4.1 UNIT FOUR: Structure: Domestic Economy

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Overview: This section will outline aspects from the second part of the Universal Pattern from Cultural Materialism using Pastoral societies as a primary cultural example. There is less reading in this section as you are expected to be working on your research projects.

4.1 Domestic Economy: Kinship, Descent, Marriage, Division of Labor/Sharing

4.2 Domestic Economy
Word stems to help learn concepts

TIPS TO LEARNING KINSHIP TERMS – Word stems to help learn concepts

Source: Pope, Lisa "Mnemonic Devices as a Supplemental Aid for Teaching Kinship Concepts and Terms." In Strategies in Teaching Anthropology. P.C. Rice and D.W. McCurdy, Eds. Uppersaddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall, 2006.

One of the problems of learning about kinship entails the great number of new terms you must know. One way to learn a lot of terms consists of breaking down the words into root stems, that way you have fewer concepts to memorize. We will go over this in class, but think about words that you are already familiar with that may contain the same word prefixes as this will make it easier to remember. For example, can you think of other words that seem similar to the prefix "matri"? (ie. Maternity ward, "Ma," etc.). A "matrilineal" is a line of descent traced from the mother's side of the family.

Word prefixes at the beginning of the word
- Matri -- Refers to Mother's . . .
- Patri -- Refers to Father's . . .
- Avuncu -- Refers to Uncle's . . . (typically mother's brother) . .
- Bi -- Refers to two . . .
- Mono -- Refers to one . . .
- Uni -- Refers to one.
- Poly -- Refers to multiple . . .
- Hyper -- Refers to higher, more than
- Hypo -- Refers to lower, less than
- Iso -- Refers to equal
- Neo -- Refers to something new - a new separate location
- Ambi -- Refers to both
- Exo -- Outside of group (Like "exit")
- Endo -- Inside of group (Like "enter")

Word Stems at the end of the word:
- - lineal or - lineage or –lateral: Refers to a line of descent
- - local: Refers to post marital locality patterns
- -focal: Refers to focus of family
- -gomy, -gamy: Refers to marriage pattern

- -gyny: Refers to female
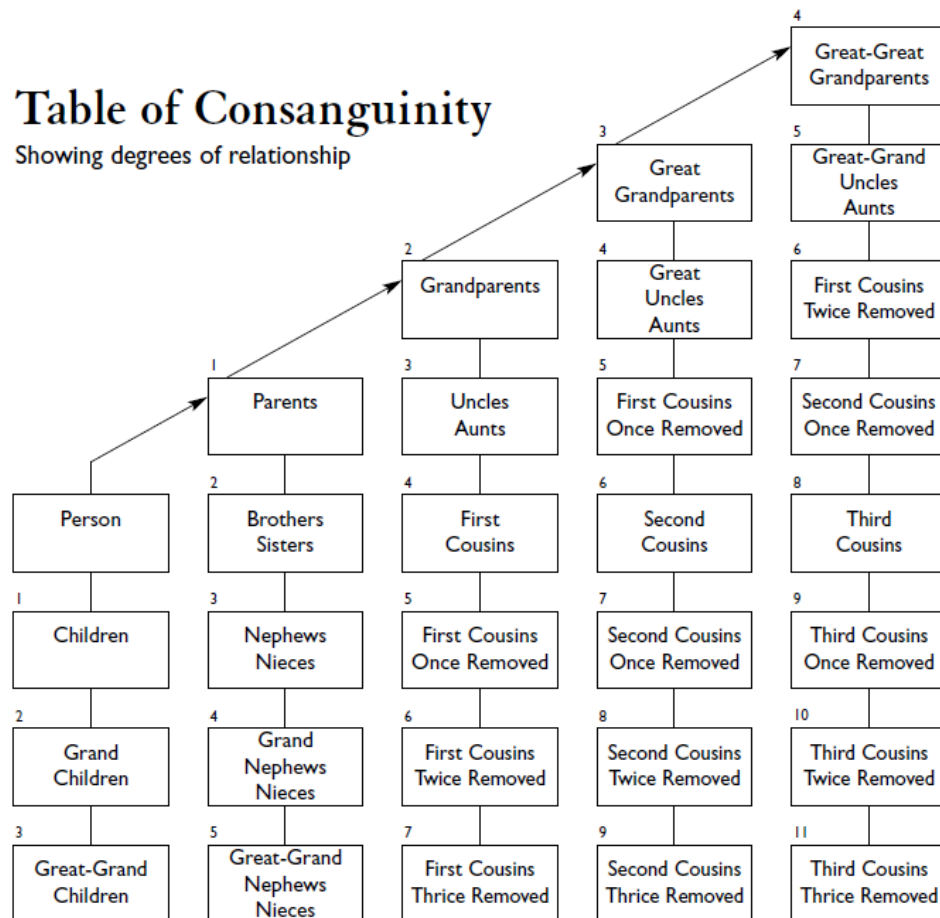- -andry: Refers to male

Other Words: Both of these words refer to family connections.
- Consanguinity:
- Affinity:

Kinship

Table of Consanguinity
Showing degrees of relationship

By Sg647112c (Own work) [CC BY-SA 3.0 (http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/3.0)], via Wikimedia Commons

Key Terms & Concepts

- Kinship
- Consanguine (consanguineal)

- Affine (affinal)
- Kinship diagrams
- Kinship symbols
- Cognatic descent (multilineal): Bilateral, Ambilineal
- Corporate descent (unilineal): Patriline, Matriline
- Descent groups
- Unilineal descent groups: Lineages, Clans, Phraties, Moieties
- Non-unilineal descent groups: Kindred
- Kinship terminology systems: Hawaiian, Eskimo, Omaha, Crow, Iroquois, Sudanese
- Fictive kin

Kinship

In this section, we will look at **kinship patterns**. These patterns determine how we connect with others through descent and marriage. It is a basic system of social organization. Kin that are related to us through descent (parent to child) are called **consanguine** or blood relatives. Anthropologists oftentimes discuss how many links there are between individuals. For instance, between a father and a daughter there is one link in the chain of familial connections. Between that daughter and her sibling there are two links, one to the parent and one to the sibling. If that sibling had a child then there would be three links between the daughter mentioned in the first example: one to the parent, one to the sibling and one to the niece or nephew. Kin that are related through marriage are called **affine**. In the United States, we refer to affine as in-laws.

Kinship Diagrams

Anthropologists draw kinship diagrams to illustrate relationships. Kinship diagrams allow cultural anthropologists to quickly sketch out relationships between people during the interview process. It also provides a means to visually present a culture's kinship pattern without resorting to names, which can be confusing, and allows for anonymity for the people.

There are some basic symbols that are used in kinship diagrams. One set of symbols is used to represent people. The other set is used to represent relationships or connections between people.

In the diagram below, a circle represents a female, a triangle a male, and a square represents a person self-identified as neither sex or both sexes.
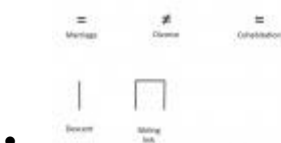
(**click on any diagram to enlarge)

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To indicate that a person is deceased, a line is placed through the symbol.

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Other kinship symbols indicate relationships.

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Some anthropologists develop their own kinship symbols. This is an accepted practice as long as a key or description of the symbol is provided.
One individual, usually the informant, is designated as the starting point for the kinship diagram. This person is identified as EGO on the diagram.

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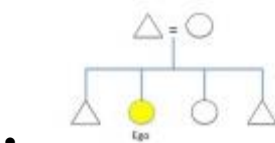
Descent Rules

Cultural recognition of children as kin of one or both parents is basis for the descent concept. Some societies trace through both parents (e.g., Canada and the United States). Other societies trace descent through only one of the parent's family line.

There are two basic descent systems: corporate and cognatic. **Cognatic descent** is also referred to as non-unilineal descent and there are two types of cognatic descent: bilateral and ambilineal. Anthropological data suggests that cognatic descent arose in cultures where warfare is uncommon and there is a political organization that can organize and fight on behalf of the members. In **bilateral** systems, children are equally descended through both parents. People from both sides of the family are considered relatives. This is the form of descent practiced in the United States.

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Ambilineal systems require children to choose either the mother or father's side of the family to be reckoned relatives. Some Native American tribes use the ambilineal system. In the illustration below, if EGO chooses the father's side of the family, then everyone marked in blue would be considered kin. If EGO chooses the mother's side, then everyone marked in orange would be considered family

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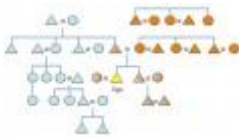
In **corporate descent** cultures only one family line is recognized as kin. The group typically owns property together. When family is reckoned along the father's line the group is **patrilineal**. When family is reckoned along the mother's line the group is **matrilineal**. Keep in mind that this is at the cultural level. Individuals in a culture may think of other people as kin even though they are not formally recognized by the culture itself.

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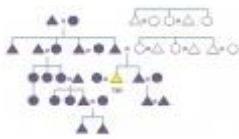
(patrilineal descent)

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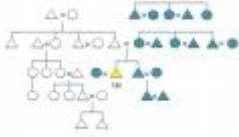
(matrilineal descent)

Descent Groups

In all societies there are social groups whose membership is based on descent; members share a common ancestor or living relative. Descent groups help to define the pool of potential mates, the group of people who are obligated to help in economic and political issues, and may even dictate which religion is followed, particularly in unilineal descent groups.

Unilineal Descent Groups

Lineages trace lines of descent to the same ancestor. A matriline is traced through the mother's family line and partrilines are traced through the father's. Ambilines are traced through either the mother's or father's line; the choice, which might be made based on friendship or availability of resources, is left open.

Clans are groups who acknowledge a common ancestor but the exact genealogy might not be remembered. Oftentimes, the ancestor may be so far back in time that history becomes distorted so that the ancestor takes on heroic proportions. For instance, Native American groups have clans, an ancient lineage that is often just referred to as an animal (wolf, raven). Clans can be quite big, with a large number of people.

Phratries are groups of clans (at least three clans) who are believed to be related by kinship. There are not usually economic ties between the clans.

Moieties are also linked clans; however, in this case, there are only two clans involved. There may be economic ties between moieties.

Non-Unilineal Descent Groups

There is only one type of non-unilineal descent group, the **kindred**. Kindreds count all individuals from each parent as relatives. This kind of descent group is usually seen where small family groups are more adaptive than large ones and individual mobility is high, e.g., industrial societies. Often, kindreds fall apart when the unifying individual dies.

Kinship Terminology

 "Cross-cultural comparisons of categories of kin terms (words used to identify relatives) can sometimes reveal basic similarities and differences in worldview and experience" (Bonvillain 2010: 201). Terminology systems take a myriad of things into account (although they may not take all of these things into account):

- paternal vs. maternal kin
- generation
- differences in relative age
- sex
- consanguine vs. affinal ties
- person's descent line vs. linked
- descent line
- sex of linking relative

Marriage and Family

Key Terms & Concepts: Marriage

- Marriage
- Types of marriage: monogamy, polygamy, polygyny, polyandry, group, symbolic, levirate, sororate, ghost marriage, fixed-term
- Serial monogamy
- Same-sex marriage
- Fraternal polyandry
- Incest taboo
- Exogamy
- Endogamy
- Arranged marriage
- Cross-cousin marriage
- Parallel-cousin marriage
- Bride wealth (Bride price)
- Bride service

- Dowry
- Hypergamy
- Indirect dowry
- Woman exchange
- Gift exchange

Functions of Marriage

Ethiopian marriage ceremony

Marriage

All societies have customs governing how and under what circumstances sex and reproduction can occur–generally marriage plays a central role in these customs.

Marriage is a socially approved union that united two or more individuals as spouses. Implicit in this union is that there will be sexual relations, procreation, and permanence in the relationship.

Functions of Marriage

Marriage ceremony in Thailand

1. Marriage regulates sexual behavior.

Marriage helps cultural groups to have a measure of control over population growth by providing proscribed rules about when it is appropriate to have children. Regulating sexual behavior helps to reduce sexual competition and negative effects associate with sexual competition. This does not mean that there are no socially approved sexual unions that take place outside of marriage. Early anthropological studies documented that the Toda living in the Nilgiri Mountains of Southern India allowed married women to have intercourse with male priests with the husband's approval. In the Philippines, the Kalinda institutionalized mistresses. If a man's wife was unable to have children, he could take a mistress in order to have children. Usually his wife would help him choose a mistress.

2. Marriage fulfills the economic needs of marriage partners.

Marriage provides the framework within which people's needs are met: shelter, food, clothing, safety, etc. Through the institution of marriage, people know for whom they are economically and socially responsible.

3. Marriage perpetuates kinship groups.

This is related to the previous function, but instead of simply knowing who is with whom economically and socially, marriage in a legitimate sense lets people know about inheritance.

4. Marriage provides institution for the care and enculturation of children.

Within the umbrella of the marriage, children begin to learn their gender roles and other cultural norms. Marriage lets everyone know who is responsible for children. It legitimizes children by socially establishing their birthrights.

Forms of marriage

Same-sex union laws around the world.

Monogamy, the union between two individuals, is the most common form of marriage. While monogamy traditionally referred to the union of one man and one woman, there are some countries that recognize same-sex unions. As of early 2015, The Netherlands, Spain, Canada, South Africa, Norway, Sweden, Portugal, Iceland, Argentina, Denmark, Brazil, France, Uruguay, New Zealand, the United Kingdom, Luxembourg, and Finland legally allow **same-sex marriage**. In other countries, the debate continues over whether or not to legalize same-sex marriage or guarantee rights to homosexuals. For instance, certain states in Mexico allow same-sex marriage, but not the entire nation. **Serial monogamy**, where an individual has multiple spouses over their lifetime, but only one at a time, is quite common in industrial societies.

Polygamy, the union between three or more individuals is the second most common form of marriage. Generally when polygamy is mentioned by the media, a marriage between a man and multiple women is being referenced; however, the term is being misused. **Polygyny** is the correct term for a marriage between a man and multiple women. **Polyandry** refers to a marriage between a woman and multiple men. Polyandry mostly occurs between a woman and brothers,

a system referred to as **fraternal polyandry**. One reason that polyandry might be the preferred marriage pattern for a group is if there is a shortage of women or land is scarce. For instance, the Nyinba of Nepal practice fraternal polyandry because there is not enough land to divide between brothers and the high mortality rate of female child and infant mortality. Male children are preferred, therefore are better cared for then female offspring (Bonvillain 2010: 218-219).

Polygyny is more common than polyandry. It is generally found in societies where rapid population growth is beneficial to the survival of the group, such as frontier and warrior societies, or where the ratio of women to men is high. Men with multiple wives and many children usually have higher status within the group because they have demonstrated that they can afford to support a large family. Men may also marry several women to help increase his wealth as he will then have more hands helping to bring in resources to the family. Many groups across the globe have or do practice polygyny, e.g., G/wi, Australian Aborigines, Turkana, Samburu, and the Tswana.

A question that anthropologists asked was what are the benefits of multiple spouses? What they found were several possible benefits:

- increased social status
- a new set of affines (in-laws) gives individuals more people for help w/trade, political alliances, support
- a larger labor force
- lessens the burden of work because it distributed among several women
- better chance children are provided for

Group marriage is a rare form of marriage where several males are married simultaneously to several females. This form of marriage was once practiced by the Toda; however, it is no longer known in any extant society.

There are a few other types of marriage. A **symbolic marriage** is one that does not establish economic or social ties, e.g., a Catholic nun marrying Jesus Christ. **Fixed-term marriages** are temporary marriages that are entered into for a fixed period of time. Once the time period is ended, the parties go their separate ways. There may be a financial gain for the woman, however there are no social ties once the marriage has ended. Fixed-term marriages legitimize sexual relationships for individuals whose culture may forbid sexual relationships outside of marriage, e.g., soldiers during times of war or students attending college in a foreign country.

Some cultures have developed special rules for marriage if a married family member dies. The **levirate** obliges a man to marry his deceased brother's wife; e.g., Orthodox Judaism (although rarely practiced today, the widow must perform the chalitzah ceremony before she can remarry). The brother is then responsible for his brother's widow and children. This helps keep the children and other resources the deceased had collected within the family. The **sororate** is the flip side of the levirate. In this system, a woman must marry the husband of her deceased sister. The Nuer practice a form of the levirate called **ghost marriage**. If an elder brother dies

without fathering children, one of his younger brothers must marry his widow. Children resulting from the ghost marriage are considered the offspring of the deceased brother (Bonvillain 2010).

Rules for Marriage

For the societies that practice marriage there are rules about whom one can marry and cannot marry (note: not all groups marry; traditionally the Na in Southwest China do not marry). All societies have some form of an **incest taboo** that forbids sexual relationships with certain people. This is variable from culture to culture. Several explanations have been preferred to explain the origins of incest taboos. One cites biological reasons. Non-human primates seem to have an instinctual aversion to having sex with near relatives, so perhaps the same happens for humans. Another biological reason is that the incest taboo was established to maintain biological diversity. This suggests that people understood the consequences of breeding with relatives.

Another theory suggests that familiarity breeds contempt, while yet another suggests that incest taboos were developed to ensure that alliances were made outside of the family. Whatever the case may be, there have been culturally approved violations of the incest taboo usually in royal families such as those in pre-contact Hawaii, ancient Peru and Egypt (Bonvillain 2010).

Exogamy stipulates that an individual must marry outside of a kin, residential, or other specified group. For instance, the Yanomami must marry outside of their residential village. **Endogamy**, on the other hand, stipulates that an individual must marry within a specified kinship categories or social group. The classic example of endogamy is the Indian caste system. Arranged marriages are quite common among human societies. With **arranged marriages**, family elders, usually the parents, choose spouses for their children. Arranged marriages promote political, social, and economic ties.

Sometimes within the practices outlined above, other rules that single out certain kin as ideal marriage partners are adhered to. **Cross-cousin marriage** unites cousins linked by parents of opposite sex (brother/sister) while **parallel-cousin marriage** unites the children of siblings of the same sex. The benefits of these types of marriages is that it helps to maintain the family lineage.
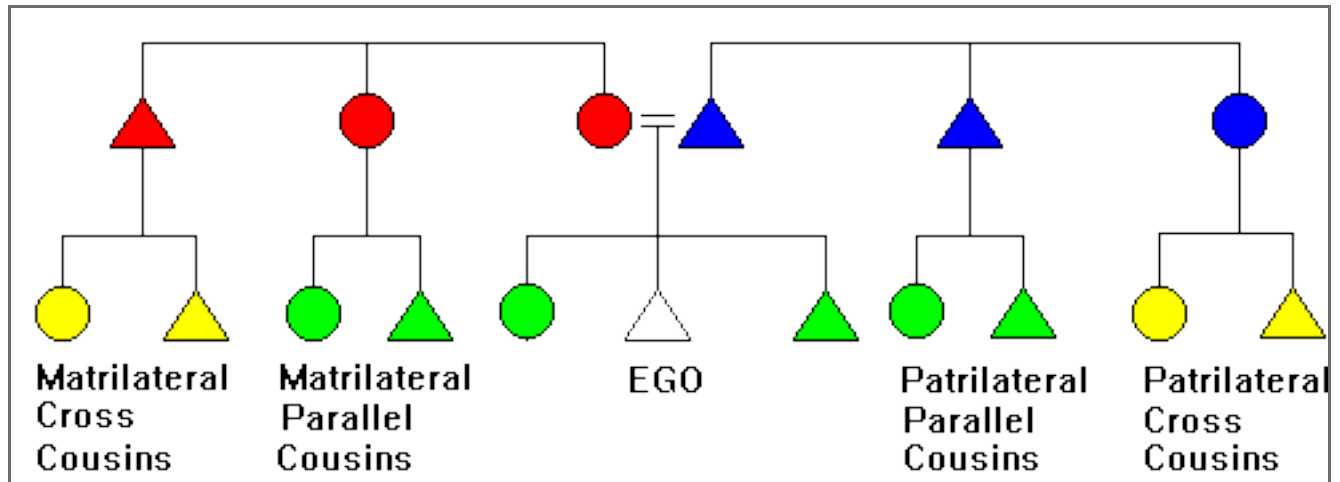
Economic Aspects of Marriage
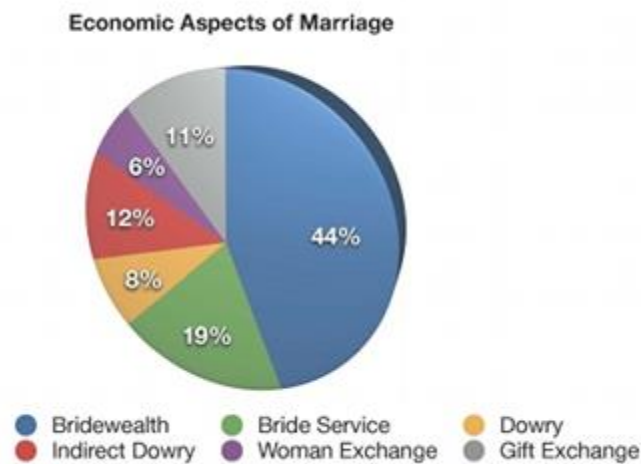
Economic Aspects of Marriage (from Ember and Ember 2011: 195)

Most marriages have some type of economic exchange associated with them. Only about 25% of marriages do not have an economic aspect (Ember and Ember 2011: 195).

Anthropologists have identified the following practices:

Bridewealth or **Bride price**: In this practice goods are transferred from the groom's family to bride's family in compensation for losing the productive and reproductive services of one of their daughters.

Bride service: This entails the groom performing a service for the family of the bride. Bride service could take several months or even years to complete.

Dowry: Dowry generally is practiced in cultures where women's roles are less valued then men. This practice requires the transfer of goods from the bride's family to the groom to compensate for acceptance of the responsibility of her support. This is most common in pastoral or agricultural societies where a market exchange is prevalent. **Hypergamy** occurs when a woman uses her dowry to "marry up" and increase her and subsequently her children's social status. **Indirect dowry** is a little like bride price. With this custom, the groom's family gives goods to the bride's father who in turn gifts them to his daughter.

Woman exchange: With woman exchange, no gifts are exchanged by the families but each family gives a bride to the other family; each family loses a daughter but gains a daughter-in-law.

Gift exchange: In this practice, the families of the betrothed exchange gifts of equal value.

Key Terms & Concepts: Family

- Family
- Family Types: Nuclear, Extended, Joint, Blended, Family by choice
- Post-marriage residence patterns: Patrilocal, Matrilocal, Bilocal (Ambiolocal), Neolocal, Avunculocal, Duolocal

Types of Families

Flathead family (United States)

What constitutes a family varies across the globe depending on a variety of factors including subsistence practices and economic behaviors. **Family** defines obligations that group members have to one another, both economically and socially. Generally, family members live together, but that is not always the case.

Nuclear family: This is also known as the conjugal family or family of procreation. Nuclear families are comprised of married partners and their offspring. This is common in industrial societies, but it is not the most common type of family in the world, although the practice is spreading through modern development. Some anthropologists identify a second type of nuclear family, the non-conjugal family. In this type of nuclear family, there is one parent with dependent children. Additionally, there is the polygymous family, which is comprised of multiple spouses and dependent children (Lavenda and Schultz 2010; note that Lavenda and Schultz refer to a polygynous family, not a polygymous family, but that term does not encompass a married woman living with multiple husbands and dependent children).

Extended family: The extended family is the most common type of family in the world. Extended families include at least three generations: grandparents, married offspring, and grandchildren.

Joint family: Joint families are composed of sets of siblings, theirs spouses, and their dependent children.

Blended family: Blended families are becoming more common, especially in industrial societies like the United States. A blended family is formed when divorced or widowed parents who have children marry.

Family by Choice: A relatively newly recognized type of family, again especially in industrial countries like the United States, is the family by choice. The term was popularized by the LGBTQ (Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender, Queer) community to describe a family not recognized by the legal system. Family by choice can include adopted children, live-in partners, kin of each member of the household, and close friends. Increasingly family by choice is being practiced by unmarried people and families who move away from the consanguine family.

Family: Postmarital Residence Patterns

Family

According to Bonvillain (2010: 211), family is a "basic unit of economic cooperation and stability" that generally includes at least one parent or parent substitute and children. Families provide both economic and social support for its members. It is the primary group responsible for rearing children and is where the enculturation process begins (enculturation refers to the process of learning the culture we are born into). The children in the family are not always the biological offspring. Through the process of adoption, other family members or strangers may adopt children who have lost their biological parents. This practice ensures that children without parents are cared for and not a burden on the rest of society. In some places, children are "adopted out" due to economic hardships facing the family.

Postmarital Residence Patterns

One thing that may help define a family is their place of residence after the parents are married. There are several types of residence patterns:

Patrilocal: In this residence pattern the newlyweds live with or near the husband's family. This is the most common form found in the world. It is common in societies where solidarity of the male group is important; e.g., where there is heavy labor to be done or frequent warfare. Many cultures in the Persian Gulf region and North Africa are patrilocal.

Matrilocal: This, the 2nd most common residence pattern, is found in societies where the newly married couple moves in with or near the bride's family. This is found in gardening societies (horticulturalists) or groups where warfare occurs with distant peoples and not near neighbors. The Hopi of the American Southwest are one example of a matrilocal group.

Bilocal (ambilocal): This type of residence pattern is the bilocal or ambilocal pattern. In this practice the bride and groom pick which family to go live with or near. It is found in societies where extended kin networks important and where land may be limited. The !Kung Bushmen are bilocal.

Neolocal: For this residence pattern, which is common in industrial societies, newlyweds live separate from both the bride and groom's parents. They are economically independent from their parents. With the export of American culture through modern development, the neolocal residence pattern is becoming increasingly widespread.

Avunculocal: This residence pattern is found only in matrilineal societies like the Trobriand Islanders where men of the family must be cohesive. Usually it forms when warfare is not uncommon, but the threat is at some distance. This pattern is characterized by the newlyweds living in or near the house of groom's mother's brother.

Residence Patterns

A wooden wagon (Doli) in which a bride is taken to her husband's home. Although this is a thing of past now, the administration of Chandigarh depicted this in its annual Chandigarh carnival 2005.

After getting married the couple needs to live somewhere. And where the couple ends up varies, depending on their culture. There are four major residence patterns, Neolocal, Patrilocal, Matrilocal, and Avunculocal.

1. **Neolocal Residence** is most common with North American couples. This is where the couple finds their own house, independent from all family members.
2. **Patrilocal Residence** is most commonly used with herding and farming societies. It's where the married couple lives with the husband's father's family. By living with the husband's family, it lets all the men, (the father, brothers, and sons) continue to work together on the land.
3. **Matrilocal Residence** is most familiar among horticultural groups. It's where the couple moves to live where the wife grew up; usually found with matrilineal kinship systems.
4. **Avunculocal Residence** is also related in matrilineal societies however in this case the couple moves to live with the husband's mother's brother. They live with the most significant man, his uncle, because it's who they will later inherit everything from.

There are two other forms of residence however they aren't as common. There's **Ambilocal residence** where the couple lives with one family for a while and then moves to live with the other spouse's family. Eventually they have to decide who to live with permanently. And then there's **Duolocal residence** where lineage membership is so important to both the husband and

wife that even though the couple is married they still live apart from one another and reside with their families.

A Hindu Kush woman in the Northeastern part of India in the Himalayan Region.

The division of labor by sex largely determines where a couple resides after marriage. If the male predominates in the division of labor than the couple's residence tends to be an Avunculocal and Patrilocal residence. However, if the females predominates then they tend to live in matrilocal residence. And if neither sex predominates in the division of labor than their residence tends to be more ambilocal or neolocal residence.

In the mountains of the Hindu Kush Himalayan region the domination of society by males is prevalent throughout the region. And because the males are so dominate in this region, the main pattern of living is Patrilocal Residence. Once couples are married the women are forced to live with the husband and the rest of his family, in unfamiliar surroundings. Marriages are generally arranged by the parents, so the women have to learn to live with strangers, without any family support that she once enjoyed at home.

Cultural Examples: Nayar Indian & African

Nayar Marriage:
The Nair /ˈnaɪər/, also known as Nayar, are a group of Indian Hindu castes, described by anthropologist Kathleen Gough as "not a unitary group but a named category of castes". The Nair include several castes and many subdivisions, not all of whom historically bore the name 'Nair'.[2][3] These people lived, and continue to live, in the area which is now the Indian state of Kerala. Their internal caste behaviours and systems are markedly different between the people in the northern and southern sections of the area, although there is not very much reliable information on those inhabiting the north.[4]

Historically, Nairs lived in large family units called tharavads that housed descendants of one common female ancestor. These family units along with their unusual marriage customs, which are no longer practiced, have been much studied. Although the detail varied from one

region to the next, the main points of interest to researchers of Nair marriage customs were the existence of two particular rituals—the pre-pubertal thalikettu kalyanam and the later sambandam—and the practice of polygamy in some areas. Some Nair women also practiced hypergamy with Nambudiri Brahmins from the Malabar region.

Fuller has commented that "The Nayars' marriage system has made them one of the most famous of all communities in anthropological circles",[107] and Amitav Ghosh says that, although matrilineal systems are not uncommon in communities of the south Indian coast, the Nairs "have achieved an unparalleled eminence in the anthropological literature on matrilineality".[108] None of the rituals survive in any significant way today. Two forms of ritual marriage were traditional:[109]

Thalikettu Kalyanam ("real marriage"):

Among the Nair of Central Kerala, every ten or twelve years each lineage held a grand ceremony at its oldest ancestral house, at which time all immature girls of the lineage of one generation were ritually married by men of "enangar" groups. (linked neighborhood kinship groups not of the same family group as the brides) This ceremony, called tālikettukalyānam ("tāli-tying ceremony") had to be performed for each girl before puberty, on pain of her excommunication from her caste. (Gough, 1955) At the ceremony, each bridegroom, in the company of representatives of every household in the neighborhood, tied a gold ornament (tāli) round the neck of his bride. Each couple was then secluded in a room of the ancestral house for three days and nights. On the fourth day the bridegrooms departed; they had no further obligations, and did not need to visit them again. After the tāli ritual, a girl was regarded as having attained the status of a mature woman, ready to bear children to perpetuate her lineage. The Thalikettu challenges our understanding of marriage, as this is formal ritual with a symbolic contract, it is seen as more of the "real marriage" and yet the two may never have children and are not expected to live with one another. The Bridegroom was under no obligation to provide financial assistance, or raise the wive's children.

Sambandham ("symbolic marriage"):

Once the girls were older and became more sexually mature, they would go through Sambandham rituals. She could now engage in sexual activities with any male who was of her caste level or above, and if she had children with this partner, he had to identify the child as his. The sambandham was the point at which the woman might take one or more partners and bear children by them, giving rise to the theories of them engaging in polyandrous practices. The sambandham ceremony was simple compared to the thalikettu kalyanam, being marked by the gift of clothes (pudava) to the bride in front of some family members of both parties to the arrangement. There might also be other gifts, presented at the time of the main Malayam festivals. If the sambandham partner was a Brahmin man or the woman's father's sister's son (which was considered a proper marriage because it was outside the direct line of female descent) then the presentation was a low-key affair. However, sambandhamrituals were more elaborate, sometimes including feasts, when a "stranger" from within the Nair caste married the woman. The ceremony took place on a day deemed to be auspicious by priests.[115][124] The sambandham relationship was usually arranged by the karanavan but occasionally they would arise from a woman attracting a man in a temple, bathing pool or other public place. The

first sambandham of a man was deemed to be momentous and his ability to engage in a large number of such relationships increased his reputation in his community.

Sambandham relationships could be broken, due to differences between the spouses or because a karavanan forced it due to being pressured by a man of higher rank who desired to marry the woman.[113] Marriage by sambandham was neither legally recognised nor binding. The relationship could end at will and the participants could remarry without any ramifications. Attempts to regulate sambandham marriages by the Nayar Regulation Act of 1912 in Travancore and the Malabar Marriage Act of 1896 in British Malabar were not very successful.[124] Any children borne by the woman had to be claimed by one of her sambandham partners if she was to avoid being out-caste, sold into slavery or even executed. There was a presumption that unclaimed children were the consequence of her having a relationship with a man from a lower caste, which could not be the case if the child was claimed because of the caste restrictions imposed in the selection of sambandham partners

There is much debate about whether the traditional Nair rituals fitted the traditional definition of marriage and which of thalikettu kalyanam or sambandham could lay claim to it.[112][113] Thomas Nossiter has commented that the system "was so loosely arranged as to raise doubts as to whether 'marriage' existed at all."[114]

Woman-to-Woman Marriages in Africa

See also article on JSTOR:

CADIGAN, R. JEAN. "Woman-to-Woman Marriage: Practices and Benefits in Sub-Saharan Africa." *Journal of Comparative Family Studies*, vol. 29, no. 1, 1998, pp. 89–98. *JSTOR*, www.jstor.org/stable/41603548.

"According to historian, Professor, Kenneth Chukwuemeka Nwoko, Ph.D., women marriage or female husbands was more pronounced than might be expected in Africa where it occurred in over 30 societies, including; the Igbo of southeastern Nigeria, the Zulu of Southern Africa, the Nuer of East Africa etc. There is also strong evidence of its existence in the Nandi tribe of Kenya.In these societies, women could be husbands without male wives. They were husbands to other women.

Reasons for Female Husbands
Status
In many traditional African societies, only well to do women were allowed to become female husbands.

As Nwoko explains,

"In Igboland, women who were considered exceptional in the eyes of society due to their wealth and/or social standing, and those who were past menopause could marry wives *for themselves*, for their husbands, for their sons, and/or for their siblings. In Igboland, such arrangements involved two women undergoing formal marriage rites; the requisite bride price was paid by one party as in a heterosexual marriage. The woman who paid the bride price of the other woman became the sociological 'husband'."

Moreover, women gained even more status and power once they became female husbands.

"These influential women were usually viewed as men, due to the fluidity of gender in the pre-colonial Igbo context, by marrying women their status was elevated mostly due to female husbands paying bride-price. Among her female mates, the Umuada, she was regarded as a man and first among equals, Okenwanyi. She was treated like a man and her opinion was first sought in the gathering of opinions. In any ceremony, she enjoyed equal privilege with her male counterparts and in some Igbo communities like Uguta, could break kola nut, but only among her female folks. She combined both secular and spiritual functions and obligations. She participated in secret rituals and sometimes associated with the male elders in communal rituals," Nwoko revealed.

Sexual Freedom
Historians stress that female husbands unions were not sexual in nature. They were not contracted in response to the sexual emotions or attractions of the couples and were decidedly different from lesbianism as practised elsewhere. Still, the practice gave women more sexual freedom because it freed them to have multiple and anonymous male partners.

Nwoko explains:

"Woman-to-woman marriage allowed for greater freedom of sexuality for the wives, they could have boyfriends, anonymous men whose only duty was to supply sperm, henceforth "male sperm donors", and this was socially accepted. Any child they had were taken care of by their female husband, and carried her name and this was legitimate in the eyes of society.

To serve in a missing male role when no suitable men were available
In some fascinating discoveries, it is purposed that among the Yorubas of Nigeria, a widow who wanted to remain with her in-laws could marry a female relative when there were no men in the family as considerable options.

In some societies, as with Juliana and Esther Soi in Kenya, women who could not have children, and widows took wives and claimed the children their wives had as their own.

In others, women who did not have sons could marry a woman who would act as a daughter-in-law, married to the female husband's non-existent son.

Maintain patriarchal family ties
Nwoko explains astutely,

"To actualize the essence of the [Igbo female] marriage, the female husband remained the sociological father of any resulting offspring. The children belonged to the **lineage of female husband's father**, not to their biological father. Consequently, she played the role of the father, provider, protector and indeed all the functions and responsibilities enshrined in the patriarchal concept which included physical protection of the family and its territory, the male economic sphere, the spiritual sphere, the social sphere, etc.

Maintain their own lineage
The Nandi people of Western Kenya, women who are older (beyond child-bearing age), never married and have no children were and continue to be prime candidates to become female husbands. These women want an heir to inherit their name, wealth and property." (Source: Boakye 2018)

Are these Marriages ?:

How do these two cultural examples fit the definition of marriage:

1. Do these forms of marriage regulate sexual behavior?

2. Do these forms of marriage fulfill the economic needs of marriage partners?

3. Do these forms of marriage perpetuate kinship groups?

4. Do these forms of marriage provide institutions for the care and enculturation of children?

WATCH THE FOLLOWING

Anthropology: Marriage and Family (20 minutes)

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MmuuKfH-4t0

Summary Outline of chapter

OUTLINE FOR UNIT FOUR: Structure: Domestic Economy
Domestic Economy: Kinship, Descent, Marriage, Division of Labor/Sharing

Consanguinity
Kinship
Kinship Diagrams
Descent Rules (Bilateral, Patrilineal, Matrilineal)
Descent groups (Lineages, clans,)
Kinship Terminology

Marriage
Functions of Marriage
Forms of marriage (Monogamy, Polygyny, Polyandry, etc)
Rules for Marriage (Incest taboo, exogamy, endogamy, cross-cousin marriage, parallel cousin marriage,)
Economy Aspects of Marriage (Bridewealth, Bride price, Bride Service, Dowry)
Family Types (Nuclear family, Extended family, Blended family, etc.)
Postmarital Residence Patterns (Patrilocal, Matrilocal, Bilocal, Neolocal, Avunculocal)
Residence patterns

References by section:

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