

**SOCIO-ECONOMIC DETERMINANTS OF
THE CONTINUITY OF MATRILocal FAMILY
SYSTEM AMONG MAPPILA MUSLIMS OF
MALABAR**

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By

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PREFACE

It is rather unusual that Muslims follow matriliney / matrilocality as it is not properly supported with in religion. However, Malabar Muslims of Malabar region distinguish themselves by following the mother centred system of family from time immemorial. The social phenomenon attracted this researcher and preliminary investigation revealed that the area is shrouded one for no none has taken up the theme for serious research. Hence the selection of area of research.

No social phenomenon has an isolate, independent existence, rather it is existing relation to other phenomenon. To explain the current phenomenon the researcher has to explore the antecedent phenomena. On the basis of this reasoning the researcher felt that an enquiry into the socio-cultural antecedence of the sustenance of the system is rewarding. Accordingly the research was propelled in the direction of analysing the relationship of the system with the socio-cultural profiles of the community.

The empirical part of the research was carried out in Kozhikode, Quilandy, Vadakara, Mahe, Thalassery and Kannur which constitute a contiguous social belt where the community practicing matrilocality, a prominent trait of mother centred family system is predominantly seen. Both quantitative and qualitative methods were adopted to collect the required data. Both approaches take to the conclusion that the scepticism of the researcher on which the research was based, is not unfounded.

The researcher is contented with the insights the research has brought about.

The researcher is under the impression that the area requires further probing by other researchers with more perfect techniques.

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GLOSSARY

(Malayalam and Arabic words used in the Text)

Aandu	:	Death anniversary
Ammaayithakkaaram	:	Special get-together to honour in-laws
Appam	:	Food items prepared
Ara	:	A room in the house, specially arranged for couples
Arabi Malayaalam	:	Malayalam written in Arabic script
Aravana muttu	:	A Mappila performing art
Arayilaakkal	:	Customary practice of pushing bride to the bridal chamber where bridegroom remain, on the day of marriage
Baineerayi	:	Way to kitchen
Baank	:	Call for prayer, ‘Aazaan’
Bhaaryaveedu	:	Wife house
Burkha	:	System of veiling
Chaaipu	:	Bridal room
Charu	:	Room for ladies in the ground floor
Daffumuttu	:	A Muslim performing art
Eettukaarathi	:	Trained mid-wife
Ettukettu	:	Huge form of ancestral tharawad, bigger than nalukettu
Fask	:	Islamic right of women to get divorced
Hadith	:	Sayings and acts of Prophet
Hajj	:	Pilgrimage to Mecca
Iddah	:	A period of three months as per Islamic law to be observed by a woman after divorce for remarriage
Idul Azha	:	Festival day, celebration corresponding the day of Hajj
Idul Fitr	:	Festival day, celebration of concluding Ramazan, the month of fasting
Irunira	:	The open window wide rectangular space, which can be used to sit or sleep, in varanda
Jama – attukaar	:	Usually called for Jam - at -Islami members
Jaaram	:	Tomb of a respected muslim, Cenotoph
Juma	:	Friday prayer at noon, Prayer with an Imam (one who leads the prayer)
Kaachi	:	A dothy (mundu) of female which coloured on finge
Kaafar	:	Non believer

Kaikottikkali	:	A women folk dance
Kaikettal	:	Dress materials to whole family members of wife taken on the first day of marriage by husband (Practiced in Mahe, Thalassery)
Kalima	:	The words pronounced to become a Muslim
Kaufan	:	Mortury clothing
Kalyaanam	:	Marriage ceremony
Kandosaaram	:	Giving gifts in first meeting
Kaaranavar	:	Male head of joint family
Kaaranavathi	:	Female head of joint family
Kathampayangal	:	Completion of recitation of Quran in special occasions
Khaazi	:	Islamic leader/ religious Judge for a locality
Kiyamannal	:	The last day as per Islamic belief
Kolaaya	:	Varanda
Kolkali	:	A Muslim performing art using battons
Kondaakkal	:	Taking back bride to her house
Koottikonduvaral	:	Taking bride to husband's house
Kottil	:	The inbuilt platform on both sides of the adjacent room to varanda
Kuleenatham	:	Aristocracy
Kuppaayam	:	Shirt or loose blouse
Kushni	:	Kitchen
Kuzhimittam	:	An opening in the roof in central room of the house
Madrasa	:	Islamic school for religious instruction
Mahallu	:	A Muslim locality under a mosque
Mahar	:	An amount or gift to be given to the bride by bridegroom as per the Islamic Law
Mailanchi kalyaanam	:	Function at bride's house on the night prior to the marriage day
Mangalam	:	Marriage
Maniyara	:	Bridal chamber arranged at the time of marriage
Mappilappaattu	:	Mappila songs
Marupudukkam	:	Bride is taken back to her house on the day of marriage from husband's house
Mayyithukattil	:	A cot used for taking dead body to the grave yard
Mayyithu kuli	:	Last washing of the dead done by others
Mayyithu Namaskaaram	:	Prayer for the dead
Mehfil	:	Music concert of old songs or gazals
Moplals	:	Mappilas are called by some as

		Moplahs
Mudikalachil	:	Ceremony of shaving of head of newborn child
Mundu	:	A piece of cloth tied round
Mufta	:	Head covering of ladies
Mujahids	:	A progressive sect among muslims, organized under Kerala Naduvathul Mujahideen
Nadulara	:	Central hall in Tharawad
Nadumittam, Naalaakayya	:	An opening in the roof in central hall
Naduvakam	:	Central hall in Tharawad
Nalappadu	:	Space near Nadumuttam in central hall
Naalpathinte Choru	:	Food prepared on 40th day of marriage
Naalpuli, Naalpathukuli	:	40th day of delivery, the ceremonial bath taken by the lady
Naalukettu	:	Nayar ancestral Tharawad
Namaz	:	Prayer to be taken at five times in a Day by a Muslim
Naathoon Poru	:	Conflict with sister-in-law
Neerayi	:	Kitchen
Nikah	:	Islamic marriage ceremony
Nischayam	:	Fixation of a marriage proposal
Onnaam number	:	Local term for aristocrats
Oppana	:	A Muslim folk dance
Ossaan	:	Barber
Paattam	:	Giving right for doing agriculture in a particular land by the landowner
Padaappuram	:	Second room from varanda
Padippura	:	The gate house of Tharawad
Panineer	:	Rosewater
Paarkaan Kshanikkal, Paarpikkal	:	Special invitation to daughter-in-law/s to stay with husband's family
Pettuchelavu	:	Money given by the husband for expenses after delivery
Penkuppaayam	:	Female shirt
Pooslaans	:	Converted fishermen, 'Puthiya Islam' (New Islam)
Pudukkam	:	Custom to take bride to husband's house on marriage day
Puthiyappila, Veetu Puthiyappila	:	Husband
Quran	:	Holy book revealed to Prophet Mohammed by Allah
Randaam Number	:	Local term for commoners among Matrilocal Muslims
Ramazaan	:	9th month of Islamic callender, the month of fasting
Raatib	:	A performing ritual to honour the dead
Shaafi	:	One of the four Muslim sects

Shari-at	:	The Muslim code of law
Sunni	:	One of the four sects in Islam, locally known as followers of a conservative organisation
Sunnath	:	An act, not a compulsory one, rewarded by Allah
Sunnath kalyaanam	:	Circumcision ceremony
Tharawad, Taravad	:	A matrilineal exogamous group, used to denote ancestral house
Tharawadikal, Tharawattukar	:	Aristocrats
Tharavaaditham	:	Aristocracy
Talaak	:	Islamic form of divorce
Thana	:	Cement platform either in veranda or in the adjacent room
Thanali	:	Adjacent room to varanda
Thaappa	:	The open rectangular window in varanda
Thakkaaram	:	Get together on special occasions, 'Salkaram'
Thangals	:	Those who claim as descendents of Prophets family, (Zayyids, Jifris)
Thattam	:	Cloth used to cover head by women
Thuni	:	Cloth used to cover lower part of the body
Veedu	:	Usually used to denote wife house in Kozhikode
Veeryam	:	Demand, strong need
Wahaabis	:	Followers of reformists, locally also known as Mujahids
Zakath	:	Compulsory contribution of Muslim from income for charity works.

Chapter : I

INTRODUCTION

Malabar Muslims have been generally practising patrilocal system. However matrilocality is followed in certain pockets of Kozhikode and Kannur districts and Mahe of Union Territory, Pondichery. One of the communities which practices matrilocality, an attendantship of matrilineal kinship system in these locations is Mappila Muslims.

1.1. MAPPILA MUSLIMS

The Mappila Muslims are followers of Sunni faith and it is believed to have its origin in 8th Century. They settled down mainly in the port towns of North and Central Kerala such as Kodungallur, Kozhikode, Kannur, Panthalayani Kollam and Ponnani. It is almost certain that Islam in India, was originated in Kerala and the Mappila Muslims are the descendants of the original group. There were close commercial relations between the Arab coastal states such as Yemen and the Malabar Coast even at the time of Prophet Mohammed. The legend relating to the embracing of Islam by Cheraman Perumal, the then ruler of the Malabar area, and descriptions given by various travellers on the Malabar Coast give credibility to this relationship. Miller says, ‘It is as the part of an ongoing process of peaceful communication and

economic relationship between Arabia and Kerala that Islam came into existence in the area' (Miller, 1976 : 55).

Despite their same origin and common characteristics, there are variations among the Mappilas. 'Originally formed through inter-marriage between maritime Arab traders and local women, the *Moplahs* are today a heterogeneous community characterized by ethnic, regional and social diversities' (D' Souza, 1976 : 141). Theoretically they are divided into two endogamous groups. 'The higher ranking caste is believed to comprise of the descendants of converts from Brahmins and Nayars' (Schneider, 1962 : 224). The lower status group members which constitute the larger chunk of the community are converts from fisherman and other lower caste groups. 'Thus among *Moplahs* we find both descendants of Arabs through local women and converts from among the local people' (D' Souza, 1978 : 42).

1.2. THE MATRILINY AND MATRILOCALITY OF MAPPILA MUSLIMS

In Kerala, matrilineals and patrilineals of muslim communities are found. The patrilineals are stronger than the matrilineals in numerical strength. In north Kerala, the Mappilas follow both the lineages. Puthenkalam points out that the most conspicuous examples of the dual descendency are the Payyannur Namboodiris (Brahmins) and the Mappila Muslims (Puthenkalam, 1977 :V). However, in coastal townships of Kozhikode, Vadamara, Mahe, Koyilandi, Thalassery and Kannur

matrilineals dominate the other group. It is in the districts of Kannur and Kozhikode, and few localities in Malappuram district, that Mappila Muslims cluster and they constitute approximately one third of the total Muslim population. They, like certain North Indian, Karnataka and Telungana Muslim communities, do not speak Urdu. They speak only Malayalam with variations in the dialect from region to region. When considering together Kerala Mappilas the patrilineals are the majority group.

The matrilineal aristocratic Mappila Muslims of the coastal line in general are socially and economically superior to those in the interior of South Malabar.

1.3. THE EMERGENCE OF MAPPILA MATRILINY

The Mappila muslim matriliney is generally considered as an adoption from the Nayars. But this may not be true. It is not only seen among the Mappila Muslims, but also among such muslims as the Labbais of Tamilnadu, the coastal pocket of Gujarat, the Navayats of Kanara and Islanders of Lakshadweep. All of these groups were not converts from Hindu matrilineal groups. Most of these groups were connected with Arab traders. It has been pointed out that the system of visiting husband was prevalent among Arab sailor communities of South Arabia, especially Yemen. 'It would seem to have been a general custom in ancient Arabia for the husband to live among his wife's kinsfolk' (Wake, 1974 : 30). However, it were these regions from where large numbers of sailors and traders spread to the West and East coasts of India, Ceylon and Sumatra. This system of marriage was very much suited

to the peculiar mode of life of the Arabs, who lived in those ports for short periods usually, during trade seasons. These Arabs introduced the system among those families who had associated with them in the locality. Gough associates matriliney of Mappila Muslims with their occupation. 'Mappila men's work had always tended to take them away from house. Traditionally merchants of the ports sailed up and down the coast and sometimes to the Middle East. On land, traders and carriers also travelled, perhaps thirty to forty miles from house, sleeping often in the rest houses or warehouses' (Gough, 1962 : 423). With the men often away from house, it was natural that woman should live in their natal houses protected by the uncle, the head of their own kins group. Thus matriliney and matrilocality are probably, closely tied up with a number of factors, social and cultural. The most salient feature of Mappila Muslim community is its persistence of matrilocal residential pattern even though among many other communities which practiced the system earlier and abandoned it later. Matriliney and matrilocality of Hindu community are studied in depth by scholars. However, the prevalence of matriliney and matrilocality in the muslim community itself is not known to many scholars. This study is, therefore, attempting to reveal the different profiles of the system in the community with special emphasis on the continuity of the system and factors contributing to the phenomenon.

1.4. THE FAMILIAL BOND

Mappila Muslim matriliney as the case of other similar groups is closely associated with large families, joint or extended. Mappila Muslim matrilineal family is considered to be a multi functional group of three or more generations, with all its members living under one roof, sharing food cooked in the same hearth, holding property in common, raising and spending common fund, participating in common family rituals, and working under the authority of the senior most members, eldest females and males of the same kin group.

Mappila Muslims of North Kerala are a social group who even at this age of post modernity, uphold their traditional family system. Most studies indicate that the system of matriliney, and the customs and conventions attached to it have vanished among many matrilineal groups. Progressive social reforms and changes in the family laws had in the first five decades of last century, affected family structure of Nayars and Namboodiris. It was noted that, such a change from matriliney to patriliney has occurred generally in all over the world, with very few exceptions. It is found that the Mappila Muslims of North Malabar region, mainly concentrated in coastal areas, still strongly retain some of the fundamental characteristics of matriliney except the practice of inheritance.

1.5. THE RESIDENTIAL BOND

In olden days, trade and business were very important for Mappila Muslims, and it was linked with family. Those who go out for a long period in connection with their vocation may find it convenient to keep their wives and children with their parents. For reasons to be explored, the group in general takes wives from near by locality. For a trader who was born and brought up in the same locality of his wife, the practice of visiting husband system was rather easy and comfortable. Generally, the men take supper in their own family with their consanguine relatives and after that they visit their wives and children. Immediately after breakfast they leave the house. Today, the notable feature of Mappila Muslims is their participation in different occupations other than traditional trade and business, but still following matrilocality. Now the individual is permitted to procure property in their own or wife's or children's name. *Shariat* laws are applied in the matters of personal property. Irrespective of the changes that may have occurred in occupation and holding of property, matrilineal Mappila Muslims tie up themselves with matrilocality.

1.6. THE MARITAL BOND

Ethnographic accounts tell us that it is common for matrilineal societies to have loose marital ties. High incidence of divorce and re-marriage among matrilineal communities have been pointed out by various social scientists (Fortes, 1950 : 252-

284, Richards, 1950 : 207-251, Colson, 1962 : 36-95, Aberle, 1962 : 96-201, Schneider, 1962 : 202-233, Dube, 1969 : 70-72, Ittaman, 1976 : 145-176, and Kutty, 1972 : 176-201). The strength of the matrilineal kinship bond and the relative weakness of the conjugal paternal bonds, are given as reasons for the high rate of divorce among matrilineal communities. Easy procedures of divorce available and possibilities of re-marriage are considered factors that contribute to the high divorce rate among muslim matrilineal groups. Astonishingly, the divorce rate among matrilineal Mappila Muslims especially among aristocrats, is strikingly low. Polygamy is rarely followed. Matrilineal Mappila Muslims give a better status to visiting husband (*Puthiyappilas*). The two families maintain firm intimacy with mutual respect. Even after death of one of the partners the ties continue without any dilution.

1.7. MIGRATION

Mappila Muslims in the coastal belt of North Kerala are born to aristocratic traders. They have been keeping their reputation for several centuries. They also maintained good relationship with Middle East. Later, because of the development of new commercial and industrial centers in Kochi, Thrissur and Mangalore the monopoly in trade of Malabar with the Middle East declined in the beginning of the 20th century. Mappila Muslims were least involved in agriculture. Hence, when their status as traders was affected severely Mappila Muslims started gulf migration right

from late 1970s. Oil boom in the Arab countries, with whom they had centuries-long relationship, brought good fortune. Now it is found that gulf migration is much higher among Mappila Muslims than that of the other groups. There are job seekers who go abroad from every family.

1.8. ESTABLISHMENT OF NEW FAMILY UNIT

Establishment of new household in nearby areas started in the 80s. New family units accommodate themselves in the existing structures by making suitable modifications to them if they are found convenient. Now shifting to new premises has become common. However, even after the shifting the new units keep their contacts with the original localities without fail. Migration (Shifting) to distant and unfamiliar areas are rare. Further, the shifting usually takes place from the urban core to the periphery and to places where the same status groups are settled. Workplace is also a determinant of the place of relocation; easy access to the work place is given prime consideration when a new locality for shifting is selected. The tendency to stick on to the same status groups and strengthening the matrilocality is seen among Mappilas.

1.9. RELIGIOUS INFLUENCE

Religion is promoting matriline and matrilocality and the cultural identity of the group. To the Mappila Muslims, it is a matter of prestige for the members and religion appreciates the unchanging attribute of matrilocality.

1.10. THE MODIFICATIONS AND PERSISTANCE

It is generally believed that the joint family and matrilocality are incompatible with modern life in urban society and there is no relevance for them today. Mappila Muslims live in pretty large families, in which they identify and provide splendid space for their girls at the time of marriage. New developments, modern education, newer economic opportunities, or migration have not affected their family structure, or made any considerable changes in it. Even in the midst of the pressures and problems of modern life pattern, Mappila Muslims generally consider large family as a source of comfort, joy and celebration, a base for social well beingness. When many others have given up matrilineal bond already, they modified some of the notable features of the system. This study is primarily aimed at finding out the relationship between the socio-cultural variables and persistence of matrilocality among Mappila Muslims of North Kerala. The peculiar conditions of matrilocality prompt to probe into the factors of continuity, the factors that strengthens matrilocality, in detail. This study is specially interested in identifying such factors as religious sanctions, customary bond, sub-cultural identity, socialization of children, security for women, migration etc. that relate to the continuity of matrilocality. Further, the process of adjustments and adaptation of the community to the familial organization by facing all threatening forces is another objective of the study. This study is also interested in enquiring into the gender relations of matrilocality Mappila Muslims.

Briefly the areas that this study attempts to analyze are :

1. The familial ties of the community : The size of the family which practice matrilocality, the familial bond between the members of the family, the status the husbands enjoyed in the family.
2. Economic independency of the units : The self sufficiency that emerged out of the trade of the constituent groups of the family, trade that makes the bond between family members, the existence of individual property and businesses, entry into new occupational avenues.
3. Migrating tendency of the males : The possibilities for prospering of the family units out of male's migration to the gulf countries, the number of gulf husbands in the family, that developed in taking others to gulf countries, the space that available in houses when husbands are not there.
4. Religious affiliation of members : The attachment to the religious rituals for maintaining identity, the strong sub cultural identity developed, the customs and practices related to visiting husband system, the non-involvement of religious organization in opposing matrilocality, the affiliation of influential community members in religious organizations.
5. The sub cultural identity that kept alive : The negative attitude towards patrilocality, discouraging mentality in practicing patrilocality, alienation of

members practice patrilocality produced out of the negative attitude of community members.

6. The marital bond that made without any problems : Easy identification of life partners from the community, agreement shown to the proposals emerge, the understanding of the familial conditions, the low rate of divorce and desertion.
7. The status of women in the community : The influence of senior women members in decision making, the close relation between women in the kins, the high respect and status given to wife in husband's family.
8. The educational status of male and female members in the community : The relationship of education and practice of matrilocality. The affirmation to the matrilocality system among the educated.
9. The habit of shifting of households : The tendency to shift households to areas where matrilocal are clustered.

The structure of the thesis may be summarized as given below :

The first Chapter introduces the problem of the research. The second Chapter analyses the literature related to the topic of the research. The third Chapter describes the methodology of the study. The fourth Chapter gives an account of the localities inhabited by muslims, their community in Malabar area and the different profiles of the community. The fifth Chapter analyses the conviction of Mappila Muslims in the

practice of matrilocality to assess the strength of matrilocal sub-culture. The sixth Chapter focuses on the social environment of matrilocal system, by analyzing the familial structure and the status of the women and children in matrilocal family. The seventh Chapter deals with the factors related to occupation, economic activities and migration. The eighth Chapter deals with the religious bond of members that contribute to keep a distinct identity in the family and their interaction that ensuring the continuance of the matriline. The ninth Chapter depicts three case studies to analyze the process of survival of matrilocality. The tenth concluding Chapter gives a summary of the findings and their interpretations.



Chapter : II

SURVEY OF LITERATURE

Matriliny in its original form and spirit is incompatible to all modern communities. However, it is interesting to note that one group of Muslim community, the Mappila Muslims of Malabar, still embraces the most projecting characteristic of matriliney namely the matrilocality even while they are living surrounded by other sections of Muslims who are hardcore patrilineals. As stated in the introductory chapter it is quite fascinating to enquire into this uncommon behavior of the community.

2.1. MATRILINITY

Since the thesis is on matrilocality, the characteristics of matriliney with special reference to matrilocality are discussed.

Consanguinal families may be classed into three types : Matrilineal (the relationship is traced through the mother's side), patrilineal (the kinship is based upon father) and mixed form (the relationship is traced through both mother and the father).

In matrilineal families, property, rank, office and group membership are inherited through the female line.

Matriliny is the system of tracing the descendency through mother's side. It is believed that ancient societies by and large, followed this system of lineage. Even in modern times many communities adhere to the system. Among tribal communities the system is quite prevalent. Various perspectives have been expressed by scholars which attempt to explain the origin and persistence of the system. Morgan and Baschoven are of the opinion that polyandry and kinship through females are phases in the evolution of society. Henry Maine opined that the origin of society is in patriarchal families, that polyandry and kinship through females are of temporary duration liable to be brought about at any stage. Morgan, and Engels have put forward the theory that in the early stages of human history, the matrilineal system was the common basis of inheritance and succession, and the patrilineal system evolved only later. After the origin of private property the dominance of the male in human society led to the insistence on female chastity and the evolution of patrilineal system. Hence according to Engels, the matrilineal system, prevailed in all societies till the beginning of the age of civilization.

Polyandrous marriage and matriliny are associated institutions. In many a situation the fatherhood of children become unidentifiable. In the beginning men differed in nothing from other animals in their way of life. As they wandered up and down in the woods and women, were sexual partner for many it happened that

children never knew their father, but only their mothers. Matriliney became the rule for family system.

In matrilineal family the relationship is traced through the mother's side. The essential structure of matrilineage can be described thus, as an individual is part of a descent group whose members are linked through the successive generations of females. A boy and his sister are members of their mother's lineage, and she and her brothers and sisters are part of their mother's lineage.

Matriliney has its own rules. 'Inheritance of property, or succession in family, clan, and other titles, follows the line through the mother in matrilineal societies, just as it follows that through the father in patrilineal societies'

(Ehrenfels, 1953 : 358). Children live in close contact with their mother's brother(s), who has/ have legal obligations to, and rights over them. There is not only the person of the mother to be mentioned here as compared to the father, but also the position of sisters and daughters, as compared to the father, but also the position of sisters and daughters, as compared to brothers and sons. Female members of the family are not only protected, legally, but enjoy certain preferential rights in inheritance of property and the transmission of family-name and tradition.

There is a distribution of authority, loyalty and responsibility to several individuals in the matrilineal family, while concentration of power and authority in one male member is the rule of patrilineal system. Children in a matrilineal family

learn to respect two important male elders, maternal uncle and father apart from the mother. The daughter in a matrilineal family has a secure economic and social position. She does not generally have to loose, or to give up. But 'she is at the same time the vehicle of perpetuating the family name and tradition' (Ehrenfels, 1953 : 359).

Matriliny has many unique characteristics.

2.1.1. MATRILocal RESIDENCE

The mother and children reside with the maternal family. The co-residence may be continued for many generations. The father visits his wife and children and he is attached to his mother's family.

In the maternal household senior most uncle is the centre of the system. He is revered and obeyed by all other members including the visiting father. In rich households separate compartments or portions of house are arranged for every married female member and they live (with children) there under the protection and control of the maternal uncle. The domestic affairs of the household, namely, preparation and distribution of food, caretaking of infants and children and other related matters are in the hands of the senior most female member who will be assisted by the younger female members and a battery of servants.

The material resources required for the vast household come from agriculture, business and trade. These activities are carried out by the agents of the maternal uncle. Large stretch of land which is owned by the household is cultivated through tenancy system. Usually the members of the family only have to feed and maintain themselves on the resources mobilized externally and distributed among them by the uncle. For many matrilineal communities, especially for those who were in the coastal areas, trade and business became major source of income and uncle was the custodian of trade and business of the '*Tharawad*'. Practically the responsibility of individual member/ family unit in the maintenance of the joint family is nothing.

2.1.2. PROPERTY RIGHT

Matriliny upholds the concept of coparcenary in the ease of property right. The members of four generations possess the family property jointly. But members from mother's son's son cease to be members of the matrilineal joint family. Every members of the family is entitled to a share in the joint family property. Partition of the property, therefore, is a different process and usually for the purpose, the law court's assistance becomes necessary in the case of very old family. Income generating organizations being held by joint family also come under this rule.

2.1.3. SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGICAL ATMOSPHERE

The elderly, women and children are getting the company of their blood relatives. High rate of interactions within a wider network develops secure feeling for

all. Material needs are taken care of leaving no worry for the members. Sexual gratification is assured from the husband who frequently visited at the early period of married life, a very late period many husbands reside with their wives and children. Social needs are satisfied inside the family. The self sufficiency in satisfying physical, psychological and physiological needs make people inside the family happy. The cultural traits related to matriliney and matrilocality influence the members within the family. The personality among members will be moulded accordingly. The customs and cultural events become the part and parcel of the familial life. Through the agriculture, trade or business an economic as well as political set up is built. The socialization of children becomes a crucial factor in influencing the socio-psychological traits of personality.

2.2. MATRILINEAL FAMILY : THE KERALA EXPERIENCE

Matrilineal communities which practice the essential features of the system in Kerala have almost vanished due to various reasons. Nayars, Namboodiries, Lakshadweep Muslims certain Muslim communities including Mappila Muslims and certain tribal groups were followers of matriliney.

The Nayars of Kerala, the *Khasis* and the *Garos* of North-Eastern Hills, Muslims of Lakshadweep and Mappila Muslims of North Kerala are some of the well known matrilineal communities in India. Matriliney in Kerala could not be reduced to the Nayar community, or to one single or uniform practice. Joseph noted some non

Hindu groups who have observed matriliney in its 'pure, unadulterated form' (Joseph, 1918 : 10). Puthenkalam surveyed major matrilineal communities other than Nayars, including Payyannur Namboodiris and Thiyyas (Puthenkalam, 1977: V) Krishna Iyar identified Kanikkar tribe as among the matrilineal groups (Iyar, 1937 : 27). A close survey of studies reveal that matriliney in India has been disrupted severely, except among muslims in Lakshadweep and North Kerala.

2.2.1. NAYAR COMMUNITY

The Nayars of Kerala followed matrilineal kinship system in the past. In traditional society, the Nayars lived in villages side by side with other, patrilineal castes of Hindus, and in some areas with Muslims or with Christians. In the two Central kingdoms of Calicut and Cochin, the Nayars were divided into a number of endogamous sub-castes according to their specialized functions in society. Mateer explored historical evolution of matriliney of Nayars. (Mateer, 1883 : 288-306). Later KM Panikkar wrote : 'The Nayar family consists of all the descendants from the same ancestress, counting relationship exclusively from the side of the mother' (Panikkar, 1918 : 260). The undivided family lived under the same roof, and owned property in common. K. Gough, after her intensive fieldwork in 1947 to 1949, has published much noted sociological study. Gough noted that in each village the Nayars were organized in exogamous matrilineal lineage, called *tharawads*. Marriage of Nayar women was the bare of matriliney. 'Though majority of Nayar marriages were between

member of the same sub-caste, Nayar women of all except the servant sub-castes could be married by the younger sons of Namboodiri Brahmin joint families, by men of the district Chief's lineage or by men of the royal lineage' (Gough, 1952 : 72). Among the Namboodiris only the eldest son of the patrilineal extended family was permitted to marry in his own caste. The younger sons had liaisons with women of a matrilineal caste, and their children belonged to the mother's caste and lineage by matrilineal descent. The Nayar *tharawad*, was headed by its senior male member, the *Karanavar*. He organized the economic affairs of the *tharawad*, exercised legal authority over its members, and was a member of the local sub-caste assembly. Affiliation to the matrilineal lineage was all important in the traditional kinship system. Members of the lineage, besides forming a localized exogamous group, joined in worship of their lineage goddess, and in the observance of the numerous ritual prohibitions connected with a birth or a death in the lineage.

The *thalikettu kalyanam* and the *sambandham* were marriages that prevailed among the Nayars. Every girl is first ritually married off before reaching puberty, *thalikettu kalyanam*, which is followed by cohabitation after reaching puberty for 3-4 days, which is in turn followed or not followed by formal divorce. Later on, before or after puberty, she contracts a much less solemn marriage with a man of suitable status who visits her by night, this relationship is called *sambandham*; and several *sambandham* may go on simultaneously. *sambandham* was solemnized by the persons

in authority in the household and the children born of that relationships are legitimate children.

The traditional kinship system of the Nayers was made possible by their relationship to the land, not primarily as land owners nor as cultivators, but as permanent non cultivating tenants. Nayers were the armed retainers of the ruling lineage, and the district Chiefs who ruled as feudatories under the Raja. The territorial organization of villages (*Desams*) and districts (*Nadu*; aggregates of villages) was itself a military organization. For each village and each district an account was kept by the Raja of the number of armed Nayar men. (Iyar, 1938 : 44-45). From age of seven, Nayar boy was trained in martial arts from *Kalari*, local gymnasium. After puberty he was publicly armed by the chieftain of his district or else by the Raja himself. Then he became a servant of the kingdom, was occupied in military training, policing and fighting. In old age he returns permanently to *tharawad*, to manage its property and represent it in the local assembly. 'Matrilocal residence kept the old men and women at home to guard the house and land, while the younger men occupied a peripheral position and were free to move about in the service of the king'. (Gough, 1952 : 77).

The Nayers have been the focus of social Anthropologists, Historians and Sociologists because of their polyandrous unions and peculiar marriage customs. The freedom of women for conjugal relations was focus of the enquiries. The traditional

Nayar families, both in structure and functions underwent a series of changes mainly due to modern education, urbanization and westernization. The Nayars have adopted the nuclear form of families instead of joint families and changed into monogamy from polyandry. With passing of the Nair Act of 1952 and the Hindu Succession Act of 1956. *Tharawad* property became divisible and all members were granted equal right to inherit the property. Since then monogamy has become the rule. With the partition of the *tharawads*, married life became more strengthened and families better stabilized. As a result of partition the husband or father took up the new roles, women began to enjoy a better position than what they had in their traditional *tharawad*. Now the Nayar women have become more powerful and influential.

2.2.2. OTHER MATRILINEAL COMMUNITIES

Other than Nayars of Kerala, the *Khasis* and the *Garos* of North-Eastern Hills, Muslims of Lakshadweep and Mappila Muslims of North Kerala are some of the well known matrilineal communities in India. In contrast with the general Hindu or Muslim pattern, they observed matriliney for a long period. Matriliney in Kerala could not be reduced to the Nayar community, or to one single or uniform practice. Joseph noted some non Hindu groups who have observed matriliney in its 'pure, unadulterated form' (Joseph, 1918 : 10). Puthenkalam surveyed major matrilineal communities other than Nayars, including Payyannur Namboodiris and Thiyyas (Puthenkalam, 1977 : VI) Krishna Iyar identified *Kanikkar* tribe as among the matrilineal groups

(Iyar, 1937 : 27). A close survey of studies reveal that matriliney in India has been disrupted severely, except among muslims in Lakshadweep and North Kerala.

2.2.3. TRIBAL MATRILINY

Surveying of some well known matrilineal communities help to understand the changes occurred. The *Khasis*, and the *Garos* cases have been studied.

The *Khasis* of Meghalaya region, followed the principles of matrilineal descent. Ancestral property was passed from mother to daughter, especially to the youngest one. Men have had no right for inheritance and the institution of matrilineal residence does not give them any right to property or membership in the wife's lineage. The *Khasis* stress the role of mother in the reproduction. 'The child belongs to her descent group rather than that of the father' (Nongbri, 1998 : 179). The *Khasi* women have a significant role in the domestic sphere. Women are regarded as the trustees of family rites and traditions as well. A husband or a father remains an outsider to his wife's clan and lineage, he is expected to provide for his family and protect his wife and children. Men control the power and take decisions. 'Hence even in domestic sphere, which is acknowledged to be the sphere in which women are central, the men control the levers of power and decision making. The rights and privileges of women in *Khasi* matriliney turn out to be mere burdensome duties and responsibilities' (Nongbri, 1998: 181). *Khasi* matrilineal system does not actually favour women although certain aspects of their ideology and their inheritance rules

may give a contrary impression. Women possess only a token authority in *Khasi* society, it is men who are working for children.

Studies show that conversion to Christianity has weakened the *Khasi* familial system. Many of the traditional rites centered in the matrilineal household have lost their importance. Besides Christianity, forces of modernization also favoured patriliney.

In *Garo* society, another tribal group in the North-Eastern hills, the situation was different. Matriliney among *Garos* was comparatively recent adaptation, started with a few generations before the beginning of the colonial period. The family was based on matrilineal succession and inheritance with matrilineal residence, but the development of joint family was traditionally restricted. 'A trend towards the establishment of exclusive rule by the husband, otherwise not characteristic in matrilineal societies, can be seen in some *Garo* institutions' (Ehrenfels : 1953 : 99). Among *Garos* too, Christian missionaries, administrators and immigrants have brought about changes, and have gradually replaced matriliney by patriliney.

2.2.4. MUSLIM MATRILINY

Islam favours patriliney and created a code of conduct and system of law based on this affiliation. Immediately after the emergence of Islam, it spread among many societies that were rooted in kinship matrices of other kinds. 'Islam spread not only to several types of patrilineal social organizations, but also to Indonesia and

Malaysia where kinship was mostly bilateral, and to a number of communities in South and South-East Asia and Africa that observed matrilineal principles of descent, inheritance and succession, and were rooted in matrilineal ideology. The Muslim communities of Lakshadweep, a group of islands in the Arabian Sea off the coast of Kerala, are a fascinating instance of matrilineality (Dube, 1996 : 159). Other Muslim communities which observed matrilineality are the *Navayats* of Kanara, *Minangkabau*, one of the largest ethnic groups in Indonesia, and the *Yao* of Southern Nyasaland.

Lakshadweep Islanders and Mappila Muslims of North Kerala also follow matrilineality. 'It seems reasonable to assume that centuries ago a matrilineal system, with the residence pattern, was brought to the lacdives by the migrants from the coastal region of Kerala' (Dube, 1969 : 77). The studies of Kutty (1972), Ittaman (1976), Mannadiar (1977), Dube (1978), Saigal (1990) and Tiwari (1994) also give support to this view. Islands, because of its geographical isolation as well as size of population, provided a congenial setting for the working of matrilineality. 'Subsistence activities necessitating team work and coordination, need for cooperation in activities connected with trade, periodical absence of a section of men from the island and the requirement of having to live on a narrow strip of land within easy access of one another can be mentioned as some of the salient economic and ecological factors which facilitated the uniform adoption of matrilineality and duolocal residence pattern by all the migrant groups who were thrown together'(Dube, 1969 : 77-78).

In Lakshadweep, descent was traced through the mother. Female lineages alone were recognized for membership and right to resource of the family. The exogamous matrilineal descent group known as the *tharawad* similar to the Hindu Matrilineals of Kerala was a group of individuals of both sexes who could trace their descent in the female line from a single ancestress. 'A *tharawad* might be a property group as well as a domestic group, a property and production group comprising more than one consumption unit, or may have split into a number of property groups each of which is made up of one or more consumption units' (Dube, 1996 : 159). The traditional pattern of marital residence was duolocal, a husband being a nightly visitor to his wife's house. Children lived with their mother's and their matrilineal kin. Households were conceived of as matrilineally constituted units. The management of property was in the hands of males- mother's mother's brother, mother's brother, brother, son, sister's son, and so on. Each *tharawad* and each property group had a *Karanavar*. Men held positions and offices of responsibility and authority in their *tharawads* and in the island administration. All religious functionaries were males. Succession to these positions followed the matrilineal principle.

One significant feature of these islands has been the presence of either three or four caste- like groups which are inter dependent and hierarchically graded. The island population belong to three groups: the Koya, who were traditionally landlords and boat owners; the Malmi, traditionally they were fishermen and the Melacheri,

coconut pluckers and toddy tappers. The relationship between the Koya and the Melacheri is one of master and servant.

2.2.5. MAPPILAS OF MALABAR

Apart from Nayars, Lakshadweep Muslims, and two North-Eastern tribes, the Mappillas of North Kerala have followed matriliney. The Mappila Muslims who observe matriliney are of interest to sociologists, as muslims are generally patrilineal. The Mappilas followed matrilineal pattern of inheritance, the most likely reason for this is that many of them are converts from high caste Hindus.

In the past Mappilas too lived in joint families called *tharawads*, all the members of the *tharawad* traced their descent from a common female ancestor. The eldest male member called the *Karanavar* had the sole authority in the management of the common property, mainly trade and business, and the affairs concerning the members of *tharawad*, all in accordance with the *marumakkathayam* system.

In certain places, though the wife lives in her mothers *tharawad*, she is maintained by her husband. Here matrilocality developed out of expediency. The Mappila women have the right of maintenance from her *tharawad* also. In some localities, after few years of marriage Mappila husband stays permanently in the wife's house. If a man can afford it, he may secure a separate house and live with his wife, children and grand children, but under no circumstances can she be compelled to settle down with him in his *tharawad* house. His wife and children receive allowances

from their own *tharawad*, which are often sufficient for the maintenance. But whatever private income he achieves, other than *tharawad* property, it can be inherited by his wife and children only. The Mappila familial organization thus resembled the Nayers with many features of *marumakkathayam*.

This researcher has given a detailed analysis on Mappila Muslims and their cultural traits in Chapter IV.

2.3. MAPPILA MATRILINY

Muslim matriliney in Kerala has not been properly probed. There are some texts mainly focused on historical approach on matrilineal Mappilas. Sheik Zin-Uddin Makudum's 'Thuhafat- al- Mujahideen', a historical epic of the 16th Century (originally written in 1583) was the first historical account on Mappila Muslims and their war against Portuguese. Logan's 'Malabar Manual' (Logan, 1951 : I) highlighted some socio-cultural- historical aspects of Mappila Muslims. MSA Rao's 'Social Change in Malabar' (Rao, 1963), Ronald E Millar's 'Mappila Muslims of Kerala- A Study in Islamic Trends' (Miller, 1976), Frederick Dale's 'The Mappilas of Malabar 1498-1922' (Dale, 1980), A. P. Ibrahim Kunju's 'Mappila Muslims of Kerala' (Kunju, 1989), and P. V. Balakrishnan's 'Matrilineal Systems in Malabar' (Balakrishnan, 1973) are some other works that focused on the process of historical evolution of the community. MSA Rao's work is a general treatment of the conditions in North and Central Kerala including changes in family and marriage system among all its people.

Ronald E Millar's book mainly explains the general trend in their educational and political life. Dale analyses the political features of Mappilas till the end of 1921 rebellion. P. V. Balakrishnan's study focus on matrilineal systems and its legal aspects. Victor S. D' Souza's 'Navayats of North Kanara' refers to the Mappilas of Kerala for illustration and comparison. He has also contributed an article on 'Mappila Muslims' in Imtiaz Ahmad's 'Family, Kinship and Marriage among Muslims in India' (Ahmed, 1976 : 141-168). The publication of Gough's work in 1962 on 'Mappila of Kerala' was a landmark in sociological investigations; She has traced the subject of Mappilas with their social aspects in the symposium 'Matrilineal Kinship' edited by Schneider and Gough (Schneider, 1962 : 262-310). She has also published some articles in Journal of Marriage and family (1971). Fr. J. Puthenkalam has made an account of Mappila Muslims, one among the different matrilineal communities in Kerala in his work ' Marriage and family in India' (Puthenkalam, 1977 : 196-211). Philipo Osallo and Caroline Osallo have made some field study on social mobility among Mappila Muslims of Kerala very recently (2007-2008). These works have been inspired the researcher to persue the present study, as nobody has analysed the reasons and factors behind the persistence of matrilocality among Mappila Muslims of Malabar.

Few fictions in Malayalam have been written with focus on socio-cultural life of Mappila Muslims by well known writers. P. A. Mohammed Koya's

‘Sulthan Veedu’ (Sulthan House, 1977), Surumayitta Mizhikal (The eyes with suruma, 1973), N. P. Mohammad’s ‘Maram’ (The Drift Wood, 1969), Ennappadam, and Arabipponnu (Arabian Gold, 1964) jointly written with M. T. Vasudevan Nair, U. A. Khader’s ‘Oru Mappilappenninte Lokam’ (World of a Mappila Woman, 1972), and Changala (The Chain, 1973), V. P. Mohammed’s ‘Thenthulli’ (Honeydrop, 1979), and ‘Pida’ (The Hen, 1981) and many short stories written by these writers depicted, marriage, family, rituals, customs and even social disorganization among the Mappila Muslims. These creative works helped researcher to go into the details of social ethos and practices prevailed among Mappila Muslims of Malabar and to understand the socio-cultural aspects of matrilocality.

Survey of related literature shows that the modifications and changes, persistence of matrilocality, have not been studied well. The roots of Mappila Muslim Matriliney and its flexibility that made it possible for the continuation even in present day, are to be analyzed.

The different Hindu communities which once practiced matriliney have changed their familial organization to suit to modernity. But Muslims in Lakshadweep and Mappila Muslims in North Kerala have not given up their basic nature of familial organization and process of marital life. They proudly continue the age old residential pattern in larger families. They reject the Islamic pattern and continue the local traditional social system. ‘Far from promoting strict adherence to elements of the

Sharia, Islamisation has allowed the different Muslim communities in India to either legitimize local customs and practices or to reconcile them with the *Sharia*. It has, in other words, allowed muslim communities to have, and to project, a truly Islamic image of themselves and yet continue to remain an integral part of the cultural complex with in which they are embedded' (Ahmad, 1976 : XXXII).

2.3.1. TRANSFORMATION OF JOINT FAMILIES

Industrialization and urbanization are widely seen as the most important agents of social and economic change in the last two centuries. They are frequently credited with the power to modify or destroy any pre- existing social arrangement that stands in their way. Industrialization 'resulted in the disintegration of the family group into smaller units of nuclear families consisting of parents and their unmarried children' (Janssens, 1993 : 2).

Many social scientists cited urbanization and industrialization as principal factors to account for the development of progressive nuclearization. Perhaps the most reputed sociologist, who profoundly shaped the thinking about structure and function of the family, was Parsons (Parsons, 1949, 175). He argued that the nuclear family is fragmented from its kinship network, the joint or extended family. Parsons considers the influence of modern economy and its demands 'for a mobile labour force as a main reason for the emergence of an isolated conjugal family which is not bend to particular residential locality by the occupational property or status interests of the

other members' (Parsons, 1949 : 189-190). This development created a sharp dichotomy between the pre-industrial and agrarian family on the one hand and the industrial and modern family on the other. Urbanization and industrialization were viewed as more or less irresistible forces leading to the decay of the joint/ extended family.

Now it is well-established that relationship between family and industrialization is a complex one. The recent studies offer a considerable challenge, 'to the thesis of a linear transformation of the joint family into a nuclear family under the influence of urbanization and industrialization' (Singer, 1968 : 425). Now there is a good deal of evidence to show that the transformation into a nuclear conjugal type of family is not so general, specifically in Asian and African societies.

In a study Mandelbaum visualizes the break down of the urban joint family as much more cautious process. Mandelbaum (Mandelbaum, 1963 : 196, 210) states that the form of the family is certainly not so closely linked to the type of economic organization as often suggested. Singer (Singer, 1968 : 198) notes the adaptability of the joint family form to the management needs of large scale industry. Mine (Mine, 1972 : 11-97) stresses this in the study on Pallavapuram muslim merchants in Tamil Nadu and opines that the joint family does not hinder rational management. For Sha (Sha, 1973 : 18-123), the data collected regarding the changes occurred in the joint family to cope with urban setup without breaking the tie of jointness, from Gujarat is

not at all atypical, it is relevant for the whole Indian population. Owens (Owens, 1971 : Vol. 10) has also drawn attention to the complex nature of relationship between industrialization and family structure.

2.3.2. TRANSFORMATION OF MUSLIM FAMILIES

In Indian sociology, the study of the Hindu kinship and joint family had attracted scholarly attention even before Indian Sociology came of age. The early efforts were largely based upon Scriptural-Textual Sources. Since the 1950s a more pronounced empirical trend set in. The efforts of such scholars as K.M. Kapadia, I.P. Desai, Irawati Karve, M.S. Gore, A.M. Shah has provided us with a wealth of theoretical and empirical analyses concerning Hindu kinship and family. In contrast to the voluminous data on Hindu family life, there is very little factual information concerning Muslim family in India. A.R. Saiyed and V.V. Saiyed (Saiyed, 1982 : 112) point out two drawbacks that are responsible for this shortage. : ‘First, sociological analyses of the natural relationship between modern urban-industrial influences and Muslim family in modern India are virtually absent. Second, and more important, it has helped to create and perpetuate certain pre-conceptions and stereotypes of Indian Muslims, (Saiyed and Saiyed, 1982 : 113). This created the notion that Muslims are reluctant to change, still live in the citadel of orthodoxy, conservatism and fundamentalism. But the reading is that Muslims in India do

change. One example for the change is the observances of different forms of family, apart from their patrilineal framework.

Theoretically, Muslims everywhere are governed by *Sharia*, the personal law of Muslims, consisting of regulations pertaining to marriage and divorce, family and inheritance. Acceptance of the traditions of Prophet Mohammed coupled with the *Sharia* laws create uniformity in the kinship and family of Muslims. It characterizes muslim societies and communities in the world over.

Muslim familial organization was also flexible. It has remained compatible to local environmental and existential factors. Levy has gone to the extent of remarking that, 'where family life is concerned, in marriage, divorce and the distribution of inheritance, the provision of the *Sharia* would appear to be widely neglected' (Levy, 1962 : 244). Levy's observations are primarily based on Arab Societies. Field studies in India, Indonesia and few other countries have provided evidence that in many regions local customs and traditions have modified, or fused into, if not suspended, the *Sharia* regulations. Muslim Matriliny may be a striking example of this.

Muslim matrilineal communities are there, even though they are very few. They are, 'a dramatic antithesis of the Islamic family which assumes the patriarchal, patrilineal family to be the normative type'. (Saiyed and Saiyed, 1982 : 119). Studies of D' Souza (D'Souza, 1955 : Vol.2, D'Souza, 1976 : 141-168), Gough (Gough, 1971

: Vol.33, Issue-4), Leela Dube (Dube, 1962 : 27-77) and Kutty (Kutty, 1972 : 20-96)

have presented ample evidences on Muslim matriliney and its changes.

2.4. THE STUDY

In the foregone discussion the various aspects of matriliney with special reference to the matrilineal system of Mappila Muslims of Malabar are analyzed. A logical consolidation of the insights of the analyses of this chapter tends to propose that the various socio-cultural background of the community are supporting the sustenance of the system. Hence the study proceed with the objectives and hypothesis proposed in the chapter on Methodology (Chapter:III).



Chapter : III

METHODOLOGY

Research is a scientific enterprise to unearth new insights based on the already existing knowledge or notion in the area of research. Systematic approach is the hub of all scientific enquiries. The approach resorted to in this study is detailed in the chapter.

The study has both exploratory and descriptive elements in the sense that it attempts to explore certain profiles of Mappila Muslims matrilocality and also precisely and specifically describe certain other profiles of the system. This study has used both qualitative and quantitative approaches to come to the conclusion.

3.1. SPECIFIC OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

The major objectives of the study are:

1. To analyse **the patterns of the matrilocality practiced by Mappila Muslims** in Malabar region and **regional variations** in them with its intensity, including the **rural-urban divide**.
2. To identify the major socio-cultural factors which are responsible for the continuation of the system in the community while the system is almost vanished in other communities which earlier practiced it with much strength.

3. To assess the status of women in the matrilocal system and to reveal the influence of the system on the status.
4. To assess the impact of traditional occupation, ie, trade and business, and gulf migration and consequent economic prosperity on the matrilocal system of Mappila Muslims of Malabar.
5. To enquire into how much intensity is shown in practicing matrilocality among Mappila Muslims while coping with urban environment.
6. To analyse to what extent Mappila Muslims have modified the jointness of family, and the present extended nature.

3.2. HYPOTHESES

The following hypotheses were formulated based on the objectives of the study:

1. Social solidarity created by religious ideologies and practices are determinants of the continuity of matrilocal family system among the Mappila Muslims of Malabar.
2. The entrepreneurship of individual family units supported by the matrilocal system has contributed to the continuation and strengthening of the system.
3. The economic prosperity brought about by gulf migration and migration itself are causative factors in the continuation of the system.

4. The *Wakhaf* arrangements (indivisibility and bequeathing of property to charitable organisations) help to sustain the system.
5. The transplanting of individual unit families, whenever it happens, to localities where matrilineal system is practiced helps the continuation of the system.
6. The proximity preference of the families in the selection of marriage partners helps the partners to stay in their family of origin without disturbing the execution of marital obligations and it contributes in big ways to the continuation of the system.
7. The feeling of esteem and aristocracy for being a member of a matrilineal family system supports the continuation of the family system.
8. The better status enjoyed by the women in the system is a deciding factor in the sustaining of the family organisation.
9. The aspirations of the ancestors for the continuation of system reflected through the physical structures of the dwelling units are inspiring factors for the descendants to adhere to the system.

3.3. DEFINITION OF CONCEPTS

The major concepts involved in the study are explained below:

3.3.1. Matrilineality :

‘In common parlance matrilineality (*marumakkathayam*) is a system under which inheritance is traced through the mother side’ (Kerala Development Report,

2008: 52). 'Matriliny is a lineage system in which kinship and descent are traced through females' (Tierney, 1999: 902).

So, a typical matrilineal family consists of the members who can trace their ancestry in the female line to a common female ancestor. The inheritance will be identified and claimed exclusively on female line. Matrilineal family usually observe matrilocal residence.

3.3.2. Matrilocality :

Matrilocality is an important attendant trait of matriliney. It refers to the principle of residence in which the married couple live in the women's maternal family. Thus, 'matrilocality is a residence pattern in which a married couple settles with or near the wife's family. Matrilocality may have been a precondition for the development of matrilineal descent, but each can exist without the other' (Tierney, 1999: 903).

In the case of Mappila Muslims the husband spends the night time in wife's family and the rest of the time in his occupational office or with in his mother's family because he himself is a member of the matrilocal system since the group is endogamous. Male members usually take breakfast from his wife's house and lunch and dinner from his mother's family or sister's family if mother is not alive.

In certain localities it has been noted that visiting husband will be becoming part and parcel of the wife's family with in a short period, and he remains

even in day time in wife's house. But in certain other localities, the husband spends day time with mother's/ sister's family till physical mobility is affected due to various reasons. Death and death ceremonies are preferred to be occurred in the wife's house. In matrilocal system females stay with their mother's/ grand mother's family from birth to death. Her children are brought up by matrilineal kins. Females usually visit husband's house during special occasions and very rarely stay in husband's family.

3.3.3. Extended Family :

Generally the extended family consists of nuclear family and some other relatives living together. The term has been used by sociologists in the study of bilateral kinship in Western society. It has been used to describe European families in which inheritance was patrilineal, which were characterised by the formation of composite household. Such households were formed either of parents and one son or of all or some of the sons, and their wives, living and working together as a joint domestic and economic unit (Harris, 1969:40). Matrilineal extended family is a unit of parents, and daughter and daughters; and all other female family members and unmarried males, and sometimes grand/ great grand children. 'An extended family household may be defined as extended family that lives co-residentially in one house or in a compound or a group of houses and functions as economic unit' (Ember, 2005: 47). The extended family, whether it is patrilineal or matrilineal, ideally include multiple nuclear families and unmarried or dependent kin. 'The traditional extended

family is very often a distinct social system meeting the social political and economic needs of its members' (Das and Bardis, 1978:pxx).

We refer to matrilineal extended family to a family where multiple families lead by the eldest female member with their married daughters, their husbands and children, and unmarried males and grand children, live. It is multiplicity of genealogically related elementary families living under the same roof, preparing food on the same hearth, and sharing food, property and worship. Matrilineal extended family mentioned in the study means the household comprises of more than one female members living in it and following visiting husbands system.

3.3.4. Social Solidarity :

Social solidarity is 'the condition with in a group in which there is social cohesion plus co-operative, collective action directed towards the achievement of group goals' (Scott, 1998:407). Social cohesion always make an invisible bond in between its members.

The present study conceptualizes social solidarity as the cohesion of the members in the group under study.

3.3.5. Religious Practices :

Religious practices are those practices related to religion in furtherance of the promotion of its ideologies and ultimate end.

In this research the religious practice means the acts, rituals, and activities of Mappila Muslims of Malabar in furtherance of the realizations of their faith and

attachment to Islam. In the case of Mappila Muslims the practices include, doing *namaz* (prayer) at five times in a day, fasting in *Randan* month, observing *Zakath* (compulsory offering of 2.5% of annual income for charity), Reciting *Quran* (the Holy book, revealed to Prophet Mohammed by Allah), and few local customs closely related to Muslim social life.

3.3.6. Sub-Cultural Identity :

Sociologists use culture as a collective noun for the symbolic and learned aspects of human society, including language, custom, and convention by which human behaviour can be distinguished from that of other primates. Tylor defines, ‘culture is that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, customs and any other capabilities and habits’ acquired by man as a member of society’ (Tylor, 1924: 1).

‘A subculture is generally taken to mean a section of a national culture’ (Mitchell, 1990 : 194). The national culture may be sensitised by a religion, or a main culture rooted in that society’s past. Thus, the term subculture refers to a system of values, attitudes, modes of behaviour and lifestyles of a social group which is distinct from, but related to the dominant culture of a society. Subculture brings together the members in the group and allow them to develop a sense of identity. The term subcultural identity here refers to the feeling of the members that matrilineal Mappila Muslims is a distinct group within Islam.

3.3.7. Individual Entrepreneurship :

Entrepreneurship is 'the dynamic process of creating something new with value by devoting the necessary time and effort, assuming the accompanying financial, psychic and social risks and reaving reputing towards of monetary and personal satisfaction and independence' (Hirich, 1986:90).

Entrepreneurship is the act of being a person who undertakes innovations, finance and business in an effort to transform acts into economic goods. The most obvious form of entrepreneurship is that of starting new business.

In this research the term individual entrepreneurship refers to the ventures started and co-ordinated by a male member who heads an individual family units of the matrilocal family system of Mappila Muslims.

3.3.8. International Migration :

The term international migration refers to a relatively permanent movement of a person or population across a political boundary and settles in another political area like a state or a nation, permanently or temporary. 'It occurs when people cross state boundaries and stay in a host state for some minimum length of time' (Paris DECD, 2006 : 17).

Here the reference is to the migration of Mappila Muslims to another country, especially to gulf countries for getting gainful employment.

3.3.9. Status Of Women :

The term status is defined as a position in a social system. It refers to what a person is. It is also used as a synonym for honour or prestige when social status

denoted the relative position of a person on a publicly recognised scale or hierarchy of social worth.

In the study the term status of women refers to the position of women in the group of the Mappila Muslims of Malabar. The position of women is understood on the basis of their role in the decision making in various matters, disciplining others, dealing with family resources etc. The social security received for the women in the group is also taken for consideration.

3.4. VARIABLES AND THEIR MEASUREMENTS

The variables identified for analysis in the study are discussed in this section with the method proposed for measuring them.

3.4.1. INDEPENDENT VARIABLES

The major independent variables are :

3.4.1.1 Age :

In this study 'age' means the number of years completed by the respondent at the time of interview since birth. On the basis of age the respondent of the study are categorised as (1) Lower age group (Up to 40 years), (2) Middle age group (40 to 50 years) and (3) Upper age group (55 and 70 years) and the aged (70 and above years).

3.4.1.2. Education :

The term refers to the formal schooling of respondents. In this study the respondents are categorised as those who are (1) those who have no formal schooling

(Not formally educated), (2) primary school education (Literate), (3) high school education and above.

3.4.1.3. Income :

In this study income refers to the average monthly income of the household in Rupees. The respondents are grouped into four categories on the basis of their average monthly income. (1) Low income group (up to Rs. 7000), (2) Middle income group (Rs. 7000 – Rs. 10000), (3) High income group (Rs. 10000 – Rs. 13000) and (4) Upper income group (Rs. 13000 and above).

3.4.1.4. Occupation :

Occupation refers to the job done by the respondents, which provide them income for sustenance. In this study as only female heads of family are interviewed, the respondents are divided into two groups, (1) Home Makers, (2) Employed Outside.

3.4.1.5. Size Of The Family :

The size of the family is used to denote the number of members come under the matrilocal family of the respondent. The grouping of families is (1) 1 to 5 members, (2) 6 to 15 members, (3) Above 15 members.

3.4.1.6. Composition Of The Family :

It refers to the type of relatives who contribute matrilocal family. On the basis of this criterion the families are classified as : (1) the female head and nuclear family, (2) the female head with her daughter/ daughters, grand daughter/ grand

daughters and male members (F+D+GC) and (3) the female head with their daughter/daughters, grand daughter/ grand daughters, sister/sisters with or without children/grand children and male members (F+D+GC+SFL).

3.4.1.7. Bhagams :

In this study *bhagams* refers to the unit household with its own hearth or portion of the hearth of a common kitchen. The different *bhagams* are using different portions of the same house. Customarily the portion of the house is approved as the property of that unit household. In other words, this hearth and dining room of the household and separate rooms, determine the separateness of a unit household. To an external observer, however, all members of that house may appear to form on large household since all of them bear the same family name.

3.5. DEPENDENT VARIABLES

The dependent variable is continuance of the matrilineal system. The continuance depends on the member's beliefs and practices that are conducive for the smooth going of the system. Hence the dependent variable is analysed in terms of the following indices:

- (1) Belief that it is prestigious to bear the family name of one's mother.
- (2) Marriage from near by family which also follow the system.
- (3) Disinterest in partitioning the family property.
- (4) Husband's interest to stay with his mother's/ sister's family during day time.

(This facilitates the female headship which is the essence of the system).

(5) Interest of unit family in the welfare of the whole family.

(6) The feeling of aristocracy for being a member of the family.

In the testing of the major hypotheses the themes of these indices take the status of explanatory variables of the abstract dependent variable, 'continuance of matrilocal family system'. In the analyses of the influence of the sociological variable on the continuation of the family form the indices represent the dependent variable.

3.6. POPULATION OF THE STUDY

The population of the study is constituted by matrilocal Mappila Muslim households in Malabar represented by the senior most female member of the household. The earthwhile Malabar at present consists six districts of the state of Kerala, namely, Kasargode, Kannur, Wayanad, Kozhikode, Malappuram and Palakkad. Mappila Muslim households which practice matrilocal system are clustered in Kozhikode, Kannur and a portion of Pudussery (Pondichery) Union Territory. In other districts the households are sparingly seen.

3.7. SAMPLE AND SAMPLE SELECTION

The study was carried out using two approaches, qualitative and quantitative. Though survey method was the principal approach used for data collection, case study approach was also resorted to as the theme of the study requires narratives to fully reveal the essence.

For the survey method 320 sample households of Mappila Muslims which follow matrilineal system genuinely were selected on a purposive basis which constitute a cross-section of the population. For reason cited earlier it was decided that the samples shall be selected from Kannur and Kozhikode districts and Mahe, a portion of Puducherry (Pondichery) Union Territory.

The researcher himself is a member of the Mappila Matrilineal system and he has extensive information about the community in Malabar region. In consultation with many other potential scholars who have studied this community. With their consent only the researcher selected the above 320 households. Those households are spread out in Kozhikode town, Vadakara, Quilandy, Thalassery, Mahe and Kannur town. The number of households selected from these areas are respectively 80, 40, 40, 40, 40 and 80 and the numbers are almost proportional to the total number of matrilineal Muslim households of the respective areas.

In addition to these sample survey method, three households, one each from Kozhikode, Vadakara and Mahe, were selected for case analyses. Familiarity of the researcher and consultation with other scholars were the basis for selection of these particular households. Incidentally, it may be mentioned that the researcher's M.Phil dissertation was on the community and hence he has deep understanding of it (Mohammed, 1990 : University of Bangalore).

3.8. TOOLS OF DATA COLLECTION

Interview schedule was the major tool for data collection. According to the objectives and hypotheses formulated an interview schedule which is given in Appendix : 2 was developed and administered during the interview with the female respondents of the household for collecting quantitative data.

For collecting data for case analyses the interview guide given in Appendix : 3 was used. Depth interviews were carried out with head of the family, and many other members of the '*tharawad*' for case analyses.

In addition to these, audio and video recorders were used to store and retrieve data in minute detail.

3.9. DATA COLLECTION

Data was collected by interviewing the senior most female member who was capable of giving the required informations at the household. The interviews were standardized by using the schedule prepared.

For the depth interviews an interview guide was used. The informations were gathered from various members. Many rounds of interaction were made to elicit the required informations with very high reliability.

3.10. FIELD AND FIELDWORK

An extensive description of the locales of the study is given in Chapter IV with illustrations. The fieldwork was carried out in different stretches as the number

of persons met and documents referred to were too many. Extensive travel was conducted in the study areas. The fieldwork was conducted primarily during 2008-2009.

3.11. DATA PROCESSING AND ANALYSES

For the statistical part of the study the relevant data was edited, scrutinized and coded. Database was created and computer analyses were made. The nature of analyses was guided by the objectives and hypotheses of the study. Both descriptive and inferential statistics were used in the analyses of the data.

The qualitative data collected for the case analyses was checked for its comprehensiveness, ordered and relationships between facts were found out. On the basis of the analyses conclusion and interpretations were made to substantiate the validity and reliability of the postulates formulated for the study. During the analyses care was taken to avoid external bias and also stick on to the research ethics.

3.12. REPORTING

Care was taken to properly report the study. All facts which are relevant for the understanding of the substantive and procedural aspects have been incorporated into the report. However, care has been taken to avoid irrelevant,

confusing and misleading informations. Statistical analyses (to test the association between the sociological variables and the dependent variables) which showed no association between the variables are not reported in the dissertation.

Standard style of reporting Ph.D research is followed in this dissertation.



Chapter : IV

MAPPILA MUSLIMS OF MALABAR

The state of Kerala lies at the southern most tip of the sub-continent, only in 360 miles north-south and the average width is 70 miles. Bounded by the Arabian Sea on the west and the Western Ghats on the east, the state has an area of 15,002 square miles. East to west the state is divided into three segments geographically, namely, the sea coast, the middle land and the high land hilly area.

Geographical features have played a crucial role in determining the socio-cultural character of the population. The opening to the Arabian sea had been an influencing factor for the arrival of religions including Islam on the Malabar coast. 'The sea has been the permanent and decisive factor in the history of Kerala. Such religions as Judaism, Christianity and Islam came to Kerala by sea' (Sreedharamenon, 1967 : 5f).

4.1. MAPPILA MUSLIMS

History of the community reveals that it was coextensive with history of Islam in India. Before coming to the history proper, it may be interesting to note the etymology of the term Mappila.

Several opinions have been advanced about the **origin of the word Mappila**.

According to Lewis Moore, the meaning of 'Mappila' is bride-groom or son-in-law (Moore, 1870 : 13). In the opinion of Day, 'they no doubt are descended from Arab fathers, who traded to this coast and formed fugitive alliances with *Tear* (Thiyar) or *Chogan* (Fisherman). The children never appear to have been claimed by the fathers, the fact the very word, 'Mappila' is said to have been derived from mother, *ma* and child *pilla*, showing to whose care the offspring, fell' (Day, 1863 : 366). Percy Badger, editor of *The Travels of Ludovico d' Varthoma*, a Portuguese traveller, observes that, 'the name is either a corruption of the Arabic *Muflih* (from the root *falah*, to till the soil) meaning prosperous or victorious, in which sense it would apply to the successful establishment of these foreign Mussalmans on the Western Coast of India, or that it is a similar corruption of *Maflih* (the active participle from the same verb) an agriculturalist, a still more appropriate designation of the Mappilas, who according to Buchanan, are both traders and farmers' (Badger, 1890 : 123). According to Logan, 'the word Mappila is a contraction of *maha* (great) and *pilla* (child), honorary title, (as among the *Nayars* and Christians in Travancore) and it was probably a title of honour conferred on the early Mohammadan immigrants' (Logan, 1951 : 191). The Jews and Syrian Christians in Kerala are also called Mappilas. The Jews are *Juda Mappila*, the Syrian Christians are *Nazrani Mappila* (from Nazrane) and Muslims are 'Jonaka Mappila'. Jonaka may have come from the word *Yavanaka* (Greek) used for all

foreigners as the word European was indiscriminately used for all Westerners' (Miller, 1976: 30). However, the precise development of the term *Mappila* as applied to the Muslim community in Kerala, especially to Muslims in North Kerala, is likely to remain obscure.

The Mappilas as a Muslim community originated after few centuries of the beginning of the Islam in Arabia. The query on origin of the Mappila Muslims is incomplete without reference to Cheraman Perumal, who was reigning at Kodungallur in Malabar as head quarters of Perumal rule. Tradition tells that the ruler has gone to Mecca and embraced Islam religion. After planning to return to Kerala, he fell into ill health, died at Zafar on the Arabian coast. Before his death, he wrote letters to his chieftains in Kerala calling upon to provide all facilities for to spread the new religion. Later Malik Ibn Dinar and associates landed at Kodungallur and travelled to the different parts of Kerala, and established 10 mosques.

The Hindu tradition contained in the *Keralolpathi* agrees in general with the Muslim tradition. 'The main difference is that before his emigration, the Perumal partitioned his kingdom among his relatives and dependants' (Kunju, 1995 : 17-18) M. G. S Narayanan affirms, 'There is no reason to reject the tradition that the last Chera King embraced Islam (His name was Rama) and went to Mecca, since it finds a place not only in Muslim Chronicles, also in Hindu Brahminical Chronicles like *Keralolpathi*, which need not be expected to concoct such a tale, which in no way

enhances the prestige, or further the interest of the Brahmin or Hindu population (Narayanan, 1990 : 65). The earliest recorded version of the tradition is contained in the 'Book of Durate Burbosa', the Portuguese writer, of the early 16th century. Berros, the official historian of the Portuguese gives similar account of the conversion of the last Perumal.

Muslim and Hindu traditions as well as travel records agree with the conversion of Cheraman Perumal. But there are serious differences of opinion regarding the time of the event. Historical evidences deny the possibility of the meeting of the last Perumal with Prophet, as there is definite epigraphical evidence of the existence of a kingdom of Perumal between 800 and 1122 AD. If the origin of Islam was connected with emigration of the last Perumal, it would have happened only in 12th century. An inscription of Madai Mosque dated 1124 AD was built by Malik Ibn Dinar, the first muslim missionary to Kerala. 'This mosque is one of the ten mosques reputed to have been built by Malik Ibn Dinar, the companion of Cheraman Perumal during his sojourn in Arabia, and who was deputed by the Perumal to propagate the new religion in Kerala. The inscription in the mosque, dated only two years after the emigration of the Perumal, suggests that the tradition of his conversion and emigration is quite possible'. (Kunju, 1990 : 21).

Tomb of Panthalayani Kollam (Near Koyilandy), North Malabar depicted 782 AD, shows the possibility of Islam in Kerala in 8th century. The presence of a large

number of old tomb-stones presupposes the existence of an early muslim settlement there. Another significant evidence to prove the existence of influential trading communities in the port-town of Kerala is provided by the *Tarisappalli* Copper plate grant (849 AD). This grant proves the influence of the trading groups including Arab Muslims in the affair of the local kingdoms.

Sheik Zaynuddin, author of 'Thuhfat ul- Mujahidin' has expressed that Islam must have originated in the 9th century, most probably it must have been two hundred years after Hijrah (632 AD).

Even today we have not ample conclusive evidence to prove the exact date of the origin of Islam in Kerala, we have only 'strong circumstantial evidence to prove that Islam originated in Kerala as soon as it spread in Arabia' (Kunju, 1990 : 21-22). Out of all these available evidences it is concluded that the Mappila Muslim community originated shortly after the beginning of Islam itself. They were the first muslims in India. That is, the community has had a long glorious tradition.

4.2. GROWTH AND EVOLUTION

The major factor for the rapid popularity and spread of Islam was the socio-cultural environment of Kerala. The patronage given by Hindu rulers to muslim community was exemplary. It was the result of a mutual dependency. The native rulers received support from the muslim traders settled down in different places of

Malabar, in turn promoting the reputation as an excellent and safe place for trade; Eventually resulted in the economic prosperity and political stability of the kingdoms. 'Among the rulers of Kerala, it was the Zamorin of Calicut who showed special regard to Muslims' (Kunju, 1990 : 29). K. V. Krishna Aiyar point out, Mappila Muslims 'not only made Calicut the greatest port of the West Coast of India, they even helped to spread the name and fame of Zamorin' (Aiyar, 1938 : 52). This mutual dependency was the force behind growth of the Zamorin kingdom and Mappila Muslims in Kerala. Even the conversion was supported by Zamorin. 'Zamorin is said to have ordered that one member from every fishermen family should be converted to Islam' (Kunju, 1990 : 32). Conversions were not limited to fishermen, but included other lower castes. One major reason for the conversion was status mobility assured to converts, Gasper Correa, 16th century Portuguese traveller, reports, 'By becoming Moors (Muslims) they could go wherever they liked and eat as they pleased. When they became Moors, the Moors gave them clothes and robes with which to cloth themselves' (Correa, 1849 : 155f). The converted were accepted by all in the community. This social acceptance was a major cause for the emergence of Mappila Muslims as a community.

The spread of Islam in Kerala was associated with missionary activities too. 'The tradition of Malik Ibn Dinar and his associates who spread the religion of Islam in Kerala itself indicates the first missionary activity' (Kunju, 1990: 24). They

travelled all along Kerala and erected ten mosques, in Quilon (Kollam), Kodungallur, Chaliyam, Panthalayani Kollam, Srikantapuram, Dharmadam, Madai, Kasargod, Mangalore and Barkur. Later Sufi missionaries entered into Muslim social life. Many became most influential Sufis and other religious leaders, settled in Kondotty, Mampuram, and Kozhikode have made a strong impression of the community. And Mappila Muslims as a community became a reality soon. Thus Islam grew as it began and it grew steadily, so the Mappila Muslims too. Then the political climate have paved the way for the growth of Islam in Kerala. 'The first eight centuries of Mappila growth following the establishment of Islam in Kerala were marked by a calm forward movement. The peaceful contact and development stands in sharp contrast to the progress of Islam in North India' (Miller, 1975 : 51).

Travellers have noted the growth and strength of Mappila Muslims. Marco Polo (1293), Abu-Fida (1273-1331), Ibn Battuta (1304-1369), and Abdul- al- Razzaq were those who have visited Malabar and marked the relevance and strength of the muslim community. 'Ibn Battuta found muslim merchants and muslim houses in most districts of Northern and Central Kerala' (Miller, 1976 : 56).

A political reason was also noted. The growth of Mappila population was strengthened by the rise of the Ali Raja, head of the Arakkal ruling family of Kannur, the only Muslim ruler family in Kerala. It maintains descent from the early days of Mappilas. The royal family was with independent status, even became a custodians of

Lakshadweep Islands. They became powerful to give patronage to Mappila Muslims as a community. When Durte Barbosa visited Kerala he remained in Calicut for several years. He estimated that Mappilas are 'so many and so rooted in the soil throughout Malabar that it seems to be they are a fifth part of its people spread over all its kingdoms and provinces' (Barbosa, 1831 : 74). He has mentioned mainly about the coastal areas, probably the Mappila Muslim settlements, and the progress of Islam in the interior regions of Kerala is not known. Later Zein-Ud-Din estimated that of the total population of Malabar ten percentage were muslims. (Zein-Ud- Din, 1833 : 59). When the Portuguese landed, Mappila Muslims were powerful enough to influence the rulers, mainly through their trade and love towards the country.

4.3. THE PORTUGUESE AND MAPPILAS

After the arrival of Portuguese at the end of the 15th century, the situation changed drastically. The hatred towards colonialism and the conflict of Mappila Muslims with Portuguese adversely affected their political status. It also affected the harmony between the Hindu rulers and Mappila community. On this matter Miller has stated that religiously the Mappilas were in a psychological retreat. While their rapid increase along the coast was never restored after the Portuguese period as they turned to inland in search of new livelihoods the Mappilas met outcastes who were in need of change (Miller, 1976 : 83).

The political power attained by the Europeans, and the anxiety developed towards the Hindu rulers had caused alienation and uncertainty to Mappila Muslims. In 16th and 17th centuries they moved to different occupations other than trade and business. Slowly the community crossed the boundaries of port town and moved towards the interior localities. The invasion of Mysore kings, Hyder Ali and Tippu Sultan, and later incidents increased the population.

Mappilas welcomed the changes brought-about by the Mysore rulers. One among them was social distance that developed with Hindu communities, especially with Nayars. Conversions occurred willingly and forcefully. Miller confirmed : Family names, the existence of wealthy muslim land owners and the prevalence of the *marumakkathayam* system of inheritance among north Malabar Mappilas a sign that such conversion as there was in Hyder Ali's time largely took place in that region. Tippu Sultan, the successor of Hyder-Ali also was in the same track. Majumdar point out, 'he forced conversion only on those recalcitrant, Hindus on whose allegiance he could not rely' (Majumdar, 1948 : 715). Even though the period of Mysore rule was for a short period, it gave the Mappilas a much needed psychological boost. It might have supported the increase in the population. 'Although statistics are not available, the size of the Mappila community must have increased sharply during this period despite the relatively short reigns of muslim rulers' (Miller, 1976 : 94). 63.9% of the

increase of Mappila Muslim population in the period of 1871-1911 is considered to be a reflection of this patronage.

The muslim peasants in South Malabar were not having any claim on land, and they were exploited severely by the feudal lords. The small as well as strong agitations of muslim peasants in that period was natural consequence of these suppressions and exploitations. During the period, 1821-1921 a total of fifty one Mappila rebellions occurred. 'To sensitive observers it was clear that this was not finally a problem of law and order, but the problem of an alienated community' (Miller, 1976 : 109). The 1921 outbreak was a serious setback in the growth of Mappila Muslims, is both physically and psychologically affected. Thousands were killed, imprisoned and sent to Andaman islands. Mappila Muslims had to face a tough time.

4.4. POLITICAL STAND

Immediately after the Rebellion of 1921, because of the intense sufferings and miseries, Mappila Muslims lost the political direction. But, Mappilas were involved in freedom movement, through the Khilafat Movement first under the flag of Indian National Congress. They were active in the Salt Satyagraha, Indian Political Conferences and later Quit India Movement. It has been pointed out that a divisive policy had been developed in the Hindu Congress leaders after Mappila Rebellion. 'Mappilas were sharing the growing feeling of Indian Muslims that the Congress

leadership was not sufficiently sympathetic to muslim needs and desires' (Miller, 1976 : 160). The attitude of many Congress leaders led to the alienation of Mappilas from the Congress movement. Reform movements initiated by Vakkom Moulavi and involvement of organizations like *Aikyasangam* and Kerala Muslim Majlis 'had forged a new kind of unity among the Mappilas with the awareness of a new destiny for the community' (Menon, 1976 : 13). The anti modern consciousness was replaced by modern aspirations. This consciousness was an amalgam of Islamic, Indian and Malayalee identities. This new identity was exposed with formation of Muslim League. And for the last eight decades it played a crucial role in the political activities of Mappila Muslims. They have power many times both in the central and state governments and played a key role especially in the state politics. They have opted a policy of working with different parties like CPM and Congress on the basis of programmes with goals appropriate to muslim interests. Two important facts remain to be mentioned, Muslim League enjoyed the mass support from Mappila Muslims especially in Northern districts. Also Muslim League had an undeniable role in the integration of the community amidst the forces that significant portions of the community belong to CPM and Congress parties.

4.5. SOCIO-CULTURAL BACKGROUNDS

It is interesting to go through the socio-cultural aspects of the Mappila Muslims for a better understanding of their unique cultural traits.

Traditional Mappila Muslims are distinguishable by their dress and dialect. The common dress among men comprises of *mundu*, a piece of cloth tied round the loins and reaching down to the ankles, a shirt preferably with full sleeves. Their mode of wearing the *mundu* is tying it round the waist by tucking the two ends at either side, and the upper flap fixed at the left hand side. For non-Muslims the upper flap will be fixed at the right hand side. The dress of the traditional Mappila women is also distinctive, they wear *Kaachi*, white or coloured cloth, if it is white sometimes coloured bluish or reddish at the fringe. *Kaachi* in white without colour at the fringe was seen in Thalassery, Mahe and Kannur, and the other was popular in Kozhikode, Koyilandy and Vatakara; coloured *Kaachis* were used in Malappuram. They wore a blouse which reached below the waist and a white cloth called *thattam* to cover the head and breast. Local variations in dressing pattern have seen among the Mappila Muslim women.

New generations of women can be grouped into four categories on the basis of dressing pattern. (a) Wearing sari with full sleeved or half sleeved blouse, and some cover the head with one end of the *sari*; (b) *Salvar* and *Kammis*, with a *scraf* to cover the head and breast; (c) Youngsters who wear jeans and *kurta* or skirt with shirt. (d) Those who wear *Purdha* in black or other dark colours, which entered into Mappila women life very recently. Another common change in the women's dress irrespective of whether they wear *sari* or *salvar* is the use of *mufta* as head cover. In Thalassery

and Kannur, tight blouse is used, in Kozhikode, Koyilandy, and Vatakara loose blouse is the fashion for the middle aged. In Malappuram the blouse does not come to the waist. Thus the locality has an influence on this matter. Whether, male or female, an educated Mappila can not be distinguished from a member of any other community on the basis of his/ her dressing patterns.

4.5.1. RELIGION

The Mappila Muslims belong to the *Shafi* school of Sunni sect. *Shafi* school has always been dominant in the region of the Arab mariners, all along the coast of Arabia. ‘Wherever Islam has been introduced through the peaceful influence of Arab traders and sailors, it is this school that has been adopted by the followers’. (D’ Souza, 1976 : 169). They follow Quran the holy script and *Hadith* the collection of sayings of Prophet and on Prophet’s life. The faith is founded on three roots : ‘(i) there is but one God (Allah) self existing, ever was and ever will be, in whom in all power, Majesty and Domination, by whom all things are and were created, with whom is neither partner or substance and He alone is to be worshipped, (ii) the Prophets were all true and their writings are to be relied on with a true faith, and Mohammed is the last Prophet and Quran is the creation of God (Allah), and (iii) resurrection of the dead on the day of judgment is certain’ (Levy, 1961 : 242). The five commandments of Islam are : (i) the profession of faith that there is no God but Allah and that Mohammed is His last messenger, (ii) ritual prayer, *namaz*, five times a

day, (iii) fasting in *Ramazan*, (iv) *Zakath* or giving alms, and (v) *Hajj*, the pilgrimage to Mecca.

When compared to with other Muslims in Kerala, it is observed that Mappila Muslims are more religious and ritualistic. Most of the Muslim organizations are very much active in North Kerala. Mappila Muslims are more involved in the muslim organizational activities, than Muslims of the South Kerala. The Mappila Muslims mainly belong to Sunni and Mujahid groups. Two Sunni organizations (commonly called as Samastha and Markhaz groups), two Mujahid organizations (recently had the split among Kerala Nadvatul Mujahidin) and Jama-at –Islami. Sunni groups come under the orthodox sects who are observing the traditional customs, rituals and practices. They worship the *cenotaph* of martyrs, Sufis, Saints etc.

Mujahid movements started nearly 60 years ago in North Kerala. The theological reform tended to be publicly represented by the Mujahids. At the beginning it was opposed by the orthodox group later it gathered an increasing number of sympathizers, and was formally organized Nadvat-ul-Mujahideen in 1952. It was a progressive organization with a view to enlighten the muslim mass on scientific lines, and they propagated their ideologies extensively through writing and teaching. ‘They engaged in extensive publication programmes, the effect of which continues to be widely felt, and they came down hard on the side of modern education’ (Miller, 1976 : 275).

Sunni leaders have taken an open stand against Mujahids, and conflict continued for more than three decades. To hasten the process of reform the Mujahids began to establish their own *madrasas*, religious schools and their own mosques. Now there are two fractions among the Mujahid since (2002).

Jama-at-Islami (usually others call as *Jama-attukar*) is another organization, founded on the ideological propositions of Abul-Ala-Moudoodi. They have their own religious leaders and teachers, training institutions, separate syllabus based *madrasa* education, organizations for welfare programmes and publication units.

4.5.2. 'CASTE' GROUPS

Two to three endogamous caste-like groups are seen among Mappila Muslims, usually identified in different group names like *Tharawadikal*, *Tharawattukar*, or *Onnam number*, *Pooslans* (Randam) and *Thangals* are aristocrats considered to be converts from Nayars and Brahmins. 'Most of this lineage appear to be those aristocrats who get large land, gifts and wholesale trading rights from native rulers'. (Puthenkalam, 1977 : 201). They are settled down in coastal belt of Malabar. *Pooslans* or *Randamnumber* are supposed to be descendants of converts from polluting Hindu castes, especially from fishermen. Both groups live together in the same locality, even in adjacent houses, inter-dining freely, and worship together in same mosques. *Thangals* who belong to Sayyid or Jifri clan, who consider themselves belong to Prophet's kin. Earlier these groups practiced endogamy strictly. With the

new trends and changes brought about as an impact of modern education, new job opportunities, reform movements and migration, the rule of endogamy has been broken, but still majority prefer to stick on to the traditional rule. In recent years the rigidity of the rules and regulations governing the behaviours of higher and lower groups has got reduced.

4.5.3. HOUSING

Aristocratic houses are in the old pattern, made on the basis of Kerala architecture, seem to be muslim version of *nalukettu*, the Nayar ancestral house. They have *padippura*, gate house and long *kolaya* (varanda), all are legacies of Hindu architecture. In the traditional Muslim *tharawad* there will be two huge window like rectangular openings on the wall facing the varanda with a thick wooden closnrell which when unfolded can be used as a sturdy bench. This is called *irunira* (*thappa*, in Mahe). In the adjacent room, in between *kolaya* and *naduvakam* (Central Hall) there will be two built-in platforms on both the sides to the entrance called *kottil*. Traditionally it was used as sleeping place of unmarried adult males or for performing rituals like *ratib* or *moulood*. In *naduvakam*, usually in the left side, there will be wooden staircase leading to the first floor hall from where the passages are constructed to the *aras* (private rooms of visiting husbands). There will be a square or rectangular opening on the roof with transparent tiles atop the *naduvakam* through which sky comes into view, and get good ventilation, called *nalakkayya* similar to

nadumittam in *nalukettu*. From *naduvakam* there will be doors on three sides to the rooms for the women and the aged. Usually husbands are put-up in the rooms on the first floor, where they spend the whole night and seldom come down or mingle with other women folk in the wifehouse, since they are not to see or speak to other grown up women in wife's house. Husbands take their breakfast in their room. For husbands if possible, they provide attached toilet room.

The middle class house is rectangular in shape, a miniature of *tharawad* with ground floor only. It also consist of *aras* for couples. The lower class houses are thatched or tiled and seen in cluster, usually on the river side or sea shore. They are small in size, with one or two rooms without toilet facilities. The modern houses of Mappila Muslims are like the other communities dwelling units.

4.5.4. KINSHIP ORGANISATION

The Mappila Muslims have two types of kinship organization, namely patrilineal and matrilineal. Majority practice the first and minority the second type.

The patrilineal muslims predominate in the interior of South Malabar, particularly in Malappuram and Palakkad districts and interior suburban areas of coastal region of Kozhikode and Kannur. Patrilineals have a clan, several families related in the male line called as *tharawad*. It is basically exogamous. Great grandfather or grandfather or father is the head of the household called *karanavar*. He acts as the head in all household activities and on all ceremonial occasions.

Clan exogamy insists not to marry from the male line, such as children of brothers. There is no objection to the children of two sisters or a brother and sister marrying each other as they belong to the different patrilineal *tharawads*. Thus *tharawads* form an endogamous group as marriages between members of the same patrilineal *tharawad* is prohibited.

Among the patrilineal Mappila Muslims a married woman lives in the house of her husband after marriage. Usually a husband will not be involved in any household matters of wife's *tharawad*. The children will be brought up in father's family. The property is divided according to the Islamic law of inheritance. But in certain localities the house will be given to the eldest son, but in some other to the youngest son.

4.6. MOTHER-RIGHT FAMILY

The mother-right Mappila Muslims constitute a minority, mainly among the muslims living in the coastal region. The kinship units found among the Mappilas closely resemble the matrilineal units of the Nayars of Central Kerala, with some modifications. The matrilineal units are called *tharawads* or *Puras*. It comprises of the members who can trace their ancestry in the female line to a common female ancestor. Every individual acquires rights in the *tharawad* by birth. These rights include the co-ownership of the *tharawad* property and the right to have a share if and when the property is divided by the common consent. In the traditional days individuals were

not allowed to procure personal property, if he does it will be added to *tharawad* property. If personal property is allowed, the self acquired property, presently does not go to *tharawad* but divided according to Shariat rules of Muslim Law, and this was legalized by the Mappila Succession Act of 1918.

The basic kinship group was typically matrilineal characterized by the absence of the husband or father in it. Members found in the traditional units were related consanguineously. The living members of a matrilineal Mappila Muslim household might belong to different generations which might vary from three to five, sometimes even more than five. The persons of the living generation might not even remember the original ancestress from whom *tharavad* had sprung-up.

The eldest female member in the *tharawad* will be the *karanavathi*. The eldest male member is having sole authority over the management of *tharawad*. Usually the husbands visited their wives every night, reaching after supper and left after the breakfast. The practice of the husband staying permanently in the *tharawad* of his life is rare in Koyilandy, Vadakara and Kozhikode Districts. He has to depend mainly up on the resources of his wife's *tharawad*. Although he is entitled to a share of income from his own *tharawad*, in practice such payments are not made to persons residing in their wife's *tharawads*.

Once the husband takes up the full responsibility of looking after his wife and children, he attaches himself more and more to his wife's house, where as previously,

he would only take his breakfast in his wife's house, now he may take all his meals there. At the same time he will keep connections with his own *tharawad* by visiting it often. The attachment of husband to his wife's house is related with age too, as the age increases the attachment also increases.

House is a common property of *tharawad*, and it is indivisible. It will be handed down to daughter, and daughter's children and so on. In most cases the house is the only common *tharawad* property. In certain *tharawads* there are some immovable common property like shop, go-down, and coconut groves. This is also not divisible, but enjoyed in common by the members of the *tharawad*.

The kinship system of the matrilineal Mappila Muslims are also reflected in their names : They prefix the name of the matrilineal *tharawad* with personal name and suffix surname, like Puthiya Nalakath Fazal Mohammed. The patrilineal Mappila Muslims always prefix name of the fathers house, like Kalladi Kammappa. Usually people identify the prestige of the person from the prefixed name of the *tharawad*. Thus the system of names provides a device for tracing the lineage of a person and the status given to his or her clan. Among the *Thangals*, they use the name of the patrilineal *tharawad* with their name, but in practice they are also observers of matrilocality.

4.7. MARRIAGE AND MARRIAGE CEREMONIES

The matriline is closely associated with the system of marriage and residential pattern. For Mappila Muslims, marriage is a civil contract. *Nikah* is the important religious ceremony of a muslim marriage. But consummation of marriage can take place only after holding a function called *kalyanam*. *Nikah* can be ceremonised months or years ahead of the *kalyanam*. If *nikah* is not performed in advance of the *kalyanam* function both functions are conducted on the same day. Among the matrilineal Mappila Muslims *nikah* is held in bride's house or in local mosque. *Nikah* is ceremonised by a religious leader or a respected person of the community.

Women of *tharawad* have an active role in the conduct of the marriage. It is generally the boy's mother, sisters of mother, sisters and other senior women member of *tharawad* that involve in the matter. The formal betrothal ceremony takes place at the boy's family. The elder male members meet to declare the proposal and fix a date for marriage. This function is called *nischayam*.

Preparations for *kalyanam* start earlier. Among the preparatory ceremonial rites, the decoration of bridal chamber will be started. The decoration of *maniyara* (bridal chamber) is taken as a matter of prestige for aristocrats. It depicts the financial conditions of both the parties. If the bridegroom comes from an affluent and aristocratic family, bride's family will be very cautious in arranging the *maniyara*

suitable to satisfy the status of both families. The day before *kalyanam* guests prefer to visit *maniyara* and express their opinion.

The day before *kalyanam*, is auspicious for the whole family members. Relatives and friends will be invited for the dinner of that day, and the function is called *mailanchi kalyanam*. *Mailanchi* literally means henna and the ceremony consists of applying henna paste juice to the palm, nails, toes and feet of the bride. Dressed up bride will be seated in the centre, and the senior most female member from her father's family, usually her father's sister (her *ammaayi*) initiates the ceremony. Then senior women will apply henna on her palm, by putting a dot symbolically one by one. The experts apply the remainder. That activities will be accompanied by *oppana* (Mappila folk dance, a Muslim version of *kaikottikkali*). On the same day night a function for friends and relatives will be organized, usually with a *mehfil*, a music concert of old songs, in bridegroom's house.

Kalyanam may be regarded as the most important function of Mappila Muslims. *Kalyanam* lasts for the whole day with many ritualistic acts. It begins with *thedippokal*, a group of youngsters move to bridegroom's house to take him to the bride's house. At midday bridegroom reaches at the bride's house with friends and relatives. Delicious food is served to all the guests who have been invited by the bride's family and to all those who accompany the bridegroom. The ceremony of *arayilakkal* is an important event in bride's house, The bridegroom is taken to

maniyara. The bride is also taken to the chamber accompanied by *oppana* singers and women. Garlands or rings are exchanged, and bridegroom hands over the *mahar*, if it is not given at the time of *nikah*. The bridegroom will return with friends and relatives to his family. Immediately women from bridegroom's house move to bride's house to take her to bridegroom's house, and this ceremony is called *pudukkam*. When she has gone to his house, the ladies from bride's house will be visiting bridegroom's house and take back the bride to her house, it is called *marupudukkam*. At night bridegroom with close relatives and friends will reach at bride's house, it is called *moodayumpanam*. A five course dinner will be served, and bridegroom remain there. Ceremoniously bride is brought to *maniyara* by women folk and the reluctant bride is pushed into the chamber and close the door. This is called *arayilakkal*, literally means 'pushing to the room'.

The visit of elderly women to the bridegroom's house, called *ammaiyi thakkaram* is conducted on the second or third day of *kalyanam*. Bridegroom's relatives are also invited to bridegroom's house. Bridegroom will be treated with respect for the coming days, sometimes it may prolong to the first forty days.

Regional variations are seen in the functions, but basically, most of the rituals are common. The most important thing is, marriage is considered to be very important for Mappila Muslims and it is designed to glitter their social life. From Islamic point of view muslim marriage is simple and universal in nature. The essential requirements

of a Mappila Muslims marriage are : (a) the marriage partner should not be chosen from among the person of certain degree of relationship, (b) the parties to a marriage should give their full consent, (c) the bridegroom should pay a contracted amount or ornament called *mahar* to his wife; (d) the marriage contract or *nikah* should be solemnized in the presence of witnesses by a respected person, usually by *khazi* the local leader in the *mahallu* or area. The Mappila Muslims marriage should satisfy all these Islamic requirements. But their local customs may mix with the Islamic practices.

4.8. DIVORCE

Islamic law and injunctions regulate the procedures of divorce and remarriage. A divorce is affected by the mere pronouncement or with prime consultations between two parties of the formula of *talak*, or repudiation, three times in immediate succession by a man, which implies he is giving up the rights over and the obligations towards the wife. Then through *khazi* or leader of religious organization they belong to, the divorce will be religiously sanctioned. According to Muslim Law, *talak* is revocable if the formula is pronounced only once or twice, and in such cases the husband can take back the wife or reunion may take place. The Islamic Law prescribes that a woman who has attained puberty and whose marriage has been consummated can not remarry to her earlier husband until she has been married to and divorced by another man. This is strictly practiced by Mappila Muslims too.

Under certain circumstances a woman also enjoys the legal right to get divorced, and this is called *fask*. The important grounds for divorce by *fask* include : chronic disease of husband, serious physical defects of man, incompatibility between partners, inability of husband to provide support and desertion or ill treatment by the husband.

A Muslim woman cannot remarry immediately after divorce. A divorced woman who has attained puberty has to wait for three menstrual periods before she can remarry, and this is known as *iddah* period. The regulation of the Islamic Law aims at confirming that the woman is not pregnant by her previous husband. In case she is found to be pregnant, she can marry only forty days after confinement.

It is noted by scholars that divorce is comparatively low among Matrilineal Mappila Muslims than the patrilineals. *Fask* is rarely practised.

4.9. BIRTH AND DEATH CEREMONIES

The rituals and practices among the matrilineal Mappila Muslims connected with birth and death are elaborate. Immediately after the delivery the child would be washed in luke-warm water and dried with a piece of soft cloth. The eldest male in the *tharawad* or available at that moment will recite the *bank* or *aazaan*, call for prayer usually made in mosques, into the ears of the newborn.

After delivery the woman is taken care of by her family, a trained mid-wife is appointed, called *eettukarathi*, to attend to the woman and newborn for a few weeks. Husband's family will provide an amount for delivery expenses (*pettuchelavu*). Usually husband can't sleep or take food from wife's house till the celebration of 40th day of delivery, called *nalpuli*. Womenfolk from husbands family give gifts to infant and mother on the occasion of *nalpuli* (giving *kandosarams*). Shaving or Tonsuring the head of the new born is an important ritual called *mudikalachil*, and this is also conducted with lot of celebrations. Husband's family will sacrifice a young bull and distribute it's meat among all kinsmen.

When a male child, attains the age of five or six, arrangements are made for his religious instructions. Before the child attains puberty he has to undergo the ritual of circumcision, (*markakalyanam* or *sunnath kalyanam*). A parallel ceremony for a girl is the ear-boring ceremony (*kadukuthu kalyanam*). Usually both the ceremonies are conducted in mother's house when the child becomes 5 to 14 years old. Circumcision was done by an expert barber. At present it is done by a medical practicioner in a hospital. After the boy recovers, a Friday is fixed for taking him for *Juma* prayer by his elders. Today ear boring is also done by physicians. Traditionally these two rituals were accompanied by grand food.

The celebrations and ceremonies related with different stages of life cycle involve high expense as they are celebrated with great pomp and show. Traditionally

the *tharawad* has to take care of the conduct of the functions. The husband usually contributes his share. Usually among matrilineal Mappila Muslims, relatives financially support for the conduct of the functions.

The groups believe in life after death. Hence, much importance is attached to the religious rites associated with death. When a believer is in his/ her deathbed, a person is expected to recite *kalima*, (the words to be pronounced to be a Muslim) and drink *Zam-Zam*, holy water brought from Mecca by a person who attended *Hajj* pilgrimage. The kinsmen of the dead are expected to be informed of the death and ceremonies. If husband stays with wife, after his death, his funeral will be conducted from her house. Immediately after death the pillow is removed, head of the dead is kept straight and laid down in a plain wooden bench covered by a cloth. The hands and legs are kept in position, the toes are tied together with a piece of cloth, and whole body will be covered in white cloth. Relatives and friends will visit the house of the dead and see the face, which is considered to be a *sunnath*, an act rewarded by Allah. The body will be taken for ritualistic bath (*mayyathukuli*), done by close family members. After the ritualistic bath the *kaufan* (mortuary clothing) is done by experts. The *kaufan* consists of three pieces of new white cloth of equal length and breadth, one over the other or one after the other from head to toe. Pieces of cotton are kept over eyelids, lips, nostrils, neck, in between fingers, toes and knees, and joints. Rose water (*panineer* or any *athar*) sprinkled over the cloth. Three knots are made with the

last piece of the cloth, one above the head, second on the stomach and third below the feet. The prayer for the dead (*mayyith namaskaram*) of female members will be done from house, and for male from nearest mosque. The Imam or close relative of the mosque may lead the prayer. The body is taken in specially prepared enclosure, (*mayyith kattil*) to the graveyard, and interred by reciting verses from Quran. Only after the rituals are over, food is prepared and taken by the family members. Orthodox Mappila Muslims have few more rituals like *moulood*, *ratib*, *kathampayangal* etc. Now many of the rituals have been given up by many of them.

After death of husband, wife is expected to observe 'seclusion' for a period of 40 days. During this period she is expected not to see or to hear any males other than her matrilineal members. Few decades back the widows were put in dark room, closed ears with cotton, and were not allowed to meet any others. The promptness of all these ceremonies depends on religious identity with organizations and the financial positions of the kinsmen.

4.10. MAPPILA MUSLIM IDENTITY

The Mappilas are typical Malayalees. They are distinct in many ways but not an alien. They have grown out of the trends, ethos and traits within the larger community of Malayalees. They have not shown much difference in their life style, like their counterparts in other states. In occupational and economic behaviour they were alike to others. The Mappila Muslims of Kerala hardly show any sharp

deviations with their non Muslim neighbours; diffused themselves with main stream Malayalees of the same time keeping their identity.

The most conspicuous evidence is *Arabi Malayalam*. It is Malayalam written in Arabic script. It 'is a mode of transliterating Malayalam into sophisticated Arabic script' (Karassery, 1995 : 169). This text was the chief material of education for the Mappila Muslims till recent times. For day to day activities as well as religious education *Arabi Malayalam* had been used. *Mappilapattu* (Mappila folk song) was originated as a medium for literary and cultural expression of Mappila Muslims. 'These songs punctuate the rhythm of the every day social life of the Malabar Muslims' (Karassery, 1995 : 172). In folk art forms of the Mappila Muslims like *kolkali*, *oppana*, *aravana*, *daffumuttu*, and *mappilapattu* play an important role in lending them with lyrical and rhythmic dimensions. *Arabi Malayalam* is still widely used in Madrasa education. Books in Islamic history, and *karmasastra* are written in *Arabi malayalam*, which are used more than 10000 madrasas in Kerala run by Sunni organizations.

This process of diffusion has been seen in all walks of social life of Mappila Muslims, in dress style or food habits etc. They dressed like other malayalees but with some changes to differentiate themselves as Muslims. This is evident in dresses like *mundu*, *kaachi* and *blouse*. In food habits also they are more malayalees, than

muslims. But at the same time they have maintained a subcultural identity of their own.

The Mappila Muslims were not confined to caste occupations like in North India. They were involved in all economic pursuits and occupational activities, where ever possible. Due to historical reasons they were traders, they involved in navigation, fishing, and agriculture. Mappila Muslims are entered now in all types of economic activities. The educated young generations enter into very avenue of gainful employment and rub shoulders with members of other communities.

There is a general belief that the muslim ethos are strikingly different from that of other communities as it is a product of a different legal system. But studies challenge baseless assumptions. Best examples are the studies of sociologists like Dube (1969), Kutty (1972), Ittaman (1976), Ahamed (1976, 1981) and Canklin (1976). They do not support the earlier anticipatory belief or assumption. On the contrary they have shown that muslim norms correspond closely to other religious groups especially among the Hindus. In relation to familial institutions and kinship, those studies reject the common assumption of Islamic cultural identity. Mappila Muslims have their own cultural identity, but not alien or not necessarily distinguishable in public. They are part of the wider cultural complex with their own distinction and diversified character, but shared equally by those who reside in the region as a whole. It can be observed from matrilineal muslim life. Islam in Kerala

has accepted and retained the local cultural religious traditions with a distinguishable character. The matrilineal Mappila Muslims, their history and social life reveal this fact.



Chapter : V

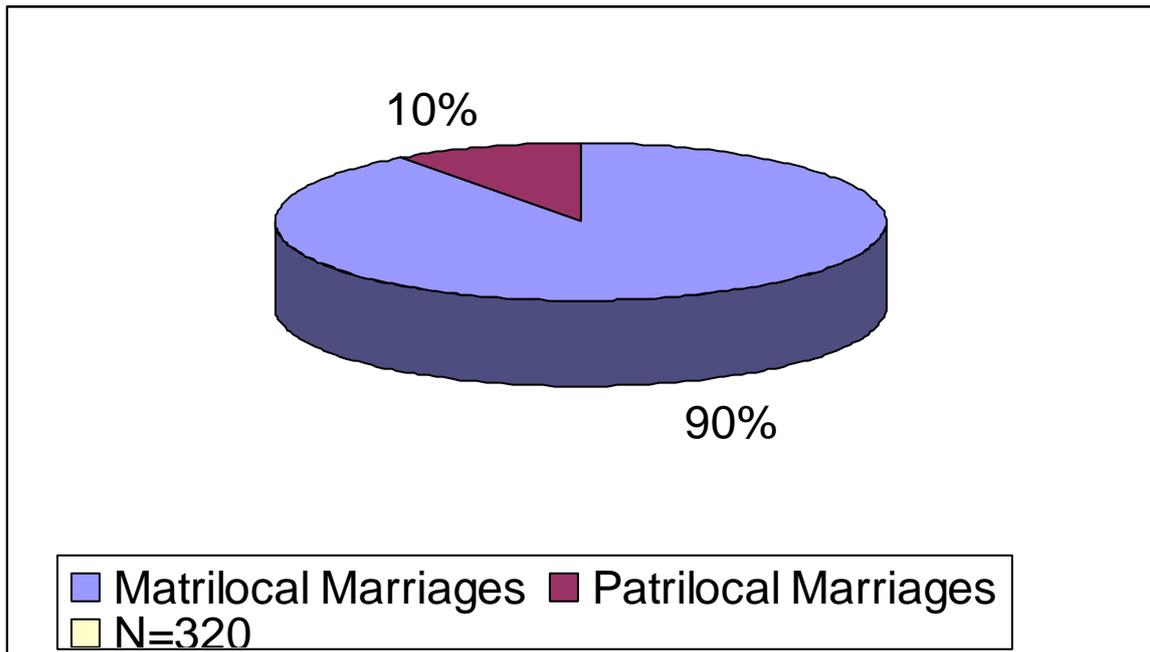
THE STRENGTH OF MATRILocal SUB-CULTURE

Matrilocality is a strong sentiment or emotion rather than an ideology and practice among Mappila Muslims of Kerala. The community, in fact, is surrounded by patrilocal Muslims and there may arise strong pressure on the matrilocals to turn to the patrilocal system. However, very few have been swayed by such influences.

5.1. OBSERVANCE OF PATRILocal SYSTEM IN THE MATRILocal HOUSEHOLDS

The survey data was analysed to see how many households have male members who practice patrilocality. The result was very interesting. Out of the 320 households interviewed only 32 (10%) only have male members who practice patrilocality. The rest (90%) are practicing *Puthiyappila* system invariably (Table 5.1.1). This indicates that the matrilocal system has been strongly rooted in the mind of community. It is something like a religion for its members.

Illustration 5.1: Male members practicing Patrilocality in the whole of the Surveyed Households.



Subsidiary analyses were carried out to identify the association between the background variables and the practice.

5.1.1. INCOME AND THE PRACTICE OF PATRILOCAL SYSTEM

Income is a determinant of various social behaviours and practices. *Puthiyappila* system or matrilocal system is an expensive custom for the male members, not to mention about the female side. So it was assumed that an enquiry into the relationship between the income status and the behaviour is meaningful. Accordingly, an analysis as shown in Table 5.1.1 was carried out. The analysis reveals that the assumption is true. It is observed in the Table that, contrary to the expectation, the lower income group (family income below Rs.7000) is lesser interested to observe the practice of patrilocality (4.68%). The upper and the lower middle income groups

are most similar in their behaviour (14.49% and 13.75% respectively follow patrilocality). The most interested group in this regard is the upper middle income group (20.83% follow patrilocality). It is to be inferred that being matrilocality is a respected tradition and the lower income group may be thinking that to follow the tradition gives them more status and respect in society. The upper middle income group may be aspiring for reducing the economic burden of following the *puthiyappala* system by accepting patrilocality.

Table 5.1.1: Income and Observance of Patrilocality of Male Members

Income (In Rs.)	Follow Patrilocality	Follow Matrilocality	Total
Upto 7000	6 (4.08%)	141 (95.92%)	147 (100%)
7000 - 10000	11 (13.75%)	69 (86.25%)	80 (100%)
10000 – 13000	5 (20.83%)	19 (79.17%)	24 (100%)
13000 and Above	10 (14.49%)	59 (85.51%)	69 (100%)
Total	32 (10.00%)	288 (90.00%)	320 (100%)

Chi- Square Value = 11.65, df = 3, Table Value = 11.34, $P \leq 0.01$

The association between the variables is significant at 1% level.

5.1.2. GEOGRAPHICAL LOCATION AND THE PRACTICE

Investigations were also carried out to find out the relationship if any existing, between the background variable, namely, the geographical location and the practice

of the male members. Analysis of the data reveals that Quilandy residents have the practice of patrilocality to a greater extent (22.5% follow patrilocality).

Table 5.1.2: Geographical Location and Observance of Patrilocality of Male Members

Geographical Location	Follow Patrilocality	Follow Matrilocality	Total
KOZHICODE	4 (5.00%)	76 (95.00%)	80 (100%)
QUILANDY	9 (22.50%)	31 (77.50%)	40 (100%)
VADAKARA	6 (15.00%)	34 (85.00%)	40 (100%)
MAHE	4 (10.00%)	36 (90.00%)	40 (100%)
THALASSERY	3 (7.50%)	37 (92.50%)	40 (100%)
KANNUR	6 (7.50%)	74 (92.50%)	80 (100%)
Total	32 (10.00%)	288 (90.00%)	320 (100%)

Chi- Square Value = 11.11, df = 5, Table Value = 11.07, $P \leq 0.05$

The association between the variables is significant at 5% level.

The proportion who observe the practice is a meagre 5% among Kozhikode residents. The other localities vary in between those two extremities. The presence of significant association between the variables is indicated by the chi-square test. So the conclusion is that the practice differs on the basis of the geographical location. Other independent variables and the practice are not associated.

5.2. ASPIRATION OF THE FEMALES TO SHIFT TO HUSBANDS RESIDENCE

In order to reveal the strength of the matrilineal system an enquiry was conducted as to what is the level of aspiration of the women in the matrilineal families to shift themselves to their husbands residence. Analysis of data shows that only 6.56% aspire for shifting their residence to their husbands house. This indicates that the system is very firm. The reason for this aspiration to attach themselves to their mothers family has been analysed in depth and it was seen that the respect elicited for women from their spouse's family is the main reason. The security feeling they have by being in their mother's residence is another reason for this aspiration.

5.2.1. AGE AND THE ASPIRATION

Age wise analysis of the aspiration shows the trend that the higher the age the higher the readiness to shift their residence to their husband's household (Table 5.2.1). However, the analysis further reveals that the age group 50 – 70 is an exception to this general trend.

Only 2.34% of the group are willing to shift themselves to their husband's house. Here the point to be stressed is that the younger generation is particularly disinterested to leave their mother's family and residence. 100% of the respondents below the age of 40 years are highly determined that they will be with their mother's family. It is to be inferred that they feel more protection in their mother's family. Hence

this reluctance. As we know the higher age groups need not have much fear and anxiety about their security and satisfaction of physical and other needs. Therefore they may be not much worried about the place of residence-mother's residence or otherwise.

Table 5.2.1:Age and the Aspiration

Age (in years)	Wish to shift to husband's family	Do not wish	Total
Up to 40	0 (0.00%)	34 (100.00%)	34 (100%)
40 - 55	11 (10. 19%)	97 (89.81%)	108 (100%)
55 - 70	3 (2.34%)	125 (97.66%)	128 (100%)
70 and Above	7 (14.00%)	43 (86.00%)	50 (100%)
Total	21 (6.56%)	299 (93.44%)	320 (100%)

Chi- Square Value = 12.93, df = 3, Table Value = 11.34, $P \leq 0.01$

The association between the variables is significant at 1% level.

5.2.2. GEOGRAPHICAL LOCATION AND THE ASPIRATION

The area wise distribution of the responses are shown in Table 5.2.2. The distribution shows that it is fairly skewed. The skewness is brought about by two groups, named, Mahe and Quilandy people. The respondents belonging to other areas almost have similar aspirations. However, 17.50% of Mahe respondents and 10% of Quilandy respondents have greater preference for residing with their husband's

relatives. That is, they prefer patrilocal system. Almost equal proportion of the respondents from Kozhikode, Thalassery, Kannur and Vadakara stated that they also have preference for patrilocal family system. The analysis establishes that the preference is associated with the locality in which respondents reside.

Table 5.2.2: Geographical Location and Aspiration

Geographical Location	Wish to shift to husband's family	Do not wish	Total
KOZHIKODE	3 (3.75%)	77 (96.25%)	80 (100%)
QUILANDY	4 (10.00%)	36 (90.00%)	40 (100%)
VADAKARA	0 (0.00%)	40 (100%)	40 (100%)
MAHE	7 (17.50%)	33 (82.50%)	40 (100%)
THALASSERY	2 (5.00%)	38 (95.00%)	40 (100%)
KANNUR	5 (6.25%)	75 (93.75%)	80 (100%)
Total	21 (6.56%)	299 (93.44%)	320 (100%)

Chi- Square Value = 12.59, df = 5, Table Value = 11.07, $P \leq 0.05$

The association between the variables is significant at 5% level.

5.3. AREA PREFERRED IF A SHIFT BECOMES NECESSARY

In order to analyse the affinity of the respondents to the family system, another enquiry was carried out. The researcher asked the respondents, if a shifting of residence becomes necessary what type of area they would prefer to resettle in. The

structuring of the responses was, to an area dominated by patrilocal muslim families, to an area dominated by matrilocal muslim families and to any area. All the respondents without any hesitation responded to the question. The divide of the responses are shown in Table 5.3.1. 74.38% prefer matrilocal family dominated areas, if such an event becomes necessary. Only 3.13% prefer patrilocal family dominated area and the rest (22.50%) have no preference for a particular area. The results of the analysis in clear terms indicate the attachment of the members of the matrilocal family system.

5.3.1. OCCUPATION AND THE PREFERENCE

Analysis in Table 5.3.1 attempted to unearth the association between the preference and occupational status if any existing. In undisputed terms the analysis reveals that these two variables are associated. Here 75.32% of the respondents who belong to the category of home makers prefer matrilocal family dominated areas for resettlement if such a situation arises. It is interesting to note that only 37.50% of those who are employed outside the domestic environment prefer such area. 50% of them have no fancy about any area for resettlement. This analysis shows that the exposure of the Employed women to outside world makes them more capable of adjusting with any type of social environment. In the case of Home makers, their bondage to limited social and physical space makes them more possessive about the matrilocal social atmosphere.

Table 5.3.1: Occupation and the Preference

Occupation	Prefer matrilocal area	Prefer patrilocal area	No Preference	Total
Home Makers	235 (75.33%)	9 (2.88%)	68 (21.79%)	312 (100%)
Employed outside	3 (37.50%)	1 (12.50%)	4 (50.00%)	8 (100%)
Total	238 (74.38%)	10 (3.12%)	72 (22.50%)	320 (100%)

Chi- Square Value = 6.57, df = 2, Table Value = 5.99, $P \leq 0.05$
 The association between the variables is significant at 5% level.

5.3.2. FAMILY COMPOSITION AND THE PREFERENCE

The analysis on the basis of the composition of family reveals certain interesting results. First of all we have to notice that almost equal proportions of the respondents belonging to the 3 types of families Nuclear family, F+D+GC (Female members + Daughters + Grand Children), F+D+GC+SFL (Female members + Daughters + Grand Children + Sister's Family) prefer to resettle down in matrilocal family dominated areas. But the distinguishing features of the responses are that, while equal portions of the nuclear families (11.90% each) prefer location in patrilocal dominated areas and any type of areas, 1.95% and 23.90% of the F+D+GC families, respectively prefer to settle down in patrilocal family dominated areas and any type of areas. Similar patterns in the responses of the third type of families are (F+D+GC+SFL) also revealed in the analysis. Only 1.37% of them prefer patrilocal family dominated areas. 24.66% of them have no preference about the type of areas of resettlement. On a consolidation of the results, we have to say that members of all

types of family are staunch supporters of matrilocal family system. The members of nuclear family prefer more a place for resettlement which is dominated by patrilocal family system. A more cosmopolitan outlook towards places of resettlement is shown by the second and third categories of families. Here a mention about nuclear family is to be made, members of the family feel more comfortable in a matrilocal family system, if it is to be left aside they prefer patrilocal family clustered areas. They are least interested to resettle in a cosmopolitan area.

Table 5.3.2: Family Composition and the Preference

Family Composition	Prefer matrilocal area	Prefer patrilocal area	No preference	Total
Nuclear	32 (76.2%)	5 (11.90%)	5 (11.90%)	42 (100%)
F+D+GC	152 (74.15%)	4 (1.95%)	49 (23.90%)	205 (100%)
F+D+GC+SFL	54 (73.97%)	1 (1.37%)	18 (24.66%)	73 (100%)
Total	238 (74.38%)	10 (3.12%)	72 (22.50%)	320 (100%)

Chi- Square Value = 6.57, df = 4, Table Value = 9.49, $P \leq 0.05$
The association between the variables is significant at 5% level.

5.3.3. GEOGRAPHICAL LOCATION AND THE PREFERENCE

The collected data was also analysed on the basis of the geographical location. On a consolidation of numerical facts one can come to the conclusion that the affinity to the matrilocal family system is very strong among Kozhikode residents. Thalassery and Kannur people are also very closer to the former category. The third

rung is occupied by both Vadakara and Mahe people. Only at the lowest rung come the Quilandy people. However, the willingness to resettle down in any area is very much associated to the geographical localities. The Quilandy and Vadakara people are more liberal in this regard. More than one third of the respondents of the respective categories are willing to resettle down anywhere irrespective of, whether it is dominated by a particular family system or not. Almost 25% of each of the Mahe, Thalassery and Kannur people are also having no preference for a particular area. However the Kozhikode population distinguish themselves in this context by showing preference for any type of area by a meagre proportion of 8.75%.

Table 5.3.3: Geographical Location and the Preference

Area	Prefer matrilocal area	Prefer patrilocal area	No preference	Total
KOZHIKODE	71 (88.75%)	2 (2.50%)	7 (8.75%)	80 (100%)
QUILANDY	22 (55.00%)	3 (7.50%)	15 (37.50%)	40 (100%)
VADAKARA	27 (67.50%)	0 (0.00%)	13 (32.50%)	40 (100%)
MAHE	27 (67.50%)	2 (5.00%)	11 (27.50%)	40 (100%)
THALASSERY	31 (77.50%)	0 (0.00%)	0 (22.50%)	40 (100%)
KANNUR	60 (75.00%)	3 (3.75%)	17 (21.25%)	80 (100%)
Total	238 (74.38%)	10 (3.12%)	72 (22.50%)	320 (100%)

Chi- Square Value = 23.41, df = 10, Table Value = 23.21, $P \leq 1.01$

The association between the variables is significant at 1% level.

5.4. ATTACHMENT OF *PUTHIYAPPILAS* WITH THE IN-LAWS

To assess the attachment of the *Puthiyappilas* with the matrilineal family system and their wives and children an analysis was conducted. For assessing the level of attachment the frequency of their visits to the in-laws families was analysed. Analysis of the data in Table (5.4.1) indicates that the major chunk of the *Puthiyappilas* (86.88%) are in the habit of visiting their in-laws families, observing the rules of interaction with the members there, daily. Only 13.13% of the *Puthiyappilas* are not daily visitors of their in-laws families. This analysis without any dilemma highlights the fact that the *Puthiyappilas* are also an un-detachable part of the matrilineal family system.

5.4.1. AGE AND ATTACHMENT OF *PUTHIYAPPILAS* TO THEIR IN-LAWS

The study investigated the relation between the age status of the wife's (respondents) and the visiting behaviours of their husbands. The details of the investigation are depicted in Table 5.4.1.

Table 5.4.1: Age of Wives and Frequency of Visits of *Puthiyappilas*

Age (In Years)	Visit daily	Don't Visit daily	Total
Up to 40	25 (73.53%)	9 (26.47%)	34 (100%)
40 - 55	101 (93.52%)	7 (6.48%)	108 (100%)
55 - 70	116 (90.63%)	12 (9.38%)	128 (100%)
70 and Above	36 (72.00%)	14 (28.00%)	50 (100%)
Total	278 (86.88%)	42 (13.12%)	320 (100%)

Chi- Square Value = 20.77, df = 7, Table Value = 18.48, $P \leq 0.01$
The association between the variables is significant at 1% level.

The analysis of the data indicates that there is significant association between the age status of the women and the visiting behaviour of their husbands. When we examine the distribution of the responses we see that the behaviour against the four age groups can be taken into two clusters for explaining them. The lower and upper middle age groups constitute one cluster, and the younger and older age groups the other cluster. 73.53% of the younger age group (below 40 years) and 72% of the older age group (70 years and above) receive their husbands in their families daily. Coming to the other two age groups, 93.52% of the lower middle and 90.63% of the upper middle age groups follow the behaviour. It is to be understood that younger age group consists of larger number of gulf migrants compared to other groups. This migrant population in the group might have been reducing the strength of the daily visitors, of the groups. Coming to the older age group, it is a usual practice of *Puthiyappilas* that when they become old-old they avoid the visiting system and permanently settle down in the residence of their in-laws. This behaviour might be the reason for the reduction of the strength of the daily visitors in the group.

5.5. CONNECTION OF WIFE WITH THE FAMILY OF HER HUSBAND

How far the wife of Matrilocal Muslim family is attached with her husband's family was another topic of investigation of this research. For this purpose, on a reciprocal basis the frequency of visits of the wife to her husband's family was

analysed. The analysis is shown in Table 5.5. It is seen in the analysis that 89.94% of the wives visit their husband's family only during special occasions. However 9.69% pay monthly visits and 6.56% weekly visits. No one is a daily visitor of their husband's family. This shows that the wife is only a guest of the husband's family. The researcher has personal experience about the extent of respect given to the wife in her husband's family. She is not allowed to involve in the domestic chorus and she is simply a reveral guest of the husband's family. Generally the wife does not stay overnight in her husband's residence. All these facts, when put together, we understand that the members of Mappila Muslims are whole heartedly embracing the matrilocal system where in the females have an esteemed position. The detach are given in Table 5.5.1.

5.5.1. MATRILocal STATUS AND VISITS OF WIVES TO THEIR HUSBAND'S FAMILY

The analysis reveals that the widowed dormant bounded women visit their husbands house more often weekly and monthly them their married counter parts do. 8.49% of them visit on weekly basis and 7.92% on monthly basis. The corresponding figures in the case married category are 5.61% each. The absence of husbands or absent relationship may be attracting category more to the husband's relative. The frequency of visits of married women in special occasions (marriage, *Ramadan* period, etc.) in higher than that of the widows/ dormant bondages (85.51% and

71.70% of respectively). Never visiting segments among the groups are almost the same. The results indicate that death of husband/ dormant bounded status does not prevent the women from keeping the ties with their husbands intact.

Table 5.5.1: Frequency of Visits of Wives to Their Husband’s Family

Marital Status	Visit Weekly	Visit Monthly	Visit during Special occasions	Never	Total
Married	12 (5.61%)	12 (5.61%)	183 (85.51%)	7 (3.27%)	214 (100%)
Widowed dormant bounded	9 (8.49%)	19 (7.18%)	76 (71.70%)	9 (2.81%)	106 (100%)
Total	21 (6.56%)	31 (9.69%)	259 (80.94%)	9 (2.81%)	320 (100%)

Chi- Square Value = 14.15, df = 3, Table Value = 11.34, $P \leq 0.01$

The association between the variables is significant at 1% level.

In this section subsidiary analysis were conducted to identify the association of the background variables with the behaviour (if any exists). The analysis revealed that none of the background variables has except marital status association with the behaviour. The analysis based on marital status is given in Table 5.5.1.

5.6. TYPE OF FAMILY PREFERRED FOR DAUGHTERS

In order to know the trend of survival of the matrilocal family system through generations an attempt was made in this research. The respondents were asked to reveal their preferred family system for their daughters. In this section this segment of the analyses is dealt with. The analysis is Table 5.6.1 reveals that 83.75% of the

respondents prescribe matrilineal system for their daughters. Another 5.63% have an affinity toward patrilineal system. 2.81% are for both the system and the remaining 7.81% did not reveal their preference. From this analysis we may start that the system will survive through generations as large majority of the population is in favour of their matrilineal family to be embraced by to their younger generations.

Sub analyses were carried out to know the relationship between the background variables and the preference. They are discussed in the following sub sections :

5.6.1. OCCUPATION AND THE PREFERENCE

Analysis of the data based on the occupational status (Table 5.6.1) indicates that the background is a deciding factor of the preference. 84.62% of the Home Makers prefer matrilineal system to be followed by their daughters.

The corresponding figure in respect of those who are employed outside is 50% only. The other 50% of them divide equally between the two other responses, namely prefer patrilineal system and neolocal system. The contact of the people with the wider society transforms their outlook relatively in favour of the other systems. However, the truism is that this section (employed outside) will not create any perceptible change in the total community of the matrilineal as the employed group is an insignificant minority.

Table 5.6.1: Occupation and the Performance

Occupation	Matrilocality preferred	Patrilocality preferred	Neolocality preferred	Can't say	Total
Home Makers	264 (84.62%)	16 (5.13%)	7 (2.24%)	25 (8.01%)	312 (100%)
Employed Outside	4 (50.00%)	2 (25.00%)	2 (25.00%)	0 (0.00%)	8 (100%)
Total	268 (83.75%)	18 (5.63%)	9 (2.81%)	25 (7.81%)	320 (100%)

Chi- Square Value = 21.59, df = 3, Table Value = 11.34, $P \leq 0.01$
The association between the variables is significant at 1% level.

5.6.2. FAMILY COMPOSITION AND THE PREFERENCE

Analysis in this section shows that the compound family forms (F+D+GC and F+D+GC+SFL) have more favour for the matrilocal system to be followed by the daughters. 85.37% of the F+D+GC family prefer matrilocality for their daughters. The corresponding figure in the case of the F+D+GC+SFL is 87.67%. That in these two groups preferences are almost the same. However, the nuclear family differs considerably in this matter. Though majority are for the perpetuation of matrilocal system through generations the strength of the group is relatively low than that of the other two groups. This indicates the aspirations of the nuclear families, though the realization of the aspiration may be a pipe dream as the strength of the group in the community is very small.

Table 5.6.2: Family Composition and the Performance

Family Composition	Matrilocal preferred	Patrilocal preferred	Neolocal preferred	Can't say	Total
Nuclear	29 (69.05%)	5 (11.90%)	1 (2.38%)	7 (16.67%)	42 (100%)
F+D+GC	175 (85.37%)	13 (6.34%)	4 (1.95%)	13 (6.34%)	205 (100%)
F+D+GC+SFL	64 (87.67%)	0 (0.00%)	4 (5.48%)	5 (6.85%)	73 (100%)
Total	286 (83.75%)	18 (5.63%)	9 (2.81%)	25 (7.81%)	320 (100%)

Chi- Square Value = 15.80, df = 6, Table Value = 12.59, $P \leq 0.05$
The association between the variables is significant at 5% level.

5.6.3. GEOGRAPHICAL LOCATION AND THE PREFERENCE

Area-wise analysis indicates that the outlooks of the areas are different. It is to be pointed out that the Mahe and Kozhikode residents are very strong in their preference in the matter (95.00% and 90.00% respectively). Thalassery and Kannur residents have similar outlook towards the matter (82.50%, 85.00% respectively). The strength of the matrilocality preferred segment in Quilandy is the lowest (65%). Vadakara is not that much against the system as the Quilandy people are (77.50%).

Table 5.6.3:Geographical Location and Performance

Area	Matrilocality preferred	Patrilocality preferred	Neolocality preferred	Can't say	Total
KOZHIKODE	72 (90.00%)	2 (2.50%)	1 (1.25%)	5 (6.25%)	80 (100%)
QUILANDY	26 (65.00%)	8 (20.00%)	1 (2.50%)	5 (12.50%)	40 (100%)
VADAKARA	31 (77.50%)	3 (7.50%)	2 (5.00%)	4 (10.00%)	40 (100%)
MAHE	38 (95.00%)	0 (0.00%)	1 (2.50%)	1 (2.50%)	40 (100%)
THALASSERY	33 (82.50%)	1 (2.50%)	2 (5.00%)	4 (10.00%)	40 (100%)
KANNUR	68 (85.00%)	4 (5.00%)	2 (2.50%)	6 (7.50%)	80 (100%)
Total	268 (83.75%)	18 (5.63%)	9 (2.81%)	25 (7.81%)	320 (100%)

Chi- Square Value = 4.79, df = 15, Table Value = 25, $P \leq 0.05$

The association between the variables is significant at 5% level.

5.7. PREFERENCE FOR PUTHIYAPPILA SYSTEM FOR SON

Matrilocal system can strive forward if the system is followed by the male and female members of the system. In the previous section we have analysed the family's preference for the system to be followed by daughters (5.6). Parallel to the analysis, in this section the family's preference for the continuance of *Puthiyappila* system for son is discussed.

The collected data relating to theme was analysed as shown in the Table

5.7.1. The Table reveals that 76.56% of the respondents favour *Puthiyappila* system for their sons. 11.56% favour patrilocal system and another 1.88% favour neolocal system. The rest of the respondents (10%) are unable to give a clear answer. The analysis clearly indicate that the family aspire for the continuation of the matrilocal system.

One distinction between the analysis in 5.6 and 5.7 is that the favour to the system for the sons is lesser than that for the daughters. In case of daughters the preference for the system to be followed by the daughters was expressed by 83.75% while in the case of sons the figure is only 76.56%. Similarly the preference for patrilocal system for daughters was expressed by 5.63%. However, the group is almost double in the context of the sons (11.56%). So these results when read together we are under the impression that there is slight pain in the hearts of the mothers for sending their sons to the system which negates their identity. It is to be presumed that the system is the prescribed one for daughters but the mothers are forced to send their sons to other families which de-stamp their familial identity (Table 5.7.1).

5.7.1. EDUCATION AND PREFERENCE FOR MATRILocal SYSTEM FOR SONS

Educational status and the preference are associated, the analysis in Table 5.7.1 indicates. When examine the pattern of the distribution the association is not very firm.

In the case of the persons who have no formal schooling 74.36% favour matriloc system to be practiced by their sons and 20.51% prefer patrilocal system. The preference for matriloc system is almost equal in the case of the other two educational categories (Primary school and High school). Patrilocality is also favoured by both the groups almost equally (8.70% and 8.65%). It is to be noticed that the two groups are more entangled in the web dilemma, 13.04% and 11.54% of the groups cannot give a straight answer for the question. On the whole, we may say that

those people who have no formal schooling relative by favour patrilocality to a greater extent. The other two groups (Primary and High school educated) cancel their aspirations to a large extent. What shall this mean ?

Table 5.7.1: Education and the Performance

Education	Matrilocality preferred	Patrilocality preferred	Neolocality preferred	Can't say	Total
Not formally educated	58 (74.36%)	16 (20.52%)	2 (2.56%)	2 (2.56%)	78 (100%)
Literate	107 (77.54%)	12 (8.70%)	1 (0.72%)	18 (13.04%)	138 (100%)
High school educated	80 (76.92%)	9 (8.66%)	3 (2.88%)	12 (11.54%)	104 (100%)
Total	245 (76.56%)	37 (11.56%)	6 (1.88%)	32 (10.00%)	320 (100%)

Chi- Square Value = 4.79, df = 6, Table Value = 12.59, $P \leq 0.05$
The association between the variables is significant at 5% level.

5.7.2. GEOGRAPHICAL LOCATION AND THE PREFERENCE

Table 5.7.2: Geographical Location and Performance

Area	Matrilocality preferred	Patrilocality preferred	Neolocality preferred	Can't say	Total
KOZHIKODE	68 (85.00%)	7 (8.75%)	0 (0.00%)	5 (6.25%)	80 (100%)
QUILANDY	22 (55.00%)	10 (25.00%)	1 (2.50%)	7 (17.50%)	40 (100%)
VADAKARA	24 (60.00%)	9 (22.50%)	2 (5.00%)	5 (12.50%)	40 (100%)
MAHE	37 (92.50%)	0 (0.00%)	1 (2.50%)	2 (5.00%)	40 (100%)
THALASSERY	31 (77.50%)	3 (7.50%)	1 (2.50%)	5 (12.50%)	40 (100%)
KANNUR	63 (78.75%)	8 (10.00%)	1 (1.25%)	8 (10.00%)	80 (100%)
Total	245 (76.56%)	37 (11.56%)	6 (1.88%)	32 (10.00%)	320 (100%)

Chi- Square Value = 31.16, df = 15, Table Value = 25.00, $P \leq 0.05$
The association between the variables is significant at 5% level.

The assumption that the preference is associated with the geographical location was found/ sustain when the data was analysed on the basis of the background variable (Table 5.7.2). Of course, the majority from all the geographical areas support matrilineal system for their sons. Mahe and Kozhikode have very high appreciation for the system (92.50% and 85% respectively). Quilandy is relatively lagging behind all other areas (only 55%). However, one fourth of the respondents from Quilandy favour patrilineal system. Close to them Vadakara respondents come (22.50%). One significant point about Quilandy is that 17.50% did not give a specific answer and they constitute the highest portion in the category of those who have no specific answer. 12.50% each of Vadakara and Thalassery people also follow this 17.50% of the Quilandy area. Since the places closer to one another and they show different trends we have to take up some other factors of the locality. For example Vadakara, Thalassery and Mahe are very closer to one another but they are differ in their preferences. Similarly Kozhikode and Quilandy are closer to each other. It is to be inferred that the people of these localities form specific sub-cultures of particular groups which are not shared even by the next door neighbours who do not share the sub-culture.

5.8. REASONS FOR FAVOURING MATRILOCALITY

The study resorted to both overt and covert approaches to unravel the reasons for the continuance of matrilocal system among the Mappila Muslims. Here in this section responses elicited from the respondents for straight question are analysed. The respondents were asked, why they follow the matrilocal system while predominantly muslims all over the country follow patrilocality. The responses were, to maintain an identity for their sub-culture, security of women, and more comfort for men. When the responses were analysed it was seen that 54.06% follow it as an attempt to maintain their sub-culture, 16.56% feel the system is more protective to women and 5% visualise the system as more comfortable for men. Another 24.30% gave scattered responses. (Few of the responses are, no financial burden to males, gets help from in-laws during crisis situations, etc). The analysis indicates that the maintenance of their *Tharavaditham* (aristocracy) which they feel as a product of matrilocality, is the major reason for the continuance of the system. They respect and never the sub-culture as an aristocratic one and they are reluctant to do away with it. Another reason is the women friendly nature of the system. Since daughters live in their family of birth they feel safety and security to the maximum that can be offered by a family. A very meagre section feel that it offers comfort for *Puthiyappilas*. Since he is only having the status of a visitor he may be offered better treatment by the wife's family (Table 5.8.1).

In personal interviews with the respondents, to the query regarding the reason for their attachment to matrilocality they revealed their intense urge to celebrate the sub-cultural identity. They express their emotional attachment to the traditional family system without any hesitation and consider it is a symbol of their family prestige.

They fear, if a girl is sent to the husband's household after marriage it may tell upon the status of the family and the loss in turn, affects later marriages in their family. So they celebrate the system with all its pomp and show, like arranging *aras* (bridal room), conducting *salkarams* (get-togethers) with delicious dishes, and transferring gifts. Other than these activities related with special social occasions, they involve in traditional, customary practices attached to the day to day activities like offering prayers and celebrate matrilocality to make it a religion even.

Further they strongly believe that matrilocal women enjoy a better status than their patrilocal counterparts do. (The status of women and matrilocality is discussed in details in Chapter VI).

In personal interviews a significant number of male representatives expressed their comforts and conveniences being they are *Puthiyappilas*. They are very much respected by the wife's kin group. Their opinions and suggestions regarding family matters are got due recognition from the *Karanavar*. The financial support received on special occasions like marriage of daughters, education of children, migration to gulf countries, festivals etc. will provide a solace to their problems. The responsibilities of *Puthiyappila* are shared by members of wife's household, especially by uncles of wife and co-brother-in-laws.

5.8.1. FAMILY COMPOSITION AND REASON FOR SUPPORTING

MATRILOCAL SYSTEM

The reason for supporting matrilocal system are analysed against the composition of the family. Results show that there is association between the background variable and the reason stated. Majority of the F+D+GC and F+D+GC+SFL family members highlighted their urge for upholding the cultural

identity of the group (54.63% and 57.53% respectively). In this situation the response of nuclear family members is very interesting and thought provoking. From this group, only 45.24% cited cultural identity as a reason for supporting matrilineal family system. This indicates the nuclear families are not very much worried about the sub-cultural identity of their matrilineal group. Another fact which is to be projected here is that 44.48% have cited scattered answers such as existence of cordial relationship between co-brother-in-laws, no financial burden to males, gets help from in-laws etc. as the reason for following matrilineal system. This response categories has to be probed very deeply because the category of responses indicates the wavering nature of the value system of nuclear families. It is to be doubted that they have no proper anchorage to any value system, they can be swayed by any trend, good or bad. Another point that is to be highlighted regarding this group is that none has pointed out the advantage of matrilineal system for the *Puthiyappila*. This indicates that they are ignoring the pious attitude of the family towards *Puthiyappila* and also the material, social and psychological support offered by them to the husband. Therefore, we have to conclude that the composite families consisting of different generations are more eager to uphold the cultural tradition and heritage of the family of their origin. This is not so in the case of nuclear families which is a compact, mobile group consisting of only two generations, the parents and children.

Table 5.8.1: Family Composition and Reason for Supporting Matrilocal System

Family Composition	For cultural identity	More security for women	More comfortable for men	Others	Total
Nuclear	19 (45.24%)	6 (14.29%)	0 (0.00%)	17 (40.47%)	42 (100%)
F+D+GC	112 (54.63%)	28 (13.66%)	16 (7.81%)	49 (23.90%)	205 (100%)
F+D+GC+SFL	42 (57.53%)	19 (26.03%)	0 (0.00%)	12 (16.44%)	73 (100%)
Total	173 (54.06%)	53 (16.56%)	16 (5.00%)	78 (24.38%)	320 (100%)

Chi- Square Value = 21.25, df = 6, Table Value = 16.81, $P \leq 0.01$

The association between the variables is significant at 1% level.

5.8.2. GEOGRAPHICAL LOCATION AND REASON FOR SUPPORTING MATRILocal SYSTEM

It is assumed that the geographical location and the responses are associated factors for reasons cited elsewhere repeatedly. On the basis of this assumption the data was analysed as shown in Table 5.8.2. The results show that the assumption is true. The reasons cited by the respondents belonging to the different geographical areas are related to the places. Thalassery and Kannur respondents very much emphasised cultural identity of the matrilocal system as the major reason for the upholding of this family organisation. (75% of Thalassery 63.75% of Kannur respondents cited this reason). The Kozhikode respondents are not that much wedded to this reason. Under this category only 55% of the respondents cluster. Regarding

Quilandy, Vadakara and Mahe the profile is entirely different. Only minor groups cluster under this response from these areas (42.50%, 42.50% and 35% respectively). The female friendly environment of atrilocal system is projected by respondents from Kozhikode and Mahe. 27.50% of Mahe respondents and 20% of the Kozhikode respondents believe that matrilocal system supplies a comfortable cover for the female members of the family system. Respondents from other areas also are not totally ignoring this aspect of matrilocal family system. The dilemma as to why they support the system is more among the Quilandy, Vadakara and Mahe respondents, who are confused to state any specific reason for their support to matrilocal family system. To answer why these differences among the people who belong to the different areas, require further deep probing which is beyond the scope of this research.

Table 5.8.2: Geographical Location and Reason for Supporting Matrilocal System

Area	For cultural identity	More security for women	More comfortable for men	Others	Total
KOZHICODE	44 (55.00%)	16 (20.00%)	5 (6.25%)	15 (18.75%)	80 (100%)
QUILANDY	17 (42.50%)	6 (15.00%)	3 (7.50%)	14 (35.00%)	40 (100%)
VADAKARA	17 (42.50%)	6 (15.00%)	4 (10.00%)	13 (32.50%)	40 (100%)
MAHE	14 (35.00%)	11 (27.50%)	0 (0.00%)	15 (37.50%)	40 (100%)
THALASSERY	30 (75.00%)	4 (10.00%)	0 (0.00%)	6 (15.00%)	40 (100%)
KANNUR	51 (63.75%)	10 (12.50%)	4 (5.00%)	15 (18.75%)	80 (100%)
Total	173 (54.06%)	53 (16.56%)	16 (5.00%)	78 (24.38%)	320 (100%)

Chi- Square Value = 30.76, df = 15, Table Value = 30.58, $P \leq 0.01$

The association between the variables is significant at 1% level.

The analyses carried out in this chapter indicate that matrilineal family system is much appreciated by the members of the Mappila Muslims who follow this system. The members are very much adhering to the system and aspiring for the continuation of the system. Their aspirations are not dumb founded. They experience the congenial and comfortable physical, social and psychological environment offered by the system to both male and female members of the kinship group. In fact they have been feeling matrilineality as an emotion and also a sub-culture. They again express that deviating from this family system is tantamount to the destruction of a good old tradition.



Chapter : VI

SOCIAL ENVIRONMENT OF MATRILOCAL FAMILY

This chapter analyses the social atmosphere of the Muslim Matrilocal family since the study has postulated that the continuance of the family system is very much depends on this profile. Also another cohort of hypotheses highlights the higher status enjoyed by the women in the family system and ultimately this is one among the many factors which support the ongoing of the family type.

As pointed out in the context of discussing the characteristics of the system that the family contains many constituent families each headed by a female member of the subsequent generations. This fact points towards the necessity to enquire into the type of relationship existing among the female members of the compound family. Accordingly an analysis was carried out to see how much time the female members of the extended family interact with one another. The details of the analysis are given in Table 6.1.1.

6.1. INTERACTION BETWEEN FEMALE MEMBERS OF THE FAMILY

When the data relating to the time spent on interacting with other female

members was analysed, it was seen that 48.13% of the respondents utilise daily 1 to 2 hours on an average for the purpose; 38.75%, 2 to 4 hours and the rest (13.13%) 4 hours and above. The analysis reveals that there is good interaction between the female members. Communication theories have established that when there is communication between persons they become one mentally and high social potential is emerged. This analysis indicates that the social atmosphere of a matrilocal family is highly salubrious for the perpetuation of the system.

Subsidiary analyses were carried out to identify the influence of the various backgrounds variables on the behaviour.

6.1.1. AGE AND THE INTERACTION

The functions executed by the different age groups will be different and the time available for this type of social behaviour will also be different. Apart from this there should be an orientation of mind to create a social cohesion through interacting processes. On the basis of these provisions it was assumed that the interaction is based on the age status of the members. The analysis carried to test the sustenance of the assumption is shown in Table 6.1.1.

Table 6.1.1:Age and Time Spent for Interacting with other Female Members

Age (in years)	1 – 2 Hrs.	2 – 4 Hrs.	4 Hrs. and Above	Total
Up to 40	16 (47.06%)	12 (35.29%)	6 (17.65%)	34 (100%)
40 - 55	52 (48.14%)	33 (30.56%)	23 (21.30%)	108 (100%)
55 - 70	70 (54.69%)	54 (42.19%)	4 (3.12%)	128 (100%)
70 and Above	16 (32.00%)	25 (50.00%)	9 (18.00%)	50 (100%)
Total	154 (48.13%)	124 (38.75%)	42 (13.12%)	320 (100%)

Chi- Square Value = 24.54, df = 6. Table Value = 12.29, $P \leq 0.01$
The association between the variables is significant at 1% level.

The analysis in the Table indicates that the extent of interaction is age specific. It is seen that the lower and upper most age groups have higher level of interaction. 52.94% of the below 40 years age group and 51.86% of the 40 – 55 years group and 68% of the 70 and above group have interaction to the time of 2 – 4 and above hours. However, only 45.32% of the age group 55 – 70 years have the above mentioned extent of interaction with female relatives of the *tharawad*. The lower age groups may be eager to know about things around and discuss all matters with their relatives. Similarly the old may have a lot of leisure time to spent on talks and discussions with others from their age category. But in the case of the age group 55 – 70 is different for the reason that they may be the central pillar of the domestic administration particularly the kitchen. So they may not be getting so much of time for interaction with their female relatives.

It is to be concluded that the social atmosphere existing in the Mappila Muslim *tharawads* is very pleasant for the members.

6.1.2. GEOGRAPHICAL LOCATION AND THE INTERACTION

The geographical locations where the study has been conducted are Kozhikode, Quilandy, Vadakara, Mahe, Thalassery and Kannur. A general observation of the groups in the areas indicated that there are variations in the behavioural patterns of the groups. Accordingly an analysis was done as shown in Table 6.1.2.

Table 6.1.2: Geographical Location and Time Spent for Interacting with other Female Members

Area	Time spent with other female members			Total
	1 – 2 Hrs	2- 4 Hrs	4 and Above	
KOZHIKODE	58 (72.50%)	21 (26.25%)	1 (1.25%)	80 (100%)
QUILANDY	17 (42.50%)	16 (40.00%)	7 (17.50%)	40 (100%)
VADAKARA	6 (15.00%)	17 (42.50%)	17 (42.50%)	40 (100%)
MAHE	24 (60.00%)	8 (20.00%)	8 (20.00%)	40 (100%)
THALASSERY	14 (35.00%)	23 (57.50%)	3 (7.50%)	40 (100%)
KANNUR	35 (43.75%)	39 (48.75%)	6 (7.50%)	80 (100%)
Total	154 (48.13%)	124 (38.75%)	42 (13.12%)	320 (100%)

Chi- Square Value = 74.70, df = 10, Total Value = 18.31, $P \leq 0.01$
The association is significant at 1% level.

The geographical location is a determinant of the extent of interaction between the family members, it is revealed in the analysis. If we consider those who have higher interaction (2 hours and above) (taking the 2nd and 3rd column together) 27.50% of the Kozhikode, 57.50% of the Quilandy, 85.00% of the Vadakara, 40% of the Mahe, 65% the Thalassery, and 56.25% of the Kannur residents come under this group. That is, the Vadakara residents have highest level of interaction. Then comes Thalassery and Quilandy. Kannur also comes very closer to Quilandy in this regard. However, we see that Kozhikode lag far behind all the other groups. Mahe's case is better than that of Kozhikode. Here Vadakara, Thalassery, Quilandy and Kannur may be taken as one group since they have comparable behaviours. However, Kozhikode and Mahe are distinct in their own rights. The higher extend of urbanisation may be influencing the Kozhikode resident to have lower level of interaction. The political history (being a former colony of French rule) of Mahe is different from the rest of the localities. And this is to be doubted as influencing the behavioural patterns of the people.

Analyses were also conducted to identify the relationship with other background variables. Other variables, namely, education, income, family size and place of residence are not associated significantly to the behaviour. The details of the analyses are not given here.

The researcher has been told by many respondents in personal interviews that the interaction and mingling with other female members make them very happy. The intimacy created between them is considered to be the most important benefit of matrilocality for them. They share everything with their women relatives and that make them more comfortable in living in the larger groups. They have developed a feeling of competency in dealing with domestic responsibilities as a result of the interaction.

6.2. SOCIAL VISITS

In the previous section (6.1) analyses have been conducted to see the extent of interaction within the same household. The present section intends to analyse the interaction of the matrilocal muslim's women with their counter parts dwelling in other *tharawads*. So social visits paid to other *tharawads* were analysed. At the outset an interesting point is to be mentioned; there is not a single respondent who is not in the habit of visiting their counter parts of other *tharawads*. So we can assume the *esprit-de-corpse* developed among the members of the matrilocal community. (Table 6.2.1)

Subsidiary analyses were carried out to see how the background variables influence the behaviour of visiting other *tharawads*.

Spare time available for engaging oneself in such activities is related to the occupation of the person concerned. In this study, on the basis of the fact, an analysis was carried out to reveal the influence of occupation on the social visits conducted by the women (Table 6.2.1)

Table 6.2.1: Occupation and the Visits

Occupation	Visits Other <i>Tharawad</i>				Total
	With female members	With male members	With children	With others	
House Makers	252 (80.77%)	24 (7.69%)	24 (7.69%)	12 (3.85%)	312 (100%)
Employed Outside	4 (50.00%)	4 (50.00%)	0 (0.00%)	0 (0.00%)	8 (100%)
Total	256 (80.00%)	28 (8.75%)	24 (7.50%)	12 (3.75%)	320 (100%)

Chi- Square Value = 17.80, df = 3, Table Value = 7.82, $P \leq 0.01$
The association is significant at 1% level.

The table (6.2.1) reveals that 80.00% of the total respondents visit other *tharawads* in the company of other female members (from their own *tharawad* or from others). 8.75% visit in the company of their husbands 7.50% carry out the visits accompanied by their children and 3.75% with both the male and female relatives.

One important finding of this analysis is that 80% conduct the visits in the company of other females. This indicates, what a strong social tie exists between the females of the *tharawad* and what a congenial social atmosphere exists in the *tharawad* for the female members.

The researcher has personal experiences of witnessing the bonding together of female members including his wife for the purpose of visiting others, particularly during their lending periods. The women go around fearlessly and pleasantly during day and night and visits their relatives. 8.75% visit other families in the company of their male relatives, usually husband. 7.50% of women visit others and took their children with them during the visits.

This analysis reveals that a strong social bond exists among the families of the respective localities. This social solidarity naturally creates security feeling even while their male protectors are away. Two background variables namely occupational and income statuses are associated with the visiting habits. The details of the analyses are given in Table 6.2.1 and 6.2.2.

6.2.1. OCCUPATION AND THE VISITS

Occupation wise analyses of the data (Table 6.2.1) shows that 80.77% of the respondents who are keeping themselves engaged by attending to domestic work are in the habit of visiting their relatives in the company of the women of the *tharavad*. 7.69% of each of the category visit others accompanied by their husbands or children. The other occupational groups (employed outside) follow a different pattern. 50% of them each visit in the company of other women and their husbands. No one is in the habit of visiting only accompanied by their children. The employed (outside) group may be experiencing paucity of time for the purpose, particularly those are living in

small families where they have to attend to the domestic responsibilities also. So they may conduct dashing visits even in odd time. So many seek the company other than husbands. For those who have relatives to look after their domestic chorus get ample leisure time at home and hence follow the pattern of those who are not employed outside.

6.2.2. INCOME AND THE VISITS

Analysis of the habit of visiting against the income backgrounds indicates that the larger chunk of the respondents belonging to all the income groups conduct their visits in the company of other female members. But one income group, namely, those whose monthly family income is Rs. 13,000 or more has a different behaviour (Refer to Table 6.2.2).

While among other income categories equal or more than 80% join the company of other females only 68.12% of the Rs. 13000 and above group come under this category of visitors. 18.84% and 11.59% respectively of the group visit their relatives with the company of their husbands or children. The strength of these two groups among other income categories are comparatively very weak. Many of the women from this segment may be used to travel in their own vehicle and do not want to mix with the lower income categories. The researcher has observed that the females who band together for visiting their relatives usually go by walk and the group may consist of 20 – 25 women.

Table 6.2.2: Income Status and Habit of Social Visit

Income (In Rs.)	With females	With males	With children	With others	Total
Upto 7000	119 (80.95%)	7 (4.76%)	12 (8.16%)	9 (6.13%)	147 (100%)
7000 - 10000	70 (87.50%)	5 (6.25%)	4 (5.00%)	1 (1.25%)	80 (100%)
10000 – 13000	20 (83.33%)	3 (12.50%)	0 (0.00%)	1 (4.17%)	24 (100%)
13000 and Above	47 (68.12%)	13 (18.84%)	8 (11.59%)	1 (1.45%)	69 (100%)
Total	256 (80.00%)	28 (8.75%)	24 (7.50%)	12 (3.75%)	320 (100%)

Chi- Square Value = 22.11, df = 9, Table Value = 16.92, $P \leq 0.01$
The association is significant at 1% level.

6.3. HOSPITALITY BEHAVIOUR

‘Give and Take’ is the basis of creating constructive relationship. In analysis 6.2 we have analysed the habit of visiting relatives. In this section what is their trend in receiving guests is the theme of analyses. This habit definitely gives an idea about the social solidarity created in the community under study.

Analysis in Table 6.1.1 indicates that 6.88% of the respondents are in the habit of receiving guests very frequently. 45.31% are in the habit of entertaining visitors frequently. 42.19% occasionally arrange get-togethers of their friends and relatives in their residence. Another 3.13% rarely arrange it and 2.50% do not want to have such reception conducted in their residence. The analyses indicates that majority (52.19%) (taking the first and second columns together) of the respondents are very enthusiastic in receiving their friends and relatives in their house. Only a meagre 2.50% are not

interested in such get-togethers in their house. The analysis sufficiently reveals that the community is thirsty for creating oneness among their friends and relatives.

6.3.1. INCOME AND THE HOSPITALITY BEHAVIOUR

Income, though not a sufficient condition, is a necessary condition for conducting get-togethers. On this basis an analysis was carried out to assess the relationship between income status and the habit. Analysis 6.3.1 indicates that the assumption is true. The highest income group (Rs. 13000 and above monthly) are very enthusiastic in organising such social situations. Similarly the lowest and upper among the lower group are also have similar trend. It is the upper-middle group who lag behind the others in this matter. 75% of them (Rs. 10000 – 13000) conduct such get together occasionally. It is to be inferred that the upper income group has sufficient resources to spend and give the impression that they are highly group oriented. The lower income group as a rule, depends on their solidarity to off-set their economic backwardness. This might be influencing them to organise receptions. The Luke warm attitude of the upper-middle group is the characteristic of the group universally.

Table 6.3.1: Income and the Behaviour

Income (In Rs.)	Receiving Guests					Total
	Very frequently	Frequently	Occasionally	Rarely	Never	
Up to 7000	10 (6.80%)	62 (42.18%)	66 (44.90%)	3 (2.04%)	6 (4.08%)	147 (100%)
7000 - 10000	8 (10.00%)	38 (47.50%)	30 (37.50%)	2 (2.50%)	2 (2.50%)	80 (100%)
10000 – 13000	0 (0.00%)	6 (25.00%)	18 (75.00%)	0 (0.00%)	0 (0.00%)	24 (100%)
13000 and Above	4 (5.80%)	39 (56.52%)	21 (30.43%)	5 (7.25%)	0 (0.00%)	69 (100%)
Total	22 (6.88%)	145 (45.31%)	135 (42.19%)	10 (3.12%)	8 (2.50%)	320 (100%)

Chi- Square Value = 25.43, df = 12, Table Value = 21.03, $P \leq 1.01$
The association is very significant at 1% level.

6.3.2. FAMILY SIZE AND BEHAVIOUR

The analysis to reveal the relationship between family size and hospitality behaviour existing, if any, is shown in Table 6.3.2.

Table 6.3.2: Family Size and the Behaviour

Family Size	Receiving Guests					Total
	Very frequently	Frequently	Occasionally	Rarely	Never	
1 to 5	0 (0.00%)	10 (25.64%)	25 (64.10%)	4 (10.26%)	0 (0.00%)	39 (100%)
6 to 15	21 (8.61%)	115 (47.13%)	95 (38.93%)	6 (2.46%)	7 (2.87%)	244 (100%)
Above 15	1 (2.70%)	20 (54.06%)	15 (40.54%)	0 (0.00%)	1 (2.70%)	37 (100%)
Total	22 (6.88%)	145 (45.31%)	135 (42.19%)	10 (3.12%)	8 (2.50%)	320 (100%)

Chi- Square Value = 22.85, df = 8, Table Value = 20.09, $P \leq 0.01$
The association is significant at 1% level.

The analysis indicates that the larger the family size the greater the interest for conducting get-togethers which facilitate the strengthening of social relationship. If we take the 'very frequently' and 'frequently' conducting groups together under the respective family sizes, 25.64% of the below 5 member family 55.74% of the 6 – 15 member family and 56.75% of the 15 and above member family conduct social gatherings frequently. 64.50%, 38.93% and 40.54% of the above mentioned first and second and third member groups respectively conduct social gatherings occasionally. These statistics show that the behaviour of the larger family and smaller families are almost opposite. The smaller families may be having intimate attachment with a small group and they need only to celebrate fewer occasions, and house less frequently. More over smaller family may not be finding it difficult to convene such occasions as the number of persons to successfully conduct the get-togethers are fewer.

6.3.3. GEOGRAPHICAL LOCATION AND THE BEHAVIOUR

Geographical location based analysis of the data reveals that there are differences in the behaviour.

Another segment of the analysis was an enquiry to see whether there is any difference in the behaviour on the basis of the geographical locations. Details of the analyses are shown in Table 6.3.3.

Table 6.3.3: Geographical Location and the Behaviour

Area	Receiving Guests					Total
	Very frequently	Frequently	Occasionally	Rarely	Never	
KOZHIKODE	8 (10.00%)	56 (70.00%)	12 (15.00%)	2 (2.50%)	2 (2.50%)	80 (100%)
QUILANDY	2 (5.00%)	22 (55.00%)	13 (32.50%)	2 (5.00%)	1 (2.50%)	40 (100%)
VADAKARA	4 (10.00%)	11 (27.50%)	24 (60.00%)	1 (2.50%)	0 (0.00%)	40 (100%)
MAHE	0 (0.00%)	11 (27.50%)	24 (60.00%)	1 (2.50%)	0 (0.00%)	40 (100%)
THALASSERY	3 (7.50%)	9 (22.50%)	26 (65.00%)	1 (2.50%)	1 (2.50%)	40 (100%)
KANNUR	5 (6.25%)	46 (51.25%)	29 (36.25%)	2 (2.50%)	3 (3.75%)	80 (100%)
Total	22 (6.88%)	145 (45.31%)	135 (42.19%)	10 (3.12%)	8 (2.50%)	320 (100%)

Chi- Square Value = 70.49, df = 20, Table Value = 37.57, $P \leq 0.01$

The association is significant at 1% level.

The analysis reveals that there is significant variation in the behaviour of the respondents on the basis of the geographical location to which they belong. It can be seen that Kozhikode comes first, and Mahe last. 80% of the respondents belonging to Kozhikode are very much interested to receive guests very frequently and frequently. The figure in respect of Mahe is only 15%. However 77.50% of the Mahe people feel it interesting to receive guests occasionally. The Quilandy people also are very much interested in receiving guests very frequently or frequently (60%). Next comes Kannur (57.50%). Vadakara and Thalassery occupy the 4th and 5th position

respectively after Quilandy. It is a crucial question to ponder, why the Kozhikode people are at the forefront in this regard, similarly why the Mahe, Vadakara and Thalassery people lag very much behind the Kozhikode and Quilandy, is also to be explored.

6.4. COLLECTIVE EFFORTS FOR ENTERTAINING GUESTS

As stated elsewhere under one roof there are many component families residing in the matrilineal system which gives a unique profile for the family set up. Each of these component families has its own economic activities including the function of preparing food for its members. However, in certain circumstances the component families put their efforts together in preparing food and serving it together. This is particularly so when large number of guests visit a particular component family or few component families unexpectedly or with advance information. Under such circumstances the female members either prepare food items separately in their respective kitchens and pool them together or they collectively put their efforts to prepare the required items in one kitchen according to the situation warrants. The other types of help offered by other component families are offering financial help if it is required for the concerned family, receiving the guests, freeing the members of the concerned family to engage themselves in preparing food and related matters. Another method of giving assistance is in the form of entertaining the guests received.

In this processes we can see an amazing type of solidarity is generated among the component families.

During the empirical investigation this behaviour of the female members of the component family was studied deeply. A question was asked to the respondents to reveal the type of assistance given to the required *bhagam* to manage the situation.

The analyses of data relating to the topic is given in Table 6.4.1. The analysis indicates that the collective effort is much offered by the segmented families to prepare and distribute, and manage food items. The Table shows that 63.13% of the respondents stated that they put their efforts together in managing the food requirements of such social situation. The other types of support given by the families are financial assistance, receiving the guests, and entertaining them with welcome drinks, small talks etc. Under each of these heads we see that relatively small portions of the respondents polarise together. Therefore, the major point to be highlighted in this context is that each of the component family requires the collective efforts of the members of the matrilineal system in managing the food required for this situation. The importance of food in get-togethers can be seen from time immemorial. Even in ancient societies or primitive societies people gathered together and participated in activities on common food. This shows that no other agency except food can generate social solidarity to that extent which is generated over food sharing. In this study the

behaviour indicates that the social solidarity of matrilocal muslim families is very strong according to this index selected for the enquiry.

6.4.1. FAMILY COMPOSITION AND THE COLLECTIVE EFFORTS

The first subsidiary analysis undertaken in this section of the study was to reveal whether there exists any association between the family composition and the behaviour. The analysis is portrayed in Table 6.4.1.

‘In the analysis the focal’ point was the behaviour of preparing and sharing of food items for the get-togethers. It is revealed in Table 6.4.1 that the behaviour of pooling their efforts is to a greater extent among the component families which is constituted by F+D+GC+SFL (78%). Next in the ladder comes the Nuclear family, 61.9% of the families put their efforts together to help the host family concerned. Finally we see that 58.00% of F+D+GC families also show this behaviour. It is inferred that the first category of family consists of larger number of members and they may be capable of offering much help to the concerned host family. In this situation we feel a contradiction when we compare the behaviours of Nuclear family and F+D+GC families. Between these two categories Nuclear family has a greater involvement than any other category has. In fact the latter category may be in a better position to contribute to the efforts of the host family. But the behaviour is not seen. This contradiction may be worth exploring in other researches.

Table 6.4.1: Family Composition and the Behaviour

Family Composition	Help from women in receiving guests					Total
	Financial	Preparation of Food	Reception	Chatting	Others	
Nuclear	4 (9.52%)	26 (61.90%)	1 (2.38%)	5 (11.91%)	6 (14.29%)	42 (100%)
F+D+GC	16 (7.80%)	119 (58.05%)	33 (16.10%)	9 (4.39%)	28 (13.66%)	205 (100%)
F+D+GC+SFL	2 (2.74%)	57 (78.08%)	5 (6.85%)	4 (5.48%)	5 (6.85%)	73 (100%)
Total	22 (6.88%)	202 (63.13%)	39 (12.18%)	18 (5.62%)	39 (12.19%)	320 (100%)

Chi- Square Value = 19.25, df = 8, Table Value = 15.51, $P \leq 0.05$
The association is significant at 5% level.

6.4.2. GEOGRAPHICAL LOCATION AND THE BEHAVIOUR

On further analyses it was seen that the geographical location has influence on the behaviour of the people under investigation. Analysis in Table 6.4.2 indicates that the respondents of Thalassery show greater interest in the collective food management when component families have to host get-togethers or other social events. 70% of the respondents indicated that they involve in their efforts whenever such situation arises. 68.7% of the respondents from Kannur also follow suit. The figures in respect of Quilandy, Mahe, Kozhikode and Vadakara are respectively 65%, 60%, 58.75% and 55%. Details of the analysis are depicted in Table 6.4.2.

Table 6.4.2: Geographical Location and the Behaviour

Area	Help from women in receiving guests					Total
	Financial Help	Preparing food	Receiving Guests	Chatting with them	Others	
KOZHIKODE	4 (5.00%)	47 (58.75%)	11 (13.75%)	13 (16.25%)	5 (6.25%)	80 (100%)
QUILANDY	5 (12.50%)	26 (65.00%)	3 (7.50%)	1 (2.50%)	5 (12.50%)	40 (100%)
VADAKARA	2 (5.00%)	22 (55.00%)	5 (12.50%)	0 (0.00%)	11 (27.50%)	40 (100%)
MAHE	3 (7.50%)	24 (60.00%)	6 (15.00%)	1 (2.50%)	6 (15.00%)	40 (100%)
THALASSERY	3 (7.50%)	24 (60.00%)	6 (15.00%)	1 (2.50%)	6 (15.00%)	40 (100%)
KANNUR	5 (6.25%)	55 (68.75%)	10 (12.50%)	3 (3.75%)	7 (8.75%)	80 (100%)
Total	22 (6.88%)	202 (63.13%)	39 (12.18%)	18 (5.62%)	39 (12.19%)	32 (100%)

Chi- Square Value = 38.79, df = 20, Table Value = 37.57, $P \leq 0.01$
 The association is significant at 1% level.

6.5. PRACTICE OF POLYGyny

Another investigation conducted to reveal the relative higher level of social solidarity existing in the matrilineal system was one relating to the practice of polygamy by the *Puthiyappila* (visit husbands). The rationale behind this investigation is that there is possibility of reducing the intimacy between the husband and wife where the husband practices polygyny. Even if one can argue that the male can show equal regards, love and affection to different females practically this may not be true.

In lingua-franca we may say that where there is polygyny practiced the warmth of the relationship between the husband and wife shall be lesser than that where monogamy is practiced. On the basis of these insights the study analysed the polygyny of *Puthiyappilas* related to the family system (Table 6.5.1).

The analysis shows that an overwhelming majority of the respondents (93.13%) stated that their *Puthiyappilas* are observing monogamy strictly. Only 6.88% of the respondents revealed that their husbands practice polygyny. These results indicate that polygyny is an alien marriage system to the matrilineal Mappila Muslims. This indicates that the solidarity generated in the wedlock is very high. When speaking about the collectivity we can see that the social solidarity of the group is rather very high. In other words the absence of *Puthiyappilas* from polygyny is a contributing factor to the perpetuation of the matrilineal system (Table 6.5.1).

6.5.1. FAMILY SIZE AND THE PRACTICE OF POLYGyny

An enquiry into the association between the variables, namely, the size of the family and the practice revealed the results reflected Table 6.5.1.

The analysis in Table 6.5.1 indicates that the practice is relatively more among very large type families. As seen in the Table 16.22% of such families have witnessed polygyny practiced by few *Puthiyappilas*. The corresponding figure in respect of small and medium size families are respectively 7.69% and 5.33%. If we envelop these two families together the conclusion will be that there is a possibility of

occurrence of polygyny in families having large number of members. The reason for the occurrence is quite explicit- the number of *Puthiyappilas* of such families will be more and the possibility for the practice is high.

Table 6.5.1: Family Size and Practice of Polygyny

Family Size	Occurrence of Polygyny		Total
	YES	NO	
Small (1 – 5)	3 (7.69%)	36 (92.31%)	39 (100%)
Medium (5 – 15)	13 (5.33%)	231 (94.67%)	244 (100%)
Large (15 and Above)	6 (16.22%)	31 (83.78%)	37 (100%)
Total	22 (6.88%)	298 (93.12%)	320 (100%)

Chi- Square Value = 6.00, df = 2, Table Value = 5.99, $P \leq 0.05$
The association is significant at 5% level.

6.5.2. FAMILY COMPOSITION AND PRACTICE OF POLYGyny

Analysis contained in Table 6.5.2 which attempts to reveal the association between the variables, if any, existing indicates that these two variables are interrelated. The results indicate the explanation given in the analysis 6.5.1 is acceptable for the simple reason that, this Table indicates, families with complex compositions are witnessing polygyny of *Puthiyappilas* to a higher level. As seen in the Table, among the F+D+GC+SFL families 13.70% witness the behaviour of the *Puthiyappilas*.

Table 6.5.2: Family Composition and Practice of Polygyny

Family Composition	Occurrence of Polygyny		Total
	YES	NO	
Nuclear	3 (7.14%)	39 (92.86%)	42 (100%)
F+D+GC	9 (4.39%)	196 (95.61%)	205 (100%)
F+D+GC+SFL	10 (13.70%)	63 (86.30%)	73 (100%)
Total	22 (6.88%)	298 (93.12%)	320 (100%)

Chi- Square Value = 7.29, df = 2, Table Value = 5.99, $P \leq 0.05$
The association is significant at 5% level.

6.5.3. GEOGRAPHICAL AREA AND THE PRACTICE OF POLYGyny

Location wise analysis of the data shows that the variables are associated; though the association is very weak. It is seen in Table 6.5.3 that in Mahe none is practicing polygyny. The practice is more prevalent in Quilandy, followed by Kozhikode and Thalassery. Traces of this practice can be seen in Kannur and Vadakara. However it is to be pointed out that in numerical terms the number of cases is very small. Being this is the situation the researcher has not further enquired into the matter.

Table 6.5.3: Geographical Area and the Practice of Polygyny

Area	Occurrence of Polygyny		Total
	YES	NO	
KOZHIKODE	8 (10.00%)	72 (90.00%)	80 (100%)
QUILANDY	6 (15.00%)	34 (85.00%)	40 (100%)
VADAKARA	1 (2.50%)	39 (97.50%)	40 (100%)
MAHE	0 (0.00%)	40 (100.00%)	40 (100%)
THALASSERY	4 (10.00%)	36 (90.00%)	40 (100%)
KANNUR	3 (3.75%)	77 (96.25%)	80 (100%)
Total	22 (6.87%)	298 (93.13%)	320 (100%)

Chi- Square Value = 11.32, df = 5, Table Value = 11.07, $P \leq 0.05$
The association is significant at 5% level.

6.6. THE OCCURRENCE OF DIVORCE

Divorce is an indication of the bickerings in the marital relationship of the parties concerned. The reasons for such disorders may be different. However it indicates the instability of family relationship which affects a number of persons including the off-springs of the marital relationship. At the macro level it is to be considered as an instability of the group. Here in this study one of the indices selected for analysing the stability and strength the group under consideration was the rate of divorce taking place in the population.

Analysis of the collected data which is given in Table 6.6.1 shows that the occurrence of this ‘accident’ in the marital relationship of matrilineal Mappila Muslims is very rare. This indicates the strength and solidarity of the group of Mappilas. As per the empirical data only 6.25% of the families have witnessed divorces and the rest have never experienced such unhappy incidents. Therefore this research underlines the unity and cohesion that are perceivable in the community. We can conclude that the system is supported by the community for its survival and perpetuation.

6.6.1. SIZE OF THE FAMILY AND OCCURRENCE OF DIVORCE

The analysis of data on the basis of the independent variable, namely, the size of the family reveals a very interesting fact. Naturally we expect more divorces in big size families. However the analysis in Table 6.6.1 indicates that the reality is in the other way round. While 15.38% of the small size families witness divorces, the same is only 5.74% in medium size families. And it is absolutely nil in large size families. A logical explanation for this prima facie contradiction may be that the small size family members may be aspiring for unattainable material and other attainments. This may be virtually taking the family to chaos. Divorce is to be considered as one of the offshoots of the breakdown.

Table 6.6.1: Size of Family and Occurrence of Divorce

Family Size (No. of Persons)	Occurrence of Divorce		Total
	YES	NO	
1- 5	6 (15.38%)	33 (84.62%)	39 (100%)
5 - 15	14 (5.74%)	230 (94.26%)	244 (100%)
15 and Above	0 (0.00%)	37 (100.00%)	37 (100%)
Total	20 (6.25%)	300 (93.75%)	320 (100%)

Chi- Square Value = 8.13, df = 2, Table Value = 5.99, $P \leq 0.05$
 The association is significant at 5% level.

6.6.2. FAMILY COMPOSITION AND OCCURRENCE OF DIVORCE

In order to know which types of family experiences the problem of divorce to a greater extent, an analysis as shown in Table 6.6.2 was carried out.

The results are very interesting. The rate of occurrence of divorce in small size family is higher. 16.67% of the nuclear family, 4.88% of F+D+GC families and 4.11% of F+D+GC+SFL families experience the problem of divorce. The results support the interpretation of the results in the previous section (6.6.1), the smaller families became the epicentre of this types of ‘accidents’ in marital relationship and this may be due to the reason explained in the previous section.

Table 6.6.2: Family Composition and Occurrence of Divorce

Family Composition	Occurrence of Divorce		Total
	YES	NO	
Nuclear	7 (16.67%)	35 (83.33%)	42 (100%)
F+D+GC	10 (4.88%)	195 (95.12%)	205 (100%)
F+D+GC+SFL	3 (4.11%)	70 (95.89%)	73 (100%)
Total	20 (6.25%)	300 (93.75%)	320 (100%)

Chi- Square Value = 9.01, df = 2, Table Value = 5.99, $P \leq 0.05$
The association is significant at 5% level.

6.7. WOMEN IN MATRILocal MUSLIM FAMILY

It is the usual feeling that women are degraded in the family systems, particularly in patrilineal system. In this study on the basis of this perception of the status of women in the family an enquiry was conducted as to the sustenance of the impression on the status of women. The respondents were asked how do they rate the advantages of matrilocal system with regard to the status of women compared to the patrilocal system. Mainly three responses were elicited for this query. 89.33% of the respondents stated that matrilocal system is definitely more friendly to the females. Another category of respondents is constituted by those who are in a dilemma to give a concrete answer (7.19%). 2.81% refused to oblige to this question. A fourth category categorically responded that it is in no way conducive for the female's welfare

(0.63%). This analysis in unequivocal terms conclude that the women of the system perceive the system as women friendly and they have all praise for the system.

6.7.1. FAMILY SIZE AND PERCEPTION ON THE WOMEN FRIENDLY

NATURE OF MATRILocal SYSTEM

The association between family size and the perception on the matter is analysed in Table 6.7.1. It is seen that equal proportions of the respondents belonging to medium size and large size families subscribe to the opinion that matrilocal system is definitely more advantageous over the patrilocal system when we take into account the case of females. Only 71.79% of the small size family members express their view on the matter in this fashion. The small size family being very compact may be feeling that they are well protected in the system. The rate of social interaction between the family members in this system may be higher and this impression regarding status of women may be created by the situation. But in large families such interactions may be lesser as there are several members to interact with and, therefore, they may be perceiving the advantages of matrilocal system to a great extent. In fact it is the matrilocal system which brings together so many number of female members and facilitate the high rate of interaction among the many members.

Table 6.7.1: Family Size and the Perception

Family Size (No. of Persons)	Women Friendly Nature				Total
	High status in matrilocal system	Not Sure	Not higher	No Opinion	
1 – 5 (Small)	28 (71.79%)	10 (25.64%)	0 (0.00%)	1 (2.57%)	39 (100%)
5 – 15 (Medium)	224 (91.80%)	12 (4.92%)	1 (0.41%)	7 (2.87%)	244 (100%)
15 and Above (Large)	34 (9.90%)	1 (2.70%)	1 (2.70%)	1 (2.70%)	37 (100%)
Total	286 (89.38%)	23 (7.19%)	2 (0.62%)	9 (2.81%)	320 (100%)

Chi- Square Value = 25.79, df = 6, Table Value = 12.29, $P \leq 0.01$
The association is significant at 1% level.

6.7.2. FAMILY COMPOSITION AND THE PERCEPTION

The second analysis carried out in this section indicates that the composition of the family and the perception are associated. The analysis is projected in Table 6.7.2.

The analysis in Table 6.7.2 reveals that in nuclear families the perception on the advantages of matrilocal system from the point of view of protection to female members is weaker. 89.76% of the F+D+GC families and 93.15% of the F+D+GC+SFL families subscribe to the view that matrilocal system is more friendly to the female members. 80.95% of those who belong to nuclear families also subscribe to the view. That is, the more the number of relatives in the family the greater their appreciation for the system.

Table 6.7.2: Family Composition and the Perception

Family Composition	Women Friendly Nature				Total
	High status in matrilocal system	Not Sure	Not Higher	No Opinion	
Nuclear	34 (80.95%)	8 (19.05%)	0 (0.00%)	0 (0.00%)	42 (100%)
F+D+GC	184 (89.76%)	10 (4.88%)	2 (0.97%)	9 (4.39%)	205 (100%)
F+D+GC+SFL	68 (93.15%)	5 (6.85%)	0 (0.00%)	0 (0.00%)	73 (100%)
Total	286 (89.38%)	23 (7.19%)	2 (0.62%)	9 (2.81%)	320 (100%)

Chi- Square Value = 16.38, df = 6, Table Value = 12.29, $P \leq 0.05$
 The association is significant at 5% level.

6.7.3. GEOGRAPHICAL LOCALITY AND THE PERCEPTION

Regarding the influence of the geographical location in which the respondents reside, the analysis of the data confirms that it is a determinant of the perception. The respondents belong to Kozhikode, Thalassery, Kannur and Vada-kara have similar outlook. That is, they are very firm to their belief that the matrilocal system is highly women friendly compared to the patrilocal system. The firmness of the people of Quilandy and Mahe is not that much as that of the above mentioned groups.

Table 6.7.3: Geographical Locality and the Perception

Area	Women Friendly Nature				Total
	High status in matrilocal system	Not Sure	Not Higher	No Opinion	
KOZHICODE	76 (95.00%)	1 (1.25%)	0 (0.00%)	3 (3.75%)	80 (100%)
QUILANDY	28 (70.00%)	10 (25.00%)	1 (2.50%)	1 (2.50%)	40 (100%)
VADAKARA	35 (87.50%)	5 (12.50%)	0 (0.00%)	0 (0.00%)	40 (100%)
MAHE	32 (80.00%)	3 (7.50%)	1 (2.50%)	4 (10.00%)	40 (100%)
THALASSERY	39 (97.50%)	1 (2.50%)	0 (0.00%)	0 (0.00%)	40 (100%)
KANNUR	76 (95.00%)	3 (3.75%)	0 (0.00%)	1 (1.25%)	80 (100%)
Total	286 (89.38%)	23 (7.19%)	2 (0.62%)	9 (2.81%)	320 (100%)

Chi- Square Value = 45.20, df = 15, Table Value = 30.58, $P \leq 0.01$
The association is significant at 1% level.

6.7.4. PLACE OF RESIDENCE AND THE PERCEPTION

How the place of residence is associated with the perception, was another question dealt with during the analysis of the data. Accordingly the empirical data was analysed. The analysis shown in Table 6.7.4.

The analysis in the Table indicates that the appreciation for the matrilocal family system increases from rural to urban through sub-urban population. While only 78.26% of the ruralites express the view that the system is definitely advantages to female members, 87.57% of the sub-urban, 93.75% of the urban respondents

expressed their views in this manner. The ruralites may be depending on the wider societies for their social interaction purposes. But the sub-urbanites and urbanites may more depending only on their family circles for the purpose. This may be the reason for the difference in their perception. This reasoning may be seem substantiated because of the fact that at the two extremities come the rural and the urban, and the sub-urban comes in between these two poles. We know that the dependence of the sub-urbanites on family circle for the social interactional purpose will be greater than that of the ruralites and lesser than that of the urbanites. Hence this conclusion.

Table 6.7.4: Place of Residence and the Perception

Place of Residence	Women Friendly Nature				Total
	High status in matrilocal system	Not Sure	Not High	No Opinion	
Rural	18 (78.26%)	5 (21.74%)	0 (0.00%)	0 (0.00%)	23 (100%)
Sub-urban	148 (87.57%)	15 (8.88%)	1 (0.59%)	5 (2.96%)	169 (100%)
Urban	120 (93.75%)	3 (2.34%)	1 (0.78%)	4 (3.13%)	128 (100%)
Total	286 (89.38%)	23 (7.19%)	2 (0.62%)	9 (2.81%)	320 (100%)

Chi- Square Value = 13.18, df = 6, Table Value = 12.59, $P \leq 0.05$
The association is significant at 5% level.

6.8. MALE MEMBERS IN MATRILocal MUSLIM FAMILY

This study also enquired into the favourable nature of the matriloal family environment for the male members. For this purpose the respondents were asked to reveal their outlook on the matter. When the elicited data was analysed it is revealed that 58.44% of the respondents expressed that the support from the in-laws for the *puthiyappila* (visiting husbands) is to be highly appreciated. Another 14.06% of the respondents highlighted that the system is a burden for the male members. Scattered responses were received from 27.50% of the respondents. When we consolidate the spirit of these responses we feel that the matriloal family system provides a male friendly environment too.

Subsidiary analyses were carried out to identify the association between the background variables and the perception, if any existing. Analysis indicates that age, education, occupation, income, family size and place of residence are associated with the perception. The analyses are given in the following sections.

6.8.1. AGE AND PERCEPTION ON THE ADVANTAGES OF MATRILocal SYSTEM FOR THE MALE MEMBERS

When the data was analysed on the basis of age status of the respondents it is seen that as the age increases the perception that the *puthiyappilas* will get high support from the matriloal families increase. The relationship can be seen as very systematically revealed (Table 6.8.1). It can be seen 76.47% of the respondents

belonging to the age group below 40 years, 60.19% of those who belong to 40 – 55 age group, 56.25% of 55 – 70 and 48% of the 70 and above age groups perceive that, the matrilineal family system is highly supporting for the *puthiyappilas*. The youngsters show more favour to the matrilineal family system. This pattern indicates that in recent times the support is steadily increase.

Table 6.8.1: Age and the Perception

Age (In Years)	Support from in-laws	Less financial burden	Others	Total
Up to 40	26 (76.47%)	3 (8.82%)	5 (14.71%)	34 (100%)
40 - 55	65 (60.19%)	16 (14.81%)	27 (25.00%)	108 (100%)
55 - 70	72 (56.25%)	24 (18.75%)	32 (25.00%)	128 (100%)
70 and Above	24 (48.00%)	2 (4.00%)	24 (48.00%)	50 (100%)
Total	187 (58.44%)	45 (14.06%)	88 (27.50%)	320 (100%)

Chi- Square Value = 19.49 df = 6, Table Value = 16.81, $P \leq 0.01$
The association is significant at 1% level.

6.8.2. EDUCATION AND THE PERCEPTION

The association between education of the respondents and their perception on this matter is revealed in the analysis contain in Table 6.8.2.

Table 6.8.2: Education and the Perception

Educational Status	Advantages Of Matrilocality			Total
	Support from in-laws	Less financial burden	Others	
No formal schooling	49 (62.82%)	6 (7.69%)	23 (29.49%)	78 (100%)
Primary educated	71 (51.45%)	32 (23.19%)	35 (25.36%)	138 (100%)
High school educated	67 (64.42%)	7 (6.73%)	30 (28.85%)	104 (100%)
Total	187 (58.44%)	45 (14.06%)	88 (27.50%)	320 (100%)

Chi- Square Value = 16.86, df = 4, Table Value = 13.28, $P \leq 0.01$
The association is significant at 1% level.

The analysis reveals that those who have no formal schooling and those who have high school education are upholding similar views. However, the primary educated respondents have a different outlook. The former two groups highly appreciate the support got from the matrilocal family system to the male members. Even though the majority of the primary educated respondents (51.45%) have favourable outlook towards the matter, their strength is relatively lower than the former two groups. 64.42% of the high school educated and 62.82% of those who have no formal schooling support the family system in this regard. The primary school educated respondents may be aspiring for much help from the matrilocal system than the other two categories do. This may be the reason for the lesser support rendered by the primary school educated to be matrilocal family system.

6.8.3. OCCUPATIONAL STATUS AND THE PERCEPTION

Occupational status and the perception are associated, the analysis indicates (Table 6.8.3). The respondents who belong to the category of home makers are far ahead in appreciating the support rendered by the matrilocal family system to the male members who follow the system of *puthiyappilas*. 59.29% of them uphold this view. When we come to the respondents who are employed outside we see that their appreciation for the system with regard to this matter is very feeble. Only 25% of the category stated that, the system is supportive to the male members who follow the *puthiyappila* system. A possible explanation for this difference in their perception may be that the employed category may be maintaining itself without seeking the support of their parental family. In the case of Home makers category it may be depending solely on its parental family.

Table 6.8.3: Occupational Status and the Perception

Occupation	Advantages Of Matrilocality			Total
	Support from in-laws	Less financial burden	Others	
Home Makers	185 (59.29%)	45 (14.43%)	82 (26.28%)	312 (100%)
Employed Outside	2 (25.00%)	0 (0.00%)	6 (75.00%)	8 (100%)
Total	187 (58.44%)	45 (14.06%)	88 (27.50%)	320 (100%)

Chi- Square Value = 9.46, df = 2, Table Value = 9.21, P ≤ 0.01
The association is significant at 1% level.

6.8.4. INCOME AND THE PERCEPTION

Analysis on the basis of the income status reveals that association between the variables is significant. The analysis (Table 6.8.4) indicates that appreciation for the system in this matter is highest among the income group Rs. 10000 – 13000. 79.17% of the category responded that the family system is highly advantageous for the *uthiyappilas*. Rs. 13000 and above comes next in the hierarchy. Third comes the Rs. 7000 – 10000 category. Finally the below Rs. 7000 category comes. The percentages who support the system from the respective income categories are 62.32%, 60% and 52.38% respectively. The results indicate that the appreciation is relatively lower among the lower income categories. The reason may be that, as mentioned elsewhere, these categories may be aspiring for more help from the families than what they actually get at present.

Table 6.8.4: Income and the Perception

Income (In Rs.)	Advantages Of Matrilocality			Total
	Support from in-laws	Less financial burden	Others	
Up to 7000	77 (52.38%)	31 (21.09%)	39 (26.53%)	147 (100%)
7000 - 10000	48 (60.00%)	7 (8.75%)	25 (31.25%)	80 (100%)
10000 - 13000	19 (79.17%)	2 (8.33%)	3 (12.50%)	24 (100%)
13000 and Above	43 (62.32%)	5 (7.25%)	21 (30.43%)	69 (100%)
Total	187 (58.44%)	45 (14.06%)	88 (27.50%)	320 (100%)

Chi- Square Value = 15.14, df = 6, Table Value = 12.29, $P \leq 0.01$
The association is significant at 1% level.

6.8.5. FAMILY SIZE AND THE PERCEPTION

Analysis of the data based on the size of the family indicates that the medium size families distinguish themselves in this context from the small and large size families. It is those families which express highest level of appreciation for the matrilineal family system for the support given to the *puthiyappilas*. 60% of the respondents come under the category of those who appreciate the familial support very much. Regarding the other two groups, that is, small and large families, majority of them show great appreciation for the matrilineal family with regard to this matter. 51.28% of the small and 51.35% of large size families come under this category. The unsatisfied needs of the small and large size families by the matrilineal system may be the reason for their lesser satisfaction.

Table 6.8.5: Family Size and the Perception

Family Size (No. of Persons)	Advantages Of Matrilineality			Total
	Support from in-laws	Less financial burden	Others	
Small (1 – 5)	20 (51.28%)	6 (15.39%)	13 (33.33%)	39 (100%)
Medium (5 – 15)	148 (60.65%)	28 (11.48%)	68 (27.87%)	244 (100%)
Large (15 and Above)	19 (51.35%)	11 (29.73%)	7 (18.92%)	37 (100%)
Total	187 (58.44%)	45 (14.06%)	88 (27.50%)	320 (100%)

Chi- Square Value = 10.02, df = 4, Table Value = 9.49, $P \leq 0.05$
The association is significant at 5% level.

6.8.6. PLACE OF RESIDENCE AND THE PERCEPTION

Analysis 6.8.6 reveals a clear relationship that exists between the variables. The appreciation for the support given to the *puthiyappilas* from the matrilocal family is the highest among sub-urban families (66.27%). The appreciation gets reduced as we pass on to rural situation through the urban situation. It is seen in Table 6.8.6 that only 27.74% of the ruralites are supporters of the matrilocal system in this regard. However 54.69% of the urbanites express their regards for the matrilocal family for the support given to *puthiyappilas*. An explanation for the variations in the outlook may be the one, cited in the previous section.

Table 6.8.6:Place of Residence and the Perception

Place of Residence	Advantages Of Matrilocality			Total
	High support from in-laws	Less financial burden	Others	
Rural	5 (21.74%)	9 (39.13%)	9 (39.13%)	23 (100%)
Sub-urban	112 (66.27%)	15 (8.88%)	42 (24.85%)	169 (100%)
Urban	70 (54.69%)	21 (16.41%)	37 (28.90%)	128 (100%)
Total	187 (58.44%)	45 (14.06%)	88 (27.50%)	320 (100%)

Chi- Square Value = 23.05, df = 4, Table Value = 13.28, $P \leq 0.01$
The association is significant at 1% level.

6.9. CHILDREN IN MATRILocal FAMILY SYSTEM

The bringing up of a child as a functional member of the society is a tedious task which requires the care, attention and assistance of many persons. In the early infancy and childhood, family is the most suitable rearing and caring centre. At present many children are not getting this congenial social climate in the early days for the simple reason that most of them are brought up in nuclear families. Physically, intellectually and in much other dimensions the children brought up in nuclear families may be showing strong calibre. However, in certain profiles such as balanced emotional conditions, pious outlook towards other human, lower species etc. the children show shortages. It is the general feeling that a child who has been brought up in a larger family has excellent qualities such as those described above. In this background this study has enquired into the type of relatives who are bearing the brunt in the caring of a child in the matrilocal family system.

Analysis of the collected data proves that mainly three types of relatives take care of the children in the matrilocal family system. The relatives are mother, grand mother and mother's sisters. It has been seen that the mother is primary person who takes care of the children in the family. Next comes mother's sisters. Only thirdly the grandmother comes into the scene. The strength of the respective groups are 49.06%, 28.13% and 15.63%. (Table 6.9.1). The interesting fact that is to be highlighted here is that mother's sisters are playing an important role in the caring of the children. In a

patrilocal family we can never think of the mother's sister's role. It is a known fact that female members of the family are the fittest person to care the children, especially during their infancy and early childhood. Matrilocal family offers this situation to the maximum extent possible because of the fact that the sisters are residing under a roof. And they have devotion and commitment to take care of the children because they are the direct blood relatives of the children. Further, we see that the grandmother also is contributing all efforts that are possible by her in the bringing up of the children. Therefore, a child in the matrilocal family is under the perfect protage of its immediate female blood relatives. What else is required for a balanced growth of a child, physically, mentally, socially and emotionally ? In short, a matrilocal family system supplies the most salubrious and equable climate to the development of a child. Therefore the female siblings will be definitely aspiring for the continuation of these type of family system.

6.9.1. AGE AND CHILD REARING PATTERN

Analysis of the data based on the age status of the respondent reveals that majority of the age groups, namely, 55 to 70 years and 70 years and above stated that mother is primarily responsible for nurturing children in their family. (55.47% and 60% respectively of the groups). Regarding the younger age groups (below 40 years and 40 to 55 years) the responsibility is almost equally shared by mothers and mother's sisters. This result indicates that recently mother and mother's sister/s put

their efforts together almost equally in nurturing the off-springs of the *tharawad*. So much of solidarity was not existed in the past in this matter. This is because the older generation belonging to the age group 55 years and above stated that in their family, mother is bearing the brunt in nurturing the children. Therefore, the inference is that the tendency to get closer within the matrilocal system is becoming more intense.

Table 6.9.1:Age and the Child Rearing Pattern

Age (In years)	Relative Taking Care Of Children				Total
	Mother	Grand mother	Mother's sister	Others	
Up to 40	15 (44.12%)	2 (5.88%)	13 (38.24%)	4 (11.76%)	34 (100%)
40 - 55	41 (37.96%)	24 (22.22%)	33 (30.56%)	10 (9.26%)	108 (100%)
55 – 70	71 (55.47%)	20 (15.62%)	32 (25.00%)	5 (3.91%)	128 (100%)
70 and Above	30 (60.00%)	4 (8.00%)	12 (24.00%)	4 (8.00%)	50 (100%)
Total	157 (49.06%)	50 (15.63%)	90 (28.12%)	23 (7.19%)	320 (100%)

Chi- Square Value = 17.91, df = 9, Table Value = 16.92, $P \leq 0.05$
The association is significant at 5% level.

6.9.2. EDUCATION AND CHILD REARING PATTERN

The data collected in this context was again analysed against the educational status of the respondents. The analysis is shown in Table 6.9.2. It indicates that the better educated is aspiring more for sharing the task of child nurturing among their female siblings. This conclusion is based on the fact that 38.46% stated that the

mother primarily responsible for the child rearing and a closer proportion of the respondents from the educational group (33.65%) revealed that their sisters are primarily taking care of their children in the family system. The lower educated respondents are not aspiring for so much of assistance of child rearing from their female siblings. 55.13% of those who have no formal schooling and 53.62% of the primary educated stated that mother is primarily responsible for this task. Only 34.62% and 20.29% respectively of the groups seek the assistance of female siblings for executing this responsibility. It is interesting again to note that the grandmother is supporting to a greater extent the primary and high school educated respondents who execute the task of child rearing.

Table 6.9.2: Education and Child Rearing Pattern

Educational Status	Relative Taking Care Of Children				Total
	Mother	Grand Mother	Mother's Sisters	Others	
No formal schooling	43 (55.13%)	2 (2.56%)	27 (34.62%)	6 (7.69%)	78 (100%)
Primary educated	74 (53.62%)	28 (20.29%)	28 (20.29%)	8 (5.80%)	138 (100%)
High school educated	40 (38.46%)	20 (19.23%)	35 (33.65%)	9 (8.66%)	104 (100%)
Total	157 (49.06%)	50 (15.63%)	90 (28.12%)	23 (7.19%)	320 (100%)

Chi- Square Value = 20.88, df = 6, Table Value = 16.81, $P \leq 0.01$
The association is significant at 1% level.

6.9.3. INCOME AND CHILD REARING PATTERN

Another enquiry which attempted the identification of the relationship between income status and person who is primarily responsible for child rearing, if existing, revealed that income is a determinant of the practice. The lower income group share the task of rearing children to a greater extent between mother and female siblings. Similarly the upper middle income group (Rs. 10000 – 13000) assign the task primarily to their female siblings. In fact it is interesting to note that the mothers in the group have only secondary role in rearing their children. Another important result which is perceivable in the analysis is that the upper income group is reluctant to assign the task of rearing children to other relatives. 75.36% of the group stated that mother is primarily responsible for taking care of their children. A meagre portion of 11.59% assign the task to their female siblings, and another 10.14% to the grandmother of the children. Therefore, we may arrive at the conclusion that the lower income group share the responsibility with their female siblings to a greater extent. The upper-middle income group put the task primarily on their female siblings. However, the upper income group shoulder the task by themselves.

Table 6.9.3: Income and Child Rearing Pattern

Income (In Rs.)	Relative Taking Care Of Children				Total
	Mother	Grand Mother	Mother's Sisters	Others	
Up to 7000	61 (41.50%)	24 (16.33%)	48 (32.65%)	14 (9.52%)	147 (100%)
7000 - 10000	36 (45.00%)	17 (21.25%)	22 (27.50%)	5 (6.25%)	80 (100%)
10000 - 13000	8 (33.34%)	2 (8.33%)	12 (50.00%)	2 (8.33%)	24 (100%)
13000 and Above	52 (75.36%)	7 (10.14%)	8 (11.59%)	2 (2.91%)	69 (100%)
Total	157 (49.06%)	50 (15.63%)	90 (28.12%)	23 (7.19%)	320 (100%)

Chi- Square Value = 31.63, df = 9, Table Value = 21.67, $P \leq 0.01$
The association is significant at 1% level.

6.9.4. FAMILY COMPOSITION AND CHILD REARING PATTERN

Analysis based on the composition of the family reveals a definite pattern in the child rearing process of the families. In the Nuclear families the mother primarily take care of the task (50%). The grand mother also support the mother in this matter whole heartedly (35.71%) in component families. Majority of the family consisting of F+D+GC (52.20%), shoulder the task by the mother herself. However their female siblings are involving in the task considerably (26.83%). Coming to the third category of family F+D+GC+SFL, there is a reversal. In this type of family the female siblings are bearing the brunt of the task and the mother comes only second to the siblings.

Therefore the conclusion is that the family composition has a telling effect on the child rearing task executed by the members.

Table 6.9.4: Family Composition and Child Rearing Pattern

Family Composition	Relative Taking Care Of Children				Total
	Mother	Grand Mother	Mother's Sisters	Others	
Nuclear	21 (50.00%)	15 (35.72%)	3 (7.14%)	3 (7.14%)	42 (100%)
F+D+GC	107 (52.20%)	28 (13.66%)	55 (26.83%)	15 (7.31%)	205 (100%)
F+D+GC+SFL	29 (39.73%)	7 (9.59%)	32 (43.84%)	5 (6.84%)	73 (100%)
Total	157 (49.06%)	50 (15.63%)	90 (28.12%)	23 (7.19%)	320 (100%)

Chi- Square Value = 27.89, df = 6, Table Value = 16.81, $P \leq 0.01$
The association is significant at 1% level.

6.9.5. FAMILY SIZE AND CHILD REARING PATTERN

The family size is assumed to have association with the child rearing pattern. Accordingly, an analysis of data was carried out as shown in Table 6.9.5. The analysis reveals that the task of child nurturing in small and medium size families is primarily on the mothers. 69.23% and 50.41% respectively of the group stated that the mother is at the forefront of child nurturing responsibilities. In the medium size family the female siblings are also playing a significant role in the matter. However, the scenario of the large size family is totally different from those of the small and medium size families. Here female siblings come first with regard to responsibility and

grandmother comes second, the mother is only third in sharing the responsibilities.

This researcher has personal experience of the pattern of child rearing in large matrilineal muslim families. It has been seen that the security and safety of the child is not only the concern of the mother as in the case of matrilineal families. In fact the mother leaves her child in the lap of the other relatives. The relatives take care of the child by providing all the necessities.

Table 6.9.5: Family Size and Child Rearing Pattern

Family Size	Relative Taking Care Of Children				Total
	Mother	Grand Mother	Mother's Sisters	Others	
Small (1 – 5)	27 (69.23%)	7 (17.95%)	4 (10.26%)	1 (2.56%)	39 (100%)
Medium (5 – 15)	123 (50.41%)	29 (11.88%)	71 (29.10%)	21 (8.61%)	244 (100%)
Large (15 and Above)	7 (18.92%)	14 (37.84%)	15 (40.54%)	1 (2.70%)	37 (100%)
Total	157 (49.06%)	50 (15.63%)	90 (28.12%)	23 (7.19%)	320 (100%)

Chi- Square Value = 33.60, df = 6, Table Value = 16.81, $P \leq 0.01$
The association is significant at 1% level.

6.9.6. GEOGRAPHICAL LOCATION AND CHILD REARING PATTERN

There is a significant association between geographical location and child rearing practice, analysis of Table 6.9.6 reveals. Majority of the respondents belonging to Quilandy, Thalassery and Kozhikode stated that the mother is at the central position in matters relating to child rearing. In Mahe it is interesting to note

that the majority (55%) entrust this task with the female siblings. The Vadakara and Thalassery people are also more interested to entrust the task to their female siblings. Another note worthy point is that a sizable portion of the respondents belonging to Kozhikode (26.25%), Kannur (20%) and Mahe (15%) seek the support of the child's grandmother in executing the task. These analyses indicate that the behaviour of the families have association with the locality of the population.

Table 6.9.6:Geographical Location and Child Rearing Pettern

Area	Relative Taking Care Of Children				Total
	Mother	Grand Mother	Mother's Sisters	Others	
KOZHIKODE	45 (56.25%)	21 (26.25%)	9 (11.25%)	5 (6.25%)	80 (100%)
QUILANDY	24 (60.00%)	3 (7.50%)	9 (22.50%)	4 (10.00%)	40 (100%)
VADAKARA	19 (47.50%)	2 (5.00%)	15 (37.50%)	4 (10.00%)	40 (100%)
MAHE	10 (25.00%)	6 (15.00%)	22 (55.00%)	2 (5.00%)	40 (100%)
THALASSERY	21 (52.50%)	2 (5.00%)	13 (32.50%)	4 (10.00%)	40 (100%)
KANNUR	38 (47.50%)	16 (20.00%)	22 (27.50%)	4 (5.00%)	80 (100%)
Total	157 (49.06%)	50 (15.63%)	90 (28.12%)	23 (7.19%)	320 (100%)

Chi- Square Value = 43.51, df = 15, Table Value = 30.58, $P \leq 0.01$
The association is significant at 1% level.

6.9.7. THE PLACE OF RESIDENCE AND THE CHILD REARING PATTERN

How the place of residence influences the child rearing pattern was another question before this research study. Accordingly, analysis as shown in Table 6.9.7 was carried out to answer the question. The analysis reveals that there is close relationship between the two variables. The practice of rearing the child with the mother at the centre of the activities increases systematically from the ruralites to the urbanites through the sub-urbanites. Only 39.13% stated that mother is the central personality in this matter. The corresponding figures in respect of the sub-urbanites and the urbanites are respectively 43.20% and 58.59%. It is seen that the involvement of the mother and female siblings among the sub-urbanites is almost equal. 40.24% of sub-urbanites seek the support of the female siblings in this matter. The ruralites are lesser interested in involving the female siblings (21.74%) and the urbanites the least (13.8%). However it is interesting to note that the involvement of the grand mother in rural families rubs shoulders with that of the mother (30.43%). Further the urbanites are more interested in the service of the grandmother than that of the female siblings. Here 24.22% of the respondents stated that in their families grand mother is the central pin in this matter. So the answer to the question is that variables have close relationship.

Table 6.9.7:Place of Residence and Child Rearing Pattern

Place of Residence	Relative Taking Care Of Children				Total
	Mother	Grand Mother	Mother's Sisters	Others	
Rural	9 (39.13%)	7 (30.43%)	5 (21.74%)	2 (8.70%)	23 (100%)
Sub-Urban	73 (43.20%)	12 (7.10%)	68 (40.24%)	16 (9.46%)	169 (100%)
Urban	75 (58.59%)	31 (24.22%)	17 (13.28%)	5 (3.91%)	23 (100%)
Total	157 (49.06%)	50 (15.63%)	90 (28.12%)	23 (7.19%)	320 (100%)

Chi- Square Value = 43.54, df = 6, Table Value = 16.81, $P \leq 0.01$
 The association is significant at 1% level.

On a consolidation of the results elicited from the analyses we must say that the social environment of matrilineal family system is highly conducive for the well being all the members of the family, particularly the younger ones. Therefore it may be logical to interpret that this environment is definitely contributing to the continuance of the matrilineal family system among Mappila Muslims.



Chapter : VII

ECONOMIC PROFILE OF MATRILocal FAMILY

The economic profile of the matrilocal family system of the study area has been analysed in depth in this research. This was necessitated because of the fact that one of the major hypotheses of the study was that the economic activities of the family have been designed in such a way that they are not detrimental to any of the component families or even any of the individual members who constitute the complex family system. Therefore, in contradistinction to the Hindu joint family where the economic burden is at the disposal of certain segments, the matrilocal Mappila Muslim family does not give any thrust on any particular segment of the system. At the same time the social atmosphere of the family system was conducive for the flourishing of the social psyche and individual personality of the family members. Therefore, the question before the members is that why we disintegrate the social and psychological happy environment existing in the family if one has no burden, particularly economic burden, in the steering forward of the family system. Naturally there will be no room for any rethinking for the members to depart from the family system. Hence the economic profile coupled with the social environment of the system has a positive influence for its continuance and flourishing.

This is the conceptual foundation of the analyses in this chapter. The various analyses undertaken in view of this articulation are discussed in the ensuing sections.

7.1. THE ASSETS OF THE FAMILY

In this research an enquiry into the nature of assets of the normal matrilineal family was carried out. It was revealed that their assets consists of mainly two stocks, namely land and investment in trade. It is also seen that there are large number of families having no particular assets of its own. Certain other families posses such other assets like small scale industries, trade related industries, rental buildings and go-downs.

The data collected relating to the assets through the schedule is analysed as shown in 7.1.1. The clustering of the responses are brought under the following four heads, namely, land, investment in trade, other investments and no assets. The first point of the analysis is that majority of the households (56.88%) have no definite assets at all. Further probing of this unexpected fact revealed that the members of the household are deriving out resources for their daily necessities by employing themselves in other firms and production units.

The large number of the households are depending on remittance from the Middle East. However, it has been observed that each household has spacial buildings valuing lakhs of rupees. They were established by the forefathers who were affluent

persons. However, these dwelling units by tradition are unalienable and indivisible. Therefore, the number of the family consider this assets comes under nobody's custody.

19.69% of the respondents stated that their assets consist of such properties as go-downs given for rent, shops hired out, trade related industries, value addition industries etc. These are clustered in the column having the caption 'others'. 15.63% have investment in trade. It is a truism that most of the merchants in the geographical locality considered belong to Mappila Muslims. They are engaged in business having fairly big capital turn over. Another 7.81% have investment in landed properties.

On a consolidation of these facts we must say that majority of the matrilineal families have no movable assets of their own disregarding the ownership of the gigantic dwelling units. In fact, investment in land and cultivating land are alien concept to the matrilineal Mappila Muslims. This is revealed by the fact that only 7.81% of the families have investment in land. Then the question cropped in the mind of the researcher was how they manage such a big household and things related to it. Enquiries were made into this area, and very briefly speaking it can be stated that the matrilineal household as a whole requires very limited resources for its own management. Occasional repair for the building, telephone, electricity, water etc charges are the major expenditure of the type. This expenditure is mobilised from the contributions of the component families or *bhagams*. Those matrilineal households

which have assets of their own which generate income, they meet the expenditure from such incomes.

The analysis in short indicates that matrilocal households are actually a collection of component families having their own material profiles, that is, the component families are almost self supporting economically. The component families are much depending on the households only for the social atmosphere created as a result of collective living.

7.1.1. AGE AND ASSETS OF FAMILY

Following the general pattern of analysis resorted to in the study the data relating to the assets of the family was analysed against the age structure of the respondents. The analysis shows (Table 7.1.1) that there is significant association between the age of the respondents and asset possessed by the households. It is seen that the younger and the old-old age groups have assets of land to a greater extent. 11.76% of the younger age group (below 40 years) and 16% of the old-old (70 and above) age group stated that they have investment in land. The corresponding figures in respect of the lower-middle and upper-middle age groups are respectively 7.41% and 3.91% (40 – 55 and 55 – 70 years). The analysis indicates that recently the households are investing the resources in land in greater proportion. Similarly during earlier period also the habit was in vogue. (70 and above age group holds land more than the middle age groups do). However, it is revealed during the personal

interaction these lands are not primarily meant for agriculture or plantation; But as real-estate investment, particularly in the case of younger generation. The old-old age group acquired land for constructing *pandikasalas* or go-downs, establishing saw mills, and wood industries.

Another point to be highlighted is, majority of all age groups except the old-old are members of matrilocal households having no assets except their dwelling units and premises attached there to. However, only 46% of the old-old come under this category. It is interesting to note that 30% of them have investment in such assets as trade related industries, rental go-down and shops etc. When we consolidate these facts the old-old has better assets. The younger age groups are also getting on the path of the old-old in this regard. While the middle age group lag behind the other two groups. It is a crucial question which is to be answered by proper probing.

Table 7.1.1:Age and Assets of Family

Age (In years)	Family Assets				Total
	Land	Investment in trade	Others	Nil	
Below 40	4 (11.76%)	4 (11.76%)	7 (20.59%)	19 (55.89%)	34 (100%)
40 - 55	8 (7.41%)	14 (12.96%)	17 (15.74%)	69 (63.89%)	108 (100%)
55 - 70	5 (3.90%)	28 (21.88%)	24 (18.75%)	71 (55.47%)	128 (100%)
70 and Above	8 (16.00%)	4 (8.00%)	15 (30.00%)	23 (46.00%)	50 (100%)
Total	25 (7.81%)	50 (15.62%)	63 (19.69%)	182 (56.88%)	320 (100%)

Chi- Square Value = 19.02, df = 9, Table Value = 16.92, $P \leq 0.05$
The association is significant at 5% level.

7.1.2. INCOME AND ASSETS OF FAMILY

Income wise distribution of the assets is shown in Table 7.1.2. The analysis contained in the table shows that the lowest income group has land in their possession to the greatest extent. 12.24% revealed this fact. Other income categories have very meagre of land in their possession. Another point which is to be highlighted is that the larger segment of the highest income group (28.99%) have investment in trade. The lowest and lower middle income groups also have some investment in trade and commerce. However, the upper-middle income group has nothing under these two head, namely, land and trade. 79.17% of them stated that they have no significant asset at all. They are, by and large, employees of others establishments. 67.50% of the lower middle income group and 57.97% of the highest income group revealed that they have no assets. Respondents from the lowest income group under the no-asset category are comparatively fewer (46.94%). On the whole the analysis indicates that majority of all the income categories except the lowest group are satisfying their economic needs by employing themselves in others establishments. Here one important point that is to be noticed is that land which is considered as most valuable is not very much in the possession of anyone of the economic groups.

Table 7.1.2: Income and Assets of Family

Income (In Rs.)	Family assets				Total
	Land	Investment in trade	Others	Nil	
Up to 7000	18 (12.24%)	18 (12.24%)	42 (28.58%)	69 (46.94%)	147 (100%)
7000 - 10000	5 (6.25%)	12 (15.00%)	9 (11.25%)	54 (67.50%)	80 (100%)
10000 - 13000	0 (00.00%)	0 (0.00%)	5 (20.83%)	19 (79.17%)	24 (100%)
13000 and Above	2 (2.90%)	20 (28.99%)	7 (10.14%)	40 (57.97%)	69 (100%)
Total	25 (7.81%)	50 (15.62%)	63 (19.69%)	182 (56.88%)	320 (100%)

Chi- Square Value = 38.93, df = 9, Table Value = 21.67, $P \leq 0.01$

The association is significant at 1% level.

7.1.3. FAMILY COMPOSITION AND THE ASSETS

Following the usual pattern of analysis the data was analysed on the basis of the composition of the family. The analysis shows (Table 7.1.3) that as in the other analyses the assets of all categories in the form of land and investment in trade are rather very meagre. Around 20% of all the categories have investments in trade related industries. Needless to say that a larger majority of all the family types are generating their livelihood by getting employed in others establishments. Among the employed groups the nuclear family members and members of F+D+GC+SFL have an upper hand round 64% of each of these categories are employed in others concerns. 52.68% of the F+D+GC family also find out their livelihood from employment. It is

interesting to note that the Nuclear families and F+D+GC+SFL families have similar behaviour in getting employed in others establishments and firms.

Table 7.1.3: Family Composition and Assets of Family

Income (In Rs.)	Family assets				Total
	Land	Investment in trade	Others	Nil	
Nuclear	6 (14.28%)	1 (2.38%)	8 (19.05%)	27 (64.29%)	42 (100%)
F+D+GC	17 (8.29%)	39 (19.03%)	41 (20.00%)	108 (52.68%)	205 (100%)
F+D+GC+SFL	2 (2.74%)	10 (13.70%)	14 (19.18%)	47 (64.38%)	73 (100%)
Total	25 (7.81%)	50 (15.62%)	63 (19.69%)	182 (56.88%)	320 (100%)

Chi- Square Value = 12.91, df = 6, Table Value = 12.59, $P \leq 0.05$
The association is significant at 5% level.

7.1.4. GEOGRAPHICAL LOCATION AND THE ASSETS POSSESSED

The statistical analysis of the data indicates that geographical area has a direct impact on the type of asset being held by the matrilocal families. Though it is not very significant land is possessed to a more extent by Mahe, Kozhikode and Quilandy people. Investment in trade is pretty noticeable in the case of the Thalassery and Kannur population. Coming to the investments in trade related sectors around 1/5th of Kozhikode, Thalassery, Kannur and Mahe people come under the category. The fact that Vadakara and Quilandy people attract our attention by being about 75% of them employed in the establishments of others. However it is very difficult to identify any

definite pattern as the number of categories is fairly large. Anyway, the chi-square test shows significant association between variables.

Table 7.1.4: Geographical Location and the Assets of Family

Area	Family assets				Total
	Land	Investment in trade	Others	Nil	
KOZHIKODE	9 (11.25%)	11 (13.75%)	19 (23.75%)	41 (51.25%)	80 (100%)
QUILANDY	4 (10.00%)	3 (7.50%)	5 (12.50%)	28 (70.00%)	40 (100%)
VADAKARA	3 (7.50%)	2 (5.00%)	5 (12.50%)	30 (75.00%)	40 (100%)
MAHE	5 (12.50%)	4 (10.00%)	5 (12.50%)	30 (75.00%)	40 (100%)
THALASSERY	1 (2.50%)	11 (27.50%)	5 (22.50%)	19 (47.50%)	40 (100%)
KANNUR	3 (3.75%)	19 (23.75%)	17 (21.25%)	41 (51.25%)	80 (100%)
Total	25 (7.81%)	50 (15.62%)	63 (19.69%)	182 (56.88%)	320 (100%)

Chi- Square Value = 26.34, df = 15, Table Value = 25.00, $P \leq 0.05$

The association is significant at 5% level.

7.2. ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE FROM *PUTHIYAPPILA* TO THE *BHAGAM*

In the matrilocal system of the community *Puthiyappila* is not a mere visitor to the joint family as in the case of the matriliney of Hindu community. Instead he is a contributor to the material need of the wife's family, particularly to the *bhagams*.

In this study the data was analysed as shown in Table 7.2.1. 33.13% of the *bhagams* are without *Puthiyappilas* because either they are no more or the relationship with the wives is not being maintained. Therefore the enquiry was related only to 66.88% of the total sample (Effective sample). According to the analysis 55.63% of the total sample (83.18% of the effective sample) are getting the economic assistance of the *Puthiyappila*. 14.38% of the total sample are getting the assistance in kind and 41.25% in cash. Only 11.25% are not getting any form of assistance from *Puthiyappila*. 33.13% stated that their *Puthiyappilas* are no more or the relationship is dormant. This analysis indicates that by following the matrilineal system the compound family need not bear any burden of the *bhagams*. The *bhagams* are economically taken care of the respective *Puthiyappilas*. This was not the case with the matrilineality of Hindus. There the visiting husband was not expected support materially the wife and her children except certain occasional customary payment. Perhaps this might be one of the major reasons for the vanishing of Hindu matrilineality. By the stoppage of *paattam* by tenants the joint family which was actually being fed on the payment find it difficult to look after the component families which settled under the same roof. At the same time the visiting husbands were not ready or unable to provide the wives and children with the basic requirements even. This habit of looking after the respective *bhagams* by the *Puthiyappila* has contributing in big ways to the continuation of the matrilineal system of Mappilas.

7.2.1. AGE STRUCTURE OF THE WIVES AND ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE RECEIVED FROM *PUTHIYAPPILAS*

Age status of the women is assumed to have association with the assistance received from their husbands. Analysis of the data give sustenance to the assumption. While 91.17% of the lover age group receive *Puthiyappila's* assistance the figure in respect of the old-old is 34%, 8% are not getting the assistance and 58% are widowed or relationship is not very lively. Those who are getting assistance in the lower-middle and upper-middle age groups are respectively 71.29% and 41.41%. 15.74% and 46.88% of the respective groups have no live *Puthiyappila* relationship due to the death of *Puthiyappila* or due to dormant relationship. The statistics show that as age status increases the assistance received from the *Puthiyappila* decrease. May be many reasons cited for this inverse relationship. At the early age the life is quite new. The *Puthiyappila* may feel fancy making his wife happy and contented by material comfort. Another reason may be that the economic requirements of the *bhagam* may be satisfied by its own younger generation so that the *Puthiyappila* need not take that much care which he had taken when his wife was young and assisting children were not there.

Table 7.2.1: Age and Assistance Received from *Puthiyappilas*

Age (In years)	Assistance received from <i>Puthiyappilas</i>				Total
	In kind	In cash	No	Not applicable	
Below 40	11 (32.36%)	20 (58.82%)	3 (8.82%)	0 (0.00%)	34 (100%)
40 - 55	16 (14.82%)	61 (56.48%)	14 (12.96%)	17 (15.74%)	108 (100%)
55 - 70	14 (10.93%)	39 (30.47%)	15 (11.72%)	60 (46.88%)	128 (100%)
70 and Above	5 (10.00%)	12 (24.00%)	4 (8.00%)	29 (58.00%)	50 (100%)
Total	46 (14.38%)	132 (41.25%)	36 (11.25%)	106 (33.12%)	320 (100%)

Chi- Square Value = 63.93, df = 9, Table Value = 21.67, $P \leq 0.01$

The association is significant at 1% level.

7.2.2 EDUCATIONAL STATUS AND THE ASSISTANCE RECEIVED

Educational status of women indirectly indicates the social status of the person and also that of the family she belongs to. Therefore this analysis indirectly answer the questions, whether the payment is influenced by the social status of the person as well as the family. Analysis shows that there is association between the variables. 41.10% of the not formally educated group, 57.24% of the primary educated and 64.42% of the high school educated group receive economic assistance from their *Puthiyappilas*. The strength of respondents who are not a party to a lively marital bond from the respective groups are 50%, 30.43% and 24.04%.

Table 7.2.2: Educational Status and Assistance Received from *Puthiyappilas*

Education	Assistance received from <i>Puthiyappilas</i>				Total
	In kind	In cash	No	Not applicable	
Not formally educated	11 (14.10%)	21 (26.93%)	7 (8.97%)	39 (50.00%)	78 (100%)
Medium educated	22 (15.95%)	57 (41.30%)	17 (12.32%)	42 (30.43%)	138 (100%)
Highly educated	13 (12.50%)	54 (51.92%)	12 (11.54%)	25 (24.04%)	104 (100%)
Total	46 (14.38%)	132 (41.25%)	36 (11.25%)	106 (33.12%)	320 (100%)

Chi- Square Value = 17.35, df = 6, Table Value = 12.59, $P \leq 0.05$

The association is significant at 5% level.

The analysis shows that the assistance increases as educational status increase.

Indirectly this analysis points out that the social status of the wife and her family attracts more assistance from the *Puthiyappilas*.

7.2.3. INCOME STATUS AND THE ASSISTANCE RECEIVED

The analysis of the practice based on income status of the respondents reveals that the middle income women are receiving economic assistance to a greater extent. 43.54% of the lower income, 68.75% of the lower-middle income, 83.34% of the upper-middle and 56.52% of the higher income groups receive assistance from their *Puthiyappilas*. The lower income group wives may have *Puthiyappilas* who also belong to the same category and the *Puthiyappilas* may be finding it difficult to pay the wives and children substantially. In the high income group they (wives) do not

require the assistance of *Puthiyappilas* and hence the association between the variables.

Another valid reason is that the widows and dormant wed-locks are more among the lowest and highest income groups. 38.18% of former and 37.68% of the later categories are either widows or parties to dormant wed-locks. The strength of widows etc. is least in the upper middle income group and in that group the *Puthiyappilas* assistance is the highest (83.34%).

Table 7.2.3: Income Status and Assistance Received from *Puthiyappilas*

Income (In Rs.)	Assistance received from <i>Puthiyappilas</i>				Total
	In kind	In cash	No	Not applicable	
7000 and below	20 (13.60%)	44 (29.93%)	26 (17.69%)	57 (38.78%)	147 (100%)
7000 - 10000	10 (12.50%)	45 (56.25%)	4 (5.00%)	21 (26.25%)	80 (100%)
10000 - 13000	7 (29.17%)	13 (54.17%)	2 (8.33%)	2 (8.33%)	24 (100%)
13000 and Above	9 (13.04%)	30 (43.48%)	4 (5.80%)	26 (37.68%)	69 (100%)
Total	46 (14.38%)	132 (41.25%)	36 (11.25%)	106 (33.12%)	320 (100%)

Chi- Square Value = 31.62, df = 9, Table Value = 21.67, $P \leq 0.01$
The association is significant at 1% level.

7.2.4. FAMILY SIZE AND THE ASSISTANCE RECEIVED

Finally the assistance received from *Puthiyappila* was analysed against the family size of the respondents. It is seen that the size is a deciding factor in the assistance received. The assistance received is the lowest for the smaller families (1 –

5 members). Only 20.51% have received assistance from *Puthiyappila* either in kinds or cash. 62.70% of the middle income group also received the assistance and the figure gets reduced when we come to the high income group to 45.94%. Presence of higher proportion of widows/ dormant wed-locks in the higher income group is to be considered as a factor for the reduction in the strength of respondents who come in these categories. 69.23% of the women from the upper income group have no lively wedlock. The corresponding figure in respect of the middle income group is 25.82% only.

Table 7.2.4: Family Size and Assistance Received from *Puthiyappilas*

Family size	Assistance received from <i>Puthiyappilas</i>				Total
	In kind	In cash	No	Not applicable	
1 - 5	1 (2.56%)	7 (17.95%)	4 (10.26%)	27 (69.23%)	39 (100%)
5 - 15	36 (14.75%)	117 (47.95%)	28 (11.48%)	63 (25.82%)	244 (100%)
15 and Above	9 (24.33%)	8 (21.62%)	4 (10.81%)	16 (43.24%)	37 (100%)
Total	46 (14.38%)	132 (41.25%)	36 (11.25%)	106 (33.12%)	320 (100%)

Chi- Square Value = 38.08, df = 6, Table Value = 16.81, $P \leq 0.01$

The association is significant at 1% level.

7.3. PUTHIYAPPILAS ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE TO OTHER

***BHAGAM* MEMBERS**

In order to understand the intimacy and commitment of the *Puthiyappila* with other *bhagams*, an enquiry was carried out in this study. The respondents were asked

whether their *Puthiyappilas* are in the habit of assisting other *Bhagam* members also in needy circumstances. The data collected was analysed on the basis of the independent variables.

The main analysis indicates that 43.44% of the *Puthiyappilas* are in the habit of giving financial assistance to members of other *bhagams*, whenever such situations which require financial assistance arises 23.44% are not in the habit. As stated in previous analysis 33.13% of the respondents are either widows or members of dormant wed-locks. Therefore, keeping apart this 33.13% if we consider the other two groups those *Puthiyappilas* who are in the habit of assisting other *bhagam* members are far above in strength than those who are not. Therefore, the conclusion is that in the *Puthiyappila* system, the integration of the component families into a monolithic mass is very high (Table 7.3.1).

7.3.1. AGE AND ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE FROM PUTHIYAPPILA TO OTHER BHAGAM MEMBERS

The analysis based on the age status of the respondents and the economic assistance received by other *bhagam* members from their *Puthiyappilas* indicates that the young wife's *Puthiyappilas* are more generous in supporting other *bhagams* of matrilineal families. As the age status of the respondents increase the assistance by their husbands to other *bhagams* get decreased, the analysis shows. This may be due to the reason that during the early wedlock there may be existing more firm

relationship between the spouses. And this may be tempting the *Puthiyappilas* to show generosity even to the relatives of their wives.

Table 7.3.1: Age and Economic Assistance Received from *Puthiyappilas*

Age (In years)	Assistance received from <i>Puthiyappilas</i>			Total
	Received	Not received	Not applicable	
Below 40	27 (79.41%)	7 (20.59%)	0 (0.00%)	34 (100%)
40 - 55	64 (59.26%)	27 (25.00%)	17 (15.74%)	108 (100%)
55 - 70	32 (25.00%)	36 (28.13%)	60 (46.87%)	128 (100%)
70 and Above	16 (32.00%)	5 (10.00%)	29 (58.00%)	50 (100%)
Total	139 (43.44%)	75 (23.44%)	106 (33.12%)	320 (100%)

Chi- Square Value = 70.92, df = 6, Table Value = 12.29, $P \leq 1.15$
The association is significant at 1% level.

7.3.2. EDUCATION AND ASSISTANCE

Education wise analysis of the data reveals that the educational status of the wife is capable of attracting more respect and reverence to the person and to the wider family from the *Puthiyappilas*. The relationship indicates that the higher the education of the women the greater the readiness of the *Puthiyappilas* to assist even the wider family. 29.49% the respondents who have no formal schooling, 44.93% of the primary educated and 51.92% the high school educated respondents stated that their wider family even are getting economic assistance from their *Puthiyappilas*. The

relationship between the variables is very firm as indicated by the chi-square test applied.

Table 7.3.2: Education and Assistance Received from *Puthiyappilas*

Education	Assistance received from <i>Puthiyappilas</i>			Total
	Received	Not received	Not applicable	
Not formally educated	23 (29.49%)	16 (20.51%)	39 (50.00%)	78 (100%)
Primary educated	62 (44.93%)	34 (24.64%)	42 (30.43%)	138 (100%)
High school educated	54 (51.92%)	25 (24.04%)	25 (24.04%)	104 (100%)
Total	139 (43.44%)	75 (23.44%)	106 (33.12%)	320 (100%)

Chi- Square Value = 15.27, df = 4, Table Value = 13.28, $P \leq 0.01$
The association is significant at 1% level.

7.3.3. INCOME AND THE ASSISTANCE RECEIVED

An enquiry into the relationship between income of the respondents and the assistance received from their *Puthiyappilas* by the wider family indicate that there exists a firm relationship between the variables. The assistance received by the members of the respondents family members who belong to the different income categories came to around 40% except the income group Rs. 10000 – 13000. In the case of Rs. 10000 – 13000 it is revealed that 87.50% of the relatives of this category received assistance from their *Puthiyappilas*. It is interesting to note that this high percentage is occurred due to the fact that with in the group there are relatively fewer widows dormant wedlock persons.

Table 7.3.3: Income and Assistance Received from *Puthiyappilas*

Income (In Rs.)	Assistance received from <i>Puthiyappilas</i>			Total
	Received	Not received	Not applicable	
Below 7000	60 (40.82%)	30 (20.41%)	57 (38.77%)	147 (100%)
7000 - 10000	24 (30.00%)	35 (43.75%)	21 (26.25%)	80 (100%)
10000 - 13000	21 (87.50%)	1 (4.17%)	2 (8.33%)	24 (100%)
13000 and Above	34 (49.28%)	9 (13.04%)	26 (37.68%)	69 (100%)
Total	139 (43.44%)	75 (23.44%)	106 (33.12%)	320 (100%)

Chi- Square Value = 43.91, df = 6, Table Value = 16.81, $P \leq 0.01$
 The association is significant at 1% level.

7.3.4. FAMILY COMPOSITION AND THE ASSISTANCE RECEIVED

The data relating to the assistance received by the wider family was analysed and it indicates that there is definite pattern in this matter. Those relatives of the respondent who belong to the F+D+GC+SFL composition got the assistance to the greatest extend (64.38%). Next comes F+D+GC families (39.51%). Lastly comes the Nuclear family with 26.9%. It is to be inferred that lesser strength of widows and dormant wedlock persons in the F+D+GC+SFL composition is responsible for magnifying the strength of the assistance receivers.

Table 7.3.4: Family Composition and Assistance Received from *Puthiyappilas*

Family Composition	Assistance received from <i>Puthiyappilas</i>			Total
	Received	Not received	Not applicable	
Nuclear	11 (26.19%)	16 (38.10%)	15 (35.71%)	42 (100%)
F+D+GC	81 (39.51%)	50 (24.39%)	74 (36.10%)	205 (100%)
F+D+GC+SFL	47 (64.38%)	9 (12.33%)	17 (23.29%)	73 (100%)
Total	139 (43.44%)	75 (23.44%)	106 (33.12%)	320 (100%)

Chi- Square Value = 31.7, df = 6, Table Value = 16.81, $P \leq 0.01$

The association is significant at 1% level.

7.3.5. FAMILY SIZE AND THE ASSISTANCE RECEIVED

Analysis in Table 7.3.5 indicates that the relatives of respondents who belong to families with member strength 5 – 15 received the assistance of their *Puthiyappilas* to the greatest extent (49.59%). Then comes the respondents family having members 15 and above (35.14%). Lastly comes the small size families (12.82%). The distribution of the data clearly indicates that the lesser number of dormant wed-locks of respondents in the medium size family is responsible for the greater assistance from the *Puthiyappilas*.

Table 7.3.5: Family Size and Assistance Received from *Puthiyappilas*

Family Composition	Assistance received from <i>Puthiyappilas</i>			Total
	Received	Not received	Not applicable	
1 - 5	5 (12.82%)	7 (17.95%)	27 (69.23%)	39 (100%)
5 - 15	121 (49.59%)	60 (24.59%)	63 (25.82%)	244 (100%)
15 and Above	13 (35.14%)	8 (21.62%)	16 (43.24%)	37 (100%)
Total	139 (43.44%)	75 (23.44%)	106 (33.12%)	320 (100%)

Chi- Square Value = 42.8, df = 3, Table Value = 11.59, $P \leq 0.01$

The association is significant at 1% level.

7.3.6. PLACE OF RESIDENCE AND THE ASSISTANCE RECEIVED

Relatives of respondents belonging to sub-urban area have got strongest support from their *Puthiyappilas*. Analysis 7.3.6 indicates 50.89% of the respondents stated that their husbands are very generously supporting their relatives economically. The corresponding figure in the case of ruralites is 39.13% and that in the case of urbanites 34.38%. One point that is to be stressed in this analysis is that in contradiction to the previous analyses in this section, we cannot say that the lesser number of dormant wed-lock, among the group is not the reason for this magnified strength. This is because the largest number of dormant wed-locks (36.69%) is seen with in their group. Therefore it is the positive attitude of the *Puthiyappilas* towards the family members of their wives which resulted in economically assisting them very generously.

Table 7.3.6: Place of Residence and Assistance Received from *Puthiyappilas*

Place of Residence	Assistance received from <i>Puthiyappilas</i>			Total
	Received	Not received	Not applicable	
Rural	9 (39.14%)	7 (30.43%)	7 (30.43%)	23 (100%)
Sub-Urban	86 (50.89%)	21 (12.42%)	62 (36.69%)	169 (100%)
Urban	44 (34.37%)	47 (36.72%)	37 (28.91%)	128 (100%)
Total	139 (43.44%)	75 (23.44%)	106 (33.12%)	320 (100%)

Chi- Square Value = 24.92, df = 4, Table Value = 13.28, $P \leq 0.01$

The association is significant at 1% level.

7.4. MIGRANT *PUTHIYAPPILA*

Migration to Middle East countries is very common among the Mappila Muslims households. They secure a good amount of material resources from trade and employment in those countries. The remittances from these migrants give a good economic profile for their families.

This study in order to know the dependency of the households on the income of the migrants, an enquiry was conducted as to how many *Puthiyappilas* from the respondents households have gone abroad. This enquiry will give an idea about the economic profile of the matrilocal families. The analysis of the data reveals that 25.63% of the families where from one *Puthiyappila* each are migrants to the gulf countries. Similarly 18.75% of the families have two migrants each. 10.31% and

8.44% of the families have respectively three and four and above migrant *Puthiyappilas* each in gulf countries (Table 7.4.1). The remaining households (36.88%) have no migrant *Puthiyappilas*. The analysis shows that 63.12% of the households have migrant *Puthiyappilas*. In previous analyses (7.2 and 7.3), we have seen that the *Puthiyappilas* are very generous in supporting the wife's family economically. Even they give economic supports to other *bhagams* of the family or other families even. So the study reveals that gulf money or Petromoney is the main stay of the matrilocal families. Since even manual labourers can send some what good amount we may say that the families are economically stable, generally.

Table 7.4.1: Number of *Puthiyappilas* who have Migrated from each Family

Number of <i>Puthiyappilas</i>	Frequency	Percentage
1	82	25.62
2	60	18.75
3	33	10.31
4+	27	8.44
None	118	36.88
Total	320	100

7.5. PERCEPTION ON THE ECONOMIC ADVANTAGES OF MATRILocal SYSTEM

We have seen that matrilocal family is a group of economically autonomous component families which accommodate themselves under one roof. However we have again seen that the give and take between these component units is very high.

This is assumed to have a very high advantage. This assumption has been put to test by analysing the relevant data. To the query regarding the advantage of collective living, especially, from the point of view of economic activities, two major and scattered responses were received. Few respondents did not express their perception on the matter. The two major responses were that it is advantageous for flourishing trade, commerce etc. Second response was that the solidarity of the community has increased. Alleviating the burden of conducting marriages, promoting education of children, help for the health care of the diseased etc. were some of the responses which are clustered under the caption 'Others'. The details of the analysis are given in Table 7.5.1. As per the analysis 25.31% of the respondents stated that the system very much helps them to stabilise their trade, commerce etc. by getting economic support from 45.63% revealed that the economic transaction ultimately generate extreme family solidarity. 21.88% highlighted certain scattered advantages which are given under the caption 'Others'. The analysis indicates that the highest segment of the sample highlighted the solidarity generated among the family members as a result of the economic transaction between the family. One fourth of the sample revealed that they could flourish their vocation due to the co-operative economic life. In short, the perception on this topic is highly positive among the matrilocal families.

7.5.1. FAMILY SIZE AND THE PERCEPTION

When the data was analysed on the basis of the size of the family it is seen that the highest segment of all family sizes are impressed upon the solidarity brought about by the economic co-operation between the members. Here, it can be seen that the appreciation in this matter is the highest among small families. Then comes the medium families and lastly the large families. The proportions which expressed their appreciation among small, medium and large families are respectively 53.85%, 45.70% and 35.14%. Coming to the support given for promotion of vocation none of the large size family pointed out this profile of matrilocal family system. However, the medium size family has fairly good appreciation for this matter. 30.33% of the families stated that they have got very much support from their family members for flourishing their trade and commerce. 17.95% of small size family also follow this response.

Table 7.5.1: Family Size and the Perception

Family Size	Advantage of matrilocality from economic point of view				Total
	Support to trade	Solidarity increased	Others	No response	
Small (1 – 5)	7 (17.95%)	21 (53.85%)	8 (20.51%)	3 (7.69%)	39 (100%)
Medium (5 – 15)	74 (30.33%)	112 (45.90%)	46 (18.85%)	12 (49.2%)	244 (100%)
Large (15 and Above)	0 (0.0%)	13 (35.14%)	16 (43.24%)	8 (21.62%)	37 (100%)
Total	81 (25.31%)	146 (45.62%)	70 (21.88%)	23 (7.19%)	320 (100%)

Chi- Square Value = 35.36, df = 6, Table Value = 16.81, $P \leq 0.01$
The association is significant at 1% level.

7.5.2. FAMILY COMPOSITION AND THE PERCEPTION

Analysis of the data based on the family composition also indicates that the most important advantage of the economic life of the family system is its promotion of solidarity among the members. 57.53% of the F+D+GC+SFL families and 57.14% of the nuclear families identify this property of the economic life. However, only 39.02% of the F+D+GC families acknowledge this advantage. There are variations regarding the perception on the family system's capability to flourish the vocation of its members. 29.27% of F+D+GC families recognise this advantage of the system. 19.05% and 17.81% respectively of the nuclear families and F+D+GC+SFL families acknowledged the profile of the economic co-living.

Table 7.5.2: Family Composition and the Perception

Family Composition	Advantage of matrilocality from economic point of view				Total
	Support to trade	Solidarity increased	Others	No response	
Nuclear	8 (19.05%)	24 (57.14%)	8 (19.05%)	2 (4.76%)	42 (100%)
F+D+GC	60 (29.27%)	80 (39.02%)	52 (25.37%)	13 (6.34%)	205 (100%)
F+D+GC+SFL	13 (17.81%)	42 (57.53%)	10 (13.70%)	8 (10.96%)	73 (100%)
Total	81 (25.31%)	146 (46.62%)	70 (21.88%)	23 (7.19%)	320 (100%)

Chi- Square Value = 14.51, df = 6, Table Value = 12.59, $P \leq 0.05$
 The association is significant at 5% level.

7.5.3. GEOGRAPHICAL LOCATION AND THE PERCEPTION

In the analysis relating to the influence of the geographical area on the perception, the impressions of Kozhikode and Kannur are to be particularly pointed out. Majority of the respondents (62.50%, 50.00% respectively) belong to these areas expressed that the matrilocal system by its economic activities can promote solidarity of the family members. No other segment of the sample has such a greater appreciation for this function of the family. However, Thalassery segment with 47.57% under this caption stands third among the different geographical segments. The promotion of vocation is much acknowledged by the Mahe segment of the sample. 42.59% of them highlighted this matter. In short, we may state that the geographical location has an influence on this matter (Table 7.5.3).

Table 7.5.3: Geographical Location and the Perception

Area	Advantage of matrilocality from economic point of view				Total
	Support to trade	Solidarity increased	Others	No response	
KOZHIKODE	16 (20.00%)	50 (62.50%)	12 (15.00%)	2 (2.50%)	80 (100%)
QUILANDY	7 (17.50%)	15 (37.50%)	11 (27.50%)	7 (17.50%)	40 (100%)
VADAKARA	11 (27.50%)	15 (37.50%)	13 (32.50%)	1 (2.50%)	40 (100%)
MAHE	17 (42.50%)	7 (17.50%)	11 (27.50%)	5 (12.50%)	40 (100%)
THALASSERY	12 (30.00%)	19 (47.50%)	7 (17.50%)	2 (5.00%)	40 (100%)
KANNUR	18 (22.50%)	40 (50.00%)	16 (20.00%)	6 (7.50%)	80 (100%)
Total	81 (25.31%)	146 (45.62%)	70 (21.88%)	23 (7.19%)	320 (100%)

Chi- Square Value = 37.51, df = 15, Table Value = 30.58, $P \leq 0.01$

The association is significant at 1% level.

7.5.4. PLACE OF RESIDENCE AND THE PERCEPTION

Place of residence and the perception are associated factors, analysis in Table 7.5.4 indicates. Here too, the solidarity generating function of the economic activities has been stressed by majority among rural and urban respondents. An over whelming majority of the ruralites (69.56%) stressed the advantages of the matrilocal system. 50.78% of the urbanites also consider this function as the most important product of the economic activities. Only 38.45% of the sub-urbanites come under this category. The support for the flourishing of trade and commerce by the matrilocal system is not very appreciative for the rural people only 8.70%. However, 24.85% of the sub-urbanites and 28.91% of the urbanites acknowledge this function of the matrilocal system.

Table 7.5.4:Place of Residence and the Perception

Place of Residence	Advantage of matrilocality from economic point of view				Total
	Support to trade	Solidarity increased	Other	No response	
Rural	2 (8.70%)	16 (69.56%)	4 (17.39%)	1 (4.35%)	23 (100%)
Sub-Urban	42 (24.85%)	65 (38.46%)	43 (25.45%)	19 (11.24%)	169 (100%)
Urban	37 (28.91%)	65 (50.78%)	23 (17.97%)	3 (2.34%)	128 (100%)
Total	81 (25.31%)	146 (45.62%)	70 (21.88%)	23 (7.19%)	320 (100%)

Chi- Square Value = 19.10, df = 6, Table Value = 16.81, $P \leq 0.01$
The association is significant at 1% level.

The analyses in this chapter adequately support the perception that the different *bhagams* of the matrilocal family are economically self sufficient and autonomous. Again the *Puthiyuppila* system is, in fact, not the parallel of the visiting husband system (*sambandham*) existed among the Hindu matrilocal families. As mentioned elsewhere, in the *sambandam* relationship the responsibility of the visiting husbands was generally confined to giving certain gifts to the wives and children on very special occasions like Onam or Vishu. But here the *Puthiyuppilas* are the hub of economic support given to the matrilocal family. In the analyses of the chapter we have seen that *Puthiyuppilas* were capable of generating income either through self employment or employment in other firms. Even a good number of them are gulf migrants, who bring home good fortunes. It is seen that the *Puthiyuppilas* are also generous in giving financial support to his wife's household and to intimate or distant relatives. Another important point which is to be mentioned here is that, the *Puthiyuppila* is not at the receiving end. In fact, the *Puthiyuppila* accepts a breakfast from his wife's household. So the *Puthiyuppila* is a supplier rather than a taker of the material resources of the wife's household. Therefore the economic profiles of the matrilocal system was to be considered as highly hospitable to the existence and continuation of the matrilocal system of the Mappila Muslims of Malabar.



Chapter : VIII

RELIGION-FAMILY INTERACTION

Among the followers of semetic religion, namely, Islam, Christianity etc. we can see that religion is intimately associating with other social institutions, particularly marriage and family. It is the general impression that the followers of Islam are very obedient to the religious dictates regarding marriage and family. Therefore, it is believed that the family form prescribed for the religious group will be adhered to by it. In this chapter the researcher attempts to reveal **the influence of religion on the observance of the family form, namely, matrilocality** prescribed for Mappila Muslims of Malabar. The researcher investigated into the religious observances by the matrilocal family system. On the basis of the observances **interpretations were made to substantiate the relationship between religion and matrilocal family system.**

The religious observances carried out under the aegis of the family are explained in the ensuing sections, to show that the religiosity of the group is very high.

8.1. NAMAZ - PRACTICE OF PRAYER

AT FIVE TIMES IN A DAY

A true Muslim is expected to observe *namaz*. *Namaz* consists of 5 times prayer in a day, in the early morning, at noon, in the evening, during sunset and at night. The philosophy of *namaz* is injected into the individual during his early childhood by the family. Also the family insists that *namaz* is to be practiced very strictly from early childhood till the very end one's life. In this research the commitment of family in materializing this practice was analyzed. The respondents were asked whether their family is interested to observe *namaz* according to the prescription of the religion. The data was analyzed as shown in Table 8.1.1. The table shows that 95.63% of the respondents stated that there is no any sort of leniency in the observance of *namaz*. However a meager 4.38% revealed that in their family certain leniency may become necessary due to various reasons. This analysis indicates that the family is bestowing to the religion completely. Naturally the religion will be very happy and it will be protecting and promoting the interest of the family.

The subsidiary analyses show that the religious practice of *namaz* is associated with occupation, family size, family composition and geographical location.

8.1.1. OCCUPATION AND THE PRACTICE OF NAMAZ

Occupation wise analyses of the data indicate that the home makers are very strict in the practice of *namaz* than the employed category is. 96.47% of the former

group and 62.50% of the later strictly adhere to this tradition prescribed by the religion. The reason for the laxity in the practice of employed category is explicit. They may not be in a position to adhere to 5 times prayer. The male folk can practice it anywhere at the fixed times even while travelling. The females have certain constraints.

Table 8.1.1: Occupation and the Practice of *Namaz*

Occupation	Regularly practice	Occasionally practice	Total
Home Makers	301 (96.47%)	11 (3.53%)	312 (100%)
Employed Outside	5 (62.50%)	3 (37.50%)	8 (100%)
Total	306 (95.62%)	14 (4.38%)	320 (100%)

Chi- Square value = 21.52, df = 1, Table value = 6.63, $P \leq 0.01$
The association is significant at 1% level.

8.1.2. FAMILY SIZE AND THE PRACTICE OF *NAMAZ*

An analysis of the data carried out as shown in 8.1.2. It is seen that there is association between the variables. The practice is perfect amidst the members of medium size family (97.13%). Next comes the small family (92.31%). The practice is not so firm among the member of large size family. 89.19% of them stated that they are very strict in *namaz*. However 10.8% revealed that they are not very strict in the matter. The lagging of large size family may be due to the relative loose relationship between the members of the group which consists of 15 and more persons. However,

there is a contradiction, that is, in the small family the practice is not so strict as that in the medium size family. To explain this contradiction further probing is necessary.

Table 8.1.2: Size of Family and The Practice of *Namaz*

Family Size (No. of members)	Regularly practice	Occasionally practice	Total
Small (1 – 5)	36 (92.31%)	3 (7.69%)	39 (100%)
Medium (5 – 15)	237 (97.13%)	7 (2.87%)	244 (100%)
Large (15 and Above)	33 (89.19%)	4 (10.81%)	37 (100%)
Total	306 (95.62%)	14 (4.38%)	320 (100%)

Chi- Square value = 6.01, df = 2, Table value = 5.99, $P \leq 0.05$

The association is significant at 5% level.

8.1.3. FAMILY COMPOSITION AND THE PRACTICE OF *NAMAZ*

Among the different type of families the observance of *namaz* varies in a definite pattern. 100% of the members of Nuclear family strictly follow *namaz*. The corresponding figures in respect of the F+D+GC and F+D+GC+SFL families are respectively 97.70% and 89.04%. This shows that as the size of the family increases the adherence of the practice gets reduced. This may be due the increasing detachment between the members of the larger families.

Table 8.1.3: Family Composition and the Practice of *Namaz*

Family Composition	Regularly practice	Occasionally practice	Total
Nuclear	42 (100.00%)	0 (0.00%)	42 (100%)
F+D+GC	199 (97.07%)	6 (2.93%)	205 (100%)
F+D+GC+SFL	65 (89.04%)	8 (10.96%)	73 (100%)
Total	306 (95.62%)	14 (4.38%)	320 (100%)

Chi- Square value = 10.51, df = 2, Table value = 9.21, $P \leq 0.01$

The association is significant at 1% level.

8.1.4. GEOGRAPHICAL LOCATION AND THE PRACTICE OF NAMAZ

The strictness of the practice is different in different localities. In Thalassery 100% stated that they observe *namaz*. The corresponding figure comes down to 85% in the case of Mahe. In Quilandy 92.50% follow the practice very strictly. And the among other localities it is more than 95%. There may be various reasons for the variations in the observance of *namaz* which cannot be identified without appropriate further enquiries.

Table 8.1.4: Geographical Location and the Practice of *Namaz*

Area	Regularly practice	Occasionally practice	Total
KOZHIKODE	78 (97.50%)	2 (2.50%)	80 (100%)
QUILANDY	37 (92.50%)	3 (7.50%)	40 (100%)
VADAKARA	38 (95.00%)	2 (5.00%)	40 (100%)
MAHE	34 (85.00%)	6 (15.00%)	40 (100%)
THALASSERY	40 (100.00%)	0 (0.00%)	40 (100%)
KANNUR	79 (98.75%)	1 (1.25%)	80 (100%)
Total	306 (95.62%)	14 (4.38%)	320 (100%)

Chi- Square value = 16.13, df = 5, Table value = 15.09, $P \leq 0.01$
The association is significant at 1% level.

8.2. FASTING DURING *RAMAZAN* PERIOD

A devout muslim considers fasting during *Ramazan* period is a solemn responsibility on his or her part. Therefore muslim families are very enthusiastic to ensure that the family members are obliging to the edicts of their religion. Naturally, the interrelation between the family system and religion is hoped to be revealed by analyzing the practice of fasting *Ramazan*. The collected data relating to the practice was analyzed.

Analysis in Table 8.2.1 shows those who deviates from the practice is negligibly few in members among the samples. 12 persons (3.75%) states that due to severe illness and such other infirmities they could not fast as per the prescription during *Ramazán* period. They informed the researcher that they had no intension to deviate from the practice as they know it is a sin. Here the analysis without any reservations supports that the family system is embracing the edicts of the religion. The implication is that the religion in no way will defy the interest of the family system, as the later is an obedient member of the religion.

8.2.1. EDUCATION AND THE PRACTICE

The pattern of practicing fasting is the same among all the categories considered except educational categories. The analysis based on education shows that the high school educated deviates slightly from the observance of fasting prescribed. 7.69% of the respondents stated that due to bad health condition they could not stick on to the prescription strictly. Therefore we can say that the deviation of the high school educated group is not on the basis of ideology. However, since the analyses indicated statistically significant association between the variables the matter is reported here.

Table 8.2.1: Education and Fasting during *Ramazam*

Education	Regularly practice	Occasionally practice	Total
Not Formally Educated	76 (97.44%)	2 (2.56%)	78 (100%)
Primary Educated	136 (98.55%)	2 (1.45%)	138 (100%)
High School Educated	96 (92.31%)	8 (7.69%)	104 (100%)
Total	308 (96.25%)	12 (3.75%)	320 (100%)

Chi- Square value = 6.81, df = 2, Table value = 5.99, $P \leq 0.05$
The association is significant at 5% level.

8.2.2. OCCUPATION AND THE PRACTICE

Data was analyzed again on the basis of the occupational background of the respondent as depicted in Table 8.2.2. The analysis very clearly establishes that the Home makers are in the forefront in promoting the practice. 97.12% of them fast during the *Ramazam* period very strictly following all the prescription of the religion. Corresponding figure in respect those who are Employed Outside is 62.50%. The rest (37.50%) do not observe fasting regularly. Person for this difference is quite obvious. The employed women shall not get appropriate situations to observe fasting with all fervor.

Table 8.2.2: Occupation and Fasting during *Ramazan* Period

Occupation	Regularly practice	Occasionally practice	Total
Home Makers	303 (97.12%)	9 (2.88%)	312 (100%)
Employed Outside	5 (62.50%)	3 (37.50%)	8 (100%)
Total	308 (96.25%)	12 (3.75%)	320 (100%)

Chi- Square value = 25.89, df = 1, Table value = 6.63, $P \leq 0.01$
The association is significant at 1% level.

8.2.3. PLACE OF RESIDENCE AND FASTING DURING *RAMAZAN* PERIOD

When the data was analyzed on the basis of the place of residence interesting result was got viz, among the rural respondents 13.04% stick on to this practice occasionally. However the corresponding figures among the urban and sub-urban respondents are respectively 3.24% and 3.55%. The common notion is that the ruralites are more religious, but here the analysis contradicts the notion. The reason may be that ruralites are more involved in hard work. Again sickness shall be more prevalent in rural area and this prevents them from sticking on to this practice of fasting during *Ramazan* period.

Table 8.2.3: Place of Residence and Fasting during *Ramazam*

Place of Residence	Regularly practice	Occasionally practice	Total
Rural	20 (86.96%)	3 (13.04%)	23 (100%)
Sub-Urban	163 (96.45%)	6 (3.55%)	169 (100%)
Urban	125 (97.66%)	3 (2.34%)	128 (100%)
Total	308 (96.25%)	12 (3.75%)	320 (100%)

Chi- Square value = 6.22, df = 2, Table value = 5.99, $P \leq 0.05$

The association is significant at 5% level.

The analyses in this section reveal the adamancy of the people in the observance of an important religious practice.

8.3. RECITING *QURAN*

Another duty of a devout Muslim is reciting *Quran* whenever possible. In order to assess the commitment of the people to the religion an enquiry was carried as to the frequency of reciting *Quran*. The data relating to the practice was analyzed as shown in Table 8.3.1 and as per the analysis 82.81% of the respondents are daily recitors of the Holy *Quran* and the rest (only 17.19%) are occasional recitors of the sacred Text. This indicates that their affiliation to the religion is very high.

8.3.1. AGE AND THE PRACTICE

Analysis on the relationship between the age status and the practice reveals that the variables are associated. A definite pattern in their behaviour is seen in the analysis, namely, the higher the age the greater the urge to follow the religious practice. Among the younger age group (below 40 years) only 67.65% observe this practice very strictly. The proportion increases to 80.56% in the case of lower middle age and 84.56% in the case of the upper middle age groups. The figure gets inflated to 94% in the case of the old age group (70 years and above). There is no need for any further analysis on the behaviour.

Table 8.3.1: Age and the Practice of Reciting *Quran*

Age (In Years)	Daily practice	Occasionally practice	Total
Up to 40	23 (67.65%)	11 (32.35%)	34 (100%)
40 - 55	87 (80.56%)	21 (19.44%)	108 (100%)
55 - 70	108 (84.38%)	20 (15.62%)	128 (100%)
70 and Above	47 (94.00%)	3 (6.00%)	50 (100%)
Total	265 (82.81%)	55 (17.19%)	320 (100%)

Chi- Square value = 10.50, df = 3, Table value = 7.80, $P \leq 0.05$
The association is significant at 5% level.

8.3.2. FAMILY INCOME AND THE PRACTICE

Income is invariably a deciding factor of the behaviour of individual and group. How is the influence of this background on the religious practice ? Was a question addressed in this analysis. The analysis indicates that the relationship is not linear. But the practices goes reduce from the lower income when we come to the situations of the upper middle group through the lower middle group. (From 89.80% to 58.33% through 76.25%). However, from this group the adherence to the practices when we consider the case of the upper income group increase (84.06%). Why this reverse trends in the case of the group ? May be with the increase in income their worries also increase and to find a solace they may be falling back on the scriptures.

Table 8.3.2:Income and the Practice of Reciting *Quran*

Income (In Rs.)	Daily practice	Occasionally practice	Total
Up to 7000	132 (89.80%)	15 (10.20%)	147 (100%)
7000 - 10000	61 (76.25%)	19 (23.75%)	80 (100%)
10000 - 13000	14 (58.33%)	10 (41.67%)	24 (100%)
13000 and Above	58 (84.06%)	11 (15.94%)	69 (100%)
Total	265 (82.81%)	55 (17.19%)	320 (100%)

Chi- Square value = 17.64, df = 3, Table value = 11.34, $P \leq 0.01$
The association is significant at 1% level.

8.3.3. FAMILY SIZE AND THE PRACTICE

The habit of reciting Holy *Quran* is very firm among the two groups, smaller families and medium size families and they are behaving almost similarly. But the commitment to the practice of the large size families, is relatively weak, the study indicates 84.62% of the lower size 86.48% of the middle size and 56.76% of the large size families are reciters of the Holy text (Table 8.3.3). The rest of the respective groups are in the habit of reciting the holy book only occasionally. The compulsion on this group may be less to comply with the practice as this group is unwieldy in terms of the size of the family. It is very difficult to strongly unite a family consisting of 15 or more members around these sorts of religious practices.

Table 8.3.3: Family Size and the Practice of Reciting *Quran*

Family Size	Daily practice	Occasionally practice	Total
Small (1 – 5)	33 (84.62%)	6 (15.38%)	39 (100%)
Medium (5 – 15)	211 (86.48%)	33 (13.52%)	244 (100%)
Large (15 and Above)	21 (56.76%)	16 (43.24%)	37 (100%)
Total	265 (82.81%)	55 (17.19%)	320 (100%)

Chi- Square value = 20.04, df = 2, Table value = 9.21, $P \leq 0.01$
The association is significant at 1% level.

8.3.4. FAMILY COMPOSITION AND THE PRACTICE

A similar result as the one received is the previous analysis (Table 8.3.3) was got when the data was analyzed on the basis of the family composition. As per the previous analysis the practice is getting reduced in larger families. Here the indication is that family with large composition (compound families with 3 – 4 generations) comes at the lowest rung when this practice is considered. Here the three generations family (F+D+GC) has better position with regard to the matter. 87.32% of the groups are daily reciters of the holy book. Again the nuclear family has a slight edge over the F+D+GC family in this regard. (88.10% among the members recite *Quran* daily). Applying the reasoning here too we may say that the compound nature of the family (consisting of 3 – 4 generations) makes it unwieldy to any external control for adhering to the practice. Usually the children the reciters the holy book and they are to be compelled to resort to this practice.

Table 8.3.4: Family Composition and the Practice of Reciting *Quran*

Family Composition	Daily practice	Occasionally practice	Total
Nuclear	37 (88.10%)	5 (11.90%)	42 (100%)
F+D+GC	179 (87.32%)	26 (12.68%)	205 (100%)
F+D+GC+SFL	49 (67.12%)	24 (32.88%)	73 (100%)
Total	265 (82.81%)	55 (17.19%)	320 (100%)

Chi- Square value = 16.37, df = 2, Table value = 9.21, $P \leq 0.01$
The association is significant at 1% level.

8.3.5. GEOGRAPHICAL LOCATION AND THE PRACTICE

The practice differs with the geographical location, the results in Table 8.3.5 reveals. Kozhikode is at the apex with regard to this practice (96.25%). Then comes Thalassery and Kannur (90% and 86.25% respectively). These may be considered as constituting a group and the rest of the localities (Vadakara, Quilandy and Mahe) another group which is far behind the first category.

Table 8.3.5: Geographical Location and the Practice of Reciting *Quran*

Area	Daily practice	Occasionally practice	Total
KOZHIKODE	77 (96.25%)	3 (3.75%)	80 (100%)
QUILANDY	27 (67.50%)	13 (32.50%)	40 (100%)
VADAKARA	29 (72.50%)	11 (27.50%)	40 (100%)
MAHE	27 (67.50%)	13 (32.50%)	40 (100%)
THALASSERY	36 (90.00%)	4 (10.00%)	40 (100%)
KANNUR	69 (86.25%)	11 (13.75%)	80 (100%)
Total	265 (82.81%)	55 (17.19%)	320 (100%)

Chi- Square value = 28.43, df = 5, Table value = 15.09, $P \leq 0.01$
The association is significant at 1% level.

8.3.6. PLACE OF RESIDENCE AND THE PRACTICE OF RECITING *QURAN*

In various previous analyses it was seen that the behaviours of the rural and urban communities are almost parallel. In this analysis also their behaviours are almost the same which are distinct from that of the sub-urban group. 96.09% the urbanites and 95.65% the ruralites follow the practice with the same fervor.

Table 8.3.6: Place of Residence and the Practice of Reciting *Quran*

Place of Residence	Regularly practice	Occasionally practice	Total
Rural	22 (95.65%)	1 (4.35%)	23 (100%)
Sub-Urban	120 (71.01%)	49 (28.99%)	169 (100%)
Urban	123 (96.09%)	5 (3.91%)	128 (100%)
Total	265 (82.81%)	55 (17.19%)	320 (100%)

Chi- Square value = 35.08, df = 2, Table value = 9.21, $P \leq 0.01$
The association is significant at 1% level.

The corresponding figure in the case of the sub-urban group is 71.01% only. The sound and fury of urban life may be tempting the urban people to embrace religiosity. The rural area is otherwise also is a fertile land for the religions to grow in, since the area is said to be the rallying point of innocent people.

The analyses included in this section give testimony to the fact that the matrilineal muslims are ardent followers of their religious beliefs and practices.

8.4. RELIGIOUS SOCIALIZATION OF THE YOUNGER GENERATION

Religion transcends through generations when the younger ones follow the practices and belief of the group. However, the younger ones cannot cope with the religious practices and ideologies by themselves as they (belief and practices) are not very attractive and palatable to juvenile minds. So the role of the elders set in. They socialize their off-spring in the right direction. Indirectly the efforts put on this matter indicate the religiosity of the parent generation. With this perspective in mind the researcher probed as to the method through which they impart religious socialization. The analysis of the data elicited shows that the respondents are very keen to see that their younger ones follow their religion. They reward and punish their children for securing compliance from them.

The rewards may vary from praising to providing with sweets, tasty food, giving more food or presenting dress, footwear, study materials, toys, fancy things etc. Punishments usually come in the form of scolding, delaying food, withholding food, mild corporal punishments like pinching on the ears and mild beating.

In this section analysis of the method for ensuring compliance with the praying patterns was conducted as an example. The analysis indicates that (Table 8.4.1) 65.31% of the respondents reward their children for complying with patterns of prayer. However 14.69% resort to the opposite technique, namely, punishment. 20%

stated that they need not pay attention to the children for this purpose. The children will automatically follow their practices. The analysis indicates that the community is taking care to see that no member is permitted to go astray (Table 8.4.1).

8.4.1. INCOME AND THE METHOD OF INSISTING THE CHILDREN TO COMPLY WITH THE PRACTICE OF *NAMAZ*

In matters regarding the compliance of children with the practice of *namaz* it is inferred that the upper middle income group is more contented. 45.83% of their children suo moto comply with the norm in 22.50% of the lower middle group also are happy in this sense. The two groups lower and the upper income categories are in the habit of rewarding their children to a greater extent. (73.47% of lower income group and 63.77% of the higher income group) 10.88% and 18.84% respectively of these categories punish their children for securing the compliance. However, 41.67% of the upper middle income group give rewards and 12.50% punishments in this regard.

Table 8.4.1: Family size and the Method of Insisting Children to Observe *Namaz*

Income (In Rs.)	Giving positive incentive	Giving punishments	Giving nothing special	Total
Up to 7000	108 (73.47%)	16 (10.88%)	23 (15.65%)	147 (100%)
7000 - 10000	47 (58.75%)	15 (18.75%)	18 (22.50%)	80 (100%)
10000 - 13000	10 (41.67%)	3 (12.50%)	11 (45.83%)	24 (100%)
13000 and Above	44 (63.77%)	13 (18.84%)	12 (17.39%)	69 (100%)
Total	209 (65.31%)	47 (14.69%)	64 (20.00%)	320 (100%)

Chi- Square value = 17.23, df = 6, Table value = 16.81, $P \leq 0.01$

The association is significant at 1% level.

It can be seen that the rewarding habit decreases with increase in the income up to the upper middle category. Then in the upper income category the rewarding habit gets increased.

8.4.2 FAMILY SIZE AND THE METHOD OF INSISTING THE CHILDREN TO COMPLY WITH THE PRACTICE OF NAMAZ

It is seen that the medium size family is taking more attention to see that the children are observing *namaz*. 67.62% of the respondents belonging to the medium size families (5 – 15 members) give incentives for their children for the purpose, 15.98% give punishments. It is interesting to note that 40.54% of the children from large size families (15 and more members) observe *namaz* without getting reward or punishment. They may be merging with the large group automatically. Regarding the smaller group their children also comply more with the practice. 23.08% are unattended in the matter.

Table 8.4.2: Family Size and the Method of Insisting Children to Observe *Namaz*

Family Size (No. of members)	Giving positive incentive	Giving punishments	Giving nothing special	Total
Small (1 – 5)	23 (58.97%)	7 (17.95%)	9 (23.08%)	39 (100%)
Medium (5 – 15)	165 (67.62%)	39 (15.99%)	40 (16.39%)	244 (100%)
Large (15 and Above)	21 (56.76%)	1 (2.70%)	15 (40.54%)	37 (100%)
Total	209 (65.31%)	47 (14.69%)	64 (20.00%)	320 (100%)

Chi- Square value = 14.61, df = 4, Table value = 13.28, $P \leq 0.01$
The association is significant at 1% level.

8.4.3. FAMILY COMPOSITON AND THE PRACTICE

Result of the analysis in the previous section and the present section (8.4.2 and 8.4.3) are parallel. The result is that the large family is conducive for the children to grow by their own following the social norm. They mutually socialize the group members. The care given for the purpose is greater in family with 6-14 member.

Table 8.4.3: Family Composition and the Method of Insisting Children to Observe *Namaz*

Family Composition	Giving positive incentive	Giving punishments	Giving nothing special	Total
Nuclear	21 (50.00%)	17 (26.19%)	10 (23.81%)	42 (100%)
F+D+GC	142 (69.27%)	33 (16.10%)	30 (14.63%)	205 (100%)
F+D+GC+SFL	46 (63.01%)	3 (4.11%)	24 (32.88%)	73 (100%)
Total	209 (65.31%)	47 (14.69%)	64 (20.00%)	320 (100%)

Chi- Square value = 20.99, df = 4, Table value = 13.28, $P \leq 0.01$
The association is significant at 1% level.

8.4.4. PLACE OF RESIDENCE AND THE METHOD

In the context of this analysis it is seen that the urban and sub-urban respondents have similar approach regarding rewarding their children when conforming to the norm. 65.63% of the urban and 62.13% of the sub-urban respondents reward their children for compliance. Here, the ruralites come at the apex, 86.96% follow the rewarding method. Among the urbanites the punishing category is

relatively higher (24.22%). The children of sub-urbanites follow the prescribed behaviour of *namaz*, without the interference of their elders.

Table 8.4.4: Place of Residence and the Method of Insisting Children to Observe *Namaz*

Place of Residence	Giving positive incentive	Giving punishments	Giving nothing special	Total
Rural	20 (86.96%)	2 (8.69%)	1 (4.35%)	23 (100%)
Sub-Urban	105 (62.13%)	14 (8.28%)	50 (29.59%)	169 (100%)
Urban	84 (65.62%)	31 (24.22%)	13 (10.16%)	128 (100%)
Total	209 (65.31%)	47 (14.69%)	64 (20.00%)	320 (100%)

Chi- Square value = 31.89, df = 4, Table value = 13.28, $P \leq 0.01$
The association is significant at 1% level.

8.5. RELIGION AND MATRILocal FAMILY SYSTEM

The analysis carried out so far establish that the community has a very strong religiosity. They embrace with all sincerity and emotion the prescriptions and proscriptions of their religion. In fact, this adamancy of belief, faith and practice can be seen in the different walks of their life, they are very reluctant to deflect from a path which they believe as ordained by Prophet Mohamed or even the age old conventions. Matrilocality for this group is in fact just like a religious observance. It has been in vogue in the group from time immemorial. Also they try to link this practice as a trial left behind by Prophet Mohammed who had spent some of his life time in the

residence of his wife following matrilocal system. Still now they believe that they cannot change their practice of their matrilocal system, since it will stain the whole community and even the Prophet. Some of them pointed out that how can they erase if such a bad remark is got stamped on them and their family. It is actually a sin against God as well as man. Therefore it is for them a 'religious practice'. This is why they continue on the path paved by their Prophet and the forefathers.

8.5.1. THE INNEVITABILITY OF *PUTHIYAPPILA* SYSTEM

In the previous section how faithfully the group observe the central pillars of the religious practices like *namaz*, fasting during *Ramazan* period, recitation of *Quran* etc. was analyzed. In this section the researcher analyzes the method by which religion and the family system are tied together so that the perpetuation of both the systems is ensured.

8.5.1.1. *NAMAZ*

Among these observances and practices the adherence to *namaz* may be considered first. *Namaz* is absolutely necessary to be followed by a member of the religious community. This practice has been modified by the matrilocal system in such a way that the family members collect together in a particular space at definite time and complete their prayers. This is especially the practice of the matrilocal system. In the absence of the getting together, the individual executing the responsibility of offering prayers feels that something is lacking. This indicates that

the female members are satisfied with prayers only when they are conducted in the background of the family. Similarly the female members of matrilineal family system are used to another observance, namely, recitation of Quran. After the prayers, they recite the holy book surrounded by their siblings and relatives in the space in which they have carried out their prayers. Here too we can see that for the execution of the religious prescription the company of their immediate female relatives is found necessary. According to the women-folk the matrilineal system is the most comfortable social space where they can execute this task. The children of matrilineal family are happy to learn the religious scriptures in the company of their maternal relatives. Usually the children attend the *Madrasas* in the company of children belonging to their maternal relatives. In short religion is practiced in its emotional satisfaction by the members of the matrilineal family in the background of the system.

8.5.1.2. RAMAZAN

Ramazan period for a matrilineal family is the most happy occasion. Though the members of the family are expected to undergo religious fasting as mentioned in the previous section when it is executed in a social atmosphere it becomes a pleasure giving activity. In fact, the breaking of the fast at sunset and the time after is an occasion for the family members to celebrate with delicious food and getting together. In such situation *Puthiyappila* and his family members occupy exalted position in the matrilineal family. Matrilineal family has to formally invite all *Puthiyappilas* at

least thrice during the *Ramazan* period. Similarly the family members of the *Puthiyappilas* are also invited for joining the occasions. Knowingly or unknowingly this practice concretises the relationship between the families and the *Puthiyappila* system. The respect given to the *Puthiyappila* and to his family is praise worthy. After the *nombuthura* celebrations are over various types of food items are sent to the family of the *Puthiyappilas*. These sorts of practices install a feeling of esteem in the *Puthiyappilas* and their families. Then who will neglect the observance of the *Puthiyappila* system ?

Love and affection and respect showed towards the *Puthiyappila* and his family is not a one way activity. Indeed the *Puthiyappila* and his family return such affections in many fold to his wife and her family. When the lending period comes to a close, and Id-UI-Fitre is celebrated the *Puthiyappila* gifts costly dress and dress materials to his wife and in-laws and also to distant relatives according to the financial capabilities of the person. The *Puthiyappila's* family also is incorporated in the exchange of the such gifts. The first Idul-Fitre after the marriage is an opportunity, according to the religious convention, to honour the family members of the *Puthiyappila's* wife. The *Puthiyappila/* his parents send dress and dress materials (*Jamaat*) to almost all the members of the matrilocal family. These observances are to be seen as reinforcing the family system followed by the community. The night immediately preceding the closure of the lending period is usually termed as *Perunnal*

Ravu by the community. In practice no member of the community go to bed in the *Perunnal Ravu*. All the households will be beehives of activities. Elder female members will be busy with preparing delicious food items which are to be happily served to the family members, and relatives or even the neighbours. The younger female members will be enjoying the night by *Mailanchiyidal* (decorating their palms with Mehandi paste). The *Puthiyappila* will also be enjoying the situation. He spends that night with his wife's family members and it is customary for him to gift the family sweet meats, dry fruits etc. On the Id-UI-Fitre day the wife and children do not fail to pay a visit to the *Puthiyappilas* family. The occasion is an opportunity for the *Puthiyappilas* family to present money according to their socio-economic status to her. In short, the thrilling Id-UI-Fitre celebrations conclude by strengthening the matriocal family relations all the more firm.

8.5.1.3. HAJJ

Another important religious rite of a Muslim is the observance of *Hajj* (pilgrimage to Mecca, the birth place of Prophet Mohammed and the observances connected with the visit). The Matrilocal family system has adopted this rite to strengthen the *Puthiyappila* system. The observances and practices related to Hajj are carried out in the background of the family system. The *Puthiyappila* is given a respectable and esteemed status in the practices. If a member of the wife's family go on the pilgrimage, before he/she leaves for Mecca, he/she gets the ritualistic sanction

from the *Puthiyappila*'s of the family. A reciprocal sanction is necessary if the *Puthiyappila* conducts *Hajj*. When the party decides to conduct the Hajj a ritualistic exchange of food items known as *Yaatrachoru* is made. This is a sign of the inextricable relationship which is existing between the *Puthiyappilas* and in-law's family and even distant relatives of the family. Before leaving for the Hajj the person moving on the ritual is expected to give a sumptuous meal to his or her relatives. Thus food is very much celebrated among the members of the family system to reinforce the relationship. In fact this may be considered as a reflection of the jointness shown by primitive communities through group dining. Anthropologists and sociologists have conducted many studies, relating the role of food in creating solidarity, maintaining social hierarchies and power in primitive communities. The traditionality and informality of matrilocal system even amidst sophistication are seen in these practices. The matrilocal family system is following and exhibiting both sophisticated and simple practices. They don't allow the unity to go astray. Similarly the person who comes back from Mecca after Hajj gives a lot of gifts to their relatives even to the distant ones. The *Puthiyappila* particularly considers this as an occasion to re-affirm his relationship with the matrilocal system.

8.6. DEATH IN THE FAMILY

Apart from the practices and ceremonies observed by the members of Muslim community all over the country the matrilocals of the Malabar region have some

unique practices. It is to be understood that these unique practices are used for enhancing their family solidarity.

There is a death related practice called *Kanoock* which is observed by the matrilocals exclusively. After the burial day three/ seven days coming immediately after it are solemn for the community. During these days the family members from the *Puthiyappila's* side as well as the wife's side are expected to visit the family where the death occurred. In matrilocal system almost all the relatives belonging to the consanguinal and affinal sides visit the sorrowing family invariably. In relatively smaller family the practice prolong to three days at least. If the family is very large, so that all the members visit could not be accommodated within three days, the period may be extended to seven days even. The duration also depends on the economic status of the family concerned. It is also noticed that as a symbol of the regards to the visitors a brew called *Khawa* is given to them. Group dining is not, how ever, permitted during these days.

There is another practice which is very intimate and unique to the matrilocal system. When a death happens in the *Puthiyappila's* family, the kitchen of the household is closed down till the dead body is interred. If food stuffs are required during this short time, particularly for the sick and children, they are brought from the wife's household. In fact this is not the speciality to be mentioned here. When the burial is over the wife's household will be readying large quantity of food and it will

be brought to the *Puthiyappila*'s family and served very promptly and systematically to all those who need food there. Usually one sister of the *Puthiyappila*'s wife will be hosting one time food. If there are more female members in the joint family each of the female members will be showing courtesy separately. So the *Puthiyappila*'s household need not prepare food for several times or several days even. This is praised by the members of matrilocal system. The importance of this practice is that the *Puthiyappila*'s family whatever may be the economic status, can overcome the contingency very smoothly and without any strain. Usually the *Puthiyappila*'s family need not reciprocate this courtesy when a death occurs in his wife's family. In such events the *Puthiyappila*'s wife's sister-in-laws will take care of the responsibility. So it is seen that the male members are exempted from such obligations but the matrilocal system is careful not to degrade his social status within the family and in the wider society. If the family does anything that is detrimental to *Puthiyappila*'s status, the matrilocal family considers it as a stain on its own corpse.

8.7. MAINTENANCE OF MOSQUES AND PERPETUATION OF MATRILocal FAMILIES

We have seen that the matrilocal Mappila community is having a very old history and great tradition. There were many mosques established by the forefathers of big *tharawads*. Many of these mosques are properties of *tharawad* which cannot be alienated or dissolved through divisions. The maintenance of these mosques is the

responsibility of the descendents of the respective *tharawads*. In fact the mosque is a unifying force among the descendants of the *tharawad*. In a way it is the nucleus of a clan. Each of these groups has its own philosophy, belief and practice of its own, but without going outside the parameters of the matrilineal system. The social status and the aristocracy attached to the groups are different and hence the groups form a hierarchy on the basis of the status and aristocracy. Marriage is conducted between members of groups having comparable status and aristocracy. In fact this arrangement of the group promotes competition among the group to improve their status among themselves. Usually these demonstration effect promotes the intra-group cohesion. It has been seen that these different clan like clusters with in the matrilineal system enhances the stability of the system as a whole. This may be explained using physical science principle. When a body becomes very large the tendency to break away is also enhanced proportionately. But the compartmentalization of the large body in to the segments enhances the stability of the totality. We see that the matrilineal system through its age old existence has become very large social mass and the disintegrating tendency is counteracted by the 'clan' formation. That the interconnection between the clan like groups is facilitated through marriages and such other practices. So ultimately through intra-group formation, the stability of the matrilineal system is enhanced. Religious centres (mosques) of different groups work as the nucleus for the purpose of differentiation and integration. Ultimately we should

acknowledge that this practice of forming different clan type organization and inter linking this with suitable practices like marriage has strengthened the matrilineal system. Therefore, we may say that practices surrounding religion have been made handy to assure the continuation of this mother centered system of family.

The analyses in this chapter helps us to come to the conclusion that religion is embraced by the community without any sort of laxity. Further, they have been following almost all practices prescribed by the tradition without diluting them much. The community has been utilizing the practices for the continuation of the family system. Though the community is highly sophisticated in its practices relating to food, dress, migration etc, amidst its sophistication it has all praise for its traditional beliefs, practices and hence it does not deviate from them. The community believes that its family system, namely, matriliney as old as the religion. Therefore, they are giving the hallow of religion to the system of family also. To deviate from this family system is as painful as deserting the religion. Whenever one deviates from the practices of matrilineal family system the person is actually sinning. This vitiates the very purpose of one's existence. In fine the interaction between the family system and religion is mutually beneficial for both the institutions. Here we emphasis the role played by religion in the reinforcement of the matrilineal family system.



Chapter : IX

CASE ANALYSES

This chapter is devoted for depicting the case analyses conducted as a supplementary segment of the study. As stated in chapter III the cases were selected, one each from Thekkeppuram in Kozhikode town, Thazangadi in Vadakara, and Mahe which comes under the jurisdiction of the U.T of Pudussery (Pondicherry). These cases are believed to be typical representatives of matrilineal families of Malabar region. In the selection of these cases the researcher has made extensive travel throughout the territory of Malabar and made proper enquiries with knowledgeable people and relevant records. The personal familiarity of the researcher with the system of kinship among muslims helped a lot in the identification of the typical cases.

9.1. CASE ONE

Kadiyarakam *Tharawad*

Thekkeppuram, Kozhikode

When enter into the *tharawad* premises we feel that it is almost a replica of the physical environment of the Hindu *tharawad* about which one can remember only in half nostalgia. Such were the glory and gloom of the family system. Kadiyarakam

tharawad compound is adorned with the traditional *padippura* (the main gate). The *valiyakolaaya* (the spacious sit-out at the front) is ready to receive you in all the aristocracy of the generations that flourished and faded out. The *kolaaya* is layed with strong Bombay stone which had been brought not less than 200 years ago. (The structure is estimated to have 200 years of standing) Fine quality, costly and finely carved wooden decorative panels are lavishly used in pillars, doors and the windows (*Irunila*) of the *valiya kolaaya*.

The railings of the wooden staircases fitted in the *kolaaya* which lead one to the first floor where the *araas* (bedroom for couples) are arranged are ample testimony for the hand carving artistry of the *thachans* who served these *tharawads* in their glorious past. Similarly, *irunira* (the rectangular opening in the varanda where people can sit), *padaappuram*, room in between varanda and *naduvakam* (central hall), *nalaakkayya* the opening in the roof in central room and *naduvakam* reveal the physical comforts the *tharawad* offered to its inmates with special care for women and children.

The prestigious 12 *araas* that are show cased in the first floor of Kadiyarakam *tharawad* proclaim its past glory. Not only that, they are actually the indicators of the compound nature of the family system followed by the ancestors and their aspirations for the perpetuation of the nature, particularly the women central kinship organization.

Later analyses conclude that their aspirations among other things are *inter alia* fountain heads for the continuance of the system.

9.1.1. THE SOCIAL METABOLISM OF *THARAWAD*

The known social history of Kadiyarakam *tharawad* starts from the matrilineal families of five women, namely, that of Kunithatha, Valiya Kunitha, Ichanthatha, Patheenthatha and Ithatheyi. The ancestry cannot be traced back from here by anyone of the *tharawad* members and there is no records which explain the history. All the ancestral ladies passed away before 1950.

The Kadiyarakam *tharawad* consists of **five bhagams** (constituent family units) named after the five ancestral ladies. The descendants of Kunitha constitute the Kunithatha's *bhagam*. Similarly there are Valiya Kunitha's *bhagam*, Ichanthatha's *bhagam* and so on. Many of the present occupants of the *bhagams* do not know who their *Karanavathi*, was, and her relationship with other *bhagam*'s ancestral ladies. It is certain that the occupants should be related either consanguinally or through afinalities to the *tharawad*, because no muslim will live in a house together if he/she is unrelated to it. Here the interesting point is that under one roof, members who know or do not know what exactly their relationship with the *tharawad* do coreside. Their identity as a member of the *tharawad* is sufficient for them for the collective residence and behaving like family members. At present the members in different *bhagams* are unable to identify the relationship with other *bhagams*. Knowledgeable persons say

that, sometimes the relationship between *bhagams* might have broken (or at some point of time *karanavars* might have invited and placed some units of other family in *tharawad* as then space was available). But even without identification of relationship the members of different *bhagams* live in *tharawad*, and known in the name of *tharawad* outside, and where ever possible the members of *bhagams* co operate each other.

Kadiyarakam *tharawad* has two spacious kitchens which are shared by different *bhagams* occupants. The different *bhagams* are allotted different portions in the kitchens were they prepare food for their family. However, informally they share the portions allotted to them with others when necessity arises. Even other rooms are not set apart exclusively in such occasions. When marriage and such other occasions arises this fusion behaviour is seen. This separation- non-separation is certain to contribute to the continuance of the system. This is because co-residence does not create any economic liability as each unit is economically separate, but at the same time it helps to overcome social necessities collectively.

At present Kadiyarakam *tharawad* consists of five *bhagams* descending from three ancestral women. One *bhagam* each is constituted by the female descendants of Kunhithatha, Valiya Kunhitha, and three *bhagams* descended from Patheenthatha. Kunhithatha's grand daughter and her family is an existing *bhagam*. The second one is constituted by Valiya Kunhitha's descendants Kachibi and Imbichibi and their

children and grand children. The next three *bhagams* are of three sisters with their children and grand children of Kunhibi, Subaida and Jameela. Even though they are sisters and were together once, now function in three separate *bhagams* with separate kitchens.

The descendants of Ichanthatha and Ithatheyi who were in Kadiyarakam have shifted themselves to other places, the last descendants of Ichanthatha in 1998 and of Ithatheyi in 2008. By these relocation two *bhagams* existed there for more than 100 years in Kadiyarakam have physically disappeared, even though some of them have legal rights in Kadiyarakam *tharawad*. *Tharawad* property is indivisible and those who shift themselves, who have legal rights in property, have to leave behind their rights for the time being, and have to wait till sharing the property, if possible at all. This relocation helps to maintain matrilocality in many ways. As *tharawad* exists, the matrilocality units exist there and can have their own life style. They attach to the matrilocality system. The shifting units have their own choice, and preferably they selected matrilocality where ever and whenever possible. The indivisibility of *tharawad* property helps economically weaker *bhagams* to sustain their existence in the traditional fold. All the existing five *bhagams* in Kadiyarakam are matrilocality. 10 extended families had been shifted since 1964 and except one among the ten are matrilocality. One family, Kunhithatha's daughter Imbichibi's family at present is

ambilocal, some of them practice patrilocal and majority matrilocal. Their case has been analysed in detail as given below :

9.1.2. IMBICHIBI'S FAMILY

To analyse the metabolism of the *tharawad* and *tharawaditham* the researcher closely scrutinised the happenings from Kunhithatha's *bhagam*. Kunhithatha's eldest son Abdullakoya married from a near by *tharawad* called Ottayil. Her second son Avarankoya was staying in his wife house Cheriya Veettil which was also very close to Kadiyarakam. Her third son Ahmmed Koya passed away in his infancy. Alikoya, her fourth son, is a *puthiyappila* of Puthiyoppu another *tharawad* in Thekkeppuram. The fifth son Abdul Azeez stays in his wife house Ojjintakam which is approximately half a kilometre away from his mother's house. All of these male members descended from Kunhithatha have followed matrilocal system. All children and grand children, coming to more than 50 members comfortably continue in the fold of matrilocality.

The attitude of male members in Thekkeppuram generally is reflected in interviews with Avaran Koya (81), and Abdul Azeez (68). Avaran Koya said : 'To maintain *tharawaditham* (aristocracy) we have to follow *puthiyappila* system (matrilocality) in future too'. For Abdul Azeez, matrilocality is 'most secure system for women. They are most comfortable with mother. Husbands are also happy, they are respected by all members of wife's household. My words are valued in her household. I respect the feelings of *Karanavars* here. *Puthiyappila* system is built on

mutual respect and co operation of two families'. Avaran Koya, who is in bed now, says : 'I'm cared and protected by my wife's family. I'm happy as I'm in wife's house'. Kattil Veedu Usman Koya, married from Kadiyarakam and now a senior *puthiyappila*, expressed the advantages of matrilocality. He emphasised the security of women. He said : 'Look, there is minimum divorce taking place in our community, minimum marital conflicts and even polygamy is very few. In Kadiyarakam among hundreds of males, not a single one is polygamous'. The youngest son, Abdul Razak (56) son of Imbichibi said : 'This is our culture, it has been since the time of our forefathers. It's our duty to maintain it'. It can be noted that, even in the new generation, males prefer to stick to matrilocal system.

The shifting of a nuclear family which was a unit of Kunhithatha's *bhagam*, requires a special attention. In 1964 Kunhithatha's eldest daughter late Imbichibi shifted their family under the influence of her *puthiyappila* (husband) late Puthiya Nalakath Maliyakkal Koyatty to a rental house in Panniyankara, 4 km away from Kadiyarakam. This was the first de-linking from a *tharawad* ever took place in Thekkeppuram, which was a region consisting of more than 200 large *tharawads*, with many *bhagams* in each *tharawad*. This shifting to a rental house was an epoch in the history of matrilocal *tharawads* of that area. P.N.M Koyatty was an educated man with western outlook, particularly matters relating to family ties and property relationship. He was for the father centered family, it is to be presumed.

Among the children of Imbichibi, her first son Abdurahman (63) had married Palliveettil Haleema (50) that was near Kadiyarakam. Abdurahman had brought Haleema to their home in Panniyankara. The second son Mammadu (59) had married about 25 kilometers away, from Quilandy and defying the *Puthiyaappila* system had brought his wife Thasni (45) to his home at Panniyankara. Even now they stay with their family in their husband's home. Yet both of their daughters have not followed patrilocal family system. Abdurahman's daughter Muhsuna (24) who married Muthirapparambath Hajiz (30) continues the *Puthiyappila* system. Mammadu's and Thasni's eldest daughter Sabitha (22) and her husband Kaloor Road Arif (28) follow the marilocal system. Their second daughter Dilshad Rayhana (20) and her husband Aazhchavattam Shamsheer (26) both stay in his wife's house and also spends time staying in his own home.

Yet the younger two sons had their wives selected by P. N. M. Koyatty from the matrilocal system. K. Abdurazak (56) married Babu Pearl of Suthalam in Azhchavattam in 1985. His youngest son K. Javed (50) married Pazhayathoppil Asha in 1989. Both are employed abroad. When they come for their annual vacation they stay wife's home. Abdul Razak's and Babu Pearl's daughter Sena (21) is also married according to the matrilocal system. Her husband Ayiram Veettil Sanju (29) works abroad and is a *Veettu Puthiyaappila*.

There is only one daughter in all of the Kadiyarakam families who has been married into patrilocal system. Imbichibi-Koyatty couple's daughter Subaida (52) inspite of having been a single girl child was married off in 1981 to Kunnummal Hashim (56) and was sent away to her groom's home away from Panniyankara. Subaida in the year 1986 later moved into the home Hashim had constructed in Quilandy. Their daughter Jasna (24) married Najeeb (29) from Quilandy. Their second daughter Rashida (21) married Amjad (27) of Quilandi. Both of them do not follow the patrilocal system fully but only partially.

9.1.3. FINDINGS

The evolution of Kadiyarakam family through years indicates certain interesting facts :

1. From the various *bhagams* of Kadiyarakam, since 1964 thirteen extended families had shifted their residence. These families who stay in and around Thekkeppuram follow the matrilocal system. Shifting the house does not adversely affect the matrilocal bond between the members and the family. The shiftings were for the sake of physical and infra-structural conveniences. They also prefer to shift the houses where matrilocal people are concentrated.
2. Of the thirteen families that had shifted from Kadiyarakam, three extended families of the new generation had recently changed their system. They follow the matrilocal system. They have constructed houses with facilities to pursue

the matrilocality system. Puthiya Kadiyarakam is the best example. A new spacious and fallacious house constructed was appropriate with observing matrilocality, with 8 *araas*, and many other rooms, a *naduvakam* for receiving all *puthiyappilas* together. Kunhithatha's one daughter Jameela has shifted in 1998 to Thiruvannur, 3.5 kilometre away from Kadiyarakam, with *araas* even for grand daughters. In general, the members of Kadiyarakam, the existing or shifted, wish to observe matrilocality. The *puthiyappila* system which they have been observing for the past four generations is what they cherish and further wish to continue.

3. The families who changed from the matrilocality system into the patrilocality system later reverted back to their old matrilocality system. The P.N.M. Koyatty's family history prove this process. His grand daughters, who was born and brought up in patrilocality set-up, had been changed into matrilocality system. His son Mammadu said : 'Bappa (P.N.M. Koyatty) has moved in his own way, that never means that we are against *Puthiyappila* system. I do prefer to move with traditional system which maintain our culture'. They follow the customs connected with the matrilocality familial system still now.
4. When rooms are constructed to expand facilities at a *tharawad* and when some one and his family shifts to areas where people following matrilocality they indicate the desire to continue with the *Puthiyappila* tradition. The relocating

tendency of people in Thekkeppuram is a clear evidence, their first priority is Thiruvannur and Panniyankara where aristocratic families moved into. Jameela, Kunhithatha's daughter who reside in Thiruvannur, expressed : 'If we move to our own people's fold, it is more fruitful'. Valiya Kunhitha's daughter Mariyambi, who was shifted to Halwa Bazar, approximately one kilometre away from Kadiyarakam, and now living with grand parents, stated : 'If you wish to know the advantages, listen : we women are happy and safe, we love our husbands and they love us, we are in good relationship with in-laws too. Have you ever seen sister-in-law conflicts (*Nathoonporu*) here'. So we wish to continue the system.

5. Men and women of Kadiyarakam believe that the matrilocal system elevates a woman's status in society and gives them a distinct status in society. Women reaffirm that they are secure and safe in their mother's home. In this system they feel that they receive respect, dignity and care as they deserve. (Babu Pearl who has married Abdul Razak, son of P.N.M. Koyatty said : 'The respect that receive in my husband's house is that of a royal princess. All of my sister in-laws keep a very cordial relationship. You know, so far even they have not stared at my face!')
6. Majority of the people at Kadiyarakam believe that it is the financially disadvantaged or underprivileged people who marry off their daughter and

sent them away to their husband's homes. Avaran Koya said : 'The sending off a girl to patrilocal system will effect other girls marriages in the *tharawad*'.

If a girl is so married and sent away they feel that it brings in disgrace and dishonour for the family and will adversely affect the ensuing marriages.

Matrilocal system for them is a symbol of aristocracy and tradition.

7. Gulf migration had added force to the practice of matrilocal system.

Matrilocals try to observe all the traditional customs and practices connected with *Puthiyappila* system. They are retained owing to inflow of money to continue everything in a high tempo. As gulf husbands can afford all these expenses, and they believe that they help to maintain their unique culture. One young girl in Puthiya Kadiyarakam, a branch of Kadiyarakam, said : 'I am happy. My husband will be here for forty days every year. We will enjoy maximum in those days. And when he goes abroad, we keep in touch by phone. He can manage everything to keep alive in this system, its possible only because he is in gulf. And as all *Puthiyappilas* will not be at home through out the year, husbands get maximum care and respect too'.

Kadiyarakam *tharawad* and its branches and other shifted out branches clearly bring out the common social behaviour of the people of Thekkeppuram. It reveals their commitment to continue the custom of matrilocal residence with all of its utilities and colourfulness too.

9.2. CASE STUDY : TWO

Kadappurathe Paandikasaalayil *Tharawad*,

Thazhangaadi, Vadakara

They believe that their ancestors who were merchants had settled down at Thazhangaadi in Vadakara three centuries ago. They had moved into *Kadappurathe Paandikasaalayil* their present *tharawad* which lies adjacent to the beach, about hundred years ago. Kadappurathe Paandikasaalayil is the oldest and the biggest *tharawad* of Thazhangaadi.

Thazhangaadi is a small area of 20 sq.km. situated north of Kozhikode, adjacent to the Arabian sea in the west and National Highway on the east. Once they had followed matriline strictly but now the densely populated Mappila Muslims living in close proximity are only followers of matrilocality. Large *tharawad*, adjacent to smaller houses with annexes of houses, commercial/ trade centers, Juma Masjid, Cemetery (*kabarsthan*) all constitute Thazhangaadi. Merchants, labourers, non resident people working abroad (Gulf) and those who are employed here make up the population of the area. Majority of the Mappila Muslims of Thazhangaadi are in one way or the other associated with trade and commerce.

Family names like *Peedikayilakath*, *Kadappurathe Paandikasaalayil* reveal this connection. *Peedikayilakath* in traditional Malayalam means shop and house. *Kadappurathe Paandikasaalayil* means 'warehouse on the beach'. According to the

Marumakkathayam or matrilineal tradition the members carried names of their mother's *tharawad* either fully or as abbreviation along with their names. They still retain their commercial origin/ tradition in their names too. Some abbreviate *Peedikayilakath Cheriya* as P. C and others shorter *Kadappurathe Paandikasaalayil* as K. P as a means of retaining their noble descent. They suffix it along with their names. The *tharawad* presently has a short abbreviated name 'K. P. House'. There is a board fixed above the main entrance of the large courtyard. At present the inmates of the *tharawad* are few. Many had left. They have settled in various parts of Thazhangaadi itself. The *tharawad* where their founder ancestors lived in some three hundred years ago is not known to anyone and has not been located. However, they claim that the present *tharawad* has got the opportunity to fondle eleven generations.

9.2.1. MEMBERS OF THARAWAD

Three sisters now stay in K. P. House. The eldest sister (Nafisa, 68) is a widow and has no children. Though she has a portion in the *tharawad* she visits it only occasionally. She stays with her *moothamma*'s (mother's eldest sister) grandchild in a separate unit most of the time. She wants to live and die in her *tharawad* but her old age and solitude impel her to stay with her present relatives. The second sister (Kunhamitha, 65) and her family occupy a portion of the K. P. House. Her son (Najeeb, 45) stays in his wife's family. He stays in Thazhangaadi's Vayikkaleri Veettil with his wife, two daughters including his wife and their 14 members

constitute the *bhagam*. He visits his mother daily. Kunhimatha's eldest daughter (Sakkeena, 49) left K. P. House four years ago to move into her newly constructed house in Thazhadi itself. Her husband (Harris, 54) is employed abroad (Gulf). Her daughter (Rushida, 20) who is married Guraiba, (29) and two unmarried sons also stay with Sakkeena. Rashida has a little son named Rishan (2).

Kunhimatha's third and fourth daughters Sameera (47) and Ayisha (44) with their children stay with her. Sameera's two daughters are married and staying in the K. P. House. Sameera has two more unmarried children staying with her. Aisha has one child. The spouses of Sameera and Aisha follow *puthiyappila* system. Sameera's daughter Saleena (28) has two children. Kunhimatha's youngest daughter (Ayisha, 44), her husband (Junais, 49), son (Jasim, 15) are the others who occupy Kunhimatha's portion. They constitute a group of eleven belonging to three generations and make up the majority group who reside in K. P. House.

Kunhimatha's younger sister (Kunhamina, 63) had remarried after the demise of her first husband. She is not blessed with a child either the first or in the second marriage. Her husband comes to K. P. House daily. These two do not also have any children. They have adopted a son. At present there are 16 permanent residents in K. P. House. Yet in the past 33 years many members of the three branches have shifted to form separate matrilocal 'extended' family units. These families are scattered over Thazhangaadi in Vadamakara and premises. These families further stay together having

up to four generations living under a single roof. They are all matrilocal families. Not even a single member follows the patrilocal system. The *puthiyappilas* of K. P. House are not interested to follow patrilocality. The husbands belonging to the earlier generations are permanent residents of their wife's home. The husbands of the new generation stay for the night in their wife's house. They spend the daytime with their mother or sister's home following the traditional practice of matrilocality. Many of them do not take lunch or dinner from their wife's house.

Kadappurathe Paandikasaala *tharawad* Kunhimatha who shifted from the *tharawad* died in 1987. How the shift affected joint family system was carefully analyzed. Kunhimatha's husband was late Vayalil Veettil Mammu Haji died in 1952 of Thazhangaadi. Kunhimatha had resided in the K. P. House till her death. Her eldest daughter Mariyumma (75), husband late Manrath Veettil Koyamman Kutty Haji (death, 1990) and their children had stayed in the K. P. House till 1985.

Koyamman Kutti Haji's first wife *Peedikayilakath Cheriya* Sainaba had passed away. He then married his niece Mariyumma. Sainaba had two children. Son Mayankutty and daughter Kunjamma. Vayalilakam Ummerkutty married Kunjamma. Mayankutty married and settled in his wife's home as *puthiyappila* in Thalassery. Recently Mayankutty and his family constructed a house and moved back to Thazhangaadi in Vadakara. Kunhimatha's other children are- Mammu who married Vayalil Veettil, Ummerkutty who married into Mukkolakkal Veettil, Kunhihassan

who married both in Vadakara Thazhangaadi Poovadippambal and also in Mahe, and Kunhipaathu who married Alikutty of Vadakara. They are all staying in various parts as distinct family units in Vadakara Thazhangaadi. Their daughters have constructed individual houses and are staying in the vicinity of these places. Kunhimatha's siblings consisting of around four hundred members stay close together as individual family units following the matrilineal system in Vadakara's Thazhangaadi.

Mariyumma (75), Ummerkutty (72), late Mayankutty, Abdurrahman (65), Kunjammed (63), Aishumma (63) are the children of Kunhimatha. Mariyumma presently stays with her daughter Maimu (51). Ummerkutty stays with the complete family of his wife's home in Thazhangaadi. Abdurrahman built a house on a plot given by his wife's relatives and stays with his four children there. Kunhammed (63) stays in his wife's *tharavad* along with his three daughters and two sons. Kunhammed works abroad (Gulf) and he has married off a daughter (Saleena, 38) to Iritti in Kannur. This is the only patrilineal marriage that has taken place in K. P. House. Saleena is a graduate and the different ideology of Kunhammed were the reasons for this marriage, the relative reasons. Kunhimatha's younger daughter Aishumma (61) stays with her second daughter Ruksha. She moved into the house built by her son-in-law only two years ago. Aishumma's eldest daughter Rasiya (38) stays with her three children in her husband's newly built house in Vadakara.

Mariyumma's children and their homes are all located Thazhangaadi area in Vada kara. Out of the seven, five sons following their marriages had moved into their wife's homes following *puthiyappila* system. Her son Ibrahim (60) constructed a new house on the land provided by his wife's family which is adjacent to his wife's *tharawad*. He stays there with his daughters and their families. His eldest son Gubaib (29) has married from his mother's *tharawad* who is Kunhimatha's grand daughter. Ibrahim's daughter Hakeema (27) is along with her three children are staying with her mother. Her mother's relative Vayalil Veettil Afsal (36) is her husband. Second daughter Fathima (22), her husband Varikoth Ansar (32) and the younger daughter Asheema (20), her husband Peedikakkavayalil Shanavas (26) are staying with Ibrahim in their wife's house. Hakeema has two sons and a daughter. Fathima has two children. Asheema's marriage took place recently in 2010. Ibrahim and Suhara's children have all married from the families that have blood relation or marital relation between them. Ibrahim states with obvious pride that in order to keep up the greatness of the family, marriages befitting the ancestry and traditional values, is inevitable. He is not ignorant of the possible consequences of marriages among blood relations the possibility for greater genetic disorders. He assigns such things to 'Allah's destiny' and thinks that *Kuf* (match) between families is the basic foundation of a marital relationship.

Ibrahim's brother Majeed (58) stays in Thazhangaadi along with his wife Konnath Koyassantavideyile Suhra (48) and five children. His daughter Khadeeja (22) is married and her husband Noushad (30) stays in his wife's house as *Puthiyappila*. His younger sister Mariya (18) is now getting proposals from suitable *tharawad* and in and around of Thazhagaadi area.

Mariyumma's third son Musthafa (55) stays in his wife Khadeeja's (52) house. His daughters Fathima (35) and Fami (29) are married. Fathima's husband is abroad. Fami's husband is a merchant in Vadakara. Fathima has three children while Fami has a daughter. Musthafa's son Faisal (25) is unmarried.

Mariyumma's son Kunhimoosa died in his childhood. Mariyumma's daughter Maimu (51) and her three unmarried daughters are staying in a house at Thazhangaadi which was constructed in 1988. Her husband Ponmanichintakathe Makki of Thalassery passed away in 1995. Aabu (24) who is working abroad is also getting proposals from Thazhangaadi. Another daughter of Mariyumma, Suhara's (45) husband Jawahar (52) is also abroad. This family is staying in a house that Jawahar had constructed near his wife's house. The eldest son Jasim is also abroad. His family is also seeking marital relation in the matrilocal system itself. Mariyumma's younger son Abdulla (45) married Ponmanichi Rabiya Manzil Safeera (35) of Thazhangaadi and now lives in wife's house with his two children.

Mariyumma's children and son-in-law and grandchildren have not shifted from the Thazhangaadi premises. Majority of the marriages have been arranged from families within walkable distance. Sons-in-law, children or grandchildren have not shifted beyond the railway line at east Thazhangaadi. They are contented with continuing in the matrilocal system which has been in force from time immemorial and within a small region. Here too the conclusion one can arrive at is that the matrilocal system is to survive as these many of this case analysed prefer to be a member of the system.

The families of Peedikayilakath Cheriya, Kadappurathe Paandikasaalayil prefer to lead a marital life under the matrilocal system. They state valid points to clearly state why they prefer such a system.

9.2.2. FINDINGS

In addition to this geneological mapping conducted series of interviews with members of the family who belong to various generations both male and female were carried out. When we consolidate the results of these interviews we conclude that there are concrete reasons for them to follow the system.

1. Matrilocal system assures a secure life for women. Daughters-in-law have a respectable position in their husband's homes. Their opinions are given importance. Ibrahim, one among the Kunhimatha's descendant, and Mariyumma's son who live in a newly built house with wife, daughter, grand

children, said : ‘For girls there will be demand (*veeryam*) the family systems is followed. They are value more. When ladies are casual visitors to their husband, and when keep cordial relationship the family, the status will be high, relationship will be fruitful’. Ibrahim’s wife Suhra supported: ‘I have not heard a single abusing word or critical look from my in-laws. They respect me. Even they discuss everything with me, allows me in decision making process of his *tharawad* matters’. In their responses they reveal the security and comfort the women enjoy in matrilocal system. They become partners in decision making. The sexual exploitation that could be encountered in their husband’s home does not happen when women stays with her mother. Hakeema, the eldest daughter of Ibrahim shared her experiences : ‘I am married and my husband is a visiting *Puthiyappila* here. Both of us are comfortable. I’m educated, and many of my friends who belong to patrilocal area like Kallachi, Nadapuram have bitter experiences in their husband’s house. Many of their husbands are in gulf. When they remained with husband’s family, two of my friends had been sexually harassed by in-laws. That won’t happen here’. These words have been repeated by S. V. Abdulla, an activist and Muslim League leader : ‘In husband’s house our girls are not safe. If something happens, that day will be doomsday (*kiyamannal*). We Thazhangaadi folks respect women’. It can be observed, sexual harassments or

exploitations are less. Very few cases have been filed in Vadakara Police Station, researcher examined the records. Women do have better status in matrilocal community.

2. This practice has been in force for generations. This has evolved an exclusive culture/ tradition among the practicing community. This characteristic exclusiveness must be protected than anything else at all costs. The researcher has checked-up the marriages taken place in many *tharawads* in Thazhangaadi. In Kunhimatha's descent, for four generations not a single patrilocal marriage has been conducted. In the 20 different *bhagams*, among the hundreds of marriage only one patrilocal marriage has been taken place. Ibrahim's youngest daughter Ashima said : 'I have seen the benefits of this system, so I wish to continue this only'.
3. The matrilocal system that is close to *marumakkathayam* is a symbol of aristocracy. The followers of this system exhibit the noble traits of the aristocrats in true sense. This special 'sub culture' is synonymous to the caste in Hindu society. Researcher has perceived the feeling of high self esteem when people who belong to the matrilocal community talk about it. Ibrahim stated : 'For us marriage is not a relationship in between two persons, but between same ideals, between two viewpoints, that always reflect *kuleenatham*. In all areas from Kannur to Kozhikode, there are two status-

groups. The group at the top and a group at the bottom of the society. The group at top level always look for alliances from the same group, irrespective of financial condition of spouse. This is basically to affirm the *tharawaditham*, (aristocracy); a caste like bond, that helps to develop a subculture of their own through marital bond.

4. Disputes over property is believed to be lesser under matrilineal system. Uncles maintain a very cordial relationship with the nieces and nephews. They also counsel in case of any trouble crop up between the spouses. Mohammed Ashraf, a distant member of K. P. House said : ‘In muslim matrilineal households uncles are influential, supporting too. *Tharawad* property is maintained by them, and the income is distributed among the members. The benefits are shared. *Karanavar* take care on their sisters, nieces, and nephews’.
5. Wife’s relatives try to solve the financial problems of the family or individual members. Expenses for migration to gulf, capital for business, health care expenses, all are mobilised by the matrilineal family. Ibrahim shared his experiences : ‘ Look, my wife house has given me six cents to construct a house of my own. Without this help from her family members, we would not have constructed this house’.
6. For a free and happy marital relationship the *araa* atmosphere of wife’s home is very congenial. The couples during their initial stages of marriage find it

more comfortable to enjoy each other's company in the wife's home. For the 'gulf husbands' this environment is more physically and mentally suitable. Ibrahim was in gulf for 8 years. He said : 'When we come for holidays, we get 'first class treatment' in wife house. We spent maximum time in our *araa* without limit. If it was in husband's house, I am sure that, that much freedom would not have been received'. He added : 'As gulf *puthiyappilas* come in during different periods, an *araa* can be used by two or three husbands, didn't the system is economical'.

7. The acquisition of individual wealth is promoted by the system as it is not a *tharawad* property. The self acquired property can be enjoyed by individual or *bhagam*. The acquiring and maintaining of individual enterprenuerships are accepted by *tharawad*. Individuals can acquire their own property. These features always avoid conflicts as we have seen in Nayar *tharawad*. This is the economic part that supports matrilocality. This has been explained by many local colours including S. V. Abdulla.

8. Marital relationship between families known to each other well is known to sustain firmly under all conditions. Marriage entered into between known families is believed to perpetuate happily.

Kadappurathe Paandikasaalayil, reveal certain insights. Despite any financial crisis, they always prefer the *marumakathayam* system of life in which they live a

sheltered existence alongside their daughters and grandchildren and staunchly advocate the furtherance of matrilineal system. The families connected to these two *tharawads* prefer to sustain the *puthiyappila* system and great majority desire the continuance of this system. They do not expect any change in the family system.

9.3. CASE STUDY : THREE

Mailackara Tharawad,

UT of Mahe, Puducherry (Pondichery)

When French colonial territories were added on to Free India in 1954, Mahe became part of governance under the Union Territory of Puducherry. Yet the Malayali customs/ tradition of the people of Mahe continued unchanged. It is surrounded by Kannur district on the North it has the northern tip of Azhivoor of Kozhikode on the South, Arabian Sea on the West and on the east Mayyazhi river banks which have to tell thousands of stories relating the social life of the French people and also the hegemony of them over the natives. On the shores of the salubrious Mayyazhi River, Mahe has been following matrilineal system for many centuries. Prominent subjects of the foreign rule was the Mappila Muslims who observed various customs and traditions. Matrilineal family system is to be specially mentioned here. For this study one of the cases selected was the one from this area, namely, the Mailackara. There is explicit reason for choosing a case from Mahe.

1. To study how the muslim community of Mahe who had not beenpredominantly merchant class but those who indulged in agricultural practices too had followed the matriloal system.
2. As the muslim community in Mahe is a small community it would be helpful to know how they sustained the system of matrilocality.
3. In the previous case studies it has been identified that marriage from neighbouring localities is preferred by them and this practice is contributing to the existence of the system. But in Mahe marriages are settle from far away places too. How this affects the system's perpetuation, is a topic of interest for this study.
4. Comparatively as more patrilocal marriages are seen occurring than matriloal marriages in Mahe it is imperative to analyze if the familial system, particularly to see whether changes have occurred in the system.

9.3.1. SOCIAL ENVIRONMENT

The descendants of Mailackara Aichu and Puthiya Veettil Kunhammed Kutti Haji are today spread over Mahe, its premises and other regions. This geneology begins from Mailackara *tharawad* constructed in 1895 on an expensive two and a half acres of land. The Mailackara house was constructed in the pattern of the huge *ettu kettu* model. It was remodeled twice in 1905 and 1933. Now it has 82 rooms both big

and small. It has two huge halls. There is an entry through the *padappuram* along side the varanda from where one could ascent up the wooden ladders into the hall and into their own chambers called *ara* without encountering the sight of women. His wife too had a ladder leading up from *naduvakam* to reach their room. There are fine bedrooms exhibiting intricate carved wooden work on its walls and ceilings. There was even provision to draw water from the well below and also space to use it. The exquisite carpentry and carving of the beautiful woodwork of Mailackara *tharawad* has exposed themselves to six generations.

Kunhammed Kutty Haji of Puthiya Veetil had two children by his first wife Aichu, Kunhalma and Abdul Khader. Kunhalma's husband was Puthiya Veetil Assankutty. Their marriage was in 1915. They had five children- four girls and a boy. Though husbands of the four daughters were from various regions/ places they were all *veettu puthiyappilas*.

The eldest daughter Aishomma had been married to Mahe Periyangadiyil Thayal Puthanpurayil Usman. Their lone girl child Sainaba (64) married T. P. Usman's nephew Thayal Puthenpurayil Kunhammed Kutty. Of their three children Ruksana (46) married Salih (49) of Thalassery Thachangandi which was 10 kilometers away. Till they moved away Salih was a visiting *puthiyappila*. Ruksana's three children follow the matrilocal system. The first daughter Fathima's (28) husband was Salam (31) from Valappattanam that 50 kilometers away. The second and third

children Rinu (26) and Rishan (24) lead marital life in the matrilocal system. Sainaba's second daughter Raihana (42) and husband Koloth Subair (48), their children- the girl- Rahna (22) and Reena (19) follow the matrilocal system. Their husbands who are the sixth generation of Mailackara *tharawad* are visiting *Puthiyappilas*. Aishomma and children shifted from the *tharawad* in 1958 but still remain in Mahe. Later Sainaba and recently Ruksana have moved their extended families into new premises. Ruksana's son Rafeeq (44) is married with Ajooba (38) of Mahe. One of their daughters has been married off to Malappuram into the patrilocal system. Susheema (20) married Rafeeq who is employed abroad. This patrilocal marriage took place owing to the friendship of the parties at the workplace.

Kunhalmma's second daughter Kadeesu was married to Thazhe Kakkad Moosa. They had Beefathu (60) and Rukiya (58) to raise. Beefathu has three daughters and two sons. Her daughters were Saifu (51) wedded to Basheer (56) of Mahe; Sulu (50) married to Aafi (53) from Thalassery; and the third daughter Reena (25) married to Jaleel (30) from Mahe itself. Beefathu's sons Sulfi (38) and Manish (36) are living in Thalassery and Thaliparamba in the matriocal system as *puthiyappila*. Saifu and Sulu have shifted from their *tharawad*. Beefathu stays with Reena and grandchildren. Saifu's daughter even after marriage is still staying together along with her mother.

Kadeeshu's second daughter Rukiya (54) is married to Abdul Hamid from Kannur. Till his death at the age of 60 Hamid had been the *puthiyappila* of Mailackara *tharawad*. Their eldest son Siju (34) married Haseena (29) of Mahe itself. Another son Nuhi had also been married. He died at a young age of 27. He does not have any issues (offsprings). Rukiya's youngest daughter Hamida (23) is married off to Ernakulam. This is the farthest marriage conducted in the Mailackara *tharavad*. Siju's business connections and the financial conditions of Rukiya's family was the reason for this patrilocal marriage.

Mailackara *tharawad* has a huge 40,000 sq.ft expanse of built up area but presently only Kadeeshu's daughter Rukiya and Siju's family are staying there. As there are no men Siju was forced to stay with his mother. Atop in the first floor of Mailackara *tharawad* in two chambers Rukiya, Siju, wife Haseena- their four children and thus totally seven persons alone live in this house.

Kunhalmma's third daughter Kunhipathu (74) married Oodiyath Subair (79) of Mahe. In 1983 their family shifted away from Mailackara *tharawad*. The two sons of Subair who works abroad, are *veettu puthiyappila* of two *tharawads* of Mahe.

Kunhalmma's fourth daughter Ummacha (68) married A. N. P. Ahmed (74) of Thalassery. They now stay separately in a constructed house but in Mahe itself. They have no issues/ offsprings. Kunhalmma's lone son Gulam Muhammed (64) is the *Puthiyappila* of Keloth *tharawad* of Mahe Peringadiyil and is married with Ramla

(59) and stays in his wife's home. Kunhalmma's brother Abdul Khader married Puthiya Veettil late Muthootti. Their family has diverged into branches and sub branches in Mahe and other region.

After Aichu's death, Puthiya Veettil Kunhammed Kutty Haji married his wife's sister Kadeesha. They had four daughter and four sons. The eldest daughter Pathutti was married to Kanthalaatt Moidu of Thalassery. Their family moved from Mailackara *tharawad* in 1959 to another house they constructed in Mahe. Their daughter Mariyu, Mariyu's daughter Ayishabi, Ayishabi's daughter Safiya (29) and Sameeha (24) as well as the two sons still follow the matrilocal system. The second daughter late Kunjami, third daughter Raabi (78), fourth daughter Nafeesa (73) and their husbands were *veettu puthiyappilas*. Kunhami and her husband late Cheruvakudi Moideenkoya Haji and their children in 1964 shifted from Mailackara *tharawad* to Laila Manzil in Mahe itself.

The third daughter Raabiya had married Thayal Abu who a businessman in Ceylon. They had followed the *puthiyappila* system but their daughter Khadeeja (60) was married off to Vazhakkad in Malappuram District according to patrilocal system. Later their daughters Mumthaz (40), Nasida (37) also become part of patrilocal system. The change from matrilocal system into patrilocal system that was sustained for two subsequent generations was seen in the family of Khadeeja. Yet Rabiya's

second daughter Fousiya got married to Ansari from Kannur. They and their subsequent generations follow the matrilocal system.

Khadeesha's daughter Raabiya (78) and Abu's (75) son Faisal (50) got married from Thalassery. Their daughters Sithu (24) and Saina (21) married from Kozhikode. They follow patrilocal system and both of them live abroad with their families.

Khadeesha's younger daughter Nafeesa (73) married O. V. Abdul Khader of Thalassery in 1977. Nafeesa's daughter Fathima's (50) husband is V. M. Musthafa of Kozhikode. Musthafa was for sometime a visiting *puthiyappila* but he later shifted to Kozhikode taking his family also along. Their daughter Misba (26) follows the matrilocal system. Nafeesa's second daughter Hafsa (46) married P. V. Muhammed Kunju and follows matrilocal system. Yet their daughter Raina was married off to Palakkandi *tharawad* of Kozhikode. Their daughter Sira's (28) husband's home is *baramintakam* of Kozhikode. They follow matrilocal system. The sons Riyas (26), Fayis (24) are *puthiyappilas* of two families in Mahe.

Nafeesa's third daughter Ayisha (44) is married off to Maniyoor. Their family, even in the next generation, follow completely the patrilocal system. Nafeesa's sons Musthafa (41), Syed (38) etc. follow the matrilocal system after their marriage. Nafeesa's family in 1983 itself had shifted their stay and had changed into matrilocal extended family.

Puthiya Veettil Kunhammed Haji and Khadeeja, sons – Moosa, Hamsa Haji, Mammootti Haji, Abootti Haji, Moideen Kutty had married – Kommoth Kunjami, Thalassery Mudarakal Chemmath Aisha, Mahe Thachambath Safiya, Thalassery Oliath Vazhayil Mariyu respectively are the ones who were obeying the *veettu puthiyappila* system. They and their children follow this system beyond their generation.

It was in 1964 that Khadeesa's daughter Kunhami and her husband Cheruvakodi Moideen Koya Haji had shifted from Mailackara *tharawad* to Laila Manzil in Mahe. Their son Muhammed's wife is Jameela. They follow matrilocal system in their entire familial set up.

Now in Laila Manzil where Kunhami had stayed, at present Cheruvakudi Ashraf (56) and his wife Mailackara Mymoona, their children and grandchildren stay. Their daughter Sabrena (23) is married to Riyas (30) and he is a *veettu Puthiyappila*.

Kunhami's son Nasar (48) his wife Jameela (42) have followed matrilocal system for the past two generations and are now settled in a *tharawad* in Mahe. Kunhami's only daughter Laila (48), married Edakkatt Nisar (50) and their next generation also follows matrilocal system. Their son Shanil (24) is a *veettu puthiyappila* and younger son of homestead is finally a *puthiyappila* too. Daughter Shaharbanu (22) is married to Mannur.

9.3.2. FINDINGS

The various factors that deal with the origin and evolution of the joint family of Mailackara *tharawad* of Mahe are :

1. In Mahe, generally matrilocality is practiced to trumpet the aristocracy and fame of a *tharawad*. Even the new generation wishes to sustain this matrilocality system.

In Mahe, when comparing with other towns under study, there are little converted fishermen muslims or lower caste groups. Majority belong to aristocratic group Raihana, a descendants of Kunhalma's bhagam, whose two daughters who belong to the fifth and youngest generation, have married to matrilocality system, explained: 'We give importance to matrilocality because of many reasons. It will help to maintain our *tharawaditham*, as we look for suitable matches by focusing prestige of *tharawad*. We always marry from the same herd. So most of the marriages take place within the family'. Her own daughter Nasi has married to Khadeeja's brother's son. Khadeeja counted 12 marriages in between family members, in her family that occurred within the last year. To maintain their aristocracy, they wish to follow all norms of matrilocal. Nasi said: 'I have only one son, and my husband is in gulf. But I prefer to follow matrilocality'.

2. The distance between the families is not a barrier to conduct matrilocality marriages, the Mahe case reveals. Yet the matrilocality system alone is followed. Distance does not alter the practice of matrilocality system. Researcher has noted that more

matrilocal marriages are taking place in Mahe, with distant places. Even though it is in between two *tharawad* with 60 to 70 kilometres, and was not able to visit daily, they like to observe matrilocality. ANP Ahmed Kutty, a person who married from Kannur in Mailackara '*tharawad*', said : 'Today we have a new house. But till shifting, I was a visiting husband. I really enjoyed the status of a visiting husband'.

3. The reasons for marrying off somebody to patrilocal system was due to business tie ups, friendship or gulf connections. It had no ideological basis for it. It was certainly a result of circumstances. Yet even such families may return to matrilocal system. Most Patrilocal marriages have their origin from gulf connection, between the children of some one who work in gulf countries.

Faisal, son of Rabi, said : 'My friendship with my daughter's in-laws from Dubai was motivating force of this marriage'. She has shown photographs of marriage.

4. Families that follow patrilocal system of marriage for several generations even are changing to matrilocal system. Case of Fathima, Nafeesa's daughter, prove this Fathima and her daughter married to Calicut and settled in Calicut. But they observe matrilocality.
5. Those who are financially well off prefer to shift to new houses. They continue matrilocal system even after shifting. All the branches shifted from Mailanckara

tharawad follow matrilocality. Even their grand children's marriages are in matrilocality fold.

6. Affluence arising from the revenue generated abroad is a reason for shifting the homesteads and also the continuance of matrilocality extended family system. The gulf *puthiyappilas*, who could afford to construct a house, have constructed and shifted. However, None of them support patrilocality.

9.4. CONCLUSIONS OF CASE ANALYSES

The cases analysed from Kozhikode, Vadakara and Mahe reveal that :

1. The craving of family members to uphold the aristocracy attached to matrilocality system is one of the main reasons for continuing the system.
2. The members of the system due to its age old standing have accepted the system as an ideology even which they want to uphold undoubted.
3. The economic advantages of *Puthiyappila* system for both the families contribute to its continuance.
4. The better status enjoyed by women in the family system is another reason.
5. Gulf migration enables to cater to the high financial stability required for the system.

6. Changes to patrilocal system promoted by certain members are not capable of making any influence on the community to change its trend of embracing matrilocality.

7. The community is interested to be joyous and it feels that matrilocal family where women are free is the right platform to realise their aspiration.

On a consolidation of the results of the quantitative and qualitative analyses we see that they are mutually reinforcing.



Chapter : X

CONCLUSION

The general impression is that matriliney is vanished from Kerala community by the disintegration of the Hindu joint family. However, it is a truism that the Mappila Muslims of Malabar area are still practicing the most projecting trait of the system, namely, matrilocality. This study is primarily an attempt to reveal, what all factors support the continuance of the practice among the community in the area.

10.1. SPECIFIC OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

1. To analyze the patterns of matrilocality practiced by Mappila Muslims in Malabar region and regional variations in them.
2. To identify the major socio-cultural factors which are responsible for the continuation of the system in the community, while the system is almost vanished in other communities which earlier practices it with much strength.
3. To assess the status of women in the matriloal system and to reveal the influence of the system on the status.

4. To assess the impact of economic prosperity attained by the community
Consequent on trade, business and gulf migration on the matrilocal system of
Mappila Muslims of Malabar.
5. To enquire into how much intensity is shown in practicing matrilocality
among Mappila Muslims while coping with urban environment.
6. To analyze to what extent Mappila Muslims have modified the jointness of
family and the present extended nature.

10.2. HYPOTHESES FORMULATED

1. Social solidarity created by religious ideologies and practices are determinants
of the continuity of matrilocal family system among the Mappila Muslims of
Malabar.
2. The entrepreneurship of individual family units support by the matrilocal
system has contributed to the continuation and strengthening of the system.
3. The economic prosperity brought about by gulf migration and migration itself
are causative factors in the continuation of the system.
4. The *Wak*  arrangements (indivisibility and bequeathing of property to
charitable organizations) help to sustain the system.
5. The transplanting of individual unit families wherever it happens, to localities
where matrilocal system is practiced helps the continuation of the system.

6. The proximity preference of the families in the selection of marriage partners helps the partners to stay in their family of origin without disturbing the execution of marital obligations and it contributes in big ways to the continuation of the system.
7. The feeling of esteem and aristocracy for being a member of a matrilineal family system supports the continuation of the family system.
8. The better status enjoyed by the women in the system is a deciding factor in the sustaining of the family organization.
9. The aspirations of the ancestors for the continuation of the system reflected through the physical structures of the dwelling units are inspiring factors for the descendants to adhere to the system.

10.3. METHODOLOGY IN BRIEF

The matrilineal Mappila Muslims household situated in Malabar region called *tharawad* or *pura* is the unit of this study. Female heads of the selected matrilineal families were the respondents of the study. Interviews of 320 households which belong to six different areas- Kozhikode, Quilandy, Vadakara, Mahe, Thalassery and Kannur, constituted the sources of primary data for quantitative analyses. Intensive interviews of members of three *tharawads*, one from Kozhikode, Vadakara and Mahe, were conducted for the qualitative analyses.

10.4. SUMMARY OF FINDINGS AND INTERPRETATIONS

The strength of matrilocal culture is assessed in the study in order to reveal the contribution of the culture to the continuation of the system. The analyses, carried out using indices imply that the matrilocal system is rather an emotion or sentiment for the community.

10.4.1. STRENGTH OF MATRILocal CULTURE

The occurrence of patrilocal marriages among the matrilocals was 10% investigated on the basis of the sample study. It has been seen that only 32/320 cases of patrilocal marriages are reported. It is interesting to note that the descendents of the patrilocal samples in due course of time revert to the matrilocal system.

Another matter which was analyzed in this context is the aspiration of the matrilocal women to change their residence to their husband's house. It was seen that only negligible portion of the respondents (6.56%) revealed their interest for such a change indicating the reluctance of the women to depart from their custom.

Resettlement of *bhagams* of the compound family is an increasing trend seen among the matrilocals. However, even if they change their residence they prefer the pockets of matrilocals for resettlement. 74.38% of the sample indicate their preference for resettling in matrilocal dominated areas. This indicates that even if they are ready to leave their joint family they want to resettle in nuclear form within the fold of

matrilocals. So their children will be familiar with their favoured system which shall be embraced later.

The *Puthiyappilas* are very much attached to the system, the enquiry reveals. 86.88% of them following the customary practice of visit their wives household daily. The rest (13.12% only) are not very particular to follow this customs. This attachment of the *Puthiyappilas* to the system is a strengthening factor of the system.

The parallel to the *Puthiyappila* behaviour, wives outlook, was examined. It was seen that 89.94% of the wives visit their husband's house only on special occasions like 'get-togethers' (*salkarams*). But they are not interested to live there over night, except on special occasions in which wives are invited for the same (*parkan kshanikkal*). Usually the husbands family would never compel the wives to reside in their family. This shows that the women in the system are not forced to show physical attachment with their husband's households.

The aspiration of the respondents indicates that the system will go on unchanging. 83.75% of them stated that they prefer matrilocal system for their daughters. That is, they are for marrying their daughters to persons who are willing to follow the matrilocal system.

The mothers (respondent's) responses were reflecting their pain for sending their sons to another family and at the same time obligation to follow the age old system of matrilocality. 83.75% of them prefer matrilocality for their daughters while

the corresponding figure in the case of their sons is only 76.56%. However, the responses indicate that they are for perpetuating their traditional family form.

The results of this chapter in undisputed term indicate that their cultural identity of being a member of the matrilocal system is sacrosanct for them which shall not be lost in the course of any eventuality. Hence one of the factors which help perpetuate the family system is the cultural identity which the community upholds with utmost self esteem.

10.4.2. SOCIAL ENVIRONMENT OF THE FAMILY SYSTEM

In the matrilocal family of Mappila Muslims the grown up male members are generally busy with their vocations and away from their home. The female members and the kids will be there in their house during day time. So the female members will have opportunity to pass their time engaging in small talks and carrying out the domestic responsibilities.

In order to assess the quality of the social atmosphere existing in the compound family an enquiry was carried out as to how much time the female members spend on an average daily in the company of the female members. 48.13% spend 1-2 hours, 38.75% 2-4 hours and 13.13% 4 hours. No one is not having interaction below one hour. This shows that the social atmosphere of the family is very healthy. So it is to be inferred that this atmosphere is one of the major reasons for attachment of the members to the family and ensure its continuance.

A very interesting finding of the study is that social visits to different *tharawads*, in fact, a way of life of the women of the area. For a query, whether are you in the habit of paying visits to other *tharawads*, all the respondents answered affirmatively. This visits ensure the solidarity of the women centred community and they become quite reluctant to detach from the *tharawad* and the premises they are brought up.

Two subsequent analyses made imply that the community is collectively involved in showing hospitality to relatives and friends of individual family in it. They by this behaviour are socially trying up one another together. According to the results of the analysis 52.19% of the women are very much interested to receive friends and relatives frequently. They, in fact, are in the habit of creating occasions of getting together. 42.19% receive guests occasionally and the rest except 2.50% rarely receive guests (3.13%).

A very important fact that is to be highlighted here is that it is through the collective interest of the women that they conduct get-togethers. 63.13% put their efforts together to prepare food and beverage necessary for the occasions. 12.19% involve in keeping the guests cheerful and feeling entertained. Another 6.88% give financial support for the host *tharawads* or households.

Two other analyses revealed how comfortably the system is progressing without any sort of bickernings in the family relationship. 93.13% of the

Puthiyappilas follow monogamy indicating that the spouses are quite satisfied with their relationship. Further, it is seen that incidents of divorce among the group is very rare. Survey data show that only 6.25% of the family studied faced divorce. The occurrence is more in small families. This itself indicates the reason for the continuance of the complex family system. It is very strong in terms of the relationship between husband and wife. Then why can't the family system be an ever lasting arrangement ?

Further analyses show that the women, men and children are quite happy with the system. The mother centred family system enhances the status of women since they have equal right to the *tharawad* property on par with male members. 89.38% of the women feel that the system is advantageous to the females. Coming to the case of the men, analyses show that the system is men friendly. 58.44% are praising the system due to the help received from the in-laws for establishing and expanding business and trade. Only 14.06% of stated that the system is a burden for men particularly for *Puthiyappilas*.

Children are the most blessed group in the matrilineal system because they are under the care and protection of the mother's blood relatives usually grand mother or mother's sisters. The culture is so child friendly that one who is brought up in the nourishing and cheerful family environment will never become individual oriented and socially deviant. Mother and sisters of mother take care of 49.06% of child

rearing tasks. Another 28.13% stated that their children were at the protection of their mother's sisters family during their childhood. 15.63% got the support of great grand mother in the matter. So it is to be seen that the matrilocal system is highly conducive for the development of all the members particularly women and children.

On a consolidation of the results we come to the conclusion that the factor discussed above have definitely contributed to the existence of the matrilocal system of Mappila Muslims of Malabar.

10.4.3. ECONOMIC LIFE OF MATRILocal MAPPILA MUSLIMS

The member of different *bhagams*, though are sharing the same dwelling unit are economically different units. They have their own source of income and have freedom to spend it according to their wishes. The *tharawad* building and the property (land, business, industry etc.) owned by the *tharawad* are inalienable and indivisible. The members can only use them. Certain *tharawads* have formalized a *wakhaf* arrangement where by the *tharawad* and its possessions will go to certain religious or charitable organizations in the event of the members become extinct or disinterested in the *tharawad*. This is one of the reasons for the continuation of the family system it is proposed. It was found to be true. Many of the *bhagams* of the *tharawad* have not much economic stability. So they wish to continue the system because they get an accommodation, however. According to the study results 36.88% of the *bhagams* have no assets. They are living on daily wages. Since for being a member of the

tharawad they need not take any economic burden for supporting others since all the *bhagams* are separate economic units.

The *Puthiyappilas* are highly responsive to the economic needs of his unit. The study revealed that 83.18% of the *Puthiyappilas* who have active relationship with their wife's house are prompt to cater to the economic needs of his *bhagam* in wife's house. Most of the *Puthiyappilas* are gulf migrants and as such they have good income to spare for his wife and her family members (even beyond her nuclear family). In such situation the study also come to the conclusion that the gulf migration is also helpful for the contented ongoing of the matrilocal system.

The *Puthiyappila's* economic assistance to other *bhagams* is also analyzed. It was seen that 43.44% of the *bhagams* are getting economic assistance of *Puthiyappilas* of other *bhagams*. This indicates the unity brought about by the economic needs. In this system of residence no one need to go to outsiders for economic assistance. Several offers of assistance are the usual experience, the study indicates. So the behaviour is found to be a strong factor for the continuance of matrilocal practice.

The community is very much depending on NRI remittance, particularly from gulf countries. So the households have sufficient income to finance their affluence. The income is high and the readiness to help closely and far related brothers is praise worthy. Therefore, this parameter also will be definitely fostering to the unified

family organization of Mappilas. When an analysis was carried out relating to the number of members who are migrants to gulf countries the scene is very fantastic 25.63% of the *Puthiyappilas* families have one gulf migrant each. 18.75% have two each, 10.31% three and 8.44% have four migrants each. This show the economic stability of the *Puthiyappila's* families is fine. When these families distribute their income among the related families the community realizes the advantage of the group living.

The analysis of the respondent's impressions on the advantages of the group living implies that the community has great appreciation for the system. 25.31% stated that they could flourish trade and business with the economic assistance got from their relatives. 4.63% feel that the assistance is helpful to augment the solidarity of the family. Many scattered responses were also got indicating that assistance given for marriage of children, their education, assistance for sick persons etc. are remembered with high regard for the family system.

So on a consolidation of the economic characteristics of the family prompts to conclude that they actually go a long way for the stabilization of the family system.

10.4.4. RELIGION-FAMILY INTERACTION

Analysis of the religious beliefs and practices of the community indicate that they are conducive for the strengthening of the family system. It seems that to carryout the religious life, the background of the compound family is more suited.

Similarly the religious fervor is imparted particularly to the younger ones with motherly affection and compulsion by many female relatives.

Namaz is practiced by 95.63% of the households. It is observed in a collective manner. The children of the different *bhagams* come together for *namaz* and this rendezvous weeds out the boredom felt by them in carrying the practice. Similarly the women observe *namaz* in their collectivity. The custom of fasting during *Ramazan* period is followed by 96.25% of the households studied during the year previous to the investigation. The responses of the interviewees indicate that in their family there is some sort of competition even to fully observe the customs and practices of *Ramazan* by the members. This type of approach to religious practices may not be possible in nuclear type of families as they are not offering multiple interaction channels that increases the quality of the social milieu created. The importance of the family lies in the fact that the family is encouraging all members to follow the normative observance of the custom which will bring out greater blessing of *Allah*, the Almighty. This interaction is, what is pointed out earlier when we discussed the role played by the religions in the continuation of the family system.

Reciting Holy *Quran* is another religious responsibility of a Muslim. It is their belief that if it is followed as per their traditions at the prescribed time the blessings of *Allah* will be many fold more than what is normally expected of. In matrilocal family the situation is conducive for the fervent following of the practice. The elders insist

that the children should read the scripture strictly following the tradition prescribed in the matter. Many of the respondents during informal talks stated that they are very particular that the descendants should be socialized strictly according to their tradition. Otherwise where will they reach ? A situation where there is no religion, there is no family ties ! According to the analysis made with the elicited data 82.81% of the respondents are very particular to see that the Holy Book is celebrated every day by their children. Also women folks are carrying out without fail their traditional practice of reciting the Holy Text. However, the rest (17.19%) are not in the habit of honouring the text daily, they recite it as and when they get time.

Religious socialization of children is another practice which go a long way in inculcating the importance of family ties in the children, particularly the ties in compound family. It is usually the grandmother or grandmother's sisters that bring the children of the different *bhagams* together to initiate to the morals and ethics of their religion. These coming together of different sister's children indicate the message of the goodness of large families in the children where by they adopt the large family as their normative family. It is revealed that 65.31% of the households reward their children when conforming with the socialization processes. It may in the form of giving sweet meat, other delicious food, dress, beautiful caps for male children, lovely head cover for little girls etc. 14.69% resort to punishment like delaying/withdrawing

food, scolding, applying small stick etc. The rest 20% need not take care for their children in the matter as they are on the right track.

The concept of matrilocal family, as pointed out elsewhere in this dissertation, is age old, probably as old as Islam itself. So the family system is revered by the members. They cannot even think of declining connections with the system, even if, for the sake of convenience, some of them may shift to another place. Dishonouring the family system is seen as a sin.

Ramazan celebration is considered as an occasion for paying tribute to the *Puthiyappila* system also. *Puthiyappila* and his family according to the custom of the community are to be specially invited to the wife's *tharawad* and treated as honoured guests. Similarly the religious practice of *Hajj* also is to be performed with giving due importance to the *Puthiyappilas* of the *tharawad*. That is, the religious practices are used for reinforcing the *Puthiyappila* system (matrilocal family system).

With in the matrilocals there is the system of formation of clan like groups with mosque as the nucleus of the respective groups. These groups occupy different hierarchical levels in the community. These groups interlink one another through marriage. This is a technique by which the matrilocal system is maintained.

In fine the religious ideologies, practices and organization are used for strengthening the family system.

10.4.5. THE OUTCOME OF THE CASE ANALYSES

In this study in addition to the quantitative analyses qualitative approach was resorted to taking into account the nature of the theme of investigation. Three typical *tharawads* were brought under the sociological scanner to test the hypotheses formulated in the study. These *tharawads* are situated one each in Kozhikode, Vadakara and Mahe. The findings of the analyses can be briefed in the following manner :

1. The craving of the family members to uphold the aristocracy attached to matrilocal system is one of the reasons for continuing matrilocal system.
2. The members of the system due to its age old standing have accepted the system as an ideology which they want to uphold.
3. The economic advantages of *Puthiyappila* system for both the families contribute to its continuance.
4. Gulf migration enables to cater to the high financial stability required for the system.
5. Changes to patrilocal system promoted by certain members are not capable of making any influence on the community to change its trends of embracing matrilocality.

6. The community is interested to be joyous and it feels that matrilocal family where women are free is the right platform to realize their aspirations.

On a consolidations of results of the quantitative and qualitative analyses we see that they are mutually reinforcing. The hypotheses formulated under the objectives of study have been supported by the empirical analyses.

Subsidiary analyses conducted in the study to find out the influence of the sociological variables on the ideologies, beliefs, and practices which sustain the matrilocal system are many. The results may not be given in brief form because of the diverse type of relationship existing between the variables. However, it may be pointed out that family composition and geographical location are equally strong sociological factors which stand at the forefront in terms of their influence. Then come family size and age with equal influence. Family income comes just behind. Age, education, and place of residence come in one band in the hierarchy of variables arranged on the basis of the criterion. Finally occupation, it has very weak influence on the dependent variable considered in terms of the indices.

The study reveals that the tradition of matrilocal system of family of Mappila Muslims of Malabar is continuing unswayed by the up heavals which occur in its social surroundings. The study indicates that such factors as religious life, enterpreunership and gulf migration of male members, economic independency of component families and the status enjoyed by the female members are giving proper anchorage to the family form.



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**SOCIO-ECONOMIC DETERMINANTS OF
THE CONTINUITY OF MATRILOCAL FAMILY
SYSTEM AMONG MAPPILA MUSLIMS OF
MALABAR**

Thesis submitted to the
University of Calicut
for the Degree of
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DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this thesis on ‘ Socio-Economic Determinants of the Continuity of Matrilocal Family System among Mappila Muslims of Malabar ’ is a bonafide record of research work done by me and that no part of it has been presented earlier for the award of any degree, diploma or similar title of any other University.

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30th November, 2010

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CERTIFICATE

Certified that this thesis entitled ‘ Socio-Economic Determinants of the Continuity of Matrilocal Family System among Mappila Muslims of Malabar ’ is an original piece of research work done by Mr. N. P. Hafiz Mohamad, Head of the Department of Sociology, Farook College, Kozhikode, under my supervision and guidance and that no part of it has been submitted to any other university or academic body for the award of any degree, title or recognition.

Kozhikode
30th November, 2010

(**JONI. C. JOSEPH**)
Supervising Teacher

APPENDIX : 1

KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY

Mo	Umma
Mo Mo	Valiyumma, Vallimma, Ummaama
Mo Fa	Valliappa, Vallippaava, Uppaava
Mo Fa Fa	Valiyuppaappa
Mo Br (Elder)	Ammon, Vallikkakka, Aakkakka, Pookkakka
Mo Br (Younger)	Ikka, Cherikkaakka, Kunhikkaakka
Mo Si (Elder)	Moothamma
Mo Si (Younger)	Elaamma, Kunhama, Cherithaatha, Poothaatha
Mo Br Wi	Ammaayi
Mo Si Hu (Elder)	Moothaappa, Kunhaliyan
Mo Si Hu (Younger)	Elaappa, Aappa
Si (Elder)	Valithaatha, Ithaatha, Pettaacha
Si (Younger)	Cheriyithaatha, Kunhitha
Si So	Marumon
Si Da	Marumole
Si Hu (Elder)	Alinkakka, Puthiyappila, Kunhaliyan
Br (Elder)	Ikkaakka, Vallikkaakka
Br (Second Elder)	Cherikkaakka
Da	Mole
Da Hu	Puthiyaappila, Piyyaapla, Puyyaapla
Da Da Chi	Perakkutti
Hu Mo, Wi Mo	Ammaayimma, Puthiyaappilante Umma
Hu Fa, Wi Fa	Ammosanka, Puthiyappilante Uppa
Hu Si	Nathoon, Ammaayi
Wi Br	Aliyan
Wi Si Hu (Elder)	Mothachan, Kunhaliyan, Moothaappa
Wi Si Hu (Younger)	Elechan, Puthiyaappila, Elaappa
Wi Si (Elder)	Moothachi, Ithaatha
Wi Si (Younger)	Elechi
So	Mone
So Wi	Marumole

Fa	Uppa, Baappa, Vaappa, Uppaava
Fa Fa	Uppaappa, Vallippaava
Fa Fa Fa	Valiyuppaappa, Vallippaava
Fa Br (Elder)	Moothaappa
Fa Br (Younger)	Elaappa
Fa Mo	Itha, Uppoomma, Uppante Umma
Fa Mo Mo	Vallitha, Vallippoomma
Fa Si (Elder)	Valliammaayi, Uppeethatha, Pettacha
Fa Si (Younger)	Cheriammaayi
Fa Si Hu	Bappappa, Kunhaliyan, Appaappa
Fa Br Wi (Elder)	Moothaamma
Fa Br Wi (Younger)	Elaamma

- **Mo = Mother, Si = Sister, Br = Brother, Da = Daughter, Fa = Father, So = Son, Wi = Wife, Hu = Husband, Chi = Child.**
Eg : **Mo Br Wi = Mother's Brother's Wife**
- **There are variations in some terms in different places.**
Eg : **Mo Fa = Valliaappa (Kozhikode), Uppaava (Kannur)**
Mo Si Hu = Moothaappa (Quilandy), Kunhaliyan (Thalassery, Kannur).

APPENDIX : 2

N. P. HAFIZ MOHAMAD
UNIVERSITY OF CALICUT

SCHEDULE No :
 DATE :
 AREA :

SOCIO ECONOMIC DETERMINANTS OF THE CONTINUITY OF MATRILocal SYSTEM AMONG MAPPILA MUSLIMS OF MALABAR

SCHEDULE FOR INTERVIEWING ELDEST FEMALE MEMBER OF THE HOUSEHOLD

1: PERSONAL DATA

1. Name :
2. Address :
3. Age :
4. Marital Status :
- | | |
|---------------------------------------|---|
| 1. Married <input type="checkbox"/> | 5. Deserted <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 2. Widow <input type="checkbox"/> | 6. Remarried <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 3. Divorcee <input type="checkbox"/> | 7. Not Married <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 4. Seperated <input type="checkbox"/> | 8. Any other (.....) <input type="checkbox"/> |
5. Education :
- | | |
|--|---|
| 1. Illiterate <input type="checkbox"/> | 5. High School <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 2. Literate, Not educated <input type="checkbox"/> | 6. College (.....) <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 3. LP School <input type="checkbox"/> | 7. Madrasa <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 4. UP School <input type="checkbox"/> | 8. Others (.....) <input type="checkbox"/> |
6. Occupation :
- | | |
|-------------------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1. White Collar (Specify :) | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 2. Manual Labourer | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 3. House Wife | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 4. Others (.....) | <input type="checkbox"/> |
7. Family Monthly Income : Rs.
8. Place of Residence :
- | | |
|---------------|--------------------------|
| 1. Urban | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 2. Rural | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 3. Sub- Urban | <input type="checkbox"/> |

9. FAMILY STRUCTURE

SI No	Name	Relation to Respondent	Age	Edn.	Marital Status	Residence	Occpn.	Income
1								
2								
3								
4								
5								
6								
7								
8								
9								
10								

- 10. Type of House you reside in :**
1. Traditional Tharawad type
 2. Reconstructed Tharawad
 3. Modern Terraced House
 4. Tiled
 5. Thatched
 6. Others (.....)
- 11. Ownership of the House :**
1. Joint
 2. Individual (owned to)
 3. Rented / Panayam
 4. Wakhaf
 5. Others (.....)
- 12. Total No. Of Aras for couples :**
1. With toilet Facilities :
 2. Without toilet Facilities :
- 13. No. of other rooms for sleep :**
1. For Male adults :
 2. For Female adults :
 3. For children (1 to 13 years):
 4. For Adolescent girls :
 5. For Adolescent boys :
- 14. Whether an Ara has been shared by two or more couples or not :**
1. Yes
 2. No
- 15. If 'Yes', Please give details :**
(Please state how many couples have used an ara so far according to your knowledge)
- | | | | | | | | | | |
|----------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| No. of rooms : | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 |
| No. of use : | <input type="radio"/> |
- 16. Area of the land on which house situates :AcresCents.**
- 17. Details of Property**
1. Land :
 2. Business :
 3. Trade :
 4. Shops/ Bdgs. (only):
 5. Others :
 6. Nil :

18. No. of Bhagams (sections on the basis of Kitchen) in the house :

19. If there is Bhagams, Details :

Relationship to Bhagam App. No. of
(If not identifiable mark 'Dont know') members

Bhagam No. 1	<input type="text"/>
No. 2	<input type="text"/>
No. 3	<input type="text"/>
No. 4	<input type="text"/>
No. 5	<input type="text"/>
No. 6	<input type="text"/>
No. 7	<input type="text"/>
No. 8	<input type="text"/>

20. Whether any Bhagam has shifted their residence during the last 20 years or not :

1. Yes
2. No

21. If 'Yes', Please give the following details :

Bhagam	Year of shifting	Distance from this house	Locality: Matrilocal/ Patri/Mixed	Relationship to respondent	No of members shifted	Reason for Shifting	Remarks					
					<table style="width: 100%; border-collapse: collapse; border-top: 1px solid black;"> <tr> <td style="width: 25%; border-bottom: 1px solid black;">M</td> <td style="width: 25%; border-bottom: 1px solid black;">F</td> <td style="width: 25%; border-bottom: 1px solid black;">C</td> <td style="width: 25%; border-bottom: 1px solid black;">Total</td> </tr> </table>	M	F	C	Total			
M	F	C	Total									

From the same Bhagam

From other bhagams

22. Whether any other Bhagams or units intend to shift or not :

1. Yes
2. No

22.A. If 'Yes', please give details :

23. Who is maintaining house in general
1. Jointly by Bhagams
2. Individually each area
3. Others :

OBSERVANCE OF MATRILOCALITY

- 24.** When did you start observing matrilocality
- 1. Immediately after marriage
 - 2.years after marriage
 - 3. Others :.....

- 25.** Frequency of visit of your husband to your house :
- 1. Daily
 - 2. Alternative days
 - 3. Weekly
 - 4. Monthly
 - 5. Bi-monthly
 - 6. Others :.....

- 26.** Do you support the continuance of visiting husband system
- 1. Yes
 - 2. No
 - 3. No Opinion

27. Explain the reason for your choice :

.....

- 28.** What is important reason for observance of Matrilocality in your area:
- 1. Customary
 - 2. Sanctioned by Religion
 - 3. Protection for women
 - 4. Good for children
 - 5. To maintain the family
 - 6. Family security
 - 7. Subcultural identity
 - 8. Convenient for men
 - 9. Others :

29. What shall be the problems, if matrilocality system is discontinued :

.....

.....

- 30.** What will be the future of matrilocality system:
- 1. Will be continued
 - 2. Not continued
 - 3. I don't Know
 - 4. Others

- 31.** Is there any female member in your family living with husband's family
- 1. Yes
 - 2. No

32. If 'Yes' please give reasons, period of time :

- 33.** Is there any female member in your house Who wish to shift to husband's house
- 1. Yes
 - 2. No

34. If 'Yes', please give details :

.....

- 35.** Is there any male member of your family Who observe patrilocality
- 1. Yes
 - 2. No

36. If 'Yes' please give details :

.....

37. How often your husband's Family members visit your house :
 Male Members : 1. Daily 4. Monthly
 2. Once in week 5. At special occasion
 3. Fortnightly 6. Never

38. Female Members
 1. Daily 4. Monthly
 2. Once in week 5. At special occasion
 3. Fortnightly 6. Never

39. How often you visit husband's house :
 1. Daily 4. Monthly
 2. Once in week 5. At special occasion
 3. Fortnightly 6. Never

How often your family members visit husband's house :

40. Male Members
 1. Daily 4. Monthly
 2. Once in week 5. At special occasion
 3. Fortnightly 6. Never

41. Female Members
 1. Daily 4. Monthly
 2. Once in week 5. At special occasion
 3. Fortnightly 6. Never

42. What type of relationship that your family maintain with husband's family
 1. Cordial
 2. Conflictual
 3. Lukewarm

43. Details about other visiting husband's in your house/ Bhagam :

SI No	Name	Relationship to respondent	Frequency of visit					Gulf	Contribution towards household expenses
			D	W	F	M	N		
1									
2									
3									
4									
5									
6									
7									
8									
9									

44. Your husband's contribution towards household expenses :
 1. in kind :
 2. (Monthly) in cash :

45. Do your husband financially assist other members in your house :
 1. Yes 2. No

46. If 'Yes', please give details :

47. Does your husband finically help his family : 1. Yes 2. No

48. If 'Yes', please give details :

49. Customs observed at the time of girl's marriage :
- 1. Furnished room with Toilet/ Without Toilet
 - 2. Gold ornaments given. Approx
 - 3. Dowry
 - 4. Approximate no. of persons invited
 - 5. Any other

50. Is any marriage by choice had been taken place : 1. Yes 2. No

51. If 'Yes', where did they stay (Person's relationship to the respondents) :

	1	2	3
--	---	---	---

- | | | | |
|--------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1. Girls House | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 2. Husband's House | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 3. New House | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 4. Rented House | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 5. Other | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

52. Was there any divorce occurred in your family : 1. Yes 2. No

53. If 'Yes', please give details :

54. Was there any remarriage occurred in your family : 1. Yes 2. No

55. If 'Yes', please give details (who, when, reasons) :

56. Was there any separation/ desertion occurred in your family : 1. Yes 2. No

57. If 'Yes', please give details (who, when, reason) :

58. Do you think that marriage of a girl is a burden To the family : 1. Yes 2. No

59. Have you received any financial help from husband's family at special occasion : 1. Yes 2. No

60. If 'Yes', please give details :

61. Have you arranged room for your girl child/ children : 1. Yes 2. No

62. If 'Yes', please give details :

What are the important functions played by the following persons :

63. By Eldest Female members :

64. By Eldest Male members :

65. Which type of system did you prefer for children
A. Daughter : 1. Matrilocl 2. Patrilocl 3. Neolocl 4. Can't say
B. Son : 1. Matrilocl 2. Patrilocl 3. Neolocl 4. Can't say
C. Grand children : 1. Matrilocl 2. Patrilocl 3. Neolocl 4. Can't say

66. With whom you feel children are more safe :
1. Father's family
2. Mother's family
3. Both
4. With others

67. Why ? :

68. If you get a chance, to which place you shift your house :
1. Locality of Matrilocls
2. Locality of Patrilocls
3. Any place

69. Do you feel any advantages for matrilocl system :
: 1. Yes 2. No

70. If 'Yes', Mention the most important advantage of the system from the point of view of women :
1. Women are secure and comfort 4. No dowry system
2. Decision power in family affairs 5. Helping each other
3. Less in-law conflicts 6. Others

71. Do you feel any disadvantages of matrilocl system from the point of view of women :
: 1. Yes 2. No

72. If 'Yes', mention the most important disadvantage of the system from the point of view of women :
1. Preparation of ara 4. Less Influencial in family matters
2. No intimacy with husband 5. Inconvenient customs
3. Not possible to look after children 6. Others :

- 73.** If ‘Yes’, (for Q.71) do you aspire for breaking away
From the system : 1. Yes 2. No
- 74.** What is your opinion about the advantages of matrilocal system from the point of view of children
- | | | | |
|--|--------------------------|--------------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1. Close association with mothers family | <input type="checkbox"/> | 4. Taken care by mother’s Kin | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 2. Safe and comfort | <input type="checkbox"/> | 5. Development of ideal values | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 3. Mothers take more care | <input type="checkbox"/> | 6. Others : | <input type="checkbox"/> |
- 75.** What is your opinion about the disadvantages of matrilocal system from the point of view of children
- | | | | |
|-----------------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1. Not receiving care from father | <input type="checkbox"/> | 4. Conflict between children | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 2. Bad influence of others | <input type="checkbox"/> | 5. Less contact with father’s family | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 3. Not interested in studies | <input type="checkbox"/> | 6. Others : | <input type="checkbox"/> |
- 76.** What is your opinion about the advantages of matrilocal system from the point of view of males
- | | |
|-----------------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1. Help and support from in-laws | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 2. Less financial burden to males | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 3. Others : | <input type="checkbox"/> |
- 77.** What is your opinion about the disadvantages of matrilocal system from the point of view of males
- | | |
|-----------------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1. Less control over children | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 2. More financial burden to males | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 3. Others : | <input type="checkbox"/> |
- 78.** What is your opinion about the advantages of matrilocal system from the point of view of Islam
- | | |
|-----------------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1. Community bond is strengthened | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 2. Help to keep Muslim identity | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 3. Others : | <input type="checkbox"/> |
- 79.** What is your opinion about the disadvantages of matrilocal system from the point of view of Islam
- | | |
|--------------------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1. It is against Muslim Personal law | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 2. It divides the community | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 3. Others : | <input type="checkbox"/> |
- 80.** If Matrilocal system has more disadvantages from the point of view of Islam, Why do you continue the system :
-
- 81.** What is your opinion about the advantages of matrilocal system from the point of view of economic life
- | | |
|---|--------------------------|
| 1. It supports trade, business and traditional occupation | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 2. Economic co-operation in between in-laws | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 3. Others : | <input type="checkbox"/> |

82. What is your opinion about the disadvantages of matriloc system from the point of view of economic life

- 1. Discouraging individual enterpreunership
- 2. Unnecessary expenditure for family affair
- 3. Others :

83. What is your opinion about the advantages of matriloc system from the point of view of social life

- 1. Support to continue customary practices
- 2. To maintain the status of family
- 3. Others :

84. What is your opinion about the disadvantages of matriloc system from the point of view of social life

- 1. Isolated community life
- 2. Backwardness in socio-economic domains
- 3. Others :

Are the advantages over-weigh the disadvantages in the following :

85. Point of view of Women : 1. Definitely 2. Not sure 3. No. 4. No opinion

86. Point of view of Children : 1. Definitely 2. Not sure 3. No. 4. No opinion

87. Point of view of Males : 1. Definitely 2. Not sure 3. No. 4. No opinion

88. Point of view of Islam : 1. Definitely 2. Not sure 3. No. 4. No opinion

89. Point of view of Economic life : 1. Definitely 2. Not sure 3. No. 4. No opinion

90. Point of view of Social life : 1. Definitely 2. Not sure 3. No. 4. No opinion

91. Are the advantages of matriloc system, in general over-weigh the disadvantages : 1. Definitely 2. Not sure 3. No. 4. No opinion

92. If 'No', why do you continue matriloc system :

.....
.....
.....

SOCIAL LIFE

93. Do your children stay in other household units ?

- 1. Overnight 4. Very often
- 2. Usually 5. At special occasion
- 3. Rarely 6. Never

94. Who else take/ took care of your children when you are away ?

- 1. Mother
- 2. Grand Mother
- 3. Sister/ Sisters
- 4. Others

95. To whom your children are closely related

- 1. Your sisters and their family
- 2. Your brothers and their family
- 3. Your mother
- 4. Your Grand parents

96. Do you feel that it is very difficult to keep children happy in the absence of their joint living : 1. Yes 2. No

97. With whom you and other lady members go outside regularly ?

- 1. With other female family members
- 2. With male members
- 3. With children
- 4. With others

98. How much time you spend daily with other female members :Hours

99. What you will do usually when you are with other ladies ?

- 1. Social games
- 2. Reading
- 3. Chatting
- 4. Others :

100. Do you receive guests ?

- 1. Always
- 2. Frequently
- 3. Occasionally
- 4. Rare
- 5. Never

101. What type of help you get from other females in receiving guests ?

- 1. Financial
- 2. In preparing food
- 3. Reception
- 4. Chatting
- 5. Others :

102. What is your first preference for consideration in accepting alliances for your children/ grand children :

- 1. From the same economic group
- 2. From the same family status
- 3. From the same locality
- 4. From any group
- 5. No opinion

103. Where do you will allow to grow children after death of their mother ?

- 1. Mother's house
- 2. Father's house
- 3. Others (.....)

RELIGIOUS

Do you observe the following

104. *Namaz* : 1. Regularly 2. Occasionally 3. Juma only 4. Never

105. *Fasting in Ramadan* : 1. Regularly 2. Occasionally 3. Never

106. *Quran Reading* : 1. Daily 2. Occasionally 3. Never

107. Do you participate in observe any other religious rituals 1. Yes 2. No

108. If 'Yes', please give details :
.....

109. How do you insist children to observe prayer :

- 1. Giving positive incentives
- 2. Giving negative incentives
- 3. Never do anything specially

110. Have you/ your husband any association with any religious organization :

- 1. Yes 2. No

If 'Yes', to which organization ?

111. Your's 1. Sunni EK 2. Sunni AP 3. Mujahid 4. Jam-At 5. Others.....

112. Husband's 1. Sunni EK 2. Sunni AP 3. Mujahid 4. Jam-At 5. Others.....

ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES

113. Has your family any traditional business / trade : 1. Yes 2. No

114. If 'Yes', please give details regarding

- 1. Ownership :
- 2. Income :
- 3. Others :

115. Has any personal / individual business / trade in your household :

- 1. Yes 2. No

116. If 'Yes', please give details :
.....

117. Have you any *Tharawad* property 1. Yes 2. No

118. If 'Yes', please give details :
.....

Main source of income of Bhagams (if any) other than yours

119. *Bhagam*:1.Trade 2.Business 3.Govt.profession 4.Pvt.Prof 5.Not.eco.Independent 6.Other

120. *Bhagam*:2.Trade 2.Business 3.Govt.profession 4.Pvt.Prof 5.Not.eco.Independent 6.Other

121. *Bhagam*:3.Trade 2.Business 3.Govt.profession 4.Pvt.Prof 5.Not.eco.Independent 6.Other

122. *Bhagam*:4.Trade 2.Business 3.Govt.profession 4.Pvt.Prof 5.Not.eco.Independent 6.Other

123. *Bhagam*:5.Trade 2.Business 3.Govt.profession 4.Pvt.Prof 5.Not.eco.Independent 6.Other

124. Are you economically supported by any other member in the family :

- 1. Yes 2. No

125. If 'Yes', please give details :
.....

126. Is your Bhagam family support any other Bhagam's Families or vice verce :

1. Yes 2. No

127. If 'Yes', please give details :

.....

128. Are there any members (including females & husbands) working / living in Gulf country / Abroad :

1. Yes 2. No

129. If 'Yes', please give details :

SI No	Name	Relation to Respondent	Place	Years of stay	Occupation	Visit	With family	No. of Members
1								
2								
3								
4								
5								
6								
7								
8								

130. Is any other members of your family propose to move abroad :

1. Yes 2. No

If 'Yes', please give details :

131. Husbands of family members :

132. Male Members :

133. Female Members :

134. Children :

135. Other Details if any :

.....

.....

.....

.....

APPENDIX : 3

INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR COLLECTING DATA FOR QUALITATIVE ANALYSES

1. **Origin and History of *Tharawad***
 - Can you explain the origin and evolution of your *tharawad* ?
 - Explain some of the ancestors / forefathers.
 - Year of establishment of *Tharawad* ? Roots ?
 - Early days of *Tharawad* ? Ownership of *Tharawad* ? Wakhaf arrangements ?
 - Connection with other *Tharawads*.
 - Did the *Tharawad* have any Traditional Occupation ?
 - Trade / Business ? History, Present situation.
 - Properties : Land ? Buildings ? Shop ?
 - Other Investments ?
 - Other Occupations ?

2. **About Familial System : History of Matrilocality in your *Tharawad*.**
 - What was the intensity of Matrilocality in practice ?
 - Any cases that deviated from Matrilocality.
 - It's background ? Present conditions ?
 - Any traditional customs related with Matrilocality ? Rituals ? Ceremonies ?
 - Do you see any special features of Matrilocality ?
 - About the role of *Puthiyappilas* ? Financial role ?
 - Relationship with *Puthiyappila*'s family ?

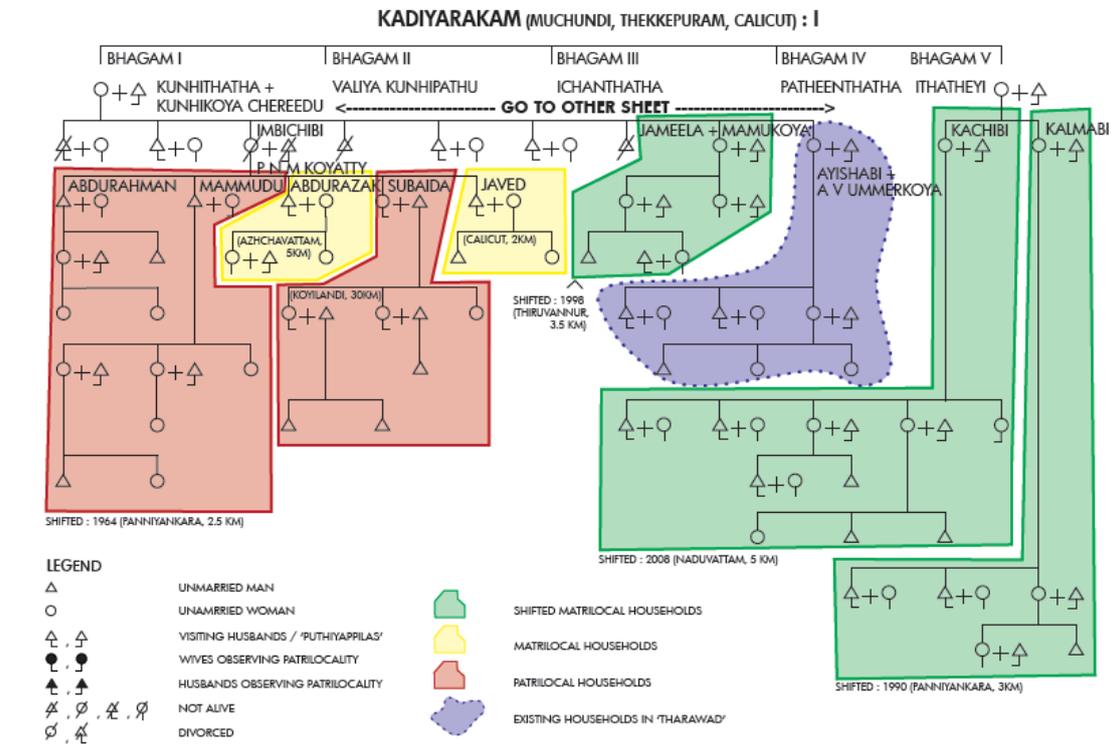
3. **Women in Matrilocal set-up :**
 - Role of *Karanavathi*.
 - Relationship with other women.
 - Women and domestic affairs.
 - Women and Customs, Ceremonies ?
 - Women and *Puthiyappilas*.
 - Women and children.
 - Women and in-laws.
 - Activities of women ? Other activities ?
 - Women and their social life ?
 - Women and religion.

4. **Customs / Rituals :**
 - Birth : Rituals / Ceremonies.
 - Socialization practices.
 - Circumcision / *Kathukuthu Kalyanam*.

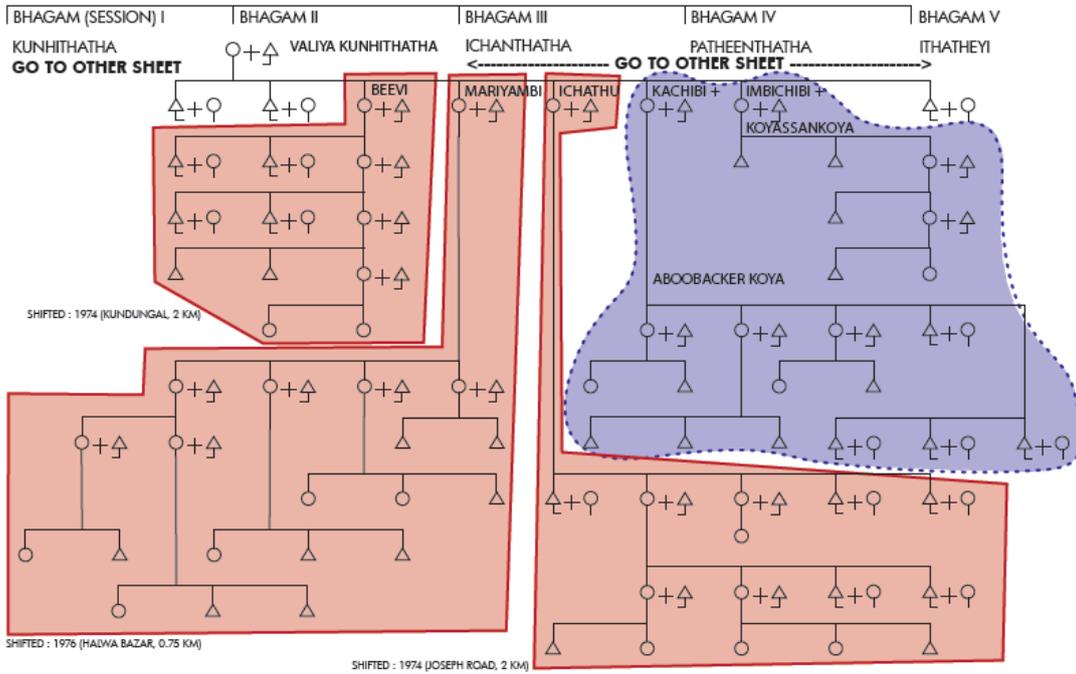
- **Marriage : Stages / Ceremonies.**
 - **Festivals of Marriage.**
 - **Collective activities.**
 - **Get-togethers / ‘Salkarams’ etc.**
 - **On preparation of ‘ara’ / furniture.**
 - **Other Ceremonies.**
 - **Death related rituals and ceremonies.**
 - **Religious celebrations ?**
- 5. About *Bhagams* in *Tharawad*, if any.**
- **History of *Bhagams* / Relationship.**
 - **New developments.**
 - **Relationship with *Bhagams* ? / Households ?**
 - **Relocated / Shifted households / *Bhagams* ?**
 - **Competition / Conflict between *Bhagams* ?**
- 6. Views on Matrilocality.**
- **Advantages of Matrilocality for men ? for women ?**
 - **Matrilocality and children – Advantages ?**
 - **Disadvantages of Matrilocality ?**
 - **Comparison between Matrilocality and Patrilocality.**
 - **Future of Matrilocality ?**
 - **Attitude of younger generation ?**
 - **Constraints to continue Matrilocality ?**
- 7. Gulf Connection**
- **Family members working abroad ?**
 - **With family ?**
 - **How do members move abroad ? Visa ?**
 - **Financial support from others ?**
 - **Holidays of Gulf *Puthiyappilas* ?**
 - **Special features of Gulf *Puthiyappilas*.**
 - **Migration and Matrilocality : Any connection ?**
- 8. Religious Activities :**
- **Affiliation with organizations ?**
 - **Participation in organizational activities ?**
 - **Religion and Matrilocality : Views ?**
 - **Organizations and Matrilocality : Views ?Opposes?**
- 9. Other Socio – Cultural activities :**
- **Reading ?**
 - **Entertainments ? TV / Films ?**
 - **Other games-Indoor ?**
- 10. Relationship with Political Party :**
- **Membership ?**
 - **Leaders ?Organisational activity and family?**
- 11. Any other special matters that you wish to share ?**

APPENDIX : 4

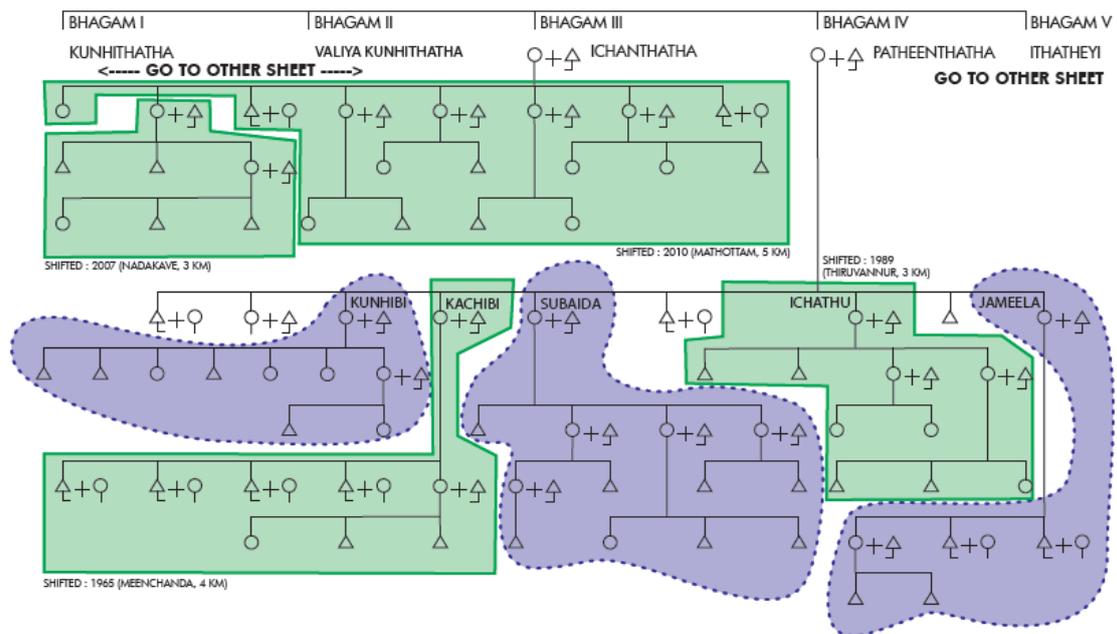
CASE ANALYSES GENEOLOGICAL TREES



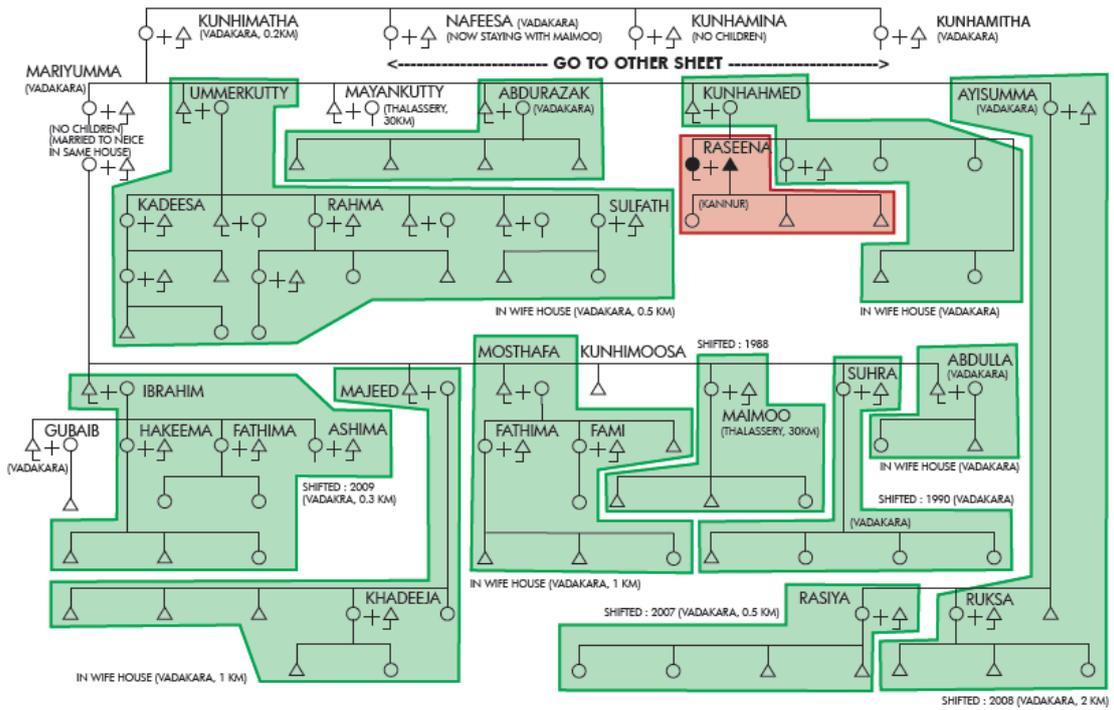
KADIYARAKAM (MUCHUNDI, THEKKEPURAM, CALICUT) : II



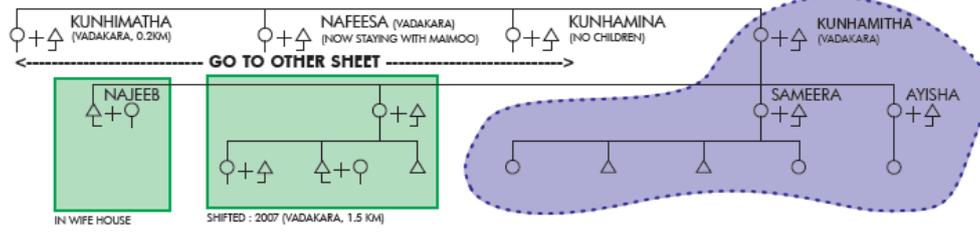
KADIYARAKAM (MUCHUNDI, THEKKEPURAM, CALICUT) : III



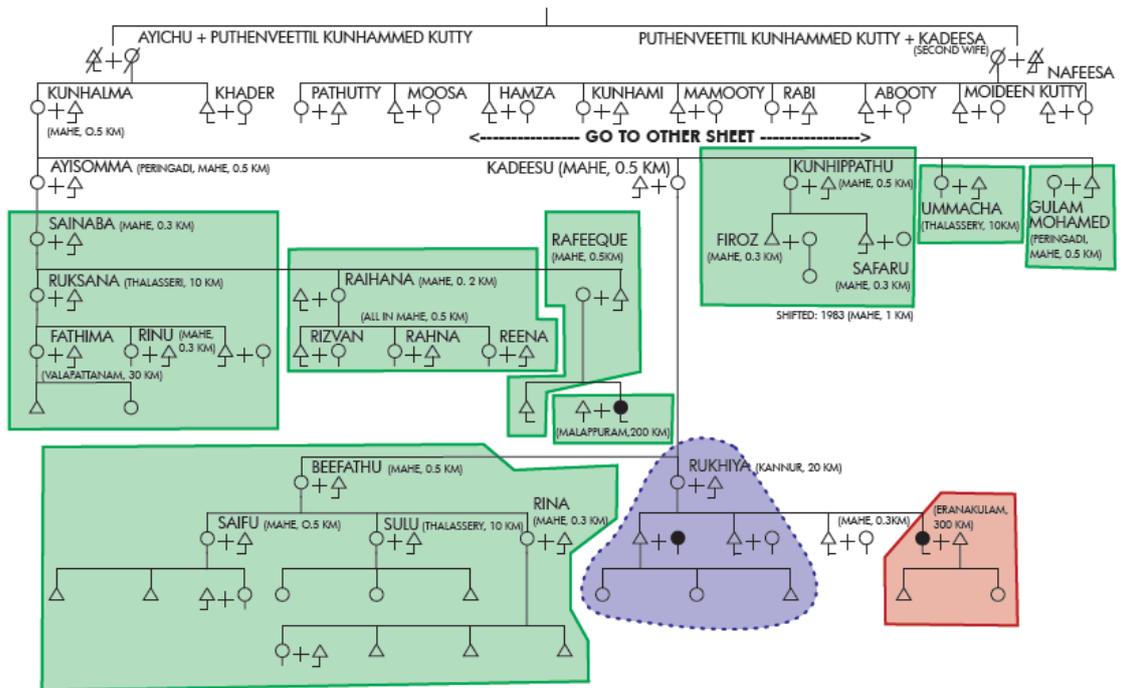
KADAPPURATHE PANDIKASALAYIL (THAZHANGADI, VADAKARA) : I



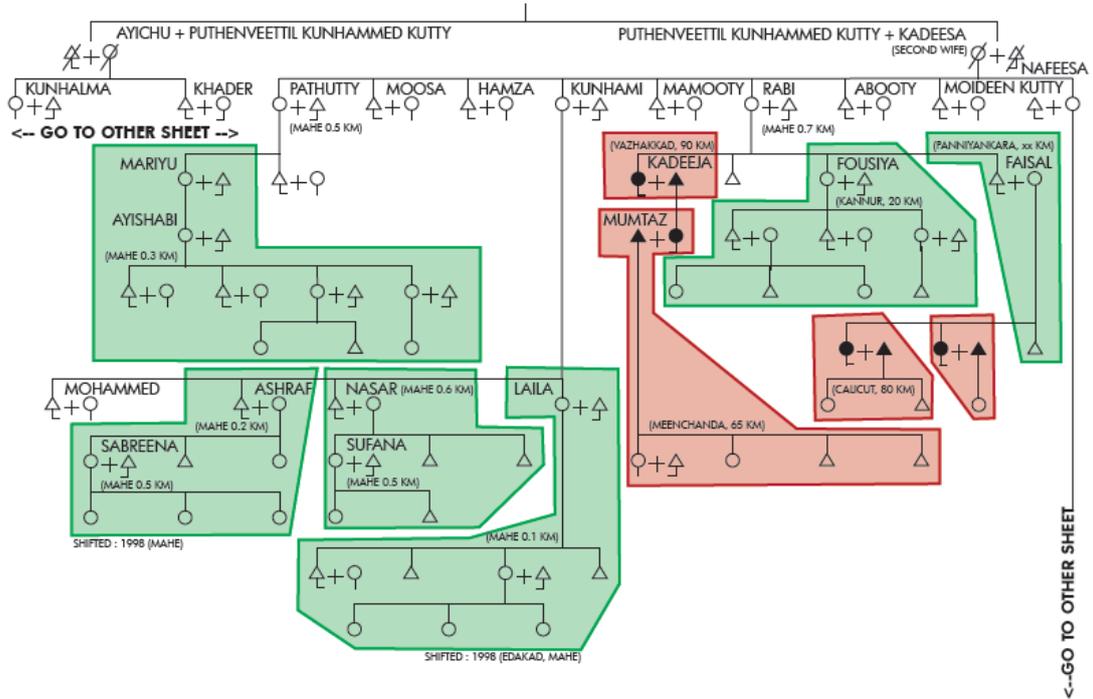
KADAPPURATHE PANDIKASALAYIL (THAZHANGADI, VADAKARA) : II



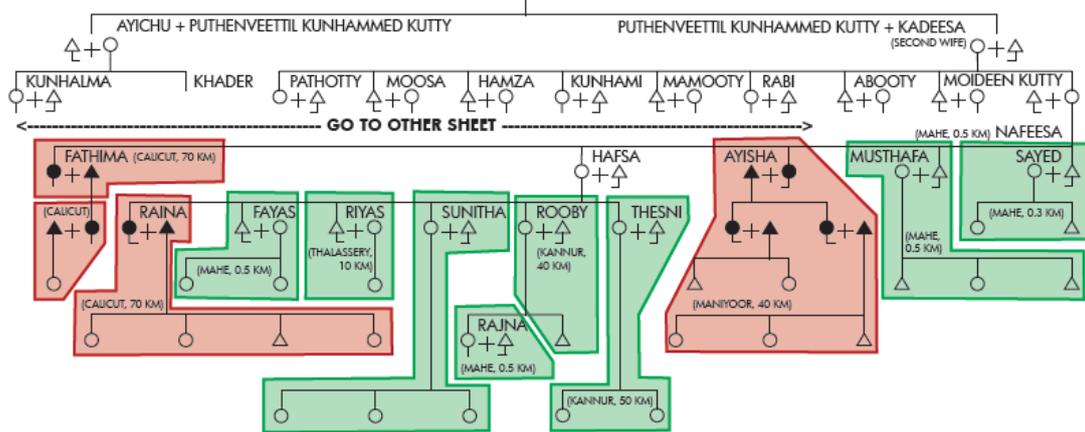
MAILACKARA THARAWAD (MAHE, PUDUSSERY UNION TERRITORY) : I



MAILACKARA THARAWAD (MAHE, PUDUSSERY UNION TERRITORY) : II



MAILACKARA THARAWAD (MAHE, PUDUSSERY UNION TERRITORY) : III



LEGEND

△	UNMARRIED MAN		SHIFTED MATRILocal HOUSEHOLDS
○	UNMARRIED WOMAN		MATRILocal HOUSEHOLDS
△, △	VISITING HUSBANDS / 'PUTHIYAPPILAS'		PATRILocal HOUSEHOLDS
●, ●	WIVES OBSERVING PATRILocalITY		EXISTING HOUSEHOLDS IN 'THARAWAD'
▲, ▲	HUSBANDS OBSERVING PATRILocalITY		
⊘, ⊘, ⊘, ⊘	NOT ALIVE		
⊘, ⊘	DIVORCED		