Chapter 12
Kinship, Marriage & Family

Love, Sex & Power
Overview

- Social groups:
  - Society includes many different social groups, with different sorts of principles, which perform different functions.
  - May constitute embedded series: Nation (USA), states, municipalities.
  - Groups may crosscut each other: Member of the Girl Scouts; also a member of a family.

- Criteria for group definition
  1. Recruitment: How do people become members? Kinship, residence, age, choice, or combination?
  2. Organization: Formal membership or broad class? Country club or college students?
  3. Boundedness: Limited in territory or across some boundary?
  4. Corporateness: Control real or intellectual property?
  5. Function: What does the group do? Wage war, perform marriage, organize fund-raisers?

- **Kinship is the basic social group.**
- **Kinship** is defined as the social system that organizes people in families based on descent and marriage.
  - Kinship = affinity (by marriage) + consanguinity (by blood) + adoption + fictive kin
  - There is no single definition of marriage that is adequate to account for all of the diversity found in marriages cross-culturally. Generally, it is:
    - Socially recognized union of a male and a female (in most cultures).
    - Marked by some sort of public wedding ceremony (in most cultures).
    - Establishes a family (in most cultures).
  - The interesting example of the Nayar.
What Are Families? 1

- Families fulfill similar functions in most societies: comfort and belonging for members, a sense of identity, shared values and ideals, economic cooperation, and nurturance of children.
- Although these functions are common, the patterns of achieving them are constructed in culturally specific and dynamic systems of kinship: the social system that organizes people in families based on descent and marriage.
- Families, ideal and real
  - Families are not permanent entities as members come and go.
  - Individuals may be members of multiple families in the course of a lifetime, beginning with a natual family (some scholars call this the “family of orientation”): The family into which a person is born and (usually) raised.
  - One’s family of procreation is formed when one marries and has children.
- “Traditional" American families
  - Politicians and religious leaders in the United States often argue for “traditional” marriages, families, and values—rarely bothering to specify which traditions they’re referring to (and probably not understanding the complex diversity of traditions that have existed).
  - Stephanie Coontz wrote a book called *The way we never were: American families and the nostalgia trap*
    - Look over a list of [her chapters here](#)
  - We have constructed our past to reflect what we what it to have been
  - Many assume the model presented in 1950s sitcoms like *The adventures of Ozzie and Harriet* and *Leave It to beaver*: working father, stay-at-home mother, and dependent children. Further, they assume that this “traditional” pattern existed pretty much from the beginning of time until the 1970s.
What Are Families? 2

• “Traditional" American families (continued)
  • In reality, the idealized “tradition” presented by 1950s sitcoms isn’t much older than the sitcoms themselves. The independent American suburban family was a recent and short-lived phenomenon in the United States.
  • **1930s/1940s**: The Great Depression of the 1930s and the war years of the 1940s had kept birth rates low.
  • **1950s**: The 1950s were a time of unprecedented economic growth, family stability, and a lot of babies — 77 million “baby boomers” born in fifteen years.
    • Young nuclear families spurred the development and spread of suburban housing.
    • By the late 1950s, independent American suburban families were the norm (about 60% of Americans lived in one), if not a deeply rooted tradition.
  • **1960s/1970s**: Beginning in the late 1960s and 1970s, the Ozzie and Harriet norm changed in many interconnected ways:
    1. More Euroamerican women in the workforce; women working outside the home had already been more common among minority women.
    2. More two-income households: The family found it hard to live on a single income, so more and more often both parents worked.
    3. Fewer children (one or two, rather than three or four). By 2017, the total fertility rate (TFR) declined to 1.87; TFR = 2.1 is needed to replace population.
    4. More divorces:
      • Today, with divorce 16% of men have an income increase, about 20% of women increase.
      • About 50% of both genders do worse after divorce. (new data, based on increase in women’s education).
    5. More blended families (*The Brady bunch* was first TV show about blended families).
What Are Families?

- **Nuclear and extended families**
  - Residents of the United States, and many other nations in the world, view the nuclear family as an ideal form: the family formed by a married couple and their children.
  - But many other forms exist, and this makes *kinship charts* -- visual representations of family relationships -- particularly helpful to anthropologists:
  - These charts are useful for diagramming biological relationships, if not the cultural meanings associated with these relationships.

- **Diagramming the kin universe**
  - Words which people use to talk about their relatives.
  - Need a reference person (called *ego*, meaning “I am”) males are marked by triangles, females by circles.
  - A union (usually marriage) is denoted by the equal sign (=)
  - Descent is marked by vertical line (|)
  - Co-descent (siblings) by horizontal line (---)

What Are Families? 4

- **Nuclear and extended families (continued)**
  - In economics, as well as other aspects of life, families function as *corporate groups*: Groups of real people who work together toward common ends much like a corporation does.
  - Families are also versatile enough to include nonnuclear members.
    - We call these extended families.
    - **Extended families**: Larger groups of relatives beyond the nuclear family, often living in the same household.
      - Extended families were common in nineteenth-century America, with households shared by nuclear relatives, grandparents, unmarried aunts or uncles, etc.
      - In hard economic times, extended-family households provide a larger number of potential wage earners to contribute to the family’s needs.
  - **Clans and lineages**
    - Clans and lineages are larger descent groups that subtly differ from one another:
      - **Clan**: A group of relatives who claim to be descended from a *single ancestor*.
      - This ancestor may or may not be known; this ancestor may be human or not. When a clan’s *apical ancestor* (first) is nonhuman, it is called a *totem*.
      - Clans are most often *exogamous*: A social pattern in which members of a clan must marry someone from another clan, which has the effect of building political, economic, and social ties with other clans.
      - **Lineage**: A group composed of relatives who are directly descended from *known ancestors* (usually a known human ancestor).
Clans and lineages (continued)

Descent is a complicated system of organization because we all have innumerable ancestors—we could conceivably trace our ancestry back to any of these people. One way that societies have traditionally narrowed their ancestors down is through unilineal descent (patrilineal or matrilineal).

- **Unilineal**: based on descent through a single line, either males or females.
  - **Patrilineal**: reckoning descent through males from the same ancestors. Most clans and lineages in nonindustrial societies (Omaha Indians, the Nuer of South Sudan, societies in the central highlands of Papua New Guinea) are patrilineal.
  - **Matrilineal**: reckoning descent through women, who are descended from an ancestral woman. In matrilineal societies (such as the Trobriand Islanders) everyone is a member of his or her mother’s clan and a person’s strongest identity is with relatives in the mother’s clan and lineage.

Importantly, matrilineal societies are not matriarchal, in which women hold political power.

Women may have some authority to determine clan land use, but it is usually the men who retain most control over clan resources.

What Are Families? 6

- **Cognatic clans**
  - In addition to clans and lineages, anthropologists have documented cognatic or bilateral clans.
  - **Cognatic (or bilateral) clans**: Reckoning descent through either men or women from some ancestor.
  - The main difference between a cognatic clan (e.g., Samoans) and a unilineal clan is that one can be a member of multiple cognatic clans.
  - **Bilateral (cognatic) descent** is traced from all ancestors regardless of their gender.
  - This is the most common pattern among Euroamerican.
  - Other forms of non-lineal descent:
    - **Ambilineal** is an ‘either/or’ situation.
    - Sometimes the descent changes by generation.
    - Other times it may be a decision based on assets.
    - **Bilineal** (also called double descent) dual member of father’s patrilineage and mother’s matrilineage (rare).
    - **Parallel descent** is where men trace their ancestry through male lines and women trace theirs through female lines (rare).

What Are Families?

- **Kinship terminologies**
  - Another way to think about the structure of families is to explore terms that the people in different societies use to refer to their relatives.
  - **Lewis Henry Morgan** (1871) identified six basic kinship terminology patterns.
  - Like many of his time, he immediately set about ranking these on a scale of supposed sophistication.
  - This was the “evolutionary” view of early anthropologists.
  - **A. L. Kroeber** (1909) continued this research.
    - He argues that kinship terminologies were shaped by clan organization, not by some evolutionary development that placed one kinship system above others.
  - Kroeber’s eight categories of kin relationships when speaking to an informant (Kroeber)
    1. Generation (distinguishes between one’s own generation and that of parents or children).
    2. **Lineal vs. collateral** (direct-line ancestors and those who are farther removed "aunt" or "cousin").
    3. Age within a generation (older/younger siblings).
    5. Gender of the speaker (where men and women use different terms for the same relative).
    6. Gender of the person who links the speaker with the relative (distinguishes father’s brother from mother’s brother).
    7. Consanguineal vs. affinal (aunt who is parent’s sister/aunt by marriage).
    8. The other’s condition of life (alive/dead, single/married).
  - Kroeber’s research on kinship terminologies has been highly influential for two reasons:
    - Thousands of terminologies can be condensed into a few basic systems of organizing people (Figure 13.6)
    - Kinship terms are more than labels or descriptors; they indicate the specific nature of relationships, rights, and responsibilities that exist between kin.
• Until recently, the biocultural model was not as deeply embedded in cultural anthropology as in other subfields
• Cultural anthropology DOES build on a strong history of looking at connections between cultural/social contexts and psychology.
• What is the individual person?
  • **Psychological anthropology** is the subfield of anthropology that studies psychological states and conditions.
    • It closely parallels and often intersects with cognitive anthropology and seeks to reconcile a psychological focus on individuals with an anthropological focus on culture and society.
    • Psychological anthropology grew out of the mid-twentieth-century culture and personality school, which analyzed how childrearing, social institutions, and cultural ideologies shaped individual experience, personality characteristics, and thought patterns.
• Most culture and personality studies began with the premise that environment (nurture) was a more important factor in shaping individual psychology than biology (nature).
• The culture and personality school
  • Ruth Benedict, author of *Patterns of culture* (1934), was an influential proponent of culture and personality studies.
  • Her work asserted that human behavior is fundamentally malleable and that people easily adopt the personality characteristics that are considered “normal” within their societies—in other words, that individual thoughts and actions are directed by culture, not biology.
  • Anthropologists later learned that some assumptions of the culture and personality approach are inaccurate. For example, societies include individuals with different personality types, and childhood enculturation does not completely determine adult personality. It is now evident that nature *combines* with nurture in the development of individual personality types.
The culture and personality school (continued)

- Ruth Benedict was a student of Franz Boas and embraced the concept of cultural relativism.
- In *Patterns of culture* she assumed each culture produces a dominant personality (what she called “culture as personality-writ-large” or culture-as-personality).
- She illustrated this concept in her book using three cultures and she chose them because of their “primitiveness”, that they were simpler cultures then those of the West.
  - **Zuni** (a Pueblo culture of the SW of United States with who she studied).
    - She described as aesthetic and mild
    - She labeled as Apollonian (as drawn from Nietzsche’s use of Greek prototypes).
  - **Kwakiutl** (a people of the NW Coast, today called Kwa Kwaka’Wakw, which she based on work by Franz Boas).
    - She described as aggressive and competitive.
    - She labeled them as Dionysian.
  - **Dobu** (a people of eastern New Guinea and involved in kula rings and studied by Margaret Mead and others).
    - She described as fearful and paranoid
    - She discussed the role of witchcraft in creating their fears.
- This concept came to be called national character. Want to read more, see this link.
Cultural Patterns 3

- The culture and personality school (continued)
  - Margaret Mead, was another influential contributor to the culture and personality school.
  - Mead's construct: gender is culturally constructed (student of Franz Boas and of Ruth Benedict). She studied sex and gender.
  - Her first popular book, *Coming of age in Samoa*, remains popular and was based on an investigation of cultural construction of puberty among 68 girls on the island of Taʻū in American Samoa.
    - Suggested that in Samoa there was no guilt attached to pre-marital sex.
    - Previously, sex and gender were assumed to be purely biological. Mead disproves this concept.
    - Conclusion: Many aspects of behavior at puberty are culturally constructed and not biological.
  - On the topic of number of genders. How many are there?
    - In America we often mix-up the concepts of sexual orientation with gender. Or we mix-up sexual dimorphism with gender.
    - Many cultural groups see three genders (including the Samoans). Among the Bugis people of Indonesia there are 5 genders.
  - Mead (and her 3rd husband) also explored child-rearing. One publication, *Balinese character*, documented adult-child interactions.
The culture and personality school (continued)

- In her book, *Sex and temperament in three primitive societies*, Mead discussed the biological/cultural bases of sex-roles (today called gender roles).
- She based the work on three cultural groups from the Sepik River region (Papua New Guinea).
  - Found diversity in male/female roles.
  - Concluded gender roles are culturally-constructed.
  - Some of the data Mead found for dominant women’s roles had to do with the effects of a previous period of warfare.
- Her work was challenged by Derek Freeman (after her death) in his *Margaret Mead and Samoa: The making and unmaking of an anthropological myth* and his later book, *The fateful hoaxing of Margaret Mead*.
  - One of many responses to Freeman was this book: *Trashing of Margaret Mead: Anatomy of an anthropological controversy*.
- While she is well-respected it is important to note:
  - Debate over whether she ever became fluent in any of her field site languages.
  - The time spent in the field was short by modern standards.
  - She missed some of the historical issues that affected her findings.
The individual: Persons and selves

In the twentieth century, French sociologists Emile Durkheim (1858–1917) and Marcel Mauss (1872–1950) also explored cultural concepts of person.

Person: the socially recognized individual.

They made the generalized observation that “modern” societies value each unique individual (egocentric), while “premodern” societies emphasize social solidarity (sociocentric).

In contrast, in subsequent years, anthropologists have observed great cross-cultural variation in ideas about “full personhood.” For example,

- In parts of Melanesia, individuals are only considered “persons” when they begin exchanging objects with others.
- In many Zapotec Indian villages in Oaxaca, Mexico, individuals do not gain full rights until adulthood, when they marry, take on adult social roles, and fulfill community duties.
- The Dinka of South Sudan think of the conscience (moral obligation) as an external spirit (i.e., nonperson) named Mathiang Gok that seizes control of individuals and forces appropriate behavior. This differs from our own view of conscience as a psychological property within the minds of individual persons.
- Contemporary psychological anthropologists use the term self to refer to an individual’s conception of his or her fundamental qualities and consciousness.
The individual: Persons and selves (continued)

Privacy

The emphasis on the emic (native) way of thinking about personhood as seen today is called **indigenous psychologies** and **ethnopsychology**.

One current arena of study is the boundary between self and others (what is defined as privacy).

Two types of **privacy norms**, according to Ferdinand David Schoeman:

1. Limits access to **standard behaviors** (elimination, sex and the like) as well as body parts (genitalia, face and the like).
2. The other deals with **access to behavior** that is private, personal and expressive (freedom of expression). “My house is my castle”.

I remember when I learned that, among the Moli, one can never see a person of the opposite gender held to the toilet area.

This meant there were not to be any building of family latrines.

The provincial government did not understand why the villagers were resistant to their health program that promoted family latrines.

People are not born with an ability to separate their selves from the environment.

- Not born to see their selves as an object.
- Not born to react to their selves.
- Not born to appraise or evaluate their selves.
- They learn this through development of self-awareness.
The individual: Persons and selves (continued)

Childhood

How do one’s early experiences shape one’s personality?

- Many studies have tried to answer this question and many of these studies have been ethnographic.
- One of these was undertaken by John Whiting and Beatrice Whiting.
  - Their work is cross-cultural, including large samples from ethnographies and on-site ethnographic research (field work).
  - Their attempted to determine child-rearing practices that are linked to other cultural traits.
- One example is mother-infant contact. They found two basic patterns:
  - In some cultures, they remain in close contact in the day and sleep together at night.
  - In other cultures, most of the time is spent in cribs and/or cradles.
    - Whiting suggests these different patterns affect the psychology of males.
      - For the closely reared males, a rite of passage is needed to separate from mother’s influences.
      - For males separated much of infancy, have a belief in high god or guardian spirits.
  - This hypothesis is not meant to be deterministic, but a description of a statistical trend.
- Other anthropologists look at childhood to better understand economic and political implications or how children learn languages.
- A particularly enjoyable film about babies is called just that “Babies”.
Ethnopsychology

The distinction between persons and selves spurred an anthropological analysis of world psychologies, sometimes called ethnopsychology.

The ethnopsychological approach explores how societies make sense of persons, selves, and emotions.

- Are emotions universal? Yes and no.
- **Yes**: Paul Ekman is famous for studying the universality of facial expressions.
  - Ekman went to highlands of PNG in 1965 (most isolated from Westerners at the time)
  - Ekman identified 6 universal expressions: anger, fear, surprise, disgust, happy, and sad. Others suggest contempt.
- **No**: The emotions we experience, and assume to be universal, may not have an exact equivalent in other cultures.
  - For example, the Ilongot of the Philippines describe liget, a concept similar to “anger” but which they identify as distinctly different. They argue that passion and a “heavy heart” prompt them to engage in head-hunting.
  - Rosaldo wrote the definitive study the Ilongots in his book *Ilongot headhunting, 1883-1974: A study in society and history.*
One cross-cultural function of families is managing their members’ wealth. In this sense, wealth is broader than just currency, including resources, the work and reproductive capacity of family members, and inheritance rights when a member dies.

“Claiming” a bride

Anthropologists studying nonindustrial societies in early to mid-twentieth-century Africa, South America, and the Pacific quickly realized that women’s labor in the fields and gardens in horticultural, agricultural, and pastoral communities was extremely important to the family.

When a woman in these cultures married (leaving her natal family), it represented a loss of both her labor and her reproductive potential for the family.

Compensation for this loss is called bride price (bride wealth is the term we will use in this class): Exchange of gifts or money to compensate another clan or family for the loss of one of its women along with her productive and reproductive abilities in marriage.

For example, in patrilineal Zulu tribes, cattle are paid as bride wealth -- lobola.

When a man decides whom he would like to marry, his male relatives begin negotiating bride wealth with the potential bride’s family.

The South African government attempted to force young men to work in mines, disrupting traditional Zulu patterns of marriage.

For example, the Dani of West Papua, are an excellent illustration of how marriage is not just between individuals.

Pigs generally go from the groom’s family to the bride’s, but note that pigs can go in either direction.

Some of these, at the wedding, are passed on to the bride’s mother’s kin.
• “Claiming” a bride (continued)
  • Bridewealth may take many forms, including wild game in Amazon communities, pigs and shell valuables in New Guinea societies, or a young man’s work as “bride service” for his wife’s family for a set period of time.
  • Work is performed by the groom (bride wealth is exchanged by elders). Younger generation is dependent upon older generation, therefore conflicts resolved by elders' conference
  • Hunter and gatherer bands or horticultural and hunting groups are most likely to practice. The Ju/’hoansi of South Africa, the Amazonian Yanomamo, or the Dani are among those who practice bride service.
• Recruiting the kids
  • Child price, intended to buy rights in a woman’s children, is most typical in societies with patrilineal clans. In those with matrilineal clans, the children belong to their mother’s clan and typically live with her.
  • Do not confuse this with child marriage, child price is about moving the line of descent, not marriage.
• Child marriage (marrying below the age of 18 years)
  • One form of marriage that is more controversial for Americans is child marriage.
  • Globally, here are the latest numbers available.
  • An average of 10 million girls are married each year.
  • Most are in Asia, Africa and Latin America.
  • There are issues rather than cultural norms involved: those with less education and less money are more likely to marry young.
  • As with any other example of cultural differences child marriage is not a single practice
- **Child marriage (continued)**
  - **Among the Ju/'hoansi:**
    - Often a girl of 8-9 years is promised to a boy in his early teens.
    - The boy must live with the girl’s family contributing to their well-being (a practice called bride service).
    - He can not engage in sexual relationships with his wife until she has reached puberty (16.6 years and her first child at 18.8 years as was determined by one study).
  - **In India**
    - It is now illegal as of 2006 (legal age for marriage is 18 years for girls, 21 for boys), but continues to be practiced.
    - Even so, the number of new marriages of girls is on the decline in India, reflecting changing values.
  - **Dowry**
    - Another form of marriage payment, common in India, is dowry: A large sum of money or in-kind gifts given to a daughter to insure her well-being in her husband’s family.
    - The practice of dowry has been illegal in India since 1961, but these laws are not observed in many parts of the country.
    - In recent years, abuses of dowry (sometimes called “dowry deaths”) have outraged international human rights groups. Husbands’ families have effectively held wives as ransom for more dowry money, even threatening and killing women in some cases.
    - The dowry then may come to be seen as a compensation for hypergamy/hypogamy issue.
Families also control wealth, property, and power through inheritance rules. A death in the family can be a time of crisis. Rules of inheritance create an orderly process and serve to keep wealth and property in the family. Inheritance rules have been codified as law in Western countries for centuries. For example, Great Britain has long followed primogeniture, in which the eldest son inherited a man’s entire estate. Nonindustrial societies, even those without legal codes, also have inheritance rules. In such societies, inherited property might include land, livestock, other foods, or any locally recognized valuables. In any society, inheritance goes to legitimate heirs. Often, but not always, these are the children of a socially recognized married couple.

Solutions to spousal death
Levirate is custom of a widow marriage a brother (or other male relative) of her dead husband. Sororate (preferential sororate) is a custom of a widower marries his dead wife's sister (or other female relative)
Among the Nuer of eastern Africa, there are two other solutions
If a man only has daughters one solution is the female husband. This female husband marries another woman and pays the brides’ family in cattle. This second woman takes on secret lovers to procreate.
A man dies without sons and so the marriage is not completed. Another male relative is married. The deceased first husband (ghost husband) is considered the pater of the children.
Postmarital Residence Patterns

- **Patrilocal** (living with husband's kin group)
  - Related men can form important social groups.
  - It is suggested that 80% of societies are both patrilocal and patrilineal.
- **Matrilocal** (living with wife's kin group).
  - Advantage: matrilineal societies have less internal warfare.
  - Compare to **matrifocal** (woman and her children).
    - There were **19.6 million U.S. children** residing in female-headed families.
    - Most were living single-mother families, about 18.1 million.
- **Neolocal** (establish independent residence).
  - The ideal in the United States was not always neolocal.
  - Look at the chart to the right and note that nearly 30% of Americans lived in multi-generational households in the 1940s, in part a response to the Great Depression and in part cultural norms.
  - It is about 22% today, largely due to the Great Recession.
- **Avunculocal** (living with maternal uncle).

Source: Pew Research Center.
Why Do People Get Married? 1

- Why people get married
  - Marriage creates formally recognized ties between the marriage partners and their respective families, and any children resulting from the union are considered “legitimate.”
  - The many social functions of marriage explain why same-sex marriage has gained traction in the last decade
  - Same-sex marriage is part of a larger debate in the United States which is called the “Culture Wars”.
  - This discord represents the very differing views Americans have on many social issues.
  - It is represented by a number of issues:
    - Gun control (now being called gun violence): [2018 Gallup poll](January).
    - Immigration: [2018 Gallup poll](January).
    - Marijuana: [2018 Gallup poll](January).
    - Religion
      - Self-identified religion (None): [2017 Gallup pool](January).
      - Flying spaghetti monster
    - Approval of Congress: [2018 Gallup poll](January).
    - Right-to-die: [2018 Gallup poll](January).
    - Other issues?
Why Do People Get Married? 2

- **Why people get married (continued)**
  - Although many Americans feel that people should marry for love, in fact, in most societies most people marry for a wide variety of other reasons, and romantic love is very rarely one of these reasons.
  - **Arranged marriages**
    - Some cultural groups use a *go-between*, such as the *nakodo* in traditional Japan while others use close friends, or relatives
      - Arranged marriage is the norm include the Nuer, Japanese, India, somewhat among the Dani.
      - The wealthy among the Ninangkabau, Indonesia have arranged marriages, the poor do not.
    - Importance of wealth and family position sometimes leads to arranged marriage.
    - Second marriages are sometimes independent marriages.
  - **Love marriages**
    - More individualistic, found in almost every culture.
    - Romantic love:
      - *Love marriage* is the ideal marriage in West.
      - Thought to be a Western development until recent studies. It was not always the ideal but it was present.
    - Most cultures are a mixture
      - Within one culture, many different ways to get a marriage partner.
        - Older people - arranged marriage pattern.
        - Younger people - romantic love model.
      - Elopement is a way to have a love marriage when pressured for elaborate arranged marriage.
    - Rule to remember: Marriage is always between two families, not just two persons.
Forms of marriage
- If there is a discernible global trend in marriage, it is toward two partners of any gender.
- Even so, many forms are found.
  - Monogamy is where one has only one spouse at a time
  - Polygamy includes: Group marriage (never the norm for any society), polygyny (more than one wife [gyn="female"] and polyandry (more than one husband) [andros="male"]).

Polygyny
- Others suggest that about 75% of the world’s cultures allow for polygyny, but the majority of the world’s marriages are monogamous.
- There are many reasons to prefer polygyny and this article does a good job of listing them (Causes of polygyny: Ecology, economy, kinship, and warfare). It can be found at JSTOR through the EvCC library).
- The percentage of married women (globally) is 1.1% higher than for men, due to polygyny.
- Who prefers it?
  - Men prefer it among the Ju’hoansi, women do not; among the Tiv in Nigeria, women prefer to share a husband than a cooking fire!
  - In some societies, it is the wife who asks for another wife (for instance if the workload increases).
- Polygyny is not that easy to perform well.
  - Some men then have no wives and this can cause warfare.
  - Puts a strain on familial relations co-wives don't always get along.
  - Providing for multiple households can be difficult.
Why Do People Get Married? 4

- Forms of marriage
  - Polyandry
    - A much rarer form of marriage.
    - Katie Starkweather suggests that there are more than the 4 polyandrous societies identified by Murdock.
    - Murdock identified the: Toda of South India, the Marquesans of Tahiti, the Sherpa and other groups in the highlands of the Himalayas (Nepal, Tibet and Bhutan).
    - Starkweather identifies it as a practice among the Pahari of India, the Irigwe, Nigeria, among the Balele (or Lele) of the Democratic Republic of the Congo, the Bari, Venezuela, the Yanamama Shirishana, Brazil, and the Ache, Paraguay.
    - Also, pre-Western contact among the Shoshoni and the Pawnee.
    - The most famous example of polyandry found today is a form called fraternal polyandry.
      - This is the type practiced in the Himalayas.
        - This type of polyandry is usually practiced in response to specific circumstances, and in conjunction with other marriage formats.
        - In other cultures, polyandry resulted from the fact that men traveled a great deal, thus multiple husbands ensured the presence of a man in the home.
      - Here is a link to a recent article on fraternal polyandry in the Himalayas.
Why Do People Get Married? 5

- In addition, there are universal cultural rules against marriage between people who are too closely related. (How close is too close varies.) These are referred to as incest taboos: the prohibition on sexual relations between close family members.
- **Marrying out and marrying in**
  - **Homogamy** (marrying same).
    - Homogamy tends to be found in societies where a clear caste system is not present (as is found in India).
    - Marriage within same religious group, social class, or socially-defined racial (social race) category, for example.
  - **Endogamy** (marrying in) ("endo" = "in") marriage must take place within a group
    - India: must take place within the same caste if Hindu
    - There can be village endogamy where you marry within the village
    - Endogamy is very rarely found to be expected in the same lineage.
  - **Exogamy** (marrying out) ("exo" = "exit; "gamy" = "marriage") prohibits people of same social group from marrying.
    - In China, you can’t marry someone with the same last name.
    - Among the Moli you MUST marry someone outside your matrilineage.
    - In the US, you generally do not marry first cousins, but you might in **some states you can**.

Also here is an interesting article: **Go ahead and kiss your cousin.**
Why Do People Get Married? 6

• Incest prohibitions
  • Incest refers to sexual relations with a close relative.
  • The incest taboo is a cultural universal.
  • What constitutes incest varies widely from culture to culture. George Murdock found all cultures prohibited marriage within the nuclear family.
  • Avunculate marriage is seen in many cultures around the world.
  • Explanations of incest prohibitions vary from biological to social/cultural
    • Biological explanations
      • Biological problems (Biological inbreeding disadvantage)
      • Instinctive horror (instinctive repulsion), called the Westermarck Effect
        • If people really were genetically programmed to avoid incest, a formal incest taboo would not be necessary. Avoidance relationships are one example.
        • This theory cannot explain why in some societies people can marry their cross cousins but not their parallel cousins (more on this later).
    • Social/cultural explanations
      • Social alliances refers to the fact that exogamy expands the network of social relationships.
      • “Woody Allen rule” (Social role conflicts)
        • Malinowski (and Freud) argued that the incest taboo originated to direct sexual feelings away from one’s family to avoid disrupting the family structure and relations (familiarity increases the chances for attempt).
        • The opposite theory argues that people are less likely to be sexually attracted to those with whom they have grown up (familiarity breeds contempt).
Two Categories of 1\textsuperscript{st} Cousins

Parallel cousins: MZ children and FB children

Cross cousins: MB children and FZ children

Why Do People Get Married? 7

- **Cousin marriages**
  - Cousin marriage is often the preferred type of marriage
  - Cross-cousin marriage is labeled from the male’s view for consistency.
  - Cross-cousin marriage is between the children of parents who are brother and sister.
  - Results in lineage exogamy (thus it avoids incest issues as they are from different lineages).
  - Strengthens ties between the two groups.
  - Cross cousin marriages can be based on a patrilineage or matrilineage.
  - **Patrilateral cross cousin marriage**: If a man is expected to marry his father's sister's (FZ) daughter.
  - **Matrilateral cross cousin marriage**: If a man is expected to marry his mother's brother's (MB) daughter.
- **South India**
  - The Tamil Nadu (India) prefer this marriage.
  - In South India the Hindu Marriage Act 1995 makes marrying your cousin illegal (except among the Santhal peoples).
  - These marriages are called menarikam and are common among farmers trying to keep land in family.
Why Do People Get Married? 8

- **Parallel cousin marriage**
  - Marriage between children of same gender siblings.
  - Less common than cross-cousin marriage.

- **Patrilateral parallel cousin marriage**: If a man is expected to marry his father's brother's (FB) daughter.
  - “Marrying a patrilateral parallel cousin potentially strengthens extended family solidarity and reduces obligations beyond the family” (O’Neill tutorial).
  - Generally the more property the more this form of marriage.
  - Common among Bedouin Arabs and Balinese, for instance.
  - It allows the woman to stay in her natal home, even after marriage.

- **Matrilateral parallel cousin marriage**: If a man is expected to marry his mother's sister's (MZ) daughter.
  - I could find no examples of this when I went looking for an example.
  - I suggest this is because his mother’s sister’s daughter is treated like a sister to him.
  - This results in lineage endogamy (both are from the same lineage).
  - Found in some Australian aborigines because it maintains ties.
Technology and Marriage

- In the 1960s, birth control pills gave women in Western countries greater control of their sexuality, ultimately leading to a “sexual revolution.”
- *In vitro* fertilization, surrogate mothers and sperm donors
  - In the 1980s, technology shifted from trying to prevent pregnancy to trying to increase the odds of pregnancy for infertile couples.
  - Modern medical practices like in vitro fertilization, surrogacy, and sperm donation can involve multiple people (more than two) biologically and socially in the conception of a child.
- Categories like ‘mother’ and ‘father’ do not transfer easily onto the social relationships. New terms:
  - *genitor* (biological father) ("genes").
  - *Pater* (social father).
- Reproductive technologies have become a normal part of life in industrialized nations.
  - We’ve adjusted to advances that would have been seen as science fiction a generation ago.
  - But even as the technological and biological aspects have become familiar, the cultural issues of parental rights remain. This is called *cultural lag*. 