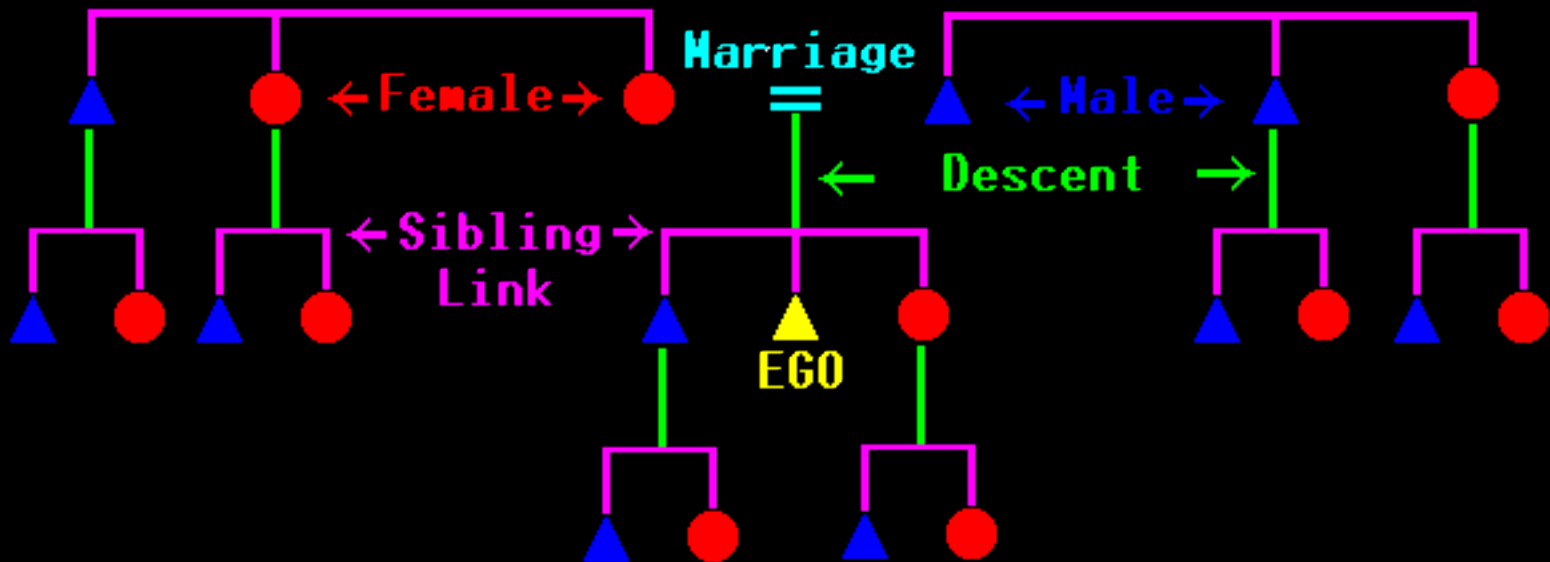


Kinship



Kinship: is?

- The idea that some people are or can become related to each other.
- This notion produces a set of social rules and expectations that determine how people behave towards each other.



Early scholars assumed kinship was the foundation of social institutions and a cultural universal.

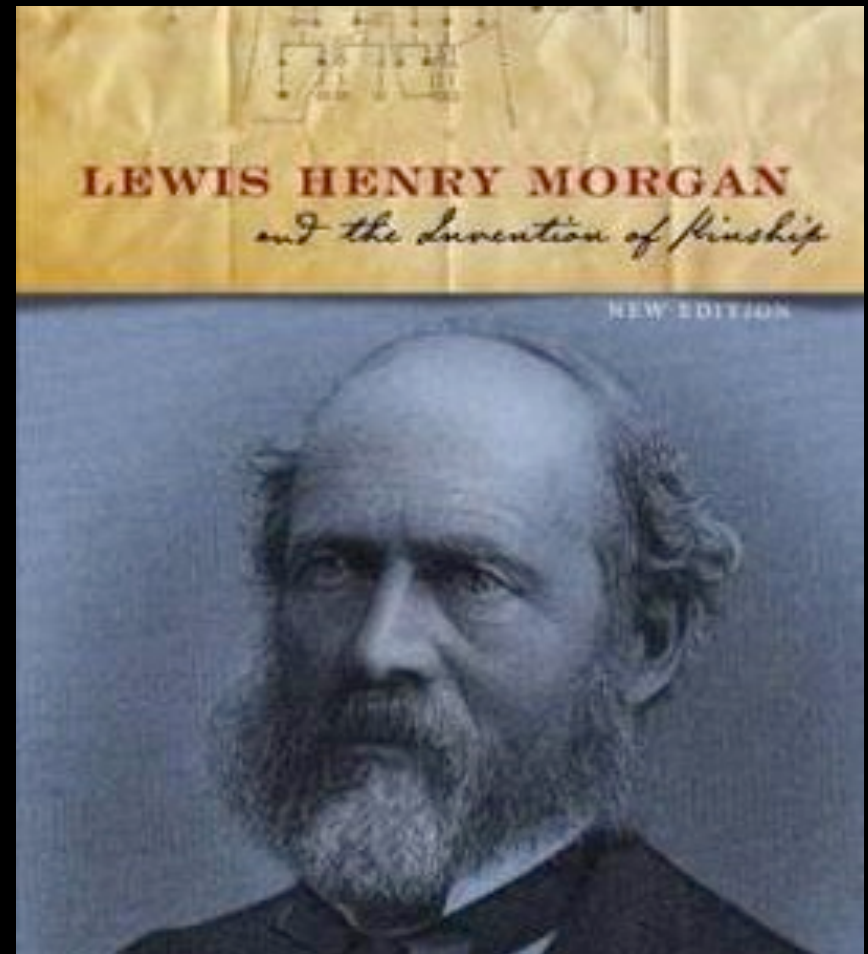
Consequently, they *looked for it* when they studied people.

Just to test the hypothesis that kinship is universal: does anyone know of a person who has never had a family of any kind?

Why did kinship exist?

Morgan 1877

- Considered to be the founder of kinship studies. (famous for his phrase 'Channels of Blood')
- Asserted that due to the failure of biology to reveal paternity meant rules were created to distinguish real fathers from the wider group (see: Stone, 2001)
- People became 'labeled' to show who was who



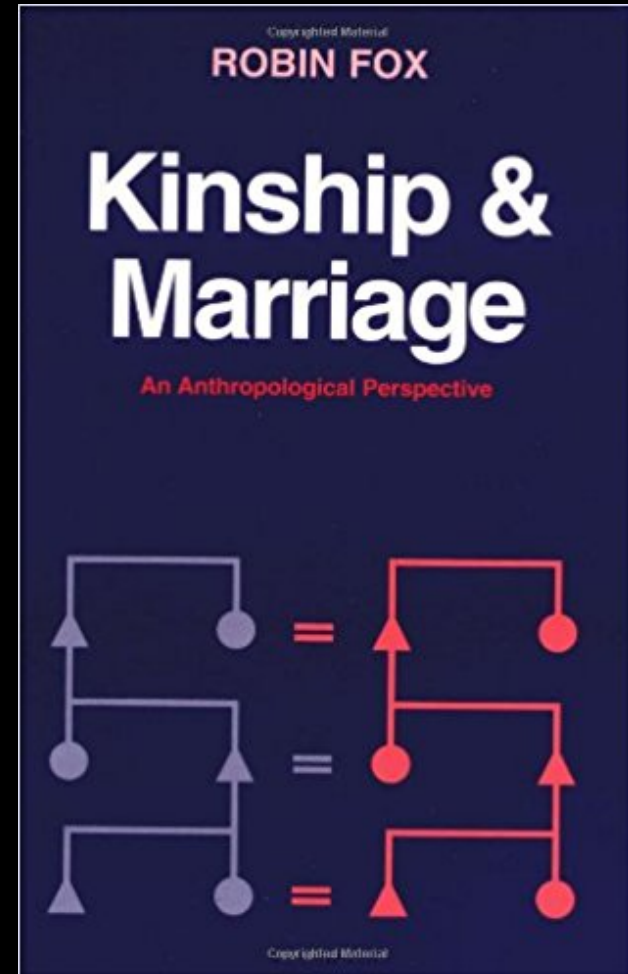
As everyone has a family...scholars maintained that

- Finding kinship structures would helpfully reveal other social workings. Thus, kinship became an analytical domain to which all social behaviour could be hinged.
- And Anthropology grabbed it as its own...



Holy, L. 1996 *Anthropological Perspectives on Kinship* Pluto Press

- ***Kinship was Anthropology's, because: kinship is 'the very essence of being human' (Holy, 1996:9)***
- Holy opens with a quote from Fox (1967)
- 'Kinship is to anthropology what logic is to philosophy or nude is to art; it is the basic discipline of the subject' (pg1)



Anth established theories of Kinship

- Founded on the notion that kinship is 'based on attributing social significance to the natural facts of procreation' (Holy, 1996: 1)
- It even got its own language. (Latinisms according to Holy (1996) – eg: affinal, consanguine, avuncular etc)



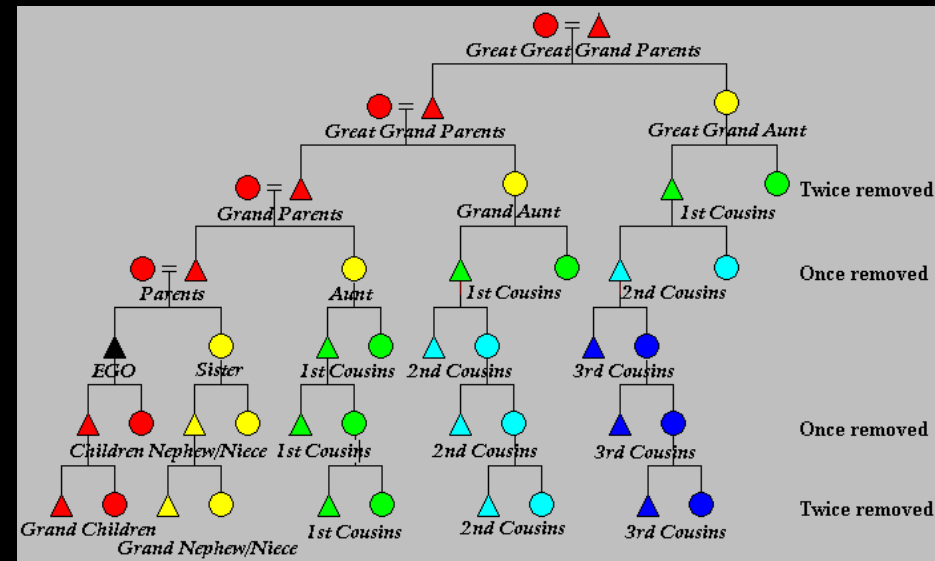
Kinship recognizes relationships...

- but not just any relationship.
- Familial relationships are based on specific kinds of relationships that come with several social obligations.



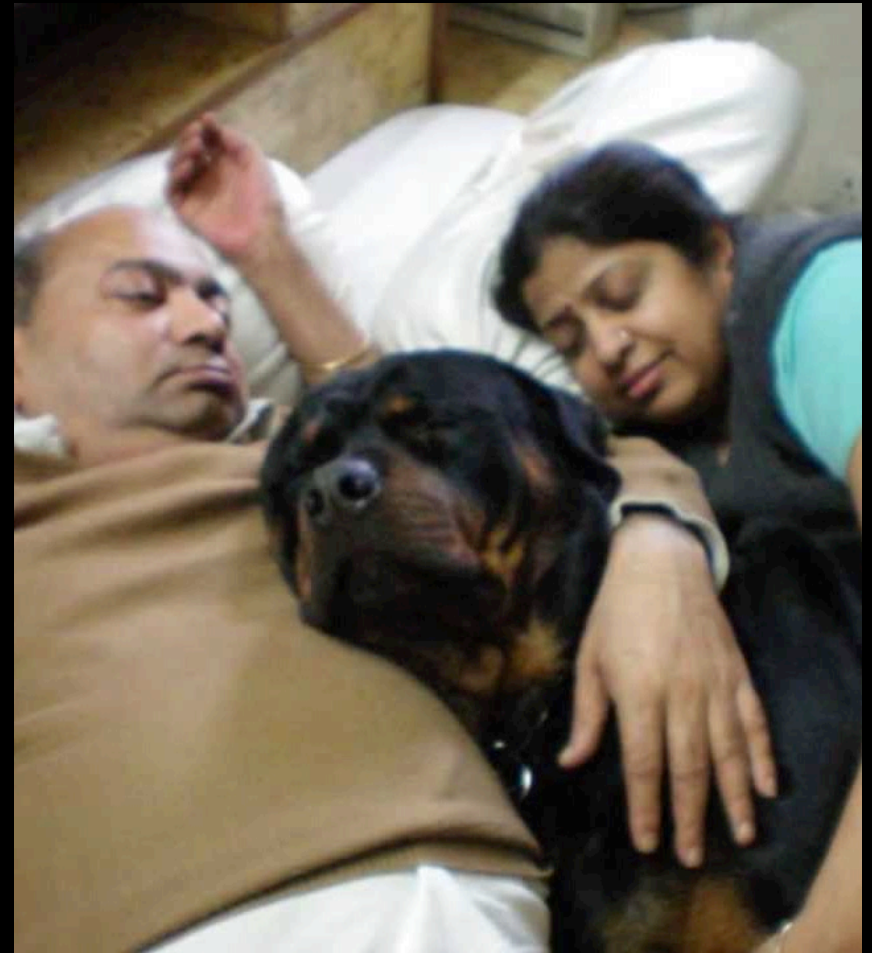
Kinship is primarily understood as biological and based on alliance

- Links are always understood in reference to descent.
- Blood relative – “consanguineal”
- Related through marriage – “affinal”



Fictive kin - now not used

- 'Fictive' was given by scholars to any family members that were not consanguine (do not share blood), affinal (through marriage) or adopted. (eg: foster)
- These ties are said to mimic consanguine and affinal ties.
- The same obligations apply as to 'real' or 'true' kin.
- The term is now considered offensive by some.

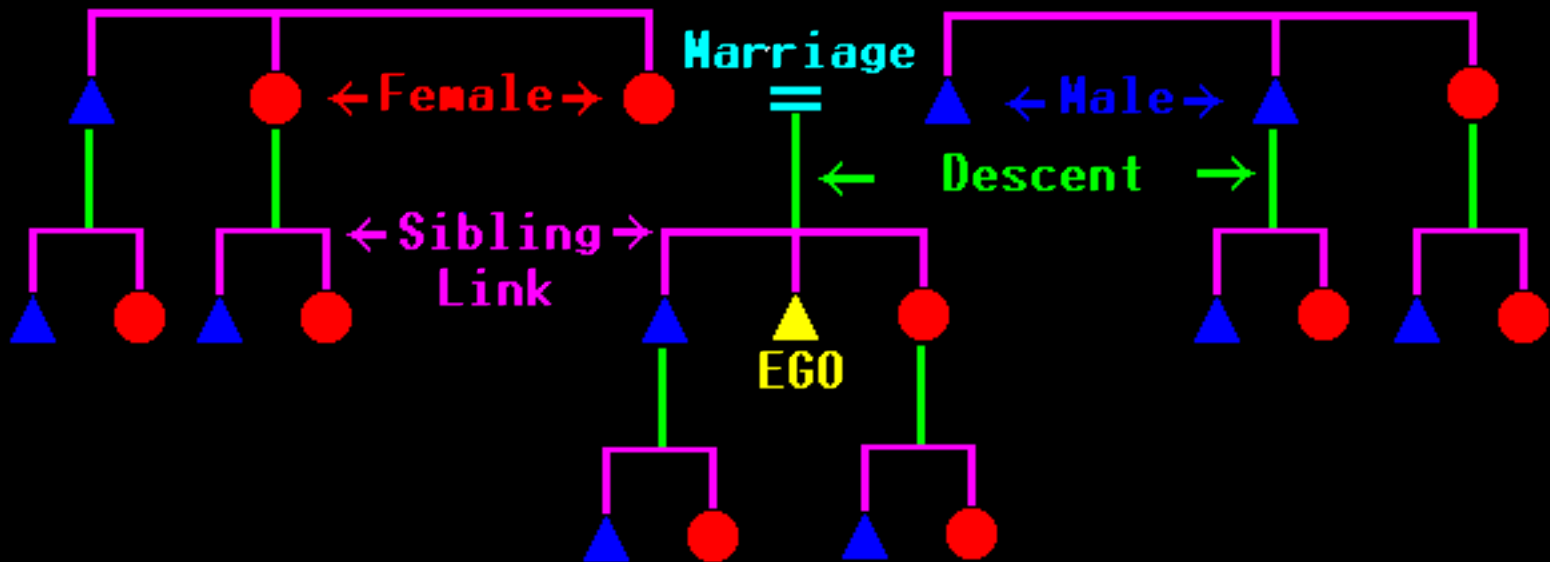


Activity/discussion

Think about who is in your family.
Why you call them family?

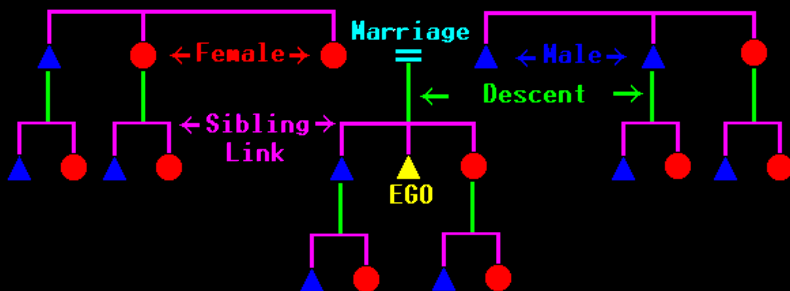


Kinship diagram



Game of Thrones Family Tree

- Create a GoT kinship diagram using the appropriate kin symbols
- Pick a house, e.g.:
 - House of Stark
 - House of Lannister
 - House of Tyrell



Kinship studies

is not just about 'mum and dad'...

- Marriage systems
 - Who you can and can't marry. (Incest taboo.)
- Inheritance
 - Movement of property
 - Social status
- Procreation
 - Child rearing methods and ideas
- Fictive kin
 - Honorary
 - Spiritual
 - Ceremonial
 - Cross species



The Family

Part two: What is a family?

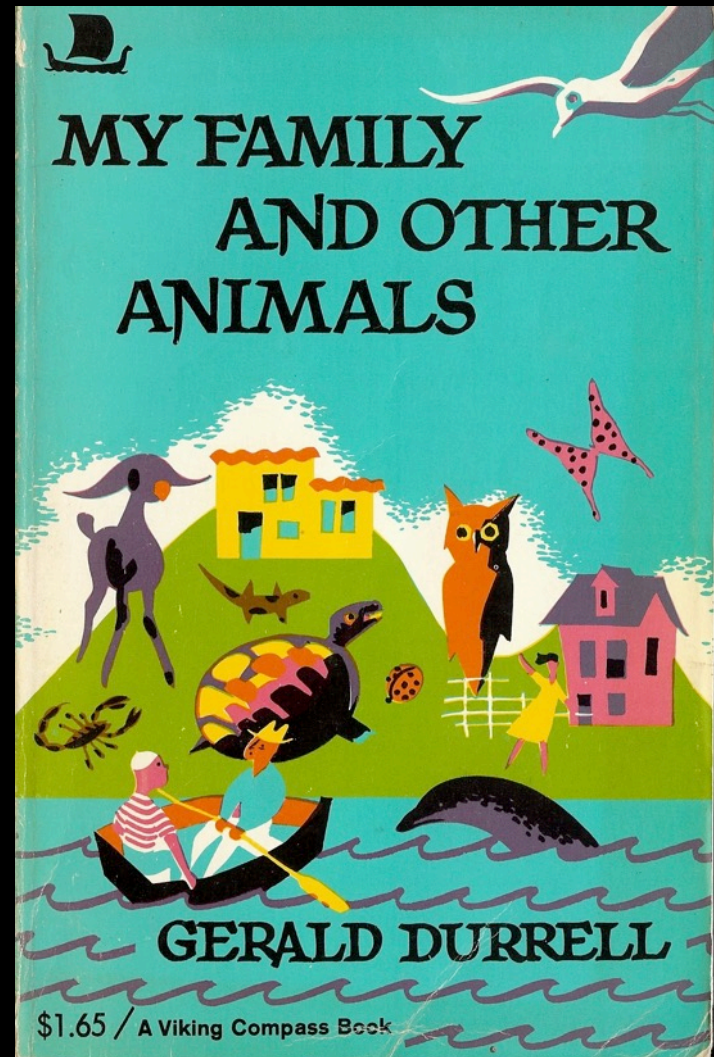
Etymology: Family

- Latin for 'servants of the household': famulus (servant or slave).
Famula= serving woman; familiaris = close to the household (familiar)
- Not parents with children but a domestic setting



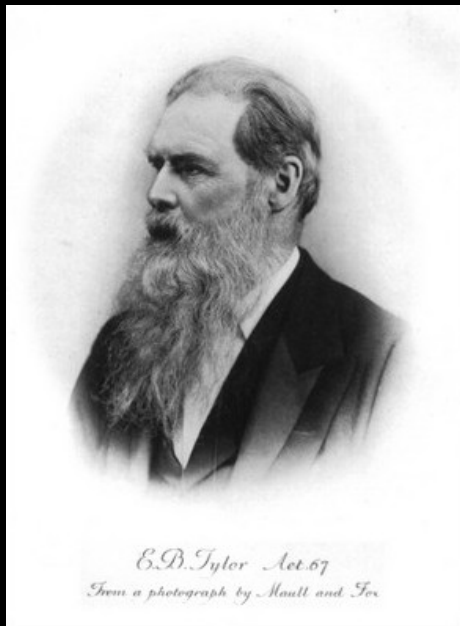
The word 'family'

- ...can be used to represent a unit within (and part of) a wider kinship structure, as well as the description of all persons considered to be related to you by marriage, birth or fictitiously.
- ... describes: 'expressions of actual conceptions of nearness and remoteness, of equality and difference' (Engels, 1884:17).



Activity

- Q: Are scholars right to think that family does more than produce and show connections?
 - Do you feel obliged to behave towards family members in certain ways? And at certain times of the calendar?
- **List** familial obligations that assert pressure in your life. How do these obligations manifest? What do they do to your identity?



Social Evolutionists: Tylor, Morgan, Bachofen – also see: Maine, Spencer

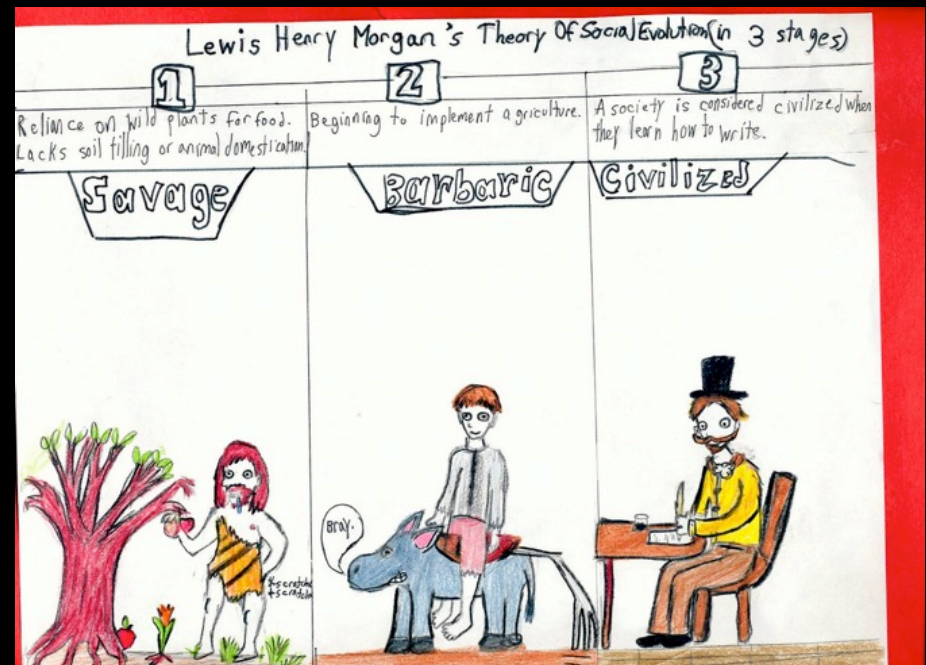
A BRIEF HISTORY OF SOME EUROPEAN THOUGHT ON THE FAMILY

Morgan's work got Engels thinking

- Morgan's 3 stages of social development inspired Engels to think about the 'invention' of 'the family'.

Morgan, H. 1877
Ancient Society

- Morgan's 3 stages: savage, barbarian and civilised





BARBARIE.

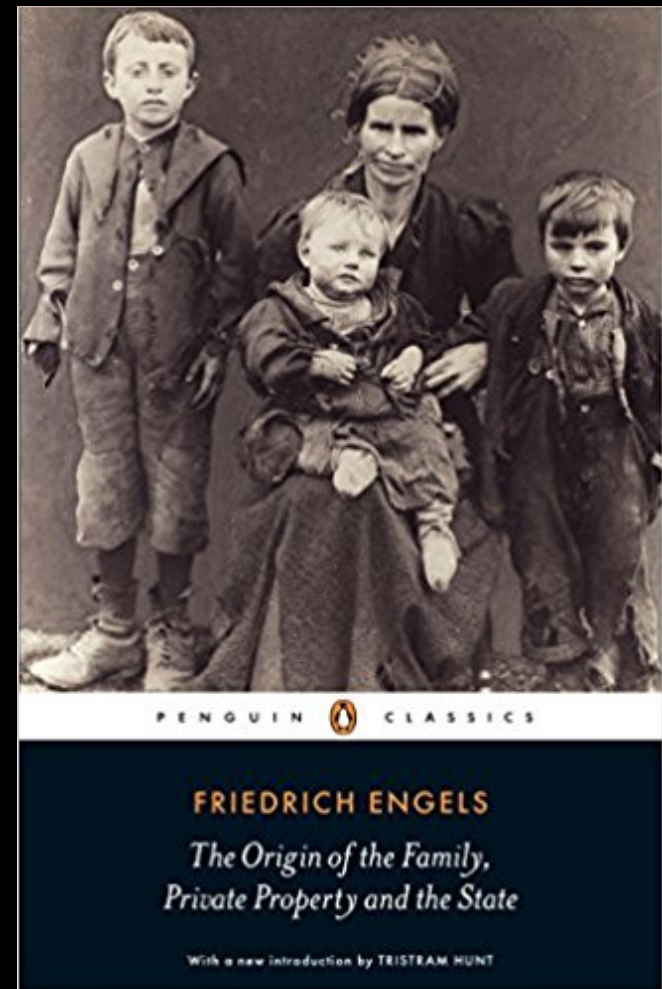


CIVILISATION.

Engels wrote

The Origin of the Family

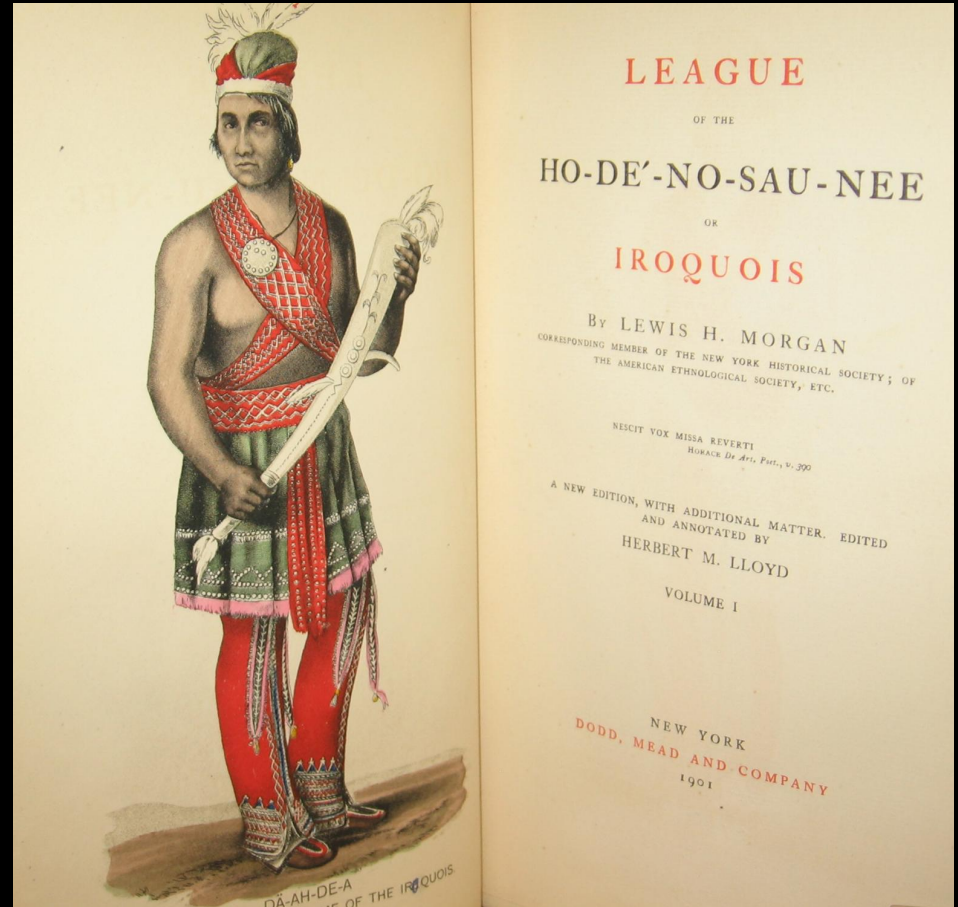
- It is production and reproduction that has organised the family and society
- How the family is organised has produced oppression. This happened with the transition to private property.



Ethnographic info showed 'family' to mean different things in different places.

- After time in the field Morgan termed the Iroquois system the 'Pairing Family' after noting that while relationships were labeled with similar terminology those terms seemed to be used differently.

Morgan, the Iroquois and the 'Pairing Family' in Engels (1884: 17)



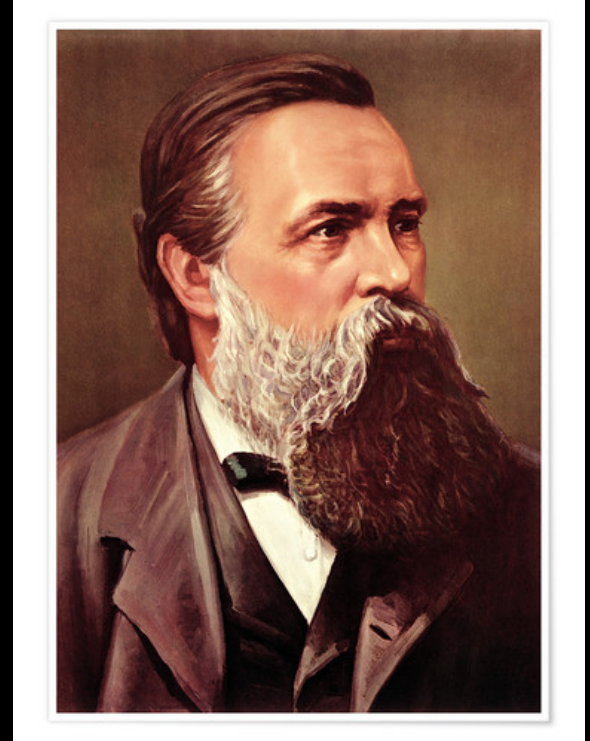
‘The Iroquois calls not only his children his sons and daughters, but also the children of his brothers; and they call him father. The children of his sisters however, he calls, his nephews and nieces, and they call him their uncle. The Iroquois woman, on the other hand, calls her sisters’ children, as well as her own, her sons and daughters, and they call her mother. But her brothers’ children she calls her nephews and nieces, and she is known as their aunt’

Description of Morgan’s findings in Engels (1884:17)

**THE IDEA OF FAMILY IS NOT ALWAYS
EASILY TRANSFERABLE OR TRANSLATABLE**

According to Engels, what Morgan's work shows us is that:

1. 'The names of father, child, brother, sister are not mere complimentary forms of address; they involve quite definite and very serious mutual obligations that together make up an essential part of the social institution of the family' (Engels, 1884:17).
2. Therefore, family 'is an active principle' (Ibid.) – but not one thing or a rigid entity.



**BUT ENGEL'S WANTS TO KNOW
MORE ABOUT *ORIGINS***

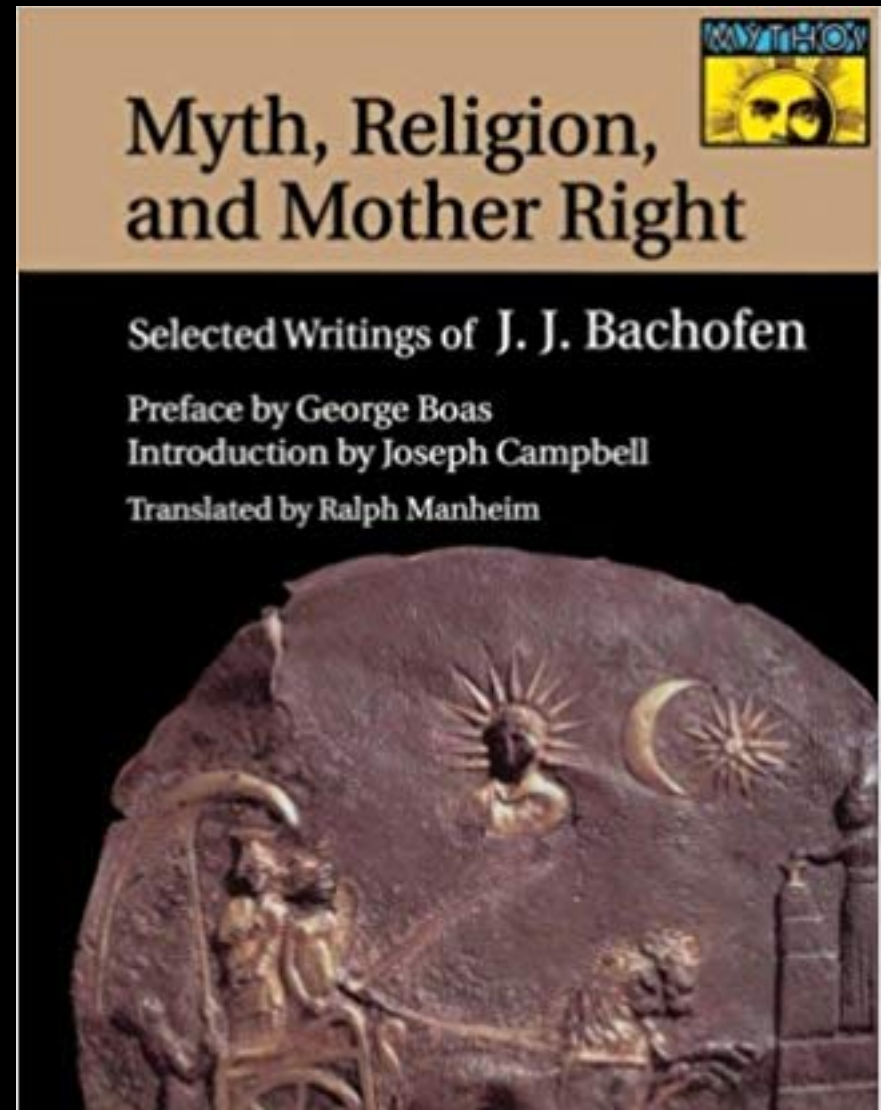
Origin ideas – just 19th C, European white men speculating



- Maine called the earliest form of the family ‘patriarchal despotism’ = aggregations under the rule of one father.
- Bachofen’s saw it as a time of promiscuity – the time of unrestricted sexual freedom – where ‘every woman belong[ed] equally to every man and every man to every woman’ (Engels 1884: 18).

Early social structures according to Bachofen

- Bachofen, imagined that ancient forms of the family were both poly -androus and –gamous.
- That the groups shared 'common children' (common to all).
- and that any social movement away from promiscuity tightened the bonds between pairs of people thereby altering the form of the herd/group.



But, why use the notion of herds?

And, then, what propelled us to
abandon the loose bonds of herds to
form families?



Taking zoological inspiration...

- ‘The herd is the highest social group which we can observe in animals. It is compared, so it appears, to families, but from the start, the family and the herd are in conflict with one another and develop in inverse proportion’ (Espinas 1877 cited by Engels 1884:19)



What does the notion of kinship do?
How does it produce people?



Being kin means being related, which means...

- Connected

- Associated,
linked, coupled,
allied,
corresponding,
analogous,
comparable,
affiliated,
equivalent,
homologous...



- How do we become related to each other?
- What prompts us to imagine we are 'more' connected to some people and not others?

How do we become 'related'?

- Through
 - Birth (consanguine)
 - Marriage (affine)
 - Association (E.g.: adoption, godparents, civil partnerships, community?, neighbours?, environment?, across species?)



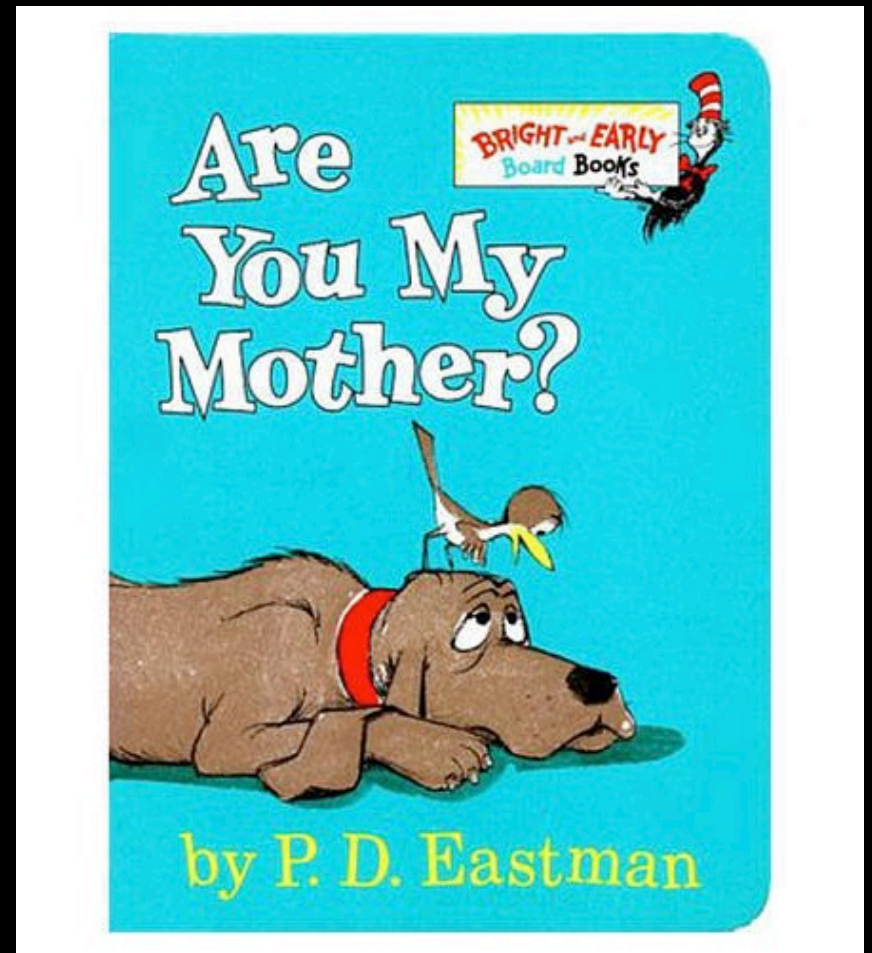
Once considered 'related', then what happens socially?

- The structures of relatedness
 - Being related creates social structures through connections and lineages (the ties between people) that determine behaviours, including expectations and restrictions.
- Vertical ties – binds generations through time
- Horizontal ties – bind those in the present



The role of language in producing structures and meaning

- Descriptive terms and labels: (e.g.: mother, father, aunt) construct, maintain and perpetuate structures.
- (Equally, terms like 'fictive' suggest create hierarchies of kin types.)



Example: 'father'



Example: Mother



Maternity and paternity

- Mothers can be identified. Therefore, motherhood is a natural fact.
 - Only the mother of the child can be known – *true or false?*
- Can we then accept that the notion of fatherhood was culturally constructed?

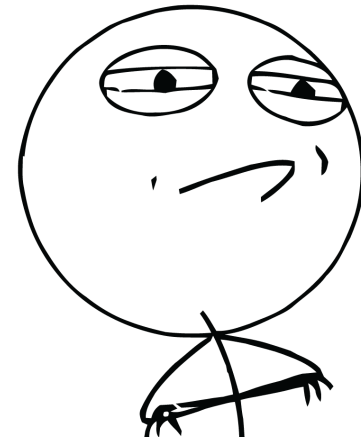


Ethnographic examples that challenge Euro-American conceptions of paternity

- Rural Turkey, *The seed in the soil*
- The Sambia
- The Barya
- The Yap
- The Kiriwinans
- The Toda

Research activity: find out why the examples cited
On this slide challenge Euro-American conceptions

CHALLENGE ACCEPTED



Kaluli (PNG) example

- Kinship is not based on who babies come out of.
- Whoever feeds a child becomes its mother (see page 12 in Holy 1996)
- Therefore the concept 'mother' is not translatable



Surrogacy also problematizes kinship

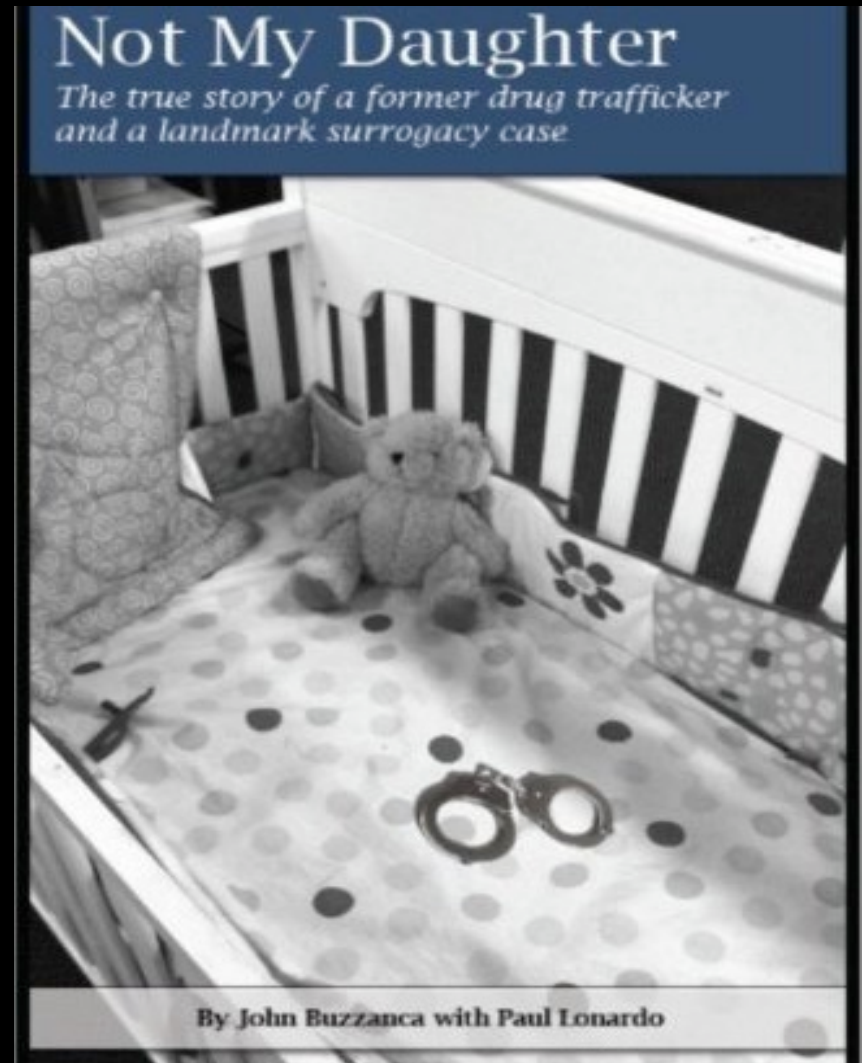
- Different types:
 - Genetic father: raises questions of illegitimacy and adultery
 - Surrogate mother: rightful parent



The case of Buzzanca v Buzzanca 1998

Jaycee was born as a result of Luanne and John Buzzanca's decision to have an embryo genetically unrelated to either of them implanted in a woman surrogate, who would carry and give birth to the child for them.

After the pregnancy, Luanne and John split up, and the question arose as to who were Jaycee's lawful parents. Luanne claimed she and her erstwhile husband where, but John disclaimed any responsibility, financial or otherwise. The woman who gave birth made no claim to the child. The trial court determined that Jaycee had no lawful parents.



Activity

In groups think about how kinship is enacted and produced in the ethnographies you have encountered.

Write them down for group feedback session.

What else does kinship do?

Cohere? Restrict? Prescribe?
Educate? Create identities? Order?
Focalise belonging?

Carsten. J. 2013 What Kinship Does – and How (*HAU: Journal of Ethnographic Theory* , Vol 3, 2)

- Kinship pervades social life but rather than being about a benign sense of ‘belonging’ it can also be restrictive and controlling.
- Kinship processes include feeding, residence, ancestors, memory, time, birth, land use, material lives (things), similarity, bodies, property



Therefore, kinship impact on more than within family life

- Kinship is a cultural system – not a system of facts - that prescribes and restricts social and relational ways of being.
- Kinship is physical, sociological, political, economic and symbolic simultaneously.



Lambek (2011)

'Kinship as gift and theft'

- Kinship reveals the values of the culture.
- (apply this to ethnographic examples)
- Looked at temporally it is possible to see values changing by looking at kinship.



Feuchtwang, S. 2013 What is Kinship? 2013 | *HAU: Journal of Ethnographic Theory* 3 (2): 281–84

- Kinship offers and creates a 'peculiar intimacy that differentiates kinship from other relations' (p.283)
- It has a moral component.
- Is not just about family because it shapes how one acts with strangers (p.282).



Kinship seeps out from the family across all areas of society

- Sexuality
- Religion
- Gender
- Identity
- Property
- Economics
- Labour
- Politics
- Equality



Sexuality
Religion
Gender
Identity
Property
Economics
Labour
Politics
Inequality



Activity

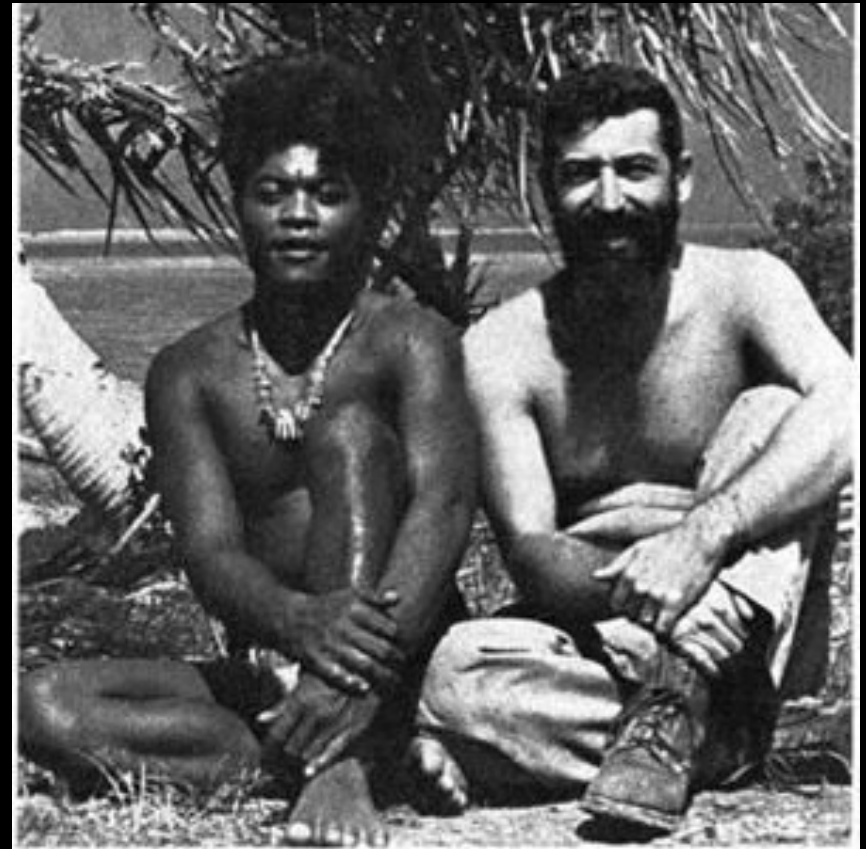
Explain how kinship norms shape or impact on the social concepts and areas of social life listed on the side of this slide?

What Kinship is and is Not

Kinship or relatedness?

Schneider, D. M. 1984 *A Critique of the Study of Kinship* Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press

- Thought kinship studies was an intellectual imposition not a distinct domain
- Kinship might be 'a special custom distinctive of European culture' (1984:201), and might not be a universally applicable concept.



Cover of the *Harvard Alumni Bulletin*, April 9, 1949. Pictured on the cover are Schneider and Tithin, seated in native posture at

The Yap, Schneider (1953)

- The Yap operate a complicated system of kinship alliances based on land and involving ghosts.
- Schneider (1953) wrote about the stability of a system in light of the problems he experienced understanding how these different methods can work (and recognised how terms do not translate).



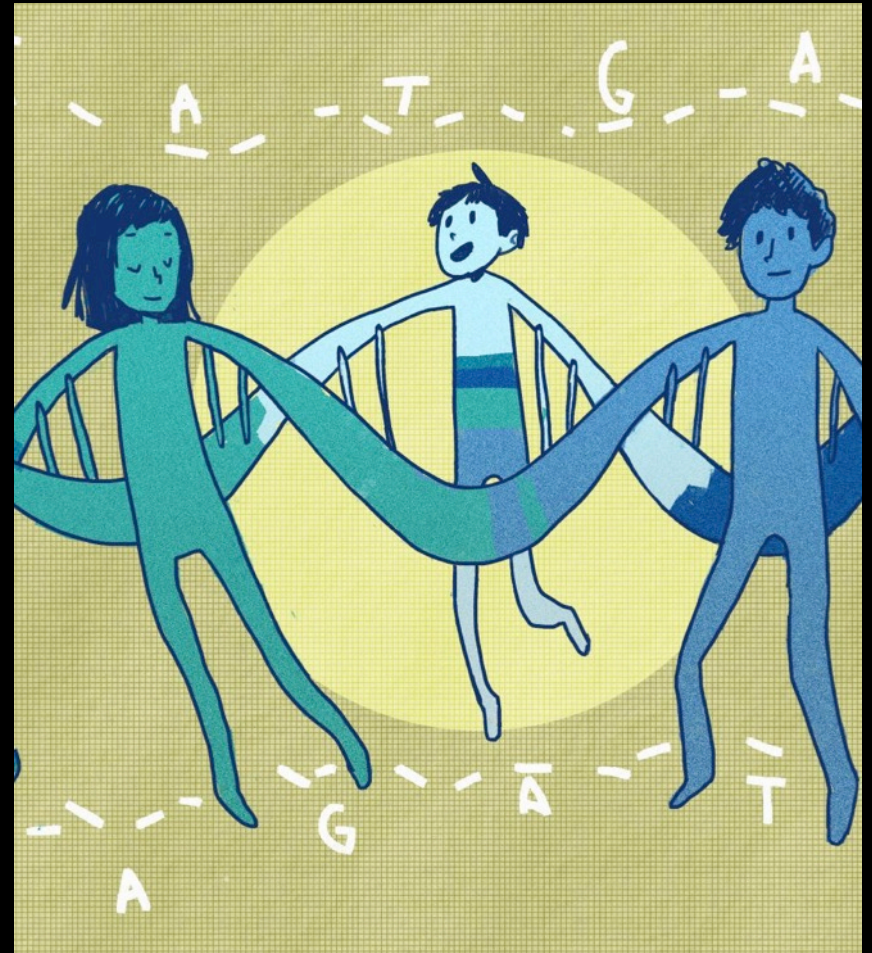
Anths reacted

- With uncomfortable accusations of ethnocentrism sticking in the discipline's throat, anths began to develop theories of related-ness rather than 'kinship'.
 - (see, Carsten 1995 and later.)
- N.B.: Related-ness still creates structures.



Carsten's notion of relatedness

- Carsten interrogates and deconstructs the role of biology
- She considers shared substances as the basis of kinship (Consubstantiation)
- Substances: blood, bone, semen, milk, food (saming)



For Carsten, related relationships concern different levels of sharing

Consubstantiality

- sharing a common substance:
 - Blood
 - Bone
 - Semen
 - Milk (suckled)
 - Food

Residence

- Living together (people become kin if they live together – not because they live together)



Consubstantiality
and residence can
blend together

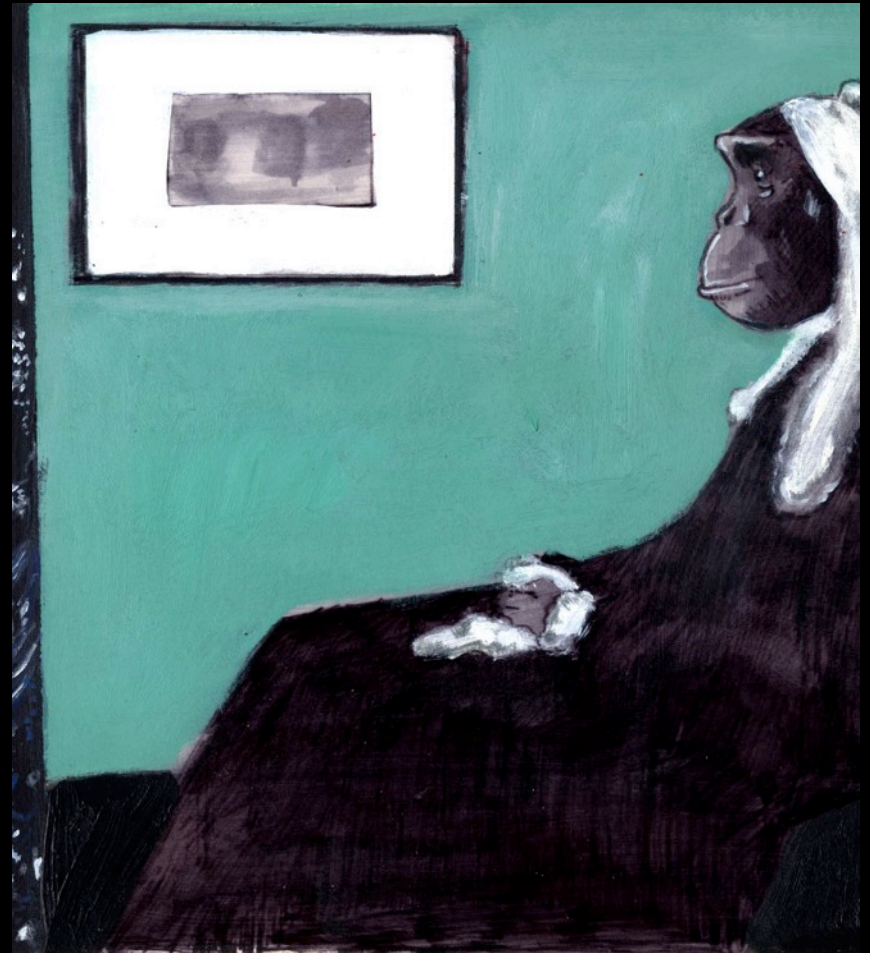
Brief overview of ideas so far

- Kinship is an anthropological category that describes genealogical connections (Gellner 1960)
- It reflects how reproduction is culturally understood (Morgan 1877 and Scheffler 1973)
- Is a European idea (Schneider 1984)
- Is how people draw connections that are sometimes attached to biology and sharing substances (Carsten 1995)



Therefore, in summary

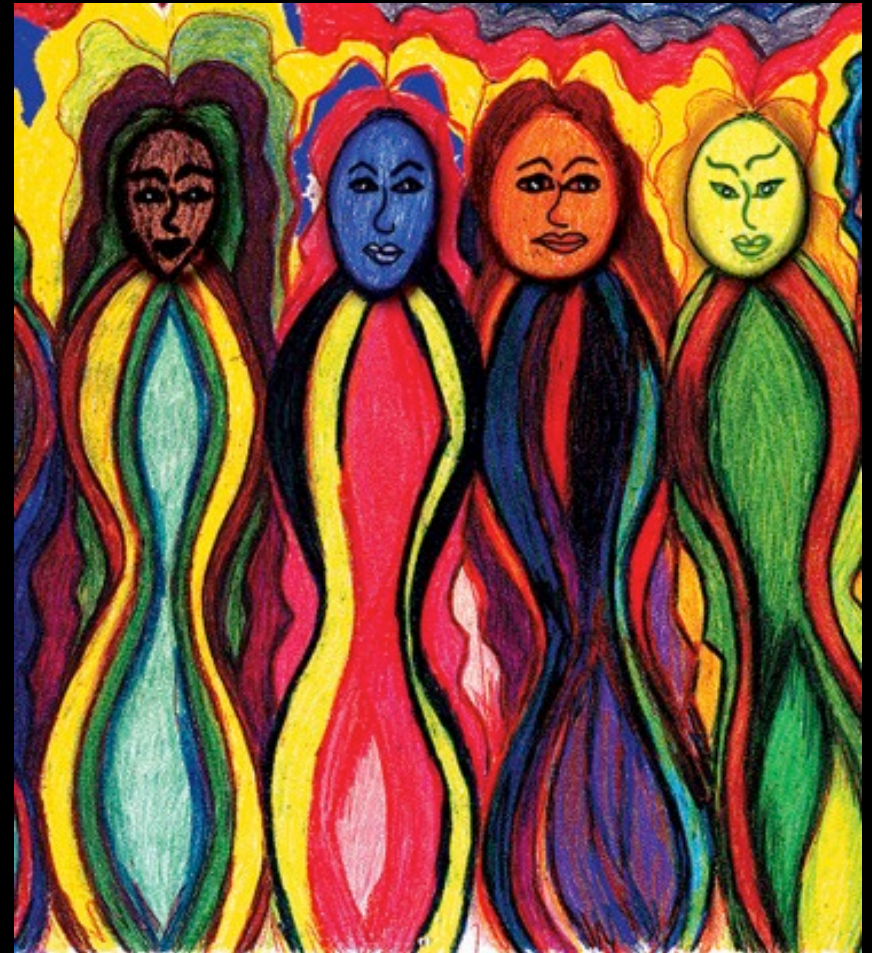
- Kinship is used to label certain kinds of relationships but it is unclear what exactly these relationships are founded on as they vary dramatically between cultures.
- Sahlins' essay attempts to answer this long standing question.



Sahlins, M. 2013

What Kinship is...and is Not

- Sahlins maintains MUTUALITY is the key to understanding kinship
- He reminds us of how kinship not only ties but also blends people together – eg: in conversations you becomes I and I becomes you – this is evidence of how people are our other selves, of our shared intentionality or ‘we-ness’ (p37)



The Kinship 'I'

- 'The transpersonal distribution of the self' (Sahlins 2013:25)
- 'the inscription of multiple others in one subject' (ibid.)
- For Sahlins, kinship denies independence, joins all of us together and is the result of people's ability to recognise they are one.



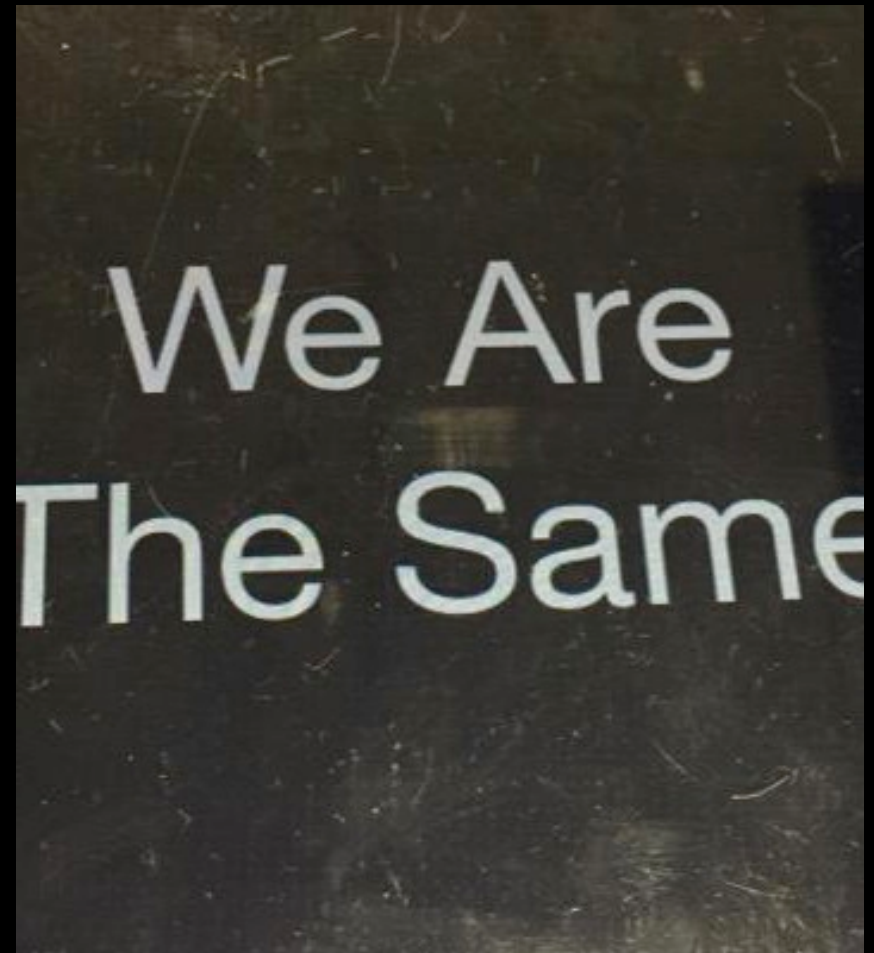
Intersubjectivity – Sahlins demonstrates that

- Kinship functions to produce a deeper realisation of mutuality and that people are our 'other selves' (2013:33)
- (his ideas chime with Strathern's notion of the dividual – see Lamb 2000 – and the materiality of personhood)



Kinship therefore is

- Not rooted in individualism or biology but is a cultural 'belonging to one another' (Sahlins 2013:44) that people understand and utilise.
- But this is not only about being linked to others but that you are one and the same as them.



Transpersonal praxis

- ‘*Mutuality of being* will not only cover the range of ways kinship is constituted, from common substances to common suffering, but it provides the logico-meaningful motivation for a wide variety of practices distinctive of people so related. It is the intelligibility in common ethnographic reports of the diffusion among kin of agency and material interest, of ritual participation in birthing and dying and of the effects of bodily injury. The same sense of conjoined existence is involved in taking responsibility for the wrongful acts of relatives, for their fortunes in the hunt or war, even for the shape and health of their bodies. In sum, where being is mutual, experience itself is transpersonal: it is not simply or exclusively an individual function.
- If kinsmen are members of one another, then in the manner and to the extent they are so, experience is diffused among them. Not in the sense of direction sensation, of course, but at the level of meaning: of what it is that happens...’ (Sahlins 2013: 44)

In conclusion, Sahlins states

- 'human birth is a semiotic function of a kinship order, rather than kinship a biological sequitur of birth' (2013:87)
- Therefore, kinship doesn't follow birth but rather birth functions to signal kinship
- 'Kinship is what you have when you 'do without' a biological theory of relationality' (Sahlins 2013:89 citing Viverios de Castro 2009:241)

Ethnographic and meaning
differences are not the only factors
that challenge restricted definitions
of kinship.
Globalisation does too.



Effects of globalisation on kinship

- Increased migration (economic and otherwise)
- Families spread out across vast distances
- Increasing elderly demographic
- Social media
- Transnational adoption



Activity

Reconsidering kin.

How does Sahlin's notion of mutuality change the membership of one's family, if at all?

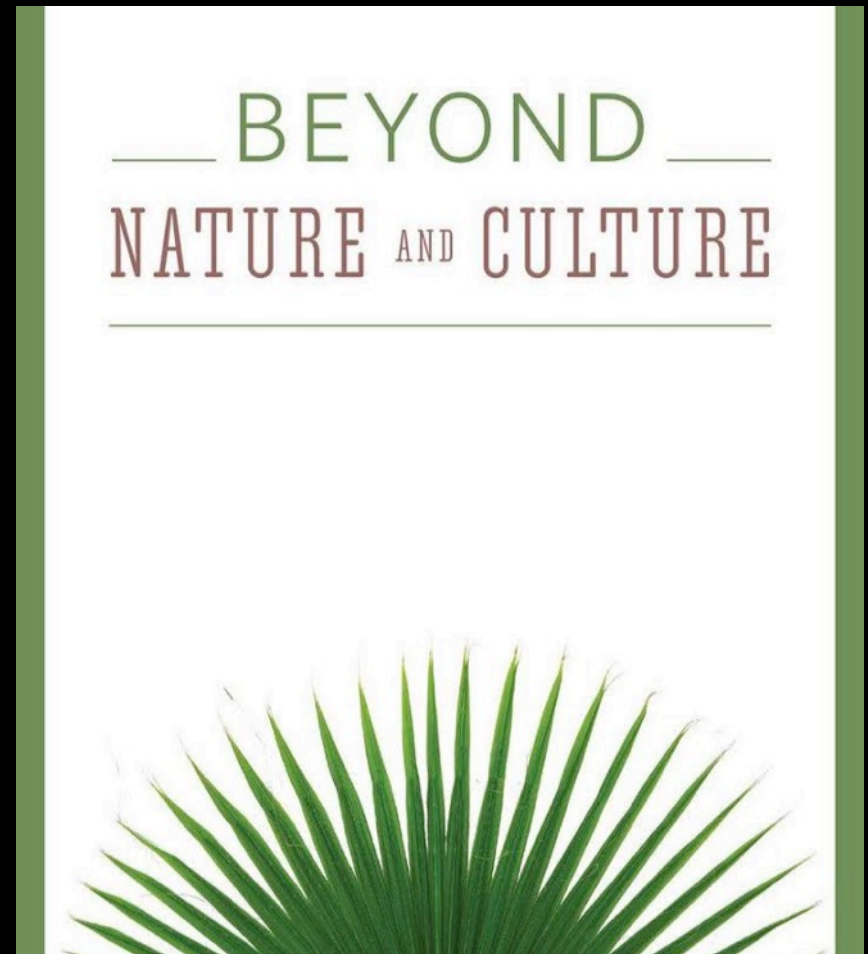
How do companion animals fit with this understanding of what kinship does and is for?

Intersections between biology and culture



Biology/nature::kinship/culture

- Kinship debates vacillate between kin as part of a natural order and one that is shaped by culture (eg family life, genetics). Thus the debates mirror and are articulated by the nature/culture debates following Descola (2013).



Carsten, J 2013 What Kinship Does, and How *HAU: Journal of Ethnographic Theory* 3 (2): 245–51

- ‘The attempt to shift the definition of kinship away from the enframing division between the “biological” and the “social” is welcome, and echoes previous discussions—for example, my use of the term “relatedness” as a way to sidestep the biological/social dichotomy and the particular baggage that “kinship” carries as an analytic term (Carsten 2000; see also Carsten 1995, 1997). It may, of course, meet with similar criticisms from those scholars who advocate maintaining a strict analytical distinction between kinship and non-kinship relations. Here we are faced with a sticky paradox in the kind of endeavor Sahlins has taken on. A broad and inclusive definition of kinship runs counter to a long tradition in kinship studies that is the product of Western history and philosophy in which “what kinship is” is precisely defined against what it is not, and in which biology has a defining role. And so, the more one tries to dispense with the dichotomy, the more one seems to end up reiterating it. Actually, and importantly, as Sahlins neatly demonstrates, in the end, this too-pervasive distinction disappears up its own tail—in the sense that, if kinship is intrinsic to human nature/culture, then it is also biologically given. Or, as Eduardo Viveiros de Castro puts it more pithily (and with shades of Lévi- Strauss) on the back cover: “what is natural in human culture is what is cultural in human nature: kinship, precisely.”’ (249)

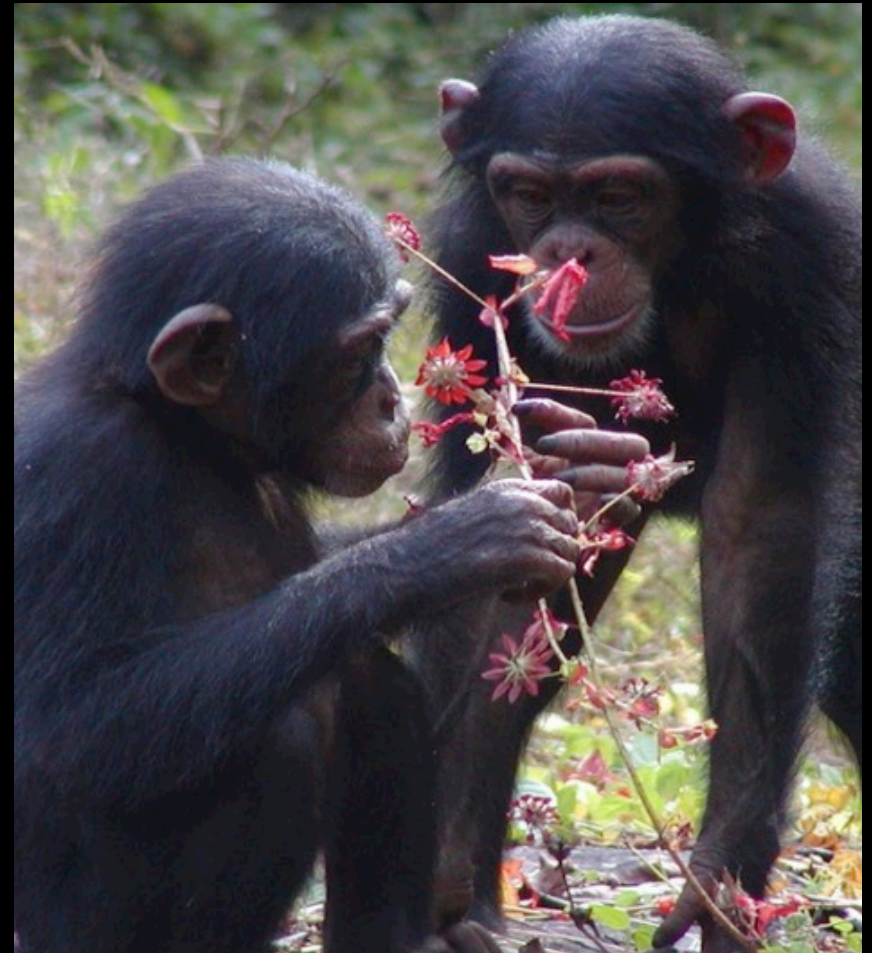
Silk. 2001 Chapter 4 in Stone, L. (ed.) *New Directions in Anthropological Kinship* Rowman & Littlefield

- Explores the role of biology and evolution in kinship
- Suggests that 'family' supports YOUR genetic information prospering
- She suggests that as primates can't smell their biological kin, they have to learn to protect their genetic inheritance in other ways



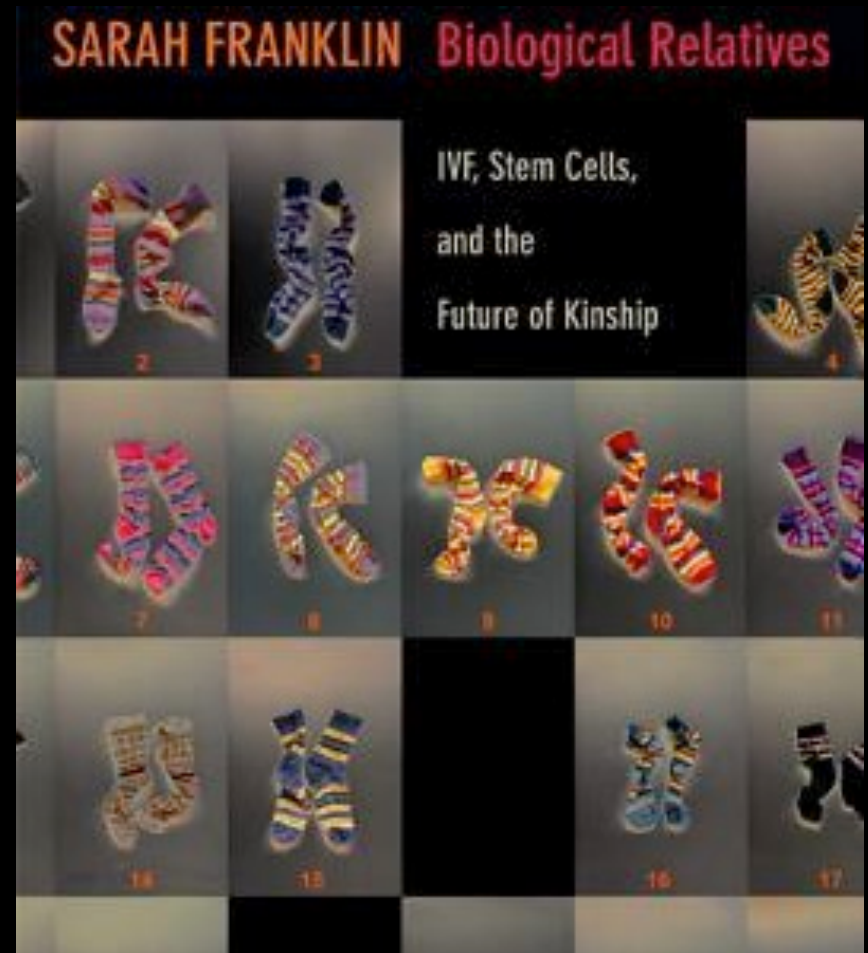
More links to zoology

- It is unclear if other primates project themselves into others (empathise?). Case against: they don't point and we do
- Apes cooperate but don't 'symbolically participate in others' existence' (Sahlins 2013: 42)



But a focus on biology is critiqued

- By the 1960s scholars recognised that biology was not as pivotal to kinship ties as previously thought because kinship does so much more than just reveal (and/or depend on) who one shares blood with.



Franklin's book (2013) about IVF shows that blood relations have changed with technology

Biology, feminism and female subjugation

- Despite moves away from looking at the role of biology, feminist scholars revived the study because they wanted to explore the universal subjugation of women.
- See: Lamphere in Stone (2001) referencing her earlier work in *Women, culture and society* (Rosaldo and Lamphere 1974)



Lamphere (2001) new reproductive technologies (NRT)

- Biological facts are not 'natural' any more. Technologies are being naturalised through reproductive innovations.
- NRT are redefining 'motherhood'
- Now blood relations are linked to genes or gene code rather than the carrier of the foetus.



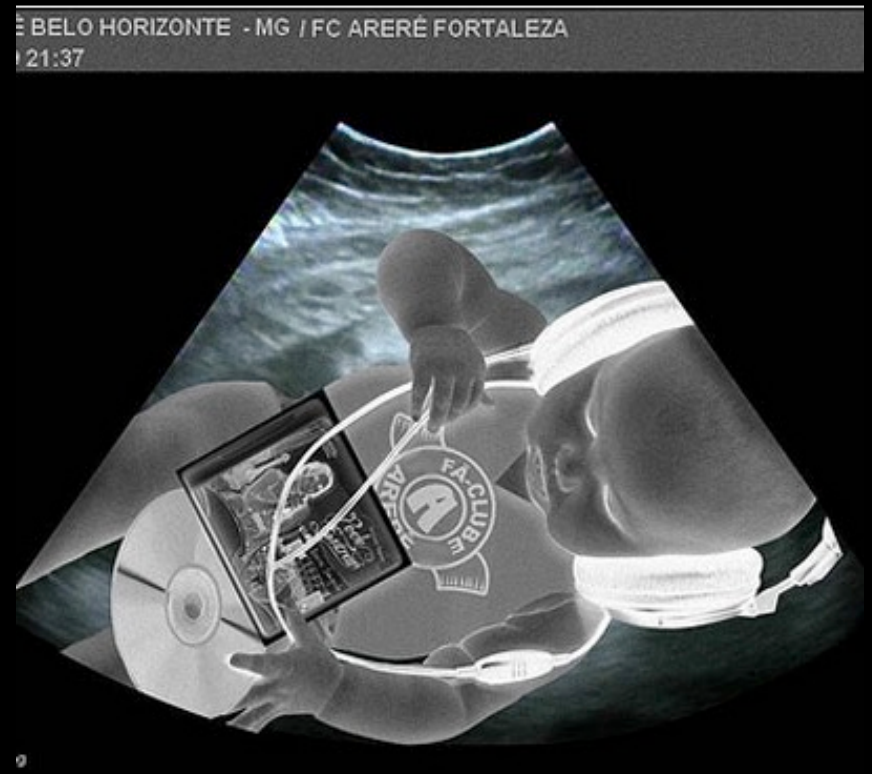
Questions about substances

- The 1990 Human Fertilization and Embryology Act forced a discussion of when it is OK to experiment on embryos in parliament. They decided up to 14 days.
- In ref to IVF, Franklin talks of 'unfamiliar kinship' and 'embryonic personhood'. The embryo is 'human' making the mother invisible.



Naturalising NRT and vice versa

- Putting medical and legal contexts alongside kinship changes relationships (assisted reproduction, surrogacy)
- IVF - 'giving nature a helping hand' (Franklin 1997: 209).
- Ultrasound bringing women closer to their babies or interfering? (Taylor 1998)



Edwards' Diblings (p286) – a new kind of family

- Diblings are donor siblings
- Related by gametes from the same donor but living in different families (not half or step)
- 'diblings trace their relatedness through the donor' (286) and have produced internet clans
- <https://twitter.com/hashtag/diblings>



Recap - discussion



How useful is the word 'family'?

- Does this mean that to use the term 'family' is eurocentric? Is it at root a hetero-normative construct? (...and what does this say about other terms used by anthropologists?)



Ethnographic examples that ‘trouble’ biological definitions of family

- Birth – Trobriand Islanders
 - Marriage – Ju/Hoansi
 - Association – Mbuti
 - Diblings
-
- Nevertheless, despite differences, each culture recognises relatedness.



Conclusion

- Every human culture recognises distinct connections between persons... but these connections are not created by biology or marriage exclusively



Brother Bear

Marriage



Definition of marriage

- Unsurprisingly definitions are hard to apply universally.
- However, marriage is considered:
 - A public social contract (socio-legal) that organises people and extends families
 - Typically concerns childcare in some way (e.g.: legitimises responsibilities to children)



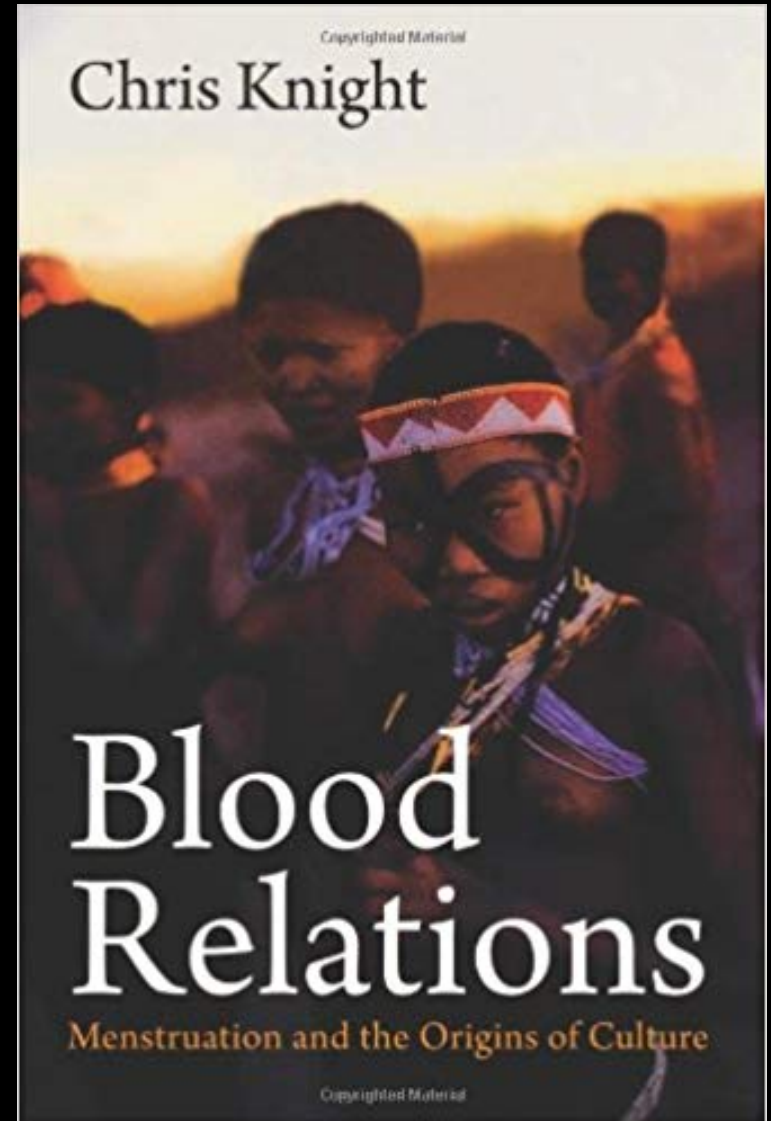
According to Bachofen, 'creating' families paved the way for marriage

- Marriage = the right of women to be linked with just one man (Mutterrecht 1877: xix)
- In other words, women chose this model so as to move away from communal to monogamous sex.



(VBCD Knight, C. 1991 *Blood Relations*)

- Women invented culture by withholding sex to get meat.
- Knight uses chimp behaviours around meat, concealed ovulation and that women in groups bleed together to validate his claims



However, according to Engels, marriage could be understood differently

- Marriage was the 'defeat of the female sex' (Engels 1884: 30)
- Marriage hinged on the acquisition of property and the male desire to know who are his offspring
- This was achieved by simply changing descent rules



Monogamy, therefore, produced the family (as we have known it)

- Produces 'children of undisputed paternity' (Engels 1884: 33) and makes offspring the property of men.
- Produced the first division of labour.
- The first oppressed are women, paving the way to the slavery and private wealth of today.



Typical European Consanguine Family

- A social structure that controls who can have sex with who.
- Excludes blood relatives, which establishes the incest taboo
- Shifts, stores and transfers property through blood lines



Marriage is organised by, and produces, behaviour (rules and laws)

- The rules sanction and prohibit who can be married and when.
- They create restrictions around, and establish, 'normal' sexual behaviour.
- Once married certain social expectations come with the role.
- Property is shared



Reminder: Morgan, H. 1877

Ancient Society

- Assumed that biological paternity was never known during the time of 'primitive promiscuity'
- Rules emerged to stop parents procreating with their children (incest taboo – see Levi Strauss too). This 1st rule brought more.



The incest taboo (or biological avoidance)

- Considered a universal
- Seemingly all cultures prohibit sex with relatives.
- WHY?
 - Levi-strauss: to build exogamous alliances
 - Morgan: genetics
 - Malinowski: creates structure that avoids confusion about who is who
 - Concerns about pedophilia and power inequities?
 - Or just innate revulsion?



But the incest taboo is not universally applied

- Anthropologically puzzling because:
 - The notion of a 'relative' is culturally contextual
 - Prohibitions apply to both blood relatives and in-laws
 - Biology shows genetic issues are not immediate or guaranteed



Arens, W. (1986). *The Original Sin: Incest and its meaning*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Incest is a cultural rule not based in biology because

- Domestic animals are inbred to promote positive genetic characteristics.
- History shows incest to be socially sanctioned. E.g.: Roman Egypt and royalty
- Thornhill (1993) shows that from 129 societies, only 57 had a parent-child or sibling incest taboo.



King Chulalongkorn of Thailand and his sister/queen, Saovabha Bongsri

Types of marriage

- Monogamy
- Serial Monogamy
- Polygamy
- Polygyny
- Polyandry
- Group marriage
- Cenogamy
- Same sex
- Civil partnership
- Arranged
- Forced

- Activity:

Find definitions of each type of marriage listed on this slide.



Some ethnographic examples that illustrate diversity in the expression and understanding of 'marriage'.

The Nayar (according to Gough (1959))

- Boys are army trained and often absent
- Prepubescent girls get ritually married at the *Tali (kettu)*
- 'Husbands' have no obligation to her but she must mourn his death if he dies.
- Now she can sleep with anyone of same cast. Her children must be acknowledged by one of her lovers by a gift to the midwife.



Nuer 'ghost marriages'

- Nuer men need to marry to have children to extend their name. If a man dies before he marries then his brother would marry in his name (as his ghost).
- Barren women can marry other women to get children. This is achieved with the help of a male friend. The woman is the pater.



Ghost marriages, Singapore Cantonese

- Ghost marriages take place to:
- 'acquire a grandson after the death of the son of the family;
- to acquire a living daughter-in-law...,
- when a younger son wishes to marry and his elder brother has died before taking a wife (...[to avoid] the disfavour of his brother's ghost);
- to prevent any catastrophe that might take place as a result of the unhappiness of the ghost ...
- to cement a bond of friendship between two families' Topley, 1955: 29)



Toda, Kerala, S India

- An example of fraternal polyandry; common in this area
- When a woman marries a man she also marries all of his brothers
- Her children are fathered by successive brothers through the ritual giving of a bow and arrow.



Marrying objects

- Erika Eiffel married the tower in 2009 because of intense feeling
- "The Berlin Wall is a masterpiece. I can feel how much he yearns to be loved," Erika Eiffel said.' (Snow and Brady 2009)
- Sexual orientation?[Termed: *objectum sexual*] - Technosexual or mechaphile



10 people in love with inanimate objects



Bestiality and zoophilia

- Hurn (2012) explores the taboo of zoophilia. She cites power imbalance, lack of consent and the discomfort of blurred boundaries as the reason for a taboo.
- She makes the distinction:
 - Bestiality as a behaviour
 - Zoophilia – sexual orientation
- She also shows that zoosexuals love their inter-species sexual partners.



Arranged or forced?

Arranged not forced

- 'Arranged' = parents negotiate to get the best partnership for their children.
- Parents know best but children can refuse.
- Has little to do with attraction
- Factors for compatibility: reputation, horoscope, caste, vocation, wealth, health



Contemporary methods of finding a life partner in India

- [Website 'Shaddicom'](#)
- [Shaddiface](#)
- **Shaadi.com TV ad (:43 secs each)**
 - Groom
<http://youtu.be/shLf7-f0NfE>
 - Bride
http://youtu.be/1QsBh_fLajQ



Video, click on picture: The Stream - Arranged marriage: For love or family

Activity.
Please read for
discussion:



Anitha, S., and Gill, A. 2015 A Moral Panic? The
Problematization of Forced Marriage in British
Newspapers *Violence against Women*

And

Sarich, J., Olivier, M., and Bales, K 2016 Forced
Marriage, Slavery, and Plural Legal Systems *Human
Rights Quarterly* Vol 38

Forced and child marriages in plural legal systems

Sarich, Olivier and Bales (2016) ask:

- What is a “child marriage?” What is a “forced marriage?” Are child marriages necessarily forced marriages? Can involuntary marriages be considered a form of slavery? (p456)
- UN termed this a ‘harmful traditional practice’ (Winter, Thompson and Jefferys 2002 cited in Anitha and Gill 2015: 1136)



Forced marriages: Described as modern slavery

:

- “Evie” from Nigeria, whose father promised her to be the youngest bride of a village elder in exchange for money and political influence. The first time Evie met this man, she begged him to reconsider—after all, the ceremony had not yet taken place. He raped her to demonstrate the certainty of his purchase. When she told her parents of the assault, her shame was met by her father’s bitter warning that if she continued to resist, the village elders would bury her alive. Neither her father nor the elders expected to suffer any consequences for her murder, since they were simply upholding honor within the community. Her father made it very clear to Evie that there was no escape from this marriage. The transaction agreement had taken place when she was a very young child. The bride price was paid. (Sarich, Olivier and Bales, 2016: 454)

Representations in the British Press

Anitha and Gill (2015), A Moral Panic?

- They investigate how forced marriage is presented
 - Framed as barbaric, harmful, traditional and cultural problem (Muslim)
 - Exoticised
 - Women are victims
 - Romance is valorized and connects to cultural identity

ation 10
ation. Engineered. [Play video](#)

 **EXPRESS**
Home of the Daily and Sunday Express

Victim of forced marriage in the UK aged just TWO...

A TWO-year-old was among at least 250 children in the UK last year who were victims of forced marriage.



Children as young as two are being targeted in forced marriages

Shocking figures have revealed even toddlers are at risk of being forced into marriage in the UK, with young people between the ages of 16 and 25 being most at risk.

The Forced Marriage Unit – set up by the Foreign and Commonwealth Office – said it helped in 1,485 cases of possible forced marriage last year, involving 80 different countries across Asia, the Middle East, Africa, Europe and North America.

The statistics for 2012 show that of the 744 cases where the age was known, over 600 involved young people under the age of 25.

Thirteen per cent involved victims under 15 years-old, while 22 per cent involved 16 or 17 years-old.

The oldest victim was 71 and the youngest was just two.

The majority of the cases investigated from within the UK were in London.

Home Office Minister for Crime Prevention Jeremy Browne said: "Forced marriage is a devastating form of abuse that is absolutely unacceptable in our