CHAPTER II

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION
Social life is the essence of human life. It grows out of constant patterning of social interactions and relationships among human beings as such. An individual cannot form social life and at the same time a population explosion in a group disorganises life. The ethnic composition of a society may likewise influence many aspects of its social life. Sex-ratio of a population again can prove itself to be a balancing power for the family and some other institutions.

The study of social organization deals primarily with the significant grouping of individuals\(^1\). Man does not live alone and at the same time he has to meet his basic needs like food, shelter and social needs like companionship, recreation, religious activities, play and the like. He, thus, forms a group or association with the help of other men and builds up certain institutions. With the help of that group he satisfies his needs.

The present Chapter deals with the detailed study of social organization of Lambadis in Warangal district. Social organization is the systematic ordering of social relations by acts or choice and decision\(^2\). It explains

how people form different groups and how they carry out their relationships through institutions over a period of time and also helps us understand the change.

The study of social organization deals primarily with the significant grouping of individuals. Social organization in every society is of two different elements such as social units and social institutions. Social units are based on blood, sex, age, with membership independent of individual choice or an involuntary attachment and social institutions that are based frequently on kinship marriage, law, property, religion and education.

THE LAMBADIS - IDENTITY:

By and large the Lambadis are a beautiful tribe. A typical Lambadis is dolichocephalous, with over face, black or brown eyes, long hair and straight nose. Both men and women are strong and are capable of enduring long and fatiguing marches. They still retain their fair complexations despite the burning summer of the Deccan.

According to Colonel Moore, the Lambadis associated exclusively amongst themselves. In times of war, they marched and camped apart, relying on their own courage for protection. Even their women drove the cattle and were

quite robust, capable of hard labour with apparent ease. They were chaste and affable and any indecorum showed to a woman was resented by the men, who had a high sense of honour in this regard.

General Briggs was impressed with the ethnic distinctions of the Lambadis and said that their language, habits and manners differed from those of the Deccan kingdom so as at once to brand them as foreigners. Their women's dress is a most characteristic feature as it differs completely from the southern dress. They wear a course, multi-coloured petti-coat, an open blacked bodice, and an odour or overcloth in the making of which they spend lot of time and energy. They prefer yellow colours for their spacious frocks and tight bodice linked with cowries. They wear heavy costumes to which glistening cowries and restless beads are stitched to heighten the effect of their natural beauty. They also add massive rings of ivory round their arms as substitutes for lighter precious metal bracelets used by others. They wear cowries tied to their tufts of hair which dangle in front and sides providing a rhythmic movement keeping pace to their lively gait. The men wear dhoti or short trousers and frequently put on their heads gaudy turbans and caps in which they indulge.


on festive occasions and are easily distinguishable from other men in the South.

The Lambadis, though illiterate, are calculative and wordly-wise as any other community during their days of transport and trade. They buy and sell quickly if the prices are high and stock the grain if the prices are low with a view to get maximum gain. As the Lambadis are acclimatized to camp life, they can withstand the vigours of the tropical sun and the heavy showers of rain, thereby acquiring a robust physique.

Despite rational calculation and employment with different armies thereby earning huge sums of money, poverty seems to have been their persistent lot, even in their hey day. This paradox can be explained in terms of their nomadic habits, lack of frugality and habitual drunkenness. As a result, they are often unable to recoup the cattle lost in the course of their campaigns.

Further, the Lambadis are basically intelligent, faithful, honest and brave. Once they are gained over, they remain devoted followers. Thus, it is evident that there are apparent contradictions in the opinion of officials, missionaries and travellers about the early Lambadis. If their stealing and wandering habits and peculiar magical practices including human sacrifice are taken into consideration; they can be regarded as a
barbarous community in a civilized country, while if they are regarded as members of an alliance with the Governments, one cannot ignore their general utility to the State as promoters of commerce or transporters of merchandise for the armies. Therefore, the extreme views of them as "barbarous robbers" or "noble savages" are untenable.

The Lambadis identify themselves belonging to a single homogeneous group. Although they are somewhat individualistic by temperament, they do recognize their unity into a tribe different and distinct from the neighbouring castes and tribes. As a matter of fact, all the Lambadis' speak of themselves as belonging to one Kulaṃ (jāti) namely the Lambadi.

The process of continuous contact between the Lambadis who subsisted on different occupations such as transportation of food-grains, trading, cattle-rearing, fire-wood selling and the castes practising more efficient methods of productions have been existing for the last many generations. This contact has naturally brought about several changes in other aspects of life as well. The Lambadis have adopted the language of castes living nearby. In addition, certain Telugu words have crept into their original dialect known as Gorer-wath or Gor-bali which have some root terms from several languages such as Rajasthani, Gujarathi, Punjabi and Hindi. In this context
it is apt to quote Grierson who noted as early as 1907 that "nowhere, not even in Baror (which is supposed to be the home of chaste Banjari) is Banjari a pure language. It is everywhere mixed... with the vernacular of the country in which speakers dwell". However, in spite of the borrowings from various languages as they moved towards the South from their original Marwar region of Rajasthan, the retention of Lambadi or Benjari dialect, a variant of the regional standard Marwari, is the most significant way of preserving identity. It is usually used among themselves, mostly in the homes and settlements. At large gatherings like fairs, bezaare, railway-stations and bus-stands, it is not difficult to identify Lambadi women by their traditional dress, while it is difficult to identify men who look like peasants. The only way to identify the Lambadi men is by listening to their conversa-
sation. Even educated Lambadi men can also be identified by their dialect which deviates from that of other society.

Further, the social customs and religious beliefs of the Lambadis have also been influenced to a greater or larger extent by the caste structure. As generation after generation rolled by and their interactions with other castes have become deeper they have begun to feel

ashamed of some of their customs especially their dress and collection of money from the Caste Hindus during the celebration of festival Holi. Owing to the impact of other Castes, the Lambadis adopted some of the Hindu habits like religious practices and ritual ceremonies. At the same time they are maintaining their tribal identity. A large degree of Hindu religious practices at present influence have found room in the fabric of their culture.

It is highly significant to note that the kind of social structure, which the Lambadis had built up on the past, was rapidly altered by the demands of the changed situations. They entered the Hindu fold claiming themselves as one among the Castes of their neighbourhood. They accept food and drink only from the clean Castes. However, they are conscious of their separate ethnic identity and the need to preserve and protect it from being assimilated by the regional dominant castes, though in the changed circumstances they have borrowed a few items.

Furthermore, the Lambadis still speak of themselves as a body of people bearing the original generic name "Banjari" and forming a single homogeneous community, in spite of spreading over the whole country. They address each other throughout the country as "Gor" (Lambadis) and call the outsiders (non-Lambadis) as "Koz" indicating their sense of separate identity. Their traditional occupations
are still mentioned as transportation of provisions and cattle rearing. Membership in this group is determined by birth and adoption. However, the Lambadi community, as stated earlier, is not closed to outsiders. Hitherto, such Jangad (outsiders) admitted into the community would be recognized as proper Lambadis after seven generations. But now-a-days, such outsiders are recognized as proper Lambadis after three generations. With regard to other disabilities that the improper Lambadis have to suffer, no chance is observed in Lambadis.

The present research study emphasizes on the important aspects of their social organization like family, marriage, education, food habits, shelter, drinking and smoking, wearing clothes and ornaments, language, their life style and some changes occurred in their life at present.

THE DISTRIBUTION OF LAMBADI RESPONDENTS BY AGE:

For any sociological study, the age is one of the important components. Therefore, it is intended to find out in our study to what age group our respondents belong. To analyse the age factor it is tried to group the respondents into six-age groups in Table-4.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sl. No.</th>
<th>Distribution of Age in Years</th>
<th>Men</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
<th>Women</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Upto 20</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1.07</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>21 - 30</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>12.50</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>10.00</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>12.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>31 - 40</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>30.36</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>15.00</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>29.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>41 - 50</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>31.43</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>25.00</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>31.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>51 - 60</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>16.07</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>15.00</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>16.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Above 60</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>8.57</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>35.00</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>10.34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>280</td>
<td>100.00</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>100.00</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>100.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The Table-4 shows that out of 300 respondents 280 are men and 20 women. A majority of 93 respondents are found in the age group of 41-50 whose percentage is 31. Altogether 181 respondents are in between 31 and 50 years and their total percentage is 60.33. There are only 37 young respondents in the age group of 21-30 years and their percentage is 12.33. There are 79 respondents above the age of 50 years and their total percentage is 26.34. There are only 3 respondents below the age of 21 years whose percentage is very low, that is 1.

From these details we observe that most of the respondents who also head their families constitute men. This is due to the fact that their society is fully dependent upon patriarchal society.

AGE AND SEX COMPOSITION OF THE RESPONDENTS AND THE MEMBERS OF THEIR HOUSEHOLDS:

Age and sex structure are the basic characteristics of any demographic group which affect not only demographic situation but also social, economic and political structure.

The Age and Sex Composition of Lambadi Family members is shown in Table-5.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sex</th>
<th>0-10</th>
<th>11-20</th>
<th>21-30</th>
<th>31-40</th>
<th>41-50</th>
<th>51-60</th>
<th>Above 60</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>310</td>
<td>185</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>115</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>880</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(51.24)</td>
<td>(53.62)</td>
<td>(50.00)</td>
<td>(51.11)</td>
<td>(51.52)</td>
<td>(55.00)</td>
<td>(44.44)</td>
<td>(51.61)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>295</td>
<td>160</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>825</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(48.76)</td>
<td>(46.38)</td>
<td>(50.00)</td>
<td>(48.89)</td>
<td>(48.48)</td>
<td>(45.00)</td>
<td>(55.56)</td>
<td>(48.39)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>605</td>
<td>345</td>
<td>220</td>
<td>225</td>
<td>165</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>1705</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(100.00)</td>
<td>(100.00)</td>
<td>(100.00)</td>
<td>(100.00)</td>
<td>(100.00)</td>
<td>(100.00)</td>
<td>(100.00)</td>
<td>(100.00)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Respondents are also included.
Out of 1705 families 51.61 per cent are males, while 48.39 per cent are females, confirming the hypothesis that males out number females in the population. The age-wise distribution of the family members shows that the number of members in the 0-10 years age-group is relatively higher than the number of members in other age-groups indicating that the number of dependents has a percentage around 30.

In the 0-10 years 51.24 per cent are males and 48.76 per cent are females. In the next age-group of 11-20 years the percentage of males had increased to 53.62 per cent, while the females are 46.38 per cent. In the 21-30 years age-group, they are equally represented. In 31-40 years age-group, once again male percentage is higher, 51.11 per cent and it has slightly improved to 51.52 per cent for 41-50 years age-group. But in the age-group of above 60 years, the percentage suddenly declined to 44.44 per cent for males while 55.56 per cent are females in the same age-group which indicates that in the above 60 years the survival rate of females is relatively higher than the survival rate of males.

Thus the demographic composition of the members of Lambadi Families shows that it fits into all India pattern though in the above 60 years age-group, females have a higher percentage than the males.
The above table (Table-5) shows the distribution of respondents and their family members by age and sex.

FAMILY:

The family is the basic unit in the social organization. It is one of the most important social institutions that has attracted the attention of many sociologists and social anthropologists. The family is linked to a whole net work of social institutions in society in its closest association with the supporting institution of marriage which regularises the relationship among the family members.

The eldest member of the family who is known as the "Head man" is empowered in conducting all affairs of the family. He is more or less a custodian and judge in the family. He is responsible for the welfare of the members in the family. He arranges the matrimonial alliances to his children. During mate selection, his word is ultimate and no one is supposed to interfere with his approval or disapproval and about his decision-making process\(^8\).

The family as the standard social unit has been found in one form or another at almost all levels of

cultural development. The form and basis of familial groupings have varied from time to time and from place to place. Different types of families have been observed in different societies and at different points of time and space but as basic social group, family existed in all societies and at all times.

According to Lowie, the family may be considered as an association that corresponds to the institution of marriage. Radcliffe Brown includes in the family, husband and wife with their child or children. In a tribal family, relationship between members is to be understood in sociological as much as in psychological sense. Thus the family will include not only the husband and wife and their children, but their parents, in-laws and wife and their children. The ideal household in most tribes would include two or more married couples and their children. According to Murdock, "the family is a social group characterised by common residence, economic cooperation and reproduction. It includes adults of both sexes,

at least two of whom maintain a socially approved sexual relationship, and one or more children, own or adopted of the sexually inhabiting adults".

SIZE OF THE FAMILY:

The families of Indian tribes are mostly of patrilocal, patriarchal, patrilineal, patrinymic nature. They are mostly of monogamous, nuclear type. Among the Indian tribes mostly all the four PS, i.e., patrilocal, patriarchal, patrilineal and patrinymic and all the four MS i.e., matrilocal, matriarchal, matrilineal and matrinymic come together.

Family size as an independent variable has been studied both in relationship to personality development and its impact on the relationship of family members to each other. Although each is a legitimate subject for research, the first concern seems better left to psychologists; therefore attraction is on the possible effects of family size on the relationship of family members to each other.

Table-6 gives the distribution of the Lambadi families by the size of households.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sl. No.</th>
<th>Size of the Family</th>
<th>Number of Respondents</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Below 4</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>8.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>4 - 6</td>
<td>185</td>
<td>61.67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>7 - 9</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>26.67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Above 9</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>3.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>100.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Table-6 indicates that a majority of 185 respondents are found in the 4-6 family member size category and their percentage is 61.67. They are followed by 80 respondents (26.67 per cent) in the 7-9 family size category, 25 respondents (8.33 per cent) in the below 4 family size category and only 10 respondents (3.33 per cent) in the above 9 family size category. Thus the joint family system is slowly changing to a nuclear family system.

**Types of Family:**

The family may be organized or varied. People at different cultures organized family in different types such as nuclear families, joint families and extended...
families. The nuclear family consists of father, mother and (unmarried) their children; the joint family comprises father, mother and married sons with their unmarried children, and the extended family contains father, mother and two or more married brothers and their unmarried sons. Lambadis hold all the three types. The three types of families of Lambadis are given in Table-7.

**TABLE - 7**

Type of Families Among Lambadi Respondents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sl. No.</th>
<th>Type of family</th>
<th>Number of Respondents</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Nuclear</td>
<td>186</td>
<td>62.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Joint</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>30.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Extended</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>8.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>300</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>100.00</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Table-7 reveals that all the three types of families are prevalent among Lambadis. Mostly however, nuclear and joint families are found. It clearly shows that out of 300 families, 186 households are nuclear comprising 62.00 per cent, 90 joint families (30 per cent) and only 24 extended families (8 per cent).
There are two main reasons for the dominance of nuclear families among Lambadis. First, it is a general practice for a son to separate from his parents soon after marriage and form a separate hut or household, because many of the Lambadis possess pieces of lands, or remain as landless labourers working as casual or agricultural labourers. The second reason for separation is domestic quarrels between the wives of brothers or misunderstandings between daughters-in-law and mothers-in-law.

After separation from his parents the status of a young man grows as the independent head of a family. The new head of the family looks after his wife and provides them with food and clothing. Till he constructs a house of his own he and his family members live in one room or a corner of his parental house. If there is an unmarried brother/sister in his parental family, he contributes a part of the income for his or her marriage. If his father is alive he is not recognized as an independent head of the family by the tribe of Lambadis or Village Council. On some important occasions like a marriage ceremony; invitation is sent to the father only. Land is equally divided among brothers and if father is not alive and it is cultivated separately, while in Government records it continues to remain in the name of the father only. When the family portion of the parental house is
too small, the brothers set up their separate huts and their younger brother lives with their parents.

HEADSHIP OF FAMILY:

The Lambadis have patrilineal descent and patrilocal residence. It is patrilocal in the sense that after the marriage the bride comes to stay in the house of her husband. And it is patrilineal in the sense that the property is inherited from a father to his sons but in the absence of a son, the property goes to his other near kins such as father's brother's son. But the property cannot be inherited by a woman. Wife of the deceased person is not entitled any share from the property of her husband. She will be looked after by her male children. According to data there are 260 men and only 20 women out of 300 families who are maintaining the family. This finding shows that there is very little representation of women as heads of families among the Lambadis.

MARRIAGE:

Marriage is a significant event in the developmental process of the family. The marriage of daughter results in the loss of a member from the natal family and the

marriage of a son brings structural change in the family. Marriage among the Lambadis helps an individual to enter a higher status. After marriage a woman under patrilocal rule of a residence joins her husband's house, where she subsequently assumes the roles as a wife, daughter-in-law, sister-in-law and a mother.

The family is an institution and it is an antecedent to marriage. Marriage has always been an elastic and variable usage, which is a contemporary privilege. The concept of marriage has ambiguity and often it is substituted for wedding.

Radcliffe Brown termed "marriage as a social arrangement by which a child is given a legitimate position in the society, determined by parenthood in the social sense". The British Association stated "marriage as a union between a man and woman such that children born to be women are the recognized legitimate offsprings of both parents".

MARITAL STATUS:

In the study it is found that among Lambadis there are unmarried, married, widows, widowers and divorced.

The marital status of the members of 300 Lambadi families is presented in the Table-8.

According to the Table-8, out of a total number of 1,705 members, 855 are unmarried and 790 married. And their respective percentages are 50.15 and 45.33. Besides there are 35 widows (2.05 per cent), 20 widowers (1.18 per cent) and 5 divorced (0.29 per cent). By these measurements we can understand that there are larger number of members in the category of unmarried than in all other categories.

Table-9 shows the sex composition of married Lambadi members and their age at marriage. Out of 850 married members, 48.59 per cent are males and 51.41 per cent are females. Out of the 38 in the 0-10 years age-group 10.53 per cent are males and the remaining 89.47 per cent are females. Hence, marriage at an age less than 10 years is observed mostly in the case of females. In the 11-15 years age-group, 5.19 per cent are males while 94.81 per cent are females. But in the 16-20 years age-group males have a very high percentage as it is 90.69 per cent while females have a percentage of 9.31. Thus the percentage has almost get reversed, in the case of males and females, when we compare 11-15 years age-group with 16-20 years age-group. The same pattern continues in the age-group
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sl. No.</th>
<th>Marital Status</th>
<th>Man</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
<th>Woman</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Unmarried</td>
<td>467</td>
<td>53.07</td>
<td>388</td>
<td>47.03</td>
<td>855</td>
<td>50.15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Married</td>
<td>390</td>
<td>44.32</td>
<td>400</td>
<td>48.48</td>
<td>790</td>
<td>46.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Widow</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>4.24</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>2.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Widower</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>2.27</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>1.18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Divorced</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0.34</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.25</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0.29</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Total**: 880 100.00 825 100.00 1705 100.00

*Respondents are also included.*
**TABLE - 9**

Age at Marriage and Sex Composition of Lambadi Family Members (Age in years)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sex</th>
<th>0-10</th>
<th>11-15</th>
<th>16-20</th>
<th>21-24</th>
<th>Above 24</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Male</strong></td>
<td>4</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>341</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>413</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(10.53)</td>
<td>(5.19)</td>
<td>(90.69)</td>
<td>(90.99)</td>
<td>(100.00)</td>
<td>(48.59)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Female</strong></td>
<td>34</td>
<td>365</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>437</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(89.47)</td>
<td>(94.81)</td>
<td>(9.31)</td>
<td>(9.01)</td>
<td></td>
<td>(51.41)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>38</td>
<td>385</td>
<td>376</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>850</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(100.00)</td>
<td>(100.00)</td>
<td>(100.00)</td>
<td>(100.00)</td>
<td>(100.00)</td>
<td>(100.00)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Respondents are also included.
of 21-24 years, where the percentage is 90.90 and in the case of above 24 years age-group all belong to males only.

Thus the table shows that a very high percentage of females marry before they attain the age of 15 years, while in the case of males a very high percentage marry when they attain 16 years. This tendency shows that the marriages at an early age still continue in the case of females, but in the case of males the age at marriage has changed. So that they are not marrying at an early age as they were marrying before.

Hence, it can be surmised that the phase of early marriages is changing to late marriages, though the marriageable age for females as well as males in a majority of cases is still lower than the ages prescribed by the government i.e. 18 years for female 21 years for male.

A phenomenon observed in rational communities is that most of the marriages are non-consanguineous. If the percentage of consanguineous marriages is declining, then it is an indication of the impact of modernity in the community.
AGE AT MARRIAGE:

The study reveals the fact that pre-puberty marriages are prohibited among Lambadis. They conduct marriages for girls after attaining puberty. In rare cases the marriage is held before the attainment of puberty. Generally the Lambadis conduct the marriages for boys after the crossing the age of 16 years. Sometimes they conduct child marriages. It is however no longer in practice. It is commonly accepted that the groom should be mainly enough to be the husband to the bride at the time of marriage. The age at marriage among Lambadis is presented in Table-10.

It may be seen from Table-10 that out of 280 men respondents, a majority of 226 have taken their marriages in the age group of 16 - 20 years and their percentage is 80.71. 28 men respondents confessed that they married in between 11 and 15 years and their percentage is 10. 26 men respondents when interviewed said that they married while they were above 20 years.

In the case of women out of 20 respondents, 16 have got their marriages in the age group of 11 - 15 years and their percentage is 80. The remaining 4 respondents revealed that they married between 16 and 20 years and their percentage is 20. Though a slow change is perceptive,
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S. No.</th>
<th>Age at Marriage (in years)</th>
<th>Men</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
<th>Woman</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>11 - 15</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>10.00</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>80.00</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>14.67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>16 - 20</td>
<td>225</td>
<td>80.71</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>20.00</td>
<td>230</td>
<td>76.67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>21 - 24</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>6.43</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>6.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Above 24</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2.86</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2.66</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Total |            | 280 | 100.00     | 20    | 100.00     | 300   | 100.00     |
still marriages are performed at an early age in the case of women and even in the case of men, they marry before they attain the age of 24 years. Hence, late marriages had not yet been the practice in this tribe.

AGE AT MARRIAGE AMONG LAMBADI FAMILY MEMBERS:

The Researcher also studied the age at marriage among the members of Lambadi families. It is found that children married at different ages. The different ages at marriage among the members of Lambadi families are given in Table 11.

Table-11 indicates that out of 413 male married members, 341 are found in the age group of 16-20 years and their percentage is 82.57. They are followed by 4 members (0.97 per cent) who married below 11 years, 20 members (4.84 per cent) in the age of 11-15 years, 30 members (7.26 per cent) in the age of 21-24 years and 18 members (4.36 per cent) above 24 years.

Whereas in the case of females out of 437 married female members a majority of 365 (83.52 per cent) are seen in the age group of 11-15 years, 35 members (8.01 per cent) in the age group of 16-20 years, 34 members (7.78 per cent) below 11 years and only 3 members (0.69 per cent) between 21 and 24 years.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S.No.</th>
<th>Age in years</th>
<th>Men</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
<th>Women</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Below 11</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0.97</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>7.78</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>4.48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>11 - 15</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>4.84</td>
<td>365</td>
<td>83.52</td>
<td>385</td>
<td>45.29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>16 - 20</td>
<td>341</td>
<td>82.57</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>8.01</td>
<td>376</td>
<td>44.23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>21 - 24</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>7.26</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0.69</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>3.68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Above 24</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>4.36</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>2.12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>413</td>
<td><strong>100.00</strong></td>
<td>437</td>
<td><strong>100.00</strong></td>
<td>850</td>
<td><strong>100.00</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Respondents are also included*
It may be further observed from the above details a majority of 385 (45.29 per cent) female members married in the age of 11-15 years and 376 (44.23 per cent) male members in the age of 16-20 years. They are followed by 38 (4.48 per cent) in the age of below 11 years, 33 members (3.88 per cent) in 21-24 years and only 18 members (2.12 per cent) above 24 years.

MARRITAL STATUS AND AGE AT MARRIAGE OF LAMBADI FAMILIES

The marital status and the age at marriage for the respondents from Lambadis families is depicted in Table-12 of the total respondents, 50.15 per cent are unmarried while the remaining 49.85 per cent are married. Thus the division of respondents into unmarried and married shows that they are almost equally divided. Since the Table shows the age at the time of marriage the total under each age group will differ from the number shown under different age-groups in Table-12. Since marriage at an early age is a very common phenomenon among Lambadis a greater percentage of them are married before they attain 20 years. Among the different age-groups the number of members in the age-group 0-10 years is relatively higher than the number of members in other age groups. Out of 645 members under 0-10 years age-group, 94.11 per cent are not married, while 5.89 per cent are married. Thus marriages at ages less than 10 years are slowly coming down. In the 11-15 years age-group, out of 593 members, 35.08 per cent are unmarried, while 64.92 per cent are married. Thus marriages
# TABLE - 12

Marital Status and Age at Marriage of Lambadi Families

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Marital Status</th>
<th>0-10</th>
<th>11-15</th>
<th>16-20</th>
<th>21-24</th>
<th>Above 24</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Unmarried</td>
<td>607</td>
<td>208</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>855</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(94.11)</td>
<td>(35.08)</td>
<td>(8.96)</td>
<td>(8.33)</td>
<td></td>
<td>(50.15)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>385</td>
<td>376</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>850</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(5.89)</td>
<td>(64.92)</td>
<td>(91.04)</td>
<td>(91.67)</td>
<td>(100.00)</td>
<td>(49.85)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>645</td>
<td>593</td>
<td>413</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>1705</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(100.00)</td>
<td>(100.00)</td>
<td>(100.00)</td>
<td>(100.00)</td>
<td>(100.00)</td>
<td>(100.00)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Respondents are also included
in the age group of 11-15 years are greater in proportion to marriages at an age below 10 years. In the 16-20 years age-group, out of 413 members, 91.04 per cent are married, while this percentage increases to 91.67 per cent for 21-24 years age-group. In the above 24 years age-group, all are married.

Thus from the above analysis, it can be inferred that a higher percentage among Lambadis marry when they are in the age-group of 16-20 years. Perhaps it is an indication that to a certain extent, there is a change in their attitude towards early marriages. Since they are undergoing the process of modernization, as highlighted by Yogendra Singh, there is a marked change in their attitudes towards marriage as many educated prefer to wait for settlement in their life to support a family.

MARRIAGE CEREMONIES:

No Brahmin purohit officiates and no hymns are chanted at Lambadi marriages concerning the marriage ceremonies of the Lambadis or Sugalis of Warangal district. These ceremonies are found in the study last for three days. On the first day an intoxicating beverage compound of bhang (cannabis indica) leaves, jaggery (crude sugar) and other things, is mixed and drunk. When all are merry, the bridegroom's parents bring Rs. 35 and four bullocks to the bride, and after presenting these, the bridegroom is
allowed to tie a square silver bottu or tali (marriage badge) to the bride's neck and the marriage is completed. But, the next two days must be spent in drinking and feasting. At the conclusion of the third day, the bride is arranged in gay new clothes, and goes to the bridegroom's house, driving a bullock before her.¹⁵

The Lambadis marriage ceremonies differ from place to place. However, the differences are not much. Of the Lambadi's marriage ceremony in the Bellary district, given by Mr. Francis, it runs as follows. The bridegroom arrives at night at the bride's house with a cloth covering his head and an elaborately embroidered bag containing betel and nut slung from his shoulder. Outside the house, at the four corners of a square are arranged four piles of earthern pots—five parts in each. Within this square two gain pounding pestles are stuck upright in the ground. The bride is decked with the cloth peculiar to married woman, and taken outside the house to meet the bride-groom. Both stand within the square of pots, and round their shoulders is filed a cloth; on which the officiating Brahmin knots a rupae. This Brahmin it may be at once noted, has little more to do with the ceremony beyond ejaculating at intervals "Shobhana, Shobhana" or "May it proper", then the right hands of the couple are joined,

and they walk seven times round each of the upright pestles, while the woman chant the following song:

To yourself and myself marriage has been taken place.
Together we will walk round the marriage sole
Walk the third time; marriage has taken place
You are mine by marriage
Walk the fourth time; marriage has taken place
Walk the fifth time; marriage has taken place
Walk the sixth time; marriage has taken place
Walk the seventh time; marriage has taken place
We have walked seven times; I am yours
Walk the seventh time; you are mine.

The couple then sit on a blanket on the ground near one of the pestles and are completely covered with a cloth. The bride gives the groom seven little balls compounded of rice, ghee (clarified butter) and sugar, which he eats. He then gives her seven balls, which she eats. The process is repeated near the other pestles. The women keep on changing all the while then the pair go into the house and the cloth into which the rupee is knotted is united and the ceremonies for that night are over. Next day the couple are bathed separately, and feasting takes place. That evening the girl's mother or near female relations tie the locks on each side of her temples the curious badges, called gugri which distinguish a married from
an unmarried woman, fasten a bunch of tassels on her back hair and girdle her with a tasseled waist and from which suspended a little bag, into which the bride-groom puts the five rupees. These last two are downed there after on great occasions, but are not warm every day. The next day the girl is taken home by her husband.

MARITAL DISTANCE OF LAMBADIS

Lambadis of Warangal district have taken their life partners from different places. The distance of places from where the life partners have come ranges from below 10 to above 50 kms. The marital distance among Lambadi respondents is presented in Table-13.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sl. No.</th>
<th>Marital Distance (in kms)</th>
<th>Number of Respondents</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Below 10</td>
<td>102</td>
<td>34.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>10 - 20</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>28.67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>21 - 30</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>13.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>31 - 40</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>10.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>41 - 50</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>8.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Above 50</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>5.67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>300</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.00</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It may be seen that from the Table-13, out of 309 respondents, a majority of 102 have taken their life partners from a distance of below 10 kms and their percentage is 33. 56 have taken from a distance of 10-20 kms and their percentage is 28.67. It may be noted that the marital distance of 71 respondents is in between 21 and 40 kms and their total percentage is 23.66. There are altogether 24 in the range of 41-50, 17 in the marital distance of above 50 kms. And their respective percentages are 8 and 5.67. Thus, we may understand from these analyses most of the Lambadis have brought their life partners within a distance of one to 10 kms. That means the Lambadis were married nearby their Thandas. They do not like to seek alliances from distant places.

MARITAL DISTANCE OF RESPONDENTS AND THEIR HOUSEHOLDS:

For any sociological study it is not enough to study the marital distance of respondents but it is essential to study about their family members. With the help of this study we may understand the family members along with their family heads.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sl. No.</th>
<th>Marital distance (in kms)</th>
<th>Number of Respondents</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Below 10</td>
<td>262</td>
<td>30.82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>10 - 20</td>
<td>246</td>
<td>28.94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>21 - 30</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>12.95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>31 - 40</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>11.76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>41 - 50</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>10.59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Above 50</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>4.94</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Total** 850 100.00

*Respondents are also included*

The above Table-14, indicates that out 850 married Lambadis members, 262 were married from a distance of below 10 kms. And their percentage is 30.82. There are 210 members who married in the distance range of 21-40 kms and their total percentage is 24.71. The data further shows that 246 members (28.94 per cent) received their life partners from a distance of 10 and 20 kms. There are altogether 132 members (15.53 per cent) who brought their respective life partners from a distance of 41 kms and above.
From the analysis of the data it is learnt that more or less the marital distance of Lambadi respondents and their members remain to be the same except for a few variations. It may be further drawn that Lambadis are taking their life partners mostly nearby their Thandas below 70 kms distance within the district. This may be attributed to their fear for bus charges and accidents.

**TYPE OF MARRIAGE AND MARITAL DISTANCE OF LAMBADIS**

The Table-15 shows that the type of marriage and the distance from which the bride-grooms hail from either within the district or out side the district. The table shows that out of 850 married members, 24.94 per cent of marriages are of consanguineous (related by blood) type, while 75.06 per cent are of non-consanguineous (related by bloodless or marriage) type. Among the bride-grooms chosen for the marriage, those who had been chosen from less than 10 kms. distance are 262 members. Those chosen from places in between 11-20 kms are 246, 21-30 kms are 110, 31-40 kms are 100, 41-50 kms are 90 and above 50 kms are 42.

Thus a majority of the bride-grooms are chosen from places within 20 kms radius from the brides' place. In the case of 0-10 kms distance group, 27.48 percentage marriages are consanguineous while the remaining are non-consanguineous. The percentage of marriages that are consanguineous likely declined in percentage from 27.48 (0-10
kms distance) to 26.42 for 11-20 kms distance). But it increased to 29.09 per cent for 21-30 kms distance. But then it again declined to 20 per cent for 31-40 kms, 17.78 per cent for 41-50 kms and 15.67 per cent for above 50 kms group.

Hence, consanguineous marriages are declining in importance, even among Lambadi members and most of the marriages are settled with bride-grooms who hail from place within 30 kms of the brides residence. Thus it is evident that even for consanguineous marriages, they are chosen from outside the area of residence of the bride. Tendency is that non-consanguineous marriages are increasing in percentage. But they were all preferred with bride-grooms living in proximity. Therefore, the attitude of marrying within one's own extended family has lesser relevance, but there is not much change in the attitude as regards getting the bride-groom from a nearer place.

WIDOW REMARRIAGE:

Among the Lambadis of Warangal district a younger brother usually marries the deceased elder brother's widow. Widow remarriage is permissible. Polygamy is freely practised. It is customary for divorced women to marry. In such cases the second husband under the award of tribe arbitration, is made to pay a certain sum (tasa) as amends
### Table 15

Type of Marriage and Marital Distance of Lambadis

(Distances in kms)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Marriage</th>
<th>0-10</th>
<th>11-20</th>
<th>21-30</th>
<th>31-40</th>
<th>41-50</th>
<th>Above 50</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Consanguineous</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>212</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(27.48)</td>
<td>(26.42)</td>
<td>(29.09)</td>
<td>(20.00)</td>
<td>(17.78)</td>
<td>(16.67)</td>
<td>(24.94)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-consanguineous</td>
<td>190</td>
<td>181</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>638</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(72.52)</td>
<td>(73.58)</td>
<td>(70.91)</td>
<td>(80.00)</td>
<td>(82.22)</td>
<td>(83.33)</td>
<td>(75.06)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>262</td>
<td>246</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>850</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(100.00)</td>
<td>(100.00)</td>
<td>(100.00)</td>
<td>(100.00)</td>
<td>(100.00)</td>
<td>(100.00)</td>
<td>(100.00)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Respondents are also included.*
to the first husband, accompanied by caste dinner. The woman is readmitted into society. But certain disabilities are attached to widow remarriage among Lambadis. Remarried widows are forbidden entry into a regular marriage party, their offspring are disabled from legal marriage for three generations, although they are allowed to take wives from families in similar circumstances. According to Mr. Stuart, the Lambadis or Sugalis of the North Arcot district in Tamil Nadu, "do not allow the marriage of widows, but on payment of Rs. 15/- and three buffaloes to her family, a man can take charge of her children and the widow may be taken as concubine, and her children are henceforth considered legitimate. Even during her husband's life, a woman may divert him for any one else, the latter paying the husband the cost of original marriage ceremony".

A custom called Vali Sukari is recorded by the Rev. G.N. Thomsen17, according to which "if an elder brother marries and dies without offspring, the younger brother must marry the widow, and raise up children, such children being regarded as these of the deceased elder brother. If however, the elder brother dies leaving offspring and the younger brother wishes to marry the widow, he must give 15 rupees and three oxen to his brothers' children. Then he marries the widow". The custom here

referred to is said to be practised because the Lambadis' ancestor Sugriva married his elder brother Vali's widow.

RECOGNITION OF MARRIED AND UNMARRIED WOMEN:

The present day costume and personal adornments of the Lambadis females have been variously described by different writers. By one, the women are said to remind one of the Zingari of Wallachia and the Gitani of Spain. Married women are distinguished from unmarried in that the former wear their bangles between the elbow and the shoulder, while the unmarried have them between the elbow and wrist. Unmarried girls may wear black bead necklets, which are taken off at marriage, at which time they first assume the ravikkai or jacket. Matrons also use an early called gunki to distinguish them from widows or unmarried girls.

DOWRY:

Once the Oli system was very much prevalent among Lambadis in Warangal district. Now-a-days it is replaced by dowry offered to the bridegroom at marriage time by the bride's parents. The dowry varies from Thanda to Thanda and region to region. It also depends both on the economic status of bride and bridegroom. The amount to be paid in the form of dowry is settled by the mutual consent of the two parties. The dowry is usually either
in the form of cash or kind. The Researcher has noted that the highest dowry paid by Lambadis in Warangal district is Rs. 20,000/-.

EDUCATION:

Education is a dynamic force in the life of every individual influencing his physical, mental, emotional, social and ethical development. In its absence the achievement of men would be limited by the powers and to the experience of the individual and what functions that could lend valuable support for the development of any deprived social group or social and economic. The role of these two factors is all the more crucial in developing such severely disadvantaged groups of people. Many economists have recently stressed the influences of the traditional economic approach to the issue of development and have emphasized the importance of the human or social facts of such factors education comes first.

Education plays a predominant role in social mobility. In Western communities, the education system has acted as a major channel of individual mobility and it is producing a similar effect in India. Since India gained independence, the Government of India has been giving high priority to efforts to ameliorate the conditions of the Scheduled Tribes. They are provided with all opportunities for the full growth of their personality
to enable them to walk hand in hand with other groups of
the society. The Government grants them liberal concessions
in the fields of education since it alone will remove
their social and economic disabilities. Article 29(2)
says that "no citizen shall be denied admission into any
educational institution maintained by the State or receiving
aid art of the State funds on grounds of religion, race,
caste, language or any of them". Thus the inherent right
of the Scheduled Tribes to complete equality has been
fully recognized under the Constitution of India. The
main purpose of this part is to make a factual assessment
of the educational progress among Lambadis in Warangal
district.

The literacy rate among Scheduled Tribes in Andhra
Pradesh in general and in Warangal district in particular
presents a sad picture. According to 1991 Census in Andhra
Pradesh, out of a total population of 47,48,532 Scheduled
Tribes, only 2,48,438 were literates and their percentage
was 7.88. Of them included 1,94,589 males (12.02 per cent)
and 53,849 females (3.46 per cent). Similarly in Warangal
district, out of 3,18,548 Scheduled Tribes, only 16,081
were literates. Their percentage was 6.05. They comprised
13,776 males (9.87 per cent) and 2,305 females (2.85
per cent).

Low level of educational is a very important reason
for the continued backwardness of the tribal population.
## TABLE - 16

**Literacy and Illiteracy Levels Among Lambadis**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Educational status</th>
<th>Men</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
<th>Women</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Illiteracy</td>
<td>680</td>
<td>77.27</td>
<td>735</td>
<td>89.09</td>
<td>1415</td>
<td>83.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary</td>
<td>130</td>
<td>14.78</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>9.70</td>
<td>210</td>
<td>12.32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>5.68</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1.21</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>3.52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>College Level</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>1.70</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>0.87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional/Technical</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0.57</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0.29</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| **Total**              | *880| 100.00     | 825   | 100.00     | 1705  | 100.00     |

*Respondents are also included*
According to 1981 Census the literacy rate for the Scheduled Tribe population was barely 16.35 per cent and among women it was low as 8.05 per cent. It is a shame that after 42 years of Independence we have tribal areas in the country - among them Rajasthan and Himachal Pradesh where the literates among women are just about 1 per cent. While restructuring the Education Policy, we should provide for the special requirements of these areas through special assistance programmes not only of the formal systems but also through non-formal and adult education streams. Central and State Governments have been making positive efforts to spread education among the tribals. This is much in the line of philosophy of tribal development and also to fulfil the Constitutional obligations.

Table-16 shows that literacy rate among Lambadi in Warangal district is extremely poor. Out of 1705 members, 1415 are illiterates and their percentage is 83. Of them constitute 735 women and 680 men. Only 290 (17 per cent) are found to be literates. They include 200 men and 90 women. The Table also reveals that out of 290 literates, 210 have primary education who comprise 130 males and 80 females. And their total percentage is 12.32. 60 members (3.52 per cent) are in the educational level of secondary, comprising 50 males and 10 females. Altogether there are only 20 Lambadi members at college
and professional levels whose percentage is 1.16 and they are only men.

Thus we can understand from these findings that there are larger number of members (83 per cent) among Lambadis who remain as illiterates. We may therefore conclude that the educational representation among Lambadis is very bad and disappointing.

The level of literacy is considered as a causative factor for the level of income one enjoy. Hence the levels of literacy have a bearing on the living standards.

Table-17 shows the distribution of Lambadi members according to their annual income and educational status. Out of 1705 Lambadi members, 82.99 per cent are illiterates. 12.32 per cent are educated up to primary level, 3.52 per cent up to secondary level, 0.88 per cent up to college level and 0.29 per cent have received professional training.

Thus still a majority are illiterates. In the Rs. 0-2,000 income group 96.26 per cent are illiterates, 3.43 per cent are educated up to primary level and 0.31 per cent up to secondary level. Among 324, who are in the Rs. 2,001-4,000 income class 92.22 per cent are illiterates 6.29 per cent are educated up to primary level and 1.49 per cent received education up to secondary level. In the case of 352 members who are from Rs. 2,001-4,000 income
### Table 17

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Educational Status</th>
<th>0-2000</th>
<th>2001-4000</th>
<th>4001-6000</th>
<th>6001-8000</th>
<th>8001-10000</th>
<th>Above 10000</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Illiteracy</td>
<td>617</td>
<td>308</td>
<td>278</td>
<td>158</td>
<td>034</td>
<td>020</td>
<td>1415</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(96.26)</td>
<td>(92.22)</td>
<td>(78.98)</td>
<td>(66.11)</td>
<td>(31.78)</td>
<td>(62.50)</td>
<td>(82.99)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>210</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(0.31)</td>
<td>(1.49)</td>
<td>(4.83)</td>
<td>(9.20)</td>
<td>(11.21)</td>
<td>(16.25)</td>
<td>(3.52)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>College</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(1.14)</td>
<td>(2.51)</td>
<td>(3.74)</td>
<td>(3.12)</td>
<td>(0.88)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional/</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Technical</td>
<td>(0.57)</td>
<td>(0.42)</td>
<td>(1.87)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>641</td>
<td>334</td>
<td>352</td>
<td>239</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>1705</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(100.00)</td>
<td>(100.00)</td>
<td>(100.00)</td>
<td>(100.00)</td>
<td>(100.00)</td>
<td>(100.00)</td>
<td>(100.00)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Respondents included*
class 78.98 per cent are illiterates, while 14.48 per cent and 4.83 per cent are educated up to primary and secondary level respectively. In this income class 1.14 per cent are educated up to college level, while 0.57 per cent are professionals. In the next income class also the pattern observed is that with a increase in the level of income the percentage of illiterates declines. Hence, in this income class, out of 239, 66.11 per cent are illiterates. Among those who received education up to primary, secondary, upto college and technical education are 21.76 per cent, 9.20 per cent, 2.51 per cent and 0.42 per cent respectively. Thus there is a slight increase in the percentages for secondary as well as college level. In this income class the percentages shows still an improvement over the primary income class.

As we move to next income class of Rs.8,001-10,000, 107 members are there and among these members 31.78 per cent are illiterates. The percentages of those who received primary education is relatively high for this income class as it is 51.40 per cent. Even in the case of those who received education upto secondary, college or technical level, the percentages are higher than the percentages for the earlier income class as they are 11.21 per cent, 3.74 per cent and 1.87 per cent respectively. In the above Rs.10,000 group the percentage for illiterates had again gone upto 62.50 per cent while it is 28.13 per cent for
primary, 16.25 per cent for secondary and 3.12 per cent for college level for a total of 32 members.

Thus the above analysis shows that there is a causative relationship between the educational status and the level of income. As the level of income improved, the percentage of illiterates had declined. But a sudden reversal is observed among those who are earning above Rs. 10,000. In the case of other income classes there is an association between one's own level of education and the annual income they earned. Another finding of importance is that in the case of those who are educated upto professional or technical education it has started with an initial income of Rs. 4,000. Thus this table clearly indicates that the higher levels of education would bring in higher levels of income or those who belong to higher levels of income usually received a better education as all the college and professional members belong to relatively higher income classes.

Lack of education is a stumbling block to the Lambadis in attaining a higher standard of life. Though some of the Lambadi settlements have elementary schools with a short distance and though education is free, many Lambadis refrain from sending their children to schools due to the following four main reasons: (1) loss on a good chunk of their labour force if children are sent to schools
as Lambadi children start working at an early age; (2) the fear of expenditure on education, which is aggravated by interested parties who are determined to keep the Lambadis in their present state of backwardness, which prevent the Lambadis from sending their children to school; (3) the problem of motivating the children to take their studies seriously is too hard to resolve that there is a heavy dropout rate among them; and (4) the dim prospect of getting jobs even in spite of reservation of jobs for them (consequence of the huge educated unemployment problem of the State) takes away whatever little interest the Lambadis have in education.

FOOD HABITS:

The food habits of Lambadis are peculiar and they are varied from other society. They do not give much importance to health food. They intend to take what they have. Although they appear strong, they do not take good and nourished food. Generally, they take food grains like millet, rice, maize etc., and vegetables like bhaji (Pala Koora) bhajura (tomato), thumidi (sorakaya), vangan (vankaya) and non-vegetarian food like bhoti (meat) and maldi (fish). The observation reveals that they give more importance to bhati (prepared with millet or chapathis). At the time of travelling outside they take this chapathis instead of rice. They have a good experience in hunting
fish in tanks and kuntas (small tanks). They hunt fish in the ponds and tanks with their own prepared nets, sticks and hooks. Generally, they take food 3 times a day. They don't take tea and coffee.

SHELTER:

Since Lambadis are nomads, they live in detached clusters of rude huts called Thandas at some distance from the established villages. Siraj-Ul-Hassan\(^\text{18}\) writes that the Lambadi Thandas are always on the move; but during the rainy months they encamp on the outskirts of the villages, generally on some dry spots where there is sufficient fodder for the cattle; tents are made of coarse stout cloth fastened with ropes. Agency camp for night with fires lighted all around them in order to get rid of tigers and other wild animals. When the Thanda or caravan starts on its long carrying trips, the young men and some of the women go with it, while the old men and the remainder of women and children remain to tend the breeding cattle in the hamlet. It is noted that the Lambadas on their carrying trips prefer by-paths through jungles to the high roads along cultivated plains, as grass, wood

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and water are more abundant along such paths; and when they cannot avoid the high roads, they commonly encamp as far as they can from villages and towns with a view to obtaining sufficient supply of grass, water and wood.\footnote{Busset, K.V. and Hiralal, Rai Bahadur, "Tribes and Castes of the Central Province of India," Vol.II, New Delhi, 1975, pp.162-191.}

The dwellings of the Lambadis are situated in clusters, of ten to hundred huts forming what are called settlements. In local language, this settlement is known as "Thanda", meaning abode. Concerning the Lambadis of Warangal district, it is observed that they are woodcutters, carriers and coolies, but some of them have settled down as cultivators. A Lambadi Jupuda (hut) generally consists of only one small room, with no aperture except the door way. Here are huddled together the men, women and children in the same room which is used for kitchen, dining and sleeping. The cattle or sheep or goats are generally tied up outside in any available spot, of the Thanda site. The whole Thanda is a sort of cattle plan intersposed with huts. On the whole, it is discovered, the housing conditions of Lambadis in Warangal district are extremely poor and sordidly wretched.

\section*{Drinking and Smoking:}

Drinking of country made liquor or Government made liquor among the Lambadis in Warangal district is an acute

\footnote{Busset, K.V. and Hiralal, Rai Bahadur, "Tribes and Castes of the Central Province of India," Vol.II, New Delhi, 1975, pp.162-191.}
problem. Almost all men, especially elderly people drink. Some women including old women are also addicted to drinking alcohol. They consume country Daru (liquor) and not Government made one since it is costly. The Lambadi women folk drink liquor along with their menfolk on the occasions like birth, marriage, death and festivals. Even children also take alcohol. Elder men take it daily. In the study area of Warangal district, Lambadis also give preference for Sindhi (toddy). In the seasonal time they contact with toddy-tappers and they take a decision for monthly contract. Generally, the Lambadis offer other community 120 rupees for two bottles (1500 ml) per month. On the whole, they think, without drink they may not live.

Majority of men in Lambadis are addicted to smoking country chutias (cigarettes), beedis and only a few smoke cigarettes. But women are non-smokers. However, a few women chew betel leaves and tobacco, and some old women also can smoke country cigarettes. A majority of children also smoke.

After taking an extensive and critical stock, taking of the extent empirical material relating to the subject of drinking among tribes all the world over, this paper seeks to offer a fresh alternative perspective by applying opier's "culture theme" approach. The new insights gained as a result explain a wider range of drinking behaviour
by addicting to drinking deeply embodied cultural meanings and motivations

Although drinking is a universal characteristic of the tribal world with a few exceptions, the analysis of the phenomenon suffers from inadequate conceptualisation. In most of the treatments of the subject by both analysis and tribal development administrators, alcohol-in-taking among tribals is conceived either as a problem behaviour needing remedial action or as a behaviour functional to reducing anxiety and fostering integration. Analytical interests are better served in conceptually setting of "normal" from problem or pathological drinking. The lack of cultural focus results in making up the two forms of drinking which are conceptually distinct phenomena.

WEARING CLOTHES AND ORNAMENTS:

The traditional dress of Lambadi men and women of Warangal district is very embroidery and colourful. The dress of Lambadi men comprises Dhoti, Shirt and a


'rumal' (Pagdi or turban). The dress of women consists of a 'Phetia' (Skirt) which richly embroidered with many folds. The upper guard known as Kanchle a kind of blouse which cover only the breast. There is another piece which is part of dress of women known as Tukri which is decorated with cowries, beads, designed small pieces of mirror glasses and tangles stitched with coins which covers the head and back side of the body.

HAIR ORNAMENTS:

"Ghugri" is a silver ornament looks like a pendant made of tube with small silver beads hanging. It is attached to the hair on both sides with a pin. These silver beads almost touch the cheeks. This ornament is the symbol of the marital status of a woman. Unmarried girls and widows are prohibited from wearing this Ghugri.

BHURIA is a nose ornament made of gold, just like a ring and worn on the right hole of the nose.

HARR is a necklace contains of coins of different denominations. In Telangana region, most of the Lambadi women wear the harr, which is made of the coin "Halisikka" of the Nizam.

BANSLOO is the necklace (big size ring) made of silver according to the size of the neck of the women.
TOPLI is an ornament made of silver hanging over their cheeks and attached with the hair, both married and unmarried women wear this ornament.

BALIA: Bangles made of horn covering the whole hand of a woman. Married women wear these bangles up to the shoulders, and unmarried women wear up to the elbow only. If widowed, her shoulder bangles will be removed.

KHASH is a bell metal anklet round in shape with different designs drawn on the surface. Married and unmarried women wear them.

WANKDI are anklets, larger in diameter and made of brass. They are of a peculiar type with triangular projections pointing upwards. Only married women can wear this anklet, if the women become widows this can be removed.

ANGUTHALA: Women wear Anguthala to their toes. They are known as toe-rings made of silver, worn by women of plain areas. This is similar to the plain society women’s wearing of mattalu. These can be removed when she becomes a widow.

JANJRIYA AND GHUGRA: The girls tie some brass bells to their legs making jingling sound. After their marriage, these two are removed.
It is clear that some ornaments indicate their marital status. There is no system of mangalasutra in Lambada caste in the South and the other parts of India. Instead of Mangalasutra, they wear particular type of ornament at the time of marriage and it shows the marital status of Lambadi women.

Wearing of Anguthala, Ghugri, Choodo (Shoulder bangles) wankdi are the indication of married women. The above ornament will be visible on the women's body at the time of marriage. If women are widowed these ornaments will be removed.

The dress of Banjara men and women is peculiar in many respects and it differs from others in the society. Though the men are content with a red and black or white striped turban a dhoti; the women wear a red Phetia (skirt) with numerous glass pieces and cowries stitched into it. They wear coloured petti coat that covers their breasts. It is decorated with designs and colourful glass pieces and invariably cover their heads with another coloured piece of cloth keeping their good faces open. They wear numerous, heavy, plastic and metal bangles reaching the elbow and ornament their ankles and forelegs in the same manner. A movement started among them to give up these heavy and costly garments and take to light sarees as the plains. But the woman feared such a change would spell
disaster to their families. They wear numerous bead strings, ear, nose and hair ornaments which add to the strain of their usually hard labour.

In the Mysore Census Report 1901, it is noted that "the Lambada women wear a peculiar dress, consisting of a langa or gown of stout coarse print, a tartan petticoat, and a marble of ten elaborately embroidered, which also covers the head and upper part of the body. The hair is worn in ringlets or plaits hanging down each side of the face, and decorated with shells and terminating in tassels. The arms are profusely covered with trinklets and rings made of bones, brass and other rude materials. The men's dress consist of a white or red turban and a pair of white breeches or knicker-bockers, reaching a little below the knee, with a string of red silk tassels hanging by the right side from the waist hand". "The man" Mullaly\textsuperscript{23} writes, "Lambada men are fine muscular fellows, capable of enduring long and fatiguing marches. Their ordinary dress is the dhoti with short trousers, and frequently gaudy turban and caps, in which they indulge on festive occasions. They also affect a considerable amount jewellery. The women are, as a rule, clam, and above the average height of women of the country. The Chols (choli) or

bodice, with embroidery in the front and on the shoulders, covers the bosom and is tied by variegated cords at the back, the ends of the cords being ornamented with cowries and beads. A covering cloth of korwar cloth, with embroidery is fastened in at the waist and hangs at the side with a quantity of tassels and strings of cowries.

Lambadis' jewels are very numerous and they include strings of beads of ten or twenty rows with a cowry as a pendant called cheed, threaded on horse-hair and a silver hasli (necklace), a sign of marriage equivalent to the tali. Brass or horn bracelets, ten to twelve in number extending to the elbows on either arm, with a gugera or piece of embroidered silk, one inch wide, tied to the right wrist. Anklets of ivory (bone) or horn are worn by married women. They are removed on the death of the husband. Fachaala or silk embroidery are adorned with tassels and cowries and also worn up to anklets by women. Their other jewels are Mukaram or nose ornament, a silver kamis or pendant from the upper part of the ear attached to a silver chain which hangs to the shoulders and a profusion of silver, brass and lead rings. Their hair is, in the case of unmarried woman, unadorned brought up and tied in a knot at the top of the head with married women, it is fastened, in like manner with a cowry or brass button and heavy pendants or gujuris are fastened at the temples.
LANGUAGE:

The Scheduled Tribes which number 258 communities and who speak 106 languages have their own distinctive and cultural identity which has greatly contributed to enriching India's cultural heritage. Our Scheduled Tribes have successfully preserved their identity despite centuries of interaction with materially more competitive cultures. It is now the bounden duty of each of us, individually and together, to ensure that this distinctive identity is not only preserved, but also enabled to flourish and advance further according to its own genius.

The Census Reports of 1921 hold Hinduisation of the tribals responsible for the erosion of tribal identity in terms of the displacement of tribal by non-tribal languages and growth of bilingualism among the tribal communities living in the areas of culture contact. Here a sincere attempt is made to explore various dimensions of the current tribal movements relating to script and language centring on ethnic identity and the maintenance of cultural symbols and traits. Four movements from different parts of tribal India have been taken up to describe the origin, development, impact and present status of these movements and how they relate to and are

part of an overall attempt to define and assert ethnic identity on the part of the tribal communities.

The tribals in urban areas have been fast forgetting their language. And, yet, there have been no dramatic shifts in the overall patterns. The 1961 Census (there has been no Census of language in 1971) shows that out of the total tribal population of 2.9 million, 1.5 million speak their mother tongue and only 1.3 million are bilingual. A closer look at the data shows that bilingualism has been on the increase only in the outlying areas of tribal middle India like Gujarat (91.81 per cent), Andhra (63.18 per cent), Kerala (80 per cent), Mysore (57 per cent) and Tamil Nadu (91 per cent), Madhya Pradesh (60 per cent) has been an exception. Elsewhere the speakers of tribal languages have the upper hand. Bihar (86 per cent), Assam (60 per cent), Orissa (51 per cent), Rajasthan (73 per cent), Nagaland (73 per cent), Tripura (91 per cent), and Himachal Pradesh (78 per cent).

Creation of a script for the unwritten tribal languages has always posed a problem. In the Soviet Union, after the October Revolution, written languages were created for the overwhelming majority of the Soviet people who did not have them, and as to the languages with old established systems of writing, their alphabets were reformed and improved and their social functions considerably
broadened. The Norweign mission devised a special script on the basis of the Latin alphabet for Santal language.

The movements to evolve a script and to build up an indigenous literature in tribal language could be seen as part of an overall movement to define and assert tribal identity. This process in Chotanagapur could be traced to the 1920s when the upcoming tribal middle class started a movement to gain political autonomy and gave a fillip to new revivalism in art and literature, which sought to preserve and recreate many of cultural symbols of the past.

The Lambadis of Warangal district speak a peculiar dialect, an admixture of Punjabi and Gujarathi, Marathi and Hindi. Grierson remarks that the Deccan Lambadis have allotted many Dravidian words to keep their dialect. They should have a particular language and additional to this a local language of their nearness villages. It means they also know the other language. In Warangal district the Lambadis talk in their mother tongue and also in Telugu. There is no script for the Lambadis language.

TRIBE AND CASTE RELATIONS:

The social organisation of the Lambadis will be incomplete, if the social relationships with other communities are not examined. It is a well-known fact that a
society that is a whole by itself is a misnomer these
days and different societies have different degrees of
interdependence." Over the years, the Lambadis have
developed increasing dependence on local non-Lambadi
communities by taking up non-Lambadis as share-croppers,
tenants, wage labourers and attached agricultural labourers.
Therefore, the Lambadis cannot be viewed in isolation,
if we have to define their "Lambadiless" or to identify
them as a detribalizing community, and to understand
how they survive as a group in modern India. For this
purpose, it is necessary to view a community like the
Lambadis as part of a larger system which must include
its neighbours. As stated earlier, the local people
consider the Lambadis as a caste rather than a tribe.
Indeed, the position of the Lambadis is fixed in the local
social hierarchy based on the concepts of commonality,
and purity and pollution.

The hierarchical position of the Lambadis of seven
Thandas is almost the same in their respective revenue
villages namely, Raiparth, Wardhannapat and Thorurr. Both
the groups of the Lambadis during their day-to-day life
are in contact with various caste groups of living in their
neighbouring hamlets of respective revenue mandals.

25. Redfield, Robert, "Present Society and Culture", The
The relationship between the Lambadis of seven Thandas and the service castes like the Brahmin (Priest) the Chakali (Washer)man), the Mangali (Barber), the Madiga (cobbler) and the artisan castes like the Vadrangi and Kammari (carpenter and blacksmith), the Kamsali (goldsmith) and the Kummari (Potter) of the neighbouring villages is stronger and it may be categorised as a kind of "Jajmani" system. The service and the artisan castes have not only economic relationship with the Lambadis but also play their respective roles during socio-religious ceremonies performed by the Lambadis.

In seven Thandas the study reveals that the relationship between various castes is largely regulated by the "Jajmani" system. To the groups of Lambadis, the Brahmins from Raiparthy, Thorrur and Wardhannapet, the neighbouring hamlets of seven Thandas respectively perform certain ritualistic services which include fixation of auspicious time for different socio-religious occasions, suggesting appropriate names to the new born, reading the Panchangam (almanac) and officiating at the marriage ceremonies. For rendering all times types of services, the Brahmins pay in cash as well as kind depending upon the economic status of each Lambadi family.

The Lambadis who have taken to agriculture either primary or secondary occupation maintain regular relationship with the Vadrangis and Kammaris (carpenters and blacksmith) who reside at Raiparthy, Thorrur and Wardhannapat respectively. For making a well or repairing of various agricultural implements, Lambadis of the seven Thandas approach the Vadrangi and Kammari in their respective neighbouring hamlets. The latter receive remuneration from the former some fixed quantity of grain per annum at the time of harvest.

The Kamsalis (goldsmiths) live at Raiparthy, Thorrur and Wardhannapat mandals, the neighbouring hamlets of seven Thandas respectively. Their services consist of making of silver and gold ornaments for the Lambadis whenever the latter require for making ornaments, they receive cash immediately after rendering services. However, some Lambadis at the seven Thandas often purchase the required silver and gold ornaments for the bridal pair or any family members at their respective mandals or district head quarter towns.

The Kummaris (potters), who live at the nearby villages of the seven Thandas respectively, supply the earthenware required by the Lambadis for which the former are paid in cash immediately. In addition to performing this, they fulfil certain obligations on the socio-religious occasions for the Lambadis. For instance, it
is the bounden duty of the Kummari to supply pots required at the time of marriage for Lambadis. On such occasions they receive rice, arecanuts, betel leaves and some amount of cash towards remuneration.

The Mangalis (baribers) who come from three mandals, the neighbouring hamlets of the Lambadis respectively maintain relationship somewhat in the nature of patron-client relationship, because as far as their regular and ritual services are concerned, each one is attached to most of the families and receive remuneration annually in cash or grain etc. However, the barber also renders his regular services to any Lambadis and receives payment in cash immediately. For rendering his services on the ceremonial occasions of the Lambadis, he receives not only cash but some rice, betel leaves and betel nuts.

The Madigas (cobblers) who reside at Raiparthry, Thorrur and Wardhannapet mandals, the neighbouring hamlets of the Lambadi Thandas respectively render some services to the Lambadis of the seven Thandas. They remove the deceased cattle, the Madigas in turn supply two pairs of footwear to the owner of the dead cattle. In addition, they meet the requirements of the hamlets and the clients like leather things, straps, and belts. In turn, the Madigas receive a fixed cash and some quantity of grain at the time of harvest.
The Lambadis have the same kind of relationship with the remaining castes of Golla, Boya, Ediga, Chakali, Vodde, Velama, Reddis, Weavers, Vaishyas etc. It is noted that Lambadis in Warangal district by and large maintain harmonious relations with other castes in the villages. They do not quarrel and they live in harmony and peace.