

CHAPTER - II

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### THE FAMILY AND KINSHIP IN URBAN INDIA : REVIEW OF SOME RESEARCHES

During the last few decades there are many researches focussing on family and kinship in rural and urban settings arouse in India. These studies employed a variety of approaches and all possible, means to trace the elements of change in the basic institutions of family and kinship. Interestingly, these empirical researches do not show any uniform results concerning the accurate direction of change. One can not arrive at any definite conclusions because of the uneven nature of the existing information in this field. The conflicting views of the scholars rather intensified the feeling of confusion among the people seeking clarification on this point.

The reasons for the diversification of opinion are quite clear. Primarily, this is due to the inter-relationship of family with other institutions in the social system. Several studies have shown that the family and kinship have lost their significance in the urban environment as they have been replaced by secondary institutions. On the perusal of literature it is clear that unlike developed countries, family in Indian society cannot be studied as an independent variable, because it is embedded in the social matrix. Several studies have stressed variables like caste, education, income, occupation, region, religion,

industrialization and migration as important in understanding changes in family and kinship organisation. They aver that change in any one of these variables affects the family directly or indirectly and changes it too.

Secondly, the diversity of opinion is due to overlapping of conceptualisation of family itself. Studies show that a change has taken place in the conception of "jointness" in family. A number of studies have shown that although the family is nuclear in structure, many functions of the traditional joint family have been retained.

The traditional pattern of Indian family has been well described by the outstanding Indian scholars like G.S. Ghurye(1955), I. Karve(1953) and K.M. Kapadia(1958). Ghurye<sup>1</sup> provides the valuable information that the Indo-European culture was based on bilateral recognition of kinship. The family unit in ancient India comprised three or four generations, and it was patrilineal in descent and patri-local in residence.

Karve<sup>2</sup> maintains that the joint family in India is as old as Hindu society. She also confirms from the vedic literature that the Hindu system of family was patrilineal in descent and patrilocal in residence. According to her neither the Muslim nor the British power could modify the structure of this most ancient institution of India.

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1. G.S. Ghurye, Family and Kin in Indo-European Culture, Oxford University Press, London, 1955.
  2. I. Karve, Kinship Organisation in India, Deccan College, Poona, 1953.

She describes the family and kinship in Indian society by basically dividing them into zones of social organisations and culture. She has distinguished between the kinship system of North and that of South India. She found that the distinctive features of the Southern zone were the practices of uncle-niece and cross-cousin marriages.

Kapadia<sup>3</sup> speaks of bilaterality in kinship among the Indo-Aryans after an exhaustive probe into the Sanskritic texts. His study provides considerable insights in the family and kinship system of ancient as well as modern India. He says that in the vedic period the family was joint and the head of the family had full authority. Later, changes have been induced by the Britishers, social reformers, modern political administrators as well as increasing industrialisation and urbanization in Indian society. These changes made way for the development of nuclear households and bilateral recognition of kinship.

Kapadia refutes the two common assumptions about Indian family which many people think as right: (1) joint family is essentially associated with agrarian culture and (2) industrialisation splits the joint family. According to him, the joint family has not completely broken down due to urban-industrial growth. His investigation revealed the presence of many extended families in a semi-industrialised town. He is of the view that as the Indian family is flexible it has been able to adapt itself to the changing social conditions.

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3. K.M. Kapadia, Marriage and Family in India, Oxford University Press, Bombay, 1958.

Kapadia held that the economic factor do not per se influence the break-up of the joint family. What is more important is that even if structurally the joint family breaks into nuclear units, functionally, all the members of the family maintain jointness in terms of family loyalty.<sup>4</sup> He also made a prediction that the future generation would favour for joint family functionally, if not structurally. He writes: "... it is difficult for the successive generations to completely break off from the joint family as they cannot easily escape the moral obligations and duties towards the large family and this moral obligation enjoins a married son to help his parents economically, as well as in bringing up his younger siblings, in educating them, and also later helping them to settle in life."<sup>5</sup>

Kolenda<sup>6</sup> analysed and compared twenty six field studies done by sociologists and anthropologists in India during the post-Independence period. Her study reveals marked regional differences in the prevalence of various types of family. She explored some of the cultural reasons for the regional differences. She suggests that Indian family studies lack a common research model which would allow cross caste, region and family comparison. Hence, she developed a new category of twelve compositional types of households for cross-cultural comparison

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4. K.M. Kapadia (1966), op. cit., p. 320.

5. Ibid

6. P.M. Kolenda, "Region, Caste and Family Structure : A Comparative Study of the Indian Joint Family", in Structure and Change in Indian Society, M. Singer and B. Cohn (Ed.), Aldine Publishing Company, Chicago, 1968, pp. 339-396.

and a general theoretical framework. At the regional level, she classified all the 26 studies into three units viz. district or Taluk, village and specific community.

She writes: "Wide ranges in the proportions of various types of families became evident as the comparisons were made. They suggest the existence of marked regional and subregional differences in the family structure of India."<sup>7</sup> She continues that there are a number of different family cycles even within a caste. The most important factors making for variation between them include the time of a man's death in relationship to the ages and marriages of his children, and variations in obligations of the children to parents and to each other depending upon birth order and sex.

On the basis of her study, she pinpoints three possible emerging trends of family quoting appropriate field work studies.

- (1) A trend towards increasing proportion of nuclear families and decreasing of joint families due to secular education, modern salaried occupations, development of market cash economies and changes in family law and legal practices.
- (2) A trend towards strengthening of joint family by means of urbanization, industrialisation and Westernization process, chiefly through providing adequate economic assistance to support the family, mutual kin support, starting together of new economic enterprises.

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7. Ibid.

- (3) Regional variation in the acceleration of industrialization and urbanization tend to create regional structural differences in the family pattern.

A number of studies had been guided by the hypothesis put forward by various scholars that a sharp break between traditional joint family and modern nuclear family was supposed to occur with industrialization. It is interesting to note even studies guided by such a hypothesis revealed that though nuclear households were on the increase, jointness continues to prevail and kin ties continue to provide support to individuals in adapting themselves to the industrial urban setting.

The noted sociologist W.J. Goode<sup>8</sup> has made an investigation on Indian Family System. He has taken into consideration of the census data, the debates of Indian scholars and his own personal opinion polls to understand the family change in India. His careful analysis of census figures shows a structural changes in the family. He points out that in the 1971 census, less than 7 per cent of Indian families had ten members or more and 43 per cent had four to six members whereas 25 per cent had three members or less. Since 68 per cent of the families had six members or less, a genuine joint family of traditional type has been uncommon. That the small figure might

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8. W.J. Goode, World Revolution and Family Pattern, Free Press, New York, 1963, and also see The Family (Second Ed.) Prentice-Hall of India, New Delhi, 1987, pp. 99-101.

suggest a change from the past if a large household was once common. He supposes that a structural change is occurring on family. The decline in joint family is seen more in urban than in the rural areas since a large percentage of small households are reported in Indian cities and a higher percentage of large households are to be found in rural areas.

Goode's examination of literature on Indian family and his field survey partially supports his theoretical assumption of 'Urban Conjugal Family'.<sup>9</sup> Goode suggests that structurally, no recent surveys in India have shown the existence of many joint households. At the same time functionally, numerous surveys have shown that many families engage in social exchanges with one another. The nuclear households to some extent accept the authority and advice of the oldest male, even though they no longer live together. He made an observation "... An urban brother continues to be maintain an interest in a co-parcenary agricultural plot his rural brother operates, while they exchange food and help; or the urban brother aids his brother's sons in getting established in city."<sup>10</sup>

His findings of field enquiry suggests the preference of people for a small family type with a desire of extended kinship ties. And

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9. Goode's proposed 'conjugal' type of family is founded by mutual attraction and love. It is made up of a small number of people in close contact with one another. This type of conjugal family is more independent and free from wider kinship networks. Even the consanguinal kin are relatively excluded from the conjugal family's day-to-day familial matters. This type of family, according to him, is essentially a product of industrialisation.

10. W.J. Goode, The Family, op. cit., p. 101.

a substantial minority is in favour of living separately from kin. He made a remark that most families in India do not operate jointly, but they are linked by a keener sense of mutual obligation and a more intense loyalty to distant relatives than are families in the West. He emphasises the view the Indian family experiences fission due to changes in adult male relationship, marital arrangement, adherence to traditional norms etc. This gives rise among individuals a tendency to establish separate households from parents. He does not support the continuation of complete joint family as compared to ideal traditional family structure.

I.P. Desai<sup>11</sup> made a monographic study of family system in Mahuva on the Gulf of Cambay in Gujarat. He has shown how people in Mahuva retained the ideals and sentiments of jointness although they did not reside together. He redefined the joint family in terms of common property, generation depth and mutual obligations. Desai developed a scale of degree of jointness or of nuclearity and used it to classify the selected 423 families studied.

Desai found that there were four types of jointness in Mahuva. Twenty one per cent of families had the traditional jointness, seventeen per cent were joint by way of property, twenty seven per cent were joint by mutual obligations and thirty per cent were marginally joint.

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11. I.P. Desai, Some Aspects of Family in Mahuva : A Sociological Study of Jointness in a Small Town, Asia Publishing House, Bombay, 1964

Jointness is more widespread but it is not jointness of the traditional type as is generally assumed. He further states jointness is not confined to Hindus alone and it is common among the Jains and Muslims too. He showed that a greater degree of jointness existed among the business and agricultural classes than any other occupational class. The largest family in his sample consists of twenty seven persons eating and living together and running a common business in gold and silver ornaments.

Desai observed that while property is not the cause of jointness, it helps in maintaining jointness. It was also observed by him that a longer urban stay did not diminish jointness. He is of the view that the acceleration of nuclear family may work in favour of jointness. He found that the relations were stronger between the near kin such as parents and children, siblings and first cousins.

There are certainly some changes with regard to the rules of exogamy, the laws of succession and inheritance and the composition of the household. He did not find any notable trend toward either nuclearity or jointness. Examining the reasons for the separation of joint families into nuclear ones he concludes that among the social reasons family quarrels stood out, whereas among circumstantial ones the mobility of persons in society was the main factor.

M.S. Gore<sup>12</sup> made a detailed study on the Aggarwals residing in and around Delhi. He explored the family and kinship of the

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12. M.S. Gore, Urbanization and Family Change, Popular Prakashan, Bombay, 1968.

community in the light of urban-industrial conditions. He began with the assumption that the industrialization in a large scale would bring profound changes in the family organization. He emphasises the role perception, mutual role obligation, attitudes and values of family members as important in the treatment of family change.

According to him, "... a nuclear family must be identified not only by the membership composition of a household but by the nature of relationships that subsist between the members and the attitudes and sentiments that characterise it."<sup>13</sup> On analysis Gore comes out with varying results of contradictory nature. The regional comparison of samples provides some interesting observations. For him the type of family a person lives in forms the basis of the attitude formation rather than the place of dwelling. The type of family in turn depends greatly upon the education.

On the basis of structural analysis Gore finds that the family size and composition of urban area bear close resemblance to those found in urban fringe area. On questions of attitudinal change, the responses of urban and non-urban residents indicated a simultaneous affirmation of traditional patterns of behaviour. This includes the acceptance of familial obligations, the continuance of the patterns of segregation and subordination of women, and the limitation of the decision-making role of the parent in the joint family.

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13. Ibid., p. 36.

Gore writes, "... A review of the pattern of rural urban differences suggests that the differences are small on questions of actual behaviour, such as size and composition of family, and decision-making, and larger on questions of attitude and opinion, such as questions of age of marriage, inter-caste marriage, divorce and family preference."<sup>14</sup>

In general, change is perceived through education. The educated respondents aspire to live in nuclear households. More women respondents express positive attitude towards employment of women and support to fraternal joint family than the male respondents. Finally, Gore arrived at two tentative conclusions: one is that the sample as a whole still largely conforms to the pattern of joint family living in behaviour, role perception and attitudes. Secondly, within this overall pattern of conformity urban residence and education do seem to introduce a certain measure of variation. Thus, the findings of the study show a "limited change" wherein more emphasis is laid on 'limited' than on "change".

A. Ross<sup>15</sup> made an excellent field study of the middle and upper class Hindu families in Bangalore. The focus of her research was "to study the strains and problems which arise when families change from one form to another". She, among other things, stresses the changes in role expectations within the family, as well as other

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14. Ibid., p. 228.

15. A.D. Ross, Hindu Family in Its Urban Setting, University of Toronto Press, Toronto, 1961.

sub-structures such as those concerning ecological factors, right and duties, power and authority.

She interviewed 157 families by using a comprehensive approach to jointness which included (1) the number of generations in the households; (2) the presence of more than one married couple and (3) the number of dependent members. On this basis she classified the 157 families into four categories of 19 large joint families; 33 small joint families; 77 nuclear families and 17 nuclear families with some dependents. In her classification Ross found that each category of families had shown a great deal of social mobility from one type to another during the life time of the persons interviewed. She says that at one time or another 128 or 82 per cent of her 157 respondents had lived in nuclear families as she classified the domestic units.

Ross writes: "Tentative conclusions from case studies and literature suggest that the small joint family is not the most typical form of family life amongst the middle and upper middle urban classes in India. However, a growing number of people now spend at least part of their lives in a single family unit. Living in several types of families during one's life time seems so wide-spread that it is possible to talk of a cycle of family types as being the normal sequence for city dwellers and feelings of responsibility and identity do not appear overnight, and a short sojourn in a nuclear family might do little to remove the deeper emotional ties down over a long period in a joint family."<sup>16</sup>

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16. Ibid., pp. 49-50.

Ross contends that the increased urbanization and industrialization processes alter the family authority and household role perception as a result of which the family faces severe adjustment problems. In the industrial environment the father and son no longer work together and the separation enables the son to take his own initiative in the household affairs which may affect family solidarity.

She mentions a change in the functional position of elderly persons in the family like they hold less authority in the family and receive less respect from the junior members of the family. She has seen a number of changes in the women's position in the family in the urban setting. The major changes among them are shouldering more family responsibility by wife, education imparted to girls, pressure for women to work outside home to contribute family income, etc. With regard to husband and wife relationship, Ross feels that the wives are now wielding more authority. She writes, ... However, the new conception of their relationship is not yet clear, and the more modern husbands and wives do not know exactly how the role of authority between them should be carried out.<sup>17</sup>

Ross has analysed some of the factors that tend to break as well as those tend to maintain and strengthen the joint family unity. After a careful analysis she has come to the conclusion that the factors which facilitate break-up are now stronger than those which help maintain its unity. In the end she concludes that if industrialization and urbanization of India continue as rapidly as they have

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17. Ibid., p. 108.

in the last thirty years, many more families will have to face problems and strains that come in the wake of structural change.

D.A. Chekki<sup>18</sup> conducted an empirical study on Lingayats and Brahmans of Dharwar city located in North-western Karnataka. The Kalyan and Gokul are the two suburban quarters inhabited by the Lingayats and the Brahmans respectively. The object of his study was to examine the impact of modernization on family and kinship of the two major caste groups in this middle-sized urban centre.

He used interview schedule and genealogical method as tools of investigation to study the selected 233 households consisting of married couples and widows. His empirical study supports his theoretical assumption that the influence of modernization process on family and kinship has made no significant changes. He demonstrates the persistence of tradition, and also changing values and behaviour patterns of the respondents.

His data suggest that externally the two caste groups differ considerably in education, occupation and residential organization. Internally, each of these caste groups is subdivided into several endogamous and exogamous groups which regulate the marital relationships. Chekki found a high proportion of extended family among the Brahmans representing urban occupations and high proportion of nuclear family among the Lingayats engaged in agriculture. He further states that

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18. D.A. Chekki, "Modernization and Kinship in Urban India", Journal of Karnatak University Social Sciences, vol. 4-5, 1968-69 pp. 35-47.

the nuclearisation of family does not mean breaking down of kin network. Both of these caste groups have strong kinship sentiments. Their kin feelings and sentiments are often expressed on the occasions like ancestral worship, naming of children, marriages and other ceremonies. The mutual kin assistance takes place in several ways like frequent kin visits, helps in getting employment and education etc. Chekki clearly points out the family and kinship organization persists along caste lines despite some changes in occupational and geographical mobility.

He writes, "... Despite differences in caste, socio-economic conditions and degrees of interiorization of modern values, interpersonal relationship among kin in Gokul resemble those of Kalyan."<sup>19</sup> The study also reveals the fact that the basic traditional values and elements are not altered by the external changes. "... It is evident from the foregoing account that in the areas of family and kinship, caste, economy and inheritance of property, some core traditional values and behaviour patterns persist despite the process of modernization."<sup>20</sup>

He found the operation of kin maintenance through several means. For the Lingayats practically the kingroup is workgroup as well as the territorial group. The limited social and spatial mobility,

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19. Ibid., p. 40.

20. D.A. Chekki, "Modernization and Social Change : The Family and Kin network in Urban India", in George Kurian (Ed.) The Family in India : A Regional View, The Hauge, Paris, 1974, p. 200.

the close proximity of kin and the nature of local economy and occupational structure among the Lingayats tend to strengthen their kinship bonds. The larger number of preferential marriages among the Lingayats reinforces their kinship solidarity. And in matters connected with marriage, succession, adoption; and maintenance of property, the Lingayats adhere more to the customary law than to the statutory law.

The Brahman kin members are scattered in the city due to their occupational mobility. The author says that despite their distant living the Brahmans are held together by the bonds of kinship sentiments. More precisely Chekki points out : In spite of the Brahmin's new occupational roles, their kinship still functions as an employment bureau which facilitates the entry of kin into the job market. Furthermore, 'sraddha' (the ritual of ancestor worship) is an important occasion which unites kingroup and develop a sense of solidarity of members of the lineage.

However, Chekki has traced the changes in the kinship system to the modernization process. The acceleration of change has been relatively slow when compared with western countries. He is of the opinion that the regional differences within the country and a combination of several other indigenous factors are responsible for this slow rate.

S. Vatak<sup>21</sup> made an excellent study of urban family and kinship in two neighbourhoods - Ganeshnagar and Kalyanpuri - in Meerut city on a sample of 179 households. Most of the inhabitants of these neighbourhoods are permanent and temporary immigrants who came from other parts of the U.P. state and are middle class urban occupationists.

The two prominent issues on which she focussed her study are (1) the impact of urbanization on the family and kinship system (2) the significance of urban neighbourhood in a changing society. She emphasised more on the source of change than on the quantum of change in her study of family and kinship among these white collar urban immigrants.

Vatak offers evidence of a gradual change in the quality of life and in the relationships among kinsmen. She found a predominance of nuclear households in urban area wherein the kinship pattern has undergone a bilateral change. The neolocal pattern of residence in the city also provides opportunities for a greater selectivity among the available kin on the basis of compatibility and common interests. She notices a behavioural change of kin towards another. The separation from husband's parents offers the wife to have more contact with her natal family. The social relations in the neighbourhoods are established more on the basis of class than caste or kinship.

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21. Sylvia Vatak, Kinship and Urbanization : White Collar Migrants in North India, University of California Press, London, 1972.

These are some of the fundamental changes noticed by her in the kinship organisation of urban neighbourhood. The minimum changes she found in the kinship organization was not due to the urban environment but caused by a chain of forces like education, occupational mobility, change of residence and neolocal residential pattern.

On the other side the urban households present a marked continuity with traditional family life in terms of marriage, caste-endogamy, local exogamy, segregation of sexes as found in rural areas. In many cases, the urban nuclear households were found to be under the operational control of the extended family in the native place. Their income is pooled with that of the native extended family. Some or the other relatives may join them at a time for a stay. The head of the extended family, stationed at the native home retains a considerable amount of authority over members of the urban household. He may be usually the father or elder brother of the urban household. Major decision including those of purchases, education, employment and other activities are dictated by him. Women of the urban household are expected to follow behavioural standards laid down by him or his wife. In effect such urban households are considered to be branches of that family sent to the city for the benefit of the family as a whole, rather than a segment which has broken off to take urban employment for its own benefit. According to her, the major aspect of kinship organization of these urban immigrants are more or less derived from the Little Tradition.

In her conclusion Vatuk remarks, "... The data I have presented do not support assumptions that rapid or radical change in the traditional family system has occurred, or that the Indian urbanite is an anonymous inhabitant of his neighbourhood, isolated from primary contacts outside his nuclear family."<sup>22</sup> This presents the view that the change is minimum, a concession to differentiated ecological and socio-cultural settings rather than a repudiation of traditional norms and values.

Saroj Kapoor<sup>23</sup> studied the nature and features of family and kinship groups among the Khatri in Delhi. The Khatri are principally a trading community of Punjab who moved to Delhi years ago. They are engaged in business like sale of gold and silver, money-lending and handling of property. Wherever they go, they tend to form close-knit groups with endogamous tendencies. Their living in an urban locality for generations and marrying within the locality have made them develop a "kin neighbourhood" with a strong "we feeling". This concentration has also resulted in a certain degree of uniformity in dress, speech, food habits, rituals, social customs and values of the group.

Close kin live together in one house, but still separately distinguishable as different households. Thus one hundred and thirty six households are living in seventy houses, and of these only three

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22. S. Vatuk, op.cit., p. 190.

23. Saroj Kapoor, "Family and Kinship Groups Among the Khatri in Delhi", Sociological Bulletin, vol. XIV, no. 2, September 1965, pp. 54-63.

houses are such that the house-group corresponds with the households, whereas thirty eight houses have more than one household residing in them. These households seem to combine nuclearity with jointness.

The variations in the household composition on the basis of generation depth and lateral extension can be grouped into a few types. Thus type I, II, III and IV are households with one, two, three and four generations respectively. Type V are fraternally joint households and type VI is a special case. Operationally, type I and type II are simple units. The male head of the households provides for the kitchen and his wife manages and look after the kitchen and children. A rudimentary division of labour is practised among the female members and the earning male members other than the head contribute to kitchen expenditure. Type III, IV and V are much prone to disruptive tendencies and they share the maximum flexibility and attempts to adjust themselves to the changing circumstances. A large number of kin categories are in a relationship of potential conflict.

As the households expand, physical separation takes place by either cooking food separately or simply erecting a wall in the household courtyard or renting or building a house in the same neighbourhood. In certain cases the disparity in earning of individuals in the family create an early separation of household. The Khatri households even after the separation maintain good relations with each other. The unity is manifested on occasions like marriages, funerals, religious ceremonies, festivals and ancestral worship. In the daily life the

related households exhibit mutual co-operation like financial aid, exchange of gifts, discipline and guarding relatives' children, and help during the time of illness and calamities.

The adaptations of Khatri families are mainly as follows:

- (1) Absence of complete joint living
- (2) Secondary kitchen
- (3) Separate items of consumption
- (4) Increasing importance of individual choice in domestic matters.

To conclude her study, Kapoor reiterates that the urban family does not succumb to the new social forces leading to disruption. Two reasons are posed for this : the deep-rooted norms and values of the group and the operational utility. The resultant is an "urban joint family" comprising house-group and a congregation of wider network of kinship.

Mattison Mines<sup>24</sup> conducted a study of merchant families in Pallavaram, an urban centre located near south of Madras. Mines brings out in detail the significance of family and kinship among the Muslim merchants in the occupational and social contexts. A majority of Muslim merchants are migrants from the rural and the other urban centres of Tamil Nadu. As a result, Pallavaram represents all subdivisions of the ethnic minority.

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24. Mattison Mines, "Urbanization, Family Structure and the Muslim Merchants of Tamil Nadu in Imtiaz Ahmad (Ed.) Family, Kinship and Marriage Among Muslims in India, South Asia Books Publishers, Columbia, 1976, pp. 297-317.

Mines does not see a wide gap between rural and urban family organisations. He accepts the view that transformation does take place when people move towards urban centres, although the traditional elements of caste and kinship are always found in them. The immigrant urban dwellers reorganise their life according to the new social and environmental pressures.

In Pallavaram, the formation of the household is directly connected with the business operation. The survey undertaken by him shows that 43 per cent of business is operated through joint families. The unique feature of the merchant household is that it expands with expansion in business. The household is the corporate economic unit of Tamil Muslim. In case of growth in business, relatives are brought into the household to manage it.

Mattison Mines shows evidence of the prevalence of rural-oriented urban life within the community. The Muslim merchants do not lead an anonymous life in the city. His data suggest that 74 per cent of the Muslim merchants came here as migrants. He found 61 per cent of the merchants have kins engaged in business in the same city. Moreover, he says that the shopkeepers breed shopkeepers. Regarding mutual assistance, relatives do come forward for help in business and money matters.

Maximum marriages (61%) occur (among relatives and preferably between classificatory cross-cousins). Despite urban living, the

the merchants make regular visits to village and many still own household property at the place of origin. Usually marriages, festivals and circumcisions etc. are arranged in the native place itself. Out of the total 138 marriages studied, 38 per cent occurred between people from the same place. This shows the relationship of the traders with their native place. The various subdivisions of the community are conscious of their vamsom (patrilineage) vakayyara (family name). The various subdivisions maintain their unity through joint management of mosque, joint prayer, joint use of graveyard and koranic school. The conclusions drawn by Mines are as follows:

Firstly, in the wake of urban settlement several adaptations in social life have taken place among the traders. Among all, the inter-kin marriages stands first. Such a marriage is prohibited among Tamil Muslims. Secondly, a tendency of seeking marriage alliance with families of similar occupation and economic status is a change-induced by urban living. Thirdly, there is a transition from kin-based identity to joint family identity. Fourthly, there is a more frequent interaction of the traders due to occupational pressures like intermixing of residences, interdependence with fellow merchants and membership in voluntary organisations.

However, the author does not agree with the view that there is a replacement of kinship with the development of voluntary associations. He observes: "... there are various castes, religious associations in this place. Despite the prominence of some of these groups, it would be incorrect to think that they displace caste or kinship

in Bazaar society."<sup>25</sup> He notes that in Pallavaram, associations are primarily important for achieving particular social ends. Once such goals are achieved the associations become dormant.

Mines holds the view, "... It does not appear therefore, that the development of associations indicates a transformation of Indian social structure or that they herald a shift from kinship to contract as the structural basis linking social relationships in the urban setting. Their existence, however, does indicate that with urbanization the basis of Indian social structure diversifies."<sup>26</sup>

M. Ames<sup>27</sup> in his study on industrial workers in Jamshedpur has shown that the family is not changing rather it is adapting itself in various ways. He sees the family in three different dimensions. (1) The household living under one roof; (2) the kin group which shares joint rights to property and (3) the subjective idealised models of family structure. He finds that each of these dimensions responds differently to the impact of industry. Ames concludes that jointness in terms of obligations, property and ideals was alive because (a) the workers adjusted to modern occupational settings in interests of family welfare, and (b) limited adjustments to work spheres, remaining traditional in domestic spheres.

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25. Ibid., p. 312

26. Ibid., p. 314.

27. M. Ames, "Structural Dimensions of Family Life in the City of Jamshedpur", in Milton Singer (Ed) Entrepreneurship and Modernisation of Occupational Cultures in South Asia, Duke University Press, Durham, 1973.

M. Singer<sup>28</sup> has studied the family histories of nineteen outstanding industrial leaders in Madras City. He used case study and genealogical method as tools to examine the changes in the family system of highly industrialised families. His major interest is to study the functional adaptation of these industrialized families to the pre-industrialized social structures.

He noticed changes in the household structure as well as in the education and residential pattern among the sampled families. Twelve out of nineteen respondents constituted nuclear family structure and a three-fourth had trained professionals. They are all migrants from either rural or semi-urban places.

This microscopic study of Singer yields some interesting results. He believes that functionally the joint families are not breaking down so much as the respondents adopt various adaptive strategies to meet the pressures created by industrialization. He cites the following three adaptive processes.

- 1) Compartmentalization;
- 2) Vicarious ritualization;
- 3) Household management in industry.

The above review of literature on Indian family system presents a complex nature of change. The changes are perceived through different directions. Each community adopts several adaptive strategies

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28. M. Singer, "The Indian Joint Family in Modern Industry", in M. Singer and Cohn (Ed.) Structure and Change in Indian Society, op..cit.

to retain its tradition and each family experiences some kind of stress and strains in the adaptation process depending upon its socio-economic characteristics. The occurrence of structural change is confirmed by many scholars. But in many respects an urban Indian still carries with him the traditional norms of familial relationship. The emotional support of kin, mutual kin assistance, kin visits have been indicated as subjective inducements which often fill the gap arouse by structural division of family.

Many of the studies referred to in this chapter are micro-level studies and as such generalizations drawn from them have some limitations. Perhaps cross-cultural studies comparing different linguistic and geographic areas in India may yield more reliable generalizations. However, these micro-studies have revealed some common patterns in family and kinship which have persisted in India in spite of sweeping changes. The present study has attempted to explore a particular community living in a totally different cultural milieu for a long time and discusses patterns of change in family, kinship, occupation, values and ideology.