In this chapter the relationship between Brother and Brother in the various situations of daily routine may be taken up for discussion. The relationship between Brother and Brother differs from the other relationships described earlier. The points of difference and the specific nature of the relationship between Brother and Brother may be stated as background material to illuminate the discussion on the pattern of their interaction in the daily routine.

The difference in age is a crucial factor which affects the relationship between Brothers. The age difference has not the same significance for all the castes. Among the Brahman the age difference is a factor of importance and in order to know the pattern of difference between two Brothers among the castes it is necessary to know their relative ages. The importance of the age factor is reduced in case of the Khandayat whereas it is practically non-operative in case of the Pano.

The precedence in birth is a factor which may be judged independently of the age factor. The difference of age between two brothers may be very small. It is possible for one Brother to be older than another even by less than one year. Such difference of age between two persons who are not related to each other as Brothers has little or no significance but it is very important in case of Brothers. The expectations from an elder Brother is not so much for his comparatively advanced age but because of precedence in birth. The same is also true of the younger Brother.
In case of other relationships it has been observed that the pattern of interaction is mostly shaped by a variety of obligations. One is under obligations to behave with his Wife, Father, Mother, Son or Daughter in a particular manner, within a pattern of reciprocal rights and duties. These obligations are less perceivable in case of fraternal relationships. This relationship is marked more by voluntariness than by obligations. One behaves with his Brother in a particular manner because he chooses to do so. Of course the element of obligation is not totally absent here as the factor of voluntary behaviour is not also totally absent in case of other relationships.

Another noteworthy factor about fraternal relationship is that it is subjected to a sharp change at a particular time, i.e., after the death of the parents or as happens in most cases after the death of the Father only. Brothers set up separate establishments and in some cases there are disputes and strained relationship at the initial stage of separation. After this stage the relationship between Brothers becomes gradually slender and after sometime, it is reduced to a casual formality in most cases.

Economic status of the families, if it is not coupled with education, has little influence on fraternal relationship. A great variety of behaviour has been observed among each economic grouping.

It has been mentioned that education has influenced the Brahman very deeply and this factor distinguishes them from other castes. During the last fifteen years almost all the
Brahman boys have been educated to some degree and in most cases this has resulted in keeping the Brothers separate from each other as they have to read in different schools according to their age. This separation is more marked when they go to the higher grades.

The last but not the least among the factors is that the fraternal relationship is very strongly influenced by education, economic conditions, general outlook and residence outside the village. The element of voluntariness involved in the fraternal relationship focuses these extraneous factors.

After this general note on the Brother-Brother relationship in general, the individual castes may be taken up for discussion.

BRAHMAN

As mentioned earlier the range of economic and educational differences is the highest among the Brahmans. This has affected the fraternal relationship in such a manner as to make it the most varied, compared to other relationships within the caste. The fraternal relationship among the Brahman also shows the highest variety compared to analogous relationship among the other castes.

The elder Brother among the Brahman is considered as the equivalent to the Father and in some cases he is accorded a higher respect than the latter. This is of course the ideal and the maximum conformity to this is shown by those who are in the higher brackets of education. Education coupled with work and residence outside the village enhances the prestige of the elder Brother. The elder Brother, whether he is the person who stay in the
village or as an educated person stays and works outside, is accorded the respect due to him. If he stays outside then his younger Brother in the village is very loyal to him and the former is treated as a honoured guest when he visits home. If he has little education and stays in the village, then his educated Brother working outside also behaves with due respect and renders him such help as a Son would do to his Father. In cases where both the Brothers are residents of the village and are engaged in agriculture, the relationship between them is markedly different. There is show of affection by the elder but there is also mutual show of animosity concerning property and village affairs. Respect and affection on one hand and animosity on the other have a very wide range. Both the Brothers may behave like comrades in arms or they may be engaged in open fighting.

It is the most noteworthy factor about fraternal relationship that the pattern of interaction is largely shaped by the relative age of the Brothers. If the margin of age difference is very slight—say between one year and three years, then the relative age, by itself is not an important factor influencing the pattern of interaction between the Brothers. Both the Brothers grow up as playmates and schoolmates and in advanced age continue to be friends or foes on equal terms. If the difference in age is more than ten years then the behaviour accorded to the elder Brother is comparable to that of a Father. The younger Brother either may be submissive to him or revolt against him, but they donot behave with each other on equal terms.
With this general note to serve as the background we may now proceed to discuss the pattern of interaction between Brother and Brother as it is exhibited in the daily routine.

Washing the face and cleaning the teeth:

If the difference of age between the two Brothers is very small both of them are companions in the daily routine sharing the cares and guidance of the parents. As far as washing the face and cleaning the teeth are concerned both of them perform it together often drawing water from the same metal pot. Very often there are disputes and quarrels to use a particular pot or to sit at a particular place. If these quarrels take a serious turn, the Father intervenes and usually the dispute is settled in favour of the younger Son. The cleaning twig may be collected by either of the Brothers. If the difference in age between the Brothers is very large, it is the duty of the elder Brother to teach correct behaviour to the younger Brother. The responsibility of the elder Brother becomes all the more greater if the Father is dead. It is then his sole duty to undertake the socialisation of the younger Brother. If the Father is alive, the elder Brother shares the responsibility with him. All the relationships however come to an abrupt stop when the Brothers are separated after the division of property. The relationship is never revived but the behaviour pattern reaches a normality with the passage of time. During the illness or infirmity of either it is the duty of the other to render help. Such help however does not become necessary in almost all cases because a man usually depends on his Wife and Sons and Daughters rather than on his Brother during his illness and infirmity.
Defecation:

As companions, the Brothers go for defecation together, especially during night time, when an escort is needed. If the difference of age between them is small then both of them take the sacred thread at the same time and are subjected to similar type of restrictions concerning defecation. If the difference of age is more than five years, the elder Brother, as an experienced Brahman teaches correct behaviour to the younger Brother and reports any discrepancy to the Father. There is no effective interaction between adult Brothers concerning defecation.

Bathing:

Both the elder and the younger Brother usually take their bath together. There is no fixed pattern of behaviour concerning the bathing of the Brothers but their bathing time is fixed by the family routine and they usually take their bath before lunch. It is the duty of the elder Brother to help the Mother to bathe the younger Brother during infancy.

Eating:

All the meals are taken by the Brothers together. It has been mentioned earlier that all the male children among the Brahman go to school, at least at the primary stage. Usually they go to school after break-fast, return from school to take their lunch during the afternoon recreation and take their dinner early in the evening. If the Brothers have a small margin of difference in age, their routine during boyhood is similar to each other and they inevitably take food together. The pattern of interaction during boyhood depends largely on their up-bringing and
the personality of the Brothers as well as the parents. The behaviour of the Brothers is usually marked by selfishness which in urban educated families would be considered as indecent. They very often quarrel with each other and with the Mother for larger share of choice dishes. This gradually subsides with the attainment of adulthood. The mutual jealousy in most cases is transformed to cordiality. If the Brothers go outside for education, their behaviour is marked by an intense show of affection, which is absent in case of those who stay in the village.

If a Brother is on a visit to the village, it is the duty of the other Brother staying at home to feed him sumptuously to the best of his ability. He does not take food till the other has finished and if a choice dish is in shortage then the rural Brother foregoes it in favour of the urban Brother.

Even after division of property the relationship concerning eating is continued. If a special dish is cooked in the house of one Brother then a portion of it is sent to the Other. For those who stay in the village invitation is given on rare occasions but the younger children of one Brother very often take their meals or tiffin in the house of the other. A man who works and stays outside the village is treated as a guest of his Brother when he visits the village. It is the duty of the elder Brother to help the Mother feed the younger Brother.

Sleeping:

During the infancy both the Brothers sleep with the parents. As they grow up they sleep together at a separate
place to make room for the younger children to sleep with the Mother. When they are young they usually quarrel between themselves to sleep nearest to the Mother and the dispute is mostly settled in favour of the younger.

If one is much older than his younger Brother, he takes care of his sleeping to allow to parents to attend to still younger children. Adult Brothers usually sleep separately unless there is acute shortage of space. After separation a Brother may be invited to sleep in the house of another if his family members are away somewhere. A Brother who is much older than the younger, exercises similar functions as the Father during the childhood of the latter, especially when the Father is dead.

Cleaning:

It has been mentioned earlier that the daily and periodical cleaning of the house is mostly the duty of women wherein the males participate. The Brothers participate in the ritual cleaning of the house if both are rural dwellers. Here a Brother works according to his choice and capacity and there is no fixed pattern. The cleaning of the clothes being an individual affair for the adults, each cleans his own. If the elder Brother is much older than the younger then he may do the same towards the younger during the childhood of the latter, as would be done by the Father. This is especially the case when the Father is dead.

Occasionally an adult Brother may wash the clothes of the other during his illness, but this is done when there are no female members in the household. Beyond this there is no interaction between adult Brothers as far as cleaning is concerned.
Toilet:

The elder Brother sometimes provide his younger Brother with toilet materials on rare occasions. He also help his Brother to comb his hair or powder his face occasionally, during the latter's childhood. There is no scope for interaction, in toilet, between adult Brothers.

Cooking:

Cooking being the exclusive duty of the women among the Brahman there is no direct interaction between Brothers concerning this item of daily routine. There is however indirect interaction as far as antecedent activities are concerned. The pattern of interaction between adult Brothers concerning this is almost the same as that of the Father with the adult Son.

Daily round of occupational activities:

There is no interaction between minor Brothers as far as daily round of occupational activities are concerned as the Brahman boys donot take part in occupational activities till they are adults. It however offers ample scope for interaction between adult Brothers.

As long as the Father is alive the occupational activities are carried jointly by the Brothers. The major occupation among the Brahman is agriculture except incase of the small number of families who are engaged in priestcraft as their major occupation. The occupational activities concerning agriculture has no fixed pattern clearly demarcating the activities of the Brothers. This gives rise to disputes and quarrels between them.
each claiming that he is doing more work than the other. The disputes become more acute when the problem of sharing the income arises. In the agricultural activities of a joint family there is no individual income in the proper sense of the term. An individual derives his income from the common family income. (This point would be further discussed under the appropriate head)

While the intra-family behaviour is marked by disputes, the Brothers stand together when outsiders are to be faced on property affairs. After the division of the property they setup separate establishments and there is some initial animosity but after this initial period is over, they again stand together in property affairs. Division of property among the Brothers is mostly a division of interest. Legally the property remains in common for generations. Thus as far as occupational activities are concerned there is a common bond between Brothers after separation. The agricultural activities also provide further scope for effective interaction. A part of the landed property, such as "Debottar" (land dedicated to a deity, which cannot be divided) is cultivated in common and products are partly shared by the Brothers and partly utilised for religious activities. The latter provides further scope for interaction between Brothers among the Brahman as these religious activities are the centres of village factionalism. It is one of the noteworthy points here that inspite the internal differences, the Brothers donot join opposite factions, except in rare cases. The time factor is very important here. When two Brothers are very much advanced in age, they develop other interests and the fraternal relationship between them becomes obsolete. These Brothers have been
observed to be joining opposite factions.

The labour class families among the Brahman present a completely different picture. Among them the occupational activities are clearly demarcated and income derived from these activities are individual incomes. A part of it is kept by the earning member, while the other part is given over for family expenditure. The fraternal interaction among these families is however very limited as they usually set up separate establishments as soon as they take up occupational activities. Separation in this group is not marked by that bitterness between Brothers as in characteristic with the landowning system.

Performance of religious rites:

The pattern of interaction between elder Brother and younger Brother is almost the same as that between Father and Son. The only difference is that the elder Brother exercises less authority over the younger during the post-initiation period of the latter.

Recreational activities:

In playing the outdoor and indoor games, the Brothers act like intimate companions during childhood. They play together and in group plays also they either join the same side or opposing sides. As they grow up they feel shy to play with each other either in opposition or in support. One adult Brother may watch the other playing but they donot usually play together.
Gossiping is also a major form of recreation for the children. As children the elder and the younger Brothers gossip together but as adults they usually avoid each other when intimate personal topics are to be discussed. They, however, participate freely in the gossip, the subject matter of which is the common village affairs.

Rearing children:

The pattern of interaction between the elder Brother who is much older than the younger is the same as that between Father and Son. This is especially the case when the Father is dead prematurely.

The elder Brother helps his Mother in rearing up his younger Brother. He is especially helpful to the Mother in taking charge of the younger Brother when she is to go out for defecation or bath and when she is busy cooking. Usually he is not called upon to perform this task too often as he has to attend to his studies.

Daily income and expenditure:

Daily income among the Brahman is mainly derived from agricultural activities and priesthood and labour are the sources of income only for a few. The Father's authority in managing daily income and expenditure has been described earlier.

The pattern of interaction between Brothers is mostly influenced by the Father. If he is partial towards any Brother, it gives rise to disputes and quarrels which may result in the division of the family during the his own life time and this is considered disgraceful for him. If, on the other hand, he is impartial and is able to exercise
his authority judiciously, he can keep the family together till his death and shape the relationship between the Brothers.

If the disparity in age between the elder and the younger Brother is very great, daily income and expenditure does not present any problems during the minority of the younger. Even after attaining adulthood the younger does not pose any problems if he is educated and stays and works outside. The younger Brother in this case, would rather depend on the elder Brother to manage his share of property. He occasionally helps the latter with cash to do the job. Thus a cordial relationship prevails between them. This relationship continues even if division of the property is done for the sake of formality. The contribution of the elder Brother is partly repaid by the younger by meeting the cost of education of latter's children. The pattern almost remains the same if there is slight difference in age between them and one of them stays in the village whereas another works and stays outside. The pattern of interaction is shaped in a completely different manner if both the Brothers stay and work in the village. As soon as both of them had become adult there are always petty disputes regarding sharing of the daily income and meeting the daily expenditure. The situation becomes more acute when either or both the Brothers marry, and have children. The petty squabbles then grow up to open disputes resulting in the separation of the Brothers and division of the property.

It is noteworthy that among the Brahman the factor of education mainly shapes the fraternal interaction concerning the daily income and expenditure. If in any family, at
least one of the Brothers is given such education as to enable him to earn his living without depending on agriculture, then it affects the relationship among all the Brothers. For most of the families it is not financially possible to give education to all the Sons beyond the primary stage. The first Brother is usually provided for higher education by the family. In cases where the elder brother has to undertake family responsibilities or is not proficient in reading, the choice falls on the younger Brother. The educated Brother, who serves and stays outside the village, has no scope for interaction with his rural Brother, in routine activities of daily income and expenditure. The Urban Brother is comparatively freer than his rural counterparts, from the conflicts centering round these activities.

**KHANDAYAT**

The caste characteristics and the family organisation among the Khandayat have been described earlier and need not be repeated here. The fraternal relationship among the Khandayat approximate that of the Brahman more closely than any other caste.

In considering the pattern of fraternal interaction among the Khandayat, the recent changes in the family organisation, elaborately described earlier, should be borne in mind. The traditional pattern among the Khandayat was that the Brothers would set up separate establishments soon after attaining adulthood and almost immediately after the marriage of one of them. This happened during the lifetime of the Father. Due to recent changes which have been intensified during the last ten years, extended families have cropped up among the Khandayats. The main reason for this
change is economic in origin which have been intensified by political factors and further accentuated by a growth in caste consciousness.

As usual there is marked difference in the pattern of fraternal interaction between the two groups of Khandyat namely the landowning group and the labour class group and it is necessary to state these differences while describing and analysing routine kin behaviour among the Khandyat. With this general statement on the nature of fraternal interaction among the Khandyat the specific items of daily routine may now be taken up for discussion.

Washing the face and cleaning the teeth:

Among the landowning group this is done elaborately, though in its elaborateness it cannot be compared to the Brahman. If the elder Brother is substantially older than the younger, the pattern of fraternal interaction is almost the same as the interaction between Father and Son. The reformatice trends, described earlier, helps the elder Brother to have a better control over the younger Brother. This factor is also operative in cases where the age difference between the two Brothers is small.

Among the labour class group there is no effective interaction between minor or adult Brothers concerning this aspect of daily routine. Washing the face and cleaning the teeth is done casually among this group and the Brothers, whatever their age, donot have any scope for effective interaction.
Defecation:

Among the landowning group the pattern of interaction between elder Brother and the younger Brother is almost the same as that between Father and Son. The factors responsible for sustaining this relationship have been stated above. However there is no effective interaction between adult Brothers concerning this aspect of daily routine.

Among the labour class group the minor Brothers are casual companions for going to the fields for defecation, especially during night time. They are casual companions because there is as much interaction with other members of the family as well. There is no effective interaction between adult Brothers.

Bathing:

Bathing has a slightly ritual significance among the Khandayat. Among the landowning Khandayat the pattern is similar to that between Father and Son. Among the labour class group there is no scope for interaction between Brothers concerning bathing - whether they are minor or adult.

Eating:

Eating results in interaction between Brothers among the landowning group which is almost similar to the interaction between Father and Son. The functions of the Father are discharged by the elder Brother if the former is dead and if the age difference between them is substantial. If, however, the Father is alive the relationship between the Brothers is marked by familiarity both the Brothers being treated as peers.
In either case both the Brothers take their food together, very often eating from the same plate as a mark of affection.

Among the labourer group there is also effective interaction between the Brothers though the pattern is markedly different from the landowning group. One Brother does not wait for the other to take his food but if they happen to be together during mealtime then they eat together and eat from the same pot as a mark of fraternal affection. Eating together however comes to an abrupt end when the Brothers are separated on division of property. However, on occasions when one Brother is invited by another he takes his food with him.

A Brother who is working outside, takes his food in the same pot as the Brother staying at home. When he is on a visit to the village.

Where there are more than two Brothers all of them do not take their food together. In these cases not more than two Brothers take their food together.

Sleeping:

Among the landowning group the Brothers sleep together during the childhood and may continue to do so till their marriage. Marriage raises some problems for sleeping and require adjustments among Brothers. This problem has been all the more felt during the last ten years because of the re-introduction of the joint-family among the group. It has however been partially alleviated as some of the Brothers work and stay outside the village.
Among the labour class group the pattern of interaction among the Brothers concerning sleeping is the same during their childhood as among the other group. Shortage of living space makes the problem of adjustments more acute in this group. However Brothers in this group separate almost immediately after their marriage and set up their separate establishments thus terminating all interactions concerning sleeping.

Cleaning:

Among the landowning group the daily cleaning of the house is the duty of the women but the males participate in the periodical cleaning. If the Father is alive, the Brothers work under his direction. If he is dead, the eldest Brother takes his place. The Brothers who stay and work outside are exempted from participation, even when they are present during the cleaning operations.

Among the labourer group the Brothers fully participate in the daily and periodical cleaning. In the daily routine, the cleaning of the space in front of the house and the outer courtyard is done by the males whereas the cleaning of the inner courtyard and the kitchen is done by the women. There is no fixed pattern for this work and any Brother may do any aspect of cleaning.

Toilet:

It has been mentioned earlier that toilet among the Khandayat males is very brief. The toilet of the male children is conducted by the Mother and as they grow up they do it themselves. There is no interaction between adult Brothers as far as
as this item of daily routine is concerned. The elder Brother, who takes the duties of the Father in other respects, does not help the younger Brother in his toilet when he is a child. The child's toilet such as massaging him with turmeric paste is considered as essentially a woman's job wherein the males have nothing to do.

When a Brother is working in an industrial establishment he undertakes a very elaborate toilet, when he is in the village, in order to make himself appear distinguished. It is a matter of pride for his rural Brother if they are on good terms. He usually talks about the toilet habit of his Brother in the village.

Cooking:

Cooking among both the groups of Khandayat is done by the women. The males only participate when they are not able to do the work. However the labour class males participate more often in cooking than the other group. When there is necessity for the males to cook, all the Brothers participate together to do the work. If one is specially adept in doing the work then the entire burden of cooking falls on him; others only taking subsidiary part.

It has been mentioned earlier that the separation of the Brothers starts with separate cooking. It is considered as a good Brotherly gesture to make one's own Wife to participate in the joint cooking of the household. This point is strictly emphasized upon among the landowning Khandayat. When a bride is to be sought for a Brother one of the essential qualities insisted about her is that she should ungrudgingly cook for her Husband's Brothers whether, they are elder or younger. As the Brothers' staying together is to the economic benefit of the family,
no effort is spared to make their Wives observe the code of conduct regarding cooking. This is not emphasized upon among the working class group where a Wife is an extra labour hand and the Brothers insist upon being separate immediately after their marriage.

Daily round of occupational activities:

It has been mentioned earlier that among the landowning-cum-sharecropping group of Khandayat, the Sons are the main co-workers of the Father in the daily round of occupational activities. A number of grown up Brothers staying under one roof in an undivided family is considered as the best asset of an agricultural Khandayat household. This principle is reflected in the behaviour of the Brothers most markedly in the performance of the daily round of occupational activities. As long as the Father is alive the Brothers work according to his direction. After his death they work in consultation with each other. Whenever any difference arises it is not allowed take a serious turn. The concern for economic development and family prestige (which are considered as a part of the growing caste consciousness) among the Brothers in these families overcomes the desire of the individuals to press their own viewpoint in case of difference of opinion. The pattern of working in the land during different seasons has been described earlier in connection with the Father-Son relationship. The only difference is that, in case of Father-Son relationship the Son voluntarily undertake to do a heavier portion of the work whereas in case of Brothers the labours are shared equitably, unless the elder Brother is old enough to merit special consideration. This special consideration is given voluntarily by the younger Brother and is never demanded by the elder.
The fraternal interaction concerning the daily round of occupational activities takes a completely different pattern in case of the working class group. In these families as soon as a man begins to earn he feels the necessity of separating himself from his Brother. After gaining the status of a full-fledged earning member of the family the younger Brother shows signs of defiance and disrespectful behaviour towards his elder Brother and soon after his marriage he is separated from him. The initiative in forcing a partition is always taken by the younger Brother. Usually the elder Brother has a larger family than the younger and consequently there is a greater drain on the income of the younger. He therefore choose to take the initiative in forcing a partition.

Performance of religious rites:

Among both groups there is no effective interaction between Brothers concerning this aspect of daily routine. Brothers may participate in the same Sankirtan party. They also co-operate to procure or purchase the materials required for an Osa - especially among the landowning group. The management of the Bhagabatgadi is also an important religious activity among the landowning Khandayat but it does not result in any effective interaction between Brothers.

Recreational activities:

There is no effective interaction between Brothers as far as recreational activities are concerned. They participate in the outdoor games which are played occasionally. Brothers however donot participate in the indoor games such as game of cards or dice though one may watch while the other is playing. They
usually participate in gossiping but avoid each other when intimate personal matters and topics with a sexual tinge are discussed.

Rearing children:

The pattern of rearing children among the Khandayat has been described in detail while considering Father-Son relationship. After the Father is dead the elder Brother usually assumes the functions of the Father when he is sufficiently older than the younger. If he is not sufficiently old, these functions are partly discharged by an elderly male relative, preferably the paternal uncle, and partly by the Mother. Among the landowning group a voluntary adherence to the group ideal keeps the Brothers together and as the younger Brother grows up he inculcates the habit of showing respect to the elder Brother in spite of the very slight difference in age. Among the labour class group the Brothers separate as soon as they grow up and there is no effective interaction between them as far as rearing children are concerned.

Among the landowning group it is one of the duties of one Brother to attend to the rearing of the children of his Brother. If he is very young then he helps the Brother's Wife in bringing up the children in the same manner as an elder Son would help the Mother in bringing up his younger Brothers. Among the labourer group, usually a man avoids taking any responsibility towards his Brother's children. If a Brother is very young and dependent on his elder Brother then only he helps him by attending to his children. A Khandayat boy of this group usually becomes a fullfledged worker by the time he is sixteen years old. He does not have therefore to help his Brother in rearing children for very long.
When a Brother is working and staying outside and especially if he is working in an industrial establishment, it is the bounden duty of the Brother, or the Brothers staying home to take care of his Wife and children. They have to take especial care of his children and sometimes they regard his children with more care than their own. This is one of the bonds which bind the Brothers among landowning Khandayat. This enables a young married man to go to work and stay in an industrial establishment, far away from the village, in a carefree manner.

**Daily income and expenditure:**

It has been mentioned earlier that in the process of daily income and expenditure the Father among the landowning Khandayat exercises more authority over the Sons, whether minor or adult, than is done among any other caste. The controlling of daily income and expenditure among these families is directly connected with the efforts of the leading caste members to rise in the caste status by purchasing land and trying to emulate Brahmanic behaviour. This calls for a stricter regulation of the daily income and expenditure than is considered necessary among other caste or groups. The Father-Son interaction concerning daily income and expenditure has been described in detail in the previous chapter. The regulation of the daily income and expenditure is done in similar manner by the elder Brother if the Father is dead. If he is alive both Brothers work according to his dictates and neither have any initiative. The discarding of initiative in favour of the Father is in part voluntary and in part obligatory, On the part of the Sons. Similar is also the case with the younger Brother's
giving up initiative in favour of the elder Brother.

As usual, the Brothers among the labourer group of the Khandayat are independent of each other as far as daily income and expenditure is concerned. If the younger Brother is a minor and has not yet become a full fledged earning member of the family then of course the daily income and expenditure is managed by the elder Brother. If the Father is not alive, the younger Brother plays not only a very inferior role, he is also treated as a parasite. Consequently when the younger Brother is able to eke out his own living he separates himself from the elder Brother. There are of course occasional gestures of good will when the elder Brother is in a very acute condition. Then he may be called for an occasional meal or may be given medicine at the time or the younger Brother may just attend on him gently massaging him if required but nothing is done by the elder brother which can be called as a sustained help in course of discharging a regular duty.

P A I O

After considering relationship between

Brothers among Brahman and Khandayat such relationship among the

Pano may be taken up for discussion. The background material about

the status of the caste and the position of the male members in the

family have been stated earlier. The position of the male members of

the family in their different roles such as Father, Son and Husband

has been described earlier. The male in the role of Brother,

partially reflects his characteristics in other roles with some

specification.
In case of the Brahman and the Khandayat it has been seen that the elder Brother occupies a position of prestige, though his position considerably varies being influenced by educational and economic factors. This position of the elder Brother is completely absent in case of the Pano. Among the Pano an elder Brother, if he is considerably older than the younger Brother, receives such regard as is due to an elderly person. Even in this regard gradually evaporates with the attaining of adulthood by the younger Brother.

With this general note, the specific items of daily routine may now be taken up.

Washing the face and cleaning the teeth:

There is no effective interaction between the Brothers as far as washing the face and cleaning the teeth are concerned. During childhood they are taken care by the Mother, though compared to other castes the cares of the Mother among the Pano concerning this aspect of daily routine may be considered as casual. As adults the Pano do the washing of the face and cleaning of the teeth as best as he can without any aid or interference from others.

Defecation:

As mentioned before defecation is a very small problem for the Pano due to the proximity of the fields to their houses. The Brother among the Pano is a occasional companion when the other Brother has to go for defecation in the night. Beyond this there is no fraternal interaction concerning this aspect of daily routine.
Bathing:

Bathing, like cleaning the teeth and washing the face is done in a casual manner among the Pano. There is no effective interaction between Brothers concerning this aspect of daily routine.

Eating:

Though there is no effective interaction between Brothers in such activities as washing the face and cleaning the teeth, defecation and bathing, they nevertheless come into close contact in the act of eating. This is especially the case when the Father is dead and the elder Brother is much older than the younger. After the infant stage the younger Brother usually takes his food with his elder Brother and from the same pot. If the relationship between the Brothers is cordial then the younger may continue to take his food with his elder Brother till the marriage of the latter. This type of behaviour is however rare and has been observed in only two cases. Ordinarily the two Brothers take their food at times convenient to each, often helping themselves to food.

It is the primary duty of the elder Brother to provide minimum food for his younger Brother if the Father is dead. This behaviour however is not reciprocated by the younger Brother during the illness or infirmity of the elder Brother except in a casual manner.

On the whole the pattern of interaction between Brothers among the Pano may be compared to similar interaction between Father and Son among the caste as far as eating is concerned.
It has been mentioned earlier that accommodation among the Pano is too congested to allow separate sleeping place for members of the family - even to married couples. Except in case of one family - all the family members sleep in one room. If there is a married couple in the house then other family members avoid coming into the house till late in night to allow the couple to have the opportunity of sexual cohabitation. The younger Brother is made to stay out during the earlier part of the evening in the company of his parents if his elder Brother is married. As the Brother separates himself from the family soon after his marriage, it is not very often found necessary on the part of the younger Brother to keep himself outside the house during evenings for long. If the younger Brother is very young then he is made to sleep at a convenient place outside the house till late in the evening when he taken up by the parents inside the house to sleep. There is no scope for the elder Brother to reciprocate. By the time the younger Brother is married the elder Brother is already separated from his family of orientation and lives in a separate establishment.

In the one family where there is enough living space, there is no necessity for adjustments fristly because there is space to allow individuals Brothers to have separate sleeping accommodation and secondly because the elder Brothers are usually working in the industrial establishments of Calcutta.
Cleaning:
In the periodic cleaning of the house the Brothers participate equally. They also do the daily cleaning whenever there is necessity to do so but there is no fixed pattern of behaviour for that. Cleaning of clothes being the duty of the respective individuals there is no scope for interaction between Brothers.

Toilet:
There is no scope for interaction between Brothers as far as toilet is concerned.

Cooking:
It has been mentioned earlier that cooking among the Pano is not considered as exclusively the duty of the women. The Pano male is almost as good a cook as Pano female and he is very often do the cooking if the female members are unable to do so for some reason, or if they are expected to be late from work. Either of the Brothers or both of them together may do the job whenever such necessity arises. They early knowledge of cooking on the part of the male members is one of the reasons why the younger Brother among the Pano does not became a dependent on his elder Brother after the Father's death.

As mentioned earlier recent economic changes have affected the pattern of Brotherly relationship among the Pano. The Brothers now tend to remain together and gradually the working of the Pano woman has also become restricted. This has made cooking the special charge of the women among the Pano.
Consequently it has reduced the scope of direct interaction between Brothers in cooking. Indirectly however the task of making their Wives participate fully in the cooking activities of the family has devolved upon the Brothers.

Daily round of occupational activities:

There is marked difference in the pattern of Brotherly interaction between the two groups of Pano namely the landowning-cum-sharecropping group and the labour class group. The families which have one or more Brothers working outside in industrial establishments, while the rest stay and work at home, can be bracketed with the landowning-cum-sharecropping families. Among them the interaction between Brothers, concerning this aspect of daily routine is similar to analogous interaction between Father and Son. It is the eldest Son who usually stays at home and he assumes the functions and if the father is dead, he assumes his responsibilities.

Among the labourer group which comprises the majority among the Pano, the Brothers are somewhat autonomous in the daily round of occupational activities. The work of one Brother is not concerned with that of another and even they work under the same employer, they donot interact as Brothers as far as the work is concerned. They work and are paid like unconcerned individuals. The scope of interaction is further reduced as they separate soon after they begin to earn. It is noteworthy that though they work independently they donot act contrary to each others interest. This pattern of behaviour is similar to analogous pattern of behaviour between Father and Son among the caste, described earlier.
Recreational activities:

It has been mentioned earlier that Brothers avoid each other at the time of gossiping, among the Brahman and the Khandayat, whenever any intimate topic is discussed. Among the Pano they participate fully in any type of gossip. While gossiping in a group it is customary for a Brother not to contradict or oppose another Brother. If the relationship between them is not cordial then one of them avoids the gossiping party in which the other is participating. Brothers also play indoor games as parties. They also play the occasional outdoor games together.

Rearing children:

During recent times the rearing of children has assumed a new significance among a section of Pano. Among them one or more Brothers stay outside the village working in industrial establishments, whereas the rest of the Brothers stay in the village. This helps all of them - those who stay in the village and those who stay outside - to remain together in one undivided family and it becomes the duty of those staying at home to take care of the Wives and children of those who work outside. The rearing of the children of these Brothers devolves as a special duty upon those who stay in the village. The pattern of behaviour in this respect can be compared to the analogous behaviour among the Khandayat which has been described earlier in this chapter.

The pattern of interaction among the rest of the Pano concerning this aspect of daily routine is similar to analogous pattern among the labour class Khandayat which has been described earlier in this chapter.
Daily income and expenditure:

Among the share-cropping-cum-landowning families the daily income and expenditure is controlled by the head of the family. The Father is of course the head in these families and after his death the eldest Son, or eldest among Brothers who are staying in the village, functions as the head of the family. If the elder Brother is a worker in an industrial establishment, the younger Brother stays at home and manages the income and expenditure of the household. The expenditure of the Wife and children of the Brother who is staying outside is also met by him, out of the common income from the property in the village and also from the money sent by the Brother staying outside. A person who stays outside does not send money to his Wife directly. When he is on a visit to the village he may give some ready cash to his Wife or children but he has to do it without the knowledge of his rural Brother. This money is utilised by the Wife and children to meet purely personal expenses. If money is entrusted to the Wife then it results in discord between the Brothers and such act is considered as lack of confidence in the Brother. The urban Brother treats his elder rural Brother formal respect. This is done partly out of genuine regard for the latter. It is also partly due to the mannerisms learnt in the urban surroundings.

The pattern of relationship between Brothers among the labourer section is the same as that of the analogous group among the Khandayat.
After considering Brother-Brother relationship among the Pano, similar relationship among the Keuta as it touches the daily routine may now be taken up for discussion.

The background material stated in the previous chapters need not be repeated here. The only significant fact, which needs emphasis, is the prevalence of the joint family system among the landowning-cum-sharecropping group. Joint-families among this group functioning under traditional conditions is a rare phenomenon in the village. These are not comparable to the joint-families found among the Khandayat and Pano. The latter have come into being in response to new situations and have already been described to be functionally different from the joint-families in the traditional setup.

With this general note the specific aspects of daily routine may now be taken up for discussion.

Washing the face and cleaning the teeth:

Though washing the face and cleaning the teeth have no ritual significance among the landowning group - nevertheless it is done with an elaborateness which is characteristic of this group. During the lifetime of the Father the elder Brother is treated at a par with him and this relationship is also reciprocated by the elder Brother by bestowing Son-like care on his younger Brother. This type of paternal regard is further enhanced after the death of the Father. Among the labourer group there is little scope for interaction between the Brothers concerning this aspect of daily routine. Either of them perform the act casually.
while going to or returning from work. On the whole it can be said that the pattern of interaction concerning this aspect of daily routine is almost the same as that between Father and Son among both the groups of Keuta.

Defecation:

The self-sufficiency of the landowning group of Keuta in the use of the fields has already been described earlier. The labourer group also does not face any difficulties because of the proximity of the fields to their houses.

Among both the groups the Brothers before attainment of adulthood are companions to each other in the performance of the act of defecation. This companionship is especially needed if either of the Brothers has to go for defecation after dark. After attaining adulthood there is no scope for interaction between Brothers among both the groups.

The pattern of interaction between Brothers concerning this aspect of daily routine is comparable to analogous pattern among Father and Son.

Eating:

Among the landowning group the elder Brother assumes the functions of the Father if he is sufficiently older than the younger Brother. Otherwise they grow up as companions to each other in performing the act of Bathing. This companionship, however, is very slight and results in no effective interaction between them. During illness and infirmity of the elder Brother the younger helps him occasionally to take his bath.
Among the labourer group there is little scope for interaction between Brothers concerning bathing before and after attaining adulthood. Bathing is taken casually by Brothers. Mostly it is done hurriedly before taking lunch. The separation of Brothers immediately after marriage precludes the scope for interaction during old age.

Eating:

Eating results in effective interaction between Brother and Brother among the landowning group of Keuta. The effectiveness of the interaction is due to the continuance of the system of joint family among this group and that too in the traditional setup. The Brother-Brother interaction concerning eating, among the group is almost the same as the analogous interaction between Father and Son described earlier.

Among the labour class group there is no scope for interaction between adult Brothers because of their early separation. The peculiar routine of the households in this group has been described earlier. This routine helps to make the minor Brothers somewhat independent of each other. During early childhood they are fed by the parents but before they are ten years old they serve themselves from the kitchen without waiting for parents or for each other.

Sleeping:

Among both groups Brothers sleep together during their childhood. They do so in the company of the parents or other adult members of the family. Due to lack of living space, among the labourer group of Keuta, the grown up Brothers sleep in the same
room as the parents but they make adjustments, by sleeping in the corridors or cowshed. When such adjustments are made the younger Brother usually sleeps with the elder, if the former is not too young to require the attention of parents. This is done when there are Brothers who are still younger. Among the landowning group the younger Brother sleeps with the elder Brother after he is about five years old and they are provided a separate room for that purpose. The married Brother among both the groups sleeps with his Wife.

The interaction between Brothers, concerning sleeping, is unpatterned, though effective.

Cleaning:

Among the landowning group the daily and periodical cleaning is done by the women of the household with the help of hired labour. It is the duty of the males to arrange the hired labour but this does not result in any patterned relationship between the Brothers. Among the labourer group the Brothers share the responsibility of periodical cleaning along with other members of the household. This however does not result in a specific pattern of interaction between them.

Among the labourer group the Brothers equally share the burdens of periodic cleaning but they also share it with other members of the family. This relationship comes to an abrupt end almost immediately after the marriage of the elder Brother.

There is no scope for interaction between Brothers as far as cleaning of clothes is concerned. During infancy their clothes are washed by the Mother, and they wash their own
clothes as they grow up.

**Toilet:**

In neither group there is any scope for interaction between Brothers as far as toilet is concerned.

**Cooking:**

It has been mentioned earlier that cooking is almost entirely confined to the females among the landowning group. The Brothers among this group therefore do not have any scope for effective interaction. Among the labourer group, on the other hand, cooking being a joint family venture, the Brothers have scope for such interaction. This interaction is unpatterned. If the Brothers are left to themselves to do the cooking than the major burden falls on the elder one if he is much older than the younger. There is however no scope for interaction between them after early youth as they separate after marriage.

**Daily round of occupational activities:**

Among the landowning group the pattern of interaction concerning daily occupational activities is comparable to similar interaction between Father and Son but it differs from the former on certain important points. As the Son grows up he assumes more and more responsibilities and relieves the Father from the burden of work. In case of Brothers, the younger one also gradually assumes more and more responsibilities without lessening the burden of the elder Brother. Here it is the aim of the younger to be the peer of the elder without showing any disrespect. This is done by mutual consent and effort on both sides. If the difference of age is
substantial, the major part of the manual labour connected with either agriculture or commerce is done by the younger Brother whereas the managerial work is done by the elder. By the time the younger is thirty the managerial and manual work done by each is equally shared between them.

Among the labour class group the Brothers learn early to co-operate in the professional work, of the agriculture and parched rice preparation. They are not entrusted with independent work but help their parents. In doing this both the elder and younger Brothers are subordinated to the work pattern of the parents and do not develop a pattern of their own. There is no scope for interaction beyond the stage of early youth as the Brothers separate almost immediately after marriage.

Performance of religious rites:

Among both the groups of Keuta the pattern of interaction between the elder and the younger Brother is the same as that between Father and Son - if the difference of age between them is substantial, otherwise they work as peers. Among the landowning group the relationship concerning the daily performance of religious rites continues till the death of either of the Brothers. Among the labour class group, in spite of the separation of Brothers immediately after marriage of the elder, the relationship between them continues as far as performance of religious rites are concerned. The relationship is mostly confined to the Wives of the Brothers but it is made possible only if there is lack of antagonism between them. Because of its religious significance, the relationship is not terminated by minor disputes and quarrels though these differences
may be carried into the performance of the religious rites themselves. For two to three years after separation the preparation of the cakes for the Osas is done jointly but gradually the Brothers make their own arrangements for preparation of cakes.

Recreational activities:

During childhood and early youth the Brothers grow up as companions as far as recreational activities are concerned. If the difference of age between them is more than five years, they prefer to enjoy the recreational activities more in the company of the boys of their own age group than with each other. It is also true among both groups that while the elder and younger Brother have no inhibitions to play with each other before attaining adulthood, they gradually avoid playing with each other when they grow up. One Brother may be present while the other is playing and encourage the participants and comment on the game but he does not usually play with his Brother. They participate in the general gossiping but they avoid each other when topics concerned with sex are discussed.

Rearing children:

Among the landowning group the elder Brother, if he is substantially older, discharges the functions of the Father if he is dead. In these cases the elder Brother meets all the requirements of the younger Brother till he attains adulthood. He as also looks after his education and is responsible for his socialisation. If the Father is alive till the attainment of adulthood by the Brothers then both the Brothers are brought up as equals.
Among the labourer group the minor Brother is brought up similarly in case of Father's death. The latter however acquires equal status with the elder Brother soon after attaining adulthood, whereas in the case of the other group he voluntarily chooses to be subordinate to his elder throughout his career.

**Daily income and expenditure:**

The activities concerning daily income and expenditure provides a very fertile field for interaction between Brother and Brother among the landowning Keuta whereas among the labourer group the scope for such interaction is extremely limited.

Among the landowning group the income and expenditure from land are a joint venture on the part of the Brothers. This is a sphere where the elder and younger Brother work in close co-operation with each other. The pattern of interaction is similar to that between Father and Son. The interaction between the Brothers concerning commercial activities is also the same as similar interaction between Father and Son.

Among the labour class group the Brothers separate in their early youth before they have any scope for interaction in the sphere of daily income and expenditure. If the Father is dead during the childhood of the younger Brother, the daily income and expenditure is managed by the elder Brother till he attains adulthood and sets up a separate establishment after marriage.
DHOBA

After considering the relationship between Brothers among the Keuta the Dhoba caste may be taken up for similar description. The background materials have been described earlier. The specific items of daily routine may therefore be taken for discussion.

Washing the face and cleaning the teeth:

The Dhoba are in the habit of washing the face and cleaning the teeth while doing their professional caste work i.e., washing clothes. There is no effective interaction between Brothers concerning this aspect of daily routine.

Defecation:

The residence of the Dhobas being situated at the outskirts of the village, defecation does not present any problems for them. The fields are adjacent to the house and the water sources are also very near. The Dhoba child or adult can therefore defecate whenever he feels the necessity for it. The daily round of occupational activities also do not prevent him from doing so. There is no effective interaction between Brothers concerning this aspect of daily routine.

Bathing:

Bathing also presents no problems for the Dhoba as their houses are situated very near to the water sources and the major part of their work is done in water. If the difference of age between the Brothers is small then they grow up as companions taking frequent baths together. The Father holds them in check
against excessive indulgence in water lest they fall ill.

Eating:

It has been mentioned earlier that the separation of Father from Son and Brother from Brother among the Dhoba does not result in the termination of routine relationships between them, as happens among the other castes. Eating is one of the items of daily routine where this fact can be observed very frequently. During their childhood and early adulthood the Brothers eat together in the company of the Father. Even in their early adolescence, the Brothers as male members of the family, have much more importance than the boys of corresponding age group among other castes. They share some of the importance of their Father, which he enjoys as the head of the family.

When the Brothers separate after marriage they make their own arrangements for taking food. Inspite of this there is very effective interaction between them concerning eating. If the Wife of one Brother falls ill or is otherwise unable to do the cooking, he is invited by the other Brother to take food with him. It is not a formal invitation and is not given casually. It happens so frequently that it can be treated as a part of daily routine. The necessity for such invitation especially arises during the pregnancy of the Brother's Wife and for some time after the delivery. The entertaining of the Brother among other castes may require considerable adjustments with the Wife but in case of Dhoba it presents no problems firstly because of the subservient position of women among the caste and secondly because this type of help is reciprocated by both the Brothers.
Sleeping:

There is no scope for effective interaction between Brother and Brother as far as sleeping is concerned.

Cleaning:

Cleaning activities among the Dhoba can be divided into two categories: the cleaning which is done as routine household work and the cleaning which is done as an occupational profession. The first type of cleaning is exclusively done by women, among the Dhoba. There is scope for interaction between Brothers only in the second type of cleaning. This will be properly dealt with while describing the "daily round of occupational activities".

Toilet:

Toilet of the Dhoba male is very simple. It is noteworthy that the Dhoba being treated as a caste of untouchables, are not served by the barber. The Brothers therefore help each other to shave and cut their hair. It is not however necessary that a Brother should shave or cut the hair of the other Brother. This is done as frequently by other males inside and outside the family.

Cooking:

Cooking among the Dhoba is exclusively the duty of women. When the Wife of one Brother falls ill the Wife of the other helps in the cooking. More often the Brother and his family are invited to take their food with him. Helping each other in cooking is not unknown among other castes but it is very frequently done among the Dhoba so much so that it has significance for the
daily routine.

**Daily round of occupational activities:**

The Brothers learn their professional caste trade i.e., cleaning of clothes under the patronage of their Father. If he is dead and the difference of age between the Brothers is substantial then the elder Brother takes up the functions of the Father in teaching the younger Brother both the caste trade and the antecedent caste behaviour. If the difference of age is slight and both of them are minor, they learn it from their Mother. The help of male relatives is not required for this as is done among other castes, for training in occupational activities.

Even after their separation there is effective interaction between Brothers as far as daily round of occupational activities are concerned. The routine of the Dhoba is so tight that a slight deviation from it disturbs their relationship with the clients. It is therefore necessary for the Brothers to help each other in serving the clients. If one of the Brothers is ill or absent or otherwise not able to wash the clothes then it is almost obligatory for the other Brother to do his work. One incident which occurred in the year 1952 has been recorded. One Brother while going to his married Daughter, who has fallen ill, had asked the younger Brother to get the menstruation clothes from one client. The relationship between the Brothers was far from being cordial and the other did not oblige. Circumstances compelled the elder Brother to stay away from the village for about twenty days. On his return a council of the elders was called in the village and the younger Brother was fined for his negligence.
Performance of religious rites:

It has been mentioned earlier that no ceremony as such is "observed" by the Dhoba. On the occasion of each "Osa" the Dhoba women collect cakes from the clients. The Dhoba has also some other ritual duties, which have been described earlier, but these have no bearing on the daily routine. There is no scope of interaction between Brothers as far as performance of religious rites, as a part of the daily routine, is concerned.

Recreational activities:

The recreational activities have a special significance for the Dhoba Brothers. The scope for recreational activities for the Dhoba boy is extremely limited. He cannot mix with the boys of any other caste in the village. For castes, other than Pano, he is treated as an untouchable. The Pano on the other hand are treated by the Dhoba to be a caste of untouchables. In addition to the restriction of caste, the small size of the Dhoba population further restricts the scope of the boys to indulge in recreational activities. The chief companion of the Dhoba boy therefore is his Brother.

The daily routine of the Dhoba does not allow him enough time to play outdoor or indoor games. As mentioned earlier the Dhoba boy is subjected to the occupational routine early in the boyhood and does not have the freedom of the boys enjoyed among other castes. The chief recreational activity which can be considered as a part of the daily routine is gossiping. Compared to other castes the Dhoba Brothers are more free with each other in gossiping. They very frequently discuss topics on sex and such other topics,
which are avoided by Brothers among other castes.

Rearing children:

It is one of the recognised duties of the Dhoba boy to look after his younger Brother while the parents are busy washing clothes. Looking after the younger Brother is not a casual duty with the Dhoba boy but it is obligatory on his part and he is severely reprimanded if he neglects it. It forms a major part of his daily routine during late childhood when he has not yet begun to take part in the occupational activities.

It is obligatory for a Brother to look after the children of his dead Brother when they are too young to manage their own affairs. After the Brother's death close relationship centering round occupational activities continues and this also affects the other items of daily routine. This relationship covers a part of obligations which a Brother is obliged discharge in respect of his dead Brother's children among the Brahman and Khandayat. The Brother's children are helped to serve the clients properly. When their Mother is not able to do the cooking they take food with their Father's Brother. What does not transpire is a formal assumption of guardianship of the Brother's children, which inspite of the subordinate role of the women in the Dhoba family, is performed by the Mother of the children. This becomes possible because of the effective caste organisation wherein the family merged, to a large extent. This also has been described earlier.
Daily income and expenditure:

In the undivided family the Brothers are under the control of the Father as far as daily income and expenditure are concerned. After separation from the Father's family they set up their separate establishments. There is no scope for interaction between Brother and Brother as far as this item of daily routine is concerned.

GUDI A

In considering the Father-Son relationship among the Gudia it has been observed that the kin behaviour of the caste as it is reflected in the daily routine is almost identical with the Khandayat. The Brother-Brother relationship among the Gudia also exhibits the same characteristics i.e., it is also identical with the corresponding relationship among the Khandayat, excepting the behaviour concerning the daily round of occupational activities, which may be described here.

The daily round of occupational activities among the Gudia can be divided into two categories, those concerned with agriculture and those concerned with the caste occupation of preparation of sweet-meats. In the agricultural activities, which constitute the major occupation of the caste, no difference of behaviour is observable from that of the Khandayat. In the preparation of sweet-meats close co-operation is evinced among the Brothers. The preparation of sweet-meats also coincides with the observance of festivals. The interaction between Brothers concerning this item of daily routine is not confined to them alone. There is mutual interaction between Brothers concerning this item of daily routine.
among all the members of the family. It is noteworthy that even though the Brothers are separated from each other, they nevertheless co-operates to prepare sweetmeats on festive occasions. The pattern of interaction among the members of the family, including that between Brothers, has been described in earlier chapters.

BADHEI

The position of the Badhei is also comparable to that of the Khandayat as far as the Brother-Brother interaction in the daily routine is concerned. In discussing the other relationships, among the Badhei the same has also been observed. There is only some observable difference from that of the Khandayat as far as daily round of occupational activities are concerned.

The behaviour pattern of the Badhei as far as agricultural activities are concerned donot differ from that of the Khandayat. The carpantary work, which is the major occupation of the caste provides a further scope for interaction between Brother and Brother. The most significant fact about the occupational activities is that the Brothers co-operates with each other to do the carpentary work while the landed property is divided and they carry on the agricultural operations separately.

The reason given by the Badhei for this is that carpentary being the caste occupation is considered as sacred and should not be divided. During the lifetime of the Father, the Brothers work under his supervision, though they might have been separated from him. After the Father's death they continue the trade
together. The eldest Brother formally succeeds the Father i.e., he inherits the carpentry tools used traditionally by the Father. These tools are considered as sacred and only the eldest Son can acquire them. After the death of one of the Brothers the link is snapped and their children undertake carpentry work separately.

No aspect of the carpentry work is specially earmarked either for the younger or the elder Brother.