to note that they too. Consider themselves extremely emotional and sensitive. But sensitivity of these emotions are limited to themselves only.

In these changing circumstances, there is no other way than to silently watch the downfall of civilisation and culture. At the most, there are debates on the existing problem, a few social organisations hold seminars but a practical solution to this problem is nowhere in sight. The youngsters present themselves as smarter than elders. The elders, silently and smilingly accept their egos. In the joint families, the children get high social development. In no way, can a nuclear family be considered complete, for the healthy personal development of children. But, it is not in the hands of man to stop the speed of time. This problem does not end here. It is surprising that even the husband and wife are not happy with each other.

29.4 Summary

- The dominance of urban culture has played an important role in influencing a family and bringing about social changes.
- The responsibilities like assistance in child birth and care, which were earlier fulfilled by joint families, are now being replaced by maternity nursing homes and ante-natal clinics.

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- To take care of the sick, old and unemployed, the security functions which were earlier taken care of by joint families, are now being provided by nursing homes, hospitals etc.

29.5 Keywords

1. *Urban*: The specific style of living in cities.
2. *Changes in Joint Families*: There are three powers responsible for changes in joint families:
 1. Economic Powers
 2. Emotional Powers
 3. New social Laws

29.6 Review Questions

1. Mention the factors responsible for changes in joint families.
2. What is the future of joint families?
3. What are the various changes that have occurred regarding the security of children and old people, in modern urban cities?

Answers: Self Assessment

1. confines/boundary wall
2. important
3. weakened

29.7 Further Readings



Books

Marriages and Families in India – K.M. Kapadia.

Sociology of Family – Dr. Sanjeev Mahajan, Arjun Publishing House.

Unit 30: Demographic Dimensions of the Family and Marriage System

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Objectives

Introduction

- 30.1 Subject Matter of Social Demography
- 30.2 Theories of Population
- 30.3 Summary
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- 30.5 Review Questions
- 30.6 Further Readings

Objectives

After studying of this unit, students will be able to:

- Understand the family and marriage system of Indian Society.
- Understand the life expectancy, sex ratio, age structure of the family members.

Introduction

The subject matter of social demography are : birth rate, death rate, resident-non resident population, sex structure, population density and distribution, life expectancy, living standard, population control of a society etc.

The social issues of a country play important part to give understanding into any country's population. This relate demography with sociology and it gives birth to social demography.

30.1 Subject Matter of Social Demography

The population density, structure of population and its attributes effects social and economic conditions of any country. These are the important traits which determine a country's growth. The population of my country should be balance compare to the available means. Uncontrolled population growth, results in population explosion. Unemployment, over crowded sovereignty, poverty are the causes of family sufferings and disintegration, directly or indirectly. Population explosion or growing population depreciate a country's economic growth. It also slows down the speed of planned development. Over population embarks many serious problems in less developed countries, as-the working/workable population gets no work, that infuse dissatisfaction into students and increase poverty, etc.

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The population of a country, plays a major role for future development and prosperity of the country. Less population or over population, both effects production, residents, non-residents, economic growth, conceptuation, political and social policy changes of the society, etc.

30.2 Theories of Population

From ancient, socio-scientist and economist had shown interest in solving the problem of population. What should be the ideal population of a country? What should be the growth rate of population? How to control the population growth? These are the questions on which many principles are propounded. Now, we will discuss; in short, the principles of demography.

Population Theory of Malthus

In 1798, **Malthus** had propounded a theory of population from his book "An essay on principles of population". Malthus was a priest; He deeply studied the population growth of various European countries. **Malthusian** theory is based on the three assumptions:—

1. **Population Growth Rate:** According to Malthus, the population grows on the geometrical pattern, i.e., 1, 2, 4, 8, 16, 32, 64. A country's population gets double in 25 years, if not interrupted.
2. **Production Rate of Food Material:** Malthus says, in comparison to population growth, the food material grows slowly. It says, eatables grow in mathematical proportion, i.e., 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, etc. In a time period when the country's population multiplies 16 times, its food material will grow five times only. Fast growing population gives birth to many evils like voracity, unemployment, struggle, delinquency, war and rivalry.
3. **Population Control**—According to Malthus, there are two methods of population control:
 - (a) **Positive Check**
 - (b) **Preventive Check**

(a) **Positive Check**—Death rate increases because the nature itself keeps Positive check. Whenever population grows bigger than the food. The Nature prevents it by flood, earthquake, plague, famine, heavy rainfall, epidemic voracity, natural calamities and war. So that, the extra population dies and only the required number of population remains.

(b) **Preventive Check**—Preventive checks are those, which are used by the society itself to check the population. It consists of artificial measures. We will also discuss the causes of population growth and National Population Policy.

Self Assessment

Fill in the blanks:

1. Positive check is imposed by _____.
2. When population grows greater than _____ in any country, then nature brings it down by flood, earthquake, heavy rainfall, war, etc.
3. _____ are those preventives, which society imposes itself.

Table shows India's growing population in different decades.

Notes

Population in India

Year	Population (cr)	Ten yearly growth percentage rate
1911	25.20	5.7
1921	25.13	- 0.3
1931	27.89	11.0
1941	31.86	14.2
1951	36.10	11.2
1961	43.92	21.6
1971	54.81	24.8
1981	68.51	24.8
1991	84.63	23.5
2001	102.87	21.5
2011	121.01	17.6

Table shows, important facts about population growth of India between 1911 to 2011. Population decrease between 1911 to 1921 in India because epidemics, plague, diarrhea broke out which toll in thousands, again population started increasing from 1921. Population remained static between 1931 to 1941. In comparison to further decades. Among decades major difference shown in 1931-1941 and 1941-51. Many people came from Pakistan to India in 1947 due to partition. Before that demographic data was same for India and Pakistan. India's population was 43.92 cr in 1961, 54.81 cr. in 1971, 68.51 cr in 1981 and 84.63 cr in 1991. According to 2001 census, population was 102.87 cr now, according to 2011 census it is 121.01 cr in India.

According to 2001 census, Indian states shows these statistics contribution in total population 16.49%. is from Uttar Pradesh, 8.07% from Bihar, 9.42% from Maharashtra, from 7.81% West Bengal, 5.49% from Rajasthan, 5.87% from Madhya Pradesh. These states contribute 54.85% population of the country.

Important facts related to Indian population—(i) In India approx. 1.8 cr population increases every year which is equal to total Australian population. (ii) 16% of world's population lives in India it means every 16 person among 100, is an Indian or every seventh, in the world is a Indian. (iii) At present per thousand birth rate is 22.5 and death rate is 7.3, in India. (iv) According to 2011 census there are 62.37 cr male and 58.64 cr female in the country, i.e., 940 female per 1000 male. (v) Literacy rate is 74.04% according to 2011 census. The country's 27.8% population lives in Urban areas and 72.2% in rural areas.

Birth-Rate and Death-Rate

(i) **Birth Rate:** India's birth rate is bigger than to other nations. There is a difference found between registered birth rate and death rate date, because everyone died/born are not registered. Estimated Birth rate date of different decades. Table shows as:

Decades	Birth-Rate per thousand
1921-30	46.4
1931-40	35.2
1941-50	39.3
1951-60	41.7

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1961-70	41.1
1971-80	33.6
1981-90	29.9
2006-07	23.1
2009	22.5

The table shows in 2009, the birth rate was 22.5 person per thousand birth which was highest among nations, except China. Birth rate shows difference between urban and rural area, Birth rate is higher in rural areas as compared to urban. This trend was same in all states. The highest birth rate was in Assam and the lowest in Tamilnadu.

The birth rate of any country get influenced by the prevailing socio-conditions, as : death rate, abortion, unproductivity, personal freedom, development of production function, healthcare conditions and ambitions of people are examples.

There are many reasons of higher birth-rate such as: tropical climate, child marriage, lack of entertainment facilities, joint family system, necessity of marriage, increase in medical facilities, fortune etc. In India, education, occupation, religion, rural and urban residence, caste are important factors which influence the birth rate.

(ii) **Death rate:** Estimated date shows difference in death rate same as it shown in birth rate. Death rate per thousand, in different decades are as follows:

<i>Decades</i>	<i>Death rate per thousand</i>
1921-30	36.3
1931-40	31.2
1941-50	27.4
1951-60	28.8
1961-70	18.9
1971-80	11.9
1981-90	9.6
2006-07	7.4
2009	7.3

Same as birth rate, death rate is also bigger in India in comparison to other nations because in India standard of health facilities and living are low alongwith lack of nutritive food and medical facilities, poverty and epemic are at its peak. Three decades before 1921, famin/ drought, Plegue and influenza were the reasons of higher death rate. After 1921, death rate decrease in every decade. In 1991 it was 9.6 person/thousand per year. According to 2009, census, death rate is 7.3 per thousand person. The highest death rate data is in 0-4 years age group. If we consider the age group, an increased death rate is fine in old age except childhood and youth. Poverty, natural calamities (earthquake, flood, drought) , epidemics, industrial waste and lack of medical facilities are the many reason responsible for increased death rate in India.

Density of Population

Density of population means that 'how many people lives' in 1 Kilometer area. To get the density of population, formula is the total population of the country divided by total area of the country. In 1901 the density population India was 77 person / per kilometere, in 1961 its 173 km, in 1981 its 230 / km and 2011 its 382 / kilometer. The highest density at present is in Delhi for 11,207 per km and in Chandigarh it is 9252 per km. In states, data shows 1029 / km

in west Bengal, 859 / km in Kerla, 1102/ km in Bihar, 828 in UP, 573 / km in Haryana. Lowest population density is in Arunachal Pradesh with 17 person, Mizoram shows 52 / km, Nagaland its 119 / km, Sikkim it is 86 per km and Manipur its 122 people / km. Density of population shows variations among states in India.

Life Expectancy

The meaning of life expectancy is, age of living years, which is expected at the time of birth. Average age of Indians were 24 years in 1941, which increased to 32.1 years in 1951 to 63.5 years in 2007. Average age increased due to growth in education, medical facilities and living standard.

Age Structure

Important information can be available from the age structure of any country; such as, number of school going, work force and number of voters etc. According to 2001 census, 0-14 year group is 41%, this percentage shows that in this country dependents are many. 60 and above years percentage is 7.28, it means 44.5% population contributes only children and old, rest 62.45 is into 15-59 years and constitute nations 39% workable population.



Did u know? To promote production of goods and bring prosperity, it is necessary to increase percentage of workable population.

Sex Ratio

Sex ratio or men-women ratio in the population of any country is very important. It effects marriage rate, child's birth and death rate. According to 2001 census, male population is 62.37 cr and female population is 58.64 cr. It shows per 1000 male/female are 940, which was 933 in 2001. In Kerala, per 1000 male/female are 1084 which is highest in Kerala and lowest in Haryana, with 1000 male/877 female data. In Jammu Kashmir per 1000 male / female population is 883, in Sikkim it is 889 male per 1000, in Punjab is 893 / 1000 male, in Uttar Pradesh 908/1000 male. Sex ratio data shows between rural and urban areas. In urban areas it is 859/1000 male while 952/1000 make in rural areas. Some socio reasons prevails why female population is low here, i.e., more birth of male infants, no proper care for girl child during childhood, child marriage and getting pregnant at tender age, death at the time of delivery of child etc.

Religion

People of India, follows many religions. Indian society is compounded by Hindu, Muslim, Christian, Jain, Sikh, Budha, Jews. According to 2001 census, the percentage of people following different religion were - Hindu 82.75%, Muslim 13.81%, Christian 2.40%, Sikh 1.92%, Budha 0.79%, Jain 0.42% and others 0.66%.

Language

India is a country of many languages. Indians use 1,652 languages and dialects. You can divide language into two: **firstly, Dravid languages**; as Tamil, Telgu, Kannada, Malyalam, etc. **Secnodly, Indo Aryan languages**; as Sanskrit, Hindi, Marathi, Magadhi, Rajasthani, Punjabi, Udiya etc. Indian constitution registered 22 languages, every language has its own linguistics. Hindi has got first position among these. Except there 22 Languages Malvi, Bhojpuri, Marvadi and Pahadi languages are important, many people use them.

Notes

Population in India: Language based

Language	Users percentage
Hindi	39.85
Bangla / Bangali	8.22
Telgu	7.80
Marathi	7.38
Tamil	6.26
Urdu	5.13
Gujrati	4.81
Kannda	3.87
Malyalam	3.59
Udiya	3.32
Punjabi	2.76
Assami	1.55
Sindhi	0.25
Nepalese	0.25
Koikani	0.21
Manipuri	0.15
Kashmiri	0.01
Sanskrit	0.01
Others	4.58

Literacy

Any nation will economically much faster if literacy rate increases fast. Literacy related facts are not satisfactory in India. Though the literacy rate is increasing continuously.

Year	Literacy per cent
1951	16.7
1961	24.0
1971	29.5
1981	36.2
1991	52.21
2001	64.8
2011	74.04

Its clear now, that in last 50 years, India's literacy rate increased much. In 1991 22.42 cr male and 12.77 cr female were literate. 33.65 cr males and 22.41 cr females were literate in 2001. Male literacy was 82.14% and female literacy was 65.46% in 2011.

India's most literate state is Kerala with 93.91% Literacy rate. In Mizoram it is 91.58%, in Tripura its is 87.75%, in Goa it is 87.40% and in Himachal Pradesh it is 83.78%. Literacy rate is lowest in Bihar. Literacy rate in 1951 was 16.7 per cent, in 1961 it was 24, in 1971 it was 29.5, in 1981 it was 36.2, in 1991 it was 52.21, in 2001 it was 64.8 and in 2011 it is 74.04. There is percentage difference between urban and rural areas and into male/female population also.

Rural and Urban Population

Notes

At present, one among 4 persons lives in city. According to census 2001, 27.8% lives in cities while 72.2% live in rural areas. Table shows, rural and urban population trends between 1921 to 2001.

Year	Rural population (%)	Urban population (%)
1921	88.8	11.3
1931	88.0	12.0
1941	86.1	13.9
1951	82.7	17.3
1961	82.0	18.0
1971	80.1	19.9
1981	76.3	23.7
1991	74.3	25.7
2001	72.2	27.8

Table states that, urbanization is increasing rapidly. Annual rate of growth was 3.83 percent in 1971-81 decade. Which reduced to 3.09% in 1981-91. In the decade 1991-2001 urbanisation was 2.83%. India's most populated city is Mumbai with 1.26 cr population. Kolkata is on second place its population is 1.02 cr. Delhi comes on third with 93.2 lakhs people, Chennai on fourth with 43.3 lakh people. According to 2001 census, there is 5,161 sand cities in the country, with 26.8 cr of total population. Census department defines a place, as "a city" with 5 thousands people or above, and less than is a village" cities with total population 10 lakhs and more were 12 in 1981, 23 in 1991, 35 in 2001.

Population of Scheduled Castes and Tribes

According to 2001 census, the population of Scheduled Caste was 16.65% cr and Scheduled Tribes was 8.35 cr. It shows that, 24.46% of the total population of country is contributed by scheduled castes and tribes only. Biggest population of Scheduled Castes is in Uttar Pradesh (3.51 cr) than in West Bangal, Bihar, Tamilnadu, Andhra Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh and Rajasthan. Most tribal population live in Madhya Pradesh (1.22 cr). In Hariyana, Jammu and Kashmir, Puajab and union territory-Chandigarh and in Delhi, no tribe community lives.

Population Explosion in India

We studied, statistics of population growth in different decades. Along with we had analysis birth rate, death rate and residence and non-residence facts. All these facts shows that in India population is increasing rapidly yearly, which affected our economic development, administration, social welfare, etc. India is second most populated country of the world.



Notes

Growing population, increased unemployment and poverty. This is why, it is said that it is state of population explosion in India. Its consequences would be dangerous if not prevented in time.

Notes

Population Explosion in India; Responsible Facts.

1. **Tropical Climate:** A girl child gets mature soon because of tropical climate, and gets able to produce a child sooner. This reproductive years runs larger and in this period she gives births to many children.
2. **Child Marriage:** Small kids get married due to this system. So female reproduction period, i.e., (15–35 years) is fully used. This is the reason why more children take birth.
3. **Lack of Entertainment Facilities:** In lack of entertainment facilities; female is an object of entertainment in people of lower level of living group.
4. **Joint Family System:** Under joint family system, the old people wants to see the marriages of their sons and grand children in front of them or at their present, looking after a child is not a problem in these house hold. A big household is considered as a symbol of authority, status, strength in the society.
5. **Illiteracy:** In the lack of education, people do not understand result of population growth and keep giving child birth without any interruption.
6. **Lower Living Standard:** Due to low living standard people thinks that many children will help in production process and will earn more. Because of lower level of living, they do not spend on child's education, up bringing and luxury. No one get effected by increasing no. of children.
7. **No Knowledge of Family Planning or Preventives:** Lack of knowledge indifference is the reason for growing population.
8. **Irregularities in Marriage:** An Indian get "Compulsory" married to same social status of his / her. Marriage is a religious ritual in India. And important responsibility of a men. But one gets married the resultant must be child birth but in foreign countries getting marry depends on persons own will.
9. **Importance of Male Child:** Female keep deliver children unless she gets a son. In religion it is said a person gets salvation from his son only.
10. **Medical Facilities:** Death rate decreased as well as birth rate increased, because of medical facilities in India.
11. **Impact of West:** Male female ceition freedom increased because of western impact.
12. **Monies, Obscene literature and jazzy, tight clothes increased sex decides and needs.**
13. **Fortunist:** Indians are fortunist they think child is God's gift. God has given birth and will give food too. And they consider birth control a sin. Birth is good in Islam and Bible accepts more children and it is written in it, that "grow and fill" this earth with people.
14. **Lack of Population Decay:** Leave some exceptions of war and peace. Indian population got hurt little. According to **Dr. Chandrashekar**; leave some exceptions population hurt less in last five decades.
15. **Arrival of Refugees:** Arrival of refugees from neighbouring countries increased the growth of population.

Effects of Increased Population

1. **Over Population and Economic Development:** **Prof. Colin Clark** thinks over populations is dangerous for economic growth because expenditure of maximum amount on saving makes pure national income and per capita income less.
2. **Increasing Population and Capital Formation:** Increasing population is a problem it reduces the proportion of natural resources per persons. If production falls the capital formation turns a problem.

3. **Increasing Population and Food Problem:** Less developed countries and developing countries run short their food material because of increasing population. They import grains from other nations.
 4. **Increasing Population and Price Rise:** Effective demand for food reduces with population growth as less supply increases prices.
 5. **Increasing Population and Education:** Illiterate increases in less developed countries with population increase.
 6. **Increasing Population and Residence Problem:** Problem of residence and healthily surrounding increases. How to accommodate more people with population increase?
 7. **Increasing Population and Unemployment:** Increasing population gives birth to unemployment, casual employment and disguised unemployment.
 8. **Increasing Population and Living Standard:** The limited income gets distributed on increasing members, so it turns difficult to contribute food, cloth, education, entertainment, games etc. for all. In this way increasing population is responsible for low growth of a country.
 9. **Increasing Population and Poverty:** The poverty increases if population is bigger than required. Land and resources are limited in every country, if used for big population a one will get small portion of it. It effects domestic produce, National / per Capital Income. That makes the country poorer.
 10. **Increasing Population and Delinquency:** Poverty, unemployment and delinquency increase as the rate of population increases because it get difficult to collect feeding resources for all.
 11. **Increasing Population and Family Disintegration:** Control turns problem as family members increase. Parent goes for work and it gives liberty time to kids. They turns naughty, overlook family values, and it gives way to family disintegration.
 12. **Increasing Population or Civic Problems:** Population growth give birth to industrialisation urbanisation. People transfers from villages to cities. Result is, the problems due to industrialisation and the unurbanisation increases.
 13. **Increasing Population and Politics:** Big population is responsible for war, regionson, rebels, capitalization. It increases administrative problems.
- Describe the effects of over Population.

30.3 Summary

- Under Socio-demography, we study birth rate, death rate, age structure, marital status, sex ratio, etc.
- Malthusian theory is based on three principles : Population growth rate, food material growth rate, birth control.
- 1.8 cr. population increased every year in India, which is equal to Australian population.
- According to 2011 census, Total population is 121.01 Cr., with 62.37 cr. (51.53%) male and 58.64 cr. (48.46%) female.
- 2011 Census shows sex ratio 940/ 1000 male and literacy is 74.04% in India.

30.4 Keywords

1. **Demography:** Demography is the science of statistics, which studies birth, marriage, death, residence, non-residence, status of population, percentage and dimension.

- Notes**
2. *Population Explosion in India:* Population is increasing rapidly in India, which effects our economic development, administration, social welfare etc.

30.5 Review Questions

1. Describe the demographical structures of Indian family and marriage.
2. State the reasons of population explosion in India.

Answers: Self Assessment

1. nature
2. food Material
3. Preventive Check

30.6 Further Readings



- Books*
- Human Society – Kingsly Davis.
 - Sociology of Family – Dr. Sanjiv Mahajan, Arjun Publishing House.
 - Families in India, Marriage and Kinship – Shobhita Jain, Rawat Publication.



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