Sociology of Kinship

MASCCC102

CENTRE FOR DISTANCE AND ONLINE EDUCATION

SOCIOLOGY OF KINSHIP
(MASCCC102)

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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.

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Unit 1: Nature and Significance of the Subject

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Objectives

Introduction

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".

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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 statuary 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 sucession 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?

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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

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 Sexson 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 on inhuman and wise foreavcrative social structure.

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6. **Basis of Anthropological know**ledge: 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, Fraze Boas, Malenovoski, 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 believed that development of family and marriage accured 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 that half of the kinship literature is filled with the terms of kinship glossary only.

Lovi and **Boas** were against the evolution plans. Malenovoski 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.

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

1. Kinship systems are universal.

2. Kinship arrangements are always important in all the human societies with a little bit 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 desent 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.

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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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 hypothetic 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 morther.

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

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 indispensible 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

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 procreation 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. **Patter** 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 fainted, 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.

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 Bhumeej 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 biparttis 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 cultural 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 unibranched 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

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 crecper), Baghsori (Cheetah, Nag Sari (Snake), Kanjam (He-goat), Marai (Dead body eater) and Chhediha (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 cohabitatian 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 possibley therefore the protection of all organims is done through totemism. In this way, according to the description of **Toyler** also like **Durkheem**, totemism is a type of religious way of worshiping. 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.

Goldenviser 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 ot 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 reletives 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 sympathetive relation can be developed between man and his enviornment. By this, the totemism is developed on a socital 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 progemy, sib, moiety etc. When such social groups are needed to be nomenclatured then name of animals fulfulls 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 descesents 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 anthropoligist **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.

> *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

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CONTENTS

Objectives

Introduction

Objectives

After studying this unit, students will be able to:

- Understand consanguinity under kinship.
- Unerstand 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, sociali-sation, uterine brotherhood, etc., basic of life as well as human behaviour, is the study of kin-ship. 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 reproduc-tion. Two types of relations emerge from the desire of reproduction—

1. Relations between parents and children and brothers-sisters—we call them consanguine-ous 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 betwen blood relatives.

If these relations are accepted by the society then they are considered to be actual relations. So the social acceptance if more important then 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 then biological relations.

In some parts of Malaysia, child's parents families are not determines 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 become 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 depend on physical activities of parturition, but a social customs. So the social acceptane is more important than biological facts.

(ii) *Affinal Relations:* In reproduction based kniship 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 category 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.

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 tertiary relative. Similarly brother-in-law's son will be tertiary relative because brother-in-law is secondary relative.

Mardock has mentiond 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 use 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 synonyms 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 transfered then things are also transfered naturally to the successor. So when we take 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 seperate processes of transfer for both. Professor **W.H.P. Reiverse** has shown clear difference among the processes and succession, inheritance and rith 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 transfered to a person seperately both sides matrilineal and patrilineal, then it is called bilateral inheritance.

Collateral Inheritance

When the property or post is transfered 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 transfered 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 transfered 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 transfering 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 acceptence 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 inheirtance the youngest son inherits the (duaghter in matrilineal socities) 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

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

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CONTENTS

Objectives

Introduction

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, culural 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 Darin'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.

Comet, Spencer, Summoner, Durkheem, Waber, Sorokin, Ogburn, Mins, Raymans Arrow, Valah, Narman Virbay, 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 scholors 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 continous and gradual development of past incidents."

According to **T.B. Bottmore**, "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 Bottomre'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 skelton, instruments, trade records, things of institutional nature and handicraft. (iii) Different inscriptions which are related to ancient philosophy, events, and folk literature.

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

(*i*) Those documents and other historic material which is in the reach of the historiean 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 studies.

(*iii*) Personal information of faithful inspectors and witnesses: historic material can be collected from all the above sources but it depends on the researchers's decision, problem of study, nature and area that why, when and how much of it should be used?

Steps of Historcal 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 wheather it is forget. 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 criticims.

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 eachother. Qualitative and numeric data are seperated 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 course 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

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 untill the impact of past on them is not assesed. 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.

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 Repeatition 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

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**, **Toyler**, **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 appplies 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**, **Toyler** 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.

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 propunded.

Toyler had told about the evolution of religion. According to him, "Religion was evolved from polythecism 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, indealistic 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 continously. 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.

4. **Redcliff Brown** had expressed following views in regard to evolutionary approach:

   (a) This approach is quite unuseful for the study of those societies whose no written history exists such as – primitive societies, illiterate societies, etc.

   (b) The study made through this remains limited to estimates only. In this approach any type of test or inspection is not possible.

   (c) 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.

   (d) 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:

4. First of all, who originated polythecism—

   (a) Morgan   (b) Durkheem   (c) Toyler

5. Who saw the origin and development of marriage and family in human history—

   (a) Durkheem   (b) Morgan   (c) Karl Marx

6. 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

1. *Evolutionary Change:* Regular and successive change in a definite direction is an illustration of evolutionary change.

2. *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

1. Investigate the historical approach of kinship study.

2. Give a critical description of evolutionary approach of kinship study.

Answers: Self Assessment

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

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

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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 Durkheem.

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 Oventation 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

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, Durkheem, Malinowisks, Redcliff Brown, Morten, etc., scholars were outstanding.

5.2 History of Structural-Functional Approach

P.S. Kohan, enhansing 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. **Durkheem** was influenced with his views these functional approach, principle and system.

Emile Durkheem—The ultra-modern functionalism is more indebted to **Durkheem** than to **Spenser**. Like **Spenser**, **Durkheem** was also very much influenced with biological concept in his preliminary write-ups. His preliminary views were directly influenced by **Sponsor**. **Durkheem** 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. **Durkheem** 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 became a danger to the society.

(*ii*) To reduce or control of this increased competion 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 **Durkheem**, 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 Durkheem, Redcliff Brown, Malinovisky, 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

Postulate Propounded by Predecessor Functionalists of Merton

| Functional Utility | Universal Functionalism | Indispensibility |
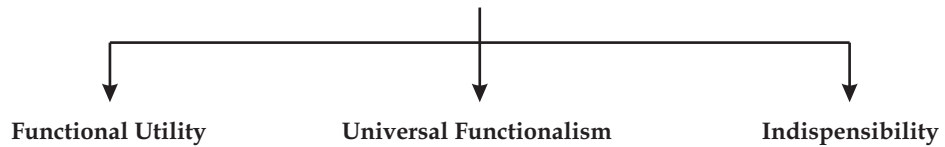
1. *Postulate of Functional Unity of Society:* **Redcliff Brown** and **Malinovisky** says about several units of social structure that they maintain unity in the society. The way in which the different organs of an organism are related mutually in form of unity, the same way each unit of the social 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 **Durkheem**, **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 charactor 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 indispensible 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 indispensible or (ii) Unit is indispensible or (iii) Function and unity both are indipensible. **Kingley Davis** and **Moor** had told indispensible to religion, because religion plays to control the society. **Merton** says that in modern societies, the social control is done without religon 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.
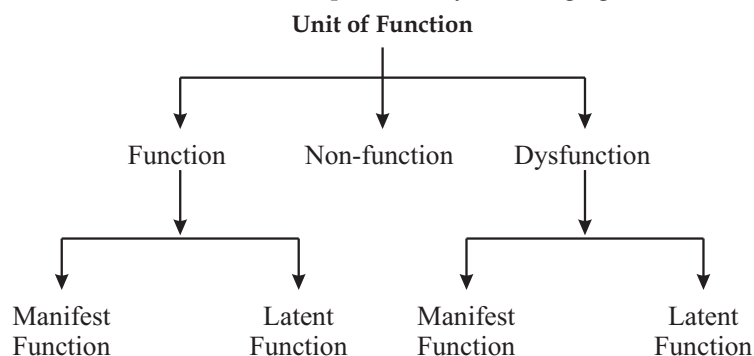
5. *Manifest and Latent Function:* **Merton** had divided the main functions of the units of social structure in two sub-functions—Direct and Indirect. Direct functions are those multiple results which in management contributes in adjustment and adaptation and are wanted by the persons taking part in management and are recognised. These direct function can be

seen under organisational or functional and destructional or dysfunction.

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—

Unit of Function

Function   Non-function   Dysfunction

Manifest Function   Latent Function   Manifest Function   Latent Function

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 accepeted 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 fucntions 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 Charactersitics:* 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-ambigous, 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.

Self Assessment

Fill in the blanks:

1. Units are _____ but they can be disfunctional 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

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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 meaning. 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, 'Sanskrits' and Sanskriti have originated from the 'Sanskar', 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.

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

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.

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**, **Toylor**, **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.

Toylor 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. **Toylor** 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 materialistc 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.

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 bestistism. 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 bestiestism.

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

Communal Rights of Property

Nudity

Sexual Freedom
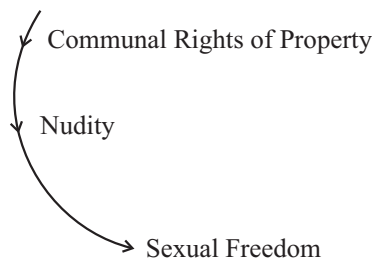
Self Assessment

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 sent 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 diffusioned development. They say that cultural characteristic 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 writes 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. **Grebnor** 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 sent 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.

Enculturation

Because of the studies by **Whistler**, which mere 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**, **Herscouvits**, **Helovle Beales**, etc., have made a significant contribution in structuring many definitive terms from Enculturation. For example, **Herscouvits** 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 destablisation 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 Malinosky and Redcliffe-Brown are known as Functionalism.

Malinosky takes into account the definition of culture given by **Toylor**, but does not consider it a para-biological reality. According to **Malinosky**, culture is such a medium or equipment, which makes the physical, psyhological 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, **Malinosky** does not believe in ruins, unrelated to culture. The developers have directly termed the dysfunctional cultural characteristics as runs of the past. **Malinosky** 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.

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 cuture 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 Dionesis type (Apollo: The generous Sun God of the ancient Greeks) Dionesis: (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 Dionesis 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 Quaciutal people of the North-Eastern Coast of America as Dionesis 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.

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

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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   *Malenovoski* said, position can be defined only after understanding the responsibilites 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.

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 availabe 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 concerened, its appropriate example can be seen in the life of rural Hindus. Theoritically 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 new 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

Notes

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.

Garo

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 re-marry 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

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

Hobbhouse 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 **Hobbhouse** and said that when viewed from the actuality of expansion, such a cultural reasoning is generally impossible and it is only coincidence or corelation 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 wifes' 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,

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 mensturation, 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 keen 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 here 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 postion. 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, postion 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 sema 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.

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 Ethnelogy, 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.

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. Godesses

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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Objectives

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 fucntions 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

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 like, he studied the Iraquis tribe of the state of New York. He found that the method used by Iraquis 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*) Speicial, 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 entirely 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 unequality 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 unequality of the close generations is expressed.

Notes   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 Quesstions

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

Notes

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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CONTENTS

Objectives

Introduction

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

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

Riverse, 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.

Notes   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 _____.

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 classificatioin. It regularises his social life. As Descent chooses a husband or a wife in a Cross Cousin Mariage, so does Descent and Patrilineage determine an individual's social role, position, rights and duties. **Bohnan** says that the Descent group inculcates, kinship moratlity 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?

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

CONTENTS

Objectives

Introduction

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.

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 lost 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 Erawati 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 ancestory, 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.

Notes   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 therm it as Descent group. The Descent group has six forms:

1. *Patriarchal:* Here, the Descent is detemined 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-

personal relations in extensive Kinship. **T.N. Madan** (1965) has studied the role of kinship as a form of organised ideology in the Kashimiri 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 behavious. 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.

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. **Mandelboum** 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.

Notes

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 differnce 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 kihship 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 **Mandelboum**, 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, **Mandelboum** 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.

Fourthyly, 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.

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.

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