CHAPTER FIVE

FATHER —— SON
In this chapter the interaction between Father and Son in the daily routine has been taken into consideration. The Father-Son relationship differs from the Husband-Wife relationship, discussed in the earlier chapter, on certain points. These points should be borne in mind for a correct appreciation of the pattern of Father-Son interaction among various castes.

The Husband-Wife relationship is the most direct example of affinal relationship, whereas the Father-Son relationship is the most direct form of consanguineal relationship comparable only to other parent progeny relationships between Father and Daughter, Mother and Son and Mother and Daughter.

Another crucial point here is that Father and Son belong to different generations whereas Husband and Wife belong to the same generation. Both the relationships undergo change with advancement, but time factor does not affect Husband-Wife relationship to the extent it does Father-Son relationship. In case of the former the core of relationship remains almost unchanged whereas in the latter case the time factor brings in radical transformations.

The inter-caste differences in Father-Son relationship are sharper than Husband-Wife relationship. This would be seen from the foregoing description. Certain amount of inter-caste similarity is perceivable in the relationship of the Father with his infant Son but significant differences set in as the Son grows up, and this is also marked by clearly defined stages. Another basic factor in the consideration of Father-Son
relationship, as compared with Husband-Wife relationship is that the former is strongly affected by other relationships and consequently undergoes transformation by a recognised social process, whereas the latter remains comparatively stable inspite of the relationships with others.

With the above generalised description to serve as the background the pattern of Father-Son interaction in daily routine may now be taken up for description.

B R A H M A N
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The Father-Son relationship among the Brahman sharply differs from other castes in the village. Part of this difference is due to their caste status which is common to Brahmans elsewhere but mostly it is due to the educational and economic conditions specific to Bantalla. These factors are not only responsible for inter-caste differences between the Brahman and others but also for a high range of intra-caste difference in Father-Son relationship.

Before coming to the specific items of daily routine it would be fruitful to discuss some general characteristics of Father-Son relationship among the Brahman. The Brahman Father has a greater responsibility for the socialization of his Son than the Father among other castes. This is not just an abstract caste principle. The evidence for this can be obtained by observing the daily behaviour of the Father and Son among the Brahman. From the social point of view the Brahman Son grows up more slowly than the male children of other castes. Among the Pano a 12 year old Son
can be termed as an adult. Among the Khandeyat a male of 18 years is a full-fledged member of the family. Among the Brahman, however, the male child slowly attains adulthood after the age of twenty and does not become a truly fullfledged member of the family during the lifetime of his Father. This sharply contrasts against the fact that the Brahman boy has much more social awareness and in knowledge and outlook he is far superior to boys of comparable age of other castes.

Among non-Brahman castes the Father-Son relationship undergoes a sharp change after the Son's marriage. This change can be termed both as a formal and informal break in the relationship between the Father and Son and the residual connection continuing after it are very slender. This change also occurs among the Brahman but to a lesser degree.

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

Washing the face and cleaning the teeth:

Washing the face and cleaning of the teeth among the Brahman has a ritual significance in addition to the hygienic. As the person responsible for the socialization of the child it is the duty of the Father to inculcate the regular habit of cleaning the teeth and washing the face in his son. Upto the age of five the Son is helped by the Father to perform this task. This responsibility is equally shared by the Mother of the child. After the Son has attained the age of five he is expected to clean his teeth all by himself. The twig is procured by the Father and any elder member of the family may serve the pot of water. After the performance of the
sacred thread ceremony the Son is expected to be more particular about the washing and cleaning. A boy is given the sacred thread approximately at the age of nine. In some cases it is delayed up to the age of eleven. After wearing the sacred thread the Son attains the ritual status of a full Brahman. From then onwards the Father teaches him correct Brahman behaviour. This teaching starts with the routine habits and routine behaviour. The first of the habits to be modified according to the changed status of the boy is the daily washing of the face and cleaning of the teeth.

The behaviour pertaining to the washing of the face and cleaning of the teeth differs on the basis of the educational and economic status of the family. An educated Father, who is inevitably an white-collar employee in a government or a private office, does not perform the household duties directly. He therefore does not serve the water pot or the cleaning twig to his Son. His Wife is expected to do this while his role is only to work as a disciplinarian. Among the families in the low income group the Father is less strict about the cleanly habits of his Son than the Father in the high income group. However compared with other non-Brahman castes he is more strict about it. Lack of education on his part leads him, among the low income group, to give emphasis on the ritual rather than the hygienic aspect of cleaning. After a boy is about 15 years old his cleaning habits are taken for granted and he is gradually considered responsible enough to realise its ritual significance.

As a man becomes old and infirm and unable to perform his daily routine work properly he gradually becomes dependent
on his Son and Son's Wife. It is the duty of the Son to help his Father to go through his daily routine. It is also his duty to see that his Wife serves the pot of water and the twig to his Father in time. It is natural on the part of the Brahman Father to expect that his Son would help him in washing his face and cleaning his teeth in his old age - which is the minimum he can expect. In actual practice also this help is given to him in almost all cases. There are only two instances when the old men have depend on their Son's Sons who were grown up enough to render such services.

The behaviour concerning cleaning of the teeth also depends on the number of Sons a man has got. If he has only one Son then he can bestow more care on him and if he has got a number of Sons, he is not so much particular about all of them. The eldest of the sons may be a favourite. The partiality shown to him is one of the crucial factors governing the Father-Son and Brother-Brother relationship in the family. In old age the Father usually depends on the eldest Son but if there is conflict among the Son's, the youngest one is depended upon. The choice also falls on the younger Son if he is unmarried. Three instances were recorded when the Father had choosen to remain with the elder Sons and in two instances he had choosen to remain with the youngest Son. In two of the former instances and one of the latter instances the Mother stayed with a Son with whom the Father was not staying. In all these cases the respective Sons and their Wives attended to the needs of the Father in cleaning his teeth and washing his face. It has been mentioned earlier that a Father does not ordinarily help his Son to wash his face and clean his teeth. If he does so very often, he is criticised in the village for doing the womanly work which should
have been done by his Wife. Again the general pattern of behaviour is that a Son should make his Wife help his Father in such routine activities as cleaning the teeth and washing the face. If a man is not able to make his Wife do this work then he is regarded as failing in his duty as a Son and also not being able to control his Wife.

Defecation:

The Father sometimes makes his infant Son defecate. If the Son is very young, say below three years, then the Father may take him to a secluded place in the house where he would defecate. He either makes him sit on his ankles or places him on his own ankles to help him to stool and washes him after that. A man however is not ordinarily expected to do these things. These are properly regarded as the duties of his Wife but the Father does not hesitate to do this if the Son is his only or favourite child. Throwing away the faeces after defecation is the duty of the Mother and a Father does not do this unless she is unable to perform this due to illness or absence.

Defecation has also its ritual aspects and with the attainment of adulthood the Son gradually learns to observe them properly. He must wear a napkin (gamcha) at the time of defecation and wash himself before entering the house. In all cases the hands, feet and the face should be properly washed. All these are taught to the child after he wears the sacred thread. Before wearing the sacred thread a boy can go naked - especially at the time of defecation. He is prohibited to go naked after wearing the sacred thread. He is therefore taught to wear a napkin at the time of defecation which at first appears very irksome to the boy and he is often reprimanded by the father for neglecting to do this. A Brahman should tie a corner
of his sacred thread to the left ear before defecation or urination and keep it tied till he has washed. After the sacred thread is tied to the ear he is prohibited to talk or even utter a single word. It is the duty of the Father to inculcate these habits in his son. A man has often to go a distance for defecation and he is also to find out a secluded spot to do so. The adult villager has therefore a control over his bowel which is not to be found among latrine users. A young boy has no such control over his bowels. He gradually acquires this habit. It is the duty of the Father to see that his Son goes to a properly secluded place and does not defecate very near to the village. If a boy defecates on the village lanes, in front of somebody's house or very near to his compound then it may lead to quarrels between the aggrieved person and the boy's Father but usually disputes are avoided on these matters and the Son is reprimanded for his indecency.

It is one of the recognised duties of the Son to help his Father, in illness and infirmity, in the act of defecation as it is a very difficult routine act for an old or ill person. If the old Father stools in the house it is the duty of the grownup Son to do the cleaning. The Son also helps him to go to a secluded place inside the kitchen garden for defecation. The Father, for his part is not commonly expected to render the same services to his Son in case of illness and infirmity. If he does so then he is regarded as a very affectionate Father. The Son partly depends on his Wife to render these services to his Father and if he is unable to make her help then he is considered to be lacking in manly authority over his spouse.
Those who serve outside the village, usually take their Fathers to their place of work during their illness or infirmity. In majority of the cases the Fathers were found to be reluctant to leave the village at old age and to live as dependants of their Sons. They are especially reluctant if there are other Sons living in the village. In case of the illness of his Son, who is living outside, the Father visits him accompanied by his Wife and if necessary by other members of the family. The pattern of Father-Son interaction at these places is the same as that found inside the village.

Bathing:

It has been mentioned earlier that very small infants are not usually bathed. They are massaged with oil and turmeric paste every alternate day and this is treated as substitute for bath. Such massaging is considered as an exclusive duty of women, which is never performed by the Father of the child. The child begins to take bath after he is one year old. At this stage the Father takes his Son with him to the place of bath when he has the leisure to do so. He may also bathe him in the house. There are however not regular features in the routine of the Father.

The Son helps his Father to take bath in case of illness and infirmity. In case of short illness the patients are not bathed but in case of prolonged illness they are occasionally washed. In bathing his infirm Father the Son may take the help of his Wife. Here also the manliness of the Son is judged by the authority he exercises over his Wife in making her help his Father in bathing.
Bathing has both hygienic and ritual significance among the Brahman and the ritual aspect of it is considered as more important than the hygienic. Before the performance of the sacred thread ceremony the ritual aspect of bathing is not emphasized upon by the Father but after the Son wears the sacred thread he is gradually taught to realize the ritual importance of bathing. He is taught to take his bath after defecation and not to touch the clothes and enter the kitchen or the house of worship before taking bath. Another habit which the Father teaches the Son is not to be naked at the time of taking bath. Before wearing the sacred thread the male children go naked while taking bath or defecation and they feel it very convenient to do so. It therefore requires some effort on the part of the Father to inculcate the habit of wearing clothes while taking bath.

Among the Brahmans who are educated and are employed in white-collared jobs, the Father gives emphasis both on the ritual and the hygienic aspects of bathing. When visiting the village he is very particular in demonstrating the cleanly habits of his Son before the villagers and bringing him to book in case of any breach in the cleanly conduct. It may be noted that taking an elaborate bath has a prestige value in the village as only the well-to-do can afford it.

The articles required for taking bath, such as oil, soap and napkins are purchased by the Father for his minor Son. For a grown up Son, these are treated as personal expenses which he is expected to bear personally. In this respect it differs from the expenditure on food. The Son does not bear the expenditure
on his food unless he is separated from his Father but he is expected to meet his expenses regarding bathing even when their relationship is very cordial. The bathing expenses of the Father are borne by his Son, when he is no longer earning.

Eating:-

It is the duty of the Father to bear food expenses of his minor son. Arranging milk for the new born Son is the Primary duty of the Father. If he can not arrange this then he is severely criticised as a negligent Father. The food expenses of the adult Son are expected to be borne by the Father in a joint family if the Son is not an earning member, but no such case has been recorded in the village as all the adult Brahmans are earning members of their families. In case of those who work on land, jointly owned by the families, the food expenses are treated as a joint concern of the Father and the Son. The food expenses of the old and infirm Father are borne by the adult Son. Among the lower income group the maintenance of the old Father puts a considerable strain on the slender resources of the Son and performs this duty gradingly. If he does not do so then he is severely criticised as failing in his duty. If the old Father is separated from his Son, the latter is not expected to bear his food expenses but in case of infirmity and inability to manage his own affairs, the Son comes to his help. On those occasions he claims the property owned by the Father. If there are several Sons then it is the duty of the eldest Son to shoulder the responsibility of feeding the Father. Mostly, however, the Father relies on his favourite Son for his food expenses. One case was recorded when the three Sons completely
disregarded their Father as he married at a very ripe age without consulting them. This action was also approved by the villagers. In another instance the Father did not maintain a separate establishment of his own but depended on his eldest Son for meeting his food requirements while the Mother depended on another son.

It is a show of affection on the part of the Father to feed his baby Son from his own plate. The Son is allowed to eat from the plate of his Father till he wears the sacred thread. After wearing the sacred thread there is ritually prohibited for him to eat with any body.

Feeding the infant Son is not the duty of the Father but he may do so if he is a favourite child. An adult Son takes his food with his Father. If present in the house both are expected to take lunch and dinner together. The breakfast and afternoon tiffin are taken by each according to convenience without waiting for the other. When the female members of the family are either ill or unable to cook for some other reason, it is the duty of the Son to serve food to his Father. The Father does not serve food to his Son unless he is a minor. In case of boys reading outside the village, the Father do not hesitate to serve them even when they are adults.

There is no fixed principle as to who should take his food earlier. It has been seen that among the Brahman the Husband takes his food earlier than the Wife and that the Wife waits if he is late. In case of Father and Son neither of them waits for the other dunder routine conditions. Usually the Father returns earlier from work and if the Son had not returned then he takes his food without waiting for him. In the night also the
Father takes his food earlier as he intends to retire earlier. Before taking food it is the courtesy on the part of either to enquire whether the other had taken food.

Sleeping:-

The Son sleeps either with the Father or the Mother when he is young. In the afternoon he usually sleeps with the Father after lunch as the Mother has to take her food and complete her household duties before she can find time for afternoon nap. The infant Son sleeps with the parents in the night. After taking the sacred thread it is the ritual duty of the Son to sleep alone but he does not cease to sleep with the Father all at once. A boy usually takes up sacred thread at the age of nine and at this age he is not considered mature enough to sleep alone. By the time he is twelve years old he sleeps alone.

Sleeping as such has no ritual significance. The regular habits of sleeping are however a part of routine behaviour which the male child has to be properly taught by the Father. He makes the son get up early in the morning and late risers are severely reprimanded. Early rising is especially insisted upon if the Son is a school going boy.

It is a rare show of affection on the part of the Father to allow his adult Son to sleep with him. If he is a favourite of his Father he sleeps with him till his marriage. During the illness or extreme old age of the Father, when he would be requiring assistance during the night, an adult Son may sleep in the same room with him, but not in the same bed. The Son may arrange the Father's bed in these cases.
Among the educated, the Son is not expected to go to sleep in the presence of his Father. If he is lying on the bed, he is expected to get up or at least not to appear as too much relaxed, when the Father approaches him. It is considered as extremely bad manners on the part of the adult Son if he does not get up earlier than his Father.

Cleaning:

It has been mentioned earlier that cleaning among the Brahman has both ritual and hyginic significance. Father and Son work as partners in the ritual cleaning of the house, - the Father doing a little more on the side of direction and the Son performing the labour. The Son does not figure prominently in the cleaning of the house, if the occasion is his own marriage. This is because of a feeling of shyness which one exhibits towards his own marriage. (It is to be noted here that Brahman males donot smear the walls or the floor for cleaning. This is done by the women of the house or by hired women labourers from the touchable castes).

Washing the clothes is the individual duty of the persons concerned. Both Father and Son wash their own clothes. A Father may wash the clothings of his infant Son in rare cases but he does not wash such clothings on which the infant had defecated or urinated. This is considered as the duty of the Child's Mother.

The Father should never wash the clothings of his adult Son, unless he is ill and there are no female members in the house. The Son does not usually wash the clothings of his Father unless the latter is old or infirm. On the whole washing each others'
clothes do not form a regular feature in the routine interaction between Father and Son.

The materials used for washing are procured or purchased either by the Son or the Father. The minor Sons, especially school students are provided with the washing materials by the Father. Those who are reading in colleges are considered grown up enough and are left to arrange their own cleaning. If the Father if dependent on the Son for his living during old age then he is also supplied with these materials when his clothes are not washed by the Son.

Toilet:

The toilet of the Brahman male inside the village is very brief. There is no effective interaction between Father and Son concerning toilet. A minor Son does not have any separate toilet requirements. He uses the comb of his Father or Mother and may also use their napkins. After taking sacred thread he is provided with separate napkins. The toilet requirements are considered very minor and they does not result in any effective interaction either when the Son is adult or whether Father is old.

In spite of the Brahman's ritual emphasis on cleaning, toilet is considered as a luxury on the part of the Son. He should never comb his hair in the presence of his Father and is reprimanded if he is spends more time on it. Marks on the forehead, arms and the chest with sandlewood paste is a part of the Brahman toilet. Its use by the Son is not considered as a luxury as it is a distinctive caste sign of the Brahman.
The use of cosmetics and articles like scented oil by the educated is not fully accepted by their Fathers. Though they do not openly resent it, they are not convinced about their utility. A Son on his part avoids using the toilet articles in the village which might be considered as exotic and thus cause embarrassment to his Father.

Cooking:

It has been mentioned earlier that cooking is not the work of the males - especially Brahmans males. There is therefore very little scope for effective interaction between Father and Son, concerning this item of daily routine. A Son is expected to make his Wife cook for his Father and this is the sphere where the conjugal relationship is put to severe test. If his Wife does not cook and serve food regularly to his Father, then the results in strained relationship either between Husband and Wife or Father and Son.

In exceptional cases, when other members of the family are either absent or unable to cook, the Son may cook for his Father. Generally he arranges with some female relatives to do the cooking. The Father on the other hand is not expected to cook for his Son. It was however observed in one case, that the Father in his enthusiasm to give some choice dishes to his Son, cooked for him. The Son was a government employee who was visiting the village on leave, and the cooking was done as a labour of love. This is a solitary case of its kind in the village. Two other instances have been recorded when the Fathers took up small jobs in the towns and cooked the food for their Sons to enable them to
pursue their studies.

Father and adult Son share the responsibilities of the family for procuring the cooking requirements. The procurement of fuel from the forest is done by the Father and Son in close cooperation if the former is not too old. The procurement of the food grains like rice and cereals is also done jointly. This activity is closely allied with the agricultural operations. Articles like spices and oil may be purchased by either the Son or the Father within the budget of the family. The minor Son is of course excluded from these activities. In case of an adult Son considerable adjustment is required between him and his Father in meeting the cooking requirements of the family. This adjustment has to be done delicately, and the lack of it has been observed to lead to considerable friction within the family. This is enhanced if there are more than one Sons with their Wives and children.

Daily round of occupational activities:-

This is the sphere where the Father-Son interaction in the daily routine is most effective. It is also significant that there is no interaction between a minor Son and his Father in this item of daily routine.

Among the Brahman, as has been stated earlier, the minor Son usually goes to school. If he stays in the village, he is expected to take an interest in and to have some rudimentary knowledge of the occupational activities pursued by his Father. The wearing of the sacred thread, which marks the adult hood of the Brahman in the ritual sphere, does not make him mature enough for the occupational activities. A Brahman boy does not usually
participate in the occupational activities before completing his primary education.

The occupational activities are closely allied to agriculture as it is the main occupation of the Brahmans staying in the village. A adult Son is expected to take up gradually the responsibilities of agricultural operations so as to lessen the burden of his Father. This otherwise simple process becomes complicated by two factors. With the assumption of responsibilities the Son also shares a part of the income. This results in a reduction of the authority of the Father over the family to the extent of income is apportioned to the Son. This is resented by the Father. Again, the assumption of responsibilities by one Son arises the problem of adjustment with other Sons. This more often leads to maladjustment than adjustment and results in the division of the property among the Brothers and breaking up of the joint family. The Father tries his best to prevent the breaking of the family and the division of the property. In doing this he usually shows partiality towards his favourite Son which causes further resentment and hastens the process of disintegration of the joint family.

In performing the daily round of occupational activities concerning agriculture, the Sons are expected to undertake the heavier part of the work. The Father goes to the field earlier than his sons and also returns earlier. The Sons go to the distant fields leaving the nearer ones to the Father. There is practically little work either for the Father or for the Sons during the ploughing season as being Brahman they are prohibited from ploughing.
For the lower income group the work is especially heavy during the sowing, weeding and harvesting periods. For the higher income group work is equally light during all the seasons as they are only to supervise the work of hired labourers. A Father who has enough authority over his Sons, undertakes a supervision of their work to see whether they on their part are supervising the work or the hired labourers properly.

A completely different pattern prevails among the lowest income group who work as labourers. Here the Son takes up occupational activities earlier than the other groups, and it does not bring in the maladjustments between Father and Son, like the landowning group. The earning of wages by the Son adds to the income of the family and though the Father would like to have the whole of it, he cannot express his resentment even if he receives a small amount. If there are more than one Son, there is usually conflict regarding contribution to the family expenditure. The conflict becomes sharp if some of the Sons are married and have children and others are unmarried. The unmarried Sons are reluctant to share the burdens of the family equally with the married ones. This results in the breaking up of the family, the father throwing in his lot with the young and the unmarried, to fulfil the paternal responsibilities of getting them married and settled.

Performance of religious rites:

A Brahman boy becomes entitled to participate in rituals after he is given sacred thread. Performance of "Chalu" is a necessary part of daily routine which the Brahman boy must do
after wearing the sacred thread. "Chalu" means offering food to
the gods at the time of taking lunch or dinner. It is the duty
of the Father to teach his Son to perform this rite correctly with
the chanting of the specific hymn called "Chalu Mantra". He also
teaches his Son to worship the household deities. The Son is made
conversant with the specific "mantras" to be uttered at the time of
worshipping each deity. He is also taught to say his prayers early
in the morning and the evening. The regular performance of the
daily rituals and the saying of the daily prayers are insisted upon
by the Father during the early stage of his Son's Brahmanhood, that
is for two to three years after he wears the sacred thread. The
thread wearing boy is made to conform to a strict routine of rituals
during the initial period but gradually the Father becomes
indifferent to the performance of daily religious rites by his Son
and the latter also loses the enthusiasm of his early Brahmanhood
for doing so. It has been mentioned earlier that the performance
of various Osas almost forms a part of the daily routine in Brahman
households. The initiative in their performance is taken by the
women. The function of the males is confined to the procurement of
the things required for their performance, and the offerings of
worship by chanting the prescribed mantras wherever necessary.
This can be done either by the Father or the Son. There is no fixed
principle to determine the role of either in the performance of the
Osas. Usually the Father offers worship while the Son procures the
required articles.

To sum up, it may be said that in a Brahman
family, the Father acts like a preceptor or Guru towards his son
in the performance of the religious rites though his authority in
the secular matters is not so firmly established. It is the duty of the Father to initiate his Son to the ritual field at the initial stage.

Recreational activities:-

The Father acts as a deterring force towards the Son in the recreational activities. Playing, singing and similar activities in the opinion of a Father, kills time and spoils young people. When the Son is a minor, the Father can at best tolerate his playing a game, when he has no work to do. Mostly he would suggest how otherwise the time could be better utilised. Gossiping is not so much resented and the Father himself participates in it, if it does not pertain to such matters, which cannot be discussed between them. Occasional playing of indoor games by an adult Son is not resented by the Father. If the former is of the middle age then he can almost be a partner to his Father in the playing of indoor games. A Son however is not completely at his ease, if he has to play in the presence of his Father.

Rearing Children:-

The rearing of children, considered with reference to Father-Son interaction may cover the entire range of routine concerning their relationship. Its scope has been narrowed down here to consider only that aspect which covers the socialisation of the Son.

The role of both the Father and the Mother are important in the rearing of the children. The role of the Mother would be discussed latter. The role of the Father, in rearing the
Son, is mainly that of a disciplinarian. This role gradually changes as the Son grows up and both become equal partners in the day to day affairs. The Son's marriage informally terminates the disciplinarian role of the Father.

Bringing up the Son at the infant stage is the primary duty of the Mother. The role of the Father is confined to occasional tending of the child during his leisure. The Father may also take care of the infant son when the Mother is busy doing household work.

The education of the Son formally begins when he attains the age of five. An initiation ritual (Bidyarambha) is held to mark this formal beginning but actual studies do not start till the age of seven. At the initial stage of education it is the duty of the Father to take his Son twice to the school, once in the morning and once in the evening. If he is not willing then he is first persuaded and if that fails he is physically coerced by the Father to attend the school.

It is the primary duty of the Father to teach proper manners to the son, the Mother playing only a secondary role. This teaching is more negative than positive. If he quarrels with somebody or beats him, steals other peoples' belongings or even the household articles, he is reprimanded but he is never taught positive virtues. The mode of reprimanding the Son varies according to the personality of the Father and the educational and economic status of the family. It also depends to a large extent on the status of the aggrieved party. If the party complaining against the Son has a lower status than his family, the Father takes the offence of the Son much more seriously and the consequent
punishment is also heavier. If the contending party is of equal status or of higher status then the offence is taken somewhat lightly. In such disputes the Son is reprimanded or beaten or if the Father is convinced of his innocence he defends him. Fathers, whose educational status is low, take recourse to the latter and try to find fault with the complaining party. The educated Father especially if he is a white-collared employee serving outside the village, takes the veracity of the complaint against his Son for granted and punishes him without verifying whether he is at fault or not. This is done with a view to cement the his relationship with the villagers which is otherwise very slender and it is more demonstrative than real. A village Father, in defending his Son against others may enter into a quarrel and many of the serious quarrels among the Brahman are due to this.

It has been mentioned earlier that the Brahman Son grows up very slowly from the social point of view. At the age of sixteen to eighteen, when a young man of another caste is a fullfledged member of the society enjoying equal status with his Father in his family, the Brahman's boy is only half way through his education full dependent on his father and not at all versed in the worldly affairs. This is of course true with those who educate their Sons. The few Brahmans belonging to the working class, who do not educate their Sons beyond the primary level, have a different dealing with them. In these families the Sons become full fledged members of the family and shoulder the family responsibilities much earlier than those who are sent to the schools and colleges for education.
It is noteworthy that in rearing his Son the Brahman Father, if he intends to educate him, attempts both socialisation and desocialisation of the child in terms of the village society. Here his aim is twofold. He intends that his Son should adopt the traditional virtues valued in the village and should be praiseworthy according to the village norm. Side by side he also intends that the Son should not adopt the rustic way of life prevalent in the village. The more the Son breaks away from the pattern of village life, the more, in the opinion of the Father, he would be suitable for education and employment. In his effort to achieve this the Father becomes selective about certain village traits which the Son should adopt and certain others which he should avoid. For example the boy is encouraged to pay respect to the elders of the village, to observe the Brahmanic code of performing worship, keeping clean ritually and so on. As against this he is reprimanded if he mixes intimately with the village children and plays with them. He is also expected not to take sides in the factional disputes in the village though the Father himself may be deeply engrossed in them.

The generation differences are more sharply defined in the case of the Brahman Father and his educated Son. After being educated and joining service the Son becomes a member of a society different from that to which his Father belongs. At the first stage he keeps close contact with his Father as the new society appears alien to him. Gradually the drifts away from the village society of his Father, a fact which is both resented and appreciated by the Father. The relationship between Father and Son gradually thins out and becomes confined to show of formal courtesy.
In rearing the children one of the crucial problems of the Father has to face is to keep a balance among his Sons. He loses his authority over the Sons if he shows partiality towards any one of them. This factor is however counterbalanced by other factors like the personal relationship among the Sons and their relative ability. One of the less able Sons may cooperate with the Father in meeting the cost of education of his brighter Brother and be equally proud of his Brother like his Father. If the performance of the educated Son is above the average and he is subsequently so well placed as to render substantial help to the Father - it helps to keep the family in tact and the cordial relationship with the Sons and the Father on the one hand and among the Sons on the other is maintained. This has been observed in two cases. In other cases it was observed that the educated Son himself found it difficult to make his both ends meet and partially depended on his Father for meeting his own expenses. This created a serious rupture in the family resulting in tense feeling the Sons on the one hand and the Father and the Sons on the other.

Daily income and expenditure:

The reciprocal interaction between Father and Son concerning daily income and expenditure undergoes considerable changes with the attainment of adulthood by the Son. Like the children of all castes the Brahman Son depends upon his Father during infancy and the period of minority. It is a special feature among the Brahman that the period of minority of the Son is of a much longer duration compared to the other castes. This is because of
the demands of education. It is also noteworthy that considerable intra-caste differences are to be observed in this respect. The difference is very pronounced when the families in the higher income groups are contrasted with those in the lower income groups. The educational tradition of the families also operates irrespective of their income status. Income and education are therefore the two regulating factors determining the Father-Son interaction concerning the daily income and expenditure.

The Son who goes to the school expects not to be bothered about daily income and expenditure. The Father on his part occasionally tries to impress upon the Son the hardships that are to be faced for earning livelihood and for meeting the expenditure. The Father does this to show to the Son that he is undergoing extreme difficulties and making sacrifices to get him educated. This is also meant to be a stricture on the Son to be parsimonious and to mind his lessons with more diligence.

An educated Son inevitably takes up service after completing his education. He therefore does not develop any effective relationship with his Father in the routine activities concerning daily income and expenditure as he has to stay outside the village. Only those Sons who stay in the village pursuing the traditional occupation have the opportunity of developing any effective interaction with their Fathers in this respect. In these cases the overall control of income and expenditure is vested in the Father. If the Sons are not separated from the Father then the latter continues to exercise this control even if in some cases this only nominal. In a landowning family the authority of the Father
is more real than in the labour class families. The Father keeps the produce of the land and sells or lends it in formal consultation with the Sons. If the Son is not consulted adequately then it leads to dispute with the Father. The sale proceeds are kept by the Father and accounted for by him. He is not asked to produce the exact details of the expenditure.

The Sons are not given any formal allowance. Individual Sons may sell or keep away a part of the produce at the time of harvesting. This they utilise as their personal expense. Expense on food, agricultural operations, building and repair of the house and purchase of cows or bullocks are treated as family expenditure which are met from the common fund. As the common expenditure of the family these are undisputed. Expenditure on education of children, medicine, purchase of clothes are also treated as common expenditure of the family but they are of disputed nature. A part of this expenditure is borne from the common family fund without raising any dispute but certain parts of it are treated as excesses and the meeting these from the common fund are subjected to dispute. For example in meeting the educational expenses of a child the family may agree to pay the school dues may not like to meet the expenditure on purchase of books. Such expenses the family would like to be met from the personal earnings of the child's own Father. It may be noted that such problems do not arise when the Sons are unmarried but when they marry and beget children such problems become common. Expenditure on the marriage of the Son's daughter and the sacred thread ceremony and marriage of the Son's Son are also disputed subjects. Purchase of ornaments for the Son's Wife is another problem of this nature. It was observed in
the village that disputes centering around any of these problems or a combination of them have been responsible for the separation of the Sons from their Father. These problems are not strictly between the Father and the Son. Other members of the family come equally into the picture. However, basically these are the problems which result in the most effective interaction between Father and Son.

This problem exists more or less for the labour class Brahman families as well. In their cases however, certain factors check the disputes and subsequent rupture of Father-Son relationship. Income from labour is clearly earmarked. The Sons and the Father agree to contribute a part of it for the common expenditure of the family and keep the rest of it for meeting their personal expenses. As the children of these families hardly go beyond the primary level - the problem of education raises little or no problems. Marriage of the Son's children and their sacred thread ceremony do raise problems. These problems do not become a serious as in the former group. In the labour class group one is not considered fit to marry as unless he has stores enough money to meet the expenses. Besides, because of the late marriage of males in this group, the Father is often not alive at the time of the marriage of his Son's Son. The marriage of the Son's Daughter is also not a serious problem as the bridegrooms among the labour class families do not demand dowries. The expenses involved are therefore not heavy even according to the standard of the labourer class. All these factors make the daily income and expenditure among the labour class Brahman a more cooperative venture between the Father
and the Sons than is possible among the higher income group.

KHANDAYAT.

In discussing Father-Son relationship among the Brahman it has been seen that the Brahman Father is the care-taker, disciplinarian and the teacher of tradition both in the formal and informal sense. Among all the castes of the village the landowning Khandayat make a nearest approximation to this type of Father-Son relationship. They of course do not stand comparison with the Brahman and fall far short of the Brahmanical standard. If however this standard is taken as the ideal, the Khandayat can score above other castes in the village in being nearest to this ideal next to the Brahman.

The Khandayats cannot be taken as a single block in considering the Father-Son interaction in the daily routine. This has also been observed in the case of the Brahman among whom sharp interaction differences in Father-Son relationship have been found on the basis of income level and educational status. For consideration of Father-Son interaction in the daily routine, the Khandayats can be divided into two broad groups namely first the landowning-cum-sharecropping group and second the labour class group. Most of the permanent industrial labourers in the village belong to the first group of Khandayat. It may be recalled that the caste was divided into similar groups while considering Husband-Wife relationship.

With this general note the specific items of daily routine may be taken into consideration.
Washing the face and cleaning the teeth:

Unlike the Brahmans the washing of the face and cleaning of the teeth have no ritual significance among the Khandayat - though sections among them have begun to ascribe ritual value to these acts in order to emulate the Brahman tradition. This has already been mentioned before. Unlike the Brahman the Khandayat Son has no sacred thread ceremony to mark his formal entry into the caste in the ritual sense.

During infancy the Mother takes care of the Son. After the Son is able to walk the Father may wash his face and clean the teeth in the morning while performing these acts himself. As the Son grows he learns to perform these acts by imitation. The Father does not make efforts to inculcate the habit in his Son - as in the case with the Brahman. He however occasionally reprimands him for not washing his face and cleaning his teeth. Washing the face has acquired slight ritual significance among the landowning Khandayat and if one starts for work without washing his face, it is considered as a bad omen. During the minority of the Son the Father occasionally takes him to task for not doing this. The labourers, especially the day labourers, are not so particular about it. No emphasis is given on the cleaning of teeth by either group.

In case of illness and infirmity the Son helps the father to wash his face and clean his teeth. The Father also reciprocates in case there are no other members of the family to help the Son. The materials required for the cleaning i.e., twigs for cleaning tooth are procured either by the Father or the Son according to convenience.
Defecation:-

During the infancy of the Son the Mother makes him defecate and cleans him after it. Due to shortage of space in their residential area the Khandayat boy is taught very early the habit of going to the fields for defecation. Like the Brahmans the Khandayats also wear a napkin at the time of defecation but a Khandayat boy usually does not do so as he can go naked when he defecates. This is in contrast to the analogous behaviour of the Brahman boy whose wearing of the sacred thread at the age of nine marks a sharp break in his behaviour.

In illness or infirmity the Son helps the Father to defecate. He helps him to go to the fields which are situated very near the residential area of the Khandayats. If the Father is too old to move then he is helped to the kitchen garden adjoining the house. If he defecates on the bed it may also be washed by the Son though it is the primary duty of the man's Wife to do so. It has been mentioned earlier that the labour class Khandayat Sons are separated from their Fathers soon after their attainment of adulthood and in any case soon after marriage, whereas among the landowning, share-cropping group the family remains intact. The behaviour pattern is therefore different for both the groups. The Son performs his duty towards the Father more regularly among the landowning group.

Bathing:-

Bathing has a slightly ritual significance among the Khandayats of the landowning class. It is however a very casual affair among the labour class group. The Father in either group has nothing to do with the bathing of the Son at the infant stage. In
both cases it is the duty of the Mother to bathe the Son. As mentioned earlier the infants are very rarely bathed in the village and bathing the infant Son is even rare among the Khandayats in comparison with the Brahman. The infant is massaged with oil and turmeric paste which is considered as a substitute for bath. It is the duty of the Father to purchase oil and turmeric in sufficient quantity for this purpose though he may not take part in the actual bathing of the child. As the child begins to walk he accompanies his Father to the bathing place whenever he has the leisure to take him. This however is only done occasionally as bathing is done among all the classes of Khandayats in a great hurry. If a minor Son does not bathe regularly then he is reprimanded by the Father. In this respect the Father in the labour class group is less strict than the Father in the landowning group. The few families in the landowning group, who have been described earlier as making efforts to emulate the Brahmans to rise in the caste status have begun to take renewed interest in the cleanly habits of their Sons. Inspite of this there is no effective interaction between the adult Son and the Father so far as bathing in the daily routine is concerned. A Son working in an industrial area may bring a napkin or a piece of soap for his Father while visiting the village but this does lead to effective interaction between Father and Son in the daily routine.

Eating:

It has been described earlier that there is effective interaction between Husband and Wife among the Khandayats as far as eating is concerned. This is the only effective kin relationship concerning eating among the Khandayats. The Father-Son
relationship in this respect is only effective in individual cases but in general there is no effective interaction between them. It was observed only in two cases, where the Father and the Son were the only members of the family, that there was any evidence of effective interaction. In these two cases the Father and the Son cooperated with each other in cooking. The Son took the major burden of cooking in these cases. He served food to the Father and took his food after he had finished eating. These are exceptional instances and happened because of the death of the Son's Mother.

Among the labour class people Father and Son take their food according to their individual convenience. There is very little scope for any interaction between adult Son and the Father as they are almost inevitably separated from each other after the latter's attainment of adulthood. The infant Son is fed by the Mother. The minor Son may take his food with his Father from the same plate.

Among the landowning group Father and Son take their food simultaneously. A son who is working outside, inevitably does so. A Father among the Khandayat may ask his adult Son to take food with him from the same plate as a show of affection. This is in contrast to the Brahman behaviour of prohibiting the adult Son to take food from the same plate.

Sleeping:

Due to lack of space the infant Son sleeps with the parents jointly. As he grows up his sleeping poses a problem. Lack of space does not allow for separate accommodation for him. The Father is handicapped in cohabiting with his Wife, if the son sleeps with him. He therefore teaches the Son to sleep with other members
of the family as soon as he grows up. By the time the Son is about five years old he acquires the habit of sleeping either with his grandparents or with other members of the family even if they are separated from the family of his Father.

The adult Son among the labour class Khandayat is separated from the family of his Father in majority cases. If separated from the family he makes his own sleeping arrangements. If he continues to be a member of the family, as is the case among the landowning class then the Father has to make adjustments in the sleeping arrangement. This adjustment becomes all the more necessary if the Son is married. This aspect of behaviour has already been described in the earlier sections. The Father avoids entering the house till late in the night in order to allow the married Son to have a free time with his Wife. During the early part of the night when the Son is sleeping with his Wife the Father may be engaged in some work or in gossiping outside the house. He returns by 8.30 or 9.00 P.M. which are late hours according to the village time-schedule. If space allows him, he may sleep in a separate room, otherwise he sleeps in the corridors.

Cleaning:-

The ritual importance of cleaning is not so important for the Khandayat as it is for the Brahmans. The Son whether minor or adult cooperates with the Father fully in the periodical cleaning of the house. Khandayat males unlike the Brahman males are not prohibited from smearing the walls and the floor with cowdung and mud. As a matter of fact both Father and Son share the labour of cleaning the house as hired labour is not employed by them
for this purpose. Both Father and Son clean their clothes individually which is also the case with the Brahmans. Materials like soap and soda are either purchased by the Father or the Son. Even a minor Son cleans his own clothes. The Son may clean the clothes of the Father, in case of his illness or infirmity, especially if the latter is a widower. This is done even when Father and Son are separated from each other.

The daily cleaning of the house is the duty of the women of the family. The sweeping of the lane in front of the house is of course done by the males. Either the Father or the Son may do it. Among the landowning families this job is often left to the younger Sons.

The Father among the Khandayats is not expected to teach cleanly habits to his Son. It has however been observed that the landowning Khandayats, in their effort to emulate the Brahman, make efforts to make their Sons appear clean. In doing this emphasis is given more on the ritual aspects of cleaning than on the hygienic. The families who have taken the lead in this respect do it more demonstratively.

Toilet:

Toilet among Khandayat males is very brief. In almost all the cases it only means oiling and combing the hair. Mostly, however, the Khandayats are indifferent towards toilet. Only the industrial labourers are very particular about it and elaborately comb their heads and even use cosmetics. With them it is a mark of personal distinction.
The Khandayat Father usually regards the toilet of his Son as waste of time on his part and may reprimand him if he spends a good deal of time over it. The Father of an industrial worker however is tolerant of it. On the whole there is very little effective interaction between the Father and Son concerning toilet. The Father may comb the hair of the minor Son occasionally but he has no interaction with his adult Son in this respect.

Cooking:

Like the Brahmans, cooking is the duty of the women among the Khandayat. The process of cooking is simpler among the Khandayats than it is among the Brahman. Every Khandayat male knows a little bit of cooking and does it when the occasion so demands.

Two instances have already been cited where the Father and Son cooperated with each other in cooking among the Khandayat. It has also been stated that these two were the solitary instances of their kind and their duration was also short. In both the cases the specific interaction between Father and Son in respect of cooking ceased with the marriage of the latter.

Both adult and minor sons help the Father in cooking, or they may even do the whole of cooking, when the female members of the family are not able to do so. The materials required for cooking are procured or purchased by either the Father or the Son. The accounts are kept jointly and the utilisation of the materials are also properly accounted for by both. The Father in this case plays the role of the controller and the Son is responsible to him to the extent their personal relationship warrants. The role
of the Father as the controller of the family's cooking expenditure is more effective in the case of the landowning group than among the labour class group. The dominant role of the Father among this group has been discussed earlier.

It has already been stated that the Father is separated from the Son after the latter's marriage among almost all the Khandayat families except the landowning group. In these cases the Father depends on his own Wife for cooking. If the Wife dies and the Sons do not help him he cooks his own food as long as he is able to do so. Excepting in one case it was found that the Son always helped the Father after the Mother's death and made his Wife to do the cooking. If there are more than one Son then each takes charge of the cooking for the Father by turns.

Daily round of occupational activities:

Among the landowning group the Sons are the main coworkers of the Father in the daily round of occupational activities. A Khandayat man who has some grown up Sons is considered to have the proper assets for agricultural operations. He aspires to cultivate more and more land either by purchase or by share-cropping. The labour done in the fields is shared by the Father and the Sons but the latter voluntarily undertake to do more work. The products however are kept under the custody of the Father and he has the final say in their disposal, though the Sons are consulted before any transaction. Any decision about the conducting of the agricultural operations are taken after close consultation between the Father and the Sons. This consultation is done most intimately if a new piece of land is to be purchased and all the
avenues for collecting the required amount of money are explored jointly by the Father and the Sons, and each may volunteer to contribute their personal savings. It is considered a good gesture on the part of a Son if he can persuade his Wife to part with a part of her jewellery for this purpose.

During the ploughing, sowing and the harvesting seasons the Father and Son start to the fields together. All of them may not go to the same place if they have different plots of land. During the ploughing season the operations are limited by the number of bullocks and ploughs the family possesses. The Father and the Sons usually visit the same plot of land during the ploughing season and each takes up the ploughing by turns. They allow the Father to do the ploughing in the morning and voluntarily undertake work during the hotter part of the day.

During the harvesting season each Son and the Father visit different fields as harvesting is a type of work which can not stand any delay. The sowing is usually done by the Father. All the Khandayats adopt the broadcasting method in sowing. It is a light work and all the plots can be sowed by one man. Besides sowing seeds is a mark of ownership of land - so the honour is given to the Father.

The Father-Son interaction among the labour class Khandayat is less effective. The adult sons are usually separated from their Fathers' families among this group, thus closing the avenues of interaction. The agrarian reforms, however, have brought in certain recent changes among this group. The young men in some cases have found it profitable to stay together and to take
advantage of their Father as a coordinating agent. It has been stated in the background chapter that the current tendency among the Labour class Khandayats is to convert themselves as landowners and share-croppers by pooling their resources together. The role of the Father under such circumstances assumes an added significance. He wields considerable authority over the occupational conduct of the Sons and they also voluntarily submit themselves to such authority in their effort to rise in the occupational level. This tendency is further sustained by the caste attitude of the Khandayat towards land. Agriculture, besides being their traditional occupation, has an immense prestige value for them. As a symbol of prestige acquiring of land among Khandayats is comparable to the Brahman's zeal for education and government service. The agrarian reforms have resulted in changing the trend of the landownership in the village. The previous trend of the land being gradually transferred to the Brahman from other castes has been reversed. The Brahman are now selling land firstly because they can not manage it under the changed conditions and secondly for meeting the cost of their children's education. The majority of the buyers now belong to the Khandayat caste. They are now purchasing these land which were transferred to the Brahmans two to three generations back with a nostalgic zeal. This has further enhanced the intensity of interaction between Father and Sons. In these families the Father now enjoys the same status as his counterpart among the landowning group.

Performance of religious rites:

Performance of religious rites does not form a regular feature in the daily routine of a Khandayat family. A
Khadayat may visit the village temple after taking bath. He may also listen to the chanting of Bhagabat or other Purana in the evening. These however are done by not more than five elderly persons regularly.

In spite of their efforts to emulate the Brahman, the performance of religious rites has not yet become a regular feature in the daily routine of the Khandayat. Though a few Khandayats have attempted to make a show of such performance it has not resulted in any effective interaction between Father and the Son in their families. Only one family has a Bhagabat gadi. This is daily worshiped by a Brahman who is paid in kind on annual basis. The family members are not allowed to touch it but any member of the family may sweep the room where the gadi is kept. In this case also there is no effective interaction between Father and Son.

A "Sankirtan" party has been formed in the village since ten years. The functions of this party is to sing prayers of a specific variety, called "Kirtan" accompanied by "Mridang" (a kind of double faced drum) and cymbals. The singing is done after the early evening hours three to four times a week. Similar parties are held also among the Brahman. It is a special feature among the Khandayat that Father and Son sing together in these parties whereas among the Brahman the Sons do not join the parties when the Fathers are taking part in them.

A large number of "Osa" are performed by the Khandayat though these are not so numerous as among the Brahman. These are mainly the task of the women of the household, the role of the males being confined to purchasing and procuring the materials.
required for their performance. In between Father and Son the duty of procuring or purchasing the required materials is not clearly demarcated. If the Son is married it is usually his duty to procure the required materials.

On the whole it can be said that the Father-Son interaction concerning routine religious activities among the Khandayat is not effective.

Recreational Activities:

In neither group Father and Son participate in the indoor and outdoor games together. Either party may watch the other playing indoor games and an old Father may watch his young Son participating in an outdoor game. If an elderly Son indulges too much in play - whether indoor or outdoor then he is criticised by the Father for being negligent of work. Such negligence on the part of a younger Son is more strongly reprimanded and the Son is either beaten or rebuked severely.

Gossiping is the main source of recreation among both the groups. When matters of general interest such as affairs of the village, the problems of agriculture etc., are discussed the grownup Son may participate in the gossiping with the Father, but both avoid each other when intimate personal topics, especially topics connected with sex are discussed. The minor Son is not at all allowed to participate in gossiping with his Father whatever may be subject matter of discussion. If he does so then it is considered as impertinent and is reprimanded for that.

Rearing Children:
Rearing children:

At the infant stage the Son is mostly tended by the Mother. The Khandayat Father of both the landowning and the labour class group takes no part in tending the infant Son. He may occasionally fondle the Son during his leisure.

The Khandayat Father of the landowning group has a responsibility for the socialisation of his child which is somewhat comparable to that of the Brahman. The Brahman Father who sends his Son to the school is somewhat freed from the responsibility of bringing up the Son during the adolescent period. The Son receives professional attention in the school and his moulding as a member of the society largely depends on the efficiency of the organisation where he studies and the individual teachers with whom he comes into contact. The Khandayat Son on the other hand does not ordinarily go beyond the primary level in the village school. Even while reading in the village school he is under the control of his family. The Brahman Son is expected to be a member of a more wider society than the Khandayat Son and he is not therefore required to be thoroughly conversant with the specific norms of the village. Compared to a Khandayat boy a Brahman boy knows much less about the behavioural procedure in the village though he can conduct himself better outside the village.

All these enjoin upon the Khandayat Father a heavier responsibility in rearing his Son. During the childhood of the Son he wields a more effective authority over him, than is done among other castes. His responsibility becomes all the more greater because of the strong caste-consciousness of the Khandayat
caste. The Son is to be taught not only how to conduct himself as a member of his own caste, it is also equally important for the Khandayat boy to observe correct behaviour towards the Brahman as a superior caste and towards others as inferior castes. The attitude of a Khandayat towards Brahman is somewhat different from the analogous attitude of other castes. Other castes like the Keuta, Dhoba and Pano regard the Brahman as a superior caste, deserving respect and authority. The Khandayat attitude is somewhat ambivalent. On the one hand they intend to show correct behaviour towards the Brahman and on the other hand he is reluctant to pose himself as inferior to them. The Khandayat has the inert feeling of superiority as a caste which observes the caste code more strictly than the Brahman. He is also more particular in maintaining his superiority over other non-Brahman castes. The caste consciousness of the Khandayat has been further accentuated by the recent political changes and agrarian reforms.

This new caste-consciousness dominates the Khandayat behaviour concerning the rearing of children. Inspite of the emphasis in child rearing is on the negative rather than the positive code of behaviour. This is in sharp contrast with the Brahman practice of rearing children. The Khandayat boy is taught more about what not to do than what to do and this too is taught by reprimanding him and disapproving his wrong behaviour than actually teaching him the positive code. The Khandayat Father is always watchful about the wrong doings of his Son. If the Son for example, is being intimate with a Keuta boy or not saluting a Brahman when the occasion demands, he takes him to task.
Another notable feature in the rearing of children among the Khandayat is that the behaviour which the Father wants to inculcate in his Son is rather vague and ill defined. It is a code of conduct which has not been handed over from generation to generation as is the case with the Brahman. The code which the average middle aged Khandayat Father wants to inculcate in his Son, has been formulated somewhat turbidly during his own lifetime. This is why he is more enthusiastic and vehement about it without being coherent. This puts a handicap on the Khandayat Son to understand properly the intentions of his Father. A number of cases were observed which showed the confusion of the Khandayat Son. A Father once admonished his Son for not saluting a Brahman, belonging to the upper income level. On another day the Son who was both poor and illiterate and in certain political activities opposed to the boy's Father. For doing this he was again reprimanded, though not severely. On another occasion an eighteen year old Son was reprimanded for not attending a meeting during the absence of the Father. The meeting was convened by certain Brahmans to discuss about the problems of commensality arising out of an invitation by a Keuta family to the Khandayats to partake of a feast. The same boy was again reprimanded for attending a similar meeting to discuss the proper conducting of the mortuary rites in a Khandayat family. The contending point on this occasion was that the boy should not have allowed the Brahmans and other castes to arbitrate on the affairs of the Khandayat caste. These conflicting attitudes often confuse the young but this confusion does not result in the Son revolting against the Father. The new caste movement is strong and vital enough to absorb intra-family tensions.
In the daily income and expenditure the Father among the landowning group exercises more authority over the Sons, whether minor or adult, than is done among other castes. The controlling of the daily income and expenditure among the Khandayat is directly connected with the efforts of the leading caste members to raise their status by purchase of land. This calls for a more strict regulation of the daily income and expenditure than is necessary among other castes.

It should be noted that certain ceremonial and other expenses, which are regarded as superfluous and useless among the Brahman, have been freshly adopted by the Khandayat because of their prestige value. Hiring of "Sabari" (a closed type of palanquin borne by six bearers) for the transport of women going outside the village, has been freshly adopted by the Khandayats whereas it has been given up by the Brahman who use bullock carts for the purpose. Another item having significance for income and expenditure is the prohibition on women to work in the fields. This prohibition has increased the burden of the male members of the Khandayat families for meeting the daily demands of expenditure and income. All these factors have their impact on Father-Son interaction among this group of Khandayats.

It is the duty of the Khandayat son to handover his entire income to his Father. Even those who stay and work outside the village are also expected to do so, keeping only a small sum for the bare maintenance. It is also done in actual practice and deviation causes much resentment and conflict between Father
and Son. The daily expenditure is completely controlled by the Father in consultation with the adult Sons. It is a feature of Khandayat daily expenditure that it is planned in advance and well controlled. It is noteworthy that among the landowning group, enhanced income has not led to increased expenditure. The standard of food and clothing has not improved in the families which spend much more on ceremonies than they were doing ten years back. Keeping the expenditure under control is the key note for understanding the Father-Son relationship among the Khandayat.

P A N O.

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After considering Father-Son interaction in daily routine among the Brahman and the Khandayat the Pano caste may be taken up for similar discussion. Here also the background factors, described earlier, have been taken into consideration for a proper appreciation of routine behaviour.

It has been described earlier that among all the castes in the village, only the Brahman Son is systematically brought up by the Father. The period of the apprenticeship for the Brahman Son is also the longest. This results in effective interaction between them in the daily routine. Among the Khandayat the process is simpler, though they make efforts to approximate the Brahman. It has also been stated that the economical and educational range which is the highest among the Brahman affects the Father-Son relationship significantly. This range being very low among the other castes - the range of difference in Father-Son relationship also among these castes is equally small. In this respect the difference
of the Pano from other castes is markedly different. The Pano does not aspire to approximate the Brahman and the range of difference based on income and education is so narrow that it is hardly expressed in differential behaviour. The status of the Pano as an untouchable caste is also a factor of crucial importance affecting Father-Son relationship among them. As a cumulative result of these factors, Father and Son function somewhat autonomously in their routine activities. This is the crucial point for understanding Father-Son interaction in daily routine among Pano.

With this general note the Father-Son interaction among the Pano in each specific item of daily routine may now be taken up for consideration.

Washing the face and cleaning the teeth:

This item of daily routine among the Pano is performed casually except by those who work outside as industrial labourers. The Pano boy does not wash his face or clean his teeth till late in the morning and he does this only when he is of the proper age to be able to do them himself. During the stage of infancy he is occasionally helped by his Mother but never by his Father. The washing of the face and cleaning of the teeth therefore does not result in any effective interaction between the Father and the minor Son. The adult Son may help the Father to wash his face and clean his teeth during old age and illness but in most cases it does not happen as the Father is separated from his Son during the old age and this item of daily routine is not emphasized upon among the Pano.
The difference of economic conditions has no influence on the Father Son interaction in washing the face and cleaning the teeth. The industrial workers show some interest in this item of daily routine. This is done while they are on a visit to the village from their place of work. As against this it has been observed that the industrial workers, who have retired from work and stay in the village permanently, revert to the habits prevalent among their caste members in the village. In neither case however there is any effective interaction between Father and Son.

Defecation:

It has been mentioned earlier that the Pano go for defecation to the fields which are very near to their houses. The Son learns to go to the fields for defecation as soon as he is about five years of age. During the stage of infancy, however, he defecates in the house. During early childhood he may defecate in the village lane or in the space around the house. Though it is the duty of the Mother to remove the night-soil of her Son, the Father also does it occasionally.

The clothes worn at the time of defecation are not considered by them as polluted. In this respect the Pano are quite different from such castes as the Brahman and Khandayat. Though the Pano washes his anus after defecation he is not particular about washing his feet and face. Even at times he would not properly wash the left palm which is used to wash the anus. This indifference towards washing is more marked among young boys than among the adults. The Father leaves it to the Son to gradually acquire the habit of going to the field for defecation and washing after that.
When the young son defecates inside the residential area, it makes the place very nasty as the residential area of the Pano are very congested. Very often quarrels arise out of it. It is therefore the duty of the Father to prevent his Son from defecating at places which are likely to cause inconvenience to others. In such disputes the Son is beaten or defended on the merit of the incidence. If the boy is at fault then the Father may also remove the night-soil.

The Son is expected to help his Father into the fields during his illness or old age. Most often the Father is separated from his adult Son and this service is rarely performed. If the Father is all alone in his old age he may defecate within the house and go uncleaned for days. This generally happens among the low-income group and one such case was observed in course of the field work. Usually the old Father, if his condition is not precarious, can help himself to the fields which are very near to the houses. He can also clean himself in the nearby tank.

Bathing:

Bathing like cleaning the teeth and washing the face is done very **succinctly** among the Pano. The Son at the infant stage is rarely bathed. He is smeared with turmeric paste and oil once or twice a week, by the Mother. As the child grows up he goes to nearby tank to take his bath. Ordinarily the boy only takes a dip in the water and dries his body with a napkin. He learns to take his bath from the elder boys with whom he plays and works. The Father has practically no role here. Only if the boy wets himself too much so as to fall ill or goes to take his bath at a time when
he is expected to do something else, he is taken to task by the
Father. If he is a favourite Son of the Father he may accompany him
to the tank or the canal to be bathed by the Father. This only
happens when the Father has the leisure to do so.

Bathing does not result in any effective
interaction between Father and adult Son. During the illness, old
age or infirmity of the Father, the Son sometimes fetches some water
for him for drinking and bathing purposes. Beyond this he does not
render any help to him. An unmarried adult Son is also similarly
helped during his illness. Here also, as in other cases the
separation of the Son from the Father, after the marriage of the
former, works as a bar for effective interaction between them.

Turmeric paste, oil and rarely, if ever, soaps
are used for taking bath. When these are required for the infant
Son, they are procured and purchased by the Father. It has been
mentioned earlier that the Pano boy begins to earn earlier than the
boys of other castes. By the age of sixteen he is able to earn and
contribute to the family income but the bathing materials continue
to be procured in common till he is separated from the family.
Materials like soap are treated as luxuries and purchased personally
by each. During the old age of the Father when he can not do any
work, the Son usually provides him with some oil and occasionally a
piece of napkin. The frequency of this supply depends on the income
of the Son and his personal relationship with his Father.
Eating:

Though the Son is almost left to himself in such activities as washing the face and cleaning the teeth, defecation and bathing, he nevertheless has effective interaction with his Father in the act of eating. After the infant stage is over the Son usually takes his food with his Father till he is big enough to be considered as an adult. If the personal relationship with the Father is very cordial the Son continues to eat with him till his marriage. It is however not customary either for the Father or the Son to wait for each other to take food. If the Son is present, and most often he is, then he takes food with the Father. If he is not present and is likely to be late, the Father takes his food without waiting for him. Either of them serves the other if the female members of the family are absent.

The food materials are procured and purchased either by the Son or the Father according to the requirements of the family. Most of the purchases from the village shop are made by the Father. The Son if he is an earning member of the family, hands over to the Father his contribution for purchasing food materials and takes no further responsibility. This arrangement continues till the marriage of the Son. It breaks earlier if the Son does not pull on with the Father.

No special item is taken separately either by the Father or the Son. Whatever is prepared is taken equally by both. The only exception is made in case of food prescribed for a patients' diet. Such items as sweatmeats, parched and fried rice etc., are purchased and consumed individually. Usually these items are taken
when one goes outside but during the heavy working season these are purchased in the village and taken as tiffin. The Father some times brings a portion of it for his minor Son but usually he is not very particular in doing so.

In case of the old age and infirmity of the Father, and especially when he is an widower, it is customary for him to look upon his Son for being fed. The behaviour of the Sons in this respect is widely divergent. If he is married and his earning is not sufficient then he does not come to the rescue of the Father. His help is also not sufficient even in cases where the income is adequate. Contrary to this the men who work in the industrial establishments show a greater regard for their Fathers. They send money to their Fathers regularly and give strict instructions to their Wives for feeding them properly.

Sleeping:

It has already been mentioned that due to lack of space all the members of the family sleep together in one room making adjustments for the convenience of the newly married couples. These adjustments necessitate effective interaction between Father and adult Son.

The infant Son sleeps with the Mother. After he is a little grownup he may sleep either with either of the parents. As the entire family sleeps together the sleeping of the Son either with the Father or the Mother requires only a slight adjustment. The sleeping of the adult Sons only require som adjustments especially after their marriage. If the members of the family are to sleep in one apartment then the Father, after taking his dinner avoids
entering the house, till about 9 P.M. There is no shyness on the part of the Father to sleep in the same apartment as his married Son as it is quite dark inside when he enters. The apartment is made still darker by smoke made out of the burning of cowdung, which is done to keep away the mosquitoes. During the last ten years, with the rise of income of certain Pano families and growth of social consciousness among the caste in general, the problem of accommodation has come to be tackled effectively. Except in case of the families belonging to the lowest income group, separate rooms are now setup for the married Son to allow him to sleep with his Wife undisturbed.

It has already been mentioned that the bed and other materials used at the time of sleeping are very sparse among the Pano. The details of these have already been described. These items are usually procured and purchased by the Father and the Son continues to use them till he sets up his own establishment.

Cleaning:

The role of cleaning in Pano households has already been described in the earlier chapters. During the infant stage the Pano Sons does not wear any clothes and the rags on which he sleeps are also sparse. These are usually washed by the Mother. The clothes are only cleaned if the Son defecates on them. If he urinates these are dried in the sun. The male child wears clothing among the Pano only when he is about ten years of age. At this age he is able to clean his clothes, which means just washing them in plain water. Both the Father and Son clean their own clothes.
Cleaning the houses among the Pano as mentioned earlier is done more frequently because of the small size of the house and also because of the fact that a large number of persons live within a very small space. Besides the cleaning of the house is also co-terminus with repairing as the walls and the floor are smeared with mud and cowdung. Cleaning the house is primarily the duty of women of the family among other castes, but among the Pano all the members equally participate when the house is to be thoroughly cleaned i.e., when the walls are to be cleaned in addition to the floor. The regular daily cleaning of course is done by the female members of the family. In case of thorough cleaning both Father and Son share the labour equally. The thorough cleaning is done once a month and in some cases twice a month. Even when the Son has a separate establishment, he participates in the cleaning of the house of his Father and the latter also reciprocates. This is an activity where cooperation between Father and Son is considered a duty not to be waived unless the relationship is extremely uncordial.

Toilet:

Toilet among Pano is as brief as it is simple. As long as the Son is a minor his toilet expenses are borne by the Father. In doing so he only meets the requirements which are considered as necessities. Articles like a soap and scented oil are considered as luxuries and on no account the Father would purchase such articles for the Son. An adult Son procures his own articles of toilet and such articles like coconut oil may continue to be purchased by either and used in common even if the Son is an adult. Any use of toilet soap or scented oil by the Son evokes sharp
comments from the Father as these are called luxuries and the prepramanding of the Son on this account is considered as one of the paternal duties, but no objection is made in case a Son who is an industrial worker as for him these luxuries are a mark of prestige.

There is practically no interaction between adult Son and old and infirm Father, concerning toilet. The Son sometimes provides the Father with some oil for toilet purpose but that is done in rare cases. Toilet purposes is not considered essential for the old man and it is not a criterion for judging filial duty among the Pano.

Cooking:

It has been described earlier that cooking among the Pano is not regarded as the exclusive duty of the women. The Pano male is almost as good a cook as his Wife. This is because Pano cooking is very simple and unlike the other castes the kitchen is not a restricted part of the household. Cooking therefore provides a scope for an interaction between Father and Son among the Pano which is more effective among them than among other castes.

Pano Father and Son are not entirely dependent on the women of the family as is the case with other castes. If the Wife of a Pano is ill or not able to do the cooking due to pressure of outdoor work then he himself or his Son undertake the work. This experience of cooking helps the Son, as soon on he is an adult, to separate himself from the family of his Father, whereas this problem is a deterrent in case of young men of the other castes.
Previously the Son is used to separate himself from the family of his Father, immediately after marriage. Some of them now remain with the family of the Father for reasons which have been stated earlier. This situation has brought in certain changes in the pattern of Father-Son interaction concerning cooking. Among them it has gradually become a specialised charge of the women, especially that of the Son's Wife; and the duty of the Son is to make his Wife cook for the Father as well as other members of the family.

It was observed in three cases that young men working in industrial establishments were considered as experts in preparing special items. They were able to prepare dishes of meat and fish, in a manner which other male and female members of the family could not do. This is because of the acquaintance of the young men with hotel cooking in the industrial establishments. While on a visit to the village they entertain the Father by preparing some items occasionally.

In case of old age or infirmity of a man and especially when he is a widower, it is customary for him to look upon his Son to manage his cooking. The Sons who work and remain in the village are not very obliging in this respect and his negligence is not treated as very unusual among the Pano. The industrial workers however show a greater regard for their Fathers. They send money regularly and instruct their Wives to take care of their Fathers and to do the cooking for them regularly.
Daily round of occupational activities:

It has been observed that in case of the Khandayat and Brahman the daily round of occupational activities provides a sphere for effective interaction between Father and Son - wherein the Son is subordinate to the Father. It has also been seen that the authority of the Father over the Son was more among the families who owned landed property. The lack of landed property among the Pano is a factor which diminishes the authority of the Father. It has been seen that the Son after he begins to earn, is always reluctant to stay with his Father. There is no effective interaction between Pano Father and Son when both are labourers. There is however effective interaction between Father and Son in case of a the very few landowning families. This co-operation is further augmented in cases where the other Sons work in the industrial establishments and send money to the family to meet the expenditure of agriculture and also for purchase of fresh land. In these cases the financial benefits of joint family work as a cementing force. The Father in these families, having ready cash at his disposal is able to exercise a more effective control over his Son. The problem of agricultural activities are discussed between Father and Son and opinion of the Father prevails though the opinion of the Son is not disregarded. The Father prepares the work schedule and allots work to the Sons. He may reprimand them in case of negligence. Consequently the Father also exercises authority over the Son's Wife and it is the duty of the Son to make her behave properly with his Father.
The Pano Son belonging to the labourer class usually becomes autonomous of his Father after he has an independent income. In exceptional cases the Sons continue to stay with their Fathers' family after their marriage. These instances are however rare and during the course of investigation only one such instance could be observed.

One thing is noteworthy in this respect. Though the Son becomes separated from the Father's family and earns and enjoys his income independently he tries to avoid pursuing interests conflicting to his Father. For instance, if the Father is discharged by a landowner, the Son would never serve under him. Father and Son also do not serve persons belonging to opposite factions. This is avoided because the service as labourer, especially as annual labourer, is not merely a commercial bargain in the village. The employee is expected to support the employer in his various conflicts with others. The minimum that is expected of his is that the employee should not be actively associated with the factions opposite to that of the employer. This is a very cogent problem for the Pano as the majority of them work as hired labourers for the Brahman who are sharply divided into opposing factions. With the impact of modern politics and gradual commercialisation of the employer-employee relationship this pattern is undergoing a change. During the course of investigation it was found that in three cases Father and Son served persons belonging to the opposite factions in the village.
Performance of religious rites:

Performance of religious rites is insignificant in the daily routine of the Pano. The most significant feature of the performance of religious rites is the observance of occasional festivals which do not concern the daily routine. There is no interaction between Father and Son concerning this item of daily routine.

Recreational activities:

As mentioned earlier the recreational activities prevalent among the Pano are indoor games and gossiping. Gossiping among the Pano is carried on more freely than among other castes. Such topics as would be considered as too delicate for discussion between Father and Son among other castes are freely discussed among the Pano. Topics concerning sex and are not discussed face to face between the Father and the Son but both of them may participate in the discussions while the other is present. It is true that if either party is present, the other does not discuss problems concerning himself. Gossiping is usually done in the evening after the dinner. The unmarried Son is very conspicuous in the gossip while his Father chooses to retire early. The reverse is true in case of the married Son. In this case the Father avoids going inside the house till late in the night to leave his married Son alone with his Wife. The married Son on the other hand spends the earlier part of the evening in the company of his Wife inside the house. He is very particular in doing so during the earlier part of the married life. After he has a child he gradually begins to appear in the
evening gossips.

The indoor games played by the Pano are playing cards and tiger-goat game. The details of both these games have been described earlier. Father and Son do not play the games together but either may be present when the other is playing and give encouragement. Playing indoor games during working hours is considered as an irregularity and if the minor Son is found doing so he is reprimanded by the Father.

Rearing children:

Among the Pano the Father and Mother of a child, almost inevitably belong to the working class. It is not therefore possible on the part of both of them to give full attention to the child at the infant stage. The rearing of children at the infant stage is therefore the exclusive duty of the Mother. This is so because the Mother has to be confined for a period before and after the birth of the child. During this period she is also to do the cooking and the child is to be breast fed. All these factors make the mother stay at home for rearing the infant Son. During this period the Father is to work hard to makeup the loss of income to discontinuance of work by the Wife. He is therefore has no time to participate in the rearing of his infant Son. He only occasionally fondles him during his leisure.

It has been mentioned earlier that in comparison with other castes the Pano Son has the shortest period of apprenticeship. During this period the Father has absolutely authority over him, but he has no clearly defined duty like the Brahman or the Khandayat Father. The Son almost grows by himself
acquiring habits by imitating elders and grown up children. If his behaviour is considered improper at any time, he is reprimanded by the Father. Such reprimanding may be done by rebuking, abusing or beating. The recourse to beating is not taken very frequently but the Son is abused in vulgar language even for very trifling faults. Certain phrases and terms used in the abuse are considered too vulgar by the other castes even to be uttered before the Son. As the Son grows up he also acquires the habit of retorting in equal vulgar language to the Father. He also takes initiative in abusing the Father if he finds fault with him. Among the Brahman and the Khandayat such behaviour on the part of the Son would be considered as extremely revolting but among the Pano it is considered as quite normal.

The Father ceases to have any authority over the Son after he is about fourteen years of age. At this stage the Son is considered to be an adult a fact about which he himself is conscious. After attaining this age he is considered as having equal status with his Father.

The Pano Son does not go to school during the school going age. During this period it is one of his duties to look after his younger siblings. This is not just a casual duty. It is an essential duty which enables the Father and the Mother to do outdoor work. The Father therefore imposes this task on the Son, mostly against his will as he is more eager to play than take the trouble of looking after the younger siblings.
Daily income and expenditure:-

When the Son is able to earn independently he gradually acquires the right of sharing the control and also shouldering the responsibility of the daily income and expenditure of the household. At the initial stage of wage earning the wages of the Son are collected by the Father, who also spends it. Gradually the Son begins to grumble this arrangement and collects his own wages. He keeps a part of his income for his personal expenditure and contributes the rest for the family expenses. This amount is either given to the Father or the Mother in cash or he may purchase the food and other requirements of the household himself. No major expenditure is incurred without mutual discussion between Father and Son. If a bullock or cow is to be purchased or land is to be acquired by purchase then both the Father and Son should agree over it before the transaction is made. About the minor expenditure concerning the daily routine, however, either side is not very particular about mutual discussion. This does not mean that there is no scope for difference of opinion on that account, rather it is a constant source of dispute and quarrel. The disputes are more pronounced in case of the expenditure which is considered as personal but which nevertheless are to be borne by the household. The expenditure on clothing may be cited as an instance. Such disputes and quarrels gradually result in the breaking away of the Son from the Father's family and setting up his own establishment.

Recent changes have brought in a transformation in the Father-Son relationship concerning daily income and expenditure among certain Pano families. It has been described elsewhere that
a number of persons have taken up work in industrial establishments and they send their income to their Fathers regularly. This income is utilised by the Father to purchase land and take up sharecropping instead of working as hired labourer. This enhances both the income and prestige of the family. The Father, in his newly acquired status as the head of a landowning household enters into a totally different kind of relationship with his Sons. This relationship is maintained by mutual acquiescence between Father and Son. In these cases the Father controls the daily income and expenditure of the household. The cash is kept with him. He disposes of the products of the land and purchases the requirements of the household. In all these the Son is adequately consulted but only as a junior partner. The Sons are not reluctant to accept this position as it is financially more profitable for them. They also acquire a higher prestige as members of a landowning household which they can not do if they separate themselves from the Father and setup themselves independently as wage earners. This changed behaviour has been observed only in two Pano families, during the field investigation.

K E U T A.

The pattern of Father-Son interaction among Keuta as it touches the daily routine may now be taken up. In doing so the specific background factors concerning the caste, as described in the background chapter as well as in chapter four should be borne in mind.

Washing the face and cleaning the teeth:

This aspect of daily routine is strongly influenced
by economic conditions. The persons belonging to the landowning-cum-
trading group wash their face and clean their teeth sitting on the
outer corridor of the house. Both Father and Son usually sit side
by side. The twigs for cleaning the teeth are procured by the Son
if he is an adult.

Among the labourer group both the Father and Son
wash their face and clean their teeth while going to the field. They
may also do so while returning from work. In this sphere no
effective interaction is observed between them. The only duty of the
Son towards the Father is to procure sufficient amount of twigs for
cleaning the teeth.

Twigs are stored for the Son by the Father if he
is an industrial worker coming on a visit to the village. The
Father may also draw some water for him to enable him to wash his
face and clean his teeth. The Son in this case does not claim the
services of the Father; rather he feels shy that his Father would
serve him.

During the old age of the Father the Son helps him
to clean his teeth and wash his face. For this purpose he draws
water for him and provides him with a twig every day. One end of
the twig is crushed for the smooth cleaning of the teeth. This is
the usual pattern among the landowning-cum-trading group.

Defecation:

The selfsufficiency of the Keuta in the use of the
fields for defecation has been described earlier. The landowning-
Keutas use the space exclusively meant for defecation, in their own
fields or in the kitchen garden if there is enough space there.
In case of the other group they go to the fields adjoining their houses.

It is the duty of the Father to teach his Son proper behaviour concerning defecation. After he is able to walk he is taught to go to the kitchen garden for defecation accompanied by the Father or any other elderly member of the household. After he is slightly older he is taught to go to the fields. The Keuta boy is taught right from childhood, to observe the pollution taboo after defecation till he washes himself. In this respect the behaviour of the Keuta Father and Son stands next to the Brahman and is in par with the Khandayat. In some respects the Father among the landowning-cum-trading group is more strict towards his Son in inculcating the habit of ritual cleanliness, than the Khandayat. Justifying this strictness the Keutas my that as they are a low caste and yet call for the services of the Brahman regularly, they should be strict about cleanliness in their daily behaviour.

During his old age the Father is helped by the Son to go to the fields for defecation. In most cases the old man is pursued to go to the kitchen garden which is still nearer to the house. This behaviour is common in case of both the groups of Keuta. The Father also helps his Son similarly in case of illness, if the latter has no Wife or Mother.

Among the landowning group napkins etc., used at the time of defecation are purchased from the common fund of the household. The narcotics like "Gudakhu" or "Bidi" (country made cheroots) are purchased by each for his personal consumption. The pattern of interaction among the labourer group of Keuta is the same as that mong the labour class Khandayat.
Bathing:

It is one of the routine duties of the Father to make the Son inculcate the habit of bathing properly among the landowning Keuta. The Keuta mostly use the tanks and ponds owned by them exclusively. The Father daily massages his minor Son with oil and takes him to the pond at the time of taking bath. This is a regular daily habit with the landowning Keuta but only an occasional habit with the labouring class. Whether the Father is able to supervise personally or not, he always insists on the Son to take his bath before the midday meal or earlier.

The Father when he is old or ill is given a pot of water to take his bath in the courtyard of the house. He may also help the Son in similar manner during his illness if there is no one else to help him.

The materials used for bathing such as napkins, oil etc., are purchased by the household. Soaps and special type of towels may be purchased by the individuals according to their choice and requirement.

The pattern of Father-Son interaction concerning bathing among the labour class Keuta is the same as that among the labour class Khandayat.

Eating:

Among the landowning group it is considered as one of the basic duties of the Father to provide food for his minor Sons. After the Son is grownup the Father is not duty bound to provide food for him. The adult Son is not only expected to provide food
for himself and his Wife and children, he is also expected to provide food for his Father if he is old and infirm and not able to earn his own bread. The Father, if he is able and earning is not duty bound to provide food for his adult Son if the latter is somehow not able to earn his own living but usually help is given. There is only one instance of the Son not being able to earn and in that case the Father was observed to be maintaining him.

Breakfast is eaten by Father and Son individually according to their convenience and choice. The choice of choosing watered rice or dry breakfast is entirely individual and the morning work routine of the Father differs from that of the Son. That is the reason for taking breakfast alone. The lunch, however, is taken between 12 O'clock and 2 O'clock in the day and both Father and Son should be present for the lunch to take it together. The Son waits for the Father to take his lunch. The Father is not expected to wait but he usually does not take his food till the Son returns from work. No special items are prepared either for the Father or the Son unless prescribed on health grounds. The dinner is also taken together. It has already been mentioned that among the landowning group dinner is taken very late in the night. In case of late dinner, the Father takes his food earlier, if he is old and is required to retire early in the night.

The food materials are procured and purchased in common for the household among both the groups of Keuta. It has been mentioned earlier that the Keutas raise a large number of food grains from the fields. They also grow almost all the required vegetables in the kitchen gardens. This calls for effective
interaction between Father and Son. Even the old Father who can
not possibly go to the fields, is able to contribute some labour
in the kitchen garden. Catching fish is also a regular activity
among the Keuta and both Father and Son cooperate with each other
in catching fish. Catching large fish is done by the Son. The
Father catches small fish with the help of traps as this is a less
laborious method.

The Son serves food to the Father when the other
members of the family are not able to do so. Usually however in
such cases the services of a female relative is called for.

The guests who are entertained are usually common
guests of the family. They are not individual guests of either the
Father or the Son. It is the duty of the grown up Son to arrange food
for the entertainment of the guests. The duty of the Father generally
is to give company to the guest. The Son, who works in industrial
establishments outside the village is treated as a guest during his
visit to the village. During his stay he is not required to perform
the normal duties of the Son concerning eating.

Sleeping:

The infant Son may sleep either with the Father or
the Mother. In case there are smaller children, the Son, if he is
ever, sleeps with the Father, while the younger ones sleep with
the Mother. The adult Son sleeps alone or with his Wife.

Among the landowning group it is the duty of the
adult Son to provide the old Father with enough leisure for rest and
sleep. As against this it is the duty of the Father to see that
the Son does not sleep too much and gets lazy. He would reprimand the Son if he is found sleeping at unusual hours. Among the labour class Keuta the adult Son is separated from the Father and has no interaction with him as far as sleeping is concerned.

The bed and other sleeping materials vary according to the economic conditions of the household. These materials are purchased in common for all the members of the household. The cots are prepared by the local carpenters. The Son sometimes purchases bed-sheets or mattresses according to his choice, the cost of which is borne by him individually.

Cleaning:

Among the landowning group the daily and periodical cleaning of the house is done by the women of the house. For the periodical cleaning, when the whole house is cleaned and the walls are plastered the help of hired labour is called for. For cleaning the house women labourers are preferred to men. They are hired by the male members of the household, but the cleaning operations are mostly managed by the women. The daily cleaning of the outer courtyard of the house is done by the males early in the morning. This is considered more of a ritual duty than routine labour. Either the Son or the Father may do it. Usually the Father does it as the Son is often required to go out on occupational work early in the morning. The cleaning of the Bhagabatgadi is also a religious duty which is either done by the Father or the Son. Again in this case the Father is more eager to do the work because of its religious significance.
The cleaning of the clothes is an individual affair. The adult Son and the Father clean their own clothing. Soap is used by the well-to-do people whereas the clothes are washed in plain water by the others. The clothes of the infant Son are washed by his Mother. The clothes of the minor Son are also washed by the Mother especially if he is a school-going boy. The adult Son washes his own clothes. He sometimes washes the clothes of his Father if the latter is old or ill. The Father also does likewise if the Son is unmarried.

Toilet:

There is hardly any scope for interaction between Father and Son as far as toilet is concerned. Toilet for males means nothing more than combing the hair. Shaving is done by the barber and does not come strictly within the purview of daily toilet. However, during the last ten years safety razors have come to be widely used by the younger section. The trading-cum-landowning group especially have acquired the habit of shaving almost every day with the help of safety razor for which the services of the barber have been dispensed with.

The only interaction between Father and Son concerning toilet is that the Father disfavours the expenditure of money and time over toilet. For the minor Son the spending of money such as purchasing hair oil, and time over toilet are considered to as signs of being spoiled. These are however not objected to in case of the adult Son.
Cooking:-

Cooking among the landowning Keuta is rather elaborate compared with other castes. In this respect they stand only second to the Brahman. As mentioned earlier cooking is the exclusive charge of the women among this group. The males only undertake cooking under exceptional circumstances and then it is usually done by the adult Son. If he is a child then the Father would do the cooking. Ordinarily neither the Father nor the Son take part in cooking except for short periods of emergency and a female relative is called upon to help as a long term arrangement. Among the labour class the males very often undertake cooking when the women of the family are away on work. There is no patterned behaviour in this regard. It is done according to convenience either by the Father or by the Son.

Daily round of occupational activities:-

In the routine occupational activities the Son and the Father work as partners among the landowning group. The labours are shared by both and the Son as soon as he becomes an adult lessens the burden of the Father by undertaking the major part of the daily labour. In the management of the land and the agricultural operations both Father and Son work on an equal footing. In the affairs of the trade the Father exercises a larger control than he does in the sphere of agricultural activities. The capital is kept under his charge, and he is also the custodian of the stock and the sale proceeds. He also undertakes most of the physical operations concerning the trade. As the Father grows old he leans more and more on commerce, leaving the agricultural operations to the Son.
The labouring, share cropping and parched rice preparing group present a completely different picture. In this group the minor Son renders help to the Father in the daily round of occupational activities, i.e., in the preparation of parched rice. He also continues to render such help after attaining adulthood. A sharp break is made after his marriage. Soon after marriage the Son separates himself from his Father and sets up his own establishment. The occupational activities among this group are centred around personal labour. The pooling of the labour of two nuclear families does not give any extra benefit to either party or to the household as a whole. It is rather to the disadvantage of the younger couple. Thus the daily round of occupational activities among the group, is a crucial factor in separating the Son from the Father, after the marriage of the former.

Performance of religious rites:

The religious rites among the Keuta can be divided into two categories. First the rites performed by the Keutas themselves and second those performed for them by the Brahman. The rites performed by the people themselves constitute the various 'Osas', which are mostly managed by the women of the house. A part of the arrangements like of purchase of the requirements, articles, are done by the elder males of the house. In case of Sabitri Amabasya, which the Wife performs for the Husband a new saree is purchased for the Wife and she is given fruits to eat. The fruits are purchased by the household in common but it is the exclusive duty of the Husband to purchase the saree for the Wife on this occasion.
Father and Son purchase saree for their respective Wives - even if they are sharing the same household. For other Osas the required articles are either purchased by the Father or by the Son. The Bhagabat Gadi is daily worshipped by one hired Brahman. The Bhagabat Gadis are only to be found among the landowning class. Either the Son or the Father may sweep the room where the Bhagabat Gadi is installed. Usually it is a labour of love on the part of the Father.

The performance of the horse-worship is the act where there is most effective interaction between Father and Son. The horse is the symbol of the Keuta caste and the head of a wooden horse is the most revered deity in the Keuta household. It is brought out once a year with great pomp and ceremony. During the rest of the year it is kept under cover but daily worships are offered to it. Though Brahman are hired for the worship of the Bhagabat Gadi, the horse worshipped by the Keutas themselves. Both the Father and Son sit before the deity and offer worship jointly.

Among the labour class group the Son is separated from the Father almost immediately after marriage. Inspite of this the Osas continue to be performed in common. The horse worship especially is performed jointly by the Father and the Son.

Recreational activities:-

The indoor games are not played by Father and Son together - though one party may be present when the other is playing, and encourage the game. The outdoor games are also not played by the Father and the Son together. Here also either may remain present while the other plays the game. Usually it is the
Father who watches while the Son plays. On the occasion of Sibaratri and Rajaparba, when the games are played by groups for long periods the Father remains as a very enthusiastic spectator encouraging the Son in playing the games of Bohuchori, Bagudi and Kitkiti.

Father and Son usually avoid each other's company while gossiping. The presence of the Son in the group imposes a restriction on the Father to in gossip freely. The presence of the Son also imposes equal restrictions on the Father.

Rearing children:

The pattern of Father-Son interaction in the rearing of children among the Keuta does not significantly differ from that of the Khandayat. The landowning group is comparable to the analogous group among the Khandayat. The only difference is that while among the Khandayat the Father plays a dominant role, among the Keuta they stand on an equal footing. This of course pertains to the adult Son. The minor Son is brought up almost in the same manner by the Father as is done in case of the Khandayat. The only significance difference is that in the case of the Khandayat the Son is taught to be a full fledged member of the multi-caste village society and to participate actively in the affairs of the village, in case of the Keuta, the boy is taught to avoid the multi-caste village society. He is not allowed to mix freely with the children of other castes nor he is allowed to roam about freely in the village, outside the residential area of the Keuta. This type of withdrawing attitude on the part of Keuta and its significance has been dealt with earlier.
Daily income and expenditure:

The activities concerning daily income and expenditure provide a very fertile field for interaction between the Father and Son among the Keuta and this is true for both the landowning and labouring group.

Among the landowning-cum-trading group the income and expenditure from the land are the joint charge of the Father and Son. This is a sphere where they work in close co-operation with each other. All decisions are taken jointly and the products from the land are stored in common. Both Father and the Son have the right to dispose of a part of it for their respective personal expenses which they are not expected to account for, to each other. The exact portion of the products from the land which either Father or Son can dispose of in this manner differs from family to family. In each case however this portion does not exceed one tenth of the total produce. If anything above this amount is sold it is considered as a major expenditure and the amount has to be accounted for. The disposal of the products for capital and family expenditure are done by mutual consent between Father and Son.

The daily expenditure is also jointly controlled by the Father and the Son. This expenditure may be divided into two categories - the expenditure which concerns the whole family and personal expenditure by each individual. The former expenditure is on food, agriculture and maintenance of the house. The expenditure which is treated as personal, concerns the purchases of clothes, ornaments and the cost of education of the children. The purchase of clothes for the son, his wife and children are regarded
as the personal expenses of the Son which he should manage individually. The cost of education of the children is always a disputed subject. The Father insists that his Son should meet the cost of education of his children while the Son expects his children to be educated from the common fund of the family. In practice the expenses are partly borne by the family and partly by the Father of the children.

The commercial activities are fully managed by the Father. He is the sole custodian of its accounts and is not expected to explain it to his Sons. On his death only one of the Sons inherits the shop and its assets and the liabilities. For inheriting this he either pays the Brothers in cash equivalent to the value of the shop or gives up a part of his share on land. The control of the commercial activities does not give a free hand to the Father to utilise the profits therefrom in any manner he likes. A small part of it he of course utilises for his personal expenses but the rest of it he has to utilise for meeting the expenditure for the family as a whole and some times even meeting the personal expenditure of his Son, Son's Wife and their children as a gesture of good will and affection. The major part of the profits however as are spent for acquiring assets for the family such as purchase of land, bullocks, carts, building houses etc.

Among the labouring group there is no effective interaction between Father and adult Son as they are separated from each other soon after the marriage of the Son,
After considering the Father Son interaction in daily routine among the Keuta the Dhoba caste may be taken up for similar description.

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 Father and Son 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 doing it. The daily round of occupational activities does not prevent him for doing so. There is no effective interaction between Father and Son concerning this aspect of daily routine.

Bathing:

Bathing also presents no problems to the Dhoba as his house is situated very near to the water sources and the major part of the day is spent by the side of the water. The Dhoba boy takes a dip in the water while his Father is working there. The only duty of the Father is to see that the boy does not stay in the water for long as to catch cold and does not go into deep water.
Eating:

The minor Son and the Father eat together. The adult Son is separated from his Father and takes food in his own establishment. Here it is significant to note that though the Son is separated from the Father after his marriage, such separation is not marked by a sharp break from the Father's family as is the case with other castes. The demands of the occupational activities among the Dhoba helps them to preserve intimate relationship between Father and Son even after the latter has separated himself after his marriage. The nature of this cooperation has been dealt with earlier. It would suffice to state here that on many occasions the Father and the Son eat together after their separation. The main occasion for doing so is the illness or confinement of the Wife of either the Father or the Son. The role of the Wife is very important in the occupational activities of the Dhoba. It is therefore calls for close cooperation between the family of the Father and the Son, as well as other relatives to maintain a degree of co-operation which is absent with the other castes. This co-operation, though it is mainly in the sphere of occupational activities, naturally extends to other spheres as well, especially to the routine behaviour concerning eating. Such frequent overtures, call for considerable adjustments between the Father and Son as well as other members of the family especially to meet the cost of the food expenses. This is the reason why the Dhoba Son or the Father are not very particular about the division of landed property and the allocation of the clients after separation from each other.
Sleeping:

Because of his heavy physical exertion, sleeping is very important for the Dhoba male. In spite of this there is no effective interaction between Dhoba Son and Father. The most effective interaction of a male in this respect is with his Own Wife. The sleeping requirements of the minor Son are met by his Mother.

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 latter activity would be considered under the head "Daily round of occupational activities", where it properly belongs. The cleaning which is not within the purview of professional activities may be considered here.

The daily and periodical cleaning of the house is done by the women. The cleaning of the utensils is also done by them. When the women of the house are unable to do this, the services of other relatives are called for. The male members of the family do not lend a helping hand to the women in the performance of these activities. As such there is no scope for Father-Son interaction in this cleaning activities.

The Dhobas wash their own clothes with those of the others. When the Father has become absolutely old and infirm his clothes are washed by his Sons. As this can be done without disturbing the daily occupational routine, the Son does not find it difficult to do it.
Toilet:—

Toilet of the Dhoba male is very much similar to that of the Keuta or the Khandayat. The only significant difference is that the Khandayat and the Keuta can utilise the services of the barber whereas the Dhoba is debarred from utilising his services. Under such circumstances the problem could be solved by using safety razor but it is not in vogue among the Dhoba. A set of country made razor is therefore kept in every family. The Father's family and the families of the Sons keep one set of razor in common. The Father cuts the hair of his minor Sons. When the Sons are grown-up they cut each other's hair and also shave each other. One of them would cut the hair of the Father and also shave him when required. The Father does not shave the adult Sons or cut their hair. If a man has no adult Son, he take the help of his Brother or any other relatives to cut his hair and shave his beard.

Cooking:—

Cooking among the Dhoba is exclusively the duty of the women. One entirely depends on his Wife and daughters for cooking. If the Wife is not able to do it due to illness or infirmity then another woman relative comes to help. If the Father is a widower and has a married Son, the Son's Wife does the cooking. If the same happens to the Son then his Mother comes to his rescue. During the old age and infirmity of the Father it is the duty of the Sons to make their Wives cook for their Father. Cooking in this case is done in the Son's house and the Father is invited to partake of the meals. Thus the interaction between Father and Son in this case is made through the medium of Son's Wife.
Daily round of occupational activities:-

It has been seen that the Dhoba is the only caste in the village who pursue the traditional caste profession as their major occupation. The washing of clothes by the Dhoba is their major occupation both from the point of view of the income derived from it and the time spent over it.

The Dhoba Son does not go to the school. Right from childhood the major part of his time is spent by the canal side, where his Father washes the clothes. There he plays in the company of other children, defecates when he feels doing it and takes his bath. He may also take his breakfast or tiffin there. At an early age, say at the age of ten, he would learn to wash clothes. By the time he is twelve or thirteen years of age he is able to wash clothes by himself though still he is not considered as an expert in this work. By the time he is fifteen he has mastered the art of washing clothes and the Father can safely relay on him. The Dhoba boy marries early and soon after his marriage he sets up his separate establishment. This does not end his intimate interaction with his Father. On the other hand it is enhanced by the addition of another working hand - the Wife of the Son. In the Dhoba society the married woman begins to work soon after her marriage and hardly within a fortnight she takes up her rightful place in the daily round of occupational activities. The separation of the Father from the Son only effects the cooking arrangements. Altogether the separation is more symbolic than real. The same clients continue to be served by both Father and Son. Gradually with the growth of the clients families Father and Son decide between themselves to serve some of them
Separately. In this matter the choice of the clients predominates over their own decision.

The nature of Dhobas occupation calls for a strict professional code of conduct. The clients are to be served in strict punctuality. The clothes are to be washed carefully so as not to be torn. Besides this, there should be perfect accord among all the Dhoba about allocation of the clients. Once a client is allocated to a particular Dhoba it becomes a choice for lifetime. The Sons of the Dhoba are also to serve the Sons of the clients without break. If a particular Dhoba dies without any male issue then the client is allotted to his nearest male relative. The client cannot refuse the services of his Dhoba. He cannot discharge him from his service. If he has any complaint against him then he would call the village elders and they may decide to punish him. If a Dhoba from his side stops washing the clothes of his client, it is considered a very serious offence on his part for which he is liable to be punished with a heavy fine in addition to which he is forced to wash the clothes of the client.

In the sphere of routine occupational activities it is therefore the duty of the Father not only to teach his Son the skill of the trade but also to orient him in the professional ethics. The Father therefore acts as the teacher and initiator of his minor Son. When the Son becomes an adult and especially after his marriage he becomes a fulfledged co-worker of his Father inspite of the formal separation of their families.
Performance of religious rites:

The Dhoba perform the fewest religious ceremonies. Among the major ceremonies observed by the Dhoba are Raja Parba, Dussera and Holi. On the first two occasions they would kill goats to supply meat to his clients. This is done according to the order of the clients.

No Osa as such is observed by the Dhoba. This is because of the occupational routine of the Dhoba woman who has little leisure left to her perform the Osa. Secondly the clients give the Dhoba woman plenty of the cakes prepared on the occasion. Thus on the day of an Osa, when the women of other castes are over busy in preparing cakes and making other arrangements, the Dhoba woman takes a holiday from cooking. There is no scope for interaction between Father and Son in arranging the observance of the Osa.

The Dhoba has an important function in the ritual of marriage, sacred thread ceremony and mortuary rites of his clients. On all these occasions he is called upon to shear the required firewood. On the occasion of sacred thread ceremony and marriage his services for shearing firewood are optional but it has deep ritual significance on the occasion of mortuary rites. The dead body cannot be burnt unless the Washerman supplies firewood. This affords an unique opportunity for the Dhoba Father and Son for effective interaction. The firewood required for burning a dead body are too much to be sheared by a single person within a short time. Father and Son therefore co-operate to do the job.
There are no performance of religious rites which can be considered as a part of daily routine. Though the older section of such a caste as Pano, which is so low in the caste status, have been observed to salute the Mahadeva deity in the local temple from a distance every day, this is not observed in case of the Dhoba which is higher in caste status.

Recreational activities:

The daily work cycle of the Dhoba and his caste status do not allow him to indulge in recreational activities as freely as other castes. The males cannot play games with the males of other castes because, for some of the castes they are treated as untouchables and the rest are regarded by the Dhoba as untouchable. Because of their small population, it is also not possible for a Dhoba to find sufficient number of mates to play either indoor or outdoor games. Gossiping is therefore the only recreation for the Dhoba male. The scope of interaction between Father and Son is in gossiping does not differ from that of the Pano. The Father and Son participate in gossiping on subjects which would be otherwise considered as too delicate by castes other than Pano, are discussed freely in these groups. When such topics are being discussed neither the Father nor the Son take any active part in the discussion while the other is present but they nevertheless listen to it. Though Father and Son discuss various topics between them, they do not talk between themselves in a manner which can be called gossiping.

Rearing Children:

In the Dhoba family it is the duty of the Mother
Rearing children:

In the Dhoba family it is the duty of the Mother to look after children. The Father has very little to do in this respect except taking occasional disciplinary actions to make the rearing of the child possible on the part of the Mother. It is one of the recognised duties of the Dhoba Son to look after his younger Brothers and Sisters while his parents are working and it is the duty of the Father here to make the Son to perform this task regularly.

The interaction between Father and Son in rearing the Son is chiefly influenced by the demands of the professional activities of the caste. From an early age the Dhoba Son has to work as an apprentice in the professional trade of washing the clothes. In this task the Father works as the teacher and guide of his Son as well as his taskmaster. He is considered fit to work as an apprentice right from the age of nine or ten. The Father gives him enough work for the day and sees that he performs them duly. Initially the young Son is very reluctant and has to be forced to do the Work. It is however easier on the part of the Dhoba Father to break in his Son because of the limited scope of the latter to play in the company of others. The reasons for his limited scope can be ascribed to residential isolation as well as caste isolation. The Dhoba are regarded as an untouchable caste by all castes except the Pano. The Pano again are regarded by the Dhoba as untouchables. The Dhoba boy therefore cannot play with any boy from another caste. The boys from his own caste are very few and are not always available for play. All these make the childhood of the Dhoba boy somewhat lonely and the Father finds it comparatively easier to make him to work.
Daily income and expenditure:-

The interaction between Father and Son concerning daily income and expenditure among the Dhoba is a sharply divided into two phases. The Son has no voice in regulating the daily income and expenditure of the household, as long as he continues as a member of the Father's household. Soon after his marriage he is separated from the Father and becomes the sole regulator of the income and expenditure of his household.

The minor Son runs errands for his Father in making daily purchases. The Father not only controls the purse of the household he also determines the quantity and quality of daily purchases. He always enjoys full control over the products of the land. The Son begins to protest against this as he attains adulthood and after his marriage the income is shared equally by them but the landed property is not formally divided.

GUDI A.

In considering the Father Son relationship among the Gudia, it may be recalled that while considering the Husband-Wife relationship among the caste, it was found that the behaviour of the caste in this respect was almost identical with that of the landowning Khandyat. The investigation further show that the pattern of interaction between Father and Son among the Gudia is also identical with the landowning Khandayat in almost all aspects of daily routine. The behaviour pattern in the various aspects of daily routine are stated below indicating the similarity and
differences from that of the Khandayat.

There is no difference from the landowning Khandayat concerning the Washing the face and cleaning the teeth, Defecation, Bathing, Eating, Sleeping, Cleaning, Performance of religious rites, Recreational activities, Rearing children and Daily income and expenditure. The pattern of Father-Son interaction concerning these items of daily routine among the Gudia is the same as that among the landowning Khandayat. Only there is slight difference concerning Daily round of occupational activities, which is described below.

Daily round of occupational activities:

The caste occupation of the Gudia is preparing sweetmeats but it has been described earlier that this is a minor as well as a casual occupation for them, - the main occupation being the agriculture. As far as agriculture is concerned there is no difference in the pattern of behaviour of the Gudia from that of the Khandayat. The preparation of sweetmeats provides an additional scope for interaction between Father and Son among Gudia. The preparation of sweetmeats synchronises with the observance of festivals. Father and Son therefore co-operates with each other in preparing sweetmeats. The work is done in festive mood. On the preceding the festival they keep awake, working throughout the night to complete the preparation of sweetmeats. No particular aspect of this work is regarded as the specific responsibility of either Father or Son. The same is true about selling the sweetmeats on the following day. Either the Father or the Son can sell them to the clients. If
however a client wants credit it cannot be given by the minor Son without consulting the Father. The sale proceeds are however finally accounted for to the Father by the Son. The Son cooperates with the Father in preparing sweetmeats even if he is separated from him.

BADHEI.

The position of Badhei is also comparable to that of the landowning Khandayat. It has been seen earlier that in case of Husband-Wife relationship among the Badhei, there is no difference of behaviour from that of the Khandayat. The investigation in the village have also revealed that the Father-Son relationship among the Badhei is identical to that of the Khandayat in almost every aspect of daily routine. The various aspects of daily routine are stated below indicating the similarities and differences of behaviour.

In Washing the face and cleaning the teeth, Defecation, Bathing, Eating, Sleeping, Cleaning, Toilet, Cooking, Recreational activities, Rearing children, and daily income and expenditure, there is no difference between the Badhei and the landowning Khandayat as far as Father-Son interaction is concerned. There is slightly difference in the daily round of occupational activities and performance of religious rites which are stated below.

Daily round of occupational activities:

The traditional caste occupation of the Badhei is carpentry which they still pursue as a major occupation along with agriculture. The behaviour pattern of the Badhei, as far as agricultural operations are concerned do not differ from that of the
Khandayat. The carpentry work provides a further scope for interaction between the Father and Son among the Badhei. The most significant fact in this respect is that the Son co-operates with the Father in the carpentry work even if he is separated from the Father's family. The landed property of the household may be divided between Father and Son but the carpentry work continues to be done in common. The reason given by the Badhei's themselves is that carpentry being a sacred caste occupation the Son can set-up a separate establishment only when the Father is dead. When the Father dies the eldest Son succeeds him in the sense of that the family carpentry tools, which are worshipped on the occasions of the Holi and Dussera comes under his possession.

No aspect of carpentry is earmarked as being the specific work of either Father or Son. All types of work is done by both but the heavy labour is usually undertaken by the Son while the work requiring skill and polish is taken up by the Father as he is more experienced and is expected to do the job better. The clients continue to be served jointly by the Father and Son even after their separation. The work is done in the Father's house.

Performance of religious rites:

The worship of the carpentry tools is the speciality of the Badhei, which naturally is not to be found among the Khandayat or other castes. This is done only twice a year during Holi and Dussera and has no significance for daily routine. In other aspects of performance of religious rites there is no difference between Badhei and Khandayat.