CHAPTER EIGHT

MOTHER—DAUGHTER
In this chapter the relationship between Mother and Daughter in the various situations of daily routine have been taken into consideration. The relationship between Mother and Daughter differs from the various types of relationships described here-to-fore. These differences should be borne in mind for a proper appreciation of the pattern of interaction, resulting from the reciprocal relationship between Mother and Daughter in the daily routine. The Mother-Daughter relationship also differs from the Father-Daughter relationship and yet both are comparable.

It has been mentioned earlier that the Father-Daughter relationship can be divided into distinct stages namely the pre-puberty stage, the post-puberty stage, and the post-marriage stage. The Father-Daughter relationship undergoes considerable changes when the Daughter enters the second stage after completing the first. During the first stage, i.e., the pre-puberty stage, there is hardly any difference between Father-Daughter and Mother-Daughter relationship. The Daughter is brought up by the Mother exactly like the Son during her childhood. It is generally held that the Son is brought up with greater care and affection than the Daughter. As far as the infants are concerned there is no perceptible difference in the method of their being brought up by the Mother. There is also no perceptible difference in the mode of bringing up the Daughter and the Son during early childhood. If a Son is born after a number of female children then certainly he is treated on a different footing than the Daughter but the Daughter under similar circumstances also receives a differential treatment over the male children.
During the second stage, i.e., the post-puberty stage, the Mother-Daughter relationship is marked by an intimacy which is lacking in the Father-Daughter relationship. The first stage is marked by intimacy, which may be more or less than the Father but intimacy with the Father gradually fades away, with attainment of puberty by the Daughter. The affection of a Father for his adult Daughter does not find overt expression in the daily routine. In case of the Mother the affection gives place to intimacy and the Daughter is treated almost on an equal footing. She is expected to do some household work both as a training to undertake similar work in the house of her Husband and to help the Mother. The growth of sex-consciousness in the Daughter opens up a new field for intimacy between Mother and Daughter. From now on the Daughter is taken into confidence in matters which are not considered proper to be discussed with children. Side by side she is guarded more closely as the period between puberty and marriage is considered to be the most dangerous period for the girls. If any untowards thing happens during this period, it is certain to affect the future career of the Daughter in her Husband's household.

The third period is marked by an initial attachment and affection between both. This affection is more intense during this period than at any other time before or after it. The Daughter thinks to be among alien people when staying in her Husband's house and only feels at home when she returns to stay with her Mother. The Mother also pines for her and is eager to see her as often as possible. She always implores the Father to bring the Daughter from her Husband's house. It is not always possible on the part of the Father to comply as bringing the Daughter always means a lot of
expenses and coaxing her parents-in-law. When the Daughter returns to her Husband's house she is to be given at least one saree and some presents, besides enough sweet meats. During this period differences arise between the Father and the Mother, centering round the Daughter.

The initial attachment and affection gradually subsides. The Daughter develops attachment to her Husband and his family and this attachment becomes deeper when children are born. The Mother also becomes accustomed to the position of the Daughter as an outsider. Though she is always welcomed in her Mother's house, she gradually becomes more and more aloof from it.

There are three other factors affecting the Mother-Daughter relationship. Firstly both of them are subordinate members of the family. The Mother plays a subordinate role to her Husband and elderly Sons. She is not free to take independent decisions about her Daughter and treat her according to her independent choice. The Daughter is also subordinate to the elderly male members of the family. Her position becomes somewhat delicate if the Father is dead. She is considered as a burden by the Brothers. This makes the position of the Mother also delicate as she can neither side fully with her Sons on whom she depends for her livelihood nor can she side fully with her Daughter for whom she has affection, enhanced by the Father's death.

The next factor is that the Daughter is not a permanent member of the family. Her membership is considered to be only ephemeral to be terminated after her marriage. All the members of the family, including the Daughter are aware of this and
and behave accordingly.

The third factor is that the relationship between the Daughter's Father's family and her Husband's family is not cordial. The relationship between these two families is marked by formal show of mutual respect and regard. In reality however there is a feeling of antagonism. Even the relationship between the Daughter's Husband and the Daughter's Mother is marked by a restraint which lacks cordiality. This is an important factor affecting Mother-Daughter relationship.

Still another factor which affects the Mother-Daughter relationship is the fact that neither Mother nor Daughter can own property. They own their personal belongings such as clothes and ornaments and can have a personal fund of their own but they cannot own land. The legal reforms with provisions to give proprietary status to the women has been a dead letter so far. This limitationgrossly curtails the choice of both of Mother and Daughter to have their own way.

It has been mentioned earlier that compared with the Father-Son relationship the Mother-Son relationship remains comparatively constant against caste, economic and educational differences. It is noteworthy that Mother-Daughter relationship is still more constant. This constancy is perceptible among the ritually higher castes but differences occur if a comparison is made between the ritually higher caste and ritually lower castes. The fact of the Daughter being or not being a working woman and the caste restrictions or the lack of them on divorce and widowermarriage play a significant role in shaping these differences.
With this general description the different castes of the village may be taken up for specific consideration.

**B R A H M A N**

The position of the Daughter in the Brahman family and the change of her status in course of transition from the pre-puberty to the post-puberty stage and from the post-puberty to the post-marriage stage has been described earlier, while discussing Father-Daughter relationship. The position of the Mother in the family has also been described while discussing the Husband-Wife relationship and Mother-Son relationship. It is not necessary to repeat them here. The pattern of Mother-Daughter interaction in the specific items of daily routine may now be taken into consideration.

Washing the Face and Cleaning the teeth:

The interaction between the Mother and the infant Daughter does not differ from that of the infant Son. It is almost the exclusive duty of the Mother to attend to the cleaning of the infant Daughter till the child is able to walk. After she is able to walk she some times sits with the Father to wash her face and clean her teeth. In these she is helped by the Father some times but the duty of cleaning her is still that of the Mother. The pattern sharply changes as the Daughter grows up. She is taught by the Mother to get up early and wash her face before any body rises up. She may not clean her teeth late in the morning when she goes to take her bath. She is also taught to serve water in metal pot with twigs to help the Father and Brothers to wash their face and clean their
teeth. She avoids to wash her face and clean her teeth in the presence of her Father or elderly Brothers as these are regarded as ill-manners. It is the responsibility of the Mother to teach her these manners. The Daughter does not usually serve the Mother with the pot of water and the twig to wash her face and clean her teeth. This is only done when she is ill.

The Daughter coming on a visit from her Husband's house is treated somewhat liberally. If she is a favourite child the Mother serves her with a pot of water and a twig. She is allowed to get-up later than other members of the family and wash her face in the presence of others. In some families however she is treated as strictly as during her maidenhood and not spared by the Mother for any lapses.

During the old age and infirmity of the Mother the Daughter may come from her Husband's house to see and help her during this period she helps her Mother to clean her teeth and wash her face. However the Daughter only comes when the Mother is seriously ill. Her coming also depends on the cordiality prevailing between the family of her Father and her Husband.

Defecation:

The interaction between the Mother and the Daughter concerning the act of defecation, is not different from similar interaction with the infant Son. As in the case of the infant Son so also in case of the infant Daughter, the Mother helps the child to defecate in time and cleans her afterwards. She also washes the clothings on which the infant Daughter may excretes. The pattern of interaction with the adult Daughter however is different.
from that of the adult Son. The adult Son is considered fit to take care himself as far as defecation is concerned. He can go alone to the fields whenever he feels to defecate and does not need a companion in night to accompany him. The grown up girl cannot go out alone to defecate, even during day time. She has to be accompanied by one or more friends or an elderly woman. If the Daughter has not defecated in the usual time in the company of other women, the Mother is to accompany her. She also teaches the Daughter to conceal herself while defecating. The Mother also accompanies the Daughter in night. As the Brahmans donot have the facility of attached enclosures with their houses, the act of defecation for their women especially for the grown-up Daughters presents the problems which result in effective interaction between Mother and Daughter.

During her illness and infirmity the Mother is expected to be attended by her Daughter to perform the act of defecation if she is not able to it by herself. During her illness especially during child-birth (if the delivery is made in the Father's household) the Daughter is similarly helped by the Mother.

**Bathing:**

The interaction between the infant Daughter and the Mother is the same as the analogous interaction with the infant Son. These have been described earlier and need not be repeated here. The pattern of interaction with the adult Daughter is different, and needs to be described. Bathing presents problems which are almost similar to that of defecation. The women have to go to a distance passing through the main streets of the village. There is also a fixed time, roughly between 9.00 A.M. ina and 10.00A.M.
during which the Brahman women are to go to the bathing place to take their bath. They are either accompanied by their Mothers or their friends. If the Daughter has to go early or is late in taking her bath, the Mother accompanies her when no other friend is available. As in the case of defecation, so also in the case of bathing the girl is susceptible to the amorous advances on the part of the males. Besides, as the Brahman girls usually take bath in the canal, they are likely to be accosted by the passers by from other villages or even by outsiders. It is therefore necessary on their part to be accompanied by others women and this duty is often discharged by the Mother.

The Daughter places all the demands for bathing before the Mother. If a soap or a bottle of oil is to be purchased then she would make the request to the Mother and she on her part would communicate it to the Father. Though it is the Father who ultimately pays or purchase these requirements the interaction of the Daughter in this respect is stronger with the Mother.

The pattern of behaviour is not different with the married Daughter when she is on a visit to the village only the elderly Daughter who is the Mother of a number of children is treated as able to take care of herself.

Eating:

The pattern of Mother-Daughter interaction concerning eating sharply differs from stage to stage. During the pre-puberty stage the girl is hardly treated on a different footing than the Son but she may receive differential treatment even at the age of nine or ten before attaining puberty. The differential
treatment may of different types. The girl may be given inferior
treatment. She may be taught to observe due restraint while eating
while these restraints are not applicable to her Brother. The

treatment depends on the personal relationship between the Daughter
on the one hand and the other members of the family on the other.
The Son may be given tiffin in the morning which may either consists
of parched or fried rice or bread or cakes, but eating of tiffin by
the Daughter is not considered proper and she is usually given
watered rice. Tea is prohibited for her, though she may take tea
occasionally in childhood in the company of her Father. While tea
is prohibited for the Daughter, taking of betel is not very much
objected to. The Daughter is taught to take food later than her
Father and Brother. It is the duty of the Mother to inculcate these
habits in her Daughter.

The Daughter also learns to serve the elder
members of the household quite early and this is treated as a sort
of training for her future role as house wife in her Husband's
household.

Shortly before her marriage the Daughter is
treated more liberally. She is given plenty of those things which
she likes to eat. During this period she may be given precedence over
the Sons. The Mother's behaviour towards the Daughter is marked by
extra affection during this time. It is usually held that a Brahman's
Daughter never eats freely after leaving her Father's house. The
Mother therefore spares no efforts before her marriage to feed her
sumptuously. When she comes on a visit from her Husband's house,
she is treated as a guest and the restraints which are imposed on an
unmarried Daughter donot apply to her. The treatment of a Daughter concerning eating is the lookout of the Mother.

**Sleeping:**

The infant Daughter either sleeps with the Mother or the Father. Usually she sleeps with the Mother. The grown up Daughter sleeps with the Mother or other female members of the household. She does also sleeps with the male and female children of the household allowing her Father and Mother to sleep by themselves. The provision of sleeping space for the Daughter requires some adjustment among the family members. Usually a Father sleeps on the inner corridors whereas the Mother sleeps with the Daughter. When the Daughter sleeps with the Mother, usually she does not sleep alone. Other male and female children and grownup girls also sleep with them. The Mother, when she gets up in the night arranges the dress of the Daughter, if it has fallen off her body. On these occasions she would rebuke the Daughter for not being careful.

It is considered indecent on the part of the grownup Daughter to go to sleep earlier than Mother or Father. She is not of course to keep awake if they are expected to be late in retiring. An elder male should not see the girl lying asleep, even if he might be her Father or Brother. The Daughter therefore does not sleep at a place where she is likely to come across the male members of the house. She should at once get up and arrange her dress if any member comes near where she is sleeping. Sleeping on the part of a girl is considered undesirable necessity to be indulged in as little as possible. If the girl sleeps longer than others and
does not get up in the early morning, she is considered to be lacking in womanly virtues. It is therefore the duty of the Mother to inculcate proper sleeping habits in her Daughter.

Cleaning:

The Daughter plays an active role in the daily cleaning activities. A grown up Daughter is of utmost help to the Mother in cleaning the utensils, sweeping the floor and smearing it with cowdung water. In most of the families the Daughters do not allow their Mothers to do any cleaning work. Right from the age of nine or ten the girl is taught to clean the utensils and sweep the floor. Acquiring skill in the daily cleaning activities is considered as an asset for the Daughter in her Husband's house. The girl, however, is not taught to clean clothes and most of the rural Brahman girls do not know how to clean a piece of cloth with soap. This is because of the fact that the men usually wash their own clothes. The women just dip their clothes in water and squeeze it. The actual cleaning of their clothes is done by the washerman. The women very often wear dirty clothes. A cloth is considered ritually clean if it has been washed in plain water. A Daughter is taught by the Mother to wear ritually clean clothes but she is indifferent if she wears dirty clothes.

Toilet:

The toilet of the infant Daughter does not differ from that of the infant Son. As the girls grow up their toilet becomes more and more elaborate. She wears vermillion and paints her eyes with Kajal, every day. The mother combs the hair of the Daughter and ties it in knots in the afternoon every alternate day.
The toilet requirements of the Daughter are met by the Father but the girl only tells her Mother about her requirements. A girl is considered untidy if her hair is not properly combed but no note is taken of her wearing dirty clothes.

Cooking:

There is effective interaction between Mother and Daughter in the activities concerning cooking. Cooking is perhaps the most important accomplishment of the Daughter. The Mother therefore takes great care to teach cooking to her Daughter. The girl learns to help the Mother in cooking and serving the food as soon as she is eight or nine years of age. Before her marriage she is eight must be able to do the daily cooking independently. Besides the actual cooking the Daughter is taught the attendant activities such as observing the restrictions for maintaining the sanctity of the kitchen and cleaning the kitchen properly. In addition to being taught to cook the ordinary day to day food she is also taught the art of preparing the cakes required for various Osas. Serving the food is also taught to the Daughter carefully.

Daily round of occupational activities:

Neither the Brahman Mother nor the Brahman Daughter has any direct relationship with the occupational activities of the family. They help the male members of the family by cooking the food for them and serving it in time to suit the occupational requirements. Though the Brahman women donot take part in occupational activities they show considerable interest in them and have a thorough knowledge about the different aspects of the occupational activities. The display of interest and knowledge is
considered as an accomplishment of the women as the true partners of their Husbands. The evincing of interest however is not taught by the Mother either formally or informally. Thus the women perform certain minor work which have only indirect bearing on occupational activities. (These have been described earlier.) Mother and Daughter cooperate with each other to do these jobs, and this provides the only scope for interaction between them as far as occupational activities are concerned.

**Performance of religious rites:**

The women play a subsidiary role in the performance of religious rites though these are very important in the daily routine of the Brahman. This has been described earlier. Mother and Daughter co-operates with each other in cleaning the room where the family deity is installed but this does not result in any effective interaction between Mother and Daughter. In the performance of Osas however there is effective interaction between Mother and Daughter, especially in the preparation of different variety of cakes. This may be properly dealt under the activities concerning cooking, which have been described earlier.

It is noteworthy that the Mother's efforts are directed towards making the Daughter a efficient house-wife in her Husband's establishment. But she is indifferent towards the religious training of the Daughter. In other matters there may be pressure on the Mother, either from the Daughter's Father or from her Brothers to give proper training to her but there is no pressure to give her religious training. The Daughter is to participate in the religious activities of the family according to the custom but she is
not expected to impress others as a religious-minded girl. Rather a religious-minded girl is considered as unusual and may prove to be a misfit in her Husband's family.

Recreational activities:

The recreational activities of the women of the village have been described earlier. There is no direct interaction between the Mother and Daughter as far as playing indoor and outdoor games are concerned. The Mother may give her permission and try to convince the Father to allow the Daughter to play games. Mother and Daughter do not play any games together.

Though Daughter and Son avoid the Father and the Son avoids the Mother at the time of gossiping, a different pattern of behaviour is evinced in Mother-Daughter relationship. The grown up Daughter is one of the constant participants in the gossip with her Mother. Participation in the gossip is not just recreation for her. It has certain educative value for her. The girl learns the rural values and gets conditioned to the likes and dislikes of her society through gossiping. Much of her mental makeup has its basis on the gossip she had been accustomed to. While participating in the gossip Mother and Daughter are not expected to express similar opinion on except on occasions where the family interests are concerned or where either the Mother or the Daughter is the subject of discussion. Thus there is effective interaction between Mother and Daughter as far as gossiping is concerned.
Rearing children:

The infant Daughter is brought up by the Mother in the same manner as the infant Son. If she is the first child or born after a succession of male children and is the only the Daughter in the family, she receives favourable treatment and is brought up more carefully than other children. If she is one among many Daughters, she receives less attention.

The most perceivable difference between bringing up of the Daughter and the Son is that the latter is sent to the school whereas the former is made to attend to household duties after preliminary schooling. This traditional pattern is gradually undergoing change. With the establishment of a High English School in the village education has become very cheap. Among the Brahman the status of a bridegroom has come to be determined by his education and consequently has also become one of chief accomplishment of a Brahman bride. This has made a large number of Brahman girls to take admission in the school and continue there till their marriage. Thus in the families where the Daughter goes to school, the pattern of Mother-Daughter relationship is slightly different from the families where she is not given any education. The difference between a school going girl and a girl who does not go to the school is not as sharp as the difference between an educated and non-educated boy. This is because the girls stay in the village and are reared up for their prospective role in their Husbands' houses irrespective of their educational accomplishments. Besides, the emphasis is on attending the school and somehow pulling on to the topmost class, rather than on passing the examinations. The training
of the Daughter in cooking and household work is the main concern of
the Mother. She also teaches proper manners to her especially the
mode of behaviour towards the kin of various categories. The latter
behaviour is very useful to the Daughter in the Husband's house. In
the daily routine the Mother does not tell the Daughter verbally
what to do. She is expected to learn by observing the Mother's work.
She is however told what not to do and is also criticised if she
neglects doing what she is expected to do. She is also reprimanded
if she does not behave properly with the various categories of kin.

The Daughter is especially helpful to the
Mother in rearing the younger children. If there are a number of
children, the Mother is not able to take full care of all of them
along with her household duties. The Daughter is helpful in
carrying the small babies in her arms and soothing them when they cry.
While doing this she may talk and gossip with other girls, thus
combing work with leisure. She however is not expected to clean the
children after they defecate or to feed them when they are hungry.
These are the exclusive duties of the Mother.

The Daughter comes to the house for her Mother
during early stage of pregnancy and delivers her children there.
She stays on till the child is about four to six months old. The
main burden of taking care of the Daughter's baby is that of the
Mother. The Daughter is allowed complete rest to recoup her health.
The medical and other expenses of the Daughter and her child are
borne by the Father. The delivery of the first child is inevitably
done in the Mother's house. The Daughter's coming to the Mother's	house for subsequent deliveries depends on the cordiality prevailing
between the families of her Father and Husband. Usually the Daughter is not brought after the first three deliveries, after which she is considered elderly and experienced enough to take care of herself.

**Daily income and Expenditure:**

Both Mother and Daughter are passive members of the family as far as daily income and expenditure are concerned. Mother is the medium through whom the Daughter makes the needs of her personal expenditure known to the Father or the Brothers. The Mother may also take initiative in pressing the demands on behalf of her Daughter.

The daily purchases are made by the male members of the family but the women are in charge of spending i.e., using the articles purchased and in this they are expected to observe due economy. The less one spends the better she is regarded as a housewife. Mother and adult Daughter co-operate with each other in observing economy and the Daughter learns from the Mother by daily observation.

**KHANDAYAT**

The role of both the Mother and the Daughter in the Khandayat family has been described earlier. These need not be repeated here. It may be sufficient to state here that there is a marked difference in the pattern of relationship between the two groups of Khandayat namely the landowning-cum-sharecropping group and the labourer group. The behaviour pattern among the first group distantly approximates that of the Brahman. The behaviour pattern among the second group marks a departure from it. With this general
note the specific items of daily routine may now be taken into consideration.

**Washing the face and cleaning the teeth:**

Among the first group there is no difference from the Brahman. Among the second group there is practically no scope for interaction between Mother and adult Daughter. Both being working women they wash their face and clean their teeth while going to or returning from the field. Only at the infant stage the Daughter is attended to by the Mother. After she is able to walk she washes her own face. Left to herself she gradually learns to clean her teeth as she grows up. Occasionally she is reprimanded by the Mother for not cleaning her teeth but this is done only before she attains adulthood.

**Defecation:**

Among the first group there is no difference from the Brahman in the pattern of Mother-Daughter interaction concerning defecation. The Mother's work among this group of Khandayats is made easier due to the proximity of the fields to their houses. Among the second group there is practically little scope for interaction between adult Daughter and Mother. When either of them feel the urge to defecate during the nights then the other accompanies her. The clothes worn at the time of defecation are considered to be polluted and hands, feet and face are expected to be washed on return from the fields. The working class Khandayats, however, are not very particular about these habits except on such occasions when rituals are to be performed.
Bathing:

Among the first group of Khandayat the pattern of interaction between Mother and Daughter concerning bathing is not different from that of the Brahman. Among the second group the infant Daughter is occasionally bathed by the Mother but mostly she is smeared with turmeric paste every alternative day, and this is treated as a substitute for bath. There is very little scope for interaction between adult Daughter and Mother as bathing is a casual affair for both. As both Mother and Daughter are working women each of them meets the bathing expenses of her own, excepting those which are treated as family expenses.

Eating:

Among the first group of Khandayat the pattern of interaction between Mother and Daughter concerning eating does not differ from that of the Brahman. Among the second group also the pattern is not very different though the eating is brief. Mother and adult Daughter eat together and mostly from the same pot. Both of them usually eat later than the male members. The infant Daughter is fed by the Mother with milk and rice gruel about four times a day. When the Daughter is about five years old she eats rice and can feed by herself. By the time she is about ten or eleven years of age she eats as much as an adult.

One distinctive factor among the working class group of Khandayat is that either the Mother or the Daughter may purchase prepared food, such as parched rice or fried rice and occasionally sweetmeats, from the shops and consume it by herself. These articles are purchased from their own income and other members
of the family do not get a share of it. This is a type of behaviour which is not found among the women of the Brahman and the landowning Khandayat. Among them it is highly improper on the part of women to purchase food from outside and that only for their own consumption.

**Sleeping:**

The infant Daughter among both groups of Khandayat sleeps with her Mother and her Father also sleeps in the same room. The sleeping arrangements for the grownup Daughter requires considerable adjustments among other members of the family. This has been described earlier. The Adult Daughter always sleeps with her Mother along with her sisters and young Brothers.

**Cleaning:**

The interaction between Mother and Daughter concerning cleaning does not differ from that of the Brahman, among the first group of Khandayats. Among the second group of Khandayat the pattern is not also different, though daily cleaning is comparatively brief among them. Cleaning of clothes is an individual affair among the adult. The clothes of the infant Daughter are washed by the Mother.

**Toilet:**

Among the first group of Khandayat the pattern of interaction is the same as that among the Brahman. Among the second group the adult Daughter purchases the requirements of the toilet from her own income. She is occasionally helped by the Mother to comb her hair. Otherwise there is no scope for interaction between Mother and adult Daughter.
Cooking:

Among the first group of Khandayats the pattern of Mother-Daughter interaction is the same as that of the Brahman. Among the second group cooking is very brief and the Daughter is not expected to learn so elaborately about cooking as her counterpart in the first group. It is only expected of her that she should do the cooking promptly after returning from work and should be economical about the use of fuel and food materials. Though she is never explicitly taught about these attributes she learns them by association with the Mother. It is noteworthy that the chief attribution for a Khandayat girl of the labourer class is not cooking as in the case among the other group and also among the Brahman. Her chief attribute is the capacity to do hard work and to add to the income of the family.

Daily round of occupational activities:

The Daughter among the first group of Khandayat plays a passive role in the daily occupational activities. She is however different from the Brahman girl in the sense that she displays a greater interest in the agricultural activities which is the traditional as well as the major occupation of her Father and her Brothers. This attitude of taking interest in the agricultural activities she does not derive from the Mother particularly. The Mother however plays a vital role here as she always discusses the problems of agriculture the elder male members of the family. The Daughter learns to take interest by association with her Mother. Cultivation being the caste occupation of the Khandayat the knowledge about agricultural activities has a caste significance for them and one is called a truely Khandayat Daughter if she can display deep
Among the second group the occupational activities have deep significance for the Mother-Daughter interaction. Both are engaged in occupational activities. They perform almost all the work except ploughing, which is prohibited for women. During the heavy working season they get up early and together they serve whatever food there is in the house to the male members of the family and afterwards they eat themselves. Then they go to work together. After reaching the field Mother and Daughter may work together but usually the Daughter prefers to work with her friends who are of her own age so as to gossip freely with them while working. On completion of work late in the afternoon both return together and after a brief bath they start cooking. When cooking is done they serve the food to the males and afterwards help themselves. Usually the women do not go to work for the post afternoon shift of work as they have to cook early in the evening.

The Daughter's interaction concerning the daily round of occupational activities are not confined to the Mother alone. The Father plays a significant role here and the pattern of his interaction has been described in the chapter dealing with Father-Daughter relationship.

It has been mentioned earlier that the chief accomplishment of the Daughter among the working class Khandayat is her capacity to work and earn. The Mother therefore gives due emphasis on the Daughter's acquiring skill in the occupational activities especially in doing agricultural labour. In this she receives training from the Mother as well as the Father.
Recreational activities:

Indoor games are played by women among the first group of Khandayat but not among the second group. Occasional outdoor games on festive occasions are also played among both the groups. Gossiping is however the main recreational activity among them. Among the first group gossiping is mainly done in the house or by the side of the house. Among the second group it is done mainly in the working field. Mother and adult Daughter participate in the gossip freely and like the Brahman it has also educative value for them and helps in the character formation of the Daughter.

Rearing children:

The pattern of Mother-Daughter interaction for the first group, concerning this item of daily routine, is the same as the Brahman. In the second group the Daughter is much more helpful in rearing younger children as this enables the Mother to go to work. When the Mother is confined for child birth the household duties are done by the adult Daughter in addition to her work as a labourer. If the girl is not an adult then she stays at home attending to children. If she is an adult she works harder thus making it possible on the part of the family to compensate the loss of her Mother's absention from work.

The Daughter among the working class Khandayat is brought up to be both a housewife and a labourer. These two roles are so interconnected that one cannot be played without the other. Both the Father and the Mother play a significant role in training up the girl in occupational work though training in household work is given by the Mother alone.
After her marriage the Daughter rarely visits the house of the Mother. She bears children in her Husband's house and is not able to visit her Mother even when she is ill. On the whole the economic problems among the labour class Khandayats donot allow the Daughters to keep contact with their Mothers after their marriage.

**Daily income and expenditure:**

As far as daily income and expenditure are concerned the pattern of Mother-Daughter interaction among the first group of Khandayats donot differ from that of the Brahman. Among the second group both Mother and Daughter are earning members of the family. The Daughter does not give up her entire income towards family expenses but keeps a part of it for meeting her personal expenses. She also saves some money to have a fund of her own which she takes away with her to her Husband's house after her marriage. The Daughter and the Mother sometimes receive each others wages from the employer. They however donot spend the whole of the other's wages and handover a part of it after meeting the household expenses.

Compared to the Brahman and the first group of Khandayat the Daughter among the labour class Khandayat, enjoys considerable financial independence due to her independent income. Her interactions in this respect are not confined to the Mother alone. She has equal amount of interaction with her Father and her Brothers.
The position of the Daughter and the Mother in the Pano family has been described earlier and their behaviour in the different aspects of daily routine has also been partially touched upon previously, in connection with the discussion on Husband-Wife, Father-Daughter-, Father-Son, and Mother-Son relationships. In these descriptions it has been established that the kin relationships as exhibited in the daily routine is markedly different among the Pano than among other castes. These differences about the Mother-Daughter relationship among the Pano are also noteworthy. With this background description the Mother-Daughter relationship in the specific items of daily routine may now be taken up for description.

Washing the face and cleaning the teeth:

Washing the face and cleaning the teeth have no ritual significance among the Pano and they also do not attach any importance to the hygienic aspects of washing the face and cleaning the teeth. The women are more indifferent about this than the males. The Pano Mother only occasionally washes the face and cleans the teeth of her Daughter during childhood. After the girl is about five years of age the Mother does not bother about her washing. The washing of the face and cleaning of the teeth is done very casually by both Mother and adult Daughter while going to or returning from work.
Defecation:

The pattern of Mother-Daughter interaction concerning defecation among the Pano is of the same pattern as that among the labourer class Khandayat.

Bathing:

The infant Daughter is rarely bathed by the Mother as smearing with turmeric paste is considered to be a substitute for bathing. During the working season Mother and Daughter very often take their bath together. From her childhood the Pano Daughter is taught to avoid the bathing places used by others castes and this is one of the items of daily routine which makes her conscious as the member of a caste of untouchables. She is reprimanded by the Mother severely if she violates this restriction. The occasion for doing this, however, is rare as the Daughter is too conscious about the restrictions to violate them.

Eating:

The pattern of Mother-Daughter interaction concerning eating among the Pano is almost the same as that among the working class Khandayat. There are certain food articles, like snail, which are prohibited for other castes but which are eaten by the Pano. These are collected either by the Pano Mother or the Daughter, while taking bath. They also collect these articles as a major part of their daily routine during slack season of work. This is the only item in the daily routine concerning eating which is distinctive of the Pano compared with the working class Khandayat.
Sleeping:

The Daughter, both as a minor and grown up girl sleeps with the Mother but due to lack of living space she cannot claim her exclusive company. The sleeping room is therefore shared by others and the resultant interactions have been described earlier.

Cleaning:

The Mother-Daughter interaction as far as cleaning of clothes is concerned is very slight. The Daughter goes naked till she is about six years old when she starts wearing loin clothes. The clothes on which she sleeps are washed only occasionally when she defecates on them. If she urinates then these are dried in the sun. When the Daughter begins to wear clothes, she washes them by herself.

The cleaning of the house on the other hand results in effective interaction between Mother and Daughter. It has been mentioned earlier that the cleaning of the house among the Pano is done more often than among other castes. This is mainly done by the Mother in co-operation with the Daughter. No aspect of cleaning is the special duty of either of them. If the Mother is old the Daughter does the heavier work. If the Daughter is of tender age then the heavier work is done by the Mother.

Toilet:

Toilet among the Pano women is the briefest and the most simple compared with other castes. The infant Daughter is occasionally bathed but more often smeared with turmeric paste. The hair of the adult Daughter is occasionally combed by the Mother.
The resultant interaction is the same as that among the working class Khandayat.

Cooking:

The Pano Daughter learns cooking at an early age. By the time a girl has attained the age of ten she learns to cook rice. After attaining that age she helps her Mother regularly and at any time may be required to undertake cooking independently when the latter is ill. Learning the art of cooking by the Daughter does not require much efforts on her part due to the simplicity of the food cooked and comparative lack of restrictions on cooking. The adult Daughter among the Pano is a of great help to the Mother, for cooking food. The Mother is invariably a working woman and has to prepare food for the entire family during the brief interval in between the working house. Her task is made easier if a part of the burden is shared by the Daughter. The pattern of Mother-Daughter interaction among the Pano is almost the same as among the working class Khandayat.

Daily round of occupational activities:

The Mother-Daughter interaction among the Pano concerning the daily round of occupational activities is the same as that among the Khandayat. Only two Pano families which do not permit their women to undertake any occupational work. In these families there is no scope for Mother-Daughter interaction concerning the other daily round of occupational activities. Among the other families the pattern of interaction is the same as among the working class Khandayat.
Performance of religious rites:

The Mother-Daughter interaction among the Pano concerning the performance religious rites is chiefly confined to performance of Osas. The Osas performed by the Pano has been described earlier and the part played by the Mother and Daughter therein has also been dealt within the earlier chapters. The most noteworthy point here is that collection of different varieties of cakes from the Brahman households is one to the most important functions of both Mother and Daughter among the Pano. Mother and Daughter go separately to ask for the cakes so that each of them can receive a substantial amount. The pattern of Mother-Daughter interaction is similar to that among the working class Khandayat.

Recreational Activities:

It has been described earlier that the Pano women do not have opportunity to play indoor games. The playing of outdoor games is done only occasionally and do not form a part of the daily routine. The recreational activities therefore are only confined to gossiping. There is effective interaction between Mother and Daughter as far as gossiping is concerned. The pattern of interaction is the same as that among the working class Khandayat.

Rearing children:

The pattern of rearing the Daughter and her role in rearing other children have been elaborately described in the chapter dealing with Father-Daughter relationship. The pattern of Mother-Daughter interaction has also been described there. It is noteworthy that this pattern is similar to that prevailing among the working class Khandayat.
Daily income and expenditure:

The role of both Daughter and Mother concerning the daily income and expenditure have been described earlier. The Mother-Daughter interaction concerning the daily income and expenditure is almost the same as of the Father-Daughter interaction concerning this item of daily routine. It is noteworthy that among the Panq, the Mother and Daughter are not only earning members, they have also considerable freedom concerning income and expenditure. They enjoy even more freedom than the labourer class of Khandayat. In this respect there is hardly any difference between the role of the Father and the Mother where the interaction with the Daughter is concerned.

KEUTA

The position of the Daughter and Mother among the Keuta has been described earlier. The pattern of their interaction in the daily routine may now be taken up for discussion. The differences between the landowning-cum-trading group on the one hand and the labourer group on the other, affect their interaction in the daily routine and the resultant intracaste differences are more marked in case of the Keuta, than other castes.

Washing the face and cleaning the teeth:

There is marked difference in the pattern of Mother-Daughter interaction between the two groups of Keuta. Among the landowning group the washing of the face and cleaning of the teeth is done methodically either by the side of the pond or inside the house, drawing water from a metal pot. The cleaning is done elaborately both by the Mother and the Daughter using "Gudakhu" or
burnt cowdung powder. The elder males and outsiders are usually avoided while washing the face and cleaning the teeth. The Daughter is expected to serve twig and water to the elders both in her Father's house and in the house of her Husband. It is the duty of the Mother to inculcate these habits in the Daughter.

Among the labourer group washing of the face and cleaning of the teeth is done casually by both Mother and Daughter and there is no interaction between the two unless either of them is ill. If one of them is ill, the other helps her to wash her face and clean her teeth.

Defecation:

The behaviour of the Keuta women among the landowning group as well as the labourer group concerning defecation has been described earlier. Seclusion at the time of defecation is greatly emphasised upon among the landowning group. The families in this group have sufficient space adjoining their houses. Observance of seclusion therefore does not present a problem to them. It is the duty of the Mother to teach the Daughter proper habits concerning defecation among both the groups.

The infant Daughter among the landowning group is helped to defecate by the Mother who cleans her and the clothings polluted by defecation. Among the labour class group also this is the primary duty of the Mother but the Father very often attends to it. This has been described in details earlier.
**Bathing:**

The infant Daughter is bathed by the Mother among both the groups. Among the labourer group, however, the infant Daughter is often bathed by the Father. Other aspects of bathing behaviour have been described in the earlier chapter. It is noteworthy that among the landowning group bathing is done elaborately by both Mother and Daughter resulting in effective interaction between them. Among the labourer group bathing is casual item in the daily routine of both. Each takes bath alone, according to her convenience when she finds time from her daily round of occupational activities. There is no scope for interaction between Mother and Daughter concerning this item of daily routine.

**Eating:**

Among both groups of Keuta the infant Daughter is fed by the Mother but among the labourer group she is also very often fed by her Father. This is due to the working habits of this group which have been described earlier. Eating is comparatively elaborate among the landowning Keuta. The Daughter in this group learns the art of preparing food and serving it properly, from an early age. She is also fed more sumptuously than the Son and it is one of the major responsibilities of the Mother to feed the Daughter. It is held that the Daughter would remember her Mother in her Husband's house because of the cares bestowed on her regarding the taking of food.

Among the labourer group the grown up Daughter is a constant companion of the Mother in eating. She and grown up Daughter almost always eats their food together while the Fatheris
is mostly absent during this time or takes his food earlier or later than them. The daily work cycle among this group determines this behaviour.

Sleeping:

The Daughter sleeps with the Mother, both as an infant and as a grown up girl. The lack of space among the labourer section demands considerable adjustments between the Father and the Mother for providing sleeping accomodation to the grown up Daughter. This has been described earlier. Such adjustments are not necessary on the part of the other group due to the sufficiency of housing space. Other sleeping habits and resultant interaction between Mother and Daughter have been described earlier.

Cleaning:

The periodical cleaning of the house is the responsibility of the Mother and the grownup Daughter among the landowning group. Mother and Daughter co-operate with each other and no specific part of cleaning is especially reserved for either. Due to the comparatively larger size of the houses, hired women labourers are also employed to help them. Among the other group the cleaning is done by the entire family i.e., Father, Mother, grownup Daughter and also the grownup Son, if he is not seperated after his marriage (In the periodic cleaning the Son sometimes lends a helping hand even if he is separated)

The infant Daughter and her clothing are cleaned by the Mother among both the groups but among the labourer group this cleaning is occasionally done by the Father. The adult Daughter cleans her own clothing, so also does the Mother in both the
groups.

Toilet:

It has been mentioned earlier that among the landowning group the toilet of the grownup Daughter features prominently in the daily routine of the women. Right from the age of ten the girl makes up toilet like a grown up woman. It is one of the primary duties of the Mother to teach and help the Daughter the proper toilet habits. A grownup Keuta girl rarely appears in the village without combing her hair, painting the eyelids with Kajal and wearing vermilion. As against this there is hardly any interaction between the Mother and the adult Daughter among the working class group, though compared to working class standard toilet is somewhat elaborate even among them. Mother and Daughter make their own toilet in between their work and except on ceremonial occasions the Mother does not usually help the Daughter in her toilet.

Cooking:

There is effective interaction between Mother and Daughter among the landowning group concerning cooking. It is done in an elaborate manner among this group. The Daughter learns the art of cooking from her Mother from an early age and by the time she is ten years of age she is able to do some cooking on her own. She is taught not only the preparation of the food for daily consumption, but also the art of preparing the special dishes which are taken on the occasion of the different Osas. When an Osa is to be performed, both Mother and Daughter get up early to prepare the special cakes. If worship is to be offered early in the morning then the cakes are prepared during the previous night and both remain awake till the
small hours of night. They may even remain awake for the whole night if the occasion so demands. No part of cooking is the exclusive duty either of the Mother or the Daughter. Both do all kinds of work connected with cooking.

Along with cooking the Daughter is also taught to serve food both to the family members and to guests.

The cooking among the labour class Keuta is much less elaborate but it also results in effective interaction between Mother and adult Daughter. The adult Daughter is of great help to the Mother among the group as the latter is heavily engaged in occupational work. There is no methodical training of the Daughter by the Mother, like the landowning group. She gradually learns by observing the Mother cooking. It is noteworthy that among this group the Father also has effective interaction with the Daughter as far as cooking is concerned but of course the Father-Daughter interaction is not so effective as the Mother-Daughter interaction concerning cooking.

Daily round of occupational activities:

Among the landowning group both Mother and Daughter play a passive role as far as daily round of occupational activities are concerned. It is the exclusive domain of the males where the women can play a subsidiary role in helping the male members by preparing food in time, attending to their comforts and showing sympathy and interest in their work. The position is completely different among the labourer class group where the women are active participants in the occupational activities. Among this group the
women not only take sufficient part in the occupational activities they also have a specialised role in them. The nature of their work has been described in detail in the earlier chapters. Here the Daughter is as useful as the Son and in some cases she is even more useful for carrying on the occupational activities. Her interaction in this respect is not confined to the Mother, on the other hand she is sometimes treated as a substitute for her Mother. During heavy working seasons she lessens the pressure on the mother.

Performance of religious rites:

Among the landowning group the numerous Osas are performed regularly and the Daughter is expected and encouraged to perform them regularly - so much so that it almost becomes part of the daily routine. Those Osas are held as elaborately as among the Brahman. The Mother helps the Daughter firstly to locate the date of a particular Osa. This is done by memorising the lunar calendar of every month. A grownup girl is able to tell the position of the moon every day throughout the year and as all Osas follow the lunar calendar they can easily fix up the date. It is the duty of both the Mother and the Daughter to locate the date and inform this to the male members so that they can purchase the required materials. The major part of the functions of an Osa are concerned with the cooking of special dishes which have already been described under the head "Cooking". The Daughter is also taught to perform such rites which are exclusively done by women. The training of the Daughter in the performance of Osas is considered as a part of the accomplishment for her future role as a housewife in the Husband's household. Besides the performance of the Osas the Daughter is
taught to sweep clean the room where the Bhagabatgadi is kept. This she is expected to do with proper reverence. She is also taught to make ready the materials which are given as offerings of the deity. As against this there is very little interaction between the Mother and the Daughter among the labourer group as far as the performance of religious rites are concerned. The reason for this is very simple. Among the labourer group only a few Osas are observed and those too in a casual manner. Various cakes, which feature prominently in every Osa are not prepared by this group. This results in the paucity of interaction between Mother and Daughter.

Recreational activities:

The indoor games of cards is frequently played by the women folk of the landowning group of Keuta, whereas among the other group it is practically absent. Outdoor games of "Puchi" are played on special occasions like Rajaparba, Kumar Purnima and the playing on the swing is done on the Raja Parba. These however cannot be treated as routine activities. The recreational activity which features prominently in the daily routine of women is gossiping. Among both the groups Mother and adult Daughter participate freely in the gossiping. There is no avoidance of each other even when such topics like sexual affairs are discussed. Of course there are certain symbolic words to express sexual activities, menstruation, bearing of children etc. When a description is made with the use of these words it is not considered as vulgar but the use of other words for the same expression would be considered as indecent. While the grownup Daughter i.e., a Daughter who has attained puberty is treated as the Mother's companion the minor Daughter is not permitted to join
the gossiping. If a minor Daughter participates in the gossiping in the company of her Mother and expresses opinion not befitting her age, it is considered as precocious behaviour and she is reprimanded for it both by the Mother as well as by other elder women in the gossiping group.

Rearing children:

Due to the withdrawing nature of the landowning group of Keuta, the Daughter's relationships outside the family are restricted and it is within the family that she develops any effective interaction with others. In restricting her social intercourse outside, the Father plays the role of the disciplinarian but the main burden of socialising the Daughter falls on the Mother. In no other group the Mother shapes the mental and social makeup of the Daughter to such an extent as is done among the group. She teaches the Daughter methodically the art of cooking, toilet, social etiquette and some aspects of sexual behaviour. She is also her constant companion in almost every aspect of daily routine. The withdrawing nature of the caste, which is a chief characteristic with them, the girl learns to inculcate from a very early age so much so that it is a rare sight to see a Keuta girl playing with a group of children in the village.

As against this the Daughter among the labourer group is groomed to have a wider contacts in the village. This contact is not only confined to females alone but extends to males as well. These contacts are developed in course of her occupational activities. The Mother guides her in developing these contacts and to maintain them. She also gives company to her when she is to move
about in the village and outside. It is noteworthy about this group that the Daughter does not receive inferior treatment compared to the Son but is brought up having almost equal rights with her Brother.

Among both the groups the Daughter is especially helpful to the Mother in bringing up younger children.

**Daily income and expenditure:**

Among the landowning group both the Mother and the Daughter are subordinate partners in the family as far as daily income is concerned. They also play a subordinate role in the daily expenditure. The women of this group have no earning of their own. Due to the withdrawing nature of the caste the women of this group are not allowed to go to the village shops for marketing. This is done by the males. It is also not necessary for females in this group to make any purchases inside the village as the elder males of these families very often visit bigger markets for commercial purposes. It has been mentioned earlier that both the Mother and the Daughter have personal funds of their own. The Mother's fund is made of the money she has brought from her Father's house at the time of her marriage and by presents by the relatives. She is also occasionally given some money by her Husband. The Daughter's fund is constituted by presents from the Father and other relatives. Both Mother and Daughter sometimes meet some of their personal expenses such as purchase of ornaments from this fund. Purchasing ornaments for the Daughter is sometimes regarded as a personal expense of the Mother which she meets out of her own fund.
The interaction between the Mother and the Daughter presents a completely different picture among the labour class Ceuta. Neither the Mother nor the Daughter are inferior partners in the family concerning daily income and expenditure. The occupational activities are done in co-operation with the entire family but the setting of parched rice provides an opportunity to both Mother and Daughter to have individual incomes. It is true that the major part of the daily income is spent for meeting the expenses of the family as a whole but a small portion is retained by each of them which constitutes their personal fund. The Mother uses this fund to meet her personal expenses and this also serves as a reserve to be used in her old age when she is no longer able to do any work. She rarely spends anything for the Daughter from this fund. The family requirements are purchased daily either by the Mother or the Daughter as well as by other adult members of the family.

D H O B A

The position of the women among the Dhoba as stated before, is marked by complete subordination to the male heads of the family. This subordination is especially marked in the daily routine.

The position of both Mother and Daughter in Dhoba family and their role in the daily routine has already been described in the earlier chapters. The foregoing discussion may, therefore, only focus the interaction between Mother and Daughter in the daily routine.
Washing the face and cleaning the teeth:

The infant Daughter is washed and her teeth are cleaned by the Mother. It is the exclusive duty of the Mother. There is no interaction between the adult Daughter and the Mother concerning this aspect of daily routine.

Defecation:

The defecation needs of the infant Daughter are attended to by the Mother. The fields being very near to the residence of the Dhoba, defecation for the adults does not pose any problems for them. Occasionally, if there is necessity for defecation during the night time, either party accompanies the other.

Bathing:

Bathing also presents no problems for the Dhoba as his house is situated very near to the water sources and the major part of the day is spent by the side of the water. The infant Daughter is bathed by the Mother occasionally. More often she is smeared with oil and turmeric paste. Bathing the infant Daughter is the exclusive duty of the Mother. There is no interaction between Mother and adult Daughter as far as bathing is concerned.

Eating:

The infant Daughter is fed by the Mother which is her exclusive duty. Mother and adult Daughter usually take their food together. The dominant role of the Father is perceivable here. Neither the Mother nor the adult Daughter take their food till the Father has finished his meals. The minor Daughter can take her meals earlier but it is the duty of the Mother to hold her Daughter...
in check if she desires to do so. Mother and Daughter take their meals from the same pot. Mostly they take from the pot in which the Father has taken his food. This pot is not washed and the remainings of the food are also not taken out when the Mother and the Daughter take their food therein.

Sleeping:

It has been seen among other castes that the adult Daughter sleeps with the Mother and it is the Father who makes the adjustments to allow them to do so. As mentioned earlier it is just the reverse among the Dhoba. Here the Daughter makes adjustments to enable the Father to sleep with the Mother. The adult Dhoba Daughter therefore sleeps alone or in the company of her younger Brothers and Sisters. She of course calls her Mother when she has to go out or feels afraid in the night.

Cleaning:

Cleaning as a professional activity and cleaning as a routine household work should be differentiated among the Dhoba. The former would be discussed under the head "daily round of occupational activities".

Household cleaning is entirely the work of the women. The Dhoba male would rather request for the services of a female relative than lend a helping hand to to his Wife and Daughter in the daily cleaning activities. Mother and Daughter therefore enter into effective co-operation as far as cleaning is concerned. No specific part of the cleaning operations are especially reserved either for the Mother or the Daughter.
Household cleaning puts considerable strain on both Mother and Daughter. They have to do it along with other household duties and cooking, as well as with the professional work of cleaning clothes.

Toilet:

The pattern of Mother-Daughter interaction concerning toilet is not different from that of the labourer class Keuta.

Cooking:

Cooking puts a considerable strain on both Mother and Daughter as they have to do it along with their professional duties. They have to cook in time to suit the requirements of the Father and also to his satisfaction. It has been mentioned earlier that the Dhoba males prefer to take their food hot and this puts additional strain on the Mother and the Daughter. The Dhoba Daughter learns to cook from an early age and occasionally she is expected to cook independently and serve the food to the Father. The grown up Daughter is therefore of great help to the Mother in performing her daily duty of cooking.

Daily round of occupational activities:

Among the Dhoba both Mother and Daughter work as hard as the male members of the family but the pattern of their work sharply differs from the working women of other castes. Whereas other working women work as individuals and are paid as individuals, the Dhoba women only contributes to the co-operative family labour. The wages are received by the family as a whole and the Father receives it as annual payment on behalf of the family. He has also
full authority over the income. Mother and Daughter only play a subsidiary role in the daily occupational activities, inspite of their hard labour and output of work equal to the male members.

Mother and Daughter either go together or singly to the house of the clients to collect dirty clothes and return the washed ones. They also collect the clothing of women polluted at the time of menstruation, which the Father cannot do. These clothes are kept separate to be washed by them. The detailed description about the pattern of working has been described earlier.

The chief accomplishment of the Dhoba Daughter is her capacity to do the professional work. The Mother therefore concentrates on making her Daughter thoroughly trained in it, but this is not her exclusive duty. The Father's role here is very effective.

Performance of religious rites:

As mentioned earlier performance of religious rites do not form a part of the daily routine among the Dhoba. The performance of Osa which among the Brahman and the landowning Khandaya is almost a regular feature in the daily routine has little significance for them in the sense that they make no efforts to celebrate them or to undertake the preparation of cakes which forms an important part of the celebrations. On the occasion of every Osa both the Mother and Daughter visit their clients' houses to beg for cakes. They go separately so as to get more cakes individually. All the cakes are pooled together after being collected and partaken of by the family, the major part being consumed by the male members.
Recreational activities:

Gossiping is the most important recreational activity among the Dhoba and the only one which features in the daily routine. While the Daughter is avoided by the Father at the time of gossiping, she is a close companion to the Mother. During the gossiping she not only delivers pleasure she also learns about social and caste values and this is the only means for her to improve her general outlook. Mother and Daughter participate in the gossiping as individuals but the Daughter is not expected to contradict the Mother. Unlike the other castes the Dhoba women do not find much time for gossiping.

Rearing children:

The pattern of Mother-Daughter interaction is similar in content as that of the working class Keuta. The only significant difference is that among the Working class Keuta the women play an equal role with the males, while among the Dhoba, the subordination of the women is rather conspicuous.

It is the duty of the Mother to make the Daughter accomplished in the professional work but it is not her exclusive duty as the Father plays a dominant role here. The Father has no role in bringing up the infant Daughter which is considered the exclusive duty of the Mother.

The Dhoba Daughter is especially helpful to the Mother in rearing younger children. She does hard labour in connection with her professional work and no part of the household duties are cut short for that. If there is a grownup Daughter, she is kept in charge of the younger children. She very often takes them to the
washing place where she plays with them or makes them play, within the sight of the parents. In between her work the Mother also comes to attend to them. In this respect there is effective interaction between the Mother and Daughter.

Daily income and expenditure:

There is no daily income for the Dhoba as he receives annual payment from the clients. The payments are made in kind just after the harvest and either the Mother or the Daughter may collect them. They have to hand it to the male head of the family who has absolute right over it. The daily expenditure is also controlled by the male head of the family though the Mother or the Daughter are very often entrusted by him to make purchases from the village shop.

GUDI A.

The role of the Mother and the Daughter among the Gudia has been described earlier. It has also been seen that in case of other relationships the pattern of interaction among the Gudia is not different from that of the landowning Khandayat. The same has also been observed in case of the Mother-Daughter interaction. From among the thirteen items of daily routine, there is complete identity in twelve items. There is only slight difference in case of occupational activities. This may not be termed as a difference for like the Khandayat, the major occupation of the Gudia is cultivation. There is no difference as far as the interaction concerning cultivation is concerned. Only the additional factor of preparing sweetmeats provides an extra channel for Mother-Daughter interaction. It extends to the family as a whole. The role of individual members
in the preparation of sweetmeats has been described earlier and need not be repeated here. It is also to be noted that preparation of sweetmeats are not done so frequently as to be treated as a part of daily routine.

**BADHEI**

The position of the Mother and the Daughter among the Badheis has been described earlier. In case of other relationships it has been observed that there is no difference in the pattern of interaction from that among the landowning Khandayat. This also holds true in case of Mother-Daughter interaction among them. From among the 13 items of daily routine there is complete identity in case of all. The only item, namely the "daily round of occupational activities" provides some scope for difference but it is not relevant for the Mother-Daughter relationship as Badhei women have no direct role in the professional work of carpentry.

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