Bigamy is having one spouse too many.

- Monogamy is the same.

Source: Oscar Wilde *Happiness*
- Nuclear family satisfies sexual needs and diminishes the disruptive force of sexual competition;
- Protects the female during her relatively long pregnancy and during months and years of lactation;
- Essential for child rearing and enculturation; and
- Leads to a sexual division of labor which makes subsistence more efficient
Basic Family Forms

polygynous

stem - 3 generations

joint - 2 couples of same generation

matrifocal
**Levirate**: if a woman's husband dies, she must marry her dead husband's brother.

**Sororate**: if a man's wife dies, he marries his dead wife's sister.
Marriage Forms

- **Monogamy**
  - Ecologically imposed monogamy
  - Socially imposed monogamy

- **Polygyny**
  - Resource defense
  - Male status

- **Polyandry**

- **Marriage statistics:**
  - 83.5% of all societies permit polygyny;
  - 16% require monogamy; and
  - 0.5% permit polyandry.
The "Burden" of Marriage

Cross-culturally marriage carries the following attributes:
- Reproduction and care of children
- Sexual exclusivity
- Economic cooperation

In our society we expect much more, such as:
- love
- companionship
- joint recreational activities
- emotional support
- career support
- common social circle
### Traditional vs. Modern

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Traditional</th>
<th>Modern</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Mandatory economic &amp; political institution</td>
<td>1. Based on love and the pursuit of happiness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Parents could dictate whom their children could marry</td>
<td>2. Free choice in marriage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Production of children important</td>
<td>3. Production of children optional</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Husband dominates wife</td>
<td>4. Co-dominance between spouses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. <a href="#">Coverture</a></td>
<td>5. Equal economic rights</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Under the common law of England and in the states following the common law in the United States, a single woman, or feme sole, became known upon her marriage as a feme covert. During the period of her marriage (or coverture), she lost many of her rights to ownership and control of property. The husband became the owner of all personal property owned by the wife before marriage or acquired by her thereafter; he also had the right to control her real property and all of her earnings. The wife had no power to contract, to sue, or even to be sued in her own name. Coverture was based on the patronizing and discriminatory notion that, because of their "natural" and "proper" timidity and delicacy, married women needed to be protected.

Beginning in Mississippi in 1839, some states began to make statutory changes in the common law of coverture by granting married women increased legal rights. New York's 1848 married women's statute, which limited the scope of coverture, was the first law to gain widespread attention.

## Living arrangements of children under 18 years of age, 1975*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Living Arrangement</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Living with both parents</td>
<td>80.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Living with mother only</td>
<td>15.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mother separated</td>
<td>4.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mother married, husband absent</td>
<td>0.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mother widowed</td>
<td>2.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mother divorced</td>
<td>5.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mother single</td>
<td>1.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Living with father only</td>
<td>1.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Living with neither parent</td>
<td>2.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* N=66,087,000 children; U.S. Bureau of the Census 1975
## Family Demographic Changes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1970</th>
<th>1998</th>
<th>Change</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Marital births</td>
<td>3,332,000</td>
<td>2,693,000</td>
<td>-19%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-marital births</td>
<td>399,000</td>
<td>1,249,000</td>
<td>+223%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women 40-44 never married</td>
<td>5.4%</td>
<td>9.9%</td>
<td>+83%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Men 40-44 never married</td>
<td>7.5%</td>
<td>15.6%</td>
<td>+108%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Single parent families</td>
<td>3,271,000</td>
<td>9,491,000</td>
<td>+190%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Children living with unmarried couples</td>
<td>196,000</td>
<td>1,520,000</td>
<td>+665%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Single mothers who have never married</td>
<td>9.1%</td>
<td>42.2%</td>
<td>+363%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Current Distribution of Children by Marriage: Married Couples, Single Mother, & Single Father

Figure 1. Family Groups with Children by Type of Family Group: 1970 to 2003

Married couples with children under 18 as percent of family groups with children under 18

Single women with children under 18 as percent of family groups with children under 18

Single men with children under 18 as percent of family groups with children under 18
Overall Household Trends

Figure 2: Households by Type: 1970 to 2003

(Percent distribution)

- Unmarried males and/or females in a household
- Single parent & child

Family Household Size

Figure 3.
Households by Size: 1970 to 2003
(Percent distribution)

- 1 person: 17.1, 22.7, 24.6, 25.0, 25.5, 26.4
- 2 people: 31.4, 32.3, 32.2, 33.1, 33.3
- 3 people: 17.3, 17.5, 17.0, 16.4, 16.1
- 4 people: 15.8, 15.7, 15.5, 14.6, 14.3
- 5 people or more: 20.9, 12.8, 10.4, 10.4, 10.4

Consequence of Being Reared without a Father

- More:
  - likely to be suspended from school
  - emotional problems
  - abuse and neglect
  - delinquency

- About half of these differences are a consequence of poverty while the rest appears to be lack of a father.

- These difference disappear if mother earns more than $50,000/year.

Decay of the Nuclear Family:
Percent By Age of Children With Coresident Parents (n=1,326)

Source: N. Chagnon, "Sociodemographic attributes of nepotism in tribal populations: man the rule breaker" 1982
Causes of Nuclear Family Decay

- Mortality rate and which is affected by
  - Age differences between spouses
    - Husbands are older than wives. The older the husband the more likely a child will lose his father
  - Age at marriage
    - The younger parents are at the time of marriage the less likely a child will lose a parent
- Divorce rate
## TRIBAL DIVORCE RATES: (Barnes' 'C' RATIO)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Rate</th>
<th>Location</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kanuri</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>Africa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ndembu</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>Africa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kofyar</td>
<td>*48</td>
<td>Africa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malaysia (rural)</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>S.E. Asia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Java (rural)</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>S.E. Asia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yoruba</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>Africa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Konda Valley Dani</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>New Guinea</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Luvale</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>Africa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lamba</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>Africa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bakweri</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>Africa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ifgwo</td>
<td>*40</td>
<td>Africa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Herero</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>Africa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gonga</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>Africa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ngoni (Fort Jameson)</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>Africa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yao</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>Africa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Soga</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>Africa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Huli</td>
<td>**33</td>
<td>New Guinea</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Raiapu Enga</td>
<td>**33</td>
<td>New Guinea</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ngoni</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>New Guinea</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elti</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>New Guinea</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mambwe</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>Africa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tonga (Plateau)</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>Africa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ganda</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>Africa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tonga (Gwembe)</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>Africa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kyaka Enga</td>
<td>23*</td>
<td>New Guinea</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yanomambo</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>S. America</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kawelka</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>New Guinea</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Fore</td>
<td>**14</td>
<td>New Guinea</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Telefolmin</td>
<td>**15</td>
<td>New Guinea</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shona</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>Africa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palestinian Arabs</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>Middle East</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United States Rates</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1920</td>
<td>***13</td>
<td>van den Berghe 1979:202</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1940</td>
<td>***17</td>
<td>van den Berghe 1979:202</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>***26</td>
<td>van den Berghe 1979:202</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>***33</td>
<td>van den Berghe 1979:202</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975</td>
<td>***43</td>
<td>van den Berghe 1979:202</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Notes:
- *Our estimate based on available quantitative data.
- **Mean of male and female rates.
- ***Proportion of divorce rate per 1000 to marriage rate per 1000. Barnes' 'C' ratio is rarely, if ever, calculated for modern societies. Our measures here should very closely match a 'C' ratio.
75% of marriage end as a result of divorce and 25% end as a result of death.

Men tend to be 5-8 years older than their wives.

An individual will have 2.92 spouses throughout their lifetime.

Marriage that end with the death of a spouse average 12.8 years in duration and those that end in divorce last 6.4 years.

First marriages tend to be the least stable and last marriage the most stable.
Factors Influencing Divorce

- In general, two factors allow women to leave poor marriages:
  - Female economic autonomy (the degree to which women are important economic producers)
  - Strong kin support (the presence of kin who can assist divorced women)
Distribution of Economic Transactions in Marriage: 75% of all societies have one of these transactions.
### Post Marital Residence & Descent Rules

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rule</th>
<th>Percent</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>patrilocal</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>588</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>matrilocal</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>112</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bilocal</td>
<td>8.5</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>neolocal</td>
<td>4.7</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>avunculocal</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>duolocal</td>
<td>0.9</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rule</th>
<th>Percent</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>patrilineal</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>248</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bilateral</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>204</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>matrilineal</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>duolineal</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Determinants of post-marital residence

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Post Marital Residence Rules</th>
<th>Predictors of Nonunilocal Residence</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Purely external warfare</td>
<td>depopulation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+ women do more in primary subsistence</td>
<td>matrilocals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+ men do more in primary subsistence</td>
<td>patrilocal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Internal warfare</td>
<td>bilocal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+ preexisting matrilineal descent groups</td>
<td>avunculocal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Additional Predictors for Hunter-Gatherers</td>
<td>low and unpredictable rainfall and/or small local groups</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Commercialization</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>neolocal</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Patrilineal descent is established by tracing descent exclusively through males from a founding male ancestor. Individuals indicated in blue (below) constitute the patrilineal descendants of their common ancestor.

Note that both men and women are included in the patrilineage formed but that only male links are utilized to include successive generations.
Matrilineal descent is established by tracing descent exclusively through females from a founding female ancestor. The individuals indicated in red (below) are the matrilineal descendants of a common ancestress.

Note that both men and women are included in the matrilineage formed but that only female links are utilized to include successive generations.
Kindreds:
Children have kindreds that are different from those of either parent.
Correlates of Descent I

- Much of the time post marital residence is associated descent but there are some additional factors.
  - Matrilineal descent is most frequently associated with avunculocal residence and avunculocal residence is only associated with matrilineal descent.
  - Patrilineal descent is associated with patrilocal residence 95% of the time.
  - Bilateral descent is associated with patrilocal residence 47% of the time.
Agro-pastoralism and descent

It has long been noted that dependence on herding and patrilineality are strongly associated. Approximately, 92% of all agro-pastoralists are patrilineal while 8% are matrilineal.

Historical and comparative research by Holden and Mace reveals the following:

- Following Aberle (“The cow is the enemy of matrilineality”) Holden and Mace show that when herding is introduced (in Africa) matrilineal societies change to patrilineal descent but patrilineal societies do not change their rules of descent if herding is introduced.
Correlates of Descent III: the matrilineal puzzle

- If paternity certainty is less than 0.268 then a man is more related to his sister’s children than his own. Therefore, it pays to invest in matrilateral (sister’s children) kin over patrilateral kin.

- Crosscultural research has revealed that divorce rates and extra-marital sex are more common in matrilineal societies than in patrilineal societies.

- However, it is probably not the case that PC is ever <0.268.

- But grandparents will be more closely related to their daughter’s children than their son’s children.
Correlates of Descent IV

- There seem to be two factors that influence inheritance
  - PC
  - Differential ability of sons versus daughters to parlay PI into reproductive success.
- Bias towards sons if:
  - Strong resource based competition (indexed by bride price) for wives and the possibility for polygyny
  - Males are more able to defend resources
  - Parents may worry that daughter’s husband will use daughter’s resources for his own purposes (gaining additional wives).
Among the camel herding Gabbra camel holding have a much greater positive affect on male fertility than female fertility. Among the horticultural Chewa garden land has nearly identical affects on male and female fertility.
Characteristics of Corporate Descent Groups

- Name (often totemic)
- Existence in perpetuity
- Property ownership
- Rules of recruitment
- Function (political, religious, or economic)
Some Functions of Descent Groups

- Ritual affiliation
- Political succession
- Land inheritance
- Membership in associations
- Cooperative labor responsibilities
- Mutual political support
- Marriage restrictions
- Inheritance rights (moveable property)
- Bride payments
- Death and injury compensations
- Ritual obligations
- Legal responsibilities for debts and criminal actions (social substitutability)
Pastoralism and Patrilineality

- Pastoralism generally associated with patrilineality because:
  - High levels of polygyny and bride price
  - Cattle need male defenders because of theft
  - Cattle can be very productive allowing men to support more than one wife

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kinship</th>
<th>Descent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. defined with reference to an individual (ego) or pairs of individuals</td>
<td>1. defined with reference to an ancestor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. universally important</td>
<td>2. culturally recognized in only some societies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. normally bilateral, from the standpoint of an ego</td>
<td>3. connects only a limited class of ego's relatives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. kinship relations are relative; you are a son or a nephew only in</td>
<td>4. descent status is absolute: you are or are not a member</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>relation to some particular person</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## Kin groups

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kin groups</th>
<th>Matrilocal</th>
<th>Avunculocal</th>
<th>Patrilocal</th>
<th>Other: bilocal neo-local</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Patrilineal</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>563</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>588</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Matrilineal</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>164</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Avuculocal Post-Marital Residence

The expectation is that ego will marry his mother’s brother’s daughter and take up residence in this mother’s brother’s household.
Segmentary Lineage
Conical Clan (ramage): internally stratified

Those closest to the core ("1’s") have higher status than those more distant ("2’s-4’s") from the core.
Basics of Kin Terms: Extension
Bifurcate Merging Kin Terms

The Iroquois system is based on the principle of \textit{bifurcate merging}. Ego distinguishes between relatives on his mother's side of the family and those on his father's side (bifurcation) and lumps or merges father with father's brother (A) and mother with mother's sister (B). Accordingly, father's brother's children and mother sister's children (parallel cousins) are merged with brother and sister (C and D). This terminology occurs in societies that are organized on the basis of unilineal descent, where distinctions between father's kin and mother's kin are important. \textit{Yanomamo kin terms} provide an example.
Cousins in a Bifurcate Merging System

- Parallel cousins: offspring of siblings of like sex
- Cross cousins: offspring of siblings of unlike sex
The Eskimo system is marked by a bilateral emphasis, (no distinction is made between patrilineal and matrilineal relatives) and by a recognition of differences in collateral distance, (close relatives are distinguished from more distant ones). Another feature of Eskimo terms is that nuclear family members are assigned unique names that are not extended to any other relatives. Because of this feature, Eskimo terms usually occur in societies which place a strong emphasis on the nuclear family rather than extended kin or larger kinship groups.
Hawaiian or Generational Terms

Hawaiian Kin Terms

The Hawaiian system is the least descriptive and lumps or merges together many different relatives in a few categories. Ego distinguishes between relatives only on the basis of sex and generation. Thus there is no uncle term; (mother’s and father’s brothers are included in the same category as father). All cousins are classified in the same group as brothers and sisters.

Lewis Henry Morgan, a 19th century pioneer in kinship studies, surmised that this system of terms resulted from a situation of unrestricted sexual access or "primitive promiscuity" in which children called all members of their parental generation father and mother because paternity would be impossible to assign. Anthropologist now know that there is no history of such practices in any of the cultures using this terminology and that people in these societies make behavioural, if not linguistic, distinctions between their actual parents and other individuals they may call "father" or "mother". Morgan’s thesis was based on an ethnocentric assumption that the term for relatives in ego’s parents' generation had the same meanings and that father and mother have in English.

Hawaiian kinship semantics is now thought to be related to the presence and influence of ambilineal descent systems.
See Figure 4.8, p. 142 Chagnon
Family
- nuclear
- Extended (stem and joint)
- matrifocal

Nuclear Family Decay
- Causes
  - Divorce
  - Death
  - abduction
- Consequences
  - Levirate
  - sororate

Marriage
- polygamy
- polygyny
- polyandry
- bride price
- bride service
- Incest
- dowry
- exogamy/endogamy
Conditions for Matrifocal Families

- Poverty
- Female economic opportunities greater than male
  - either higher income, or
  - more reliable employment
- Male economic absenteeism
  - migratory labor (farm)
  - remote labor (mines)
Partible Paternity – a child can have more than one father

Cultural Commonalities in Beliefs

- The uterus is a receptacle
- A woman can be “a little pregnant”
- Fetus growth is an accumulation of semen
- There is negotiation about concealing or revealing (by woman) or accepting or denying secondary fatherhood (by man)
- Reproductive conflict of interest between men and women
  - For women, she is shielded from male competition and coercion and is able to select investors in child
  - For men, they would rather control female sexuality and maximize paternity certainty
Cultures with Partible Paternity

Groups

- Mehinaku
- Xocleng (Kaingang)
- Yanomamö
- Tapirape
- Wayana
- Kuikuru
- Lusi (New Guinea)
- Canela
- Araweté
- Matis
- Aché
Adaptiveness of Partible Paternity among the Bari

- A child who had one secondary father had a higher probability of surviving to age 15 (80%) than a child who had no secondary father (64%).
- (note that children who had more than one secondary father had lower survivorship).
- Women who had secondary husbands had lower miscarriage rates than those with no secondary husbands.
- A woman who had suffered a miscarriage in her most recent pregnancy was twice as likely to claim a secondary husband in her next pregnancy.
- **Mechanism** promoting survivorship: provisioning of food by males. Note: they have no data to show this, just impressions and informant statements. They also suggest that given high male mortality rates, having a second father is like an insurance policy.
Consequences of Partible Paternity

- Aché
  - 70% of those with one father survived to age 15 compared to 85% of those with two

- Probable mechanisms for increased survivorship
  - Additional food given by secondary father
  - Less chance of juvenile killing
Median Age at Marriage through Time (USA)

Median Age at First Marriage, 1890-2002
Outcomes for children, compared to heterosexual families:

- **Traditional sex role orientation**: girls more likely to have interests in non-traditional sex occupations and less sexed type in interests and play. Boys seem to be less aggressive.

- **Children’s sexual preferences and behavior**: more homoerotic behaviors and fantasies for girls of lesbian mothers but they are not more likely to self-identify as bisexual, lesbian, or gay. Girls were more promiscuous but boys were less promiscuous.

- **Children’s mental health**: there are no differences. Interesting in the face of greater teasing from having lesbian parents.

- **Parental Behavior Toward Children’s Gender and Sexual Development**: No major differences except that heterosexual parents were more concerned about their children following stereotypic sex role patterns.
Lesbigay continued

- **Parenting Practices**: Lesbian mothers appear to be more involved and contentious than heterosexual mothers. Lesbian parents and their children feel closer. This is predictable by the fact that mothers are more interested than fathers in their child’s development and these children have two mothers.

- **Parental Fitness**: Lesbian mothers, overall, have higher levels of psychological resources. But higher levels of depression and lower self esteem.
Study limitations

- Small sample size
- Dominated by lesbians with few gay parents
- Few studies
- Need to control for confounding variables such as income
The Honor/Shame Complex: Egyptian Bedouin