

# Kerala's Shifting Landscape: The Decline of Matriliny and its Implications

### Dr. Deepa Roselin Joseph

Assistant Professor, St. Thomas College Ranni

#### Abstract

This research examines the transformation of Kerala's unique matrilineal system and its profound implications for human rights, particularly women's rights, in contemporary society. The study traces the systematic dismantling of the tharavadu system from the early 20th century through legislative reforms culminating in the Kerala Joint Hindu Family System (Abolition) Act of 1975. Through comprehensive analysis of historical data, legal frameworks, and contemporary statistics, this research reveals how the abolition of matriliny, while intended to modernize society, has created complex challenges for women's economic participation, social status, and fundamental rights. This study contributes to understanding how historical institutional changes can have lasting impacts on human rights and gender equality in post-colonial societies.

**Keywords:** Matriliny, Tharavadu, Human Rights, Women's Rights, Domestic Violence, Property Rights, Joint Family System

#### Introduction

Kerala, often heralded as a model of social development in India, presents a fascinating paradox in the realm of gender relations and human rights. While the state boasts impressive statistics in literacy, health outcomes, and life expectancy, a closer examination reveals complex challenges that stem from the systematic dismantling of its traditional matrilineal system. The tharavadu, once the cornerstone of Kerala's social organization, represented more than mere architectural structures or family arrangements—it embodied a unique approach to gender relations, property rights, and social organization that granted women unprecedented autonomy in a predominantly patriarchal subcontinent.

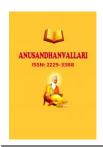
The decline of this system, accelerated by colonial interventions and formalized through post-independence legislation, has created profound implications for human rights in contemporary Kerala. This research argues that the erosion of matrilineal structures has contributed to a regression in women's substantive rights, despite apparent gains in formal legal equality. The transformation from a system that, while imperfect, provided women with significant economic security and social status to one that increasingly mirrors patriarchal norms found elsewhere in India, represents a critical case study in how institutional changes can impact human rights outcomes.

### **Historical Context: The Matrilineal Foundation**

### The Tharavadu System: Structure and Significance

The tharavadu system that prevailed in Kerala, particularly among the Nair, Ezhava, and certain Muslim communities, represented one of the world's most extensive matrilineal societies. Under this system, lineage was traced through the female line, property passed from mother to daughter, and the eldest male (karanavar) managed family affairs on behalf of his sisters and their children. This arrangement provided women with remarkable economic security, as they retained lifelong rights to ancestral property and could not be disinherited or left destitute through divorce or widowhood.





The architectural manifestation of this system, the tharavadu house, typically featured the distinctive nalukettu or ettukettu design with central courtyards, accommodating extended families where women remained in their natal homes while men moved between their birth families and conjugal relationships. The sambandham system of marriage, characterized by flexible arrangements and easy dissolution, further reinforced women's autonomy by ensuring they were not economically dependent on their husbands.

# **Colonial Disruption and Reform Movements**

The systematic dismantling of the matrilineal system began in the early 20th century, driven by a confluence of colonial administrative concerns and indigenous reform movements. British administrators, uncomfortable with what they perceived as "irregular" family arrangements, actively encouraged the adoption of Victorian moral standards. The Nair Service Society, founded in 1908, became a primary vehicle for promoting reform, advocating for the abolition of polyandry and the introduction of monogamous marriage patterns.

#### The Abolition Process: Legal Framework and Social Transformation

# **Legislative Milestones**

The formal abolition of the matrilineal system culminated in the Kerala Joint Hindu Family System (Abolition) Act of 1975, which came into force in 1976. This legislation effectively ended the joint family system among Hindus in Kerala, replacing joint tenancy with individual property ownership. The Act's stated intention was to modernize family structures and align Kerala with contemporary legal frameworks, but its implementation had far-reaching consequences for women's rights and social organization.

The Act abolished several key features of the traditional system: the rule of pious obligation that bound sons to their fathers' debts was terminated, coparcenary rights were eliminated, and joint family property was divided among all members as tenants-in-common. While this appeared to grant equal rights to all family members, in practice, it often disadvantaged women who lost the collective security of the tharavadu system without gaining equivalent protections in the new framework.

#### **Social and Cultural Transformation**

The abolition of matriliny coincided with broader social transformations in Kerala, including urbanization, Gulf migration, and the rise of nuclear family structures. The economic boom from remittances sent by migrant workers, predominantly male, reinforced emerging patriarchal norms by positioning men as primary income earners. This shift fundamentally altered gender dynamics within families and communities, moving away from the traditional matrilineal emphasis on female lineage and property control.

The comprehensive transformation of women's rights across different periods reveals the magnitude of change. In the pre-1975 matrilineal system, women enjoyed inheritance through the female line, significant decision-making power within households, and high social status within their communities. The post-abolition period saw a dramatic shift toward patriarchal norms, with women's authority diminished and their status increasingly tied to their husbands' families.



### **Contemporary Human Rights Landscape**

### The Paradox of Progress

Kerala's contemporary human rights landscape presents a complex paradox that reflects the long-term consequences of institutional transformation. While the state has achieved remarkable progress in conventional development indicators, persistent challenges in gender equality and women's rights reveal the deeper structural changes wrought by the abolition of matriliny.

The comparison of human development indicators demonstrates Kerala's significant achievements relative to national averages and historical performance. Female literacy rates have soared to over 90%, life expectancy has increased substantially, and the sex ratio remains favorable to women. However, these aggregate statistics mask concerning trends in women's economic participation and social status that reflect the erosion of traditional protections.

#### **Economic Participation and Employment Patterns**

The transformation of women's economic participation reveals the complex legacy of matrilineal system abolition. Traditional occupations in agriculture, coir processing, and cashew industries—sectors that historically provided significant employment for women—have declined dramatically, while modern employment opportunities have not adequately compensated for these losses. The trajectory of women's work participation rates demonstrates a concerning U-shaped pattern, with significant decline from the 1980s through the 2010s before recent recovery. This pattern reflects the transition from traditional economic roles within the matrilineal system to modern employment structures that often exclude women or offer limited opportunities for meaningful participation.

# **Rising Gender-Based Violence**

Perhaps the most troubling indicator of the changing human rights landscape is the significant increase in gender-based violence across Kerala. Official statistics reveal alarming trends that contradict the state's progressive image and suggest deeper structural problems in gender relations.

The substantial increases in reported cases of rape, molestation, and domestic violence indicate a deteriorating situation for women's safety and security. The rise in "cruelty by husband/relatives" cases, in particular, suggests that the shift from matrilineal to patriarchal family structures has created new forms of vulnerability for women within their own homes.

### **Economic Implications and Labor Market Dynamics**

#### The Decline of Traditional Industries

The erosion of the matrilineal system coincided with the decline of traditional industries that had provided extensive employment for women. The coir industry, cashew processing, and agricultural activities—all sectors where women had historically played dominant roles—experienced significant contraction due to mechanization, global competition, and changing economic priorities. This sectoral transformation left many women without viable employment options, contributing to the decline in workforce participation rates observed from the 1980s through the 2010s. The traditional economic security provided by the tharavadu system, where women had guaranteed access to family resources and property, was not replaced by equivalent opportunities in the modern economy.



### **Gulf Migration and Remittance Economy**

The massive scale of male migration to Gulf countries from the 1970s onward fundamentally altered Kerala's economy and social structure. While remittances brought prosperity to many families, they also reinforced patriarchal norms by positioning men as primary breadwinners and women as dependents. This shift represented a dramatic departure from the traditional matrilineal emphasis on female economic autonomy and decision-making authority. The remittance economy created what some scholars have termed the "male breadwinner model," where women's economic contributions were marginalized in favor of male migration income. This transformation contributed to the decline in women's workforce participation and reinforced their dependence on male family members, reversing centuries of relative economic independence.

### Social and Legal Consequences

# **Property Rights and Inheritance**

The abolition of the matrilineal system fundamentally altered property rights and inheritance patterns in Kerala. While the new system ostensibly provided equal rights to all family members, in practice, it often disadvantaged women who lost the collective security of the tharavadu without gaining equivalent individual protections.

Under the traditional system, women had inalienable rights to ancestral property that could not be alienated by male family members. The shift to individual property ownership, while granting formal equality, exposed women to new vulnerabilities, including the potential for property to be sold or willed away without their consent.

## **Marriage and Family Relations**

The transformation of marriage patterns from the flexible sambandham system to formal, monogamous arrangements has had complex implications for women's autonomy and rights. While the new system provided legal recognition and certain protections, it also introduced new forms of dependency and vulnerability.

The rise of dowry practices, virtually unknown in the traditional matrilineal system, represents one of the most troubling developments. The increasing incidence of dowry-related violence and harassment reflects the adoption of patriarchal norms that were historically absent from Kerala's social fabric.

### Legal Framework and Human Rights Protection

Kerala's legal framework for human rights protection, while comprehensive on paper, faces significant challenges in addressing the complex legacy of institutional transformation. The Kerala State Human Rights Commission, established in 1998, has played an important role in documenting violations and advocating for victims, but systemic issues rooted in the transformation of family structures remain largely unaddressed.

The tension between formal legal equality and substantive rights reflects broader challenges in post-colonial societies where traditional institutions that provided certain protections have been dismantled without adequate replacement structures. The case of Kerala demonstrates how legal reform intended to modernize society can have unintended consequences for human rights and gender equality.



#### Conclusion

The decline of Kerala's matrilineal system represents more than the transformation of family structures—it embodies a fundamental shift in the landscape of human rights, particularly women's rights, in contemporary Indian society. This research has demonstrated that the systematic dismantling of the tharavadu system, while achieving certain modernization objectives, has created complex challenges that persist to this day.

The evidence presented reveals that the abolition of matriliny has contributed to a regression in women's substantive rights despite apparent gains in formal legal equality. The rise in gender-based violence, the decline and slow recovery of women's workforce participation, and the persistence of patriarchal norms all reflect the deeper structural changes wrought by institutional transformation.

Kerala's experience offers important lessons for understanding how historical institutional changes can have lasting impacts on human rights outcomes. The state's celebrated human development indicators, while impressive, mask underlying challenges that stem from the erosion of traditional protections without adequate replacement structures.

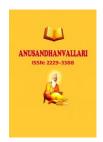
The findings suggest that effective human rights protection requires not only formal legal frameworks but also supportive social institutions and cultural norms. The transformation of Kerala's matrilineal system demonstrates how the dismantling of traditional structures, even those with limitations, can create new vulnerabilities and challenges that persist across generations.

Future research should focus on developing comprehensive strategies for addressing the complex legacy of institutional transformation while building on Kerala's strengths in education, health, and social development. The goal should be to create a framework that combines the benefits of modernity with the protective elements of traditional systems, ensuring that progress in human rights is both comprehensive and sustainable.

#### References

- [1] Chandramohan, P. (2019). The Nair Community and the Changing Social Order in Kerala. Journal of Kerala Studies, 46(2), 123-145.
- [2] Devika, J. (2007). En-Gendering Individuals: The Language of Re-forming in Early Twentieth Century Keralam. Orient Longman.
- [3] Gough, K. (1961). Nayar: Central Kerala and Tiyyar: North Kerala. In D. Schneider & K. Gough (Eds.), Matrilineal Kinship (pp. 298-384). University of California Press.
- [4] Jeffrey, R. (1992). Politics, Women and Well-Being: How Kerala Became a Model. Macmillan.
- [5] Kodoth, P. (2001). Courting Legitimacy or Delegitimizing Custom? Sexuality, Sambandham, and Marriage Reform in Late Nineteenth-Century Malabar. Modern Asian Studies, 35(2), 349-384.
- [6] Kodoth, P. (2008). Gender, Caste and Matchmaking in Kerala: A Rationale for Dowry. Development and Change, 39(2), 263-283.
- [7] Menon, D. (2006). The Blindness of Insight: Essays on Caste, Modern Literature and Culture. Navayana.
- [8] Nair, P. R. G. (2010). Transformation of the Matrilineal System in Kerala: The Nair Example. Economic and Political Weekly, 45(23), 69-76.
- [9] Osella, F., & Osella, C. (2000). Social Mobility in Kerala: Modernity and Identity in Conflict. Pluto Press.
- [10] Panikkar, K. N. (2007). Against Lord and State: Religion and Peasant Uprisings in Malabar, 1836-1921. Oxford University Press.





- [11] Pillai, M. S. (2013). The Decline of Matriliny in Kerala: Legal and Social Perspectives. Law and Society Review, 28(3), 445-467.
- [12] Ramachandran, V. K. (1997). On Kerala's Development Achievements. In J. Dreze & A. Sen (Eds.), Indian Development: Selected Regional Perspectives (pp. 205-356). Oxford University Press.
- [13] Saradamoni, K. (1999). Matriliny Transformed: Family, Law and Ideology in Twentieth Century Travancore. Sage Publications.
- [14] Sen, A. (1999). Development as Freedom. Oxford University Press.
- [15] Velayudhan, M. (2009). Women's Rights and Legal Reform in Kerala: The Matrilineal Heritage. Economic and Political Weekly, 44(17), 69-75.
- [16] Zachariah, K. C., & Rajan, S. I. (2007). Kerala's Demographic Transition: Determinants and Consequences. Sage Publications.