STRUCTURE AND DEVELOPMENTAL CYCLE OF THE HINDU JOINT FAMILY IN DURBAN

SABITA JITHOO

DURBAN - 1970
STRUCTURE AND DEVELOPMENTAL CYCLE

OF THE HINDU JOINT FAMILY IN DURBAN

SABITA JITHOO

B. A. HONS (NATAL)

Thesis submitted in partial fulfilment for the Degree of Master of Arts in the Department of African Studies, University of Natal, Durban.

1970.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The author is deeply indebted to Professor E.J. Krige for her assistance in the planning of the field research upon which this study of the Hindu joint family in Durban is based. She is grateful to her for her inspiration and guidance throughout the years of her training in the Department of Social Anthropology.

In addition, the author would like to thank the Indian families not only for the many interviews they gave her, but also for their hospitality during the performance of religious rites in their homes.

SABITA JITHOO

Durban.
1970
# Table of Contents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Acknowledgements</td>
<td>i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table of Contents</td>
<td>ii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>List of Tables</td>
<td>viii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>List of Maps</td>
<td>ix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>List of Diagrams</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>List of Plates</td>
<td>xi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>INTRODUCTION</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Methods of Research; the families chosen for study and the areas from which they were drawn</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Families chosen for study</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Map I indicating location of families studied</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Period of Investigation and Methods used.</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Problems and Difficulties</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The areas in which the families were living</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asherville</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Overport</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tintown</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Families scattered in various parts of Durban</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conclusion</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>PART I: Historical Background and Cultural Diversity of the Indians in Durban</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>CHAPTER I</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arrival of the Indians in Natal</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The First Indentured Indian Labourers</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Map II indicating places of origin and linguistic regions of the Indian Families studied</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conditions of Contract of Indentured Labourers with the South African Government</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Areas of Settlement in Natal</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arrangements on Expiry of term of Contract</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Openings and Possibilities after Indenture Period</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Period during which Indentured Labourers came to South Africa
Arrival of "Passenger" Indians
Contact with Relatives in India
Illiteracy of Indian Labourers
Provision of Education by the Government
Indian Population of South Africa today

CHAPTER II

The Diversity in Background and Culture Among the different Groups of Indians in Durban.

Areas of Origin of various sections of Indians in South Africa
Of the Hindus
Of the Moslems

Linguistic Divisions among the Indians
Hindi, Tamil, Telugu and Gujarati
Urdu
English

Religions among the Indians in South Africa
Hinduism
Mohammedanism
Christianity
Jainism
Zoroastrianism

Differences in Dress and Diet
Dress
Diet

Types of Marriage among Indians in Natal
Among Hindus
Marriage with Cross- or Parallel-Cousins
Marriage with the Mother's Brother
Levirate and Sororate

Among Moslems

Differences in Caste
## PART II: The Hindu Joint Family

### CHAPTER III

**Family Life and Developmental Cycle of the Hindu Joint Family as Exemplified by three Case Histories.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>First Family: Family of DUNSEE MAHADEO</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Early history of the family</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Separation from first wife</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second marriage</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahadeo opens a general dealer's shop in Charlestown</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Move to Dannhauser about 1910: Business and farming</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahadeo's business flourishes</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joint family at its height in 1927</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The First Segmentation (1926): Separation of sons of first wife</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joint family of Mahadeo's second marriage at its height in 1936</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friction among sons and separation of Dunsee, the eldest brother</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Death of patriarch (1939) and deterioration of the business</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Girdhari and Hassan leave to set up their own households</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anwar becomes head of the family in Newcastle</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relationship among the brothers today</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relation between the married daughters and their family of orientation</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brothers and Sisters</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conclusion</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Second Family: The family history of CHAUDHARY</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'From Rags to Riches'</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arrival in South Africa as an indentured labourer in 1866</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Growth of the fish business</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joint family of Chaudhry in 1923 and death of patriarch</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First Segmentation of marriage of Jack to a Coloured woman (1926)</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The remaining brothers separate</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Development of Ramautar's family and business interests</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Division of estate before death of Ramautar</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forces which held the family of Ramautar together</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter</td>
<td>Title</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>Third Family: The family history of Chellan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Arrival of Chellan I as indentured labourer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Joint family of Chellan at its maximum (1918)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Two sons find separate accommodation close to parents home</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Death of patriarch (+1920)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Family of Chellan II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Two sons live together until death of father</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Concluding remarks on Chellans' family</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Forces holding the joint family together</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Developmental cycle of the joint family as illustrated in the three family histories</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV</td>
<td>Nature of the Joint Family and Relationships within it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Composition of the joint family</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ideal form of the joint family</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Joint Family</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Composite Families</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Nuclear Families</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Authority of Patriarch and Wife</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Spatial Arrangements, Cooking together and the Resolution of Conflict</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Joint Family as an Economic Unit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Family Businesses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Moral bonds in the joint family</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Parents and Children</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mother and Son (Ma - Beta)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Father</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Relations between siblings in a Joint Family</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Marriage of sons and the Position of the daughter-in-law</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Husband and wife (Pati-Patni)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Wife's relationship with husband's brothers and sisters</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The family as a Religious Unit 102  
Death and Inheritance 104  
Forces holding the joint family together 105  

CHAPTER V  
Causes of Segmentation in the Joint Family 107  
Insufficient accommodation 107  
Political and natural disasters 109  
Division of Estate by father before his death 110  
Segmentation as a result of conflict within the joint family 110  
Steps taken to resolve conflicts 110  
Conflict between brothers 111  
Part played by brother's wives in family conflict 113  
Conflict between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law 114  
Role of husband's sisters in family conflict 121  
Marriage outside the Indian Community as a cause of segmentation 122  
Extraneous factors operating to cause Segmentation 123  
Occupational differentiation 123  
Western Education 125  
"Group Areas" legislation, slum clearance and housing schemes 128  
Segmentation does not sever family ties and responsibilities 129  
Summary 130  

CHAPTER VI  
Religion in Family life 131  
The Joint Family as a Religious Unit 131  
Common family Deities 132  
The Family Shrine (Vedhi) 133
Tenclance of Shrines 134

What it involves
Ritual purity essential before approaching a Shrine 134

Domestic Rituals

Simple forms of Domestic Rituals 135
Daily prayers 135
Days set aside for Family Worship 136

Use of shrine in case of illness 137

Hawan- A propitiatory and purificatory fire ritual 137
How Hawan is performed 137
What it achieves 138

Vows taken at the family shrine

How and why vows are made 138
What is undertaken in vows 139
Examples of vows taken in families that were studied 141
Katha and Jhanda - a scripture-reading and flag-raising ceremony 143

Moslem Rituals 144

Maulood Sharif 144

Contrast between Hindu Religious Ritual and that of the Moslems and that of the Arya Samaj Reformists 145

Family Ceremonies connected with the Life Cycle

Their general nature 145
Naming Ceremony 146
Hair-shaving ceremony (Upodan or Churakaran) 148
Sacred Thread ceremony (Upanyana) 148
Piercing of the Ears (Karanvedharam) 150
Marriage Rites (Vivah) 151

Death Ceremonies (Sraddha) and their importance for the Joint Family 153

Annual rites in honour of the Dead and the relationship between the Living and the Dead 156

The over-riding importance of religion in holding the family together 158

CHAPTER VII

Conclusion 160

Joint Family in India 160
Joint Family in other parts of the World 172

BIBLIOGRAPHY 188

APPENDIX 187
# Tables

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Table 1</td>
<td>Types of Occupation and Approximate Income Range of the Heads of the Families Studied</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table 2</td>
<td>Number of Indian Families in the present study that are of Indentured and of &quot;Passenger&quot; Ancestry</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table 3</td>
<td>Number of Children in School in relation to Population</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table 4</td>
<td>Preferential Marriages in the various Indian Groups studied</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table 5</td>
<td>Caste Affiliation of the Hindu Groups in this Study</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table 6</td>
<td>Number of Joint families in the various income groups in the families studied</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table 7</td>
<td>Percentage of Nuclear Families living a joint family life</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table 8</td>
<td>Ideal form of the Joint Family</td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| Table 9 | Table showing Composition of the Joint Families studied and indicating also the presence of non 
| | kin relatives                                                             | 87   |
| Table 10 | Number of University Students in favour of the Joint Family                 | 133  |
MAPS

Map I  Map of Durban indicating the location of the families studied  2

Map II  Map of India indicating origin and linguistic regions of the families studied  12
# Diagrams

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Diagram</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Diagram I</td>
<td>Development and Segmentation of the Family of Mahadeo and his Descendants.</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diagram II</td>
<td>Development and Segmentation of the Family of Choudhry and his Descendants</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diagram III</td>
<td>Development and Segmentation of the Family of Annamalay Chellan and his Descendants</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diagram IV</td>
<td>Causes of Segmentation</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
PLATES

PLATE ONE
Homes of Indian Families falling into the upper and middle income groups in Durban.
A typical house in Reservoir Hills
A typical privately built house in Asherville

PLATE TWO
Homes of Indian Families falling into the middle and lower income groups in Durban.
A typical house in Overport
A typical 'tintown' shack

PLATE THREE
Tintown

PLATE FOUR
Descendant of an indentured labourer

PLATE FIVE
A Soothsayer or Priest

PLATE SIX
Indian Market gardeners
Prospective Buyers on their way to the Indian Market

PLATE SEVEN
Buyers outside the Indian Market
Mother and son sorting vegetables

PLATE EIGHT
Grey Street - Indian Commercial Centre.
A Mosque in Grey Street
PLATE NINE
Typical Hindu Dress

PLATE TEN
Typical Moslem Dress

PLATE ELEVEN
A Typical shack in Tintown.
Cooking on a humble fire-place in Tintown (chula)

PLATE TWELVE
A family in Tintown
Children in Tintown enjoying the limited supply of water

PLATE THIRTEEN
Flags raised in honour of Lord Hanuman

PLATE FOURTEEN
Dome of the SHREE VISHNU Temple in Somsteu Road
Hanuman the Monkey-god - showing offerings of fruit and milk

PLATE FIFTEEN
Hindu Deities
Shrine of GANESHA the elephant-god
Shrine of DURGA - one of the manifestations of the Holy Mother

PLATE SIXTEEN
The Family Shrine

PLATE SEVENTEEN
In fulfilment of Vows
Fire-walking
Kavady
PLATE EIGHTEEN

SHIVA worship

Shiva temple at Clare Estate

Lord Shiva and the Lingam

PLATE NINETEEN

SHREE VISHNU temple in Somsten Road, Durban.
The Families Chosen for Study:

This investigation into the Hindu joint family began as a general study of the Indian family in Durban, with special reference to the part played by religion in family life. As time went on it became oriented towards an analysis of the joint family and its developmental cycle.

For purposes of the study 100 families were chosen in neighbourhood blocks or streets in three areas. In addition a fourth group scattered over the whole of Durban and belonging to the wealthy class, was included. The areas chosen were Overport, one of the oldest residential areas for Indians located just outside the old borough boundary, in which a neighbourhood of 21 families was chosen; Asherville, a new Indian housing area in which 35 families were chosen; and "Tintown", a temporary housing arrangement for poor families forced under the Group Areas Act to move out of various slum areas and other parts of Durban where land was required for industrial development, for parks and gardens and other purposes (23 families).

Finally, to offset the very poor group represented in Tintown, and supplement the predominantly middle-income group in Asherville and Overport, 21 wealthy families distributed all over Durban were selected on the basis of their wealth.
Map I indicates the areas in Durban in which the families live. Thus, the hundred families chosen come from diverse areas of Durban and represent a wide range of income from very poor to very rich. (See Table 1 for the range of incomes.) After the families had been chosen it was found that they also represent many diverse occupations ranging from night soil removers and market gardeners to business men of various classes, doctors, lawyers and teachers. Their occupations are set out in Table 1. In addition, it was found that a large number of different language groups were represented, as well as the major religions (Hindu, Moslem, Christian); so that it would appear that the families chosen comprise a fairly representative sample of Indians in Durban although the study centres mainly on the Hindus.

**Period of Investigation and Methods Used:**

The investigation began in 1964 and continued until 1967. The fieldworker who was in part-time employment at the Medical School utilized the afternoons, weekends and University vacation periods for her investigations. The families were visited in their homes. Genealogies and family histories were obtained in formal interviews and in addition there was a good deal of participant observation in the form of attending family rituals in the home and in the temples, mixing with the family and watching the interaction of kin in the family, and taking part in various family activities. Members of the family of different sexes and belonging to different age-groups, were interviewed and in many cases contacts were made also with
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Income Group</th>
<th>Occupational Category</th>
<th>Number of Families</th>
<th>Approximate Income per Month</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Higher</td>
<td>Doctors</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>R600 – R2,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lawyers</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Wealthy business men</td>
<td>16</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle</td>
<td>Teachers</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>R41 – R500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Small business men</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Storemen</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Waiters</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tailors</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Salesmen</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Market gardeners</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Clerical, office and related work</td>
<td>56</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Factory operatives</td>
<td>12</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Barmen</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sergeant</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dental mechanic</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Priest</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tattoo artist</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dress-maker</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Principals of schools</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lower</td>
<td>Street sweepers</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>R6 – R40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Night soil remover</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Factory handymen</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Market gardeners</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Boat builder</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Hawker</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bus drivers</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Cabinet maker’s assistants</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>100</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
relatives who had come to visit families being investigated or were followed up and contacted for information on family history. In this way many more families than the 100 that were specifically chosen are represented in the investigation. For information on Hindu religion priests and other specialists were consulted. Life-cycle ceremonies such as marriage and death and other religious rituals deeply affecting the family were attended and investigated. A group of 75 students of both sexes at the Indian University College was tested on attitudes to the joint family. Municipal officials and social workers gave information on housing schemes and on some of the poorer groups studied.

There were no language problems in this investigation. Interviews were conducted in both English and Hindi and it was found that Hindi or English were commonly understood by most of the families, i.e. there would always be someone in the family that could understand either Hindi or English. Hindi and Gujarati are mutually intelligible.

Problems and Difficulties:

Most families were very co-operative once they understood the nature of the enquiry, but the women were often afraid to divulge information until their husbands had been present at an interview. In addition many women are illiterate and tend to give inaccurate information except on topics directly concerning themselves. Information on family history was difficult to obtain in the nuclear families, which consisted of young people who were often
ignorant of, or not interested in, their forebears. This difficulty was greatest in the lowest income group in Tin-town who lacked interest and were thus ignorant of the history of their family. The wealthy and professional group also proved to be difficult at times and seemed to feel it beneath their dignity to be interviewed at all. However, most families were very helpful indeed and the investigator has made many good friends among them.

The Areas in which the Families were Living:

Asherville:

Asherville is a comparatively new, well laid-out Indian suburb in which people of a wide range of income groups reside. Two sections of Asherville were chosen, viz. a) a group of semi-detached houses built by the Municipality and rented for about R10. per month to people not very comfortably off; and b) a few streets away from the semi-detached houses and in the heart of Asherville a group of families in privately-built houses belonging to the more affluent section of the community, mostly teachers, lawyers and other professional men (see Plate one). The plots had been bought and the houses built on loans obtained from the Municipality. A little uniform in appearance, the houses were nevertheless well-built brick and tile structures and well furnished. The rented houses were small but adequate. Electricity and water are supplied in all houses in Asherville. Of the thirty-five families studied in Asherville seven only were found to
PLATE ONE

Homes of Indian Families falling into the upper and middle income groups in Durban.

A typical house in Reservoir Hills.

A typical privately built house in Asherville.
PLATE TWO

Homes of Indian families falling into the middle and lower income groups in Durban.

A typical house in Overport.

A typical 'tintown' shack.
be joint families.

**Overport:**

In Overport there are families who have occupied properties for generations. Most of the houses were modest ones built of wood and iron, many in a rather dilapidated state. The houses here were three- and four-roomed ones with electricity and other facilities (see Plate two). They were simply furnished, commensurable with the moderate earning capacity of the breadwinners. Some of the 21 families studied in this area owned the houses and were reasonably well off; others rented their houses or lived as tenants in back yards under congested conditions. Of the 21 families chosen 9 were joint families, a much higher proportion than in Asherville. There were Tamil and Telegu-speaking people, Moslems and Christians, but no Gujaratis in this area. Incomes ranged from R21 per month to R400 per month (see Table 1). The women who went out to work in this group of families were either teachers or shop-assistants.

**Tintown (Plate Three):**

Tintown is in an area known as Springfield Flats in Alpine Road. It is known by this name because of its small "tin" houses (see Plate Two). It skirts the Umgeni river and is surrounded by cultivated land belonging to market gardeners. Most of the people living here originally came from an area of dilapidated shacks known as Magazine barracks, but a number came from other areas.
All had been removed from their living quarters under the Group Areas Act. The houses were erected in 1957 as temporary dwelling quarters for 300 families who rented small plots of land at R2.50 per month from the Municipality, and put up their own structures. Most of these shacks consisted of two rooms and a kitchen. Sanitary arrangements are of the bucket type and water is supplied from taps about 200 yards apart, each one shared by 8 families. Here 23 families were studied, seven of them being joint families. They appeared to be very poor indeed, often lacking in the will to raise themselves to better conditions. Houses were unnecessarily dirty, little or no attempt being made to keep them tidy.

The men were employed mainly by the Durban Corporation, many doing such menial tasks as streetsweeping. Other types of employment took the form of night soil removal, unskilled work in factories, work as gardeners, domestic servants, waiters, pedlars, hawkers, and labourers on adjacent market gardens. Some have small stalls in the Indian market and do vegetable gardening on a small scale in their back yards. Those women who go out to work do so as domestic servants and factory machinists. The children not living in joint families are left uncared for while their mothers go out to work, the more fortunate being looked after by neighbours. Unemployment is rife. One sees many young Indian men walking about aimlessly or playing cards in groups.

Tintown is miles away from shops and schools. A Durban Corporation bus takes the children to school and
back daily and several special buses of the Corporation come during the day to take shoppers to the nearest shopping centre. In addition a privately-owned bus comes early in the morning, stopping at each house to collect shoppers (chiefly children) and take them to buy the day's requirements. On Saturday afternoons pedlars and hawkers make their rounds, so the area is quite well served.

The standard of education of the families interviewed was low. Some of the adults could read and write but the majority were illiterate. Many children were not in school as their parents could not afford to pay the school fees of a few rands per year.

Families Scattered in Various Parts of Durban:

Of the 21 wealthy families scattered all over Durban which were included in the study, 12 were joint families. They were largely families of successful business men, doctors and lawyers. Members of this group are accorded great respect and have great prestige in the Indian community where wealth is the main criterion of status. They run big American cars, own modern homes attractively furnished in more or less Western style (see Plate One) and they are called upon to act as patrons in the community, to preside at meetings and help charitable organizations. They are constantly being appealed to for donations. The women set fashions, wearing imported sarries and expensive jewellery. They organize all important social functions. Most of the younger women in this group are well-educated but a number of the older ones were illiterate. Their
husbands sometimes employ tutors to teach them to read and write and to speak English. One or two of the women in this group are doctors. Doctors are accorded the highest status in the Indian community.

It was impossible to assess with any degree of reliability the income of these families.

**Conclusion:**

The families on which the present study was based represent then, low, middle and high income groups; a wide range of occupations, all the major religious and linguistic groupings. They were living in many different parts of Durban including the central area; Reservoir Hills, an exclusive suburb; Asherville, one of the newest housing areas; Overport, one of the oldest Indian residential areas; and Tintown, a shack area on the Umgeni river.
PART I

Historical Background and Cultural Diversity

of the Indians in Durban
CHAPTER I.

ARRIVALS OF THE INDIANS IN NATAL.

The First Indentured Indian Labourers:

Before discussing the Indian joint family in Durban it is important to know something of the historical background of the Indians in South Africa today and the conditions under which they settled here and in which their family life developed.

In the middle of the 19th century, not long after the early British settlers had arrived in Natal, there was an acute shortage of labour. When the sugar industry was established the problem became so great that it was decided to import indentured labour from India both for the sugar plantations and for certain government work on the railways. The Zulu was not proving amenable and showed no desire to work for the European at that time.

The majority of the Indians in South Africa today are descendants of indentured labourers. After negotiations with the Government of India, the first shipload left Madras on the 25th September, 1860, in the S.S. Truro, and arrived in Natal on the 16th November of the same year. There were about 342 persons, mainly South Indian Hindus, i.e. Tamils and Telugus. Twelve percent of the first group of indentured labourers from Madras were Moslems, but the majority of Moslems had arrived as "passenger" Indians in the 1870's. There were 83 children under the age of 14 and 75 women between 16 and 46 years of age. On November 26th, 1860, another ship, the Belvedere, arrived from Calcutta (North India) with 351 Indians and exactly the same
MAP II
MAP OF INDIA INDICATING PLACES OF ORIGIN AND LINGUISTIC REGIONS
OF THE INDIAN FAMILIES STUDIED

Adapted from MORGAN K. W. 1953

KEY

- Hindi speaking Hindus (27)
- Telegu speaking Hindus (19)
- Tamil speaking Hindus (34)
- Gujarati speaking Hindus (5) and Moslems (4)
- Places of origin (Cities)

Miles
number of children. These were the Hindusthanis. There were also 5 Christians on board the ship when it docked in Durban. These were the two biggest shiploads. There were other smaller shiploads of Indians recruited to work mainly on the sugar plantations in Natal. (Map II indicates the areas in India from which indentured Indian labourers were recruited.) Among them were many talented craftsmen such as potters, weavers, barbers, jewellers, policemen, undertakers, herdsmen, traders and priests, all of whom were of considerable value to a young country like South Africa.

Upon their arrival the labourers erected temporary huts 10' x 10' and began work on the sugar plantations. The conditions under which they worked left much to be desired. The Coolie Commission of 1872 found that on many estates no medical care was provided, wages were withheld and flogging was common.

Conditions of the Contract of Indentured Labourers with the South African Government:

The salary obtained by the labourers on the sugar estates was 10/- (Rl.) per month and an increase of 1/- was allowed every year. Housing accommodation was in the form of barracks and labourers were supplied with food rations.

Although the indentured Indians did not own land, some estate owners allowed their labourers to have as much garden ground as they liked to cultivate on their own account. They worked there on Sundays and if task work was given them they usually finished it early in the
PLATE FOUR

Descendant of an indentured labourer.
PLATE FIVE

A Soothsayer or Priest
afternoon and worked the remainder of the day in their gardens. They cultivated lentils, beans, pumpkins, mealies, sweet-potatoes, chillies, tobacco and other Indian vegetables such as "slippery jack", thuroi, susoot, and a variety of herbs. Many did well as cultivators, converting waste and unproductive land into well-kept gardens. Gradually they learned better methods of cultivation to maintain productivity of the soil and those who accumulated savings invested on leasehold land to cultivate perennial crops. Under this system there were to be found fruit plantations, bananas, pawpaws, pineapples and also citrus and avocado pear-growing.

Areas of Settlement in Natal:

The indentured Indians worked on the sugar plantations in Mt. Edgecombe, Avoca, Verulam, Stanger, Tongaat, Glen-dale, Durban North and the southern areas such as Umkomaas, Umzinto, Isipingo and Illovo. They worked on all the sugar plantations in Natal.

Arrangements on Expiry of Term of Contract:

As early as 1863 a number of indentured Indians had paid down their £5. (R10.) commutation and had thus released themselves from any obligation to the Government or the country. Although the original contract was for three years, the immigrants were required at the expiry of the term to enter into a new contract of service with the same or some other employer for a further period of not less than twelve months and not more than two years. Such
additional service could be commuted or redeemed on payment to the government of a sum of 50/- (R5.) for each year remaining to complete a total industrial service of five years.

The immigrants who had arrived by the first five shiploads were entitled to a return passage to India. At the discretion of the governor this could be commuted to the equivalent in land. Neither alternative appealed to sugar planters who wanted the Indians in Natal as labourers and not as independent landowners. The cost of the return passage to India would be from £7.10. to £12.10. The Immigration Department provided return passages for wives and children as well.

Openings and Possibilities after Indenture Period:

There were several alternatives open to the indentured Indians after the contract had expired. They could re-indenture and continue with work on sugar plantations, they could begin independent work of their own or they could return to India. A number decided to settle down in the borough and turn their attention to market gardening, handicrafts and other occupations to which they had been accustomed at home.

After a great deal of discussion it was decided by the authorities that land should be laid out in the area north of Durban for Indians. The size of each lot was to be 25' x 66' and fifty lots were laid out in a square block. The lease was not to exceed five years and plots were to be let to the highest bidders.
A number of the emancipated Indians went to various parts of Natal to alleviate the severe shortage of semi-skilled workers and were employed as artisans, cooks and housekeepers, tailors and washermen.

By 1866 some Indians had settled on the Bluff and had become fishermen. Some of them had applied for permission to cut firewood on the Bluff and Congella. They were granted licences and were charged R24 per year. Some fishermen also lived on Salisbury Island and a licence also had to be obtained for this purpose at a rate that was left to the discretion of the magistrate. (Minutes of Durban Town Council, December, 1863, and January, 1864).

Many indentured labourers had saved money. They were able to lease small shops or open tearooms which flourished as the years went by. An example is that of the Mahadeo family discussed in Chapter III. In the Overport-Sydenham area some did dairy farming, others turned to fishing. All the fishing and nearly all the market gardening and hawking of fruit and vegetables were in the hands of Indian market gardeners and still is today. (See Plates Six and Seven.)

The small land-holdings which the Indians leased from European owners or from the government or Municipality were subsequently sold to tenants who purchased them out of savings or paid for them over a period on the hire purchase system, extending over 10-15 years. In this way most of the land held by Indians in Durban at Clairwood, Cato Manor and Overport, and also on the north coast in the districts of Inanda and Stanger was acquired. (Report of Surveyor General, January, 1867, Vol. 100: Shepstone,
Indian Market Gardeners

Prospective Buyers on their way to the Indian Market
Buyers outside the Indian Market.

Mother and son sorting vegetables.
Many of the indentured labourers who had completed their five years' service were encouraged by mutual agreement between them and the employers to re-indenture. They could re-indenture for periods of one year after the termination of their five year service. They would receive a bonus of R2. for every year of such re-indenture. But the Indians desired to acquire land. They wished to remain in the Colony if they could get the equivalent of their passage money in land.

After the indenture period had expired the Indians spread to most parts of the Colony. From the coastal region a number of them moved inland, some settling in Pietermaritzburg while others settled in Northern Natal. In 1876 Indians occupied between 200-300 acres of land in the immediate neighbourhood of Verulam. An annual rental of £1. (R2.) per acre was paid. In this way a class of small cultivators sprang up in Natal. The holdings varied from 5 to 15 acres. Along the banks of the Illovo river there was a thriving Indian settlement.

Period during which Indentured Labourers came to South Africa:

The world depression in the late 1860's hit Natal in common with the other countries and for the time being the planters ceased to need labour. Importation of indentured labourers was suspended in 1866. Many returned to India and some took to independent work on their own as cultivators of the soil.

After the depression Natal planters once again pressed for a supply of labour from India. More Indians were
required to work in the sugar industry, and emigration began again in 1874 after a lot of persuasion. The system continued until 1911 when indentured Indian labour was finally abolished.

Arrival of "Passenger" Indians:

In the 1870's Moslem and Gujarati-speaking Hindu merchants arrived in Natal. They were men, unshackled by indenture, who had independently found their way into Natal from India and Mauritius. Merchants and business men had chosen Natal as a promising field for their commercial pursuits. The men at first came alone, leaving their families in India, but they kept in contact with them by regular visits home. Table 2 shows the proportion of indentured (64%) and "passenger" (29%) families that fell into the group that was chosen for study. This bears no necessary relation to the actual proportion although it is known that passenger Indians formed a very small proportion, smaller than is indicated in the table.

Approximately 5 percent of Indians who entered the Colony as indentured Indians were Christians. Among them were Baptists and Anglicans. Only a handful of Indian Christians entered the Colony as "passenger" Indians, i.e. paying their own fares and choosing their own vocation.

There were no Gujarati or Moslems who arrived under the indenture system. The Tamils form the highest number that came as indentured labourers, Hindusthani next, then the Telegus and lastly the Christians. Although according to this study there were seven Hindusthani and five
### Number of Indian families in the present study that are of indentured and of "passenger" ancestry

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Number Indentured</th>
<th>Number &quot;Passenger&quot;</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hindi-speaking</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tamil-speaking</td>
<td>32 64</td>
<td>2 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Telegu-speaking</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gujerati-speaking</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moslem</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christian</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total number</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Gujerati families whose forebears had originally arrived as passenger Indians, this does not reflect the true position generally in South Africa. There are more Gujerati-speaking Hindus who arrived as "passenger" Indians than Hindi-speaking Hindus. This study merely did not include many Gujerati Hindus.

**Contact with Relatives in India:**

The indentured Indians came from a poor background in India. On the other hand the "passenger" Indians were often wealthy and had large business establishments in India. Some had come to South Africa to look for better prospects and to establish branches of their overseas business. The indentured labourers and "passenger" Indians differed in language, in social background and in economic standards. They also came from diverse geogra-
The majority of the indentured labourers were from South India (see Map II), while the "passenger" Indians came from the Northwest of India, from the provinces of Gujerat, Kathiawad-Peninsula, Surat Porbander and from Ahmedabad. Since the Gujerati-Hindu and the Moslems came from the same region they had close economic links and also spoke a common language.

In South Africa the "passenger" Indians enjoyed a high standard of living. They also arranged for their children to have private tuition in the vernacular. As their financial circumstances were good, they managed to keep in contact with their relatives in India, visiting them and often importing brides of the right caste for their sons. The "passenger" Indians did not readily interact with the indentured Indians who were mainly from peasant stock. They, however, supplied the indentured Indians with Indian goods, such as spices, dholl, ghee, sarries and bangles.

Even today the Gujerati Hindus visit their relatives regularly in India. The Government has imposed restrictions on the importation of brides and the Gujerati Hindus are forced either to send their sons to reside permanently in India or marry outside their caste here. This they are rather reluctant to do as they are the most staunch Hindu traditionalists.

The "passenger" Indians therefore preserved their status as an exclusive group of people. Most of them took up residence in the areas where they commenced their trade, i.e. Grey Street and the surrounding Indian business areas. Even today most of the Gujeratis live in the central area.
Illiteracy of Indian Labourers:

Despite the fact that many of the indentured labourers were skilled craftsmen, the majority were illiterate. The education of the children of Indian labourers was not provided for in terms of indenture as the primary concern of Natal at that time was labour for their sugar plantations. Western education was not common in the villages of India during the middle of the nineteenth century, therefore the Indians did not have a great desire for education. Moreover Indians could not expect educational facilities, because even European education was first established only between 1849-1850. However, some of the educational needs of children were catered for in the vernacular languages by priests and others learned in Hindi, Gujarati, Tamil and Telegu.

Provision of Education by the Government:

About 1868 when the first few batches of Indian immigrants had already completed their terms of indenture, the Superintendent of Education stated in a report that Indians should be given educational facilities. Reverend Ralph Stott founded a small school for Indians in Durban. There were two schools founded, one day school and one evening school. The Indian parents and the children were apathetic towards education. Some parents would not send their children to school at all. Every member of the family in the early days was regarded as a potential earner
Grey Street - Indian Commercial Centre.

A Mosque in Grey Street.
from an early age; therefore a choice had to be made between schooling and learning. Small children from the age of seven began hawking fruit and vegetables and were not in school.

Lack of teachers, the fact that schools had to close down when the population shifted from one plantation to another and the apathy on the part of the parents all contributed towards the illiteracy of the Indian labourers.

For about thirty years 1869-1899, Indian primary education was limited to Standard IV. Only gradually did Indians begin to realise that the English language was indispensable in any work for Europeans, so the number of children in school remained small for many years. Table 3 shows the Indian population in the years 1870 and 1876 and the number of males and females attending school during those years. Girls' attendance was nil in 1870 as well as in 1876. Indian parents were reluctant to send their daughters to school.

During the last five years of the nineteenth century schools expanded in other areas besides Durban and Pietermaritzburg. The Indian Immigrant School Board was abolished and the Natal Education Department took control over Indian education. In 1899 Higher Grade schools up to Standard VI level were opened. Indians in Natal wrote Primary School Certificate examinations in 1929. In 1916 a mission school was established in Durban to cater for Indian education up to Standard VII. In 1930 Sastri College for boys was opened and it was only between 1937-1944 that the Indian Girls' High School was established. Study-
ing externally through correspondence colleges, gradually became common until higher educational facilities were established for Indians in South Africa.

\[ \text{TABLE 3.}^1 \]

**Number of Children in School in relation to Population**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YEAR</th>
<th>POPULATION</th>
<th>NUMBER IN SCHOOL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1870</td>
<td>3438</td>
<td>1420</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1876</td>
<td>6650</td>
<td>3101</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It was the "passenger" Indians who first took a keen interest in educating their children. Many had engaged the services of private tutors to teach their children at home.

**Indian Population of South Africa Today:**

By 1960 it was estimated that there were 477,125 Indians in South Africa, i.e. almost half a million. Of this number 395,000 live in Natal, 64,000 in the Transvaal, 18,000 in the Cape Province and only 7 in the Orange Free State. (Population Census, 1960, Government Printers, Pretoria.)

Within this relative small population, however, there

---

are to be found the most remarkable linguistic and cultural differences. At least five different languages are spoken and there is a similar number of different religions including the Hindu, Mohammedan and Christian faiths. There are also differences in dress, diet, marriage customs, etc., which add to the complexity of the cultural situation. Some of these differences will be examined in the next chapter.
CHAPTER II.

THE DIVERSITY IN BACKGROUND AND CULTURE AMONG

THE DIFFERENT GROUPS OF INDIANS IN

DURBAN

The study of a hundred Indian families in Durban brought out very clearly the enormous diversity in culture and language of the Indians in South Africa. To begin with they came from a number of different parts of India in which different languages and cultures are found.

Areas of Origin of Various Sections of Indians in South Africa:

Of the Hindus:

A very clearly recognisable distinction between Indians to the outsider is that between Hindus and Moslems. The Hindi-speaking Hindus (Hindusthani) were drawn largely from North India in the regions known as Bihar, N.E. United Provinces, Lucknow, Jaipur, Cawnpore and Calcutta (see Map II). Many of the Indian families interviewed could not tell specifically which city or village their forebears had come from. In India one can clearly determine from which region a person comes by listening to his vocabulary and pronunciation. But in South Africa one cannot really tell where a Hindu's home town is, as English is commonly spoken and if the mother-tongue is spoken at all it is done so with a South African accent.

The Tamil- and Telegu-speaking families came from South India. The Tamils hail from the districts of Madras, Tanjore, Chidambaram and the allied districts. The
Telegus come from the State of Andhra which is land watered by the rivers of Cauvery and Kistna. The Tamils are numerically the largest of the Hindu group in South Africa and the Telegus the smallest. Originally the Telegus identified themselves with the Tamils until an Agent General, Sir Kurma Reddi, arrived in 1929 and was perturbed by this situation. He gave lectures in Telegu and did much to inspire them to organise themselves as a separate cultural group. Today they are known as the Andhra community. They established the Andhra Maha Sabha, which is an organization which promotes the religious and cultural interests of the Telegus.

The Gujarati-speaking Hindu families in Durban came from Surat and Kathiawad. Those who come from Surat are called Surtees. They are linked commercially and culturally with the cities of Surat and Ahmedabad. The other group is called Kathiawadis; they come from the district of Kathiawad and from the northern region of Gujerat. Their mercantile and cultural links are with Rajkot and Porbander (see Map II).

The Kathiawadis in South Africa are small in number and are very progressive businessmen. They are recognised as a group with an identity separate from that of the Surtees. Surtees and Kathiawadis have their own institutions, schools and cultural and religious associations. Both groups, however, come under the common designation Gujeratis. They have a common religious calendar for the year and observe the same feasts, fasts and festivals, but belong to different castes.
The Moslem families came from the region of Surat. This "passenger" group is engaged largely in commerce. Many have large business establishments in Durban, such as bazaars, furniture factories and cinemas. As a group they are wealthy, highly educated and much-travelled.

The Moslems are divided into numerous diversions on the basis of language. There are Surtees who come from Surat as do the Gujarati-Hindu; there are also Memans who come from the province of Cutch and speak a different dialect altogether, but because their language is not a written one they speak, read and write Gujarati. Other groups are Hyderabadis from Hyderabad, Pathans from North India and the Miarhais. The various Moslem groups speak either Gujarati or Urdu.

The Moslems have strong trade relationships with the Gujarati-Hindu and speak a common language. But they belong to completely different cultures and of course embrace different religions, viz., Hinduism and Islam.

Linguistic Divisions among the Indians:

Hindi, Tamil, Telegu and Gujarati:

These are the four languages spoken by Hindus in South Africa. The Hindus are culturally diversified, with differences particularly marked between Tamil- and Telegu-speaking Hindus from South India, on the one hand, and Hindi- and Gujarati-speaking Hindus from north and northwest India, on the other. These languages have their
origin in Sanskrit. The Gujerati families who were inter-
viewed were all well versed in the vernacular and Gujerati
was the chief language spoken at home. The majority of
the Hindus falling into the three other groups spoke mainly
English at home. Gujerati children are sent to vernacular
schools at an early age and parents encourage their chil-
dren to speak their mother tongue.

In the other three language groups among Hindus the
children are largely ignorant of their mother tongue. Pa-
rents complain that the children do not have the aptitude
for studying their mother tongue. Vernacular schools for
these groups are few in number and not easily accessible.
Many of the educated members among these families did not
think that education in the vernacular was of much value,
as government schools, colleges and universities teach
through the medium of English. Some agreed that it was
important to teach young children their mother tongue so
that they should not lose their identity as members of
their particular language group. The older generation
(especially grandparents) are in favour of vernacular edu-
cation and young mothers are often encouraged by grandpa-
rents to speak to their children in the vernacular. The
average young Indian mother today however speaks to her
children in English and not in the vernacular. In the
Tamil-, Telegu- and Hindi-speaking families there was only
a very small number of scholars who could read and write
in the vernacular, although Hindu cultural organizations,
such as the Hindu Maha Sabha are trying to establish
vernacular schools in the areas where Hindus are predominant.
Gujerati is the language also of Moslems, Jains and Parsees. Moslems comprise an important section of the Gujerati-speaking Indians. Young and old alike are well versed in their vernacular. English is not much spoken in Moslem homes, though it is becoming more and more popular among Moslem children. In many Moslem homes both children and adults read their holy books daily during their prayer sessions, and in this way preserve their language to a greater extent than do Hindus, who engage the services of priests to chant sacred formulae (mantras) from the holy texts in many of their family rituals. Moslems and Gujerati-speaking Hindus in South Africa speak the same language because they come from the same region in India.

Jains and Parsees, also Gujerati-speaking, are two very small and exclusive groups. They are found both in Natal and in the Transvaal. Both groups arrived as "passenger" Indians. The Jains are mostly jewellers and traders and have a close cultural link with the Gujeratis. Parsees are of Persian descent and run large insurance and travel agencies in South Africa. The total Parsee population in South Africa does not exceed one hundred. The Parsees speak Gujerati and have a close cultural link with the other Gujerati-speaking groups. Parsees, Jains and Moslems dress in the same way.

Urdu:

Urdu is another language spoken by Indians. It is confined almost entirely to Moslems.
The Christians in South Africa, many of whom were Hindus before their conversion to Christianity, commonly speak English, but the older generation speak either Tamil or Telegu in addition to English. Most of the younger generation of Hindus and even Moslems nowadays speak English at school, at play and even at home.

Religions among the Indians in South Africa:

Hinduism:

Whereas the linguistic differences among the different Hindu groups are considerable as we have shown, the differences in kinship structure, diet and dress are very insignificant. The common unifying factor among the Hindus is religion. They accept the Vedas as the divine religious text. (The Vedas are held to be divine truths revealed from time to time to the hermits and seers in their supra-normal consciousness.) Certain feasts and festivals are celebrated by all Hindus. For instance, Diwali, the annual "festival of lights" is observed by all Hindus; but Kavady - the bearing of a chariot in fulfilment of vows, and firewalking, are exclusive to the Tamil and Telegu. Although certain temples have been erected by specific Hindu groups they are nevertheless all open to all Hindus. It is a common sight to see Tamil, Telegu, Hindi and Gujarati worshipping together at the same temple.
Mohammedanism:

In South Africa Moslems are strongly religious and very conscious of their separate identity. On Fridays, at noon, one commonly sees all male Moslems, no matter what strata they belong to in society, take off their shoes and congregate for prayer at the nearest mosque. Among the Hindus one does not observe any fixed or regular visits to the temple.

Christianity:

The majority of the Christians in South Africa are converts from Hinduism who have accepted the Western way of life and have severed all cultural links with Hindus. The South African Census Report lists seven Christian sects - Anglican, Presbyterian, Congregational, Methodist, Roman Catholic and the Bethesda Temple of the Pentecostal Group with a reputed membership of 17,000 Indians concentrated mainly in Natal. (Meer, 1969, p.214). The Bethesda Mission was established in 1925 and since then it has been very successful in its proselytizing campaigns. Some of the other church denominations are the Full Gospel, Baptists, Seventh Day Adventists, Jehovah's Witness and Christ Lutheran. The greatest number of Christian Indians belong firstly to the Bethesda Mission and secondly to the Roman Catholic Church. There is a Dutch Reformed Church (Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk) in Durban for Indians as a result of recent proselytizing efforts.
Jainism:

The Jains were originally Hindus who revolted against Hinduism in the 19th century. Today they practice Jainism and have a founder whom they accept as their leader. The few Jains that are in South Africa follow the Gujerati way of life and have most of the festivals of the Gujerati Hindu. None fell into our survey.

Zoroastrianism:

The Parsees worship Zoroaster, their prophet. Fire is the central theme in their worship. Both Jains and Parsees have a close cultural link with the Gujeratis.

Differences in Dress and Diet:

Dress: (see Plates Nine and Ten):

The *sari* is the national dress of the Hindus and there are differences in the way the *sari* is draped among the different Hindu groups. These differences are more marked among the older Hindu women as the young girls have a common method of wearing the *sari*. The Moslem traditional dress is called *Jari*; these are the trousers which women wear. The trousers used to be baggy and worn under a frock called Kurta. Today they are somewhat like the Western slax-suit outfit. In addition to the *Jari* and Kurta a scarf called *downee* is worn around the neck and sometimes women cover their heads with it as a mark of respect. Many Moslem women today prefer to wear the
Typical Hindu Dress.
Typical Moslem Dress.
Hindu sarrie for its grace and beauty. Moslem and Hindu men wear Western attire, i.e. suits. In addition Moslem men may wear a fez. Christian women, originally Hindus, still sometimes wear sarries but the majority have adopted Western dress.

Diet:

According to their traditional code the Hindus are supposed to be vegetarians but "flesh" is quite commonly eaten by Hindi-, Tamil and Telegu-speaking Hindus and also by some Gujerati-speaking Hindus of the so-called lower caste groups. Many Hindu priests abstain totally from eating any "flesh". Most Hindus eat mutton, fish and fowl, but beef and pork are taboo, pork because pigs are considered to be dirty animals, beef because the cow is sacred. The cow is depicted together with Lord Krishna, god incarnate in Hindu mythology. Many religious pictures portray Lord Krishna as a cowherd among the cows with a flute in his hand. The taboos against these foods among Hindus are no longer very strictly adhered to. The younger generations violate these taboos outside their home though they observe them in the home for fear of criticism from the older generation. Tamil- and Telegu-speaking Hindus observe these dietary restrictions to a lesser extent than do the Hindi-speaking Hindus. Moslems remain strict in observing the taboo against eating pork; one does not see a Moslem violating this rule.

The Gujerati-speaking Hindu is supposed to be a strict vegetarian. In Durban only high-caste Gujeratis abstain
from eating flesh of any kind. They observe this taboo so strictly that they do not even eat eggs or cakes made with eggs. Hindus who are strict vegetarians believe that killing an animal and partaking of its flesh is a sin. Moslems are not vegetarians and neither are the Parsees but Jains are. In general traditions are respected and strictly adhered to by Moslems, who do not assimilate Western culture as readily as do the Hindus.

**Types of Marriage among Indians in Natal:**

**Among Hindus:**

In the early days polygynous marriages were common among Hindus. We came across cases of this in several of the family studies; but today the custom is all but dead.

**Marriage with Cross- or Parallel-Cousins:**

Among Hindusthani- and Gujerati-speaking Hindus cross- and parallel-cousins are treated as siblings and marriage with them is considered incestuous.

Among the Tamil- and Telegu-speaking Hindus preferential marriages with relatives is fairly common. In the hundred families studied there were nineteen cases of cross-cousin marriages among the Hindus and thirteen among the Moslems. (See Table 4.)

**Marriage with the Mother’s Brother:**

Marriage with one’s mother’s brother is fairly common among the Tamil-speaking Hindus, rare in other Hindu groups. There were three cases of this type of marriage among Tamil-speaking Hindus in the hundred families studied.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Linguistic Group</th>
<th>Total number of family units in each group</th>
<th>Total number of marriages within each group</th>
<th>Parallel-cousin marriage</th>
<th>Cross-cousin marriage</th>
<th>Mother's brother-sister's marriage</th>
<th>Levi-rate and Sororate</th>
<th>Total preferential marriages in each group</th>
<th>Preferential marriages as a percentage of the total number of existing marriages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>HINDUS</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hindi-speaking</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tamil-speaking</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Telegu-speaking</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gujarati-speaking</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MOSLEMS</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gujarati- and</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urdu-speaking</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHRISTIANS</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tamil- and English speaking</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>282</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>12.4%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Marriage with the offspring of a woman who suckled the person when a baby is prohibited. Such a woman is regarded as a mother and the relationship is called the "milk relationship". This woman's kin become the child's "suckling kin" whom he is forbidden to marry. This rule also applies among the Moslems.

**Levirate and Sororate:**

When a Hindu male dies and his wife is young and attractive she sometimes settles with and is inherited by, her husband's younger brother. Among the Hindusthani-speaking Hindus she cannot marry her husband's elder brother whom she regards as 'father' and with whom she has an avoidance relationship, but only his younger brother. This custom of the levirate is common, though there were no cases of it in the one hundred families studied intensively.

Similarly when a Hindu woman dies, her husband can marry her sister, either the younger or the older sister. In the families studied there were no cases of levirate and sororate although it does prevail among the Hindus in South Africa.

**Among Moslems:**

Whereas marriage among Hindus is a sacrament, in Islamic law it is a contract. Among Moslem marriage was traditionally polygynous, the maximum number of wives that a man could have at the same time being four. No marriage contract can be legal with a fifth wife until the man has separated from one of his other wives. Today monogamy is
becoming the rule among Moslems as among Hindus.

Marriage is endogamous among the Moslems. Preferential marriages with the father's brother's daughter, mother's sister's child and with cross-cousins on both sides are very common indeed. The most important factor in the choice of a marriage partner is that the partner should embrace Islam. Yet marriage between Moslems of different groups is not favoured; for example, a Surtee may not marry a Meman or a Hyderabadee.

Differences in Caste:

Among the Hindu families that fell into our study of 100 Indian families there were representatives of the four main caste groups - the Brahmin, a priestly caste, the Kshatriya, or warrior caste, the Vaisya, or merchant caste, and lastly the Shudra caste, i.e. those engaged in menial work. (See Table 5.) But in South Africa today Hindus are not as caste-conscious as they were in the early days. It is difficult to ascertain what caste a person belongs to by merely asking his name or occupation, as many have not only dropped caste names but have also changed their names. Today occupation is not exclusively monopolised by any one caste group. It is one's wealth and education which give one a high social position in society. In fact, some of the families belonging to lower caste groups have progressed remarkably well economically and socially since the expiry of their term of indenture and today hold envied positions in society. The forefathers in India of these very low-caste families, who have progressed so well
TABLE 5

Caste Affiliation of the Hindu-Group in this Study

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Caste</th>
<th>Brahmin (Priests)</th>
<th>Kshatriya (Nobility, Earriers)</th>
<th>Vaisya Merchants</th>
<th>Sudra Streetsweepers Night Soil Removers, etc.</th>
<th>Unknown</th>
<th>Total Number of families</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hindi-speaking Hindu</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tamil-speaking Hindu</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Telegu-speaking Hindu</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gujerati-speaking Hindu</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
suffered many disabilities. Caste rules were a stumbling block to them and there were few opportunities for upward mobility.

From the outset indentured labourers were prevented from observing all the caste restrictions. They had come out together on board the same ship; they worked on the same plantations and lived in the same barracks. On the ship there was no consideration given to caste differences. People belonging to different castes were grouped together. They ate and drank together, tolerated each other’s company and could not observe commensality restrictions or be particular about whom they interacted with. As a result of these and other factors, caste is not a dominating factor among Indians in Natal today. Caste still prevails among the Hindus, however, when it comes to the question of marriage of one’s son or daughter. Caste is strong among the Gujarati-speaking Hindus. They imported brides of the ‘right’ caste from India. Marriage between two people belonging to different castes is still not considered correct; but this rule is not very strictly carried out today, since many marriages are no longer arranged by parents. Whereas in the past parents took pains to choose a marriage partner of the right caste for their children, today personal choice and romantic love play an important part in the choice of a marriage partner.

The following is an example of what is happening more and more today: Kishore, a learned young man of Brahmin caste fell in love with Usha, a member of a lower caste. Both were Gujarati-speaking. There were protests from both
families. There were more protests from Usha's family as Kishore's family consisted of educated people who wanted to accept Usha into their _kutum_. Eventually Kishore and Usha decided to marry secretly at a local temple in the presence of a few close friends and relatives who were in favour of their marriage. Such examples are too numerous to quote and it indicates that caste, though still important, is breaking down.

Besides the Gujarati-speaking group of Hindus who cling tenaciously to caste regulations, there is the Brahmin caste among the Hindusthani who practice marriage within their caste group. If this is not possible then marriage to a member belonging to the caste group next in the hierarchy is permissible.

In this study there were not only inter-caste marriages amongst the Hindus but also marriages across language and cultural barriers. For example, Jack Ramautar married a Coloured woman from Cape Town and was disinherited; his family severed all ties with him. The Jethwa (Hindi) family have several Tamil sons-in-law and also Christian daughters-in-law.

In conclusion it should be stressed that the wide differences in language, religion and culture that have been set out above, are all the more remarkable in that they are present in a population group of only half a million people, and furthermore were brought to light in a sample of only 100 families chosen on quite other grounds than cultural and linguistic differences, and for purposes of a study of the family.
PART II

The Hindu Joint Family.
The immigrants who arrived in Natal were young and mostly unmarried but there were some married couples and a few with young children. Gradually as they became a more settled community, and made South Africa their permanent home, the single labourers married and family life developed. In the early years there was a shortage of women, therefore we find that many men married later in life, when they were thirty to forty years old. This was not customary in India where males and females married early. Moreover men belonging to groups such as Gujerati speaking Hindus, had to wait until wives were imported from India.

According to Indian tradition sons on marrying continue to live in their parental home and this leads to the joint or extended type of family. This was the only type of family they knew and therefore this was the type of family that has developed among Indians in South Africa.

The joint family is called kutum and its perpetuation is an important value among Indians. Every Hindu parent takes a pride in his family name and wants a son, not only to perpetuate his line of descent, but also to cremate him and carry out the subsequent funarary rites when he dies. The desire to have a son is so great that many adopt sons so that these obligations can be fulfilled. It is the duty of sons to look after their aged parents.

The general expectation of the duration of the joint family is three generations. In rare cases it may reach
four generations. In the present study there were only two four-generation joint families, one of which did not last very long as the patriarch died shortly after this study was begun when the child belonging to the fourth generation was one year old.

After the death of the patriarch in a joint family his sons gradually separate, each with his wife and children, to form an independent nuclear family. Through the passage of time each independent nuclear family (the off shoots of the joint family) develops in its turn into a joint family as the sons reach adulthood, marry and have children.

Of the 100 families chosen for study 35 percent were joint families and 60 percent were independent nuclear families composed of husband, wife and children, plus 5 percent composite, i.e., comprising two nuclear families. Table 6 indicates how these were distributed over various income groups. It is interesting to note that the propor-

**Table 6.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Income Group</th>
<th>Number of families</th>
<th>Percentage of Joint families</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Joint</td>
<td>Nuclear &amp; composite*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Higher</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lower</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* A composite family is composed of more than one married couple and their children.
tion of joint families was far higher among the higher income groups than in the middle and lower income groups. Classification of a family as a joint family gives no indication of its size, i.e. of the number of constituent nuclear families of which it is composed. A better idea of the proportion of families leading a joint family life can be obtained when one compares the number of nuclear families living independently with those forming part of joint families. When this is done it becomes clear that more than half of all the nuclear families in the study, i.e. independent nuclear and nuclear within joint families were living in joint families. (See Table 7 for the proportion in various income groups.) How this would compare with conditions in cities in India where municipal housing schemes may not operate to discourage or even prevent joint family life as they do in Durban, we do not know. All of the 100

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Income Group</th>
<th>Nuclear Units living in joint families</th>
<th>Independent Nuclear families</th>
<th>Total number of Nuclear family units</th>
<th>Percentage of nuclear family units living in joint families</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Higher</td>
<td>31 (in 12 joint families)</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle</td>
<td>28 (in 16 joint families)</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lower</td>
<td>9 (in 7 joint families)</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>68 (in 35 joint families)</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>133</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TABLE 7. Percentage of Nuclear families living a joint family life.
families studies were either living or had at some stage lived a joint family life; and, if one can judge by the past all the independent nuclear families would in their turn develop into joint families on the marriage of the eldest son. There are, as we shall see later, many forces in present-day conditions of life which operate towards the early hiving off of married sons.

The nature of the joint family can best be appreciated if it is looked at over a period of time. The first immigrants arrived only a hundred years ago and it was possible to obtain reasonably full information on the history and development of families from the time of arrival of their first ancestors in South Africa up to the present. It is proposed therefore, in this chapter, to use three representative case histories to illustrate the actual development and segmentation of Hindu joint families in Natal over the past hundred years. This approach will, it is hoped, give the reader an impression of the joint family in operation, some of the forces that hold it together and some of the causes underlying segmentation before the joint family as a functioning unit is fully analysed and discussed.

The actual families from which the histories were obtained represent different income groups. All three are Hindus descended from indentured labourers. Two represent the middle income group today (Mahadeo and Choudhry). The last one, that of Chellam, is a very
poor one representing the lowest income group. The time of arrival of two of the indentured Indian families (Choudhry and Chellan) dealt with here was roughly the 1860’s, while the third (Mahadeo) came out to South Africa in the 1870’s.

First Family: Family of BUNSEE MAHADEO:1)

Early History of the Family:

Mahadeo Aheer (1857 - 1939) was born in Sisendi, Hurri-kera, Lucknow, in India. In 1881, he went to France as an unmarried man. Little is known of his stay in France except that he worked there and spoke French fluently. Some say that he went to seek his fortune there but was not successful. He stayed in France for four years and then came to Natal where he was employed by the South African Railways in Newcastle under the indenture system.

Mahadeo was very successful as a railway employee and managed to rise to a good position there. He was not illiterate. He was well read in the vernacular. While in Newcastle in 1889 he married Dularie Mundir whose parents had also come from the same home town as Mahadeo, i.e. Lucknow in India. She bore him two sons, Hariram and Mungal. Their marriage, however, was not a success.

1. Information on the family history was obtained mainly from Bunsee, his wife, Anwar, Balak’s first and second wife and the daughters Diwana, Rekha and Sunitha.
Separation from First Wife:

According to the informants, Mahadeo's wife was very domineering and the couple used to have constant friction. This incompatibility led him to separate from her when their two sons were seven and five years old respectively. They separated by agreement with the wife's parents. Divorce could not be instituted as their marriage was not registered and was therefore considered invalid according to South African law. The Indians in the early days of Natal regarded the traditional marriage ceremony as the only essential rite to make the marriage valid.

Mahadeo managed to gain custody of his two small sons who lived with him. His wife went to Durban and little was heard of her after her departure. In the meantime Mahadeo continued to work in the South African Railways and renewed his contract.

Second Marriage:

A year after his separation Mahadeo re-married, this time to a beautiful thirteen-year-old girl, named Mungarie (because she was born on a Tuesday). Her parents were originally from Punjab in India and had also come to South Africa under the indenture system. It is believed that Mahadeo and Mungarie were compatible. She was a clever woman who advised him to invest his savings in business enterprise in the form of shops and properties. In general people living in Newcastle had great admiration for her as a capable woman but her harshness with her daughters-in-law was the cause of much friction in the joint family.
Maheydeo opens a General Dealer's Shop in Charlestown:

It is not known exactly how many years Maheydeo worked for the railways at Newcastle, but informants agree that it could be for about five to eight years. After he relinquished the railway employment he started a small general dealer's shop at Charlestown in Natal. He was a keen horse-man, built up a stud farm and also sold horses to the military during the Boer War.

After a few years he sold this shop and bought another in Ngagane in Northern Natal. It was at this stage, roughly during the 1890's, that his business began flourishing. He was then able to lease an African restaurant owned by someone else in Newcastle, where some of his children from the second marriage were born. Mahadeo, who was a very enterprising business man, was constantly speculating for better business sites.

Move to Dannhauser about 1910: Business and Farming:

During the early years of the twentieth century Mahadeo decided to move to Dannhauser where he bought a tearoom and general dealer's business. All his business premises in the other areas such as Newcastle and Ngagane were then sold and the family settled permanently in Dannhauser where the family still owns land today. The shops, however, are no longer owned by any of the Mahadeo family. Much of the land owned and two of the houses and the farm are leased to outsiders.
Mahadeo’s Business Flourishes:

Over the years Mahadeo monopolised much of the trading on the main road to Dannhauser. He supplied the residents of the area with fresh produce, such as vegetables from his farm in Dannhauser (he owned acres of land at his residence). He supplied milk, butter and cheese, ghee and other articles of goods from his trading store. Cattle-, sheep- and poultry-farming yielded good returns.

As his sons grew older he encouraged them to help in the family business. His two sons from his first wife, Hariram and Mungal, assisted him together with his other small sons, Bunsee and Anwar from his second marriage. (See diagram I). The sons began to sell milk to the residents and run errands and help on the farm early in life so that they could be introduced to the business.

In the early years the economic bond in the family was strong and this enabled the business to progress.
Bunsee, the eldest son by his second wife, played an important part in the business management. He lived and worked with his parents for about twenty years after his marriage and was his father’s chief adviser.

Mahadeo’s other sons, Anwar and Raj, also worked hard on the farm, but Girdhari, Balak and Naseem did not participate much in the family business as they were too young at first and later, as they grew older, there were better educational facilities and their father encouraged them to continue with their education. Today Balak is a successful attorney; Naseem was a school teacher before his death, and
Girdhari worked for an industrial firm in Durban prior to his tragic death in a car accident with a lorry while at work.

Joint Family at its Height in 1927: (see Diagram I page 60):

By 1927, the family had reached a fair size. Twelve of Mahadeo's children were living with him. (Diagram I stage I). Four, Hariram, Mungal and Bunsee and Anwar were married, and there were six grandchildren in the home, viz. the children of Hariram and Mungal. The family was a typical joint family with Mahadeo as the head of the family. The sons worked under the supervision of their father on the farm and in the trading stores. Much of the management of the business was in the hands of Bunsee who was very industrious. He worked during the day and tried to do his studies at night.

The daughters-in-law were under the authority of their mother-in-law. She was household manageress and the daughters-in-law took instructions from her.

The business in the meantime was progressing well and the family was becoming well-known in the local community. More and more people began to rely on the Mahadeo family for many of their requirements in the household.

The First Segmentation (1928): Separation of Sons of First Wife:

In a large joint family with daughters-in-law cooking in a common kitchen and brothers working in a common family business, there is, sooner or later, bound to be friction.
In the Mahadeo family a period of disequilibrium began when Mahadeo's two sons from his first wife could not maintain a harmonious relationship with their stepmother. Moreover the brothers were not on amicable terms with each other either. The wives found their mother-in-law to be a domineering person. She showed a lot of favouritism towards her own children.

The wives of the two brothers encountered great difficulty with their mother-in-law. Hard work was the order of the day with very little opportunity to devote to themselves and their respective families. The wives were illiterate and had no other alternative but to submit to the authority of their mother-in-law. They were obedient, tolerated their difficulties and did not encourage their husbands to separate from the joint family.

Mahadeo, realising that there were seeds of discontent in the family as relationships were deteriorating, decided to give the two sons of his first marriage their respective shares from the family estate and left it to them to decide where to settle. This was during the years 1928-1930, and it marked the beginning of segmentation of the joint family. Hariram went to Cavendish and lived there until his death and the other brother settled in Escombe. Both did market gardening, specialising in banana and mango farming.

Joint Family of Mahadeo's Second Marriage at Its Height in 1936: (See Diagram I stage 3):

The family of Mahadeo by his second marriage increased
in size as his sons married. One more son, Girdhari, was married and there was adequate accommodation for the sons and their wives as Mahadeo had built extra sleeping quarters in a building next to the original house. There was still one common kitchen where the cooking was done for the whole family.

By this time the eldest daughter, Budki, had married and left the joint family to join the *kutum* of her husband. Bunsee, Anwar and Girdhari, with their wives and children, lived in the three-generational joint family household. The sons continued to work towards the common good of the family with the patriarch still at the head controlling the business and family activities.

**Friction Among Sons and Separation of Bunsee, the Eldest Brother:** (See Diagram I, stage 4):

Bunsee, the man whose family was one of the hundred families we studied in Durban in 1968, not only managed his father's business at this time but also took an active part in the public activities of the community in Newcastle. Bunsee had married a child-bride of thirteen who had neither seen nor heard of him. She only saw him for the first time after the marriage ceremony.

Bunsee's wife joined the family of her husband and lived there as a dutiful daughter-in-law. Mahadeo's wife began ill-treating her daughter-in-law to such an extent that life became intolerable to her. Whenever she complained to her husband he was partial to his mother, or too busy with public activities to investigate the matter.
In desperation Bunsee's wife even complained to her own parents but they did not wish to interfere as they had married her off and she belonged to her husband's kutum.

But now a further complication set in. Bunsee and his brother, Balak, who was studying to become a teacher, were having difficulties with each other. Balak did not contribute towards the family business or revenue in any way. Bunsee on the other hand devoted all his time working towards the family's prosperity. Matters became more difficult when Bunsee's parents began to show partiality towards Balak. So Bunsee decided to leave his family and home. He left for Durban in a penniless state, without being given any share of the inheritance. The reason for his separation from the family was not that his wife experienced hardships in the joint household, for she was meek, submissive and tolerant, as Indian daughters-in-law in the early days were expected to be, but because Bunsee could not get on with his brother and his parents. The joint family of Mahadeo at this stage - 1938 - after this segmentation, is indicated in Diagram I stage 4.

In Durban, Bunsee began work as a clerk, then as a book-keeper, persevering all the time with night studies. He felt that by coming into contact with leading personalities in Durban he could provide himself with influential friends and in this way opportunities for better employment would arise. Today he is a retired land, estate and insurance agent with five children.

Although Bunsee was not given a share in the family estate, he did not completely sever his relationship with
his family. When his brothers and sisters married he attended their marriages and played his part as the eldest son.

Death of Patriarch, 1939, and Deterioration of the Business:

Mahadeo died at the ripe old age of eighty-two. After his death and Bunsee’s departure, the business went through a period of adversity. Some say that this was due to Balak’s extravagance. Since his mother was in his favour he had the opportunity to spend money lavishly on motor cars, buying a new one every year.

In the 1940s, a few years after Mahadeo’s death, the shops, tearoom and restaurant were leased to other residents of Dannhauser. The farming, however continued on a smaller scale supervised by Mahadeo’s wife who was assisted by her sons Anwar and Raj. Both brothers lived on their father’s property. The residents of Dannhauser continued to receive their daily supply of butter, cheese, milk and eggs.

Girdhari and Naseem Leave to set up their own Households:

(See Diagram I stage 5):

Girdhari’s wife was a modern and comparatively well-educated daughter-in-law in the kutum and she experienced the same difficulties with her mother-in-law as did the other daughters-in-law. On this account Girdhari separated from his family in 1940. He made his way to Durban where he began work in an industrial firm.

A little later Balak married and had a daughter, but his marriage was not a success as his wife and mother used
to have constant friction. Moreover, his sisters, too, complained to him about his wife. Balak had a very close bond with his mother and his loyalty towards her led him to divorce his wife who to this day has not remarried. She has custody of her daughter and is supported by her own family, although Balak used to send a small allowance to his daughter occasionally until she reached the age of sixteen when he stopped the allowance as he considered her capable of supporting herself. Balak's marriage had lasted two or three years.

In the meantime Naseem, the youngest son, qualified as a school teacher and married in 1948. He stayed with his mother for only a week after his marriage because he had married a school teacher and both were appointed to teach in Durban (see Diagram I stage 6). He died tragically in 1967, and is survived by a widow and four young children.

Balak in the meantime qualified as an attorney and married again, this time to a school teacher. His second wife, too, could not get on with his mother and there were frequent outbursts which resulted in their eventually breaking away in about 1955 (see Diagram I stage 7) from the joint family to settle in Durban. Today he is a very successful attorney and has six sons.

Anwar becomes Head of the Family in Newcastle:

After the death of the patriarch then, Girdhari, Balak and Naseem moved out gradually over a period of 15 years and the widow was left with two of her sons - Anwar the elder and Raj who were by this time living in houses adjacent to
the main household in Dannhauser. Anwar and Raj had from the beginning shown little interest in the management of the business and were not capable of administering the estate. Anwar, while continuing to live at home, took up market gardening on a large scale on his own account in his own backyard. He also began to run a taxi business. Raj was a qualified book-keeper and also lived next door to his mother. His wife and children saw to the needs of the ageing mother. Anwar and Raj are still living in the same homes up to this day.

Mahadeo’s wife died in 1961 and by this time all her daughters except Diwana were married. Diwana who is a spinster, is the vice-principal of a school in Durban. Mahadeo’s wife, a few years before her death, took to visiting her various sons and daughters for long periods of time. She had a closer bond with her daughters than with her sons during her last years. During this period she tried to hold together the family which she felt was disintegrated after her husband’s death, but she did not succeed.

Relationship Among the Brothers Today:

Today there is no close bond of unity among the brothers in the Mahadeo family. While they were young they worked together on the farm and their relationship was one of mutual concern for each other. As they reached adulthood some brothers progressed educationally, became teachers and attorneys while others toiled on the farm and managed the family business. This created ill-feeling towards those who did not do their share of work on the farm.
As the brothers married, their relationship became a formal one. After the sons had separated from their family of orientation, they met largely only on occasions like marriage and death in the family. When the brothers who lived in Dannhauser came to Durban on a social or business call, they would sometimes visit those members of the family who lived in Durban. This too depended to a large extent on their relationship at that time, whether there was a family quarrel and to what extent the brothers in question were involved in it.

Relations Between Married Daughters and their Family of Orientation:

There were seven daughters and all except one are married. Those who are married are living in areas such as Dannhauser, Glenooe, Pietermaritzburg, Isipingo, Clare Estate and other suburbs of Durban. Among the daughters there is one school teacher (Sunitha) and one vice-principal of a local school in Durban (Diwana). She is the only spinster in the family. She is often criticised because of her unmarried status and also because she has broken away from the Hindu traditional way of life, and has adopted extreme Western ways of living. She lives alone in a flat in Durban. Although other members of the family have not severed their relationship with her, there is a feeling of disapproval about her Western ways. Her complete emancipation only came after her mother's death, as previously she had been living with her married sister.

The relationship among the sisters is a close one, unlike
the formality that exists among the brothers. They visit each other often and keep each other informed about family affairs, assist each other and oppose their brothers unitedly in family dissensions, concerning their father's estate. For instance, at a court meeting to decide on the appointment of a trustee for the family estate, all the sisters voted for the spinster thereby out-voting the brothers, and the spinster was elected trustee.

Brothers and Sisters:

There was never a close bond between the brothers and sisters. The relationship is stereotyped and based on formality. After the brothers and sisters had married and left their family of orientation, they only met on family occasions such as births, marriages and deaths. The sisters had married and joined their husbands' *kutum* and rarely had the opportunity of meeting their brothers.

The sisters-in-law (brothers' wives) had always been at loggerheads with their husbands' sisters, while they lived in the joint family, as their husbands' sisters not only used to complain to their mother about their brothers' wives, but also to the brothers themselves. Therefore in many cases the sisters-in-law did not encourage their husbands to visit their sisters.

Notwithstanding this relationship of formality among the siblings, whenever one of the children married, the parents were in duty bound to take an invitation *in person* to the home of the mother or sister, or else it would cause offence, and the invitation would be rejected. This
would be a risk as the affines and other members of the society would be aware of the strained relationship among the brothers and sisters and they might feel ashamed of their disunity.

Although generally the brother's attitude is stereotyped towards their sisters, there is one sister, the spinster, who is singled out for criticism and open argument. She never had a spontaneous relationship with her brothers; they do not visit her at her flat but they do speak to her when they meet her on family social occasions.

Conclusion:

The Mahadeo family are scattered today all over Natal, from Dannhauser to Durban in such areas as Glenooe, Estcourt, Pietermaritzburg, and the suburbs of Durban. The patriarch started under the indenture system, worked hard and with the assistance of his sons prospered. The sons worked together with their father on the farm, tearooms and general dealer's business, towards the common good and prosperity of the joint family. In the early days the sons were obedient and loyal towards their parents. The economic link was strong and the family business grew and prospered.

The tranquility in the business and personal relationship among the members of this large joint family was disturbed as time went on. There was a variety of causes that led to the segmentation of the joint family.

Friction among the brothers was the major cause of segmentation, for example, Hariram and Mungal, the two
sons of Mahadeo from his first wife, did not get on with each other. They and their wives also had difficulties with their mother and mother-in-law respectively. Bunsee, the eldest son, from Mahadeo's second marriage, also separated because he and his brothers and his parents had difficulties with one another. The disunity among the brothers because of their different levels of education and different vocations led to frequent arguments. This led to mutual avoidance and finally separation from the joint family.

This case is an illustration of how in the early days, although daughters-in-law had difficulties with their mothers-in-law, this did not cause any family disruption. Daughters-in-law were expected to be docile. It was only later when the sons began to quarrel with their parents and with each other that segmentation took place. The wives of the two step-sons and the wife of Bunsee all suffered under their mother-in-law's regime but did not complain. Their husbands turned a deaf ear to the complaints and showed clearly that they expected loyalty to their parents on the part of their wives. The conjugal bond was not a close one. Husband and wife could not show concern for each other openly. They were only expected to be together at night and it was accepted that during the day everyone should be industrious.

On the other hand the sons who had married educated wives showed early on that they did not want to be dominated by the mother-in-law, who always found them wanting in some way or other. The more educated wives were
rebellious and encouraged their husbands to move away. The bond between the educated spouses was a closer one and this caused rivalry and jealousy between the possessive mother-in-law and her daughters on the one hand, and the daughters-in-law on the other. This led to further disharmony and ultimately contributed towards the disintegration of the joint family, but this was a slow process taking place over a long period.

While Mahadeo was alive and could call upon the support of his sons in his various business enterprises, the family business grew from strength to strength. But none of his sons seemed to have had quite the same business acumen as the old man. Each went his own way and today they appear to be only moderately well off. Some of them have, however, entered the professions (law and education) and have greatly progressed since the days when the patriarch came penniless to Natal.

Second Family: The Family History of CHOUHRY: 1) (see Diagram II page 67):

'From Rags to Riches':

This family history illustrates the growth of a family, the head of which came as an indentured labourer, but who together with his family worked his way up in the economic field so that this family is today one of the most prominent Indian families in Durban. It shows the strong eco-

1. Information obtained from Ramautat and his sons.
nomic link which has held together the grandsons of Choudhry, the man who arrived as a labourer in Natal. It was the family business which kept the brothers united in one joint family.

Arrival in South Africa as an Indentured Labourer in 1886:

Choudhry (1864-1920) arrived in 1886 under the indenture system and served the Natal Railways for five years. After five years had expired he did not renew his contract as most indentured labourers had done, but instead started a small business in Greyville, Durban, as a fisherman.

While building the fish business in Greyville, Durban, he married a local woman and had five children - three sons and two daughters. (See Diagram II stage 1). The three sons were educated at a Higher Grade Government School in Durban up to primary school level which at that time was Standard IV.

Growth of the Fish Business:

Choudhry and his three sons worked in the fish business in the Greyville area called 'Fish Barracks'. The Corporation had built ten small houses which were let at a rental of R2. per month. Choudhry occupied one of these houses, did well as a fisherman and extended his little barracks home.

There were five acres of adjoining land which he simply took and used to do vegetable gardening. This was during the Boer War. Nobody protested at his annexing the five acres of land and gaining possession of it. He
concentrated on the planting of mealies in particular.

**Joint Family of Choudhry in 1923 and Death of Patriarch:**

(See Diagram II stage 1):

About the year 1923 the family of Choudhry was at its maximum with two of his sons married and living with him. There were also two grandsons (sons of Ramautar). The sons continued to work with their father. The fish business in the meantime was abandoned and Choudhry began dairy farming on a small scale. They were eager to learn better methods of dairy farming which they observed from white farmers with whom they came into contact. The family had shifted to Sydenham where they carried on dairy farming. Choudhry died in 1920. His sons continued to work on the dairy farm in Sydenham with their widowed mother.

**First Segmentation on Marriage of Jack to a Coloured Woman (1926):** (See Diagram II stage 2):

It was not long after the patriarch's death that the small joint family began disintegrating. Jack the youngest of the three sons married a Coloured woman and settled in Cape Town. The family severed their tie with him and he was disinherited. Since his departure Jack has never made any attempt to visit his family.

Ramautar and Ben worked hard to build up the dairy business. For a number of years both brothers with their families lived together without much friction.
The Remaining Brothers Separate:

In this family and in many other families in this study, it has been friction among brothers after their father's death that has caused the fission of the joint family once their father's authority and guiding hand was removed. Ramautar and Ben had frequent arguments over the family business. Ramautar appeared to be more industrious while Ben did not take the family business seriously; in fact, he wanted his share of the estate in money. He was also keen on taking a job as a book-keeper in another suburb of Durban. After much bitterness the two brothers separated in 1930 (see Diagram II stage 3).

By this time the two daughters had married. The exact date of death of the widow is not known. It was roughly a few years after the quarrels between the brothers which resulted in the departure of one of them with his family. In reality, Ramautar was the head of the household because their mother was aged and infirm.

Development of Ramautar's family and Business Interests:

The family of Ramautar consisted of his mother, his three sons and two daughters. Ramautar, now on his own, abandoned the dairy business and invested in a small shop in Sydenham. His three sons were encouraged to work towards the prosperity of the family business. Two of his sons had to leave primary school without entering secondary school as their father felt that it would be more profitable to have his own sons work with him, since after his death the business would be inherited by them. The
youngest son, Inderman, was eager to obtain a university education. This he did by correspondence. He worked in the business during the day and the evening he devoted to his studies.

Gradually as the years went by Ramautar's business began to flourish. He became a prominent man in the social field, contributed generously towards charitable trusts, encouraged the promotion of vernacular education and Hindu culture. He had a large trading store, which today is a super market; a tearoom; a restaurant near the Indian squatters market; a small cinema in central Durban for Indians and Africans; and recently he has established another shop in Isipingo.

During his lifetime his various businesses were managed by his three sons while he managed the trading store in Sydenham. His sons had married and they and their families lived with their parents in a large house in Sydenham (see Diagram II stage 4 for the family at this period). Eventually the various brothers' wives were each given her own kitchen, as very often happens when the constituent families in the joint family get larger.

Division of Estate before Death of Ramautar:

In 1960, a few years before his death (1968), Ramautar, who had a cardiac ailment, divided his large estate equally between his three sons because he foresaw that they would have friction after his death. He also provided a house for each of his sons and decided to live with the youngest son in the original family house. (Diagram II
stage 5 indicates the segmentation of the joint family at this stage.)

The sons continued the management of their respective businesses (as they had been trained to do in their youth). Today each is a successful business man. About the year 1968 Ramautar died.

Forces which Held the Family of Ramautar Together:

Friction over the family business had led to the separation of Ben and Ramautar. The two brothers did not have an amicable relationship. Ben had moved to another suburb and was only seen when there was a marriage or a common loss in the family. For instance, he came to his mother's funeral and attended the weddings of his nieces and nephews.

Jack the youngest son of the patriarch who separated first after marrying a Coloured woman, had completely severed his ties with the family. At that time it was felt that there would be problems of adjustment with a Coloured woman who had a foreign culture.

This family illustrates the strong bonds of the brothers in the third generation and the father's (Ramautar's) foresight which led him to divide his estate before his death. In this way he avoided friction and disharmony in the family. The sons of Ramautar and their father were held together by a very strong economic bond. The brothers worked for the common good of the family business which was making them all rich, until the estate was divided among his sons by the old man.
DEVELOPMENT & SEGMENTATION OF THE FAMILY OF CHOU DHRY AND HIS DESCENDANTS 1886-1969

CHOU DHRY ARRIVED IN 1886 AS AN INDENTURED LABOURER

STAGE 1
1923 FAMILY OF CHOU DHRY AT ITS MAXIMUM JUST BEFORE HIS DEATH

1894 CHOU DHRY DIED

STAGE 2
1926 FIRST SEGMENTATION JACK MARRIED A COLOURED WOMAN
AND SETTLED IN CAPE TOWN. Daughters of Chou DHry had married

STAGE 3
1930 SECOND SEGMENTATION BEN SQUARLED WITH RAMOUTAR AND LEFT

STAGE 4
1950 FAMILY OF RAMOUTAR CHOU DHRY REMAINED UNITED
THE DAUGHTERS WERE MARRIED

STAGE 5
1950 RAMOUTAR DIVIDES HIS ESTATE AMONG HIS THREE
SONS USING SEPARATE HOUSEHOLDS. HE LIVED
WITH THE YOUNGEST SON.
A typical shack in Tintown.

Cooking on a humble fire-place in Tintown (chula).
A family in Tintown.

Children in Tintown enjoying the limited supply of water.
Third Family: The Family History of Chellan: (see Diagram III page 73):

Families in Tintown:

So far two of the families whose histories have been presented have been fairly wealthy. We now present the case of an indentured family that did not prosper greatly and some of whose descendants today are very poor.

Chellan's family history is in a number of ways similar to that of many other families living in Tintown. Tintown is situated in an area known as Springfield Flats on the southern side of the Umgeni River. The area is called Tintown because of its characteristic tin shacks which are about three hundred in number. There are about four hundred and sixty-seven families residing in Tintown besides illegal sub-tenants.

The families living in Tintown were ejected by the Municipality in 1957 from various areas in and around Durban, such as Sea Cow Lake, Kenville, New Germany Road, Bayside, Merebank and Magazine Barracks. Most of the families had to move because the land was needed for developments such as for industrial purposes, parks, schools and for sports facilities.

Upon ejection, the Durban Municipality offered the families small building plots on which they could erect

---

1. Information on the family history was obtained from Annamalay and Muthusamy, sons of Chellan II.
2. Information obtained from Mr. Hanson of the City Estates Department in Durban.
temporary dwellings according to specifications laid down by the City Engineer. The buildings had to be constructed of good quality second hand wood and corrugated iron or any other impervious materials approved by the City Engineer. These materials the families had to obtain themselves. (See Plates Eleven and Twelve.)

Of the four hundred and sixty-seven families, four hundred and ten are Hindus, thirty-one Christians and twenty-six Moslems.¹)

Few of the families of Tintown could give a detailed account of their family history. They did not seem to remember when exactly their families arrived in Natal; they did not know where most of their relatives lived and had little contact with them — they had little family pride and little interest in family history. This stood in strong contrast to the knowledge of, and pride in, their family history on the part of the better-off Indian families, but it is not to be wondered at since people's time and energies went largely into keeping body and soul together. They lacked enterprise partly because they were poor; but they were poor also because they lacked enterprise.

The majority of the people in Tintown are employed in the Central area of Durban, the type of work ranging from unskilled to a few skilled jobs. There is a small percentage of workers employed in the northern area of Durban,

¹. These figures were obtained from Mr Hanson of the City Estates Department in Durban, to whom I am grateful.
and a still smaller percentage in the southern area. Altogether 22.5 percent of the people are unemployed.

Annamalay Chellan was one of the families in Tintown which fell into our study. He was descended from Chellan, an indentured labourer.

**Arrival of Chellan I as Indentured Labourer:**

Chellan I came to South Africa in the 1860's as a young man of about the age fifteen to seventeen years old. As an indentured labourer he worked on the sugar plantations in Glendale for five years and after the expiry of his term of indenture, he married a woman from Mayville and settled in Alpine Road which is in Springfield. He had six sons and two daughters (see Diagram III stage 1).

On the expiry of his contract Chellan did farming on a small scale in Springfield. He managed to earn enough on leased plots to buy food and clothing for his family. When his sons grew up there was little they could do on the small plot of land at the back of their house so they went to work and were all employed as chefs in white hotels in Durban.

**Joint Family of Chellan at its maximum (1918):**

By 1918 four sons had married. First Poonsamy and Chitteray were married and lived with the parents and had children. They continued living with their parents until the latter's death. Later, about 1907-1908, two other sons, Chellan and Ganesan, were married.
Two Sons Find Separate Accommodation close to Parents' Home:

By 1919 the family had expanded as there were more children born after the marriage of two other sons - Chellan and Ganesan. They found rooms in close proximity to their parents' home. There was no quarrel which separated the brothers as it was not their desire to separate. Living in a joint family afforded them security, particularly against unemployment. So it was not at all in their economic interest to be housed away from their father's household. Both continued living in outhouses. Chellan moved to Alpine Road in Springfield and rented a bigger house where he lived until his death. Ganesan died in the 1930's. He had four daughters and no sons to continue his line (see Diagram III stage 2).

Death of Patriarch (+ 1920):

Approximately in 1920 Chellan I died. His widow continued to live with her sons in their old home until she died + 1925-1928. Applesamy married and also joined the catering trade like his brothers. He did not move away as his two sons died in infancy and the family managed to accommodate him and his wife. The youngest son, Arie, remained a bachelor. His occupation was the same as that of his brothers. Poonsamy, Chitteray, Applesamy and Arie (see Diagram III stage 3) continued to live together after the mother's death. They had no sons to perpetuate their name and all these four brothers as well as Ganesan died before Chellan II died.
Family of Chellan II:

Chellan II continued his work in the catering trade, married and had five children, three sons and two daughters (see Diagram III stage 3). Muthusamy the eldest son, married and lived with his parents and he was still living in the same house in Alpine Road, Springfield, until recently when he was ejected by the Municipality.

Coopsamy, the second son of Chellan II, lived in his parental home for five years after his marriage. In Diagram III (1939), we see the family of Chellan II at its maximum. Owing to lack of accommodation Coopsamy then shifted to Merebank (Diagram III stage 4). A second reason for his separation was because he was having friction with his brother Muthusamy; they were at loggerheads with each other constantly.

Two Sons Live Together until Death of Father:

Muthusamy, the eldest son of Chellan II, and Annamalay the youngest, lived together with their parents until Chellan II died in 1963. (Diagram III stage 5 shows Chellan II’s family at its maximum.) It was only after the father’s death that Muthusamy and Annamalay were forced to separate because the Municipality required the land for developmental purposes. On being questioned Muthusamy seemed happy that they had separated because he and Annamalay were not on amicable terms. Annamalay applied for accommodation in Tintown where he lives today. Muthusamy preferred to find alternative accommodation in Springfield.
DIAGRAM III
DEVELOPMENT & SEGMENTATION OF THE FAMILY OF ANNAMALAY CHELLAN AND HIS DESCENDANTS 1860'S-1969

CHELLAN I ARRIVED AS AN INMIGRANT IN 1860
MARKED IN THE SKETCH

FAMILY CHETTiar AT ITS MAXIMUM

STAGE 1
CHELLAN I

CHETTAR
MUTHIAH
AMBA
KUTTIE
LUCHE
MUTHUSAMY
COOPER
AMOE
MAND
DAVIA
AND
CHETTAR
POLVA

ANNAMALAY

STAGE 2
CHETTIAN II

CHETTAR
MUTHIAH
AMBA
KUTTIE
LUCHE
MUTHUSAMY
COOPER
AMOE
MAND
DAVIA
AND
CHETTAR
POLVA

ANNAMALAY

PATRICK \& HARRIET DIED 1862
HIS WIFE DIED 1895
THE LINES OF ALL THE Sons EXCEPT CHETTIAN II & ANNA MARY CAME TO AN END AS THEY HAD DAUGHTERS ONLY.
THEY ALL LIVED IN SPRINGFIELD UNTIL THEIR DEATH.
NO INFORMATION ON CHETTIAN II'S FAMILY.

DEVELOPMENT & SEGMENTATION OF FAMILY OF CHETTIAN II SON OF CHETTIAN I, WHO DEVELOPED HIS OWN JOINT FAMILY.

STAGE 3
CHETTIAN II AT ITS MAXIMUM

MUTHUSAMY
COOPER
AMOE
MAND

ANNAMALAY

CHETTAR
MUTHIAH
AMBA
KUTTIE
LUCHE
MUTHUSAMY
COOPER
AMOE
MAND
DAVIA
AND
CHETTAR
POLVA

ANNAMALAY

STAGE 4
CHETTIAN II

MUTHUSAMY
COOPER
ANNAMALAY

CHETTAR
MUTHIAH
AMBA
KUTTIE
LUCHE
MUTHUSAMY
COOPER
AMOE
MAND
DAVIA
AND
CHETTAR
POLVA

ANNAMALAY

CHETTIAN II DIED 1863

STAGE 5
CHETTIAN II'S DEATH

MUTHUSAMY

CHETTARI
AMOE
MAND

ANNAMALAY

CHETTAR
MUTHIAH
AMBA
KUTTIE
LUCHE
MUTHUSAMY
COOPER
AMOE
MAND
DAVIA
AND
CHETTAR
POLVA

ANNAMALAY

STAGE 6
ANNAMALAY MOVED TO TINTOWN

MUTHUSAMY

CHETTAR
MUTHIAH
AMBA
KUTTIE
LUCHE
MUTHUSAMY
COOPER
AMOE
MAND
DAVIA
AND
CHETTAR
POLVA

ANNAMALAY

THE FAMILY WAS EJECTED IN 1893 UNDER THE GROUP AGES ACT, MUTHUSAMY FOUND ACCOMMODATION IN SPRINGFIELD

CHETTIAN II'S WIFE DIED 1897

KEY
\(\Delta\) MALE
\(\bigcirc\) FEMALE
\(\triangle\) DECEASED
ANNAMALAY ACTUAL FAMILY STAYED
where he lived with his mother. (See Diagram III stage 6.) She died in 1967.

Concluding remarks on Chellan's Family:

Chellan's family history shows that poverty and the absence of educational differentiation between different members of the family, may be strong forces in holding a joint family together, just as common business interests of the wealthy keep the joint family together. Lack of accommodation or the means to arrange for suitable accommodation operate strongly among the poor to break up the joint family as do slum clearance measures. In other respects the developmental cycle of poor families is very much the same as in other families. The joint family enables the poor and illiterate to pool their meagre resources.

Forces Holding the Joint Family Together:

There are moral, economic and religious forces holding the joint family together. The ties of kinship and sentiment which develop in the joint family are very important. The importance of economic factors in maintaining the joint family come out very clearly in the three case histories discussed. In the Mahadeo family the farm land, the trading stores, tea rooms and restaurants which flourished as the years went by, held the family together. The sons worked together and were all enjoying the fruit of their hard labour. This united them in their work. In the
Choudhry family too the economic factor held the family together. Each of the three sons had a share in the family business.

Poverty too can be a strong force holding the family together. This was seen not only in the Chellan family but among many of the poor families in Tintown. These poor families felt that it was to their advantage to pool their resources and utilize them jointly. Living together also afforded them security against unemployment. To separate meant living independently and relying on one's own meagre resources. Lack of accommodation among the poor families was the commonest reason for separation from the joint family.

Long after segmentation, the joint family continues to be held together by religious bonds. Even though Bunsee had quarrelled with his father and brothers and had not, like his half-brothers been given any share of the estate when he moved away, he nevertheless continued to attend important family ceremonies connected with marriage and death. The religious aspects of the joint family will be fully discussed in Chapter VI.

**Developmental Cycle of the Joint Family as Illustrated in the Three Family Histories:**

From the three case histories that have been discussed the following picture of the developmental cycle of the joint family emerges.

Almost every child is born into a joint family, at the
head of which his grandfather and grandmother preside. Sons identify themselves closely with their father and at quite an early age began to play a part in the economic life of the family. On their marriage the sons of a man continue to stay on in the family, their wives being under the control of their mother. The daughters marry into other kutums or joint families and are lost on their own.

The ideal is for all sons to remain in the joint family at least until after the death of the father and the joint family usually reaches its maximum size just before the death of the patriarch. The first segmentation in a joint family usually takes place when a married son and his wife and children for some reason or other move away whether it be friction between brothers or between father and son; or disinherence for bad conduct such as marrying a Coloured or European; or lack of living space and accommodation as the size of the family increases; or even nowadays because of professional exigencies, as in the case of a teacher posted to another town. A son who has moved away forms an independent nuclear family.

After the death of the patriarch the brothers may hold together in a fraternal joint family for a greater or lesser period of time, depending on the strength of the economic interests holding them together, but sooner or later, with the guiding hand and controlling authority of the father no longer there to curb friction, there will be quarrels and the sons will separate into distinct and independent nuclear families to begin a new developmental
cycle. With the marriage of their sons (grandsons of the patriarch) the nuclear families that have hived off again become joint families.

In the next Chapter we shall examine arrangements and relationships within the joint family.
CHAPTER IV

NATURE OF THE JOINT FAMILY AND RELATIONSHIPS WITHIN IT

Composition of the Joint Family:

Ideal Form of the Joint Family:

The joint family consists of a man and his wife or wives; his parents and grandparents (if they are living), his married sons with their wives and families; also his brothers and their wives and children; his unmarried sisters; unmarried sons and unmarried daughters. (See Table 8 below.)

TABLE 8.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ascendants &amp; Descendants of Ego</th>
<th>Male Collaterals and their male descendants</th>
<th>Unmarried female members</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Paternal Grandparents</td>
<td>Brothers &amp; their wives</td>
<td>Unmarried sisters</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parents</td>
<td>Brother's sons</td>
<td>Unmarried daughters &amp; brothers' daughters</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ego and Wife</td>
<td>Brothers' grandsons</td>
<td>Grass-daughters</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sons and their wives</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grandsoms</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The daughters marry and join the kutum of their husbands becoming part and parcel of it. In this way the
parents are somewhat compensated for the loss of the daughters.

The Joint Family:

Joint families are of two main types - the patriarchal type, in which the patriarch and/or his wife are still alive and the married sons are living with the parents; the fraternal type composed of a group of brothers living together. Of the 35 joint families that fell into this study, 29 were of the patriarchal type, 6 were fraternal joint families. The fraternal joint family is thus not very common.

In every society there are exceptions to the normal arrangements to meet special circumstances. This happens in the joint family too. In Table 9 below we set out the nature of the composition of the 35 joint families that came into the 100 families chosen for study, and indicate the exceptional cases in which non kutum relatives were also included.

It is noteworthy that all the cases in which non kutum members lived in the joint family, were cases involving daughters of the family. It happens also that widowed daughters live in their own kutum, but there were no cases of this in the present study. In Table 9 the orphan children of the deceased daughter were living with the mother's people because there were no young children in the father's family to keep them company. In the case of the child of a daughter who was overseas there had been an arrangement whereby one child was looked after by
its paternal family, the other was with its mother's people while the parents were overseas.

**TABLE 9.**

Table showing Composition of the Joint Families studied and indicating also the presence of non kutum relatives.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Composition of Joint Families</th>
<th>Number of cases</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Patriarchal type (patriarch still living)</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fraternal type (brothers and their families)</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other relatives included in the above besides kutum members:</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Divorced daughter &amp; children</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deceased daughter's orphan children</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married daughter (only child) and her husband</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 child of daughter studying overseas (temporary)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Thus only 4 of the 35 joint families included non kutum kin and these were daughters' children.

**The Composite Families:**

There were five families that were neither joint nor normal nuclear families, but included more than one married couple and their children. We have called these composite families. Four of these were cases in which married daughters were living with their wife's parent(s) and one was a case in which the wife's sister and her husband were
living in the family:
1. The Moonsamy's had an only daughter and she and her husband were living with the wife's parents in spite of the fact that for a son-in-law to live with the wife's parents is not approved of in Hindu society.
2. Ramdeo a widower with three school-going children also had his married daughter and her husband living with him.
3. In the Samuel family consisting of a deserted wife and three children (one a working boy of sixteen), the married daughter and her husband and family lived in the family.
4. In order to pool their meagre resources the Isaac Chetty's of Tintown had their married daughter and her husband and children living with them.
5. The Chetty's had several young children. The wife's sister and her husband and family lived with them largely because of problems of accommodation.

The Nuclear Families:

There were only two of the sixty nuclear families which had been augmented by a relative, one a crippled cousin of the husband and in the other case the wife's sister, an elderly spinster whose parents' were both dead. She had two married brothers living as independent nuclear families but preferred to live with her sister.

Authority of Patriarch and Wife:

Patterns of interaction among members of the patrilo-
cal joint or extended family depend upon the interplay of
age, sex and relationship. Males take precedence over females, age over youth, co-sanguineal over affinal relationship.

In order to retain norms and values from one generation to the next, the kinship group (joint family) must perpetuate traditional ways of life, sustain solidarity among its members and manage any contingencies which arise. In this way family cohesion and solidarity are promoted and an individual's network of inter-personal relations is extended.

In Hindu society the patriarch is the head of the household and as such he wields undivided authority. His sons are subordinate to him and are expected to obey, respect and accept the decisions made by the patriarch. Therefore in this well-established hierarchy there is superordination and subordination. The sons cannot, while the father is alive, make decisions without consulting him or initiate a major undertaking which might directly or indirectly involve the joint family. The daughters and the daughters-in-law come under the authority of the female head of the family, mother or mother-in-law. Her authority over them is unquestioned. Both daughters and daughters-in-law have to take instructions from her on matters pertaining to the general running of the household. It is expected that she must be obeyed and respected and her authority is unquestioned. She apportions the household duties of cooking and cleaning to the females of the family.
In a joint family where sons bring their wives to join their families, the young married couple will have its own bedroom and later when children are born perhaps one or more rooms according to the amount of space available. Cooking is generally done in one common kitchen. But it may be necessary, sooner or later, owing to lack of adequate space or to conflicts arising among certain members of the joint family, to make other cooking arrangements. A son's wife who is a source of quarrels between the women of a family, may continue cooking in the common kitchen but on a separate hearth. If this is not satisfactory or possible, then a room may be sought as a second kitchen in the backyard. In both these arrangements the living quarters remain in the main house and the duties and responsibilities largely continue as before. For instance, a son will be assisting the joint family economically and his wife may have important religious duties to perform - these would continue. Thirdly, as a last resort the couple may set up a separate home in an outbuilding or seek a house elsewhere. In the last mentioned case conflicts which cannot be resolved will have been the cause of the separation. If however, the joint family is struggling to make ends meet then the economic obligations on the part of the son who has moved away will nevertheless still have to be fulfilled. The separating family has its own shrine where it carries out religious ceremonies, but joins the joint family for any
major religious observance, such as the scripture reading and flag raising ceremony often performed in fulfilment of vows or any life cycle ceremonies or annual feasts and festivals (see Chapter VI).

The Joint Family as an Economic Unit:

The joint family is not only a residential unit but it is also an economic unit. The economic link among members of a joint family is one of the most important factors holding the joint family together. In India, in the villages where agriculture provided the main source of subsistence, father and sons worked together, tilling the soil and pooling their resources which were used jointly for the benefit of the whole family. A common labour pool is an important and advantageous characteristic of the joint family.

In the early days, when the Indians arrived in Natal, the father worked on the sugar plantations and as the sons grew up they also assisted their father. Some of the families such as Mahadeo, Choudhry, Bishoonsingh and Bugwandin bought readily available cheap land after their term of indenture had expired and continued farming. Today they are wealthy business men with farms, properties and retail businesses. The father and sons formed a strong economic team and the whole family depended on them for their livelihood.

Among the poorer families of Tintown whose forebears had not invested in land but had continued to do market gardening on leased land which was small in acreage (see
Chellan family) the sons branched off into other employment. The sons of Chellan joined the catering trade and became waiters. Although the sons in the Chellan family could not live together because of lack of accommodation, they tried to live nearby. Even if the sons lived separately it was incumbent on them to maintain those who were struggling.

There is thus a sense of mutual responsibility among members of the joint family. The joint family provides security to the workers who are unemployed. The unemployed man, his wife and children can rely on the support of the working members of the family. It is looked upon as a duty and not a favour. Similarly when a woman is ill she is taken care of and her children too, are not neglected. If there is a small suckling infant it is also wet-nursed by one of the mothers in the joint family.

Family Businesses:

A strong force that holds the joint family together is a large flourishing family business or land farmed by the family. It is then an advantage for the sons to live together and to manage the business in which they all have a share. This was illustrated among a number of the families in this study, as we have seen.

Apart from the Choudhry and Mahadeo families discussed in Chapter III, other families, that of Juggernaut, S. Singh, Lalla Maharaj and Hargovan have well established businesses in Durban. They are merchants of soft goods, hardware, and vegetables, mainly potatoes. For instance.
S. Singh has a butchery and his two other brothers help in the management of the three smaller branches.

As a general rule the estate is partitioned only after the death of the patriarch but even if the business is very prosperous then the brothers live together and manage the business together. In some cases such as the K. Haribhai family, the brothers live separately but meet each day at the business centre. Even though the fraternal joint family has segmented into spatially separate households they may nevertheless be very closely linked economically.

The Gujarati-speaking Hindus and Moslems are the wealthy section of the Indian community as the majority of them arrived in Natal as "passenger" or free Indians. All the Gujarati-speaking Hindus and Moslem families in this study had prosperous businesses which were either managed by father and son or in the absence of the father by the sons alone. In the Dhupelia family (Gujerati) who are wholesale merchants, the brothers work together during the day, as each one has a share in the business but they occupy separate houses not only because of lack of accommodation but also because of conflicts among brothers and their wives.

Moral Bonds in the Joint Family:

The continuation of the joint family depends on the smooth interaction of the members as this is important in enabling the joint family to live together. The joint family is an important kinship unit in which ties are created, develop and multiply. There is a strong moral
obligation among members of a joint family and each one works for the common good of the whole family. The joint family is based on the "all for one and one for all" principle. The interests of the joint family as a whole have to be put before the interests of the individual. Let us look at some of the relationships in a joint family as a developing institution.

Parents and Children:

Mother and Son: (Ma - beta)^1)

When a son is born the family rejoices as he will carry on the name of the father and fulfil necessary obligations. Among Hindus the son has a close bond with his mother whom he approaches with his problems. This close relationship grows as the son reaches adulthood and marries. This delicate relationship between mother and son is often depicted in Indian films and it is very common to hear daughters-in-law complain that the mother-in-law is jealous of them because of their relationship with her son.

Sons have very strong obligations to look after their parents. In the present study it was found that parents were never left to fend for themselves in their old age. There was always one son who took care of the parents. For example, in the Choudhry family, Inder the youngest son, lived with his parents until their death. So also in the Chellan family, Chellan II was taken care of by his two sons, Muthusamy and Annamalay, until his death. In many of the other joint families in this study there were one or more

---

1. See Appendix for kinship terminology.
sons living with the patriarch and his wife until their death.

Indian tradition lays down strict norms regarding treatment of aged dependent parents. Relatives criticise sons who do not take care of aged and ill parents and they are often reminded of their duties towards their parents. Dissentions and disputes in the family are expected to be forgotten. Grandparents constantly relate stories based on myths about responsibilities of sons. Folk tales, parables and folk songs which were common in the early days as there was a receptive audience for them in the joint family, are today a rarity as the separated nuclear family often does not have a grandparent living with them.

Father:

The role of the father is quite different from that of the mother. The mother disciplines the child; admonishes and spanks it for minor offences, but serious offences are reported to the father. The father is feared and respected. This behaviour pattern towards the father is extended to his brothers and they are looked upon as fathers "small" or "big". There is however also a feeling of friendship towards the father who often indulges the younger children by giving them money. As the son reaches adulthood the relationship between father and son becomes more reserved and problems are sooner discussed with the mother than the father. It is the mother who approaches the father on behalf of the son when any matter is to be discussed.

Daughters on the other hand spend much of their time with their mothers who teach them the domestic chores of
Cooking, cleaning and general housekeeping. A daughter is constantly reminded about her future conjugal home where laziness will be criticized and industry appraised.

When a daughter is born there is not as much joy as when a son is born because daughters have to be given away and join their husband's kutum. When a daughter marries, her relatives in her natal home feel the loss of a member. There is sadness and weeping when a daughter marries and leaves her home. For a short while after her arrival in her husband's home the equilibrium there is also disturbed until she is adjusted and accepted as a member of the family.

When a couple has no sons then one is adopted or a man may designate some other relative to be his heir and to perform the funeral rites. The adopted son is treated as a natural one. Pseudo kinship relations are not a rarity among Hindus, particularly during ritual occasions when there is no relative to perform a religious rite. Even a person wet-nursing a child could be a complete outsider and thereafter a kinship link is formed between the child and the person who wet-nursed it. Usually in a joint family when a mother is ill then her children are taken care of by the other mothers in the joint family. The relationships between mother and child are not as close in the Hindu joint family as is the case among the Zulus where each wife has her own independent household and her own fields. In the Hindu joint family children are fed by all the mothers and there is sometimes a closer relationship between a child and its aunt than between the child and its own mother.
Respect for seniority is deep-rooted among the Hindus. The older children have considerable authority over the younger ones. There is usually a close tie between sisters when they are young but this wears off after marriage. Between brothers there exists a close bond but the differences, quarrels, rivalry and jealousy between them and their wives weaken this relationship. But brothers are known to unite readily if there is danger to any member of their family or property.

When one brother is unemployed in a joint family the onus of support rests on the working brother or brothers. Members of the family who have quarrelled or moved away do not completely sever their relationship with their brothers as they are brought together during crises of life particularly when there is death in the family. The brothers unite because of their common loss and together they perform the mortuary rites. This creates a feeling of solidarity among them. In this study friction among brothers appeared to be fairly common, particularly after the father's death. The conflict is generally over family property.

Among the Gujarati-speaking Hindus the bond between brother and sister is given expression in an old custom known as Rakshabandan, i.e., a festival when the sister ties a yellow string on the wrist of her brother and in return he gives her gifts. The yellow string is blessed by the priest and it has a religious significance symbolising the bond of affection between brother and sister. While the sister is unmarried the brother-sister relationship is based
on informality and protection on the part of the brother towards his sister. When the sister marries, although the relationship becomes rather distant, the sister does approach her brother in time of difficulty and expects her brother to attend any major ceremony which may take place at her house.

Marriage of Sons and the Position of the Daughter-in-law:

When sons marry there is great joy in the household. By the marriage of sons the joint family grows in stature. The new wife becomes an integral part of the joint family. She now belongs to the patrilineage of her husband and owes loyalty to it. Her natal home is a place where she goes for holidays somewhat as a visitor but enjoying a lot of privileges. The bond between her and her parents and siblings becomes weaker as the years pass by and she becomes part and parcel of the family of her husband.

When a daughter-in-law comes into the family of her husband she has to adjust herself to a totally new way of life. Her husband's family might have different values and a different way of life which may differ from her own family background. Their eating habits and general pattern of behaviour also may be different. She comes into a well-established hierarchy with her mother-in-law at the head. Her own mother, of course, has trained her to do good house work, especially the cooking which will be often criticised if it is not up to standard. Her mother has also warned her that her activities and general behaviour will also be closely watched by her mother-in-law and other
females of the joint family. Even the most talented daughter-in-law is today criticised. The kutum ideally speaking, a cohesive group, takes in a stranger and critically appraises her. She has to prove herself by her good works and it is often very difficult to please a mother-in-law.

First, let us look at the daughter-in-law/mother-in-law relationship in the old days and contrast this with the modern situation. A number of changes have taken place and which were revealed in this study. Many older women who were once daughters-in-law in the joint family, but are today mothers-in-law, related their experiences, which they remembered remarkably well, and contrasted this with the modern situation. One such daughter-in-law was Bunsee's wife, Sookiyah, who is fifty-eight years old (Mahadeo family).

When Sookiyah married she was a child bride of thirteen who had neither seen or heard of Bunsee or the Mahadeo family. After she married she was not allowed to visit her natal home often as her mother-in-law refused to give her permission. She received instructions from her mother-in-law and performed her duties of cooking, cleaning, caring for children and she also had to see to the needs of her parents-in-law.

She had to participate in all the religious activities of the family with her mother-in-law and had to accept the household duties of her husband's family. She could, however, still worship the gods of her natal home if she so desired. It was her duty, together with the other females of the home, to see that the household shrine was
always scrupulously clean, the pictures and statue adorned with fresh flowers and the clay or brass lamps lighted daily (see Chapter VI). While they were menstruating they were not allowed to enter the shrine.

In other orthodox families such as those of Boodhoo, Juggernauth and Hargovan the responsibilities of the daughters-in-law had been even greater and they were kept busy from early morning to very late at night. Some of the duties of the daughters-in-law in the Mahadeo family and others were to see that the men had their lunch parcels of freshly prepared meals to take away to work. The children had to be clothed and sent to school. After the husbands and children had left then the daily routine of cleaning and attending to other household chores began.

In many of the joint families it was observed that when the men arrived from work they were served with meals first. Then the women and children would have their meal. It was not respectful for daughters-in-law to sit and eat in the presence of fathers-in-law and husband’s elder brothers with whom they have an avoidance relationship. This avoidance relationship still prevails in many of the joint families which were observed in this study. For instance, Raghunan’s two young daughters-in-law do not appear in the presence of their father-in-law and if they meet accidentally then they cover their heads with the *sarrie* as a mark of respect. Therefore in orthodox joint families it is not "ladies first" as in Western society, but "men first" according to Indian tradition. But among the modern set many young couples adopt Western ways and do not
separate to join their own sex when they attend social functions.

Sookiyah's mother-in-law not only did not get on with her, but also fell foul of the other daughters-in-law in the joint family. The wives of Hariram and Mungal, sons from Mahadeo's first wife, had considerable difficulty with the mother-in-law who was particularly harsh towards them. They would be reprimanded if they laughed loudly or spent time talking to the husbands during the day when they were expected to be working. Husband and wife were not expected to show concern and affection towards each other. They could only speak to the husbands under cover of darkness in their own bedroom or else they would be severely criticised.

Bunsee's wife outlined to us the duties which had to be performed for the day by the daughters-in-law. Servants were never employed to do housework. The daughters-in-law had to rise early in the morning, grind masala (spices) and cook roti - handmade Indian bread - and then work continued till late at night. Sookiyah stated that when she felt unwell and complained to her mother-in-law, the latter would say that her son had married a "lazy and sickly woman" who often made excuses in order not to do work.

It was the duty of the Mahadeo daughters-in-law to take turns to wash the mother-in-law's feet daily, see that her clothes were washed daily and her hair combed. This Sookiyah and the wives of Hariram and Mungal did meekly and humbly and submitted to the whims and fancies of their mother-in-law who was heartless and cruel. Sookiyah's husband never listened to her complaints but remained loyal to his
Sookiyah said a daughter-in-law was expected to have a child within the first year or two of her marriage. When several years had passed and Sookiyah did not produce a child, her mother-in-law and other relatives enquired directly as to the cause of the delay. Sookiyah was constantly humiliated and insulted by her mother-in-law who often said that she was a useless, barren woman. The slightest delay in starting a family would get people saying that "there is something wrong with her". Barrenness was looked upon as a curse. It did not occur to the minds of the older generation in the early days that there could be something organically wrong with the husband.

In the Mahadeo family there was a very conspicuous alliance between the mother and sisters of Bunsee against the daughters-in-law. The daughters of Mahadeo, according to Sookiyah, were cunning and deceitful. They often complained about their brother's wives, not only to their mother but also to their brothers. Although this kind of alliance was strong in some families it was absent in others. Daughters-in-law often competed for the favour of their mother-in-law so that there was also rivalry and jealousy among the daughters-in-law themselves.

Modern Indian girls, especially those who are well-educated, no longer are prepared to submit to their mothers-in-law to the same extent. This point was well illustrated in the Mahadeo family: the wives of Girdhari, Balak and Naseem (the latter whose wives were teachers) did not tolerate the domineering attitude of their mother-in-law.
and their husbands separated from the joint family earlier than had been anticipated. In fact, Balak had to divorce his first wife because she not only did not get on with her mother-in-law but also quarrelled with her husband's sisters who often complained about her. Naseem's wife, a schoolteacher, was fortunate not to have any conflict with her mother-in-law as she stayed with his family for only a week after the marriage and came to live in Durban as both husband and wife were appointed to teach in schools there.

There are many examples of conflict between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law which emerged from this study. One example of conflict between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law was considered by the son to have led to the ill-health of his wife who is a neurotic today. This was the case of Bishoon Singh who is an attorney. He feels that his wife's present illness is due to the many difficulties she had with his mother and his sister. He stated that at that time he was loyal to his mother and listened to her and further ill-treated his wife. Today, although they have moved out of the joint family and are wealthy with all the modern amenities and luxuries, his wife is not happy because the past has had such deleterious effect on her.

Another example is that of the Dhunsook family in Durban. The mother-in-law and eldest daughter-in-law were often at loggerheads. The mother-in-law ill-treated her daughter-in-law and even went to the extent of giving her corporal punishment. One day, after a violent quarrel between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law, the latter jumped to her death from the tall building where they resided. This
was sadly related by her son.

Difficulties of the nature discussed above were not found in all joint families. For instance, the Shah and P.A. Singh families are examples of complete harmony between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law. In both these families there are two daughters-in-law who are school-teachers, one of whom is a graduate. In the absence at work of the daughters-in-law, the mother-in-law takes care of the children, cooks the meals and encourages the daughters-in-law to study.

The relationship between mothers and their daughters-in-law are of paramount importance to the smooth running of the joint household and can make or mar the joint family. Daughters-in-law with their divergent values and interests from unrelated families can cause tensions which inevitably contribute to the breaking up of the joint family. Much depends on the attitude of mother-in-law and daughter-in-law. Some daughters-in-law are unable to adjust themselves to a totally new family and new surroundings. There is today a good deal of conflict between the values of the young and those of the older generation.

Husband and Wife: (Pati - Patni)1)

According to the traditional norms of Hindu society the husband is expected to be an authoritarian figure in the household. As the head of the family he can demand respect and obedience from his wife and children. His wife

1. See Appendix for Kinship terminology.
occupies a subordinate position. In some of the orthodox joint families in this study who believe in the traditional way of life (Boodhoo, Juggernauth, S. Singh and Lalla Maharaj) it was and still is unthinkable to allow a daughter-in-law to go out to work. These families cling tenaciously to traditional norms and customs.

In other more westernized joint and nuclear families, women do go out to work and there are no criticisms from the older generation who accept the changing way of life. Young wives in modern families sometimes control the finances and do budgetting, buying of household articles, etc. In former times the daughters-in-law had no say in such matters which were controlled by the husband and his mother. Gori-bibi's mother-in-law (in Overport) gives her a meagre allowance of a few shillings a week as, according to her, more money would "spoil" her. She does not even allow her daughter-in-law to go out to the cinema or use cosmetics as this would also change her.

The devotion of a wife is depicted beautifully in myths and legends contained in the sacred Hindu texts, the Mahabharath and Ramayana. Every Hindu knows the story of the devoted and faithful Sita who did not succumb to the advances of the lecherous Rawana who was king of the demons. Every woman is expected to have the fine virtues of Sita. One of the heads of a household in this study returned home after a long absence and was greeted by his wife who held a brass tray at the door with a lighted camphor and circled it round the head of her husband. This is the method of worship of Hindus towards their deities.
As the wife gets older her status changes and she begins to wield more authority. As her seniors die she steps into their position and no longer takes instructions but gives instructions to her juniors in the joint family. As old members die, new ones are introduced and so the cycle continues. For instance, in the Mahadeo family Anwar's wife's status changed when her son Bill married and brought his wife home. She was no longer a junior member of the household but commanded more respect from everybody in the joint family. Her mother-in-law too changed her attitude towards her, in fact she was friendlier towards her.

In the Mahadeo and other families in the early days a wife never called her husband by his name as this was taboo and disrespectful. He was referred to as father of so and so. Sockiyah (Bunsee Mahadeo's wife) called her husband by the eldest child's name, "Shanti ke baap" and he in turn called her "Shanti ke ma" (father of Shanti and mother of Shanti respectively). (See Appendix for Hindu Kinship Terminology.) Kinship terms are therefore applied in indirect reference. These terms of respect still prevail among many families today. This is in strong contrast to the position in other nuclear families where parents are young, educated and westernized. It is common for the young spouse to call each other by their names and also by English terms of endearment.

The bond between husband and wife in the early days was not a very close and emotional one as we find today among the new generation. The young couples today marry on the basis of personal choice in contrast to the arranged
marriages in the early days. For example, Mahadeo's sons Hariram, Mungal and Bunsee and others' marriages were based on arrangement by families but Balak and Naseem had married on the basis of romantic love. Naseem's wife was a westernized schoolteacher with values and attitudes which differed markedly from Bunsee's and Hariram's wives. This is also generally the position among Indians where neolocality is becoming common, the wives are more independent and the conjugal bond is a close one based on mutuality.

In this study where there was friction and underlying animosity between wife and mother, the husband appeared to be in a difficult predicament, torn between the loyalty towards his mother and his wife. Fear of offending the mother appeared in many cases to win the day. A frank discussion with the mother is often difficult as the relationship between mother and son is characterised by a certain amount of reserve and respect.

The relationship between husband and wife in a joint family is a difficult one because husband and wife have to consider not only themselves, but also other important people in the joint family such as the patriarch and his wife whose interests have to be attended to. The wife tends to feel neglected and the husband is torn between his duties towards his parents and those towards his wife and children.

**Wife's Relationship with Husband's Brothers and Sisters:**

Among Hindi- and Gujerati-speaking Hindus there is an avoidance relationship between a woman and her husband's eldest (or elder) brother. This relationship is sanctioned
in the marriage ritual among the Hindi-speaking Hindus when the bridegroom's eldest brother symbolically ties a necklace round the neck of the bride. This signifies the first and last contact. They avoid each other thereafter. Bunsee's wife, Sookiyah, had an avoidance relationship with Hariram and Mungal but had a joking relationship with Balak and Naseem, the two younger brothers of Bunsee. They often teased and joked with their sister-in-law and asked her to do special favours such as cooking a favourite dish for them.

In many of the joint families in this study the avoidance and joking relationships are still observed. Among the educated and westernized joint families these avoidance customs do not prevail. Tetham's daughter-in-law who is a school teacher, not only dances with her husband's eldest brother but is also friendly with her father-in-law. She is different from other daughters-in-law of orthodox Hindu households who wear the traditional dress (sari), do not come into contact with the senior males and cover their heads as a mark of respect. In fact there is sometimes much laughter and banter between some of these people who are supposed to have an avoidance relationship.

A new stage in the developmental cycle of the joint family is reached when the daughter-in-law's first son is married and he brings his wife to join his kutum. By this time either the patriarch or his wife or both may be deceased. The personality and status of the former daughter-in-law who is now a mother-in-law, changes. She plays a new role and now gives instructions to her own daughters-in-law and she recedes into the background as far as house-
work is concerned, and wields much authority. With the marriage of a grandson in a joint family the whole cycle of the joint family is completed and the head of the joint family is replaced after the father's death by the eldest son. If the eldest son has moved away, one of the other sons remains on in the old home.

As more of her children marry her position becomes secure and respected. She succeeds to the position of her mother-in-law as far as running the household is concerned and negotiating for marriage of the children in the joint family.

The Family as a Religious Unit:

This subject will be discussed in detail in Chapter VI. It will be sufficient here to make a few comments on the fact that each family of Hindus has its own special gods (chosen from the Hindu pantheon) and that religious observances play a fundamental role in the life and activities of every family.

The Hindus pay the highest regard to religious customs and traditions and these centre around the family. The fact of worshipping the same gods, whether or not the members of the joint family are conscious of doing so, binds them together. When a new daughter-in-law is incorporated into a joint family she automatically accepts the household deities of her husband's home. She may however continue to worship the deities of her natal home if she so desires. The fact that the daughter-in-law now accepts the gods of her conjugal home and takes an active part in
the family worship is important as this strengthens the bond between her and her husband's family. She is an important figure in the joint family and her continued stay in the kutum depends on her relationship with the members of the family particularly her relationship with her mother-in-law and sisters-in-law.

In many of the Hindu homes studied, the religious activities were carried out by the female head of the household who takes the lead. It is the mother who takes vows when there is illness in the home and fasts in honour of particular household deities for the benefit of the joint family as a whole. She encourages the family members to congregate for the daily prayers (Sandyopasana) and fire ritual (Hawan) when hymns are sung in honour of the gods, invoking them for general prosperity and blessings for the family. It is when the family gathers together as a whole that family solidarity and cohesion is promoted.

After the segmentation of the joint family the constituent sections continue to be a religious unit. Even if the sons have separated the tie is not severed, as the sons are in duty bound to be present at all the major religious ceremonies performed in the home, i.e. important ceremonies such as hoisting of a flag and scripture reading, marriage and death rituals. No matter how serious the conflict with the family that caused the separation, the sons are expected to forget their grievances and unite with the parents and family in religious rituals.

The performance of religious rites, the celebration of annual festivals by the family, promote a feeling of unity;
all the members are brought together in a common belief. The religious rites contribute towards the well-being of the family as a whole.

It is in the family that attitudes to kin and religious values are established, values and norms are inculcated in growing children. The expected behaviour patterns, economic and domestic duties are all learned in the kutum which sets the standard to which the individual conforms. The wide network of kinship relations which centre in the family is based on moral and religious ties and it is the women who retain and strengthen family kinship ties by strict observance of the rituals that bring the family together, thus promoting solidarity.

Death and Inheritance:

When the patriarch dies the widow and her sons manage the estate. The eldest son takes the place of the father and makes decisions in consultation with his widowed mother. As the widow grows older she becomes a mere figurehead and her son or sons manage the household. When she dies the estate is partitioned among the sons only. Usually the eldest son inherited everything and was expected to take care of his brothers and sisters. Daughters were traditionally not given a share in the inheritance but since the introduction of wills in India and South Africa, both sons and daughters are eligible for inheritance as was illustrated in the case of the Mahadeo family.
Forces Holding the Joint Family Together:

What binds the members of a joint family together are ties of kinship, economic rights and obligations, religious rituals directed to common protecting deities and strong ritual and moral obligations. The family bonds are stronger in the case of mothers and sons, between brothers and sisters than among the cousins living in a joint family. The economic link, as was shown earlier, is strongest when there is a flourishing family business. The sons work under the supervision of the father during his lifetime as they may all have shares in the family business and if they have different occupations pool their money in a common fund. After the father's death the brothers still administer the family business together as in the case of Mohamed - the fraternal joint family which possesses an extraordinarily large business in Durban. On the other hand there are cases also of brothers partitioning the estate owing to conflicts over the family business. The religious link lingers on the longest, even outlasts segmentation. Sons are in duty bound to attend religious ceremonies in their parental home and in the homes of their brothers, particularly those pertaining to marriage and death.

The joint family does not last forever. Although in theory it continues so long as there is male progeny to carry on, sooner or later, owing to a variety of causes segmentation is bound to take place. This brings it to an end as an economical and residential unit. Various
causes of segmentation operating in the joint family have been encountered in a practical manner in our four cases studied. It is time now to examine the causes of segmentation in general and in greater detail.
CHAPTER V

CAUSES OF SEGMENTATION IN THE JOINT FAMILY

We have already discussed the structure and developmental cycle of the joint family. Now we turn to a more detailed discussion of causes of segmentation and how modern conditions are militating against joint family life. Diagram V\(^1\) indicates the causes of fission in the families studied and the relative frequency with which each type occurred.

1. **Insufficient Accommodation:**

Lack of accommodation was one of the commonest causes of segmentation of the joint family in the history of the families studied. In Diagram V this is very clearly indicated. In the families belonging to the middle and lower income groups lack of space was the most common cause of segmentation. For instance, in the Chellan family and other families in Tintown sons had to separate soon after marriage because the nuclear families within the joint family were expanding and there was not enough accommodation to hold all of them. Besides, since they were poor they lived in very small homes. Among the wealthy families such as those of Mahadeo, S. Singh, and

---

1. The causes of segmentation of the joint family as shown in Diagram V were obtained from ego's family and his father's brothers' families. Therefore segmentation was traced to two generations. Reliable information was not available from the other generations of the families studied, as there was either complete reluctance to give details of family history or often information obtained from one member of the family contradicted with another as many families desired to give a picture of family harmony and unity to the investigator.
Diagram V
CAUSES OF SEGMENTATION IN 168 CASES IN THE EGO AND 1ST DESCENDING GENERATIONS OF HEADS OF THE FAMILIES STUDIED.

KEY

- ACCOMMODATION PROBLEMS
- FAMILY CONFLICT
- OCCUPATIONAL REQUIREMENTS
- MUNICIPAL REGULATIONS (MUNISING SCHEMES; GROUP AREAS ACT)
- NO CAUSE GIVEN
- POLITICAL AND NATURAL DISASTERS (1948 AFRO-INDIAN RIOTS)
- MARRIAGE OUTSIDE INDIAN COMMUNITY
- DIVISION OF ESTATE BEFORE FATHER'S DEATH
Bugwandin, etc., space was not a problem as these families could afford large homes to accommodate the married sons and their families. The Mahadeo family (Diagram I) could afford to build an additional house adjacent to the original house which was used as sleeping quarters.

From the third case history (Chellan) as well as other families in this study, the following pattern emerged for the poorer section of the community. As each son married, he lived for a while in the parental home and as soon as his family increased he separated. There was always one son and his family who remained in the parental home to take care of the parents in their old age.

In the early years when the men worked on the sugar plantations with their sons, they tolerated the congested conditions in the barracks and separation from the joint family was not common.

2. **Political and Natural Disasters:**

An aspect of lack of accommodation discussed above, was the destruction of property and subsequent scattering of sections of families as a result of the African-Indian riots in 1949 and as a result of floods in 1900 and in other years. In the devastating riots of 1949 not only did Indian families scatter for their lives but hundreds of homes were burnt and many Indians killed. Wealthy Indians were reduced to poverty overnight. Some of the most affected areas were Cato Manor and Stella Hill. A few families in this study related their horrible experiences and told how their families were scattered in va-
rious parts of Durban as a result.

3. Division of Estate by Father Before his Death:

In a few cases fathers initiate segmentation by dividing out the inheritance among their sons before their death. In the Choudhry family (see Chapter III) Ramautar divided his estate amongst his three sons just before his death. He also built comfortable homes for them. He and his wife then decided to live with their youngest son and his family. In another family, that of D.M. Maharaj from Tongaat, whose sons were teachers and the father a principal, the father built houses on plots of land near their original home so that the family could live in close proximity to each other.

4. Segmentation as a Result of Conflict within the Joint Family:

Steps taken to Resolve Conflicts:

Conflict in a joint family among brothers or between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law may lead to segmentation in the joint family. Disputes are usually settled by arbitration by senior members of the kutum. One way of meeting with the problem of conflict between women is to set up separate cooking hearths either in the same kitchen or in an outbuilding. If this is not possible then separation from the joint family takes effect. Economic and religious obligations still continue even though separation is effected which in this case is only spatial.
While the patriarch is living any conflict is always settled with his intervention and the arguments do not always lead to a separation. If the arguments continue then the equilibrium in the household becomes disturbed, animosity builds up and there are violent quarrels which lead eventually to separation. Usually after the patriarch's death separation is expedited as the father represents a strong unifying force in the family during his lifetime.

**Conflict between Brothers:**

Although there exists a close-knit bond among brothers, conflicts are inevitable owing to jealousy and rivalry and therefore this leads to segmentation of the joint family. One brother may be educated while the other may not have had this opportunity. These two might be at loggerheads. This was the position in the Mahadeo family between Bunsee and Balak and the situation was aggravated when Bunsee's parents took sides in the quarrel. This led to Bunsee's separation from the joint family in 1938 (see Diagram I stage 4 showing segmentation). From our study it appeared that the relationships generally among brothers tended to be formal. Bottled-up feelings of jealousy often give rise to sudden outbursts over matters of minor consequence.

In the Choudhry family, Ben and Ramsutar quarrelled over the family business after their father's death. Ben desired his share of the joint inheritance in money. Because of the ill-feeling between the two brothers, arising from the fact that one was hardworking and was interested
in the progress of the business, and the other (Ben) did not have the same initiative, the family business was therefore divided and the two brothers then separated. (See Chapter III).

In the Chellan family there was underlying animosity between Muthusamy and his brother Annamalay. Although the Durban Corporation slum clearance schemes expedited the separation of the two brothers, the underlying cause of disunity was the conflict between the two brothers. Sooner or later they would have separated.

Hariram and Mungal in the Mahadeo family too did not get on with each other. Their step-mother was also ill-treating them - this aggravated matters so that eventual separation became inevitable. Mahadeo gave them their respective shares and they settled in Durban in different areas.

When a son leaves the parental home as a result of conflicts with brothers his relationship with the rest of the family is not severed. Although he might not be on talking terms with his brothers, he nevertheless visits his parents. Bunsee from the Mahadeo family, kept in contact with his parents by correspondence, visited them whenever he could and made himself available for any life cycle or other religious functions in the wider joint family.

In a fraternal joint family conflicts are more likely unless there is a strong economic bond uniting the brothers such as in the family of Mohamed. When conflicts have caused separation of brothers, such as in the family of
Haribhai and Dhupelia, both of whom are wealthy wholesale merchants, the brothers, although living separately, will come together for the running of the family business. In fact, in these two families the brothers meet daily in the large wholesale business premises.

In the R.K. Singh family of Asherville, trouble arose when the younger brother was unemployed for long periods of time. The onus of support of the unemployed brother and his family rested on the brother who was employed as the joint family is supposed to offer security to the unemployed. The older brother felt that it was unfair for the non-working brother to be a drain on his resources. He could adequately spend his money on his own family.

Part Played by Brothers' Wives in Family Conflict:

Often the cause of conflict among brothers is the wives who gossip together and relate stories and complaints to the husbands. The brothers then have a strained relationship and there arises a conflict between lineal and conjugal ties. In the four case histories discussed in Chapter III, quarrels between the brothers' wives were a contributory cause of disintegration of the joint family. In other families it was observed that where there are large fraternal joint families, in the absence of the patriarch who is a strong unifying force in the family, the conflicts between wives of brothers lead to the segmentation of the joint family. In the fraternal joint family of Gaffoor of Overport, although there was constant bickering between the two wives, this did not lead to separation
of the two brothers as there was a strong economic link between the brothers. They were managing a family business which was adjacent to the house where they lived.

While parents are alive in a large joint family, friction among brothers does not easily lead to separation because the daughters and mother form an alliance in opposition to an alliance formed among the wives of brothers. This is sometimes a superficial alliance as it is often broken by the brothers' wives because they begin competing for the favours of the mother-in-law. Gossiping therefore takes place on both sides and there is considerable back-biting.

**Conflict between Mother-in-Law and Daughter-in-Law:**

The arrival of new wives in the joint family eventually contribute to the breaking up of the joint family. New wives who come from unrelated families bring new values and new interests which cause tensions and conflicts which consequently lead to the breaking up of the solidarity of the joint family.

In a joint family it is difficult to maintain equilibrium among household members for long periods of time. Sooner or later there is bound to be conflict, sometimes small petty disputes and at other times serious quarrels which cannot be resolved and therefore separation becomes necessary to restore the equilibrium of the family.

In preferential marriages, such as cross-cousin and parallel-cousin marriages which are common among the Moslems as well as the maternal uncle-niece marriages which
are not very common today, but which do take place among the Tamil- and Telegu-speaking Hindus, the possibilities of tensions and conflicts are minimised because of the kinship tie already established. Such preferential marriages reinforce the already existing kinship relationships. This does not mean, however, that where preferential marriages do not occur (among Hindi- and Gujerati-speaking Hindus) that there are more conflicts. Conflicts between mothers-in-law and daughters-in-law and among brothers and their wives are common in all joint families. In fact, there was one cross-cousin marriage in the study, that between Gori-bibi and Yusuf of Overport, in which there was unhappiness caused by the mother-in-law who was very conservative in her outlook and did not like the modern Western ways of her daughter-in-law.

Daughters-in-law are fully prepared for the difficulties which arise in their husbands' kutum as they have heard in legends, myths and experiences related by their own mothers in their natal homes that mothers-in-law can be wicked and husbands' sisters cunning and deceitful. In the Mahadeo family there was much conflict between mother-in-law and daughters-in-law. Hariram and Mungal's wives did not get on with their step-mother who was harsh towards them and compelled them to work from morning till late at night with very little free time to devote to themselves and their families. These two wives were very unhappy but this did not encourage their husbands to separate from the joint family as separation from the joint family was less common in the early days than it is today and there
was a very strong bond of attachment between the parents and their sons, particularly between mother and son. Hariram and Mungal did separate from the joint family, but the real reason was the conflict between the two brothers.

Bunsee's wife and his mother too were not on amicable terms, although in the early stages of her stay at her husband's kutum her relationship with her mother-in-law was a cordial one. This gradually disappeared as the new daughter-in-law had to prove her value by her standard of housework and cooking. For instance, Bunsee's wife had to do most of the hard work such as fetching water from the wells, cooking for servants as well as for members of the household and other tasks of cleaning the house. Her duties were confined to the kutum which was her world. The division of labour between the sexes in the early days was clearly marked. The women were to work at home and the men had to go out to work and do the difficult tasks of repairing and constructing around the house.

When Bunsee's wife complained to him about her difficulties he was often annoyed and turned a deaf ear. It was clear that he owed his loyalty to his mother. When she complained to her parents they did not wish to interfere as they felt that she belonged to Bunsee's kutum and ought to tolerate all the difficulties which she encountered in the joint family.

Girdhari, another son of Mahadeo, separated from the joint family (see Diagram I stage 5) because his wife and mother were constantly quarrelling. Girdhari's wife was fairly well-educated and was sophisticated and did not like the
domineering attitude of her mother-in-law. She was braver than the older early daughters-in-law in the Mahadeo kutum and she often answered back to her mother-in-law. The constant quarrels between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law eventually led to the separation of Girdhari and his wife from the joint family.

Balak, also another son of Mahadeo, had two marriages. Both his wives had difficulty with their mother-in-law. The first wife was most unhappy as mother and daughters complained about her to her husband who was very attached to his mother. He was her favourite son and therefore he was loyal to her. Balak divorced his first wife who was often criticised as being lazy and did not work well. They had a daughter who is now a young woman and independent of the father's control. He maintained her for a short while during her early childhood and discontinued her maintenance grant when she was a little older. Balak's second wife who was a schoolteacher had the same difficulty as did her predecessor in the joint family. She was said to be cheeky and as her mother-in-law often said of her, she had a fiery tongue (Jahar-jeeb) and refused to do the type of duties which for instance, were done by Hariram, Mungal and Bunsee's wives. For example, she did not wash her mother-in-law's feet or bring water in large containers balanced on her head. While she was pregnant she felt she should have rest, while her mother-in-law thought that she should be more active during this time. This would lead to a violent quarrel and there would be much unhappiness and tears in the household. Quarrels usually take place over
petty and minor things, such as too much salt in the food, a remark which might be casually made by one of the sisters of the husband. Cooking was very closely evaluated and exposed to criticism daily.

Besides the family of Mahadeo where conflict between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law was at its maximum, there were many other families where conflicts of this nature led to the segmentation of the joint family. Many daughters-in-law in this study related their experiences in the joint household in which they had at one time lived. The older daughters-in-law of former days agreed that docility and industry were two characteristics which were considered praiseworthy. Nothing provoked more criticism than a lazy daughter-in-law. It is usually her natal home which is blamed for any of her misdemeanours.

Tetham's wife who was a very reserved and reticent type of person did not quarrel much with her two daughters-in-law, but there was always a strained relationship. Suddenly one day, over something trivial there was a violent outburst and it was then that the members of the family began hurling insults openly and consequently there was much unhappiness. Her son Raj and his wife decided to move into a flat within the next month. Although they have separated, the relationship is a cordial one as every weekend Raj and his wife and their two children visit their original home and the parents occasionally repay the visit.

Mrs K.H., a young matriculated Gujerati woman who married into a wealthy joint family said that she resented her mother-in-law who was aged and ailing. It was obvious
that her mother-in-law annoyed her with her behaviour as she used to add extra salt to the food which her daughter-in-law prepared and then complained to her son that his wife was unable to cook a good meal. There are many other examples of difficult relationships between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law, some of which were related in the previous chapter. For instance, Bishoon Singh, whose wife had suffered tremendously under her mother-in-law's authority decried joint family life vehemently and stated during an interview that "joint family life can destroy one, besides it never leads to any progress". The most pathetic example of conflict between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law which eventually led to the latter's death was in the family of Dhunsook which was discussed in the previous chapter.

In many instances (Raghubar family) the daughter-in-law threatens to leave for her natal home. She goes to her natal home with a bag of clothes giving the impression that she is departing permanently. This arouses gossiping in both kutums, i.e. the daughter-in-law’s family of procreation and family of orientation. The relationship becomes a strained one as nobody returns to pay a social call. Eventually the husband goes to fetch his wife and after a sad and tearful farewell to her parents she returns to her husband's kutum. This pattern Tara Raghubar continued for several times during one year, until finally her husband decided that it would be best to set up a separate household though in the same home town as his parents. He told his wife that he would only separate on condition that
they spent every weekend with his parents and that he would continue to contribute towards his mother's income as he had done previously.

It was observed that much of the tension and ill-feeling between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law who have separated because of quarrels is relieved with the arrival of grandchildren. The children visit the grandparents with their father if the mother does not wish to pay a visit so often. The grandparents shower the grandchildren with gifts as indulgence of grandparents towards their grandchildren is a characteristic of the relationship between them.

After the couple have separated the strained relationship continues for a while until the ill-feeling has died down. Much depends on the nature and seriousness of the dispute. Many of the educated daughters-in-law in this study did not wish to visit their in-laws as often as they were expected to even where the separation had taken place without conflict. But the sons, nevertheless, maintain close contact with their parental home.

It was observed that difficulties in the joint families today arise from the fact that when the mothers-in-law who are old and orthodox have sons who are well-educated and who have chosen to marry equally well-educated women. Then there is a conflict of values and attitudes between the older and younger generations.

Thus the mother-in-law/daughter-in-law complex is a very old established one. From time immemorial there have been stories about this delicate and difficult relationship.
It was observed from this study that the situation is rapidly changing. The daughters-in-law are generally well-educated, even those from orthodox homes have at least the primary school level of education. The majority are emancipated from the traditional way of life. They are westernized in their outlook, dress and habits and resent being subjected to a domineering mother-in-law. The trend today among the majority of young newly married couples is towards neolocal marriage.

From this study it was evident that the daughters-in-law in the early days belonging to the joint families of Mahadeo, Bugwandin, S. Singh and others conformed to the traditional way of life without questioning it. In the same families the younger educated daughters-in-law went out to work and thus could not get on with their mothers-in-law who expected them to live according to the traditional Indian way of life. One mother-in-law in her early 60's said:

"In our days we were not allowed to wear frocks (let alone mini-skirts), go to the cinema or use cosmetics. Today the daughters-in-law are different, they sit like queens, while the meals are prepared for them."

Role of Husbands' Sisters in Family Conflicts:

Often the ill-feeling between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law can be intensified by the husband's sisters if they are domineering and possessive over their brothers. Many women in this study described their husbands' sisters as deceitful and meddlesome. They assert themselves as they have the mother on their side. The husbands' sisters have more privileges in their parental home than
their sisters-in-law who come from different homes and are complete strangers in the beginning. This makes the problem of adjustment for the new daughter-in-law very difficult.

In the Mahadeo family Balak's sisters were always finding fault with the first wife, and were even instrumental, together with their mother, in creating a situation which led their brother Balak to divorce his first wife. With his second wife the conflict between her and his mother and sisters continued until Balak and his wife and family separated from the joint family. (See Chapter III.)

Another example of husband's sisters conflict which nearly led to neurosis of the daughter-in-law was in the Bishoon-Singh family. In this family the only daughter did not get on with her sister-in-law who together with her mother made life unbearable for her. Both mother and daughter had such an influence on Bishoon that he also ill-treated her.

5. Marriage Outside the Indian Community as a Cause of Segmentation:

The position of the daughter-in-law in the joint family is such that it would be difficult for a member of a different racial and cultural group to fit into it. But in any case when such a marriage occurred, it immediately led in the old days to complete separation of the Indian husband from his family as Indians do not tolerate marriage with a complete stranger.
Three joint families in this study were affected by sons marrying White or Coloured women. In the Choudhry family, Jack married a Coloured woman and settled in Cape Town. (See Diagram II, stage 2.) In the Mohamed family both sons Mohamed and Moosa married women outside their community. In the Bishoon Singh family one son, while studying in London, married an Irish girl and settled there. In all these families the sons were not only disinherited but the relationship with the family was severed.

In the early days marriage with Whites, Christians and Coloureds was looked upon with equal disfavour.\(^1\) Today, however, marriage with Christian Indians and Coloured takes place more often and after much protest and threats from parents eventually their marriages are accepted. When sons marry Coloured or Christian women they separate from the family and set up separate households, as the wives would be faced with the problem of adjustment in a home where the pattern of life would be quite different. In these cases contact is maintained on occasions such as birth, marriage and death in the family. Casual visiting is not common between them.

**EXTRANEOUS FACTORS OPERATING TO CAUSE SEGMENTATION.**

6. **Occupational Differentiation:**

Industrialization has reduced the proportion of the Indian population in South Africa directly engaged in the traditional type of occupation which was agriculture. With

\(^1\) Marriage with Whites was made illegal when the Mixed Marriages Act was promulgated.
the application of modern methods of agriculture it has reduced the direct labour demand for production while manufactoring and a variety of ancillary services require new workers. In the early days father and sons toiled together in the fields doing agricultural work. There was little incentive for any other type of work therefore the basic pattern of authority and economic co-operation were not broken. Father and sons with their families lived together in the same house.

The Indian families in this study were in the beginning mainly engaged in agricultural work on the sugar plantations but as industrialization proceeded new types of employment were sought in the urban areas. Applesamy, now living in Asherville housing scheme, was previously living in a joint family in Mount Edgecombe. His place of work was Durban and he found travelling daily to and from work costly as bus fares were high. He decided to settle in Durban with his wife and children. He therefore had to separate from the joint family. In this way many joint families in Durban have been torn asunder. Applesamy and his family of orthodox background had to adjust themselves rapidly to a radically different social setting and style of life in the urban area in contrast to the rural environment and orthodox way of life.

In the wealthy family of Bugwandin, living in the hilly Newlands area, one of the sons who is a qualified attorney decided to settle in Durban with his wife and children because he practiced in Durban.

Industrialization and education therefore are breaking
down the joint family. In many instances the nuclear families which have separated from the parental house, make every effort to visit their old home as often as possible something which is rendered easier nowadays because of improved transport.

7. Western Education:

Advance in education has led Indians to enter various fields as professional and commercial fields. The demand for highly trained professionals is increasing today. Indians are conscious of the occupational structure, as one's status is based on one's income and educational qualifications. In the upper income group in this study there were mainly doctors, lawyers and business men. In the middle group there was a rich diversity of occupation - the types ranging from teachers, shoemen, tailors, machinists, printers and timber merchants. In the lower income group there were plumbers, packers, factory hands, railway workers, gardeners, night soil removers and street sweepers.

The establishment of schools and other agencies of education has indirectly led to early segmentation in the joint family. Educated sons who have teaching appointments, have to leave the family if appointed to a school in a different town.

Dr D. Singh, who lived in a large joint family in Pietermaritzburg, wished to establish a practice in Durban; therefore he had to separate from the joint family with his wife and children. Two of Bishoon Singh's sons were attor-
neys practising in Umzinto, their home town. They felt that there would be better prospects in Durban so they separated from the joint family. It was observed generally that men with professional occupations tended to move out more quickly from the joint family than others and if the wife too, was a professional, then separation was expedited.

Modern industrialization has offered Indian women more economic freedom and today many of them go out to work to supplement the family income. This situation is in strong contrast to the early days when women were expected to stay at home, care for the children and do the housework.

Many of the Indian women in this study were teachers — there was one doctor and one attorney; others who worked were employed in factories as skilled and semi-skilled workers.

Over the past thirty years with the establishment of higher educational facilities for Indians, Indian women have developed a high level of career-mindedness.

At the University College for Indians in Durban 75 students were questioned about their impressions on the joint family — whether or not they were in favour of the perpetuation of the traditional Indian family pattern. Out of 75 students, of which 45 were males and 30 females, 18 were in favour of the joint family system (see Table 10). Of the 18 there were only 3 females in favour of the joint family. The male students felt that there should be a trial period for a few months during which time the young couple should live with the joint family unit and if it
did not work then they should separate, but economic and social relations should continue. On the whole the females denounced the joint family pattern of life, stating that discord and disharmony would be inevitable because of the different values and attitudes of the mother-in-law and the daughter-in-law.

**TABLE 1.**

Number of University Students in Favour of the Joint Family

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sex</th>
<th>Total Number</th>
<th>Number in favour of joint family system</th>
<th>%age in favour</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Males</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>33 1/3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Females</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

More and more women today are going in for higher education and they have a Western-orientated outlook on life. This definitely conflicts with the traditional ideals which are upheld in a typical joint family.

Promotion too can have an effect on joint family life and cause its disintegration. Mannie and Prabhu Singh were offered promotions in their commercial employment in a large business concern in Durban. They had to manage a business branch in Southern Natal and therefore separated from the joint family.
"Group Areas" Legislation, Slum Clearance and Housing Schemes:

The Group Areas Act of 1950 and its numerous amendments was implemented to segregate the various racial groups of South Africa. In many areas of South Africa Indians have been dispossessed of properties with grossly inadequate compensation. Both residential and trading areas have been affected. The joint family consequently has been affected. From Diagram V it is clear that these measures constitute one of the most common causes of the breakdown of the joint family. Indians in many areas of Durban have been affected. Housing schemes have been instituted on a large scale in areas such as Chatsworth. Some of the families which had been forced to move have had to accept temporary dwelling arrangements such as in Tintown where the poor families of this study reside. (See note on Tintown families in Chapter III.) One such family which was affected by legislation was the family of Chellan II. His two sons, Muthusamy and Annamalay, were ejected from the former house because the land was required for development purposes. Much of the land which the Municipality required is being used for industrial purposes, for White occupation and for playing fields for the different racial groups.

The Chellan family did not wish to separate because while living jointly they could pool their resources however meagre they were and utilise it jointly. One important strength of the joint family is that it affords security to the members of the joint family who are unemployed.
Rangiah from Asherville who had originally lived in a large joint family in Stella Hill, was asked to move from his house which was to be demolished by the Municipality as the land was required to set up buildings for missionaries. The family therefore had to split and find alternative accommodation. They are now scattered all over Durban.

9. **Segmentation does not Sever Family Ties and Responsibilities:**

If a son and his family have separated from the joint family without having any conflicts, for instance, because of the lack of space or for employment reasons, he maintains regular contact with his parental home by visiting them, offering monetary assistance where it is needed and participating in the religious rituals and social functions in the family. But where there has been conflict among brothers or between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law, visits will not be made for at least six months to a year depending on the seriousness of the quarrel. After the ill-feeling has died down somewhat and the tension relieved then mutual visits are made. Where the daughter-in-law was involved directly in some cases the son will continue visiting his parental home regularly, often accompanied by his children who play an important part in restoring family equilibrium.

If during the time when there exists a strained relationship between the son and his family, some member of the family dies or is to be married, then these two occasions will re-unite the family. There would be serious reper-
cussions on family relationships if, for example, a son did not attend his brother's or sister's marriage ceremony. This would cause relatives and friends to talk about the disharmony in the family. It will be even more serious and unpardonable if a son does not attend a funeral in his parental home. No matter how serious the conflict, the son is in duty bound to cremate his parents and also participate in the subsequent funerary rites. In this study there was no son who had failed to carry out his important duty.

Summary:

From this study therefore the problem of accommodation appears to be the chief cause of segmentation of the joint family (see Diagram V). The second potent reason for the disintegration of the joint family was family conflict. Most important was conflict between brothers although mother-in-law and daughter-in-law conflict is increasingly causing the joint family to split. Thirdly the transfer of teachers, lawyers, doctors - generally those who took up employment away from their homes. The fourth factor causing segmentation of the joint family was Government legislation and slum clearance schemes and the provision of housing, especially sub-economic ones, the Government, and Municipality are responsible for causing many joint families to split. A small number of families in this study segmented because of political and natural disasters (1949 Afro-Indian Riots) and marriage outside the community. We shall see in the next chapter how the religious link lingers on and even outlasts segmentation.
CHAPTER VI.

RELIGION IN FAMILY LIFE

The Joint Family as a Religious Unit:

Perhaps the most important aspect of the joint family is its functions as a religious unit. Long after segmentation has taken place the family remains united on the religious level. Hindu religion is very much centred in the kutum (joint family). Besides the worship that is connected with temples, each family has its own special home deities chosen from the Hindu pantheon. A man inherits these from his family and may in addition worship his own favourite deities.

Religious behaviour is part of family life and religious ritual performed by all the members of the joint family is believed to be more effective than when it is performed by any one individual. When the joint family as a group performs any religious rite this promotes a feeling of unity among its members. They are brought together in a common belief, a common method of offering their prayers, and the observance of common taboos and abstentions, e.g. from eating meat or fish on certain days set aside for the worship of a particular deity. The joint family also preserves traditional ideas and values and every member is obliged to respect and participate in the religious activities.

When a woman marries she automatically accepts the household deities of her husband's kutum. She may, however, continue to worship the deities of her natal home in
Flags raised in honour of Lord Hanuman.
addition to those of her husband's house. The responsibility of maintaining the traditional pattern of norms and values largely rests on the women of the household.

Common Family Deities:

Common family deities seen in most family shrines are Rama and Krishna, gods incarnate of the Hindus, together with pictures of Shiva, the destroyer, and the manifestations of the Holy Mother - Luxmi, goddess of prosperity and Saraswathie, goddess of knowledge. Even business men in commercial areas invoke the goddess of prosperity. One often sees a picture of the goddess on business premises. The picture is adorned with a garland and in front of it a clay or brass lamp is lighted. Lord Hanuman, the monkey-god is another god popularly worshipped by Hindu families, especially Hindi-speaking Hindus. One sees a special sacred spot in the yard of many families where a flag (jhunda) is hoisted while singing his praise (see Plate Thirteen). These flags are to be seen in many Indian gardens and yards. There were heads of families who have favourite deities whom they worship on special days set aside for these deities. Raghunanan, a staunch devotee of Lord Hanuman (monkey-god) fasted on Tuesdays and made offerings of milk and fruit to Lord Hanuman before he left for work. On Mondays the whole family of Annama Governder, a worshipper of Lord Shiva (represented as one of the Triad in Hindu religion observed a strict vegetable diet. Annama gets up very early and makes her offering of milk poured over the Shivalingam (symbol of Lord Shiva).
Dome of the SHREE VISHNU Temple in Somsteu Road.
Shrine of GANESHA the Elephant god.

Shrine of DURGA one of the manifestations of the Holy Mother.
In the majority of the Hindu families in this study there was at least one day of the week which was set aside for the worship of a particular household deity. On this day meat or fish would not be cooked and in many cases the female religious head of the family fasted. For instance, Bunsee's wife worshipped Lord Hanuman on Tuesdays and Luxmi, the goddess of prosperity, on Fridays, and other manifestations of the Holy Mother such as Durga. On both these days she abstained from eating meat, fish or eggs. (See Plates Fourteen and Fifteen).

The Family Shrine (Vedhi): (See Plate Sixteen):

The Hindu families that fell into this study like all Hindu families, had a shrine (Vedhi) either inside the house or outside. This was the central feature of the house and the centre of family prayers and rituals. There was great variation in the types of shrines, according to whether families belonged to the wealthy, middle or poorer classes. The wealthy families were able to have separate prayer rooms (puja-rooms) either inside or outside the house. S. Singh, a wealthy butcher, had in his yard a beautifully decorated prayer room which was commonly referred to as "the temple". In this room there were expensive statues of household deities especially brought from India. Statues were seen in the prayer rooms of many families and were made of brass, silver, copper, wood and even stone for ceremonial worship. Pictures and statues of the deities in the shrine are indispensable media. For instance Lord Ganesha the elephant god is seen in most
The Family Shrine.
shrines. The worshipper makes offerings, prays, meditates, bows and salutes the deity. This gives him confidence. Most Hindus cannot do without these "visual aids" in their religion.

The average middle- and lower-income families either had a portion of a room curtained off or a small pantry converted into a prayer room. Sometimes a modest wooden shelf was knocked on to a wall or in the corner of a room such as those of Tintown. A few families had statues, but most had pictures of the gods or the Hindu pantheon. No matter how modest or sophisticated, the shrine was an important place for the family, where relief from illness, help in time of crisis and blessings were sought by various members of the family. The shrine as a sacred place has special observances attached to it.

**Tendance of Shrines:**

**What it involves:**

The shrine is always kept scrupulously clean. It is the duty of the women, particularly the young daughters-in-law, to see that brassware gleams; the statues and pictures should be adorned with fresh flowers daily, water in the goblets should be changed and incense lighted.

**Ritual Purity Essential Before Approaching a Shrine:**

Care is taken to see that nobody in a state of ritual impurity enters the sacred shrine; for instance a menstruating woman is in a state of pollution and even a mar-
ried couple who have had sex relations are rendered impure thereby and have to cleanse themselves by having a bath. Only then can they perform religious rites, having returned to their normal ritual condition. People wearing such polluting agents as shoes, belts, or any other leather object (leather pollutes) must not enter the shrine as they are ritually impure. The level of purity and impurity of an individual changes in time. A person can be said to enjoy normal ritual status all the time; but as soon as he comes into contact with anyone who is ritually impure, e.g. by touching such person or attending a funeral, or if he eats polluting foods, then he is rendered impure. A person who is ritually impure, gets cleansed through having a bath; in this way he gets rid of the pollution. A bath is an act of purification. Before any individual participation in any religious activity in the home or temple he or she has to have a bath. Before approaching a shrine the worshipper must refrain from sex-intercourse, as this is a polluting agent; he must also abstain from eating meat, fish or eggs. Water cleanses and purifies and is thus an important requirement for any religious rite. Any person or article that has been polluted can be purified by being sprinkled with water while purificatory mantras or formulae are recited. Water is also sipped by the ritually impure person.

DOMESTIC RITUALS.

Simple forms of Domestic Rituals:

Daily Prayers:

Daily prayer (gandyopasana) is a regular observance
in most Hindu families. It takes the form of recitations from a sacred book, chanting hymns (kirtans and bhejans) and silent meditation. In Hindu families both children and adults, if available, have a wash or bath in the evenings just before supper and assemble in the prayer room to chant the sacred prayers which are contained in the Sanskrit texts. Brass or clay lamps are lighted in honour of Luxmi, goddess of prosperity, incense sticks are lighted and the pictures and statues are adorned with flowers. The service concludes with a peace prayer. Very devout families, such as Juggernauth and M.D. Maharaj, perform sandhya (daily prayers) morning and evening; others have it once a week. Some of the men in these families do intense meditation during sandhya.

When a family gathers to perform a simple prayer service, the females in the family take the lead both in the preparations for the prayer service and in conducting it. The mother sees that nobody is in a state of ritual impurity enters the shrine.

Days set Aside for Family Worship:

In many of the Hindusthani families Friday was set aside for family worship. The family usually gathered to perform a hawan or fire ritual, followed by devotional songs. The goddess of prosperity - Luxmi - is commonly worshipped on Fridays when a clay or brass lamp is lighted in her honour.
Use of Shrine in Case of Illness:

When a member of the family is ill, he goes to the sacred shrine, asks the deity for his protection and blessing, prostrates himself, applies holy ashes, makes an offering of fruit, flowers or milk and lights a lamp. All these acts give the worshipper courage. If a child is ill its mother will take it to the family shrine.

Hawan - A Propitiatory and Purificatory Fire Ritual:

A **Hawan** is a very important rite. It forms a normal part of any important religious ritual, e.g. in marriage or death, but is also done independently. It is commonly performed by the family to secure blessings and general goodwill among members of the family; or when people move into a new home, undertake a journey, fulfil a vow.

In orthodox Hindu homes, such as those of the Bugwandin, Boodhoo and Juggernauth families a **hawan** is performed by a Brahmin, but people belonging to reform movements, who are well-read in Sanskrit officiate at **hawans** themselves without the assistance of a priest. Many felt that any person who can recite the sacred **mantras** (formulae) and prayers from the the Sanskrit texts can perform a **hawan**. Some of the families in this study who had a more sophisticated concept of religion, did not perform rituals or observe fasts at all.

**How hawan is Performed:**

When a family gathers to perform a **hawan**, the offici-
ator recites from the sacred books and each participant drops a spoonful of a special mixture, consisting of chips of sweet-smelling wood, especially imported from India, together with clarified butter, rice, sugar and honey into the fire, which is kindled in their midst. As the smoke emanates from the fire (agni) it purifies the house and rises into the heavens. A hawan occupies a central place in most religious rites, such as some of the life cycle ceremonies - naming ceremony, marriage and death rituals, story reading (from holy scripture) and flag raising ceremony (Katha and Jhunda) and other rites connected with the family.

What it Achieves:

A hawan is a fire ritual. Fire plays a vital part in Hindu religious belief. It is supposed to be the carrier of offerings to God in heaven. Fire (agni) represents all the deities and bestows prosperity, health and fertility on its worshippers. The smoke from the fire rises and purifies the air and if the house is in a state of defilement through birth or death, purity can be restored by a hawan.

Vows Taken at the Family Shrine:

How and Why Vows are Made:

When a member of the family is ill the mother usually takes the person to the shrine, prays for his recovery, circles a cent piece round his head five to seven times,
simultaneously taking a vow to make offerings at home or at the temple, or to undertake some more prolonged or difficult religious task, when the patient recovers. Vows play an important part in the lives of the Hindus. The character of the vows and offerings varies according to the needs and means of the supplicant. The object of the vows is the attainment of certain desires, e.g. children, wealth, a home, passing an examination, safe return from a journey, marriage and recovery from an illness. The most popular reason that was given by the families of this study for taking a vow was for recovery from illness. (See Plate Nineteen, showing a Hindu temple.)

What is Undertaken in Vows:

A vow may bind a person for six years or more, as in the case of Subramoney Govender of Asherville who undertook to do fire-walking for six years as a fulfilment of a vow which he took when he was paralysed. He had since recovered and this year he did the fifth round of fire-walking. The offering in fulfilling a vow varies from a modest offering of milk, fruit, flowers, to sacrifices of goats, pigs and fowls to the particular deity in question, which is usually a household god.

The Tamil and Telegu families commonly undertake to "carry Kavady" (see Plate Seventeen) which is a wooden structure varying in size and shape. It is decorated with flowers and pictures of Hindu deities and is carried in a procession at the time of the Kavady ceremonial in a manner that involves great hardship. The festival is dedicated to Lord Subramanya, son of Lord Shiva. The devotees prepare
In Fulfilment of Vows.

Fire-walking.

Kavady.
for this event by fasting and privations, abstaining from foods such as meat and fish which pollute, and sexual intercourse. This festival begins in the home of each devotee who will pray and meditate in the family shrine before setting out to take part in the ceremony and culminates—or ends—at the temple where most devotees go into a trance.

Sometimes a vow may be taken to do fire-walking. Fire-walking is more or less exclusive to the Tamil- and Telegu-speaking Hindus, although one might see Hindi-speaking Hindus also doing fire-walking. In this study Gujerati-speaking Hindus did not do fire-walking. The people who did fire-walking belonged to families in which it was traditional to do so. The devotees prepare for the fire-walking in the same manner as for the Kavady festival by fasting and privation and purification.

Twenty-nine-year-old Nadasen, who took a vow binding him for six years, was interviewed after he had completed the preliminary purification rites an hour before the fire-walking was to begin. He looked very calm with his rosary (mala) round his neck, turmeric powder rubbed on his body, without shoes and wearing a cotton loin cloth and loose shirt. He seemed to have great faith as he went into a trance just before he entered the pit which was full of smouldering embers and indeed he came out of the ordeal unscathed.

Many barren women pray to Lord Shiva and make offerings to the Shivalingam (symbol of Lord Shiva and phallic in form) in the family shrine as well as the temple. (See Plate
SHIVA temple at Clare Estate.

Lord SHIVA and the Lingam.
PLATE NINETEEN

Shree VISHNU Temple in Somsteua Road.
Every year on his birthday devotees of Shiva go to the temple and offer bay leaves, milk, fruit and flowers to him. It is also common to see families circumambulating a temple for a fixed number of times in the name of the deity and then making offerings in fulfillment of a vow.

Examples of Vows Taken in Families that were Studied:

Many families in this study had taken numerous vows throughout the years, largely for recovery from illness. Taking vows is more popular with the women in the family than with men. Hindu women may take vows to obtain suitable husbands (a married woman is "auspicious" and respected while the lot of a spinster is poor and often criticized). Soorie Singh, a spinster of thirty-six years took a vow in honour of the Holy Mother which bound her for four years. The object of this vow was to obtain a husband. During the four years she fasted on every Monday of the week and at the end of the fourth year she was successful in achieving her end.

Bunsee's wife took numerous vows during the time when her children were young, usually in connection with illness in the family. A staunch devotee of Lord Hanuman (monkey-god), she fasts on Tuesdays, a day dedicated to the worship of Lord Hanuman. She offers fruit, coconut and flowers when the vow is being fulfilled. As her eldest daughter is often ill, she still undertakes vows for her recovery. She also takes vows for the good-health of her two grandchildren.
One would think that *patibhakthi* - meaning devotion for one's husband shown in the undertaking of vows and prayers for a happy and loving relationship - was only a custom of the past in India. It is interesting to know that there were several women in this study who fasted on a certain day during the month in order that their husbands might be devoted to them.

Mrs Desai, an old widow now in her seventies, had taken a vow when she was young to refrain from eating betel leaf and areca nut, which she was in the habit of taking, until she was reunited with her husband who had gone to India. Her desire was to cook for him once again. She took numerous other vows during her lifetime, many connected with illnesses in her family.

Every year during the Easter weekend, thousands of Hindus flock to the Mariamen Temple in Isipingo with their offerings to the gods. The offerings are mainly in fulfilment of vows taking during the year. The mother of the family usually takes a vow to make offerings to the Holy Mother when her child is ill. If the ear, eye or nose of the sick person is affected, then objects representing the various parts of the body are bought and offered to the particular deity in question.

The taking of vows promotes solidarity in the family because the individual needs family support in their fulfilment. It strengthens the mother-child bond as the mother takes the vow on behalf of the child. Some members of the families in this study undertook vows which took from three to six years to fulfil.
Katha and Jhunda - a Scripture-reading and Flag-raising Ceremony:

Among the Hindi-speaking families there is a religious rite to secure blessings called Katha which is always accompanied by Jhunda. Katha are stories and parables read from the holy scriptures, the Ramayan and Mahabharata. Jhunda, the hoisting of flags at a spot in the yard, is done in honour of Lord Hanuman, the monkey-god. This ceremony is often undertaken in fulfilment of a vow taken when a member of the family was ill; it can also be performed for the sake of promoting peace and prosperity in a home as a thanksgiving when everything runs smoothly in the house; it is commonly held a day before the wedding ceremony to procure blessings for the bridal couple. A priest usually officiates and performs the rite when it precedes a wedding ceremony.

The first part of the ceremony (Katha) is in honour of Lord Vishnu (one of the Hindu Triad known as the Preserver\(^1\)), and the second part, that of erecting a red flag, is in honour of Lord Hanuman, the monkey-god. Fresh fruit together with dried fruit, candy, a flour mixture with other condiments added to which is fried, and circular oakes called rort which is fried in clarified butter are some of the offerings made to Lord Hanuman during this rite. A conch shell is blown five times,

---

1. The Hindu Triad or three major gods are Brahma, Vishnu, Shiva (Creator, Preserver and Destroyer).
symbolically invoking the deity. Five men representing the five natural elements, (fire, wind, earth, water, air) then hoist a flag in honour of Lord Hanuman. After the ritual, the offerings made to the deity are distributed among the guests just before the feast begins. The Hindi-speaking families proudly showed us the many red flags in sacred spots in their yards. This indicated the number of times the family had performed a Katha and Jhunda ceremony. It is also observed for prosperity and success in any endeavour. (See Plate Thirteen.)

The Katha and Jhuda ceremony brings the family members together. It is an occasion when the sons who have separated from their families have to attend and offer assistance as all close relatives are invited; including married daughters who do their share in making the occasion a success. A meal is prepared for the guests who are expected to "listen" to the katha.

MOSLEM RITUALS

Muhalood Sharif:

Similar to the Katha ceremony is the Muhalood Sharif among the Moslems. This is a reading from the Koran by an imam (priest) on the occasion of the prophet's birthday. The whole Koran is recited and this is called Khatam. Both Katha and Muhalood are accompanied by prayers and reading of the sacred texts.
Contrast Between Hindu Religious Ritual and that of Moslems and that of the Arya Samaj Reformists:

The religion of the Moslems strongly contrasts with the practice of Hindu religion. The former have no statues, pictures or objects of worship and therefore there is not much ritualism, while in Hinduism ritualism is one of the main characteristics. However, two Hindi-speaking Hindu families were encountered who belonged to the Hindu reform movement called the Arya Samaj Movement which was introduced in South Africa in the early years of the twentieth century. This group denounces statues, temples and rituals, etc., and meets in public halls for prayer services. These people do not have family shrines at their homes but concentrate on Hindu Scriptures such as the Bhagavad Gita, and other philosophical literature, such as the Upanishads. They do not celebrate many of the festivals and religious rituals, but they do observe the annual Hindu festival of Deepavali and the fire ritual (Hawan) which is propitiatory in nature and is widely observed by both reformists of Hindu religion as well as those who are traditionalists.

Family Ceremonies Connected with the Life Cycle:

Their General Nature:

Ties of kinship, sentiment, ritual and moral obligation which bind members of the joint family become weakened when there is spatial separation as a result of segmentation. The tie of kinship however is never really severed and actual obligations continue even after separation as we
have seen. What keeps these ties alive are, family religious rituals of the kind we have been discussing and ceremonies connected with the life-cycle of individuals such as birth, marriage and death.

From the time an individual is born to his cremation every stage is marked with some ritual. These life cycle ceremonies (samskaras) are mainly purificatory in nature and mark the movement of the child from one stage in his life to another. There are sixteen life-cycle ceremonies but not all of them are observed by South African Hindus. The most important life-cycle ceremonies which the families in this study observed were the naming ceremony, hair shaving, the sacred thread, piercing of ears, and the last two most important life-cycle ceremonies - marriage and death. On all these occasions loyalties to the joint family are reinforced. These ceremonies are general in nature. No particular family deity is invoked but rather God as a Supreme Being.

It is during these life-cycle ceremonies that family cohesion and solidarity are reinforced. Certain aspects of the kinship system are inextricably bound with ritual. The Hindu idea of kinship lies centred around the joint family where ties are created, develop and multiply. The individuals in a joint family are bound to each other by a complex network of ties which in turn are supported by moral and religious obligations.

**Naming Ceremony:**

Birth is an important occasion when family members are
brought together. When there is a new addition to the family the members of the family who have separated as well as close relatives are obliged to visit the mother and child with a gift. For at least a month no religious rituals can be performed in the house as the house and its members are in a state of pollution. On the 12th day the naming ceremony (*naamamkaran*) takes place, often in the midst of a *hawan* (fire ritual) although this depends on how elaborate the ceremony is. The parents of the child participate in the *hawan* with the priest officiating. The important function of this ceremony is the introduction of the child into the family and the social recognition of the child. The grandparents of the infant, all the members of the family, even married sons who have moved away, are expected to be present. Relatives and friends, too, may be invited and a feast is given them. Some families have a small ceremony in the presence of only the immediate members of the household, while other invite the whole patrilineage. On this occasion the horoscope of the child is consulted by a priest and the child is given a name which is commonly called the "calling name", the one that is publicly used to call him by. In addition to this he is given a secret name which is only known to the parents and no outsider must know this name in order that it be safe from the machinations of *orjans* (black magicians). This secret name (reass-name) is important when the child reaches adulthood and is ready to marry. This name, together with the secret name of the potential bride is used to see if the stars tally. If the stars do not tally then
the marriage does not take place. The priest also reveals the times when the child will be unlucky, liable to meet with disaster so that the parents will be aware and take precautions during that time.

**Hair-shaving Ceremony:** (Noodan or Churakaran):

At about 3 months the child's first growth of hair is ritually shaved by a barber. All the families in this study observed this ceremony. It is a purificatory rite which takes place in the home amidst the kutum members, including those married sons who have separated from the family and also married daughters. The hair is safely deposited in the sea as it must not be left where the black magicians could use it to the detriment of the child. In this study not all the families called in a priest to officiate. Those who had had an elaborate function for the naming ceremony just had a small affair inviting only the close members of the family. The barber collects gifts in cash or kind.

**Sacred Threads Ceremony (Upanyana):**

An important event in the development of an adolescent is the sacred triple cord called upanyana. This ceremony is performed only by the two upper castes - the Brahmans and the Kshatriyas. In order to understand its meaning it should be looked at in its total setting as marking entry into the first of four broad stages that every Hindu ought to pass through during his lifetime according to the sacred writings. The four stages are called asramas.
First there is the period of youth and study when a child is introduced to the sacred literature and should devote his time and energy to gain knowledge. This period is known as brahmacharya. He has to observe strict rules pertaining to sex and should if possible attach himself to a guru or religious preceptor and guide. The second stage is that of the householder, called grihastha when a man marries, begots children and, together with his wife, fulfills his religious obligations. He must have sons to perpetuate his name and carry out the necessary rites after his death. In the third stage, called Vanaprastha, a man observes strict dietary and sex rules in preparation for the final stage in his life, which is sanyas when ideally, he renounces everything, both familial and social ties and retires to meditate, perhaps with others like him. Not many Hindus in South Africa observe the third and fourth stages. There are only a few renunciates in South Africa; they are called swamis and have dedicated their life to the spiritual upliftment of their people. In this study we only came across one very staunch Hindu who has reached the stage of Vanaprastha. This man is in his early fifties and leads a life of complete detachment from his wife and family and acts as a guide and counsellor rather than a husband and father to them.

The Brahmin and kshatriya families in this study all observed the Triple Cord or upanyana ritual, which marks the entry into brahmacharya or first of the stages we have mentioned. This ceremony takes place in the home and is the introduction to knowledge or initiation of the individual
into the Vedas or Holy Scriptures during his early teenage years. Those who have neglected performing the ceremony must see to it that it is done before the marriage ceremony. Upanyana is a landmark in the life of the child and is believed to assist him in his spiritual evolution. The priest invests the individual with three cotton threads knotted together. These threads signify the Hindu Triad - the three major gods - Brahma, Vishnu, Shiva (Creator, Preserver and Destroyer). A sacred formulae is given him, and he is also given a staff. He is now supposed to begin the life of study.

Piercing of the Ears: (Karanyedharam):

This ceremony does not have much religious significance attached to it, but it does mark a stage in the growth of the individual associated as it is with adolescence. It is usually performed at the age of sixteen. Only one family, that of Mahadeo, had performed this rite and this was for their eldest son, Bunsee, of the second wife. At the age of sixteen his ears were pierced and it was a great occasion with many relatives and friends invited to attend the ceremony. Bunsee recalled the many gifts which he had received from friends and relatives. He had received little gold earrings which he had put on for a short while and then taken them off. This custom has almost died out, as sons do not wish to have their ears pierced today. In former times men were expected to wear earrings but now this tradition is no longer perpetuated.
Marriage Rites (Vivah):

The marriage ceremony marks the individual's entry into the stage of householder. A marriage rite is basically a family rite; it takes place in the home of the girl among Hindi- and Gujarati-speaking Hindus, and at the home of the boy among Tamil- and Telegu-speaking Hindus. Today it is more convenient for marriage ceremonies to take place at public halls or temples followed by a reception at a hotel. The relationship between the bride and her husband's family is important and likewise the relationship between the groom and his wife's family is also important. In this relationship lies the root of avoidance patterns and joking relationships.

The aims of a Hindu marriage are said to be dharma, i.e. righteousness, praja - progeny, and rati - pleasure. Though sex is one of the functions of marriage it is given third place, indicating that it is the least desirable aim of marriage. Marriage is important to obtain a wife as partner, to fulfill one's religious duties and to beget sons to perpetuate one's house and carry out funerary rites.

On the occasion of marriage the family members, wherever they may be, gather together. It is an occasion when all the members of the joint family have to render assistance to make the occasion a success. Relatives from far and wide have to attend.

In the Choudhry family, Ben, who had separated from his brother, maintained contact on the occasion of the marriage of his nieces and nephews. Usually sons and their
wives arrive at their parental home at least a week before the marriage as everyone is expected to assist in welcoming guests and preparing the meal. It will cause great offence if an invitation has been handed personally to a relative and he fails to attend the marriage ceremony.

When a woman marries, her brother and his wife have specific ritual duties in the preliminary rite, that precedes the actual marriage ceremony. Such brother has a special duty in the marriage of his brother as well as his sister. When Bunsee married, Hariram had to perform a symbolic rite in the marriage ritual, that of tying a necklace round the neck of Bunsee's wife. This symbolised their first and last contact. After this ceremony Bunsee's wife and Hariram had an avoidance relationship. Whenever she met him she would cover her head with her sarrie as a mark of respect. Neither spoke to each other unless compelled to do so; for instance, when Bunsee's wife had to give him a message then she would speak from a distance with her head bowed and covered with her sarrie and he would not look at her.

Not only does marriage affect the size of the family, increasing it in the case of a son, decreasing it in the case of a daughter, but it also marks an important stage in the developmental cycle of the joint family as we have seen. Marriage, inaugurates a new series of relations between members of the same family as well as between previously unrelated families. It also gives a person a new ritual status which he did not have when unmarried. Husband and wife now take an active part in the religious
rites of the family as they also pray for blessing and prosperity for their own family. The man has reached the stage of householder when he, together with his wife, fulfills their religious obligations to the gods. The wife, too, watches her mother-in-law carefully while she carries out the religious rites because she steps into her mother-in-law's position when the latter dies and therefore has to take a lead in the performance of family religious rituals.

According to the tenets of Hindu religion marriage is a religious duty. It is encumbent on every man to marry so that he may beget a son who will make the offerings that are necessary for his salvation after death and for that of his ancestors.

**Death Ceremonies (Sradhha) and their Importance for the Joint Family:**

It was stated earlier that it is on occasions such as marriage and death that loyalties towards the joint family are now especially reinforced. Brothers, sisters and relatives, no matter how remote spatially, are in duty bound to unite on these occasions. The importance of a son to carry out the death ritual has already been emphasised. The son, especially the eldest, plays an important part in the performance of the death rites.

The joint family as a whole is affected by the death of any one member. When a death has taken place the home and its members are in a state of ritual impurity. No religious ceremonies can be performed until the completion of the death rites. Death unites the family in the common
loss. The members of the family are in duty bound to pay their last respects to the deceased. If a member fails to fulfil this duty it is never forgotten. When Balak of the Mahadeo family did not attend the funeral of his eldest brother-in-law, he was very adversely criticised for this serious omission. His bereaved sister almost severed her relationship with him and many relatives said that he was "heartless for not seeing the face for the last time".

The sons unite to cremate their parents or other members of the joint family and together they perform the subsequent funerary rites. It is on occasions such as death in the family that old grievances are forgotten and the family bond is strengthened. The tie of kinship is never severed.

Mourning rites and taboos involve the whole family. After the cremation or burial the sons grow beards as they are not allowed to shave until the completion of all the mortuary rites. Everyone in the family is expected to observe strict rules relating to diet. No meat or fish dishes should be prepared and members should also abstain from sexual activities. The chief mourner, usually the eldest son, takes the lead in the performance of the death rites. He also grows a beard and has to take more precautions against pollution than the other mourners. If there are no sons then a close relative becomes the chief mourner. All these restrictions make members of the family very conscious of the bonds uniting them. Among the Hindusthani there is a tenth-day purification rite after the death of the individual, which must if possible take place near a
river, and marks the end of the taboo on shaving. A variety of vegetable dishes are prepared and offered in the name of the deceased before anyone partakes of them.

The ceremonies after cremation symbolise the withdrawal of the social personality of the deceased from the family and kin group. On the thirteenth day another rite is performed, if possible, also near a river where the ashes are deposited. Many of the families in this study performed this rite in their homes. Vegetable dishes are again prepared, especially those dishes which the deceased was fond of, relatives are invited and given a meal.

It is believed that after the burning of the body the spirit becomes a harmless ghost roving around its old haunts. To soothe it and provide it with some corporal sustenance, the son makes offerings of pindas, i.e. balls of cooked rice. A havan (fire ritual) is usually performed as well. Among many Hindus this is repeated after six months and finally a year when there is a culminating ceremony, together with a feast given to relatives and to the Brahmin of officiates at the ceremony. The spirit is then no longer regarded as impure. The offerings made at the annual ceremony are repeated on anniversaries of the day of death in the belief that it facilitates the passage of the soul to the kingdom of the dead, and then to rebirth and eventual release from the cycle of births and deaths. Let us examine more closely the relationship between the dead and the living.
Annual Rites in Honour of the Dead and the Relationship Between the Living and the Dead:

The connection and association with the deceased is not lost after death. Links with the dead are maintained by making annual offerings of a variety of cooked vegetable dishes and fruit and water to the ancestors. This annual rite is called pitrpksh among Hindi-speaking Hindus. The food is symbolically taken out in the name of the dead and placed outside the house. For fifteen days, among the Hindi-speaking Hindus, the house is in a state of ritual impurity and no household god should be invoked or ceremonies performed as it is an inauspicious time. During this time the family is careful not to prepare any meat or fish dishes as everyone has to be on a strict vegetable diet until the end of the fifteen days when the rites are performed. It is believed that if the dead are appeased by such offerings they will protect the living members. The relationship between the living and the dead is thus one of reciprocity.

In many Hindu homes in this study there were pictures of deceased parents or grandparents in the family shrine. The pictures were garlanded and a small brass tray with a brass lamp on it was lighted daily. In one family in Agherville among the middle income group only the pictures of the deceased parents adorned the shrine; there were no pictures of deities. In other families pictures of deceased parents hung on the wall and had flowers garlanded round the pictures.
Hindus believe that whatever you sow in this life you reap in the next, this is the law of Karma. If you have done good deeds in this life then you will be liberated from the cycle of births and deaths until finally you merge with the Absolute. This is called Moksha. According to the Puranic (old) belief, when a man dies, his body perishes and his soul is born again immediately into another form. His living descendants maintain contact with him by making libations of water and offerings of a variety of cooked foods. The deceased in his turn protects them and this relationship of mutuality continues. Orthodox Hindus still hold these beliefs, venerate their deceased ancestors and set aside a certain period in the year for this which varies among the different groups of Hindus.

According to the Vedic belief, when an individual dies his spirit, atman enters another form and thereafter his link with the living perishes as does his body. The Puranic belief and not the Vedic is held by the majority of the Hindi-speaking Hindus and they perform all the rites connected with the deceased. The Vedic belief is held by a small minority of Hindi-speaking Hindus who do not observe any rites connected with the deceased.

What the rituals and belief of the old Puranic connected with the dead bring out very clearly, is the conception that the joint family does not die. The dead need the living and the living are influenced by the dead and in spite of the cycle of births and deaths the progeny of a man continue to be able to influence his destiny.
The Over-riding Importance of Religion in Holding the Family Together:

A joint family can only be perpetuated if there are sons born to the patriarch and his wife. The importance of sons has been stressed before. The sons not only perpetuate the family name, but also ensure salvation to the spirits of the deceased parents. When daughters are born it is not nearly as joyful an event to parents as when boys are born, since girls leave their own kutum to join that of their husband. Sons bring new members (wives) into their parental home. When there are no sons then the family line come to an end and in this case it is common to see families adopting sons, or on ritual occasions connected with marriage and death, a close relative is asked to play the part of a son. In the early years according to tradition sons alone inherited from their fathers; it was believed that inheritance, if given to daughters, would be used by their husbands and thus be lost to them. However, in this study there were families in which daughters had been given a share in the estate.

The kutum then is an important social unit in which there is a hierarchy of authority and respect based on seniority. The sons, together with their wives and children, and their unmarried brothers and sisters live under the authority of the patriarch. Even if sons have separated from the joint family and have set up separate households, there is always at least one son who takes care of the aged parents, who are never left to fend for themselves. Sons
can visit and reunite with the members of the *kutum* during life-cycle ceremonies and other religious observances in the family. Although the economic bond among members of the joint family plays an important part in holding the family together, as we saw particularly in the fraternal joint family of Mohamed, it is the religious link that lingers on longest. It transcends segmentation and even death.
We have discussed the developmental cycle of the Hindu joint family in Durban and analysed the relationships within the family, its segmentation and the factors making for its cohesion. In order to give some perspective, on our own study in Durban, let us very briefly glance at the position with regard to the joint family in India today and in other parts of the world—where Indians have settled as they have done in Natal—particularly with a view to discussing the influence of modern forces making for changes.

Joint Family in India

In India, the joint family has endured for as long as any records exist. It is mentioned prominently in Hindu literature, for instance in the time of the Mahabharata about 1000 B.C., the joint family existed more or less as it exists today. Earlier records of the Sanskrit texts which trace the origin of Hinduism called Brahmanas and the Vedas—justify the inference that the patrilineal and patrilocal joint family was in existence even then. (Karve, 1963).

In a passage in the Atharveda (one of the sacred texts) the family unit is given as "self, father, son, grandson, grandfather, wife and the mother that bore me" (Kapadia, 1955, p.122). Clearly, the five-generation family unit is the one seen to be the ideal. The Aryan household included the five generations of the descendants of a common great grandfather and went no further. In India the legal situation favoured the joint family system. The sons traditionally inherited the family property and the daughters, who belonged to the joint family of their husbands, were not in line for inheritance. It was thus the duty of the eldest son in particular to care for his mother and family after the death of the patriarch.
Although the joint family was widespread in India during classical times, it has never been the only family form in India. We find not only joint families, but also other types of families. Moreover, the joint family varies among different groups even in India. This is the case in South India for instance, in a tiny mountainous province called Coorg. The Coorgs are classified as South Hindus and regard themselves as Kshatriyas, the caste of warriors and kings. They possess wealth and power and have great skill in hunting and soldiering. Srinivas (1952) states that, "the Coorg individual is a member of a domestic group, the okka or patrilineal joint family. . . . . . . . Besides being a member of the joint family, the Coorg individual is a member of a village community which includes not only persons of his own caste but also members of other castes. . . . . . . The individual therefore belongs to a particular joint family and to a particular village. . . . . . . ." (P. VI - VIII). One gets the impression from Srinivas’s study that the Coorg joint family which he calls the okka is a large family consisting of 20 - 50 members who are agnatically related males with their wives and children. Every okka has an ancestral house built on the ancestral estate. In former days members of the okka all lived together under the authority of the most senior male who was regarded as the headman and whose duty it was to look after the affairs of the okka. Today (1940) the average okka consists of only 2 - 3 generations. The Coorg okka is stronger and more sharply structured than the joint family in other parts of South India.

Among the Coorgs rights in all cultivated land were hereditary and passed from father to son. The main focus of economic activity was rice cultivation. The men traditionally worked on the rice fields, but agriculture was not their sole occupation as the army had always attracted the Coorg men. Nowadays, educated men are to be found in every profession.
The Coorg women's activities are on the whole confined to the house. They cook the food, look after the children and raise pig and fowl. In this respect the Coorg economic arrangements are similar to those among conservative joint families in Durban. In many Indian joint families in Durban, daughters-in-law may not be allowed to go out to work as is the case among the Coorgs. Certain of the internal dynamics of the Coorg joint family are similar to those operating within the joint family in other parts of India. The relationship between the various women in the joint family is, for instance, frequently one of conflict. The woman, on marriage, becomes a member of her conjugal okka where sexes are segregated and there is respect for seniority. Elsewhere in India when there is conflict among members of the joint family this strikes at the joint family solidarity and leads to the partition of the joint family. But in Coorg, partition is not easy as the okka is a very strong entity and partition of the property owning unit is legally forbidden. (Scriven 1952 p.55). This makes for considerable differences between the Coorg okka and the classical Hindu joint family.

The joint family is not a universal ideal in India, there are other types of family system. Among the Sherpas in Nepal, one finds no joint family, but the simple elementary family of husband, wife and unmarried children. The family system of the Sherpas is related to the settlement pattern and the system of seasonal transhumance makes it necessary for the family to be self-reliant and thus to be divorced from the fetters of kinship ties over prolonged periods (Haimendorf, 1964).

Unlike the other tribes in the surrounding region the Sherpa family is not embedded in a web of close kinsfolk. From the moment
of marriage a man usually separates from his parental household and a married couple stands by itself, responsible to no one else and relying on no one’s support. Therefore the basis of Sherpa social organization is the self-sufficiency of the individual family, unlike the interdependence between the nuclear families of the joint family.

The Sherpa wife is economically independent. Nothing in Sherpa tradition and ritual suggests that a Sherpa wife should regard her husband as her lord and master to whom she owes obedience and respect. This position contrasts with the sub-servient role of a daughter-in-law in a Hindu joint family, where she is under the dominating influence of both husband and mother-in-law.

The fact that neither a Sherpa husband nor wife can permanently dominate each other distinguishes Sherpa marriage radically from the marriage of Hindu populations of Nepal and elsewhere in India where women are generally given a subordinate position in the household.

Once a Sherpa son separates from his parental home after his marriage, he has no further obligations to his father. This again contrasts with a Hindu son who, though separated from the joint family, still continues his economic and religious obligations in his parental home.

The mother-son relationship among the Sherpas is not a very close one such as it is among the Hindus. A son would temporarily live with his mother if he were unable to set up a separate household. If the mother-in-law did not get on with her daughter-in-law then it would be the former who left her husband’s house, in which she might have lived for decades, and not the latter as among the Hindus in Durban. Therefore, in Sherpa society, self-reliance and independence are stressed and
the mother-in-law does not expect to be served by her daughter-in-law, as two married couples cannot live for long in a single house. It is in recognition of this fact that the marriage of elder sons is delayed until they have houses of their own to which they can take their brides. Also, importantly, because of seasonal transhumance it is not possible for the Sherpas to live jointly.

The classical joint family which endured among Hindus during the early period in India, then, is not universal in India. We saw among the Coorgs in South India a type of family which although called joint family by Srinivas, resembles the classical joint family only in some respects, but not in others, and among the Sherpas there is the nuclear family.

Today in India as elsewhere industrialization and urbanization are taking place at a rapid rate. How is this affecting the joint family? Let us now look at the views of some of the anthropologists who have concentrated on forces bringing about change in the joint family system in India.

William Goode (1963), as quoted by Kolenda (in Singer and Cohn 1968) states that almost everywhere in the world, the predominant type of family tends to be nuclear in structure, made up of parents and their unmarried children. Larger families which include grandparents, unmarried or widowed uncles and aunts, married children, their spouses and more distant kin are likely to disappear as industrialization, urbanization and westernization gain momentum. Goode's position is supported by some anthropologists such as Ishwaran (1965). He based his survey on a Hindu occupational category in Lucknow, India and holds that the adoption of city life causes the automatic dissolution of joint families and their replacement by nuclear neolocal units. Ishwaran emphasises that the transition process from the joint family to nuclear family is gradual, as many families still exhibit features of a joint family.
Mandelbaum (1957), suggests that the joint family tends to be more common in the rural areas than in the urban area. However, Dube (1963) suggests that the joint family is both a rural and an urban phenomenon, confined mostly to upper caste groups in traditional small towns. Nevertheless, both writers agree that in rural areas the joint family is characteristic of upper castes and that those who accept western culture are less likely to live in joint families.

Kolenda (1968), made twenty six studies of family types in villages, caste communities and other populations in India. It is difficult to discuss in detail, in this conclusion, her findings in the twenty six studies she undertook. However, briefly, she tries to answer the question, is the joint family characteristic of higher or lower castes? She suggests that it is least characteristic of the lower castes. The high castes in India have average or medium proportions of joint families rather than high proportions.

Kolenda's studies suggest that most Indians do not live in joint families but most rural people at least live in either a joint or in a supplemented nuclear family, i.e. a nuclear family plus one or more unmarried, separated or widowed relatives. However the majority of families in her study, who lived as joint or supplemented nuclear families, are nuclear in structure as far as commensality is concerned.

According to Kolenda, there appear to be regional differences in the proportion of joint as against nuclear families. She suggests there may be higher proportions of joint families in the Gangetic Plain, for instance, than in Central India. There appear, furthermore, to be differences in the point at which the joint family breaks up in various areas of India. Kolenda links these differences with the relative proportions of joint as against nuclear families in each area.
Where the break-up occurs early - within a few years, or even months, of the marriage of a son - the proportion of joint families is low. Where sons continue to live with their fathers for long periods, and where brothers continue to stay together even after the death of the patriarch and bring their wives to the joint family at marriage the proportion of joint families is high.

Anthropologists such as Fortes (1949), Goody (1958), Raymond Smith (1956), and Gray and Gulliver (1964) have suggested that various types of family are in fact merely stages in a family cycle. Their contention is that in many cases the nuclear family is a stage in the developmental cycle of the joint family. This study of the Indian joint family in Durban has followed this line of argument and even Kolenda would agree with this outlook. To quote her, "There probably is rarely a 'perpetual nuclear family',..... usually the nuclear family is a stage in a cycle with other structural types of family."

It is interesting in this connection to consider the views of Gould (1968) on the joint family. He criticises the approach of anthropologists who have tried to understand modern trends in Indian family life by treating joint and nuclear families statistically. He quotes Desai in Kapadia (1958), who opposes the idea that the Indian joint family is becoming nuclear through the effects of modernization, because Desai's survey in the 1950's revealed that the ratio of people living jointly to those living in nuclear families was about 3:1. Gould states that we should not confuse the notion of partition in the joint family with disintegration of the joint family. Segmentation in the joint family is inevitable because of the effects of demography, economy and mobility and this gives rise to nuclear families but it does not mean that joint families are disintegrating.
Gould indicates thus, as do the other writers quoted above, that the joint family in India goes through a developmental cycle. When a son marries, he brings his wife to his parental home. As the domestic group matures, and the mother-in-law ages, the son’s wife gains more power in her affinal home and she gradually succeeds in encouraging her husband’s conjugal loyalty as against his loyalty to his family. When the patriarch dies the strongest link in the chain of lineal authority is broken and it is at this point that the joint family tends to divide. His study of the joint family in North India indicated that the joint family went through three phases. First of all the daughters are replaced by the daughters-in-law, secondly the patriarch dies, and thirdly the male siblings sever their coparcenary ties. Each time these events occur the North Indian domestic group goes through an entire developmental cycle. Gould then denounces the statistical approach in the study of the Indian joint family and he maintains that a mere counting of nuclear families in an area should not be regarded as reliable information about changes in family structure unless the developmental cycle is worked out.

It may be argued that the joint family is functionally incompatible with urban life and industrial organization. This argument maintains that industrialization, the move to the city and adaptation to a western way of life (although still retaining the traditional religion) necessarily brings about changes in the joint family system. Singer (1968), made a study of family life among nineteen industrial leaders in Madras city in India. He concentrated on the factors which he states are generally regarded as destructive to the joint family, namely, residential mobility, occupational mobility, scientific and technical education. He found that all the industrial leaders had been born in a village or small town and all of them now lived in a metropolitan centre. He also found that the majority of them, i.e. about 12 out of 19 lived in nuclear households with their unmarried children. The daughters who had married had joined their husband’s family or lived near it while the sons who had married had set up separate households.
Most of the industrial leaders had entered industry recently, their previous occupations being in the same field as that of their fathers and grandfathers. He found, significantly, that the families living in nuclear households were not all highly educated. Nevertheless there had been a definite increase in education/qualifications over a four-generation period. He suggested that higher education is not a pre-requisite for industrial leadership, as the educational background of the Madras industrialists showed that although some were highly trained while others were not. The sons of the college-trained leaders had, however, surpassed their fathers' level of education as many were scientists and engineers.

Singer states that if we concentrate on evidence with regard to changes in residence, occupation and education we shall be compelled to conclude that the trend is towards the nuclear family and that this trend is associated with the move to the city and industrial entrepreneurship. But, he says, such a conclusion would be misleading. He states that for every item of evidence indicating structural change, there is a complementary item of evidence indicating structural continuity and persistence. There were, in the first place, joint families as well as nuclear families among the industrial leaders. In the second place, although there was a preponderance of nuclear families, this does not necessarily indicate a breakdown in the joint family system. The nuclear families in his study maintained many joint family obligations and continued to subscribe to the norms of that system. Even the very westernized nuclear families exhibited features common to a joint family, for example, arranged marriages for the children, separation of sexes while eating and during social functions and joint worship. He takes these facts as an indication that when the children of the present generation grow up and are married, modified joint households may well re-appear.
Singer concludes thus that in as much as we have evidence indicating structural change in the family we also have evidence indicating structural continuity and persistence. These two phenomena (change and continuity) are not mutually exclusive and both occur simultaneously. While striking changes might have occurred within three generations in residential, occupational, educational patterns and in social mobility, these changes have not transformed the traditional joint family into isolated nuclear families. The nuclear families which occur maintain ties and obligations with relatives elsewhere and he found that in the urban industrial setting what may be described as a modified joint family organisation is emerging.

Studies of Indian family pattern and the transformation of the joint family into nuclear families under the influence of urbanization and industrialization have been approached in many ways. They show that the number of joint families prevalent in urban and rural areas vary in different regions and among different castes and populations, that nuclear households are prevalent in villages and in cities; and that these nuclear households may grow into joint households and decline with separations and deaths into nuclear households again.

We suggest, therefore, that change in the traditional joint family structure is a complex phenomenon and that it is not possible to support conclusions about the breakdown of the joint family by citing statistics on frequency of nuclear households. In our study of the joint family in Durban, out of 100 families we found 65 nuclear families and 35 joint families. Each of the nuclear families may be regarded as a potential joint family. The joint family goes through a cycle of development and the nuclear family may be seen as the first stage. For example, in the family of Mahadeo (see Chapter III), his eldest
son Sunsee, who separated from the joint family owing
to quarrels with his brother and parents, is now living in
Durban and is about to arrange the marriage of his two sons
who are living with him. Thus this particular family,
which hived off from the joint family is now about to establish
a joint household. Other similar examples can also be quoted
from this study.

Joint Family in other parts of the World.

We should, perhaps, at this stage look at the family
structure of transported Indian communities in other parts of
the world, namely Uganda, Mauritius and British Guiana, where
Indian immigrants, originally from India, have a similar
background and culture. Let us first of all see the similarities
and differences which prevail among the Indians settled in the
different countries and then compare them with the situation
found among the Durban Indians who also have the same background
and culture as the transported Indian communities... in Uganda,
Mauritius and British Guiana.

Let us first of all discuss the family structure of the
Indians who have settled in Uganda. Our material is drawn from Morris
(1968). The Indians in Uganda, mainly traders, had come from the
areas of Gujarat, Kathiawad, Cutch and Punjab where the
patrilineal joint family prevailed. The legal structure in
India recognised the joint family system and this type of
institution was well adapted to a farming community since it
supplied an adequate labour force for working the land.

In Uganda the institution of the joint family was difficult
to maintain as the legal structure did not regard the
joint family as a coparcenary corporation and also ignored the
traditional managerial rights of the head of the household.
The nuclear family became the predominant type of family.
In India Hindu law was recognised and this was one of the principal supports of the joint family. Another factor which also discouraged the development of the joint family and which we suggest could be the most important factor, was that most of the Indians were traders and were not allowed to buy free-hold land in which they could establish joint family life. There were unable to convert their fortunes into permanent landed estates and abandoned the notion of coparcenary property and went into business partnership with two or more individuals who were preferably not of the same kin group (Morris 1968, p.127).

When a survey was undertaken by Morris, it was found that there were more nuclear families than joint families prevalent in Kampala, the capital of Uganda. According to Morris the absence of joint families in Kampala was attributable to housing conditions, the exigencies of urban life, lack of proper religious training and the adoption of European ideas which, according to informants in Kampala, undermined the control by the head of the household over sons and daughters-in-law. The traditional system of endogamous, arranged marriage was also weakened, as marriages were popularly based on personal choice.

In British Guiana, during the period 1838 - 1917, Indians were indentured as labourers in the rice plantations. An interesting situation prevails in British Guiana where the majority of the Indian immigrants come from the depressed eastern districts of the United Provinces. Anthropologists such as Dube (1955) and Mandelbaum (1948) have suggested that although the joint family is the cultural ideal in India, in fact it exists largely among the wealthy as it presupposes a property basis. Thus the nuclear family is common among the lower strata of society from which most of the immigrants in British Guiana in fact came.
Jayawardene (in Mogey 1963), who found that the normal type of domestic group among Indians in British Guiana was the nuclear family, suggests that this may be due to the fact that immigrants had lived in this type of unit in India. Alternatively, and more probably, the Indians in British Guiana may have taken over the nuclear form of Guianese society. This suggestion is supported by the fact that more nuclear than joint families exist, despite certain features which favour the latter type of domestic unit. Firstly, the early age of marriage and the fact that parents arrange many marriages means that the young couple may find it advantageous to live in the parental home of the husband—particularly if the young man does not have a secure job. Many fathers too, prefer to have their married sons within the family home, since being head of an extended family carries prestige and the son's income, too, is an additional incentive. But with all these advantages the extended family is not popular and living with parents does not last more than a few years. Wives come into conflict with parents-in-law and encourage their husbands to live apart and within a few years of his marriage a married son has his own domestic group.

In British Guiana thus, as in Uganda, one finds more nuclear families than joint families. The reasons why the joint family is not common are, however, different for the two areas. In British Guiana many Indians have adopted either Creole(1) customs or a modernized variant of Indian Culture.

---

(1) i.e. The customs and general way of life of the African,
in British Guiana, who has adopted the European way of life and disregarded his own culture to which he attaches low value. The word Creole was a term used originally (16th century) to denote persons born in the West Indies of Spanish parents, as distinguished from immigrants directly from Spain and from Negroes and Indians. It has come to be used by, and with reference to descendants of non-Indian people born and settled in the West Indies and on the American continent in some areas of Spanish, Portuguese and French colonization. The concept creole has undergone many modifications during the four centuries of cultural and social development and racial mixture in the world. In a very general way creole may be used to identify a non-European and non-Indian way of life and set of values associated (in Latin America) in a fairly complex manner. (Encyclopaedia Britannica, Vol. 6. 1969.)

In Blairmont, an area in British Guiana, it was found that among clerks and unskilled labourers there was a lower proportion of extended families because of the great creolization. Among wealthy drivers, who had had less formal education than the clerks, there was a higher proportion of extended families. In Uganda, on the other hand, the main factor which hindered the development of the joint family was that the Indians were not allowed to buy freehold land on which to establish joint families. Other reasons were housing shortage, exigencies of urban life, lack of religious training, and adoption of European ideas. In British Guiana then, "the normal family is nuclear in structure and other types of family are phases or by-products of the development of the nuclear family". (Jayawardena in Mogey, 1963, P.62).

Let us look at the position in Mauritius. It is interesting to note that Indians, now settled in Mauritius, originally emigrated to work on the sugar plantations there and had signed a contract similar to the indenture system of the Indians in South Africa.
Benedict (1961), states that there are four types of households among the Indians (Hindus and Moslems) in Mauritius who account for sixty seven percent of the population, the rest being Creoles, Chinese and Europeans. There is, firstly, the individual who lives alone, making his own domestic arrangements. Secondly, there is the elementary family household of man, wife and unmarried children, similar to the nuclear family household. Thirdly, there is the three - or, rarely, four-generational joint family household, and fourthly, there is the house-group consisting of two or more related couples, sharing a common house which may be leased or owned jointly. The membership of the house-group does not differ from that of the joint family household - the significant difference is seen in the domestic economy and particularly in the eating arrangements. The house-group has two or more kitchens or shifts for using the same kitchen. In Mauritius, joint family members may have different economic pursuits but have the same kitchen, whereas in a house-group members might work together but have separate cooking arrangements.

Benedict found that among the North Hindus (Hindusthani and Gujerati) and Moslems there was a higher incidence of joint families than among the Tamil and Telegu Hindus. Benedict emphasises that the types of households he has classified as common in Mauritius were simply the numbers caught by his census at a certain time. What he describes as a joint family household may soon break up into two or more elementary family households. Although there is continual change taking place in family structure, the large joint family household persists in Mauritius even under urban conditions with its members engaged in a variety of pursuits. This situation contrasts with that in British Guiana where the Indians have been rapidly creolized and the normal type of family structure is nuclear.
Even in Uganda the nuclear family is said to be predominant. Benedict states that because of lack of reliable data it should not be assumed that the joint family household is dying out in Mauritius. If reliable data were available it might show that the joint family household as well as the elementary family household is adaptable to many conditions.

In the three areas where Indians from India have settled, Uganda, British Guiana and Mauritius ones finds both nuclear and joint families, although Morris (1968) and Jayawardena (in Mogy 1963) discussing Uganda and British Guiana respectively have maintained that the nuclear family predominates in these areas. In Mauritius Benedict found both joint and nuclear families and one cannot state with reasonable accuracy that the joint family is dying out. Let us now see how the family structure found in Uganda, British Guiana and Mauritius compares with what we found in the study made in Durban.

In Uganda the joint family although desired by the Indians is considered an ideal, the nuclear family in reality being the normal family type. In Durban, although there is a tendency for young, educated couples to set up their own households, the joint family is still holding its own. In both Uganda and Durban there are wealthy Indian traders, but in Uganda, according to Morris (1968) the traders cannot buy freehold land on which they could build large homes and thereby establish joint families. Perhaps this is the main reason why Indians in Uganda cannot establish joint families. Morris suggests as a cause for the predominance of nuclear families in Uganda the fact that the legal situation in Uganda did not recognize Hindu law which supports the joint family. One wonders why this should hinder the development of the joint family in Uganda when it does not do so in Durban where the joint family is also not recognized by law.
In British Guiana the normal type of domestic group is the nuclear family because of the fact that the Indians have been creolized as we explained earlier and thus presumably have lost the values which underlie the joint family system. They have adapted themselves to the way of life of the Africans in Guiana who attach a high value to what is considered European and a low value to things of African or non-European origin. Most of their old Indian culture has been re-interpreted in Guiana and even Indians who are most conscious of themselves as a distinct group are culturally Creole. The Indians have accepted the nuclear family norm of Guianese society. What stands in strong contrast to the Indian way of life in Durban is the Guianese custom of the grandparents either living alone in old age or bringing up some of their grandchildren. In Durban one commonly finds one of the sons living with aged parents.

In Mauritius Benedict (1961) found four types of household; the household consisting of a single individual which is not a type common in Durban; nuclear and joint families both of which are common in Durban; and the housegroup consisting of two or more related couples, possibly sons and their wives, which in Durban we should call a joint family. In our Durban study we encountered daughters-in-law living under the same roof as their husband's family, but having separate cooking arrangements. We felt justified in classifying this type of household as a joint family because it had the major characteristics of a joint family.

In Mauritius there was a higher incidence of joint families among the wealthy Hindusthani and Gujarati and a lower incidence among the Tamil and Telegu. In Durban, too, our study revealed a higher percentage of joint families among the Gujarati and wealthy Moslems where strong economic links favour joint family life.
Perhaps it is the wealthy also in Mauritius who perpetuate the joint family system.

Let us examine briefly some of the other facts which emerged from the study of the joint family in Durban. We tried to show that the joint family goes through a cycle of development (as exemplified by three case histories in Chapter III), with its inception as a hiving off nuclear family from an existing joint family. The next phase comes when the sons grow up and marry, bringing their wives into the parental nuclear family and this family then expands into a joint family. At any time after the sons have married, one or more of them might hive off for various reasons, but the joint family often continues until after the death of the old father. The death of the patriarch converts the joint family into a fraternal joint family, segmentation of which is only a matter of time. And so the cycle begins once more as each nuclear group sets up its independent household.

A nuclear-type family, we conclude, is a phase in the developmental cycle of the joint family. Although this study showed that out of a total of one hundred families, thirty-five were joint and sixty-five were nuclear type (see page 42 above), this figure gives a false impression, since the joint families are made up of many nuclear units. When we compared the number of nuclear units in joint families with the number of independent nuclear units we found that of a total of 133 nuclear units 68 were in joint families, 65 in independent nuclear families, giving a percentage of 51 in joint families, 49 in independent nuclear. When one further considers that a good proportion of independent nuclear family units will develop into joint families, it becomes clear that conclusions drawn from statistics comparing number of joint families found with the number of nuclear families can give a very misleading impression of the situation.
A definite change in the traditional joint family structure is, however, taking place in Durban and this change is associated with industrialization, urbanization and westernization. These changes are due to factors such as housing conditions. Accommodation among Indians is an acute problem and after the marriage of sons the family expands and this necessitates separation. The poor cannot afford to live in large houses, whereas the wealthy can afford to extend their homes to accommodate married sons and their families.

A joint family does not last forever, segmentation is an inevitable process, the causes of which were discussed in Chapter V. There are, however, other forces which operate in Durban to cause the break up of the joint family. In South Africa today Indians are subject to regulations relating to group areas - areas in which certain sections of the community may live, while others may be debarred from owning land or establishing business in these areas. There are slum clearance schemes and when new houses in special townships are built, they are designed by the Municipality not to accommodate joint families but nuclear families. The Indian is living in a western industrial system with its differential occupations and professions which offer opportunities to the individual for his own advancement. This tends to break up the economic unity of the joint family and encourages, even forces, sons to leave the joint family for occupational or professional reasons, e.g. employment or transfer to another town. Other potent factors bringing about change in the joint family structure are Christianity and westernization. The moment a person becomes a Christian, he changes his name, adopts western ways and when he marries lives in a nuclear family.
The westernized Indian feels that there is a need for adjustment when one lives in a western society; the traditional systems have to be modified. Western education has led to changes in the general way of life of the Indian. Both Indian men and women are today entering professional and commercial fields. The average Indian daughter-in-law is educated and has adopted western dress, values and attitudes. She is different from the traditional dutiful daughter-in-law of the early days who tolerated the domineering authority of the mother-in-law. The daughter-in-law today often, especially in the better educated section, contributes towards the family income by going out to work: many in this study went out to work as doctors, teachers, etc. and therefore they expect more independence.

In the early days a husband's loyalty to his family was stronger than his loyalty to his wife. Today, as we see from the study of joint family life in Darban, the conjugal bond is much stronger as marriages are commonly based on personal choice. This is not to say that Indian marriage based on personal choice is necessarily stable - divorce does occur. The point being made is that the husband-wife relationship tends to be emotionally closer where marriage is based on personal choice and that the wife's problems and wishes are paid attention to by her husband. This contrasts generally with the situation in an arranged marriage. An education couple today, expects to live as a nuclear family where, as many young educated wives point out "there will be greater independence and one can live as one pleases and not be under the subjugation of a mother-in-law".

In the average Indian home English is commonly spoken and the children are ignorant of their mother tongue. A few informants who were learned in their vernacular stated that vernacular schools were being established in many
residential areas so that they could be accessible to children, but the support as poor. The average Indian today follows a western way of life as far as speech, dress, diet, values attitudes and, to a certain extent, even religion, are concerned. As we pointed out earlier, Christianity is playing its part in producing change in the traditional Indian family structure. Despite many forces operating to bring about change in the way of life of the Indian in Durban, the joint family has by no means disappeared. Let us see what the forces which still hold the joint family together.

The study in Durban revealed two major forces operating to maintain the joint family today. These are economic and religious forces. This study revealed a preponderance of joint families among the upper income groups (see table 6). Where the economic link is strong there is more likelihood of a joint family prevailing, as we saw in the Mahadeo family, (see Chapter III). On the other hand, in circumstances where poverty prevails there are less chances of a joint family being established. Many families among the poor stated their preference for joint families because of the economic security it could offer them, as they would be able to pool their meagre resources together and use them jointly; but the circumstances in which they lived made it impossible to have a joint family life. In a large flourishing family business, economic factors play a considerable part in holding the family together as a joint family. Sons work under the supervision of their father during his lifetime and after his death continue to administer the family business as each son has a share in it.

Although the economic link is a potent one holding the joint family together, the religious link lingers the longest, as it even outlasts segmentation.
Sons who have separated are duty bound to participate in religious ceremonies in their parental home, particularly those pertaining to marriage and death.

Hindu religion is centred on the family. Members of a joint family are brought together in a common belief and a common ritual in worship. On occasions such as marriage, death (with its subsequent funerary rites), as well as flag-raising and story-reading (Katha and Jhunda) ceremonies, the family members are united together. It is on such occasions that cohesion and solidarity are promoted and loyalties to the joint family are reinforced.

Sons are important for the perpetuation of the joint family; without sons it comes to an end. Sons not only perpetuate the family name but also honour and perform the necessary rites for the placation of the spirits of the deceased. In this study, it was observed that although sons separated from the joint family, there was always one son who lived in the parental home to take care of the aged parents. Even those sons who have separated re-unite with the joint family during the life-cycle, and other religious ceremonies in the family.

This study has shown that although economic forces are potent in perpetuating the joint family it is the religious link that holds the family longest when one considers the ritual duties and responsibilities which outlast the segmentation of the Hindu family, and takes into account the fact that a strongly-held system of values operates to cause the segmented nuclear family to grow once more into a joint family, the question arises: Can one equate such a nuclear unit with the Western nuclear family? In outward form they appear identical but they develop quite differently. Is it legitimate, in fact, to assume that they are the same thing, as is done when statistical studies are made?
Besides economic and religious forces, there are other factors operating to maintain joint family life. Ties of kinship involving relationship patterns and moral obligations, as we have seen, bind members of the joint family together. The continuation of the joint family depends on smooth relationships among the various members of the joint family which are responsible for providing solidarity and cohesion in the group. Lines of authority are clearly marked in a joint family, respect for seniority is deep-rooted among the Indians. It is the moral obligation which the son has towards his parents that compels him to live in the joint family after his marriage and to take care of his parents, particularly as they reach old age. The obligation, as we saw earlier, continues after the death of the parents, whom the son cremates and for whom he carries out subsequent funerary rites. The rewards of fulfilment of duty are great, not only in a religious sense, but also materially. Sons stand to gain much by subordinating themselves to the father who will give them a training in business or agriculture. Instead of having to start on their own, in a small way, perhaps under considerable hardship, the sons stand to inherit the business or land as a going concern.

The continuation of a joint family then, depends much on the economic, religious and moral obligations among the members of the joint family. Forces are operating to bring about changes in the joint family, not only in Durban, but also in India and in other parts of the world where Indians have settled. But at the same time there are also strong forces making for continuity. Change and continuity then, are not mutually exclusive phenomena; they operate at the same time.


Haimendorf, C. von Führer, (1939): 

_________ (1962): 

_________ (1964): 

Hopkins, E.W., (1924): 
Ethics of India. Yale University Press, New Haven.

Ishwaran, K., (1965): 
Kinship and Distance in Rural India. International Journal of Comparative Sociology, Vol. VI, No. 1.

_________ (1965): 

Jayawardena, C., (1963): 

Kapadia, K.M., (1955): 

_________ (1958): 

Karve, I., (1953): 
Kinship Organization in India. Deccan College, Poona.
Kolenja, P.M., (1958):

The Social System of the Zulus. Shuter and Shooter, Pietermaritzburg.

__________ (1964):

Kuper, Hilda, (1960):


___________ (1961):

Linton, R., (1936):


Sri Ramakrishna Centenary Committee: *The Cultural Heritage of India* (3 Volumes). Belur Math, Calcutta. (No date given).


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Hindi-speaking Hindu</th>
<th>Tamil-speaking Hindu</th>
<th>Telegu-speaking Hindu</th>
<th>Gujarati-speaking Hindu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3rd Ascending Generation</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>father's father's father</td>
<td>Par - aja (dada)</td>
<td>Kallu - pattai</td>
<td>tattaiya</td>
<td>Dada</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mother's father's father</td>
<td>Par - nana</td>
<td>Kallu - pattai</td>
<td>tattaiya</td>
<td>nana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>father's father's mother</td>
<td>Par - aji (dadi)</td>
<td>Kallu - patti</td>
<td>tattamma</td>
<td>dadi, dadima</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mother's father's mother</td>
<td>Par - nani8</td>
<td>Kallu patti</td>
<td>tattamma</td>
<td>nani, nanima</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd Ascending Generation</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>father's father</td>
<td>Aja (dada)</td>
<td>tatta</td>
<td>tatta</td>
<td>dada</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mother's father</td>
<td>nana</td>
<td>tatta</td>
<td>tatta</td>
<td>nana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>father's mother</td>
<td>Aji (dadi)</td>
<td>patti</td>
<td>nanamma</td>
<td>dadi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mother's mother</td>
<td>nani</td>
<td>patti</td>
<td>nanamma</td>
<td>nanima</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st Ascending Generation</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>father</td>
<td>Pita, bapu</td>
<td>appa</td>
<td>naina ayya</td>
<td>Bapu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>father's elder brother</td>
<td>Kaka (bada baap)</td>
<td>penabba</td>
<td>piddananna</td>
<td>kaka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>father's younger brother</td>
<td>Kaka (chota baap)</td>
<td>cittaba</td>
<td>cinanna</td>
<td>kaka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>father's sister</td>
<td>phuwa</td>
<td>attai</td>
<td>aita</td>
<td>phoi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>English</td>
<td>Hindi-speaking Hindi</td>
<td>Tamil-speaking Hindu</td>
<td>Telegu-speaking Hindu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------</td>
<td>----------------------</td>
<td>----------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st Ascending Generation (continued)</td>
<td>father's sister's husband</td>
<td>phufa</td>
<td>attai</td>
<td>chinaniza</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mother</td>
<td>ma, mata</td>
<td>amma</td>
<td>amma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mother's brother</td>
<td>mama</td>
<td>mama</td>
<td>mama</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mother's brother's wife</td>
<td>mami</td>
<td>mami</td>
<td>atta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mother's sister</td>
<td>mausi</td>
<td>pennamma, cetti</td>
<td>pinamina, cinamma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mother's sister's husband</td>
<td>mausa</td>
<td>attapa</td>
<td>babaiya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>brother</td>
<td>bhai</td>
<td>anna, tampi</td>
<td>anna, tammadu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sister</td>
<td>behan</td>
<td>akka</td>
<td>akka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>father's brother's son (older than ego)</td>
<td>equivalent to brother</td>
<td>anna</td>
<td>anna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>father's brother's son (older than ego)</td>
<td>equivalent to brother</td>
<td>tampi</td>
<td>tammadu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mother's brother's son (older than ego)</td>
<td>equivalent to brother</td>
<td>tampi</td>
<td>tammadu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>English</td>
<td>Hindi-speaking Hindu</td>
<td>Tamil-speaking Hindu</td>
<td>Telegu-speaking Hindu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------</td>
<td>----------------------</td>
<td>---------------------</td>
<td>----------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Ego</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(continued)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mother's brother's</td>
<td>mother's brother's son (younger</td>
<td>equivalent to tampi</td>
<td>tammadu</td>
<td>equivalent to</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>son (younger than</td>
<td>brother</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>brother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ego)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>father's brother's</td>
<td>father's brother's daughter</td>
<td>akka</td>
<td>akka</td>
<td>akka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>daughter (older</td>
<td>(older than ego)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>than ego)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>father's brother's</td>
<td>father's brother's daughter</td>
<td>akka</td>
<td>celli</td>
<td>celli</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>daughter (younger</td>
<td>(younger than ego)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>than ego)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mother's brother's</td>
<td>mother's brother's daughter</td>
<td>akka</td>
<td>akka</td>
<td>akka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>daughter (older</td>
<td>(older than ego)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>than ego)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mother's brother's</td>
<td>mother's brother's daughter</td>
<td>akka</td>
<td>celli</td>
<td>celli</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>daughter (younger</td>
<td>(younger than ego)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>than ego)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st Descending</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Generation</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>son</td>
<td>Beta</td>
<td>Magan</td>
<td>kodooku</td>
<td>dikro</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>daughter</td>
<td>Beti</td>
<td>magal</td>
<td>kuthru</td>
<td>dikri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd Descending</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Generation</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>son's children</td>
<td>Potha</td>
<td>maganu daya</td>
<td>kodooku bidaloo</td>
<td>Pothra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>daughter's</td>
<td></td>
<td>pilay-gal</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>children</td>
<td>nathin</td>
<td>magaludaya</td>
<td>kuthru bidaloo</td>
<td>Navaha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>Hindi-speaking Hindu</td>
<td>Tamil-speaking Hindu</td>
<td>Telegu-speaking Hindu</td>
<td>Gujarati-speaking Hindu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------------</td>
<td>----------------------</td>
<td>----------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>husband's father</td>
<td>sasur</td>
<td>mama, mamai</td>
<td>mama</td>
<td>sasero</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wife's father</td>
<td>sasur</td>
<td>mama</td>
<td>mama</td>
<td>sasero</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>husband's mother</td>
<td>sas</td>
<td>mami attai</td>
<td>atta</td>
<td>sasu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wife's mother</td>
<td>sas</td>
<td>mami</td>
<td>atta</td>
<td>sasu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>husband's sister</td>
<td>nanad</td>
<td>nattanar</td>
<td>kalundial</td>
<td>narand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>husband's sister's husband</td>
<td>nandoi</td>
<td>anna, tampi</td>
<td>anna, tammadu</td>
<td>marandoi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>husband's elder brother</td>
<td>jet</td>
<td>attan</td>
<td>bava</td>
<td>jeth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>husband's younger brother</td>
<td>devar</td>
<td>attan</td>
<td>bava</td>
<td>deor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>husband's elder brother</td>
<td>jetani</td>
<td>akka</td>
<td>akka</td>
<td>jethani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>brother's wife</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>husband's younger brother</td>
<td>devrani</td>
<td>tankai</td>
<td>chellielu</td>
<td>derani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>brother's wife</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>daughter-in-law</td>
<td>bahu</td>
<td>maru-magal</td>
<td>kodaloo</td>
<td>vahu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>son-in-law</td>
<td>damad</td>
<td>maru-magan</td>
<td>uludoo</td>
<td>gamai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wife's brother</td>
<td>sala</td>
<td>maccan</td>
<td>bava</td>
<td>sala</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wife's sister</td>
<td>sali</td>
<td>anni</td>
<td>kodaloo akkah</td>
<td>saleli</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>son's wife's father</td>
<td>samadhi</td>
<td>attan</td>
<td>jijyan kudu</td>
<td>vevahi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>English</td>
<td>Hindi-speaking Hindu</td>
<td>Tamil-speaking Hindu</td>
<td>Telugu-speaking Hindu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------</td>
<td>----------------------</td>
<td>---------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Affines</strong> (continued)</td>
<td>daughter's husband's father</td>
<td>samadhi</td>
<td>attan</td>
<td>vijyankudu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>son's wife's mother</td>
<td>samadhin</td>
<td>attan</td>
<td>vijyankudu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>daughter's husband's mother</td>
<td>samadhin</td>
<td>attan</td>
<td>vijyankudu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>husband's house</td>
<td>sasural</td>
<td>kanavanu daya</td>
<td>bartha-iloo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>husband</td>
<td>Pati</td>
<td>kanavan</td>
<td>bartha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>wife</td>
<td>Patni</td>
<td>manayvi</td>
<td>bariah</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>