In this chapter the relationship between Sister and Sister in the various situations of daily routine may be taken up for discussion. The Sister-Sister relationship is somewhat different from the Brother-Brother and Brother-Sister relationships, described earlier. It may be noted that the position of the Sister in the family has been discussed in the earlier chapters, especially the chapters dealing with Father-Daughter and Mother-Daughter relationships. It is therefore necessary only to deal with such points which have not been covered within the scope of preceding discussions to ascertain the specific nature of Sister-Sister relationship.

The most important feature of Sister-Sister relationship is that both are subordinate members of their families. This is as much true of their family of orientation as the family of procreation. Especially in the family of orientation their subordinate status is more perceptible than in their family of procreation where in their role as Mother and Wife they exercise some rights.

Another feature of Sister-Sister relationship is that it is very short lived. All relationships of practically cease with the marriage of one of the Sisters. As almost all the girls of all the castes are married between the age 14-18 the maximum span of Sister-Sister relationship can be said to be eighteen years. There is rarely any relationship between Sisters after their marriage.
Precedence of birth and difference of age, have already been described to be factors of utmost importance for Brother-Brother and Brother-Sister relationship. These factors are comparatively of little importance for Sister-Sister relationship. A younger sister does not address her elder sister in terms of respect. She also does not prostrate herself before the elder. There is certainly a lot of difference between a female child and her grownup elder sister. All differences are however resolved after younger sister's attains puberty. Both the girls are then treated as equals and regard each other as such.

The Brother-Sister relationship has been described to be marked by a feeling of shyness which results in partial avoidance of each other, though this feature is somewhat relieved after the sister's marriage. The Brother-Brother relationship is free from such shyness and avoidance but with the attainment of adulthood a certain degree of restraint develops between the brothers. Two grownup brothers are therefore not so intimate with each other as they are with unrelated friends. As against this the relationship between the sisters presents a completely different picture. A sister is perhaps the most intimate friend of her sister with whom she can discuss all confidential matters connected with sexual relationship and love affairs. A sister discusses with her sister these topics even when they concern her own self. This feature is absent from any kin relationship described earlier. Though the husband and wife are intimate with each other their relationship is nevertheless marked by certain inhibitions. This makes the nature of Husband-Wife intimacy different from that prevailing between sisters.
It is noteworthy about Sister-Sister relationship that it is comparatively least affected by caste, economic and educational factors. Intercaste differences are comparatively smaller where Sister-Sister relationship is concerned. As girls of the village are educated inside the village the factor of education also does not markedly effect the relationship between Sisters. The economic status of the family has some influence over the Sister-Sister relationship but it cannot be said to shape it. As the Sisters are subordinate members of the household there is no scope for economic difference between them. It is only after their marriage that they can belong to specific economic differences between them. It is only after their marriage that they can belong to specific economic groups according to the economic condition of their Husband's families. This difference has very little effect on the intra-village behaviour of the Sisters.

With this general note on Sister-Sister relationship the specific castes may now be taken up for discussion.

**BRAHMAN**

It has been mentioned earlier that the Brahman boy is brought up most carefully compared to other castes and as such he has the longest period of apprenticeship. The Brahman girl is brought up in the traditional manner and reared to be a fit Wife to her Husband. This position has remained intact though girl's education has vastly improved, due to the establishment of a high-English school in the village. Exceptions have come to occur during the last one decade. There are two instances when the girls were trained more for career than for the traditional role of Wife.
whereas such instances are not yet found among other castes. There also have been two instances of love marriages. Inspite of this the traditional pattern of bringing up the girls is still predominant in the village. The instances of the break in tradition, cited above, are not so important as to affect the general pattern of relationship between Sisters especially as it affects their routine behaviour.

After this general note on the Sisters among the Brahman the specific items of daily routine may now be taken up for discussion.

Washing the face and cleaning the teeth:

From their childhood till their marriage the Sisters grow up as companions as far as this item of daily routine is concerned. Unlike their Brothers they like to clean their teeth at the bathing place, though they wash their face early in the morning at home. When on a visit from their Husband's houses, they are more particular to clean their teeth at the bathing place in each other's company. This is a suitable time for them to have intimate talk and relate each other's experiences.

Defecation:

Right from their childhood the Sisters are companions as defecation is concerned. It has been mentioned earlier that the fields where the Brahman girls defecate are situated at a distance from their places of residence. Besides this there is the apprehension of their being encountered by males, or being teased by unknown passers by while they are defecating. These a
are the reasons why the Brahman girls do not go alone to the fields. The usual and most suitable companion of a Brahman girl is therefore her Sister.

The males avoid each other at the time of defecation. The females on the other hand sit close to each other for defecation, though they avoid the males during this act. Girls of the same age group talk freely among themselves while defecating. Thus the act of defecation is not just an act of necessary routine. It also provides an opportunity for free conversation and gossiping for them.

The Sisters go twice to the fields for defecation, once in the morning between 8 and 9 A.M. and again in the evening after dark. Besides this, Sisters give company to each other when going to the fields at odd hours.

Bathing:

The Sisters are companions to each other in the act of taking bath. This companionship starts from the childhood, when they are able to take their bath by themselves, and continues till their marriage. When on a visit from their Husband's houses they are more particular about availing each other's company. Like the act of defecation this also provides an opportunity to them for conversation.

It is considered as somewhat cumbersome on the part of the girls to wash their hair (which they do usually once a week) and rub their back at the time of taking their bath. The sisters help each other in washing each other's hair and rubbing each other's back.
Eating:

Like the previous items of daily routine the Sisters are constant companions to each other in the act of eating. From childhood till their marriage they take their food together. Watered rice is taken jointly from the same pot by two or even three Sisters at a time though warm rice is taken separately. Occasionally warm rice is also taken together. The taking of food from the same plate is considered as a show of Sisterly affection. They also help each other in serving the food. The serving of food is done jointly and the plates are removed and washed jointly.

Sleeping:

In sleeping also the Sisters are the constant companions during childhood and adulthood. If the family is small and there is not enough room in the house then the Sisters are allowed a separate room in some families. In two families this practice was found to be disapproved. In these families an elderly female, usually the Father's mother, slept with the Sisters. It was held by them that the chastity of the unmarried adult girls would be affected if they are allowed to sleep without the protection of an adult female. The girls may go out in the night or invite somebody into the house. Within the living memory of the villagers no such incident has ever occurred among the Brahman, but inspite of this the fear of a girl being corrupted is a potent factor among them.

When on a visit from their Husband's houses the Sisters are always eager to sleep with each other, to gossip before sleep and enjoy each others' company.
Cleaning:

The Sisters participate in the periodical and daily cleaning of the household, though it is primarily the duty of their Mother and the Brother's Wife. In this act of daily routine there is mutual cooperation between adult Sisters, but there is no patterned relationship.

Toilet:

In the matter of toilet the adult Sisters are especially helpful to each other in combing and dressing up each other's hair. They also occasionally help each other for a plying turmeric paste to each other. Mutual help is also required in painting the feet with "Alata" and the hands with the paste of "Haragoura" leaves. In putting on ornaments such as bangles, nose and ear rings etc., the Sisters also help each other. Such help in the toilet is especially solicited by both when a married Sister is on a visit from her house.

Cooking:

An elderly Sister cooks for her child Sister if the Mother is dead or unable to cook and there are no other female members in the household. The adult Sister co-operates with each other in cooking. This co-operation is especially observed if one of the Sisters is married and is on a visit from her Husband's house. As Daughters of the family the Sisters are not expected to undertake the major burden of the cooking which is done by their Mother and Brother's Wife.
Daily round of occupational activities:

In this item of daily routine the Brahman Sisters have no scope for interaction.

Performance of religious rites:

The major interaction between two adult Sisters in this item of daily routine is their joint participation in the preparation of the cakes for the various Osas. The co-operation between the Sisters is more perceptible if a married Sister is on a visit from her Husband’s house. The visiting Sister and the one at home develop an intense intimacy, during the former’s stay in the Father’s household and Osas are the most pleasant of the activities, wherein the Sisters are eager to co-operate.

Recreational activities:

The Sisters are constant companions in the playing of outdoor and indoor games during childhood and gossiping. Unlike the Brothers, the Sisters gossip on each and every topic and in this respect they are more free with each other, than they are with their Mother. While gossiping in a group they are expected to uphold each other’s view point in case of disputes with others.

Rearing children:

A girl among the Brahman only comes into rare and brief touch with her Sister’s children. An unmarried girl shows especial affection for her Sister’s children. Though she has no independent income of her, she nevertheless gives presents to the Sister’s children from whatever money is given to her by her Father
and Brothers. In the higher income group a girl is given substantial amounts specifically to give presents to her Sister's children.

When a Sister is ill and there are no other female members to help her, it is the duty of the other Sister to tend her children. Occasionally for this purpose one Sister may visit the house of another Sister. A married girl does not render such help to her Sister as in most cases her family is reluctant to let her do this.

Daily income and Expenditure:

The sisters not being the earning members of the family there is no scope for interaction in this item of daily routine.

**KHANDAYAT**

The caste characteristics and family organisation among the Khandayat have been dealt with in the earlier chapter and may serve as the background for the discussion of Sister-Sister relationship among the caste.

It has been mentioned in the previous chapter that the Brother-Sister relationship among the Khandayat has been strongly influenced by the socio-economic changes which the caste, especially the landowning group among them have undergone. As a contrast against this the Sister-Sister relationship among the caste has been little influenced by these changes. The traditional pattern of relationship has almost remained in tact among them as far as this aspect of kin relationship is concerned. It has been partly evident while discussing the position of the Daughter in the
Khandayat family in the earlier chapters.

With this general note on the pattern of Sister-Sister relationship among the Khandayat the specific items of daily routine may be taken up for discussion.

Washing the face and cleaning the teeth:

Among the landowning group the pattern of interaction between Sisters concerning this aspect of daily routine is the same as that among the Brahman. The Sisters among this group grow up as companions from their childhood up to their marriage in performing this item of daily routine. Among the labourer group they have no scope for effective interaction except during childhood, when they have not yet started taking part in the occupational activities. When a married Sister is on a visit from her Husband's house, then of course they solicit each others company in performing this item of daily routine. However these visits among the labourer group are as rare as they are brief.

Defecation:

Among both groups of Khandayat the Sisters are the usual companions in this item of daily routine. Among the labourer group defecation is done casually by the girls, when they are going to or returning from work. Even then they like to do this in the company of other girls including the Sisters. When a Sister is on a visit from her Husband's house her company is especially sought in performing this item of daily routine as it affords good opportunity for gossiping.
Bathing:

Like the Brahmans, the Khandayat Sisters of both groups are companions to each other in bathing. It coincides with gossiping with others. This is the reason why a married Sister on a visit from her Husband's house is more eager to accompany her Sister to the bathing place.

Eating:

Among the landowning group the pattern of interaction between Sisters concerning eating is the same as that among the Brahman. Among the labourer group interaction is not so effective due to the routine of occupational work of the Sisters but among this group also the Sisters take their food together and from the same pot.

Sleeping:

Among the both groups the Sisters are constant companions in sleeping. They sleep in the same room and in the same bed from their childhood till their marriage. A married Sister on a visit from her Husband's house is very particular to sleep with her Sister. This is done even when she is accompanied by her Husband. It is considered very unusual on the part of a Sister to avoiding sleeping with her Sister to sleep with her Husband, while she is on a visit to her Father's house.

Cleaning:

The Sisters among the landowning group participate equally in the periodic cleaning of the household. It is not their exclusive duty - they share it with other female members.
of the household. Among the labour class group the Sister shares the labours of periodic cleaning with all the adult members of the household. They equally share the burdens of daily cleaning among both groups of Khandayat. A Sister on a visit from her Husband's house co-operates with her other Sisters in the periodical cleaning but she is spared the duties of daily cleaning.

Toilet:

The Sisters are most helpful to each other in doing the toilet. They help each other in applying turmeric paste, in washing and dressing the hair. This co-operation is much more marked when one of the married Sisters is on a visit to the Father's house.

Cooking:

Sisters share equally the burdens of cooking but it is not their exclusive duty. They share it with other female members of the household. When the Mother is alive they do the cooking under her guidance. When she is dead they do it co-operatively with their Brother's wives. A Sister on a visit from her Husband's house is spared the labours of cooking though she very often participates in it. It is noteworthy that the company of the visiting Sister is sought in almost every item of daily routine except cooking. A girl is supposed to take rest during her visit to her Father's house which practically means that she should not take part in cooking. It is a Sisterly gesture of love not to allow the visiting Sister to cook.
Daily round of occupational activities:

Among the landowning group there is no scope for interaction between Sisters concerning this aspect of daily routine. Among the labourer group the pattern of interaction between Sisters is almost the same as that between Brothers.

Performance of religious rites:

The pattern of interaction between Sisters does not differ from the pattern of interaction between other members of the household. This holds true for both the groups of Khandayat.

Recreational activities:

Both in play and gossiping the Sisters are each others companion, right from childhood till their marriage. A girl can have intimate gossiping with her Sister and discuss such topics which are forbidden between other members of the family. The participation in the gossiping is especially intense when one of the Sisters is on a visit from her Husband's house.

Rearing children:

In either group the Sisters have very little scope for rearing children of another Sister - except during the brief visits of a married Sister to her Father's household. During the brief visits of a married Sister to her Father's household. During those visits the Sister's children are treated with extra love and care by another Sister. The unmarried Sister gives presents to her Sisters children out of her personal fund.
Daily income and expenditure:

Among the landowning group there is no scope for interaction between Sisters concerning daily income and expenditure, as they are not earning members and play a subordinate role in the family. Among the labourer group there is scope for effective interaction between Sisters. The pattern is the same as that between Brothers.

PANO

After considering Sister-Sister relationship among the Brahman and the Khandayat, the Pano caste may be taken up for similar discussion. The background material on the Pano caste the role of different members of the family in the caste has been discussed in the previous chapters. These need not be repeated here.

It is to be noted that among the Pano, seniority on the basis of age does not affect behaviour as it does among the Brahman and Khandayat. This fact was observed while discussing Brother-Brother relationship among the Pano. It is more evident in case of Sister-Sister relationship.

The status of the Pano girl in her family of orientation has been described earlier. It has been observed that, compared to the other castes, the Pano girl is more independent of the control of the male and senior female members of her family. This is because of two reasons. Firstly she is an earning member of the family and not a dependent on others like the girls from the Brahman and landowning Khandayat families. Secondly, caste
tradition allows her a status equal to her Brothers. This is especially evident from the fact that after the Father's death the unmarried Sister can separate herself from her Brother and set up an establishment of her own. All these factors make her almost equal with her Brother. The pattern of Sister-Sister relationship among the Pano therefore exhibits the same characteristics as Brother-Brother or Brother-Sister relationship.

It has been mentioned earlier that the Pano are divided into two groups; namely the landowning cum share-cropping group and the labourer group. The behaviour pattern among these two groups is different as far as interaction between Sister and Sister is concerned.

With this general note on the pattern of Sister-Sister relationship among the Pano the specific items of daily routine may be taken up for discussion.

Washing the face and cleaning the teeth:

As mentioned in the previous chapters, the washing of the face and cleaning of the teeth is done in a casual manner among the Pano. There is no scope for effective interaction between Sister and Sister as far as this item of daily routine is concerned. A grown up Sister may occasionally wash the face and of her younger Sister but children are only occasionally washed in a Pano family, therefore it cannot be treated as a part of the daily routine.
Defecation:

Usually the Sisters defecate together as children and also as grown up girls. As far as defecation is concerned it is not considered as a shameful act to be done in seclusion. When a married Sister is on a visit from her Husband's house she particularly seeks the company of her Sister at home at the time of defecation as this is a time when gossiping is done freely.

Bathing:

The Sisters are constant companions at the time of bathing both as children and as adults. Bathing is casually done among the Pano while returning from work. As the Sisters go to work together, they also take their bath together while returning from work.

Eating:

Sisters eat together as children and also as grownup girls. They also eat from the same pot. They help other in serving the food. The company of the Sister is especially sought when the other Sister is on a visit from her Husband's house. They being earning members of the household contribute towards the food expenses of the family but one Sister does not specifically bear the cost of feeding of another Sister. Among the landowning group the girls not being earning members, there is no question of either of them meeting the food expenses of the other.

Sleeping:

Sisters sleep together as children and as grown up girls. It has been mentioned earlier that the members of
Pano family have to make considerable adjustments for sleeping due to lack of living space. It is customary for sisters to sleep close to each other. Among the landowning group the lack of living space is not so acute as to make all the family members sleep in the same room but here also the Sisters prefer to sleep together.

**Cleaning:**

The daily and periodical cleaning of the house is done by all the members of the family in which the female members take a larger share than the males. Periodical cleaning, as mentioned earlier is done more frequently among the Pano. In both type cleaning the Sisters fully cooperate with each other. There is more effective cooperation between Sisters in the sphere of periodical cleaning, while daily cleaning is done by any of the Sisters according to convenience. The cleaning of clothes is an individual duty. The clothes of an infant Sister is occasionally cleaned by the elder Sister, if the Mother is unable to do it.

**Toilet:**

The toilet of the Pano women are very brief. This has been mentioned before. The adult Sisters being working women purchase their own toilet requirements. A Sister occasionally helps her other Sister in combing her hair. An adult Sister also occasionally combs the hair, paints the eyes with Kajal and massages the younger Sister with turmeric paste. A Sister on a visit from her Husband's house helps and is helped by her Sister at home more often in the toilet.
Cooking:

Cooking is the primary duty of women among the Pano—though the male members of the family share this responsibility to some degree. The adult Sisters cooperate with each other to do the cooking for the family. A married Sister on a visit from her Husband's house also takes part in cooking along with her Sister at home.

The Sisters are working women and have to adjust cooking to their occupational activities. If one Sister is late in returning from work then the other starts the cooking and is joined by the former when she returns from work. In most cases the Sisters work together in the occupational sphere and go to and return from work together. Among the landowning group cooking is the major duty of the Sisters as they are not engaged in occupational activities.

Daily round of occupational activities:

Among the landowning-cum-sharecropping group there is no scope for interaction between Sisters as far as the routine occupational activities are concerned. They are not allowed to do any occupational work and are entirely confined to the household duties.

Among the labourer group there is effective interaction between Sisters in this item of daily routine. Ordinarily they prefer to work under one employer so as to go to and return from work together. In a few cases they also work under different employers. If any employer does not pay wages regularly and discontinues employing one Sister or misbehaves with her then the other
Sister does not take up work with him. In such cases one sister defends the other though it is the duty of their male relatives to square up the matter with such employers.

While working in the fields each sister works as a separate labourer and does the work according to her capacity. The employer allot work to the Sisters as individuals and not as a group. The wages, however, are sometimes paid jointly to one Sister when given in kind. When paid in cash, the wages are paid separately to the Sisters. A married Sister on a visit from her Husband's house also goes to work with her Sister. This she does not as an obligation but to give company to her Sister at home.

Performance of religious rites:

Performance of religious rites is not a part of the daily routine among the Pano and it does not result in any interaction between Sisters.

Recreational activities:

On rare occasions indoor and outdoor games are played by the Pano women. The chief source of recreation for them is gossiping. Unlike the Brothers the Sisters are the main companions for gossiping and intimate topics, including topics on sex, are discussed between them.

Rearing children:

It is one of the duties of an elder Sister to look after her younger Sister while the Mother is out on work. The opportunity for rearing Sister's children by another Sister is

endar: A married Sister with children rarely visits her Father's house.
and the occasions for her meeting her other Sister there are still fewer and cannot be considered as a part of daily routine.

**Daily income and expenditure:**

The Sisters contribute their share of income for the expenditure of the household. Each contributes equally. All the Sisters keep a part of their earnings as a reserve which they take away with them at the times of going to their Husband's houses after marriage. The daily purchases for the household are made by the Sisters either individually or collectively. A Sister may purchase an item from her own earnings or she may do so from the common fund. The personal expenses like the purchase of a saree or toilet materials or ornaments is done by each Sister out of the savings from her own income. One Sister does not help another Sister in this respect.

**KEUTA**

After considering Sister-Sister relationship among the Pano similar relationship among the Keuta may now be taken up for discussion. The background material described in previous chapters may be referred to here for understanding the general caste characteristics of the Keuta, and the family organisation among them. It may be emphasised here that the prevalence of joint family system among the landowning Keuta influences Sister-Sister relationship among them. Like other relationships described in the previous chapters, the Sisters-Sister relationship also exhibits certain difference among the two groups of Keuta namely the landowning group and the labourer group.
With this general note, the specific items of daily routine may now be taken up for discussion.

Washing the face and cleaning the teeth:

Among the landowning group the Sisters wash their face and clean their teeth in their garden ponds together. The cleaning of teeth is often done at the time of taking bath which the Sisters take together. When a married Sister is on a visit from her Husband's house, the Sister at home is more particular in soliciting her company for this item of daily routine.

Among the labourer group the washing of the face and cleaning of the teeth is done in a casual manner while coming from or going to work. This item of daily routine is performed along with bathing. Though very often the Sisters perform this together there is no effective interaction between them.

Among both the groups it is a casual duty of the elder sister to wash the face or clean the teeth of the younger child Sister. It is done more frequently among the landowning group than the labourer group.

Defecation:

The Sisters among both groups of Keuta are companions at the time of defecation. Even as grown up girls they defecate together and talk and gossip with each other while doing so. The company of the married Sister, on a visit from her Husband's house, is especially sought at the time of defecation.
Bathing:

Among both the groups the Sisters mostly take their bath together. The company of the Sister on a visit from her Husband's house is especially sought at the time of bathing as this is also the time for gossiping.

Eating:

Among the landowning group the Sisters eat together. Very often they eat from the same pot. This is also done among the labourer group but if a Sister is late in returning from work the Sister among this group does not wait for her.

Sleeping:

Among both the groups the Sisters sleep together till their marriage. A married Sister on a visit from her Husband's house also sleeps with her Sister at home even when the Husband accompanies her. Among the landowning group an elderly woman, the Mother in most cases, sleeps with the unmarried Sisters.

Cleaning:

Among the landowning group the daily cleaning is done by the women of the household. It is one of the major duties of the adult Sisters to take part in the daily cleaning under the supervision of their Mother or any other elderly female relative. The periodical cleaning is also done by the women with the help of hired labour. Here also the Sisters co-operate with each other to do the work under the Supervision of the Mother or any other elder female member of the family. Among the labourer group the Sisters cooperate with each other along with other male and female members.
of the family in the daily and periodical cleaning operations. There is nothing specific about the interaction of one sister with another. Among the both groups each sisters cleans her own clothes. There is no difference on the basis of seniority in age.

Toilet:

The toilet of the women among the landowning Keuta, as mentioned earlier, is comparable to the Brahman in its elaborateness. In the toilet a sister is the chief helper of another sister. She is especially helpful in combing the hair and weaving it into knots. She also helps the sister in massaging turmeric paste at places like the back of the body where one cannot massage herself.

Among the labour class group there is no effective interaction between sisters as far as toilet is concerned. The sister-sister interaction in this group is the same as that among the labour class Khandayat.

Cooking:

Among the landowning group cooking is not only a major household duty for the adult girls, it is also the most significant part of their training for their future role as housewives in their husband's houses. There is therefore an implicit competitiveness between the sisters concerning cooking. In the daily behaviour there is no expression of adversity between sisters. They co-operate with each other in cooking. A married sister on a visit
from her Husband's house participates in the cooking only casually.

Among the labourer group, cooking is very brief. The Sisters have to adjust their cooking with their occupational activities. In these families also they co-operate with each other in cooking. If one Sister is late in returning from work then the other Sister would start the work.

The Sisters being earning women procure and purchase the materials required for cooking either jointly or singly.

In either group there is no clearcut division of labour between the Sisters. If one of the Sisters is considerably junior in age and is just starting to learn cooking, the elder Sister undertakes the major burden of cooking. The younger Sister catches up with the elder Sister within a year. There is no difference of behaviour on the basis of seniority in age as such.

Daily round of occupational activities:

Among the landowning group there is no scope for interaction between Sisters as far as the routine occupational activities are concerned. The girls in this group do not take up any occupational work and are entirely confined to household duties.

Among the labourer group there is effective interaction between Sisters in the daily round of occupational activities. This interaction is especially effective in the preparation of parched rice, the details of which have been described in the earlier chapters. Besides this there is the usual interaction between Sisters in their work in the fields. The pattern
of interaction concerning the preparation of parched rice is the same as that between Brother and Sister described earlier. The pattern of interaction concerning work in the fields shows no difference from similar interaction among working class Khandayat.

Performance or religious rites:

There is effective interaction between Sisters in the performance of the Osas. The Osas are not observed daily but they are so numerous that they can be considered as a part of the daily routine. The interaction concerning the Osas is more effective among the landowning group as among them these are performed with an elaborateness which is comparable to the Brahman. On the occasion of an Osa the Sisters get up very early in the morning, take their bath and engage themselves in the preparation of the cakes. In some cases, where they require a long time to be prepared, the work is taken up during the preceding night - the Sisters working together till late. This is not however the exclusive duty of the Sisters and the interaction is not entirely confined to them. They share the responsibility with other female members of the household.

The Sister-Sister interaction among the landowning Khetra is the same as that among the landowning Khandayat. The interaction between Sisters among the working class group as among the former, lesser number of Osas are observed and they are also not observed with such elaborateness. The pattern of Sister-Sister interaction among this group is comparable to similar interaction among the working class Khandayat.
Recreational activities:

Among the landowning group indoor games are played by the girls occasionally. Usually the Sisters play the indoor games in the company of others. They do not play between themselves. The outdoor games are played rarely, on special occasions and there is no specific pattern of behaviour concerning them. Gossiping is the main source of recreation for the Sisters and, unlike the Brothers they solicit each other's company at the time of gossiping. They do not avoid each other even when intimate sexual topics are discussed. Only if a Sister is a child she is not allowed to participate in the gossiping on such topics. The pattern of Sister-Sister interaction among the labourer group shows no difference from the landowning group - only the indoor games are played less frequently among them.

Rearing children:

It is the duty of the Sisters among both groups to tend the children of the family. This duty is especially undertaken when a Sister has not acquired the age when she can cook or take up occupational work. She is therefore kept in charge of looking after her younger sister. When a married Sister is on a visit from her Husband's house, she of her own accord, tends the children of the family as a mark of affection towards the family members. It is customary for Sisters to treat each other's children with especial tenderness and affection but the actual occasions when they have the opportunity to do so are rare.
Daily income and expenditure:

Among the landowning group there is no scope for interaction between Sister and Sister concerning this item of daily routine as they have neither an income nor have the responsibility for expenditure.

Among the labour class group there is effective interaction concerning daily income and expenditure. The adult Sisters are earning members of the family. They earn as labourers and also from the trade of parched rice. The income from the latter is partly spent to meet household expenditure and partly kept for personal expenses. A part of this is also retained as savings by each Sister which she takes with her at the time of marriage. However cordial may be the relation between Sisters one does not give away any amount of her savings to the other nor does one give a larger share to the household from her earnings as labourer. Both Sisters contribute equally towards the household expenditure.

DHOBA

After considering Sister-Sister relationship among the Keuta, the Dhoba caste may be taken up for similar discussion. The background material concerning the caste, and the family organization in the caste has been described earlier and need not be repeated here. The subordinate role of women among the Dhoba influences the relationship between Sister and Sister. The traditional occupation of the Dhoba is also an important factor influencing this relationship.
With this general note on the specific items of daily routine may now be taken up for discussion.

Washing the face and cleaning the teeth:

The adult Sister occasionally washes the face and cleans the teeth of her infant Sister. There is no scope for interaction between adult Sisters as this item of daily routine is casually performed by the Dhoba women in between their professional work.

Defecation:

It is the duty of the elder Sister to clean her baby Sister after defecation. This is her especial duty when she is not yet grown up enough to wash clothes and is performed as a part of her duty of tending her younger Brothers and Sisters. There is no scope of interaction between adult Sisters as far as defecation is concerned.

Bathing:

An elder Sister occasionally bathes her baby Sister but this is done rarely as turmeric massage is considered as substitute for bathing. Adult women take their bath during their washing work. There is no scope for interaction between adult Sister in this item of daily routine.

Eating:

The Sisters eat together from the same pot from their childhood till the marriage of either of them. The company of a married Sister on a visit from her Husband's house is
especially sought at the time of eating. This is done as a mark of intimacy and affection on the part of the Sisters after long separation. If one Sister is late in returning from work then the other Sister waits for her to take her food. They help themselves in serving food.

Sleeping:

The Sisters sleep together both as children and adults. An adult Sister gives company to her Sister, Whether younger or elder, as they have to make adjustment for sleeping in favour of the male members of the household.

Cleaning:

The daily and periodical cleaning of the household is done by the female members of the household. The Sisters cooperate with each other in these cleaning operations but there is no specific pattern of interaction between them, concerning this item of daily routine.

Toilet:

The adult Sisters help each other in toilet. There is nothing specific about the pattern of interaction between Sisters concerning toilet. Their toilet is very brief and the resultant interaction between Sister and Sister the same as that among the working class Khandayat.

Cooking:

It has been mentioned earlier that cooking is the exclusive duty of women among the Dhoba. The Sisters learn to
cook early in their adulthood. They have to adjust cooking with their professional work. The cooking is either done under the supervision of their Mother or by themselves. The cooperation of the Sisters is especially effective as they have to do the cooking along with their heavy professional work. Cooking among the Dhoba is also not as brief as it is among the working class Keuta or the working class Khandayat. Warm rice is cooked twice daily and other side items are also cooked in substantial quantity. The cooking operations among Dhoba have been described earlier and need not be repeated here. It is only noteworthy that without close cooperation between them, the Sisters would not be able to discharge their duty of cooking along with their professional duties. A married Sister on a visit from her Husband's house is not expected to participate in the cooking as fully as her Sister at home. It is held that the brief period a married girl among Dhoba spends in the Father's family should be a period of rest. The Sister at home willingly allows her to take rest from cooking.

Daily round of occupational activities:

The adult Sisters among Dhoba are working women who do as much labour as the male members of the household. It has been described earlier that in spite of their being working women they donot have the same status in the family like their counterparts among the working class Khandayat, Keuta or Pano. They play a role in the family completely subordinate to their Brothers and Fathers. In the washing of the clothes and especially in the delivery of washed clothes to the clients they fully cooperate
with each other. One Sister may finish her washing earlier and return home to do the cooking while the other finishes the rest of the work. Similarly in the matter of delivery of washed clothes to the clients, one Sister may go to make the delivery while other Sister remains at home for cooking. If the delivery of the clothes is to be made in the afternoon the the Sisters go together and return before dark, to do the cooking together. When the delivery is made in the morning only one of the Sisters goes to the clients' houses while the other stays at home for cooking. A married Sister on a visit from her Husband's house participates casually in the washing and delivery of clothes.

Performance of religious rites:

The performance of the Osas offer a scope for interaction among women but as mentioned in the earlier chapters no Osa as such performed among the Dhoba. The Dhoba women collect cakes from their clients during each Osa. On the occasion of an Osa usually the washing operations are suspended and the Sisters go round the village together to collect cakes. A married Sister, if present on the occasiona of an Osa also participates in this.

Recreational activities:

As the Dhoba children have only limited society the Sisters are the chief playmates during childhood. They have however, little time for play as they have to shoulder the occupational and household duties quite early. Adult Sisters have no chance of playing. Gossiping is the main source of recreation for them and a Sister is the chief companion in this. The interaction
between Sisters among Dhoba is the same as that between working class Keuta.

**Rearing children:**

It is the duty of the girls among Dhoba to tend the children of the family. Usually the younger Sister discharges this duty while the elder Sister is engaged in household and professional work. There is little opportunity for the Sisters to tend each other's children. If a married Sister is on a visit from her Husband's house, the Sister at home attends to her children as a mark of affection but it is not obligatory.

**Daily income and expenditure:**

The role of the Sisters in the daily income and expenditure is not in keeping with their status as working women. This has been dealt with earlier. It is the duty of the Sisters to collect the dues from the clients, but these are handed over in full to the Father or the Brother as the case may be. The daily purchases are sometimes made by either of the Sisters, together or individually - but this is done according to the direction of the elder males of the family. Even the personal expenditure of a Sister, such as purchase of a saree, cannot be done by herself. Except accompanying each other at the time of collecting dues or making daily purchases there is no scope for interaction between Sisters.
**GUDIA**

In considering the behaviour pattern of different kin among the Gudia it has been seen in the previous chapters that it is identical with the landowning class of Khandayats in almost all respects. The Sister-Sister interaction also shows similarity with analogous interaction among the landowning Khandayat. There is only slight difference concerning the occupational activity of preparation of sweetmeats which is done only occasionally among the Gudia, their main occupation being cultivation. There is nothing specific about the Sister-Sister interaction concerning the preparation of sweetmeats. The interaction between Sisters is the same as that between other female members of the family.

**BADHEI**

The position of Badhei is comparable to that of the Gudia in the sense that the routine interaction between different kin is the same among them and is identical with that of the landowning Khandayat. There is slight difference concerning the routine occupational activities of carpentry work but this difference is not exhibited in case of Sister-Sister interaction as the women among Badhei have nothing to do with this.