Chapter – III

THE SOCIAL ORGANIZATION
Fig. 3: Sugali Women Dress Pattern

Fig. 4: Sugali Couple in Traditional Dress
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THE SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

This chapter is concerned with the aspect of culture through which the Sugali of the four thandas under study are organised into social systems or society. Social organisation is the systematic ordering of social relations by acts of choice and decision (Firth, 1951) It explains how people form different groups and how they carry out their relationships through institutions over time. It also helps us to understand change easing on this an attempt is made to examine the social organisation and change among the Sugali of Udiripikonda thanda and Pasupula thanda as well as Sekshanapalli thanda and Ulindakonda thanda of Kurnool and Anantapur District.

The Tribe

The Sugali tribe identify itself as 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 neighboring castes and tribes. As a matter of fact, all the Sugali speak of themselves as belonging to one Kulam (Jati) namely, the Sugali.

The process of continuous contact between the Sugali who subsisted on different occupations such as transportation of foodgrains trading, cattle rearing, firewood-selling, and the castes practicing more efficient methods of production has been existing for the last many generations. This contact has naturally brought about sever1 changes in other aspect of 1ife as well. The Sugali have adopted the language of the caste living nearby. In addition, certain Telugu words have crept into their original dilaect known as Gorer-wath or Gor-boli which has some root-terms from several languages such as Rajasthani, Gujarathi, Punjah and Hindi. In this context it is apt to quote Grierson (1968) who noted as early as 1907 that no where, not even in Berar (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 its 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 Sugali or Banjari 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, bazaars, railway stations and bus stands it is not difficult to identify Sugali women by their traditional dress, while it is difficult to identify Sugali men, who look like any other peasants. The only way to identify the Sugali men is by listening to their conversation.

Further, the Social customs and religious beliefs of the Sugali have also been influenced to a greater or lesser extent. As generation after generation rolled by and their interaction with the castes has 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 of Holi. Under the influence of castes, the Sugali took some of the Hindu religious practices without shedding not many of their old rituals and beliefs. A large degree of Hindu religious influence has found a place in the fabric of their culture.

It is highly significant to note that the kind of social structure, which the Sugali had built up in the past, was swiftly altered by the demands of the changed circumstances. They entered the Hindu fold claiming themselves as one among the castes of their neighborhood. 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. In addition, the continuance of some customs of their nomadic or semi-nomadic days also helped to be marked off as a distinct group even within the caste system. Even the recent socioeconomic changes have not shattered their feeling of oneness. Another interesting feature is that
some of the constitutional safeguards which have been designed to reconstruct the ‘Indian tribal societies have already started influencing the Sugali as a whole to present themselves as a tribe rather than a caste although the distinction between tribe an caste has become very ambiguous.

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

In addition, their emphasis on settling down in separate and exclusive settlements, though some Sugali live in multi-ethnic villages in other places of Rayalaseema region of Andhra Pradesh, in order to keep themselve at a safe distance from others naturally gives them an opportunity to minimize contacts in areas which they consider detrimental to their identity and to establish and develop those that are necessary like economic interdependence, secular interaction, modern political, administrative links, and so on. In spite of sedentary life for nearly a century or so, the Sugali still distinguish themselves as denizens of the thandas (caravans or hordes) as opposed to the settled village folk. The cultural and social separation of the Sugali is also evident from thandas frequent use of the term ‘we’ for themselves as opposed to the for they permanently settled non-Sugali. Thus, the social categories the social identities, from the point of view of the Sugali
are mainly four the Sugali and the non-Sugali. But in fact, the multi-caste villagers are not really fourered about the Sugali remaining aloof and to that extent they are passive or indifferent towards the Sugali cultural semi-autonomy, thereby indirectly making it possible for the Sugali to remain aloof by themselves. The writer has not noticed any cultural trait from the Sugali culture having entered the non-Sugali culture.

**Patterns of Marriage**

The Sugali of Udiripikonda thanda and Pasupula thanda as well as Sekshanapalli thanda and Ulindakonda thanda consider marriage as a necessary biological and social institution. From the viewpoint of the Sugali, for a marriage to exist, five criteria are indispensable; presence of socially approved sexual access, sharing of common residence, economic cooperation between the couple, an legitimate begetting of children.

Further, marriage is regarded as a prerequisite for establishing a family. This definition of marriage may not be applicable to all societies because cross-cultural studies of marriage have offered different patterns of marriage (Murdock, 1949; Radcliff Brown, 1950; Notes and Queries, 1951). These marriage patterns of different types of problems with which the people must cope, similarly the marriage pattern of the Sugali is also a testimony of their socio-cultural potential for adaptation.

The Sugali regard marriage as right and appropriate thing for all adults and it is noted that at four the thandas all the eligible males and females are married except one widowed individual who did not marry second time with a fear that the second wife may not look after the first wife’s son with proper care. Further, it is also noted that the divorced persons are willing to remarry.

The Sugali have their own rules and regulations which govern the choice of mates. These rules also suggest not only the person whom one may
or may not marry but also the person whom one ought to marry. They are tribal endogamy, sub-tribe endogamy, surname exogamy, incest taboos and preferential marriages. The rules of endogamy compell the Sugali to select a spouse within a tribe and within a sub-tribe but the rules of exogamy prescribe that an individual must find a spouse outside the surname group. There is also the custom of treating members of the surname groups as siblings, besides the custom of treating some groups as siblings to one another.

The rules, besides providing guidance as to where from a spouse should be obtained, encourage preferences for certain categories of relatives. With regard to such preferences, symmetrical cross-cousin marriages are favoured, because the marriageable persons are known to each other, and because of this a better understanding is supposed to develop among them later when they marry. However, a person is free to marry either a patrilateral (father’s sister’s daughter) or a matrilateral (mother’s brother’s daughter). If four the cousins are available for marriage, generally it is left to the discretion of the boy so that he can choose any one of them. In practice, matrilateral cross-cousin marriages occur in lower proportion than patrilateral cross-cousin marriages. Further, it can be observed that of all the preferences for certain categories of relatives, unrelated people are mostly preferred.

As a few elderly Sugali have stated, hitherto the Sugali used to see that their children were married to consanguineous relative. They seldom preferred un-related individuals, if the boy had his mother’s brother’s daughter or father’s sister’s daughter of marriageable age. In this context, it can be stated that the practice of preferring cross-cousins for marriage is prevalent mostly in South India. The Sugali of the thandas might have borrowed this custom from South Indians with whom they have been in social intercourse for over centuries. Iravati Xarve (1953), who has worked extensively on the kinship organization in India, also writes that the marriage of man to his Mama’s (mother’s brother) daughter seems to be a result of the impact and subsequent absorption of the Northern people with Some
Southern people, who already had the practice of cross-cousin marriage. Further, at four the thandas under study the number of unrelated marriages are more. The main reason for preferring unrelated individuals is that the consent of the partners, especially of the males has become a new trait in the Sugali way of married life, as the youth, now-a-days, have developed individualistic temperament in selecting their partners.

Apart from the above rules of endogamy and exogamy, incest taboos and preferential mates, there are various other criteria such as age, distance, bride-price/dowry, personal character consent of the boy and girl which are taken into consideration while selecting a mate.

There is no instance of child marriage as it is proscribed by the Sugali. Girls are eligible for marriage only after they attain puberty and boys are usually married after the age of 20 years. Girls attain puberty between 13 and 15 years but very rarely before the age of 13. It is reported by the elderly Sugali of four the thandas that four to three decades ago more pre-puberty marriages were in vogue although adult marriages were common. In the case of pre-puberty marriages, the girl need not be kept at her parents’ house until she attains her first menarche.

Late marriages among the females and males after 16 years and 25 years of age respectively can be attributed to either poverty or physical disability. The figures show that the age difference between a boy and a girl at the time of first marriage is approximately nine years.

Four the groups of the Sugali have contracted marriages from places as near as possible to their respective thandas. Most of the marriages among them from four the thandas are contracted within their respective thandas. Few marriages are contracted from places for away from their thandas, as the relatives of the brides reside in such distant places.
On the contrary, they receive bride-price in cash. The persons who are not able to pay the bride-price are considered to be incapable of looking after their wives and would receive very limited proposals of marriage. However, now-a-days four the groups of the Sugali, especially the Sugali of Udiripikonda thanda and Pasupula thanda as well as Sekshanapalli thanda and Ulindakonda thanda have started demanding dowry, as taking dowry is regarded as a prestigious matter. In fact they have adopted the custom of taking/ giving dowry from the surrounding caste people. Giving dowry is very deep-rooted among the landed gentry in Andhra Pradesh.

Dowry is given by the bride’s parents to the parents of the bridegroom. Usually the minimum amount of dowry is Rs. 10000/- plus one or to he-goats. Besides cash, the bride’s parents also present a ring or wrist-watch to their prospective son-in-law. The amount paid towards dowry depends not only on the economic status of the bridegroom but also on the economic position of his parents. If the economic status of the parents of the bridegroom is sound because of landed property, they demand more dowry from the side of the bride. In case the bridegroom is educated and works as a Government employee, the amount of dowry demanded by them would be even more. Thus, it can be assumed that within a span of four or three decades the traditional payment of bride price may be replaced by the payment of dowry among the Sugali of four the thandas.

Furthermore, now-days there is an increasing tendency among the Sugali of four the thandas, to perform their marriages in a more or less similar way to that of agricultural communities characterized by sanskritic rituals, tying of Tali (an ornament that indicates marital status), and presence of a Brahmin priest. On the other hand, the Sugali of Udiripikonda thanda and Pasupula thanda as well as Sekshanapalli thanda and Ulindakonda thanda have aided a few borrowed cultural traits such as arranging mike-sets with recorded songs as well as music by barbers and drum-beating by the Madiga (cobbblers) community to their traditional marriage pattern.
The Sugali choose their marriage partners after carefully considering their personal character. The prospective husband or wife must be good looking good-natured, industrious and wise is making decisions. They acquire a mate either by negotiation, exchange or by affiliation of the son-in-law. At four the thandas, almost all the marriage alliances are settled by negotiation.

Acquiring a life partner through negotiation by the Sugali of four the thandas commences when the parents of the adolescent children are in search of a suitable match. Generally the parents of the boy take initiative in searching of the bride and approach the bride's parents for negotiations. If all the matters are settled and if the boy expresses his consent, marriage will be performed on a fixed date.

Among the Sugali choosing a mate through affiliating a son-in-law (illatam/ illarikam) and giving him a share in the property in the absence of a male heir is in vogue. The question of affiliating a son-in-law usually arises when some property management, particularly land and cattle, is involved since, most of the Sugali at Udiripikonda thanda and Pasupula thanda as well as Sekshanapalli thanda and Ulindakonda thanda depend on pastoralism as their main occupation, the boy finds no charm in going and staying in the house of his parents-in-law even after the marriage. The main motivation for the boy to accept for a permanent affiliation with the family of his parents-in-law is a share in the property of his deceased parents-in-law.

The Sugali practise limited polygny as the only form of polygamy. In fact, their sentiment is against polygamous unions. Despite the insistence of the sugali on monogamy and the importance of the conjugal bond between husband and wife, polygamy is resorted to in exceptional cases when the first wife is either sterile or is suffering from prolonged illness or upon the traditional obligation of marrying one’s elder brother’s widow.
In the case of second or subsequent marriage, the Sugali resort to sororal polygyny, as they strongly believe that one’s wife’s sister makes an ideal wife. Nevertheless, out of six polygynous unions at four the thandas only in one case the wives of a man are real sisters, hit in the other three cases they are not even classificatory sisters and in the remaining four cases, elder brother’s widow are married. Furthermore, polygyny is limited to bigamy. Multiple wives are considered neither an economic asset nor a status symbol.

The Sugali of four the thandas also resort to serial monogamy since they like to enjoy themselves the constant companionship of their partners. Four men and women try to adhere to their conjugal rights with a view to leading a happy and contented marital life. If the partners do not like each other, they may part with each other and seek their next partners.

Generally a divorcee tries to remarry. Romance, companionship, sex, hearth and home constitute the strongest motivation factors to remarry. All divorcees, widowers or widows can remarry within a few months after the divorce or the death of a spouse. They can go on changing their partners for any number of times. While marrying the widows or deserted women, the prospective husband has to pay fifty percent of the original bride price either to the children or kith and kin of the woman concerned. In addition, he has to arrange a feast to the Nayak of the thanda and his community men.

Post marital residence

Among the Sugali of Udiripikonda thanda and Pasupula thanda as well as Sekshanapalli thanda and Ulindakonda thanda, the ideal is that the newly married couple would establish a neolocal pattern of residence. In actual practice the couple also follow patrilocal, matrilocal, commonlocal etc.

Furthermore, various factors have inclined the Sugali of four the thandas to adopt different rules of residence which have an impact on other aspects of social organisation. It is an established fact that the rules of post-
marital residence are much determined by the technological, social, economic and cultural conditions under which a community lives. When these conditions undergo changes, the rules of residence also tend to reflect such changes.

During the days of nomadism or semi-nomadism different factors - social, economic, technological and demographic have predisposed the Sugali to adopt neolocality as the most ideal and the multi-locality as the actual type of residence. As a semi-nomadic tribe, the Sugali had to live in small groups. Owing to increasing population of each group, they experienced some difficulties in maintaining a neolocal pattern of residence. As a result, they had to reconstruct each group and adopt appropriate patterns of residence in order to seek support and security from their kith and kin part from economic and demographic factors, some social factors have also encouraged the adoption of multi-locality. The jural obligation of the male children, especially the youngest son to look after the aged parents often compelled them to adopt patrilocal type of residence. Likewise, other factors such as close proximity of the parental homes of the boy and the girl and consequent intimacy and marriage of the pair mostly with the support of their parents culminated in the adoption of common local residence by the newly wedded couple amidst their parental homes.

Even at present the ideal rule of the Sugali at four the thandas is neolocality. However, there is multi-pattern of residence mainly due to the prevailing social, economic and demographic factors. The economic factor is mainly responsible for the preference of neo local type of residence at four the thandas. Most of the poor Sugali, who depend on either wage labour or cattle grazing or fire wood selling as the mainstay of their economy, have opted for neolocal pattern of residence. Usually the parents do not restrain the newly married couple from establishing a separate residence. In addition, patrilocal type of residence is in no way beneficial for the couple. Furthermore, setting up of a separate family does not incur much expenditure. In sharp contrast, it
is noted that most of the Sugali, who have much landed property and huge number of cattle, have opted for patrilocal type of residence. When a newly married couple opt for neolocal residence\(^1\) the problem of inheritance of land resulting in its fragmentation into small pieces is very much felt. Furthermore, cultivation requires much manpower. Hence, it is difficult for a neolocal family to cultivate lands and look after cattle. All these factors directly or indirectly discourage the establishment of neolocal family among the comparatively rich Sugali of four the thandas.

**Divorce**

It is very easy to obtain divorce for the Sugali. No social stigma is attached to a divorced person. A divorcee is free to remarry. The main reason for the dissolution of marriage among the Sugali men and women of four the thandas seems to be extramarital relations. Quarrelsomeness, ill treatment, impotency, excessive drunkenness, prolonged ill-health, sterility etc., also figure among the causes for divorce.

It is a well-known fact that mutual fidelity is the most important factor on which most of the marriages rest. However, when one partner experiences sexual dissatisfaction with the other, the former generally tries to maintain extra-marital relations which can not be continued for a long time. As long as such an illegal contact remains unnoticed by the husband, no one is serious about it once it comes to the notice of the husband, the wife may be severely beaten or may be deserted by her husband.

Regarding the other causes for the dissolution of marriage such as ill-treatment and excessive drinking habit a woman does not break up the marital bond unless the husband completely stops discharging his responsibilities towards her. If he abuses or beats her time and again, she deserts him or seeks divorce. At times domestic discords like quarrels with parents-in-law or co-daughters-in-law also become strong causes for divorce. Since the family organisation has furthered its patriarchal character, the
behavioral patterns the followed it expect absolute submission and
dependence from its members. When the daughter-in-law fails to observe
such patterns, she is branded as lazy quarrelsome haughty etc. Generally the
elders correct such a daughter-in-law by making all possible attempts.
However, she is deserted, if she happens to remain a hard nut to crack.

When any one of the coup1 is entangled in extra marital relations
the dissatisfied partner generally approaches the Gor Panchayat (traditional
council ) which conducts an inquiry into the matter. Charges and counter-
charges are made before the council. In case the wife is at fault and has been
guilty of conjugal disloyalty and if she insists on separation, she is allowed to
desert her husband. On the other hand, if the husband is at fault, the wife can
certainly retain him. Usually separation is pressed only when either of the
parties remains unfaithful for a long time. On separation the children at breast
invariably remain with the mother and the bigger ones are brought up by the
father.

Family

In the words of Fortes (1962), 'In all human societies, the workshop,
so to speak, of social reproduction, is the domestic group. It is this group
which must remain in operation over a stretch of time long enough to rear
offspring to the stage of physical and social productivity of a society is to
maintain itself. This statement aptly justifies the study of domestic group or
family characteristic of all societies, the type and size of which can vary from
society to society. The major economic, social religious and reproductive
activities are centered round the domestic group of am1y. A Sugali family is
synonymous with the house hold and is usually composed of a husband, wife
and their un married children who live together in a single house and do their
cooking together and for all practical purposes constitute one single economic
unit.
Due to the changing canvas of Sugali way of life, especially in the realm of economics, those families which largely depend on agricultural production have acquired patri-locality and the resultant vertical, laternal extensions. The higher frequency of such family units at four thanda points out a higher degree of change in traditional occupation as well as the ideal rule of residence.

The family is an institution that emerges primarily through marriage between a male and a female and initiates a set of social, economic and biological interactions between the couple and then among the relatives. The Sugali family is a starting point of determining the sets of relationship among many kinds of four types firstly, there is a nefourrk of relationship among couples and their relations on four sides; and secondly, there is relation ship bond among the parents and children an then among the siblings, i.e., children of the same parent. The family, thus, puts a Sugali individual in a nefourrk of bilateral relationships and sanctions him to follow a set of kinship usages and pattern of relationships.

The family organization among the Sugali of four thanda is mostly tradition oriented in the sense that the husband commands superior position and his relationship with his wife or other members of the family is that of super ordination. The husband has always the primary say in the family matters and the wife who enjoys a subordinate position in relation to her husband usually obeys him in all the matters. In normal life, however, the relationship between husband and wife is of partners in all social, economic, domestic and emotional activities and it does not necessarily mean that her position is low in the family. Further, there is no rigid division of labour as the couple works together.

The gratification of sexual urge plays a pivotal role in the permanance of the family. As the rules of marriage provide equal sex rights to four the partners, the sexually dissatisfied partner is at liberty to choose another mate. The existence of easy separation and divorce enable the
couple as far as possible to treat each other well. The couple have preferences for a son, as they give mare importance for a son due to patriliny. A few Sugali at four the thanadas have married second time to have male children. Thus, several factors such as lack of rig division of labour, links with the parental home and right to desert or to remarry play a prominent role in mitigating the patriarchal bias granting independence of women.

The relationship between the parents and the children at four the thanadas is fairly informal. All of them may share the same cot for sitting. The parents relationship with the daughter is equally very cordial. Births of four the son and daughter are equally welcomed by the parents, though they prefer to get a son instead of daughter as the former will be able to help them in their old age. However, in many ways, the parents donot show any differential treatment between a son and a daughter. The girl helps her mother in domestic work and then spends the leisure time in gossiping or playing with other girls of her age. The adolescent girl also observes a type of avoidance with her father. They talk less and when they talk among themselves, the daughter feels shy and casts her eye5 downward.

The relationships among brothers and sisters differ in terms of their age groups. While all are young below ten years, brothers and sisters along with the other such children of the thanda freely mix with each other and play together. But 23 they grow up they learn that their elders expect them to mingle only with the members of their respective sex and owing to this they generally avoid mutual gossip and mixing in the presence of the elderly persons of the thanda. Similar pattern of avoidance is observed among the grown-up brothers and sisters. A grown-up sister tries to restrict her conversation with her elder brother. She, however, feels a little free to talk with her younger brother.

The younger brother when married will not normally sit or stay together with his wife in the presence of his elder brother. The elder brother instead will also never touch the younger brother's wife and will avoid ta1ing
to her as far as possible. The younger brother has, however, a joking relationship with his elder brother's wife. One of the informants has commented that at Uridipikonda thanda most of the younger brothers have made attempts to have sexual intimacy with the wives of their elder brothers. An elder sister has to care for her younger brother and younger sister in the absence of her mother. At Sekshanapalli thanda, one woman, upon the death of her parents, married a man from another thanda, and remained in her natal home along with her husband in order to bring up her younger brother and look after agriculture.

There is munificent guarantee of paternal and maternal care almost equally for all uterine offspring. Numerous instances indicate that uterine sibling or the offspring borne by a woman to her first and subsequent husbands if happen to live together are brought up, fed and treated with the same love and affection as their own by the foster parents. Similarly when couple has no children and adopts preferably the son of a brother or one belonging to the same agnatic descent group the adopted son enjoys all the rights and affection as the real son enjoys.

In accordance with the usual practice, parents arrange the marriage of their sons and daughters. Talks for wedlock open when sons and daughters become adolescents. An marriage nearly confirms the fact that the youth have acquired. The status of independent members of the tribe. However, when sons choose their mates on their own accord parents do not generally censure them. In the past, tradition vested the parents with the power of selecting the partner for their sons or daughters. But, now-a-days, the parents give due freedom to their children, especially sons in selecting their partners.

After marriage as a rule the son establishes his own family usually away from his parents. If he is the only son, he may remain with his parents even after his marriage. However, even after the establishment of neo local residence, the son never completely ignores his parents so long as his
parents are alive. Similarly, married daughters, who associate more and more with their conjugal families, do not dilute their cordial relations with their parents. On important occasions like the conduct of life-crisis rituals and festivals they visit their parents. The daughters and their husbands are given special foods and small gifts on several occasions. As a matter of fact, daughters retain the right to visit their natal families whenever they desire. Parents also visit families of the sons and daughters of the spouses of young sons and daughters die the letter have the right to seek shelter in their natal homes once again but only as dependents.

The members of a Sugali family find their closer kinship tie among their parents, and unmarried siblings of their families. Outside their simple biological family are the consanguine relatives like father’s father, father’s brother father’s brother’s son and their wives. In general a Sugali treats them in terms of the generation and the sex of the individuals. There is a joking relationship between the grand fathers and grand children of four the mother’s an father’s sides. Among them the relationship is very informal and normally it happens that the grandsons bear the names of the grand fathers while the grand daughters bear the names of grand mothers. But, now-a-days it is observed that most of the parents have started preferring the names of caste Hindus for their children. The relationship between uncle and nephew is more of respect and is also of avoidance like the pattern of father son relationship. Similarly niece shows respect towards her uncle and there is what is called avoidance relationship between them.

In the case of affinal relatives such as parents in-law and daughters or sons-in-law the relationship is also of respect and avoidance. The daughters-in-law often talk to their parents-in-law and also work with them but they always maintain some distance with each other. The daughter-in-law should be submissive with her parents in-law. She should not laugh or speak loudly before them. As long as the married son lives with the parents the daughter-in-law has to work under the authority of mother- in-law who
manages the household activities. Upon partition only she as a house-wife manages the family of her own by making some decisions with her husband. Though the women do not inherit any property, as a house-wife she has to take responsibility in maintaining the house-hold economy with the inherited property of the husband. The relationships between the parents in-law are mostly regulated in terms of their respective sexes and is generally of mutual respect. They exchange their visits and on these occasions offer the best food and drink to each other.

Further, it is also obvious that the family is essentially nuclear or individual, especially at Udiripikonda thanda and Pasupula thanda as well as Sekshanapalli thanda and Ulindakonda thanda. The moment the son is married; he sets up his own house in the same thanda and lives with his wife and children. If he has cordial relations with his parents and his brothers, he may continue to share in common the agricilura1 operations and cat grazing or any other secondary source of livelihood. While the father or mother or four are alive, the youngest son, though married usually shares the same hearth and hut with his surviving parents. It is the social obligation for the youngest son to look after his aged and at times invalid parents.

When a Sugali happens to marry more than one wife, four the wives and their children share the same hut and hearth of the husband. Cases of polygene have been recorded at four the thandas, though the incidence of such marriages is very low. At four the thandas it is observed that a few n-married second time either to have children or a male child.

Furthermore, the Sugali of four thandas often resort to traditional methods of birth control in the case of necessity, especially to prevent illegitimate births though they know about modern methods of family planning such as vasectomy, tubectomy etc., of late, under the impact of mass media and acculturation a few individuals, four men and women at four the thandas have undergone vasctomy/ tubectomy operation. The attitude of most of the Sugali at four thanda is somewhat unfavourable to modern methods of family
planning. However, it can be believed that within a decade or four, most of them may resort to modern methods of birth control, if they are properly motivated and their doubts about the efficacy of modern methods of family planning are cleared. Thus, the Sugali family has indeed, moved a long way to become not only a stronger and typical patrilineal group but also to serve as the backbone of the changing socio-cultural life itself.

**Kinship**

Kinship organization has been acknowledged as the most significant organization of a society. In all societies, preliterate and modern, some kind of relationship apart from family is always recognized. It is this basic need to be united to some bond that, perhaps, gives rise to the origin of kinship.

There are various ways of classifying relatives. Blood, pareritage, marriage and the contiguity of residence are the main determinants of relationship in any human society. Even though there are some regional variations on the point of emphasis of one over other, all recognize the fundamental principle of mode of reckoning descent. Another common principle governing kinship system is that behaviours towards relatives is not the same as towards the nonrelatives. “The patterns of kinship behaviours”, writes Hoebe1 (1954), “are not biologically determined, They are all culturally conceived”. The kinship system is the whole process of designating the relationship of the various kins by a particular set of kinship terminology as well as the patterns of behaviour and the modes of reckoning descent.

**The Descent Rules**

Kinship can be based on bilateral as well as unilineal descent. The Sugali of Udiripikonda thanda and Pasupula thanda as well as Sekshanapalli thanda and Ulindakonda thanda have matrilineal descent and matrilineal extension of incest taboos. Hence, the individual in the Sugali community is assigned membership of a particular consanguineous Kin group through the
males or agnatic line right from his birth, and property and surname are transmitted from father to son. However, they also recognize kinship through four the parents but such recognition is not equally weighed. Though the relatives of the mother may be recognized and respected, mothers surname is not taken into cognizance or perpetuated in the names of the offspring.

While discussing family, it is pointed out that the rule of post-marital residence that governs the domestic group is primarily determined by the patterns of Sugali techno-economic adaptation. The pastoralists of Udiripikonda thanda and Pasupula thanda we have taken to agriculture as an important secondary source of livelihood and some of the developed agriculturists of Sakeshanapalli thanda and Ulindakonda thanda have felt a need more for male solidarity. This appears to be directly related in the high incidence of the Virilocal residence rule which ultimately produces the patrilocal family among all such Sugali of four thandas. Thus those residence rules and descent rules tend to reflect the patterns of a people’s techno-environmental and techno-economic adaptation.

The Surname Group

Among the Sugali of four the thandas, no difference exists between sub-clan or lineage an surname (Intiperu) groups each surname group is a name, agnatic and exogamous kin group whose descent is traceable. The members of the surname group presume to be related to one another by the patrilineal succession under a common name that may indicate the name of their ancestor. All the families of four the thandas under study belong to a few surname groups only. All the 167 families at Udiripikonda thanda and Pasupula thanda as well as Sekshanapalli thanda and Ulindakonda thanda are grown out of eight surname groups. Similarly at Udiripikonda thanda and Pasupula thanda as well as Sekshanapalli thanda and Ulindakonda thanda, all the 161 families are ultimately connected to 14 surname groups.
The surname group among the Sugali is a corporate group. It forms one of the important functional units of the thanda social life. When there is any celebration in the family the members of the surname group living in the thanda usually get first priority for invitation. When a hut or house is to be constructed for any family members, the members of the surname group are norrr1ly the first persons to extend their co-operation. Likewise at the time of birth, marriage and death rituals in a family the members of the surname group are the first to be invited. Thus, the surname group can be considered an important unit of social interaction.

The surname group is unilineal with an ancestor; it is patrilineal and an exogamous unit. The members of the group know that they are blood relatives because they share common descent. Further, the surname group uses specific kinship terms. That means it regards its members as brothers and sisters. The surname groups which are brotherly or which do not enter into matrimonial alliance use kinship terms among them as brothers and sisters. There is joking relationship between different affinal surname groups. The rule ofsurname exogamy necessitates the dependence of one surname group upon another and it helps to integrate the Sugali as a whole. Further, the surname group has a dispersed membership; the membership is acquired by birth arid marriage. In the case of women the membership of surname group is altered after marriage. Henceforth, they are considered as members of their husband’s surname group. A woman has freedom to remarry upon the death or divorce of her husband. In such a case she has to forgo the membership in the surname group.

The agnatic descent group

Each surname group comprises several agnatic descent groups. The agnatic descent group includes all those who are descendants in the male line of a commonly known male ancestor. It is a unilineal, residential or non.residenta1 and exogamous kin unit with a range of more than four or three generations in which descent is commutating. Members of the agnatic
descent group generally dwell in the same thanda. When they reside in one thanda, they usually build their houses very close to each other.

Agnatic descent groups are not given any separate names but are known after the surname groups of which they are parts. Membership of the agnatic descent group is acquired by birth only. In exceptional cases, it is acquired by adoption. Upon the death or divorce of one’s husband, a woman’s membership of her husband’s surname group ceases but her membership of the agnatic descent group of her father remains permanent. Even in the case of adoption, children from a man’s own agnatic descent group are preferred, if possible.

When a person of an agnatic group dies all the members of this group observe pollution for a fixed number of days. Generally tonsure ceremonies, marriages, deaths and elaborate festivities are there occasions for the members of the agnatic descent group to come together. A woman is looked after by a member of her agnatic descent group then her husband dies before her. If she remarried any person beyond her husband’s agnatic descent group, she is not entitled to claim the property left by her departed husband. The property is taken away by the agnatic descent group of her deceased husband.

The members of an agnatic descent group are lesser cooperative with each other than those of a family. Some of the families of an agnatic descent group mutually help one another on number of occasions including the cattle grazing and agricultural activities. Thus, the agnatic descent group is a co-operative kin group, whereas the surname group is the kin group of recognition. Unlike the surname group, the agnatic descent group is a corporate group with obligations of reciprocal co-operation and hospitality.
The kinship terminology

The kinship terminology serves as an index to understand the kinship relations and patterns of behaviours among various kin groups. At Udiripikonda thanda and Pasupula thanda as well as Sekshanapalli thanda and Ulindakonda thanda there are 4 kinship terms in the Sugali kinship terminology. In all, there are 34 classificatory and 12 denotative terms in their kinship terminology.

As stated earlier, the Sugali of four the thandas have patrilineal descent, patrilocal residence, patrilineal extension of incest taboos and monogamous and a few bigamous marriages. In their kinship terminology the aunt and the niece terms are of bifurcate merging type and the cousin terminology is of Iroquois type.

Furthermore, all these characteristics of the Sugali kinship clearly fit into Murdock’s (1949) Dakota type of social organization. In addition, the criteria of generation and sex are widely recognized in the Sugali kinship terminology. The criteria of collaterality, affinity, bifurcation and polarity are to a greater extent ignored. The exogamous patrilineal divisions of the Sugali of four the thandas have influenced the kinship terminology and preferential marriages like cross-cousin marriage and sororate have their bearing on Sugali kinship terminology. Due to the occurrence of cross-cousin marriages, wife’s father is often called by the same classificatory term Mama, which is used for mother’s brother, even though the former has another specific term of address in Sasara (wife’s father). As a corollary of this, wife’s mother is addressed as Sasu and Mami. In the words of Karve (1953), it will be seen that it is almost identical with the Northern terminology except that in the case of certain castes, the term for mother’s brother, viz., or Mama is used also for the wife’s father besides the usual Northern Sasara. This new usage of the term agrees well with the custom of the marriage of a man to his mother’s brother’s daughter. Holding similar view Sinha (1964), too, writes that “the custom of cross-cousin marriage is quite popular in India. Whenever
it occurs, it gives rise to a similar kinship usage in which mother’s brother becomes identical with wife’s father.

**Kinship usages**

Social sanctions and conventions have another media of asserting themselves. Some of the usages that are considered necessary for the maintenance of order and decorum in society get into vogue some how and are conventionally carried out in course of time. Those which are related to behaviour between Kin relations are termed as Kinship usages. There are often found within each kin group or in its extended groups like the extended family or the clan groups, certain types of coactive behaviour patterns which exhibit a regularity, a more or less permanent and definite structure. It is these Kinship behaviours, verbal and non-verbal that constitute the kinship usages. Some of the usages which are found among the Sugali of Udiripikonda thanda and Pasupula thanda as well as Sekshanapalli thanda and Ulindakonda thanda are: avoidance and joking relationships. A brief account of these is given below.

**Avoidance**

Avoidance is the prohibition of all intimate contacts among certain relatives. Among the Sugali of four the thandas, too, avoidance has been observed among some relatives. There exists a kin of restrained or avoidance behaviour between a woman and her husband’s elders and younger brothers. However, there is no avoidance in speech between them. Further, there is also avoidance behaviour between son-in-law and mother-in-law in some aspects of life. Four of them may speak to each other and the mother-in-law can serve meals and wash his clothes. However, sexual relations between them are strictly tabooed. Further, avoidance behaviour is observed between daughter-in-law and father-in-law. The daughter-in-law is expected to be in restrained relations with her parent-in-law. She is not supposed to take part in the conversations led by her mother-in-law.
Joking Relationship

Among the Sugali joking relationships indicate equality and mutual reciprocity between certain relatives. There is joking relationship between different of final surname groups. For ex., the members of the Karamthot surname group can joke with those of Dumavath group but not with the members of Banavath since Karamthot and Banavath are brother surname groups. In action, joking relationships indicate potential sexual relation-ship, This is particularly true of the joking relation ship between a Sugali man arid his wife's younger sister and between a Sugali woman and her husband's younger brother. Four types of relations are potential mates. The Joking relationships are more exhibited at the time of ceremonies like tonsure, wedding etc., and at festivals like Holi. Thus, avoidance and joking relationships seem to have a part of a single system of social behaviour.

Tribe-caste Relations

The social organization of the Sugali of Udiripikonda thanda and Pasupula thanda as well as Sekshanapalli thanda and Ulindakonda thanda will be incomplete, if its 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 (Redfield, 1956)”. Over the years, the Sugali have developed increasing dependence on local non-Sugali communities by taking up non-sugali pursuits of economy and by working for non-sugali as sharecroppers, tenants, wage-labourars and attached agricultural labourers Therefore, the Sugali cannot be viewed in isolation, if we have to define their ‘Sugaliness’ 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 suga1i as part of a larger system which must include its neighbors.
Fig. 5 : Sugali Traditional dance

Fig. 6 : Sugali Community Festival Dance
As stated earlier, the local people consider the Sugali as a caste rather than a tribe. Indeed, the position of the Sugali is fixed in the local social hierarchy based on the concepts of commensality, and purity and pollution.

The hierarchial position of the Sugali of four the thandas is almost the same in their respective revenue villages namely, Munimaugu and Chennakka Palli. Four the groups of the Sugali during their day-to-day life are in contact with various caste groups living in their neighboring hamlets of respective revenue villages. The Sugali of Udiripikonda thanda and Pasupula thanda as well as Sekshanapalli thanda and Ulindakonda thanda claim higher status than many other communities such as Kurava, Gollu, Jangam, Vodde, Muslim, Boya, Ediga, Dasari, Chakali, Mangali, Madiga and Mala. While the people belonging to various castes such as Kurava, Gollu, Vodde, Jangam, Matiga, Chakali, Mangali, Madiga and Mala accept four cooked are uncooked food from the Sugali, the latter accept only uncooked food from the former. However, in spite of distinctions based on commensality, all the communities around Udiripikonda thanda and Pasupula thanda as well as Sekshanapalli thanda and Ulindakonda thanda lead a community life cooperating with one another in all spheres of life.

Similarly the Sugali of Udiripikonda thanda and Pasupula thanda as well as Sekshanapalli thanda and Ulindakonda thanda accept four cooked and uncooked food from the upper castes like Reddy and Balija. But they do not accept cooked food from various other castes placed below them. The hierarchical order of the different castes as accepted by the Sugali of Udiripikonda thanda and Pasupula thanda as well as Sekshanapalli thanda and Ulindakonda thanda is shown with reference to the setup of the revenue village concerned. Further, with regard to the castes place above the Sugali, some kind of anomaly and double standards exist. The agricultural castes like Reddy employ. Sugali men as attached agricultural labourers, They state that employing the Sugali as attached agricultural labourers does not mean that their masters accept him as their social equals.
The Sugali of Udiripikonda thanda and Pasupula thanda as well as Sekshanapalli thanda and Ulindakonda thanda have almost the same social status and degree of interaction with the people of different castes in their respective revenue villages in social, economic and political spheres. It is observed that a few people belonging to the agricultural castes like Kurava, eddy, etc., living in the respective neighboring hamlets not only attend the marriage of the Sugali but also partake of cooked food along with the Sugali. During their casual visits on some work to Alavabad thanda/Lakshmaiahkunta thanda, these caste people also eat their food in the houses of their Sugali friends. Taking up agriculture, living in good houses and maintaining some semblance of cleanliness are some of the factors that elevated the Sugali status among the farming castes. Further, the constant interaction of the Sugali of four the thandas with the communities of the neighboring villages has enabled four the Sugali and the non-Sugali to come closer.

Another difference found between the four groups of Sugali is that those at Udiripikonda thanda and Pasupula thanda as well as Sekshanapalli thanda and Ulindakonda thanda are somewhat strict in their commensal relations with the castes below them. Violation of this rule leads to ridicule, or ex-communication or social boycot. On the other than, a few Sugali men at Udiripikonda thanda and Pasupula thanda as well as Sekshanapalli thanda and Ulindakonda thanda do take food with their friends belonging to the communities lower than them. This occasional violation of commensal norm by a few ones not create any flutter among the rest of Sugali of Udiripikonda thanda and Pasupula thanda as well as Sekshanapalli thanda and Ulindakonda thanda.

Although social intercourse between the Sugali of Udiripikonda thanda and Pasupula thanda as well as Sekshanapalli thanda and Ulindakonda thanda an. the peasant castes of the respective neighboring hamlets goes beyond commensal relationship, there is a qualitative difference in this relationship. The peasant Sugali of Udiripikonda thanda and Pasupula
thanda as well as Sekshanapalli thanda and Ulindakonda thanda maintain regular relationships with the agricultural castes living in the neighboring villages, while seeking advice from the peasant castes on agricultural operations, harrowing of agricultural implements and tools, and borrowing of money as well as grain during lean season. In social relations, while many Sugali of Udiripikonda thanda and Pasupula thanda as well as Sekshanapalli thanda and Ulindakonda thanda invite their friends from the agricultural castes on occasions like marriage, several caste people invite their close friends among the Sugali of Udiripikonda thanda and Pasupula thanda as well as Sekshanapalli thanda and Ulindakonda thanda on similar occasions.

This kind of reciprocal social relationship is somewhat limited between the Sugali of Udiripikonda thanda and Pasupula thanda as well as Sekshanapalli thanda and Ulindakonda thanda and the non-Sugali of neighboring villages.

The Sugali who have taken to agriculture either as primary or secondary occupation maintain regular relationship with the Vadrangis (blacksmiths/carnters) who reside at Alayabad. For making as well as repairing of various agricultural implements, the peasant, Sugali of four the thandas approach the Vadrangi in their respective neighbouring hamlets. The latter receive remuneration from the former some fixed quantity of grain ranging from 1000/- to 1500/- measures of jowar per annum at the time of harvest.

The Kamsa1is (Goldsmiths) live at Pasupula and Manchalakatta, the neighboring hamlets of four the thandas respectively. Their services consist of making of silver and gold ornaments for the Sugali whenever the latter require. For making ornaments, they receive cash immediately after rendering services. However, some Sugali at four the thandas often purchase the required silver and gold ornaments for the bridal pair or any family member at their respective taluk head quarter towns.
The Kummaris, who live at Garlainne and Gani, the nearby villages of four the thandas respectively, supply the earthenware required by the Sugali for which the former are paid in cash immediately. In addition to performing this, they fulfill certain obligations on the socio religious occasions for four the groups of the Sugali.

For instance, it is the bounden duty of the Kummari to supply pots required at the time of marriage of the Sugali On such occasions they receive rice, areca nuts, betel leaves and some amount of cash towards remuneration.

The Sugali of four the thandas engage the Chakalis (washermen) from their respective neighboring hamlets. Except washing and ironing the clothes of the Sugali once a week, the waterman does not render any service on special occasional such as birth, puberty, marriage and death. For washing the clothes once a week, the Chakalis receive the remuneration in kind ranging from 1000 to 1500 measures of jowar per year besides food from the peasant Sugali at the times of harvest. The non-peasant Sugali pay them in cash ranging' from Rs.1500/- to Rs.2000/- per annum. For ironing the clothes, extra remuneration is paid. However, very few families among four the groups of the Sugali are provided with this service.

The Mangalis (barbers’ who come from Kuderu and Gani, the neighboring hamlets of four the thandas respectively maintain relationships 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 receives remuneration annually in cash or kind ranging from R.500/ to Rs. 2000/- or one he-goat depending upon the size of each family. However, he also renders his regular services to any Sugali and receives payment in cash immediately. For rendering his services on the ceremonial occasions of the Sugali, he receives not only cash but also some rice, betel leaves and betal nuts.
The Madigas (cobblers), who reside at Munimadugu and Manchalakatta, the neighboring hamlets of Alayabad thanda and Laishmaiahkunta thania respectively, render some services to the Sugali of four the thandas. They remove the deceased cattle belonging to the Sugali. For taking away the dead cattle, the Madigas in turn supply four pairs of footwear to the owner of the dead cattle. In addition, they meet the requirements of the clients like leather thongs, straps and belts. In return, the Madiga receive cash ranging from Rs.200/- to Rs.300/- per year and some quantity of grain at the time of harvest.

Thus, the service and artisan castes living in the adjoining hamlets, render their social, economic and ritual services to the Sugali of four the thandas as they do for the castes in their own villages. The Sugali also maintain professional relationship with some of the artisan and service castes in the sense that their services are being paid at once, but with others they maintain more than professional relationship. Thus, it indicates the beginning of Tajrnani relationship between the tribesmen and the caste people, as such a relationship did not exist thirty years before this study was undertaken in the strict sense of the term.

The foregoing account of the social organization of the Sugali of four the thandas reveals that they maintain sufficient socio-cultural isolation vis-a-vis the non-Sugali communities, though they live in the midst of a dominantly non-Sugali region and are in marginal and necessary contacts with other communities. Hence, the Sugali may be called an ‘enclave’ (Piddington, 1957) or an ‘encysted’ (Orans, 1965) community due to their considerable sociocultural separateness. In this process, they have been losing some of their specific traits such as traditional dress, traditional marriage pattern, collection of money from the caste Hindus during the celebration of Holi festival etc., over the years. There are now instances of borrowing many traits such as adoption of Telugu language, preference for cross-cousin an post-puberty marriages, adoption of a few about Indian Kinship usages etc., from
the dominant caste society of the region because of contact necessitated by economic interdependence of all the changes that have occured among four the groups of the Sugali, the change from tribal’ status to caste (Kulam or Jati) status is a structural change, because it involves a restructuring of its own position in relation to other castes of the region by consciously seeking a place in the caste hierarchy, the Sugali of four thandas are in a position to maintain relationships with other caste people. Moreover, caste serves as an important point of affiliation for an individual in the Sugali society. The structural features of their society are influenced by the process of Hinduization. The process of incorporation of some features of local Hinduism by the Sugali helped them to blend into the caste structure, and they are now being integrated into the civilization of wiser society. However, it is not imperative for a ‘tribe’ like the Sugali to lose its traditional structural features completely, because becoming a caste does not entail a complete assimilation; rather it is only structural integration without much internal change. The nature of the caste system is such that it accommodates a new corner without itself being changed or coercing the new group to alter its structure completely.

Furthermore, the Sugali of four the thandas are not the only people who have, thus, become caste. One can imagine that the process goes back a long way in history For, in the Mahabharatha, we are told about non-Brahminical communities who had entered the Varma society under a false-guise. Among the names of such communities we find the Andhra, Savara, Yadava, Kirsta, Paunra, and others. It was recommended that these people should be educated in the correct rules of religion and moral conduct” (Bose, 1971). Even the tribes living in the hilly tracts of Visakhapatnarn district have acquires a hierarchy which is similar to the caste hierarchy in the plains areas (Munirathnam Reddy (1972).

While, thus, borrowing new elements because of some internal changes in the society as well as acculturation, the Sugali of four thanda are
able to maintain their separate ethnic identity by retaining some of their distinctive cultural, social-structural attributes. They are myths ceremonies, kinship system, principles of social organization, traditional occupation, a common name viz., Banjari dialect, distinctive dress and ornamentation of their women, exclusive settlements etc. In the case of the Sugali, there is a compromise a blend between four life styles without losing the basic structure of identity ache case of contact and transformation may its own solution, indicating that there is a wide variety in the results of contact situations. Bose (1969) has discerned a four-pronged process in communities which are afraid of loss of identity “One leads the tribe, willy-nilly, into greater participation in technological change, and the other to a reestablishment of their separate identity in contrast with the rest1 by a search for certain distinctive elements in their original culture”.

In addition, there are four frames of reference with regard to the social interaction of the Sugali namely,

Intra-community arii inter community frames. An intense form of this ambivalence with four different frames, which makes up the entire life of a social or ethnic group, is noticed by Turnbull (1968) among the Pigmies of Ituri forests of the Congo. He refers to the mechanisms of preserving cultural identity, e.g., ambivalence, dual solution, linguistic code-switching and linguistic slant appropriate to the situation. They lead their own genuine way of life in the jungle where nobody else is present while they lead an all together different life outside the forest, maintaining contact with other tribes. Likewise, the Sugali of four the thandas have successfully acclimatized to the increased contact situation, and have yet preserved a pattern of culture.
Fig. 7: Sugali Community Drama

Fig. 8: Sugali Community are Participated in Holi